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LETTER FROM THE PRESIDENT

Hamba kahle Ma Khuzwayo!

On Wednesday 19 April death robbed our country and people of a towering woman leader and patriot, Ma Ellen Motlalepule Khuzwayo. Born in 1914, she passed away a mere two months away from celebrating her 92nd birthday.

We take this opportunity once more to convey our condolences to the family of the late Ma Khuzwayo, with whom we mourn the departure of a true giant in the continuing struggle to achieve the goal of a better life for our people, to which Ellen Khuzwayo dedicated her life.

Purely coincidentally, on 20 April, the day after she passed away, we conferred the Order of Luthuli, posthumously, on five patriots who were murdered by agents of the apartheid regime as it fought to prolong its tyranny during its latter years of existence. These are Joe Gqabi, Ruth First, Fort Calata, Sicelo Mhlauli and Sparrow Mkhonto.

Though she might never have met anyone of these patriots, all of them were nevertheless her comrades-in-arms, and belonged to the same mass army of liberation that was and is committed to sacrifice everything to serve the people of South Africa. It was therefore right and proper that the solemn gathering at the Union Buildings, convened for the conferment of the Order of Luthuli and other National Orders, should stand in silence to honour Ellen Khuzwayo, as it did. She too had been honoured with her National Order in 1999.

I mention her together with some of those awarded the Order of Luthuli on 20 April because their lives, both those who died for our freedom and those who lived on to celebrate the fruits of their struggle, must continue to inspire us

as we strive to discharge our responsibilities as patriots and members of the ANC.

In this regard, Ellen Khuzwayo's life constitutes a virtual directive to all these liberation fighters, which they must study and understand in order to appreciate the obligation that falls on the shoulders of those who voluntarily define themselves as patriots and members of the ANC.

Born in 1914 in Lesotho she grew up on her grandfather's farm in Thaba Nchu, which she inherited in 1930. She lost this farm when it was declared a 'white area', thus experiencing first hand the humiliation, pain and suffering of millions of our people who were uprooted from their ancestral lands resulting in 87% of South African land being occupied by whites.

She was part of those young activists of our movement who formed the ANC Youth League, understanding very well the need to mobilise young people to participate actively in the liberation of our country as an inalienable and disciplined part of the struggles waged by the ANC.

After graduating as a teacher in 1936, Ellen Khuzwayo dedicated her life to the task to impart knowledge to her fellow black people, especially the youth, including doing volunteer work among them. Like many who understood teaching not merely as a prestigious career that distinguished them from their poor and disempowered compatriots, she saw this profession as a platform through which the oppressed could extricate themselves from their degrading and debilitating conditions. She regarded education as a weapon which should be used to fight for freedom and use it further to defeat poverty and underdevelopment.

Accordingly, when the apartheid regime introduced Bantu Education in 1953 she knew that this was an attempt to deny blacks the many opportunities presented by access to proper education. Clearly, she was not prepared to participate in the further mental enslavement of her people. She resigned her teaching post.

Being the servant of the people that she was throughout her life, Ma-Khuzwayo, as she was affectionately called, sought other ways of making her contribution to help the poor overcome their many and varied challenges.

She returned to school at the age of 39 and completed a training programme and a degree in Social Work. She redirected her exceptional energies to address the challenges occasioned by social exclusion, social and cultural alienation, absence of social cohesion and the general outcomes of a degrading life imposed

on the people by oppression and extreme exploitation.

She did this work through the Johannesburg City Council, the South African Association of Youth Clubs and the YWCA. Imbued by the age-old traditions of our people of Letsema and Vuk'uzenzele, Ma-Khuzwayo worked with local women through self-help programmes like sewing projects.

Ellen Khuzwayo did all these and many other things because she sought to nurture our people in accordance with the well-known saying "don't give me fish, but teach me how to fish!"

As we honour our great heroine, Ellen Khuzwayo, this is the spirit that we should bring back into our work as the ANC and infuse this into all spheres of our democratic government, so that each one of us understands that it is better and more sustainable to help all our people to acquire the necessary skills, education, expertise, information and other resources for their own individual as well as national development.

During the Soweto centenary celebrations in 2004, Ellen Khuzwayo was honoured with the prestigious Soweto 100 Milestone Award in recognition of her role in the fight against apartheid. This was truly fitting because in addition to the work I have already briefly mentioned, when the youth of Soweto defied the might of the apartheid police and army demanding an end to Bantu Education, together with other leaders, Ellen Khuzwayo came to the fore to continue her struggle against apartheid, this time occupying the trenches with young people many of whom were not even born when she herself refused to teach the same Bantu Education in 1953.

Ma-Khuzwayo could not sit idly by when young people were being killed in their hundreds. This is because the youth, the future of our nation, had always been close to the heart of this titanic heroine of our people.

Many years after the historic Soweto Uprising, whose 30th anniversary we commemorate this year, she told the Truth and Reconciliation Commission hearings in Soweto that: "Sometime I can forgive the National Party for what they did to us as adults, but I can never forgive what they did to our children."

"They never saw our children as children because their skin was different from their own. They turned our children into animals and I feel I will go to my grave with this pain in my heart."

This is the pain of many mothers who brought-up, nurtured and educated their children on meagre resources so that their tomorrow would be better than

their
yesterday. And so when these mothers, as represented by Ma-Khuzwayo, saw
their
humble efforts destroyed by inferior education and when these young people
protested, their lives easily taken out like the swatting of flies, their
pain
became truly unbearable.

Yet, even carrying this heavy pain, Ellen Khuzwayo was a cadre of the ANC.
Accordingly, when her organisation decided that for South Africa and South
Africans to move forward towards a better future, we needed to forgive and
embark on a reconciliation process, she agreed with the need to work
together
for the greater good while not forgetting the evil that was done to the
majority
of our people.

However, it was not only to the youth that Ma-Khuzwayo dedicated her life.
It
was to all our people whose lives were defined by poverty, marginalisation,
exploitation and disempowerment.

Hence, through her participation in the Soweto Committee of Ten, she was at
the
centre of the formation of civic organisations that were to be the bedrock
of
community resistance to apartheid in the 1980s. Even after her detention at
the
Johannesburg Fort for five months, unbowed, she came back to continue the
struggle for freedom for her people.

Because Ma-Khuzwayo was a woman of the people, she observed how the poor
were
being ripped off and exploited through high prices for essential goods. This
was
particularly so with black people who had little access to information about
goods that they bought. She therefore participated in the formation of the
Black
Consumers' Union to focus of this matter which was driving many poor people
deeper into poverty.

Again, because of the apartheid policy to exclude blacks from economic
activity
except as consumers, Ellen Khuzwayo was instrumental in the formation of the
black business organisation FABCOS.

She wrote books, Call me Woman, Sit and Listen and Stories from South
Africa,
because she knew that we ourselves have an obligation to communicate our
experiences and relate our histories. Through these books she tells us about
herself as well as communicates a message that black people of this country
must
write books for the next generations to get first-hand information from
those
who occupied the forward trenches in the fight for freedom.

It was fitting that she had the possibility to serve as an ANC Member of
Parliament in our first democratic parliament, to begin the process of
building
the new South Africa of which she had dreamt from her youth.

Through the many engagements we have mentioned and many others, Ma-Khuzwayo exemplified a particular type of an ANC activist. This is not an activist who becomes active only because there are elections to be fought. This is a cadre who connects the everyday challenges of the people to the bigger agenda of transformation.

This is an ANC cadre who works with communities to attend to their problems and not use our braches for personal advancement. This is an ANC cadre who would be defined as a community worker.

These are cadres who would not want to see young people idle, and would accordingly find ways of engaging these youth to participate in sport, in further education and doing work in the community.

These are cadres who would respond to the plight of the poor consumers as Ma-Khuzwayo did; cadres who, for instance, would look positively at the problems faced by hawkers and without exploiting the challenges faced by these people for personal interest, constructively engage their comrades in the municipalities so that together they can attend to these problems.

I am referring to the ANC cadre who would organise extra lessons for learners struggling with their school work and organise professionals to offer their time to help these learners.

Today we honour Ellen Khuzwayo because she left us a rich legacy from which to draw inspiration. This rich legacy of dedication and commitment to serve our people must impel us selflessly to work further to strengthen our organisation and focus its activities on the development of our country and the upliftment of the masses of our people.

As a cadre of the movement, a fighter for gender equality, an activist against the system of apartheid, and the emancipation of our people from poverty, Ellen Khuzwayo was an embodiment of the humane values that have always inspired and must continue to inspire all members and supporters of our movement.

She did not strive for fame and riches, nor was she intimidated by the scope of the challenges she chose to confront in her quest for the transformation of society. Her status as a woman in a society based on patriarchal domination only served to intensify her desire to secure the liberation of women.

She endured hardships along with the people, faced the same risks they faced, led from the front and injected an untiring, self-disregarding spirit on all

fronts of the struggle. Her devotion to the goals of the ANC was never based on any consideration other than to realise the objectives of her organisation. Her love for the movement and everything it stood for took precedence over any other consideration.

Today, we need to ask ourselves whether we, cadres of our movement, are still upholding the unimpeachable track record of Ellen Khuzwayo and other past ANC cadres. We need to ask ourselves whether the seeds of self-sacrifice they planted into our organisation have not begun to fall on thorny, barren soil of self-interest!

Today, as our country continues to confront the challenges of corruption and lack of commitment and dedication to work among some public servants and public representatives, we need to draw important lessons from the life and times of this unassuming heroine, Ellen Khuzwayo.

As we dip our revolutionary banner in honour of a great fighter, a great soldier of our people, a heroine of our country we promise to uphold her principles, her commitment and her courage.

Ellen Khuzwayo was ~~not~~ compelled by the apartheid regime to make the supreme sacrifice made by her fellow Members of our National Orders, such as Joe Gqabi and others.

And yet the daily sacrifices she had to endure to sustain the light of hope even in the most difficult circumstances, makes her stand out as one of those sons and daughters of our people about whom we can say - their spirit will never die!

Hamba kahle Ma-Khuzwayo!

Thabo Mbeki

Viewpoint: Lindiwe Sisulu

NEPAD

We owe it to future generations to implement NEPAD

The New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD) will be five years old in July this year. Its Vision and Policy Framework Document was approved by the Organisation of African Union (OAU) Summit in Lusaka in July 2001. NEPAD is a pledge by African leaders, based on a common vision and a firm and shared conviction, that they have a pressing duty to eradicate poverty and to place

their countries, both individually and collectively, on a path of sustainable growth and development and to participate actively as Africans in the world economy and body politic. The programme is anchored on the determination that we collectively can extricate ourselves and the continent from the malaise of underdevelopment and exclusion in a globalising world.

This statement forms the preamble to the NEPAD programme because it aptly captures why NEPAD became necessary and what it hopes to achieve.

The public and private sectors, labour and civil society must work collectively to fulfil the vision of NEPAD. Our leaders have clearly outlined priorities and conditions for development and we need to give effect to their implementation.

The dynamics that characterise our inter-relations should take a back seat when we collectively deliberate the plight and aspirations of those who look upon us for a better life. These are the powerless and vulnerable poor masses of our people that continue to endure conditions of poverty, disease and hunger. In relation to their need, these people have very modest expectations and we should not fail them.

We need to determine how we are going to internalise the NEPAD values, principles and objectives in our various spheres of work. All our organisations and departments will do well first by understanding and adopting NEPAD programmes and re-aligning them with our work plans and by so doing deepen the ownership of NEPAD.

Never before has the African continent produced such a comprehensive home-grown development programme, which has forced itself onto the forefront of the development agendas of the United Nations (UN), the G8 and regional groupings from Asia, Europe and the Americas. The UN Secretary-General created the Office of Special Adviser on Africa and mandated it to coordinate global advocacy in support of the implementation of NEPAD and to act as focal point for NEPAD within the UN system. As a consequence, the UN structures in Africa were encouraged to reflect and advance NEPAD in their engagement with the continent. This was shortly after the General Assembly of the United Nations had recognised NEPAD as the framework for Africa's development in September 2002.

Interest in NEPAD at continental and international level is unprecedented. In the words of the UN Secretary-General, 'the central challenge is to grasp the opportunity and maintain the momentum'. For us to work together to realise the objectives of NEPAD, we all need to buy in and have a clear understanding of what NEPAD is and what role we can collectively and severally play in our various organisations.

Apart from anything else, the media and our communications units can create increased awareness of the ideals of NEPAD. The rest of us can support their communication and advocacy strategies by demonstrating quick deliverables to those who wait for service.

While our circumstances place on us various advantages, circumstances similarly place on us the burden to lead in the implementation of NEPAD. We have the political will, we have a government infrastructure that creates the possibility and, above all, we are graced with a uniquely vibrant private sector. Through private sector investment in NEPAD infrastructure projects we can create an environment conducive for investment in the continent. The fundamentals, as well as the risks and costs, for doing business in Africa are slowly but surely being addressed.

Human capacity and capital are the pressing resources required to implement NEPAD projects. We have a bit of both. With human capacity, there is no reason why the NEPAD infrastructure projects that have funding allocations by the African Development Bank should continue to stall. We talk of African ownership of Africa's development agenda. We can clearly demonstrate this by investing in NEPAD projects in Information and Communications Technology (ICT) such as the e-schools project and the East Africa Submarine Cable; in the many energy projects such as Inga, Mepanda Uncua and Cabora Bassa; in water and sanitation; transport infrastructure projects; telecommunications; agriculture and health; and housing.

In creating conditions conducive for development, we are encouraged by the unprecedented determination with which our leaders are tackling conflicts on the continent. They are committing troops, their time and even their countries' limited capital resources to deal with these conflicts.

They have fully mobilised the international community on Africa's development.

Our cooperation with the G8 has been continually strengthening since [the G8 Summit in] Kananaskis in 2002. We also work closely with the European Union (EU), the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) and Asian countries in the advancement of NEPAD.

The document that will emerge out of South Africa's National NEPAD Strategy Workshop will be presented to cabinet for consideration. Once it is approved, we will have a NEPAD Implementation Strategy for South Africa (NISSA).

That strategy should reflect the envisaged roles of national, provincial and local government role-players and civil society and business actors. We know that NEPAD projects are by their nature largely multi-country projects. Provincial and local governments and civil society organisations may therefore

find it difficult to relate to NEPAD and to reflect it in their own work plans.

As a result, the National NEPAD Strategy must address and clarify the role they can play to interlink with NEPAD.

In January this year, during the 14th Summit of the NEPAD Heads of State and Government, who are charged with the responsibility of implementing NEPAD, the question of what a NEPAD project is also came up. The NEPAD Heads of State and Government consequently agreed to meet in June in Dakar, Senegal, to deliberate, among others, on what a NEPAD project is as opposed to a national project.

All these stakeholders have all already participated meaningfully in giving expression to NEPAD. Provincial governments, national government departments, parliament, the private sector and various civil society organisations - including academic institutions, research institutions, and professional organisations - have participated in the national African Peer Review Mechanism (APRM) process. The National APRM Secretariat received these submissions, analysed them, and produced technical reports on the four APRM thematic areas of democracy and good political governance; economic governance and management; corporate governance; and socio-economic development.

According to the current timetable of South Africa's National APRM Secretariat, the Country Self Assessment Report and Draft National Programme of Action will be submitted to the APR Secretariat and the Review Panel before the end of June this year. South Africa's citizens, will be asked to comment on the Draft Country Self Assessment and the Programme of Action before the end of September this year, after which it will be presented to the APR Forum of Heads of State and Government participating in the APRM.

The APRM is an innovation by African leaders to submit themselves for review by peers. Twenty-six countries have already acceded to the APRM Memorandum of Understanding. This is about half of all African countries. The pace of peer reviews is accelerating. In the coming few years, the peers will have assisted one another to adopt policies, standards and practices that lead to political stability, high economic growth, sustainable development and accelerated sub-regional and continental economic integration through sharing of experiences and reinforcement of successful and best practice, including identifying deficiencies and assessing the needs for capacity building.

NEPAD is not a theoretical approach to development. It is a pragmatic programme with tangible deliverables. African leadership is being utilised in the prevention, management and resolution of conflicts. The conditions conducive for

development are being implemented. There is now a partnership rather than a donor-recipient relationship with our development partners - it is also in their interest that we eradicate extreme poverty in the developing world. The NEPAD sectoral programmes are being implemented; we have started aligning our work plans to reflect the ideals of NEPAD while the national APRM process is due to be concluded in the next few months. All these are the results of a new way of thinking by the majority of African people.

Nevertheless, as Minister of Foreign Affairs Nkosazana Dlamini-Zuma puts it 'we are fully aware that the expectation of a just and non-discriminatory international and economic social order has yet to be realised'. There are still major differences between the fortunes of countries of the North compared to that of countries of the South. We must work hard to change this. We must also work hard to fundamentally change the material conditions of our people on the ground, which remain dire.

Detractors will always be lurking, but within five years of NEPAD, the record speaks for itself. We need to give effect to the ideals of NEPAD in our various roles. We owe it to our constituencies, future generations and our leadership. Let us work hard to bequeath an enduring legacy in their honour.

** Lindiwe Sisulu is a member of the ANC National Executive Committee and Minister of Housing. This is an edited version of an address at South Africa's National NEPAD Strategy Workshop, Johannesburg, 19 April 2006

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