

FROM NATIONAL LIBERATION
TO DEMOCRATIC RENAISSANCE
IN SOUTHERN AFRICA

Edited by
Cheryl Hendricks
& Lwazi Lushaba



COUNCIL FOR THE DEVELOPMENT OF
SOCIAL SCIENCE RESEARCH IN AFRICA

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The Council for the Development of Social Science Research in Africa (CODESRIA) is an independent organisation whose principal objectives are facilitating research, promoting research-based publishing and creating multiple forums geared towards the exchange of views and information among African researchers. It challenges the fragmentation of research through the creation of thematic research networks that cut across linguistic and regional boundaries.

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Preface

The Council for the Development of Social Science Research in Africa (CODESRIA) celebrated its 30th anniversary in 2003. Established in 1973, through the collective will of African social science researchers, the Council was created to be a forum through which scholars could transcend barriers to knowledge production and, in doing so, play a critical role in the democratic development of the continent.

As part of the series of events marking the anniversary, five sub-regional conferences were organised in Central, East, North, Southern and West Africa. These sub-regional conferences were followed by a grand finale held at the Council's headquarters in Dakar, Senegal, in December 2003. The papers in this volume were first presented at the Southern Africa sub-regional conference which convened in Gaborone, Botswana, on 18 and 19 October 2003, under the theme of 'Southern Africa: From National Liberation to Democratic Renaissance'.

Southern Africa, as a region, has known some of the most interesting political developments in the history of Africa. In the period prior to the onset of formal colonial domination, the area was host to major projects of state formation, dissolution and recomposition which were characterised by interesting and well-documented experiments in statecraft. Home to some of the most prolonged and vicious forms of settler colonial rule, the sub-region was also the site for the most systematic, institutionalised system of racism, racial domination, and racially-based exclusion known in recent human history. Partly on account of the racial structuring of opportunities integral to the establishment and consolidation of colonial domination, the sub-region witnessed an intense intra-regional flow of labour to the key mining and agro-business centres mainly located in South Africa. The demographic outcomes associated with widespread labour migration and the racially-based systems of labour control established in the colonial mines and plantations had consequences not only for the organisation of state power and rural society but also for that of the family and citizenship. They also established

the foundations for the pattern of urbanisation that developed—and the violence associated with it.

Given the violent history of the establishment of colonial rule and white racial domination in the sub-region, it is not surprising that Southern Africa was also one of the earliest sites of resistance to foreign and minority rule in Africa. The African National Congress (ANC) has the distinction of being the oldest liberation political party in Africa; once adopted, its Freedom Charter fed into the pan-African quest for the liberation of the continent from colonial oppression. The example of the ANC and its Freedom Charter was to inspire virtually all other key nationalist politicians of the sub-region in their campaign for national liberation. Several of these countries, such as Zambia, Botswana, and Malawi, were able to achieve independence earlier than others. For most, however, the struggle for liberation became a long-drawn-out and increasingly violent affair which the East-West Cold War did a great deal to complicate in the light of the strategic geo-political advantages and mineral resources which the sub-region enjoys. Not surprisingly, armed struggle became an important and almost ubiquitous instrument in the quest for the termination of settler colonialism and institutionalised racism. It was to play a major role in delivering liberation first to the former Portuguese colonies of Angola and Mozambique and then to Zimbabwe and Namibia, and, finally, to South Africa, with the inauguration of Nelson Mandela in 1994 as the first president to be elected by South Africans of all races and the first person from among the black majority to rule the country.

The achievement of national liberation and installation of majority rule in Southern Africa was always considered as an important project of the pan-African movement within the continent and in the Diaspora. Not only were the key leaders of the sub-region active participants in the pan-African meetings convened to discuss the future of the continent and the black race from 1945 onwards; the first set of African countries to attain their independence and all the others that subsequently joined them were to offer solidarity and material support to the Southern Africa liberation project. Indeed, the mandate of the Organization of African Unity, at its foundation, consisted in promoting continental unity and liberation. For the latter purpose, the OAU set up a Liberation Committee which was a key player in the struggle for independence and majority rule in Southern Africa. Following the end of apartheid in South Africa and the installation of a black majority government, Southern Africa has been pre-occupied with efforts at democratisation, regional co-operation and integration, and continental renaissance. The processes of democratisation, regionalism and renaissance point to a determination to create more open, inclusive and fair societies built on representative governance, the inventive

energies of the peoples and a shared pan-African community. But it is a project confronted by a host of historical and contemporary difficulties. These states, and South Africa, in particular, must somehow manage the complex equation of race, rights and justice; address the vexed issue of post-liberation xenophobia; reverse the persistent, ever-deepening problems of social exclusion; tackle unresolved problems of historical dispossession and present-day challenges of representation; and come to grips with the structure of labour migration in the sub-region and the unidirectional conquest of new economic terrains in the sub-region by South African capital.

Taken collectively, the chapters in this volume constitute critical reflections on the Southern African component of the pan-African ideal through the entry points offered by the sub-region's struggle for national liberation and the ongoing quest for a democratic renaissance which includes a greater investment of efforts in regional co-operation and integration. The book should thus be seen as part of an ongoing effort by scholars in the region to re-visit the theories, historiographies and experiences of national liberation; and the various ideological currents and contestations which underpinned the struggle for liberation in the period before and after the publication of the Freedom Charter, including the Black Consciousness Movement. Today much research is being devoted to the key actors and factors in the Southern African liberation project; the labour processes that defined the colonial labour economy and the political policies and responses which they elicited; the dynamics of post-liberation statecraft, including the pursuit of truth and reconciliation, affirmative action, black economic empowerment, and various policies of social inclusion; the negotiation of post-liberation identity and citizenship; the place of land in the political economy of national liberation; the rise of post-liberation xenophobic tendencies, the forces and factors that account for them; the problems and prospects of democratic renewal in Southern Africa, including the change and renewal in Southern African civil society; post-liberation economics and economic policy-making as read from the point of view of a national liberation project; the search for regional co-operation and integration; the quest for an African renaissance project and its connections to the pan-African ideal; Southern Africa and the NEPAD initiative; Africa in the foreign policies of the countries of Southern Africa; and Southern Africa's Diaspora linkages. CODESRIA hopes that this collection of essays is able to enrich policy, scholarship and understanding of Southern Africans and their pan-African aspirations.

