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ZEPHANIAO L. MOTHOPENG(1913-1990)

[COMMEMORATION OF ZEPH MOTHOPENG'S LIFE]

Paying tribute to Zeph Mothopeng the son of Africa who spent his entire adult life dedicated to political, economic and social emancipation of indigenous Africans in Azania and in the continent of Africa as a whole.

By Professor Sipho R. Shabalala,

At a commemoration of Mothopeng's life held in

Orlando West 22October 2016



Zeph's contribution: Student Uprising June 16, 1976



Mothopeng and his secretary Benny Alexander

“ I could never FATHOM IT Zeph , wherever you derived the stamina, the grit , to keep going back in there like a boxer who is dazed, throwing himself upon his opponent in the ring for more punishment” – Ezekiel Mphahlele 1977

“There is a great struggle in the offing throughout the continent of Africa- a struggle for the victory of ideas. On the one hand it is the idea of the ruling classes as represented by the Eislen Commission Report and on the other those of the struggling African masses. The aim in the former is to enslave the African child perpetually and make him feel inferior so that he might become an easy victim of exploitation”

– Zeph Mothopeng 1953

“I have a haunting memory of what a former prisoner once told me. He said he had seen Mothopeng in an inner court yard in Pretoria at that time: Mothopeng lied inside a straight jacket and was rolling around on the concrete floor screaming at the top of his voice”

– Benjamin Pogrand, Independent, 20 Oct, 1990, quoted by Hlongwane

“Nobody can chain me while I am in Africa” Zeph Mothopeng, 1969

“Zeph is a lion” – Mangaliso Sobukwe 1977

INTRODUCTION

The political struggle of the African people to achieve independence, sovereignty and self-determination (resolution of the National; and related Questions) has been a goal and process for which great courageous deeds and sacrifices have been endured by many sons and daughters of this country. Alas! Many of those who endured courageously the strife and attendant sufferings are today forgotten and deliberately obliterated from the annals of our political struggle. This has been done in order to singularise and monopolise the narratives about the political struggle and different role players. Uncle Zeph worked with and through the youth. Briefly the following events are worth mentioning as mere landmarks within Uncle Zeph's life of political struggle:

He joined the ANC in the 1943 and participated in the 1952 Defiance Campaign and was detained for this;

For his role in the March 1960 positive action against passes he was arrested and sentenced to two years of imprisonment

After finishing his sentence he spent the whole of 1963 under detention and continued torture

In 1964 Mothopeng appeared in court in Johannesburg with 73 other people, charged under the Suppression of Communism and unlawful Organisations Acts, he was sentenced and sent to Robben Island until 1967. On his release he was banished to a rural area in the magisterial area of Harrismith. He was allowed to return to his house no. 7015 in Orlando West but under banning orders.

As a highly motivated and skilled mobiliser of people Zeph used all sort of fronts including scouts, religious groups, music groups, academic student groups etc., to mobilise the youth against racist settler colonialism.

Uncle Zeph was accused no. 1 eluding the marathon

Secret P.A.C Bethel 18 trial in 1977. At the end of the case which took more than 150 days and covered P.A.C activities, which allegedly took place between 1963 and 1977 in seven South African cities and in three foreign countries. In passing the sentence on two counts” --- the judge said that Mr Mothopeng’s activities were not altruistic but he had acted to sow the seeds of anarchy which led to the 1976 riots” Uncle Zeph was accordingly sentenced to 30 years imprisonment for “ predicting and organising” the June 16, 1976 Soweto Uprisings. He was sent again to Robbin Island.

The lion of Azania and Africa was released from Robbin Island on Sunday 27 November 1989 and in the same year the P.A.C elected him as president. After his release he went around the country addressing workers, women’s organizations, youth organization, religious bodies etc. he visited some African countries like Tanzania, Zimbabwe and Botswana. He addressed the UN in New York and the Anti-Apartheid movement in London. His house in Orlando West remained buzzing with the activities of the youth, trade union leaders, etc. He retained the status of a determined leader who believed in the fortitude and courage of the youth to bring about change in the social order of this country.

WHAT MOTHOPENG SACRIFISED FOR

The ideals and goals for which Mothopeng and his colleagues sacrificed their own and family lives were socially, politically and economically sacrosanct and non-negotiable. In brief they can be stated as follows:

Total decolonisation of the settler colonial system (order) represented by the economic, social, cultural, political domination and alienation of African people in what settler-colonialist called South Africa and in Africa as a whole. This was not just about electoral, liberal democracy but total empowering redemptive and restorative (as was deconstructive of colonial social order) substantive democracy. This type of democracy removes all encumbrances; all hurdles preventing the African masses from developing themselves and their country. In the cases of decolonisation struggles, processes and outcomes the above conditions represent the resolution of the National Question sovereignty, self-determination and national (from nationality point of view: historically, culturally and linguistically determined) self-determination and independence. This is manifested in the removal of all alienating factors on the African masses. “---from the empowering conditions of culture, language, economy and politics” – [Kwesi Prah, 2009]. The criteria of evaluating any post-settler colonial constitutions should, therefore, be its capacity and its instrumentality in institutionalising the resolution of the national question.

With the resolution of the National Question(with its sub-structures such as The Land, Agrarian/ industrialisation and social questions) the resultant empowering conditions would be manifested by attainment by the African masses: healthy lifestyle, economic viability, environment viability, available requisite services and infrastructures, food security, vibrant identity and culture, political voice and participation and enabling and facilitative institutions (see also First Nations Health Development Toolkit, 2002)

The post-colonial state should not become a club of the African political elites and the elite from members of the erstwhile settler colonial state and members of imperial capital. The post-colonial must undoubtedly be African and must have transformative-developmental stances supported by strengths and capacity for transformative-developmental effectiveness, distributive-redistributive equity, and developmental rights and security of the citizens.

The production and acquisition of knowledge (know-how and know-why) within African context, social, cultural scientific, technological and economic conditions and imperatives. Both horizontal and indigenous knowledge items and symbols must not be alienated: modernisation must not be equated to Westernisation.

Unity of the continent of Africa must be at people's (cultural, historical, etc.) basis and level not just at heads of States and conducive terrains for the political elites with their erstwhile colonial masters. Pan Africanism and Africanism are not continentalist perspectives or viewpoints. The inclusion of the diaspora Africans is critical, Africaness is historically and culturally determined with its immense natural resource and human capital the continent of Africa and its people were expected to be, through systematic planning under conditions of consensus democratic order, prosperous for the benefit of all the African masses. Within the post-settler and imperial colonial order Africaness will include those of outside extraction who recognised and committed themselves to be African and accordingly there shall be African-Africans (indigenous Africans), European-Africans and Asian-Africans. This is a condition of being African with one's historical origin being recognised. All Africans will have responsibility of removing colonial structures of economic wealth ownership, cultural racism, etc. There's no room for groupism and racist-groupism. The Pan Africanist position ably pronounced by Mangaliso Sobukwe was reiterated in Mothopeng's resolve: to crush imperialism in all its forms; promote, and project the African personality, and create one giant monolithic state of Africa; socialist in content, democratic in form, original in conception; and Africanist in orientation.

Education was a tool for developing the country and its people and could, therefore, not be commoditised. Mangaliso

Sobukwe had this to say: “you have seen by now what education means to us: the identification of ourselves with the masses. Education to us means service to Africa. You have a mission; we all have a mission, a nation to build---“– [21 October, 1949]. Under Mothopeng’s leadership, the Transvaal Teachers Association in June 1952 in Witbank “passed a resolution against Bantu education in toto and pledged themselves to the restoration of a free and universal education”

Respect for African womanhood was enshrined in the P.A.C Manifesto long before the issues of gender equality were part of the political discourse in this country.

HIGHLIGHTS OF MOTHOPENG'S IDEOLOGICAL OUTLOOK AND ORIENTATION

Uncle Zeph and a profound belief on the potency and agency of the African people to free themselves from settler and imperial colonialism and in their resolve and ability to bring about a humane social order with the destruction of settlers and imperial colonialism. Excerpts from a letter he wrote were he had just been just sentenced and returned to Robin Island demonstrate this conviction; “The African people have acquired a complete self-reliance and accepted the principle of fashioning their own destiny and evolving their own ideology and method of liberation based on their own experience emanating from the objective conditions of Africa.

The youth of our land are determined to work and sacrifice for our freedom--- the only way to banish permanently and irrevocably racial discrimination, economic exploitation, social degradation and poverty in our country---

The black people of this land are striving to establish a social order, which will guarantee their rights to equitable distribution of wealth and raw preventing material of Africa from being exploited outside the continent for re benefit of international capital, a society which will guarantee full employment and education for all.

We approach prison with full certainty that freedom is at hand---The black people in the country are working hard and are willing to sacrifice everything to achieve it--“

Zeph's socialist outlook

“We have to bring a non-racial socialist government which deal with the paramount of the economic interest of each individual. I do not want to go into detail, because economics is a living science in a particular world. Its success or failure depends on its application. The premise from which I start is socialism. So when we look at every problem we are going there with that aim, and then it will be the people who must decide with their government what they want...we are completely socialist and we are going to continue that way.

Socialism is a broad subject. It cannot be tackled from a simplistic premise. There are various strands of socialism, and Karl Marx- the man who pronounced theories on socialism- did not prescribe a model for how it should be implemented--- he laid the broad principles, philosophies and economic outlines. Socialism depends ultimately on the peculiar circumstances of those who wish to implement those broad principles...” addressing the workers, he maintained that “The African worker is Vanguard

of the liberation struggle and would continue to be so after the liberation struggle—because you (the African worker) will

run socialist order which will run for the benefit of all.
[Sowetan, November 28, 1989]

Uncle Zeph here was presenting the case for substantive democracy and the involvement and participation of the people in structuring and running their preferred social order. This is supported by Professor Toledo of Peru whose emphases in this issue is that democracy and economic growth are empty shells, are meaningless if they do not mean and lead to social economic and political equality among the people. The citizen, the people, the masses must be capacitated with respect to knowledge, skills and access to productive resources and means for decent life so that they can engage in their own development and the development of their country. Feeding people with “fish” is paternalistic, diverting the energy imagination and creativity of the people by those who do the feeding with the intention to politically manipulate and control the people politically and economically. The P.A.C is totally against to those practices.

THE EXPERIENCES AFTER LIBERATION

What got settled in the ushering in of a truncated democracy was cassation of overt politico-military confrontation between the African liberation movement (as represented by the P.A.C, ANC and AZAPO in particular) and the settler colonial regime. What was ushered in was a constitutional framework which allowed for moderate African majority rule in political terms and the untransformed economic order (ownership, structure of economy activities, race-based distribution of financial income, economic-ownership, buttressed power, influence and social positions, etc.) order that had/have overbearing influence over the political superstructure (state machinery).

The new Constitution assumed an imagined democratic country in liberal political terms. The Bill of Rights enshrined in this Constitution had very little bases for realisation under the prevailing social order (political, social, cultural, economic, institutional, etc. conditions/context). Under conditions of inequality, poverty for instance, the rights to dignity, privacy, life, property, etc. are a façade. No conditional processes of transformative-developmental nature were provided for to be strictly followed by what would be a decolonising constitutional order. What was/is on paper is not on the social order. In essence the National Question with its sub-exponents remained as incomplete projects.

The Charterist fraternity tried to move from their historical multi-racial platform to that of non-racialism (a concept still

requiring further problematisation, vis-à-vis that of anti-racism or anti-racialism). From the platform of South African exceptionalism the Charterists started smattering Pan Africanist outlooks starting with former president Mbeki's 1996 "I am an African" sudden self-discovery, but to demonstrate the hollowness of their transformation, president Zuma did not find it difficult to pronounce that it incorrect to construe that the thinking of Africans in South Africa was at the same level to that of the Africans in the continent of Africa. South Africans were superior to other Africans in the continent of Africa In this regard it can be questioned as to whether the participation of South Africa in African AU activities including those of peace-keeping are driven by Pan Africanist commitment or by hegemonic and economic business interests of the South African black and white elites.

Socio-Economic Pyramids

The socio-economic pyramid in "South Africa" has a sharp narrow top end and a bulging bottom. Within the indigenous African group the sharpened versus bottom bulginess is highly pronounced compared to the ones of whites and Indians. This means that the Gini coefficient ratio among Africans is much higher (higher levels of inequality) than that within the white and Indian groups.

These pyramidal social structures are not just with respect to income, they also respect wealth, productive economic resources, human capital access to credit, land, political influence, etc.).

These state of conditions are not ones that Africanists like Zeph Mothopeng strived to achieve in a post liberation condition. A more critical issue is that these conditions are becoming worse rather than better.

The political leadership of liberation movement enticed by imminent seizure of political power with possibilities to translate these to economic benefits (economic, capital, and other equally important capitals such as social, cultural, educational/human capital and symbolic capital) have remained immersed in their stupor and paying casual and superficial attention to forces of social change and opposition to these forces churning below the surface of the prevailing social order. To these “trouserred niggers” it has been sufficient to increase welfare transfers as means to earn legitimacy and maximise votes. Like it happens in many of medicinal cures used continuously the germs become immune to the dosed medicine. The effects of Welfarism and the constant reminder that “we liberated you: thus we have right to drink milk when all other “liberated’ animals in the animal farm are prohibited from doing so” are numbing the sensitivity of these elites to the realities of life being experienced by general African masses. Immersed in their particular habitus, that is, their enduring perceptions and interpretation of events happening in their class conditioned social fields are numbed in perceiving and detecting the social practices that reproduce poverty, alienation and inequality at the mass level of the people. When the masses of the people react and protest against these processes and practices they are either declared unreasonable or ungrateful. Using their power in pronouncing discourse on the people’s social struggles

against racism, inequality, social class privileges, poverty, etc. are labelled or framed as service delivery protests. Mimicking the ruling classes utterance or in speaking their language or meanings, the socially excluded masses also refer to their struggle against poverty and inequality as service delivery struggle. The familiar response, as was heard during the last local government, elections, was the improvement in service delivery. All political parties competed on this warped reality.

Economic and Development Agenda: Requisite Interventions

The quality of a country's economy is its ability to 'lift all boats', all citizens to life full of social- economic -political justice and equality. Economic growth rate is a poor measure of this fundamental requirements for a health-full nation or citizenry. Neo-liberal economists use GDP growth rate as a measure of quality of life and standard of living and through a trickling process a final promoter of equality and social justice among member of society. This had been demonstrably proved to be utter rubbish and pipe-dream.

In its 1992 'Policy Position on Redistribution to Promote Scio-Economic Development' the PAC had this to say: "The demand for and opposition to the redistribution of wealth, income and resources in our country is at the centre stage in the whole process of transforming the present society to the next democratic one" (P.1)

" To the PAC the degree, extent and quality of socio-economic development in any country is the critical measure

of the quality of human life, degree of human development and the essence and meaningfulness of democracy” (P.2)

“In the P.A.C, we conceptualise the redistribution of resources and economic development as not being mutually exclusive. Inclusive in our quest for the redistribution of wealth and resources are means for immediate social consumption (nutrition, health, housing, education, literacy, sanitation, safe and clean water, etc.) and means for economic wealth and resource creation including the acquisition of skills, land, capital, etc. Political power and the distribution of organisational power, as resources must also be subjected to redistribution” (P.4)

Inequality, poverty and economic growth

Inequality thwarts economic growth and development and undermines the responsiveness of poverty reduction possibilities to economic growth to reduce poverty. Economic growth can take place without development, without adequate generation of new employment opportunities and can widen socio-economic and political power inequality. Poverty is a social structural phenomenon and is embedded in the social order (structure) of the “South African society” and this can only be effectively handled through the restructuring or transformation of this social order (how society is ordered or structured, socially, economically, politically, legally, culturally, distribution of social justice, and generally who gets what, when, how and why in the country)

Developmental Agenda

Development must be conceived in multi – dimensional perspectives and processes. It involves changes in the social structures, popular attitudes, people overcoming impediments to their attainment of better quality of life, and changes in national institutions including the state and government, as well as the acceleration of economic development and material wellbeing of the people and the eradication of poverty and inequalities. The entire – social system must be changed to meet the economic and non –economic needs of the people.

Only a particular type and process of economic growth and development can end poverty and inequality. Redistribution of productive chips to enable the masses to participate in productive activities up to the distribution of outputs and outcomes are strict requirements. Requisite policies, institutions and programmes are required to achieve the above.

Economic growth can take place with no accompaniment of development; with no or little poverty and inequality reduction. The responsiveness of poverty reduction to economic growth is influenced by initial and pervasive inequality (wealth, income, human capital, institutional capacity, power, influence, etc.). For each degree or level of economic growth there are two effects: growth effect and distribution effect. Growth that takes place under condition of neutral distribution effects lacks potency for poverty reduction and consequently in fuelling further economic growth in the

next round. This is the South African experience. The success of employment intensive economic growth depends on sectoral and inter-sectoral relations choices, the degree of productivity growth effects and the degree of labour market segmentation (good jobs versus bad job segments). The potency of employment intensive economic growth to the reduction of poverty depends on whether “good” or “bad” jobs are created. What is also important is not just the absolute number of those employed but the proportion of the labour force that is employed.

Economic and social system development is what should be emphasised, “Welfarisation” and (treating them like children) of the people cannot bring about development. For people to develop they must face the challenges of development and overcome them or at particular times fail to overcome them. This necessitates their mobilisation of the pool of requisite resources (financial, skills and know – what/how, institutions, state support, etc.) To overcome the recalcitrant challenges of development or under development.

Rurality and urbanity has not been specifically defined in this country. Whatever ontological description is used there is a lot of rurality in our urban areas and that of urbanity in our rural areas. A dichotomic perspective is thus not helpful here; a spectrum perspective is more appropriate. Furthermore, the so called rural development agenda cannot take place without being part and parcel of the entire country’s transformation – development programme. As a result of failure of extroverted capitalist development (industrialisation, agriculture, finance and mining) the urban –rural crises take place both in rural

and urban areas. The effect is semi –proletarianisation and semi – peasantisation of large proportions of people exhibiting “dual functionalism” [fusing industrial workers and peasants economic roles]. Rural folks remain subjects and urbanites citizens. In this country as the case under settler colonialism, capitalism that pulled people from rural areas (pushed by poverty) is expelling them from jobs and for those employed it is unable to pay them adequately to meet their social cost of labour reproduction.

Racism

Racism and racialised wealth and income ownership and distribution have reciprocal relationships through time. Particular justificatory discourses are critical. Racism is the transformation of racial differences (biological group identity) into political instruments of power, privilege and access to political power and national resources. Racism represents the social construction of identity: this is constructed in terms of “we” are different from “they” or “other” and deserve better than “them” materially and otherwise. Under racism “we” may represent the “superior race” and “they,” “them,” “other” the inferior race. This becomes the social, economic, cultural/language and political base for inclusion and exclusion. Racism will prevail where: the racially subordinated and excluded accept their position and the distribution of economic and cultural resources are skewed in favour of the racists. The racially disempowered and despised must mobilise and adopt racialised politics to mobilise

themselves first and exercise racist –driven inferiority complexes and must mentally and social – psychologically free themselves (including their social practices) from the effects of racism. This was Sobukwe’s call under the Status Campaign in 1959.

The ruling African elite in its warped social consciousness has gone so far as to promote the erection of statues of the likes of racist Mahatma Gandhi at the expense of political leaders like Sobukwe, Mothopeng, and Anton Lembede. AP. Mda, Godfrey Pitjie, Robert Resha, Tennyson Makhiwane and others. Here I provide few pointers of Gandhi’s racism as revealed by Reginald Legoabe in the City Press paper of 9 November 2003 [quoted in Prof Prah’s book, *The African Nation CASAS* 2009 pp 167-169]. Writing in his *Collected Works* against the restriction of movement of Indians in the British Cape colony he said: “the by-law has its origin in the alleged or real impudent and in some cases, indecent behaviour of the kaffirs. But, whatever the charges are against the British Indians, no one has ever whispered that the Indians behave otherwise than as decent men. But as is the wont in this part of the world, they have been dragged down with the kaffir without the slightest justification”. Writing in his paper, the *Indian Opinion* Gandhi had this to say about Africans; “clause 200 makes provision for registration of persons belonging to uncivilized races, resident and employed within the borough. One can understand the necessity of registration of kaffirs who will not work, but why should registration be required for unindentured Indians who have become free---“. When addressing a public meeting in Bombay India the

liberation icon according to the ANC leadership had this to say: “ours is one of continued struggle against degradation sought to be inflicted upon us by the Europeans who desire to degrade us to the level of the kaffir, whose sole ambition is to collect a certain number of cattle to buy a wife with and then to pass his life in indolence and nakedness.” He was against African police inspecting permits carried by Indians, he lamented; “under the new act, every kaffir constable can ask an Asiatic for particulars of name and identity and, if not satisfied, can take him to the police station.” This was not accepted to Ghandi, the constable from the inferior race to ask particulars of and take a member of the superior race (Indians) to the police station. In Johannesburg he flatly rejected the idea of Indians mixing up, residentially, with Africans.

“Of course, (at) my suggestion the town council of Johannesburg, must withdraw the kaffir from the location [Indian location]. About this mixing of the kaffir with the Indians, I must confess I feel most strongly. I think it is an undue tax on even the proverbial patience of my countrymen Ghandi viewed indigenous Africans as sub-humans and as animals. Ghandi’s statue Must Fall. Indeed Mangaliso Sobukwe in his inaugural address at the formation of the P.A.C in 1959 pointed to the arrogance and racist attitudes of the merchant, intellectual and middle class Indians towards the indigenous Africans. It is these sections of the Indian community with their white liberal/communist counterparts who authored the Freedom Charter. The President General of the ANC Nkosi Albert Luthuli is reported to have said that he did not know for sure as to who the authors of the Freedom Charter were and that his representative saw the copy of the

Charter for the first time during its launch. The indigenous African people have always been taken for a ride by their “trouserred nigger” leaders who do so for their own pecuniary benefits. Lamenting the behaviour and egregious shortcomings of African elite in post-colonial Africa professor Prah has this to say: “one of the most important factors, which helps explain and understand the difficulties and failures of contemporary Africa, is the elite. Historically entrusted with leadership, it has failed miserably to bring progress to Africans in practically all areas of social life. [Ibid.p.87]

Violence and Crime

South Africa is the murder capital of the world (higher number of murders per 100,000 people). South Africa is a “structurally violent” society wherein “.....constructive development energy (of the youth and people in general) tends to be blocked and transformed into destructive energy In destructive or self – destructive behaviours and attitudes” (David Gill, 1994: 18). The South African social system therefore, provides fertile motive force for various members of society to meet their criminogenic needs.

Violence in this country pervasively exists because many individuals, social groups, etc. are oppressed and dominated by others and this, by definition, is violence. The country is also facing Durkheim’s dilemma: Industrialisation (though incomplete), westernisation and globalisation of African culture, urbanisation, globally and locally driven culture of

consumerism, nuclear family disintegrations, etc. are being achieved accompanied by the break of traditional norms leading to growing anomia. Mechanical integration or solidarity of members of society is being replaced by organic integration and conflicts. These are fertile grounds for violence and crime,

Inequality

One representation of inequality in this country, which is underpinned by race, has been stated in the Durban Mercury newspaper dated October 10, 2016 where at the following statistics is given: The wealthiest 10 percent of the population own at least 90 to 95 percent of all wealth [in South Africa], whereas the highest-earning 10 percent receive ‘only’ 55 to 60 percent of income. The next 40 percent of the population [middle class] earn about 30 to 35 percent of all income, but only own 5 to 10 percent of all wealth. The poorest percent of the population who still earn about 10 percent of all income, own no measurable wealth at all.” [p.16] it is important to note that the “middle class” has very little wealth. This is the consuming political elite that is fooled sometimes of being wealthy when in fact it commands disproportionately higher income and not wealth, that is, in a sizeable consideration. This is in spite of the classes dissipated behaviour and imitations of the wealthy classes.

Education

Education is in his country (like in all countries) a sub-system; of the prevailing “South African” social system, it reflects this social order/system and in turn, it reproduces it. As ably stated by Herrers F.E et.al [1972]: “it would be vain to hope for rational humane education in an unjust society---and how can one imagine a society woven out of privileges and a discrimination developing a democratic educational system?”

The Fees Fallism movement is essentially dealing with the issues of inequalities, poverty, and alienation of the majority in this country from the wherewithals of socio-economic well-being. As of now education and

Knowledge production and acquisition take place within a racialised and, racist social context. This country, thanks to the “trouserred niggers” commanding political power has been pursuing a parallel unequal education system: one arm for future masters and “slave owners” and the other arm for future servants and slaves. There seems to be a propagandised acceptance of the status quo, it is accepted as being normal. The government bangs its chest claiming it is trying its best to help the poor to acquire education. The government emphasis is not the eradication of poverty and inequality so that all pupils and students can attend and attain basic and higher education under equal footing and with dignity. From basic to

higher education the quantity and quality of requisite resources are differentiated on racial and class lines, reproducing the settler colonial conditions except that now children of black African elites have joined the whites in better resourced education facilities or institutions.

The Ministry of Higher education boasts of funding students from poor and missing middle families. First this funding is in the form of loans by and large, and to be paid back after graduation. When fees go up, so is the level of the loan and consequently debt repayment levels. South Africans, especially indigenous Africans have debt constituting about 80% of their incomes. On top of this should now be added the debt arising from funding education through the loan system. The country should learn from 40 million plus debt ridden American graduates; their lives, choice of occupation, quality and standard of living are experiencing serious crisis as a result of education debt they are shouldering.

It must be stated in no uncertain terms that education is a public good/service for the benefit of recipients and society as a whole. It cannot, therefore, be commoditised. It must be paid for through the national revenue contributed by all citizens and corporations of the country.

In the short run increments can be made on personal and corporate tax to meet this requirement with the wealthier tax payers paying disproportionately more. A special tax-surcharge specifically to fund education can be crafted without delay; so is introduction of sales tax for luxury goods and services. In the medium to long-term the size of

government must be drastically reduced, financial wastages and corruption eradicated and cost control measures put in place in education institution. Education cost must be borne by the nation as a whole: from each according to ability to contribute. Poverty and inequality must not be glorified but eradicated.

The minister of Higher Education has informed the nation that the so-called missing middle is, in fact constituted by persons that are employed and paid by government; social workers, nurses, teachers, police force, etc. One wonders how their dignity and self-esteem have been affected by being described as missing middle by the employer. Maybe this is the best way government is attempting to find these missing categories of its employees. The question remains missing from whom and for what equities purposes?

The tragedy of education and training programmes is due to the fact that those who finish their studies and training are not assured of getting decent jobs. The acquisition of education and skills does no longer guarantee socio-economic vertical mobility in our nation and society. Political connectedness and sycophantic relationships with political leaders and structures is what matters.

THE CONTINENT OF AFRICA AND PAN-AFRICANISM

I have already alluded to the metamorphosis undergone by the Charterists from being pro-Moscow, and anti-Africa and from being to leftist internationalism to being leaders in Pan – African project(s) presumably for business-economic interest purposes. But what is clear is that the Africa envisaged by Sobukwe, Mothopeng and others has not been realised. Artificial nation-states, essentially neo-colonialistic have become the order of the day with the new African political elites operating these states as personal banking accounts; working of course with ex-colonialist and imperialists and with their vehicles the multi-national corporation. The system of Money – In – Politics is the order of the day. Poverty, inequality and unemployment has become the sine quo none of the conditions prevailing in these states. Degeneration and de-developments is the order of the day. Any opposition to this status quo is cruelly and mercilessly suppressed. The richness or wealthiness of the few elites, the poverty of the majority and the coercive and suppressive arm of the state have characterised the artificial nation-states of Africa. Consequent to this is the replacement of the hot winds from North Africa which are known to brush the shores of Southern Europe have been replaced by the hopeless sons and daughters of this continent trying to forcefully migrate to Europe, the citadel of yester years colonialist forces. This is a

shame to African leaders, and to AU which also uses mostly Aid money to finance most of its operations. This is not what Sobukwe and Mothopeng conceived as a Monolithic state of Africa, prosperous and with her people beaming with dignity, self-respect and respect by other people of the world. A response by the Africanist and Pan Africanists in this country is required and must be delivered.

Our Africanist/Pan Africanist perspective must now emphasise unity amount the masses of Africa (as opposed to the unity of the political/business elite that is operating under imperialist and neo-colonial auspices which impoverish the African masses and with imperialists even paying for the functioning of AU. We must take a stand against neo-colonially driven impoverishment and de-development of African masses and people and we should interrogate all overarching and supportive institutional arrangements. A class oriented perspective must be our key thrust against the ruling elite of neo-colonial regimes in Africa. Africa has failed her children. The poor from the rest of Africa are coming down into South Africa in droves to compete with the poor people in this country for meagre resources and this sparks conflict among the local poor and poor arrivals. What are the responsibilities of African leaders in the respect? It should also be recognised in the South African situation criminally financed traffickers of people from Mali, Ethiopia, Algeria, etc. into South Africa for various reasons and roles are in action. There is a Pan-African brigade force of the ruling elite working with imperialism to oppress marginalised, and alienated African masses from their wealth and continent and this brigade must be countered by a Pan –African peoples

movement of the poor and the marginalised restating that they are the basis of what is called Africa and the wealth of this continent is theirs. This people's movement must cut across the borders of artificial neo-colonial states. Instead of fighting among themselves for the crumbs that fall from the tables of the "trousered niggers" ruling these countries with imperialism they must realize their commonness in all dimensions. This is the Pan-Africanism that we of the P.A.C must advance in this continent today starting with the SADC region.

State Capacity and S.A under Structural and Austerity Programmes

Different state structures have their capacity dependent on critical roles chosen by the state: benign welfarist/distributive role versus transformative developmental role. State can have capacity to formulate policies but fail to implement them (Strength without capacity) or it may be weak on both, maybe due to lack of autonomy and embeddedness under the emerging adjustment and austerity status quo (minimal state, trimming the state of economic roles, reducing state expenditure, commoditisation of the provisioning of social services and all this done under the auspices of market fundamentalism, dependence on foreign capital, etc.). The position and power of the Ministry of Finance have been enhanced and elevated. The Minister of Economic Development has long been sent on a paid leave and that of Trade and Industry does periphery roles [hence the South

African Communist Party is unhappy). The economy of the country is under the Minister of Finance with selected members of the private monopoly capitalist sector. As part of “Doing My Job” the Minister of Finance is protected by local and foreign capital and this elevation makes other Ministers unhappy including the President. The spurt between the Ministry of Finance and top managers of SOEs must be understood within this new normal (not so new in fact).

Domestic and global capital is dictating to the country who the minister of finance should be. And we are acquiescing to that. We have allowed speculative global portfolio monies to finance our balance of payments deficits. Our degrees of freedom with respect to managing our economy have been sacrificed by us and are close to nullity. Where is national sovereignty? Is this an independent or neo-colonial state: what are we? Yes this is a case of “unfit men and beaten races.”

Responsibilities of the Africanists

Given the societal crises facing this country the Africanist of Mothopeng and Sobukwe ilk have critical responsibilities. The national consciousness of the people must be rekindled. Nationalism is a precondition, for internationalisation (including the leftist oriented) and by itself is not an anathema to socialism or socialist social order. The Africanist, the PAC must revisit the case for having a National Heroes Day during which African heroes including Amakhosi who resisted colonial encroachment and those who fought against

colonialism and imperialism can be honoured. This is who we are and this is where we come from. All those who are historically of foreign origin and who now take this African country as their home being African should become part of this commemoration. We must rekindle a sense of nationality (historically, culturally, etc.) and Africaness. With this achieved the nation must be incited to energetically embark upon a transformative – developmental path starting at individual, family, community and broader societal levels. In so saying I am not being oblivious of social classes that have emerged in this country. Addressing the interest of the whole nation addresses the interest of majority that is poor, alienated and marginalised economically, culturally, historically, socially and in all aspects of critical capitals (economic, social, cultural, educational/human, symbolic, etc.). As we ‘return to the source’, the peoples social struggles against racism, inequality, social class privileges, poverty, etc. will be intensified as part of national redemption for equitable national development.

The national economy should be socialised, that development processes and ownership of productive resources and control of cultural institutions must be popularly owned, controlled and driven from community to national levels. Under these circumstances it is not just the ownership and control of national resources by the state which may or might be under the control of predatory socio-political elites but ownership by popular masses with the state playing requisite role. Through these processes the state will become truly embedded in the nation and society and to have capacity and orientation to deliver for the collective good services on development,

equity, social justice and social security of the people of this country.

To realise the above outcomes the role of Africanist intellectuals is critical. The intellectual determinism is the destruction of inequitable social order and in the construction of an equitable one is emphasised by the late Professor Ali Mazrui (2005) as follows: “The peasants and the proletariat may have the power to pull down the old order. But it takes intellectual and educated minds to conceive and construct an alternative social paradigm.” Reference here is of course addressed to organic intellectuals who are “member (s) of civil society and (who) can help to civilise politics” [Ki-Zerbo, 2005) and provides meanings “to the peoples social and national struggles [Ibid, 2005]. In essence the likes of Anton Lembede, A.P. Mda, Mangaliso Sobukwe, and Mothopeng were these type of intellectuals. There is a serious shortage of these intellectuals today. Innately these intellectuals are there, but some have allowed themselves to be incorporated with good salaries into state structures; others rather than speaking truth to power they have gone to bed with that power and they have also allowed that power to define what truth is; others are just scared and reactionary. There are those who are just lying low. It is high time that African and Africanist intellectuals must stand up and be counted. African students in our universities are calling for an African/Africanist originated and oriented curricula. The conception construction and institutionalised of such curricular can only be done by African/Africanist intellectuals working with students of course.

CONCLUSION

It has been demonstrated in this paper that what the likes of Zeph Mothopeng had envisaged and wished to be the new social order as part of political liberation remain far short of expectations. The resolution of the National Question (and related questions) remain an incomplete project with serious implications and consequences. Substantive democracy as an emancipatory project is wanting. Our Constitution imagined a non-existent social order and did not provide for effective processes to realise a humane society. A capitalist society tainted with welfarist and social democratic elements has been institutionalised. In this regard, and at the minimum there is a need to have:

A constituency based electoral system with elected officials accountable to the constituencies that chose or elected them,

A president of a country directly elected by the general populace and not by the majority party in parliament; this will allow for more quality candidates to stand for this position

and for the nation and citizens to have a better choice of a president for the country.

A property clause is required that will provide for private property and common (public) property, with land being pronounced as common property and as such completed decommoditised as private property for sale via the mechanisms of markets.

The naming of the country and the entire lie of the land that demonstrate African heritage and patrimony, this must include a national anthem that talks to the history of the struggles of the people of this country and their imagined and desired future(s).

A constitutionalised dispensation that provides for a decolonised social order (economic, social, cultural, institutional, national symbols, power relations among the people of this country, etc.

Description and acceptance of the so-called service delivery protests and student's protests as protests and movements against inequality, social structural injustice and lack of means for decent living by the majority (people) of the country.

A state and government cleansed of predatory behaviour and rampant corruption; a state with capacity to formulate and implement policies ensuring development effectiveness, social equity and protection of citizens; a state enjoying imbedded autonomy: engaging the public in policy making and implementation while remaining uncaptured by any particularistic forces in the political –economic domains of this country.

The black political elite with its allies, the white capital has as pointed by some scholars “egregiously mis-managed” the development efforts of this country for the benefit of the African masses and whatever economic growth that has been realised has been in spite of these masses and have exhibited inequality and poverty rather than ending them.

The Africanist must provide a vehicle for the realisation of the above and for providing leadership in the interest of the marginalised and alienated and poor African people in this country,

The social role of Africans in this country should not be identified merely as that of providing labour power to existing capitalist corporations under foreign and domestic white capital , the economic development programme of this country must provide for and should be driven also by African’s as participants in the investment and productive activities as well as being consumers of the result of such productive activities and to realise this the production of knowledge, skills and technological know-how and know-why must be the sine quo non the existence of education and training institutions of this country, thus calling for the overhauling of schools and university curricula. Education must not be considered free or unfree, but education is a public good, and must be paid out of the national general revenue but more preferably through earmarked revenue for meeting education financial requirements and being paid for by all citizens to pay through a collective process structure.

As observed by many thinkers economic development critical towards poverty reduction and alienation, but it must be equally acknowledged that poverty is an outcome of

economic, social and political factors and processes that interact and reinforce each other.

African intellectuals must maintain “positive neutrality” and must not allow themselves to be captured by the state. They are part of the civil society and must have leadership in terms of ideas, meanings, social constructs and paradigms relevant to the emancipatory and redemptive development of the masses of this country. To effectively play this role such intellectuals, through their thoughts and tools of and for analysis, must be embedded in the culture of the African people, including their languages, in this country. Such intellectuals should make contributions to the historiography of African nationalism, Pan – Africanism and liberation struggle in such a way that while being supportive to the effects of the efforts of the African masses and their leaders do not distort history and help bringing Africans back in their history. They must eschew from being “a-historical” (not attending to the contradictions and negative events pertaining to how this struggle unfolded) and “a-social”, meaning that not attending to social division of social classes, genders issues and ethnicity within the African liberatory projects” [Ochunda H. Mkandawire T. etc., 2005)

The imagined and deceitful socio – economic – governance prominence of South Africa is at its twilight stage. If any, macro –crisis are emblematic of a country that has lost its transformation – developmental lodestar. Incipient in these degeneracy conditions is the erosion of the ethical or normative values of political probity and humanistic values of transformation and development. In the case of this country transformational - developmental changes must be of a

morphogenic type (attending to the genes of an unequal society) and must address all critical aspects of this country as a nation and society. “We need help to see what reality matters.”

The political and economic elites (black and white) engage in mock intra – class battles when in fact they are in agreement to pursue predatory and rent – seeking maximisation behaviours for their selfish ends. They maximise their personal (private) political – economic returns at the expense of social returns for the benefit of all members of the nation and citizenry. It is building its own Noah’s ships which will keep it floating when the rest of the people will be drowning in poverty and violence. We are informed that during the Titanic disaster first class passengers who were on the top deck are the ones who mostly survived the disaster because they were the first to get the announcement about the disaster and lifeboats were nearer to them. It would appear the same will be experienced in this country when we approach our social cataclysmic apocalypse.

They share their dissipate and dissolute lifestyles that are elevated as new normal and that promote a deluge of narcissistic consumerism at the expense of accumulation of transformation development “capital” so desperately needed in this country. These elites share this behaviour with the global elite that have fostered structural adjustment and austerity programmes in Europe and America. At the global level 1% of the global economic elite is controlling over 60% of the global wealth. The G20 countries control 80% of global wealth and social life of citizens in Europe, America, Latin America is fast degenerating with increasing

inequalities, poverty, houselessness, unemployment including decent employment under conditions of zero – hour employment contracts, unbearable graduates debts, bailing of banks and the rich and banks borrowing at zero or negative interest rates, etc. Capitalism in its current form globally seems to be on its WAY TO MEET IT'S MAKER. As advised by Sobukwe, since the local capital has been subsumed by Global Capital we should develop global perspectives to our problems. Zephania Mothopeng raised the case for contesting discourses and ideas and the contextually based contradictions.

We have repeatedly responded with the same utterances and policy instruments oblivious of their ineffectiveness in arresting the perennial crisis in our social order. We have with monotony mouthed our responses in the form of: NDP, economic growth, infrastructure investment, attracting foreign investment etc. repeating what is fashionable in the global capital discourse. We have forgotten two critical advises: one from Einstein which warns us becoming lunatics; repeating doing the same thing with the hope that it will bring better results, Maslow warns us against poor diagnosis of reality of the nature of problems that are confronting us. He laments: if the only tool we have is a hammer we will see all our problems as nails. I still believe we can do better than that.

Who said, for instance, that the South African reserve bank should concentrate on inflation targeting? It can engage in various credit allocation mechanisms (assets based reserve requirements, loan guarantees, using discount windows etc., and utilize various capital management techniques affecting

capital flows especially dealing with speculative capital flows
[Gerald Epstein. 2007]

END