Durham E-Theses

'A Kind of Magic' - The Political Marketing of the African National Congress

RANCHOD, RUSHIL,ARVIND

'A kind of magic'

The Political Marketing of the African National Congress

Rushil Ranchod

2012

Thesis submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the Department of Geography, Durham University

ABSTRACT

****

This thesis examines the political marketing of the African National Congress (ANC) around seminal political events between 1955 and 2009, and the relationship between such marketing and its strategic behaviour in the political sphere. Further, the analysis examines the means by which these techniques located the ANC at the centre of liberation and post-independent political narratives and explores and posits a basis for understanding the behaviour of the ANC and leading actors in the political sphere. The thesis explicates the nature of the continuities and discontinuities in the ANC's discursive forms of political exchange and interaction and problematises the theoretical underpinnings of political marketing through the case of the ANC in South Africa. The thesis employs a broad understanding of political marketing to include such activities as publicity, promotion and propaganda. It extends its theoretical and conceptual remit beyond purely scientific and positivist approaches to understanding political persuasion and endows marketing with a strongly 'cultural' aspect. In doing so, greater consideration is afforded to the complex of influences that over time have come to inform the discursive and representational registers of the ANC. Drawing on a range of archival sources obtained during fieldwork in South Africa, this thesis contributes to the study of South African politics by reconceptualising the politics of the ANC through the lens of political marketing. It contributes to the theory of political marketing by using the South African case to address the theoretical blind-spots and challenge its western-centric notion of the political market. Centred on the themes of liberation, political culture and spectacle, the thesis enriches the understanding of each through the case of the ANC. As such, the thesis provides a deeper understanding of the social and cultural bases of political change in a post-colonial and post-apartheid setting.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

****

support that were offered during my time in Durham. I just hope that I was able to offer the same. Lastly, and perhaps most importantly, I thank my parents for the tremendous sacrifices they have made in affording me every opportunity possible. My love and appreciation for this knows no bounds. It's not possible to pay them back materially, but I will endeavour to 'pay it forward'. My life would be all the richer for that.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF FIGURES

****

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

****

ANC: African National Congress

BD: Base Document

BEE: Black Economic Empowerment

BMF: Black Management Forum

CA: Constituent Assembly

CODESA: Convention for a Democratic South Africa

COP: Congress of the People (event)

COPE: Congress of the People (political party)

COSATU: Congress of South African Trade Unions

CST: Colonialism of a Special Type

DEP: Department of Economic Policy

DIP: Department of Information and Publicity

GEAR: Growth, Employment and Redistribution

IFP: Inkatha Freedom Party

MDM: Mass Democratic Movement

MERG: Macro-Economic Research Group

MK: uMkhonto we Sizwe

NDR: National Democratic Revolution

NP: National Party

RDP: Reconstruction and Development Programme

SACP: South African Communist Party

SAHA: South African History Archive

TBVC: Transkei-Bophuthatswana-Venda-Ciskei

TEC: Transitional Executive Council

UDF: United Democratic Front

UCT: University of Cape Town

UWC: University of the Western Cape

WP: White Paper

STATEMENT OF COPYRIGHT

****

The copyright of this thesis rests with the author. No quotation from it should be published without the prior written consent and information derived from it should be acknowledged.

1.

INTRODUCTION

****

"...the ANC name is a kind of magic"[1]

It is a truism that the African National Congress (ANC) has featured centrally in the story of liberation from apartheid rule and the process of making a 'new' and democratic South Africa. This story, replete with its heroes, heroines, trials, tribulations and feats of sacrifice and endeavour, was highly complicit in endowing the ANC with a moral and ethical authority commensurate with a fantasticality in predominant narratives of struggle – 'a kind of magic' as I noted in the epigraph. Such authority and the location of the ANC at the centre of political life in South Africa was inculcated through the articulation of a discursive and representational grammar that emerged in the theatre of anti-apartheid confrontation. Informed and influenced by a constellation of forces and factors, this grammar was carefully constructed and underpinned by a desire, as in other national liberation struggles, to locate the ANC as the 'sole and authentic' representative of the majority of the oppressed. This enquiry problematises the development and inculcation of this grammar through the lens of political marketing. An apposite heuristic, political marketing offers a novel lens through which the strategic behaviour of the ANC may be understood and illuminates the nature of the complex and varied relationships that characterise the political sphere.

The thesis employs a broad understanding of political marketing to include such activities as publicity, promotion and propaganda. It extends its theoretical and conceptual remit beyond purely scientific and positivist approaches to understanding political persuasion and endows marketing with a strongly 'cultural' aspect. In doing so, greater consideration is afforded to the complex of influences that over time have come to inform the discursive and

---

[1] Quoted in Marina Ottaway, 'The ANC: From Symbol to Political Party' in Helen Kitchen and J. Coleman Kitchen (eds.) *South Africa: Twelve Perspectives on the Transition* (Praeger: Westerport, 1994), 30

representational registers of the ANC. Its ability to access these registers functions not only to maintain consistency in its cultural and political self-construction at the centre of the narrative of South African political life, but also locates this narrative within wider network of discursive and representational connections. Berthing politics within this rich narrative tapestry allows for a recasting of the relationships of power and influence that circulate through the political market and accentuates the interactive and dialogic nature of these relationships and the actors that inform them. In this way, new conceptions of liberation history and the unfolding post-apartheid epoch may be obtained through emphasising the ANC's conscious acknowledgement of marketing and propaganda in the prosecution of the struggle. Indeed, and as I demonstrate further in the chapters that follow, the significance accorded by the ANC to the discursive and representational battle for the veritable 'hearts and minds' of the South African polity highlights the operation of a distinct marketing imperative in its political strategy. To understand the importance and richness of the ANC's political marketing requires a reflection on the long and variegated influences that informed its contours during the protracted struggle against apartheid. In the democratic period, the assumption of governmental power and the making of a 'symbolic' South African state re-focused its marketing capacities into new political arenas. Indeed, policy-making became a key site of symbolic statecraft despite its drier, bureaucratic register.

The focus on political marketing here allows for an assessment of the continuities in the oeuvres, tenors and scope of the ANC's persuasion landscape to be accentuated and allows for a greater conception of the cultural construction and location of the ANC within the body politic. More than that, examination of the ANC's political marketing provides an apt means through which organisational change and political culture may be understood. A wide and informative documentation of the ANC exists and it is not my aim to undertake a survey of the history of the ANC. However, to understand the threads that inform its political marketing, a brief exegesis is required.

LOCATING THE ANC: A POLITICAL MARKETING APPROACH

From the founding in 1912 of its earlier incarnation, the South African Native National Congress (SANNC), the ideological and moral orientation of the ANC pivoted on the need to "defend and advance African civil and political rights" against colonial discrimination and

subjugation.[2] With a leadership drawn from the African petite-bourgeoisie, such 'defence and advance' would occur through the lobbying of colonial authorities by recourse to "peaceful propaganda" and then "passive action."[3] The lack of success of such an approach against a powerful and uncompromising authority was offset by the coalescence of Africanist and Communist influences within the ANC from the 1920s.[4] The effect of this would be central to the representational and discursive practises of the ANC to the present day.

However, the failure of this approach and the increasing oppression upon the majority populace, occasioned by the 1950s a more confrontational approach by the ANC. The sprouting of regional, ethnic and class organisations permitted, by this time, a "convergence of energies" that culminated in the Congress Alliance, "a multi-racial, ideologically heterodox and regionally representative confederation of extra-parliamentary opposition movements."[5] Inspired to greater protest and dissent through civic mobilisation and public demonstration, the decision to hold the Congress of the People in 1955 built on the momentum of earlier campaigns of defiance. Within the teleology of struggle, the Congress of the People and the resulting Freedom Charter performed a seminal moment that endowed the overall narrative of liberation from apartheid rule with sanctity and venerability. As such, its marketing function for the ANC would prove important especially in the latter phases of the struggle as the ANC attempted to re-assert its presence inside South Africa. Indeed, Dubow rightly noted that the "highly visible (though sometimes overly romanticised) spectacles of cultural and political resistance to the entrenchment of apartheid bulk large in the political memory of the 1950s."[6] Despite this, the Charter also highlighted important ideological strains within the ANC, and its predominance as the inclusive ethical touchstone for a liberated South Africa stood in counterpoint to more Africanist tendencies within the movement, eventually culminating in the breakaway and formation of the Pan-Africanist Congress.[7]

The Congress of the People, while representing a watershed moment in liberation teleology, also highlighted the increasingly repressive measures of the apartheid state and the closing of

---

[2] Saul Dubow, *The African National Congress*(Johannesburg: Jonathan Ball Publishers, 2000), 1. Also William Gumede, *Thabo Mbeki and the Battle for the Soul of the ANC*, (Cape Town: Zebra Press, 2005), 4
[3] Quoted in Heidi Holland, *The Struggle: A History of the African National Congress* (London: Grafton Books, 1989), 40
[4] Dubow, 15
[5] Dubow, 37-38
[6] Dubow, 47
[7] Dubow, 62-64; Holland, 100-126

any remaining public space for dissent. The failure of the state to prosecute Congress Alliance leaders on charges of treason, the trial itself a significant marketing exercise, was offset by the Sharpeville massacre in 1960. Amidst brutal physical and juridical repression, the ANC and other liberation organisations were banned and forced underground. Organisationally, these moves served to fracture an already dissonant ANC.[8] Banning and liberation reoriented the struggle which would now be prosecuted through popular mobilisation; the establishment of a strong underground presence within South Africa; armed struggle; and international diplomatic and popular pressure. In each of these, marketing became imperative. While the thesis does not examine explicitly the international marketing efforts of the ANC through its diplomatic overtures, it nevertheless notes the importance and consideration accorded to the marketing of the ANC both within South Africa and abroad.

Despite its banning, Raymond Suttner, in challenging widespread contentions that the ANC did not have presence inside South Africa from the early 1960s until the Soweto uprisings in 1976, has recently demonstrated the forms of publicity, advertising and marketing that were undertaken within South Africa during this period.[9] In consonance with his view, other commentators have also noted the highly symbolic nature of this period of struggle. Indeed, from the "armed propaganda" campaigns undertaken by the ANC's armed wing, Mkhonto we Sizwe (MK), against the symbols of the apartheid edifice, there was also from the early 1970s a recognition that "[p]olitical propaganda [...] was regarded as essential to keep alive the ANC's name and reputation, to attract guerrilla recruits and to sway the black civilian population to lend active support to guerrilla fighters."[10] Political marketing was effected through radio broadcasts, songs, graffiti, public expression at funerals, through visual and cultural artefacts, and leaflets and posters. A highly representational struggle was being prosecuted.

The Soweto uprisings provided a fillip to the mobilisation and popularisation efforts of the struggle. Indeed, as Tom Lodge has noted, the "openness" in forms of resistance that 'Soweto' permitted,

---

[8] Nigel Worden, *The Making of Modern South Africa: Conquest, Segregation and Apartheid* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 1994), 102-103

[9] Raymond Suttner, *The ANC Underground in South Africa: A Social and Historical Study* (Auckland Park: Jacana Media, 2008)

[10] Thomas G. Karis and Gail M. Gerhart, *From Protest to Challenge: A Documentary History of African Politics in South Africa, 1882-1990* Volume 5: Nadir and Resurgence, 1964-1979 (Pretoria: UNISA Press, 1997), 50

[...] was reflected in the increasingly frequent appearance in the black press of political biographies and memoires of the 1950s. A new, nationalist genre of poetic and dramatic writing provided a popular medium for this process of historical rediscovery.[11]

Moreover, MK camps became important sites of political education in the ANC tradition and the Freedom Charter the centrepiece of that education. Similarly, Robben Island, despite the constrictions of prison life, played an important role in the marketing of the ANC to prisoners who were then endowed to popularise and advertise the movement upon release.[12] Thus, an intricate network of political communication developed that sought to publicise the ANC brand and that was rendered open to the proliferation of myths and fables about the movement.

The emergence of the popular protest and civic movements in the early 1980s under the United Democratic Front (UDF) provided a strong popular impetus and content to anti-apartheid campaigns. Indeed, underpinning this popular content were the "beliefs and emotions of 'ordinary people'" thus imbuing performances of dissent, such as political rallies, with greater legitimacy and authority.[13] The political theatre of South Africa in popular revolution provided an apposite stage in which the ANC could assert its hegemony on struggle forces. Symbolically, the ANC's manoeuvring inside South Africa was fronted by invocations of the Freedom Charter as well as the "deliberate decision to profile Nelson Mandela as the representative personality" of the "struggle for the release of political prisoners."[14] The personalisation of the struggle and the 'icon-ising' of the brand of Nelson Mandela endowed the ANC with an ability to exert its hegemony over the quest for political liberation. Indeed, through these forms of "symbolic identification", together with its claim that the "'ANC is the nation'", the movement not only obtained political centrality but also an acutely cultural presence in South Africa.[15] Indeed, in constituting 'the nation', the ANC was able to exercise legitimate claims on history, heritage, memory, personalities and tradition in

---

[11] Tom Lodge, 'Rebellion: The Turning of the Tide' in Tom Lodge and Bill Nasson, *All, Here and Now: Black Politics in South Africa in the 1980s* (Cape Town: David Philip Publishers, 1991), 41

[12] See Suttner, *The ANC Underground in South Africa: A Social and Historical Study*; also Fran Buntman, *Robben Island and Prisoner Resistance to Apartheid* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2003) esp. 61-193

[13] Lodge, 'Rebellion: The Turning of the Tide', 25

[14] News24, 'Mbeki Letter to the ANC' Available online: http://www.news24.com/MyNews24/YourStory/Mbeki-letter-to-the-ANC-20081031 (accessed 31 October 2008)

[15] Suttner, *The ANC Underground in South Africa: A Social and Historical Study*, 153

the exercise of its power. The ANC's exiled movement was deeply complicit in directing this process. Despite its distance from South Africa, and the concomitant organisational strains with other sections of the movement, Suttner notes of the 1980s that the exiled leadership,

> [...] understood, sometimes better than the UDF [...] the language of the various constituencies, language that would persuade them to undertake certain tasks.[16]

This ability of the exiled movement, as Tom Lodge has noted in his seminal analyses of this formation of the ANC, to utilise language to pacify different constituencies and corral support from conflicting interests highlights not only its diplomatic *nous* but also the acknowledgement of the deeply political environment and contending forces that the ANC would need to negotiate when it assumed power.[17] As I demonstrate subsequently in this thesis, this ability to use language to pacify contending interests characterised the ANC's approaches to economic policy-making from the 1980s and especially over the politically fraught contest over the Growth, Employment and Redistribution (GEAR) policy in the mid-1990s.

The release of Nelson Mandela in early 1990 and the unbanning of the ANC and other allied organisations set in motion a process of negotiations for the transition to a multi-racial democracy.[18] The euphoria of the release and unbanning belied a fractious organisational reality and a sense of 'betrayal' by more militant elements of the ANC as a negotiated route to power superseded an insurrectionary one. Moreover, as the negotiations between nationalist regime, ANC and other parties were undertaken, the need to give ideological content to a democratic South African state became apparent. Expediently, the use of the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP), sold as the incarnation and extension of the Freedom Charter, provided the ANC with a product to generate electoral support. Developed in the union movement, the RDP not only fostered links with important constituencies, but also confirmed the ANC's historical and rhetorical tendency for a people-centred development agenda for a democratic South Africa. While the 1994 election stands as a monument to the political liberation of South Africa, the second and more protracted

---

[16] Suttner, *The ANC Underground in South Africa: A Social and Historical Study*, 163
[17] Tom Lodge, 'State of Exile: The African National Congress of South Africa, 1976-1986' in Philip Frankel, Noam Pines and Mark Swilling (eds.) *State, Resistance and Change in South Africa* (London: Croom Helm Publishers, 1988) 246. See also Stephen Ellis, 'The ANC in Exile' *African Affairs*, 90 (1991), 439-447.
[18] For a good synopsis of the ANC in the early 1990s, see Tom Lodge, 'The African National Congress in the 1990s' in Glenn Moss and Ingrid Obery (eds.) *South African Review 6: From 'Red October' to CODESA* (Johannesburg: Ravan Press, 1992), 44-77

economic liberation would only then commence. The shift towards a neoliberal economic policy by the ANC, two years after assuming power, is instructive in understanding the symbolic bases of creation of the 'new' South African state. A modernising imperative, conjured by then vice-President, and later President, Thabo Mbeki and strongly supported by Nelson Mandela, GEAR became a site of intense struggle for much of the ANC's first decade of governing. Aiming to market 'brand ANC' as a modern, rational and pragmatic organisation that aimed to establish sovereign financial stability and security, GEAR's purport as the means to realise the RDP's ends was lost in the highly divisive and fractious relations that developed between the ANC and its alliance partners, the South African Communist Party (SACP) and the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU). The animosities raised over the economic policy spoke broadly to fissures in the political culture of the movement as the ANC began to increasingly centralise its operations and dilute its mass orientations.

The record of the first decade of democracy was mixed, and while the project of re-making of the South African state as a modern, African and advanced construction proceeded, underpinned by a state-led development drive from the mid-2000s, it was underpinned by increasing economic marginality, inequality and social malaise. The firing of Jacob Zuma from the deputy-presidency of the Republic unleashed these burgeoning tensions and "plunged the [ANC] into one if the worst crises of its history."[19] As those forces coalesced around the figure of Zuma, greater impetus was given to his claims to the Presidency of the ANC. Spearheaded by a marginalised SACP and COSATU, a brutal battle ensued. The campaign was remarkable, not only for the politics that underlay it, but also for its inculcation, even entrenchment, of spectacle at the centre of the South African political sphere. Ensconced in his Zulu identity, Zuma marketed himself as a traditionalist while commensurately invoking the history of the struggle through performances of liberation era songs in mass gatherings. Obtaining widespread and popular appeal within the ANC, Zuma successfully secured the ANC Presidency and as such, would head the party's campaign in the 2009 national general election. That campaign, composed of numerous acts of spectacle, was a well-choreographed enactment of the power of ANC, and its claims to heritage, memory, tradition, personality and popular input aimed to realign the ANC with its historic mission as contained in the Freedom Charter after the aberrational Mbeki years. Indeed, the

---

[19] Roger Southall quoted in Greg Cuthbertson, 'South Africa's Democracy: from celebration to crisis', *African Identities* 6,3 (2008) 296

campaign undertook a marketing offensive that not only sought to re-establish the brand at the centre of South African political life, but also the continued progress to the realisation of a 'a better life for all' – the governing vision of the ANC since the 1994 election.

While such a chronology provides an appropriate interpretive lens through which to view South African politics, it nevertheless obscures the rich and varied operation of the discursive and representational grammars that flow through time and through the organisation. As will be rendered clear in the chapters which follow, the ANC was able to maintain a sharp consistency in its messaging despite the uneven topography of its organisational presence inside South Africa, across Africa and indeed globally. As such, this study of its political marketing provides important insights into the organisational operation of the ANC during both the apartheid and post-apartheid periods, in both its liberation movement and political party identities. Nevertheless, while the analysis in this thesis aims to locate the ANC within a complex of forces that characterised the political sphere, it is limited and only presents a partial and fragmented picture of the ANC's political marketing over time. Moreover, a level of romanticism greets a study of this nature. Political marketing is highly complicit in fomenting this romanticism and this study is tasked with understanding how this romanticism came to be entrenched in popular consciousness and the politics that underpinned it. The ANC is not unique in this endeavour and displays tendencies that have characterised national liberation movements, particularly in Southern Africa. Indeed, the revolutionary theatres of anti-colonial struggle were deeply informed by the operation and circulation of a rich discursive and representational culture. Like these fraternal organisations, the ANC on assuming power has utilised memory, history and tradition to legitimate its claims to an authority to rule. Writing in the context of Namibia, but with particular resonance to South Africa, Henning Melber has argued that upon assuming power, liberation movements reorganised themselves as political parties where their,

> […] legitimacy to rule stemmed from their emergence from the decolonisation process […] The result is a new ruling political elite operating from commanding heights shaped in and based upon the particular context of post-Apartheid societies by selective narratives and memories related to the war(s) of liberation and hence

constructing or inventing new traditions to establish an exclusive postcolonial legitimacy under the sole authority of one particular agency of social forces.[20]

Thus, considerations of the liberation movement-political party identity interplay are premised on a negative reading of post-liberation politics, in which the anti-democratic exigencies and cultures of anti-colonial struggle cohere on the newly formed national political party. Moreover, scholars have noted that the assumption of power by these movements has come to "signal the defeat of popular movements."[21] While a conclusive and highly authoritative body of scholarship exists on the closing of political space and the ascendancy of elite formations, and to which in specific instances the South African case conforms, a political marketing approach provides an aperture into understanding the democratic impulse and diffusions of power within the political realm given the constellation of forces and the need to inculcate a sense of trust, responsibility and confidence in the ruling party's ability to govern. Despite the ANC's continued dominance since 1994, elections constitute important sites of competition especially at local and regional levels. The centrality ascribed to political marketing in the instance of election campaigns by the ANC highlights such competitiveness and the continuance of a democratic ethos through its electioneering. Moreover, while criticism of political marketing would hold that it is bereft of meaning and leads to a superficial politics, such a view downplays the highly critical faculty of the electorate and the power that resides within it to make electoral choices.

<div align="center">

FOCUS

</div>

In light of these theoretical and empirical contexts, this thesis aims to:

1. Analyse the techniques of political marketing employed by the ANC between 1955 and 2009

2. Examine the relationship between the use of the various marketing techniques employed and the strategic behaviour of the ANC around seminal political events

3. Examine the means by which these techniques and behaviours located the ANC at the centre of liberation and post-independent political narratives

---

[20] Henning Melber, *Liberation Movements as Governments: Southern African Experiences – with Special Reference to SWAPO and the Post-Colonial Political Culture in Namibia*, Paper presented to the Sociology Seminar, University of Johannesburg, August, 2005, 3

[21] Raymond Suttner, 'Transformation of Political Parties in Africa Today', *Transformation*, 55 (2004), 7. See also, Mahmood Mamdani, 'State and Civil Society in Contemporary Africa: Reconceptualising the Birth of State Nationalism and the Defeat of Popular Movements' *Africa Development* 15, 3-4 (1990), 47-70

4. Explore and posit a basis for understanding the behaviour of the ANC and leading actors in the South Africa political sphere

5. Explicate the nature of the continuities and discontinuities in the ANC's discursive forms of political exchange and interaction pre- and post-1994

6. Problematise the theoretical underpinnings of political marketing through the case of South Africa

Given this focus, the thesis will:

1. Contribute to the study of South African politics by reconceptualising the politics of the ANC through the lens of political marketing

2. Contribute to the theory of political marketing by using the South African case to address the theoretical blindspots and challenge its western-centric notion of the political market

3. Offer a richer understanding of the themes of liberation, political culture, and spectacle in South African politics

4. Provide a deeper understanding of the social and cultural bases of political change in a post-colonial and post-apartheid setting

ON METHODOLOGY

In pursuance of the aims and objectives noted above, two key methods of enquiry were utilised in the present study. First, and given the temporal scope of this examination, recourse to a large range of archival and documentary sources provided the basis for a rich and textured understanding of the political marketing activity of the ANC over time. In addition, these primary and secondary sources provide an important insight into the internal and strategic processes that informed the discursive and representational posturing of the ANC. Second, while the bulk of the analysis is premised on the development of such posturing over time, the final chapter of the study provides an ethnographic rendering of the recent 2009 national general election campaign. The experience of 'living through' this campaign provided the opportunity for 'first-hand' observations and an intimate insight into the marketing activities of the ANC. Locating myself within the 'theatre of the campaign', both as participant and observer, raised critical questions on my status and standpoint as a researcher.

The discussion which follows unpacks the methods utilised in this thesis and problematises the ethical constraints I negotiated in the course of this research. Before such discussion however, it is important to acknowledge the epistemological strictures that inform the present study, and to disclaim any overt generalities that may be inferred from the analysis below. The focus on particular 'moments' within the telos of the creation of a democratic South Africa renders clear how "meaning is constituted in particular situations" and not as Shurmer-Smith has argued, to "decipher whole cultures."[22] Thus, the examination of the continuity and discontinuity in those meanings over time (effected in the present study through political marketing), and their utilisation in specific moments, is instructive in understanding the dynamism, variability and responsiveness of the ANC's political marketing in differing political, social and economic milieus. In this way, and as the examination in the chapters which follow will render clear, a deeper understanding of the social and cultural bases of political change in a post-colonial and post-apartheid setting may be obtained.

A terminological note is necessary. As with other studies on South Africa, I adhere to convention in the classification of race groups and use the same apartheid-era markers of race in this study. Moreover, regarding the identities of ANC, I characterise it as both a 'movement' and a 'party' and use these terms as the context of the discussion necessitates. While discussion on organisational identity issues are raised at various points in the thesis, and despite the ANC's abidance to its liberation movement incarnation, it also functions within a wider political environment in which it also performs as a political party.

'I breathed in their dust': [23] *The Archives*

Four archives were consulted at different sites in South Africa, namely the ANC archive at the University of Fort Hare (Alice)[24]; the Mayibuye archive at the University of the Western Cape (Cape Town); the South African History Archive (Johannesburg) and the African Studies Library at the University of Cape Town (Cape Town). Rich in their assortment of

---

[22] Pamela Shurmer-Smith, 'Methods and methodology' in Pamela Shurmer-Smith (ed.) *Doing Cultural Geography* (London: SAGE Publications Ltd, 2002), 97

[23] Jules Michelet quoted in Carolyn Steedman, ''Something She Called a Fever'": Michelet, Derrida, and Dust (Or, in the Archives with Michelet and Derrida) in Francis X. Blouin and William G. Rosenberg (eds.) *Archives, Documentation and Institutions of Social Memory: Essays from the Sawyer Seminar* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2007) 4

[24] It should be noted that the archive – the Liberation Archive – functions as the central archive for the Pan Africanist Congress and the Black Consciousness Movement as well.

materials, the holdings in each allow for a documentary imbrications of ANC activity in the anti-apartheid struggle and transition period to be obtained.[25]

Entering the archive for the first time as a researcher, I was struck by the unassuming nature of each. Generally, located in the basements of university 'main' libraries, they were spatially relegated from the centre of activity and knowledge storage – dim, small spaces, quiet and reflective, and populated by few people.[26] Such relegation and the atmosphere which obtains serves also to endow the archive with a sanctity, solemnity and seriousness – an escape from the bustle of knowledge accumulation and production undertaken in the spaces 'above'.

Consulting each of the four archives was based on my assessment of their utility to provide the 'fullest' picture possible of the political marketing of the ANC. Such assessment was made during a four month pilot study to South Africa between June and October 2008. While overall, each of the archives contains material from the struggle against apartheid, their holdings nevertheless accent different organisations and aspects of that struggle. A brief overview of the archives is necessary here. The liberalisation of political space in South Africa in 1990 set in motion a process of return to South Africa of organisations, people and importantly, the documents of the exile period. The decision to locate the official ANC archives at the University of Fort Hare was both symbolic and political.[27] Given its history as a premier site for black higher education, and also that many African liberation leaders had trained there, it was deemed the "natural home" for the archive.[28] Indeed, the importance of the archive was expressed clearly by Nelson Mandela who noted,

---

[25] In the strictest sense, the African Studies Library Ephemera collection does not constitute an archive. However, given the nature of the small collection and the similarity of the materials that it shares from the other 'formal' archives, I have classified this ephemera collection as part of archival research.

[26] This is most apparent at the University of Fort Hare and the University of the Western Cape, although for the latter, the reading room is located as such. The entire archive, accessed separately from the main library entrance provides a vibrant introduction to the materials of the archive. The reading room of the South African History Archive at the University of the Witwatersrand adjoins the more magisterial William Cullen Library. Despite this location, it is a cramped (but friendly) space, time worn and reminiscent of a bygone era. The collection of the material at the African Studies Library at the University of Cape Town is uncatalogued, and does not constitute a formal archive. It is a varied collection of material to which I was given access.

[27] Brown Bavusile Maaba, 'Liberation Archives in South Africa: An Overview' in Chris Saunders (ed.) *Documenting Liberation Struggles in Southern Africa* Selected papers from the Nordic Africa Documentation Project Workshop, Pretoria, 26-27 November 2009. As early as 1982, the importance of archiving exile documents was recognised by the movement. While the importance of archives was acknowledged, Maaba noted that the actual process was not very successful, see Maaba, 67

[28] Brian Williams and William K. Wallach, 'Documenting South Africa's Liberation Movements: Engaging the Archives at the University of Fort Hare' in Francis X. Blouin and William G. Rosenberg (eds.) *Archives, Documentation and Institutions of Social Memory: Essays from the Sawyer Seminar* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2007), 322. On the idea of For Hare being the 'natural home' for the archive, see a sppech given at its official opening by Thabo Mbeki, African National Congress, 'Speech by Mr. TM Mbeki, Deputy

These archives are the single most important record of the ANC, especially in the period after its banning in 1960. They are instrumental in documenting the untold history of South Africa [...] The organisation further recognises that the archival material contains the seeds of our new democratic order. A study of the [ANC] comprises an intrinsic part of our society, the transition we have experienced and what the future may hold. The ANC archives provide a window into this significant period of our country and fill the vacuum in historical continuity.[29]

Conceiving of the importance of the archive as such, is important for locating it within debates on power, history and the process of remembering. I will return to this discussion below. In constituting the 'single most important record of the ANC' as Mandela opined, the archive at Fort Hare holds material from the exiled missions that were spread across the continents[30], and importantly also, records from ANC President's Office during the period of Oliver Tambo and Nelson Mandela's leadership.[31] In addition, the archive holds important collections from the Lusaka and London missions. As the key loci of the exiled movement, these missions' records were also deposited by activists and exiles at the Mayibuye Archive at the University of the Western Cape. Formed through deposit of archival holdings from the London-based International Defence Aid Fund (IDAF), Robben Island materials, and individual and personal collections, the archive provides a wealth of documentation on the struggle against apartheid. It functions too as a repository for a large photographic, sound, film and oral history collection, as well as a poster and banner collection. The personal papers and collections of struggle veterans provided an important collection of materials of external missions, internally-based civil society groupings and clippings from newspapers, periodicals and interviews of the individual activists.

The South African History Archive (SAHA) at the University of the Witwatersrand acts as an important repository for the internal movement and struggle documentation. This archive houses ANC material, as well as the personal collections and civil society organisations' papers, most notably, those of the UDF and its affiliated community organisations. A large

---

President, at the Opening of the ANC Archives, University of Fort Hare, 17 March 1996, Available online: http://www.info.gov.za/speeches/1996/960624_5.htm (accessed 6 July 2011)

[29] Nelson Mandela quoted in Williams and Wallach, 322

[30] Consulted material includes those from the United Kingdom and Ireland, Dar es Salaam, New York, Sweden and the Solomon Mahlangu Freedom College. Other missions include Maputo, Tokyo, Sydney, Harare, Dakar, Washington DC, Paris, Rome, Gaborone, New Delhi, Brussels and Windhoek. For more information on these, see, T.J Stapleton and M. Maamoe, 'An Overview of the African National Congress Archives at the University of Fort Hare' *History in Africa*, 25 (1998) 413-422

[31] These include a collection of Oliver Tambo's papers.

ANC and UDF poster collection is also available. SAHA also holds an important store of interview transcripts and tape recordings made with leading members of the struggle movement. Useful for the breadth of topics covered in these interviews, these transcripts provided a strong account of personal recollections and experiences of the period of struggle.[32] Finally, the African Studies Library at the University of Cape Town, while holding a significant collection of secondary material related to the struggle, does have a small and uncatalogued ephemera collection. Its film and video collection is an excellent resource for television interviews given by activists and members of the ANC leadership as well as containing a number of important films and documentaries on the anti-apartheid struggle.

While there was an overlap in material, especially the London and Lusaka files at the University of Fort Hare, Mayibuye and SAHA, the materials consulted during a second and longer period of field between January and October 2009 produced an extremely rich collection of primary documentation that informed the present analysis. Despite the richness of collected materials and the vastness of the archives, the researcher is nevertheless confronted by only a partial rendering of the contours, recollections, textures and nuances as housed in the archives.

Archives are acutely political sites where power and knowledge intersect and are "crystallised within [its] material and metaphorical spaces."[33] Indeed, as Foucault has posited, "[the] archive is first the law of what can be said, the system that governs the appearance of statements as unique events."[34] In noting Foucault's lack of clarity in "who the makers of those 'laws'" are, Cheryl McEwan highlights an elision in Foucault's conception of power and the archive. The present study, in focusing on the ANC, locates this power within an elite political formation that dominated discourses resistance politics in South Africa during the apartheid period. But this political formation, despite its elite underpinnings, was nevertheless occluded from 'official' political life by the laws of apartheid, much like the mass of disenfranchised, marginalised and subjugated people that it represented. Thus, the dominance it was purported to exert in one arena was undercut by its *actual* political strength and operation in another. Recognition of this shifting power differential is important in

---

[32] The central theme of these interviews is that of non-racialism, but they offer important insights too into various aspects of the struggle. The transcripts related to a book by Julie Frederikse on this theme entitled, 'The Unbreakable Thread: Non-Racialism in South Africa (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1990). The list of interviewees is impressive and many have held key positions in government since 1994.
[33] Cheryl McEwan, 'Building a Postcolonial Archive? Gender, Collective Memory and Citizenship in Post-Apartheid South Africa' *Journal of Southern African Studies* 29,3 (2003) 744
[34] Michel Foucault, *Archaeology of Knowledge* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2002), 145

understanding the claims to ownership, authenticity and validity on the past, while also acknowledging the strength and influence on the ANC, now as the dominant 'official' political formation, to "structure (or 'write') what the future will be like" through "assembling" the archive and "providing access" to it.[35] That the archives are highly political sites is evidenced further by the partiality of the material which it stores. Indeed, given the 'sanitising' of the documents by the ANC before their deposition in the archive permits a stylised rendering of the ANC's existence and concomitantly, endows the ANC with an ability to shape history and memory.[36]

These ideas are given greater resonance when consideration is given to an archive's function in fomenting a national identity. In an address at the opening of the Fort Hare archive, Thabo Mbeki was keen to assert that the archive "speaks in another language" which,

> [...] is the language of reinforcement of the pride and identity of the formerly oppressed and despised, because in it will be found much which says that, after all, we were never conquered.[37]

Indeed, in defying censorship and banning laws the ANC, its activists, supporters, affiliated and non-affiliated organisations and more were implicated in another struggle in which, *pace* Mandela above, writing and documenting various allowed for the resistance movements to control the production of history.[38] As such, Mbeki noted further that,

> The archive is a school both for the philosophers and the historians as well as the agitators and the activists, all of whom are linked one to another by virtue of their common commitment to the full emancipation of all human beings [...] The ANC archive, like the ANC itself, will be such a living reality.[39]

Indeed, and at times, the material being examined function to offer a direct link back to an unfamiliar past. Revealing the 'everydayness' of the struggle against apartheid the collected materials documented personal struggles of deprivation, frustration, anxiety, excitement, coordination, planning, homesickness, (in-)competence and more. In addition, and

---

[35] Blouin and Rosenberg, 2
[36] Maaba, 69
[37] African National Congress, 'Speech by Mr. TM Mbeki, Deputy President, at the Opening of the ANC Archives, University of Fort Hare
[38] Williams and Wallach, 324-325
[39] African National Congress, 'Speech by Mr. TM Mbeki, Deputy President, at the Opening of the ANC Archives, University of Fort Hare'

importantly for the present purposes, this 'everydayness' also provided an insight into the daily operations of the organisation itself. Strategy documents, minutes of meetings, diaries and the like allowed for a novel conception of the strategic thinking and decision-making processes of the ANC. In lifting the mask of the experience of the struggle, the archive functioned, as Blouin and Rosenberg have noted, as "a point of intersection between the actual and the imagined, lived experience and its remembered (or forgotten) image."[40]

Acknowledging this, it is further incumbent upon the archival researcher to negotiate any incipient bias that may emerge given the 'venerability' of the documents that the archive holds. As acutely political sites, the researcher is nevertheless confronted with twin "aims: [a]t one extreme to learn and understand what actually happened; at the other, partisan zeal to fabricate a past that suits present needs."[41] In my experience, engaging in archive research functioned to colour any objectivity in two clear senses. Firstly, in accessing an archive, one is exposed to a range of documentation that detail, first-hand, the lived, ordinary and everyday experiences of those who struggled against apartheid. While my analytical eye was focused on the political marketing of the ANC, I was distracted occasionally by various documents – testimonies, diagrams, poems, photographs, and even redundant lists of house-arrested persons some of whom I was familiar with – that located the ANC, for me, in the 'personal'. I will discuss this in more detail below. The second related to the "veneration" of the documentation with which I dealt.[42] Seeing the handwritten notations on a document by Nelson Mandela, a memorandum by Thabo Mbeki or even the scribbled notebook of an unnamed Robben Island prisoner imbued the document with a sanctity that had not previously been experienced. In 'touching history, and perhaps 'breathing in its dust', I had a sense of being transported back to a frenetic ANC President's office in a transitioning South Africa; a more languid and sparse room in the exiled headquarters on the outskirts of Lusaka; or 'feverish' note-taking in a prison cell. This ability to be 'transported' back left me with needing to negotiate my position in relation to these documents – between my personal connection to the stories that they told and the information that they held while

---

[40] Francis X. Blouin and William G. Rosenberg, 'Archives and Archiving' in Francis X. Blouin and William G. Rosenberg (eds.) *Archives, Documentation and Institutions of Social Memory: Essays from the Sawyer Seminar* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2007), 1

[41] David Lowenthal, 'Archives, Heritage and History' in Francis X. Blouin and William G. Rosenberg (eds.) *Archives, Documentation and Institutions of Social Memory: Essays from the Sawyer Seminar* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2007), 193

[42] On the idea of 'veneration' see, James O'Toole, 'Between Veneration and Loathing: Loving and Hating Documents' in Francis X. Blouin and William G. Rosenberg (eds.) *Archives, Documentation and Institutions of Social Memory: Essays from the Sawyer Seminar* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2007), 44

simultaneously attempting to maintain a critical distance from them so that I may, myself, tell an objective story. I will return to these themes below.

My approach to collecting materials was to cast my net as widely as possible and in so doing I obtained a sizeable collection of materials – a personal archive of sorts – that would inform the content of the thesis. While the archives consulted are well-organised, catalogued and amenable for research, their extent and vastness does place considerable pressures on the researcher's time. The nature of the struggle against apartheid, wherein there was an overlap in the roles undertaken by individuals and organisations, is reflected in the structure of the archive. Thus, to obtain a richer understanding of the marketing activities of the ANC, it was necessary not only to focus on the named ANC collections, but also on personal activist collections wherein much useful information was contained. The many roles that these activists played, and their inter- and intra-organisational membership and duties, provided a more holistic understanding of the political marketing activities of the ANC. Moreover, it was necessary to examine the representational activities of organisations affiliated to the ANC to obtain a more nuanced picture of the proliferation its marketing activities in the public sphere. At Fort Hare, SAHA and UCT, I was able to photocopy documents which were then appropriately referenced. Staff members at the Mayibuye archive undertook the photocopying of material, and at times did not reference the material copied. Despite cataloguing the material according to theme and chronologically, I noticed the omission of sufficient referencing of this archived material immediately prior to returning to the UK. Obtaining the missing references at that stage proved too difficult given the constraints on my time. Moreover, the lack of dating of documents at times proved difficult. Where possible, certain clues in the text (such as events, meetings, references to other dates) allowed for a rough dating to occur. Compact disc copies of sound and video recordings were also obtained, as were relevant copies of posters and banners. While copies of speeches of ANC leaders and key documents were obtained in the archive, the ANC's website has also archived these materials. In encouraging greater access to these materials, I have preferred to use the website reference in the text below.

Archives, as I have noted, play an important role in process of nation-building and the development of a national culture. It is important, however, to note the archived ANC materials are not part of the national state archives, but are rather located 'off-centre' at universities around the country. Most cogently, the locus of the struggle documentation is placed at two former 'black' universities both deeply implicated in the struggle against

apartheid.[43] In giving a home to the archives at these locations, and at Fort Hare specifically, the ANC attempted to "memorialise the liberation struggle and create a monument to those who participated in the conflict."[44] As such, while it is acknowledged that the archive contributes to the making of a South African nation, it is from this decentred position that such 'making' occurs. The benefit of this decentring lies in its 'insulating-effect' wherein the ANC-as-government is separated from the ANC-as-movement and the latter is absolved from any of the failings, shortcomings or criticism of the former. Moreover, insulating the ANC-as-movement permits the dominant relations of power that inform memory, history and remembering to be preserved and sanctified. In this way, a 'clean', even unimpeachable, history and historiography may be effected.

More on Documents

The documentary evidence informing this study is, as I have noted, partial and fragmented given the contested nature of archival collections. More than that, it should be remembered that the actual document itself becomes an important site of erasure, hyperbole, 'mis-truthfulness' and more. As such, a "questioning of the document" is necessary for as Foucault has posited, one needs to enquire whether it is "telling the truth, and by what right they could claim to be doing so, whether they were sincere or deliberately misleading, well-informed or ignorant, authentic or tampered with."[45] The importance of this critical enquiry, he notes, relates to the means by which the "past" was "reconstituted," for the "document was always treated as the language of a voice since reduced to silence, its fragile, but possibly decipherable trace."[46] However, the predominance of a hegemonic narrative of the struggle against apartheid, and the ANC's role in that struggle, produces a reflexive turn in which that narrative or history was "trying to define within the documentary material itself unities, totalities, series, relations." [47] In engaging with the documents of struggle and post-struggle, such a critical awareness was imperative given my aim of interrogating the *politics* that underscored predominant discursive and representational narratives that informed the ANC's political marketing.

---

[43] However, I do acknowledge that other former 'white' universities do hold significant collections of 'struggle' related material be they personal papers, trade union documents, etc.
[44] Williams and Wallach, 322
[45] Foucault, 7
[46] Foucault, 7
[47] Foucault, 7

While I have attempted to berth documents in their wider social and political context, I also attempted to use them to "construct" that context.[48] Again, however, given the "clandestine nature of some of the ANC's activities as a revolutionary organisation" such construction can only be partial.[49] Moreover, context again plays an important role in more contemporary documentary capture. Considering the clandestine nature of the negotiations around South Africa's shift to neoliberal economic policy, a clear and open record of those negotiations is not obtainable. Similarly, given the highly competitive nature of election campaigns, I was unable to obtain information on the ANC's strategic orientations to the campaign given the sensitivity of their content.

The emphasis on the 'textual' in this study permits an important, though admittedly inconclusive, understanding of the "social context" in which documents are produced. Indeed, and as evidenced in the discussion below, the reliance on a documentary rendering of the ANC's political marketing, and particularly the continuities and discontinuities in its strategies of representation, provide a rich account of the means, motivations, ideas and strategies by which the ANC undertook to create meaning and "encode" these within a particular discursive and representational apparatus.[50] Through such encoding (and the concomitant process of decoding), an understanding of the "wider ideologies in society" is rendered clear and provides insight into "the means by which power and ideology are made to signify in particular discourses."[51] As the analysis in the chapters that follow demonstrates, the process of encoding both internal and external documents permits an opening through which to understand the social, political, ideological and cultural milieu in which these documents were produced. Further, such understandings are consolidated through an intertextual appreciation of the documents that are analysed here.[52] As will be demonstrated below, the strength of the ANC's marketing lay in its ability to 'stay on message' across organisations, times and contexts. The power of its discourses traversed time and geography and contributed to the hegemonic narratives that the movement espoused.

---

[48] Tim May, *Social Research: Issues, Methods and Process* 3rd edition (Buckingham: Open University Press, 2001), 183
[49] Stapleton and Maamoe, 421
[50] Stuart Hall, 'Encoding/Decoding' in Simon During (ed.), *The Cultural Studies Reader* (London: Routledge, 1999), 507-517. The notion of encoding and decoding, while used as an explanatory variable to explain practices in the media, especially television, it nevertheless has important resonance for a range of studies on representation
[51] Hall, 513
[52] See for example, Shurmer-Smith, 'Methods and Methodology', 97

In the chapters which follow, I make use of a stock of images – banners, posters and photographs – that accentuates and offers a "visual knowledge" to the analysis and discussion here.[53] I have noted above the various types of documents that were collected and analysed, but more than 'official' movement or party documents, a notable collection of 'ephemera' supported traditional documentation including, flags, bookmarks, letters, pamphlets, blankets, car bumper stickers, comic books, T-shirts and the like. Classifying these as 'ephemera' is somewhat pejorative, especially given the focus of the study. Rather, they constitute an important aspect of the material culture of the struggle against apartheid and provide an insight into the representational canvas utilised by the ANC. Indeed, given the emphasis on the representational in this thesis, the images utilised here supplement the interpretive thrust of the analysis and put on clear "display" a visual culture of the ANC. Posters and banners were obtained from the holdings at the Mayibuye archive as were certain historical photographs. These images conform notionally to "documentary photographs" which, Gillian Rose has argued, "tended to picture the poor, oppressed and marginalised individuals, often as part of reformist projects to show the horror of their lives and thus inspire change."[54] The conception of photography as such is akin to the resistance photography which shared the same aims.[55] The images utilised in the final chapter were taken by me over the period of a few weeks just prior to the elections. Photographs were also obtained from the social network site, Facebook, where the ANC utilised the site as a repository for election campaign photographs in addition to other functions. As with all images utilised here, due consideration needs to be given the social and political context in which they are produced. The images utilised here span themes of resistance and contestation, mobilisation, unity and reconciliation and power and presence. As such, and by their very nature as a marketing apparatus, I am acutely aware of their lack of neutrality and one-sidedness. But it is specifically this lack which renders the image valuable for the present study. As such, in accepting the non-neutrality of the images here, I concur the position forwarded by Gillian Rose that "all discourse is organised to make itself persuasive."[56] As a study of persuasion, this thesis seeks out those very points of persuasion.

---

[53] Sarah Pink, *Doing Visual Ethnography: Images, Media and Representation in Research,* 2nd edition (London: SAGE Publications, 2007), 6

[54] Gillian Rose, *Visual Methodologies*, (London: SAGE Publications, 2001), 20

[55] See for example, David L. Krantz, 'Politics and Photography in Apartheid South Africa' *History of Photography,* 32,4 (2008), 290-300; also for more recent reflection on this in post-apartheid South Africa, see Sharad Chari, 'Photographing Dispossession, Forgetting Solidarity: Waiting for Social Justice in Wentworth, South Africa,' *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, 34,4 (2009), 521-540

[56] This quote is a reference to Gill (1996) as cited and supported by Rose, *Visual Methodologies*, 140

In addition to this form of documentary evidence, the use of internet websites also provided an important platform through which documents were obtained and utilised. The shift of newspapers and periodicals online, to supplement their print versions, made the internet an increasingly important source of obtaining news and information at a national level, utilised especially during the election campaign. Regional and local news that would previously have been unavailable was now easily accessible. The ANC, as explicated in greater detail below, developed a campaign-specific website that sought to give it a prominent internet presence. Documenting the campaign, it became a 'real-time' resource for understanding the ANC's discursive and representational strategies. Popular input and participation was also obtained through social network sites such as Facebook and Twitter, which operated as a central online forum in which ANC supporters and non-supports alike could render opinions, undertake discussions, re-circulate news articles, and engage with leaders of the ANC.[57] The internet video site Youtube, also became an important visual repository of the ANC's election campaign as videos and television campaign advertisements were stored on the site. Access to these resources was open and has continued to be housed on the site since 2009.

One important omission in the ANC's marketing compendium is the lack of analysis of election radio broadcasts. My attempts to access these through the South African Broadcasting Corporation proved unsuccessful both in 2008 and again 2009. A full understanding of these broadcasts would enhance the overall assessment of the ANC's representational and discursive overtures given the centrality of radio in the South African communications landscape. Scope thus exists in future researches for further exploration of this form of marketing.

Observing and Participating

While the primary method of data collection rested on archived documentary sources, a secondary and more ethnographic method was also employed. In spending nine months in South Africa from the beginning of 2009, I sought to 'live through' election campaign, that spanned approximately three months from January to April 2009. This process of 'living through' the campaign in the field site of South Africa placed me within my own 'community' – as I am South African and Capetonian – and rendered me both participant *and* observer within the parameters of this field. While the campaign operated on a national scale,

---

[57]This happened on one occasion on Twitter which is discussed in the thesis in greater detail.

the present study is focused primarily on observations made at specific urban locations, namely Johannesburg, Durban, Port Elizabeth but predominantly in Cape Town. Acknowledging the differential impact and tenors an election campaign would have depending on the location, the target audience, language, racial and class variables and a host of other factors, this study highlights aspects of those differences where possible, while demonstrating the standardised and regularised discursive and representational practices that characterised the campaign at a national level.

My aim of 'living through' an election campaign was motivated by a desire to experience the contours, shifts and textures which characterised it. Indeed, a fuller and richer understanding of the ANC's campaign discourses and representations would be obtained by being in the field and observing first-hand the operation of its electioneering. Indeed, given the dynamism of the political sphere, especially during election campaigns, it became necessary to become "part of the life" of that sphere "in order to understand how it changes"; "we must participate in it and record our experiences of those transformations, their effects on people, as well as their interpretations."[58] My observations of the ANC, however, were limited given my inability to gain access to the organisation at the time of its campaigning. Moreover, parts of my observations of the ANC were refracted through the mass media which altered the overall effect of the ANC's campaign communication. However, despite these limitations and occlusions, the observations of the election behaviours and representations of the ANC are rich and detailed. Given the discursive depth and representational breadth of the campaign, the observer is nevertheless in a sound position to examine the political marketing of the ANC. Indeed, by its very operation and function, political marketing is geared towards political consumers and links them intimately to both the candidate and the party. It is precisely at this point of linkage that the final empirical chapter examines.

Being based in South Africa during a national election campaign, I was also firmly located within a larger community that engaged with the discourse formations of the ANC. Given the context in which the election was occurring, the period generated considerable comment, analysis, conjecture and supposition from all parts of the political market. Indeed, engaging in casual and often unplanned conversation with petrol attendants, shop assistants, academics, car guards, policy-makers, entrepreneurs, bureaucrats, ANC supporters and opponents added vitality to my observations. It is important to recognise moreover that these constituents of

---

[58] May, 148

the public sphere are the focus of the ANC's marketing activities. It is they that obtain, digest, consider and acknowledges the discursive and representational 'products' that are created in the process of deciding for whom to vote. In acknowledging this, I also acknowledge my position within this group, being a citizen, a voter, and a consumer of political communication. This positionality needed to be offset by my position as a researcher wanting to establish and better understand the forms of persuasion that the ANC engaged in to obtain (my) support.

While I discuss the more ethical considerations of my positionality in the field in the subsequent section, it is important for the present purpose to note my shifting subjectivity between being the participant and observer. Conventional understandings of participant observation acknowledge the tenuousness between these roles and implorations are made to "balance" these subject positions.[59] Such balancing is premised on the more difficult task of simultaneous emotional involvement and objective detachment." [60] In embodying both these roles, the difficulty I had was captured in an entry in my research 'scrapbook' on the day of the election. I noted,

> I've been up since before dawn, scanning the papers online, watching the news, browsing Facebook, Twitter, blogs to see if anything happened during the course of the night. The coverage of this election is unbelievable! The TV is on, pictures of the IEC centre and voters arriving at voting stations have been on a constant loop. The excitement is tangible! Everyone has an opinion and it willing to share it. Everything is geared toward today's events – the country has come alive, and I am living through it! This is, I'm told, almost what '94 felt like.[61]

'Living through' the campaign and interacting with both the ANC and the voting public as participants, I was able to capture the dynamism and change in the political market and assess the actions, motivations and behaviours of the ANC in campaign mode. At the same time, however, I needed to constantly gauge my reflexivity and curb any 'over-enthusiasm' that would impinge upon my ability to undertake further research from an objective position as

---

[59] Katy Bennett, 'Participant Observation' in Pamela Shurmer-Smith (ed.) *Doing Cultural Geography* (London: SAGE Publications Ltd, 2002), 140

[60] Barbara Tedlock, 'Ethnography and Ethnographic Representation' in Norman K. Denzin and Yvonna S. Lincoln (eds.) *Handbook of Qualitative Research* (Thousand Oaks: SAGE Publications, 2000), 465

[61] The scrapbook I kept functioned less as a diary, and more as a place in which to record ideas, thoughts, quotations, to- do-lists, phone numbers and the like. Unlike writing a diary which is more "fraught" with ethical and theoretical concerns, the looseness of a scrapbook obviates, admittedly only to some extent, those concerns. On the ethics of diary keeping, see Bennett, 147

possible. The findings and commentary based on these ethnographic practices, I acknowledge, are incomplete, 'partial' and exclude as much as they include. As such, it may, may be characterised, as Clifford has noted, as "fictions" of larger and more complex social whole.[62] As such, I enjoin my reader to accept the 'fictitiousness' of the account below noting my endeavours to provide an accurate account of my experience in the field.

Reflexivities

I noted in the discussion above the various constraints I needed to take cognisance of and negotiate during the period of field research. More pointedly, my concern related to my positioning at the centre of an election campaign where the very goal of the campaign was to shift attitudes and opinions and encourage acquiescence to the ANC's persuasive performance. More than that, given my relation to working with a 'venerable' collection of archival documents at the very time of the campaign, there was a greater need to stand back from the project and reflect deeply on the objective and critical stance that I needed to maintain through the process. Indeed, engaging with accounts of resistance against domination and subjugation 'by people like me' both during and before my life time, provided a strong emotional connection to the ANC which had the potential to introduce bias into the research and compromise its overall attempts at objectivity. Balancing these emotional claims with the constant pursuance of (and admittedly elusive claims to) objectivity required a constant negotiation of identities between researcher and the material being researched. Encountering the experiences of 'people like me' through the course of research, holds important implications for questions of reflexivity, for wrapped up in acknowledging one's subject position is a further acknowledgement of the "values and interests" as well as the "socio-historical locations" of the researcher.[63] To obviate this, I strategically sought to "pivot the centre" – thus being constantly aware of accentuating different aspects of my identity as required by the prevailing situation. This may occur in casual conversation, in sourcing documents and in analysing texts.[64]

While this 'pivoting' became an important means to research, it also became central to guiding the process of analysis and writing. Based in Durham and being away from 'home'

---

[62] James Clifford, 'Introduction: Partial Truths' in James Clifford and George E. Marcus (eds.), *Writing Culture: The Poetics and Politics of Ethnography* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986), 6
[63] Hammersley and Atkinson quoted in May, 155
[64] Michael V. Angrosino and Kimberley A. Mays de Perez, 'Rethinking Observation: From Method to Context' in Norman K. Denzin and Yvonna S. Lincoln (eds.) *Handbook of Qualitative Research* (Thousand Oaks: SAGE Publications, 2000), 685

and experiencing the usual effects of dislocation, longing, homesickness and more, I found myself adopting a 'defensive' position on matters South African – a patriotic joust to what I would like to consider my otherwise cosmopolitan sensibilities. Sitting away from the site and re-reading the documents that were collected served to highlight even more the seriousness of the sacrifice that ANC leaders and members undertook in the name of 'my' freedom. But with this freedom, I should note, comes a position of power and privilege which is deeply inscribed in my intellectual constitution. Indeed, being university educated, English speaking, male, in addition to other points of privilege, places me in a position in which I can neither fully appreciate nor understand the nature and extent of those sacrifices. I thus encountered the problem of over-empathising *through* the material with the circumstances and conditions that begot 'my' freedom.

As such, I became acutely aware of needing to maintain a critical pen through the process of reflection and writing. The frustrations of pursuing objectivity have been obviated by acknowledging the 'situated-ness' of my writing. Indeed, as Donna Haraway has posited, strength exists in the "practice of objectivity that privileges contestation, deconstruction, passionate construction, webbed connections, and hope for transformation of systems of knowledge and ways of seeing."[65] It is precisely this conception of knowledge creation that informs the present study, and in so doing, serves as a "means of avoiding the false neutrality and universality of so much academic knowledge."[66] More than that, a reading of this thesis will confirm Gillian Rose's conclusion that,

> We cannot know everything, nor can we survey power as if we can fully understand, control or redistribute it. What we may be able to do is something rather more modest, but perhaps, rather more radical: to inscribe into our research practices some absences and fallibilities while recognizing that the significance of this does not rest entirely in our own hands.[67]

A Final Comment

An extensive range of archival and other documentary material was obtained in the course of fieldwork. I have not been able to utilise all of this rich documentary evidence in the analysis

---

[65] Donna Haraway, 'Situated Knowledge's: The Science Question in Feminism and the Privileges of Partial Perspective' *Feminist Studies* 14,3 (1988), 585
[66] Gillian Rose, 'Situating knowledges: positionality, reflexivities and other tactics' *Progress in Human Geography*, 21,3 (1997) 306
[67] Rose, Situating knowledges: positionality, reflexivities and other tactics', 319

and discussion in the chapters which follow, but they have informed the overall conception of the discursive and representational orientations in the political marketing of the ANC. I have asserted and acknowledged the partial nature of the research materials that inform this study, and thus, by extension, I acknowledge the partiality of the present study itself. Despite this, its theoretical and empirical purport provides a novel insight into the means by which cultural production and consumption through the techniques of political marketing operate within the post-colonial and post-apartheid milieu. Moreover, and drawing on the historical tradition of marketing within the ANC, the thesis examines the continuity and discontinuity of discursive forms of political exchange and interaction in South Africa. In research to date, no similar study of this nature and scope has been undertaken.

This thesis thus makes a unique interdisciplinary contribution to studies of political marketing, which has tended to be neglected in geography, sociology and cultural studies and rendered technical in political studies. The interdisciplinary nature of the thesis is brought into sharper focus when consideration is given to the fact that within political geography, the study of liberation and post-liberation contexts has tended to place emphasis on the process of political struggle, nation-building, citizenship and geopolitics.[68] Similarly, seminal studies on the culture, power and identity in Africa have located the authoritarian colonial and post-colonial state at the centre of such construction.[69] However, the thesis will foreground the liberation movement and political party in the political process and its contribution is thus distinguished from other studies on post-colonial Africa and post-apartheid South Africa. The thesis does not ignore contributions to understanding the process of liberation and national culture in Africa, but rather recasts these contributions through the lens of political marketing.[70] Despite the important empirical lacunae that political marketing fills in the study of political processes and change, criticism of the practice remains highly instructive. While its epistemological base is being consistently debated, its meta-theoretical utility as an

---

[68] There are too many apt and pertinent examples to cite here, but the following have been useful in shaping the contours of the proposed thesis: Sarah Radcliffe and Sallie Westwood, *Remaking the Nation: Place, Identity and Politics in Latin America,* (London: Routledge, 1996); Cheryl McEwan, 'New Spaces of Citizenship? Rethinking Gender Participation and Empowerment in South Africa', *Political Geography*, 24,8 (2005), 969-991; Cheryl McEwan, 'Bringing Government to the People: Women, Local Governance and Community Participation in South Africa', *Geoforum* 34 (2003), 496-481; Marcus Power, ''Geopolitics and the Representation of Portugal's African Colonial Wars: Examining the Limits of 'Vietnam Syndrome', *Political Geography*, 20 (2001), 461-491

[69] Perhaps the most impressive contribution in this regard is Mahmood Mamdani, *Citizen and Subject: Contemporary Africa and the Legacy of Late Colonialism* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996).

[70] This is in reference particularly to Frantz Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth* (London: Penguin Classics, 2001) and Amilcar Cabral, *Return to the Source: Selected Speeches of Amilcar Cabral* (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1973)

analytical lens has been neglected. The thesis aims to address these challenges by illustrating its utility – both explicit and implicit – in understanding South African politics. It also addresses the Western-centric bias in the epistemological and ontological base of political marketing.

SCOPE AND ORGANISATION

This discussion commences with an introduction to the notion of political marketing. In chapter two, I trace the outlines of the sub-discipline and expand its theoretical and analytical scope to include a wider set of representational practices that enrich its applicability in the study of persuasion. This broader conception of political marketing allows for a more dynamic understanding of the discursive and representational practices of the ANC in the political realm.

Given their centrality to understandings of the political marketing of the ANC, the thesis is structured around three themes: liberation, political culture and spectacle. While their interpretive significance will be further demonstrated in the chapters which follow, it is important to note that these themes provide an enduring basis on which to conceive the struggle against apartheid and the emergence of the democratic state. As such, their heuristic import lies in the ability to critically examine the political marketing of the ANC over time. The notion of liberation has been deeply inscribed in the registers of the ANC. In chapter three, I examine the various ideological and philosophical threads that inform the notion of liberation for the ANC and the means through which a dominant conception of liberation came to obtain through political marketing. Noting the significance of marketing for the ANC, the chapter examines the influences and grammars of liberation adopted and popularised by the MK, Robben Islanders and the UDF. In so doing, I highlight the complex interaction between various agents in the political sphere and demonstrate the nature of relationships that punctuated the contest against apartheid. Chapter four makes an important contribution to the second theme, political culture, and focuses on the campaign for the Freedom Charter and the event that bore it, the Congress of the People. Critically interrogating the narrative of the Charter's formulation and the means by which it became the touchstone of the ANC's vision for a democratic South Africa, the chapter aims to 'de-mythify' the narrative of its constitution and demonstrate the starkly political imperative that underlay it. Here, the centrality of marketing is rendered clear. This chapter is also an

important link for crystallising understandings of the content of liberation as well as the providing an understanding of the political culture of the ANC.

In chapter five, I examine the 1994 election – an act of liberation in itself – and the strategic and political behaviour that informed the campaign. While this election has generated significant academic and popular enquiry, the present analysis offers an insight into the continuities and discontinuities in the ANC's modes of political exchange and the historical rootedness of its representational and discursive orientations. Further, this exchange exposes a tension in its organisational identities – between liberation movement and political party – that would be important as the ANC prepared itself to govern a democratic South Africa and provides an insight into conceptions of liberation and political culture of the ANC.

Chapter six examines the changing political cultures of the ANC through the economic policies of the RDP and GEAR. In a shift from the more public and demonstrable forms of marketing that are evident in the previous chapters, I aim to show a more nuanced operation of political marketing where the emphasis on the symbolism of policy functions as a means to market the state. A strongly modernising ethic is apparent with the introduction of GEAR which obtains greater resonance through the marketing of the notion of an African Renaissance. While performing a powerful symbolic function in marketing the resurgence of the continent of Africa, led by the ANC, I nevertheless demonstrate the tensions inherent in the adoption of a neoliberal economic policy by a rhetorically composed popular, people-centred political movement. Economic policy became a site of immense contestation between various formations within the ANC and the tripartite alliance and the tussle between Mbeki's ANC and the alliance partners would break down finally in the mid-2000s.

Chapter seven examines the 2009 general election campaign as constitutive of political spectacle. The internecine battles for power necessitated a political campaign that asserted the need for unity and reconciliation within the political sphere and the corralling of support would be premised on campaign that was endowed with theatricality, carnival and performance. While South African politics is marked by spectacle, historically and presently, the analysis here notes the strategic and tactical manoeuvring that was undertaken in a rapidly changing political milieu in which Jacob Zuma ascended to the presidency of the ANC. Recourse to ethnicity and personality were important variables through which to garner support. While recourse to traditions, personality, memory and history were integral to the overarching register of the campaign, the 2009 election also required the ANC's 'coolness' to

be demonstrated as a new youth demographic came to hold increasing electoral power. Utilising modern campaign practices together with more tried forms of organisation, the campaign aimed to demonstrate the entrenchment of the ANC's power in the political sphere and generate support for its primary candidate, Jacob Zuma.

In chapter eight, I conclude by reflecting on the political marketing of the ANC over time and highlight the strategies by which its marketing gave it representational and discursive consistency. As a lens to reconceptualise the politics of the ANC and thus the politics of South Africa, political marketing also offers an important means through which strategic and organisational behaviour may be conceptualised. Similarly, the political marketing of the ANC provides an important means through which the sub-discipline is enriched and given greater theoretical applicability.

2.

FRAMINGS:
TOWARDS THEORETICAL ECLECTICISM

****

Understandings of the political marketing of the ANC are duly indebted to a theoretical and conceptual framing that is located at the centre of a disciplinary crossroads that includes electoral geography, political sociology, voter behaviour and cultural studies. In acknowledging such positioning, I argue that this mode of framing provides an apposite lens through which to fully conceptualise the ANC's interaction in, and engagement with, the political and public spheres. An 'eclectic' theoretical and conceptual mooring enhances understandings of the political marketing of the ANC and allows for a richer and more diverse examination of its discursive and representational *oeuvres*, over time and across changing political milieus.

I noted in the previous chapter that the thesis employs a conceptually broad understanding of 'political marketing' to encompass the promotional, publicity and propaganda activity of the ANC. Expanding the theoretical ambit of political marketing to include these range of practices allows for a greater conceptualisation of the discursive and representational construction of the ANC; it nevertheless renders the idea of political marketing as theoretically 'loose'. Rather than limiting the scope of its utility to explain political activity, I argue that such 'looseness' endows the notion of political marketing with a greater heuristic and theoretical significance. Indeed, such 'looseness' permits for more sound conceptualisation of political marketing as an "orientation", in which a marketing "consciousness" informs the operations of agents in the political realm.[1] Such 'consciousness' is central to explicating the "interactive" nature of this realm, in which there is acknowledgement both of the dynamism that exists in relations between agents – that is,

---

[1] Nicholas J. O'Shaughnessy, *The Phenomenon of Political Marketing* (Basingstoke: MacMillan Press Ltd, 1990), 2

between the disseminators and receptors of the communicative act – and commensurately, in the form and content of the 'marketing' method employed.[2]

Regarding the form of the ANC's discursive and representational practices, it would be myopic and indeed fallacious to view these as conforming to the strictures of 'marketing' – rather, these practices are fluid and shift between promotion, publicity and propaganda. While the former may be understood as directly related to marketing, propaganda, as will be demonstrated below, is not. Regarding content, the present study interrogates the ANC's political marketing as a set of historically-conditioned and resonant discursive registers and representational enactments that are informed by the more 'cultural' aspects of the ANC's political history, including myth, memory, symbolism, spectacle, carnival and ritual. Thus, I argue, that to understand the political marketing of the ANC, and the continuities and discontinuities therein, a richer and wider understanding of the range of influences that impact upon and inform its pronouncement and practices is required. Moreover, while the application of marketing to the political realm has garnered much critical commentary, this enquiry foregrounds marketing as a fundamental means of political interlocution that deeply informs debates on the social and cultural bases of political change in a post-colonial and post-apartheid setting.

This chapter proceeds by examining the contours of a narrow and more technical conception of political marketing and its key features that render it applicable to explaining the political behaviour and strategy of agents in the political realm. I argue here that despite its essentially commercial applicability, marketing constitutes a sound analytical device in which to examine the operation of persuasion in the political sphere. While utilised traditionally in election campaigns, political marketing activities need to be foregrounded against traditional conceptions of voter behaviour. The utility of this understanding lies not only in the short-term influences that inform decision-making at election time, but more fundamentally I argue, in the insight it provides into the longer-term and enduring bases upon which party support and allegiance are premised. As such, greater theoretical thrust is given to the influence of marketing activities over time and the means by which it was able to inculcate allegiance and support, and influence voter decision-making. While not discounting the short-term influences on such decision-making, models of voter behaviour hold important heuristic significance in understanding the historical, social and cultural bases upon which perceptions

---

[2] O'Shaughnessy, *The Phenomenon of Political Marketing*, 2

and attitudes are formed. The interplay between the construction of these bases and 'political marketing' is significant for the present examination. As such, the second section of this chapter briefly unpacks the key factors that inform voters' perceptions and attitudes in political and electoral decision-making through an adumbration of the tenets of key models of voter behaviour. While these understandings are indebted to more 'rational' and 'scientific' premises, in the third section of this chapter I examine a range of aforementioned 'cultural' factors that influence perceptions, attitudes and behaviours. I argue that these 'cultural' influences are deeply implicated in the discursive grammars and representational enactments of the ANC and as such permit a richer and more dynamic understanding of its social and cultural influence in the political sphere in South Africa.

POLITICAL MARKETING: PREMISES

My intention here is not to relate the genealogy of the sub-discipline, but rather to foreground certain key theoretical constructs and ideas that have informed reflections on political marketing. As a "hybrid sub-discipline that draws on the parent disciplines of commercial marketing and political science", the development of political marketing as a nascent, yet emerging, field of enquiry has been marked by theoretical meanderings and conceptual imprecision.[3] Despite the fact that "no consensus existed about a definition of political marketing", in part because the definition of marketing itself was contested, its political application was nevertheless clear.[4] Indeed, seen as "offer[ing] new ways of understanding modern democratic politics", the utility of marketing in the political realm lay in its ability to "[offer] insights into the strategic options and behaviour of parties" and more imperatively for the scope of the present enquiry,

> It shares with history the desire to investigate and explain the behaviour of leading political actors, and thus its focus extends from campaigning into the high politics of government and party management [...] The use of marketing changes relationships between leaders, parties and voters. It has consequences for democratic practice and

---

[3] Andrew Hughes and Stephen Dann, 'Political marketing and stakeholder engagement', *Marketing Theory* 9,2 (2009) 243. A survey of the literature, especially from the mid-1990s on political marketing aptly demonstrates this point. For a succinct overview of this, see Margaret Scammell, 'Political Marketing: Lessons for Political Science', *Political Studies* XLVII (1999), 718-739

[4] Scammell, 718.For more on the tensions regarding the definition of marketing and its applicability to the political realm, see, Aron O'Cass, 'Political marketing and the marketing concept', *European Journal of Marketing* 30, 10/11, (1996), 37-39. Dominic Wring, 'Reconciling Marketing with Political Science: Theories of Political Marketing', *Journal of Marketing Management,* 13 (1997) , 651-663

citizen engagement. Its influence cannot be confined to the limits of the formal election campaign periods.[5]

While the commercial bias of marketing was obviated by re-orientating the definition to capture a wider range of public and promotional activity, such re-orientation was given greater theoretical clarity by being premised on the notion of exchange "between an organisation and its environment."[6]   In premising political marketing's ontological and epistemological bases on the principle of exchange, greater emphasis is given to the interactive nature of the political market and the dialogic processes that characterise the relationships in the political sphere.[7] The effect of this is to re-orientate marketing away from its strictly commercial and profit-driven bias, and locate it more strongly with the selling of services. In undertaking such a re-orientation, greater consonance is accorded to the interaction of marketing with the political sphere. Indeed, such consonance is explicit for as Harrop opines,

> Marketing a party has more in common with marketing services [...] services are sold on trust [...] Establishing trust means demonstrating competence, reliability and consistency. These solid virtues are the criteria by which service organisations, including parties are judged. So marketing a party consists essentially in projecting belief in its ability to govern.[8]

Moreover, understanding the resonance between political and relationship marketing's theoretical purview, a greater appreciation of marketing's applicability in the "packaging of politics"[9] may be obtained. Indeed, the emphasis placed on "confidence-building strategies" which are informed through "information policy, through an authenticated record of achievement and through commitments and promises that seem credible to potential purchasers" resonate strongly with the campaigning and political activities of parties and candidates.[10] But inculcating such confidence is reliant not simply on tangible 'deliverables', but also importantly on less tangible qualities of image and reputation. For Harrop, the image

---

[5] Scammell, 'Political Marketing: Lessons for Political Science'719
[6] Martin Harrop, 'Political Marketing', *Parliamentary Affairs* 43 (1990), 277; Stephan C. Henneberg, 'An Epistemological Perspective on Research in Political Marketing', *Journal of Political Marketing* 7,2 (2008), 163
[7] Andrew Lock and Phil Harris, 'Political marketing – vive la difference!' *European Journal of Marketing*, 20, 10/11 (1996), 5
[8] Harrop, 278
[9] Henneberg, 'An Epistemological Perspective on Research in Political Marketing', 163
[10] Scammell, 'Political Marketing: Lessons for Political Science',728

that political parties (and candidates) are able to cultivate and promote is important, as "voters support the party whose policy profile comes closest to their own."[11] Central to this, is the recognition that at its core, "[p]olitics is concerned with the affirmation of values" and "a political issue is not merely a product to be merchandised, but a vibrant value symbol connecting with an individual's sense of who and what they are."[12] As a result, the image of a party or candidate is seen as a "soft variable tangled up with emotional attachments," and, as opposed to the influence of the 'harder' variable of reputation, which is assessed on performance and the achievement of political, economic and social goals, emphasising political image "is a strategic imperative of the political market."[13] While not dismissing the importance of the policy imperatives of politics and the affirmation of the values that it holds for both an individual and group, the 'softness' of image lends it a perceptual malleability that locates it at the centre of political and representational strategy. Indeed, as "voters choose a government rather than compare manifestos", political image is central, for as Schumpeter has espoused, "the psychotechnics of party management and party advertising, slogans and marching tunes are not accessories. They are the essence of politics."[14]

Given that the import of political marketing pivots on the notion of a pervasive marketing 'consciousness' and that it is what parties and candidates "actually do" in the political arena,[15] its focus on the "shared interests of voters" lends it an important theoretical significance which is not sufficiently analysed in disciplines such as political science or political geography and sociology.[16] Indeed, the emphasis in these cognate disciplines and sub-disciplines is largely on the point of conflict and cleavage in the social and political body.[17] However, in a critical stock-take of its ontological and epistemological bases, Henneberg has argued that political marketing continues to display fluidity and looseness in its theoretical and conceptual universe and key ideas and concepts are still "ill-defined."[18] As a sub-discipline 'in the making', such looseness allows for the operation of a wider interpretive schema that permits political marketing to operate as an "integrated way of

---

[11] Harrop, 280
[12] Nicholas O'Shaughnessy, 'The marketing of political marketing', *European Journal of Marketing,* 35,9/10 (2001) 1049
[13] Scammell, 'Political Marketing: Lessons for Political Science',728-729
[14] Harrop, 279
[15] Scammell, 'Political Marketing: Lessons for Political Science',19
[16] Harrop, 282. Indeed, Harrop is keen to argue that in disciplines such as political science, the focus rather is on the 'social divisions' and 'conflicting interests' that attenuate the political sphere.
[17] Harrop, 282
[18] Henneberg, 'An Epistemological Perspective on Research in Political Marketing', 153

managing politics" instead of being a mere "communication tool."[19] Such management is dependent on recognising that there is a "structural connectedness" between "the management of politics and politics itself."[20] Indeed, rather than view the "content and packaging of politics" as two discreet operations, political marketing theory undertakes an epistemological bridging function to call forward the imperatives and bases of politics.[21] In this way, rather than being seen as merely "putting the gloss on politics", political marketing has a broader theoretical and empirical remit that allows for a deepening of its analytical practice.[22]

The integrative aspect that is forwarded by theorists of political marketing places emphasis on locating "marketing activity" within the "political environment in which it is deployed" and thus provides an "holistic understanding of all political activities, exchanges, players, structures" and the like in the political market.[23] In addition, this wide interpretive schema berths the theory of political marketing within a tradition of "methodological pluralism" in which it serves as a "complement" to a range of theories that inform understandings of the political market.[24] Given the scope of the present enquiry and the structure of the discussion that follows, this conception of political marketing serves an apt theoretical and heuristic function in explaining the nature of the political market in which the ANC operated and provides an apt illumination of the strategies that it employed both as a political party and as an incumbent government. In addition, analysing the South African political sphere through the lens of political marketing permits an important insight into the relationships of power and influence that occupy that space. Indeed, while the overarching focus here rests on the political marketing activity of the ANC, a more nuanced analysis is undertaken to demonstrate the various influences that inform its representational practices. In undertaking this examination, the analytical thrust of the thesis satisfies the management function of political marketing which places emphasis on the practical application of marketing activity in the public sphere while commensurately foregrounding the exchange nature of agents that constitute that sphere.[25] In addition to this, the emphasis on the exchange character of political marketing permits a reading of South African politics and more critically, ANC

---

[19] Henneberg, 'An Epistemological Perspective on Research in Political Marketing', 154
[20] Henneberg, 'An Epistemological Perspective on Research in Political Marketing', 163
[21] Henneberg, 'An Epistemological Perspective on Research in Political Marketing', 163
[22] Henneberg, 'An Epistemological Perspective on Research in Political Marketing', 163
[23] Henneberg, 'An Epistemological Perspective on Research in Political Marketing', 159
[24] Henneberg, 'An Epistemological Perspective on Research in Political Marketing', 160
[25] Stephen C. Henneberg, Margaret Scammell and Nicholas J. O' Shaughnessy, 'Political marketing management and theories of democracy', *Marketing Theory*, 9,2 (2009), 166

politics, in which the dynamism of the "totality" of the exchanges and interactions are centrally located.[26]

The analytical focus of the discussion in the subsequent chapters adopt the approach of examining the dynamisms of the political market, while commensurately highlighting the shifting temporal plane upon which the ANC's marketing was undertaken. Thus, in both looking forward and backward through time, the analysis below renders clear continuities and discontinuities in its discursive and representational registers and strategies.

In offering an alternative means to theorise the political sphere, it is necessary for studies in political marketing to acknowledge the "embeddedness of politics" and "its relationship with social and other narrative models of representation."[27] Conceiving of marketing as a technology of power that aims to induce specific behaviours through the construction of perceptions, influence and persuasion, the acknowledgement of politics' "interconnectedness" in these broader systems of representation offers a richer and more distinctive "contextual frame" in which to understand the behaviour of political protagonists.[28] Moreover, such interconnectedness also gives greater content to the importance of relationships that underpin the marketing exchange and the networks of interests and agents that interact in the political sphere.[29] The effect of this is to cast political "interactivity" and "exchange" as an "enduring social process" between all political agents that extends beyond merely election based interaction.[30] Here, the imperative to develop "long-term trust and commitment-based relationships" becomes the foundation upon which extended social relations and engagement are premised and a veritable 'social contract' between the citizenry and political institutions is established.[31] The utility of emphasising the relationship nature of the marketing exchange, and apt for reducing the global trend toward political dealignment, is the prospect of "greater involvement," wherein increased consultation, community mobilisation, and engagement with "policy delivery and implementation" forms an important "aspect of the political marketing exchange." [32] While

---

[26] Henneberg, 'An Epistemological Perspective on Research in Political Marketing', 162-63
[27] Henneberg, 'An Epistemological Perspective on Research in Political Marketing', 160. For more, see also Stephan C. Henneberg, 'The views of an advocates dei: Political marketing and its critics' *Journal of Public Affairs*, 4,3 (2004), 225-243
[28] Henneberg, 'An Epistemological Perspective on Research in Political Marketing', 160
[29] Stephan C. Henneberg and Nicholas J. O'Shaughnessy, 'Political Relationship Marketing: some macro/micro thoughts', *Journal of Marketing Management*, 25,1-2 (2009), 6
[30] Henneberg and O'Shaughnessy, 10
[31] Henneberg and O'Shaughnessy, 10
[32] Henneberg and O'Shaughnessy, 13

this conception of relationship marketing ideal-typically constructs the nature of the relationship facilitated between the citizenry and government, the empirical observations in the chapters that follow demonstrate the partial nature of the exchange process in the political sphere in South Africa, despite the rhetorical and representational emphasis placed on interaction, information-sharing, bottom-up mobilisation initiative and engagement in policy, by the ANC. The reasons for this partiality will be demonstrated and discussed in the chapters that follow and its resonances for understandings of the political marketing of the ANC rendered clear.

Of crucial importance in facilitating the relationship aspect of political marketing is the bestowal of a "sense of political ownership" to allow for greater cohesiveness between political agents, notably political parties, candidates and the citizenry. Such ownership not only manifests in "bonds of solidarity" but also more critically in "bonds of intimacy".[33] These bonds act reciprocally and augment relations between political agents. Indeed, while solidarity emerges through openness between parties, through trust and is developed over time, similarly the need to cultivate intimacy between players in the political sphere relates to affective and emotional ties which political marketing aims to 'accent'.[34] Using emotional appeals to "connect" with the citizenry greater impetus is given to ownership and participation in the political process and greater legitimacy is accorded to the political protagonist.[35] In this way such bonds of solidarity and intimacy endow political marketing with the ability to serve "as a means of neutralising the deeply alienated in society" while commensurately informing perceptions, ideas and opinions of those not alienated.[36]

It should be clearly evident from the foregoing that political marketing cannot be considered a "neutral aspect of politics", given its overarching objective of 'exchanging' information, ideas and the like to effect behaviour.[37] While promotional and publicity functions undertaken by political actors and political parties in particular aim to inculcate positive and affirmative values and impressions in the political and social body to garner support, I have argued above that a "strategic imperative" lies in establishing "enduring relationships" to provide continued legitimacy of the political entity, whether political party, candidate or

---

[33] Henneberg and O'Shaughnessy, 13-15
[34] Henneberg and O'Shaughnessy, 15
[35] Henneberg and O'Shaughnessy, 17-19
[36] O'Shaughnessy, *The Phenomenon of Political Marketing*, 15
[37] Henneberg, 'An Epistemological Perspective on Research in Political Marketing',163

government.[38] Thus, while political marketing offers a lens through which to understand political behaviour, its explanatory potential is further refracted and enhanced through understanding the adjunct, and indeed highly complicit process, of political branding.

As a cognate of political marketing, branding extends the focus on reputation and image by raising the "emotional connection" that a political brand induces. Its political utility lies in its three constitutive features, namely "internal values, external presentation and consumer perception."[39] While notions of reputation and image do not meld all of these features within their explanatory remit, branding's utilisation endows it with an added 'robustness' which is expedient in not only analysing "election campaigning, but is particularly helpful in understanding efforts to sustain relationships and maintain loyalty during the period *between* elections."[40] Providing a heuristic space for an "emotional connection" to be illuminated, branding's value lies also in its ability to "provide a conceptual structure to link advertising insight into all aspects of the brand, positioning, development and promotion."[41] Given this,

> The general value of branding to campaigners is both conceptual and practical. It provides a conceptual framework to distinguish and fathom links between the functional perceptions of parties and leaders [...] such as economic management, policy commitments and the competence to deliver, and the emotional attractions [...], such as "one of us", authenticity, approachability, and attractiveness to the ear and eye. It brings together the emotional and intellectual, rational and irrational [...], the big and tiny details that feed into overall brand images.[42]

For political parties, the concept of the brand offers a useful empiric through which to understand party marketing as it allows for a distillation of meaning to facilitate "voter cohesion, recognition and predictability."[43] Such distillation also serves to disentangle the complex associations attached to the political party and provides an 'informational shortcut' for supporters, so that the "building of trust and commitment" is smoothed through the

---

[38] Catherine Needham, 'Brand Leaders: Clinton, Blair and the Limitations of the Permanent Campaign' *Political Studies*, 53, 346-347
[39] Needham, 347
[40] Needham, 347, my emphasis
[41] Margaret Scammell, 'Political Brands and Consumer Citizens: The Rebranding of Tony Blair' *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 611 (2007), 188-189. For a similar position on the emotional function of a brand, but undertaken through the idea of the state, see also Peter van Ham. 'The Rise of the Brand State: The Postmodern Politics of Image and Reputation', *Foreign Affairs* 80,5 (2001), 2-6
[42] Scammell, 'Political Brands and Consumer Citizens: The Rebranding of Tony Blair', 187
[43] Gareth Smith and Alan French, 'The political brand: A consumer perspective' *Marketing Theory* 9,2 (2009), 212

"dyadic relationship" that exists between the supporter and the party/candidate.[44] More than that, brands also serve to facilitate the formation of associated "brand communities" with the objective of creating a platform through which 'political consumers' are able to "interact with the brand and, critically, other users of the brand."[45]

Further, as a site of meanings, affections, ideas, opinions and the like, the branded political party is also complicit in an associative practice of "provid[ing] cultural meaning" as they serve as repositories for "societal norms and values."[46] Branded parties also function as signifiers of "aspiration" and are instrumental in "evoking a particular vision of the 'good life' and holding out the promise of personal enhancement based on a set of values."[47] However, brands are "not inviolable" and

> [when] a party becomes disunited and/or sends conflicting messages to voters [and more broadly, supporters], the perceived cohesion of the party brand breaks down, its credibility is lost – and voters are notoriously disinclined to support a disunited party.[48]

Disunity and the risks associated with fractious party relations functions to disrupt the "connection" brands establish with supporters.[49] The disruption of the "brand connection" affects the foundation of the 'dyadic relationship' that exists.[50] Through this disruption, identity bonds that exist between the branded product (in the case under examination, both party and leader) and its support base give way and the ideal-typical associations held by stakeholders of the brand – the "epistemic social schema" – is diluted.[51] This dilution signals a rupture in the temporal development and conceptions of the brand. Brand associations and the identity that brands attempt to capture and project are formed over time and not through singular, ephemeral interactions. Thus, the persuasion imperative that underpins a political brand occurs through "a series of messages [that] will work together, constructing and overall image and set of schematic relations that will convince the audience members to take the

---

[44] Smith and French, 214
[45] Smith and French, 215
[46] Smith and French, 215
[47] Needham, 348
[48] Smith and French, 213
[49] Scammell, 'Political Brands and Consumer Citizens: The Rebranding of Tony Blair', 190
[50] Scammell, 'Political Brands and Consumer Citizens: The Rebranding of Tony Blair', 190
[51] Veronika Koller, 'Brand images: Multimodal metaphor in corporate branding messages' in Charles J. Forceville and Eduardo Urios-Aparisi (eds.) *Mutlimodal Metaphor* (Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 2009), 50

desired action."[52] The means to "develop positive feelings" for a political party and its candidate" is therefore,

> [...] accomplished by continually displaying visual associations between the product and some object or symbol that is already schematically tied to a positive value (thereby taking advantage of the emotional responses already associated with that value).[53]

Thus, the constant process of articulation and re-articulation of a brands' representational assets over time invests in the supporters an historical repository of positive associations which may be accessed at politically expedient times. The analysis in this thesis will render clear the ANC's continuous attempts of inculcating a brand identity over time. Keenly aware of the need to locate itself at the centre of a moral-ethical universe in which it signifies the representation of positive values – political and economic liberation, democracy, non-racialism, constitutionalism and associated rights – the ANC aimed to monopolise this universe and incorporate all associations of these values under the rubric of its brand. When disunity within the party actualised, the recourse to these associations through the invocation of a narrative of historical claim and ownership of events, persons, values and the like served to mythologize the ANC role in South African political history and thus lend greater credence to its claims for political and moral authority. In doing so, the ANC aim to obtain an "iconic brand" status, for through the recourse to historically-indebted (and indeed, constructed) narratives, it "aims to address the collective anxieties and desires of [the] nation."[54] Moreover, with the shift in emphasis "in consumption from function to identity definition,"[55] brands

> [...] become iconic when they perform identity myths: simple fictions that address cultural anxieties from afar, from imaginary worlds that consumers regularly encounter in their everyday lives. The aspirations expressed in these myths are an imaginative, rather than literal, expression of the audience's aspired identity.[56]

---

[52] Charles A. Hill, 'The Psychology of Rhetorical Images' in Charles A. Hill and Marguerite Helmers (eds.), *Defining Visual Rhetorics* (Mahwah: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates Publishers, 2004), 36
[53] Hill, 36
[54] Douglas B. Holt, *How Icons Become Brands: The Principles of Cultural Branding* (Boston: Harvard Business School Press, 2004),6
[55] Nicholas O'Shaughnessy, 'Commentary: The Abuse of Rhetoric', *Journal of Public Affairs,* 7 (2007), 110
[56] Holt, 8

Thus, in positioning itself as the 'sole and authentic' agent in overcoming apartheid – both through the first stage of political liberation and the continued project of economic and social liberation and captured in the overarching slogan of providing 'A Better Life for All' – the representational and discursive orientations of the ANC function to inform this myth, so that it "becomes a symbol, a material embodiment of the myth."[57] Important for the purposes of the current investigation too, is the acknowledgement that the ANC's hegemonic position in the political and electoral spheres lies in its aptitude for 'authorial' dominance for,

> [w]hen a brand authors myths that people find valuable, it earns the authority to tell similar kinds of myths (cultural authority) to address the identity desires of a similar constituency (political authority) in the future.[58]

The analysis in subsequent chapters will unpack the means by which the ANC obtained such authorial predominance and problematise the various thematic, historic and fabled strands through which the myths were constructed. Colonialism and apartheid, and the liberation struggle, forms a powerful and enduring political, economic, social and cultural backdrop against which these myths and stories were told and provides an important reference point against which the ANC centred its moral-ethical predispositions and its strongly emotional appeals. Given this, it follows that the utility and importance of brands lies in their function not only as symbolic signifiers in a particular market (whether political or commercial) but rather as "social media" which is more akin to a "cultural pattern – a particular experience or mode of relating – which is reproduced in a wide variety of different situations, involving many different actors."[59] For the present analysis, understanding this 'mode of relating' provides more critical content to understanding the rhetorical and discursive premises upon which the ANC sought to engage and maintain support in the political market. Such engagement and support, it should be noted, extends beyond periods of electoral activity to include the 'everyday' interactions between the citizenry, the party and the government.

The discussion above has conceptualised and illuminated the strands of a wider and more theoretically appropriate notion of political marketing that operates as a critical lens through which to understand the discursive and representational politics of the ANC. Broadening the

---

[57] Holt, 8

[58] Holt, 211. The ability of brands, especially political brands to tell stories about themselves, is well captured in Christian Salmon, *Storytelling: Bewitching the Modern Mind* (London: Verso, 2010)

[59] Adam Arvidsson, 'The Function of Cultural Studies in marketing: A New Administrative Science?' in Mark Tadajewski and Douglas Brownlie (eds.) *Critical Marketing: Contemporary Issues in Marketing* (Chichester: John Wiley and Sons Ltd., 2008), 338

theoretical ambit to demonstrate its intersections with the cognate concept of political branding, the content of this theoretical terrain is apt for permitting a unique insight into the relation of forces in the political market while providing a novel analytical aperture in which to understand the historical, conjunctural, political and cultural influences in that market. This broader interpretation of political marketing obviates the definitional imprecision that informs debates on its theoretical content and conceptual applicability.[60] Moreover, in examining factors beyond the remit of traditional marketing and voter behaviour models, a wider interpretation of political marketing lends itself greater 'causal' weight and provides a more historically-grounded, richer and dynamic constellation of variables through which to understand the political market and certain determinants of voter behaviour. In doing this, greater accent is placed on limiting, though not dispelling, more pointed criticisms of political marketing, namely that it begets a "poll driven politics"; that it is increasingly about 'spin'; that it lends itself to politics that is "void of content"; that politics and politicians genuflect to money;[61] or that it permits a "rented allegiance."[62] Finally, while critics have argued that marketing has permitted a whittling of "democratic practice" through disengagement and the promotion of superficiality in political life, the cultural imperatives that inform a broadened conception of political marketing offers instead an avenue of enhancement of such practice.[63] Indeed, and as noted above, just as brands allow for 'modes of relating' that are premised on the "reproduction of a particular pattern of affect and community", within these modes, there exist democratic potentials and spaces of resistance.[64] Rather than see marketing as an homogenising force, it needs to be located as one of a range of factors that shape and inform attitudes, opinions and behaviour in the political sphere. To view citizens' political participation solely as being instigated by the marketing activities of a political actor is to limit the agency of the citizenry and curtail the vibrancy of the political sphere. Certainly, while citizens and more specifically voters align themselves to marketed 'products' and brands, they also undertake a continuous process of critical engagement, evaluation and interaction. To assume that the citizenry will continuously "elevate style over substance", is

---

[60] Scammell, 'Political Marketing: Lessons for Political Science', 735-736
[61] See Henneberg, 'The view of an advocates dei: Political marketing and its critics', 228-238;
[62] O'Shaughnessy, *The Phenomenon of Political Marketing*, 11. See also Scammell, Political Marketing: Lessons for Political Science', 735-737
[63] Scammell, 738
[64] Arvidsson, 338

to render opaque a critical feature of politics: notably the lived and experienced politics of everyday.[65]

Political marketing, despite the diversity of its theoretical and empirical purview, constitutes one element in a matrix of understanding citizen behaviour and political motivation. While this thesis examines the political marketing of the ANC during elections, it also addresses the marketing activities undertaken between elections using the example of economic policy as a marketing device. In understanding the impact on political behaviour, I now turn to a brief overview of the key models influencing citizen decision-making. Voter behaviour models, while focused on providing an explanatory framework for decision-making and behaviour during elections, nevertheless hold significant theoretical import in considerations of the influences and variables that inform such behaviour over the longer-term.

IMBRICATIONS OF INFLUENCE:
A SYNOPSIS OF VOTER BEHAVIOUR MODELS

My aim in this section is to provide a brief synopsis of the major variables that influence voter decision-making. The cursory discussion here posits that while voter behaviour theory is largely silent on the influence of political marketing, there nevertheless exists important scope for foregrounding the points of intersection and overlap.[66] Voter behaviour models are generally rooted within a set of pragmatic 'rationalities' that provide an explanatory framework for understanding decision-making in the political sphere. While these models are premised essentially on accounting for the influences that impact upon the electoral behaviour of the citizenry, it nevertheless permits a more long-term and historical insight into the social, psychological and structural factors that influence such decision-making. In doing so, it allows for the initial outlines of the range of interactive influences impacting upon the individual and society to be foregrounded. Again, and as will be evident below, these models should not be seen to operate within strict parameters, but spaces of overlap and interactivity are clear.

Rational choice models of voter behaviour assert the primacy that voters accord to government performance evaluations in delivery social and economic benefits.[67] While abiding to the mantra that "voters are not fools", the rational model was premised on a

---

[65] Scammell, 'Political Marketing: Lessons for Political Science'739
[66] Henneberg, 'An Epistemological Perspective on Research in Political Marketing',163
[67] Anthony Downs, *An Economic Theory of Democracy* (New York: Harper and Row, 1957)

strongly utilitarian foundation in which assessments of performance were made. [68] As Lewis-Beck notes, rational choice voters "look backward and forward, at the economics of the self, community, and government, forming reasoned and not so reasoned opinions that decide his or her party preference."[69] This 'backwards and forwards' aspect highlights the "prospective" and "retrospective" assessments that voters undertake when assessing their social and economic positions, and thus adding a temporality to the decision-making process.[70] Importantly, performance evaluations are undertaken on the lived experience of voters, for as Fiorina suggests, "citizens [...] know what life has been like during the incumbent's administration. They do not need to know the precise economic or foreign policies of the incumbent administration in order to judge the results of those policies."[71]

The lived experience variable also has important implications for a sociological understanding of voter behaviour in which "social group attachments" and "characteristics" are determinants of behaviour. [72] Serving as a compass for "values and political beliefs", class, religion, ethnicity, race, gender and the like also become important conduits through which socialisation occurs.[73] Here, "party preference was a matter of heredity and habit, not decision-making" and importantly, voting is seen as "a periodic occasion for reaffirming one's social identity, not an opportunity to choose between administrations or belief systems."[74] While the social class aspect dominated the theoretical paradigm, the 'boundedness' of these sociological cleavages provided an analytical weakness to this model. Criticised for not adequately capturing a more complex and nuanced social realities, the model still holds heuristic significance for a South African political reality in which social cleavages of race and class remain important variables in decision-making.[75]

---

[68] Vladimer O. Key, *The Responsible Electorate* (Cambridge: Belknap Press, 1966), 66

[69] Michael S. Lewis-Beck, 'Comparative Economic Voting: Britain, France, Germany and Italy' in Pippa Norris (ed.) *Election and Voting Behaviour: New Challenges, New Perspectives* (Aldershot: Dartmouth Publishing Company Limited, 1998), 160

[70] Russell J. Dalton, *Citizen Politics: Public Opinion and Political Parties in Advanced Industrial Democracies*, Fourth Edition (Washington DC: CQ Press, 2006) 204-205

[71] Morris Fiorina quoted in Dalton, 212

[72] Dalton, 148

[73] Dalton, 148-149

[74] Pippa Norris, 'Introduction' in Pippa Norris (ed.) *Election and Voting Behaviour: New Challenges, New Perspectives* (Aldershot: Dartmouth Publishing Company Limited, 1998), xv

[75] A range of literatures explaining the South African context exist, sometimes with differing finds. See for example Jeremy Seekings, 'Partisan Realignment in Cape Town, 1994-2004' *Journal of African Elections* 5, 1 (2006), 176-203; Adam Habib and Sanusha Naidu, 'Race, Class and Voting Patterns in South Africa's Electoral System: Ten Years of Democracy' *African Development* XXXI, 3 (2006), 81-92. Perhaps the best range of related sources may be found in the Afrobarometer Working Paper series, available online: http://www.afrobarometer.org

While sociological markers afford voters consistent cues upon which decision-making is premised, voter behaviour research was also directed to consider the psychological aspect informing electoral choice. The emergence of the socio-psychological framework was premised on understanding the "attitudes and values" that informed decisions.[76] Premised essentially on three pillars – "party attachment, issue opinions and candidate images" – the model made important contributions to understandings of partisanship and provided a sound account of "actual voting decisions."[77] Moreover, and important for understandings of political marketing, its value lay in the consideration it gave to the "the events of the campaign" which influenced opinions and decisions.[78] The approach, unlike those discussed heretofore, understood voter 'attachment' to political parties as being premised on "long-term, affective, psychological identification."[79]Voters are socialised politically through "acquir[ing] those skills and beliefs necessary to orient him the political community of which he is part", and thus is premised on the extent to which the "values and attitudes and the political culture of a society are inculcated."[80] Serving further as a "stimulus for engagement in campaigns and elections" and thus serving a distinctly 'mobilisational' function, partisanship is 'transmitted' through basic social structures like the family.[81]

Partisan affiliation is premised on the key idea of how "people like me" make electoral decisions and it becomes a central variable in how citizens "view events, issues and candidates."[82] Thus, as an "emotional prop and informational crib"[83] partisan affiliation is also closely related to the notion of "party image" that voters hold, which essentially is a reflection of the "mental pictures, or psychological images, that voters have of parties."[84] While party "inclusivity" is the key premise given that it is based on the "credibility and trustworthiness of a party", such inclusivity is underpinned on a range of sociological factors – in South Africa, race remains the key factor. [85] The operation of sociological factors as determinants of voter behaviour does not mitigate the extent to which the electorate is

---

[76] Dalton, 177
[77] Dalton, 177-178
[78] Dalton, 178
[79] Dalton, 179
[80] Richard Muir and Ronan Paddison, *Politics, Geography and Behaviour* (London: Methuen, 1981), 38
[81] The idea of 'transmission' is accorded to Dalton, 181 and see also 186
[82] Dalton, 185
[83] Norris, xvi
[84] Collette Schulz-Herzenberg. 'Trends in Party Support and Voter Behaviour, 1994-2009' in Roger Southall and John Daniel, *Zunami!: The 2009 South African Elections'* Auckland Park: Jacana Media, 35
[85] Schulz-Herzenberg, 36

'cognitively mobilised'. [86] Here, the emphasis is on the "political sophistication"[87] of voters and is instructive in providing information on how "politically interested and well-educated" voters undertake the process of political decision-making.[88] A 'cognitively mobilised' electorate relies less on "party identifications as shortcut to handle difficult and often confusing political decisions" and rather on political information obtained through at its own discretion.[89]

This cursory overview of the pragmatic 'rationalities' that inform voter decision-making provides an important insight into the range of factors that shape and inform electoral behaviour. Significant for the present purposes is the temporal, psychological and structural aspect of these influences. Rather than acknowledging these models as operating as singular explanatory frameworks, the discussion above has cursorily emphasised the interactive nature and influence of the key variables in each model. In doing so, a richer and more complex understanding of the influences that operate in the political market is obtained. However, in addition, in demonstrating the range of societal, psychological and structural influences upon the voter, a theoretical aperture is presented. Indeed, while these models foreground the more 'rational' bases of influence, it nevertheless permits a space in which other 'cultural' determinants may come to inform decision-making. Historically determined, societal-based and psychologically persuasive, these factors are important adjunct determinants on political and electoral decision-making. In constituting a fundamental basis of an 'eclectic' theoretical framing, it is to a discussion of these bases that the analysis now turns.

BETWEEN ELISION AND INFLECTION:
POLITICAL MARKETING AND THE 'CULTURAL' ASPECT

Technical understandings of political marketing and voter behaviour render silent the strong cultural foundations upon which political action is situated. In the preceding discussion, I have attempted to construct a wider understanding of political marketing which takes cognisance of the cultural influences that permeate the political sphere. The analysis below examines key influences in understanding the varied textures of the ANC's discursive and representational appeals. The recognition that "symbols, ceremony and rhetoric may be more

---

[86] Dalton, 194
[87] Schulz-Herzenberg. 39
[88] Dalton, 195
[89] Dalton, 194

critical" than appeals to policy, has not been absent from analyses of political marketing.[90] Moreover, within the discipline of marketing, the broadening of its explanatory ambit to include theoretical influences from the social sciences and humanities introduced a more cultural paradigm into its intellectual and explanatory universe.[91] The cultural aspects, including myth, ritual, spectacle, symbolism and the like resonate with the overarching emphasis of political marketing for they all constitute part of a "web of communication shared by a community" that informs exchanges and interactions through an alternative narrative models.[92] Rightly, Stuart Hall asserts moreover that the significance of the 'cultural' aspect lies in the contribution it makes to the "production and exchange of meanings – the 'giving and taking of meaning' – between members of a society or group."[93] For the present study and as demonstrated below, the 'cultural' aspect is afforded greater import for understandings of the ANC's political marketing *practice* as it provides a means through which the political world was, and is, constructed, or perhaps, imagined. The direct political outcome of such 'imagining', and the cultural processes that underscored it, allowed the ANC, according to Raymond Suttner, to be "inserted into the cultural consciousness of people, becoming part of their being" and in so doing, extend its hegemony in the political sphere.[94]

In the discussion below, I unpack further these and other critical 'cultural' aspects of influence in the political market to provide the foundations of a richer and more dynamic understanding of political marketing. While not able to explore in great detail each of these aspects below, the analysis below adumbrates the most pertinent elements of a theory to understand the political marketing of the ANC.

Myth and Memory

Myth performs an important and expedient function in the political realm. Characterised by Roland Barthes as "a mode of signification", its power lies in its "illusory"[95] potential which

---

[90] Indeed, while I have noted Schumpeter's acknowledgement of the importance of 'psychotechnics' of politics, numerous scholars have noted the importance of 'non-technical' aspects, Patrick Butler and Phil Harris, 'Considerations on the evolution of political marketing theory', *Marketing Theory*, 9,2 (2009) 155
[91] Arvidsson, 330
[92] George Schopflin, 'The Functions of Myth and a Taxonomy of Myths' in Geoffrey Hosking and George Schopflin (eds) *Myths and Nationhood* (London: Hurst and Company, 1997), 20
[93] Stuart Hall, 'Introduction', in Stuart Hall (ed.) *Representation: Cultural Representations and Signifying Practices* (London: Sage Publications Ltd, 1997), 2
[94] Raymond Suttner, *The ANC Underground in South Africa to 1976: A Social and Historical Study*, 148
[95] Roland Barthes, *Mythologies* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1972), 109

centres "on perception rather than historically validated truths."[96] In this way, its power lies in its ability to create an "intellectual and cognitive monopoly" in the process of "ordering the world and defining world-views."[97] Endowed with this power to 'order' and 'define', myth is complicit in establishing systems of "morality and values" within communities and as such is central in to the process of "cultural reproduction."[98] While historically berthed, the authority accorded to myth, though not absolute, lies in its "recurrence" and as such, it is perceived to obtain greater resonance, veracity and legitimacy.[99] In doing so, it becomes an orienting node around which allegiances gather and "solidarity" is founded, for as Schopflin posits, myth subverts any "ambiguity that is present in all exchanges and communications" and that,

> Cognitive processes cannot grasp the entirety of reality, so that, in order to construct some kind of meaningful collective existence, aspects of experience have to be represented in mythical and symbolic fashion [...] myth is a simplified representation, an ordering of the world in such a way as to make sense of it for collectivities and thus make it binding.[100]

As a simplified representation, it is nevertheless endowed with significant meaning and as such, provides an important communicative conduit through which political persuasion may be effected. Indeed, the ability to access and even "celebrate" the mythological heritage of a community or society taps into the core of its cultural repository.[101] The significance of invoking a community's mythic past for political means lies in the 'validation' function of myth wherein myth serves as a means of acknowledgement. Indeed, for Barthes,

> Myth does not deny things, on the contrary, its function is to talk about them; simply, it purifies them, it makes them innocent, it gives them a natural and eternal justification, it gives them a clarity which is not that of an explanation but that of a statement of fact.[102]

---

[96] Schopflin, 19
[97] Schopflin, 19
[98] Schopflin, 19-20
[99] Barthes, 135
[100] Schopflin, 22-23
[101] O'Shaughnessy, 'Commentary: The abuse of rhetoric', 113
[102] Barthes, 143

Moreover, the effect of this validation function has a direct impact on memory, or the "maintenance of memory."[103] For myth to operate effectively and "resonate", it needs to "make an appeal" to an explicit occurrence "in the collective memory" and thus constitute a point of cultural reference for a particular entity. In addition, the weight attached to memory, and particularly useful for the analysis is this study, lies in its correlation with power. As Alonso has posited,

> If social action is mediated by history, it is because the past has a political and discursive significance. Memory, meaning and power are internally related [...] Thus, an inquiry into the construction and dissemination of historical memory, itself a central site for the production of effects of power, is critical for an analysis of hegemony.[104]

As will be demonstrated in more detail in the chapters that follow, the utilisation of myth and memory by the ANC to effect political behaviour was a key strategy in attempts to secure allegiance and support. Recourse to key events and personalities in its history became a central feature of its discursive arsenal and was mobilised to strong effect in forming a cognitive and emotional bridge to a mythic and historic universe. The narratives and discourses utilised in this recounting instigate a sense of collective remembering "that connects people across time and space" but are "selective" in their appropriations of the past.[105] While such a selective recall operates to create "links between the individual and the group and well as between the past and the present", it also permits a 'whitewashing' of the predominant narrative and puts into service an expedient recollection of the agency, power and resistance.[106]

Central to understanding the interplay between myth and memory is ritual, "wherein the individual participating in the rite is flooded with memories of previous occasions on which the rites were performed, engendering a sacred continuity."[107] Increasingly, the fundamental rite of democracy, namely voting in elections, became a site for the intersection of memory, myth and ritual. I argue below that remembering mythic events through the discourses around

---

[103] Schopflin, 26

[104] Quoted in David I. Kertzer, *Politics and Symbols: The Italian Communist Party and the Fall of Communism* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1996)

[105] Marc Howard Ross, 'Cultural Contestation and the Symbolic Landscape: Politics by Other Means?' in Marc Howard Ross (ed.) *Culture and Belonging in Divided Societies: Contestation and Symbolic Landscapes* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2009), 10

[106] Ross, 11

[107] Kertzer, *Politics and Symbols: The Italian Communist Party and the Fall of Communism*, 160

contemporary elections became a central means through which to connect the present day ANC and its supporters with valorised events of the past, and in so doing, allow for the inculcation of perceptions of 'sacred continuity.' More broadly, however, the utilisation of memory is intimately implicated in the process of the establishment of a "new cultural memory" premised on the "resistance narratives" in the struggle against apartheid which form the "foundation myth for a non-racial, democratic society."[108] This 'new cultural memory' accords with what Crain Soudien has called a "triumphalist memory" that centres on an ethic of "redemption" and is "rendered essentially as a memory of the triumph of the human spirit, of the inevitability of goodness."[109] In the present study, this 'triumphalism' has come to be embodied in the figure of Nelson Mandela, who "iconised", [110] undertakes a particular role of constituting a recursive moral touchstone for the ANC, and is put in to service to "perform the particular myth society especially needs at a given historical moment."[111] Thus, as will be further explicated in the chapter that follows, the myth of Mandela is akin to the general utility of myth, in that it

> [...] condition[s] the public to the powerful symbols used by politicians. Myths underwrite the status quo in times of stability and they chart the course of change in times of stress.[112]

Myths and memory serve as repositories of ideas that circulate, inform and influence cognitions and behaviours, and thus have a particular resonance as a fount which can be tapped to contextualise discourses of political marketing. To give effect myth and memory requires acts of performance. It is to this the analysis now turns.

Performance: Ritual, Spectacle and Carnival

Performance of the political invokes Schumpeter's recognition of the 'psychotechnics' of politics. Indeed, performing politics lends itself to the dramatic and theatrical elements of political behaviour which when premised on "cultural expressions and enactments" allow for

---

[108] Sabine Marschall, 'Symbols of Reconciliation or Instruments of Division?: A Critical Look at New Monuments in South Africa' in Marc Howard Ross (ed.) *Culture and Belonging in Divided Societies: Contestation and Symbolic Landscapes* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2009) 156
[109] Crain Soudien, 'Emerging Multiculturalisms in South African Museum Practice: Some Examples from the Western Cape' in Marc Howard Ross (ed.) *Culture and Belonging in Divided Societies: Contestation and Symbolic Landscapes* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2009), 186
[110] Soudien, 186
[111] Holt, 2
[112] David I. Kertzer, *Ritual, Politics and Power* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1987) , 13

greater "emotional persuasiveness" as well as "political and social connectedness."[113] The analytical and theoretical utility of performance in the examination below centres on specific moments and events, but as will be demonstrated, such performance is a central feature of both apartheid and post-apartheid political life.

While in the previous section I noted the centrality of ritual in permitting 'a sacred continuity' by allowing for an interplay between myth and memory, it is important here too, to understand the greater performative power that ritual undertakes in the political sphere. Indeed, ritual is intimately involved in "communicat[ing] the core of a group's self-identity and history"[114] and in so doing

> [...] energiz[ing] the participants and attach[ing] them to each other, increas[ing] their identification with the symbolic objects of communication, and intensify[ing] the connection of the participants and the symbolic objects with the observing audience.[115]

As a means of fostering identity-creation through "repetitive" performances, ritual allows for the "reproduction of cultural identity" while commensurately reinforcing claims to solidarity.[116] As much as it is complicit in this process of identity formation, it also acts to ring-fence identities through an exclusionary practice that emphasises "differences" and distinctions between groups "by creating a symbolic universe in which groups can be conceived, made palpable, and assigned moral qualities."[117] Moreover, ritual enactment is constituted as "symbolic behaviour" wherein the ritual serves to inculcate meaning in the symbol – for Kertzer it allows for "symbols come be defined, diffused and energised."[118] Further, the political effect of this inculcation was to ensconce leaders (and parties) with an "aura of sacrality" and by "manipulating and claiming ownership to [...] symbols, power holders demonstrate their special power and legitimise their claim to authority."[119] While able to "exist only through symbolic representation", these processes of legitimation are highly

---

[113] Ross, 15
[114] Ross, 16
[115] Jeffrey C. Alexander, 'Cultural pragmatics: social performance between ritual and strategy' in Jeffrey Alexander, Bernhard Giesen and Jason L. Mast (eds.) , *Social Performance: Symbolic Action, Cultural Pragmatics and Ritual* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006) 29-30
[116] Marschall, 154.
[117] Kertzer, *Politics and Symbols: The Italian Communist Party and the Fall of Communism*, 126
[118] David I. Kertzer, 'Political rituals' in Luciano Cheles and Lucio Sponza (eds.) *The art of persuasion: Political communication in Italy from 1945 t o the 1990s* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2001), 99
[119] Kertzer, 'Political rituals',101. For more, see also Murray Edelman, *Politics as Symbolic Action: Mass Arousal and Quiescence* (New York: Academic Press, 1971)

complicit in "structur[ing]   the contact between the power holders and the masses."[120] More importantly, and also instructive in understanding its function as a means for political socialisation, ritual "serves to link the individual to society" as it is "[t]hrough ritual [that] the individual's subjective experience interacts with and is [moulded] by social forces."[121] In this way, rituals are put in to service or "invented" to reflect new "social circumstances", but emanate "largely out of a stock-pile of pre-existing symbols" that allows for "an understanding of the world."[122]

Performance through ritual is underpinned by the 'dramatic' where specific parts are prescribed and enacted by various protagonists. Serving as "a symbolic trigger of confrontation",[123] this dramatic aspect lends greater emotional credence to politics and serves as a catalyst for "social excitement" and "physiological stimuli" that is underpinned by "music, singing and dancing."[124] These modes of enactment themselves are invested with an important social and political function. Writing about the social power of music and other artistic forms in Africa, Liz Gunner keenly asserts that they function as "midwives to new ideas and new social visions" while "summon[ing] up collective memory with amazing speed."[125] Thus, and as will be discussed in greater detail in chapter seven, when candidates for political office perform liberation era song and dance at politically expedient moments as means to link their personal travails with the memory of a wider resistance struggle, they not only tap into and connect with the sentiments of political and socio-economic exclusion experienced by their audience, they also become the embodiment of those sentiments and transfer the 'sacrality' associated with a mythic past into the present moment. In this way, the "genius of ritual" is exposed, for it is deeply implicated in "fostering heightened emotional states, identifying them both with particular social bonds and with a particular worldview."[126]

The analysis in the chapters that follow examines the ritual and performance imperatives of the ANC's political marketing and highlights the larger context and resonances of such performance. While I have focused thus far on the performance aspects of ritual, it is important to note that political performance is constructed more widely to include a range of

---

[120] Kertzer, 'Political rituals', 100 and 101
[121] Kertzer, *Ritual, Politics and Power*, 10
[122] Kertzer, *Ritual, Politics and Power*, 10
[123] Turner quoted in Ross, 13
[124] Kertzer, *Politics and Symbols: The Italian Communist Party and the Fall of Communism*, 127
[125] Liz Gunner, 'Jacob Zuma, the Social Body and the Unruly Power of Song' *African Affairs* 108,430, (2008), 36
[126] Kertzer, *Politics and Symbols: The Italian Communist Party and the Fall of Communism*, 127

expressive and public acts. Indeed, these acts are not empty of meaning and serve to construct political theatre as an important means for the exercise and "creation of political power." [127] Indeed, as Apter has argued, political theatre can be central to "precipitating and promoting disjunctive moments – revolution, social transformation, the redemptive occasion." [128] Here, the extent of the "dramatistic" allows for the creation of a "meaning-*full*' politics.[129] As in traditional theatre, the "quality" of the performance dictates the extent to which political theatre can open a space which creates adequate "symbolic capital."[130] By suggesting the notion of 'adequacy', I follow Apter's position that there exist "a premium on certain kinds of political theatre" where "theatricality", devoid of strong "symbolic capital", is pervasive.[131] As will be demonstrated in the chapters that follow, the performance of politics in South Africa, especially but not exclusively around election campaigns, functioned more as spectacle and carnival, with the "real business of politics going on elsewhere."[132] Despite this, the spectacular and carnivalesque nature of ANC politics was laden with symbolic capital and as such, operated to inculcate a sense of power, history, dominance and even inevitability to the staging of political life.

I demonstrate in chapter seven how the election campaign of 2009 constituted a prime example of spectacle in South African political life. Indeed, the campaign satisfied conceptions of the spectacular as it served as a "form of captivation", was aesthetically compelling, and gave life to the narrative and textual aspects of political theatre."[133] 'Events' in South African political life and political theatre are also underpinned by the inter-related notion of 'carnival', which is defined as '"a spectacle without a stage', in which the participant is 'both actor and spectator.'"[134] Theorised by Mikhail Bakhtin essentially as a literary device to think through "folk culture" the notion of carnival is premised on the idea of the 'contest' and 'challenge' to dominant forms of power and hierarchy.[135] Further, 'carnival' is premised on the duality of the lived experience of "ordinary people" – inhabiting both the "official" world authority, formality, hierarchy and the like, as well the "unofficial"

---

[127] David E. Apter, 'Politics as theatre: an alternative view on the rationalities of power' in Jeffrey Alexander, Bernhard Giesen and Jason L. Mast (eds.) , *Social Performance: Symbolic Action, Cultural Pragmatics and Ritual* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 223
[128] Apter, 223
[129] Apter, 223
[130]The notion of 'symbolic capital' is from Bourdieu and is utilised by Apter, 227 here
[131] Apter, 227
[132] Apter, 227
[133] Apter, 230
[134] Sue Vice, 'Introducing Bakhtin' (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1997), 149
[135] Renate Lachmann, 'Bakhtin and Carnival: Culture as Counter-Culture', *Cultural Critique* 11 (1988-89), 115

which is characterised by "reversal, parody, song and laughter."[136] Thus, 'carnival' functions as an apt lens through which to understand certain events in South African political theatre and the textures of seminal events in the ANC's narrative such as the Congress of the People in 1955. Constituting the event at which the ANC was able to construct a new political, moral, economic and social universe through the drawing up of the Freedom Charter, the prescriptions of which served as the antithesis to apartheid, the 'carnivalism' lay in the fact that,

> [t]he spectacle staged by carnivalesque rituals is not actually directed against institutions, whose functions and forms are only usurped for a temporary period of time, but rather against the loss of utopian potential brought about by dogma and authority. The festival [...] releases this utopian potential.[137]

Indeed, the ethos of utopianism and the symbolic purport of the Congress of the People – especially given its multi-racial representation and the visionary potential of the Freedom Charter – endowed the struggle narrative with a strong mythic and transcendent value. The import of the event, in the conjunctural moment at which it was performed, lay in the fact that it was in itself, emancipatory. Indeed, in its challenge to the authority of the apartheid state, its inscription in a memorialising narrative of resistance lay in the following of carnival: "[it] is the people as a whole, organised in their own way, outside of and contrary to the 'coercive socioeconomic and political organisation', suspended for the time of festival.'"[138] While I have used the example of the Congress of the People to illustrate the operation of the notion of carnival, it will be evident in the analysis in the chapters that follow, that a carnivalesque impetus underlies political performance at various levels of activity and analysis. Acknowledging this is instructive, for it provides an insight into the representation of various internal conflicts and leadership struggles in the ANC, while commensurately, informs debates on how the ANC shifts between its twin personalities of liberation movement and political party – or a shift between the 'traditional' and the 'modern'. This will be rendered clearer in the discussion that follows.

In construing political behaviour as performance and theatre, recognition of another central aspect of such a conception is required: the actors. The increasing trend toward celebrity,

---

[136] Vice, 150
[137] Lachmann, 130
[138] John Docker, *Postmodernism and Popular Culture: A Cultural History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 180

fomented by a media-dominated public sphere, has led to the proliferation of the "personalisation of politics" and the creation of political "stars."[139] The trend toward the 'celebratising' of political actors – and such personalisation – is for Mancini and Swanson part of the larger shift toward "increasing social differentiation" and the "fracturing of citizens' identities" due to the imperatives of modernisation.[140] The "breakdown of traditional social structures",[141] which as noted above are deeply complicit in shaping and informing political and voter behaviour, has led to the "creation of new symbolic realities [with] their own symbolic templates of heroes and villains, honoured values and aspirations, histories, mythologies and self-definition."[142] As such, the 'celebritising' thrust is accorded greater import through technologies of political marketing and advertising, so that "[p]oliticians become stars, politics becomes a series of spectacles and citizens the spectators."[143] For Street, this turn in politics to celebrity is indicative not merely of marketing's influence on political practices, but rather that "politics is marketing."[144] Indeed, while the tendency toward celebrity in politics privileges image and image-creation, or "appearance", over policy and political substance, it nevertheless may "stand as a proxy" for "character and competency" and thus is not devoid of substance.[145]

The value accorded to the 'celebritised' political actor is thus premised on "their *aesthetic* talent of being able to represent political reality in new and original ways."[146] Such 'aesthetic talent' is indicative of "political style" which "enables citizens to regain their grip on a complex political reality by restoring mundane experience to the centre of democratic practice."[147] At times rendered both explicitly and implicitly, the analysis which follows demonstrates the functioning of political celebrity in South Africa and the utilisation of 'aesthetic talent' of political leaders. Indeed, Nelson Mandela's style as a 'reconciliator', Thabo Mbeki's style for delivery and Jacob Zuma's style for ordinariness emphasised the personal brand of each and was utilised expediently in differing and prevailing political

---

[139] John Street, 'Celebrity Politicians: Popular Culture and Political Representation' *British Journal of Politics and International Relations*, 6 (2004), 441
[140] Paolo Mancini and David L. Swanson, 'Politics, Media and Modern Democracy: Introduction' in David L. Swanson and Paolo Mancini (eds.), *Politics, Media and Modern Democracy* (Westport: Praeger Publishers, 1996), 8
[141] Street, 441
[142] Mancini and Swanson, 9
[143] Street, 441
[144] Street, 441
[145] Street, 443-44
[146] F.R. Ankersmit, *Political Representation: Cultural Memory in the Present* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2002), 116-117, emphasis in the original
[147] Ankersmit, 132; also Pels quoted in Street, 445

conjunctures. The effect of these representations, as will be demonstrated in the chapters which follow, was important in "establishing [each] as a 'person of qualities' within the public space of 'demonstrable representativeness.'"[148] As such, the foregrounding of these 'qualities' allows the specific "political values" to "condense" within the individual leader who then becomes the 'embodiment' of particular histories, traditions, attributes and identities of "the party, the people and the state."[149] Further, such embodiment is underpinned by the "powerful resonance" of "political culture and mythology [...] regardless of the actual content of" these leaders' political orientation or programmes.[150]

While performance and theatre are "intrinsic" to politics, they are also "dangerous," as it permits the "instrumental manipulation of symbolic expression", while allowing for

> [...] opportunities to beguile, entice or entrap an audience, a public, or a citizen. It is also a way of encouraging a preference for passion over reason [...] In short, it is a method for instrumental gulling [...] It is suspect [...] It can be simply fun, entertaining, but not when that prevents citizens from taking a more proper measure of truth.[151]

Given this, and given the aptness of viewing politics and political action as constituting performance, it is nevertheless incumbent upon the analyst, as Askew claims, to question claims to "authenticity" and "instrumentality" – what is reality, if all politics is performance? Moreover, are there "intrinsic" identities if these performances are predicated on performing roles within the political sphere?[152] While the discussion above has opened a space in which the utility of performance may be understood, it is important further to recognise that the decision to perform is made on an acutely "political" basis and a solid grasp of the material, historical, cultural and economic realities is required to communicate effectively with the body politic.[153] Thus, a 'meaning-*full*' politics is permissible and allows for a legitimation of political actors (and institutions) through an interactive and dialogic relationship between the 'power-holders and the masses.' Moreover, the space that performance and theatre permits for subversion and contestation through the carnivalesque is imperative for inducing a

---

[148] Corner in Street, 446
[149] Street, 446
[150] Meyer in Street, 446
[151] Apter, 247
[152] Kelly M. Askew, *Performing the Nation: Swahili Music and Cultural Politics in Tanzania* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 2002), 21
[153] Askew, 21

democratic potentiality within the political sphere and empowering the citizenry to challenge dominant power structures. The importance accorded to ritual action is highly complicit in identity creation and through political enactment. Finally, the utility of understanding politics as a performance lies in its ability to

> [...] puncture the pretensions of those in power with the cruelty of parody or the devastating effects of comedy. It can be used as well to glorify those in power, reinforce or denounce extant political figures, firm up orthodoxies or tear down beliefs, or even more subversively, expose political subterfuges and reveal what otherwise might have remained hidden from public view.[154]

Symbolism

Symbolism, as intimated above, is intrinsic to both the process of myth and memory creation as well as ritual and performance. Some further points of issue require discussion here. The import of the symbol and symbolism lies in their ability to "give meaning to the world around us; they allow us to interpret what we see and, and, indeed, what we are."[155] As such, symbolism lies at the heart of politics – or more than that, "the symbolic is real politics"[156] – and is central to permitting what Bourdieu has called "political capital" (which forms part of the broader notion of 'symbolic capital'), which "exists only in and through representation" and obtains its power, "because the person who submit to it believes it exists."[157] Writing on the centrality of representation to political and symbolic capital, and with particular emphasis on the political struggle to assert a specific mode of representation, Gil Eyal has noted that

> Political representation [...] is a complex act of naming through which what is represented is thereby made real. Thus, political ideologies do not simply 'reflect' the social bases of political actions – if anything, the opposite is true: political struggle is precisely a fight over the capacity to impose a legitimate vision of social space and its relation to the political field, i.e. to convert political capital (control over the instruments of political representation) into symbolic power (the prestige of being the effective "delegate" of a social group).The political struggle, which determines the

---

[154] Apter, 248
[155] Kertzer, *Ritual, Politics and Power,* 4
[156] Kertzer, *Ritual, Politics and Power*, 5
[157] Bourdieu quoted in Kertzer, *Politics and Symbols: The Italian Communist Party and the Fall of Communism*, 5. For more, see also Pierre Bourdieu, *Language and Symbolic Power* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1994)

capacity to impose representations, is itself neither autonomous nor a social struggle in disguise, but a "theatricalised representation" of the struggles in the social space.[158]

While the notion of symbolic and political capital is utilised to understand the actions of the state in asserting its "hegemonic location at the centre of society" and the means by which this "is (re)produced through symbols", it nevertheless holds theoretical significance for explaining the similar articulations of the ANC's location at the centre of South African political life.[159] The ANC's symbolic cache, developed in the period of struggle, and utilised continuously and repetitively, functioned in the political sphere to "stir up emotion" and "impel people to action" for as Zdzislaw Mach has noted, "the more antagonistic a social situation [...] the more active role symbolic actions play, integrating a group, canalizing conflicts or, often, generating open action against opponents or enemies."[160] By extension, symbols also serve to inculcate and "build political solidarity" as they "express, embroider, simplify or resurrect myths."[161]

The 'condensation' function performed by, and through, the symbol is important in the process of image creation, and deeply resonant with the discussion of the utility of the political brand above. Indeed, the importance of image to marketing, branding, symbolism highlights the imbrications and interweaving that this theoretical framing aims to accentuate. As such, the centrality accorded to the image of an individual politician or political organisation is a "carefully constructed condensation" of a range of "attributes", associations, emotions and the like that the individual seeks to represent.[162] These images are imbued with meaning and "correspond" to the "core values" of the political actor, or those that they would like to publicise.[163] Given that images hold important cognitive associations, they are "constructed to advance a particular agenda" and more imperatively, for Strachan and Kelly, "the emotional appeal of these images to patriotic values encourages unquestioned

[158] Gil Eyal, 'The Making and Breaking of the Czechoslovak Political Field' in Loic Wacquant (ed) *Pierre Bourdieu and Democratic Politics: The Mystery of Ministry* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2005), 153

[159] Thomas Blom Hansen and Finn Stepputat, 'Introduction: States of Imagination' in Thomas Blom Hansen and Finn Stepputat (eds.) *States of Imagination: Ethnographic Explorations of the Postcolonial State* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2001), 6

[160] Quoted in Kertzer, *Politics and Symbols: The Italian Communist Party and the Fall of Communism*, 6

[161] Nicholas J. O'Shaughnessy, *Politics and Propaganda: Weapons of Mass Seduction* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2004), 6

[162] J. Cherie Strachan and Kathleen E. Kendall, 'Political Candidates' Convention Films: Finding the Perfect Image – An Overview of Political Image Making' in Charles A. Hill and Marguerite Helmers (eds.), *Defining Visual Rhetorics* (Mahwah: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates Publishers, 2004), 135

[163] Strachan and Kendall, 36

acceptance of candidates' images and candidates' patriotic definitions of the nation, as well as the stands on policy that flow from these definitions."[164]

The import of this contention will be clearly demonstrated in the chapters that follow. Indeed, I have noted above how various attributes came to be accorded to post-apartheid ANC leaders (and South African presidents), but the symbolic value of these attributions also had important political outcomes. Symbolic meaning through image appropriation is not only the preserve of political candidates and or parties. The line of argument informing the discussion on economic policy in the subsequent chapters asserts the centrality of the notion of "symbolic government" in accordance with the "symbolic state."[165] The construction of the symbolic foundations of the 'new' South African state is predicated on the discursive registers of the ANC, which are complicit in the "the creation of symbolic images, symbolic actions and celebratory rhetoric" and which constitutes the "principal concern" of symbolic government.[166] Moreover, such government is a,

> [...] government by narrative – the small narratives by which governments account for their daily work, and the meta-narratives, the big themes that lend their many activities coherence and give them direction.[167]

The notion of a 'government by narrative' obtains greater import when understood through the lens of policy-making and policy intent. Indeed, within democratic polities, the contest over policy is as much a contest over symbolic value of policy as it is over "ideas and their meanings."[168] Certain types of policies, and the goals they seek to achieve, also function as a basis around which identities cluster and as such, provide a dividing line between "support and opposition" and "coupled with their socially supported teleological connotations" become "potent condensation symbols."[169] Indeed, despite the "instrumental" nature of policy, it operates too as a "symbolic entity" wherein "meaning" is "determined by its

---

[164] Strachan and Kendall, 36

[165] , O'Shaughnessy, 'Commentary: The Abuse of Rhetoric'119; and Nicholas O'Shaughnessy, 'The symbolic state: A British experience', *Journal of Public Affairs,* 3,4 (2003),300

[166] O'Shaughnessy, 'Commentary: The Abuse of Rhetoric'119

[167] O'Shaughnessy, 'The symbolic state: A British experience', 299

[168] Stone quoted in Frank Fischer, *Discursive Politics and Deliberative Practices*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 2003), 60

[169] Edelman, *Politics as Symbolic Action: Mass Arousal and Quiescence*, 16

relationship to the particular situation, social policies, and ideological framework of which it is part."[170]

Flowing through policy are "ideologies and values" that are rendered explicit through language[171] – more than that, it is language's ability to act as a "translation mechanism [...] between political rationalities and regulatory aspirations" that endow it with symbolic significance.[172] Thus, in the South African case, the notions of 'reconstruction' and 'development' – the eponymous economic and social programme that characterised the political policy landscape in the years immediately after 1994 – functioned as important symbolic and linguistic signifiers in the creation of a post-apartheid state. The RDP thus operated as a "generative narrative" in post-apartheid South Africa and ensconced the newly democratic state within a richly symbolic ethic and the prospect of the realisation of the ANC's teleological mission.

The narrative conveyance of symbolism need not be dramaturgic, for the drier registers of 'bureaucratism', despite attempting to "sedate", are highly symbolic.[173] Indeed, rather than an indication of banality, the technocratism, statistics and data inform a new political and cultural reality which in itself is symbolic of a changing governmental dispensation. Thus, in chapter six, I argue that the GEAR macro-economic strategy, marketed as an adjunct to the RDP, sheds light on the changing power and leadership dynamics in the ANC, and is instructive in providing and analytical lens through which to view the *politics* that informed the processes of social and economic change in South Africa.

The contest over economic policy, condensing the values within different constituencies within the ANC and within key personalities is pertinent to understanding the 'story' that is the modern and democratic South Africa. This story "expands epistemology" to allow for a better conception of "the ways individuals are embedded in the wider social contexts of situation and society."[174] More than that, and as I have noted above, the story of economic policy in South Africa is instructive for it permits an insight into the strategic and tactical motivations of key players in the South African political market.[175]

---

[170] Fischer, 60
[171] Fischer, 61
[172] Peter Miller and Nicholas Rose, 'Governing Economic Life', *Economy and Society*, 19,1 (1990), 6
[173] O'Shaughnessy, 'Commentary: The Abuse of Rhetoric,'117
[174] Fischer, 164
[175] Fischer, 169

Economic policy, and the narratives which inform it, are part of a broader set of influences that punctuate the South African symbolic landscape. This landscape is informed by a rich and important cultural register that the ANC is able to construct, access, negotiate and employ – at both particular and general moments. The continuous utilisation of this register, which is both historically-indebted and future-oriented, is complicit in endowing the ANC with an hegemonic presence in the political sphere. However, the creation of hegemony through symbols leaves space for the citizenry to interpret, understand and render meaningful those symbols. The utilisation of symbols in the communication process and the consequence of their manipulation are also central to an understanding of propaganda. It is to this I now turn.

Propaganda

Criticism of political marketing has centred on equating its practice, outcomes and effects with that of propaganda. While at times a clear difference between the two forms of political representation may seem theoretically impermissible, a clear distinction is nevertheless present. Thus, as an inflection to a broader understanding of political marketing, it is important to recognise that propaganda is premised within a theoretical remit that includes myth, emotion, hyperbole and the like, it nevertheless is a conceptually distinct.[176] Thus, unlike the more marketing-aligned practices of publicity and promotion, propaganda is heuristically important, for it within its scope and practices, it serves as the 'art' to political marketing's "science" of persuasion and influence.[177]

While numerous definitions of propaganda obtain, O'Shaughnessy posits a particular "elasticity" to the term and in so doing, dilutes its traditionally negative associations such as its "overt polemicism" and demonstrates its ability to "inform many cultural products, including [...] apparently politically neutral areas."[178] Characterising 'propaganda' as 'elastic' permits greater representational fluidity to its utilisation as a form of representation in the political sphere. Indeed, it lends richness and complexity to analysing the representational and discursive overtures of the ANC, while simultaneously demonstrating the highly interactive and shifting nature of these overtures. As such, greater effect is accorded to the attempt to assert a hegemonic economic, political and cultural presence in the public sphere.

---

[176] O'Shaughnessy, *Politics and Propaganda: Weapons of Mass Seduction*, 3
[177] Scammell, 728
[178] O'Shaughnessy, *Politics and Propaganda: Weapons of Mass Seduction*, 1-2

As noted, various definitions of propaganda obtain.[179] However, while acknowledging that definitions are important, for the present analysis, I prefer to outline key explanatory features of the idea that serve a more heuristic and purposive function. Indeed, central to an understanding of propaganda, is recognition that its "meaning is negotiable" as the universe of representations that constitutes 'propaganda' is open, fluid and dependent on a particular cultural, historical and social milieu – or perhaps, more simply, "what is propaganda to one person is not propaganda to another." [180] The distinction between propaganda and political marketing lies in the "didacticism" of the former, which is premised on 'assertion', while the latter "is rooted in consumer response" and lacks the visible "ideological fervour" of the former.[181] Moreover, the 'didacticism' and 'fervour' of propaganda "simplifies and exaggerates", while simultaneously being premised on a clear and direct notion of "utopianism".[182] Further, and whereas marketing is premised on the notion of exchange and thus implicitly promotes interaction between the parties, propaganda "eschews argumentative interchange."[183]

Unlike the notion of persuasion which is premised on a "transactional" undertaking between parties and "is more mutually satisfying", in that the needs to the persuader and persuadee are "fulfilled",[184] propaganda's overall imperative to "manufacture consent"[185] implies "mass suggestion" where the appeal is based on an "emotional" claim rather than a "rational and informational" one.[186] The centrality of the emotional appeal made by propaganda is central to an understanding of both its strategic and theoretical utility. While the discussion on the determinants of voter decision-making above emphasised a more rational approach to such decision-making, the influence, circulation and very presence of propaganda in the political sphere indicates the importance of emotion and emotional appeals in effective political behaviour and decision-making. Importantly, this 'emotional' appeal is based on the principle of the "self-interest of the source" through "a careful and predetermined plan of prefabricated

[179] For an overall summary see Bertrand Taithe and Tim Thornton, 'Propaganda: A Misnomer of Rhetoric and Persuasion?' in Bertrand Taithe and Tim Thornton (eds.) *Propaganda: Political Rhetoric and Identity, 1300-2000* (Stroud: Sutton Publishing Limited, 1999), 1-26
[180] O'Shaughnessy, *Politics and Propaganda: Weapons of Mass Seduction*, 3
[181] O'Shaughnessy, *Politics and Propaganda: Weapons of Mass Seduction*, 4
[182] Nicholas O'Shaughnessy, 'Social propaganda and social marketing: a critical difference?', *European Journal of Marketing* 30,10/11 (1996), 65
[183] O'Shaughnessy, 'Social propaganda and social marketing: a critical difference?'
[184] Garth S. Jowett and Victoria O'Donnell, *Persuasion and Propaganda*, 3rd edition, (Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications, 1999), 27-28
[185] Noam Chomsky, *Media Control: The Spectacular Achievements of Propaganda,* 2nd edition (New York: Seven Stories Press, 2002) 15. Although the idea of 'manufacturing consent' as part of his propaganda model relates to the influence of a neo-liberal, mass media the idea still has resonance in the present study
[186] O'Shaughnessy, *Politics and Propaganda: Weapons of Mass Seduction*, 17

symbol manipulation." [187] While symbol (and myth) manipulation are the key means through which propaganda is actualised, rhetoric performs an important, but by no means exclusive, articulator function. Indeed, it is through rhetoric that the emotional appeal is given effect for it "provides something for thought to get hold of, something concrete, an image, a scrap of language or feeling."[188] Rhetorical injunctions to effect behavioural change through emotional appeals are wrought with strategic utility as they "sharpen faction" and corral allegiance based on symbolic and mythic sentiment.[189]

The propagandistic intent of rhetoric is not confined merely to the use of language, but also imagery. From political posters, banners, cartoons and the like, the use of images to invoke political attitude or behavioural change, or even to draw attention to a particular social and political circumstance, has a long and rich history.[190] The analysis in the chapter below examines the political posters, banners, graffiti and political with the aim of analysing the 'cornucopia' of influences that operate in and through visual rhetorical constructions in apartheid and post-apartheid South Africa. Moreover, the discussion also demonstrates the political and social continuities that exist through this rhetoric, and the strategic importance of this for the ANC's construction of a lived and material reality. Writing about political cartoons specifically, but with a sharp resonance to the 'mediatory' effect of images generally, Janis Edwards posits that these "visual presentations" serve to

> [...] create images and define analogies. Familiar imagery is often employed to create metaphors or analogies that guide interpretation. They are rhetorical in the sense that social values and effects are expressed when symbolic forms are put into public play.[191]

The durability of the image and its complicity in metaphor relay make it a powerful tool for both propaganda and marketing use. Indeed, in accentuating a particular social and political

---

[187] O'Shaughnessy, *Politics and Propaganda: Weapons of Mass Seduction*, 17
[188] O'Shaughnessy, 'The symbolic state: A British experience', 300. For an excellent analysis of the political effect of rhetoric in shaping a post-apartheid South Africa, see Philippe-Joseph Salazar, *An African Athens: Rhetoric and the Shaping of Democracy in South Africa* (Mahwah: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, Publishers, 2002)
[189] O'Shaughnessy, *The Phenomenon of Political Marketing*, 6
[190] See for example, Steven A. Seidman, *Posters, Propaganda and Persuasion in Election Campaigns Around the World and Through History* (New York: Peter Lang Publishing, 2008) ; or more generally for the use of artisitic images see Toby Clark, *Art and Propaganda in the Twentieth Century* (London: Orion Publishing Group, 1997)
[191] Janis L. Edwards, 'Echoes of Camelot: How images Construct Cultural Memory Through Rhetorical Framing' in Charles A. Hill and Marguerite Helmers (eds.), *Defining Visual Rhetorics* (Mahwah: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates Publishers, 2004), 188

circumstance, it also serves to 'activise' narratives in that it "refers back to its earlier [or present] contexts and suggests future action."[192] However, the impact and power of these images, used in the creation of propaganda materials, creates a "highly selective narrative" which "emphasizes collective memories" that function to demarcate specific identities and allegiances and can be filled with "moral superiority claims."[193]

The contours of the notion of propaganda utilised here, and its imbrications with a wider definition of political marketing utilised in the thesis, does not render the theoretical and conceptual frame opaque, but rather undertakes to display the acute inflection between different discursive and representational modes. As will be demonstrated more clearly in the chapters that follow, the interactive and dynamic nature of the political sphere require a wider and more 'eclectic' theoretical mooring to understand the fragmented and multifarious approaches to communication that political parties and governments utilise. Only in so doing, will a better understanding of the complexity of the political sphere be grasped.

CONCLUSION: POLITICAL MARKETING AND THE ANC

The foregoing discussion has cast light on key theoretical and conceptual notions that inform a wider understanding of political marketing. Rather than see each as constituting a separate explanatory framework, it is at the intersections of their purview that a richer and more meaning-laden understanding of the political market may be obtained. Theoretically, as I have noted above, advocates of political marketing acknowledge the need for expanding the boundaries of the sub-disciplines' theoretical remit through acknowledging its 'embeddedness' within larger discursive and representational arenas. Indeed, in taking cognisance of the wider social, cultural and economic ambit in which it is berthed enriches the praxis of political marketing and legitimates its claims to authenticity and representivity.

A fuller, richer understanding of the political marketing of the ANC needs to take cognisance of the operation of numerous cultural influences in its discursive and representational registers. As will be demonstrated in the chapters that follow, the constant refrain to a more glorious past, ensconced in the veneration of leaders and the sacredness of the struggle for

---

[192] Edwards, 188. See also Elisabeth El Refaie, 'Metaphor in political cartoons: Exploring audience responses' in Charles J. Forceville and Eduardo Urios-Aparisi (eds.) *Multimodal Metaphor* (Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 2009), 173-196; Joost Schilperood and Alfons Maes, 'Visual metaphoric conceptualisation in editorial cartoons' in Charles J. Forceville and Eduardo Urios-Aparisi (eds.) *Multimodal Metaphor* (Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 2009), 215-240
[193] Ross, 9-10

liberation, endowed the ANC with an important cultural register with claims to historical hegemony. The re-enactment of these claims at specific moments in the course of everyday politics provides an important moral-ethic and teleological touchstone for the party. More than that, these claims are located within a cultural register that informs the very existence of the ANC. David Kertzer has argued as much, demonstrating the interplay between symbol, myth and ritual in the performance of politics, when he notes,

> Political parties can exist only through symbolic representation. They can be conceived of, and seen, only through their associated symbols. Rites are crucial to this process of associating individuals with symbolic entities such as parties, religions or nations. Through the party-associated rites, individuals both identify themselves and become identified by others with the party. Rituals allow individuals to come in contact with the holy symbols that bond them jointly to this symbolic entity. They provide a context in which the myths that sustain the party can be validated and energised. They perform a crucial organisational function in marking the in-group from the out-group, distinguishing those associated with the party from all others, by making public the link between member or sympathiser and party symbol.[194]

The 'cultural construction' of the ANC enriches understandings of electoral decision-making and the social, structural and psychological foundations upon which such decision-making is premised and influenced. While these models are premised on pragmatic and rational bases, the influence of the 'cultural' aspects provides a qualitative 'layering' to enrich understandings of decision-making and electoral behaviour. Importantly too, the longer-term bias implicit in these models is useful for conceptualising the continuity in the various representational registers employed by the ANC.

The creation of the branded political party through its political marketing activities is important, for it locates the party as the centre of political and cultural meaning. The refrains to history, memory, culture, personality and the like, notwithstanding its dominance in the electoral sphere and its veritable embodiment of the state, endows the ANC with a creative power to 'imagine the community' and gives content to the creation of a post-apartheid and democratic state.[195]   But underlying this process of 'imagining' and creating is a more

---

[194] Kertzer, 'Political rituals,' 100
[195] Benedict R. O'G. Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso, 1991)

fundamental question: to whom is the ANC marketing? The core constituency, as I demonstrate in the following chapter, is the historically-conditioned concept of 'the people' whose definition and constitution has shifted with the social and economic changes that political liberation brought. The significance of this shift – reflecting the multi-class, multi-racial and gendered character it has sought to abide to – lies in the creation of differing publics to which the ANC has variously marketed, and continues to market, itself. Indeed, while there is constancy in its discursive orientations, prevailing political realities have led the ANC to inform and engage new publics. The political marketing that is put into service in different locations by different organisations (chapter three); in election campaigning (chapters five and chapter seven); and in the process of policy-making (chapter six) demonstrates the "multiple publics" that ANC has engaged and negotiated over time.[196] This not only has important 'discursive' implications, but spatial ones as well. As Lynn Staeheli and Don Mitchell remind us, "it is conceivable that the public is not only differentially located discursively, but also geographically, and that different kinds of publics occupy different kinds of spaces."[197] The discussions in the chapters which follow render this spatial aspect clear and permit deeper insights into the way in which the ANC's political marketing was adopted and adapted by its constituencies.

The lack of clarity and precision in defining the boundaries of the public and "multiplicity of meanings" that it encourages are compounded further in the ANC's case when consideration is given to its conception of the nation and its location of 'the people' therein.[198] This conception is indebted to the interplay of its organisational personalities as both a national liberation movement and a formal part of the bureaucratic apparatus of the state. The fluidity of these identities sheds an important light on the negotiation and creation of 'the people' and their relation to the ANC. Indeed, as Raymond Suttner is apt to posit, the liberation movement discourse centres on,

> [...] a language of unity and a language that *tends to represent the unified people as embodied in the liberation movement organisation and then equate them with the people as a whole*. We find this in many slogans throughout the continent, and on our own: 'ANC is the nation' or 'ANC is your mother and your father'. In this sense, the

---

[196] Lynn A. Staeheli, Don Mitchell and Caroline R Nagel, 'Making publics: immigrants, regimes of publicity and entry to 'the public', *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, 27 (2009), 644

[197] Lynn A. Staeheli and Don Mitchell, 'Locating the Public in Research and Practice', *Progress in Human Geography* 31, 6 (2007), 795-796

[198] Staeheli and Mitchell, 793

liberation movement depicts itself as a proto-state. This notion derives from a framework of ideas in which the seizure of the state was presented as the central issue of the day. It also sees popular nationalism, embodied in the national liberation movement organisation, as embodying all politics.[199]

It is evident from this, that the national liberation movement discourse elides notions of the state, the public (sphere) and the locating of 'the people' therein. These elisions are important in understanding the contours and textures political marketing of the ANC and the motivations that underpin its political communications.

I have outlined the contours of a broadened understanding of political marketing that is theoretically and heuristically relevant to understanding the behaviour of the ANC in the South African political sphere. The following chapters will demonstrate the utility and applicability of this broader conceptualisation and foreground the richness, diversity and complexity of the ANC's discursive and representational grammars.

---

[199] Raymond Suttner, 'Talking to the Ancestors: National Heritage, the Freedom Charter and nation-building in South Africa in 2005', *Development Southern Africa* 23,1 (2006), 24, emphasis in the original

3.

PALIMPSESTS:
MARKETING LIBERATION

****

Bounded
You gave me knowledge
Of Freedom

Silenced
You taught me how
To Speak[1]

The notion of liberation is a central and enduring idea in the political cosmology of the ANC, animating its discursive and representational registers and according theoretical significance to the struggle against colonialism and apartheid. This chapter untangles the various threads that inform the political marketing of the notion of liberation and in so doing, demonstrates the means by which a dominant conception of liberation came to inform, discursively, rhetorically and through representation, the struggle against apartheid. Such marketing intimately connects and gives richness to the "ideological passion" of the ANC, wherein it "offers an explanation of the past, announces the present discontents and projects a vision of the future."[2] Indeed, in giving content to this 'passion', the marketing undertaken by the ANC and its associated organisations permits a nuanced and deeply textured understanding of the various influences that located the ANC at the centre of the political market.

---

[1] Jennifer Davis, Tribute to Albert Luthuli, c.1967 in Mac Maharaj, 'Memoirs of the Island' in International Defence and Aid fund for Southern Africa, *Nelson Mandela: The Struggle is my Life: His speeches and writings brought together with historical documents and accounts of Mandela in prison by fellow prisoners* (London: IDAF, 1986)

[2] The term was first coined by Jack Spence, see Marepo Lesetja, 'The Role of Umkhonto We Sizwe (MK) in the National Liberation Struggle of South Africa, with reference to Northern Transvaal, 1976-1990' PhD Thesis, University of Cape Town, 2007, 149

In this chapter, I examine the influences that shaped and packaged the idea of liberation and in so doing, gave it theoretical and political content. Rooted in the economic and political malaise of apartheid, its contours were given shape and direction through the structures of the ANC and associated formations. This analysis permits a sharper understanding of the relationships and interconnections between organisations within the political sphere and as such, and importantly for analysing the political marketing of the ANC, illuminates the discursive relationships that were developed between the organisations and particular constituencies. These relationships were premised on lived realities and as such, the marketing of particular notions of liberation expressed the values of various constituencies. It will be clear from the ensuing discussion that a pervasive 'marketing consciousness' operates through these organisations, and hence, the ANC. In the first part of this chapter, I explore the centrality of marketing for the ANC in the anti-apartheid struggle. Examining its utility for the movement as well as its effectiveness and capacity to undertake such activity, I demonstrate the various means through which its messaging and marketing was undertaken. In the second part, I examine the various threads that informed the content of this marketing through an analysis of the ANC's constitutive and associated organisations. Examining the marketing and propagandising undertaken by Umkhonto we Sizwe, United Democratic Front, and on Robben Island, I demonstrate the various fronts on which specific images and messages of the ANC were developed and proliferated. While acknowledging that these organisations do not represent the full spectrum of influences that were active in branding the ANC and a particular idea of liberation, the analysis nevertheless offers a comprehensive and strategic understanding of the ANC's political and marketing behaviour.

POLITICAL MARKETING AND THE ANC

Discussions on the formulation, tenor, use, and impact of propaganda, publicity and promotion were an integral part of the strategic positioning of the ANC both inside and outside of South Africa. Indeed, the importance ascribed to a communications strategy that could rally support and encourage action against the South Africa government, while also locating the ANC at the centre of anti-apartheid activity, is clearly evident from a reading of its strategic communications documents, especially from 1982 onwards. Driven by the Department of Information and Publicity (DIP), located in both London and Lusaka, the ANC's approach to propaganda, publicity and promotion were acutely informed by the exigencies of struggle and the capacities of the apartheid government to dominate the flow of

information in the public sphere.[3] Using a range of archived DIP documents, I highlight the approach to propaganda adopted by the ANC from the early 1980s onwards.[4]

The benefits of propaganda were not missed by those in its information, propaganda and publicity apparatus. Indeed, the utility of "political propaganda and agitation" lay in its ability to "organise the masses" and only through such organisation, would the "conditions be created for educating them and building up the immense strength of the revolution, for once organised, their power will increase one hundredfold."[5] Such rhetoric however gave way to a more pragmatic understanding of the operation and utility of propaganda. Indeed, for the ANC, propaganda was important to the process of "winning support" as it aimed to,

(i)   develop in the people a [deep-seated] hatred and resentment against apartheid colonialism; reinforce their sense of daily grievance and injustice inherent and practiced by the system.

(ii)   [o]rientate people towards the aims, policies, programme and forms of struggle waged by the ANC.

(iii)   mobilise and arouse the people to activate participation in the struggle against the apartheid regime [...] and support their Liberation Movement, the ANC and the People's Army, Umkhonto We Sizwe.

(iv)   Consolidate the Unity of all forces fighting for national liberation under the leadership of the ANC.

(v)   [...]

(vi)   neutralise all force committed to or supporting the regime directly or indirectly

(vii)   draw still uncommitted elements closer to us with the objective of finally winning them over to our side

(viii) work for isolation of and wage a relentless psychological warfare against the regime and its supporters [...]

(ix)   defend the ANC against enemy attacks [...]

---

[3] An organogram of the Department of Information and Publicity's extensive operations was obtained from the Fort Hare Archive. Important actors in London included Pallo Jordan, Francis Meli and Gill Marcus, while the Lusaka mission was overseen by Thabo Mbeki, Sizakele Sigxashe and Victor Matlou, see African National Congress, 'Information and Publicity Departmental Structure' ANC Lusaka Mission, DIP, 1983-1985, University of Fort Hare, Box 109 Folder 75

[4] 'Propaganda' is the term ascribed by the ANC to its overall communications strategy. It will be clear however, that the 'propaganda' envisioned by the ANC is akin basic publicity, promotion and political marketing. I will nevertheless use propaganda to include all these forms of communication.

[5] African National Congress, 'Report of the Department of Information and Publicity to Joint NEC-RC Meeting', 5

(x)   keep high the moral of people by constantly making them aware of the fact that they are not fighting alone [...][6]

The overall purport of the ANC's propaganda is thus clearly evident from the above. But to give it greater effect and resonance, it was also acutely aware of the need to target specific social groups. In its report to the joint National Executive Committee-Revolutionary Committee, the DIP aimed to address specifically an "urban population" constituted of the "black working class", farmworkers, migrant miners, and the "uncommitted groups" notably the "middle strata of professionals."[7] This urban constituency would be a ripe audience for the ANC message to challenge "economic exploitation" while commensurately, directing its propaganda activities to highlight state repression and the subjugation of the South African majority. Its propaganda content would also be directed "against economic investors and other international imperialist economic, political, cultural and diplomatic ventures in support of the system" and additionally, would direct its message to the "capitalist class, the white middle and working classes" inside South Africa "to weaken enemy cohesion and [...] neutralise or win over section of the white community."[8]

Operationalising its propaganda activities and the strategic impetus that underlay its public representation was the need to accentuate the ANC's position "as the chief mobiliser, unifier and vanguard of the liberation struggle."[9] But this positioning needed to be tempered to "avoid", according to former DIP head Pallo Jordan, "projecting a sectarian image" in which the ANC was endowed with the image of 'monopolising' the struggle.[10] Rather and consonant with the ANC's public ethos of 'the people being their own liberators', there was a need to not relegate the "masses [to] the role of onlookers by giving the impression that the ANC is or wants to usurp all initiatives."[11] Rather the impetus of the ANC's media would be to circulate the idea of the "seizure of state power by the people *through* the ANC" and as such, would "project" the ANC as an "alternative source of political and moral authority in our country and the Freedom Charter pushed as the harbinger of a more just, equitable and

---

[6] African National Congress, 'Report of the Department of Information and Publicity to Joint NEC-RC Meeting', 5
[7] African National Congress, 'Report of the Department of Information and Publicity to Joint NEC-RC Meeting', 5
[8] African National Congress, 'Report of the Department of Information and Publicity to Joint NEC-RC Meeting', 5
[9] Pallo Jordan, 'Draft Guidelines for ANC Propaganda and Information Media for 1982', DIP Subject Files, 1981-1983, University of Fort Hare, Box 109, folder 75, n.p.
[10] Jordan, 'Draft Guidelines for ANC Propaganda and Information Media for 1982', n.p.
[11] Jordan, 'Draft Guidelines for ANC Propaganda and Information Media for 1982', n.p.

democratic social and political order."[12] Popularising these notions at key events, it was imperative to convey further the message,

> That the ANC is a living and growing organism born out of the struggles of the oppressed people of South Africa. As such it is both the product of history and also the maker of history. We have to move away from the tendency to project the movement as the brainchild of a handful of patriotic geniuses while at the same time being cognisant of the crucial role played by the founders and all those individual men and work who have helped shape and mould the ANC into what it is today.[13]

The ANC utilised a range of media to communicate its messages. Publications like Sechaba and Mayibuye functioned as an important platform through which to communicate with specific sectors of its constituency and supporters both inside and outside South Africa.[14] While its external propaganda efforts were undertaken through diplomatic representations, sympathetic movements, documentaries, films and the like, internally, the propaganda offensive was more fraught. Indeed, the conditions of exile and clampdowns on activists and organisations within the country, made the formulation and circulation of propaganda materials tenuous. In an undated (but post-1984) memorandum on internal propaganda, there was a realisation by the ANC of the need to "intensify our propaganda offensive and improve its content" while also and more urgently, to "set up [underground] propaganda units and to solve problems of flow of information, distribution and feedback."[15] The seriousness of this task was evident in the tone of the memorandum which similarly directed the action to be taken to improve the propaganda capacities of the internal, underground-based movement inside the country, as well as those located in the frontline areas/states (Mozambique, Swaziland, Zimbabwe, Botswana and Lesotho). Internally, the memorandum reveals a mixed picture of ANC's propaganda machinery. The production of propaganda material was undertaken across the country, but concentrated in the three larger provinces, namely the Transvaal, Natal and the Cape Province. But even within these provinces, regional variation

---

[12] Jordan, 'Draft Guidelines for ANC Propaganda and Information Media for 1982', n.p.

[13] Jordan, 'Draft Guidelines for ANC Propaganda and Information Media for 1982', n.p.

[14] In assessing the strengths and weakness of its publications, and other forms of external propaganda, see African National Congress, 'Sechaba and External Publicity: Report for DIP Conference – Problems, Achievements and Perspectives, July 1983' ANC London: Documents, Media, 1977-1985, Mayibuye Archive, MCH02-133

[15] African National Congress, 'Memorandum - Internal Propaganda', ANC Lusaka, Women's Section: Documents, DIP, Mayibuye Archive, MCH01-12, Box 12.5., 1. I have based the dating on a reference in the text to the Nkomati accord, which was signed in 1984.

existed as did the means of communication.[16] Neighbouring southern African states provided an important space in which the propaganda (in addition to political and military) capacities of the ANC would be enhanced as well as providing refuge or a base from which to operate. While again the capacities of the propaganda units in each varied, they functioned to provide logistical, technical and creative support to the production and distribution of propaganda. The Swaziland, Lesotho and Botswana based units were engaged in external production of materials and supported operations in the Cape Province (Botswana) as well as the Transvaal and Natal (Swaziland).[17] The operation in Zimbabwe performed a more specialised production role by creating propaganda "particularly for the white community and the anti-militarisation campaign" while the Mozambique unit held much "potential" and was being primed to play a larger role in the ANC's propaganda efforts.[18]

The ANC was acutely aware of the need to stratify its target audience according to geographical, sociological and other factors to yield the fullest benefit from its messaging and positioning. In a memorandum on propaganda activities, it was asserted that such stratification should proceed according to,

> AREA: Here a breakdown must be made according firstly to the Provinces and then further according to the areas within the Provinces; in terms of GROUPS: Africans, Indians, Coloureds, whites. If possible this should be further broken down i.e. Xhosa, Zulu, Hindu, Muslim etc. This must be done in an expert and in a very systematic way.[19]

Evident here is not only an awareness of the need to formulate a tailored and structured programme of messaging to differing constituencies, but also the incipience of a more 'scientific' and marketing approach to its political communication – and evidence of its 'marketing consciousness.' Indeed, the memorandum continues,

> [...] we must give much more thought to the content of our leaflets. Today there are various advertising, publicity [organisations] which use various techniques to 'sell'

---

[16] For example, the southern Transvaal was a highly active propaganda node for the ANC incorporating both "agitational and educational propaganda" through armed action as well as through mass leafleting in English, Zulu and Sotho, see African National Congress, 'Memorandum - Internal Propaganda', 4

[17] African National Congress, 'Memorandum - Internal Propaganda', 3

[18] African National Congress, 'Memorandum - Internal Propaganda', 4

[19] African National Congress, 'Untitled Memorandum' ANC London: Documents, media (ANC), 1977-1985, Mayibuye Archive, MCH02-133, n.p.

their products. I don't see why we can't make use of their ideas or methods. This of course will mean that there will have to be somebody in our [organisation] which becomes an expert in this field.[20]

The acknowledgement of the need to professionalise and render 'scientific' its approach to communications was nevertheless underscored by appealing to the specific contextual issues that would resonate with a larger audience. Openly acknowledging the need to "propagate" in communities at expedient times such as political trials and funerals, an aura of venerability over the movement was also necessary. Such inculcation would be effected through an emotional appeal that played into the reality of struggle and sacrifice. As such, the memorandum acknowledged that "[w]herever possible the names of our dead should be given prominence."[21] Further, the brand identity of the ANC was enhanced through associating key personalities and the images of leadership with the ANC. The memorandum was quick to posit that,

> It is important that the images of our leaders are built up. There is [no] doubt that names such as Mandela, Sisulu, Kathrada, Fischer, Mbeki etc are household names. This could be at the beginning but it must be dealt with in a high powered, emotion evoking treatment.[22]

The invocation of the memory of those who died in the struggle through the utilisation of their names, as well as those doyens of the ANC's leadership, was part of the ANC's acknowledgment that "if information is not suitably packaged it will not have the desired impact."[23] Indeed, the recourse to the memorialisation, historical personalities and the conscious decision to foreground specific leaders – most notably Nelson Mandela – was part of the ANC's larger publicity orientation to 'humanise' the struggle and locate it within a specific personal narrative. While self-promotion was impermissible, certain exigencies necessitated the promotion of personalities. Indeed, due to the demands of the "western

---

[20] African National Congress, 'Untitled Memorandum', n.p.
[21] African National Congress, 'Untitled Memorandum', n.p.
[22] African National Congress, 'Untitled Memorandum', n.p.
[23] African National Congress, 'ANC and Information Policy' ANC Lusaka Mission, Mittah Seperepere Papers, University of Fort Hare, Box 91 Folder 3, no date, 7

media [which] hates anonymity" a position was adopted which promoted individuals when expedient.[24] Indeed, it was noted that

> [w]hilst individuals should not be promoted or promote themselves, we must recognise that the media will want to use names and individuals, and personal rivalries and jealousy should not be allowed to hold back effective propagation of the ANC message. At the same time, we must not accept a situation where even the leadership decided to become shy and refuse to be interviewed, or to refuse to allow any personal information to be used. It is human interest that sells politics![25]

Despite this, the packaging was not bereft of "political content" for the ANC acknowledged too, the importance of creating a politically rich product.[26] Moreover, such packaging itself would "be guided by the objective" and issues pertaining to "style, language and vehicle" would be determined by the "target recipient."[27] For the ANC, the richness of the political content of its propaganda and information was already evident, for the report on its information policy noted that "[a]ll our output [...] assumes a high level of political consciousness and commitment in the use of vehicle, style language and contents."[28] The problem with this, was that there existed "tremendous variation in the political consciousness and degree of support for the ANC that cuts across [its] target groups."[29] In addition, such factors as illiteracy also affected the impact of, and the ability to, produce and disseminate propaganda. Thus, in "trying to keep the image of the ANC in the minds of the masses", and especially those illiterate within the masses, it was posited that

> We would generally have to use our imagination and devise means that will reach this [group]. Some obvious ones are to reinforce the work cadres do in the field by the use of songs, ANC colours used in dress, beads, scarves, pictures of ANC leaders, pictorial stickers.[30]

This marketing 'sensibility' in developing and using a material culture to support its representational and discursive presence added texture and depth to the ANC's presence

---

[24] African National Congress, 'ANC and Information Policy', 19
[25] African National Congress, 'ANC and Information Policy', 19
[26] African National Congress, 'ANC and Information Policy', 7
[27] African National Congress, 'ANC and Information Policy', 11
[28] African National Congress, 'ANC and Information Policy', 12
[29] African National Congress, 'ANC and Information Policy', 12
[30] African National Congress, 'ANC and Information Policy', 13

within South Africa and abroad. It would be false to assume that it was only through such petty, yet powerful, ephemera that the ANC's presence was kept in the 'minds of the masses.' The ANC's presence was also deeply inculcated in a socialisation process that had been occurring since the ANC's banning in 1961. Indeed, Raymond Suttner has recently noted that a "cultural link" existed to the ANC, "a connection passed down from many parents to children in a variety of ways, or part of a cultural environment where values were transmitted through various means."[31] Indeed, in an interview with an activist, this is rendered clear when it was noted that,

> Every day, in our families and households, people undermined the state, even as they feared it. Even when there was no mass struggle, there was song and mothers crooned and sang to their children. They whispered the names of Nelson Mandela, Govan Mbeki and Walter Sisiulu, Robert Sobukwe, Lilian Ngoyi and Albertina Sisulu in their prayers behind closed doors. Much of this consciousness remained with the supporters of the 'absent' liberation movements.[32]

The process of socialisation toward the ANC was driven as much from the bottom upwards, as it was directed downward from the ANC. Indeed, Raymond Suttner has adeptly described how members of communities became propaganda 'vehicles' in both rural and urban areas. Informing groups of people of the ANC's existence and history not only served the function of endowing the ANC with a presence in South Africa during the period of its banning, it also served to valorise the aims, objectives and very being of the movement. Relating the story of activist Mongezi Radebe, Suttner demonstrates how members of communities became veritable mouthpieces for the ANC,

> In our township we had a granny called Ma Mokhele who used to tell us a lot about black history. Later I started understanding that she had been a member of the ANC and she had been sent to Heilbron under banishment. So she used to explain a lot of things: what they were doing in the Women's League, what ANC was in the initial stages when it became militant, when the young ones like Mandela came into it. She was explaining its historical significance and why we should be proud of it, and why

---

[31] Suttner, *The ANC Underground in South Africa to 1976: A Social and Historical Study*, 61
[32] Suttner, *The ANC Underground in South Africa to 1976: A Social and Historical Study*, 62

we should take on from where they left. That's how we started understanding a lot of things politically.[33]

The ANC's presence inside South Africa was maintained through Radio Freedom. If its periodicals such as Mayibuye and Sechaba were directed at "organisers rather than at the mass popular level", then radio provided an appropriate means through which to communicate with and mobilise groups on the ground.[34] Indeed, despite its location outside South Africa, Radio Freedom functioned at a number of levels inside the country.[35] Emotive, emancipatory and educative, Radio Freedom broadcasts increased the geographical spread of ANC propaganda as it conveyed "broad messages about the history and policies of the organisation."[36] Raymond Suttner has noted that with its operation deemed illegal and, despite no concrete figures on the scale of its listenership, "turning in to its broadcasts became a daily ritual or duty for those who considered themselves part of the struggle" and became a "form of identification with the ANC."[37] Despite this, and despite the recollections activities have on the effect of its operation inside South Africa, [38] it nevertheless did suffer at times from unclear content focus and technical inefficiencies. Critical reflection and improvement of capacities were constant. Indeed, in a letter written by then DIP head Thabo Mbeki to Radio Freedom producers dated December 1984, there was an acknowledgement that while broadcast content was "topical", the "programmes do not give direction to the listener – they are virtually non-committal on the tasks facing the audience."[39] Highlighting the importance of needing to segment the target market, and the overall purport of radio communications, Mbeki was apt to note that,

> The selection of topics and the emphases also depend on the audience as well as on the strategic and tactical line of the movement. In selecting the areas to be covered

---

[33] Quoted in Suttner, *The ANC Underground in South Africa to 1976: A Social and Historical Study*, 75-76
[34] African National Congress, 'ANC and Information Policy', 13
[35] According to Lekgoathi, Radio Tanzania in Dar es Salaam permitted Radio Freedom use of its facilities and "allocated a 15-minute slot" to it. Moreover, broadcast time was accorded to Radio Freedom by the "Ethiopian state radio" as well as stations in Angola, Mozambique and Zambia, which allocated one hour long slots. For more on this, see Sekibakiba Peter Lekgoathi, 'The African National Congress's Radio Freedom and its audiences in apartheid South Africa, 1963-1991' *Journal of African Media Studies* 2,2 (2010), 142. Archived documents also reveal base stations in Madagascar, see African National Congress, 'Report of the Department of Information and Publicity to Joint NEC-RC Meeting'
[36] Lekgoathi, 142
[37] Suttner, , *The ANC Underground in South Africa to 1976: A Social and Historical Study*, 68
[38] See Lekgoathi (2010) for a very good analysis based on interviews her conducted on the impact of the broadcasts
[39] Thabo Mbeki, 'Untitled Letter: Radio Freedom' ANC London: Internal Propaganda (1960s-1980s), Mayibuye Archive, Boxfile 7

and in working out the content, necessary emphasis should be laid on the actions, debates, [...] we could encourage positive developments [...] and without claiming a monopoly of wisdom, suggest better forms of action, deepen the discussion and discourage negative tendencies.[40]

Moreover, the packaging and "presentation of programmes" needed to be improved through better training in "tone, voice modulation etc."[41] I noted above that radio stations in various African capitals carried Radio Freedom broadcasts. One problem with this related to the poor scheduling and coordination between these broadcasts as slots overlapped and thus did not allow for the efficient utilisation of time by Radio Freedom. Thus, rather than having broadcasts flow into one another across the stations to improve continuity and yield a more authoritative effect, the overlap diluted their overall content.[42] Moreover, this was compounded by the poor quality of the programmes as a result of insufficiently educated journalists and presenters. Poor programming again diluted the content of the broadcast programmes and the ANC expressed concern that "listeners [say] they like to listen to our freedom songs which they tape [record] but immediately put off their radio sets when the analytical part starts."[43] Moreover, poor information flows led to outdated content being aired. Technically, broadcasts suffered from poor reception quality given the "weak power of the transmitters" in the countries from which it broadcasted.[44]

The changing nature of the struggle and the greater space accorded to movements and organisations inside South Africa from the mid-to late 1980s onwards altered the nature of the representational and discursive strategies within the country. The mass democratic movement, assisted by the liberalisation of political space, provided a fillip to the propaganda and marketing activities of the ANC. Indeed, the mass demonstrations and increased activism inside the country by these movements fulfilled the ANC's earlier contention that "action

---

[40] Mbeki, 'Untitled Letter: Radio Freedom'
[41] Mbeki, 'Untitled Letter: Radio Freedom'
[42] African National Congress, 'Report of the Department of Information and Publicity to Joint NEC-RC Meeting', 9
[43] African National Congress, 'Report of the Department of Information and Publicity to Joint NEC-RC Meeting', 9
[44] African National Congress, 'Report of the Department of Information and Publicity to Joint NEC-RC Meeting', 9

itself is the best propaganda especially when the ground has been prepared to take advantage of it, for action creates a climate of receptivity to our propaganda."[45]

When liberalisation gave way to the realisation that a larger process of transition toward democracy was incipient, the ANC was keen to assert the need for propaganda to establish itself in the political sphere. Indeed, the DIP report of a meeting held a fortnight after the release of Nelson Mandela in February 1990, noted that seriousness of this effort holding that the "prime task" it was now faced with, was "the building of the ANC inside the country" and "to do this, propaganda on a massive scale is vital."[46] The political content of this propaganda aimed to balance the tightrope "between the question of negotiations and that of the armed seizure of power" while commensurately, needing to "motivate and address the issues of our strategic offensive."[47] As part of its wider political strategy, it was envisaged that the DIP undertake a "central role in ensuring that the presence of the ANC is felt in every corner of the country, by every segment of the society and by every possible constituency."[48] Moreover, such propaganda would aim to,

> [...] familiarise everyone with the policies, the ideas and programme of the ANC in language, symbols and concepts that are easily grasped, assimilated and with which our people can identify. [...] The task now is to activate and inspire the people into every form of self-activity expressive of their self-confidence and self-knowledge as their own liberators. The ANC and its allies, the MDM [Mass Democratic Movement] and the general movement for national democratic transformation of our country must be seen and embraced as their movement and their instrument for bringing about the transformations we seek. It must have visibility, it must be a constant and ever-growing presence, addressing their needs and also giving them direction in terms of their satisfaction.[49]

Thus, the strategic need to communicate the idea of self-emancipation while concomitantly acknowledging the ANC's (and latterly the MDM's) centrality in 'bringing' liberation needed to find expression in a range of publicity materials. Asserting its hegemony, the ANC noted

---

[45] African National Congress, 'ANC and Information Policy', 10

[46] African National Congress, 'DIP Report from the meeting 25-26th February 1990', ANC Lusaka, Secretary General: Commissions/Sections, 1981-1986, Mayibuye Archive, Box 61.1

[47] African National Congress, 'DIP Report from the meeting 25-26th February 1990'

[48] Pallo Jordan, 'The Tasks of the DIP in the Current Period', 7 February 1990, ANC Lusaka Mission: DIP Part 2, 1990-91 Reports, University of Fort Hare, Box 2 Folder 8

[49] Jordan, 'The Tasks of the DIP in the Current Period'

that its now legal status made it possible to "cover every conceivable surface with an ANC message everyday and every week, in every written and spoken language in South Africa."[50] The inculcation of such hegemony was informed by the central premise, that

> [i]f the ANC is to win the hearts and minds of the South African people, it must popularise its programme, its ideas and its leadership as the repository of the most profound hopes and expectations of our people.[51]

While the nature of the struggle against apartheid was undertaken on various planes, the ANC's communications offensive, as noted in the cursory examination above, was a central part of its overall political strategy, even if at times neglected by elements of its leadership. But the movements' communications function was undertaken with some difficulty. Indeed, given the exigencies of struggle – both in exile and within the underground structures – the capacities of the ANC to communicate effectively within South Africa were routinely compromised. Despite this, these capacities nevertheless permitted the circulation of a wealth of propaganda, publicity and promotional material through the ANC and its affiliated organisations. In the analysis below, I examine these forms of communication particularly on the theme of liberation and the means by which it was communicated within different constituencies by the various groupings within the ANC and affiliated organisations. Historically-rooted, the analysis demonstrates congruence in the ANC's messaging across these groupings and explicates the means by which the ANC was able to develop a presence both inside South Africa and in exile. However, to understand this marketing, it is important to obtain an understanding of the contours of the notion of liberation. In obtaining such understanding, the analysis berths its marketing activity within a broader discursive and representational universe and demonstrates the ability of this marketing to function a means of managing politics and not merely communicating it – that is, the packaging is not bereft of content.

THINKING THROUGH LIBERATION: A PRIMER

Any clear understanding of the contours of the ANC's conception of liberation needs to be placed in an appropriate historical context. Indeed, both the conception and discursive thrust of the notion of liberation must be seen in relation to the nature and exigencies of apartheid,

---

[50] Jordan, 'The Tasks of the DIP in the Current Period'
[51] Jordan, 'The Tasks of the DIP in the Current Period'

where apartheid functioned as the orienting framework *against* which liberation is conceived. The content and character of struggles for liberation in various colonial theatres reflected the specificities of the socio-economic and political milieus in which they occurred, through time and across space. In South Africa, the specific nature of "internal colonialism", later re-branded as "Colonialism of a Special Type" (CST), became the exigent conceptual framework against which an understanding of liberation could be counterposed.[52] In the CST thesis, the colonising power is located geographically within the colonised territory and "economic control and political supremacy are in general exercised by an indigenous ruling class with a unitary state which purports to represent the general will of all inhabitants."[53] While conceptually the CST came to predominate discourses on the content and form of liberation, these discourses were informed and punctuated by variance and differing emphases, further lending to its 'palimpsestic' quality. As such, these discourses functioned ontologically in defining the nature of the oppression in the political realm while commensurately permitting a longer teleological purview through which the goal of *full* liberation could be realised.

In the following chapters I unpack these positions in greater detail and argue that not only is the process of liberation still ongoing, but its discourses are strategically employed within the ANC's representational grammars for strategic political effect. It is important to note at the outset, that the theoretical terrain upon which ideas of liberation were founded were highly contested and premised on shifting bases of meaning and interpretation, particularly after 1994. Nevertheless, they serve as important marketing devices for they link the theoretical content of the freedom sought with a strong representational and persuasive effect.

Of Revolutions, Charters and People's Power

Liberation in South Africa would be realised through a national democratic revolution (NDR). Originating in the South African Communist Party's (SACP), the theory of the NDR was premised on the need to "conceptualise the relationship between [the] overarching goal of (international) socialism and the more immediate anti-colonial project of national

---

[52] This was initially conceived of by the South African Communist Party and given content in South African Communist Party, *The Road To South African Freedom* (1962) Available online: http://amandlawonye.wikispaces.com/1962,+The+Road+to+South+African+Freedom (accessed 12 March 2009)
[53] Joe Slovo, 'The Theory of the South African Revolution' in Basil Davidson, Joe Slovo and Anthony R. Wilkinson, *Southern Africa: The New Politics of Revolution* (Harmonsdworth: Penguin Books, 1976), 133

liberation."[54]   Rooted too in this theoretical schema was a conceptualisation of a staged transition to a socialist end, so that unlike the experiences of other post-colonial contexts wherein nationalist parties assumed power and the drive to a socialist end was stalled, in South Africa, "there would be no blocking of the route onwards to the next destination."[55] The close relationship between the SACP and the ANC is rooted in their joint banning in 1960 and the shared exile experience which facilitated the circulation and inculcation of ideas (and indeed, leaders and members) between and within these organisations.[56]

The theory of the NDR was "institutionalised" and placed at the centre of the ANC's organisational and discursive apparatus at its landmark conference in Morogoro, Tanzania in 1969.[57] Held at the time of tremendous organisational rift and lack of focus within the ANC, the theoretical weight injected into the movement sought to address what ANC stalwart Ben Turok had described as "the utter failure of our leadership to introduce a political line in the movement which could orientate it to our main tasks."[58] Incorporated into the Strategy and Tactics documents of the conference, it was argued that,

> [...] it is only the success of the national democratic revolution which – by destroying the existing social and economic relationships – will bring with it a correction of the historical injustices perpetrated against the indigenous majority and thus lay the basis for a new – and deeper internationalist – approach. Until then, the national sense of grievance is the most potent revolutionary force which must be harnessed.[59]

The vision of those social and economic relationships was captured earlier in the Freedom Charter which provided an authoritative and democratically-produced (although, and as will be shown, this is contestable) account of the contours of a liberated South Africa. Its import lay in the fact that it was "more than a mere list of demands for democratic reforms" but rather "a revolutionary document precisely because the changes it envisages cannot be won

[54] Anthony Butler, 'How Democratic is the African National Congress? ' *Journal of Southern African Studies* 31,4 (2005), 725

[55] Joe Slovo, Joe Slovo, 'The South African Working Class and the National Democratic Revolution' quoted in Butler, 725

[56] Indeed, as Ellis and Sechaba note, "Only after the banning of the ANC in 1960 did it become increasingly difficult to separate the two. After their flight into exile they came to appear almost as Siamese twins, inseparable without causing the death of one or both." See Stephen Ellis and Tsepo Sechaba, *Comrades Against Apartheid,: The ANC and the South African Communist Party in Exile* (London: James Currey Press, 1992), 11

[57] Butler, 725

[58] Ben Turok, 'Memorandum by Ben Turok before the ANC's Morogoro Conference and a 'reply' by Joe Matthews' Available online: http://www.anc.org.za/show.php?id=4503 (accessed 12 April 2010)

[59] African National Congress, 'First Consultative Conference: Report on the Strategy and Tactics of the African National Congress' Available online: http://www.anc.org.za/show.php?id=149 (accessed 4 May 2010)

without the breaking up of the economic and political structures and development of mass struggles on the widest scale. The most vital task facing the democratic movement in this country is to unleash such struggles and to develop them on the basis of the concrete and immediate demands of the people from area to area."[60] Further, espousing that "South Africa belongs to all who live in it, black and white,"[61] linked it more intimately with the NDR's "strategic objective" of,

> the creation of a united, non-racial, non-sexist and democratic society. This, in essence, means the liberation of Africans in particular and black people in general from political and economic bondage. It means uplifting the quality of life of all South Africans, especially the poor, the majority of whom are African and female.[62]

Thus, at its core, the NDR was premised on the "transfer of power to the people" wherein greater "political, social and economic control" could be exercised on the path toward a future socialist reality.[63] The NDR's theoretical purview is grounded on the intersections and interplay of race and class dynamics under apartheid capitalism which intimately accords with the notion of CST. While a large and theoretically impactful literature exists on the nature of these intersections under apartheid, the present study demonstrates how these intersections underscored the ANC's propaganda, publicity and promotional activities. Indeed, the theoretical conception of the nature of apartheid colonialism deeply informed the discursive and representational thrust of the ANC. This will be evident in the discussion below.

Given the 'special type' nature of apartheid's political and economic colonialism, "the immediate struggle for change" was the "national liberation of the African people and, with it, the destruction of all forms of racial discrimination."[64] Further, national liberation would

---

[60]Radio Freedom, 'On the Passing of Moses Kotane', 27 May 1978, African National Congress: London, Internal Propaganda, 1972-1979, Mayibuye Archive, MCH02-9

[61] African National Congress, 'The Freedom Charter' Available online:
http://www.anc.org.za/ancdocs/history/charter.html (Accessed 20 April 2010). I have presented the 'author' here as the ANC, however, I do acknowledge the multi-authorship and no 'proper' or single claim to ownership of the document. Reference to the ANC here acts merely as a recognition of its role in its authorship and the importance it holds in examining the political marketing of the ANC.

[62] Tasks of the NDR and the Mobilisation of the Motive Forces, African National Congress National General Council: Discussion Document, University of Port Elizabeth. 11-15 July, 2000, *Umrabulo* ,8, May (2000). It is important to note that this conception of the NDR was adopted in the Strategy and Tactics of the ANC's 50th Conference in Mafikeng in 1997

[63] Joel Netshitenzhe, 'The National Democratic Revolution – Is It Still on Track? *Umrabulo* 1, (1996)

[64] Slovo, 'The Theory of the South African Revolution', 134

be conjoined to the attainment of "social liberation" and would be realised only through the "destruction of the existing capitalist structure."[65] Indeed, it was posited that,

> It was precisely because in South Africa capitalist production relations are the foundation of national repression that the national struggle itself has an objective coincidence with the elimination of all forms of exploitation.[66]

Moreover, it was argued by the ANC that,

> South Africa is a capitalist society and apartheid is the specific form which capitalism has assumed in this country. National domination and the creation of the black working class took place at the same time. Racism is bound with the class nature of South African capitalism and therefore can only be eliminated through the destruction of capitalism. True national liberation is impossible without social liberation."[67]

While the NDR was conceived of as "a revolution of the whole of the oppressed people", there was the acknowledgment of 'the people' as constituted by "different classes and strata (overwhelmingly black)" that were subjected to "varying forms and degrees of national oppression and economic exploitation"[68] Further, the emphasis on the 'African' people became a broadly encompassing notion which incorporated a range of 'motive forces', but most pertinently, "the African working people."[69] The emphasis on the urban-based working class did not serve to preclude elements of the both proletarian and petite-bourgeois caucuses of revolutionary movement – for the latter, especially because of the racial limitations on its development and its supine political power. This broadly interpretive notion of class was also accorded to notions of race. Indeed, the thrust of emancipation, as will be further explicated below, has an overtly inclusive nature and was premised on the creation of a future national identity characterised by racial unity and patriotism. Indeed, Raymond Suttner has argued that,

---

[65] Slovo, 'The Theory of the South African Revolution', 139-140
[66] Slovo, 'The Theory of the South African Revolution', 140
[67] 'Problems of Strategy and Tactics' *Vukani-Awake*, October, 1977, 1 African National Congress: London, Internal Propaganda, 1972-1979, Mayibuye Archive, MCH02-9
[68] Joe Slovo, 'The South African Working Class and the National Democratic Revolution', *Umsebenzi* (1988) Available online: http://www.sacp.org.za/docs/history/ndr.html (Accessed 12 March 2010)
[69] African National Congress, 'Questions on the National Democratic Revolution' in African National Congress, *Selected Writings on the Freedom Charter: A Sechaba Commemorative Publication* (London: African National Congress, 76

[...] it is only through a recognition of its [liberation's] African character that we will ever become truly integrated in our own country" and further that, "[T]he struggle for liberation in South Africa is a patriotic struggle which will enable all South Africans to feel proud of and attached to their country; to feel honoured to say they are patriots. It is a struggle to end strife and conflict and finally bring justice to our land.[70]

While there is certitude in not undermining the oppression and exploitation of other national groups in South Africa through its representational strategy, the primacy accorded to African liberation and concomitantly national liberation is an enduring theme in the ANC's political cosmology that is premised on the concept of unity and non-racialism, particularly from 1955, or the 'moment' of the Freedom Charter. That oppression of all groups in South Africa can be overcome through the process of liberation, is captured in a speech delivered by ANC intellectual Francis Meli, who argued that,

> [T]he ANC is fighting for the national liberation of the oppressed majority, especially the Africans, and this is seen as an aspect of social emancipation of all the people of South Africa – black and white. This is all in the Freedom Charter. We are not fighting to reform apartheid, but to destroy it.[71]

Conjoining social and political liberation, and recourse to the idea of 'the people' in explicating the contours of such liberation, resonates with the continuity of the idea of the democratic imperative that characterised the earlier composition of the Freedom Charter. As discussed in greater detail in the next chapter, this democratic imperative was rooted the lived conditions of the oppressed. [72] Capturing these conditions in its publicity and propaganda served not only to render clear the 'lived' oppression of the majority, but also gave expression to the content of the NDR. Indeed, in a leaflet that was produced and banned in South Africa, such oppression was rendered clear, when it was noted,

> To men (sic) who are oppressed, freedom means many things. It means living wages to feed the family and bring them up in decency; the end of pass laws and influx control; the right to live and work anywhere and in any job; the right to vote and be

---

[70] Raymond Suttner, Untitled Talk at the University of Western Australia, 17 December, 1989, 16 and 23
[71] Speech by Francis Meli, London, January 9th, 1988, Wolfie Kodesh Collection, Mayibuye Archive, MCH88-3
[72] Terror Lekota Interview Transcript, 14 November 1983, Julie Frederikse Papers, South African History Archive, AL2460. This is also indicated in the support of the Freedom Charter by the SACP, See South African Communist Party, 'The Road to South African Freedom. Programme of the SACP' (1962)

elected to parliament; education; sports and culture; the right to own land to plough, clothing and shelter; the end of insults, humiliation, indignities and persecution based on creed or race. Freedom means just this.[73]

The imperatives of national and social liberation are thus evidently conjoined in this formulation of freedom and are crystallised in the Freedom Charter. The realisation of the social content of liberation by both the ANC and the SACP, given the exigencies of the prevailing global environment in the late 1980s, was not equated with a transition to socialism in the first instance as I have noted above. Indeed, there was a "distinction between the social content of the National Democratic Revolution and socialist transformation" especially given that nature of the apartheid in South Africa.[74] Joe Slovo argued as much, noting that "the present phase of our revolution contains elements of both national and social emancipation; it is not the classic bourgeois-democratic revolution nor is it yet the socialist revolution."[75]

The nature of the struggle against apartheid and the greater popular participation that it enjoyed – beginning in spurts in the early 1970s and gaining momentum at key 'moments thereafter' – provided impetus to the idea of the 'people' driving their own project of liberation.[76] Indeed, as the resistance took on more popular connotations, so the nature and discourse of liberation came to be shaped by a stronger populist thread. This popular thread was captured and circulated in the slogan (and notion) of "people's power".[77] In essence, the notion of 'people's power' "represented a marriage between the ANC's emphasis on armed insurrection and organisational developments spreading across the country, and a direct link between present struggles and liberation." [78] The emphasis on "grassroots civic organisation" emerged as a response to collapsing state infrastructure and governance at the local level.[79]

---

[73] Leaflet, 'The Truth About South Africa – Even Now' , Ephemera Collection, University of Cape Town African Studies Library Uncatalogued

[74] Slovo, 'The South African Working Class and the National Democratic Revolution'

[75] Slovo, 'The South African Working Class and the National Democratic Revolution'

[76] In the common narrative of anti-apartheid contestation, numerous 'moments' mark the political trajectory of the re-emergence of popular engagement and agitation, the seeds of which are rooted to strike actions by African unions in 1973. Further impetus to such popular participation has been accorded to the political milieu after the Soweto uprisings of 1976 and the formation of the United Democratic Front (UDF) in 1983.

[77] Jeremy Seekings, 'The UDF: A History of the United Democratic Front in South Africa, 1983-1991' (Cape Town: David Philip, 2000), 169. Seekings notes that a third root of the idea of people's power came from the engagement of the ANC with the Soweto Parent's Crisis Committee. For the present analysis, the roots discussed in the above section are of greater interest.

[78] Seekings, 'The UDF: A History of the United Democratic Front in South Africa, 1983-1991', 171

[79] Seekings, 'The UDF: A History of the United Democratic Front in South Africa, 1983-1991', 169

As such, the inculcation of 'people's power' as the guiding means toward liberation was premised on the idea of 'ungovernability' where the emphasis was placed on "mass resistance, on an intensified armed struggle and on [a] growing refusal to obey racist authority."[80] Its organisational foundations would be decentralised, so that the 'street' would become the locus of popular resistance activity and conferring the administrative and bureaucratic power of the state to local level communities. As Raymond Suttner has posited on these organisational structures,

> In many of the townships of South Africa […] street committees were set up, and zone committees, yard committees, block committees. These are what we mean when we speak of primary organs of people's power. […] They also undertook many of the functions that were normally the function of the South African police. This was in some cases because the police had gone into exile in the white areas […] In other cases, the police remained there, but people would still got to the community organisations for resolution of their problems. In some cases, the police actually said 'Go to the Comrades.'[81]

The legitimacy that these structures attained rested on the agency with which it endowed communities to "invent new forms of organising and mobilising" while setting the ground for the "transfer of power to the people."[82] The emphasis placed on the popular dimensions of struggle and the location of agency within the masses, allowed them, it in the words of ANC stalwart Mac Maharaj, to project a "vision of a future of freedom, accept that vision as one that that is in keeping with their aspirations and are convinced about the victory of their cause. That is why we also speak about the need for the masses to be a conscious political army of liberation."[83] More importantly, the emphasis on 'people's power' and its realisation permitted greater clarity on the means by which the Freedom Charter could be implemented.[84]

In reaction to increasing repression by the South African state, there was the realisation that the internal and popular anti-apartheid struggle "entered a new phase in realising the national

---

[80] 'ANC Call to the Nation: From Ungovernability to People's Power,' African National Congress: Historical Papers, University of the Witwatersrand, AG2510, A2.4 – B2.3.4.1.3
[81] Raymond Suttner, Talk at the University of Western Australia 17 December 1989, 13
[82] Interview with Mac Maharaj, 'We Must Continue to Make South Africa Ungovernable', *Mayibuye,* 2 and 3 (1988), 12
[83] Interview with Mac Maharaj, 'We Must Continue to Make South Africa Ungovernable', 8
[84] Raymond Suttner, in Seekings, 'The UDF: A History of the United Democratic Front in South Africa, 1983-1991', 171

liberation of the people of South Africa."[85] Indeed, increased content was given to the 'national' in characterising the struggle as "national democratic" in two ways.[86] As Suttner expounds, the "movement" came to encompass "every nook and cranny of South Africa, every geographical area" while at the same time, it aimed "get through to every group of South African people who suffer under apartheid oppression or every democrat who wants to associate himself or herself with the struggle to free South Africa."[87] The extent to which the national democratic foundations of 'people's power' entrenched itself within upon the resistance landscape was similarly popularised by the ANC. In an address to an anti-apartheid gathering in Spain, then ANC Secretary General Alfred Nzo noted how,

> [...] during 1986, the revolt gathered further momentum, engulfing new areas of the country including the bantustans. In mass action, the democratic forces have decisively emerged as the alternative power within the country. The essence of their actions has been to wrest control from the regime and to start implementing the demands of the National Democratic Revolution."[88]

That the content of people's struggles remained the administrative and governance reform – or "popular control of the townships and popular justice" – was intimated above.[89] Moreover, clear demands for socio-economic redress were also a rallying point of these struggles. The engagement of 'the people' in the struggle signified what Mahmood Mamdani has called "a new path to liberation" and highlighted the shifting "locus of struggle from the external (exile) to the internal (home), the agency of struggle from professional revolutionaries to popular strata, and its method from armed violence to nonviolent agitation."[90]

While Mamdani's conclusions are correct, within its discursive ambit, the ANC continued to project the violent revolutionary content of 'people's power' through a conceptualisation of 'people's war' and as evident from the above, accorded itself an instrumental role in guiding popular agitation inside South Africa. Premised on the insurrectionary seizure of power by 'the people', it offered greater militant content to the notion of people's power, and where it became "war in which a liberation army becomes rooted among the people, who

---

[85] Suttner, Talk at the University of Western Australia, 16
[86] Suttner, Talk at the University of Western Australia, 16
[87] Suttner, Talk at the University of Western Australia, 16
[88] 'Statement by Alfred Nzo, General Secretary of the ANC at a Seminar on the Policy of Apartheid,' 7
[89] 89 Michael Neocosmos, 'From People's Politics to State Politics: Aspects of National Liberation in South Africa' in Adebayo Olukoshi (ed.) *The Politics of Opposition in Contemporary Africa* (Uppsala: Nordiska Afrikainstitutet, 1998), 204
[90] Mamdani, *Citizen and Subject: Contemporary Africa and the Legacy of Late Colonialism*, 232-233

progressively participate actively in the armed struggle both politically and militarily, including the possibility of engaging by partial or general insurrection."[91] In subsuming the organisational structures of the 'people's war' under the umbrella of Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) the ANC was able to maintain, at least rhetorically, a link to the conduction of the struggle inside South Africa, through characterising the MK as

> [...] a People's Army which draws its strength from the oppressed masses. Its cause is just, and it cannot be destroyed [...] Through a combination of mass political action and armed actions we have seized the initiative from the enemy [...] The racists can only react with desperation to our offensive.[92]

The utility of the notions of the 'national democratic revolution', 'freedom charter' and 'people's power', while providing the ideological content of liberation, similarly are important rhetorical devices through which the ANC and its associated organisations were able to market the nature, form and content of liberation. In addition, they also formed an important discursive register through which ownership of the struggle could be exercised and provided an historical repository through to which a future ANC could turn, to invoke the salience and sanctity of the struggle for liberation. Marketing liberation, and the various strands that composed its definition, was not exclusively undertaken by the ANC, but by formations within and aligned to it. In the next section, I focus on this marketing of liberation and demonstrate the rich publicity, promotional and propaganda activity that was undertaken by the ANC and the organisations closely affiliated to it.

AGITATING FOR LIBERATION: MARKETING PERSPECTIVES

Umkhonto we Sizwe

Born in the milieu of the aftermath of the Sharpeville Massacre in March 1960, Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) keenly asserted its popular character through the embrace of the 'people'. Indeed, in its founding manifesto it clearly asserted its guiding mission as being "at the front line of the people's defence."[93] Further, in conceiving of its mandate, it argued that "[I]t will be the fighting arm of the people against the government and its policies of race oppression.

---

[91] Mzala, 'Towards People's War and Insurrection' *Sechaba*, April (1987), 6
[92] Umkhonto we Sizwe, 'Umkhonto we Sizwe: Intensify People's War' Pamphlet, University of Cape Town African Studies Library Ephemera Collection, Uncatalogued
[93] Umkhonto we Sizwe, 'Manifesto of Umkhonto we Sizwe: Leaflet Issued by the Command of Umkhonto we Sizwe', 16 December 1961

It will be the striking force of the people for liberty, for rights and for their final liberation!"[94] The nature and content of this liberation was intimately linked to the prescriptions of the Freedom Charter. Indeed, in a leaflet entitled *Why We Fight* there is a rhetorical invocation of the key components of apartheid oppression in which the contours of the Freedom Charter are evident. Addressed to "the sons and daughters of the soil" it asserts that,

> The white oppressors have stolen our land. They have destroyed our families. [...] We burrow into the belly of the earth to dig out gold, diamonds, coal, uranium. The white oppressors and foreign investors grab all this wealth. [...] In the factories, on the farms, on the railways, wherever you go, the hard, dirty, dangerous, badly paid jobs are ours. The best jobs are for whites only. In our land we have to carry passes; we are restricted and banished while the white oppressors move about freely. [...] Our homes are hovels; those of the whites are luxury mansions, flats and farmsteads. There are not enough schools for our children; the standard of education is low, and we have to pay for it. But the government uses our taxes and the wealth we create to provide free education for white children. We have suffered long enough.[95]

By acknowledging the range of exploitation suffered by the black population, this form of publicity is able to give credence to violent insurrection and link the political/popular and armed struggle. This characterisation of the struggle wherein political, economic and social deprivation are foregrounded serves to endow a 'justness' on the armed struggle and legitimates the enactment of violence. The ANC was keen to pronounce on this, asserting that armed struggle "[had] not been part of the strategy of our liberation movement" and that due to "the elimination of all alternatives by the racists" the movement was "forced to adopt this position."[96] Moreover, the 'rootedness' of armed struggle within the 'people' and hence its conception as an expression of popular resistance, permitted it a democratic rectitude onto armed action. Indeed, it was argued that "the armed struggle is a vital, indispensible component of the struggle for national and social liberation in South Africa, [and that the]

---

[94] Umkhonto we Sizwe, 'Manifesto of Umkhonto we Sizwe: Leaflet Issued by the Command of Umkhonto we Sizwe', emphasis in original
[95] Umkhonto we Sizwe, 'Why We Fight', Leaflet, University of Cape Town African Studies Library, Ephemera Collection, Uncatalogued, no date
[96] 'Problems of Strategy and Tactics', *Vukani-Awake* October 1977, 2 African National Congress: London, ANC Internal Propaganda, 1972-79, Mayibuye Archive, MCH02-9

democratic majority of our country supports the People's Army – Umkhonto we Sizwe."[97] In espousing the 'ownership' of MK as residing with 'the people', it continues that

> All of us are responsible for making MK stronger and more rooted among the people [and] Umkhonto we Sizwe must grow in size, the spread and quality of its operations and in the weight of every blow delivered. The armed struggle must grow![98]

While the nature and content of armed insurrectionary activity under the rubric of 'peoples power' was demonstrated above, the actual 'marketing' function of the MK found expression in its 'armed propaganda' activities. ANC intellectual, Francis Meli notes the role and significance of this, arguing that,

> Throughout the fiercest repression of the 1960s and until the mass democratic movement became firmly established in the early 1980s, the armed struggle was limited to armed propaganda. As such, it played a vital role in the earlier period of maintaining, in the 'vacuum' created by the virtual crushing of the extra-parliamentary opposition, the spirit of revolt and the possibility of successful action against the regime.[99]

---

[97] African National Congress, 'The ANC Calls on You…' African National Congress: ANC London, Internal Propaganda, 1960-1980, Mayibuye Archive, MCH02-7, 4-5
[98] African National Congress, 'The ANC Calls on You…', 5
[99] Speech by Francis Meli, London, 9

Figure 1: The Freedom Charter being taught in an MK camp, Mayibuye Archive, MK-2

This 'spirit of revolt' stemmed largely from the actions undertaken by MK to "inspir[e] our people and populariz[e] the ANC."[100] Indeed, following its formation, there were numerous attacks on the "symbols of apartheid" that clearly signalled this intent.[101] The targets included "government offices administering discriminatory laws" in addition to "explosions at railway installations and electric pylons."[102] Such armed incursions were to have both a "political and psychological impact" and they would serve to "instil self-confidence in the people and transform the latent hostility of the people to the regime into open mass confrontation."[103] Intention and rhetoric did conjoin, as the propagandistic utility of these actions were successful in garnering support for the ANC and inculcating a sense of 'presence' within the populace. According to Tom Lodge, "[A] series of opinion polls and surveys have borne witness to the ANC's rising popularity amongst urban black South Africans as have the

---

[100] Ronnie Kasrils quoted in Rocky Williams, 'The Other Armies: Writing the History of MK' in Ian Liebenberg, Fiona Lortan, Bobby Nel and Gert van der Westhuizen (eds.) *The Long March: The Story of the Struggle for Liberation in South Africa* Pretoria: HAUM, 1994), 30
[101] United Nations Centre Against Apartheid, 'Twenty Years of Armed Resistance in South Africa' 16 December 1981. For more, see also Tom Lodge, 'The African National Congress in South Africa 1976-1982: Guerilla War and Armed Propaganda' African National Congress, Subject Files: DIP, 1981-1983, Liberation Archive, University of Fort Hare, Box 109 Folder 75, 4. This is an earlier version of a paper later published under the same title in the Journal of Contemporary African Studies, 3, (1 and 2), 1983, 153-180
[102] United Nations Centre Against Apartheid, 3
[103] Editorial, 'Umkhonto we Sizwe – People's Army' *Sechaba* February, 1986, 1

massively attended funerals of ANC activists and veterans."[104] Moreover, the success of these operations also saw the ANC "[being] accorded sole and legitimate representative status" both in sympathetic African states and internationally.[105]

Despite this, there existed a disjuncture between the strength and capacity of the internal political movement's ability in providing leadership and popularising the ANC in this period. According to Tom Lodge, there existed an observable 'weakness' in the strength of the "non-military political dimension of the ANC's internal work."[106] That the MK inside South Africa was plagued by organisational weakness and at times inefficacy was not a new development. Writing of his experiences in the 1960s, Nelson Mandela noted that "in [their] enthusiasm for violence as a weapon to strike at the enemy" there was a general "neglect" of "strengthening the political organisations by recruiting new members, holding branch meetings, conducting political classes, and using legal platforms to reach the masses of our people."[107] But, while this 'non-military political dimension', or the Area Political Committees (APC), which were ought to "provide overall leadership to co-ordinate military with political work" were largely ineffectual, Barrell has argued in his seminal study of the MK that,

> Inside the country, legal and semi-legal popular political organisations were burgeoning. The ANC's small political underground helped steer the resurgence towards the ANC and its symbols […] the ANC focused on broadly-based campaigns for the release of Nelson Mandela and other political prisoners and against the twentieth anniversary of South Africa becoming a republic. The Freedom Charter was promoted as the major alternative vision to white minority rule. ANC flags appeared, as if from nowhere, in anti-Republic meetings and marches.[108]

---

[104] Lodge, 'The African National Congress in South Africa 1976-1982: Guerilla War and Armed Propaganda', 14. Barrell supports this contention, noting that, "[I]n the populous Pretoria-Witwatersrand-Vereeniging region, black support for the ANC had risen fro 27 per cent to 42 per cent between 1978-1981." See Howard Barrell, *MK: The ANC's Armed Struggle* (London: Penguin Books, 1990), 46
[105] Lodge, 'The African National Congress in South African 1976-1982: Guerilla War and Armed Propaganda', 14
[106] Lodge, 'The African National Congress in South African 1976-1982: Guerilla War and Armed Propaganda', 14
[107] Nelson Mandela, 'Clear the Obstacles and Confront the Enemy' in Mac Maharaj (ed.), *Reflections in Prison* (Cape Town: Zebra Publishers, 2001), 11
[108] Barrell, *MK: The ANC's Armed Struggle*, 47, also Helga Brandt, 'South Africa's ANC Dominates the Freedom Struggle,' *Sunday Mail* 4 October 1981

Armed activity was not the only means of propaganda and publicity for the MK. Indeed, its propaganda apparatus was not singularly confined to sabotage and armed campaigns, but operated strongly within the confines of a discursive public sphere. Indeed, MK was astutely conscious of the need to inform and persuade public opinion. In the annual general meeting of its journal, DAWN, there was consensus that the periodical's "main function [was] to establish contact between the masses and MK" and form part of the broader narrative offensive of the ANC's Department of Information and Propaganda through the "tactical use of language on particular issues" by which "DAWN would receive constant communication from DIP H/Q so as to be completely in touch with how to deal with specific issues."[109] The very conception of propaganda was expounded in a 1986 edition of DAWN. Indeed, it was argued that,

> Our main method of propaganda is persuasion. It is based on truth, scientific approach and does not hide its partisanship. The aim is to educate the masses and to activate them to revolutionary action for the seizure of power […] Our propaganda must always be on the offensive. Among our people and their army, Umkhonto we Sizwe, the role of propaganda is to instil patriotism.[110]

Within this conception of propaganda, it is apposite that DAWN was seen as a vehicle aimed at "uplifting the political consciousness of our people's army" so that it may "contribute towards the building of a loyal, dedicated cadre, full of initiative and always at the service of the organisation and the masses of our people."[111] It was imperative moreover, for the ANC to exert ownership over the MK and thus the armed struggle, given the exigencies of the internal struggle and the opening of 'a new path to liberation' and the concomitant sprouting of newly invigorated, internally-based and operative mass movements. ANC propaganda took on many forms. In a verse dedicated to MK in the performance piece entitled *I am Prepared to Die*, these ideas are rendered clear, for it is noted that,

> Under the banner of the African National Congress the phase of revolutionary armed struggle has begun. You have heard the sound of gunfire from across our borders in Zimbabwe. The day must come when it will be heard throughout the length and

---

[109] DAWN Annual General Meeting, Review, 12/01/84, African National Congress, Lusaka: Women's Section, Documents, DIP, Mayibuye Archive, MCH01-12, Box 12.5, 5
[110] Patrick Mabaso, 'Propaganda in the Armed Forces', *DAWN* 10,5, (1986), 4
[111] Mabaso, 5

breadth of our motherland. Be ready. The battle will be long, hard and bitter. But it will be end with victory for us and FREEDOM AT LAST.[112]

In asserting its ownership of the armed struggle and concomitantly its presence inside South Africa, the ANC similarly attempted to emphasise its determination to confront the apartheid state militarily and challenge its hegemony, declaring purposively in the handbook entitled, *We are at War!*, that

> [T]he government fears us! Our organisations were outlawed, our leaders banned, restricted, jailed for life, murdered. But the ANC survives and grows underground![113]

We are at War! similarly invokes rousing rhetoric to stimulate mobilisation and confrontation and enjoins the consumer of its propaganda to fight the "white oppressors" for "[if] you do not fight like a man, you will live and die like a slave."[114] Imperatively too, as a piece of agitational propaganda, the document undertakes to link the then struggles against the apartheid regime, to the longer teleology of black challenge to colonialism through the invocation of the memory of the 'deeds' of heroic, African leaders. Tapping into this cultural memory, the document proclaims,

> [O]ur soldiers are skilful. They take the enemy by surprise. Their deeds are brave like the warriors of Shaka, Makana, Sekhukhuni, Moshoeshoe, Cetshwayo. We shall win.[115]

In so doing, not only is the action being encouraged by connecting it to a more mythic past, but there is a concomitant legitimation of the struggle being undertaken validation of its effects and outcomes.

---

[112] *I am Prepared to Die*
[113] African National Congress, 'We Are At War', African Studies Library, University of Cape Town, Ephemera Collection, Uncatalogued, no date.
[114] African National Congress, 'We Are At War'
[115] African National Congress, 'We Are At War'

Figure 2: Women Arise and Act! Join Umkhonto We Sizwe Mayibuye Archive, SW1-3-13

The more militant, even vitriolic, rhetoric and imagery invoked by the ANC through the MK functioned to position itself at the centre of revolutionary action against apartheid. Such a representational and discursive construction captured a wider market for the ANC and located it across various arenas of struggle. Women were not excluded from the ANC's mobilisation activities as evidenced in figure 2 above. Women's liberation was intimately connected to national liberation, and by the 1980s, the ANC's commitment and recognition of the militaristic role of women in the struggle was keenly communicated.[116] Targeting women as a market to engage in armed propaganda, destabilised the 'traditional' conceptions of women

---

[116] Shireen Hassim has detailed aptly the role of women in the struggle, especially in exile and while there were tendencies toward reifying specific gender roles in the ANC, this was offset by a more 'liberatory' tendency toward equality, see Shireen Hassim, *Women's Organisations and Democracy in South Africa: Contesting Authority* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2006). Similar findings were made in the course of my researches on primary archival material on the ANC, especially in its marketing and publicity materials.

in struggle and gave impetus to the democratic and equality premises of the notion of people's power.

Moreover, the creation of a militant, insurrectionary image served to locate the ANC at the centre of the internal resistance campaign against the apartheid state. This rhetoric, however, belied a political reality in which commitment to a direct military offensive against the South African regime by the ANC was varied and the organisational capacities limited. Indeed, within the various constituent elements of the ANC, the recourse to armed struggle was not fully supported. A wide literature exists on these dissonances and it is not my aim to recount them here.[117] Rather, given the focus of the present study, what is important, is the invocation of a specific grammar of resistance and liberation which the ANC aimed to monopolise and embody. However, various grammars existed and circulated among the numerous organisations fighting against apartheid. The more militaristic of the MK was offset by a popular democratic one of the UDF. The emergence of the UDF "inspired an insurrectionary movement that was without precedent in its geographical spread, in its combative militancy, in the burden it imposed upon government resources and in the degree to which it internationalized hostility toward the apartheid."[118] The significance of the UDF from a political marketing perspective lay in the fact that from its formation, it "undoubtedly borrowed from the traditions, symbols, iconography, and ideology of the ANC" and thus provided an important fillip to the ANC's marketing activities inside South Africa.[119] It is to an examination of this I now turn.

United Democratic Front (UDF)

The founding of the UDF in 1983 and the concomitant embarkation upon 'a new path to liberation' was central to the narrative of liberation that informed the struggle against apartheid. As demonstrated above, the ideological content of liberation and the centrality of 'the people' fed into a broader ontological understanding of resistance and opposition that was prefigured in the 1976 'Soweto moment'. In the palimpsest of liberation, the UDF was the harbinger of capturing the discursive construction of the popular dimension of the anti-apartheid forces. More than this, the significance of the UDF's contribution to the

---

[117] See for example, Howard Barrell, 'Conscripts to their age: African National Congress Operational Strategy, 1976-1986' DPhil Thesis, University of Oxford, 1993. Also, Padraig O'Malley, *Shades of Difference: Mac Maharaj and the Struggle for South Africa* (New York: Viking, 2007).
[118] Tom Lodge, 'Rebellion: The Turning of the Tide' in Tom Lodge and Bill Nasson, *All, Here and Now: Black Politics in South Africa in the 1980s* (Cape Town: David Philip Publishers, 1991), 29
[119] Lodge, 'Rebellion: The Turning of the Tide', 29-30

representative entrenchment lay in its capacity to give the ANC "presence" in South Africa, together with the trade unions and other organisations of the mass democratic movement.[120]

While the key to this 'presence' was the coalescence of these forces around the ideological banner of the Freedom Charter, the latter's acceptance and propagation as a socio-economic and political panacea was, however, initially opposed by the UDF. Dismissing claims that it constituted an "ANC front", the UDF emerged out of its "opposition to the new constitution and the Koornhof Bills"[121] that envisaged the creation of a 'tricameral parliamentary system' which would afford Coloured, Indian and white South Africans representation, albeit unequally, in a "central government" that "excluded the African majority altogether."[122] In counterpoint to the stratification and opportunism that underpinned these proposed executive reforms, the UDF's political programme was premised on the precepts of a "united, democratic South Africa based on the will of the people" in which the there was the declared goal to "strive for the unity of all people through united action against the evils of apartheid, economic and all other forms of exploitation."[123] Abiding to "the principles of non-racialism and democracy", the UDF's narrative strategy aimed to capture and appeal to the broadest range of social and community formations.[124] While its emergence was premised on opposition to the Bills, it would be false to view such opposition in narrow terms. Indeed, asserting that the imperative of the Bills would be to foment further disunity through the disparities of "living standards" given apartheid spatial planning, it went on to list other socio-economic and political factors such as poor wages; the lack of access to a quality education; the 'harming' of religious and cultural life; and the "oppression and exploitation" of women and the extirpation of conventional family life as reasons to resist promulgation.[125] While distancing itself from clear subscription to the Freedom Charter and therefore asserting its independence from the ANC, the rhetorical invocation of the taxonomy of malaise bears a clear resonance with the remedial aspirations of the Charter.

---

[120] Yunus Carrim, 'The ANC as a Mass Political Organisation' in Alexander Johnston, Sipho Shezi and Gavin Bradshaw (eds.) *Constitution-Making in the New South Africa* (London: Leicester University Press, 1993) 91. The Mass Democratic Movement, according to Carrim, was a "broader, looser coalition" of forces that emerged in response to the banning of the UDF and Cosatu under the State of Emergency imposed by the apartheid regime in 1988, see Carrim, 91

[121] United Democratic Front, 'Setting the Record Straight' Pamphlet issued by the Students Representative Council Projects Committee, University of the Witwatersrand, South African History Archive, UDF Collection: National, Box 14

[122] Jeremy Seekings, *The UDF: A History of the United Democratic Front in South Africa 1983-1991*, 2

[123] United Democratic Front, 'Declaration of the United Democratic Front', African National Congress: London, UDF, Mayibuye Archive, MCH02-136

[124] United Democratic Front, 'Setting the Record Straight'

[125] United Democratic Front, ' Declaration of the United Democratic Front'

Given the wide remit of formations that constituted the Front and the attendant range of class, racial and ideological dynamics of these formations, varying political dispositions were evident. A "strategic shift", evident after its campaign against the Koornhof Bills, saw the UDF move from an emphasis on "grass roots" struggles to an engagement with "the existing political struggles being waged in the townships."[126] More than this, the 'shift' effected changes to the UDF in three ways: first, there was a move to "reorientate the UDF towards African rather than coloured and Indian areas"; a greater need for organisational development and restructuring; and finally, "an overall different role for the UDF" in which it would cease to "co-ordinate protests as much as co-ordinate the organisations which sought to direct resistance."[127]
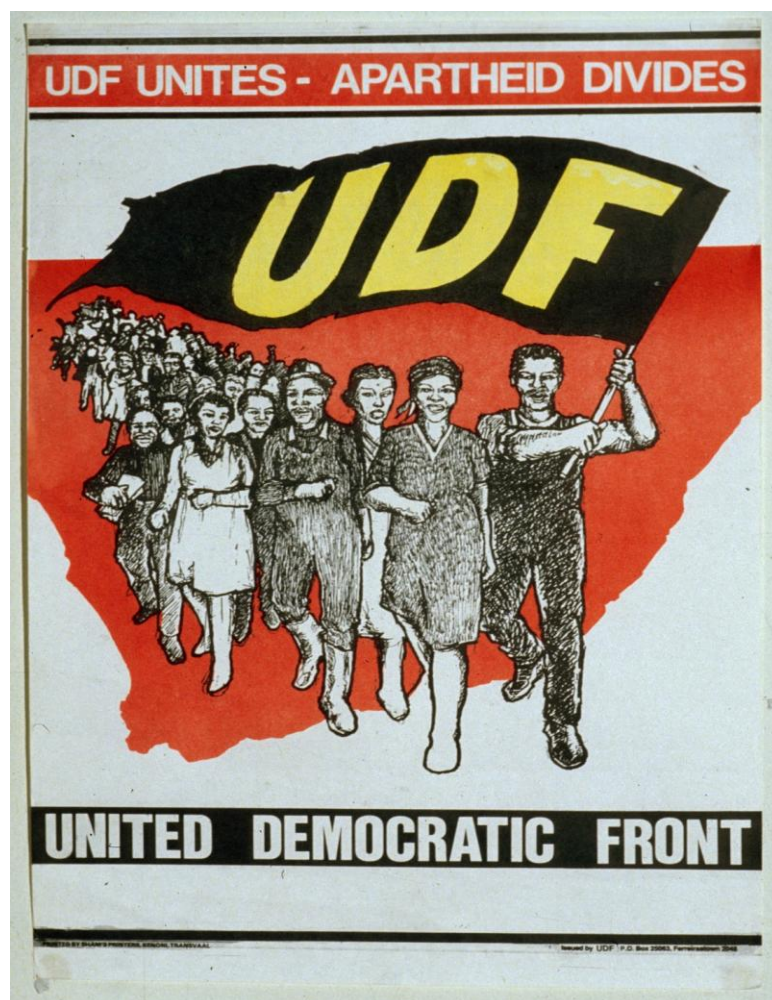
Figure 3: UDF Poster, Mayibuye SP1-1-13

---

[126] Seekings, *The UDF: A History of the United Democratic Front in South Africa 1983-1991*, 132
[127] Seekings, *The UDF: A History of the United Democratic Front in South Africa 1983-1991*, 132

This shift was necessitated by an organisational sclerosis that beset the Front and diluted its ability to transition from "resistance to the apartheid system and growing ungovernability to developing mass based democratic organisations and organs of people's power."[128] While this sclerosis varied across regions and provinces, the problems encountered are nevertheless instructive for understanding the strategic and organisational capacities of the internally-based anti-apartheid movement. Thus, for example, in the Northern Transvaal region, there was a "lack of active involvement of older people in structures, lack of political training [and the] need for more coordination of students and youth at a regional level."[129] Furthermore, the "lack of political education" among youth saw "their consciousness [being directed] at the police and government" and held an insufficient "understanding" of the ideological content of "non-racialism and democracy [...] the Freedom Charter, [and] what is meant by ungovernability and organs of people's power."[130]

The opposition to apartheid, captured in the Front's political programme, and its conception of the nature of apartheid oppression, was undertaken through a political register that was consonant with that of the ANC's and, importantly, the Freedom Charter. This is instructive for it highlights not only the nomenclatural but also organisational imbrications that characterised the anti-apartheid struggle. Despite this, the decision to adopt the Freedom Charter by the UDF was contested. Concern revolved around the fact that it would "undermine the continued building of a broader alliance under implicit Charterist leadership."[131] The ANC, however, was clear to assert that the adoption of the Freedom Charter was not a precondition for the formation of any coalition of social forces in contesting the regime.[132] While initially deciding against adoption, there were moves made for the UDF to conduct a "campaign to popularise the Charter"[133] and its affiliates were charged with "discussing" and "explaining" it in its publicity and promotional drives. [134] In 1988, the Charter was adopted by the UDF. Such popularising gave expression to the core

---

[128] United Democratic Front Northern Transvaal Regional Assessment, 8
[129] United Democratic Front Northern Transvaal Regional Assessment, 8
[130] United Democratic Front Northern Transvaal Regional Assessment, 17
[131] Seekings, *The UDF: A History of the United Democratic Front in South Africa 1983-1991*, 133
[132] Interview Transcript, Thabo Mbeki, 'A Broad Coalition of Anti-Apartheid Forces', An Interview with Comrade Thabo Mbeki, Member of the National Executive Committee of the ANC and Director of the Department of Information and Publicity', African National Congress: London: Lectures on Underground Work, 1970s-1980s, Mayibuye Archive, MCH02-23, 6. While this statement was in response to the formation and ideological orientation of other anti-apartheid groupings, a reading o the transcript indicates that it is highly applicable to the UDF, my emphasis
[133] Seekings, *The UDF: A History of the United Democratic Front in South Africa 1983-1991*, 133. of
[134] United Democratic Front, 'UDF Focus on the Freedom Charter: Freedom Charter Campaign from 26 June to 20 August,' University of Natal, Durban Student Representative Council Press

precepts of the Freedom Charter in the UDF's iconography. As evident in figure 4 below, the demand to 'Unban the ANC' was communicated and evoked through a metaphorical use of images to indicate the demand for access and ownership of mineral wealth, land, housing, education and a lack of discrimination. Underpinned by the declaration of the 'Freedom Charter for People's Power', the poster below crystallises the core content of the notion of liberation.
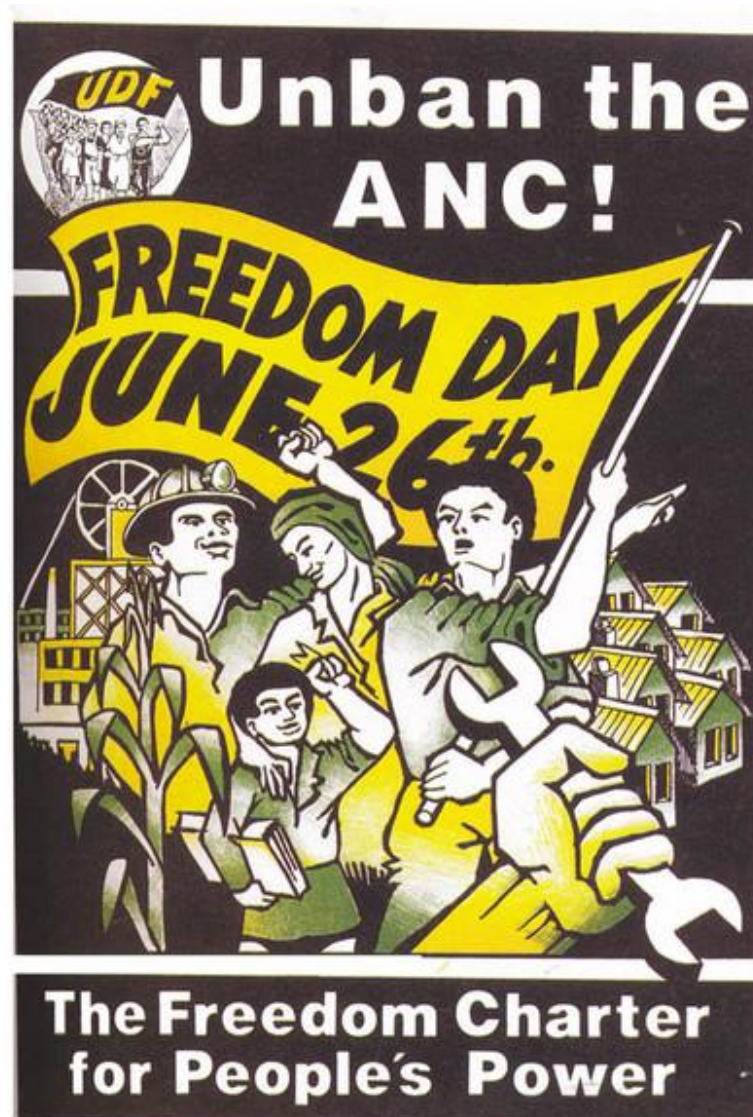
**Figure 4: UDF Poster obtained online
fromhttp://www.nelsonmandela.org/udf/index.php/poster/unban_the_anc_freedom_day/ (accessed on 2 June 2010)**

Such publicity and promotion found expression through a range of materials, performances, marches and in line with its organisational ethos, community-based arts projects. Moreover, funerals were used as political platforms for publicising the struggle and resistance to the

apartheid state. The subscription to the Charter's vision of liberation for the UDF obtained further currency in the emotionally charged and symbolic atmosphere of the funeral for David Webster, a white UDF activist assassinated by the apartheid regime. In a speech by Mohammed Valli Moosa, a senior UDF leader, the invocation of the Charter and its centrality in guiding the UDF were clear, when he noted,

> Today, more [than] ever before, the legitimacy of the Freedom Charter is accepted by the overwhelming majority of South Africans. A large number of mass organisations have formally adopted the Freedom Charter as their political programme [...] It has become an ideological force of its own. Even the [captains] of our economy could not ignore this document – they continue to seek clarification of its clauses from the African National Congress [...] it must be said that the debates around the Freedom Charter raged amongst us did serve a valuable purpose. They contributed towards enriching our understanding of the nature of South African society and the nature of the struggle itself.[135]

In the same address, the content of liberation came to be revealed through a discursive manoeuvre that linked the fundamental precept of liberation – democracy – to its organisational realisation. Rhetorically, democracy is premised on popular foundations and economic emancipation, where the struggle for the realisation of such democracy is premised on unity. Adumbrating the outlines of this conception of liberation, Moosa continued

> [...] let us give impetus to the process of building a single South African nation. [...] Let us display respect for all the languages, cultural practices and religions of our people. But let us remove the culture of apartheid which fosters division and stunts growth. Let us build a true people's culture, so that our struggle does not become a struggle only to change laws, but which changes individuals themselves.[136]

Given the popular nature of the composition of the UDF, the subscription to unity became an imperative that not only found expression in the concept of liberation, but was a vehicle through which the struggle for liberation could be realised. Indeed, that the front was founded on opposition to the Koornhof bills which sought to magnify racial, tribal and ethnic

---

[135] Speech delivered by Mohammed Valli Moosa at the David Webster Memorial Service Held at Wits University, 10 May 1989, South African History Archive, AL2431, UDF Collection: National, Box 8
[136] Speech delivered by Mohammed Valli Moosa at the David Webster Memorial Service Held at Wits University

divisions through 'co-optation' provided further impetus for calls to unity to counter the divisiveness of apartheid.[137] Finding expression in the popular UDF slogan, 'UDF Unites, Apartheid Divides', such unity would also provide the basis for the creation of a post-apartheid 'nation'. As the image above demonstrates (see figure 3), unity informed the iconography of the UDF. The masses of people, organised under the banner of the UDF, and depicted as both purposive and engaged, captures the very ethos of the Front. Moreover, it communicated the message of a nation in the making and was entrenched in the very process of struggle. Indeed, Murphy Morobe, UDF National Executive member explained as much in an interview, noting,

> What we see is the destruction of the SA nation here by apartheid policies, and what we believe is that for the building of a new SA, a new South Africanism that does not have to wait for liberation whenever that will come, but has to be a process that has to be begun whilst we are engaged in struggle.[138]

More than that, in the palimpsest of liberation, the motif of unity came to serve as a discursive link between the ANC and allied formations in the pursuit of liberation. For the ANC, the 'anticipated' role of the UDF in the struggle would fit neatly into this conception. Indeed, in an interview with the MK journal DAWN, Thabo Mbeki noted that the UDF's central contribution to the struggle was its "focus on united action for a united, democratic and non-racial South Africa" which would "raise our struggle to a higher level."[139] The resonances here with the guiding precepts of the NDR are evident. More than that, the process of struggle also came to demonstrate the intimate connection between the ANC and the UDF, and the imbrications – of people, leadership, ideologies etc. – that informed the resistance movements. In the theatre of the political rally, this finds clear expression. In the transcript of a rally entitled the 'People's Weekend' the fervour of the participants is evident. The transcript reads,

> (Starts with crowd chanting: "Oliver Tambo, Oliver Tambo!")

> (singing) (song about Tambo) (chanting Oliver Tambo!)

---

[137] UDF Rally Transcript, 'People's Weekend', Frank Chikane Interview Transcripts, Julie Frederikse Papers, 1979-1990, South African History Archive, AL2460

[138] Interview Transcript, UDF National Executive – Cheryl Carolus, Murphy Morobe, Mohammed Valli Moosa, Julie Frederikse Papers, South African History Archive, AL 2460

[139] Interview with Comrade Thabo Mbeki, 'To Mobilise the Masses into Action', *DAWN*, 7, 9 and10, (1983), 3

(more singing) (about Tambo, Mandela, Umkhonto) (Botha – voetsak voetsak)[140]

(Singing – one line, two lines. Chant; Joe Slovo, Joe Slovo, Oliver Tambo!) (Song)

Woman: One South Africa, One Nation! [...] Now it's my time and your time and our time and UDF's time. We're going to sing about UDF and must all shout UDF! (UDF song)

Woman: You know you must bring that spirit of the 1976 back to date. You must SING people. [...] (song about Tambo). (cuts)[141]

Linking leading personalities of the ANC and SACP, as well as MK, inculcates a sense of authenticity to the people's struggles engaged in by the UDF and links the actions at the time, within a longer teleology of the struggle against apartheid. Indeed, by urging the audience to action through the commemoration of the 'spirit of 1976', the UDF is able to tap into a very specific narrative of liberation that augments the populist dimension of the struggle. In highlighting the relationship between the ANC and the UDF, the content and conception of liberation is rendered less opaque.

Sustained action and revolt in the late 1980s and the increasing pressure on the regime saw reform measures being introduced as the inevitability of political change in South Africa became apparent. The release of political prisoners from Robben Island and the unbanning of the ANC in 1990 placed the UDF in an organisational flux that required an assessment of its future. In handwritten notes by founding member of the UDF, Popo Molefe, the strategic thinking and available to the UDF are evident. Indeed, there is the acknowledgement that "some UDF affiliates can be absorbed into the ANC" which included the Transvaal and Natal Indian Congresses, as well as the South African Youth Congress and UDF Women's Sector.[142] The strategic imperative for the UDF remained the "task of rebuilding the ANC" and that it was necessary for the UDF to 'exist' "up until the ANC structures are intact" and at least up until the December conference of the ANC, after which "the UDF should review its existence."[143] However, Seekings notes that at the regional level, the disparity in the positions on the future of the UDF were manifest.[144] While some favoured the dissolution of

---

[140] 'Voetsak' is loosely translated as 'go to hell'
[141] UDF Rally Transcript, 'People's Weekend'
[142] Popo Molefe, 'The Future of the UDF', Notes from the National Workshop, April 1990, UDF Collection: National, South African History Archive, AL 2431, Box 1, n.p.
[143] Molefe, 'The Future of the UDF', n.p.
[144] Seekings, *The UDF: A History of the United Democratic Front in South Africa 1983-1991*, 275-76

the Front, at the UDF National Executive Committee meeting held in July 1990, an organisational assessment revealed that "[T]here is still some need for UDF to play a political role in some areas as the ANC branches are still very weak" even though it "should de-emphasise its political role and assume a co-ordinating one for those mass organisations outside of the ANC."[145] However, this co-ordinating role among civic organisations, premised on non-partisanship, was compromised because of the UDF's proximity to the ANC and its earlier adoption of the Freedom Charter. In Molefe's consideration, "the adoption of the Freedom Charter narrowed the base of the UDF."[146] But more than that, poor coordination and organisation in the various regions provided the primary impetus for the disbanding of the Front.[147] Indeed, by the March 1991 National General Council meeting, Popo Molefe noted that,

> [...] the UDF is at its weakest in the entire history of its existence. Very few regional councils meet regularly. There is nothing that provides for joint strategising and joint decision-making. Leaders no longer operate on the basis of sufficient mandates, nor are they sufficiently accountable because meetings are irregular.[148]

The UDF's pressure and contestation of the apartheid regime opened an important internal front through which the struggle could be undertaken. Indeed, through the State of Emergency of the late 1980s and the formation of the Mass Democratic Movement, the UDF with other civil society groupings exerted immense internal pressure on the apartheid regime and punctured conceptions of its strength and its continued longevity. Like the MK, the UDF was intricately involved in the discursive contestation against the South African state. Open, public and aimed at a mass audience, its marketing of liberation and political action served to mobilise and organise targeted constituencies. The discursive and representational activity of the ANC was also undertaken in less open and public arenas. Robben Island, more than just a prison, became an important site in which persuasion was undertaken through inculcating an understanding of the ideological orientation of the ANC in the political education of prisoners.

---

[145] ' Report of the UDF (NEC) held on Saturday 28 July 1990, Johannesburg', UDF Collection: National, South African History Archive, AL2431, Box 3
[146] Molefe, 'The Future of the UDF'
[147] Seekings, *The UDF: A History of the United Democratic Front in South Africa 1983-1991*, 276-77
[148] Quoted in Seekings, *The UDF: A History of the United Democratic Front in South Africa 1983-1991*, 277

Robben Island

Robben Country
Country that separated fathers
With children and wives
Country that left loneliness
In our motherland
Country that is a concentration camp
of patriots[149]

It is evident from the foregoing discussion that the experience of apartheid in various 'sites' came to inform the ideological and discursive construction of liberation. Despite its physical and epistemic isolation, Robben Island became an important "site of struggle" against apartheid primarily for the emphasis placed on the nature and content of the education of political prisoners and the concomitant 'emancipatory' potential that this held, even obtaining the sobriquet 'The University of Revolutionary Politics."[150] Given the focus of this thesis, the marketing function for the ANC turned on the nature, focus and scope of the education being provided. Locating the ANC at the centre of this process of education, and political education specifically, a particularistic narrative of the struggle against apartheid is communicated. More than that, the ideological content of this education also provides an orienting framework through which liberation is theorised.

As noted in the analysis above, the marketing function of the ANC and its associated formations was conjoined to a mobilisation and organisational imperative. On Robben Island, the same imperative was evidenced. In an interview, Walter Sisulu noted as much when he posited,

> One of the first things we did when we got to Robben Island was to set up our own machinery and to conduct political education, to guide us as it were. We set up the machinery we called the High Organ. In other words this was the controlling body in the Island prison. Not for the whole Island. The main section continued its own activity. It had its own machinery, and we were merely starting our own in the area in

---

[149] Verse from Solly Wa Mathe, *The Face of S.A.* ANC Lusaka Mission, Poetry: Freedom Fighters, University of Fort Hare Archive Box 123 Folder 203, 4
[150] Neville Alexander, 'Robben Island: A Site of Struggle' Lecture presented at the University of Cape Town Summer School on the theme 'Robben Island: The Politics of Rock and Sand', 1992, 1, The nickname appears in Harriet Deacon, *The Island: A History of Robben Island, 1488-1990* (Cape Town: David Philip, 1996),126

which we were. That also brought a relationship between us. That is how we, the leadership, got together with the main section.[151]

Given the nature of disciplinary power exerted on prisoners, especially during the period that Sisulu refers to, "a well organised clandestine network [was] set up in all the different sections of Robben Island."[152] Heuristically, the educative content of the materials – from political polemics, essays, newspaper articles, and the like – aimed to provide not only a political education, or what became known as *mrabula* for prisoners, but also a "deepening of resistance" among them.[153] Indeed, in Jacob Zuma's words, there was a sense that the "objective was that if you were a political prisoner on Robben Island you'd better come off Robben Island a better politician, a better fighter."[154] The content of the political education being expounded, as noted above, was instructive in understanding the means by which the idea of liberation came to be constructed and disseminated. In a handwritten report by a Robben Island education committee head entitled, *On Our Political Education,* the importance ascribed to such education is evident here. Indeed, and echoing Jacob Zuma's sentiments it is argued that

> In dealing with our proposed syllabus we think it is necessary to repeat that a clear political line forms an important guide in our struggle. Pol. (sic) education is something inseparable from the struggles of all revolutionaries. Just as our armed combatants undergo meticulous training in warfare [...] Similarly political training is an indispensible weapon for every cadre in our struggle.[155]

Moreover, constructing and utilising a particular conception of apartheid into the syllabus of political education on the Island, had the effect of producing a very specific narrative of the nature of liberation and how it would be obtained. Indeed, the same report it was noted further that,

> If we are to overthrow fascism and set up a new society it is imperative that we thoroughly understand (a) the country we live in, (b) the nature of oppression and

---

[151] George M Houser and Herbert Shore, *I Will Go Singing: Walter Sisulu Speaks of his Life and the Struggle for Freedom in South Africa* (Cape Town: Robben Island Museum, 2001), 171
[152] Patricia Patche, 'An Island of Meaning in a Sea of Oppression: The Other Side of Robben Island' *Alizes,* November, 1994, 87
[153] Patche, 87
[154] Quoted in Patche, 87
[155] Sechaba, 'On Our Political Education' Report on the Morning Political Classes, Robben Island: Mrabulo Planning Documents, Political Programme Documents, Mayibuye Archive, MCH64-76, Box 76

exploitation, (c) why change is needed […] Power is not only maintained by force but by winning the masses onto the side of the new society and make them realise that it is the People's Govt (sic).[156]

A survey of the content of the educational material used, especially toward the latter stages of apartheid, indicates a strong emphasis on the role of the ANC in the struggle and the ideological premises upon which liberation was based. Indeed, the main mrabula programme in 1990 for example, was divided thematically into three areas. Under the theme, 'Strategy and Tactics of the South African Revolution', a focus on the ideological imperatives through its core documentation forms the basis of the instructional material for prisoners. Here, the syllabus contains analyses of the ANC's 1969 Strategy and Tactics document adopted at the seminal Morogoro Conference; the Freedom Charter; interpretations of the People's War as well as an analysis of the 1985 Kabwe Conference.[157] Examination of important texts relating to the SACP, COSATU and the UDF are also undertaken. Analysis of the second and third themes provides an insight into the ideological terrain upon which mrabula was premised. Indeed, the keen ascription to Marxism-Leninism and the study of socialist revolution in Europe and the struggles against colonialism in the 'third world' indicate abidance to the perceived ontological orientation of the ANC. There is a consistency that is evident through time in the content and focus of the educational material that was used as mrabula.

Indeed, the explicit articulation of this ideological orientation can be evinced in commentary on newspaper articles by prisoners. In response to a newspaper article entitled 'Terrorists want a Communist Republic' in the Cape Times of August 25 1981, the People's Scribe offers an illuminating handwritten riposte, noting,

Meneer [Mr.] Major-General, you are, to be exact, Chief of the Security police of the bourgeoisie – foreign and local – and not of the State of the People – 'the people in their true sense, that is, the majority of the people, those who have had to live in exploitation and cruellest neglect…that is, the oppressed and exploited classes' and against whom you secure the bourgeois status quo.[158]

---

[156] Sechaba,
[157] Supplement A: Main Mrabula Programme, Robben Island: Mrabula Planning Documents, Political Programme Documents, Mayibuye Archive, MCH64-76
[158] The People's Scribe, English Essays Robben Island: Mrabulo Reading Material, Mayibuye Archive, MCH64-77. Michael Dingake in his memoir entitled *My Fight Against Apartheid* (London: Kliptown Books,

The ideological orientation of this education, and the input it gave to the construction of the idea of liberation was not confined solely to written material. Performances and plays were also an important means, especially in the early mid- to late-1960s, of communicating allegorically at times, the nature of the contest against apartheid. In his memoir, Natoo Babenia describes the operation of various plays and their political content. Indeed,

> *Sophia* was staged in B1. It is about a slave uprising in a small Greek enclave ruled by a King. But the real dominant force is actually Sophia, the sister of the King. [...] The slaves are in jail. However, led by Babana ["the leading black slave"] they refuse to fight the gladiators. An uprising takes place, supported by Sophia and they are set free with the help of the gladiators and slaves from outside.[159]

Despite the brutality and harshness of the living conditions on the Island, evidence suggests that a vibrant educational, cultural and sporting life existed. In its own right, the Island was a microcosm of life on the mainland. As such, it would be incorrect too to assume that the ANC was alone in operating in these spheres on the Island. A multiplicity of organisations and formations existed and were supported by prisoners on the Island, but despite this, primacy was still accorded to the ANC. This primacy finds expression in handwritten copies of manuscripts that were circulated within the mrabula groups. The diffusion of the ideas of locating the ANC at the centre of the struggle is evidenced here for it is posited that,

> The ANC is the leading force in the National Liberation struggle of South Africa. Based principally on an alliance of class forces amongst the nationally oppressed, the ANC seeks to forge a broad non-racial movement of all democratic elements pledged to [the] overthrow of the apartheid state.[160]

The circulation of these ideas through the prison population not only endowed prisoners with an ANC-centric political worldview but also performed an acute marketing function. Raymond Suttner has noted that for the 'Soweto generation' mrabula had the effect of

---

1987) notes that certain groups of prisoners were allowed access to uncensored newspapers, but as early as 1978, prisoners were allowed to listen to censored newscasts.

[159] Natoo Babenia, *Memoirs of a Saboteur: Reflections on my Political Activity in India and South Africa*, (Bellville: Mayibuye Books, 1995), 168-69

[160] *Political Organisations of the National Liberation Movement: The African National Congress of South Africa: (ANC(SA))* Robben Island General Recreational Committee, Mayibuye Archive, MCH64-72, Box 72. A survey of the mrabula materials indicates that it was common for prisoners to copy tracts of books, periodicals and newspapers amongst others, and circulate handwritten copies of these tracts for study and discussion.

"consolidating their understanding of the history of resistance and in many cases, converting to the ANC."[161] Indeed, it was noted that

> The Island was a political education for me. Firstly, we developed a deep comradeship through discussion with the older leaders, and a deep respect. Before I went to the Island my understanding of the Freedom Charter was not thorough. There I had time to look back at history […] We delved into our history. We discovered that we young people were not the first to take up the fight against apartheid, but a new part of a developing process.[162]

While conversion of young prisoners to the ANC due to mrabula certainly occurred as a result of its 'marketability', the significance of creating a specific narrative of history and liberation from apartheid would lie in "the significant political role" these prisoners would have after their "release."[163] Indeed, that Robben Island would "produce capable activists who would eventually go back to their communities" and inform and shape the struggle was an overarching objective of older "inmates". [164] Then Islander, and now Cabinet minister Pravin Gordhan, espoused the 'heroic' status that returnees were met with on return to their communities and the authority that they possessed in shaping attitudes and perceptions within those communities. An implicit marketing function is evident here. Indeed, he notes,

> They were the bearers of history, bearers of experience, bearers of anecdotes, bearers of the Congress culture, 'this is how you do things, this is how you analyse things', they were bearers of inspiration, because you could relate to them as heroes, and there were not many heroes at the time, and each of them has a different quality because they each played a different role.[165]

Given that the "youth of '76 represented the future of the movements and the liberation struggle", the imperative was therefore a "critical process of training activists, teaching them

---

[161] Raymond Suttner, 'Culture(s) of the African National Congress of South Africa: Exile and Prison Experiences' in Michael Neocosmos, Raymond Suttner and Ian Taylor, *Political Cultures in Democratic South Africa* Discussion Paper 19, Nordiska Afrikainstitutet (2002), 27

[162] Daniel Montsisi, Soweto youth leader, quoted in Suttner, 'Culture(s) of the African National Congress of South Africa: Contribution of Exile and Prison Experiences' 27

[163] Suttner, 'Culture(s) of the African National Congress of South Africa: Exile and Prison Experiences', 28

[164] Buntman quoted in Suttner, 'Culture(s) of the African National Congress of South Africa: Exile and Prison Experiences', 28

[165] Pravin Gordhan quoted in Raymond Suttner, *The ANC Underground in South Africa: A Social and Historical Study* (Auckland Park: Jacana Media, 2008), 67

organisational histories, ideologies and strategies, and preparing them for their political obligations and mandates upon release."[166] That these activists would take up leadership positions in UDF structures explains the congruence and diffusion of ideas and practices among the 'broad church' of ANC-aligned organisations.[167]

CONCLUSION

It is evident from the foregoing discussion that the marketing of liberation was informed by various threads in the ANC's discursive and representational arsenal. Acknowledging the pervasiveness and operation of a marketing consciousness through the ANC and its associated organisations, a consistency in the message is evident over time. Importantly too, despite the differing contours and emphases that each of these organisations encouraged, as well as the jostle for influence over the struggle against apartheid, the ANC remained the locus around which the discursive and representational power orbited. As such, a sense of political ownership of the ANC by the oppressed and disenfranchised was inculcated, and rooted in a conception of liberation in which they were empowered to realise it, actively participate in it, and reap the benefits of it. Indeed, the representation of liberation was keenly informed by the theoretical content of such liberation. Further, the ANC's political marketing of liberation was deeply infused by a values-oriented conception of a free and democratic South Africa. The ongoing and incomplete nature of liberation, as defined and marketed by the ANC, resonated across time and features centrally in post-apartheid political discourse. The chapters which follow pick up on these themes and demonstrate the longevity of the ANC's discursive and representational universe.

In locating itself at the centre of various conceptions of liberation, the ANC was positioned, as in other decolonising contexts, as the 'sole and authentic' representative of the aspirations of those seeking liberation.[168] Through such strategic political manoeuvring, the ANC was able to inculcate a brand identity that resonated across different political markets, and attain a hegemonic status amongst the various and contending movements for liberation. The narrative of the struggle against apartheid was deeply informed by these discursive and

---

[166] Buntman quoted in Suttner, 'Culture(s) of the African National Congress of South Africa: Exile and Prison Experiences', 28

[167] Suttner, 'Culture(s) of the African National Congress of South Africa [ANC]: Contribution of Exile and Prison Experiences', 28

[168] In my researches, the signifier 'sole and authentic' has been ascribed to the main liberation movements in Nambia and Zimbabwe. For more, see Henning Melber (ed.) *Re-examining Liberation in Namibia: Political Culture since Independence* (Uppsala: Nordiska Afrikainstitutet, 2003); Suzanne Dansereau, Mario Zamponi and Henning Melber, *Zimbabwe: The Political Economy of Decline* (Uppsala: Nordiska Africainstitutet, 2004)

representational registers. Within the theatre of struggle against apartheid, the ANC's political marketing of liberation and its positioning at the centre of these discourses endowed it with a legitimacy that became apparent as the liberalisation of South Africa began in late 1989 and early 1990. This process of liberalisation would pave the way for a democratic election in 1994 in which the ANC actively sought to tap into its discursive, representational and organisational reservoir to contest and market itself in the election. I will discuss this further in chapter five. Before that however, the legitimacy of the ANC's vision and the key marketing device with which it articulated this vision was the Freedom Charter. An enduring symbol in the ANC's discursive and representational reservoir, it crystallised the moral-ethical basis of the struggle and a liberated South Africa while commensurately positing the basis for a democratic and participative political culture. Myth and lore however infiltrated popular narratives of the Charter and its formation which the following chapter examines.

4.

'*Of Singing Tomorrows*':
THE FREEDOM CHARTER

****

Through all this complex tapestry of different forms and methods of struggle, armed and unarmed, legal and illegal, underground and open, on the political, economic and ideological battlefronts, the ideas and inspiration of the Freedom Charter ran like a golden thread, unifying the diverse forces that together make up our liberation movement.[1]

In the preceding chapters, I have demonstrated the centrality accorded to the Freedom Charter in the ANC's discursive and representational stock. Indeed, that the Freedom Charter came to crystallise the aspirations of a united, non-racial and democratic South Africa owes much to its ethos and vision, as it does to its symbolic currency as the orienting framework for the ANC. Written in 1955 to redress the "existential anguish" of blacks, the prescriptions of the Charter needed to be read in counterpoint to political and socio-economic milieu effected through the vast array of apartheid legislation.[2] As a result, the Charter provided an apt means through which the ANC could market its opposition to apartheid and adumbrate the contours of a liberated and democratic South Africa. Underpinned and promoted in popular struggle narratives as an exercise in participatory democracy and a direct challenge to apartheid authoritarianism, it was not only the content, but also the process of the writing the Freedom Charter that came to be idealised.

---

[1] Alfred Nzo, 'The Freedom Charter a Beacon to the People of South Africa' *African Communist*, Second Quarter, 1980 Available online: http://www.anc.org.za/ancdocs/history/campaigns/cop/beacon.html (Accessed 6 July 2010)

[2] Hermann Giliomee, 'The Freedom Charter and the Future' James A. Polley (ed.) *The Freedom Charter and the Future* Proceedings of the national conference on 'The Freedom Charter and the Future – a critical appraisal', organised and presented at the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for SA', Cape Town, 15-16 July 1988, 19

Given its centrality in both pre- and post-liberation discourses, this chapter critically interrogates the narrative of the Charter's formulation and the representational overtures that were made to popularise and promote it. Crystallising the notion of liberation, the Charter was mythologized in popular narratives and served the political aim of mobilising and organising opposition against apartheid. However, I argue for a more variegated and nuanced understanding of the process underlying its constitution, adoption and promotion by the ANC. In doing so, greater accent is placed on the interplay between the marketing and politics of the Charter. The dissonances that emerge between this recounting of the Freedom Charter and its popular adjunct provide an important insight into the political culture of the ANC. Such insight is not only useful for understanding its struggle era culture, but also permits an appropriate lens through which to understand such cultures in the post-apartheid period. This will be evidenced in the chapters that follow. The analysis here proceeds by examining the event of the Congress of the People (COP) which symbolised the democratic nature of policy-making within the anti-apartheid 'Congress' movements. Emphasising the popular organisational imperatives that underpinned its writing and the dissonances that emerge in narratives associated therewith, the discussion then proceeds to examine the ANC's marketing of the Freedom Charter. Such marketing served to locate the Charter at the centre of the ANC's ideological and political universe as it became the repository of conceptions and meanings of nature of liberation and the creation of a post-apartheid state. The importance of the Charter is evidenced in the centrality it is accorded in the governing narratives of the ANC across time. The conclusion of this chapter examines the precise nature of its legitimacy and longevity and posits the means by which it has become deeply ensconced as the 'lodestar' of the ANC's ideological orientation.

Organising for Freedom

In "wonder[ing] whether the time had not come for the ANC to consider the question of convening a National Convention, a Congress of the People, representing all the people of this country irrespective of race or colour to draw up a Freedom Charter for the democratic future of South Africa," ANC leader Professor Z.K. Matthews set in motion in 1953 the process of one of the most significant events in South Africa's anti-apartheid political history.[3] The enduring effect of the COP would lie in it being "a democratically elected

---

[3] Freedom Charter Background: The Freedom Charter – A Guiding Light for the Future, 2. Full reference not available

assembly of representatives of all races and of all parts of the country to frame and adopt a Freedom Charter expressing the will of the people."[4] Contained in the resolution of the Joint Conference of the ANC, the South African Indian Congress (SAIC), the Coloured People's Organisation (CPO) and the Congress of Democrats (COD) – the constituting organisations of the Congress Alliance – the democratic import of this will to action stood in stark counterpoint to apartheid's central tenets of division and 'separateness'. Capturing the essence of this, it has been stated repeatedly that,

> We, the political leaders of our people, would not simply give a directive as to the meaning of freedom. We would get the people to tell us. They would draw up a Freedom Charter as a guide for us. We would consult the people in town and country, in every occupation, and across all the race and colour barriers of oppression. We would ask what shape they would like to give the freedom that was coming. And finally, we would compile what they demanded into a single Charter. A simple idea: but we were not so simple as to believe that in South Africa it would be easy.[5]

As such, the campaign was directed at "reaching ordinary people and embracing their aspirations in the Charter" through a "series of campaigns held in huge rallies, small houses, flats, street or factory meetings, gatherings on kraals or on farms."[6] While there is an acknowledgment that this process was "uneven", it nevertheless remained a seminal moment in the popular narrative of the struggle for liberation as it was contended that "South Africa [had] never had any similar process of democratic discussion and participation."[7]

---

[4] Freedom Charter Background, 3.
[5] African National Congress, 'Drawing up the Demands of the Freedom Charter', *Sechaba*, June 1976, Available online: http: //www.anc.org.za/ancdocs/history/campaigns/cop/demands.html (Accessed 6 July 2010)
[6] Raymond Suttner, 'The Freedom Charter – The People's Charter in the Nineteen-Eighties', Paper delivered at the Twenty-Sixth T.B. Davie Memorial Lecture, University of Cape Town, 26 September, 1984, 5
[7] Suttner, 'The Freedom Charter – The People's Charter in the Nineteen-Eighties', 5
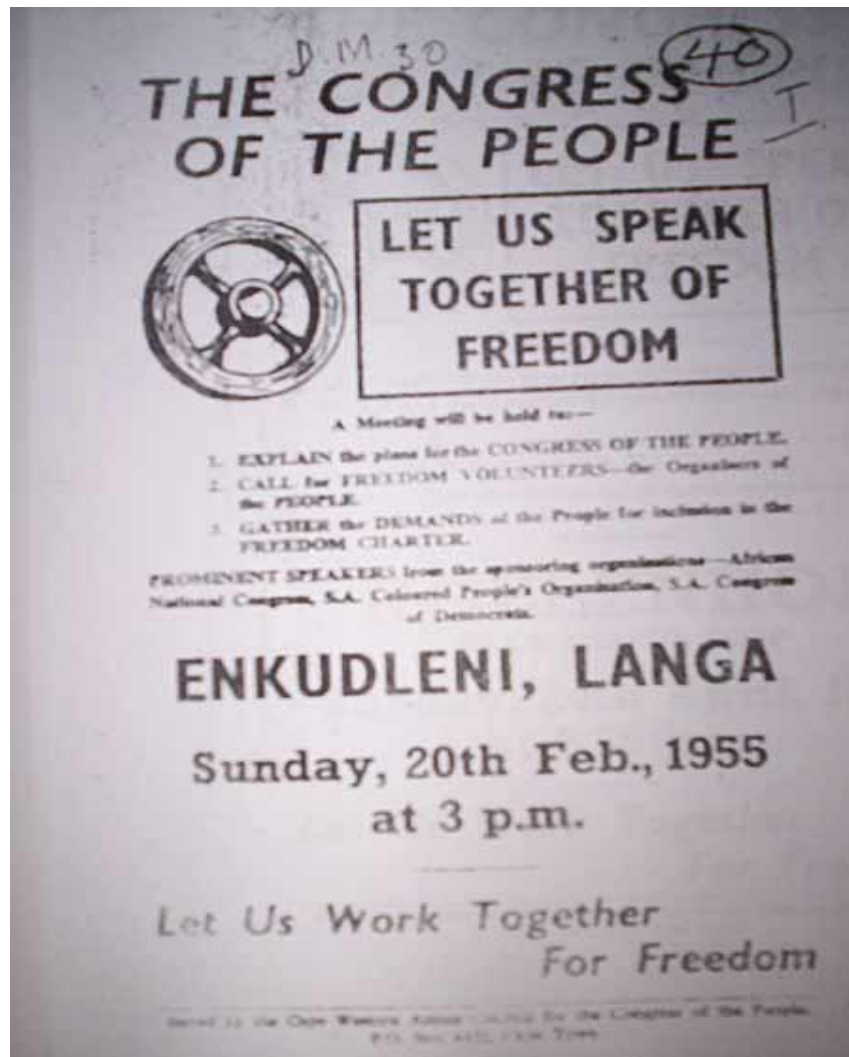
Figure 5: A campaign poster calling for participation in the COP, Amadelakufa Media, Obtained online at http:// 2884.co.za/background.html

Indeed, this democratic imperative to have large-scale input and berth the process amongst 'the people' was underpinned too by a specific publicity and marketing imperative. An unidentified participant, 'Patel', noted that,

> [I]n this campaign we spent two or three hundred pounds, money collected by the people. Over a quarter million leaflets have been distributed, organisers sent out to the remotest corners of our land [...] the Congress has been brought close to the people.[8]

By doing this, and by widening the geographic reach of the campaign to include workplaces, townships, villages and the like, the mobilisation effort gave effect to the charge made in the

---

[8] Document 10. Police record of the Congress of the People, Kliptown, Johannesburg, June 25-26, 1955 [Extracts] in Thomas Karis and Gail Gerhart, *From Protest to Challenge: A Documentary History of African Politics in South Africa, 1882-1964* Volume 3, 188. The reference does not reveal the full identity of the participant 'Patel'

COP's slogan: "a delegate from every town, every suburb, every village."[9] In fulfilling this objective, the momentum for the campaign gathered pace. Patel continues,

> The campaign was launched in several stages, popularising the Congress of the People, formulating and sending in freedom demands and finally election of the delegates. Our delegates assembled here are not only from the organisations and groups. They have been elected from the small groups of housewives, by farm squatters, by miners in the compounds, by people gathering in large numbers and small. Our delegates assembled here speak with the voice of the people everywhere who have been taking part in the direct democratic election and have spoken of their demands from their hearts. [10]

The diffusion of resistance and power in popular recounting of the event of the COP duly emphasise the spirit of defiance in which it was ensconced. The very process of collecting demands and publicising the COP could be seen as a small but critical intervention made on the ground by activists, and filtered into a longer series of interventions, or resistances, against apartheid. The popular dimension of such resistance informed the advertising of the event. In his recollection of obtaining demands of the people, Eric Singh notes that this process started as early as 1953 when the idea to hold the COP was mooted. For him, "it was decided that we from the branches all over the country must inform the people about the intended COP."[11] In so doing, he continues,

> [w]e went from house to house talking to people, encouraging them about what should be included in the Freedom Charter. We gave them forms to fill in and passed them onto our head offices. We did this over a period of two years and ordinary people responded wonderfully."[12]

---

[9] Congress of the People – I Was There' Available online:
http://www.anc.org.za/ancdocs/history/campaigns/cop/iwastehre.html (accessed 6 July 2010)
[10] Document 10. Police record of the Congress of the People, Kliptown, Johannesburg, June 25-26, 1955 [Extracts], 189
[11] 'Eric Singh's Experience', Freedom Charter Background: The Freedom Charter – A Guiding Light for the Future, 6
[12] Eric Singh's Experience', 6

Figure 6: The campaign for the COP attempted to target a broad constituency. This picture of sari-clad women is testament not only to the reach of the campaign, but also indicative of localised and individual resistance, Mayibuye Archive, University of the Western Cape, EW2-1-3

This approach, of 'bottom-up' engagement and participation, was facilitated by a sense of volunteerism that marked the organisational effort. Indeed, "freedom volunteers" were enlisted to "serve as 'shock brigades' to give impetus to the campaign."[13] Volunteers, deemed to be "an organiser and a leader of the people", were instructed to "write down the demands and grievances" and obtain the fullest understanding of the effect of "unjust laws or oppression" which afflicted the people and the means by which these could be corrected. [14] Further, and imperatively, in driving the mobilisation effort and focusing on the various sites to rally support and inform people about the COP, volunteers were urged to form committees of activists and build a web-like grassroots momentum in attracting people to the cause of the Freedom Charter. In a charged appeal, it was noted that

> For all volunteers, a meeting of neighbours in a house, perhaps only of one street or
> block, can be called together. From these small beginnings we must branch off, going

---

[13] Suttner, 'The Freedom Charter – The People's Charter in the Nineteen-Eighties', 6
[14] Letter dated 25 January 1955 entitled 'To all Volunteers' quoted in 'The Freedom Charter – The People's Charter in the Nineteen-Eighties', 7-8

from street to street, from block to block, organising meetings, explaining, listening, and recording. For the next few months volunteers must work like missionaries, without resting. It should be our aim to meet with one group of people or another every [night], systematically covering our whole town or locality so that no citizen of South Africa is left out of the discussions on the Freedom Charter [...] But a good volunteer does not work alone! He works in the first place with other volunteers in the neighbourhood, planning together with them all that is to be done.[15]

This highly participative, diffused and democratic imperative that underpinned the campaign lent credence to the 'mystique' accorded to the Charter. Indeed, the 'everydayness' that characterised such resistance activity imbued the COP with a logic that stood in direct counterpoint to the restrictive and highly paternalistic modes of apartheid governance. The simple act of noting grievances and stating demands "on sheets torn from school exercise books, on little dog-eared scraps of paper, on slips torn from C.O.P leaflets" informed a narrative of citizen engagement and popular participation that has come to inculcate the near-sanctity of the process and constitution of the Charter.[16]

This narrative of engagement and participation was augmented by a popular re-telling/s of the event of the congress and thus inscribed constancy into the lore that surrounded it. Eye-witness accounts of the proceedings captured the palpable sense of surprise and awe of the reach of the congress' organisation.[17] More than this, a 'carnivalesque' atmosphere keenly informs popular accounts of the event. Reflecting on the activities of COP, a participant expounded,

> By noon, there was a carnival atmosphere as singing and chanting reverberated across the plain. Despite the apartheid regime's aggressive segregation policies, the mixed crowd mingled freely, singing, chatting and dancing. The Security Branch police could do nothing. They themselves were surprised at the turnout.[18]

---

[15] Quoted in Suttner, 'The Freedom Charter – The People's Charter in the Nineteen-Eighties',

[16] Quoted Karis and Gerhart, *From Protest to Challenge: A Documentary History of African Politics in South Africa, 1882-1964* Volume 3 , 59

[17] For example, A.S. Chetty noted "[Y]ou know, we couldn't understand where these people were coming from. Bus loads. Lorry loads. Motor cars. People walking by foot. They were coming from everywhere" in Raymond Suttner and Jeremy Cronin, *50 Years of the Freedom Charter* (Pretoria: Unisa Press, 2006), 88

[18] 'History in the making' in 'Freedom Charter Background: The Freedom Charter – A Guiding Light for the Future,' 5, full reference not available

Such characterisations lend credence to the 'carnivalesque' ethic that underpinned the COP. Indeed, and as recalled in chapter two, the bottom-up organisation, popular input and 'everydayness' of the concerns raised, together with the multiracial constitution of participants, served to release the 'utopian potential' in the spectacle of the COP. Such characterisation also highlights the duality of existence by the participants and the contestatory nature of the event – through its organisation but also through acts of singing and chanting – to the 'officiality' of the apartheid regime. The excitement and performative nature of the event and the carnivalesque character that it came to embody should not detract from the seriousness of its purport. Indeed, the potential threat that the COP posed for the Nationalist government (in addition to restrictions on the freedom of association) was marked by heavy special branch police surveillance and intimidation that added to the dramaturgy and theatricality of the event.

Figure 7: A diverse group of participants highlighting the constitutive organisations of the Congress Alliance and the geographic 'reach' of the popularising of the campaign, Mayibuye Archive, University of the Western Cape EW053-4-3

It is apparent from the foregoing that the intervention that the COP made into the tableau of resistance politics in South Africa was not limited to the macro-political sphere. Indeed, individual acts of resistance – the collision of the personal and the political – informed the overall subversive nature of the event.[19] But in the predominant narrative of challenge to the apartheid state, the COP and the formulation of the Freedom Charter marked a definitive rupture in the continuum of anti-apartheid resistance politics. Writing in his autobiography, ANC leader Chief Albert Luthuli, noted the import of the event, stating that,

> Nothing in the history of the liberation movement in South Africa quite caught the popular imagination as this [the COP] did, not even the Defiance Campaign. Even remote rural areas were aware of the significance of what was going on. The noisy opposition in most of the white Press advertised the Congress and the Charter more effectively that our unaided efforts would have done. ("if the white Press objects on this scale," most Africans felt, "it must be a good thing!"). So the awakening spread farther. The participation of all race groups in this effort underlined the scale of awakening resistance.[20]

The significance of the Charter and the event that birthed it lay in the fact that it "represented the crucial historical moment where a completely new order, based on the will of the people, was put on the agenda" and "all political solutions 'from above' were ruled out." [21] However, such rhetorical insistence on the popular and democratic imperatives that underpinned the COP belies a more contentious and nuanced reality. Essentially, the COP was seen as a "political campaign" bent on "educating people rather than learning from the people" and succeeded in "allow[ing] the ANC and its allies to spread their political message."[22] Certainly, the basic contours of the Charter and the framework in which they were posited were common in debates about opposition to apartheid. In early 1954 a year before the COP, Moses Kotane, a stalwart of both the ANC and SACP, set out the provisions of a 'freedom charter' in the *New Age* newspaper espousing the precise contours of the document that

---

[19] For example, recalling her experience of defiance, Transvaal South African Coloured People's Organisation secretary Ellen (Goss) Lambert, stated that, "I woke up at four o'clock that morning. We were filled with excitement. Do you know what I wore that day? I wore khaki pants and black, green and gold sweater [the colours of the ANC]. Those days it was unheard of for girls to wear pants!" in Raymond Suttner and Jeremy Cronin, *50 Years of the Freedom Charter*, (Pretoria: Unisa Press, 2006), 87

[20] Albert Luthuli, *Let My People Go: An Autobiography* (London: St. James's Place, 1962), 159

[21] Suttner, The Freedom Charter – The People's Charter in the Nineteen-Eighties', 32. See endnote 2

[22] Dennis Davis, 'The Freedom Charter: A Challenge and Bequest' in Nico Steytler (ed.) *The Freedom Charter and Beyond: Founding Principles for a Democratic South African Legal Order* (Plumstead: Wyvern Publishers, 1991), 5

emerged at the COP.[23] Indeed, detailing the call of basic freedoms such as speech, movement and assembly, it went further to call for the provision of socio-economic provisions of housing, schools and hospitals. [24] Economic freedom would also be realised through de-monopolisation and ownership of industry would "become the property of the people." [25] The demands here, as I have noted, read as a common exposition of equitable redistributive and social democratic rights that would have universal applicability in most unequal societies, they nevertheless closely mirror in tenor and scope the imperative clauses of the Charter itself. Popular (re-)telling of the preparations for the event note that as "the resolutions began to roll in it was remarkable to see the similarity of demands voiced."[26] However, the popular narrative of the event, as I will demonstrate, obscures a more nuanced exercise of influence and power over the constitution of the Charter and the dissonances that informed its construction.

Dissonances

In its own recollections of the COP and the drawing up of the Freedom Charter, the ANC has noted that,

> Up to the very day of the Congress of the People [...] no one except the drafting committee saw the finished effort. It was revealed all in one piece, as a draft for the delegates. [27]

The imperative of popular and democratic input into the Charter that informs narratives of its development obscured a more limited reality wherein the "ultimate form of the document was decided by a small committee and there were no subsequent attempts to alter it in light of wider discussion."[28] Further, given the lack of accountability of the NAC secretariat and their mandate to provide "clearer ideological focus" to the final document, the end product was removed from its populist moorings.[29] Such removal led to a 'softening' of its clauses through the drafting process and a move away from any ambitious, revolutionary change. Thus, for example, a key clause placed express emphasis on the need for "popular control

---

[23] Davis, 4.
[24] Davis, 4
[25] Davis, 4
[26] Congress of the People – I Was There'
[27] African National Congress, 'Drawing up the Demands of the Freedom Charter'
[28] Tom Lodge quoted in Davis, 2
[29] Paul B. Rich, 'Reviewing the Origins of the Freedom Charter' in Norman Etherington (ed.) *Peace, Politics and Violence in the New South Africa* (London: Hans Zell Publishers, 1992), 269

over the organs of government", but was later was diluted to remove the "specific provision for direct consultation" and came to be captured in the clause that South Africa should be "a democratic state based on the will of the people."[30]

The effect of this clausal re-orientation through the instruction of "a more populist language" was to foreground the "collective will of 'the people'" as against other specific groupings such as "families or bodies of citizens" and, as such, set the premise of the "future state in South Africa [on] the embodiment of the people's collective will." [31] The Charter thus came to be written *against* the socio-economic and political milieu of apartheid. More than this, the final version also was expressly more purposive. The notable shift to the use of 'shall' in the final charter from the less enjoining 'should' in the initial draft had the effect of allowing the Alliance to "[assert] its demands as [a] non-negotiable process" as opposed to achieving them through "reasonable persuasion and argument."[32] But, the authority and weight accorded to the final document through this linguistic alteration is also indicative of a pointed attempt to distance popular deliberation and sentiment from the demands for socio-political change.

Indeed, the lack of full popular input emerged as the Charter was "drafted by a small committee of the National Action Council and reviewed by the ANC's National Executive Committee on the eve of the Congress" and contrary to popular (re-)tellings, "[t]he resulting document was thus not the end-product of a protracted process of discussion at all levels of the ANC."[33] Moreover, evidence supported the contention that the document was drafted by a small sub-committee or even an individual.[34] That the provisions of the Charter were firmly set before the COP, and thus not readily amendable by the ANC, was also evidenced by the fact that key ANC leaders – Walter Sisulu, Nelson Mandela and Joe Matthews – despite being banned were able to see "the draft in the days before the Congress met."[35] However,

---

[30] Rich, 269. The original clause read: "the bonds between the people, the organs of public opinion and their elected representatives should be close and consultation between the people and their representatives should prevail at all levels and at all times." Further watering down of the clauses is evident on the economic clause, its agricultural provisions and clauses relating the representation in public bodies. See Rich, 269-270 for more.
[31] Rich, 270
[32] Rich, 270-71
[33] Karis and Gerhart, *From Protest to Challenge: A Documentary History of African Politics in South Africa, 1882-1964* Volume 3 , 60
[34] Quoted in Davis, 4. Davis notes that in evidence given at the Treason trial, wherein 156 people, many of whom were leaders in the Congress Alliance, were detained and charged with treason in 1956, an unnamed participant, although thought to be the SACP's Rusty Bernstein, noted that "[T]his is only a first draft: no time to tie up some ends. I have in each section drafted a general clause of rights followed by the more particular demands."
[35] Karis and Gerhart, *From Protest to Challenge: A Documentary History of African Politics in South Africa, 1882-1964* Volume 3 , 60

their ability to alter the draft provisions was severely limited given the impending commencement of the COP and the fact that "thousands of copies of the Charter had already been reproduced."[36]

Further, the perception that the content and tenor of the Charter were foregone prior to its writing is supported by examining the mandate of the volunteers that were charged with promoting the COP and engaging with civil society to extract the grievances and demands that would inform the Charter. In his estimation, Davis asserts that, "[T]he people were guided carefully in framing their demands."[37] Indeed, within politically-oriented media, we have noted the particular framing of the idea of freedom espoused by Moses Kotane above. This was further amplified in the educative role that volunteers were expected to play. Volunteers were instructed in lectures on the "significance of the campaign" that,

> [I]t was essential for each and every volunteer to attend these lectures where they will be trained to understand, analyse, and correctly assess the local and national situations [...] so that they will be able to give the *correct lead* to the people.[38]

This process of the 'understanding, analysing and assessing' so as the give the 'correct lead' operated within a very specific purport of the local and national situation. Mirroring almost exactly the demands of the Freedom Charter, the content of the lecture on "The world we live in – change is needed" gave effect to certain key provisions that existed in the charter, including:

(i)   Everyone must have an equal right to vote for and be elected to all official positions in the State.

(ii)   The police force and army must be replaced by a genuine people's armed guard to uphold the rights of the people

(iii) The biggest imperial monopolies and industries and mines and factories must become property of the people

(iv)   The farming land of the country must be shared on an equitable basis amongst all who work the land

---

[36] Karis and Gerhart, *From Protest to Challenge: A Documentary History of African Politics in South Africa, 1882-1964* Volume 3 , 60

[37] Davis, 4. In his 2003 autobiography, SACP leader and activist Lionel 'Rusty' Bernstein acknowledges authoring the Freedom Charter, but this was done from the many submissions that were received. Claims to sole authorship are therefore refuted. See, Gerhard Mare, ''Non-racialism' in the struggle against apartheid' *Society in Transition*,34 (1) 2003, 14

[38] These were instructions conveyed by the Midlands Regional Committee of the COP, Davis, 4 my emphasis

(v)   The equality of all races and sexes must be guaranteed by laws and all discrimination must be declared a crime

(vi)   The right to form trade unions, to enjoy living wages and security in old age, sickness and unemployment must be guaranteed by law

(vii) Housing must be provided for all the homeless by a redistribution of present housing and schools and hospitals to be equally opened to all without discrimination.[39]

It is evident from this that the production of the Freedom Charter and the event of the COP served two important and very much inter-related objectives. The first objective was to adumbrate, for the first time, the contours of a liberated, democratic South Africa and provide a vision around which both intellectual and corporeal opposition could rally. The second objective, and linked to the first, was that the COP needed to be seen, and continues to be seen, as a clear-cut "political campaign" – a "remarkable achievement which allowed the ANC and its allies to spread its political message."[40] While the ANC was marginalised from the process of writing the document, the campaign allowed it to capitalise on locating itself at the centre of the liberation struggle in South Africa. Indeed, small and symbolic publicity devices – like the green, black and gold armbands worn by the volunteers – gave cause to the assertion of ANC ownership of the COP. This was a conscious and highly expedient act.

Organisational imperatives dictated the need for the ANC to assert its claim to ownership of the COP. While popular liberation movement narratives asserted "that the Congress of the People was held at a time when the political strength and organisational capacity of the African National Congress was already beginning to shake the foundations of the fascist order", a contending position asserts that the ANC used the event of the COP as "part of a wider effort to revive sagging membership levels in the ANC from a maximum of 100,000 in 1952 at the height of the Defiance Campaign to a mere 32,000 in 1955."[41] The desire to boost the ANC's strength through the campaign was practically encumbered by a set of organisational difficulties that beset the process. One of the major obstacles related to imposition of banning orders on key ANC leaders including Albert Luthuli that prevented their participation in the event. The actual imperative of the COP was also open to misconception for whereas it was originally conceived by Matthews as "simply a campaign

---

[39] These were lectures prepared by a leading member of the SACP Lionel 'Rusty' Bernstein, Davis, 4-5
[40] Davis, 5
[41] Rich, 264

of the respective organisations belonging to it", a more strongly interventionist position argued that the COP would be "replacing parliament in its authority to 'write all the laws with which the people will be ruled in this country.'"[42] The precise nature and role of the COP was more fragmented at a regional level where the Transvaal Provincial Organiser "reported that the COP was generally viewed at the branch level as a separate organisation to that of the ANC."[43] This confusion affected branch level organising which proved problematic and compounded the difficulties of popular participation in the construction of the final document. Reflecting on this, Albert Luthuli noted that "[T]he main disadvantage from which preparations [for the COP] suffered was that local branches submitted their material for the Charter at a very late hour – too late, in fact, for the statements to be properly boiled down into one comprehensive statement."[44] If the discussion above noted the elite influence in the construction of the Charter, the recording of disorganisation at branch level provided a necessary justification for it.[45]

The organisational failures that beset the intended planning and execution of the COP should not detract from the success of the overall campaign. The ability to alter strategy and the nominal flexibility of the campaign structures allowed the overall campaign to succeed on one critical front: that the COP won the publicity and propaganda war and set the basis for a sustained mobilisation at a mass level not only around the specific precepts of the document, but of the Charter itself. Even more successful, was the enduring weight accorded to the Charter despite the 'unevenness' of its provisions and its disputable ideological orientation.[46] The mythical significance of the COP is indebted to the fact that it "represented less a spontaneous reflection of the *volksgeist* than it did a campaign designed to promote a clearer ideological position amongst members of the Congress organization."[47] Moreover, and in agreement with Davis, the demands of the Charter that envision a free and democratic South Africa also signify the triumph of the COP itself as a form of resistance. This sense of triumphalism was aptly captured when it was written that,

---

[42] Rich, 266

[43] Rich, 266

[44] Luthuli, *Let My People Go*, 158

[45] The lack of organisational coherence and the tangible disorganisation of event did not escape the organisers. In a "highly self-critical report on its preparation" it noted a host of deficiencies – organisational, administrative and heuristic – that plagued the COP including "an inability to link the COP with day to day struggle"; an insufficient number of local committees; and did not make a sufficient impact in either small towns or the countryside. See Davis, 3 for more.

[46] Albert Luthuli acknowledged as much, stating "The result is that the declaration made in the Freedom Charter is uneven – sometimes it goes into unnecessary detail, at other times it's a little vague." See Luthuli, *Let My People Go*, 158

[47] Davis, 3

Nevertheless, we did it. Banishments and proscriptions of our active workers and propagandists multiplied. Meetings were banned, gatherings disrupted by armed police, leaflets confiscated, posters torn down. War was declared on us. But we did it.[48]

It is evident from the foregoing that a disjuncture exists between 'official' recollections of the event and the resultant narrative that emerged from the proceedings, and more 'political' practices that led to the formulation of the prescriptions of the Charter. While it may be posited that the Charter is an elite written document, the importance of the popular input it garnered should not be discounted. A reading of the Charter makes this clear. Further, the strength of the process of constituting the Charter lay in its ability to form an ideological nucleus around which protest and resistance could mobilise. Such action was supported by the discursive weight that the Charter exacted and publicised through a deliberate and consistent rendering of its provisions. It is to this 'marketing' that the discussion turns.

The Marketing of the Charter

When the charter was drawn,
A vision of a true society was born.
A dark cloud giving way to the blue sky.
The freedom wagon moved with direction.
Yes, the people's agenda was adopted. [49]

The campaign for the Freedom Charter, as noted above, succeeded because it was able to successfully 'capture the imagination' of the masses and inspire dissent and revolt. The utilisation of critical discursive manoeuvres facilitated this process of centring the Freedom Charter and succeeded in according it an 'hegemonic' status as the ontological and teleological representation of a future democratic South Africa. But more than positing this future emancipatory vision, the repeated recourse to the Freedom Charter played a critical role in creating an historical memory of the veritable process that occasioned it. Significantly, the process succeeded in "articulate[ing] a hegemonic sense of tradition" or what Raymond Williams would refer to as "selective tradition".[50] The repetitive memorialising of the event

---

[48] African National Congress, 'Drawing up the Demands'
[49] Mzwakhe Mbuli, poet and United Democratic Front Transvaal media officer, as quoted in Suttner and Cronin, 138
[50] Charles Carter, "We are the Progressives': Alexandra Youth Congress Activists and the Freedom Charter, 1983-1985' *Journal of Southern African Studies* Vol. 17, No. 2, 1991, 219

of the COP allowed for "an intentionally selective version of a shaping past and pre-shaped present, which is then powerfully operative in the process of social and cultural definition and identification."[51] The dual utility of the Charter to remember backwards but also to concomitantly dream forwards provided the fundamental basis of its ability to entrench its discursive hegemony in the narrative of opposition to apartheid.

An early indication of the Freedom Charter's overriding ethos was rendered clear in the *Call to the Congress of the People* leaflet which publicised the event and instigated its target audience to act. 'The Call' was a rousing document and while addressed to "[the] people of South Africa, black and white" it nevertheless commenced by targeting a specific audience of farmers, miners, rural and urban workers, the petty bourgeoisie and women – the motive forces of the NDR.[52] An attempt to imbue a sense of defiance in each of these groups is witnessed by a deft rhetorical injunction to "Let us speak...." Prefacing a description of the harsh realities that each of these groups encounter in their daily and working lives, each group is roused and enjoined to the call to "Let us speak of Freedom."[53] In this way, 'The Call' succeeds in linking the pernicious reality exacted on each of these groups with a will to action to contest the apartheid state. Indeed, for example, in addressing the interests of the mineworkers, it is noted that,

> WE CALL THE MINERS OF COAL, GOLD AND DIAMONDS.
> Let us speak of the dark shafts, and the cold compounds far from our families.
> Let us speak of heavy labour and long hours, and of men sent home to die.
> Let us speak of rich masters and poor wages.
> *LET US SPEAK OF FREEDOM.*[54]

Critically, 'The Call' instigated popular participation and social action by calling on its audience to "speak now of freedom, and to write their own demands into the Charter of

---

[51] Raymond Williams, *Marxism and Literature* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1977), 115

[52] National Action Council, *Call to the Congress of the People: Leaflet issued by the National Action Council of the Congress of the People,1955* Available online:
http://www.anc.org.za/ancdocs/history/campaigns/cop/calltocop.html (Accessed 6 July 2010)

[53] National Action Council, *Call to the Congress of the People: Leaflet issued by the National Action Council of the Congress of the People,1955*

[54] National Action Council, *Call to the Congress of the People: Leaflet issued by the National Action Council of the Congress of the People,1955*. Mary Benson has noted that this was 'poetic' in its construction, taking on the form of a" Walt Whitman type poem, see Mary Benson, *South Africa: The Struggle for a Birthright* (London: International Defence and Aid Fund, 1985) 175

Freedom."[55] Thus, by passing ownership of the content of the 'Charter of Freedom' over to participants through this rhetorical process, there is an adjunct manoeuvre of linking the event of the COP and the formulation of the demands of the Freedom Charter to the imperative of freedom.[56] This injunction to freedom and the process that would beget it is furthered by the organisational attempt to clearly illustrate the anticipated range and diversity of the social forces party to the event. Moreover, it augments the notion of the 'bottom-up' construction of the idea of freedom.

It is evident from a reading of 'The Call' that the general tenor of the campaign to allow the people "to speak freely and as equals" signalled a near-revolutionary turn in anti-apartheid resistance for it directly contested the ontological notion of 'separateness' that defined apartheid's social and political essence.[57] Moreover, a strong thrust toward non-racialism underpinned the COP. Indeed, such emphasis allowed the COP to be seen as a "spontaneous assertion of unity in thought, in action and in spirit for a better South Africa."[58] These notions of unity and non-racialism are later given further rhetorical impulse in the opening of the Charter itself, captured in the opening declaration "that South Africa belongs to all who live in it, black and white [...]."[59] While the commitment of the ANC to non-racialism from the time of the COP was evident, it had two important consequences – one intended and politically expedient, and the other unintended. For the former, the incorporation of a non-racial ethos into the both COP and the Freedom Charter itself served to broaden the base of political opposition and mark decisively and finally, deferment to mass mobilisation resistance as opposed to the persuasive argumentation that preceded it. The unintended consequence of the abidance to a non-racial ethos was that it fomented internal opposition with more radical elements in the ANC and eventuated in the breakaway of a grouping that would later form the Pan-Africanist Congress (PAC).[60] This will be discussed further subsequently.

---

[55] National Action Council, *Call to the Congress of the People: Leaflet issued by the National Action Council of the Congress of the People,1955*

[56] The Call posits: Let the voice of all the people be heard. And let the demands of all the popele for the things that will make us free be recorded. Let the demands be gathered together in a great Charter of Freedom [...] Let us go Forward together to Freedom!, For more see: National Action Council, *Call to the Congress of the People: Leaflet issued by the National Action Council of the Congress of the People,1955*

[57] National Action Council, *Call to the Congress of the People: Leaflet issued by the National Action Council of the Congress of the People,1955*

[58] Rich, 271

[59] Congress Alliance, *The Freedom Charter*, 26 June 1955, Available online: http://www.anc.org.za/show.php?id=72 (accessed 12 December 2010)

[60] Rich, 271

More than merely a tool for mobilising mass support for the COP, 'The Call' espoused the envisioned emancipatory potential of the Freedom Charter positing that it would "express all the demands of all the people for the good life that they seek for themselves and their children."[61] More than this, it would serve as a "guide to those 'singing tomorrows', when all South African's live and work together, without racial bitterness and fear of misery, in peace and harmony."[62] Further, as an "awakening of all men and women to campaign together", 'The Call' acknowledged the momentousness of the event and the rupture it presented in anti-apartheid resistance by positing that it was the "greatest movement of all our history."[63] Indeed, with an express aim to "[r]ouse the people to discuss what they want of freedom" through the direct work of the volunteers, 'The Call' instructed the reader to three particular ends: firstly, to express interest and willingness to assist in the campaign; secondly, to "form committees to campaign for the Congress of the People"; and finally to "gather groups to send in their demands to the Freedom Charter."[64] Moreover, the leaflet itself aimed to be utilised as a mobilisation tool and shared amongst all interested parties, for there is a direct injunction to,

NOT THROW THIS LEAFLET AWAY! PASS IT ON TO A FRIEND. DISCUSS IT WITH OTHERS. SEE THAT IT IS READ BY MANY PEOPLE.

It is evident from this that 'The Call' launched the publicity and propaganda offensive that continued through the COP and came to be embodied in the Charter itself. Moreover, the ontological orientation of the nature of apartheid captured in 'The Call' – and by extension the seeds to challenge it – asserted deeper significance in the Charter itself.

'Selling' the Charter to the ANC was an imperative of the 'Charterists' within the ANC. As intimated above, and as will be discussed further below, there was significant internal opposition to the adoption of the Freedom Charter in the movement. It was only in 1956, a year after the COP, that the Charter came to be fully adopted by the ANC. Thus, while general assertions posit an uncritical acceptance of the Charter, its centrality as a manifesto for opposition to apartheid was not accepted automatically or unproblematically. Significant

---

[61] National Action Council, *Call to the Congress of the People: Leaflet issued by the National Action Council of the Congress of the People,1955*
[62] National Action Council, *Call to the Congress of the People: Leaflet issued by the National Action Council of the Congress of the People,1955*
[63] National Action Council, *Call to the Congress of the People: Leaflet issued by the National Action Council of the Congress of the People,1955*
[64] National Action Council, *Call to the Congress of the People: Leaflet issued by the National Action Council of the Congress of the People,1955*

efforts were needed to popularise the charter and ensure that it obtained acceptance amongst the disenfranchised. This fact was not lost on the ANC leadership and efforts at such popularisation, most notably through a signature campaign, aimed to obtain widespread 'buy-in'. Furthermore, there was an organisational motive to such popularisation, for as an ANC NEC report states,

> It is not enough to have adopted the Freedom Charter. It must not become a document framed and hanging on the wall. *The Charter can and must be the inspiration of the people in their freedom fight: it must be their organiser.* Every signature won to the Charter is an adherent to our cause and a fighter for the Congress movement.[65]

It is evident from these extracts of the NEC report that there was a conscious acknowledgement that the success of the organisational drive for mass mobilisation came to be located extrinsically on a political campaign that centred on generating publicity to inspire confidence both in the emancipatory vision that it espoused and in the guiding organisations themselves. The report also noted the ANC's strategic thinking on the means by which such confidence would be inspired, noting that

> No campaign is merely a routine task, least of all the collection of signatures for the Freedom Charter. The people will not sign with enthusiasm if they think signing consists merely in making a mark on a piece of paper. But if we present the Charter to them as we understand it: the organiser and inspiration of the people in a united political struggle, the signatures will flow in. The Charter cannot just be explained by words. It must be related to struggle, it must be illustrated by life itself. In every campaign we undertake [...] the overall demands of the Freedom Charter must be related to the people's needs.[66]

It would be false to disclaim the overarching political imperative that underpinned the accentuation of 'the people's' demands and needs, given the primacy now accorded to resistance through mass mobilisation. But it is evident too that the direction of its marketing activities supported and sustained the focus on the Freedom Charter's mass appeal. More than this, the focus on its mass appeal and ownership also served to provide legitimacy to the

---

[65] African National Congress, 'Report of the National Executive Committee, 1955', 228-29. Emphasis in the original.
[66] African National Congress, 'Report of the National Executive Committee, 1955', 230

ANC's claims to be the authentic and main liberation movement in the struggle against apartheid. Indeed, the political and marketing effect of this calculus continued through much of the ANC's representational strategy. Commemorating the thirtieth anniversary of the Freedom Charter in 1985, the ANC's political periodical *Sechaba* keenly re-inscribed the centrality of the ANC in the composition of the Charter while playing on its popularly-inspired content and ownership. It noted that "[although] the idea of the Freedom Charter emanated from the ANC, it was adopted by the people of South Africa – hence it is a people's document."[67] The 'story' of the Charter and the myths and lore that centred on it are deeply entrenched in the discursive and representational histories of the ANC. This entrenchment is also given witness in the breadth of the Charter's incorporation into 'official' ANC documentation and the centrality it assumed in narratives of resistance.[68] This will be demonstrated in the latter part of this chapter.

The public function of its marketing strategy, however, was also intimately connected to the more political imperatives of mobilisation and education. Indeed, this was rendered clear when it was noted that,

> [w]e will not win support for the Freedom Charter by peddling it like backache powders. We will only win support for the Charter by entering into the daily agitation and education and campaigning which are the life-blood of the Congresses. Support for it is won in the course of Congress work on the issues of the day.[69]

Thus, more than seeing the Charter as a symbol around which the anti-apartheid movement could rally, the more urgent imperative was to "integrate" the ethos of the Charter into the "daily struggles" against apartheid and thus berth it more forcefully around localised resistance activities.[70] The strength of the Charter as a heuristic device – given the centring of the educative and agitation activities at the local level around its prescriptions – served the

---

[67] African National Congress, 'Introduction' in African National Congress, *Selected Writings on the Freedom Charter'* A Sechaba Commemorative Publication (London: African National Congress, 1985), ii
[68] Indeed, the public packaging of the Charter in the *Revolutionary Programme of the African National Congress* which was adopted at the Morogoro Conference in 1969 argued that, "[The Charter] was a declaration of all the people of South Africa. It was a simple, honest and unpretentious document reflecting the desires and ideas of millions of common people. Therein lay the power of its revolutionary message. And always it should be borne in mind that both in its wording and intent the Charter projected the view not of present-day South Africa but that of the country as it should and will be after the victory of the revolution." See African National Congress, 'An Analysis of the Freedom Charter: Revolutionary Programme of the African National Congress – Adopted at the Morogoro Conference, 1969' in African National Congress, *Selected Writings on the Freedom Charter'* A Sechaba Commemorative Publication (London: African National Congress, 1985), 6
[69] Suttner, 'The Freedom Charter- The People's Charter in the Nineteen Eighties', 29
[70] Suttner, 'The Freedom Charter- The People's Charter in the Nineteen Eighties', 29

more clandestine objective of giving room to the ANC to locate itself at the centre of resistance politics. More than this, such centrality was occasioned by the ability of these heuristic manoeuvres to endure over time. The marketing effect of this was a conjunction of the rhetorical and the experiential to provide an ideological framework in which resistance activity could be executed. Writing about the Alexandra Youth Congress (AYCO), a township-based youth organisation in the 1980s, Charles Carter has observed that,

> The ideological constructs embraced by members of AYCO embodied the demands of the Freedom Charter and the dictates of the 'national democratic struggle'. These constructs were as much rhetorical as they were real to those who espoused them, and while socially constitutive in character, this repertoire was used to prescribe organisational identity. ANC-inspired iconography made for a political imagery and appeal which attracted a nucleus of dedicated youth activists who took seriously their self-appointed task of winning others to 'the struggle' and of appropriating their township terrain.[71]

That the Charter would serve an enduring agitation and mobilisation function is evident from the foregoing. Further, the heuristic significance of the Charter, as intimated in chapter three, was evident and was not confined only to the internally based movements during the period of struggle. The circulation of the Charter had a longer and wider circulation within the ANC and its associated formations. The fillip for the foregrounding of the Charter came with the flight of youth and students out of South Africa and into exile in the wake of the 1976 Soweto uprisings. It was in the MK camps that the Charter re-emerged as the 'lodestar' around which political education and ideological mobilisation could occur.[72] The 'compulsoriness', as one MK recruited recounted, of political education through the Charter's provisions was fundamental to the programme of equipping recruits with the ideological basis struggle against apartheid. Further, ANC media was keen to conjoin the valour associated with military training and the nobleness to the Freedom Charter, for it was noted in the ANC's political periodical, *Sechaba*, that "the ideal cadre [is] 'a man who is dedicated to the cause of

---

[71] Carter, 218

[72] Ian Phillips, ' The Political Role of the Freedom Charter' in Nico Steytler (ed.) *The Freedom Charter and Beyond: Founding Principles for a Democratic South African Legal Order* (Plumstead: Wyvern Publishers, 1991), 68-69

our people and their political programme – the *Freedom Charter*; in short a man who has the professional know-how (also in military affairs) and is able to lead and educate others.'"[73]

Figure 8: MK political education class, Mayibuye Archive, MK-2 Colour

In addition to this mobilisation and the concomitant "increase in armed incidents involving soldiers of Umkhonto we Sizwe", the ANC was also able to (re-)establish its predominance in South Africa through the liberalisation of the public sphere which was characterised by "renewed political discussion and the establishment of a number of other political organisations."[74] A renewed confidence was evidenced by 1980 when the ANC thematised it as the 'Year of the Charter'. Indeed, the centrality accorded to the Charter "was based clearly on the rejuvenation of ANC cadres, structures and resolve."[75] Augmenting this sense of rejuvenation was the popularisation of the Freedom Charter through a "media blitz" that "involved the widespread distribution of the [Charter] through pamphlets and slogans throughout the country."[76] In inaugurating the 'Year of the Charter' in his 8 January address,

---

[73] Quoted in Phillips, 72
[74] Phillips, 69
[75] Phillips, 69
[76] Phillips, 69

134

ANC President Oliver Tambo was keen to reassert the all-encompassing nature of the Charter and explicate its over-arching aim positing that,

> The Freedom Charter contains the fundamental perspective of the vast majority of the people of South Africa of the kind of liberation that we are fighting for. Hence it is not merely the Freedom Charter of the African National Congress and its allies. Rather it is the Charter of the people of South Africa for liberation.[77]

Further, the important need to publicise and popularise the Charter was not lost on Tambo, for he enjoined his listeners,

> [...] to make available millions of copies of the Freedom Charter to all our people young and old, in the towns and the countryside so that these great masses of our people can once more renew their pledge of dedication to the future that it visualises.[78]

The constant invocation of the Charter and its utility in fomenting action against the apartheid state provides sufficient instance of the revolutionary nature of the document. Moreover, I have shown that the central objective of the Charter was to adumbrate a vision of a future South Africa in direct contradistinction to the pernicious realities of apartheid. To this end, I have demonstrated that the Charter's instrumentality lay in its ability to serve as an organisational device, especially in the tempest of the post-1976 period. Writing in the *African Communist* in 1980, ANC then secretary-general Alfred Nzo commented,

> That the ideas of the Freedom Charter are gaining ground rapidly in South Africa today and it is clear from even a superficial glance at the policies and programmes of different groups. Consciously or unconsciously echoing the Charter (and increasingly it is unconsciously), the demands of different sectors of the oppressed chime together in a swelling and harmonious chorus [...] the African National Congress is soberly confident of its capacity to widen and deepen the political mobilisation of the oppressed masses and democratic forces to the point where it becomes possible to

---

[77] 'Statement of the National Executive Committee on the Occasion of the 68th Anniversary of the African National Congress, January 8th, 1980' Available online: http://www.anc.org.za/2640 (Accessed 25 November 2010)

[78] Statement of the National Executive Committee on the Occasion of the 68th Anniversary of the African National Congress, January 8th, 1980'

transform the ideas of the Freedom Charter into an irresistible physical force. This is the challenge of the eighties.[79]

Indeed, as such mobilisation gained ground in the 1980s with both the establishment of the UDF and the emerging "presence of the ANC [...] on the ground", the Freedom Charter's utility lay in the fact that it was a symbol that captured popular resistance sentiment in that moment.[80] Organs of civil society such as students groups and trade unions were able to proclaim that,

> We reiterate our uncompromising commitment to the historic Freedom Charter as the only democratic document drafted in the history of the liberation struggle. The Charter stands out from all other alternatives for change in South Africa, not only because of the manner in which it came into being, but also because of the demands reflected in it. It can therefore never be substituted without the will of the majority. Any attempt by an individual or group to discredit or undermine it can only be seen as an act of betrayal to the aspirations of all the people of South Africa.[81]

---

[79] Nzo, 'The Freedom Charter a Beacon to the People of South Africa'
[80] Carter, ''We are the Progressives': Alexandra Youth Congress and the Freedom Charter', 198
[81] The organisations party to this declaration were the South African Allied Workers Union, the Congress of South African Students, the General and Allied Workers Union and the Azanian Students Organisation , see African National Congress, 'Introduction' *Selected Writings on the Freedom Charter'* iii
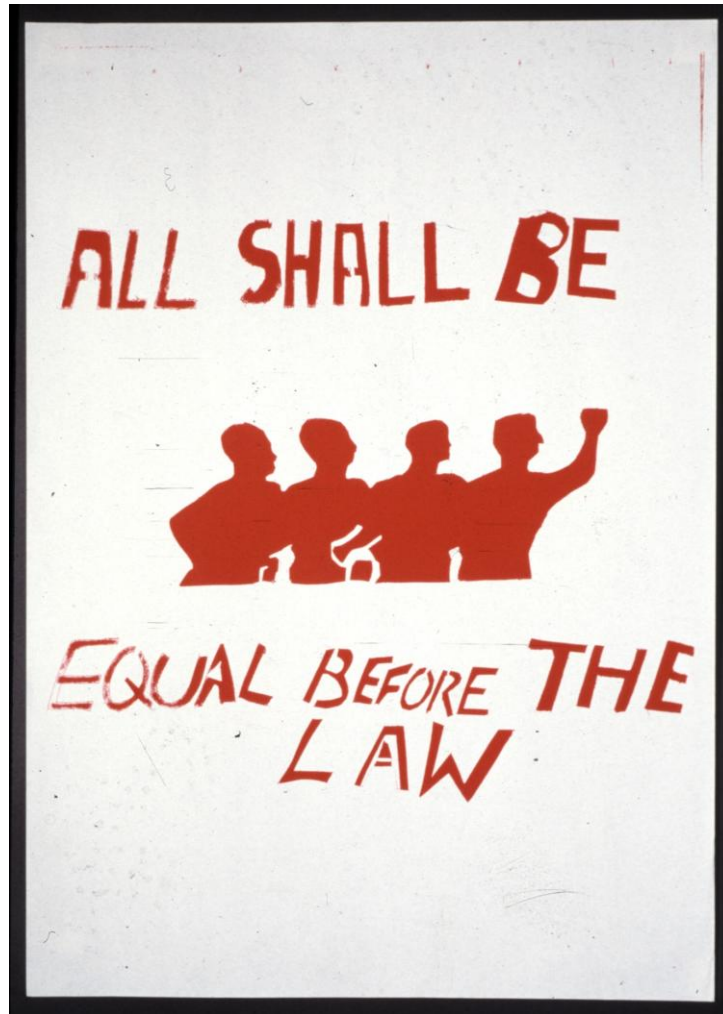
Figure 9: An example of a 'community' style poster capturing an integral clause of the Charter, Mayibuye Archive, University of the Western Cape, SF2-1-11

That such a commitment to the Freedom Charter was premised on its ability to both organise the masses and serve an important part of the ANC's discursive arsenal is apparent from the protracted inference to it in the ANC's publicity and propaganda materials. Moreover, the sanctity accorded to the Charter is apparent in the injunction of the ANC's Department of Information and Propaganda (DIP) to "*defend* the Freedom Charter" and "monitor enemy attacks on [it] in order to respond to them" and this was combined with a more strategic publicity function of "ensur[ing] the widest possible dessemination (sic) of the Freedom Charter at home and abroad, in as many languages as possible."[82] This sanctity accorded to the Charter is premised, I would argue, on the emancipatory potential of its vision of liberated South Africa – where liberation would effect change at the individual, socio-political and

---

[82] African National Congress, 'The Task of the DIP for 1984 Arising from the January 8th Statement: Discussion Paper for the DIP Plenary Meeting: February, 1984', African National Congress: Lusaka, Women's Section, Documents: DIP, Box 12.5, Mayibuye Archive, MCH01-12

economic levels. Indeed, given the exacting and pernicious environment that apartheid occasioned, the desire for freedom came not only to hold significant emancipatory currency, but also critically informed the ANC's discursive construction of the content and means to achieve such freedom. Recalling the discussion in chapter three, it is evident from ANC publicity materials that "[f]reedom is defined in the Freedom Charter" and despite the range and extent of its prescriptions, the overarching demand was to "[Give] us back our country and let us rule ourselves as we choose!"[83] Enjoining a cross-section of the populace to partake in the struggle to "crush the racists" through a "unity in spirit", the pamphlet entitled *The ANC Calls on You...*aimed for inclusivity in its audience by charging that "[E]veryone one of us can and must become a soldier in the great army of national liberation."[84] Here, the notion of the 'soldier' is equated to that of a 'true patriotism' for it is posited that

> [The struggle] has required many a patriot to give up the comforts of home and family life; to sacrifice the security of a steady job and income; to live the existence of an outlaw in one's native land. The struggle calls for devotion, courage and tenacity. It will even involve making supreme sacrifices as so many have already done. But no matter what the cost to ourselves, we have committed ourselves to pursue our cause till victory or death.[85]

It is evident from this that the strategic objective of inciting action centred as much on the mass-level as it did on the individual level. Indeed, the success of such incitement was premised on the ability of the ANC to utilise the vision espoused in the Freedom Charter of a future, democratic South Africa to 'capture the imagination' of the masses and provide a definitive remedy to the socio-political and economic malaise that characterised 'black life' in apartheid South Africa. Such political utility is underscored by a cultural utility that continues to exist in the political discourse of contemporary South Africa. To illuminate this point, it is instructive to examine a guidebook for schools published by the Department of Education to celebrate the fiftieth anniversary of the Freedom Charter in 2005. In the foreword by the then Minister of Education and ANC NEC member, Naledi Pandor, it was noted that,

---

[83] African National Congress, 'The ANC Calls on You...' African National Congress: London, Internal Propaganda, 1960s -1980s, Mayibuye Archive, MCH02-7
[84] African National Congress, 'The ANC Calls on You...'
[85] African National Congress, 'The ANC Calls on You...'

On the forty sixth anniversary of the Freedom Charter in 2001, President Thabo Mbeki implored all of us *"to take additional measures to familiarise greater numbers of our people with the Freedom Charter".* This year provides us with the opportunity to discuss, debate and convince all our people of the continued relevance of the Charter to the South Africa of today. The Freedom Charter is not merely an historical document. As the President said: *"It remains still, an important guide about the direction in which we should all take our country as a consequence of its reconstruction and development."*[86]
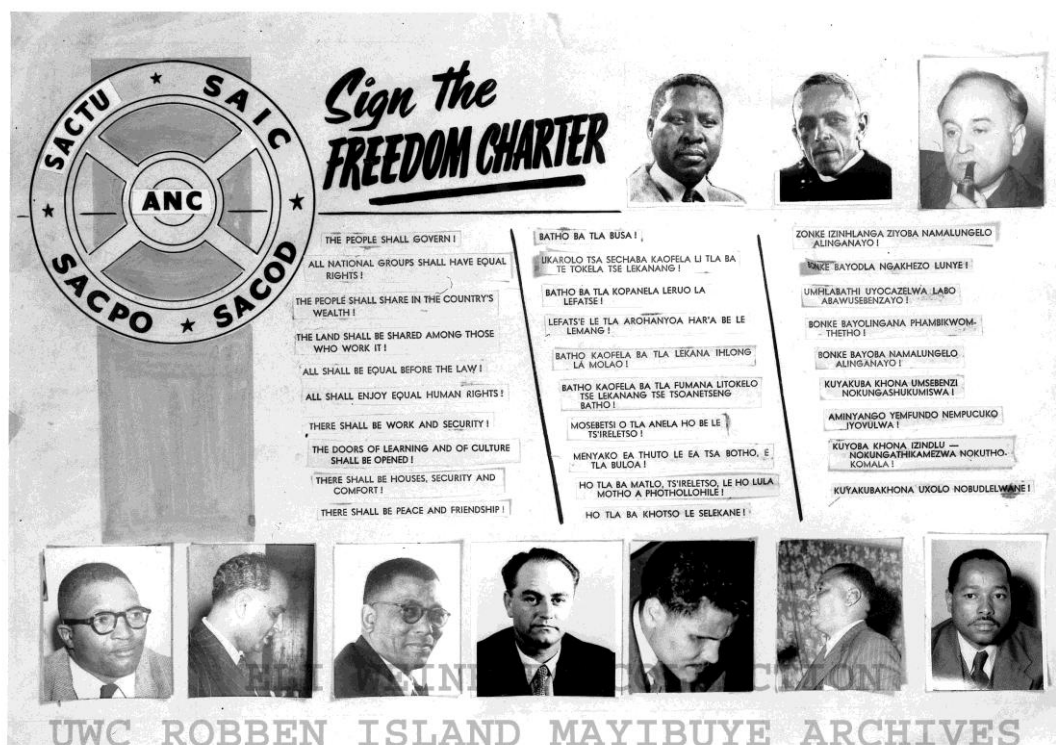
Figure 10: The clauses of the Charter with photographs of the leading members of each of the Congress Alliance constituents, augmenting the claims to the multi-racial nature of the COP and the Freedom Charter, Mayibuye Archive, EW050-3-1

The inculcation of the Freedom Charter into the school curriculum and the associated predominance that the ANC was able to augur in its narration of the conditions that precipitated the calling of the COP and the subsequent struggle against apartheid, is significant for it taps into a register of celebration that is critical in creating a symbolic

---

[86] Naledi Pandor , *Celebrating 50 Years of the Freedom Charter, June 26 1955-2005: Guidebook for Schools*, Department of Education, Republic of South Africa, 1 Available online, http://www.sahistory.org.za/pages/pdf/Freedom%20Charter_reduced.pdf 13 September 2010, emphasis in original

"government by narrative."[87] Such 'government by narrative' is further evidenced by adapting and inculcating the 'education clause' of the Charter – instilled as "The doors of learning and culture shall be open through quality education for all" – as the leitmotif of the anniversary celebration.[88] Moreover, in marking a complete break with the apartheid past, this "auspicious occasion" [the anniversary] allows for the "celebrating [of the] transformation process in education and the huge strides that we have made since 1994."[89] Conferring such legitimacy on the Charter and locating the starting point of its vision with the highly significant 'moment' of the 1994 elections serves to signal continuity in the narrative of the struggle against apartheid, where subscription to the Freedom Charter promotes a vision that was born in 1955 and was given effect with the final ending of white minority rule through that election. The ability of the ANC governed state to create and entrench symbols reflecting the appropriation of a highly particularistic history is indicative other postcolonial regimes. That governance by symbols has come to effect both a greater legitimacy and longevity on the Charter is therefore evident. To understand the longevity and legitimacy that has been accorded to the Charter over time, it is necessary to understand its, at times, complex and contradictory meaning.

The Meanings of the Freedom Charter

Despite the initial uneasiness and 'politics' surrounding the adoption of the Charter, the declaratory intent of the language it utilised promoted a sense of optimism and confidence within the movement. Indeed, the ANC NEC's annual report of 1955 recognised that the Charter represented "more than 'the sum total of our aspirations'", rather, it would be "the road to a new life."[90] As such, the report stated further that,

> The Charter is no patchwork collection of demands, no jumble of reforms. The ten clauses of the Charter cover all aspects of the lives of the government. It demands equal rights before the law, work and security for all, the opening of the doors of learning and culture for all. It demands that our brothers in the Protectorates shall be free to decide for themselves their own future; it proclaims the oneness of our aims for peace and friendship with our brother in Africa and elsewhere in the world [...]

---

[87] Nicholas O'Shaughnessy, 'The Symbolic State: A British Experience', 299
[88] Department of Education, Republic of South Africa, *Celebrating 50 Years of the Freedom Charter, June 26 1955-2005: Guidebook for Schools*, 1
[89] Department of Education, Republic of South Africa, *Celebrating 50 Years of the Freedom Charter, June 26 1955-2005: Guidebook for Schools*, 1
[90] Phillips, 64

The Freedom Charter has opened up a new chapter in the struggle of our people [...] With the adoption of the Charter all struggles become part of one: the struggle for the aims of the Charter.[91]

If stipulating the contours of the idea of freedom was the key aim of the Freedom Charter, arousing mass interest in the process of its formulation came to symbolise "a rejection of the concept of domination of any one section of [the] people over the other and a rejection of the sectionalism – whether tribal or racial – imposed on [the] people by the colonial-apartheid system."[92] As I have demonstrated above, the symbolic appeal to the forging of such racial, ethnic, gender and class unity through the process of formulating the Charter was apt to provide a visceral projection into the possibility of a future democratic South Africa. Given the scale and manner of the deprivations enacted on the black body politic in South Africa then, the vision of the future espoused in the Charter and the process of its constitution was deemed to be an act of consecration that obtained a moral-ethical significance that informed the mythology surrounding the Charter. This sanctity was noted during the COP when leading ANC and Youth League member, Robert Resha noted,

[...] sons and daughters of South Africa, we [are] here to decide the future and destiny of South Africa. This ground on which we are standing here today is holy, friends. This shall be the monument of the people of South Africa. Friends, let it be clear to us that this great assembly of the people of South Africa is an assembly where the people will from today march on to freedom.[93]

Giving credence to this notion of sanctity of the Charter was the explicit move to defer authority to 'the people' – through the emphasis on the popular dimension of its construction and elucidation. Indeed, writing in *Sechaba* in 1976, it was noted that the 'idea' and content of the freedom that was envisioned would come from a more spontaneous and organic process informed by the desires of 'the people'. [94] This sense of national catharsis would in itself represent emancipation from the strictures of apartheid and thus signal a rupture in the

---

[91] African National Congress, 'Report of the National Executive Committee, 1955', in Karis and Gerhart, *From Protest to Challenge: A Documentary History of African Politics in South Africa, 1882-1964* Volume 3, 228
[92] African National Congress, 'Year of the Charter: An Evaluation of the Freedom Charter' by *Mayibuye*, 1980, 3
[93] Document 10. Police record of the Congress of the People, Kliptown, Johannesburg, June 25-26, 1955 [Extracts] in Thomas Karis and Gail Gerhart, *From Protest to Challenge: A Documentary History of African Politics in South Africa, 1882-1964* Volume 3, 204
[94] African National Congress, 'Drawing up the Demands of the Freedom Charter'

nature and type of resistance that preceded it. Indeed, it was noted in a subsequent issue of *Sechaba* that the adoption of the Charter represented "a culmination point, a crystallisation and a highest form of political expression" from all other campaigns of resistance, and as such, the Charter is "a people's expression of their collective experience and wisdom."[95] The cathartic impulse that underscored the development of the Charter lay essentially in the inscription of popular demands as the core of resistance to apartheid. Indeed, the precise 'everydayness' of the constitutive demands of the Charter and the lore and myths that accompany its constitution, acted to inscribe it firmly within the resistance consciousness of the oppressed. However, in a more critical interpretation and as presented in the evidence above, the valorisation of the 'popular' in the lore accompanying mythology plays into a greater move to construe the Freedom Charter as

> [...] the imaginative creation of a political movement at a particular moment in time. It has been dressed up, however, as the condensed expression of the will of the people. Herein lie the seeds of an idealized view of 'the people' whose universal will appeared as an abstraction to underwrite a form of politics and to whose authority appeal could be made to counter dissent.[96]

If indeed the act of valorising the Charter served to 'idealise' the notion of 'the people' and thus allow the Charter to obtain a moral legitimacy that subdued 'dissent', it would be false to assume that the liberation movement remained uncritical of its prescriptive power and discursive appeal over time. Leading ANC theorist, Mzala, writing in the *African Communist*, noted as much arguing that

> We, the upholders of the Freedom Charter, do not regard it as some righteous document before which all men must kneel and worship; we, instead, understand very well that no programme, no constitution, is immutable for all time. Conditions change, and so do attitudes. Even the most seemingly sacred or absolute principles or policies should be constantly under review, endorsed if found still to be correct, altered or scrapped if found to be out of date.[97]

---

[95] 'Mandela and Our Revolution'
[96] Davis, 6
[97] Mzala quoted in Dirk Kotze, 'Debates about the Freedom Charter' in Romaine Hill, Marie Muller and Martin Trump (eds.) *African Studies Forum* Volume III (Pretoria: HSRC Press, 1993), 2

Indeed, the mutability of the Charter lay in the openness of its prescriptions and the 'interpretive flux' which characterised its intent. This openness and flux was proved expedient as it was apt to serve as a basis upon which wide-scale and varied support could be obtained. More than this, it reflected the numerous ideological influences that constituted both the ANC and the Congress Alliance. The broad interpretative schema that the Charter embraced came to crystallise around the questions of its political and economic orientation, and most notably around the adherence to socialism. Such adherence, as will be shown in subsequent chapters, remains of significant import to understanding the contemporary discursive and rhetorical orientation of the ANC in its creation of a symbolic South African state. More than this, it also allows for a more critical interpretation of the political culture of the ANC and stresses the strains of the internal politics of the movement and later, political party. For present purposes, however, it is necessary to adumbrate the contours upon which a socialist orientation of the Charter assumed ideological primacy. An examination of its clauses is not undertaken here, but rather an analysis of its overall purport and changing meaning in the context of the transition from apartheid to a democratic South Africa. As such, it is important to understand further that throughout various periods of struggle, the Freedom Charter came to be "understood not only from its words but also outside the document and in a different way in every period of the Charter's existence."[98] Indeed, the centrality of the Charter during the struggle against apartheid came not only from the fact that it was presented as the "people's programme", but rather that it contested the very ideological basis and meaning of apartheid.

Given the discussion of liberation in chapter three, it follows that the Charter was discursively located as being an "anti-capitalist programme, because any programme to end racial oppression in South Africa has to be anti-capitalist."[99] Thus, and as I have intimated, construing the meaning of the Charter in this way was premised on a particular definition of apartheid in which racism and capitalism were not only intimately connected, but also self-perpetuating. Indeed, such interconnection between the political and the economic sufficed not only to maintain the ideological premise of apartheid, but served also to inform the specific resistance to the legacy of inequality that persists during South Africa's democratic era. In addition to the anti-capitalist stance, the Charter was also informed by a strongly anti-imperialist position that was founded at its inception and continued to inform and resonate in

---

[98] Raymond Suttner, 'Talking to the Ancestors: National Heritage, the Freedom Charter and national building in South Africa in 2005', *Development Southern Africa* 23 (1), 2006, 10
[99] Suttner, 'The Freedom Charter- The People's Charter in the Nineteen Eighties',15

the ANC's discursive representations through the anti-apartheid struggle. In an article published in the *New Age* in 1957, and written four months after the adoption of the Charter at Kliptown, an apt synopsis of the anti-capitalist and anti-imperialist positions was provided. Indeed, it noted that once political power was assumed by the democratic movement, "the major problem of raising the economic status of the Non-European and of doing away with the basic inequality of wealth which is part and parcel of the present system" needed to be addressed.[100] In presciently outlining the problems that the political settlement of 1994 would engender, the piece posited further that,

> If every discriminatory law on the statute book were repealed, but the mineral wealth, monopoly industry and financial empires were not transferred to the ownership of the people as a whole, the system of White superiority would in its basic essential be perpetuated for many generations. The wealth of South Africa cannot be created by law. It is there. If it is left in the hands of the present dominant groups the new state will, with a great deal of justification, be able to say it cannot 'afford' to provide education, to do away with slum conditions, and so on.[101]

The wide interpretive ambit that the Charter encompassed did not necessarily accord the idea of political and economic redress with an adherence to socialism. Noting that the "immediate aim of the liberatory movement is not and cannot be the establishment of socialism", there was a further declaration that "[T]he Charter does not advocate the abolition of private enterprise, nor is it suggested that all industries be nationalised or that all trade be controlled by the state."[102] The rejection of socialism by segments of the ANC is important given its close association with SACP and may shed light not only on the balance of forces within the liberation coalition but also the strategic overtures that informed this relationship.[103] More than this, it also permits an insight into the ideological terrain on which the Party operated. For the SACP, socialism remained the primary economic and liberatory goal, but its institution needed to be preceded by national liberation. Indeed, and as noted above, the conjoining of the struggle against political and economic exploitation that informed the

---

[100] 'Does the Freedom Charter Mean Socialism' *New Age*, 17 November 1957 as published in African National Congress, *Selected Writings on the Freedom Charter'* A Sechaba Commemorative Publication (London: African National Congress, 1985), 30
[101] 'Does the Freedom Charter Mean Socialism', 30
[102] 'Does the Freedom Charter Mean Socialism' 30-31

ideological bedrock of apartheid, allowed the SACP to envisage the struggle for socialism as being intimately connected to national liberation where "the latter [was seen] as the necessary vehicle for the attainment of the former."[104] Given this, it is important to recall that the ideological consonance between ANC and the SACP came to be premised on the notion that South African apartheid represented a 'colonialism of a special type' and its overthrow would be enacted through a national democratic revolution. The centrality of these precepts, it could be argued, came to form the lens through which a strategic interpretation of the Freedom Charter was undertaken.

That the SACP would ascribe to the provisions of the Charter given that it was viewed as "combin[ing] the liberal ideals of the Enlightenment and the social ideals of the modern welfare state"[105] and made no reference to the "socialisation of the means of production,"[106] highlights the specificity with which it viewed the nature of South African apartheid. Unlike the traditional movement from capitalism to communism mediated through socialism, in the South African case, the SACP envisaged this movement from (apartheid) capitalism through national democracy and eventually to communism. Here, national democracy came to be seen "as a non-capitalist transitional form of society" and its import lay in it being the "*sine qua non* condition of the ANC-South African Communist Party alliance."[107] But there was also a clear acknowledgement the South African condition begets a different set of circumstances to other countries where national-democracy was grounded. Indeed, the relative development of the South African economy and the size and political weight of the proletariat are more conducive to "the material prerequisites for socialism [to] exist" than they are for national democracy. But, given the characterisation of South Africa as an 'internally colonised' society where the state operates as a "racial dictatorship", race superseded class with the effect of "inhibiting the emergence within the black proletariat of a class consciousness."[108] Moreover, the movement to national democracy is given further impetus as a sense of national consciousness is inaugurated through a "convergence, amongst the colonised, the nationally oppressed, of economic class interests" from "black capital owners, members of the middle class, and black workers."[109] The significance of this conception of the transition

---

[104] Peter Hudson, 'Images of the Future and Strategies in the Present: The Freedom Charter and the South African Left' in Philip Frankel, Noam Pines and Mark Swilling (eds.) *State, Resistance and Change in South Africa* (London: Croom Helm, 1988) 259
[105] Ben Fine quoted in Hudson, 260
[106] Hudson, 260
[107] Hudson, 260
[108] Hudson, 268
[109] Hudson 268

to communism in the context of 'colonialism of a special type' renders clear the prescriptions of the Charter "as comprising national-democratic demands" where a "national-democratic state is more opposed to foreign political and economic domination, more anti-colonialist and anti-imperialist, than anti-capitalist."[110] Moreover, Hudson is keen to assert that

> [...] anti-imperialism is not exhausted by the struggle for political emancipation. It also involves striving for the restitution to the colonised nation of its wealth via the nationalisation of large, foreign-owned monopoly capital. Once the thesis, based on the colonialism-of-a-special-type analysis of South Africa, that the white population of South Africa should be identified as a colonising nation, is accepted; and once it is borne in mind that monopoly industry, the principal financial institutions and the mineral wealth were (and still are, very largely) white-owned, then the Freedom Charter's call for their nationalisation appears as a national-democratic demand.[111]

While the Charter provided the basis of an economic settlement between the state and the democratic forces, it also set the moral-ethical and ideological parameters in which a political settlement could be achieved through provision of constitutional contours. Asserting such, in an interview, the head of the ANC's Department of Information and Publicity, Pallo Jordan noted,

> [...] the Freedom Charter became an instrument of the struggle. I would say the most important lesson in relation to that, just as the Freedom Charter was an instrument of struggle, the democratic constitution towards which it was striving is the result and the product of struggle. It is not something that is going to come about because of an agreement, in a smoke-filled room, between one set of politicians and another. It's not going to be the result of wheeling and dealing, at some conference table, between one set of politicians and another. It's going to be the outcome of hard-fought struggles by the majority of our people [...] At this time, especially, we need to maintain our vigilance, must maintain and expand our struggle around all fronts, because it is only

---

[110] Hudson, 270
[111] Hudson, 270

through that struggle that are going to be able to move from the Freedom Charter to a democratic constitution.[112]

In entrenching the similarity between the popularly-driven formulation of the Freedom Charter and the future South African constitution, Jordan ensures a temporal continuity in the mode of participation and the mediating effect of the process of struggle. In giving further credence to the narrative of popular participation in effecting a democratic constitution, there is a clear recognition of the organised people's resistance to the apartheid system. Indeed, such resistance, through the UDF and its constitutive civic associations not only provided an organisational basis of resistance, but also a strategic accomplice to the theory of the national democratic revolution. The heritage of popular resistance – from the Defiance Campaign and COP of the 1950s to the local and national level civic agitation in the 1980s – allowed for the Charter to obtain "concrete embodiment" through the "organs of popular power that began to take over governance."[113] As such embodiment rightly diffused through these 'organs of popular power', it had the effect of allowing the ANC to obtain maximum political capital from these efforts by locating it at the centre of such resistance. Indeed, popular narratives of the struggle against apartheid would detail as much.

That the Charter was accorded moral-ethical and ideological centrality within the discursive and representational universe of the ANC and other democratic formations in the narrative of resistance to apartheid is clear from the foregoing discussion. However, as much as it served as a unifying symbol for these forces, the openness of its provisions and the concomitant flux in its interpretations also served a more divisive function. Indeed, given the constellation of ideological positions between *and* within the constituent elements of the anti-apartheid movement, such divisiveness has continued to characterise debates on the Charter since its formulation.[114]

Two areas of divergence were prominent, namely on the issue of socialism and non-racialism. I have noted above that varying interpretations of the Charter have led to

---

[112] 'Interview with Pallo Jordan, From the Freedom Charter to a Democratic Constitution' *Sechaba* (24) , 12, 1990, 14

[113] Suttner and Cronin, xxii

[114] The Charter, it should be noted, was part of a larger theoretical and ideological movement against apartheid which gained prominence in the 1943 African Claims' document, of which it constituted a "restatement." Differing on the issue of nationalisation which was given greater credence – although with a lack of precision – in the Carter, another area of contestation revolved around the Charters' claim to non-racialism. For more, see Karis and Gail Gerhart, *From Protest to Challenge: A Documentary History of African Politics in South Africa, 1882-1964* Volume 3, 63

disputations about the precise meaning of its economic clauses and the ideological imperatives informing them. The flux which informed the pronouncements on the Charter's economic orientation, while serving the distinct function of mobilising and organising the broadest coalition of forces to challenge the incumbent regime, was unsettling for constituents within the ANC particularly. In giving credence to the non-socialist orientation of the Charter, Nelson Mandela wrote in *Liberation,* "the newspaper of the Congress Movement", in 1956 that,

> Whilst the Charter proclaims democratic changes of a far-reaching nature, it is by no means a blueprint for a socialist state but a programme of unification of various classes and groupings amongst the people on a democratic basis. The Charter [...] visualises the transfer of power not to any social class but to all the people of this country, be they workers, peasants, professional men, or petty-bourgeoisie.[115]

However, Mandela was keen to assert the redistributive motive for the nationalisation of financial, agricultural and mining monopolies that had "for centuries plundered the country and condemned its people to servitude."[116] Indeed, it was only through the 'smashing' of these monopolies that the fullest expression of the Charter's purport of "the termination of the exploitation of vast sections of the populace" and the concomitant "rise in the living standards of the people" could be realised.[117] Thus, while eschewing the prospect of socialism as the ideological force in a liberated South Africa, the rhetorical abidance to nationalisation provided liberals within the ANC to posit conspiratorially that the Freedom Charter became a manifesto "to condition the African people for the purpose of accepting communism via the back door."[118]

If questions related to the nature of post-apartheid economy provided an area upon which ideological orientations in the ANC were rendered clear, a second and perhaps more politically significant area of contestation revolved around the ideas of non-racialism that infused the Charter. My aim is not to recapitulate the debates that have assessed and analysed the ANC's adherence to non-racialism since its inception. A rich literature exists on this.

---

[115] Nelson Mandela, 'Freedom in Our Lifetime' *Liberation* June, 1956 reproduced in African National Congress, *Selected Writings on the Freedom Charter'* A Sechaba Commemorative Publication (London: African National Congress, 1985), 24

[116] Mandela, 'Freedom in Our Lifetime', 24

[117] Mandela, 'Freedom in Our Lifetime', 24-25

[118] This statement was made by Jordan Ngubane who would break with the ANC and join the Liberal Party in 1955, see Karis and Gail Gerhart, *From Protest to Challenge: A Documentary History of African Politics in South Africa, 1882-1964* Volume 3, 64

Rather, my aim is to highlight briefly the marketing of its claims to non-racialism and the dissonances between rhetoric and practice. In doing so, the analysis suffices to demonstrate the politics that underscores, or perhaps envelopes, the marketing of the Freedom Charter.

As a starting point, the thrust of non-racialism is inferred most poignantly in the Charter's preamble that 'South Africa belongs to all who live in it, black and white'. Despite this, the internal organisational dynamics and orientations of the ANC, precluded the adoption and support of non-racial ethos within the movement. Indeed, at the time of its formulation, the strongly Africanist-oriented grouping in the ANC objected to such racial observance on the basis that "the ANC has summarily forfeited the Africans' inalienable right to full 'ownership' of South Africa."[119] While claims to an earlier "restrictive" conception of African Nationalism were premised on the nature of colonial oppression, by the time of the Charter's formulation, a more inclusive orientation was permissible.[120] The notion of African Nationalism was given a broadly inclusive meaning, devoid of racial exclusivity, in a presidential message by Albert Luthuli at the ANC Annual Conference in December 1955. He argued that,

> It is also fair to infer that the African National Congress, having accepted the multiracial nature of the country, envisaged an ALL INCLUSIVE AFRICAN NATIONALISM which, resting on the principle of "FREEDOM FOR ALL" in a country, UNITY OF ALL in a country, embraced all people under African Nationalism regardless of their racial and geographical origin who resided in Africa and paid their undivided loyalty and allegiance.[121]

Despite this declaration, the reticence within elements of the ANC towards multiracialism, evinced in its participation and leading the Congress Alliance, had roots that were apparent in 1940s and driven by the ANC Youth League. The division between the Africanists and the Charterists provoked consternation within in the leadership of the movement with former ANC President, Alfred Xuma decrying "certain tendencies" that were attempting to "[undermine] and [weaken] the Congress as a National Liberation Movement and a

---

[119] Karis and Gail Gerhart, *From Protest to Challenge: A Documentary History of African Politics in South Africa, 1882-1964* Volume 3, 65

[120] See Nhlanhla Ndebele, 'The African National Congress and the policy of non-racialism: a study of the membership issue', *Politikon* 29, 2 (2002), 136

[121] Albert Luthuli, 'Special Presidential Message', African National Congress Annual Conference, December 17-18, 1955 as published in Document 13a,Thomas Karis and Gail Gerhart, *From Protest to Challenge: A Documentary History of African Politics in South Africa, 1882-1964* Volume 3, 65

mouthpiece of the African people."[122] These tendencies, while premised primarily on the dilution of an African leadership in the movement (in favour of a more united 'Congresses' approach), would result in "Africans [being] confused and wonder[ing] who are their leaders and whom they must follow as a consequence."[123] The letter is interesting for it reveals not only the internal discontents that pivoted on the issue of non-racialism, but also for the insight it provides on the varying political cultures within the ANC.[124] That Africans themselves would be responsible for their own liberation – a theme which was widely propagated in the ANC publicity material but emphasised the more democratic imperative of people's engagement in the struggle rather than its racial dimension – was also asserted. In concluding his critical assertions on the problems of leadership in the ANC, Xuma reasserted the primacy accorded to African organisation and action in guiding the future development of the struggle, noting,

> One and all must realise no will ever free the Africans but Africans themselves. Their genuine friends can help them, but the African themselves must rely on themselves. We must learn to do things for ourselves in order to grow, to plan our programme and campaigns and rely upon our own leadership. Until we can do that, have faith in ourselves as well as self-reliance, depend on our inner strength, we do not deserve freedom and could not maintain it if it were offered to us on a platter. Let us reorganise our people, re-integrate the African National Congress as the mouthpiece of the African people [...] Africa expects all her sons and daughters to serve the cause of the people loyally, sincerely and honestly. Let us close ranks, fellow-African and do our duty. [125]

---

[122] Alfred Xuma, 'Letter on "Certain Tendencies"' Letter written in anticipation of the 44th National Conference of the ANC, 18 December 1955. Available online: http://www.anc.org.za/161 (Accessed 16 December 2010). While the letter was prepared for the conference and receipt of it acknowledged by the ANC's leadership, it nevertheless was not presented by the then ANC leadership but was published in the *World* newspaper on 28 January 1956. For more, see, Steven D. Gish, *Alfred B. Xuma: African, American, South African* (Basingstoke: MacMillan Press Ltd, 2000), 182-83 especially.

[123] Xuma, 'Letter on "Certain Tendencies"'. Xuma's criticism here lay with the lack of clarity on the exact positions of the ANC given the united media stance taken by the ANC, South African Indian Congress, Congress of Democrats and the Coloured People's Organisation.

[124] It is important to note that the letter was not just a critique on the inculcation of non-racialism, it was also highly critical of the ANC leadership, charging that there was a lack of space for criticism and incipient "authoritarianism" and "totalitarianism". He also lamented the of engaging in "'action for action's sake and for propaganda reasons' instead of aiming at achieving results" as the ANC "aroused vain hopes in the breasts of the struggling Africans and made promises of 'secret weapons' and 'provisions of services for which no preparations were made." For more, see Xuma, 'Letter on "Certain Tendencies"'

[125] Xuma, 'Letter on "Certain Tendencies"'

The 'Certain Tendencies' episode provided the impetus for the later breakaway of the Pan-Africanist Congress (PAC).[126] The non-racial position forwarded by the Charter, and in Tambo's injunction of a broader notion of 'African' noted above, was not effected within the political and organisational practices of the ANC. Until it was confronted with 'de-racialising' its membership structures to permit non-African members – to a limited extent in 1969 and then more fully only in 1985 – the ANC pursued and was committed a strictly African membership policy.[127] The persistence of the 'thread' of non-racialism, to use the title of Julie Frederikse's book on the issue, has garnered significant debate in post-apartheid South Africa. Intimately connected to discussions on nation-building, the Freedom Charter has operated as an important arbiter of these discussions. This will examined further in the chapters which follow.

It is evident from the foregoing that as much as the Charter came to be the centrepiece of the ideological orientation of the ANC and the 'lodestar' of a future democratic South Africa, its authority owed much to the mythology that emanated and proliferated from the time of its inception. Such mythology was created and sustained through a determined publicity effort. However, it is evident too from the foregoing, that the process of the Charter's construction, adoption and even meaning occupied a highly contested space with the organisational structures of the ANC. Commenting on this, Suttner and Cronin have astutely noted that "while the Freedom Charter was conceived as a unifying programme (and a more or less explicit affirmation of a still banned Congress movement), it was also a line of demarcation from other progressive trends, addressing perhaps more limited constituencies. That line of demarcation has sometimes become a line of intolerance."[128] Yet, despite this, the Freedom Charter's longevity owes much to the efforts of the ANC to exert an 'ownership' over its content and purport and to locate at the centre of its discursive and representational universe.

---

[126] Gish, 184. It should be noted that Xuma was not overly supportive of the Africanist grouping, but rather fell into the middle ground between Africanists and the 'more liberal old guard in the ANC', Gerhart quoted in Gish, 184

[127] In his analysis of the issue of non-racialism, Ndebele notes however, that there were significant divergences from the policy given the exigencies of the liberation struggle. For example, the exiled movement in Europe pursued a more open but 'unofficial' policy as there was more interaction between various racial groups united in common purpose. From the 1980s, the open and democratic internal organisations under the umbrella of the UDF, promoted the idea of non-racialism more vigorously, especially if the ANC wanted to capture the widest political market. See Ndebele, 139-145 especially.

[128] Suttner and Cronin, xix

CONCLUSION: LASTING LEGITIMACY

...the clarity and correctness of the ideas of the Freedom Charter testify to the revolutionary maturity of those responsible for drawing up the Charter – the people of South Africa. That the Charter has stood the test of time, outlived its critics and defeated every attempt of the enemy to brand it as' treason', demonstrates the rich heritage of struggle of our people, the justness of our cause and the necessity of the Charter as the definitive expression of the goals of our national liberation struggle.[129]

I have argued that the centrality accorded to the Freedom Charter was part of a successful discursive manoeuvre by the ANC to entrench symbolically, culturally and politically a vision of a liberated and equitable South Africa. This entrenchment was supported by an active process of myth creation that was expediently utilised as a rallying symbol to ensure the remembering of the ANC in South Africa during the exile years. Such remembering lay in the Charter's ability to embody the aspirations of the oppressed and marginalised. In this way, the Charter became a visceral manifesto of a free and democratic future.

The strength of the myth-making lay in the ability of key ANC personalities to attribute a particular credence not only to the Charter, but to the nature of the organisational forces that were complicit in its development. Writing in *Liberation* in 1956, Nelson Mandela argued keenly for a "strengthened and developed" unity across the anti-apartheid congresses so that "the Freedom Charter will be transformed into a *living instrument*" in order to "vanquish all opposition and win the South Africa of our dreams during our lifetime."[130] This call for unity, so as to 'enliven' the Charter, serves to illustrate the connectedness between political aspiration and organisational desire. But even more than this, the Charter came to be intimately linked to a conscious rhetorical strategy that found expression in autobiographical re-tellings of key ANC personalities and thus conferred on the Charter recognition of embodying individual struggles for freedom. This is most aptly captured again by Nelson Mandela when he asserted that the,

> [the] principles have been embodied in the Freedom Charter, which none in this
> country will dare challenge for its place as the most democratic of political principles
> by any political party or organisation in this country. It was for me a matter of joy and

---

[129] Alfred Nzo, 'The Freedom Charter a Beacon to the People of South Africa' *African Communist*, Second Quarter, 1980 Available online: http://www.anc.org.za/ancdocs/history/campaigns/cop/beacon.html (Accessed 6 July 2010)

[130] Mandela, 'Freedom in Our Lifetime', 27, my emphasis

pride to be a member of an organisation which has proclaimed so democratic a policy and which campaigned for it militantly and fearlessly.[131]

Moreover, the ANC's representational stock also sought to link personalities with the publicity of the Charter, as demonstrated in figure11 below. The authoritative stance and purposive intention communicated in the figure of Chief Albert Luthuli, aptly endowed the Charter with a moral-ethical resonance and legitimacy. Moreover, it linked the Charter intimately with the ANC. As a form of media, the poster circulated through the ANC's various formations, as figures 8 and 11 aptly indicate. The poster above, affixed to the tree in the images, thus came to be intimately connected to the political education of new MK recruits.

That the Charter therefore came to find centrality in the ANC's discursive apparatus owes much to the endorsing contributions of leading personalities within the movement – moral arbiters in their own right who came to personify the values of the struggle against the machinations of the apartheid regime. If the repeated invocations of the superiority of the Charter in capturing the 'existential anguish' of the oppressed majority through diffusive forms of publicity located it at the centre of discursive opposition to apartheid, then the moral sponsorship obtained from leading personalities only served to augment the legitimacy accorded to the document.

---

[131] African National Congress, *ANC Speaks: Documents and Statements of the African National Congress, 1955-1976*, 1076, no publisher details provided.
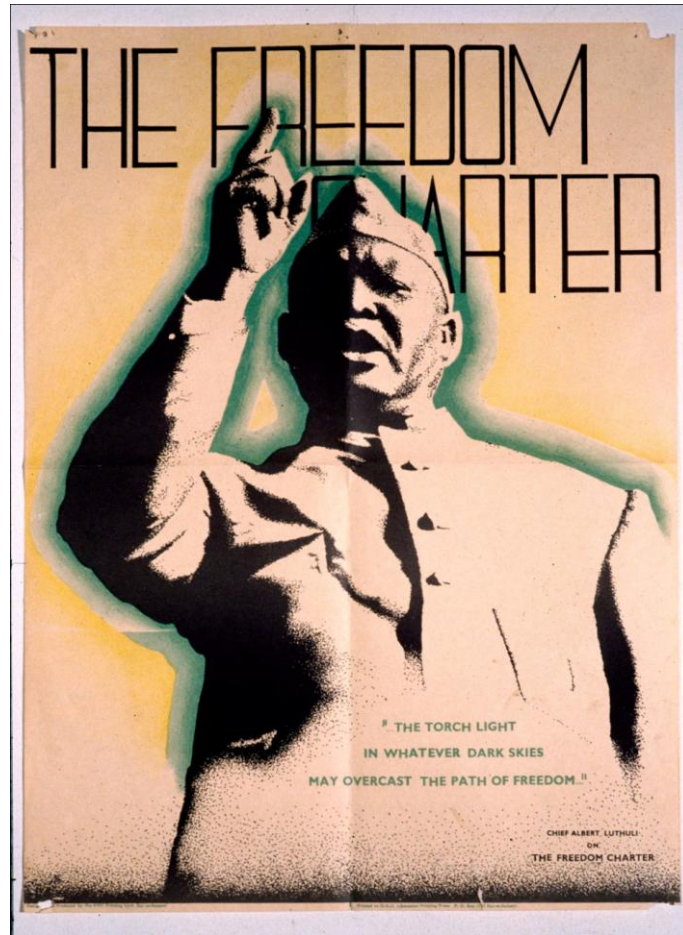
Figure 11: The image of Chief Albert Luthuli on a poster publicising the Freedom Charter, Mayibuye Archive, SF-2-1-3

The ANC were keenly aware of the political capital that could be extracted from highlighting popular foundations of the Freedom Charter and sought to entrench this further through deliberate and wide-scale publicity and propaganda activities, perhaps most notably by dedicating the year 1980 as 'The Year of the Charter'. The immediate effect was "manifest in popular campaigns and expanded to trade unions and numerous youth and community organisations" and endured through the early- to mid-1980s as the 'people' became increasingly implicated in the struggle against apartheid.[132] Indeed, the popular agitation was driven by the idea that the Freedom Charter was the "alternative to the Republic", and extended through the "distribution of the Charter"; it was "emblazoned [on] banners with its clauses; and all over the country they burned the South African republic flag and hoisted the ANC in its place."[133] The effect of this agitation and popularisation was that it fed into the proliferation of resistance activity across the country and "emerged within the old Congress

---

[132] Phillips, 72
[133] Philips, 72 citing newspaper reports between May and June, 1981

Alliance associations such as the Indian Congresses that began a process of revival in the early 1980s."[134] Not only was the Charter a reflection of the ideals of a liberated South Africa, it also came to fulfil its role as in "organising instrument which means that serve[d] very much as a flag" as it "enable[d] people to identify themselves, group together and act unitedly (sic)."[135]
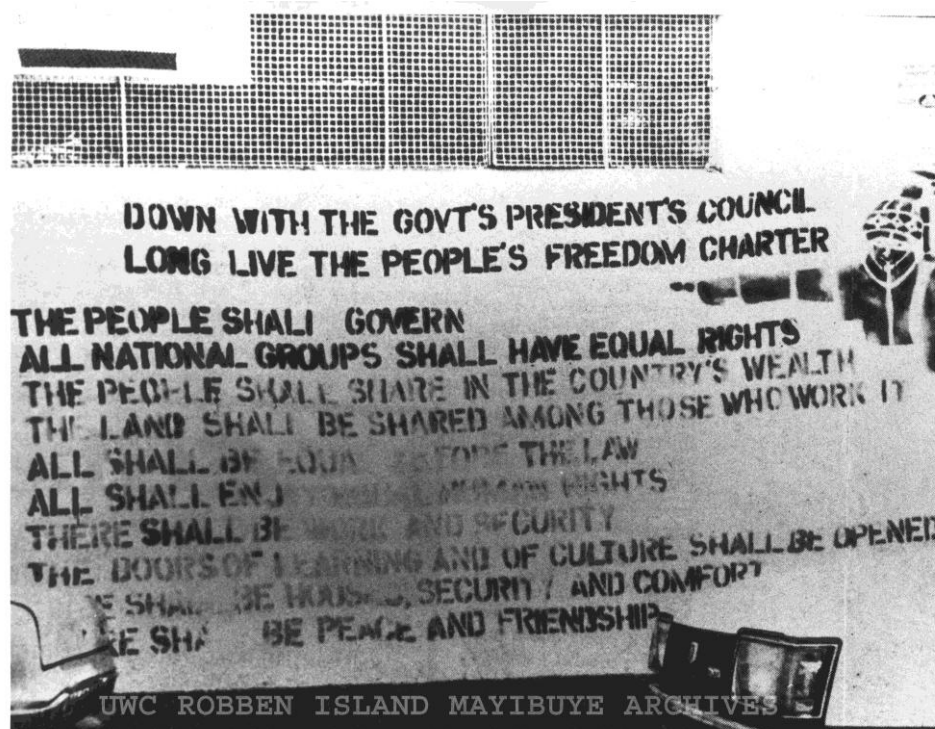
Figure 12: Use of graffiti to popularise the Charter, Mayibuye Archive, University of the Western Cape, LA223-10

As these forms of publicity became more numerous and internal popular agitation began to proliferate across South Africa, there was widespread re-entrenchment of the purport and vision that the Charter espoused. Indeed, in monumentalising 1980 as 'The Year of the Charter' in the temporal expanse of the struggle against apartheid, the ANC managed to rearticulate consciously and successfully the goals envisioned in the manifesto. The effect of this constant re-articulation over time, I contend, created a programmatic path toward *full* liberation which would only commence with political independence being attained. As such,

---

[134] Phillips, 73

[135] Quoted in the Alexandra township newspaper, *Izwi lase Township* (July/August 1983) and cited in Carter, 204. A wider representational strategy, with greater international resonance, was also undertaken, firstly through the 25th anniversary of the Freedom Charter at the United Nations, and secondly, with the release of the documentary film *Isithwalandwe: The Story of the Freedom Charter*, which was directed by the ANC cultural section member Barry Feinberg. This documentary portrayed the "history and message of the document" and was widely acclaimed as it "was selected for seven international film festivals and was broadcast on several national networks" see Philips, 70

prosperity and freedom would not be fully realised until it was democratised. The placing of such a limitation on the realisation of freedom served to extend the life of the Charter beyond the political struggle and allow it considerable future relevance and resonance. More than this, it also sought to locate the ANC at the centre of the process of its realisation with the coming of political emancipation for it was argued that "the people of South Africa created the African National Congress as their vehicle of unity and struggle precisely to fight for the restoration of this birthright."[136] While such birthright came to be premised primarily on the formal political rights and the rejection of discrimination, there was also a strong socio-economic imperative that underpinned its conception. In an interview with prominent ANC member and current speaker of the National Assembly of the South African parliament, Max Sisulu noted that,

> So you're fighting not just for political independence, which is very important, but you are also fighting for socio-economic emancipation, because even if you remove apartheid or apartheid goes, you still have a whole economic system which is entrenched [...] That is why at that early stage we supported the Freedom Charter and went about publicising the Freedom Charter before the ANC was banned, and even after the ANC was banned we used to paint slogans and distribute leaflets at night. [137]

That the Charters' utility and vision would remain of paramount significance in the post-apartheid period, as much as it did during the struggle, is evidenced here. Further, placing emphasis on the socio-economic redress that the Charter envisioned allowed for it to fulfil its mandate as a 'living document' by giving effect to a vision of liberated South Africa. Rhetorical insistence ensured the historical longevity of the Charter and the insistence on the Freedom Charter as central to the teleological stream of victory over apartheid. This is evident in a speech delivered to the ANC's 2001 National Constitutional Conference, by then President, Thabo Mbeki. Noting that the Charter "gave South Africa's future generations an architectural design [and] overarching model of the society and government around which they were to mobilise and pursue the objective of national liberation struggle", Mbeki continued that,

---

[136] African National Congress, 'Year of the Charter: An Evaluation of the Freedom Charter', 3
[137] Max Sisulu Interview, South African History Archive, University of the Witwatersrand, Julie Frederikse Paper, AL 2460

The Freedom Charter, for the first time in our history, sketched out in clear terms the central objective of the national democratic struggle. It called for a South Africa which is united in its composition, democratic in its character, non-racial in its political complexion and prosperous in its socio-economic objective [...] Any form of construction, however, needs both the architect and the bricklayer. It needs both the act of conception and that of building, the act of designing and that of putting one brick upon the other. If the Congress of the People in 1955 marked the maturity of conception of design of our future society, April 27th 1994 called upon all of us to hone our skills in the act of bricklaying.[138]

Such 'bricklaying' would pivot closely on the implicit centrality of the Charter in the 1994 election campaign. Indeed, its vision came to be intimately inscribed into the discursive and representational stock of the ANC and would form the ideological basis upon which it would engage with electorate. In the following chapter, I examine the 1994 campaign as an important moment in the teleology of liberation and the continuation of the precepts of the Freedom Charter in the realisation of a 'new' and democratic South Africa.

---

[138] Quoted in Jeff Radebe, 'Celebrating the Implementation of the Freedom Charter', *Umrabulo,* June-July, 2001, 9

5.

1994:
THE 'LIBERATORY' MOMENT

****

I have shown in the previous chapter that the ANC's conception of liberation was deeply rooted in the political, economic and social dislocations that apartheid effected. Popularised in the theatre of struggle by the ANC and associated organisations, a nuanced notion of liberation circulated in the public and private spheres. In this chapter, I examine the much-analysed election of 1994 through a range of primary documentation to highlight the strategic and political behaviour of the ANC through its first election campaign. Further, conceiving of the election as the key liberatory moment in the political history of the struggle against apartheid, the reading of the campaign presented in this chapter offers an insight into the discursive, representational and organisational continuities and discontinuities that punctuate the ANC's modes of political exchange. I use the term liberation in a broad sense to signify not only the liberatory ethos that the election came to inculcate, but also the social and economic processes in the creation of 'a better life' that would commence after the election.

This chapter begins with a short overview of the political context which preceded the election. Certain themes emanate from this period that are in the ANC's campaign marketing. The discussion then proceeds to examine the contours of the campaign and demonstrates the historical rootedness of both its discursive and representational strategies and well as its organising capacities. As such, the ANC was able to shift between its identities as a liberation movement and formal political party. The importance of the 'people' was central to the campaign – rhetorically, strategically and ideologically. The broad ethos of liberation, wherein the mission was to create 'A Better Life for All' was important not only in marketing the ANC, but in crystallising the essence of its revolutionary thrust.

THE ELECTION OF 1994

A Transitioning South Africa: A Brief Political Background

The overtures made by the apartheid regime from late 1989 indicated the imminent and inevitable liberalisation of political space in South Africa. Indeed, the incipient public detente was given a fillip in the 2 February 1990 announcement of the unbanning of ANC, SACP and Pan Africanist Congress, the easing the State of Emergency and the release of Nelson Mandela.[1] As the task of easing the restrictive legal and extra-legal prescriptions that characterised apartheid rule commenced, the transition process would be characterised by a 'messiness' as the ANC attempted the balancing act of reconstituting itself within the country while navigating the demands and needs of the constellation of forces that constituted it; and commensurately negotiating the terms for democratic power-sharing in South Africa.

A large and detailed literature describes these processes and it is not my intention to review such scholarship and even "punditry" here.[2] Rather, I highlight briefly the key political and organisational obstacles that the ANC needed to traverse prior to the election and which informed the discursive and representational registers of the campaign.

The events of 2 February set in motion a protracted and uneven process of talks and negotiations between the ANC and the ruling National Party (NP), the advance of which was publicly declared in key minutes, records and declarations.[3] Clearing the path to substantive political negotiations, this process aimed at bringing accord between the protagonists despite mutual distrust and continuing animosities. The very idea of negotiations to end apartheid remained anathema to sections of the ANC's constituency. Moreover, the "suspension" of the armed struggle by the ANC, and not the MK, in August of that year reflected a shifting balance of power and disparate nature of its organisation and decision-making structures.[4] Discursively, the "illusionary rhetoric" of the idea of the "transfer of power" promoted by the ANC was misguided, for as Heribert Adam and Kogila Moodley note, "power sharing" rather

---

[1] I use the word 'public' detente because a longer and more diplomatic rapprochement between the ANC and the NP (as well as sections of white capital) had begun previously and was undertaken by the ANC's external wing clandestinely. This thawing of relations has been much written about and is not immediately important here.

[2] See Hein Marais, *South Africa Pushed to the Limit: The Political Economy of Change* (New York: Zed Books, 2011), 69 for this characterisation.

[3] Here, I refer to the Groote Schuur Minute, the Pretoria Minute and the later National Peace Accord. In a sense, they functioned as short-term roadmaps to a phased process of transition broadly inculcated a sense of trust in the bona *fides* of the negotiating parties - falsely as it turned out.

[4] For a synopsis, see Mac Maharaj, 'The ANC and South Africa's Negotiated Transition to Democracy and Peace'(Berlin: Berghof Research Centre for Constructive Conflict Management, 2000), 23

than the "transfer of power" would "be the inevitable outcome of negotiations." [5] As such, the tempering of allusions of insurrection and the seizure of power through armed revolution was undertaken by the designated ANC leadership. By the end of 1990, at its national conference, animosities emerged over the "leadership's confidential and unilateral decision-making" to undertake the process of negotiations and the sidelining of mass participation to determine the course of a democratic South Africa.[6] Strategically, the ANC would continue to maintain the support of the masses and utilise their power tactically to place pressure on the apartheid regime at key moments in the process of negotiations.

The first round of talks, named the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (CODESA) commenced in December 1991 and set up the organisational structures, or working groups, through which later negotiations would proceed. The process did not get the support of right wing parties on both sides of the racial spectrum, and animosities between the party leaders, Nelson Mandela and FW De Klerk, were openly laid bare.[7] However, the desire by the white population in South Africa for political change, as evidenced through their vote in a referendum in March 1992 on the continuation of negotiations, prompted the NP to continue talks with the ANC. The second round of CODESA negotiations commenced in May 1992, but was marred shortly thereafter by the events of the Boipatong massacre in June. While the negotiations period was marked by violence and intimidation, the culmination of this in the Boipatong massacre – wherein Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) partisans attacked ANC aligned hostel dwellers – served to derail the second round of talks as the ANC withdrew from the convention. The call for 'rolling mass action' given these events served to destabilise optimism in the process of a negotiated political settlement.

If violence destabilised the process, it also served to get it back on track. The Bisho massacre in September 1992, in which "Ciskei security forces (commanded by white officers of the South African Defence Force) opened fire on an Alliance march", served also to re-focus the

---

[5] Heribert Adam and Kogila Moodley, *The Negotiated Revolution: Society and Politics in Post-Apartheid South Africa* (Johannesburg: Jonathan Ball Publishers, 1993), 49

[6] Dale T. McKinley, *The ANC and the Struggle for Liberation: A Critical Political Biography* (London: Pluto Press, 1997), 112

[7] T.R.H Davenport, *The Transfer of Power in South Africa* (Cape Town: David Philip Publishers, 1998), 10. A wealth of literature on the process of negotiations exits, but for more, see also Allister Sparks, *Tomorrow is Another Country* (Johannesburg: Jonathan Ball Publishers, 2003); Richard Spitz and Matthew Chaskalson, *The Politics of Transition: The Hidden History of South Africa's Negotiated Settlement* (Johannesburg: University of the Witwatersrand Press, 2000); Steven Friedman, *The Long Journey: South Africa's Quest For Negotiated Settlement* (Johannesburg: Ravan Press, 1993)

parties and the NP generally as the threat of "civil war" loomed.[8] Concessions that the ANC had earlier requested were assented to, and in the midst of the parties managing the tensions within civil society, the ANC and NP signed a Record of Understanding, and an agreement on the institution of a "transitional arrangement which would govern during the transition."[9] The seriousness of these efforts eventuated in the Multi-Party Negotiating Forum and later, the interim governing body the Transitional Executive Council (TEC), which "would have collateral authority with the cabinet in one area alone: preparing the ground for an election."[10] Despite the ongoing violence and the problems encountered in attempts to "accommodate" black and white right wing parties, the renewed emphasis on finalising an interim constitution and working towards an election occupied South African political life.[11] Even the assassination of Chris Hani, veritable SACP personality, did not derail the process.

The themes raised in this cursory overview permit an insight – limited as it may be – into the political context in which the election campaign was undertaken. Moreover, as will be evident in the discussion below, certain key themes from this period emerge in the ANC's discursive and representational overtures during the campaign.

It would be myopic to assume that the electorate viewed the ANC as the natural successor to the NP regime. Rather, an apartheid-weary, violence-disenchanted, racially and ethnically diverse electorate with lingering prejudices toward African rule, and which had been the focus of a sustained and prolonged state propaganda onslaught, confronted the ANC as they prepared for an election campaign. But the movement had generated a stock of symbolic capital in the years preceding 1990. Indeed, its discursive inculcation within the political marked permitted activists to conclude that the ANC was endowed with a significant emotional appeal within the electorate. Such appeal came at a price however. Indeed as, former exiled Gill Marcus and then ANC spokesperson, lamented in 1991,

---

[8] McKinley, 126
[9] Johannes Mutshutshu Rantete, *The African National Congress and the Negotiated Settlement in South Africa* (Pretoria: JL van Schaik, 1998), 174. The signing of the National Peace Accord functioned moreover to signal the commitment to the negotiations by the parties
[10] Davenport, 53
[11] Patti Waldmeir, *Anatomy of a Miracle: The End of Apartheid and the Birth of a New South Africa* (New York: W.W. Norton and Company, 1997), 225

The emotional support for the movement is massive, but translating that support into a knowledge and understanding of the ANC's policies, strategies, programmes and tactics is proving to be an unenviable task.[12]

But this 'emotional' support highlighted the marketability of the ANC and the movement was acutely aware of this. Just prior to the commencement of the second round of talks at CODESA, the ANC's organising department characterised the organisation as "strong" and posited further that,

[...] this means that the ANC is a marketable 'product' if we may use the term. The people know it is there. With the ordinary man and woman in the street you are not introducing something strange, something that needs a lot of explaining or convincing. Even in those regions, outside the violence torn ones, where membership is low, it is not a question of hostility to the ANC that keeps that membership low. It is simply a question of lack of regional strategic recruitment drives brought about by political lethargy, bureaucracy, factionalism, power-mongering and a host of other weaknesses that impair the performance of leadership in most of the regions.[13]

This recognition permits an important insight into the strategic and operational thinking behind the ANC's election campaign. Moreover, it asserts the pervasiveness of a marketing consciousness and the importance of cultivating the ANC's brand in the prevailing circumstances. In the discussion below, I examine how the ANC put into service historical memory and the conjunctural factors in formulating a campaign to contest the election. It is to this analysis I now turn.

Preparing the Ground

The ANC embarked on a process of conceiving the campaign as early as 1992 with the formalising of its own election commission.[14] That the overall emphasis of the campaign would centre on liberation, is apparent from the strategy documents emerging from the ANC.

---

[12] Gill Marcus quoted in the *Natal Mercury* newspaper in Adam and Moodley, 71

[13] African National Congress, 'Report of the Organising Department for the Consideration of the NWC, 23 April 1992', African National Congress: Nelson Mandela Papers, Discussion Documents, University of Fort Hare, Box 142 Folder 188

[14] See Tom Lodge, 'The African National Congress and Its Allies,' in Andrew Reynolds (ed.), *Election '94: South Africa: The Campaigns, Results and Future Prospects* (Cape Town and Johannesburg: David Philip, 1994), 23

More than this, liberation would inform the entire narrative of the year, 1994. In an interview, Nelson Mandela asserted as much, holding that,

> It is not an exaggeration to talk of 1994 as the year of liberation. The achievements of our long struggle, and the negotiating process which has led to the firm date of 27 April 1994 for the first democratic elections is indeed an important event which we must celebrate. However, while 1994 is indeed the year of liberation, there is still alot of work to be done to move from elections to the improvement of the living conditions of the majority. We cannot expect this to be done overnight. That is why I constantly say that 27 April will not be reaping time. It will be the time for ploughing and sowing. I am optimistic we will achieve our aims because for the first time South Africa will have a democratic and legitimate government.[15]

Liberation, as evidenced from this quote, would be an ongoing task that would be intimately connected to socio-economic freedom. For the ANC moreover, the self-emancipatory potential of the elections is clear – elections essentially endow the people with the ability to "[determine] their own future and can be seen as the culmination of hundreds of years of struggle against colonialism and for national liberation. The election must be seen as a contest between apartheid and democracy."[16] Characterising the contestation of the election as one between the forces of apartheid and democracy allowed for the ANC to inform the strategic and discursive content of the campaign in ways that proved more inclusionary than exclusionary, and segued with the overall aims of the national democratic revolution.

The NDR assumed discursive primacy as the orienting framework for understanding the contours of a post-apartheid South Africa, and the strategic thinking emanating from the ANC asserted that a central objective of the campaign would be "the establishment of a united, democratic, non-racial, non-sexist South Africa" which would be realised through the popularisation of ANC policies. [17] This idea of liberation however, became the "central message, but [had] different emphasis for various sections of the electorate."[18] For blacks, it signalled an "end to oppression, racism, apartheid, discrimination", while for white South

---

[15] Interview with Nelson Mandela, 'Year of Liberation if…we work harder', *Mayibuye* February, (1994), 8
[16] African National Congress Elections Commission, Report of the National Sub-Working Committee on Elections, 14 April 1992, full reference not provided
[17] African National Congress, PWV Region, Commission on Election Strategy, Election Strategy Workshop, 14-15 November 1992, Barbara Hogan Collection, South African History Archive, AL3013, Box 9, 1
[18] African National Congress, Elections Strategy Workshop Report, 25-27 September, African National Congress: Zambia Mission, Elections:1992-1993, Additions 2 Box 3 Folder 19, University of Fort Hare Archive, 22

Africans, liberation sought to quell concerns relating to their minority status and the inculcation of "real democracy."[19] The overarching narrative would be one in which liberation entailed the creation of "a democracy of which all are part of [and the creation of] a legitimate political system for all."[20] This narrative sought to quell the fears of Indian and Coloured constituencies, who were in an 'ambiguous position, given their 'victimhood' under nationalist policies, but nevertheless held a "deep-seated fear of African domination."[21]

While the ANC remained a "symbol of the liberation struggle" due to its "longevity", such symbolism misrepresents the organisational efficacy and strength of the movement.[22]But this observation is significant, however, when consideration is given to the enormity of the organisational task that confronted the ANC in "sensitising" the historically disenfranchised to the very idea of elections.[23] The ANC argued that it was necessary to "strengthen our organisational capacity" as "71% of voters are concentrated in regions and some of those 4 regions are our weakest."[24] In what it viewed as "the largest campaign for the attainment of political power,"[25] the "issue of elections" needed to be incorporated broadly into all ANC activities. Indeed, it was argued that there was the "need to start talking about it everywhere so that our people get used to the idea that elections are coming and that it involves them."[26] Building on the traditions of mass civic participation, the ANC aimed to inaugurate a range of social formations in popularising the "concept of elections", including trade unions, churches and "all organs of civil society."[27] For the movement, this preliminary 'sensitisation' phase was more about inculcating a belief in the democratic and electoral process than for garnering votes.[28] The political and procedural backdrop against which this process needed to occur was complex and a number of key issues still required resolution. As of August 1992, during the CODESA interregnum, the question of "[whether] the general election [would] be for the Constituent Assembly [CA] only with CA transforming itself into a national assembly or,

---

[19] African National Congress, Elections Strategy Workshop Report, 25-27 September, 22

[20] African National Congress, Elections Strategy Workshop Report, 25-27 September, 22.

[21] Robert Schrire, 'Party Tricks', *Indicator SA*, 11(2), 1994, 7

[22] Ottaway, 30

[23] African National Congress Elections Commission, Report of the National Sub-Working Committee on Elections, 68

[24] African National Congress Elections Commission, Report of the National Sub-Working Committee on Elections, 68

[25] African National Congress Elections Commission, Report of the National Working Sub-Committee on Elections, 67

[26] African National Congress Elections Commission, Report of the National Sub-Working Committee on Elections, 68

[27] African National Congress Elections Commission, Report of the National Sub-Working Committee on Elections, 68

[28] African National Congress Elections Commission, Report of the National Sub-Working Committee on Elections, 68-69

whether there will be a second election for a democratic parliament/government" was still unresolved.[29] Together with "a lack of clarity on what the content of the electoral law would be," the political status of homelands states, the TBVC, was also unresolved at the time and required settlement.[30] At the procedural level, no election date had been set and there was no indication of whether "voters would be required to register" and "what form of identification would be used"[31]

Despite the organisational, procedural and political obstacles that the ANC foresaw, a consistency in the electoral strategy emerged across the regions so that a unified and coherent campaign would ensue. In an election strategy document for the Pretoria-Witwatersrand region dated late 1992, there is a conscious targeting of the working class and rural areas in mobilising these constituents to participate in the election. More tellingly, the objective of the election is to win so as "to ensure that people do not starve nor are they unceremoniously jailed."[32] It is evident from this that these socio-economic and political considerations are specific conceptions of the broad nature of the liberation that the ANC envisaged. An insight into this broader electoral conceptualisation of liberation is obtained through hand-written points in the margins of a document entitled *General Strategy to Win the CA* [Constituent Assembly] *Election.* Here the "Expression of Liberation" is, "(i) Decisive; (ii) Slogans, (iii) Justice, Democracy and good Govt: not liberal in translation, [...] (v) Environment in which elections to be placed."[33] While not offering a qualitative understanding of the meaning of liberation, it does however offer an insight into the communication of liberation. Indeed, it was argued that "[Communication] is very important and a sense of comradeship should prevail so that we can sustain our morale."[34]

It has been argued above that the symbolic meaning and role of the ANC in the liberation struggle was undercut by organisational obstacles. However, the strength of its position in the collective consciousness of the oppressed and marginalised as the 'liberator' begged little dispute. In a series of focus group interviews held in December 1992, it was noted that "[The] ANC stood for people's aspirations during the worst times. I suppose from all of that, people

---

[29] African National Congress, Working Committee Documents, 13 August 1992, Barbara Hogan Collection, South African History Archive, AL 3013, 1.7, 43
[30] African National Congress, Working Committee Documents, 13 August 1992, 43
[31] African National Congress, Working Committee Documents, 13 August 1992, 43
[32] African National Congress, PWV Region, Commission on Election Strategy, Election Strategy Workshop, 1
[33] African National Congress, General Strategy to Win the CA Election, Nelson Mandela Papers: Elections and Fundraising, Box 319, Folder 92, University of Fort Hare
[34] African National Congress, PWV Region, Commission on Election Strategy, Election Strategy Workshop, 1

have very strong confidence in the ANC."[35] While the ANC certainly located itself consciously at the centre for the liberation of South Africa, it endowed the people themselves to *act* as their own liberators. Addressing the National Conference on Reconstruction and Strategy, Nelson Mandela intimated as much, noting that "the people of South Africa, have, at last, entered our new age, during which we shall be called upon to respond to the call of history which summons us to achieve our own freedom from tyranny, from injustice, from hunger, from deprivation and from the indignity and insult of racism and apartheid."[36] Liberation then, it should be noted, would come also through the *act* of voting for the ANC, and such act would be "to express the deep seated hope of all our people [to] at last achieve our emancipation."[37]

'It's the (Socio) Economy, Stupid!'[38]

Liberation had come to be conceived as "the contest between apartheid and democracy", where this conception of democracy placed significant emphasis not only on political, but also, as noted, socio-economic redress. The election then came to be about

> [...] improving the life of the poor [...] The new Constitution drawn up by the Constituent Assembly must completely eradicate apartheid and transform societal relations in a manner that will qualitatively improve the life of the underprivileged [...] An ANC victory will mean the beginning of a process of creation of peace, jobs and the opening of educational opportunities to all children regardless of race and class. This is one election which if handled well can give hope to and bring to an end frustrations of millions of South Africans. Therefore the ANC must win decisively in the coming elections.[39]

The overt and consistent emphasis on the socio-economic content of liberation – in the ANC's "ability to change society" – was emphasised over its charge to "dwell on the

---

[35] Susan Booysen and Craig Charney, *The Minds and Feelings of Swing Voters: Keys to Winning South Africa's First Democratic Election*, Research Initiatives Focus Group Report, December 1992, 37
[36] African National Congress, Address by President Nelson Mandela to the 'National Conference on Reconstruction and Strategy, 21 January 1994, Johannesburg. Available online at htttp://www.anc.org.za/ancdocs/speeches/1994/sp940121.html (accessed 3 September 2009)
[37] African National Congress, Address by President Nelson Mandela to the 'National Conference on Reconstruction and Strategy
[38] This is a play on Bill Clinton's 1992 campaign slogan, 'The Economy, Stupid!'
[39] African National Congress, Statement of the Elections Commission to the International Solidarity Conference, 19-25 February, Miscellaneous: South African History Archive, AL2457, H5.3.3

majority's struggle against apartheid."[40] As such, and at the strategic level, there was a need to address the fundamental issues that plagued the ANC's "historical constituency", but the vagueness of its prescriptions led to the creation of a "creative ambiguity" through which the ANC could "not lock itself into specific policies and thus be all things to all men and women."[41] In counterpoint, however, and as will be discussed in greater detail below, the ANC sought through its representational strategy to assert that it had carefully constructed and measured policies – in essence, communicating the idea that "we have a plan."[42] Further, there was the observance of the need "to build an image of the ANC as capable of governing and sophisticated enough to manage a fragmented society with regard for everybody's interests."[43]

The character of the campaign would continue the ANC's tradition of the mass mobilisation, where there was the need to "consistently relate the [election] platform to local issues and demands."[44] Indeed, there was a conscious attempt to link popular, local issues with the election campaign. In a sense, the election campaign would come to be the extension of these local level campaigns. Thus, for example, a campaign for "free political activity" that focussed on "Bophuthatswana , Kwazulu, Ciskei as well as the small towns dominated by the right wing and hostels" occurred under the aegis of the ANC Youth League.[45] Similarly, a second campaign envisioned to be subsumed under the umbrella of the election campaign would be the Asinamali Campaign where "the everyday problems of unemployment, education and lack of housing" were ripe for absorption into a national political campaign.[46]

Identity Politics

Given the scale of apartheid's political and socio-economic dislocation for the majority of South Africans, the utility of the ANC maintaining and "build[ing] the broadest anti-apartheid front" was clear and was the means to "ensure that winning the election [could] be

---

[40] Andrew MacDonald, 'On the Campaign Trail', *Work in Progress*, April/may, 1993, 15

[41] Schrire, *Party Tricks*, 8

[42] African National Congress, Speakers Notes for Election Speech on Peace and Security, Available online: ahttp://www.anc.org.za/ancdocs/speeches/1994/sp940400c.html (accessed 24 March 2009)

[43] African National Congress, 'Framework for Election Strategy: Elections, 1994, South African History Archive, AL 2457 H5.9.1

[44] African National Congress, Elections Strategy Workshop Report, 25-27 September, 6

[45] 'Why Mass Action Must Roll On', *Mayibuye* June, 1993, 13

[46] 'Why Mass Action Must Roll On', 13

equated with the act of achieving liberation."[47] But of crucial import in understanding the nature of this broad-based front is the precise composition of forces that would constitute it. Four options were available to the ANC: that it would contest the election as a singular organisation; that it would participate "with the Alliance", or "with the Alliance plus Patriotic Front Organisations; and finally that it would participate "with the Alliance plus some selected PF organisations, and/or non PF organisations."[48] The popular consensus within the ANC seemed to "favour a form that involves an ANC led campaign, with participation on the basis of ANC symbols, lists etc but which involves the Alliance in an integral way" and where "other parties would be brought on board following bilateral discussion and agreement to participate in an ANC led campaign."[49]

This configuration of forces for the election, however, speaks to an earlier strategic debate on the nature and character of the ANC and the means by which it would enter the transitional and post-apartheid political environment – as a liberation movement or political party. As early as 1991, a discussion paper from the Department of Political Education chartered the ideological and theoretical terrain that this question posed and provided a critical insight into the thinking of the ANC on its political nature and character. For the authors of this paper, the "liberation movement form [was] a more effective strategic weapon" as it allowed the ANC to "retain its broadness and unity" in the pursuance of "its goal of dismantling apartheid and building a democratic state."[50] Such characterisation was also indebted to the ideological premises of the CST thesis, wherein the need to maintain its broad-based identity was of strategic political importance in the phased development of a future socialist reality.[51] Thus, it was argued that the ANC needed to maintain an "identity with 'the people' to represent their aspirations and to involve them in active struggle for the creation of a new nation."[52]

---

[47] African National Congress, Report: National Election Strategy Workshop, 29-31 January 1993, Nelson Mandela Papers: Elections: Reports Box 519 Folder 96, University of Fort Hare Archive, 2; and also 'Framework for Election Strategy'

[48] African National Congress, National Executive Committee Documents, 31 August – 2 September, 1992, Barbara Hogan Collection: South African History Archive, AL3013, 1.6.20-1.6.36, 2

[49] African National Congress, National Executive Committee Documents, 31 August – 2 September,

[50] Department of Political Education, Discussion Paper, 'ANC: National Liberation Movement or Political Party?' September 1991, Barbara Hogan Collection, South African History Archive, AL 3013, 1.3-1.3.24

[51] Rantete, 198-199. The author is apt to note that the ANC had continued to view the prevailing South African situation as conforming the the CST thesis, despite its misreading of the events occurring. The prospect of negotiations was not considered in the CST and significant debate was garnered over its utility in the then political environment. For a strong reading of this, see Rantete, 198-204

[52] Department of Political Education, Discussion Paper, 'ANC: National Liberation Movement or Political Party?' n.p.

Political utility provided further impetus to maintain the movement character of the ANC, in that the 'masses' were essential to its strength both in the current period and under democratic government where transformation will require the mobilisation of the energies of all South Africans."[53] Given the balance of forces of the coalition of groupings that conducted the anti-apartheid struggle, the moral appeal of the ANC ranked highly among the "oppressed people as a whole", as the ANC "is more than a single organisation made up of branches" but rather "stands at the head of a social movement for change."[54] In that specific conjuncture, the appeal to maintaining its mass-based character had further political significance. In moving to a more 'modern' political party form, there would be the commensurate narrowing of focus and the ANC would "be more likely to take more specific and defined positions on policy questions" and not allow for the "winning of demands in the transition as well as to reconstruction and ongoing participation in a future South Africa."[55] The result of this, it continued, would be the manifestation of "tension" among the various alliance formations and the numerous "class interests and political tendencies" that constitute the ANC.[56] To this end the ANC would be weakened by the Nationalist Party agenda to formally institutionalise the movement. Such institutionalisation influences the particular manner in which electoral participation occurs. The ANC, in its estimation, argued that,

> The existing political parties in South Africa are modelled on Western democratic lines, where the party apparatus is geared almost exclusively to contesting elections. The party keeps lists of voters in each constituency and while it does recruit members, more attention is paid to recruiting voters. At the time of elections, voters are sent literature and visited by party workers and volunteers, more as a public relations exercise than a political one where real issues are debated. Public meetings are held in each constituency and the mass media is used to popularise party positions. This process takes place every five years and is generally the only opportunity for voters to hear from or possibly influence their member of parliament. Elected representatives then disappear and are involved in the formulation of policy and decision making,

---

[53] Department of Political Education, Discussion Paper, 'ANC: National Liberation Movement or Political Party?'n.p.
[54] Department of Political Education, Discussion Paper, 'ANC: National Liberation Movement or Political Party?', n.p.
[55] Department of Political Education, Discussion Paper, 'ANC: National Liberation Movement or Political Party?', n.p.
[56] Department of Political Education, Discussion Paper, 'ANC: National Liberation Movement or Political Party?, n.p.

without active participation of the people. It is even accepted practice for MPs to cross the floor and change parties while representing the same constituency.[57]

The ANC was keen to set itself apart from both the practice and conceptualisation of political party engagement in elections. Indeed, one of the overriding objectives of its continued subscription to its liberation movement character was that "grassroots" participation and the involvement of "the people" in policy formation would remain.[58] Further, "the mobilisation of people for elections must extend beyond the elections themselves to mobilising people for the process of national liberation in general" where "[T]he securing of a democratic constitution and democratic elections is the starting point of this process and opens the way for the social transformation and the continual deepening of democracy entailed in national liberation."[59]

Emerging Contours of the Campaign

While mass mobilisation and general people-driven campaigns for liberation would certainly have the effect of popularising the ANC, there was the concern that its representational capacity ran at a deficit. At least at the provincial level, there was the admission that a "failing of the ANC [was] that our propaganda has been weak – we do not have the capacity to produce large scale propaganda at national and local level."[60] Importantly, the ANC was aware that despite having a professionally run campaign, the textures of its marketing needed to be located within the masses. Indeed, it was tellingly noted that "[We] can't give our campaign to an advertising agency because they we'll lose the mass character of our campaign on the ground."[61] As will be shown below, the ANC managed to successfully combine both mass and professional marketing to obtain a nuanced representational character to its campaign. However, and despite this admission, there was a representational repository

---

[57] Department of Political Education, Discussion Paper, 'ANC: National Liberation Movement or Political Party?, n.p.
[58] Department of Political Education, Discussion Paper, 'ANC: National Liberation Movement or Political Party?, n.p.
[59] Department of Political Education, Discussion Paper, 'ANC: National Liberation Movement or Political Party?, n.p. At its 1997, National Conference, the ANC addressed the issue of the identity of the movement again, and while recognizing that the need to professionalise its capacity, especially at times of elections, this would not detract from its overarching personality as a liberation movement – its character "determined by the nature of the core tasks that confront the national democratic revolution (NDR)" see, African National Congress, 'The Character of the ANC', Discussion Document, 50th National Conference Available online: http://www.anc.org.za/show.php?id=2026 (accessed 12 May 2009). The shifting between identities of the ANC has informed its post-1994 political culture, as will be demonstrated in the chapters that follow.
[60] African National Congress, PWV Region, Commission on Election Strategy, Election Strategy Workshop, 3
[61] African National Congress, PWV Region, Commission on Election Strategy, Election Strategy Workshop, 3

that the ANC could draw on. Indeed, from the time of its unbanning in 1990, the propaganda political programme provided guidelines on the creation of leaflets that would present "[D]ay-to-day issues at national, regional and local levels" and sought the best means to convey the idea on the "[I]ssue of political power" in addition to sending targeted messages to a highly stratified constituency which included "workers; rural and Bantustan communities; residents of squatter camps; enemy armed forces; intelligentsia; whites; youth; women; [and the] religious community in its variety."[62] In providing more content, its pamphlets would seek to provide information on "What is the ANC", which would include a "brief history [and] basic policy positions" and the outlines of a "people's economic policy" amongst others.[63]

As the election preparations gathered momentum, the ANC required a representational strategy that would promote unity in its mass base. As noted, the objective of this strategy was to accord the campaign resonance with the concerns and deprivations in the everyday life of the marginalised. As a result, these concerns and deprivations were crystallised in a bank of slogans highlighted in its Programme of Action. These were,

PEACE, FREEDOM AND THE VOTE!

JOBS, HOUSES AND EDUCATION FOR ALL!

LAND, JOBS AND EDUCATION FOR ALL!

INTERIM GOVERNMENT AND THE CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY NOW!

Prefaced by the phrase, "Working together…" to assert both the mobilisation imperative required of the task at hand and the unity of social forces that constituted the democratic movement, the broadness of these slogans were, as noted above, criticised for inculcating a sense of 'creative ambiguity' in the policy positions adopted by the ANC.

---

[62] Draft Propaganda Political Programme, 1990, Barbara Hogan Collection: South African History Archive, University of the Witwatersrand, AL3013, 1.3.1-1.3.24 , 6
[63] Draft Propaganda Political Programme, 1990, 7
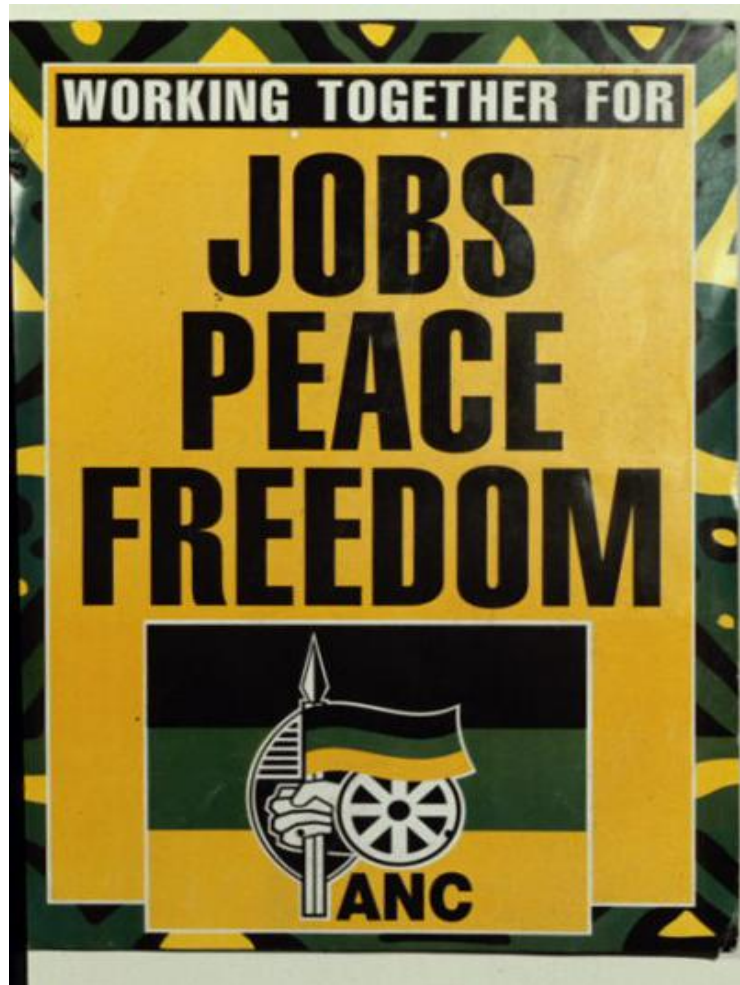
Figure 13: An example of a campaign Poster, Mayibuye Archive, SE2-1-16

On the one hand, the slogans highlighted the immediate demands of the ANC's core constituency at the time of the election. On the other, as a representational device, the slogans sought to capture the content of the history of struggle against apartheid and continue the narrative teleology of projecting the future vision of South Africa as one premised on the fundamental prescriptions of the Charter. Indeed, through this ideological device, the campaign would be able to "vigorously assert the humanistic and democratic value of the ANC, its unbroken record of principled struggle and it[s] vision of the future and its commitment."[64] The abiding belief that the general prescriptions of the Freedom Charter could be used as a catch-all device to "project an image of inspiration and hope for all South Africans" and in so doing provide a vision to address the legacy of socio-economic ills

---

[64] African National Congress, 'Programme of Action' n.d., Miscellaneous: South African History Archive, University of the Witwatersrand, AL2457, 5.3.5,

172

plaguing South Africa, was impractical. In his recent memoir reflecting on the ANC's campaign, American pollster and consultant Stanley Greenberg noted that the ANC,

> […] presumed issues came organically out of the history of the ANC and its charter through elaborate deliberations. But a campaign can't champion every issue. At the very least, polling can help it decide which issues matter most. Further, what issues the campaign embraces and the battle lines it draws determines who gets mobilized and can be persuaded to support the campaign.[65]

It would take some time, however, before the ANC would narrow its campaign strategy. Indeed, designating 1993 as the year of "Votes for All", its capacities were directed to organisational development and the "conversion of [the] organisational machinery to undertake a strenuous election campaign."[66] In January of that year, the outlines of the content of election manifesto were tabled in a confidential national election strategy workshop. In addition to addressing issues on the "form and content of the democracy" that was envisaged, the document also intimated the close proximity of the relationship between the ANC and its Alliance partners. Thinking on the redress of the qualitative socio-economic content of the manifesto would be informed by the Reconstruction Accord developed by the trade union movement.[67] The final policy considerations that would emerge in the final version as the RDP, and its impact in informing the political culture of the ANC will be discussed more critically in chapter six. But for the present purposes, it is important to note that the Accord would comprise the contours of the RDP and was "seen as setting out the framework within which organisations of the poor and working people [would] reconstruct the economy in the future."[68] It was further asserted, and instructive for understanding the association between the alliance partners, that the Reconstruction Accord would inform the economic policy content of the ANC manifesto by "offering practical and concrete solutions to the serious problems of jobs, education and health care."[69]

---

[65] Stanley B. Greenberg, *Dispatches from the War Room: In the Trenches With Five Extraordinary Leaders* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 2009), 111-112

[66] African National Congress, 'Get Ready for Democratic Votes For All', Programme of Action: ANC PWV Region, January, 1993, full reference not available

[67] African National Congress, Report: National Election Strategy Workshop, 29-31 January 1993, 5

[68] Cosatu's Proposal for a Reconstruction Accord, Second Draft, January 1993 appended to African National Congress, 'Get Ready for Democratic Votes For All', Programme of Action: ANC PWV Region, January, 1993, 8

[69] Cosatu's Proposal for a Reconstruction Accord, Second Draft, January 1993 appended to African National Congress, 'Get Ready for Democratic Votes For All', Programme of Action: ANC PWV Region, January, 1993, 9

Representing the ANC

By mid-1993, the ANC was confident of its ability to "tackle the election campaign", despite the fact the organisational constraints remained. [70] In an interview with ANC chief election coordinator Popo Molefe, it was noted that these issues included,

> [...] consolidation of [the] structures at local level, consolidation of task teams at national level, the setting up and finalisation of the process of setting up sub-regional offices […] But we do believe that the amount of work that we have done, and the ideas that we have developed to prepare for that election date, have reached a fairly advanced stage.[71]

Its publicity capacity had already been put into action, given that the "media was one of the most important organising tasks in the ANC" for the election.[72] Indeed, in underlining the seriousness of the role of media, but also with a hint of jest, it was argued that,

> [M]edia is our weapon. So we must use it carefully, we must make every round count. We must sure we hit our target (and that we don't shoot ourselves in the foot!)[73]

With the overarching aim of "produc[ing] media that speaks directly to the people at local level," activists were encouraged to utilise a range of publicity techniques ranging from more creative and artistic forms of expression such as graffiti to the more conventional, such as posters, banners and pamphlets.[74] While the former was seen as "the most effective form of communication in urban areas," the latter, especially banners, gave "the ANC 'presence.'"[75]

It was clear early on that one of the greatest weapons in the ANC's media arsenal would be the "personality of its greatest human asset, Nelson Mandela."[76] Certainly, the adept "exploitation" of Mandela allowed him to "personify to many, moderation and pragmatism

---

[70] Dumisani Nkabinde, 'Is the ANC Ready? Treading the Campaign Trail' *Mayibuye* August, 1993, 10
[71] Nkabinde, 11
[72] African National Congress, PWV Media Committee, 'Taking It To The Streets: A Simple Guide To Making ANC Media', March 1993, Barbara Hogan Collection: South African History Archive, AL3013, 1.1.1-1.1.15
[73] African National Congress, PWV Media Committee, 'Taking It To The Streets: A Simple Guide To Making ANC Media', 4
[74] African National Congress, PWV Media Committee, 'Taking It To The Streets: A Simple Guide To Making ANC Media', 4-5
[75] African National Congress, PWV Media Committee, 'Taking It To The Streets: A Simple Guide To Making ANC Media', 5
[76] Schrire, 'Party Tricks', 9

married to loyalty to ANC traditions."[77] While more critical examination of this occurs in subsequent chapters, evidence of the centrality of Mandela is observed in a range of publicity materials. In *'A Personal Appeal'*, a high-quality publication used for fundraising purposes, the frontispiece is watermarked by the fundamental clauses of the Freedom Charter and overlain with a quote by Nelson Mandela stating, "[T]his is the most urgent appeal I have ever made for support in the struggle for and democracy in South Africa."[78] The "essence of the appeal" lay in the need to secure sufficient financial capacity and a narrowing of the resource deficit to allow for a "free and fair" election contest with the National Party and thus give effect to a truly "legitimate democracy."[79] As a highly stylised piece of support and mobilisation media, the emotive use of popular artworks with revolutionary slogans and the inclusion of photographs of prominent ANC leaders served to link the traditions of popular struggle and history with a sophisticated and capable projection of the ANC as a legitimate governing party. Moreover, as a 'personal appeal' by Mandela to the reader, a 'bond of intimacy was created and the reader would obtain a sense of ownership in the overall campaign, as well as a contribution to the making of a democratic South Africa.

While it has been demonstrated that a mass-based and popular campaign, headed by the ANC, would be undertaken, the impetus for a concerted and focused publicity and marketing campaign was born out of the results of a series of polls that were conducted in the early stages of the campaign. The utility of the information obtained from polling was noted by Greenberg above, and the ANC itself came to understand the importance of such information in informing the overarching narrative of the ANC's election campaign.[80] Between October 1992 and July 1993, the ANC conducted three focus groups of "swing voters", a "preliminary national survey of 2000 respondents", and a third with 8000 respondents.[81] Similarly, the views and opinions from 'People's Forums' were also obtained, as well as "a survey of 1800 people among Coloureds in the Western Cape, Africans in Natal and Africans in the PWV."[82] The results are illuminating. National support for the ANC stood within a 54-58 percentage point range and while there was an increase in Coloured support for the ANC in the Western Cape, there had been "even larger growth" in support among this group for the National

---

[77] Schrire, 'Party Tricks', 9

[78] 'A Personal Appeal', full reference not available, 1

[79] 'A Personal Appeal', 3

[80] See for example 'The ANC Strategy for the Constituent Assembly Elections', Nelson Mandela Papers: Elections, University of Fort Hare Archive, Box319 Folder 92, n.p.

[81] Lodge, 'The African National Congress and Its Allies,' 27-28.

[82] Document entitled, 'Confidential – Please Treat With Absolute Caution', Nelson Mandela Papers: Elections, Reports, University of Fort Hare Archive, Box 321 Folder 106, n.p.

Party. [83] While "support amongst African voters is solid [at 75 percent]" there were a large number of Indian and Coloured cohorts that could be characterised as "Uncommitted Voters," with this lack of commitment premised on the belief that the ANC would "bring mismanagement", "associated [the ANC] with political violence" and were "apprehensive about its links with SACP."[84] The spatial location of these two groups – Coloureds in the Western Cape and Indians in Natal – informed the tailored electoral campaigns that were required in these two provinces. This will be discussed subsequently. Despite the overt focus on the targeting of women during the struggle that was discussed previously, the profile of the ANC's weakest supporters was "female, rural and less educated."[85] In counterpoint, the "target constituencies" were "overwhelmingly Black (African, Coloured and Indian), working class, in urban and rural areas, 53 percent women, with some religious affiliation, but politically un-organised."[86] While rural support for the ANC remained "a matter of speculation", there was nevertheless "strong identification with Mandela" which would it was hoped, "indicate a similar level of support for the ANC."[87] The ANC brand in this campaign would revolve around the personality of Mandela. As the embodiment of historical associations with the venerability of the struggle against apartheid – mythologised strategically by the ANC – Mandela's cross-demographic appeal provided the ANC with an important campaign asset. As shown in figure fourteen, the ANC's iconic poster of Mandela's smiling visage framed by the colours of the ANC sought to communicate a simple, clear message of Mandela's popularity as the 'people's choice ' for President.[88] Indeed, the decision for Mandela to front the ANC's campaign was premised on the fact that "no other ANC leaders had comparable stature among swing voters."[89]

---

[83] Confidential - 'Please Treat With Absolute Caution', n.p.
[84] Confidential - 'Please Treat With Absolute Caution', n.p; and Lodge, 'The African National Congress and Its Allies,' 28
[85] Lodge, 'The African National Congress and It's Allies,' 28
[86] 'The ANC Strategy for the Constituent Assembly Elections', n.p.
[87] 'The ANC Strategy for the Constituent Assembly Elections', n.p.
[88] This iconic status was revealed by the fact that as of mid-2011, these poster could still be purchased online from the ANC website.
[89] Lodge, 'The African National Congress and Its Allies,' 28
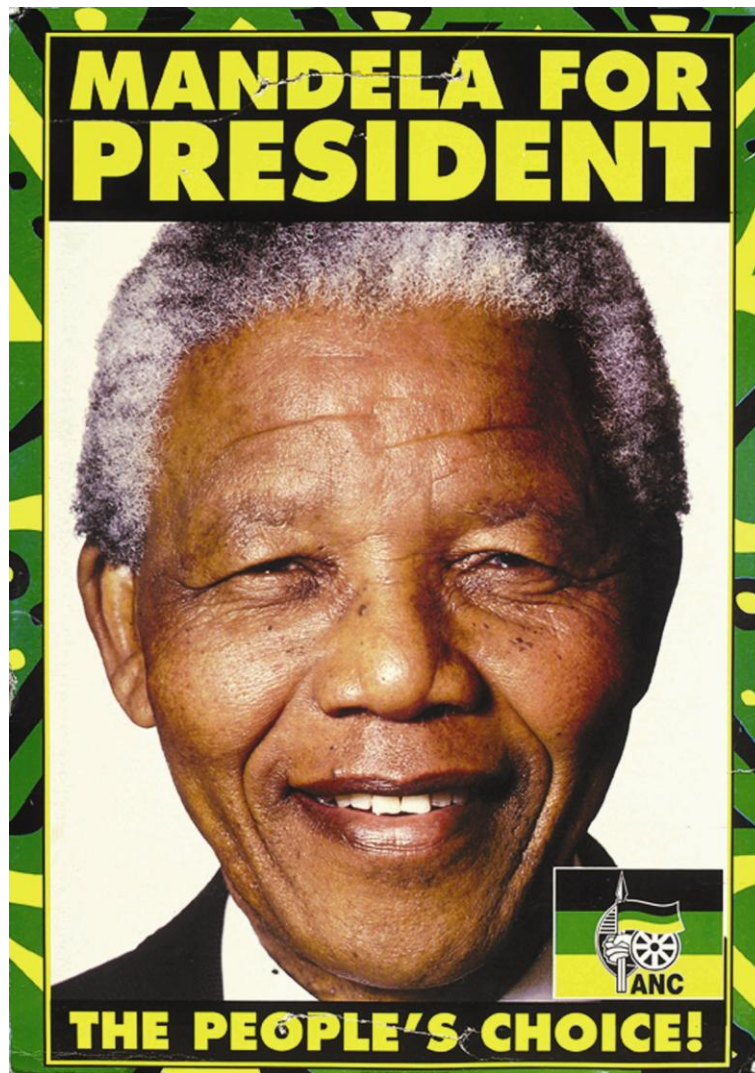
Figure 14: The 'iconic' election poster, Mayibuye Archive, L 061

Further, and to augment the position of the ANC and secure 'buy-in' from all targeted sections of the electorate, the party list process also became an important political variable in marketing the democratic foundations of the movement. Indeed, the motivation was to ensure "a breadth of appeal such as not to jeopardise our principal support base while winning support among those sectors of the population who have an interest in democracy and have traditionally supported the democratic movement."[90] Mandela's appeal also lay in his construction as the emergent South African nation's patriarch, the embodiment of reconciliation and the instigator of notions of 'rainbowism' – a symbolic device utilised to celebrate the multi-racial and multi-cultural sense of nationhood in a 'new' South Africa. More than that, the imagery that the ANC utilised also evoked ideas of a peaceful and

---

[90] 'The ANC Strategy for Constituent Assembly Elections', n.p.

177

hopeful future characterised by non-racialism, non-sexism and diversity. These themes are aptly captured in figure eighteen below.

The continuation of the historical ties with the Alliance partners, headed by the ANC, was also secured through the process where the list would be "reflective of ANC policies and policy objectives, which is rooted in the tri-partite alliance but leaves no doubt of the ANC's leading position."[91] More than this, the breadth of the list came to include representatives from a range of "spheres" such as "celebrities which boast of such diverse fields as musicians, actors, runners to church leaders, workers and academics."[92] The emphasis on a bottom-up approach to informing the list was an important consideration for the ANC, and there was a conscious attempt to emphasise through the list that "the ANC government should be representative of the people as a whole – just as the ANC has always been a broad national liberation movement."[93]

 In fulfilling its marketing function, reports in the ANC's periodical, *Mayibuye*, suggested that given the breadth of candidates selected, the "ANC was represented as a true rainbow coalition, bringing together an enormous range of South Africans and giving it a strong claim to represent most of the country, and not any single racial or class interest group" and securing the enduring vision of a non-racial and non-sexist South Africa.[94] It is of significance here that the "grassroots" focus of list process formed part of the "self-emancipation" initiative of the ANC, and the conscious concern that

> […] the list must avoid the temptation to project an ANC which will be all things to all people. The movement's basic character as an instrument of the people engaged in struggle and not a slick electoral machine, must be clearly visible. Our greatest strength is our track record of militant and consistent struggle for democracy. We should avoid the temptation to make our movement look and behave like the established political parties through we must take on board some of the universally applicable electioneering practices they are accustomed to.[95]

---

[91] 'The ANC Strategy for Constituent Assembly Elections', n.p
[92] 'The Pain and Pleasure of Democracy' *Mayibuye*, February, (1994), 13
[93] 'The Pain and Pleasure of Democracy', 14
[94] 'The Pain and Pleasure of Democracy', 14, and also 'The ANC Strategy for Constituent Assembly Elections', n.p
[95] 'The ANC Strategy for Constituent Assembly Elections', n.p.

If the list process, in addition to its obvious political function, served as a marketing and publicity device, then the message that would capture the essence of the ANC's electoral platform was also imperative. The overarching aim was to maintain its teleological purview and hence there was a need to inculcate a "consisten[cy] with our principles and our past" and to ensure that the content of its representational strategy "conveys that we have a vision and a plan for the future and confidence in our capacity to deliver as well as a vision which empowers ordinary people".[96] To counter the perception of the 'creative ambiguity' that critics had noted, there was a determined effort to ensure "credibility" by "providing specific and concrete programmes on issues such as Peace and Jobs in the main, but Education and Housing to a lesser extent."[97]

Figure 15: Campaign poster, Mayibuye Archive, SE 2-3-20

---

[96] Confidential - 'Please Treat With Absolute Caution', n.p
[97] Confidential - 'Please Treat With Absolute Caution', n.p

Further, given the tenuous support that the ANC held amongst minority groups, there was a drive to "[R]eassure voters that addressing the needs and expectations of the majority does not threaten [the] living standards of others" and that confidence in the ANC could be predicated on its self-characterisation as "trustworthy", "consistent", "non-racial and non-sexist", and "inclusive."[98] Finally, the content of the message would need to be premised on the idea of "contrasts": where the ANC would stand for "hope", "have a plan" and "be for all the people", the National Party would come to "represent despair", have little or no plan, and be narrow and exclusivist.[99]

As such, the pillars of the ANC's message would be numerous, but would revolve around specific economic issues such as "job creation, a living wage, rural development and tax policy."[100] A second theme related to "basic needs" which would include access to "housing, education, water and electricity and pensions and health."[101] Given the political milieu at the time, "peace" became a central theme of the ANC's message tableau, even more than freedom. Moreover, peace would be linked to both "jobs and economic growth."[102] The plight of women formed another pillar of the ANC's message, and noting their importance as a constituency of "undecided voters" it became imperative to address "their main problems", which included "equality in pay, rights and decision-making as well as an answer to abuse."[103] Two other telling prescriptions sought to underwrite the ANC messaging. The first was a rejection of a negative mode of campaigning and that "focusing on the past would not be effective."[104] The second, and more enduring position, was that the overall tenor of the campaign would insist on the notion of self-empowerment in which 'people would be their own liberators' and where "the people will be given the opportunities and the environment in which they can do things for themselves."[105]

'Going to the People'

The message would be deployed through a series of spectacles that constituted a campaign that would "generate an 'election fever', with rallies, barn-storming and all the razz-ma-tazz

---

[98]. Confidential - 'Please Treat With Absolute Caution', n.p
[99] Confidential - 'Please Treat With Absolute Caution', n.p
[100] Confidential - 'Please Treat With Absolute Caution', n.p
[101] Confidential - 'Please Treat With Absolute Caution', n.p
[102] Confidential - 'Please Treat With Absolute Caution', n.p
[103] Confidential - 'Please Treat With Absolute Caution', n.p
[104] Confidential - 'Please Treat With Absolute Caution', n.p
[105] Confidential - 'Please Treat With Absolute Caution', n.p

of elections to create a bandwagon effect"[106] The campaign in this sense was seen as a vehicle to "create a climate of anticipation and popular feeling that the movement's campaign is unstoppable so that waverers (sic) are convinced to join the winning side."[107] Strategy was turned into practice. In what was described by Pallo Jordan, the head of the Department of Information and Publicity, as "a typical American election jamboree", the ANC's campaign commenced with the requisite 'razz-ma-tazz' that was anticipated.[108] A series of public spectacles marked the campaign, the most pertinent of which was the 'People's Forum' – an 'experiment' in participatory democracy which allowed access to ANC leaders by the electorate through staged public meetings in which attendants were able to express their views, concerns and demands directly to these leaders.

Figure 16: Two examples of posters for the People's Forums obtained from the Mayibuye Archive, SE2-2-10 (Afrikaans) and SE2-2-11 (English)

The marketing function of these forums is clear, but at a political level, they also served to inculcate a sense of proximity of the ANC to the electorate, not only as a campaign tactic, but also as a possible longer term mode of governance. Indeed, "[as] a form of participation (sic) democracy we think we have pioneered something which could be institutionalised in the

---

[106] 'The ANC Strategy for the Constituent Assembly Elections', n.p.
[107] 'The ANC Strategy for the Constituent Assembly Elections', n.p.
[108] Billy Paddock, 'ANC Plans US-Style Campaign Jamboree' *Business Day*, 21 January 1994

future, both as a measure to encourage interaction between government and the people, and as a form of accountability.[109] More than that, the People's Forums were also used as a device to recall a tradition of participation and democracy in the policy making process and allowed for a "reassert[ion] of the basic character of the ANC, namely that it is a people's-based liberation movement."[110] The publicising of the forums, as evidence by the posters in figure sixteen, demonstrate the organic, bottom-up process of consultation through the hand-drawn illustrations while at the same, show the ANC's professionalism in targeting its message to different constituents.[111]

These themes have further resonance in much of the ANC's publicity material. In its *Door-to-Door Work Canvassing Manual*, party activists are implored to,

Go to the people,

live with them,

learn with them,

love them…

Start with what they know,

build on what they have…

…but of the best activists,

when their work is done,

our people should say…

"We have done it ourselves"[112]

This instructional media, while playing an important role in according agency to the 'people as their own liberators', serves to also inculcate the 'liberatory' act of elections themselves while linking the process of activism with the struggle for apartheid. The manual continues to

---

[109] Pallo Jordan quoted in Paddock, 'ANC Plans US-Style Campaign Jamboree'. However, at a provincial level, the actual 'participatory' nature of the forums were less clear. Instead, it was noted that "[M]ost people's firms have taken the form of rallies, not targeted at any particular voter groups." African National Congress, 'Assessment of Phase One of the Election Campaign' Nelson Mandela Paper, University of Fort Hare Archive, Box 321 Folder 104, no date

[110] Interview with Nelson Mandela, 'Year of Liberation if…we work harder', 9

[111] The poster on the right is targeted to housewives ("huisvroue") in the Coloured township of Manenberg in Cape Town, while the poster on the left on informal housing is directed at people in Khayelitsha, a black informal settlement in Cape Town.

[112] African National Congress, *Door-to-Door Work Canvassing Manual*, Jean de la Harpe Collection: South African History Archive, C.1.1 It is interesting to note that this manual was used by activists and supporters of the ANC, the Mass Democratic Movement and the Alliance, all falling under the banner as the ANC, as was its stated objective.

prevail upon activists that they "will be the ANC to the people you meet", and that "[T]he ANC needs every canvasser to do his/her duty with the same heroism and commitment that we used to defeat the regime."[113] This bottom-up approach to political canvassing harks back to an earlier tradition of community involvement that characterised the popular struggles and the declaration as early as 1990 by the then constituted UDF that "all mass formations [...] engage in a door-to-door education campaign on policies [...] of the ANC."[114] Moreover, there was an active strategy to use "street committees to act as sites of recruitment for [the] ANC" so as to "intensify propoganda (sic) on the ANC."[115] Inculcating this emotive belief in the both grassroots activists and the targeted constituency was, however, conjoined to a highly analytical and programmatic set of policies that served to entrench the seriousness of the ANC's vision for a democratic South Africa. This found strategic expression in a number of its print advertisements. Such seriousness sought to instil the belief that the "[T]he ANC already has its policy. Their campaign is based on fundamental principles, developed through years of struggle."[116] Indeed, the emphasis of its representational strategy would focus on a confidence-inducing, positive campaign that would be issues-based.

Towards a Better Life for All

In an interview, Trevor Manual, then the head of the ANC's economics department noted,

> We are trying to campaign on a positive note and that's been the instruction all the way through. The campaign is going to be about issues of policy and that is the predominant feature of our campaign. I haven't seen that in the campaign of any other party [...].[117]

Under the supervision of American consultants Frank Greer and Stanley Greenberg, the primary task of the campaign was to utilise the historical bank of ANC policies and "fine tune the message, to discipline it, and synthesise it."[118] Given the centrality of newspapers in informing public opinion, the reach of the print advertising campaign made it an important mode of discursive representation for the ANC. Indeed, the strategy formed part of the

---

[113] African National Congress, *Door-to-Door Work Canvassing Manual*,1
[114] United Democratic Front, 'The Future of the UDF' ,UDF Collection – National, South African History Archive, AL2431, Box 1, no date
[115] United Democratic Front, 'The Future of the UDF'
[116] Frank Greer quoted in Mark Gevisser, 'Clinton's Men on the ANC Campaign Trail', *Weekly Mail*, February 25 to March 3 1994, 10
[117] 'Upliftment for All...', *The Argus* 4 March 1994, 17
[118] Frank Greer quoted in Gevisser, 'Clinton's Men on the ANC Campaign Trail', 10

ANC's attempt to campaign positively, in counterpoint to the NP, and newspaper advertisements were "filled with almost impossible quantities of text."[119] According to Frank Greer, the rationale for text-laden advertisements was to communicate a reality in which the ANC was represented as being "a party [that has] thought about solutions to South Africa's problems and that they have been willing to present that in a plan […] Even if you don't read or can't read the details […] you get the message: the ANC has a plan, it's serious."[120] Serving then also as a mechanism to entrench confidence in the ANC's ability to govern, the symbolic thrust of the newspaper advertisements allowed for the "shaping of voters' perceptions and giving candidates' records and their vision for the future."[121]

By projecting the idea of a serious policy vision for the future, the ANC was able to fulfil its stated campaign objective of needing to "vigorously assert the humanistic and democratic value of the ANC, its unbroken record of principled struggle and it[s] vision for the future and its commitment to peace [and] the ANC must project an image of inspiration and hope for all South Africans."[122] Such a strategy was driven as much by expediency as it was by sentiment. Despite strong support among African voters, such support was qualified and appropriate marketing and campaigning, especially among the Indian and Coloured, but also among the African electorate, was necessary. Further, given the exigencies of political violence in South Africa in the early 1990s, it is clear that the ANC needed to project an image of "hope [as] the core emotion which contrasts with the prevailing mood of fear and despondency among South Africa's swing voters."[123] Indeed, it was noted that "[F]ear is an all pervasive emotion among the African swing voters. It is growing among the Indians. Africans in particular see violence in their daily lives."[124] Thus, by casting itself "as the party of hope", the ANC would position itself suitably to win over these uncommitted voters.

---

[119] Frank Greer quoted in Gevisser, 'Clinton's Men on the ANC Campaign Trail', 10. The focus on newspaper here is interesting, given the ANC's knowledge that 'ethnic' radio was the primary means by which the vast majority (up to 75 percent) "the Black population" found "easiest to understand", entertaining, and informative. This is compared with newspapers which on the same indicators scored only 14 percent. The preponderance of ANC newspaper advertisements in English and Afrikaans text could indicate a deliberate emphasis on the class and racial aspects of the swing voter. See SABC Critical Mass, 'Ranking of Media by South African Blacks', in African National Congress, Elections Strategy Workshop Report, 25-27 September, 18

[120] Frank Greer quoted in Gevisser, 'Clinton's Men on the ANC Campaign Trail', 10

[121] Julian Ovsiowitz quoted in Marika Sboros, 'Campaign Run as a Military Exercise,' *The Star*, February 16 1994, 13. For the ANC perspective, see also African National Congress, ANC Election Campaign for a Constituent Assembly 1992-1993: Proposal for Funding', Jean De La Harpe Collection, South African History Archive, AL2921, B2.1.1, 10

[122] African National Congress, 'Programme of Action', 3

[123] Booysen and Charney, 6

[124] Booysen and Charney, 6

The discussion above has demonstrated how, strategically and variously, the ANC sought to embody the meaning of 'hope' for the electorate through the emphasis on 'liberating' all South Africans from the uncertainty and conditions of 'daily life'. Indeed, I have argued thus far that 'liberation' in a broad sense, came to crystallise around the idea of socio-economic upliftment in response to apartheid deprivation. While keen to assert the contours of liberation, the election was still seen as a contest between democracy and apartheid and came to be captured in the slogan 'Now Is the Time.' But it is evident too, that a shift had occurred and by the end of 1993, the ANC was keen to assert the 'visionary' content of the election campaign.

Figure 17: An early campaign poster, Mayibuye Archive, SE 2-9-20

The shift in its discourse – from a contest between apartheid and democracy to the projection of the future South Africa – was informed by another instrumental movement that had occurred, namely, the adoption of the slogan 'A Better Life for All.'[125] In his memoirs of the 1994 election campaign, Stanley Greenberg notes the popularity and utility of the 'Now Is the Time' slogan by writing that it "had been taken up as a chant, identical in Zulu and Xhosa languages that animated the rallies."[126] More than that, that problem of the slogan lay in the fact that it "seemed […] to tell the whole history of repression and black exclusion and to

---

[125] Greenberg, 127
[126] Greenberg, 127

define the vote as an act of liberation."[127] The slogan essentially captured the thrust of the election as being about the past. Given the number of voters still open to persuasion across racial and class strata, an open and more inclusive slogan would have greater resonance. In focus group interviews, this materialised. Noting such, Greenberg has argued

> […] we sat with […] about ten others behind the glass watching a group of African voters talk about their lives, then the election, and finally the slogans […] "Now Is the Time" was okay but did not light up the room. For sure, it was about power and freedom, for themselves, but after more than three years of frustration, the slogan did nothing to dispel the despondency. Putting the final nail in the coffin of apartheid was not enough. Will our lives really change? Will a new government bring an end to violence? But "A Better Life for All" and the other slogans about the future lifted the spirits in the room. It was as if someone gave them permission to hope for something better […] and when we conducted the same exercise with Coloureds in Cape Town, they went even further: maybe the ANC would be inclusive, for all communities, maybe it could control its own supporters and wanted peace, maybe it could unify the country. [128]

As a rhetorical device, there was now a certitude with which the ANC could champion both the 'liberatory' content of its election campaign while still maintaining the dynamic future vision. We see an example of the implementation of this device in the following slogans,

Now is the time to end the carnage

Now is the time to stop the terror

Now is the time for change, the time for peace

Now is the time for a better life for all[129]

It would be incorrect to assume that the aspiration of 'a better life' did not inform the earlier ethos of the ANC's campaign. Strategy documents indicate that already the ideas of 'a better

---

[127] Greenberg, 127
[128] Greenberg, 127
[129] African National Congress, 'Speakers Notes for Election Speech on Peace and Security', Available online at http://www.anc.org.za/ancdocs/speeches/1994/sp940400c.html, (accessed 24 March 2009)

life' premised on access to adequate "housing, education, social services" were very much part of the ANC's conception of liberation in late 1992.[130] Crystallising this idea and projecting the vision for South Africa, however, was accorded greater emphasis, as noted, through the election process.
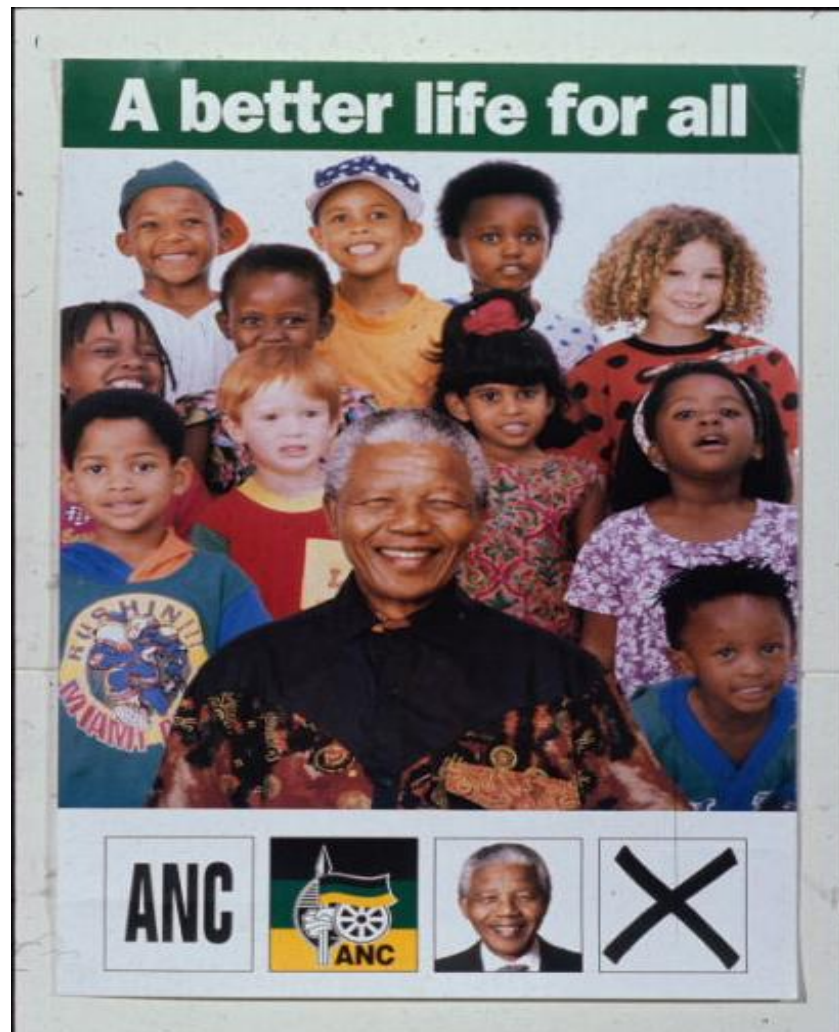
Figure 18: Campaign poster, Mayibuye Archive, 2-1-6

Regional Variation: The Western Cape

While significant uncertainty existed amongst the electorate across class, race and gender variables, the confidence-inducing narrative turn by the ANC also had a more pointed political utility. Indeed, this 'pointedness' at projecting itself as the harbinger of change and hope in a future South Africa would not only serve a broader national agenda, but would also find political utility in the highly contested microcosms of the Western Cape and Natal. I

---

[130] African National Congress, Elections Strategy Workshop Report, 25-27 September, 21

focus here on the former. Starting from the premise that the ANC needed to exude a "confidence" in its "ability to win the elections decisively" and demonstrate "a capacity to govern", it was an imperative that an ANC victory in the Western Cape would "enable a democratic government to govern in the interest of all our people."[131] In this sense and highlighting the consistency in its overarching vision, the "non-racial democracy" that the ANC sought to entrench in South Africa would allow for the "possibility of fundamental transformation of our society to achieve social and economic justice for all."[132] The strategic imperative of the campaign in the Western Cape was based on winning 'Coloured' support – by the ANC's own estimations it would obtain only 16 percent of "support from this community" that constitutes "the majority of people living in the Western Cape."[133] Having already established and "mobilised the maximum support […] among African voters", the Coloured community represented a crucial tipping point in not only securing the province, but also affording the ANC the coveted two-thirds majority at a national level.[134] The low levels of support for the ANC in the region, while historically based, also had organisational roots and part of the election campaign was to "mobilize, recruit and organise masses of our people into the ANC [as] a strong, well-organised ANC is essential to both victory at the polls and also to ensure that we are in a position to meet the challenges of the post election period."[135] Such organisation would be driven by the process of strengthening branch-level structures – "the main engine for the campaign" – and would serve to mobilise "and ensure contact with the grassroots."[136]

Early into its regional campaign strategising, the ANC recognised the immense propaganda onslaught that would be undertaken by the NP in this region in particular, and maintained that it would "at all costs […] present a consistent image based on the ANC's commitment to Freedom, Justice and Equality for all."[137] Noting that a targeted message was necessary for

---

[131] African National Congress, Elections Strategy Workshop Report, 29-31 January, 32, and African National Congress, ANC Leads To Freedom, ANC Western Cape, Draft Regional Election Strategy, 28 April 1992, Barbara Hogan Collection, South African History Archive, AL 3013 Box 9, 2

[132] African National Congress, ANC Leads To Freedom, ANC Western Cape, Draft Regional Election Strategy, 2

[133] African National Congress, ANC Leads To Freedom, ANC Western Cape, Draft Regional Election Strategy, 3. It is important to note that the ANC relied on second hand polling and government population statistics when arriving at this conclusion

[134] Confidential - 'Please Treat With Absolute Caution', n.p.

[135] African National Congress, ANC Leads To Freedom, ANC Western Cape, Draft Regional Election Strategy, 2

[136] African National Congress, ANC Leads To Freedom, ANC Western Cape, Draft Regional Election Strategy, 6

[137] African National Congress, ANC Leads To Freedom, ANC Western Cape, Draft Regional Election Strategy, 5

each community, there was nevertheless the acknowledgement that it was necessary to project an image of the ANC "which reflects real concern and commitment to resolve the bread and butter issues" which would "be built via active struggle on the ground in the weeks and months leading up to election day."[138] The core image then would be seek to cast "the ANC as the organization leading South Africa to Freedom, as the one organization capable of bringing lasting peace and security for all."[139] For the ANC, the provision of a coherent and consistent narrative of inclusivity in counterpoint to misperceptions exacerbated by NP propaganda was imperative. Thabo Mbeki, the then national chairperson of the ANC, noted as much in an interview arguing that,

> I suppose like everywhere else, part of the problem we are contending with is that we are inheriting apartheid past and clearly some racial divisions in this region. There you have particular perceptions which are wrong in substance but they are there and they influence people's decision-making. You might get some sentiment among some Africans that because we got Allan Boesak as our provincial premier, we might then prefer coloureds when we propose provincial policies. Or you might get someone saying that the ANC is after all an African organisation and therefore it could mean that the coloureds would be discriminated against. These perceptions have come from an apartheid past and clearly the National Party is campaigning on the basis that it can frighten the coloured people away from the ANC by presenting the ANC as a terrible ogre […] From our point of view, what's very important is to reach out to all of the community and to represent them properly, validly and consistently. When we in the ANC say we are a non-racial movement, we are a non-racial movement. When we say we are in favour of upliftment of people who are deprived, we mean all people. It's important that we get that message across consistently so that people see us for what we are. Clearly this is one of the most heavily contested provinces in the country. But I think people are beginning to listen to what we are saying, rather than staying within a set of particular stereotypes that exist.[140]

In challenging these stereotypes, ANC publicity material for the province sought to create a manifesto for the future that was widely inclusive and sought to appease coloured fears and

---

[138] African National Congress, ANC Leads To Freedom, ANC Western Cape, Draft Regional Election Strategy, 5

[139] African National Congress, ANC Leads To Freedom, ANC Western Cape, Draft Regional Election Strategy, 5

[140] 'Upliftment for All…', 17

concerns. Entitled *The Winning Team: A Future We Can Share* the premier candidate and prominent UDF activist, Reverend Allan Boesak notes the pertinence of the election by invoking the historical significance of the franchise and linking it to the 'liberatory' premise upon which such significance rests. Indeed, he notes that,

> This is a momentous time. History is in the making and we are the people making that history. Our vote is the most precious thing we have. Because it is our vote that will make the difference between poverty and prosperity, between unity and division, between despair and hope. Only the ANC can guarantee a better life for all the people of the Western Cape. Only the ANC can attract the investment and confidence that will make our economy grow. Only the ANC can unite all our people. Only the ANC has the winning team to offer our people the hope of a future we can share.[141]

The publication utilises hand-drawn cartoons to offer vignettes of ANC policy which range from socio-economic provisions (such as housing, education, food prices), to economic provisions (including economic growth, pensions, job creation and small business development), and focused on issues of peace, gangsterism, violence and religious freedom.[142] The emphasis placed on these issues in the publicity material stem from the findings of swing voter research conducted earlier. Indeed, to instil confidence in a wavering electorate, a duty to assert its "economic credibility" became an important means to effect a belief in the ANC's provision of 'a better life'. [143] Impressing upon voters the ANC's consideration of economic policy provisions at macro and micro levels again serves to directly address the concerns of this cohort of voters. The seriousness of the policy consideration undertaken by the ANC are augmented by the charge that,

> ONLY THE ANC HAS A PLAN. The ANC's plan is a realistic plan. It has been drawn up by professionals and experts in broad consultation with the people of the Western Cape and South Africa. Its cornerstones are sound economic policy and democracy. Its purpose is a better life for all, and to build a future we can share in peace.[144]

---

[141] African National Congress, Western Cape, The Winning Team: A Future We Can Share, 1994
[142] African National Congress, Western Cape, The Winning Team: A Future We Can Share
[143] Booysen and Charney, 6
[144] African National Congress, Western Cape, The Winning Team: A Future We Can Share

Moreover, by referring to the historical significance of the election and ascribing agency to 'the people' in the process of liberation, Boesak's injunction above serves to render clear the inclusive nature of the ANC and thus lessen the "distance between the ANC and images of racial exclusivity" – another important consideration for swing voters.[145] These themes, which capture a segment of the coloured social experience, were emotively utilised again in an election speech in the coloured suburb of Manenberg in Cape Town, with particular emphasis place on linking peace to socio-economic redress. Addressing the crowd, Nelson Mandela argued that

> There can be no peace where there is poverty and unemployment. Because unemployment and poverty are the enemies of peace. There can be no peace when fully armed gangs are roaming the streets killing people; where your own unemployed children are joining these gangs [because they have no hope of finding a decent job]. There can be no peace where housing is poor and inadequate. Because poor living conditions are the enemies of peace […] In order to have peace we must have a better life for all. People must live in hope instead of fear. There must be jobs and security. There must be prosperity …a chance for your children to enter into a world that allows them to work and succeed […] We have struggled hard for this day. For the day when all South Africans – Coloured, African, Indian and White could together choose a government that would represent the interests of the majority of our people […] I hope to convince you today, not only that the ANC is sincere in its commitment to build a better life for all South Africans, but that we have a well-worked out plan to ensure that this happens. This plan is not just a series of elections promises. It has been thought about, discussed, workshopped and costed over a long period of time.[146]

While this quotation satisfies the marketing imperative of the ANC – to present a vision of a future South Africa that is non-racial, democratic and equitable to 'motivate' and 'persuade' people to vote – it also serves a particular discursive and teleological function. Indeed, the rhetoric utilised by Mandela loosely invokes the prescriptions of the Freedom Charter – 'there must be jobs and security', 'there must be prosperity' – to provide a consistent narrative of the election being the logical outcome of the struggle against apartheid. To some measure, it could also be read as the continuation of the narrative of democracy triumphing

---

[145] Booysen and Charney, 8

[146] African National Congress, Nelson Mandela's Election Speech in Manenberg, Available online at http://www.anc.org.za/ancdocs/speeches/1994/sp940400a.html, (accessed 24 March 2009)

over apartheid, of the ANC triumphing over the NP. Indeed, that this election can be cast as 'history in the making' as Boesak noted above, is appropriate in that it not only signalled a rupture with what went before, but also, that it represents the continuation of the drive for liberation. Moreover, the ANC's pragmatism in its election promises – being 'workshopped' and 'costed' etc – sought to inculcate a sense of confidence in its governing capacities and its measured approach to rebuilding South Africa. In addition, it lent discursive continuity to the campaign, by supporting the text heavy advertisements which aimed to communicate the same sentiments.

While the themes and approaches of the strategy to capture the coloured vote in the Western Cape may seem tautological when consideration is given to the overarching discursive thrust of the national campaign, it did, however, serve to both shed light on, and emphasise, the political exigencies and dynamics of the political and social environment in a transitioning South Africa. Indeed, despite the overt attempts to win the election in the Western Cape by appealing to the coloured electorate, the province remained one of two that the ANC lost.[147] Thus, appeals to liberation, non-racialism, history, redress and emancipation outside of the 'traditional' ANC constituencies were not sufficiently resonant with a diverse and stratified electoral market. The inability to inculcate a sense of trust and confidence in the ANC may, however, have had more to do with the spike in political violence that had engulfed the country shortly before the election. Threats from the white right wing, the Shell House massacre in Johannesburg and 'ethnic' violence in Natal had a deleterious effect on the overall tenor of the campaign.

The 'moment' of the election itself obtains mythic status in the political history of South Africa. It was represented through images of snaking lines of voters around polling stations, the symbolic iconography of black workers and white managers, 'maids and madams' standing side by side in anticipation of casting a ballot; these captured, in essence, 'liberation in action.'

But this 'moment' of liberation, despite its multifarious significance, needs to be read as a transitory event in a much longer path of liberation characterised by a "process of democratisation and transformation."[148] That this would take time to fulfil and would not be heralded by an election, was not lost on the electorate, for it was noted that, "[A]n election

---

[147] The other was to the Inkatha Freedom Party in (Kwazulu) Natal.
[148] Discussion Paper presented to the ANC National Conference on Reconstruction and Strategy (edited version), 21-23 January 1994, *African Communist*, First Quarter, 1994, 52

will not bring immediate change. It will take around 10 years to make this country stable again."[149] Moreover, and captured in the campaign slogan 'Working together…' there is a clear sense that the election represented the mere starting point along the road to liberation in South Africa. Trying to capture the forward movement of the post-election environment and commit to the seriousness of the task facing the ANC and its leadership, in his victory speech in Johannesburg, Nelson Mandela was keen to assert that "[T]omorrow, the entire ANC leadership and I will be back at our desks. We are rolling up our sleeves to begin tackling the problems our country faces. We ask you all to join us – go back to your jobs in the morning. Let's get South Africa working."[150] In sounding the call to give effect to the idea of 'a better life' it in effect established a "mandate that would weigh on the government and entitle ordinary citizens to demand accountability."[151] Liberation would be an ongoing task in the making of a democratic South Africa.

CONCLUSION: LIBERATION ACHIEVED?

The election campaign of 1994 demonstrated the sophistication of the ANC's political marketing. Utilising both popular and scientific techniques of persuasion, the ANC sought to persuade a range of constituencies of its ability to govern and deliver its mandate in providing a better life for all. The provision of a better life served to capture the notion of liberation and the social and economic aspects upon which it was deeply rooted. Indeed, more than merely signalling a rupture with the past, the future-oriented nature of the campaign was premised on the ability of the ANC to deliver economic hope and material progress and in so doing, realise the revolutionary mission. Therefore, the electoral victory came to symbolise the beginning of a process from which the majority of South Africans could reconstruct their lives. For the ANC, the victory symbolised the real and monumental task of re-creating South Africa. Meeting in June 1994, the ANC's National Working Committee (NWC) undertook the task of problematising its new role in a democratic South Africa.[152] Needing to balance the exigencies between its governing and parliamentary roles and its positioning outside official institutions as a party and movement, the ANC set in motion the process of needing to negotiate and organise in these multiple roles. Politically, the ANC was occupied

---

[149] Booysen and Charney, 74. Interestingly, this was noted by an Indian focus group participant in Natal.
[150] African National Congress, 'Speech by Nelson Mandela Announcing the ANC Election Victory at the Carlton Hotel,' Johannesburg, 2 May 1994. Available online at
http://www.anc.org.za/ancdocs/speeches/1994/sp940502.html accessed (24 March 2009)
[151] Greenberg, 164
[152] African National Congress (National Working Committee), 'Re-organisation of the ANC Post-Elections', 14 June 1994, full reference not available

with positioning itself as the "engine" for implementing the RDP, while commensurately needing to streamline its operations and audit itself organisationally.[153]

The post-election milieu was fraught given the nature of transition politics. A key site of friction lay in the economic sphere. Confronted with the need to balance the demands of various constituencies – local and international – in the making of a democratic South Africa, the ANC needed to ensure confidence in its ability to govern pragmatically and rationally. Realising the goal of reconstruction and development required it. I have noted in this discussion the political and mobilisation importance of the RDP to the election campaign. It was significant ideologically too, given that it provided a temporal consistency to the ANC's governance narratives as it came to embody the vision and purport of the Freedom Charter. Indeed, noting such continuity then Minister of Public Enterprises, Jeff Radebe argued for consonance to be drawn between the populist underpinnings of the Freedom Charter and the "people-driven" formulation of the RDP which came to be defined by "the distinctive features of service delivery and the provision of infrastructure."[154] More importantly, in highlighting the successes of the RDP in such infrastructural provision to effect a "reorganisation of the economy", the question of economic growth became an important precept for allowing the fullest realisation of the Charters' clauses in giving effect to the ANC's overarching governing narrative of providing "a better life for all."[155] What is critical here, is not that the imperatives of the Charter are used to motivate for economic growth, but rather it is the *nature* of that economic growth that become the key drivers in realising both the purport and ethos of the Charter. Imperatively, while a cognitive link is made between the Charter and the RDP, in practice, the process of restructuring was guided by the then more neo-liberal GEAR policy.[156] As a mode of economic and social governance that characterised much of the ANC's leadership of South Africa, GEAR became a battleground of contestation within the ANC and amongst its Alliance partners. In the following chapter, I overlay the examination of political marketing on this shift, and demonstrate the rhetorical,

---

[153] African National Congress (National Working Committee), 'Re-organisation of the ANC Post-Elections', 14 June 1994

[154] Jeff Radebe, 'Celebrating the Implementation of the Freedom Charter', *Umrabulo,* June-July, (2001), 9

[155] Radebe, 9

[156]While numerous examples of this link persist, it is interestingly further elaborated upon by the Congress of South African Trade Unions' (Cosatu) General Secretary, Zwelinzima Vavi who noted in a speech that , "[P]erhaps the most impressive aspect of the Freedom Charter is the way in which, almost half a century ago, it identified the key aspects of the our struggle, not just against apartheid, but for peace, economic justice and social progress. That explains why it is still relevant today. These developments are elaborated in more detail in the Reconstruction and Development Programme." For more see Zwelinzima Vavi, Speech delivered to the ANC Veterans Commission on the 45th Anniversary of the Freedom Charter, 25 June 2000

representational and discursive meanderings of the ANC in its economic policy orientation. These meanderings shed light on the changing political cultures in the ANC and the emergent bases of a new symbolic South African state.

6.

'THE SECOND WAR OF LIBERATION': POLITICAL CULTURE AND THE MARKETING OF ECONOMIC POLICY

****

There is no doubt that our struggle for political power will be crowned with victory and that victory will arm us with the tools for embarking on the "The Second War of Liberation – the struggle for genuine economic independence"[1]

The analysis thus far has emphasised the very public, exterior and highly stylised forms of marketing undertaken by the ANC. The exigencies of the struggle for liberation and the very nature of political and election campaigns dictated such an open and pervasive form of political marketing. This chapter shifts such emphasis to focus on economic policy as an important discursive and representational apparatus in the political sphere. I have demonstrated thus far how the discursive construction of the struggle against apartheid was intimately connected to both the political and economic realms. Liberation could not be attained solely through the transfer of political power to the majority, but was "in a real way bound up with economic emancipation."[2] Policy generally, and economic policy specifically, allows for an insight into the narratives of government wherein a clearer understanding of its motivations, orientations and ethics are lent 'coherence' and 'direction.'[3] These narratives are also intimately connected to the creation of the symbolic South African state. Thus, focusing on policy permits a richer and more varied understanding of political marketing as it emphasises the strategic behaviours of political actors not just at specific 'marketable'

---

[1] African National Congress, 'The Economics Unit and the Decision of the National Consultative Conference' African National Congress Archive: University of Fort Hare, ANC Lusaka Mission: Department of Economics and Planning, Part 2 Box 2, Folder 4, 3

[2] African National Congress, 'The Economics Unit and the Decision of the National Consultative Conference', 2

[3] This is to recall O'Shaughnessy's characterisation of government by narrative. See the discussion on symbolism in chapter two for more.

moments in the everyday course of governing. As such, its functions, as Margaret Scammell reminds us, to broaden the purview of marketing 'into the high politics of government.'[4]

As will be demonstrated in this chapter, analysis of the ANC's political marketing of economic policy was geared toward the objectives of entrenching confidence in its ability to govern, and hence its reputation, and imbuing notions of trustworthiness and pragmatism into its brand. Importantly too, endowing the ANC's brand with these attributes permits a deeper understanding of the link between the emotional attachments that were developed over time, with the more 'functional' aspects of political management. Further, that the ANC's discursive and representational actions pivoted on the need to inculcate confidence in its ability to govern in a democratic South Africa, is clear from the discussion which follows. In delimiting the remit of political marketing's operation, and focusing on the behaviours of political protagonists, a more holistic understanding of the *politics* underscoring the marketing is obtained. While guarding against economic reductionism, examining this politics through the lens of economic policy allows for a keener understanding of the complex relationships between protagonists in the political sphere. This politics also highlights the difficulties, both practically and rhetorically, the ANC encountered in its desire to provide 'a better life for all.'

As I have noted, given the balance of forces within and affiliated to the ANC, economic policy became an important site of contestation and a means for the assertion of a dominant political culture within the ANC. Focusing specifically on the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) and the Growth, Employment and Redistribution (GEAR) policy, the analysis traces the connections between apartheid and post-apartheid discourses and representations and pulls through the ideological threads that have informed the ANC's economic and political orientation over time. In addition, and given the symbolic resonances of these policies, I demonstrate in this chapter the means by which each became condensation symbols around which political identities clustered. As such, these policies also signified the shift in political cultures within the ANC. This shift is also instructive in analysing the marketing of each. While the RDP is ensconced in a richer and more varied form of marketing that supported its claims of being people-oriented and driven, GEAR's technocratic impulse and removal of popular content was characterised by paucity in its political marketing. I have noted in chapter two that the 'language universe' in which

---

[4] I have discussed this in greater detail in chapter two.

economic policy operates is itself symbolic and is an important 'translation mechanism' between the prevailing political 'rationalities' and the larger vision espoused by the government. As such, the discussion here on economic policy functions to "expand epistemology beyond the confines of observational statements and logical proof" and to foreground "the ways individuals are embedded in the wider social contexts of situation and society."[5]

This chapter proceeds as follows. Section one traces briefly the historical importance accorded to economic policy organisationally by the ANC and adumbrates the contours of its economic thinking in the later 1980s. The liberalisation of political space provided a fillip to economic thinking which was then characterised by an ambiguity in its overarching discourses. The RDP became a flagship for the creation of a democratic South Africa and provided continuity in the ANC's adherence to the prescripts of the Freedom Charter and coherence to its governance purport. But the marketing of the policy obscured the incipient orthodoxy of its provisions. This is discussed in section two. Democracy and the need to conform to global economic exigencies led to the creation of GEAR, a neoliberal economic policy that set the ground for confrontation and contestation within the ANC. In section three, I posit that GEAR was part of a modernising impulse which holds importance in understanding the political culture of the ANC. Before concluding, I argue in section four that this modernising imperative was directed at a broader continental renaissance and permits an important insight into the motivations and understandings of this modernising tendency.

ANTECEDENTS

Until the latter phase of apartheid little organisational investment was placed in the ANC's economic policy machinery. While the Freedom Charter and the 1969 Strategy and Tactics document of the ANC served as the both the ideological and publicity frameworks for policy pronouncements, it was only in the 1980s that serious consideration was given to the establishment of an economics department within the ANC.[6] The release of Nelson Mandela provided greater impetus to the ANC to seriously address economic policy questions for a future democratic South Africa. Aware that it "face[d] an enormous task in the sphere of

---

[5] Fischer, 164

[6] The first move to establish an economics unit came in 1982 through "the simple process of bringing together all the known ANC economists in Lusaka" and served as a precursor to a more formalised and bureaucratised department that was formed in 1987, see African National Congress, 'The ANC Economic Unit (For NEC Consideration)' February 1983, Office of the Secretary General, Department of Economics and Planning, South African History Archive, AG 2510

economic policy"[7] the impetus to the ANC's economic policy capacities lay in the need to give the prescriptions of the Freedom Charter "scientific and substantive content."[8]

Economic policy, it was acknowledged, would be an important site for balancing conflicting tendencies and mobilising constituencies. Indeed, one of the functions of the ANC's Department of Economic and Planning (DEP) was to undertake an "elaboration of a comprehensive, consistent and generally agreed perspective on the economy" both "within the ANC and the democratic movement."[9] Further, the DEP would also play an important marketing and mobilisation function given that it would "help foster mass mobilisation around economic issues [...] otherwise economic policy will not reflect the needs of the majority."[10] Imperatively, it was noted that popular acquiescence obtained through broad consultation and mobilisation became "the key issue in developing and implementing long-term economic policy."[11] For its trade unions allies, COSATU, this approach would allow for the creation of "inclusivist programmes that will build a productive, prosperous, ecologically stable and culturally vibrant society where each and every citizen benefits in meaningful measure."[12] As the "energising force of our economic emancipation"[13] and centred on the "needs of the people", [14] the need to market and publicise economic policy to obtain input from the masses was fundamental to ensuring popular involvement and participation.

Charged with "publicis[ing] and stimulat[ing] debate on economic issues" within branches of the movement, the DEP was also required to "provide the specific technical information that community groups and members need for specific struggles."[15] A distinctly educative

---

[7] African National Congress, 'Evaluation of Progress in Economic Policy Formulation to date and of the tasks confronting us',1 Archival details not available

[8] Tito Mboweni, 'Some Notes on the Strengthening of the Department of Economics and Planning', May 1990 Archival details not available

[9] Letter to Joan Anne Nolan, Director: Special Programmes, CUSO ECSA Region, from Max Sisulu, Head: Department of Economics and Planning, dated 22 February 1990 *Archive details not available.*

[10] African National Congress,' Report of the Commission on Restructuring the DEP, Harare, September 21, 1990' South African History Archive: University of the Witwatersrand, Barbara Hogan Collection, AL 3013, Box 1.5, 1

[11] African National Congress,' Report of the Commission on Restructuring the DEP, Harare, September 21, 1990', 1

[12] Alec Erwin, 'Restructuring South Africa's Post-Apartheid Economy', Paper presented for the Cape Town Mass Democratic Movement/Consultative Business Movement (CBM) Encounter, February 9-11, 1990,3

[13] African National Congress, 'The ANC Economic Unit (For NEC Consideration)', 3. . Subscription to a "bottom-to-top" approach was widely agreed upon when the ANC canvassed views on the organisational role of the DEP, see for example, African National Congress, 'Report of the Sub-Committee Set up To Look Into the Modalities of Establishing a Department of Economics and Planning', 3. Archival details not available

[14] Bheki Langa, 'Restructuring and Reorganisation of DEP Work: An Urgent Task', Paper presented at the DEP In-House Seminar, 20-23 September 1990, Harare, 1 Archival details not available

[15] African National Congress,' Report of the Commission on Restructuring the DEP, Harare, September 21, 1990', 1-2

function underscored this publicity and promotion given the lack of economic knowledge within its constituency. In the minutes of a DEP national planning meeting, this was rendered apparent for it was noted,

> We need to consider more creative forms of presenting our documents, a video presentation is being planned, more effort needs to be put into education around basic economics for branches and economics association members. [T]here has been very little discussion on economic policy in the branches, despite regional workshops deciding on this, this needs priority attention. There needs to be more material prepared which explains the various options and choices available around economic policy and the implications of various options.[16]

While in the struggle period, economic policy centred largely on superficial sloganeering given the lack of economic capacity within the movement, the imminent political settlement opened the ANC up to challenges and influence from organised interests, and the DEP was tasked to "be involved in all [...] activities in order to *defend* the interests" of the ANC against these influences.[17] Moreover, the ANC was acutely aware that economic policy could be used as an instrument to pacify the fears of the white minority and market itself as a reputable and pragmatic organisation that would govern responsibly. At a seminar held in Lusaka in mid-1989, it was asserted that,

> Economic questions have become crucial in mobilising our white compatriots who genuinely want to join forces but still have reservations or are uninformed about what we actually stand for. At the same time, state propaganda has led them to believe that a free South Africa will experience the same "chaos" as in all of independent Africa. Whilst a few are beginning to move away from apartheid, a future "chaotic" economy is not appealing.[18]

---

[16] African National Congress, 'Minutes of National Planning Meeting of the DEP', 16 February 1991 South African History Archive: University of the Witwatersrand, Barbara Hogan Collection, AL 3013, Box 1.5., 2 It should be noted that this problem was experienced in 1991, a year into its operation inside South Africa.

[17] African National Congress, 'The Department of Economics and Planning',1 my emphasis. Archival information not available. These reservations were expressed by noted ANC and South African Communist Party leader, Dan Tloome in a submission to the sub-committee examining the modalities of establishing a Department of Economics and Planning, see African National Congress, 'Report of the Sub-Committee Set up To Look Into the Modalities of Establishing a Department of Economics and Planning', 3

[18] African National Congress, 'Report of the First In-House Seminar of ANC Economists Organised by the Department of Economics and Planning 14-17 August, 1989, Lusaka, Zambia,' Lusaka Mission: ANC In-House Department: Department of Economics and Planning, 1989, University of Fort Hare, , 36

Inculcating a sense of confidence in its ability to govern and thus obviate the prospect of 'chaos' would require the ANC to move beyond the prescripts of the Freedom Charter and advance a coherent and realistic economic policy. Despite the lack of capacity by the late 1980s, the outlines of economic policy were beginning to emerge. Overall, these contours were indebted to the historical rooting of economic policy in the Charter and the ANC's Strategy and Tactics document and were informed by an impulse to address the conditions that apartheid obtained. The key prescripts of its economic policy were marked by consonance in its purport. Economic liberation was premised on addressing the legacy of deprivation exacted on the black body politic by the pernicious policies of the minority regime. The extent of such deprivation and its rootedness within potential ANC constituencies rendered economic pronouncements and policies important instruments to attract and maintain support. Indeed, in a survey of attitudes of Black South Africans in 1985, a joint Community Agency for Social Enquiry (CASE) and Institute for Black Research (IBR) study found that the vast majority of urban-based respondents highlighted either economic or socio-economic problems as their main grievance with "things in South Africa."[19] Direct economic constraints such as "unemployment, unequal or low wages, the cost of living and sales taxes" were noted equally with more political aspects of apartheid such as "racial discrimination, pass laws and no vote."[20] But economic deprivation also manifested in other, less direct, ways including "housing shortage, high rents, and poor amenities" as well as the "inferior quality" of education.[21] Such socio-economic and political dislocation provided a ripe arena in which the ANC could market its economic outlook. To large measure, this was already done, for the same survey found that more than a third of respondents acknowledged that they believed Nelson Mandela and the ANC would be the "organisations [they] would most like to represent [them] in solving [the] problems and grievances."[22]

These findings point to the success of the ANC's marketing of economic grievances and the means for their redress over time. Such marketing, examined in chapter four, was most evident prior to and after the COP. Given these historical and contextual factors, the ANC's economic policy statements displayed continuity with these antecedents while simultaneously attempting to inculcate moderation and temperance in its policy pronouncements. The

---

[19] Mark Orkin, 'Black Attitudes to Disinvestment: The Real Story' Overview of a Survey Conducted in September 1985, Community Agency for Social Enquiry and Institute for Black Research, University of Natal.
[20] Orkin, 'Black Attitudes to Disinvestment: The Real Story'
[21] Orkin, 'Black Attitudes to Disinvestment: The Real Story'
[22] Orkin, 'Black Attitudes to Disinvestment: The Real Story'

rhetorical and symbolic orbit of its pronouncements on economic policy is indebted to a register that is rooted in a particular and more venerable historical past. By invoking that past, the present moment is endowed with that venerability and provides a framework to sanction and permit any divergence from it.

Thus, a historically-entrenched discourse came to inform economic policy thinking by the late 1980s and by September 1990, the ANC's most authoritative position on economic policy was expounded in the 'Discussion Document on Economic Policy' (DDEP).Viewed by the ANC to "represent the broadest and most developed consensus on economic policy to date"[23] the DDEP posited that "the new path of economic growth and development must be based on satisfying basic needs."[24] Imperatively for the present purposes, the document cannot merely be read as an economic manifesto but rather as "a political instrument, designed to weld together as many constituencies as possible."[25] Given this motivation, the DDEP like key pronouncements that preceded it, was marked by "ambiguous phrasing and inevitably superficial presentation of key arguments."[26]

Expediency underpinned the document. The "ideological rainbow of policies" that it contained sought to pacify contending interests, for while its mass base would be crucial to maintaining pressure on the regime to reform through a process of protracted negotiations, the ANC was also keenly aware of the need to maintain strong relations with domestic capital.[27] This attempt to reconcile contending interests through recourse to vagueness and "ambiguity" in its economic policy pronouncements is consistent with the ANC's broader "strategy of an all-class alliance."[28] But this strategy needed a significant confidence-inducing mechanism given the effect of both "sanctions and popular resistance to apartheid."[29] While it may be argued that such a confidence-inducing mechanism came

---

[23] African National Congress, 'Minutes of the Discussion on Draft Policy Document', South African History Archive, University of the Witwatersrand, Barbara Hogan Collection, AL 3013 Box 1.5
[24] Adam Habib and Vishnu Padayachee, 'Economic Policy and Power Relations in South Africa's Transition to Democracy' *World Development*, 28, 2, (2000), 248. See also, African National Congress/Congress of South African Trade Unions, 'Recommendations from the Post-Apartheid Economic Policy Workshop' 28 April-1 May, 1990, Harare, *Sechaba,* October, 1990, 20
[25] Nicoli Nattrass, 'The ANC's Economic Policy: A Critical Perspective' in Robert Schrire (ed.) *Wealth or Poverty: Critical Choices for South Africa* (Cape Town: Oxford University Press, 1992), 625
[26] Nattrass, 'The ANC's Economic Policy: A Critical Perspective', 625
[27] Nattrass, 'The ANC's Economic Policy: A Critical Perspective', 625
[28] Nattrass, 'The ANC's Economic Policy: A Critical Perspective', 625 citing Heribert Adam
[29] African National Congress, 'Discussion Document on Economic Policy' DEP Workshop, Harare, 20-23 September, 1990, 3

through concessions to business, it was also juxtaposed with the DDEP's explicit aim was "to stimulate discussion within ANC branches and other structures of the movement."[30]

The need for economic growth would be achieved by redistribution. Rhetorically, "growth *through* redistribution" became a key slogan that was underpinned by a balance of political forces in favour of the ANC's more left-leaning factions.[31] This redistributive thrust, and the radical tendencies that were projected, were nevertheless tempered by moderation and pragmatism, for the document noted that need to "avoid inflationary spending policies" and "running up large budget deficits."[32] Further, the 'red button' issue of nationalisation, a site of tremendous contestation between the ANC and liberal groups in business, the state and media, was not included in the DDEP. Aiming to instil confidence, Thabo Mbeki posited the importance the ANC ascribed to business in a television discussion panel when he noted,

> I think that it is important that the ANC should say, as it is saying, that the private sector has got a very important role to play in this economic transformation and that the private sector should naturally be certain of the safety of its investments and should be certain of the possibility of a fair return on its investments.[33]

The state would assist in this task as it would "have the duty to set the general framework within which economic life would take place and take the lead in promoting a national development strategy."[34] A closer reading of the document would indicate a pronounced role of the state in economic affairs which led to it being misconstrued as an ANC move to the left.[35] Nattrass disputes this and argues instead that the ANC envisioned a role akin more to strategic intervention, than pure socialism.[36] Despite the ambiguity of its language to corral support from all sectors of economic and political society, there was a belief in the ANC that the document was overly-antagonistic to business and foreign investors. Debate and discussion within the ANC after the publication of the DDEP saw a lexical and indeed

---

[30] African National Congress, 'Discussion Document on Economic Policy', cover page

[31] African National Congress, 'Discussion Document on Economic Policy', 7. Indeed, given the power the trade union movement exerted over South African politics at the time of the document's writing, and the weaknesses of the ANC organisationally given its dispersion and resulting lack of coherence, , there was a strong political motive to satisfy trade union demands. Numerous examples obtain, but most clearly over its acquiescence to the trade unions' desire for a 'high-wage' economy which seemed politically and economically unfeasible given historical and contextual factors

[32] African National Congress, 'Discussion Document on Economic Policy', 7 and 13

[33] South African Broadcasting Corporation, *Agenda*, May 1990, African Studies Library, Film Collection, University of Cape Town, author's transcription

[34] Nicoli Nattrass, 'Politics and Economics in ANC Economic Policy' *African Affairs* 93, (1994), 347

[35] Nattrass, 'Politics and Economics in ANC Economic Policy', 347. See also

[36] Nattrass, 'Politics and Economics in ANC Economic Policy', 347

ideological shift to a "growth *and* redistribution" path.[37] Reflective too of a shifting balance of forces within the ANC, there was the recognition of the need to "compromise on economic policy and to start bringing about the conditions necessary to restore growth by mollifying potential investors" and to cast aside "any apparent lingering attachments to socialism."[38] The slight to trade unions and the constellation of forces that campaigned for liberation on the precepts of the Freedom Charter was apparent and set the ground for future confrontation.

If the formulation of economic policy was deliberately ambiguous so as to appeal to different constituents, the issue of nationalisation was a bugbear for the ANC. A survey of leading South African newspapers at the time of political liberalisation indicates the emotive, vapid and racist undertones that informed impressions of the ANC and its consideration of nationalisation. For example, a *Business Day* editorial noted that,

> [t]he release of Nelson Mandela was first celebrated, appropriately, by the looting of a booze shop – an early example of the policy of appropriating other people's property to which Mandela immediately gave his support. Nationalisation is at heart the policy of the hooligan.[39]

While the ascription to a policy of nationalisation was continually diluted, by the end of 1991 Nelson Mandela was keen to posit in an address to corporate America in Pittsburgh that "the ANC has no ideological commitment to nationalisation."[40] Excusing prior statements to the effect, Mandela argued further that nationalisation "appear[ed] in policy documents of the ANC adopted 35 years ago, at a time when the word 'privatisation' was not in anybody's vocabulary."[41] While aiming to assert the dynamism in the ANC to adjust to changing circumstances and global exigencies, critics lamented "the ANC's capitulation in the face of a concerted neoliberal economic campaign."[42] Such capitulation, however, did not signal the wholesale abandonment of its more leftward inclinations. From within the alliance, there emerged the Macro-Economic Research Group (MERG) which aimed to develop an

---

[37] African National Congress, 'Minutes of the Discussion on Draft Policy Document'

[38] Nattrass, 'Politics and Economics in ANC Economic Policy', 351

[39] IDAF Research and Information Department, 'Arguments in Ruling Circles against Nationalisation, A Survey of the Press: February-March 1990' , Archive reference not available, 7

[40] Nelson Mandela, H.J. Heinz Company Foundation Distinguished Lecture, University of Pittsburgh, 6 December 1991 Available online:
http://www.anc.org.za/show.php?doc=ancdocs/history/mandela/1991/sp911206.html (accessed 6 June 2010)

[41] Mandela, H.J. Heinz Company Foundation Distinguished Lecture

[42] Charles Millward and Vella Pillay, 'The Economic Battle for South Africa's Future' in Ernest Maganya and Rachel Houghton (eds.) *Transformation in South Africa?: Policy Debates in the 1990s* (Johannesburg: Institute for African Alternatives, 1996), 35

economic policy that would re-orientate the ANC to a more popular-inspired economic position which pivoted on the 'growth *through* redistribution' framework.[43] Addressing issues of unemployment, poverty and the creation of a competitive manufacturing sector amongst others, the proposals were "received lukewarmly by the ANC."[44] Beset by organisational problems, internal politics and a "disjuncture" between MERG and DEP, the policy emanating from it "did not systematically feed into and inform discussions" that was being undertaken on the wider transition to democracy.[45]

The vaunted adherence to popular participation and engagement that characterised the discourse of economic policy-making served to create a rhetorical and teleological link to the historical and mythical development of the Freedom Charter that was integral to the discursive process of remaking South Africa. The disjuncture between rhetoric and practice featured prominently. However, political expediency informed the ANC's shifting commitment to popular participation. The need to inculcate and corral the widest possible constituency not only informed such expediency, but also the discursive content of policy. Indeed, the ambiguity inherent in policy pronouncements was undertaken to carefully position the appeal of the ANC within the political market. A crystallisation of the ANC's economic stance was evident by its adoption of the RDP as its election programme on the eve of the 1994 campaign. The symbolic value of the RDP lay not only in the vision it propounded for a democratic South Africa, but that that vision and discourse was consonant with the Freedom Charter and heralded as the continuation of its teleological mission. But this process was fraught with political challenges to which the ANC had to adapt. In this climate, the RDP became a new battleground for both internal and external contestation to the ANC. It is to this that the following section turns.

---

[43] See for example, Patrick Bond, 'The Making of South Africa's Macroeconomic Compromise: Scenario Planning and the Narrowing of Development Strategies' in Ernest Maganya and Rachel Houghton (eds.) *Transformation in South Africa?: Policy Debates in the 1990s* (Johannesburg: Institute for African Alternatives, 1996), 20

[44] Habib and Padayachee, 250

[45] Habib and Padayachee, 250

THE RECONSTRUCTION AND DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMME

Reconstruction and Development is a journey. Our starting point is the apartheid inheritance: poverty, inequality, stagnation. Our final destination is a strong, democratic, prosperous South Africa. The challenge is to work out how we get there – our means of transport. The truth we must face is that development does not happen overnight. We can have short term delivery, but that must pave the way for our medium to long term strategy.[46]

The period of political transition in South Africa was marked by a series of public performances and acts that were necessary in creating the conditions for a peaceful and confidence-instilling transition to democracy. Commencing with the theatricality of the release of Nelson Mandela, the need to capture the social and political imagination of the body politic became an integral part of the process of transition. I have discussed above the rhetorical and discursive manoeuvres undertaken by the ANC to pacify contending interests with regard to its economic policy persuasions. As such, and as I have argued, the symbolic utility of economic policy marketing has a strongly political function.[47]

While earlier policy pronouncements sought to pacify the needs of contending interests, the RDP emerged as the central means through which a future South African state would be constructed. It was envisaged that the RDP would traverse the narrow parameters of economic redress and allow for the "complete reordering of politics, the economy and society."[48] This 'reordering' came to encompass a psychological, as well as material dimension, for as the Minister responsible for its implementation noted in the media,

> Changing minds of people, transforming the way people think, work and deliver, transforming our budget to meet the new priorities we have set out, transforming how we spend money, transforming attitudes is what the RDP is all about.[49]

Such attitudinal change would be premised on a strongly marketing and publicity imperative which would aim at inculcating a sense of legitimacy for its vision and purport and lend credence to the transformational motive noted above. Here, the "populist rhetoric to mobilise

---

[46] Ministry in the Office of the President (Republic of South Africa), *Taking the RDP Forward: Report to Parliament,* 8 June 1995

[47] See also Richard Peet, 'Ideology, Discourse and the Geography of Hegemony: From Socialist to Neoliberal Development in Postapartheid South Africa', *Antipode*, 34,1, 2002, 55

[48] Thabo Rapoo, 'Making the Means Justify the Needs: The Theory and Practice of the RDP', Centre for Policy Studies, Research Report no 45, January 1996, 5

[49] Jay Naidoo quoted in Ben Turok, 'The RDP: Reform, Restructuring and Transformation' in AP Johan Burger, Francois Theron and Andries van Rooyen (eds.) *Challenges in Change* (Stellenbosch: University of Stellenbosch, 1996)112

both state and civil society around addressing the historical legacy of apartheid" would serve to galvanise the tradition of mass participation in South African politics and lend credibility to the ANC's attempt to remake the post-apartheid state.[50] Indeed, its significance lay not only in the resonance of its overarching vision but in its ethical claim to the "mobilis[ation] of all [the] people and our country's resources toward the final eradication of apartheid."[51] This final eradication was premised not only on political, but also socio-economic redress. Further, and invoking the venerability of the resistance tradition, the RDP was premised upon widespread consultation that saw the ANC "[build] on the tradition of the Freedom Charter."[52] Birthed in the trade union movement and forming the basis of the 'reconstruction accord' between COSATU and the ANC (see chapter five), the RDP was crucial moreover in providing the moral-ethical and political-economic vision for a liberated South Africa and formed the basis of the ANC's 1994 election campaign and manifesto.

Despite the fact that its "intellectual evolution [was] increasingly complicated and drew upon a progressively broader range of tributaries,"[53] the RDP firmly and discursively ensconced the ANC at the centre of political life in South Africa, noting,

> The special nature of the ANC as a liberation movement and the traditions of the Freedom Charter make it the only political organisation capable of unifying a wide range of social movements, community-based organisations and numerous other sectors and formations.[54]

Such ensconcing and the power it was able to exert over its alliance partners was firmly evidenced after its victory in the 1994 poll and the tempering it undertook of the RDP. Indeed, marked differences exist between the 'Base Document' (BD), used as an election manifesto for the 1994 election, and the White Paper (WP), promulgated by the ANC in the Government of National Unity. While maintaining, rhetorically the substance and overall

---

[50] Edwin Ritchken, 'The RDP, Governance and Rural Development' in Patrick Fitzgerald, Anne McLennan and Barry Munslow (eds.) *Managing Sustainable Development in South Africa* (Cape Town: Oxford University Press, 1997), 209

[51] African National Congress, 'The Reconstruction and Development Programme: A Policy Framework' Available online: http://www.anc.org.za/rdp/rdpall.html (Accessed 5 April 2009).

[52] African National Congress, 'The Reconstruction and Development Programme: A Policy Framework'

[53] Tom Lodge, 'Policy Processes within the African National Congress and the Tripartite Alliance', *Politikon* 26,1, (1999), 9. Lodge notes that among the most significant of the range of proposals made were those by MERG and there is strong consonance between MERG provisions and those of earlier RDP drafts.

[54] African National Congress, 'The Reconstruction and Development Programme: A Policy Framework' Available online: http://www.anc.org.za/rdp/rdpall.html (Accessed 5 April 2009).

ethos of the RDP, the latter did however diverge significantly on a number of key prescriptions. This will be discussed subsequently.

Given the historical exigencies, balance of forces and prevailing political climate, drawing on its historical repository of rhetorical devices, the RDP document located the ANC firmly within a representational teleology that endowed it with venerability and sanctified its vision for a democratic South Africa. Thus, in seeking to "democratise power", the RDP characterised itself as a "people-driven process" and emphasised citizen participation through "active involvement and growing empowerment."[55] Invoking the precepts of the Freedom Charter, the RDP gave consideration to both the notions of "peace and security for all" and placed prominence on the idea of nation building.[56] A critical feature of the base document was the reassertion of the earlier 'growth *through* redistribution paradigm, where redistribution was not contingent upon economic growth, but rather that "growth, development, reconstruction and redistribution" were integrated.[57] These principles rested on the full "democratisation of South Africa" which was seen as "an active process enabling everyone to contribute to reconstruction and development."[58]

The reconstruction and development of post-apartheid South Africa would be premised on five interlinked programmes. Reasserting the ANC's earlier premise of "meeting basic needs", these programmes centred on human development and empowerment in "building the economy" and creating a "new democratic order" that would be centred on "linking democracy, development and a people-centred approach."[59] Couched in phraseology similar to that of the Freedom Charter, it was keen to assert its popular foundations and process of development, positing that,

> The RDP was not drawn up by experts – although many, many experts have participated in that process – but by the very people that will be part of its implementation. It is a product of consultation, debate and reflection on what we need and what is possible.[60]

---

[55] African National Congress, 'The Reconstruction and Development Programme: A Policy Framework'
[56] African National Congress, 'The Reconstruction and Development Programme: A Policy Framework'
[57] African National Congress, 'The Reconstruction and Development Programme: A Policy Framework'
[58] African National Congress, 'The Reconstruction and Development Programme: A Policy Framework'
[59] African National Congress, 'The Reconstruction and Development Programme: A Policy Framework'
[60] African National Congress, 'The Reconstruction and Development Programme: A Policy Framework'

Concern over the populist impetus that might underlie the emphasis on citizen input and consultation was allayed through the pragmatism of the ANC in its acknowledgment that "each and every expectation will not be realised and every need will not be met immediately."[61] As such, an attempt was also made to avert a future crisis of expectation. Despite its tendencies toward pragmatism and moderation, the RDP suffered from a theoretical and analytical muddling and came to reflect, like earlier economic directives, a tacit appeasement between competing and conflicting interests. Indeed, analysts have noted that there was "an understandable desire on the part of the RDP's authors to avoid alienating significant interest groups and constituencies, whether domestic or international, and thereby maximise political support for the programme." [62] Coupled with a lack of analytical content and conflicting policy positions, the utility of the RDP lay more in its symbolic value, than as a concrete and viable policy document. Indeed, with an insufficient macroeconomic plan, financial modelling and costing for the intended programmes, an ambiguous position the role of the state in the process of reconstruction amongst others, the RDP functioned more as modern touchstone for the moral and ethical foundations of a democratic South Africa.

The Symbolic Utility of the RDP

in a love beyond
a senseless new
landscape of
reconstructed hope[63]

The ANC's adherence to popular input and participation in the process of formulating the RDP and its claims to 'ownership' of the struggle is premised on a more nuanced reality in which, according to Steven Friedman, support for its political and economic project did not "enjoy a firm mandate from [its] constituency" and nor was there a "guarantee that they have accurately gauged their followers' attitude to specific policies or strategies, or that they can ensure support for them." [64] Citing two examples, he posits further that,

---

[61] African National Congress, 'The Reconstruction and Development Programme: A Policy Framework'
[62] Jesmond Blumenfeld, 'From Icon to Scapegoat: The Experience of South Africa's Reconstruction and Development Programme', *Development Policy Review*, 15, (1997), 82
[63] Ari Sitas, *RDP Poems* (Durban: Madiba Publishers, 2004), 17
[64] Steven Friedman, 'Beyond Symbols? The Politics of Economic Compromise' in Robert Schrire (ed.) *Wealth or Poverty?: Critical Choices for South Africa* (Cape Town: Oxford University Press, 1992), 611

The failure to secure returns to school or a halt to violence in Natal and elsewhere are but two examples of the problems which the resistance leadership faces when it asks its constituency to compromise on strategies. There is no reason why it should be easier to persuade followers to accept economic compromise.[65]

The effect of this was to afford greater primacy to the symbolic politics it purported. Indeed, given the divergences and incongruity on the political and economic positions it adopted, the ANC's "appeal" to its constituency lay,

[...] not on policy positions, but on symbols: the ANC draws its support more from its ability to symbolize decades of resistance than on identification with a particular set of policies or economic interests.[66]

Marketing thus became an imperative to marshal support and entrench the presence and dominance of the ANC. As noted, the lack of detail on economic policy pronouncements aimed at appeasing a range of contending interests was underpinned by a strategic political motive. Indeed, the import accorded to symbolism was aimed to maintain coherence among the ANC's various constituencies in light of the difficulties that would be encountered in delivering on its social and economic mandate. In another sense, it would serve to contain a crisis of expectation. Indeed, the ANC's repetition in locating the RDP as an extension of the Freedom Charter provided a symbolic and temporal continuity that would fulfil this containment function. Moreover, as the product of a "national consensus", the RDP's democratic function was rendered clear. The promotional function undertaken by the ANC and the vigorous selling of the programme to various constituencies allowed the RDP to garner significant "endorse[ment]" from "all sections of society, including organized labour, business, political parties across the spectrum, social, cultural and community organizations."[67] Moreover, such selling was central to developing a 'national consensus' and was informed by a discourse that valorised the objectives of reconstruction and development undertaken by the democratic movement. Addressing a restive COSATU at its 5th National Congress – unsettled by the ANC's overtures to big business – Nelson Mandela was keen to expound on this, holding that,

---

[65] Steven Friedman, 'Beyond Symbols? The Politics of Economic Compromise' in Robert Schrire (ed.) *Wealth or Poverty?: Critical Choices for South Africa* (Cape Town: Oxford University Press, 1992) 611
[66] Friedman, 'Beyond Symbols? The Politics of Economic Compromise', 611
[67] Ivan Turok, 'Restructuring or reconciliation? South Africa's Reconstruction and Development Programme' *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 19,2, 1995, 305

That the broad perspectives of the Reconstruction and Development Programme have become the property of the whole nation is thanks to the correctness of its content and the creative leadership of the Alliance. We are proud that organised workers have been and remain at the centre of efforts to define and realise national tasks. It is crucial that this should continue to be the case. Otherwise, what is essentially a programme to uplift the conditions of the poor, could easily be misappropriated to serve the interests of those who [have] all along [benefitted] from the system of apartheid.[68]

This recourse to the idea of the nation permitted an attempt at "reconciling widely differing attitudes to South Africa's development challenges"[69] Its political motive was underpinned by a strong marketing imperative – to inculcate support in a programme which was credible and thus able to instil confidence in the ANC's ability to govern by enhancing its reputation as the key arbiter of political and economic freedom. This brand quality would be enhanced further by the welcoming criticism and conjecture on its plans and imbue the process of reconstruction and development with a strong democratic ethos. Such an ethos was underpinned by pragmatism and restraint. Jay Naidoo, the minister who would oversee its implementation post election, opined as much, in the pages of South Africa's leading business newspaper when he wrote,

The Reconstruction and Development Programme has evolved over many months of drafting. In the end, ANC/COSATU/SACP and mass democratic movement specialists explicitly avoided a wish-list approach. But this confused some of our political opponents, whose first knee-jerk reaction was to condemn our approach as fiscally irresponsible. On the contrary, we painstakingly sought to assess and encourage the role of the private sector. We considered what firms and financial institutions can reasonably be expected to contribute to the programme without undue risk, diminished profits or outright losses [...] many of the ideas we came up with in workshops and consultations are new and innovative. As a result, precise quantifications of the costs and savings are still under way [...] What we are able to

---

[68] Nelson Mandela, 'Address by President Nelson Mandela at the 5th National Congress of COSATU', 7 September 1994, Available online: http://www.anc.org.za/3676 (accessed 12 March 2010). It should be noted that this speech was delivered shortly after the 1994 election, but the content and ideas it raises are nevertheless instructive for preceding period.
[69] Blumenfeld, 87

say with confidence at this stage is that fiscal and monetary stability can be maintained while we implement the most urgent programmes.[70]

Implicit in discussions of the consultative nature of economic policy was that no firm or immutable position was adopted. The constant process of reassuring capital and investors prior to the election, rendered economic policy as "evolving" and thus open to negotiation, consultation and even correction.[71] The effect of this was to insert ambiguity and a lack of coherence in the ANC's economic policy positions. As witnessed above, such ambiguity was premised on political expediency and allowed the ANC to consult more broadly with key stakeholders and allow for greater involvement by public and private interests. The symbolic utility of the RDP then, given this dual approach, was that it provided a means for broader ownership of the political process while commensurately aiming to provide a safeguard to established interests.

The public sphere was flooded by rhetorical invocation, serious debate and capricious conjecture with regard to the RDP just prior to the 1994 election.[72] Despite attempts to garner support around its motivations and purport, the RDP remained highly contested and an important "a site of struggle."[73] Moreover, and given that it formed the basis of ANC's election campaign, it came under sustained attack from the NP. As a means to reassure voters and observers, the ANC publicity machinery undertook lengthy rebuttals through its election press centre. The overarching thrust of these rebuttals was to demonstrate the poverty of the NP's policy capacity given the "unenviable legacy of massive unemployment, homelessness, economic decline and unequal education" that it bequeathed on the majority of South Africans.[74] The ANC positioned itself in counterpoint holding that,

---

[70] Jay Naidoo, 'Delivering the goods on reconstruction and development', *Business Day*, 4 March 1994

[71] Nelson Mandela, 'Address by ANC President Nelson Mandela to ANC-Business Summit' 30 March 1994, Available online: http://www.anc.org.za/show.php?doc=ancdocs/histroy/mandela/1994/sp940330.html (accessed 12 March 2010)

[72] This conclusion is based on my survey of archival materials such as newspaper clippings which demonstrated the tremendous amount of commentary and discussion that the RDP garnered.

[73] Philip Dexter, 'Make the RDP, Make the Left', *Work in Progress*, 95, February/March, 1994, 30-31

[74] African National Congress, 'ANC Media Statement Rubbishing NP Critique of the RDP, 20th April 1994', Barbara Hogan Collection, South African History Archive, AL3013, Box1.12-1.20

The ANC is convinced that our plan is realisable, workable and affordable. What South Africa cannot afford is one day more of the NP's misrule, economic mismanagement and continuing corruption.[75]

The RDP's strength lay not only its vision of material provision through socio-economic redress for the majority of South Africans, but also the underlying promise that such redress would allow peace and security and the end to the violence that accentuated the process of negotiations and transition.[76] The spectacle of the 1994 election was undergirded by the promise of the realisation of these imperatives and enacted through the process of voting. As expected, there was a considerable continuity in the grievances begotten by apartheid and the ANC had historically been skilful in centring its discourses of contestation on those grievances. Such continuity was still in evidence in 1994 and thus allowed the RDP significant capital in capturing the social and political imagination of the electorate as the elections approached.[77]

Providing the "symbolic cement"[78] that informed protagonists' discourses of the creation of a 'new' South Africa, the marketing of the RDP was complicit in diluting the suspicion accorded to it so that while "before the election it was dismissed as socialist or usually as unrealistic, demagogic, populist, [or as] typical election promises", in the post-election period, it came to be accorded a more sanctified status.[79] In an interview, then SACP leader, Jeremy Cronin elucidated,

We've turned that [image of the RDP] around so that it's hegemonic, everyone genuflects to the initials, virtually everyone genuflects to the initials RDP with varying degrees of sincerity of course and with varying agendas, but they're doing it which is important and in doing that, what they're saying is that housing, job creation,

---

[75] African National Congress, 'ANC Media Statement Rubbishing NP Critique of the RDP, 20th April 1994'

[76] In a *Sunday Times-Pulse of the People* poll taken at the time of the RDP's launch, it is interesting to note that the desire for an end to fighting and violence' was more pronounced by minority groups – it was listed as the most important factor by almost 50% of Coloured and White respondents, and 37% by Indian respondents, see *Sunday Times,* 16 January 1994

[77] In the same *Sunday Times-Pulse of the People* noted above, the most pressing issues mentioned by respondents were the 'End of fighting and violence in South Africa' (29.2%); 'Create jobs/get the economy going' (19,7%); ''End apartheid and discrimination' (13,5%), 'Solve the education problem' (7.4%) and 'Build houses' (6.8%)

[78] Friedman, 'Beyond Symbols? The Politics of Economic Compromise', 611

[79] Interview with Jeremy Cronin conducted by Padraig O'Malley, 21 October 1994, O'Malley Archives, Available Online: http://www.nelsonmandela.org/omalley/index.php/site/q/031v00017/041v00344/05lv00832/06lv00850.htm (accessed 19 January 2011)

health care, housing people, all of those things are absolute priorities, are things that we have to focus the national mind upon.[80]

Perhaps partly as a response to the euphoria that characterised the commencement of the period of transition with the election, in its aftermath, the hegemony that it exerted "began to fragment and dissipate" as the realities of governing in national unity became clear.[81] Indeed, the development vision and redress that the RDP had clearly trumpeted became hamstrung in the historical and structural constraints that were the legacy of the apartheid economy. Of greater consequence, was the "compromising and tempering [of] the developmentalist vision of RDP" in favour of a more orthodox direction.[82] Such compromise and temperance would set in motion a "struggle over the heart and soul of the RDP" which would have significant political implications – even if discursively – that would characterise contemporary South Africa's political economy.[83] But it is important to comment on this turn to orthodoxy.

'Midwifing' Orthodoxy

Tangible evidence of the change in the policy orientation of the ANC was witnessed by the re-drafting of key provisions in the RDP in the process of its tabling as a White Paper to parliament in September 1994. I have argued above, that the variability in the ANC's policy discourse and the lack of a coherent vision of economic policy had both a political and symbolic motivation. Thus, it is important to note that as before, the ANC was required to induce confidence to external forces. Noting as much, the 1995 *Annual Report* of the International Monetary Fund noted that,

> It was clear by late 1993 that the most immediate problems facing South Africa were confidence related. Consequently, the African National Congress, even before it was elected to government in April 1994, voiced its commitment to eschewing policies perceived to imperil confidence – interventionist regulation, excessive fiscal and monetary spending and confiscatory tax policies – and to strengthen market forces

---

[80] Interview with Jeremy Cronin conducted by Padraig O'Malley
[81] Vishnu Padayachee, 'Making: Economic Policy in South Africa's Transition to Democracy' in Peter Skalnik (ed.) *Transition to Democracy : Czech Republic and South Africa Compared* (Prague: Set Out Publishers, 1999), 68
[82] Padayachee, 'Making: Economic Policy in South Africa's Transition to Democracy', 68
[83] Charles Nqakula, 'Address to COSATU's 5th National Congress, Soweto, September 9, 1994', reprinted in *The African Communist*, Third Quarter, 1994, 7

...[but] the most telling signal of the new government's economic ideology has been its broad advocacy of free trade.[84]

The marketing that the ANC undertook to 'eschew' these types of policies was witnessed most clearly in the changing language of the RDP. As such, its revision became the site at which global orthodoxy and the ANC's modernising vision met. Its White Paper incarnation was marked by a lack of clarity of intent and shifted between a language of transformation and implementation. Adelzadeh and Padayachee were thus apt to posit that the WP offers an "uneven treatment of various subjects" which makes it "difficult to evaluate the document."[85] Most striking were the complete removal of any reference to nationalisation and the embrace of privatisation that punctuated the document. The need for fiscal responsibility placed emphasis on "affordability" and the elimination of "economic factors inhibiting growth and investment" and "obstacles" to "private sector expansion" would require urgent attention.[86] The document capitulated to orthodoxy through numerous of 'signature' policy provisions, particularly on taxation, monetary policy and trade policy.[87] The disjuncture between the discourse of redress and transformation and the practical means sought to secure those ends was mediated by a communications strategy that operated on two levels. Firstly, the grammar of orthodoxy that punctuated the WP served to allay concerns and build the confidence of the investor and financial community in South Africa and abroad. Secondly, and critical to the development of 'on-the-ground' legitimacy for the RDP through securing the participation of the people and 'communities' was a campaign that aimed to "build a culture of partnership – in which communities have rights as well as responsibilities."[88] Aptly named 'Masakhane', which translates as 'Let us build together', the campaign aimed to capture the ethos of RDP and the discursive construction of the mode of governance under an ANC administration. 'Masakhane' segued neatly with the two other rhetorical devices in construction of the symbolic South African state, namely 'Working together" in the pursuit of "A better life for

---

[84] Quoted in Jonathan Michie and Vishnu Padayachee , 'Introduction' in Jonathan Michie and Vishnu Padayachee (eds.) *The Political Economy of South Africa's Transition: Policy Perspectives in the Late 1990s* (London: The Dryden Press, 1997), 20

[85] Asghar Adelzadeh and Vishnu Padayachee, 'The RDP White Paper: Reconstruction of a Development Vision?, *Transformation*, 25, (1994), 2

[86] African National Congress, 'RDP White Paper – Discussion Document, September 1994' paragraph 1.3.2, Available online: http://www.anc.org.za/ancdocs/policy/rdpwhite.html (accessed 12 June 2009)

[87] For more detailed analysis, see Adelzadeh and Padayachee. 1-18 and Jonathan Michie and Vishnu Padayachee , 'Introduction' in Jonathan Michie and Vishnu Padayachee (eds.) *The Political Economy of South Africa's Transition: Policy Perspectives in the Late 1990s* (London: The Dryden Press, 1997), 20

[88] Ministry in the Office of the President , (Republic of South Africa), *The RDP: April 27 1995 – The First Year Reviewed* , 2

all". The credence accorded to the use of these devices in the creation of the 'rhetorical republic' is evident in preface to the first annual survey of the RDP in 1995.[89] As Nelson Mandela noted,

> Now South Africans can, under the conditions of freedom, *work together* to make our country the land of our dreams. This means further enhancing the freedoms we now enjoy; improving the security of citizens at home, in the streets and at work; and raising the quality of life of all the people [...] Among the urgent tasks the government has set itself is to *work together* with all citizens [...] This book outlines the concrete steps that have been taken thus far, in the long journey *towards a better life for all.* As this account shows, this task is not an easy one. But, *working together*, in the spirit of *Masakhane*, South Africans are more than capable of realising the good things that our beautiful country can offer.[90]

While these devices served to inculcate in the public sphere the guiding spirit of the ANC's approach to governing, the political motive underpinning their use, as I have argued above, was premised on the desire to reduce the perceived statist orientations of the RDP. Indeed, as a communications strategy that bridged both the RDP and GEAR, as it ran concurrently over both policies' tenures, the Masakhane campaign sought to encourage active participation by the citizenry.[91] Thus, while it diluted the perception of statism under the RDP, its continued operation under GEAR sought to counter the withdrawal of the state and locate agency within the citizenry. This will be elucidated in the discussion below. The ANC-predominant unity government was motivated to confer partial responsibility for the progress of the RDP's implementation and transformation drive to the citizenry, as it allowed for the dilution of any potential animosity that would be generated from the trade-offs that would have to occur.[92] The need to 'sell' the programme nevertheless remained an important part of securing

---

[89] I take the notion of the 'rhetorical republic' from the title of the following book, Frederick M. Dolan and Thomas L. Dumm (eds.) *The Rhetorical Republic: Governing Representations in American Politics* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1993)

[90] Nelson Mandela, 'Preface' in Ministry in the Office of the President , (Republic of South Africa), *The RDP: April 27 1995 – The First Year Reviewed* , 1. The idea of the 'rhetorical republic' comes from the title of a book of the same name, see Fredrick M. Dolan and Thomas L. Dumm, *Rhetorical Republic: Governing Representations in American Politics* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1993)

[91] Such characterisation is problematic for its fails to locate the concurrence of the two projects. The RDP was retained as the orientating framework for the democratic era in ANC discourse. GEAR functioned as a macroeconomic adjunct.

[92] Alec Erwin noted as much in a seminar held two weeks before the 1994 election, see Riaan de Villiers (ed) *Transforming South Africa: The ANC's Reconstruction and Development Programme*, Proceedings of a seminar held at the Centre for Policy Studies, Johannesburg, 13 April 1994

legitimacy for the newly installed ANC government and to effect the symbolic beginning of true and full reconstruction, development and empowerment.

Masakhane Campaign

The RDP, despite the ethical premise of its overarching vision, was beset by numerous technical, bureaucratic and administrative problems from the time of its inauguration as the framework for the transformation of South Africa. In addition, the lack of coherence and clarity that characterised the policy did not lend itself to easing the more pressing constraints upon which the RDP began to flounder. The "big stumbling blocks" together with the "[m]istakes" and "shortcomings" that the ANC was ready to acknowledge as hindering the transformative effect of the RDP was compounded by the realisation that the populace was unable to heed Mandela's injunction to "roll up [their] sleeves and get South Africa working."[93] In this way, Masakhane would aim to give effect to the 'people-driven' aspiration of the RDP. The core position of the ANC's developmental vision – that the RDP would be people-centred and people-driven – was not immediately realisable. Despite the fanfare that surrounded the RDP, it suffered from a lack of publicity, especially in rural areas. Noting the failure of the promotional activities and their interconnection to wider problems with the document, the RDP suffered from a "communication problem" which fed into a "lack of coherence" and thus tempered citizen engagement and interaction with the programme.[94]

Critically, it is evident from the above that there is a link between the publicity function of policy and the actual implementation and functioning of that policy. Notably, the mobilisation to effect the compact "between government and civil society" that was at the core of the RDP's implementation vision required a communication effort that sought to inculcate citizen 'buy-in', participation and programmatic execution.[95] The political and organisational impact of an effective communications strategy was not lost on the ANC. The failure to communicate the vision and aims of the RDP effectively generated misperceptions on its intent. Increasingly viewed as a "charity" or a series of "ad hoc projects", the idea of the RDP constituting a "partnership" between government and the citizenry "based on

---

[93] Ministry in the Office of the President , (Republic of South Africa), *The RDP: April 27 1995 – The First Year Reviewed* , 2
[94] Interview with Jeremy Cronin conducted by Padraig O'Malley, 21 October 1994
[95] Ministry in the Office of the President , (Republic of South Africa), *The RDP: April 27 1995 – The First Year Reviewed* , 2

responsibility" was not communicated effectively and lost its coherence as the moral-ethical (and economic) framework for the remaking of South Africa's post-apartheid society.[96] The lack of clear and precise communication resulted in citizen frustration over the speed of delivery shortly after the inauguration of the ANC-led administration. Such frustration was vented through "land invasions, occupations of empty flats and disputes over rates and tariffs."[97]

As a corrective mechanism, "the Masakhane campaign" would lie at the "strategic heart of [...] communications", the aim of which would be to create a "vibrant brand for stimulating mass involvement in reconstruction and development."[98] The ANC enjoined its public, through its annual 8 January statement in 1997, to actively engage in community development activities through the Masakhane campaign, noting

> [...] we are planning Masakhane weekends in the coming months, in which, at the community level, throughout the country we shall mobilise people to become involved in developmental work - school renovations, community clean-ups, anti-crime drives, and so forth. We plan to deploy all ANC MPs and MPLs in the process. We also plan, through our local councillors, to introduce the practice of participatory budgeting at the local level. By this we mean the active participation of communities in unpacking local budgets and in setting priorities.[99]

For the ANC, the communications campaign to 'activate' popular participation in realising its development objectives formed part of a broader organisational effort to build ANC structures 'on the ground' and organise its support base so that it would emerge as the "organiser of the South African people, the force that mobilised them to become active agents of the historic changes that our country needs, the leader of the struggle for a better life for all."[100] Empowering the citizenry to be complicit not only in the delivery of social and economic goods, but also as part of a longer historical process of 'liberation', the ANC was

---

[96] Charles Molele, 'Communicating the RDP – A Flop or not?' *Ontwikkel Saam, Develop Together, Sikhule Sonke*, March, (1995), 16-17

[97] African National Congress, 'Communication Central to RDP Success' *Mayibuye*, 6,1, 1995 Available online: http//: www.anc.org.za/show.php?doc=ancdocs/pubs/mayibuye/mayi9505.html#ART22 (accessed 2 March 2009)

[98] Department of Constitutional Development: Cabinet Memorandum, 2 Full archival reference not available

[99] African National Congress, 'Statement of the National Executive Committee on the Occasion of the 85th Anniversary of the ANC', 8 January 1997, Available online: http://www.anc.org.za/show.php?id=63 (accessed 23 March 2010)

[100] African National Congress, 'Statement of the National Executive Committee on the Occasion of the 85th Anniversary of the ANC'

keen to assert its tradition of the 'collective' as the agents of change, both within the movement and outside it. As such, the imperative to build popular participation in realising the objectives of the Masakhane campaign was aimed at according to then Minister for Provincial Affairs and Constitutional Development, Valli Moosa, "promoting a new way of thinking and doing things" and reducing the bureaucratic inertia that the RDP would experience.[101]

The 'newness' of the approach posited in the rhetoric that enveloped the Masakhane lay not in its emphasis on participation and community involvement, but rather that it coordinated the programmatic functions of development with a communications strategy that would serve as a mobilisation and organisational tool. Quick to acknowledge the perception that the campaign would merely be viewed at best as an electioneering stunt and at worst a propaganda tool, government publications were keen to assert that "[a] narrow focus on votes and associated ambitious promises [are] detrimental to development" and that "[t]he fight should rather be for transformation and delivery [and] not votes."[102] In addition to education campaigns conducted through workshops and various media, including poster and advertisement campaigns, leaflets and pamphlets, the Masakhane campaign aimed to shape and inculcate the social and political imagination with the meaning of reconstruction, development and transformation through a widespread advertising campaign. While using popular forms of media including television, radio and newspapers to communicate and promote the programme to a mass audience, there was also a well-co-ordinated and popular road-show which "[reached] over 130 communities a month [and provided] an opportunity for more detailed explanations and question-and-answer sessions" on the nature and process of reconstruction and development.[103] Indeed, the 'spectacularity' of the campaign was palpable,

---

[101] Palmer Development Group, *Masakhane Municipal Case Studies: Key Successes of the Annual Award Winners: Final Report,* 30 September 1998, 3
[102] Palmer Development Group, 8
[103] Lona McBlain, 'Building a Better Life, Together' *RSA Review*, 8,8 (1995), 37. It is important to note that there were numerous campaigns and publicity exercises undertaken after the ANC came to power through the GNU in 1994.

Criss-crossing South Africa, it reaches the most remote corners of the country, talking to young and old, spreading the message of Masakhane, whilst educating and entertaining.[104]

Aiming to instil legitimacy in its programme of governing and create an image of citizen responsiveness in both government and party, the motivation for the 'psychotechnics' that underlay the communication strategy is clear.[105] Indeed, the dispersion of campaign activities and the messages being communicated allowed leaders from all three levels of government (national, provincial and regional) an opportunity to engage directly with the citizenry and gave further effect to the mandate of the road-shows of "[f]ulfilling a role as community educator" which

aim[ed] to address expectations and put them in the context of what is achievable; deal with fears and perceptions; demonstrate the effects of non-payment from different experiences; explain service standards; demonstrate the advantages to communities who respond positively to their obligation and change people's attitudes in all communities.[106]

While Masakhane campaigns posited as their primary aims the need to educate the citizenry on service delivery and participation and change attitudes to government administration, there was also a clear imperative to "[build] the corporate image of government [and promote] a clear set of universal values" while still maintaining the need to "build credibility for the reconstruction and development programme."[107] That the various Masakhane campaigns (in some cases, 'Focus Weeks') operated to market the service delivery and development successes of the ANC-led government was evident. But the campaigns were infused with the more political motive of 'selling values'. Noting as much, a Cabinet memorandum posited that,

---

[104] McBlain, 37

[105] The notion of 'psychotechnics' was posited by Schumpeter and cited in Martin Harrop, see chapter two for more.

[106] McBlain, 37. The campaign was constituted of five phases, commencing with a process of "conceptualisation and consultation"; then 'consolidation' of stakeholder responsibilities and the "mechanisms to coordinate the campaign". This was followed by the "kick-start extension phase" when "capacity-building" and 'implementation' were the focus. The penultimate phase, "the run-up phase", preceded the local government elections and was used to popularise the elections and would be followed by another "consolidation" phase where "the gains made by the campaign" would be "consolidated and the campaign will be evaluated in terms of the progress it has made in building self-respect and sustainable community development in targeted areas." However, See McBlain, 35-6

[107] Department of Constitutional Development: Cabinet Memorandum, 1

The Masakhane campaign is not the only strategy used to promote and strengthen good values; it forms part of a value-chain for effecting real and genuine change. Throughout the [focus] week the recurring message revolved around the need for civic responsibility, community participation and partnerships. These are values that should inform all of us when tackling issues such as crime prevention, service delivery, payment for services, job creation, moral renewal, etc.[108]

As such, the Masakhane campaign came to constitute the key communications tool through which citizens' attitudes and behaviours towards reconstruction and development could be shaped. But more than this, it also sought to allow the leadership of the ANC and government to play a more public role in the delivery of reconstruction and development by making them active participants in the campaigns. In addition, business and parastatals also engaged in the campaigns and created an "emerging sense of partnership" that gave credence to the idea that "our destiny as South Africans is linked and hence the need to cooperate around issues of mutual benefit" by all sectors of South African economic and political life.[109] Keen to assuage charges of the Masakhane campaigns being part of a larger and continuous election campaign, an internal government memorandum to the cabinet, notes that "the main challenge" was the forthcoming election and that "the issue is how to continue to be visible without getting enmeshed into the election politics."[110]

I have noted that the Masakhane campaign's overall purport was the creation of a values-set that would be consonant with goals of reconstruction and development. The remaking of South African society would not merely occur though a rendering of spectacle and symbolism, but for the fullest transformative effect would require a more entrenched position in the social and political body. Such entrenchment was facilitated at regional levels by government departments and was inculcated through various training and development programmes. In the Western Cape, for example, the Culture of Learning, Teaching and Service (COLTS) Campaign was deemed to be "part of a broader mechanism to bring massive visibility, urgency and popular participation to the education ministry's commitment to educational quality throughout the education system."[111] As a local initiative operating under the Masakhane rubric, COLTS was premised on a "decision [...] to implement a

---

[108] Department of Constitutional Development: Cabinet Memorandum, 8
[109] Department of Constitutional Development: Cabinet Memorandum, 8-9
[110] Department of Constitutional Development: Cabinet Memorandum, 10
[111] Masakhane, 'Transformation through Design', Facilitators Guide, Western Cape Education Department, Cape Town, 1999, 1

Masakhane project where the community could be involved in transforming the classrooms of their schools into attractive spaces where learning could spontaneously take place."[112] More importantly, signalling the effect of community participation on improving social and physical infrastructure of schools, would allow for "their [community's] culture, traditions, environment and history" to be reflected and thereby inculcate a greater sense of "ownership" and concomitantly, "self-esteem and community pride."[113] Cynically, it was envisaged that instilling these traits within the community would serve to "deter future neglect and vandalism" and instead, would "encourage preservation and further creative endeavours."[114]

The discourse emerging from the COLTS programme is indicative not only of the means by which Masakhane came to have totemic resonance in the process of reconstructing and developing South Africa, but provides an aperture through which to understand the culture of governance that was envisaged in the early years after the transition from apartheid. Reducing the role of the state and placing emphasis on greater citizen responsibility would give effect to the creation of a leaner, more liberal bureaucracy which would play a greater facilitation role in development than in its actual delivery. As a guiding framework for the creation of the discourses of the state, Masakhane served as an 'integrating' mechanism to link the discourse of the remaking of a modern South Africa with a broader project of reconstruction and development of the African continent.[115] Widely popularised as the 'African Renaissance', it came to represent the modernising ambitions of an ANC (and government) administration that sought to link South Africa's liberation with broader continental designs. This will be discussed further subsequently.

For all the professed virtue of participation, development and consultation that undergirded the publicity of the Masakhane campaigns, it was nevertheless beset by problems. One of the central aims of the campaign was to induce "the resumption of payments for rents, service charges and bond instalments" that was incurred in delivery of 'a better life for all'.[116] While the Masakhane campaign aimed to give content to the 'people-driven' aspirations of the RDP, the over-emphasis on payments for services delivered, real or perceived, promoted a narrow, economistic view of the campaign.[117] Leading the charge against this narrow view, the

---

[112] Masakhane, 'Transformation through Design', 3
[113] Masakhane, 'Transformation through Design',3
[114] Masakhane, 'Transformation through Design',3
[115] Masakhane, 'Transformation through Design',3
[116] McBlain, 30
[117] Jeremy Cronin, 'Masakhane and Socialism' *Umsebenzi*, November, (1996), Available online: http://www.sacp.org.za/main.php?include=pubs/umsebenzi2/1996/umseb9611.html (accessed 13 October 2010)

ANC's Alliance partner, the SACP, cautioned against the "sheer power of capitalist 'market' ideology" that sought to transform the fundamental premise of Masakhane – namely the idea of 'building together' – into a mode of governing best captured in the slogan "government will deliver, you must pay."[118] Similar sentiments were expressed by a range of civil society organisations and the need to "redefine" the campaign became important to realise the full extent of its ambitions.[119]

The Masakhane campaign offered a pointed and strategic platform from which the ANC-led state could market its project of reconstruction and development. Despite the investment and expenditure on the programme, its overall effects were limited. [120] While it gave impetus to the means through which 'development' was communicated, the actual "delivery of development" was a slower and more protracted process. The shift away from active state-oriented development policies, as witnessed by the concomitant shift from the RDP to GEAR, increasingly removed the South African state from the process of development. Frustration at elusive of socio-economic provision led some people, particularly in the rural areas, to characterise such development as a "tokoloshe" – the mystical, malevolent dwarf-like creature – "as they had heard so much about it but have never seen it."[121]

Of Death-knells

It would be unfair to characterise the ANC-led government's entire delivery of development as a 'tokoloshe'. While complicated and constrained by both local and global exigencies, there nevertheless was a concerted attempt to realise the prospect of 'a better life for all'. However, while the RDP was marketed as the panacea for apartheid-gotten ills, its institutional architecture was insufficient, weak and bureaucratically restrictive. Further, beset by a range of capacity and resource deficits, the RDP was increasingly ineffectual at promoting swift reconstruction and development. Paradoxically, in civil society itself, the 'people-driven' predisposition of the RDP led to a "[d]isaffection with overconsultation" and

---

[118] Cronin, 'Masakhane and Socialism'
[119] Cronin, 'Masakhane and Socialism'
[120] For example, expenditure on advertising (print, television and radio) during a Masakhane 'focus week' in 1997 was R 6 936 584.00, while the overall budget set for the campaing in 1995 was R30 million. See Department of Constitutional Development: Cabinet Memorandum, 7 McBlain, 37-38
[121] Hermien Kotze, 'Swimming in a Wild Sea: The Challenges Facing Civil Society' in Gitanjali Maharaj (ed.), *Between Unity and Diversity: Essays on Nation-Building in Post-Apartheid South Africa* (Claremont: David Philip Publishers, 1999), 186

"internal dissension within communities snarls up delivery processes, hampering government's ability to implement development projects."[122]

The notion of 'the people' would, however, continue to remain at the centre of the ANC's discursive orientation on governance, and also more specifically, would maintain and inform the contours of the political culture of the movement. While the RDP purported to "institutionalise people's power"[123] the continued adherence to a 'people-centred' and more importantly, 'people-driven' transformation project was seen to give way to an orthodoxy that privileged the removal of popular participation from economic and social management.

The shift from the BD to the WP, and the eventual emergence of GEAR to plug the RDP's macroeconomic holes, came to "reflect a significant shift toward economic pragmatism and a less overt pursuit of broad socio-economic development objectives."[124] This discernable shift not only had the effect of distancing the ANC from the populace, but also served to highlight internal divisions that existed within the ANC, and between the ANC and its alliance partners. Indeed, the "splits between the populists and pragmatists" keenly underlay the fault-lines within the ANC between those advocating "increased spending on Basic Needs "and those preferring greater commitment to macroeconomic pragmatism and fiscal stringency.[125] I will examine the effect of this rupture in the following chapter. Importantly, this rightward shift was underpinned by a concomitant symbolic displacement that witnessed the ascendancy of within the ANC of what the SACP would label the '1996 class project' – a comprador class of accommodationist leaders that coalesced, and was personalised, around the urbane, intellectual, 'Western' figure of Thabo Mbeki, South Africa's second President.

In the section that follows, I demonstrate that while such accommodation did occur, it was part of a more nuanced imperative to modernise the South African economy while not capitulating to orthodoxy. Rather, the political marketing of a modernising South Africa and

---

[122] Darlene Miller, 'The IFAA Research Project: Introduction and Background' in Reconstruction and Development Programme National Office and Institute for African Alternatives, *Government by the People? Institutionalising Interaction between Government and the People* (Johannesburg: Institute for African Alternatives, 1996), 12. For the actual effect of the short-comings of the RDP, see Tobie Schmitz and Claude Kabemba, 'Enhancing policy implementation: Lessons from the reconstruction and Development Programme', Centre for Policy Studies, Research report 89, September 2000, who focus on the Community Based Public Works Programme and Primary School Nutrition Programme.

[123] Michael Blake, *50 Years of the Freedom Charter: Cause to Celebrate?* (Cape Town: Workers World Media, 2005), 9

[124] Alan Lester, Etienne Nel and Tony Binns, *South Africa: Past, Present and Future: Gold at the End of the Rainbow?* (Harlow: Pearson Education Ltd, 2000), 251

[125] Thabo Rapoo, 'Making the Means Justify the Needs: The Theory and Practice of the RDP', Centre for Policy Studies, Research Report no 45, January 1996, 10

ANC, it should be noted, should be read as an emancipatory project in which prevailing and hegemonic instruments and diktats are adopted and negotiated within the particularities that obtained in South Africa. The assertion of an (South) African agency within the current of hegemonic orthodoxy underpins this emancipatory project in which the ANC aimed to exert ownership over the process of economic rationalisation.

GEAR AND THE MAKING OF MODERN (SOUTH) AFRICA

The generation and adoption of economic policies represents the advancement of political interests. Economic policy has never been a technical, neutral exercise performed by a set of impartial bureaucrats. In the modern world, however, its relationship to politics has become even more apparent and explicit. The nature and character of economic policy is largely determined by political variables. And its implications are also as much political as they are socio-economic. The art of generating and deciding on economic policies is merely the continuation of politics by other means.[126]

The stuttering of the RDP was premised on a range of inefficiencies that beset the programme from its adoption. Despite providing the symbolic basis for the ethos of the 'new' South African state, the implementation of the RDP suffered too from a lack of political will given its encumbering of streamlining the apparatus of government.[127] The constraints on service delivery and the lack of sufficient job creation provided a motive for seeking out a more stringent and effectual economic policy. The need to 'recreate' and modernise the South African economy to allow for the swifter provision of social and economic goods was also premised on the need inculcate stability and predictability in its operation and management. Indeed, the absence of confidence in the intentions of the new administration, despite the goodwill that it garnered within both the local and international political and economic communities, left the economy vulnerable to the caprice of the international financial establishment.[128] Thus the urgency of needing to stem speculation and instil confidence in the ANC's ability to govern the South African economy motivated a clear shift from the prescripts of the RDP. Such confidence would aim to be instilled by through GEAR and

---

[126] Padayachee, 'Making: Economic Policy in South Africa's Transition to Democracy', 61

[127] For example, the RDP was seen as a "nuisance factor [in getting] a better grip on the performance of Ministries", Colleen Lowe Morna, 'RDP: Growth the only answer', *African Business,* May 1996

[128] This caprice was evident in the somewhat absurd "run on the currency" given the sight of an ambulance in the vicinity of Nelson Mandela's house and on the appointment of Trevor Manuel as the first black Minister of Finance. For more, see Antoinette Handley, 'Business, Government and Economic Policy-Making in the New South Africa, 1990-2000' *Journal of Modern African Studies* 43, 2, (2005), 222

through its neoliberal prescripts, the ANC was able to market itself internationally and shed any lingering misperceptions of its liberation-era radicalism.

Embracing Orthodoxy

This modernising tendency needs to be offset by the economic and political milieu that the ANC was confronted with from the time of its unbanning in 1990. Indeed, the embrace of economic neoliberalism could be read as an expedient strategy to manage and negotiate the prevailing global conjuncture without forsaking the complete "economic sovereignty" by the ANC.[129] The embrace of orthodoxy that characterised the discourse of the change in the ANC's economic policy proposals, needs rather to be conceived as both "accommodation and challenge" in which the benefits that accrue from restructuring the economic to engage with the global economy is "couple[d] with the 'concerns about the negative effects of globalisation and the resolve to participate in global attempts to reform international institutions and regimes.'"[130] In mediating (but arguably not eliminating) the "schizophrenia" that accompanied earlier efforts at economic policy-making in the ANC, GEAR essentially became emblematic of the ANC's of this dual-process of 'accommodation and challenge', for as Padayachee has noted,

> [...] while strategies for disengagement and autarkic national development are virtually impossible today, the integration of the capitalist economy across national boundaries has not entirely rendered impossible the pursuance of strategies [Therefore] nation states can to some extent mould and change events and the recent changes in the world...have opened up opportunities, as well as set limits or constraints.[131]

The strategy of 'accommodation and challenge' was part of a broader political and economic approach that characterised the ANC's "engagement with international developments" for as noted by presidential economic advisor, Moss Ngoasheng,

---

[129] Alan Hirsch, *Season of Hope: Economic Reform Under Mandela and Mbeki* (Scottsville: University of Kwazulu Natal Press, 2005), 69
[130] Quoting Nel, Ian Taylor, *Stuck in Middle GEAR: South Africa's Post-Apartheid Foreign Relations* (Westport: Praeger, 2001), 2. On the 'schizophrenic' operation of the ANC's earlier economic policies, see also Centre for Development and Enterprise, *Policy-Making in a New Democracy: South Africa's Challenges for the 21st Century* (Johannesburg: Centre for Development and Enterprise, 1999), 126
[131] Quoted in Taylor, 2

If you look at the politics of the ANC, it has always been one of engagement with international developments. On the balance of issues, we have found it beneficial to engage with the international debates – and hence with the international economy, especially because the dynamics of trade and investment were so prominent.[132]

Such engagement, which led to the privileging of a neoliberal economic policy framework, had a longer history within the political economy of South Africa. Indeed, the South African political economy's "exposure to the forces of globalisation did not begin with the unbanning of the liberation movement" but rather was intimately engaged with the global economy, despite sanctions and embargoes, from the early 1980s.[133] Given the workings of global capitalism and its theorised complicity in fomenting the effects of apartheid's social and material deprivation, acceptance of neoliberal prescripts by the ANC through GEAR would come to be seen, especially by its alliance partners, as the continuation of economic apartheid. The immense purport of this perceptual and terminological link would be ripe for exploitation when internal political and leadership rivalries would mark the ANC.

Even a cursory reading of the GEAR document would illustrate its conformity with standard and prescriptive orthodox economic policy. In counterpoint to the RDP's language of 'democracy', 'people', 'development', 'freedom', 'peace', 'sustainability' and the like, GEAR was couched in a language of technocracy. Imperatively, in positioning itself a "strategy for rebuilding and restructuring the economy" GEAR was conceived as the macroeconomic adjunct to the RDP.[134] GEAR called for a "competitive outward-orientated economy" that aimed at a growth rate of six percent and the creation of 400 000 jobs per annum over its five year lifespan. Moreover, it called for "several inter-related developments", namely the "accelerated growth of non-gold exports; a brisk expansion in private sector capital formation; acceleration in public sector investment; an improvement in employment intensity of investment and output growth; and an increase in infrastructural development and service delivery making intensive use of labour-based techniques."[135] Its more orthodox prescriptions called for "a gradual relaxation of exchange controls; a

[132] Interview with Moses (Moss) Ngoasheng in 2001, see Handley, 222
[133] Ernest Maganya, ' The Contemporary Development Paradigm and South African Policy-Making int eh 1990s' in Ernest Maganya and Rachel Houghton (eds.) *Transformation in South Africa?: Policy Debates in the 1990s* (Johannesburg: Institute for African Alternatives, 1996), 3
[134] Department of Finance (Republic of South Africa) , *Growth, Employment and Redistribution: A Macroeconomic Strategy* Available online: http://www.treasury.gov.za/publications/other/gear/chapters.pdf (accessed 8 December 2009), 1
[135] Department of Finance (Republic of South Africa), 1-2

consistent monetary policy to prevent a resurgence of inflation; a reduction in tariffs to contain input prices and facilitate industrial restructuring [...]; tax incentives to stimulate new investments; speeding up the restructuring of state assets to optimise investment resources; and appropriately structured flexibility within the collective bargaining system."[136] If, as I have argued more fully in chapter two, that language functions as a 'translation mechanism' that mediates political understanding and action, the shift away from the 'generative narrative' of the RDP to the less dramaturgic and drier register of GEAR, is instructive in informing the cultural and political milieu of the democratic period. Moreover, recalling Padayachee's contention in the epigraph of this section, this shift is indicative of the wider process of 'politics by other means.'

GEAR also shed light on the nature of the ANC's trade-off for political power. Indeed, aware that the policy would be met with consternation among its allies, the ANC nevertheless preferred not to "renege on its side of the implicit bargain" made with domestic and international capital in the early 1990s – essentially, a trade-off in which capital's "continued support for the democratic process" would come to be premised on the ANC creating an unencumbered macroeconomic environment.[137] Commenting on the likely reasons for the ANC upholding its side of the bargain, Stephen Gelb has posited pertinently while the ANC did not initially consider the "destabilising impact of globalisation", its "hands were effectively tied" as "there had been substantial macroeconomic reform in South Africa before 1994" and action to curtail capital would significantly "damage investor confidence."[138] The notion of investor confidence, or market confidence, has been recognised as a "powerful tool of political persuasion" and as noted in the discussion above, much of the ANC's 'marketing' of economic policy aimed to build such confidence with local and international capital.[139] Gelb continues that GEAR aimed,

> [...] to signal to potential investors that government's (and specifically the ANC's) commitment to the prevailing orthodoxy. In 'marketing' the strategy, senior Department of Finance officials made explicit its close parallels with the approach of

---

[136] Department of Finance (Republic of South Africa), 2

[137] Stephen Gelb, 'Economic Growth, People and the Environment' in Gitanjali Maharaj (ed.), *Between Unity and Diversity: Essays on Nation-Building in Post-Apartheid South Africa* (Claremont: David Philip Publishers, 1999), 153

[138] Gelb, 153

[139] Laurence Harris, 'Economic Objectives and Macroeconomic Constraints' in Jonathan Michie and Vishnu Padayachee (eds.) *The Political Economy of South Africa's Transition: Policy Perspectives in the Late 1990s* (London: The Dryden Press, 1997), 98

the international financial institutions, while emphasising at the same time that GEAR was 'homegrown' in South Africa.[140]

Indeed, the marketing function of economic policy was imperative to the political fortunes of a newly established, democratic South Africa. While premised on the need to avert constraint, the utility of GEAR as a marketing tool for the ANC was apparent. Playing into the idea of 'accommodation and challenge', Harris notes too that,

> Because those effects can be both powerful and unpredictable – with changes in market confidence leading to sudden large fails in the exchange rate and rises in interest rates, as occurred in the first half of 1996, the most significant macroeconomic constraint is, in one sense, 'market confidence'. But it is not an immutable constraint, for the government itself and South Africans as a whole can influence it [...] South Africa's growth and redistribution policies, therefore, require a firm foundation in explicit attempts to bolster market confidence that are consistent with the growth and redistribution objectives. [GEAR] was designed to raise the country's credibility in international markets [...] and in the long term the market's confidence will be determined by what concrete measures are taken to stimulate growth, structural change and profitability, for the plan offered little indication of detailed measures.[141]

In acknowledging the constraints of "institutional locations and the balance of power" that impact on market confidence, it is important to note that the ANC operated in a global economic environment premised on suspicion and mistrust of the liberation movement.[142] Again, the motivation for marketing its pragmatism and inculcating in 'brand ANC' the credentials of rationality and trustworthiness became imperative to its functioning as a government. Presidential economic adviser Alan Hirsch, in recalling the experience of economic policy-making in the early years of the democratic administration, notes that in order to counter such mistrust and the belief that the "markets would second guess them whenever given an opening" forced the ANC "to be more conservative than it would have

---

[140] Quoted in Marais, 169
[141] Harris, 98-99
[142] Adam Habib, 'The politics of economic policy-making: substantive uncertainty, political leverage, and human development', *Transformation* 56, (2004), 93

been."[143] Moreover, and as indicated above, in not wanting to forsake its "limited economic sovereignty" the ANC paradoxically undertook to implement policies that were conceived and sanctioned by international financial institutions. Indeed, "to not get too indebted to those who could turn their debt against them, they had to be conservative and pander to some of their prejudices."[144]

The need to protect the economic sovereignty of South Africa was a prime political strategy of the ANC, and one that was learned from the experiences of liberation in other African contexts. GEAR's orientation around a set of precepts and principles that reflected predominant and hegemonic economic rationalities permitted the government to exercise an uncommon amount of 'ownership' over the details of the policy and manage its implementation – a benefit that had not been extended to previous 'structurally adjusted' countries in Africa.[145] In "steer[ing] a course that deliberately avoided a relationship with the IFI's [international financial institutions]" the South African government was well placed to avoid "conditionalities" and thereby maintain economic and political sovereignty.[146] The experience of other liberation contexts remained instructive. In an interview, the ANC's Tito Mboweni asserted as much, noting,

> I indicated that the experience of the sixties and the seventies in most post-colonial states was that left wing or social democratic governments which followed a reckless economic policy found themselves eventually in the hands of the right wing, particularly those in terms of structural adjustment programmes [...] And then they lose control of that domestic economic policy. It has become clear to us in the studies that were done of what happened in the sixties and seventies in particular that it was actually in the interests of a social democratic government to pursue very conservative macro-economic policies. That ensured that in the medium to long term you maintain control of your policy direction and you are in a better position to deliver in the long run.[147]

---

[143] Hirsch, 68
[144] Hirsch, 69
[145] Handley, 222. Also, Habib, 252
[146] Quoted in Handley, 222
[147] Interview with Tito Mboweni conducted by Padraig O'Malley, 15 December 1999, O'Malley Archives, Available online: http://www.nelsonmandela.org/omalley/index.php/site/q/03lv00017/04lv00344/05lv01258/06lv01351.htm (23 January 2011)

Such realism was apparent for the Finance Minister Trevor Manual, a key architect of GEAR's implementation and marketing. Purporting a more 'agnostic' view of the political strategy to work within the prescripts of neoliberal economic policy, he asserted that his

> [...] view is the agnostic one that says, [...] 'This thing is here! It's alive...Let's rather work out how to deal with it, let's study the countries who have worked the system because they dared to understand it.[148]

This 'streetwise' approach to dealing with the international financial institutions – of the need to 'work the system' to South Africa's advantage – is indicative of ANC's strategic adeptness to utilise and re-shape the tools of global orthodoxy and the hegemonic claims its makes, and adapt it to local circumstances. Exerting ownership over those tools forms part of the ANC's emancipatory project in which the ANC, and by extension South Africa, would negotiate its interaction with the international community on its own terms. In asserting its agency in this way, I would contend that the ANC aimed as Aihwa Ong has posited, to bring "the refiguration of political logics and spaces" rather than a "totalizing change."[149] Such refiguration requires viewing neoliberalism "not as a system but a migratory set of practices" and in so doing, a better understanding is obtained of "how its flows articulate diverse situations and participate in mutating configurations of possibility."[150] Moreover, it permits clarity in understanding Trevor Manuel's charge of needing to 'work the system.' By according neoliberalism a fragmentary nature and debasing its hegemonic overtures, a better insight is obtained on the political nature of the ANC's adoption of GEAR within the narratives it constructed on liberation and freedom. Moreover, viewing neoliberalism in this way also permits an understanding of the duality in the ANC's marketing discourse between liberation-era rhetoric and post-apartheid practice.

While I have demonstrated above that all antecedent expressions of policy-making by the ANC had, at least rhetorically, placed emphasis on consultation and engagement, GEAR emerged through an alternative process, without going through traditional ANC and alliance structures. Indeed, there was consensus within the economics clusters of government that the trade union participation (and moreover, wider ANC participation) in policy input should be

---

[148] Interview with Trevor Manuel conducted by Mark Gevisser, *Thabo Mbeki: The Dream Deferred* (Cape Town: Jonathan Ball Publishers, 2007), 664
[149] Aihwa Ong, 'Neoliberalism as a mobile technology', *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* 32, (2007), 5
[150] Ong, 4

circumvented in the event that concessions on GEAR had to be made.[151] Alec Erwin, who along with Mbeki and Manuel comprised the triumvirate of ANC economic 'tsars', remarked ten years after GEAR's promulgation that

> [...] we could have managed with a more consultative process and come out with a credible policy, but if we'd messed up the GEAR moment, we would have had three to four years of exceptionally difficult capital-market conditions.[152]

The move to circumvent party and alliance participation and formalise GEAR as the defining macroeconomic policy of the democratic era would signal the commencement of an extended period of ructions within the ANC that would culminate in the "most serious schism the party had experienced in its century of existence."[153] While the effect of this will be examined more fully in the following chapter, what is of significance here is that the 'triumph' of GEAR proved instructive in understanding the internal political dynamics in the ANC. Indeed, the sidelining of its consultative ethos and removing decision-making capacities from popular input did not constitute a 'grand betrayal' by the party, but rather demonstrated the ascendancy of its "*bourgeois* and *petit bourgeois* layers."[154] This impression ran counter to the more commonly held view of the movement which "preferred to regard the SACP-engineered radicalism of the 1980s and 1990s as an intrinsic feature of the organization."[155] Such a view of GEAR and its effect on the political culture of the ANC also served to reorient an understanding of the NDR and its "re-articulations on race, class and nationalism."[156] The crux of the argument posited by Hart, and which I have been forwarding through this chapter, is that a regressive reading of the ANC's tendencies obscures a more particularistic understanding of the ANC's political behaviour. Such particularism, however, highlights "profound instabilities into the ruling bloc's definition of the NDR."[157] Such instability is premised on nature of the "betrayal" that this revised notion of the NDR inculcated. Indeed, as Hart argues,

---

[151] Gevisser, 665
[152] Gevisser, 665
[153] Gevisser, 666
[154] Marais, *South Africa: Limits to Change: The Political Economy of Transition* 135, emphasis in the original
[155] Marais, *South Africa: Limits to Change: The Political Economy of Transition,* 135
[156] Gillian Hart, 'Changing Concepts of Articulation: Political Stakes in South Africa Today', *Review of African Political Economy* 111 (2007), 93
[157] Hart, 95

Precisely because official articulations of nationalism are linked to histories, memories and meanings of freedom struggles, redress for wrongs of the past and visions of the new nation, they are potentially vulnerable to the current counterclaims of betrayal. Feeding into these charges of betrayal are, of course, the depredations of livelihood for the majority of black South Africans, and the obscene inequalities cutting across race lines that have intensified with the (further) unleashing of forms of capitalism in the post-apartheid era.[158]

The reorientation of the NDR and the sense of 'betrayal' it occasioned pivoted centrally on the reconfiguration of the 'motive forces' that would spearhead its eventuation. As Ivor Chipkin has posited, this reorientation has privileged the "state and the black bourgeoisie" over the "working classes."[159] For the ANC then, or the elite formation within it, GEAR represented the culmination of a protracted rhetorical abidance to an "ideology favourable to the development of the black capitalist class"[160] and came to signal, what Mark Gevisser has described as 'cleansing' for the ANC of the "three decade aberration" of its flirtation with leftist ideology, the "return to the centre" marked a correction in the ANC's ideological tendency.[161] Thus, rather than view the ANC as a compradorist organisation fulfilling Fanon's lamentations of post-independence liberation movements, I argue that the discourse and marketing of the ANC reflects a modernising tendency within the organisation that is premised on an assertion of a democratic African agency through the fragmentary implementation of a universal neoliberal practice. I will address this issue further below.

The ascendancy of this class within the ANC accentuated the divisions not only in the policy-formation process, but also, and concomitantly, within the political cultures of the party. Indeed, while GEAR's ideological orientation created a platform for significant internal division, its closeting from institutional policy-making and advisory structures further distanced its acceptance and adoption within the party. Conceived of initially to provide the macroeconomic foundations for the realisation of the RDP, GEAR's prescriptions came to be a response to the Mexican capital crises in 1995 and the currency crisis that "followed the appointment of Trevor Manuel as Minister of Finance."[162] Drafted by a small team of expert

---

[158] Hart, 95
[159] Ivor Chipkin, *Do South Africans Exist: Nationalism, Democracy and the Identity of 'The People'* (Johannesburg: Wits University Press, 2007), 108-109
[160] Maseko quoted in Marais *South Africa: Limits to Change: The Political Economy of Transition*, 135
[161] Gevisser, 667
[162] Lodge, 'Policy Processes within the African National Congress and the Tripartite Alliance', 23

economists from the Reserve Bank and the Development Bank of South Africa, the group was completed by leading academic economists from South Africa and consultants from the World Bank.[163] Despite the lack of participation in its development, GEAR was presented to the executive bodies in the ANC prior to its release. As Lodge had noted, both the National Working Committee and the National Executive Committee's "economic transformation sub-committee were aware of the document's contents before its public release."[164] It was apparent, however, that these decision making bodies were excluded from input, the perception being as Jeremy Cronin noted, that "they were more concerned about the shepherding of our consent and agreement."[165] Presented as a "*fait accompli*" the formulation of GEAR spoke to several divergences within the (perceived) democratic tradition of policy making, notably,

> that the ANC's party-based policy units were by-passed during GEAR's drafting; that alliance consultative arrangements were involved very late in the process more to seek endorsement rather than to incorporate alliance partners into the drafting process and that at least for this most important of government policy initiatives, policy making was a technocratic process, located in the relevant government departments. [166]

In reflecting on this 'technocratic turn' it is apt to recall the injunction by then ANC DIP head Pallo Jordan in 1990, when he argued forcefully that,

> The only way to obviate it [managerialism and technicism] is the sort of political culture you have within the ANC. People in the ANC and the sorts of researchers that work within the context of ANC policy research are people who consider themselves answerable to the people of South Africa, and are reared in a specific political culture which always places a great deal of stress on accountability, and also loyalty to a certain political perspective. I would say that that, in itself, serves to obviate a very technicist, managerial approach. One needs to develop in one's style, and in policy research and its methodology, mechanisms where there is continual dynamic feedback

---

[163] Neva Seidman Makgetla, ' Policy-Making and Development in South Africa' in Ann Seidman, Robert B. Seidman, Pumzo Mbana and Hanson Hu Li (eds.) *Africa's Challenge: Using Law for Good Governance and Development* (Trenton: Africa World Press, 2007), 119. Also Lodge, Policy Processes within the African National Congress and the Tripartite Alliance', 23
[164] Lodge, 'Policy Processes within the African National Congress and the Tripartite Alliance', 24
[165] Quoted in Lodge, 'Policy Processes within the African National Congress and the Tripartite Alliance', 24
[166] Lodge, 'Policy Processes within the African National Congress and the Tripartite Alliance', 24

from the mass of the people, so that you don't move away, or in directions that run counter to their interests.[167]

The disjuncture between maintaining the political culture imperatives of the ANC and the technocratic turn was premised on a *realpolitik* motive of seeing GEAR as the course to realise the ends of the RDP. Performing a defence of GEAR in his 1997 budget speech, Trevor Manuel promoted the utility of GEAR when he asserted that,

> [T]he RDP is the embodiment of the commitment of this government to the elimination of poverty in a rapidly growing economy and in the context of an open, peaceful and democratic society. For this vision to materialise, policies must be oriented towards the provision of basic needs, the development of human resources, and a growing economy capable to creating sustainable jobs. The success of the RDP is inherently bound by our ability to generate this development and redistributive thrust within a sound fiscal and macro-economic framework. To give effect to the RDP in the context of a rapidly globalising and highly competitive international environment requires significant change in the path of growth and development. The challenge to Government is to align economic policy in a way that will ensure acceleration of economic growth and nature improvement in job creation by the turn of the century. The policy set out in the GEAR programme was designed to achieve these objectives.[168]

As the opposition to GEAR increased and the realisation of its employment and growth projections became increasingly problematic, the ANC were adept to make the link between GEAR and the realisation of the goals of the RDP. In his authoritative account of South Africa's transitioning political economy, Hein Marais posits that this position is not incongruous with the overarching purport of economic thinking in the ANC. Indeed, despite the RDP's "timidity" on the macroeconomic provisions for the realisation of its objectives, the functional reorganisation of the institutions that would support the RDP indicated "consistency in the ANC's position on macroeconomic policy between 1993 and 1996 or

---

[167] 'Interview with Pallo Jordan: From the Freedom Charter to a Democratic Constitution' *Sechaba* December, (1990)

[168] Department of Finance (Republic of South Africa), National Budget Speech by Trevor Manuel, Minister of Finance, 12 March 1997 Available online: http://www.info.gov.za/speeches/1997/000223318p2003.htm (accessed 16 March 2010)

between the RDP and GEAR."[169] Given the "reprioritizing" of budgetary allocations as a means to finance the programme, the RDP became subject to 'fiscal discipline' until its closure in 1996, after which its functions were absorbed into the line ministries and directed from the Office of the Deputy-President, Thabo Mbeki, and the Ministry of Finance.[170] Mbeki, a key protagonist in defending GEAR pronounced,

> For some strange reason, when work is then done to translate the perspective contained in the RDP into actual figures, this is then interpreted as a replacement of the RDP by GEAR.[171]

While its proponents readily purported to demonstrate the relationship between the prescriptions of GEAR with the RDP, a more critical interpretation holds that the concessions made in terms of the latter (and indeed, the earlier MERG proposals) should rather be viewed as "contradictory impulses that sometimes accompany the application of neoliberal economics."[172] These impulses, which included the promulgation of a worker friendly Labour Relations Act, institutionalisation of corporatist decision-making structures in the National Economic Development and Labour Council, and an increases in social and welfare spending, played an important role in the process of what Webster and Adler have described as "bargained liberalisation" – a strategy in which "prominent groups renegotiate the terms on which a country engages with the global economy."[173] Indeed, the nature of the liberalisation programme that the ANC undertook confirms Ong's argument on the fragmented nature of neoliberalism and the variable institution of its prescriptions that I noted above.

I have noted the modernising overtones that informed the discourse of the ANC's defence of GEAR. Publicising this defence it was argued that the democratic state was under a duty to "harness" globalising capital to work to consonant ends.[174] Moreover, there was an awareness that the achievement of "a better life for all" needed to be realised "in the most cost effective

[169] Stephen Gelb quoted in Marais, *South Africa: Limits to Change: The Political Economy of Transition*, 187

[170] Marais, *South Africa: Limits to Change: The Political Economy of Transition* 188

[171] Mbeki quoted in Marais, *South Africa: Limits to Change: The Political Economy of Transition* 187

[172] Habib and Padayachee, 253

[173] Eddie Webster and Glenn Adler, ' Towards a Class Compromise in South Africa's 'Double Transition': Bargained Liberalisation and the Consolidation of Democracy' Available online: http://www.columbia.edu/itc/seminars/671/article.html (accessed 3 December 2010). Also published as Eddie Webster and Glenn Adler, 'Towards a Class Compromise in South Africa's 'Double Transition': Bargained Liberalisation and the Consolidation of Democracy' *Politics and Society*, 27,3, (1999), 347-385

[174] African National Congress, 'The State and Social Transformation': Discussion Document', 1 November 1996, Available online: http://www.anc.org.za/306 (accessed 13 March 2009)

way" while ensuring efficiency and productivity.[175] Underpinning the "historic opportunity" that political democracy begot was the modernisation of the South African economy, and as a result, the "modernisation of society".[176] An important driver for this process of modernisation would be the "democratisation of the economy" to allow for the "economic empowerment of the black majority" and thus permit the "nurtur[ing] of the culture important to a modern economy."[177] The democratic state would remain central to this project and serve as a bulwark against capitalism's excesses. Defending GEAR rendered the ANC open to significant criticism from its Alliance partners and more radical observers. Such criticism pivoted around the lack of clarity of GEAR's prescriptions, its lack of coherence and reconfiguring the bases of the NDR.[178] The tussle for ideological supremacy and policy correction between the ANC, the SACP and COSATU was dramatically played out in the public sphere. The vitriolic and accusatory nature of the criticisms levelled against each other repeated earlier claims to the 'betrayal' and 'selling out' of the purport of the struggle, incipient autocracy in the leadership of the ANC and capitulation to the caprice of economic orthodoxy.

However, as the macroeconomy began to strengthen Thabo Mbeki was able to justify the modernising project undertaken. At the ANC's 2002 Policy Conference, Mbeki opined,

> The progress we have made with regard to our economy has made it possible for us to be confident that we can stand up to the challenges posed by the global economy, without any fear that we would collapse in the face of these challenges. Instead, we transformed an economy that owed its vibrancy to apartheid incentives, protection and super-exploitation to one that has the competitive strength and initiative to take its place within the global market.[179]

Indeed, the idea of the South African economy 'taking its place within the global market' provides an important insight into the ideological orientation of the ANC and broader discursive and symbolic project of the African Renaissance that came to orientate its government narrative shortly after the transition to democracy. This modernising ethos within

---

[175] African National Congress, 'The State and Social Transformation': Discussion Document'
[176] African National Congress, 'The State and Social Transformation': Discussion Document'
[177] African National Congress, 'The State and Social Transformation': Discussion Document'
[178] For more, see Ivor Chipkin, 'The South African Nation', *Transformation* 51, (2003), 35. Lodge, 'Policy Processes within the African National Congress and the Tripartite Alliance', 16; and Marais, *South Africa: Limits to Change: The Political Economy of Transition*, 166-170
[179] African National Congress, 'Statement of the President, Thabo Mbeki at the ANC Policy Conference' Kempton Park, 27 September 2002, Available online: http://www.anc.org.za/2500 (accessed 2 February 2010)

the ANC, and its strongly African orientation based on the insertion of African agency into the global flow of economic, political, social and cultural practices, challenges the traditional conception of modernity and ascribes theoretically to Kwame Gyekye's position that modernity "can be broadly conceived of as an ethos" rather than as "a monolithic set of cultural values."[180] As such, Gyekye argues vociferously that in this conception, modernisation does not equate to westernisation. Resonant with the discourses of the ANC's economic policy, he continues further arguing that,

> To be more modern is to demonstrate commitment to bringing about, through pruning and refinement or recreation, required changes in the values, practices and institutions inherited from the past to a level of sophistication that will augment their functionality and relevance to modern (contemporary) life; and to have the capability of spawning ideas and practices appropriated from other cultures and employing them sufficiently effectively to enhance a society's innovative capacities and goals.[181]

This notion of modernity is entrenched on an historical continuity that aims to accentuate the adaptability of, in this case specifically African, societies to respond to prevailing global changes. As a challenge to their peripheral status inculcated over centuries of colonial rule, the adaptability of African societies to 'take their place' as Mbeki noted, within the stream of global developments, on their own terms represents a revolutionary manoeuvre that challenges orthodoxy. It is acknowledged, however, that such attempts at engagement are marked by instability and tenuousness. In the section which follows, I explore briefly the contours by which an African modernity gained representational and discursive currency in the ANC's promotion and marketing and demonstrate the link between the modernising economic project in South Africa (both the RDP and GEAR) and its larger continental inflection.

Gearing Toward an African Renaissance

Discourses of an 'African renaissance' have animated numerous post-independence contexts. Post-apartheid South Africa's desire to reconstruct and develop the polity under the rubric of 'nation-building' segued with a grander ambition of an African re-birth. 'Nation-building'

---

[180] Kwame Gyekye, *Tradition and Modernity: Philosophical Reflections on the African Experience* (New York: Oxford University Press), 280
[181] Gyekye, 280

would come to rest on two interrelated foundations: first, the material upliftment of the majority of South Africans; which in turn would give impetus to the second, reconciliation. Indeed, characterised by the idea of the 'two nations' that constituted post- apartheid South Africa and defined by the disparity in the socio-economic circumstance between the white 'haves' and black 'have not's'', extrapolating this condition to the continental level and challenging its foundation formed the basis upon which the 'African Renaissance' came to be premised. Indeed, in playing what Kornegay and Landsberg describe as its "motivational role", the renaissance constituted "an emerging ideology of domestic reconstruction and development, linked to a more wide-ranging transformation in southern Africa and elsewhere on the continent" – in essence, "a pan-African ideology of nation-building and renewal."[182] As a marketing device, it came to embody the modernising aspirations of a democratic South Africa spearheaded by the Mbeki presidency.

The African nation that the renaissance envisioned was poetically captured in a now seminal speech delivered by a then deputy-president Thabo Mbeki at the promulgation of the final Constitution in 1996. [183] Entitled, *I am an African*, the speech successfully marketed the notion of an African resurgence premised on the construction of a pan-African identity that was acutely informed by the confluence of struggles, histories and cultures. While one's 'Africanness' would be constructed through the collective struggle for democracy, there is also a clear realisation a more modernist tendency to view Africans as 'individuals', who are the core of the nation. Commenting on this, Chipkin has argued that

> The African in a democracy is a new sort of being. S/he is an individual, free to belong to any group s/he sees fit. The democratic nation, therefore, is not simply a nation of multiple identities, it is a nation composed of *individuals!*[184]

The creation of the modern, African subject is thus underpinned by the development of a modern, efficient and industrial economy; the benefits of which would permit, as Mbeki noted, the 'dignity' of the individual to be realised through an improvement in their 'material well-being'. While the speech gives discursive 'shape' to the creation of a modern African identity, it also aimed to represent reconciliation between the precepts of *ubuntu* – a signifier

---

[182] Francis A Kornegay and Chris Landsberg, 'Can South Africa lead an African Renaissance?' Occasional Paper Series, Konrad Adenauer Stiftung, May (1998), 29-30
[183] Thabo Mbeki, 'I am an African' , Speech delivered by Thabo Mbeki, Deputy-President of the Republic of South Africa on the Occasion of the Adoption of the Republic of South Africa Constitution Bill, 8 May 1996 Available online: http://www.anc.org.za/show.php?id=4322 (accessed 4 January 2011)
[184] Chipkin, 'The South African Nation', 30, emphasis in the original

of a moral-ethical code premised on communitarian principles and altruism – and globalisation.[185] In tracing the outlines of a modern African identity, and noting the responsibilities that are associated therewith, Mbeki intrinsically forms a "moral community" where there is "a concern for the present and future of a particular local or regional society, seeking to add to the latter's resources, redressing its ills and searching its conceptual and spiritual repertoire for inspiration, blueprints, models, encouragement in the process."[186] For Mbeki, globalisation – through GEAR and the RDP – would give effect to the needs of this community.

Symbolically, the marketing of the African Renaissance would be underpinned by a political ethos that challenged the epithetic notions of 'backwardness' and 'underdevelopment' and informed not only dominant narratives about Africa's position in the global community of nations, but more critically, the ability of Africans to extricate themselves from socio-economic malaise and positions of disempowerment. The dominant narrative the renaissance sought to *contest* was explicated by Mbeki in a speech in Paris,

> [...] the Continent has no place in the world economy except as a supplier of raw materials; there is no requirement the Continent should have access to modern technology and contemporary human skills; such socio-economic problems as the Continent faces should be contained within Africa and addressed as welfare problems; non contribution to human civilisation can be expected from Africa except in the fields of the performing or plastic arts; and the natural habitat; and, the Continent has no major role to play in the global system of governance.[187]

Thus, the discourse that flowed through and informed the Renaissance was premised on challenging the deeply entrenched notion of disempowerment and induce agency within the African subject. Indeed, Mbeki argues that "it is necessary that the peoples of Africa gain the conviction that they are not, and must not, be wards of benevolent guardians, but instruments of their own destiny and sustained upliftment."[188] In so doing, and in allowing for the conditions that would eventuate from processes of modernisation, development and the

---

[185] Elias K. Bongmba, 'Reflections on Thabo Mbeki's African Renaissance' *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 30, 2, (2004), 299
[186] Van Binsbergen quoted in Bongmba, 299
[187] Department of Foreign Affairs (Republic of South Africa), Speech delivered by President Thabo Mbeki at 'A New Era for Africa in a Globalizing World' UNESCO, Paris, 19 November 2003
[188] Department of Foreign Affairs (Republic of South Africa), Speech delivered by President Thabo Mbeki at 'A New Era for Africa in a Globalizing World'

institutions of transparent governance, there would be a direct "benefit" not only to the continent but to the global community as "it would ensure that stable and predictable conditions exist in Africa, rationally to order sustained interaction of the rest of the world with the globally strategic African resource base."[189] Being thus able to control the terms upon which Africa engaged economically with the rest of the world became a central imperative to its renewal and marked a rupture with the political and economic relations that characterised many post-colonial African states. Continental economic regeneration plans would provide African leaders with "a subjective response to the ideological internalisation of conditions of inferiority among ourselves, thus signalling a metaphorical break with Africa's own complicity in its oppression."[190] From a political marketing perspective, to recall Henneberg postulation in chapter two, the discourse of the African Renaissance operates 'as a narrative model of representation' in which the 'embeddedness of politics' is rendered clear. Thus far, I have demonstrated the pervasiveness of the discourse of this emancipatory politics and its acute influence in the symbolic process of African renewal.

Despite the appropriateness of its aims, the renaissance was criticised for its "secular modernising" outlook and its "mythologizing" of an African past.[191] Moreover, the project was marked by two contending interpretations that pivoted on a "globalist" and "Africanist" interpretation.[192] The first, posited South Africa as the "anchor [to] a chain of Darwinian economies" and was premised as an incipient and African variant of the "Asian Tigers", won support from South African business who saw the renaissance as opening the frontiers to a wider, continental economy.[193] The second interpretation, the Africanist, "eschew[s] the modernising tendency represented by Africa's encounter with Europe" and argues that the while there exists no solid or firm African identity, "there is an identity coming into existence."[194] The challenge posited from this perspective, is to negate attempts to 'essentialise' Africa and have its value made contingent upon it "ability to absorb and

---

[189] Department of Foreign Affairs (Republic of South Africa), Speech delivered by President Thabo Mbeki at 'A New Era for Africa in a Globalizing World'
[190] Department of Foreign Affairs (Republic of South Africa), Speech delivered by President Thabo Mbeki at 'A New Era for Africa in a Globalizing World'
[191] Ineke van Kessel, 'In Search of an African Renaissance: An Agenda for Modernisation, Neo-Traditionalism or Africanisation?' *Quest*, XV, 1-2, (2001), 45
[192] Peter Vale and Sipho Maseko, 'Thabo Mbeki, South Africa and the Idea of an African Renaissance' in Sean Jacobs and Richard Calland, *Thabo Mbeki's World: The Politics and Ideology of the South African President* (Pietermaritzburg: University of Natal Press, 2002), 126
[193] Vale and Maseko, 126
[194] Vale and Maseko, 128-29

popularise ideas, trinkets and junk."[195] While these critiques each captured the ideological 'fudge' that enveloped the African Renaissance, it nevertheless opened up a theoretical space in which the potentialities of Africa's development could be debated, discussed and disentangled. Indeed, the "inscrutable and unsettled nature" of the project "can permit a plethora of alternative interpretations of the future."[196]

The distinguishing feature of this renaissance, as opposed to other nationalist projects for Africa's economic and social emancipation, is that it is spear-headed by the ANC and as such, the modernising imperatives in the South Africa obtained a greater continental blush.[197] As such, these modernising processes would also serve a "mobilising" function that rendered "overt" the "hegemonic function and class character" that underpinned the project.[198] Indeed, Africa's renaissance would come to depend on,

> [...] a new proletariat [...] emerging and unionised into new forms of trade unions [...] the unbridled flourishing of countless small and medium-sized firms that promise to produce a strong propertied class [...] an emerging large urban middle class comprised of unionised workers, teachers, intellectuals, nurses, traders, artisans, civil servants, and so on [...] This section of the middle class should also assume an entrepreneurial role, and become a crucial component of economic democratisation and sustainable economic growth. The middle class should also be understood and be seen as the driving force of civil society.[199]

But the emphasis placed on the class position of the drivers of the renaissance confirms the earlier contention of the ascendancy of the bourgeois and petty bourgeois layers of the ANC. The shifting class character of the motive forces of the national democratic revolution, re-articulated through the discursive history of the ANC, came to provide a fertile arena in which various interests in the ANC and alliance aimed to assert their dominance. This shift and the embrace of the idea of a modern(-ising) Africa needed to obviate the impression of ANC's complicity in what Patrick Bond has dubbed "shining the chains of global apartheid."[200] Indeed, as I have demonstrated in the preceding discussion, modernisation and

---

[195] Dladla quoted in Vale and Maseko, 128
[196] Vale and Maseko, 130
[197] Bongmba, 296
[198] Marais, *South Africa: Limits to Change: The Political Economy of Transition* ,251
[199] Adviser to Mbeki, Vusi Mavimbela quoted in Marais, 251
[200] The idea of 'chains' of 'global apartheid' has been used variously by Patrick Bond, but see for example Patrick Bond, 'Thabo Mbeki and NEPAD: Breaking or shining the chains of global apartheid' in Sean Jacobs

the adoption of neoliberal economic policies was part of the ANC's traditional negotiation of 'accommodation and challenge' premised on African agency and self-empowerment. As a "call to rebellion", Mbeki asserted vehemently that

> The African Renaissance demands that we purge ourselves of the parasites and maintain a permanent vigilance against the danger of the entrenchment in African society of this rapacious stratum with it is social morality according to which everything in society must be organised materially to benefit the few.[201]

That the benefits of a modern economy and modern polity would not lead to elite enrichment was a central concern with the modernising project not just at the continental level, but also in South Africa. However, and in contradistinction, the 'second war of liberation' was premised not solely on economic upliftment for the majority, but also as I have noted in the preceding discussion, the assertion of black economic empowerment at an elite level to create a "new 'patriotic capitalist elite.'"[202] Indeed, as Freund has posited, this elite would be fundamental to the creation of a developmental state for the black economically empowered constitute,

> [...] an elite that has internalized developmental goals [and that can] navigate the waters of corporate South Africa but [stay] fundamentally loyal to the ruling African National Congress and [remain] ties to its hegemonic political control of the country.[203]

While this aspect of economic liberation permitted the development of a well-connected, influential corporate elite, the excesses that it encouraged in the face of growing inequality were reflected upon by Mbeki when he delivered the Annual Nelson Mandela Memorial Lecture in Johannesburg in 2006. Highly critical of the entrenchment of "the value system of the capitalist market", Mbeki was apt to proclaim that "when we talk of a better life for all, within the context of a shared sense of national unity and national reconciliation, we must look beyond the undoubtedly correct economic objectives our nation has set itself" but

---

and Richard Calland, (eds.) The Politics and Ideology of the South African President (Pietermaritzburg: University of Natal Press, 2002), 53-82

[201] Thabo Mbeki, 'The African Renaissance' Statement by the Deputy-President, Gallagher Estate, 13 August 1998 in Foundation for Global Dialogue, 'South Africa and Africa: Reflections on the African Renaissance' Occasional Paper, no. 17, October 1998, 39

[202] Hein Marais, *South Africa Pushed to the Limit: The Political Economy of Change* (London: Zed Books, 2011), 141

[203] Quoted in Marais, *South Africa Pushed to the Limit: The Political Economy of Change* , 142

critically "never allow the market [to be] the principle determinant of the nature of our society."[204] Lamenting the trend toward accumulation and materialism, Mbeki proclaimed,

> Thus, everyday, and during every hour of our time beyond sleep, the demons embedded in our society, that stalk us at every minute, seem always to beckon each one of us towards a realisable dream and nightmare. With every passing second, they advise, with rhythmic and hypnotic regularity – Get rich! Get rich! Get rich![205]

For Mbeki, "the deification of personal wealth" needed to give way to "the pursuit of the goals of social cohesion and human solidarity" and there remained the need to "integrate into the national consciousness the value system contained in the world outlook described as ubuntu."[206] The main drivers for this change would come through the ending of the economic and social malaise of the majority of South Africans and the promotion of national reconciliation. For Mbeki,

> Mere reliance on the market would never help us to achieve these outcomes. Indeed, if we were to rely on the market to produce these results, what would happen would be the exacerbation of the deep-seated problems of poverty, racism, and sexism and a retreat from the realisation of the objective of national reconciliation.[207]

The political and rhetorical shift towards 'developmentalism' that was witnessed in the especially from the mid-2000s re-asserted the role of state in the developmental process and inserted notions of popular participation and democratic citizen engagement at the heart of its developmental vision. This turn towards developmentalism highlights the variegated nature of neoliberalism itself, but as a marketing device, operated to re-locate the ANC at the intersection of its traditional rhetorical repository of citizen democracy, liberation, empowerment and economic freedom in the pursuance of a 'better life for all.' A stark political motive underpinned this rhetorical re-orientation. Firstly, it validated the ANC's claims that GEAR was a temporary means to shore up the state's fiscal capacities to be able to deliver on its historical mandate, and secondly, this re-orientation was strategically important to fend off challenges and criticism that the ANC had digressed too far from its

---

[204] Thabo Mbeki, Nelson Mandela Memorial Lecture, University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, 29 July 2006, Available online: http://www.dirco.gov.za/docs/speeches/2006/mbek0729.htm (accessed 5 August 2010)
[205] Mbeki, Nelson Mandela Memorial Lecture
[206] Mbeki, Nelson Mandela Memorial Lecture
[207] Mbeki, Nelson Mandela Memorial Lecture

perceived democratic and popular orientation.[208] In light of the internal ructions within the ANC and between the ANC and its alliance partners, the discourse of developmentalism was imagined to be necessary device to link the ANC to its more venerable past and re-assert the claims of the Freedom Charter. Growing internal strains and challenges to Mbeki's leadership of the ANC, gave this tenuous reading of recent South African politics greater purchase. The following chapter will examine critically the exercise of this re-orientation and through the lens of the political marketing in the 2009, will demonstrate the political import of this discursive change.

CONCLUSION

The function of political marketing of economic policy in South Africa was premised on inculcating confidence in the ANC and its brand in the international arena, while commensurately seeking to build consensus and support within its constituencies in South Africa. That this process was fraught with difficulty is evident in the preceding discussion. In rendering the content and objectives of economic policy ambiguous, the ANC strategically walked a tightrope between contending interests, both inside and outside of the movement. The shifting discourses and registers of economic policy prescriptions provide important insights into the political culture of the movement balance of forces that constituted it at different times in its history. That its political culture is managed by elite-dominated interests is evident the longer history of the ANC. However, the discursive and representational utility of locating 'the people' at the centre of its marketing strategy endowed the ANC with a moral and ethical power that rendered it at the centre of the struggle against apartheid. Recourse to history, memory, and the very politics of remembering not only provided textures of the ANC's brand identity, but also sanctified its mission and purpose of delivering 'a better life for all.' The means to obtain that better life was highly contested and as such, economic policy became a site of intense struggle. Moreover, the modernising imperatives of the ANC provides further insight into its adaptability and the internal balance of forces and as evidenced in the discussion above, provides a nuanced understanding of the terrains of a democratic South Africa. The extent to which this modernising imperative stands in counterpoint to the ANC's overarching goal of political, economic and social liberation is debatable. In the discussion above, I have demonstrated that the fragmentary nature of the

---

[208] For more, see Hein Marais, *South Africa Pushed to the Limit: The Political Economy of Change* (London: Zed Books, 2011), 338-352

neoliberalism as applied in South Africa opened a space in which ANC both accommodated and challenged prevailing orthodoxy. As such, this space also permitted assertions of self-empowerment and renaissance at the national and continental level.

The discussion above provides an important insight into the interaction between political marketing, political culture and economic policy. Indeed, rather than focus on its 'psychotechnic' qualities I have demonstrated the means why which marketing is utilised to create a narrative of government and endow it richly with symbolic meaning. Indeed, such symbolism is put into service in the creation of the symbolic foundations of the South African state. Focusing on the 'high politics of government', I have demonstrated here the broader utility and applicability of political marketing and expanded the boundaries of its functional remit to include periods outside elections. But I have demonstrated too that these periods are intensely political and the marketing that occurs here – and the politics that underpins it – critically inform the discourses and representational strategies of election campaigns. The very spectacularity of the election campaigns, I contend are indebted to the 'high politics' discussed here. The robustness of such politics is complicit in informing such spectacularity and the marketing associated therewith. It is to this that the following chapter now turns.

7.

SIYANQOBA:
SPECTACLE AND THE ELECTION OF 2009[1]

****

The 2009 general election signified a critical moment in the democratic life of post-apartheid South Africa. As the culmination of a protracted phase of highly divisive internal battles, the election and the campaign that preceded it, demonstrated the continued unity and strength that the ANC was able to display in the public and political spheres of contemporary South Africa. Centrally, and written into the creation of the spectacle, was the (re-)turn of the ANC to perceptions of its more popular, bottom up and engaged nature and signalled a reorientation to a more venerable and traditional form of organisation that Mbeki's modernising tendency disrupted. This chapter focuses on the notion of the campaign as spectacle in the democratic political sphere and as such, the means by which it functioned in capturing the popular public imagination and locating the ANC at the centre of representations of political life in South Africa. As will be demonstrated, the ANC was highly adept at utilising the theatrics of election campaigning and undertook a consistent performance that was premised on the adept use of its heritage, personality, history of struggle and the capriciousness of popular culture to inform the overall topography of its campaign. An intensive, well-coordinated and professional campaign that neatly blended the ANC's traditional approaches of community mobilisation, activism, publicity and promotion with new and innovative technological methods, the ANC was able to commandeer the political space and mark its hegemony in the political life of the country.

In analysing the campaign as spectacle, this chapter disentangles the notions of the spectacular and demonstrates the means by which public political life in South Africa came to be deeply influenced by theatricality, performance and carnival. The first part of this chapter revisits the discussion on spectacle in chapter two and highlights and develops the framing of

---

[1] 'Siyanqoba' translates as 'We are winning'

certain key features that are pertinent to understanding its application as a lens through which to understand the ANC's campaign. Locating the election within a particular political milieu, the second part of this chapter briefly sketches the key outcomes of the political events that preceded the campaign. This discussion is important for it provides an insight into the balance of forces within the ANC and the strategic utilisation of actors, culture and ideology as a means to garner support. Moreover, it demonstrates the development of the roots of spectacle and locates it within the strategic positioning of Jacob Zuma, and political support for him and the ANC, in the political market. Section three examines the calculus of the election campaign itself. In doing this, I demonstrate the political utility of spectacle and the expediency that underlay the discharge of spectacular acts and performances. Further, in unpacking the various strands that inform the creation and utilisation of spectacle, I demonstrate the various means by which the ANC was able to capitalise on its struggle history while simultaneously, capturing the popular imagination through the adroit utilisation of contemporary popular culture to target relevant constituencies. Moreover, the campaign performed acts of remembrance, sanctification and highlighted notions of embodiment and personality that informed the campaign narrative. The interplay between its 'cultural' and professional approaches to the campaign provides an important insight into the negotiation between its liberation movement and modern political party identities. While these identities overlap, they nevertheless are an important heuristic in understanding the politics and marketing of the ANC.

At the outset, it is necessary to caution against the assumption that the ANC encountered a passive, uncritical electorate. Indeed, Tim Cohen is correct in cautioning against the view that the majority held "some sort of deep, historical and cultural affiliation that goes beyond politics [...] rooted in the notion of liberation politics, and the supposed enduring gratitude 'the masses' show towards the liberation party long after it is technically due."[2] A range of statistical evidence supports this position.[3] However, the significance of, and recourse to, the inscription of memory, heritage, personality and the like are integral parts of the cultural presence of the ANC in the political sphere and thus still central to the public performance of its power. But in acknowledging the continued relevance of "struggle theatre" –

---

[2] Writing in his editorial of the *Business Day* newspaper and quoted in Roger Southall, 'Zunami!: The Context of the 2009 Election' in Roger Southall and John Daniel (eds.), *Zunami: The 2009 South African Elections* (Auckland Park: Jacana Media, 2009), 18-19
[3] See for example Collette Schulz-Herzenberg, *The Silent Revolution?: South African Voters During the First Year's of Democracy,* Doctor of Philosophy Thesis, University of Cape Town, 2009; and Robert Mattes, 'Voter Information, Government Evaluations and Party Images in the First Democratic Decade' in Jessica Piombo and Lia Nijzink (eds.) *Electoral Politics in South Africa (*Pretoria: HSRC Press, 2006), 40-63

performances of obeisance to the "historical narrative" of liberation – there is a similar need to "look behind the curtain" so as "not to confuse the public performance with what is really going on behind the scenes.[4] The thrust of this chapter aims to thus balance the continued operation of such 'struggle theatre' with the pragmatics of election campaign management in the creation of a marketable political product. Such balancing is also instructive in providing witness to the shifting organisational identity of the ANC and the means by which it operates between its liberation movement and political party incarnation. In addition to this, the discussion that follows unpacks and engages with the complexity of the election campaign and the spectacle that it constitutes in the political sphere.

FRAMINGS: ELECTIONS AS SPECTACLE

While it is a truism that elections constitute the essence of democratic political life, they also function as important cultural events which reflect the "singular coming together of history, opportunity, circumstance, tradition, personality, political culture" in the life of a polity.[5] The 'ritualistic' imperative elections possess for the exercise of democracy signifies "one of the fundamental forms through which democratic societies constitute and express their nature, and they are connected reciprocally to the civil, moral, economic, mythic and other forms that create the public and private faces of every culture."[6] Such a ritualistic imperative is underpinned by an implicit symbolic dimension in which the "management and appropriation of meanings" is central to the contestation of the political sphere.[7] Symbolic meaning resonates along and through a number of poles, but is given greater coherence and "relevance" when related "to everyday lives, frustrations [and] successes."[8] Thus, the enactment of this relevance by a candidate or party is endowed with greater credence when it is able to address not only the material bases of the social milieu, but also when it is able to articulate the "ideologies, values [and] moral stances" of the electorate.[9] As such, the

---

[4] Southall, Zunami!:The Context of the 2009 Election', 20
[5] Paolo Mancini, and David L. Swanson, 'Politics, Media and Modern Democracy: Introduction' in David L. Swanson and Paolo Mancini (eds.), *Politics, Media and Modern Democracy* (Westport: Praeger Publishers, 1996), 3
[6] David L. Swanson and Paolo Mancini, 'Patterns of Modern Electoral Campaigning and their Consequences' in David L. Swanson and Paolo Mancini (eds.), *Politics, Media and Modern Democracy* (Westport: Praeger Publishers, 1996), 247
[7] Lisa Wedeen, *Ambiguities of Domination: Politics, Rhetoric and Symbols in Contemporary Syria* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1999), 30
[8] Murray Edelman, *Constructing the Political Spectacle* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1988), 8
[9] Edelman, *Constructing the Political Spectacle,* 2

meaning ascribed in symbols is "diverse" and "often conflicting" as they relate to "integral aspects of specific material and social situations."[10]

The construction of the spectacle harnesses the inherent meanings of symbols to act as "both [..] systems of signification that publicly represent[s] a regime's understanding of dominance and community and as functional strategies to enforce dominance and construct community."[11] As such, the proliferation and entanglement of spectacle into the exercise of power in modern regimes has led to the emergence of what Guy Debord has called the "society of the spectacle" in which it "can frame the agenda of a ruling class and preside over that class's constitution."[12] Exacerbated in the modern era by the advance of capitalism and the mass media specifically, "[t]he spectacle [...] is a social relationship between the people that is mediated by the image" and where the image is "a weltanschauung that has been actualized, translated into the material realm – a world view transformed into an objective force."[13] At the core of this social relationship is the investiture in the 'dramatic' where there is a tendency toward "brazen, exhibitionist, openness."[14] Indeed, the South African scholar and writer Njabulo Ndebele has explicated that the spectacular,

> documents; it indicts implicitly; it is demonstrative, preferring exteriority over interiority; it keeps the larger issue of society in our minds, obliterating the details, it provokes identification through recognition and feeling rather than through observation and analytical thought; it calls for emotion rather than conviction; it establishes a vast sense of presence without offering intimate knowledge; it confirms without offering a challenge.[15]

It is clear that election campaigns, both in their entirety and their multiple constitutive acts, function within such an understanding of spectacle. Indeed, as a highly public performance, they are premised on the desire to "dramatise aspirations" and further lend credence to the symbolic "display of power" by the enactor.[16] The centrality of spectacle thus lies in the "predominance of appearances".[17] While these appearances are premised on the ability of the

---

[10] Edelman, *Constructing the Political Spectacle,* 8
[11] Wedeen, 13
[12] Guy Debord, *The Society of the Spectacle,* (New York: Zone Books, 1995), 31
[13] Debord, 12-13
[14] Njabulo Ndebele quoted in Xolela Mangcu, 'Reflections on the Revolution of Our Times', Paper delivered as a Public Lecture, University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, 11 October 2006, 2
[15] Ndebele quoted in Xolela Mangcu, 'Reflections on the Revolution of Our Times', 3
[16] Wedeen, 13
[17] Debord, 14

spectacle to "[manifest] itself as an enormous positivity"[18] they also serve a specifically "Foucaultian" imperative of being able to "discipline participants and organise them for the physical enactment of ritual gestures, regimenting their bodies into an order that both symbolizes and prepares for political obedience."[19] This disciplinary remit, I would argue, is demonstrated unevenly in the context of the ANC's election campaign in 2009. While 'disciplining' occurred within the moral-ethical parameters of the democratic ethos of the campaign, there operated too more subversive acts and "instantiations of [...] power."[20] In a sense, certain acts were lent greater legitimacy given the political and social milieu in which they operated. This will be explored further below.

Further, the analysis of the campaign which follows acknowledges the theoretical insights proffered by Murray Edelman in his now seminal work on the subject entitled, *Constructing the Political Spectacle.* Edelman argues that political spectacle is premised on five vectors: social problems; political leaders; political enemies; political news; and the interconnection between political language and political reality. In augmenting the theoretical contours of the notion of spectacle posited, these vectors further serve to inform the analysis in this chapter as they provide important markers through which the symbolic and performative constructions of the spectacle are undertaken. It is important to note that the spectacle operates both "visually and audibly", they

> anchor [...] politically significant ideas and self-conceptions that might otherwise remain fluid and abstract. They ground political thinking in images and symbols the regime puts forth, framing the way people see themselves as citizens, much as advertising offers people a frame in which they manage themselves as consumers.[21]

The symbolic impetus underscoring the construction of the spectacle, as well as the attendant visual and audible components of its constitution, have led to the increasing characterisation of politics as a "play" in which "[t]he constant interweaving of fiction and reality" makes the enacting of politics a 'performance' in '"theatre of everyday life.'"[22] Such a conception, while useful for understanding the enactments of electioneering, does require clarification.

---

[18] Debord, 15
[19] Wedeen, 19
[20] Wedeen, 19
[21] Wedeen, 19
[22] Wojciech Cwalina, Andrej Falkowski and Bruce I. Newman, *A Cross-Cultural Theory of Voter Behavior* (New York: The hawthorn Press, 2008), 16-17; the 'theatre of everyday life' is attributed to Irving Goffman

Whereas spectacle is concerned with the representational sphere of politics, performance according to Askew provides a "forum for reconfiguring social relations."[23] As such, performance also "may contain an intrinsic element that makes it a particularly important tool for political action."[24] Such importance lies in the "communicative interaction" that is undertaken through the performance and which serves to "[bind] the audience to the performer" in what has been described by Bauman as the "enhancement of experience."[25] The impasse between the aims of the construction of the spectacle and the 'actionable' logic of the performance is overcome by foregrounding the bifurcated nature of election campaigns in which they are deeply entangled both in a representational grammar and the construction of a material reality. In straddling both the spectacular and the performative, election campaigns display elements of constituting an interactive, 'conversational' exercise bounded temporally and spatially with a symbolic and representational oeuvre. [26] In this way, one is able to transcend the clear demarcations of performance which Schieffelin posits as,

> [...] actions more than text: with habits of the body more than structures of symbols, with illocutionary rather than propositional force, with the social construction of reality rather than its representation.[27]

Such transcendence therefore gives impetus to problematising election campaigns as encapsulating, as Askew notes, both the "power of performance and the performance of power."[28] In this way, it becomes imperative to view the election of 2009 as a campaign heavily enmeshed in creative modes of representation – dance, gesture, song, posters, and the like – together with "elements from history, performance practice, social values, and shared experiences."[29]

As noted, this framing is useful for conceptualising and understanding the strategic political behaviour that marked the political sphere just prior to and during the 2009 election

---

[23] Kelly M. Askew, *Performing the Nation: Swahili Music and Cultural Politics in Tanzania* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2002), 22. While the analogy of the theatre is useful, Askew questions both the lack of "authenticity (if everything is enactment, then what is reality?) and instrumentality (by logical extension, if all roles are adopted, then none are intrinsic, and thus identity is purely instrumental).She attempts essentially to find a way through this, by examining "how performance is actively employed in the negotiation of power relations" which is a useful point for the present analysis.
[24] Askew, 23
[25] Quoted in Askew, 22
[26] Askew, 22
[27] Quoted in Askew, 23-24
[28] Askew, 24
[29] Askew, 25

campaign. The period prior to the election was marked by tremendous fractiousness, dissent and animosity within the ANC. Thus, to understand the import and richness of the ANC's discursive and representational overtures in the campaign, an understanding of this political environment in necessary. My aim, however, is not to recapitulate in detail the events of that period. A significant body of scholarship, analysis and even conjecture exists on it. Rather, my analysis draws on four significant features of the period which highlight aspects of the ANC's political marketing and the behaviour of key actors in the political sphere. These features relate to the support of the alliance partners for Jacob Zuma; the need to instil confidence through policy continuity; the disruption of the ANC's brand with the emergence of a splinter political party, the Congress of the People (COPE); and finally, the rise of ethnicity to mobilise support.

AFFLICTIONS OF THE POST-COLONY

Ferment

The catalyst for the internal ferment in the ANC was the 'release' of Jacob Zuma from the Deputy-Presidency of the Republic on allegations of his involvement in fraudulent and corrupt practices relating to a multi-billion Rand arms procurement deal. The "mutually beneficial symbiosis" between Zuma and businessman and confidante, Schabir Shaik served to cast a pall over Zuma given the latter's conviction for fraud and corruption emanating from a multi-billion rand arms deal in which he acted as an intermediary between European multi-national companies and various South African interests, including, importantly, the government.[30] The findings against Shaik permitted corruption charges to be laid against Zuma. A backlash eventuated as the 'release' represented an apposite political moment for the liberation of pent up anger, frustration and "discontent within the core constituencies and alliance partners" towards the hegemonic powers of the Mbeki administration.[31] An early and potent manifestation of this sentiment was effected through "an open ANC grassroots

---

[30] The term 'release' has entered the South African political vocabulary since used by Mbeki in his speech to Parliament on 14 June 2005; see also William M. Gumede, 'South Africa: Jacob Zuma and the Difficulties of Consolidating South Africa's Democracy' *African Affairs,* 107/427, 262; and Tom Lodge 'South Africa's Succession Politics' Paper presented at the Centre for African Studies, University of Edinburgh, 4 February 2009, 4-5 for more. A good and detailed account of the arms deal corruption and attempts to cover it up may be found in Andrew Feinstein, *After the Party: A Personal and Political Journey inside the ANC* (Johannesburg: Jonathan Ball Publishers, 2007)

[31] Somadoda Fikeni, 'The Polokwane moment and South Africa's democracy at the crossroads', in Peter Kagwanja and Kwandiwe Kondlo (eds) *State of the Nation: South Africa 2008* (Cape Town: HSRC Press, 2009), 5

rebellion" at its 2005 National General Council against Zuma's dismal from the deputy-presidency of the ANC. The political utility and significance of the 'figure' of Zuma as representing a challenge to incumbency began congealing.

Discontent within the ANC centred on numerous organisational and ideological premises. Marked by "generational turnover and careerism" there was a slide away from the "respect for conventions and authority in the movement"[32] coupled with the "cancer" that saw the ANC as a vehicle for accumulation and "access to resources."[33] Moreover, its 'cadre deployment policy' in business, state and para-state institutions, together with charges of ethnic (Xhosa) favouritism, eased the establishment of neo-patrimonial networks and bonds of loyalty to the political gentry. This was exacerbated with the locus of power centralised in the Union Buildings, the seat of the Presidency, rather than at ANC headquarters in Luthuli House. The cohesiveness of the ANC was whittled down further by the dissonance over economic policy that I noted in the previous chapter.[34] Recalling the 'non-negotiable' manner in which GEAR was constituted increased criticism was levelled against Mbeki's leadership and the incipience of the "zanufication of the ANC", and a "bureaucratisation of the struggle."[35] In addition, the process of "demobilisation" [36] of the ANC's grassroots during the period of transition and the concomitant "streamlining of [its] operations"[37] and modernising of its structures in the mid-1990s set in motion the tension between its liberation movement and political party identities.[38]

Given the nature of these discontents, a repository of collective tension, social and economic marginalisation and ethnic relegation could be accessed in constructing the spectacle. Indeed, the invocation of social problems in its construction serve as "reinforcements of ideologies"

[32] Anthony Butler, 'The State of the African National Congress' in Sakhela Buhlungu, John Daniel, Roger Southall and Jessica Lutchman (eds) *State of the Nation: South Africa 2007* (Cape Town: HSRC Press, 2007), 35

[33] African National Congress, 'Organisational Report by Secretary General Kgalema Motlanthe', National General Council, 2005. Available online: http://www.anc.org.za/show.php?id=2579, (Accessed 12 July 2008); also cited in Butler, 41

[34] Butler, 42-43

[35] Interview with Jeremy Cronin conducted by Helena Sheehan, 24 January 2002, Available online: http://webpages.dcu.ie/~sheehanh/za/cronin02.htm (accessed 10 June 2011) . 'Zanufication' is a reference to the Zimbabwean liberation movement and ruling party in Zimbabwe under the leadership of Robert Mugabe

[36] Gary Prevost, 'The Evolution of the African National Congress in Power: From Revolutionaries to Social Democrats?' *Politikon,* 33,2 (2006), 175

[37] William M. Gumede, 'Modernising the African National Congress:: The Legacy of President Thabo Mbeki' in Peter Kagwanja and Kwandiwe Kondlo (eds) *State of the Nation: South Africa 2008* (Cape Town: HSRC Press 2009), 37

[38] Fikeni, 5

and "signify who are virtuous and useful and who are dangerous and inadequate."[39] Social problems also manifest in political discourse so as "to assign blame and praise" and as such, becomes a site of "intensif[ied] polarisation".[40] Indeed, central to fomenting opposition of the Mbeki administration, was a discourse of betrayal that centred on the displacement of the RDP, as a manifestation of the Freedom Charter, by GEAR, and the rupture that it effected on the telos of the ANC's claim to political, economic and social liberation.[41] In positioning Mbeki as a threat, opposition from COSATU, the SACP and elements within the ANC, succeeded in "presenting [Zuma] as another of Mbeki's victims" and thus perceptively allowed for Zuma to be "linked with the imagery of resistance to inequality."[42] Locating this resistance in the figure of Zuma served to personalise the fissure between "working class and [...] pro-capitalist policies" and set the basis for a confrontation between their respective embodiments in Zuma and Mbeki.[43]

Political marketing would be imperative in this construction. While the political environment was ripe for exploiting the fissures mentioned, survey evidence prior to his release indicated that Zuma did not enjoy the wholesale support from union members.[44] Thus, his 'man of the people' image became a "myth" that gained greater currency in the narrative that was constructed around Zuma.[45] The ANC's alliance partners duly informed the myth as Zuma became the conduit through which they could contest the incumbent '1996 class project' that oversaw the institution of neoliberal economic policies and their sidelining in decision-making structures and assert greater influence over the leadership of the ANC.[46] Advocating for a greater distribution of the "democratic dividends"[47] of liberation, the alliance partners were imbued not only with a capacity to mobilise a large membership, but were also more calculating in that they were "instrumental in revitalising ANC branches" just prior to its

---

[39] Edelman, 12

[40] Edelman, 18

[41] Claire Ceruti, 'African National Congress Change in Leadership: What Really Won it for Zuma?' *Review of African Political Economy*, 115 (2008), 111

[42] Ceruti, 112

[43] Ceruti, 112. See also, Gumede, 'South Africa: Jacob Zuma and the Difficulties of Consolidating South Africa's Democracy', 262; and Jeremy Seekings, 'The Electoral Implications of Social and Economic Changes since 1994' in in Jessica Piombo and Lia Nijzink (eds.) *Electoral Politics in South Africa (*Pretoria: HSRC Press, 2006), 23-39 for the roots of these inequalities

[44] The results were part of a survey undertaken by Sakhela Buhlungu on trade unions and democracy in South Africa, see Devan Pillay, 'COSATU, the SACP and the ANC post-Polokwane: Looking Left but does it Feel Right?' *Labour, Capital and Society*,41,2 (2008), 17

[45] Steven Friedman, 'Voters and Voice: The ANC Vote and the 2009 Election' *Discourse*, 36,2, (2008)

[46] Indeed, while corporatist institutions like the National Economic Development and Labour Council (NEDLAC) were "diluted" the influence of COSATU on policy-making, instead of giving it voice. See Prevost, 175, for more.

[47] Gumede, 'South Africa: Jacob Zuma and the Difficulties of Consolidating South Africa's Democracy', 262

National Conference in Polokwane in December 2007.[48] Aware that the 'Polokwane conference' would be the central moment in which Zuma's leadership challenge would be asserted, the SACP and COSATU undertook a "massive recruitment drive" so as to "feature prominently in branch delegations to the conference and so influence the leadership nomination process."[49] Noticeable growth in the rural provinces of the Eastern Cape, Kwazulu Natal, the Northern Cape and the North West demonstrated not only the shifting bases of political and class support, but also the success of Zuma's 'pro-poor', pro-working class branding. This branding functioned largely to inform the creation of the spectacle to

> [...] make a complex and largely unknowable social world understandable [...] Leaders are ready symbols of good or evil, while historical trends, social conditions, relations of production, and modes of discourse are not. Leaders become objectifications of whatever worries or pleases observers of the political scene because it is easy to identify with them, support or oppose them, love or hate them.[50]

While organisational and ideological divergences underscored the contest between Zuma and Mbeki, it was framed discursively as the "battle for the custodianship of ANC values and traditions."[51] Imperatively, the need to re-assert the mass character of the ANC and return it to its popular roots among the people – "biased towards the working class and poor" – accessed the historical narrative that sought to resurrect the telos of the movement toward the realisation of national liberation that the Mbeki years disrupted.[52]

I contend that Polokwane signified a more symbolic potentiality than a material one, where a new "leadership style" rather than "a major policy shift" was the central outcome.[53] The policy changes were themselves symbolic, as the ANC aimed to scale-back and directly counter the ethos of governance that characterised the Mbeki administration. Aiming to signify a more open, consultative and democratic style of governance, greater credence was accorded to a "reaffirmation of the Freedom Charter" and the prescripts of the developmental state.[54] In the aftermath of his victory at Polokwane, Jacob Zuma needed to tread a careful

---

[48] Ceruti, 108
[49] Fikeni, 12
[50] Edelman, 39
[51] Fikeni, 14
[52] For more, S'dumo Dlamini and Zwelinzima Vavi, 'Defend our Movement: Advance the Gains of Polokwane! Expose and Isolate the Black DA!' (South Africa: COSATU, 2009)
[53] Fikeni, 6
[54] African National Congress, '52nd National Conference Resolutions', 20 December 2007 Available online: http://www.anc.org.za/show.php?id=2536 (accessed 15 January 2008). Important and symbolic changes

path. Indeed, victory did not mitigate the divisiveness that he and his supporters represented in the South African political sphere, but also his embrace of 'ordinariness' and the populism that it sprouted, created nervousness within the domestic and international financial community. The rhetorical commitment to continuity that marked the interregnum between the policy conference and the election campaign nevertheless lent itself to an empirical disjuncture in the political sphere. Indeed, while the animosity expressed against Mbeki's stewardship of the economy became the prism through which opposition his leadership was mobilised, especially by alliance partners, in the post-Polokwane period the ANC took to validating those very policies. Indeed, writing in the online newsletter, *ANC Today,* Zuma and the ANC provided a rationale for the institution of Mbeki's economic policies,

> The ANC adopted a macroeconomic framework and a fiscal stance capable of withstanding tough times and protecting our economy and our people during times of global economic turbulence. Our policy decisions have sometimes been controversial, but if our economic policies were designed for their populist appeal, if we tried to finance everything, at once, for everybody, then short-term gains would quickly give way to long-term misery.[55]

The ANC's record of pragmatism and rationalism in government needed to be asserted given its alliance with now increasingly dominant left-wing movements. That pragmatism was intimately connected to both Mandela and Mbeki. In an interview with London's *Financial Times,* Jacob Zuma was keen to impress the importance of continuity and downplay the significance of the events at Polokwane. Keen to note that both Mandela and Mbeki were supported by the trade union movement and SACP, and thus the continuity and tradition of support to the ANC, Zuma posited the collective foundations of the decision-making, holding that

> I actually fail to understand why people think then that Zuma's going to come with some funny thing. You know, ANC is a very particular organisation in dealing with

---

included the disbandment of the Directorate of Special Operations (the Scorpions) which was central in leading investigations against Zuma; greater democratic processes in the appointment of leadership at provincial and Cabinet level; the relocation of the strategic centre of the ANC from the party presidency to the Secretary General's office; and greater emphasis was accorded to performance and monitoring capacities.

[55] African National Congress, 'A commitment to put people first, make a difference to the lives of the poor and ensure higher economic growth in the longer term' *ANC Today,* 8, 42 (2008) Available online: http://www.anc.org.za/docs/anctoday/2008/at42.htm (accessed 25 October 2008)

the issue of policy – very particular, very clear. No individual can then come and change it.[56]

The ANC united around this position expressly reasserting the "collective" nature of policy-making which aimed to establish confidence in its governance directives by such reassertion.[57] Indeed, the ANC as 'collective' needed to be asserted against the backdrop of Mbeki's recall from his 'deployment' as the President of South Africa in light of findings that there had been "executive interference in the independence of the prosecutions authority" and which rendered further legal action against Zuma "invalid."[58] Casting a serious pall over the institutions of state, the findings did not exonerate Zuma completely, but did entrench the notion of victimhood upon which he marketed himself.

The tremendous animosities that characterised relations within the ANC in late 2008 had both political and marketing significance. The splintering of the ANC and the formation of the Congress of the People, from a cohort of leaders aligned to Mbeki, did much to disrupt the brand identity of the ANC. As noted in chapter two, branded political parties not only inculcate a sense of community but are an important repository of meanings, affections and values that provide an aspirational vision of 'the good life.' The split with COPE, especially given the proximity of its personalities with the ANC's history and traditions of struggle provided a significant foil to the ANC's claims to the ownership of the struggle against apartheid and thus its narrative of being the 'sole and authentic' representative of the interest of the people in the democratic era. COPE was able to make claims on the historical, traditional and mythological heritage of the ANC and thus, according to Susan Booysen, it was able to "shake the ANC at its roots."[59] Indeed, its very name, the Congress of the People, was used to stimulate and invoke the significance of that historical moment. It was not unopposed by the ANC. The seriousness of its claims to ownership of history was evident in legal proceedings it initiated to prevent the use of the name, Congress of the People. The basis of the ANC's contention pivoted on the issue that the event of the COP in 1955 "lives in

[56] Alec Russell, Jacob Zuma Interview, *Financial Times* 6 March 2008, Available online:
 http://www.ft.com/cms/s/0/40a1dbea-ebab-11dc-9493-0000779fd2ac.html#axzz1TTfUjPec (accessed 6 March 2008)
[57] Motlanthe, 'We should forge ahead with our historic mission'
[58] Jonathan Klaaren and Theunis Roux, 'The Nicholson Judgment: An Exercise in Law and Politics' Available online: http://www.wits.ac.za/files/res9e3609335ad54b43a54af0bccb4a1ddb.pdf (accessed 12 June 2011), the paper, it should be noted, was also cited as forthcoming in the Journal of African Law, 54,1 (2010), no page numbers provided
[59] Susan Booysen, 'Congress of the People: Between Foothold of Hope and Slippery Slope' in Roger Southall and John Daniel (eds.) *Zunami: The 2009 South African Elections* (Auckland Park: Jacana Media, 2009), 88

the hearts and minds of the people and due to its involvement in the historic event, forms an integral part of the goodwill the ANC has."[60] As such, the "use of the name conveys to the public a false message through which COPE will unfairly attract voters to the detriment of rival political parties."[61] Despite arguing that the name communicates a "false message" to the voter, the court found that COPE's intention to "campaign on the basis that it seeks to uphold the principles of the Freedom Charter" did not mislead the voter in believing that it was the "sole heir and upholder of the ideals originated in the 1955 Congress."[62] Indeed, the court put trust in the ability of the "reasonable voter" to distinguish between the political events of 2008 and those of 1955.[63] Finding in favour of COPE, the judge also asserted that COPE's registration as a political party did not give it an 'exclusive' right over history and the event and as such, did not constitute an "unlawful competition."[64]

The arguments raised by the ANC in the court, and the foundations of those arguments, are revealing. Indeed, in asserting the 'goodwill' argument above, there is an implicit claim on history and assertion over the ownership of the event. More importantly, it also articulates a very specific and narrow narrative of the event, feeding into its mythic status of political resistance to apartheid. In attempting to protect these claims, the ANC in effect aimed to define and locate itself at the centre of historical and contemporary political life and render null any formation that invoked and challenged the hegemonic foundations of those claims. In a sense, the historical capture of the 'hearts and minds' of the electorate needed to be protected from any undue challenge as it sought to "prove that there is no alternative to the ANC."[65] The emergence of COPE served to bunker the ANC on the one hand, by continual reflection on the venerable aspects of its history, and on the other, by attacking its perceived enemies. Edelman has argued that in the creation of the spectacle, "in constructing [...] enemies and the narrative plots that define their place in history, people are manifestly defining themselves and their place in history as well; the self-definition lends passion to the whole transaction."[66]

---

[60]*African National Congress v Congress of the People*, High Court of South Africa, Transvaal Provincial Division, 12 December 2008, Available online: http://www.saflii.org.za/cases/ZAGPHC/2008/411.pdf (accessed 16 January 2009), 4-5
[61] *African National Congress v Congress of the People*, 3
[62] *African National Congress v Congress of the People*, 6-7
[63] *African National Congress v Congress of the People*, 6
[64] *African National Congress v Congress of the People*, 8
[65] Jacob Zuma, 'We will prove there is no alternative to the ANC' *ANC* Today, 8,39 (2008) Available online: http://www.anc.org.za/docs/anctoday/2008/at39.htm (accessed 21 January 2009)
[66] Edelman, 76

The political campaign waged by Zuma and the alliance prior to the election was significant for a fourth reason: it was underpinned by a strong ethnic dimension. Indeed, a tension emerges in analysing the politics of this period in South Africa. While Polokwane represented rhetorically, to some measure, a return to a more venerable and democratic tradition within the ANC, it needs to be offset with the greater mobilisation of ethnicity to give effect to his political cause. In understanding the emergence of the ethnic dimension within the ANC, Ari Sitas has argued that rather than being seen as a "primordial return to 'traditionalism,'" it emerged as a result of the process of "horizontal decentralisation" of local authorities and its impact on the organisational and political culture of the ANC.[67] Such decentralisation had the effect of centring "class struggles and competition" within branches and was compounded by the emergence of "loyalty and authoritative obedience."[68]

The "language of populism" filtered into the strong sense of 'Zulu-ness' that Zuma asserted.[69] Characterising these cultural assertions is, however, problematic, for rather than asserting 'Zulu culture' it was a "Zuma culture" that came to be foregrounded.[70] The appropriation of this 'Zulu-ness' and its condensation in the figure of Zuma served to stoke an ethnic "solidarity" that was both limited and exclusionary.[71] Whether through the performance of song, dress or testimony provided in Zulu at an earlier rape trial – enlivening the spectacle – Zuma "his marshalling of Zulu identity [...] can be interpreted as a contemptuous reaction to the intellectualism and worldliness of Mbeki and his inner circle."[72] The circulation of the '100% Zulu boy' marker in the political sphere served to popularise the ethnic appeal of Zuma at a base level. More than that, by entrenching the notion of 'Zulu-ness', Zuma effectively rendered silent opposition and criticism for this "ethnic ontology" served as an exclusionary mechanism to non-Zulus.[73]

The invocation of this notion of 'Zulu-ness' and the political utility with which it was disbursed in the public sphere was a 'contaminated' version of ethnicity, culture and tradition

[67] Ari Sitas, 'The Road to Polokwane: Politics and Populism in Kwazulu-Natal', *Transformation: Critical Perspectives on Southern Africa* 68 (2008), 89-91
[68] Sitas, 90
[69] Sitas, 90
[70] Simphiwe Sesanti, 'The Media and Zuma/Zulu Culture: An Afrocentric Perspective' in Adrian Hadland, Eric Louw, Simphiwe Sesanti and Herman Wasserman (eds.) *Power, Politics and Identity in South African Media: Selected Seminar Papers* (Cape Town: HSRC Press, 2008), 373
[71] Sesanti, 373
[72] Hlonipha Mokoena, 'Jacob Zuma and the evanescent legacy of nineteenth-century Zulu cosmopolitanism and natinoalism' in *Concerned Africa Scholars*, Bulletin 84 (2010) Available online: http://www.concernedafricascholars.org/docs/Bulletin84.pdf (accessed 17 June 2011), 50
[73] Sitas, 91

that served a distinctly political purpose. Indeed, it was a notion of 'Zulu-ness' that was "devoid of history or dignity" and placed "hope and leadership [in] an 'authoritative other.'"[74] The recourse to a shallow ethnicity and rise of "grassroots authoritarian populism" reflected a wider move towards an "incipient political culture of coercion and violence couched in the rhetoric of revolution and liberation struggle."[75] The effect of this new political culture was to limit the space of opposition to Zuma and the new administrators of the ANC, and locate it within a discursive and representational oeuvre that stood at odds with the more popular and democratic aspects of its organisational personality.

The significance of these developments pre- and post-Polokwane lie in their political, organisational and cultural resonances. Indeed, Polokwane became the moment at which the alliance partners reasserted their influence in the ANC and were complicit in the process of rebranding Jacob Zuma with a popular inflection. Able to assert such influence after years of contest that emerged from the inception of GEAR, alliance support for Zuma fed into and supported narratives of popular support and democratic participation. The rhetoric emanating from the ANC at this time is marked by incongruity and dissonance for while Mbeki was demonised by oppositional forces, for reasons of confidence and continuity, the organisation was keen to assert its continued adherence to the policies that his administration inaugurated. Ructions in the political sphere accorded a duty on the ANC to assert its cultural presence within the body politic. The ANC's historical ownership of the struggle and the legitimacy that flowed to remake a democratic South Africa was threatened by the emergence of COPE, who discursively aimed to exercise similar claims to the organisational history and heritage of struggle. As a marketing device, the turn to an ethnic mobilisation strategy was a response to latent insecurities in the political sphere. Contrary to the formal position of the ANC to eschew ethnic allegiance, political expediency triumphed over organisational tradition. Segueing with the branding of Zuma as a man of the people, the 'invention of ethnicity' accessed a shallow and base understanding of Zulu-ness. The campaign that followed at times confirmed and denied aspects of these observations.

Given the animosities that punctuated ANC politics in the years preceding the campaign, a December 2008 survey by the firm IPSOS-Markinor , just after the formal launch of COPE, indicated nearly "half of ANC supporters [felt] uneasy about the events which took place at Polokwane" and felt that the "ANC was a different party in the aftermath of the

---

[74] Sitas, 97
[75] Fikeni, 11

conference."[76] In light of the ANC's dominance in the electoral and political realm, it would be easy to conceive of an uncritical electorate. Rather, studies on party identification demonstrate that despite initially high levels of identification, understandable given the import of the 1994 elections, by 2008, "40% of the electorate were not overtly loyal to any particular political party" and there was a sizeable decrease in loyalty to the ANC over the same period.[77] As a result, there was a greater pool of voters "open to persuasion" and this provided the impetus to political parties, and the ANC in particular, to undertake a well-run, convincing and efficient campaign.[78] That it would constitute a spectacle is rendered clear in the discussion that follows.

THE CALCULUS OF SIYANQOBA

We are preparing for war elections...[79]

The 2009 election represented a key moment of affirmation in the life of the state and the ANC. As the foundation of democratic life, elections are an enactment of democracy and characterised as "a contemporary version of a totemic ritual of rebirth, making an offering that is supposed to atone for the ruling chaos."[80] Indeed, as is evident from the foregoing discussion such a characterisation is apt for the analysis here. The ritualistic performance of elections in a consolidating South African democracy are underpinned by the symbolic impetus of election campaigns which seek to,

> [...] legitimate democratic government and political leaders, uniting voters and candidates in displays of civic piety and rituals of national renewal. The shared values, history and aspirations celebrated in election campaigns are perhaps the clearest expression of democracy's continually evolving mythology and perception of its own essential character. Both the practical outcomes and symbolic meaning of campaigns are important to the health of democracies [...][81]

The discussion below teases out the elements of this understanding of election campaigns and highlights their spectacular nature in the South African political sphere While the invocation

---

[76] IPSOS-Markinor, 'ANC supporters loyal, but feeling uneasy', 18 December 2009, Available online: http://ipsos-markinor.co.za/news/anc-supporters-loyal-but-feeling-uneasy (accessed 19 December 2008)
[77] Collette Schulz-Herzenberg, 'Trends in Party Support and Voter Behaviour, 1994', 29-30
[78] Schulz-Herzenberg, 'Trends in Party Support and Voter Behaviour, 1994-2009', 29
[79] Jacob Zuma quoted the in the *Mail and Guardian,* 14 September 2008
[80] Cwalina, Falkowski and Newman, 35
[81] Swanson and Mancini, 1

of myth, symbolism, memory and personality are central to understanding the contours of the ANC's representational and discursive overtures, the sophistication and professionalism of its campaign operations should not be dismissed. At the functional level, the interplay between these different approaches is also important in permitting an understanding of the shift between the ANC's liberation movement and political party identities. More than merely a shift, the discussion below demonstrates the accommodation of each identity by the ANC. The interplay between these identities is politically useful for it enables the ANC to reconcile its "mass character" with the exigencies of governing the state, and in so doing, fulfil its aim "to deeply transform the structures of South African society."[82]

The continued pursuit of this aim required a strong electoral showing. I noted that the ANC faced a highly critical and wary electorate given the fractious nature of preceding political milieu. Confronted with the task of needing to deflect Zuma's polarising qualities and his embodiment of "the pathologies of neo-patrimonial, big-man politics", he was cast as "the new South African dream"– uneducated, rurally raised and interlocking the exile, military, and Island traditions of the struggle together with a highly amenable persona and a grassroots understanding – which served as the basis of encapsulating the notion that a better life for all was achievable.[83] Organisationally, the ANC needed to project an image of unity, reconciliation and rectitude as it continued on its mandate established by the victory of the 1994 election. But more than that, and reflective of the changing demographics of the electorate biased toward young, first time voters, the ANC also needed to establish the 'coolness' of its brand. These processes commenced with its popularly-informed manifesto launch at the beginning of 2009.

'My ANC. My Vision. My Future.'

The three young guys sitting opposite us during lunch were in animated conversation. Mixing Xhosa and English, the topic of discussion was the election. Young, black, and definitely upwardly mobile, that's how they came across. We needed to get back on the road. 'Did you vote the right way?' he asked, looking at us through his expensive designer sunglasses. 'What's the right way?' we responded.' You know...For your vision, your future'. He smiled. We smiled.[84]

---

[82] Vincent Darracq, 'The African National Congress (ANC) Organisation at the Grassroots' *African Affairs*, 107/429, 595

[83] Laurence Piper and Heidi Matisonn, 'Democracy by Accident: The Rise of Zuma and the Renaissance of the Tripartite Alliance' *Representation* 45,2 (2009), 146

[84] Excerpts from the authors research 'scrapbook' on 22 April 2009

On 10 January 2009 in the seaside city of East London, Jacob Zuma addressed a teeming stadium of ANC supporters on manifesto that the ANC would use to contest the election. The performance of power undertaken at the launch of the manifesto was underpinned by a sense of carnival in the large crowd. The rally evoked the images of excitement and anticipation and played into the "popular mass culture" of the ANC, where "[s]ongs, dances, *toyi-toyi,* and militant slogans are part of the ANC *arts-de-faire.*"[85] The singing and chanting was electric. As Zuma approached the podium after veneration from an *imbongi* the crowds stilled and the struggle songs died down. Wearing a yellow T-shirt with 'Volunteer' across the front – thereby forming an historical and cognitive link with the volunteers that were present at the COP in 1955 and signalling the 'bottom up' process of mobilisation and engagement in the campaign that would follow and of which he was a part – Zuma's address oriented around the continued quest for relief from the legacy of apartheid's social and economic deprivations by the "millions of South Africans" engaged in the ordinary and everyday struggles.[86] Distilling the ethos of the entire campaign, Zuma maintained,

> It is due to their efforts that we can now say with confidence that much has been done in addressing the legacy of apartheid in over the last 15 years, that much more remains to be done, and that working together, we can do more.[87]

---

[85] Darracq, 'The African National Congress (ANC) Organisation at the Grassroots', 602, italics in the original

[86] African National Congress, 'Address by ANC President Jacob Zuma on the Occasion of the Celebration of the 97th Anniversary of the African National Congress and the Launch of the 2009 Election Manifesto' Available online: http://www. http://www.anc.org.za/show.php?id=3783 (accessed 20 January 2009)

[87] African National Congress, 'Address by ANC President Jacob Zuma on the Occasion of the Celebration of the 97th Anniversary of the African National Congress and the Launch of the 2009 Election Manifesto'

Figure 19: Joy and Celebration at the ANC's Manifesto Launch, East London. Obtained online from the image repository on ANC's Facebook page: https://www.facebook.com/photo_search.php?oid=61829275081&view=all

Discursively, apartheid continued to figure largely in the ANC's representational strategy. The explicit rhetorical ascendancy of the Freedom Charter under a Zuma administration sought to engage a temporal continuity with the liberation project that commenced in 1994. The 2009 manifesto gave greater expression to this project and functioned as an "activist text" wherein the longer term aspiration of full liberation directed by the ANC would be promoted.[88] Thus, rather than perform "a conceptual break with the [immediate] past", the manifesto aimed to ensure continuity by invoking the precepts of the Charter and thus came to "function through the citational, reiterative practice of performativity" that "depends on a repetition of previous scripts in order to achieve the effects they name."[89] Relocating the mission of the ANC within this historical thrust served the larger imperative of invoking history and memory to bind the present campaign to a longer and more esteemed narrative of struggle. This will be demonstrated below.

---

[88] Laura Winkiel, *Modernism, Race and Manifestoes* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 1
[89] Winkiel, 13

Constituting a spectacle in itself, the staging of the visual power exerted by the ANC as evidenced in the images below, conveyed a sense of dominance, direction and incumbency for the movement. For all the pomp, carnivalism and ceremony that the manifesto launch garnered, a level of disinterest permeated the crowd and Zuma laboured through the provisions of the manifesto. The formality of a staid and stuttering Zuma was broken with the eruption of the cry 'Amandla! Matla!' and his celebrity persona engaged as he broke into song and encouraged people to vote for the ANC.[90] Popular engagement would be central to the campaign and spectacles of this nature would inform the overall spectacular nature of the campaign. As in 1994 and other election campaigns, the ANC would be accessible, ingratiate itself with communities and have its ear to the ground, for as its National Executive Committee noted,

> [T]he character of the election campaign that the ANC will embark on, will be dominated by door-to-door work and direct information on the gains made in the past 15 years as well as how the challenges will be managed going forward. All NEC members and all candidates will campaign vigorously for an overwhelming ANC victory in [the] election.[91]

The inclusive nature of the campaign was witnessed in the development of the manifesto itself. In late 2008, the ANC launched the 'My ANC. My Vision. My Future' campaign that "invite[ed] South Africans to tell us about their vision of the future as part of the broad consultative process" to inform the election manifesto.[92] Indeed, in the tradition of the COP, ordinary members of the public were encouraged to submit their ideas and "suggestions" that would inform the purport and content of the manifesto via email, text messages or post.[93] Making the link explicit ANC spokesperson Jessie Duarte noted that

> In 1955 [...] the Congress of the People brought together demands from across the country into a vision of a new society. In the period leading up to the 1994 elections it

---

[90] These observations were made from analysis of the proceedings of the manifesto launch on video from the ANC's election 2009 webpage, see Youtube, 'Launch of 2009 Election Manifesto' Available online: http://www.youtube.com/elections2009#p/u/2Z/yf90zXL5dpQ (accessed November 2010). There are eight parts of the launch which are able to be viewed from the link above.

[91] African National Congress National Executive Committee, 'ANC gears up to attain victory in the upcoming 2009 election,' *ANC Today* 8,50 (2008) Available online: http://www.anc.org.za/docs/anctoday/2008/at50.htm (accessed 21 January 2009)

[92] African National Congress, 'My ANC. My Vision. My Future.' *ANC Today* 8, 46 (2008) Available online: http://www. anc.org.za/docs/anctoday/2008/at46.htm (accessed 10 December 2008)

[93] African National Congress, 'My ANC. My Vision. My Future.'

was this that inspired the People's Forums in which ANC leaders went out to listen to the needs of the people.. And it was this that inspired our call [...] for members of the public to make suggestions for inclusion in the ANC's 2009 election manifesto [...] we mobilised over 3,000 submissions via email, sms and post. What was remarkable about the responses was how freely they expressed the concerns, challenges and vision of a broad cross-section of South Africans.[94]

Figure 20: Asserting the dominance of the ANC to a seated and obeisant audience. Obtained online from the image repository on ANC's Facebook page: https://www.facebook.com/photo_search.php?oid=61829275081&view=all

Close to one thousand suggestions, a third of the final total, had been received by late 2008 which would be "collate[d]" and "circulated at the ANC's Manifesto Policy Conference."[95] Citizen participation in this form constituted a broader consultative process that included all structures of the ANC and the alliance along with key and aligned formations in civil society and communities. Standing in counterpoint to claims of demobilisation of communities and

---

[94] Jessie Duarte, 'Election Advertising' *ANC Today* 9,8 (2009) Available online:
http://www.anc.org.za/docs/anctoday/2009/at08.htm (accessed 27 February 2009)
[95] African National Congress, 'My ANC. My Vision. My Future'

the sidelining of popular participation in policy-making, the ANC was keen to espouse a decentralised mode of campaigning. Such an approach, as evident in Jessie Duarte's quote above, was a feature of the ANC's campaigning and lent its brand greater symbolic resonance and support in the fostering of a sense of community and engagement. Indeed, the ritual practice of "having a conversation with voters" at election times served to provide continuity with previous campaigns and inculcate a sense of ownership in the political process within the body politic.[96]

Figure 21: Publicising the 'My ANC. My Vision. My Future' campaign on mini-bus taxis, Mowbray, Cape Town, 22 April 2009, Author's photograph

Claims to the democratic and participative nature of the campaign, giving impetus to the slogan of 'Working together we can do more', also served the political function of shoring up alliance support for the approach and mandate obtained by the ANC by giving rhetorical emphasis to the aim of "building people's power" and mitigating elitism within and outside

---

[96] On the idea of having a conversation with voters, see for example, pronouncements by ANC elections head, Fikile Mbalula, ANC gears up for weekend of campaigning' *Mail and Guardian*, 23 January 2009 Available online: http://www.mg.co.za/article/2009-01-23-anc-gears-up-for-weekend-of-campaigning (accessed 23 January 2009)

the ANC.[97] In light of this, and despite the fractiousness of the relationship between the ANC and the SACP/COSATU alliance that characterised much of the democratic era, the latter's electoral support has always been forthcoming. Both strategy and expediency dictate it. As I have demonstrated in the previous section, the need to inculcate confidence in a Zuma administration saw a rhetorical adherence to, and even support of, the very economic policies upon which challenge to the Mbeki administration was premised. In the campaign, the process of realising liberation was ongoing for as COSATU Secretary General Zwelinzima Vavi opined in a message of support on the launch of the manifesto,

> The impact of these economic and social policies has seen significant reduction in the levels of severe poverty and improvement in the quality of life of millions of South Africans. [98]

The show of support is underpinned by a strong marketing imperative, for in demonstrating support of these policies, there is a concomitant affirmation of the competence and reliability in the ability to govern. As in earlier marketing of the struggle discussed in chapter three, the ANC is accorded the central status as leader of the continuing struggle for liberation. Indeed, as Vavi continues

> Significant progress was made, there, toward the vision of creating a united, non-racial and non-sexist society [...] we still have a long way to go before we can claim we have overcome the apartheid legacy. The struggle continues and the ANC still has a revolutionary duty, as both a ruling party and liberation movement, to unify our people for the attainment of the Freedom Charter's vision.[99]

While the influence of the Charter was clearly evident in the manifesto, so too were certain prescriptions of earlier economic policies discussed in chapter six that the ANC had eschewed. Indeed, the "realisation of the objectives of the manifesto" required a move away from GEAR-inspired "growth for its own sake" and abidance to a 'growth *through* redistribution' model as there was an attempt to "link economic growth the delivery of basic

---

[97] Blade Nzimande, 'The elite agenda has major weapons in its hands' *Umsebenzi*, 8,8 (2009) Available online: http://www.politicsweb.co.za/politicsweb/view/politicsweb/en/page71619?oid=127985&sn=Detail (accessed 7 May 2009)

[98] Zwelinzima Vavi, 'COSATU General Secretary Zwelinzima Vavi message of support to the ANC on the launch of manifesto and election campaign', 10 January 2009, Available online: http://www.cosatu.org.za/docs/sp/2009/sp0110.htm (accessed 23 May 2009

[99] Vavi, 'COSATU General Secretary Zwelinzima Vavi message of support to the ANC on the launch of manifesto and election campaign'

necessities and services" as per the diktats of the developmental state.[100] The text-heavy manifesto demonstrating the seriousness accorded ANC policy-making was also acutely aware of the need for prudence and pragmatism given the financial malaise of the global economic environment in 2009.

The manifesto became an important site in locating the ANC discursively and rhetorically within an older Charter-entrenched tradition and repositioning the movement within a broader representational stream that was rooted in a people-inspired and democratic politics. While ANC campaigns have traditionally conformed to such an approach, the significance of the 2009 campaign lay in the politics that preceded its occasion. The "uncertainty" that this politics generated within the ANC and the threat to its dominance in the electoral sphere in the democratic period required a robust response that played not only on issues of tradition, history and memory, but also personality.[101] The venerability of the ANC was crystallised in the figure of Mandela, whose spectre loomed large in campaign marketing.

The Spectre of Nelson Mandela

Nelson Mandela was the embodiment of tremendous symbolic capital for the ANC. Serving as the moral touchstone and arbiter of the most venerable traditions of the South African political life, there nevertheless was considerable consternation surrounding his political loyalties at the commencement of the campaign. The emergence of COPE, and the organisational and political dissatisfaction that engulfed the ANC, rendered questionable the loyalties of even the most prominent of ANC leaders. Mandela chose a political rally in the symbolic Dutywa – the home of the Mbeki political dynasty – to entrench his loyalty in the ANC. Cast as the grand patriarch of the ANC, Mandela's endorsement as the "true embodiment of the organisation" conveyed what David Kertzer has called "solidarity without consensus" as he was able to appeal to many different constituencies in the ANC – some of which were still opposed to a Zuma presidency – while providing "popularity" and "legitimacy" to the regime, the elites or particular people through his very *presence* at the event. [102] Moreover, Mandela performed a "bridging function, linking the past with the

---

[100] African National Congress, 'Everyone agrees the ANC's manifesto is pro-poor' *ANC Today* 9,5 (2009) Available online: http://www.anc.org.za/docs/anctoday/2009/at05.htm (accessed 6 February 2009)

[101] The notion of 'substantive uncertainty' has been developed variously by Adam Habib. See for example, Adam Habib, 'The Politics of Economic Policy-Making: Substantive Uncertainty, Political Leverage and Human Development' *Transformation* 56 (2004), 90-103

[102] Quoted in Matthew Truesdell, *Spectacular Politics: Louis-Napoleon Bonaparte and the Fete Imperiale, 1849-1870* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997), 7, my emphasis

present"[103]and thus served to condense the history, tradition and venerability of the ANC given that he "led the ANC Youth League, Defiance Campaign, was volunteer-in-chief and commander-in-chief" and in so doing, became the touchstone of morality, ethics and authority within the movement and accorded veracity to its mythic posturing.[104]

Moreover, the cultivation of the personality of Mandela was a deliberate political strategy of the ANC during the struggle years that trailed him, especially into his post-Presidency years.[105] His 'messianic status' historically played into a larger "idiom and psychology of redemptive politics" that was keenly tapped into through his presence at the rally.[106] Indeed, the strands of this politics intimately conveyed the notion of "deliverance from bondage, covenants, chosen people, divine election, promised lands, eschatologies, chiliasm and apocalypse" that dramatically performed the act of conferring legitimacy on the ANC of 2009 and, more importantly, on the persona of Jacob Zuma.[107] The utilisation of Mandela is intimately connected to the spectacular of nature of politics, for as Edelman had argued, such personalisation to garner mass support, lends the notion of leadership a 'dramaturgic' quality that is put into service in very public and theatrical ways.[108] Thus, the parade of Mandela at a political rally in the symbolically rich space of Dutywa is complicit in the creation of a campaign spectacle.

---

[103] Roger MacGinty, 'The Political Use of Symbols of Accord and Discord: Northern Ireland and South Africa' , *Civil Wars* 4,1 (2001), 3

[104] Quoted in Hajra Omarjee, 'Mandela joins Zuma on ANC campaign trail', *Business Day* 16 February 2009 Available online: http://www.businessday.co.za (accessed 16 February 2009)

[105] Interview with Thabo Mbeki conducted by Ferial Haffajee, Rapule Tabane and Drew Forrest, *Mail and Guardian*, 13 December 2007, Available online: http://mg.co.za/article/2007-12-13-do-i-look-like-ive-got-horns (accessed 14 December 2007). Mbeki cautioned against the tendency toward personalisation and the "cult of personality" in a letter he addressed to Jacob Zuma shortly before the 2009 election. While acknowledged that it was politically expedient to use Nelson Mandela as a "representative personality" of the struggle against apartheid and the condition of political prisoners, Mbeki was also keen to assert that it ran against the venerable traditions of the ANC for its "heroes and heroines [to seek] adulation in any manner that would turn them into cult figures," see News24, 'Mbeki Letter to the ANC' Available online: http://www.news24.com/MyNews24/YourStory/Mbeki-letter-to-the-ANC-20081031 (accessed 31 October 2008)

[106] Rob Nixon, 'Mandela, Messianism and the Media' *Transition* 51 (1991), 43

[107] Nixon, 43

[108] Edelman, 40

Figure 22: Mandela and Zuma and the Dutywa Rally, Obtained online from the image repository on the ANC's Facebook page, Available online: https://www.facebook.com/photo_search.php?oid=61829275081&view=all

As a moral arbiter, Mandela would also come to embody the means by which dissent and dissonance could be managed. In a backhanded swipe at COPE, Zuma posited that,

> "[h]e has taught us that when there are challenges or differences of opinion within the organisation, don't run away but stay inside and resolve them."[109]

Moreover, in addressing the criticism that emerged over the involvement of Mandela at the rally, Zuma was keen to assert that Mandela's ownership over the ANC, and thus render criticism of the movement as anathema to the will of Mandela. Addressing a rally in Khayelistha, Zuma posited,

> This ANC belongs to Madiba. He built this ANC along with other leaders. Discussion between Madiba and the ANC when he gives us ANC volunteers a mandate – where does that concern other people?[110]

---

[109] Quoted in Omarjee

[110] Youtube, 'Zuma Defends ANC's History with Nelson Mandela at Cape Town rally', 22 February 2009

Available online:http:// http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=dqHJzuE4boA (accessed 13 November 2009)

The utilisation of Mandela – notionally and politically – segued both with Zuma's own personal appeal and the "ANC's populist-style election campaign" that "told the people they were central to the ANC's agenda and that they could trust the ANC to improve their lives."[111] Mandela's 'iconic' brand status within the South African polity was followed by Zuma's own popularity within the electorate.[112] While Mandela played a strong 'bridging function' for the ANC, recourse to memory and myth of the past also influenced the tenor of the campaign. As I have argued earlier in chapter two, the recourse to the act of remembering serves to 'maintain memory' and endow the past with a 'discursive significance' that informs and perpetuates the circulation of myths. Mediated by ritual, the interplay between myth and memory informs the contours of the performance that constitute the spectacle.

Remembering

I have demonstrated through the analysis here, and in the preceding chapters, the constant recourse to invoking the past to serve as a moral and ethical validation and rationale for political behaviour. Acts of remembering and commemoration were undertaken at numerous sites, but funerals and memorials were the most apt arenas to inculcate memory and the furtherance of mythology. Despite their "revisionist" impulse, these acts served to perform a very public and emotive link to the past while entrenching notions of sacrifice and loyalty in the present.[113] This process is underscored by "shifting the locus of grievance" from the private to the public and as such, gives greater effect to open and demonstrative forms of commemoration that serve to inform the spectacle.[114]

At the funeral of murdered traditional leader, Inkosi Mbongeleni Zondi, Zuma asserted in his encomium that Zondi was the "reincarnation of the legendary Bambatha", the anti-colonial Zulu chief, and had fought bravely against apartheid. According reverence to both these struggles, Zuma shifted the political register to demonstrate Zondi's efforts in the more

---

[111] Susan Booysen quoted in Linda Doke, 'Guess who's SA's favourite person? ' *Sunday Times*, 23 August 2009
[112] Mandela and Zuma obtained the top two places in a brands survey in the favourite personality ranking, but as a sign of the centrality of political personalities during election period, the next favourite personality with only two percent of the vote was actress Charlize Theron. Archbishop-Emeritus Desmond Tutu and Thabo Mbeki received one percent each, see Doke for more.
[113] Samuel quoted in Martin Hall, 'Social archaeology and the theatres of memory' *Journal of Social Archeology* 9,1 (2001), 50. See also, Timothy Ashplant, Graham Dawson and Michael Roper, 'The politics of war memory and commemoration: Contexts, structures and dynamics' in Timothy Ashplant, Graham Dawson and Michael Roper (eds) *The Politics of War Memory and Commemoration* (London: Routledge, 2000), 4-84
[114] Mamphele Ramphele, 'Political Widowhood in South Africa: The Embodiment of Ambiguity' *Daedalus* 125, (1) , 1996, 99

protracted struggle against economic apartheid and underdevelopment.[115] In attempting to "put [Zondi's] life in proper political context", Zuma asserted,

> We know that he was a courageous leader of his people. We know that he was a leader in the realm of ideas and practice, by the fact that he introduced new ideas in his community. We know that he was a proud member of his community, and a proud member of the African National Congress, an organisation that he served with loyalty and pride, without excluding other political parties from operating in his area.[116]

The address served not only to eulogise Zondi but also, more importantly, it served a marketing purpose of demonstrating the vicarious presence of the ANC in communities given their embodiment in leaders and members. The effect is to locate these individuals within the ANC's stream of history and to render their actions as part of a larger political tendency that sought to fight injustice. Public acts of remembrance also serve to locate the past in the present, and the discourses that operate through 'remembering' hold an acutely political function for the ANC – they serve to give thrust to the incomplete process of emancipation and the physical, spiritual and corporeal sacrifice that was made for that emancipation. This sacrifice bestows a moral and ethical weight upon the organisation, for it is in the 'heroism' of the sacrifice that ultimate loyalty to the struggle led by the ANC is performed.

The act of eulogising a traditional leader, while not uncommon in the ANC, was lent greater significance given Zuma's branding and embrace of ethnicity and tradition. The election manifesto also recorded this political tendency to according "increased power" to traditional leaders who were seen as integral agents in the ANC's attempts to improve rural development.[117]

If an encomium to a traditional leader effected a shift in the 'locus of grievance' to more public and political ends, then acts of commemoration were even more pointed. Commemorating the hanging of activist Solomon Mahlangu by the apartheid regime, Zuma enjoined his audience to acknowledge that they were the "custodians of the collective memory of our fallen comrades" and thus offered an emotive impetus to link 'memory,

---

[115] African National Congress, 'Speech delivered by the President of the African National Congress, Comrade Jacob Zuma at the funeral of the late Inkosi Mbongeleni Zondi', Ngome, Greytown, 31 January 2009 Available online: http://www.anc.org.za/show.php?id=293 (accessed 21 November 2009)

[116] African National Congress, 'Speech delivered by the President of the African National Congress, Comrade Jacob Zuma at the funeral of the late Inkosi Mbongeleni Zondi'

[117] Pillay, 27. See also Hein Marais, *South Africa Pushed to the Limit: The Political Economy of Change*, 425-428

meaning and power' to effect agency.[118] Asserting the centrality of the ANC in this process of remembering, Zuma sought to corral support by noting that as 'heroes' in the struggle for freedom,

> our fallen comrades were dedicated to serving their people. Were they alive today, they would be actively working to consolidate the gains of our liberation since 1994.[119]

The act of remembering therefore functions not only as a moral and ethical template, through which those in the present and future obtain guidance, but following from this, provides a call to action that has a longer tradition in a more venerable past. Adeptly utilising history and historical personalities of the struggle – who are cast as heroes, and indeed heroines – enables the ANC to access a heritage of struggle and an ethos and tradition of overcoming adversity. The discourse of the ANC's election campaigning, as needing to continue the struggle for the realisation of a fully free South Africa, permits the acknowledgement of the continuation of that earlier struggle. Inasmuch, it also served to enliven the suffix of the campaign slogan 'Working together, *we can do more*", through acknowledging past achievements with the historical duty to continue the struggle. Moreover, the success of this discursive practice is to locate the ANC at the centre of this historical and political milieu

Sanctification

While invocation of memory has filtered into the mythologies of the ANC, the 2009 election campaign also saw the emergence of a discourse of chiliasm that operated to apotheosize and sanctify both the ANC and Zuma. I noted that in Zuma's political travails there circulated a discourse of victimhood and persecution that was put into particular political service by him and his supporters. Further, the redemptive impulse of his embodiment as the 'new South African dream' coupled with the charismatic authority that he wielded served to portray him as a "blessed, chosen man."[120] The highly contested nature of the public sphere prior to

---

[118] For more, see the discussion in chapter two above.

[119] African National Congress, 'Address by ANC President Jacob Zuma on the occasion of the 30th anniversary of the execution of MK hero Solomon Kalushi Mahlangu' Available online: http://www.anc.org.za/show.php?id=3761 (accessed 21 November 2009)

[120] This characterisation was made by a nurse at Sunninghill hospital in Johannesburg during a campaign visit by Zuma, quoted in, *Independent Online,* 'I support the ANC and it's not secret' 22 April 2009 Available online: http://www.iol.co.za/index.php?art_id=nw20090422165124322C18221&set_id=1&click_id=3086&sf= (accessed 22 April 2009)

Polokwane and the uncertainty that the presidential recall inaugurated, permitted a sense of deliverance from such high-end political machination.

Zuma's 'ordinariness', when contrasted to perceptions of a detached, distant and aloof Mbeki, contributed to his location of and amongst the people. It was a perception he was keen to advocate. In a newspaper interview just prior to the election, Zuma pronounced,

> I still want to keep my phone and talk to ordinary people. I don't agree with these protocol things. I was actually caught off guard when the presidential jet was bought and I could no longer travel SAA [South African Airways] I'm going to travel SAA so that I can meet and speak to passengers. I should be able to show confidence in our public transport system. People will trust our facilities once they see a president on the plane with them.[121]

And, in addition to rejecting the need to "moderate his laughter" he noted that,

> [...] I ought to be myself. I will continue singing, Why can't I? I [will] eat meat under a tree with my people [...] I am still an ordinary man.[122]

Branding himself as 'ordinary' and utilising gestures that inform that creation – laughter, singing, dancing – served the critical purpose of "emancipation from the mystifications of politics" and rooted perceptions of Zuma and the politics he aimed to convey firmly within a fundamentally more popular discourse and tradition.[123] Similarly, an evangelism informed discourses and representations of the ANC and the recourse to liturgical and biblical traditions served to venerate the movement and locate it at the nexus of morality, power and righteousness in South African politics.[124] At a rally in Nelspruit, ANC provincial speaker, Yvonne Phosa was keen to assert such noting that,

---

[121] Quoted in an interview conducted by Moshoeshoe Monare, 'Zuma: I will keep my song and my cellphone' *Independent Online*, 11 April 2009 Available online:
 http://www.iol.co.za/index.php?art_id=vn20090411065024487C177171&set_id=1&click_id=3086&sf= (accessed 11April 2009)
[122] Monare, 'Zuma: I will keep my song and my cellphone'
[123] Edelman, 128
[124] However, a Human Sciences Research Council (South Africa) study undertaken just prior to the election and relying in part on data from 2007 and 2008 on the influence on religion and religions organisations and leaders in politics found a distinct desire for politics and religion to remain separate.. For a summary, see Ina van der Linde, 'Attitudes towards the role of religion in politics' South African Social Attitudes Survey, HSRC Media Release, Available online: http://www.hsrc.ac.za/Media_Release-372.phtml (accessed 12 July 2011);

[...] the ANC is in possession of the wisdom of Christ [and] will remain with us until Jesus comes back. We have seen Jesus' miracles. He could not fail on anything. Now, He is with the ANC.[125]

The consecration of the ANC was an important element in ritualistic practice of the political rally which served, to recall from chapter two, to endow an 'aura of sacrality' on the leader and the movement as whole. Using religious references to endow legitimacy in the ANC's governing vision and moral rectitude, was an important symbolic act that underpinned the relationship between the ANC and a particular constituency. Moreover, the recourse of a religious liturgy also served the more pressing aim of sanctifying Zuma and 'marketing away' his moral and ethical indiscretions while feeding into the narrative of his victimhood. Indeed, in an address by ANC Cabinet minister Jeff Radebe to parishioners consonance between the conspiracies against Jesus and Zuma was drawn. Indeed, Radebe opined that just as the Pharisees had conspired against the former, so too was the "ANC president betrayed by his own comrades to counterrevolutionaries."[126] More broadly, a moral equivalent was drawn between Jesus Christ and the ANC, given that both have identified themselves with the "poor, the weak and the marginalised" and as such, "Christians have every reason to identify themselves with the African National Congress."[127] More than that, the strength of the ANC and the longevity of its rule was secured until the Second Coming.[128]

The marketing of Zuma to a Christian constituency was an adept move at "instrumentalising political power" through the invocation of a religious idiom that was laced with a strongly redemptive motive.[129] In constituting the spectacle, the illusory references to chiliasm and apotheosis that punctuated the campaign narrative mediated the contours of the social relationship between the ANC and a particular constituency. Underpinned by a dramaturgic ethos, these references and the performances in which they were communicated lent emotional credence to politics and stimulated the 'social excitement' that I noted in the

---

[125] Mpumelelo Mkhabela, 'Be like Jesus' disciples for the ANC' *Sunday Times* 10 April 2009
[126] African National Congress, 'Speech by Jeff Radebe at the St. John's Apostolic Church of Prophecy in North West on the occasion of the Easter Weekend services' Available online: http://www.anc.org.za/show.php?doc=./ancdocs/speeches/2009/sp0412b.html (accessed 6 November 2009)
[127] African National Congress, 'Speech by Jeff Radebe at the St. John's Apostolic Church of Prophecy in North West on the occasion of the Easter Weekend services'
[128] Mkhabela, 'Be like Jesus' disciples for the ANC'
[129] Charlotte Drew, 'Religion and Politics in South Africa' Berkley Centre for Religion, Peace and World Affairs: Georgetown University, 1 October 2006 Avaialble online: http://berkleycenter.georgetown.edu/letters/charlotte-drew-on-religion-and-politics-in-south-africa (accessed 12 July 2011), see also Stephen Ellis and Gerrie Ter Haar, 'Religion and Politics in Sub-Saharan Africa,' *Journal of Modern African Studies* 36,2 (1998), 175-201

second chapter. Such 'social excitement' was given further tenor through the utilisation of song, to which I now turn.

Rhythms

The recourse to personality, history, memory, mythology within the campaign was accorded greater resonance through performance and song and music functioned as important conduits through which such performance occurred. The 2009 campaign was intimately informed by Zuma's rendition of the liberation-era song, *Aweleth' umshini wami*, initiated first when implicated for fraud and corruption and utilised to provoke support by accessing the performative heritage of the struggle and invoking the memory of 'embattledness' that characterised the anti-apartheid milieu. [130] Utilised at particular moments in the campaign, there was stark political motive that underpinned the performance of the song. Indeed, it allowed for the "yoking together of heterogeneous interests" that "cut across ethnicity, region and class" and allowed greater impetus and resonance to be accorded to it and Zuma's cause in the political market. The lyrics of the song were simple, repetitive and given greater performative effect through an accompanying dance that gestured challenge and contestation. The basic refrain held,

> Umshini wami, umshini wami
> (My machine gun, my machine gun)
> We Baba
> (Oh Father)
> Aweleth' umshini wami
> (Please bring me my machine gun) [131]

Given its lineage in the camps of MK, an inherent "riskiness" operated through the song, and while used to stimulate and mobilise opposition to apartheid forces, in a democratic South Africa, it became the rallying cry of 'the second war of liberation' against economic disenfranchisement and political marginalisation.[132] As such, it constituted "part of a scurrilous subversive lingo [that] showed the power of demotic voice to question authority

---

[130] It was first used when he was called to give evidence against Schabir Shaik, his financial adviser in 2005.
[131] This is the core of the song, translated in Gunner, 27
[132] Quoted in Askew, 5

and assert its own presence."[133] While the song's narrative function aimed to invoke visions and remembrances of its guerrilla heritage – the "memories and stories of long marches through the bush, lost family members and camps to the north" – it nevertheless entered the social lexicon of South Africa through mainstream popular culture.[134] As such, the song not only served as a means to personalise the 'politics of grievance' within Zuma, but also to 'celebratise' him.[135] Indeed, the aesthetic appeal of the song and the images of confrontation and resistance were aptly condensed within the figure of Zuma. As he campaigned vigorously around the country both prior to and during the campaign, the song came to signal a rupture with political formality and a new way of doing politics. That it generated excitement, even bewilderment is apparent. For example, at the COSATU Congress, the song provoked rapture,

> Thousands of union delegates climbed onto tables and chairs and danced and sang Zuma's trademark song [...] Delegates mobbed the podium, displaying the congress labels showing to which of COSATU's 21 unions they belonged [...] Others spoke into their cellphones amid the singing, spreading the news of Zuma's arrival to friends. Men hugged one another while they danced [...] 'Go to the hall now comrades – there is nothing more we can do now,' Vavi told the delegates. 'Go to the dining hall – we will sing there.'[136]

Music and song were not only confined to *Aweleth' umshini wami.* The ANC adopted a campaign song, 'Mina ngo hlahla nginje' or 'I will remain ANC for life', which was complicit in a process of "self-construction of the individual" for it is,

> [t]hrough the act of patronising a particular kind of music [that] individuals engage in a fluid and complex process of conscious and unconscious identity formation.[137]

---

[133] Gunner, 34

[134] Gunner, 38

[135] For more, see Sabelo Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 'Tracking the Historical Roots of Post-Aparthied Citizenship Problems: The Native Club, Restless Natives Panicking Settlers and the Politics of Nativism in South Africa'. Working Paper 72 (2007) African Studies Centre, Leiden University, 59-63, Available online: http://unisouthafr.academia.edu/SabeloNdlovu/Papers/674102/Tracking_the_historical_roots_of_post-apartheid_citizenship_problems_the_Native_Club_restless_natives_panicking_settlers_and_the_politics_of_nativism_in_South_ (accessed 12 June 2011)

[136] Quoted in Gunner, 32

[137] Lara Allen, 'Music and Politics in Africa', *Social Dynamics* 30,2 (2004), 4

Based on a popular song by the late singer and self-styled 'Madonna of the Townships', Brenda Fassie, the song functioned to "[politicise] personal spaces" as its pop song heritage made it easily recognisable.[138] Moreover, this process of politicisation was furthered by enmeshing popular and political culture through the song, and allowed for a "'portable politics' through which individuals could exert some control."[139] The lyrics of the song, are translated roughly as

> I will remain like that, for life
> I will remain like that, like my mother
> I will remain ANC
> I will remain like that
>
> If they say the love me, and say I am going to be like the ANC
> And then I'm going to remain ANC
> I love the ANC in my heart
> I will remain like that, like my mother
> I am going to remain ANC for life[140]

The uncomplicated and repetitive lyric, while serving to communicate a clear and simple message of loyalty to the ANC, simultaneously provided the overarching rhythm to the campaign. Moreover, the lyric sought to inculcate a loyalty and sense of longevity in being an ANC supporter – 'I will remain like that, like my mother' – and the culture and heritage of the ANC within communities. In addition to this socialisation role, the song also functioned as an important constitutive element of the 'psychotechnics' of the campaign. Played at political rallies and popularised through the ANC's websites, on compact discs, mobile phone ringtones and the like, the song circulated across public and private spaces.

Popular culture and the historically significant liberation songs provided a rich aesthetic to the spectacle of the campaign. Unlike popular songs, however, liberation era songs displayed an adaptability and a fluidity in which their lyrics could be altered to capture the feelings, events or action of a particular situation or moment.[141] Such adaptability gave greater credence to these songs' functions a "subversive discourse" and as a "political way of

---

[138] Allen, 4
[139] Allen, 4
[140] This translation was undertaken by Mrs. Q Maqhina to whom I am indebted.
[141] For example, see Gunner, 46.

questioning and knowing about [one's] social circumstance"[142] The utility of both popular and liberation songs are clear. While it is myopic to draw stark distinctions between the two, they were utilised for politically specific ends and audiences. Indeed, as important cultural expressions, they endowed the campaign with a greater emotional resonance and thus increased political and social connectedness. That the audiences overlapped, is not in dispute. Importantly, through song the past and the present elided, and the ANC was able to address issues of history while aiming to remain relevant and appeal to first time voters. Such appeal required more public acts to constitute the demonstrative nature of the spectacle and position the ANC as a hegemonic and competitive force within the political market.

Rallying to the Cause: Rides, Braais and a Virtual Virtuosity

The culture of our time is to put down the umshini wam [machine gun] and take up the laptop.[143]

The ANC's election campaign was frenetic. Highly professional, tightly run, encompassing the whole of South Africa and benefitted by strong financial reserves, the ANC was able to assert its corporeal, visual, audible and symbolic dominance in the public sphere. The excitement and anticipation that the election was able to obtain, as I have noted, was given impetus by the political exigencies in which it occurred. While the "election [was] fundamentally about the policies and programmes that will meaningfully improve the lives of the people", it nevertheless was an exercise in the spectacular.[144]

Political rallies have been central to mobilising support for the ANC and are an exercise that served to display the dominance of the party in the political sphere. Rallies, however were also strategic and were occasioned to "deflect attention away from Zuma's legal troubles which had the potential to hurt the ANC."[145] It is important to remember that commensurate with much of the national election campaign, were legal proceedings to determine whether further prosecution against Zuma for corruption were necessary. Linking his court appearances with campaign rallies, the ANC shrewdly constructed a narrative of persecution

---

[142] Alton B. Pollard, 'Rhythms of Resistance: The Role of Freedom Song in South Africa' in Angela M.S. Nelson (ed.) *This is how we flow: Rhythm in Black Cultures* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1999), 117

[143] Bantu Holomisa, United Democratic Movement leader quoted in *News 24,* 'Poll preparations in high gear', 11 March 2009 Available online: http://www.news24.com/News24/Elections/News/0,2-2478-2479_2483722,00.html (accessed 11 March 2009)

[144] African National Congress, 'Policies that change people's lives' *ANC Today*, 9,1 (2009), Available online: http://www.anc.org.za/docs/anctoday/2009/at01.htm (accessed 15 January 2009)

[145] Kiru Naidoo quoted in *Indepenent Online,* 'ANC courthouse rally 'a diversion' – analyst' 3 February 2009, Available online: http://www.iol.co.za/news/politics/anc-courthouse-rally-a-diversion-analyst-1.433253 (accessed 3 February 2009)

that removed the decision to prosecute from the judicial realm and located it within the political. These carnivalesque mini-rallies courtside were characterised by the singing of *Aweleth' umshini wami*, of the waving of mock AK-47 machine guns, of dancing and ululating that was "rich in mimicry, pretence, imitation and disguise" and "function[ed] as a playful formalization of dissent."[146]

Rallies took on two forms that spoke not only to the class appeal of the ANC, but also highlighted the interplay between its political party and liberation movement identities. The first played into traditional and bottom-up mobilisation that had a mass character and served to address communities and 'activise' ANC members to play dominant roles in campaigning in those communities. Driven by a programme of "sending out candidates and campaign workers to localities across the country to meet voters directly," the ANC drew on a heritage of mass citizen engagement and participation.[147] Inculcating such action occurred through large and small spectacles, characterised by singing, dancing, ululating, remembering and most importantly a display of the ANC's dominant presence in the political sphere through staging and political ephemera. Thus, for example, the '60 Days of Electioneering' campaign launched by the ANC's Women's League commenced with a 4000-person strong rally and its members were enjoined, by the ANC Treasurer General, Mathews Phosa, to

> [make] contact with the voters. There is no shortcut. We must move the ground forces. Make them understand our manifesto and move them to the queues to go and vote for the ANC. [148]

While mass rallies sought to "galvanise" the electorate and were in ensconced within a carnivalesque atmosphere, the ANC's multi-class character and its appeal to a cross-section of the electorate, saw a second form of political rally that was targeted at a smaller and more upscale market.[149] In contrast to the carnivalism and spectacle of mass rallies, these smaller events aimed to attract dignitaries from business, academia, sports arts, state bodies and the like in gala events that were marked by a glitz and certainly glamour. Thus, after the mass spectacle of the manifesto launch in East London, the ANC held a more intimate and elite

[146] Austin Tam-George, 'Ken Saro-Wiwa, the Ogoni Struggle and the Aesthetics of Spectacle' Paper presented at the Centre for African Studies, University of Cape Town, n.d.
[147] Jessie Duarte, 'Election Advertising' *ANC Today* 9,8 (2009) Available online:
http://www.anc.org.za/docs/anctoday/2009/at08.htm (accessed 27 February 2009)
[148] Youtube, 'ANC Women's League 60 Days of Electioneering', 31 January 2009 Available online:
http://www.youtube.com/elections#p/u/20HxSX0ZhrRL4 (accessed 21 November 2010)
[149] Duarte, 'Election Advertising'

gala dinner at the plush Sandton Convention Centre in Johannesburg, the aim of which was to obtain validation and succour for its past and intended governance programme from prominent organisations in political and civil society. Not merely a mass movement, the ANC was keen to appeal the range of 'motive' forces and receive their endorsement for the continuation of the revolution against the legacies of apartheid. The centrality of the "black middle" and professional "strata" to the overall project of the NDR and the need to economic empowerment motivated and necessitated the need for this type of rally. [150] The centrality of these class forces to the ANC's governance project was rendered clear by the head of the Black Management Forum. Jimmy Manyi posited,

> The Black Management Forum endorses a government that is sensitive to the need of the poor. We say that whereas we are a middle-class in the BMF, we are a middle class that cares, we are a middle class that is interconnected with the poor, so if we help the poor, we are helping the BMF. The BMF is saying that we are endorsing a government that is not confused about affirmative action [unlike COPE who took contradictory position]. The BMF is also saying that we are endorsing a government that is unequivocal and that is vigorously implementing broad-based [Black Economic Empowerment]. [151]

In addition to the multi-class aspect, the campaign rallies also had a strongly multi-generational dimension. Given the importance of the youth market in 'electoral' society, the 'spectacle' was further created through a series of 'Ride and Braai' events the ANC held in townships during the campaign. [152] In providing a momentary glimpse into a culture of festivity and material bravado these events were tantamount to the performance of 'cool'. As the editor of the South African *Sunday Times* described it,

> They arrive in 4x4s and an assortment of luxury sedans. In the convoy are senior leaders of the ruling party, with an array of activists and hangers-on tagging along. They pull up at the car wash and pour out of the cars. Music blares from the sound system, attracting the attention of the neighbourhood. Soon the booze is flowing. Meat is ordered from the nearby butcheries and shisanyamas. The music and the

---

[150] See for example, African National Congress, 'Tasks of the NDR and the Mobilisation of the Motive Forces' *Umrabulo* 8, (2000); Joel Netshitenzhe, 'The National Democratic Revolution – Is it Still on Track?' *Umrabulo*, 4th Quarter (1996)

[151] Youtube, 'Manifesto Endorsement Gala Dinner' 31 January 2009 Available online: http://www.youtube.com/user/elections2009#p/u/19/s5A5ijqH8jU (accessed 12 October 2010)

[152] 'Braai' is the South African equivalent of 'barbecue'

wafting meat smell draws the crowds. Before you know it, an impromptu bash is under way. While the locals chew on the flesh and gulp down Queen Victoria's tears, party activists pounce on them with the gospel according to Luthuli House. By sunset the party is still pumping. The leaders and their hangers-on jump into their vehicles...Oh, and they leave plenty of supplies behind for the locals to continue the session. The convoy speeds off into the distance and the locals are left with the distinct message: 'Kumnandi kwa ANC/Ho monate ho ANC' (It's really funky in the ANC).[153]

'Ride and Braais', as an addition to the more perfunctory campaign activities, communicated important messages to township communities and its youth especially – that a 'better life' was possible, perhaps not 'for all' just yet, but that the ANC would deliver on this. The rawness of the display of material wealth and its associations with the incipient success of a young, black middle-class provided a powerful aspirational impetus. While 'Ride and Braais' served as a performance of 'cool' in the townships, there was a corresponding display of wealth and decadence as the ANC undertook a charm offensive on successful, young black supporters. Organised largely by the ANC's Youth League (ANCYL), the league sought to ingratiate itself to another part of the youth market. The lavishness of the events was aptly noted as,

Champagne, exquisite food, designer clothes, vibrant celebrities and girls in skimpy outfits attracted hundreds of people to the ANC Youth League's parties over the past few weeks [...] Many sipped Johnnie Walker Black Label whisky and puffed on Cuban cigars.[154]

Capturing the youth vote was central to the ANC's campaign. Indeed, having emphasised the issue of youth unemployment in its manifesto, its campaign appeals to the youth were highly stylised as noted in the above campaign activities. Indeed, the emphasis on "the bling" and the increased "flair and excitement" that it generated served also to demonstrate that the ANC was "moving with the times."[155] If brashness and brazenness were qualities associated with

---

[153]Mondli Makhanya Quoted in Butler, 79. A *shisanyama* is an informal braai area usually found in the townships

[154] Amukelani Chauke, Moipone Malefane and Kim Hawkey, 'Partying their way to the ballot box,' *Sunday Times* 19 April 2009

[155] Quotes by ANC rally attendees, in *Independent Online,* 'ANC rally: It's all about the bling', 19 April 2009 Available online:

attracting the youth market, then these qualities were personified in the ANCYL's leader, Julius Malema. The strategic utility of a Malema figure lay in his ability to deflect attention away from Zuma and attacks on him and the ANC, and to lead a negative campaign against opposition parties. By admission, Malema posited, that

> I had to keep them [opposition parties] busy on the sidelines while president Zuma focused on what was important – campaigning for the ANC. And the people listened. Instead of the opposition focusing on preaching their own party manifesto, they focused on my attacks. They went around say 'Malema this, Malema that'. [156]
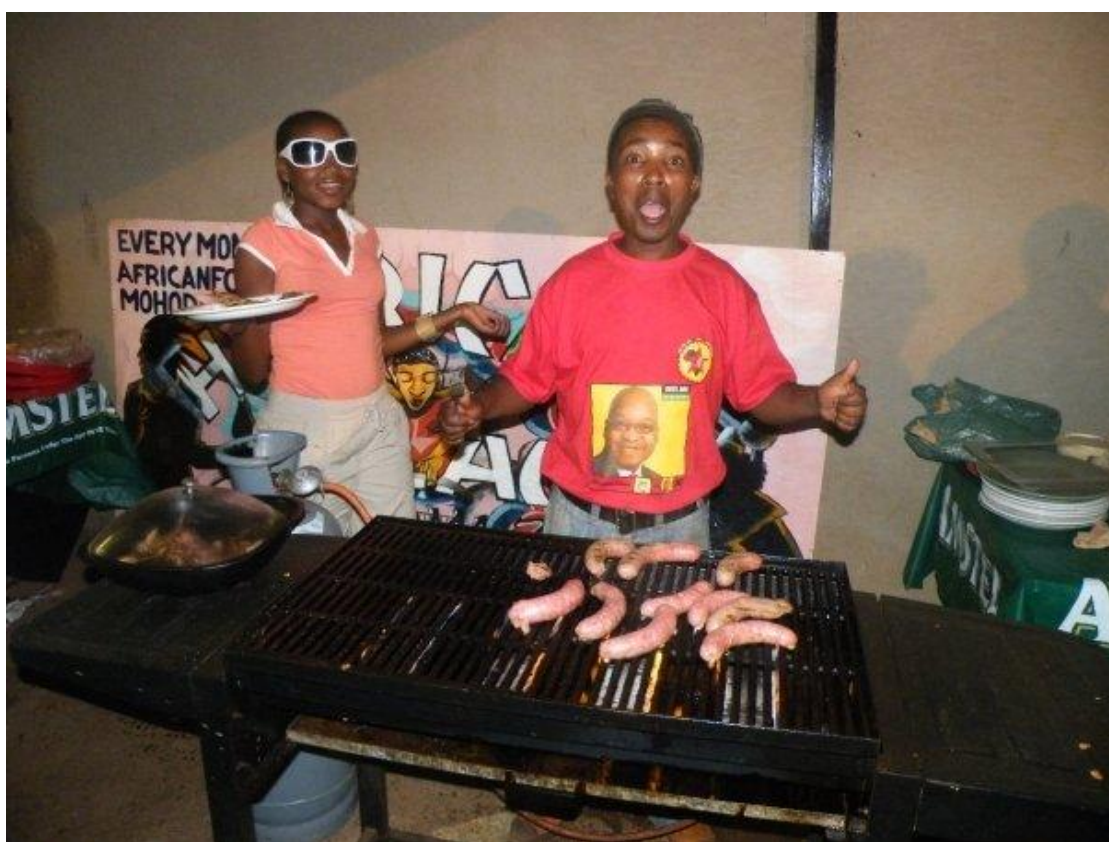

Figure 23: Images from a Ride and Braai. Obtained online from the image repository on the ANC's Facebook page, Available online: https://www.facebook.com/photo_search.php?oid=61829275081&view=all

The power of the ANC to mobilise and engage supporters in political rallies was impressive given that data generated from the period shows that one in four voters attended an ANC

http://www.iol.co.za/index.php?art_id=nw2009041924624408C906712&set_id=1&click_id=3086&sf= (accessed 19 April 2009)
[156] Paddy Harper, Mpumelelo Mkhabela, Nkululeko Ncana and Moipone Malefane, 'Bringing sexy back to politics' *Sunday Times,* 26 April 2009

rally.[157] The 2009 campaign was also unique given the use of the internet and social networking to market the party and mobilise and engage voters. While rallies provided a 'corporeality' to the creation of the spectacle, the shift to a virtual platform was also complicit in the spectacular nature of the campaign. The political utility of the internet as a medium to engage voters and serve as a "significant source of political information and a location of political action" rendered an online campaign an important supplement to traditional campaign methods and forms of participation.[158] While online campaigning is traditionally seen as a means to "reduce social inequalities in public life", the nature and exigencies of the socio-economy in South Africa place the ANC's largest constituency on the wrong side of the digital divide.[159] Despite this, the ANC had a strong and wide online presence.

The creation of the centralised, focused campaign-dedicated website, *www.myanc.org*, provided a concentrated space for the ANC to campaign, disseminate information, connect users with party leaders, raise funds, and provide access to campaign advertising and publicity material for site users to download. Thus, given its design and purport, the website operated as a "strategically crafted [artefact]" that was able to "reflect the cultural-historical context" of the election campaign.[160] The shift to the virtual realm was underscored by the historical emphasis on citizen engagement. In giving 'voice' to users, the website allowed them to upload their 'ANC story' and provided links to numerous social media platforms as it sought to democratise and encourage participation and involvement in the campaign. This democratic imperative, part of a longer narrative of engagement that the ANC inculcated, aimed at "flattening hierarchies" in which the utilisation of 'interactional devices' such as email and weblogs function render "organizational elites more accountable to ordinary

---

[157] Wadim Schreiner and Robert Mattes, 'The possibilities of election campaigns as sites for political advocacy: South Africa in comparative perspective' Centre for Social Science Research: Democracy in Africa Research Unit, University of Cape Town, Working Paper 293, April 2011 Available online: http://www.cssr.uct.ac.za/sites/cssr.uct.ac.za/files/pubs/WP293.pdf To show this dominance, opposition parties were unable to obtain more than 3% of the electorate to its events. There was also a high level of interest in the election, see See Human Sciences Research Council (South Africa) *The Results of the 2008 Voter Participation Survey Commissioned by the IEC* Available online: http://www.hsrc.ac.za/Document-3107.phtml (accessed 12July 2009)

[158] Kirsten A. Foot and Steven M. Schneider, *Web Campaigning* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 2006), 11. See also, Caroline J. Tolbert and Ramona S. McNeal, 'Unravelling the Effect of the Internet on Political Participation?' *Political Research Quarterly* 56,2 (2003) 175

[159] Pippa Norris, *A Virtuous Circle: Political Communication in Postindustrial Societies* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 121

[160] Foot and Schneider, 12

members."[161] In a sense, it was the virtual equivalent of the mythical 'scraps of paper' which suggestions for the Freedom Charter were obtained.

The 'interactional' aspect of ANC's online campaign extended beyond its website. An important method of communicating occurred was through 'chat' forums, accessed through mobile telephones and extremely popular with South African youth. These "chat stadiums" functioned as virtual political rallies but also were more dialogic in that discussion and participation amongst and between participants and the ANC was permitted.[162] This virtual spectacle, which generated participation of up between 5000 and 10000 participants, was critical in stimulating youth participation in the campaign and encouraging ownership of the campaign.
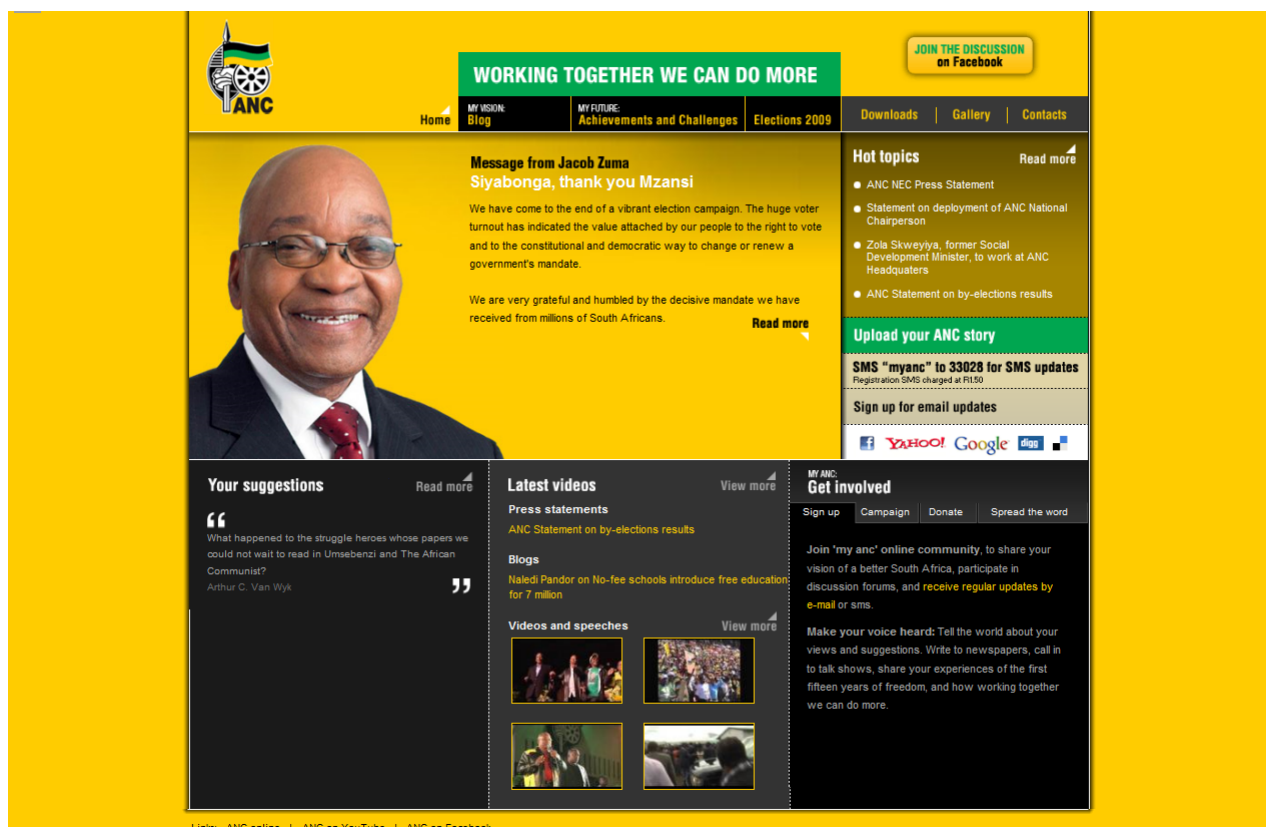

Figure 24: The ANC's election campaign website for the 2009 campaign. Archived but available online: http://www.anc.org.za/elections/2009/myanc/index.php

---

[161] Stephen Ward and Rachel Gibson, 'European political organizations and the internet: Mobilization, participation and change' in Andrew Chadwick and Philip N. Howard (eds.) *Routledge Handbook of Internet Politics* (New York: Routledge, 2009), 31

[162] See Frank Windeck, 'Political Communication in Sub-Saharan Africa and the Role of New Media' Konrad Adenauer Stiftung, South Africa. Available online: www.kas.de/wf/doc/kas_19703-544-2-30.pdf?100526134006. , 34. See also**,** Marion Walton and Jonathon Donner, 'Read-Write-Erase: Mobile-mediated publics in South Africa's 2009 elections' in James E. Katz (ed.)*Mobile Communication: Dimensions of Social Policy* (New Brunswick: Transaction Publishers, 2011), 117-132

Inspired by its history of democratic participation in its campaign, and the success of the 'chat stadiums', there was a move toward greater "text-based interactivity" through the site's blog. While the blog was expected to function as a "virtual imbizo"[163] and stimulate participation in the campaign, it was under-utilised and parochial.[164] Indeed, examination of blog posts reveals that it functioned as a shallow forum for discussion and discourse. Similarly, its adjunct micro-blogging function on the social network Twitter was superficial and did not advance discussion past a mere rendering of the manifestos main provisions and offering, as one participant noted, "generic" responses from the ANC.[165] The ANC's foray into virtual campaigning did obtain greater success on the Facebook platform. Its page described its purpose as being,

> [...] part of a broad range of online initiatives by the ANC to engage with its members, and with all South Africans that wish for a better future for all. On this group administrators will post the latest ANC news, and you'll find plenty of lively debate amongst members: join in, your voice is important.[166]

Sharing the similar function of its other online mediums, through Facebook the ANC aimed to create an online community to "foster connection-sharing, social capital generation and effective communication."[167] Given its multi-functionality, and encouraging not only textual engagement but also through serving as a repository for images and film, the ANC's Facebook presence reduced the geography between the national campaign activities and followers in disparate localities by providing an insight into its various operations.

The mixed success of these virtual campaign mediums permitted the creation of the spectacle not by the content of the messages purported, but rather by the form with which they were communicated. As a *de rigueur* part of the fabric of modern campaigns, the ANC's capture of the virtual public sphere functioned as a performance which, as to recall in the opening section, was premised on 'communicative interaction' in which the aim was to 'bind the

---

[163] An *imbizo* is a participative meeting between government and the citizenry.
[164] Quoted in *Dispatch*, 'Political rivals target EC youth' 17 March 2009, Available online: http://www.dispatch.co.za/article.aspx?id=301052 (accessed 17 March 2009). Themes that obtained entries were: Education (1 post); Elections 2009 (2 posts); Justice and crime prevention (1 post); democracy (2 posts), and Women and leadership (1 post). There were no posts for Youth and economy; health and economy
[165] The ANC held a 'Twitter conference' between members of the public and Jessie Duarte, but a reading of the transcript of the discussion reveals a mere repetition of the key precepts of the manifesto.
[166] African National Congress, Facebook page, Available online: https://www.facebook.com/group.php?gid=61829275081 (10 August 2011)
[167] Zizi Papacharissi, 'The Virtual Geographies of Social Networks: A Comparative Analysis of Facebook, LinkedIn and ASmallWorld' *New Media and Society* 11 (2009), 200

audience to the performer.' Moreover, the medium through which this communication was undertaken functioned to symbolise the ANC as a modern, techno-savvy movement as it sought to ingratiate itself with the youth audience. Increasingly, the centrality of the *virtual* 'theatre of everyday life' became a contested site through which a performance of power was exercised in the creation of the spectacle. But this theatre did not displace the performance of power in the non-virtual realm. The ANC's presence was firmly established through a representational schema which centred on visual and artistic productions such as the ubiquitous campaign posters, banners, murals and comic strip.

(Re-)Presenting Power

The ANC's campaign posters were ubiquitous. Functioning to provide the stylistic undertones to the tapestry of election landscape, they also asserted both the 'presence' and dominance of the ANC in the political sphere in South Africa. In addition, their ubiquity demonstrated the seriousness with which the ANC viewed the electoral contest as it asserted its competitive edge in visually dominating the public sphere. Underscored by a "simplification of a core message" the campaign posters in the 2009 election served to "capture the experience, or *Zeitgeist,* of a certain moment and therefore serve as 'stored visual markers of past experiences.'"[168] Indeed, the simplicity that underscored the ANC's core message – Working together we can do more – played into a much longer rhetorical and visual history. Evident in the campaign posters of the 1994 election the re-invocation of the slogan effectively and discursively linked the social and political milieu in 2009 with that period. Moreover, its utilisation in the Masakhane campaign provided further consistency in the ANC's traditional pledge toward people-centred and bottom-up participation and development.

---

[168] Giorgio Miescher and Dag Henrichsen quoted in Deidre Donnelly, 'Book review: African Posters and Images of Defiance: South African Resistance Posters in the 1980s' *criticalarts* 19, 1 and 2 (2005), 189

Figure 25: Campaign poster, Cape Town, c. March 2009 Author's photograph

More instructional than "agitational", the openness of the slogan allowed for "plural discursive frameworks" to operate through the poster and allowed the ANC "to win the consent of their own communities" while maintaining a broader appeal to non-ANC voters.[169] As the "hegemonic articulation" of the ANC's governance project, the slogan played into wider iterations of nation-building, reconstruction and development. Even more instructional, was the 'Vote ANC – 22 April' poster, replete with the ANC's entry on a mock ballot paper. Crisp and simple, the message in the posters functioned more as signs in the symbolic landscape of the campaign. The need to simplify its messaging and indeed, stay 'on message', little attention was given to policy statements or individual promotion. Unlike the 1994 posters which utilised a range of personalities in its representational structure, the 2009 posters focused primarily on Zuma and the ANC. However, targeting of its message to particular constituencies was also evident. The posters functioned to 'activise' memory and

---

[169] Zeina Maasri, *Off the Wall: Political Posters of the Lebanese Civil War* (New York: I.B. Taurus and Co Ltd, 2009), 4 and 13

together with the politics of identity, astutely informed its campaign in Durban, a city with a large Indian-heritage population.

Figure 26: Targeted campaign posters, Durban Kwazulu-Natal, cited in Piers Carey, available online, http://www. Dut.ac.za/site/files/6636.careyposter.pdf

The recourse to personalities including, Mahatma Gandhi, demonstrated the paucity of policy content and privileging of personality that informed its representational oeuvre.[170] Moreover, the purport of the posters and the recourse to historical memory are contextualised in a speech given by Zuma to the Indian Christian community in Durban late in the campaign. Noting that the "struggle for liberation was fought by both Indian and African patriots", Zuma was keen to assert the relatedness of Indian and South African independence struggles and joint-ownership of the Mahatma by noting that he "was both an Indian and South African citizen" and that "he shaped the liberatory movements in both colonial theatres."[171] Noting further, "the important role that the Indian community has played in the liberation struggle"

---

[170] Piers Carey, 'A Weekend's Electioneering: 2009 General Election Posters in Durban' Available online: http://www.dut.ac.za/site/files/6636/careyposters.pdf (accessed 12 June 2011)

[171] African National Congress, 'Speech by ANC President Jacob Zuma to the Indian Christian Community', Available online: http://www.anc.org.za/show.php?id=3756 (accessed 12 March 2010)

by "fighting side by side with their African brothers and sisters" Zuma then repeatedly encourages the idea of the need to "join hands and work together" to realise " nation-building, reconciliation and reconstruction."[172] The conjoining of history, memory, personality and morality in the speech provides an apt grounding upon which to contextualise the meanings and resonances of the posters, and locate it firmly within the overarching thrust of 'Working together we can do more'.

The propagandistic nature of these targeted posters highlights a visual campaign in which the ANC aimed for consistency, presence and the repetition of its core message. Its poster campaign was augmented by its banners which were strategically placed in high-density population areas and near transport hubs for greater candidate exposure and the inculcation of the authoritativeness of the ANC. As a demonstration of the visual performance of power, these banners lent credence to the centrality of the ANC in political and symbolic life. Here, the visual supplanted the rhetorical.

Figure 27: Large banner, Central Johannesburg , c. April 2009, Author's photograph

---

[172] African National Congress, 'Speech by ANC President Jacob Zuma to the Indian Christian Community

The visual display of power and presence across South Africa was given creative inflection through a more bottom up and participative artistic production. Unlike the richness of resistance era art, the attempt at mass artistic involvement in the campaign, centred primarily on hand-painted murals that replicated the professionally designed banners. While art functioned to "counter banal political forms so that it can be a liberating form of political expression", by utilising the modes of expression and originality characteristic of grassroots cultural industries to portray popular participation, an historically-endowed campaign aesthetic was created.[173] But the replication of the campaign poster's aesthetic through the murals mitigated any resistance impulse that underscored earlier forms of community artworks and did not contain elements of the "defiant art of outrage" from that period.[174]

Figure 28: Handpainted replication of campaign banner, Cape Town, c. March 2009, Author's photograph

A similar tendency was evident in another visual art form that characterised the latter stages of the campaign. The emergence of a comic strip in a leading tabloid newspaper functioned

---

[173] Edelman, 126
[174] Sue Williamson, *Resistance Art in South Africa* (Cape Town: Double Story Books, 2004), 9

as a "visual condensation of significance"[175] and operated as an "animated educational medium" that foreground the ANC's achievements in service and infrastructure provisions in the fifteen years since 1994.[176] Indeed, rather than "provide [a] powerful space for dissent" the comic served to reinforce and popularise the provisions of its elections manifesto.[177] Centring on a series of exchanges between the protagonist Mhambi and his acquaintances in different locations, the comic captures the 'everydayness' of (black) South African life and promotes a 'familiarity' with the social and economic locations of through the imagery used. Moreover, Mhambi is the embodiment of the aspirations of a young, black, incipiently upwardly mobile audience on the cusp of economic and social security. The choice of newspaper, the *Daily Sun*, reflects this positioning and targeting. As the most widely read daily newspaper in South Africa, and focused on the lower income market, the inclusion of the comic strip here is a recognition that the "political power of this target is potentially explosive."[178] More than that, the power of this group is evident when consideration is given to the fact that they have "quadrupled its income since the demise of apartheid."[179]

 While the visual undertaking is colourful and engaging, the text is unimaginative, dry and prosaic. However, and as I have argued in chapter two, the cartoon succeeds by 'putting into public play' the symbolic communication of 'social values' that are at the core of political marketing. Moreover, the medium of the image and the marketing role it undertakes is laced with the notion of 'play' where an elision between fiction and reality is permitted. The comic series constituted an important aesthetic that engaged the overarching cultural register of the campaign. More than that, the 'everydayness' it sought to represent was complicit in the perpetuation a specific worldview, the discourse of which was dominated by the ANC. This

---

[175] Benedict R. O'G. Anderson, *Language and Power: Exploring Political Cultures in Indonesia* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1990), 155

[176] Marketingweb, 'ANC gets animated on its own terms', 26 March 2009, Available online: http://www.marketingweb.co.za/marketingweb/view/marketingweb/en/page74600?oid=117462&sn=Marketing webdetail (accessed 26 March 2009)

[177] Daniel Hammett, 'Zapiro and Zuma: A symptom of an emerging constitutional crisis in South Africa?' , *Political Geography* 29 (2010), 89

[178] Nicola Jones, Yves Vanderhargen and Dee Viney, 'The rise of the *Daily Sun* and its contribution to the creation of post-apartheid identity' in Adrian Hadland, Eric Louw, Simphiwe Sesanti and Herman Wasserman (eds.) *Power, Politics and Identity in South African Media* (Cape Town: HSRC Press, 2008), 169. *Daily Sun* readers predominate in the Living Standard Measures 4 and 5, meaning they are between 16 and 35, having schooling up to matriculation level, are urban based, and enjoy access to water, electricity and other amenities. They have televisions, hi-fi's, radios, buy newspapers and have money to spend on lottery tickets or buying music. For a description, see Ilse Truter, 'An Overview of the Living Standard Measure' *South African Pharmaceutical Journal*, October (2007), 52-54, Available online: http://www.sapj.co.za/index.php/SAPJ/article/viewFile/260/252 (accessed 12 July 2011)

[179] Jones, Vanderhaegen and Viney, 169

discourse and the spectacle of the campaign were heightened further by the advertising that the ANC undertook. It is to this I now turn.
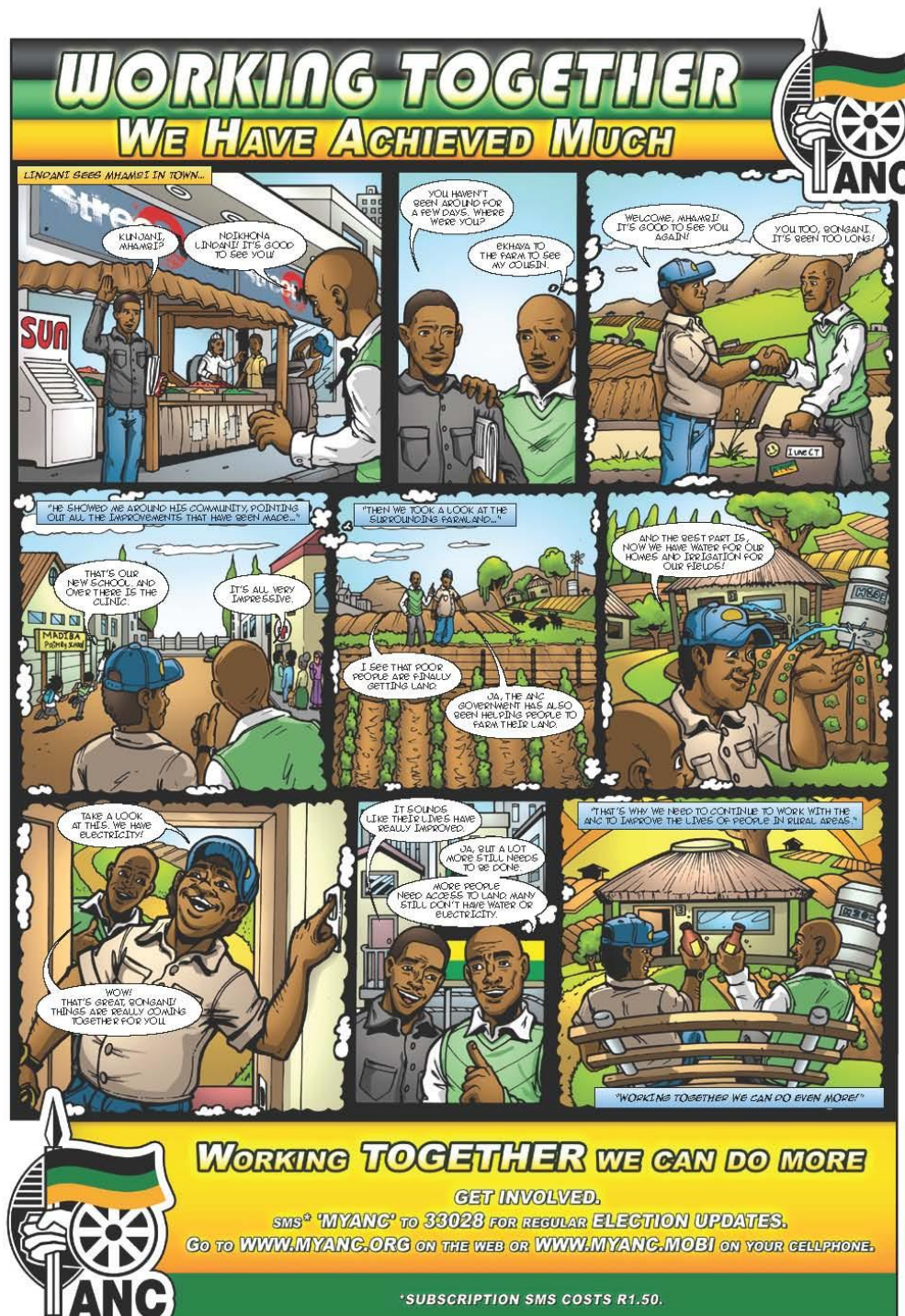

Figure 29: Serialised ANC comic strip, available online: http://www.anc.org.za/elections/2009/myanc/Downloads

Capturing 'The Heartbeat of the Nation'

I have noted the various forms of representation and discourse that have informed the 2009 election's spectacular nature in the preceding discussion. In understanding the simplicity and 'demonstrativeness' of these forms of representation and discourse, it is apposite to recall Njabulo Ndebele's characterisation of the spectacle wherein 'exteriority' and a 'lack of details' punctuate its 'emotional' rather than 'analytical' appeal. In further inculcating its 'presence' in the political realm, the use of radio and television accentuated the spectacular nature of campaign. Indeed, while radio has traditionally been an important medium of party political advertising, the focus was on personality rather than policy issues.[180] Indeed, a lack of incisive and critical media commentary endowed parties with an acute ability use the media merely to shape their image in the mediated political sphere. Indeed, it was noted that

> [political] parties are being left to set the media coverage agenda and content. In this way, news coverage runs the risk of becoming merely additional free airtime or news space for the delivery of political advertisements [...] This form of reporting only encourages South African voters to make their decisions based on party personalities and sense of affiliation, ungrounded in a demonstration of capacity and concern to address critical issues.[181]

Thus, the media was deeply implicated in the creation of 'the society of the spectacle' that Debord cautioned against and that I noted in the theoretical framing of this chapter. The primacy of the image – both of the ANC and Zuma – was given greater impetus through a series of television advertisements that were novel to election campaigning in South Africa. The advertisements contributed to the creation of the spectacle by providing "a gloss on the phenomenal worlds of individuals and groups" the "pertinent qualities" of which "include its history, its setting, its agents" and importantly, the "range of potentialities it promises for the future."[182] Given this, the campaign needed to negotiate the exigencies of the ANC's rule, for as the chief executive officer of the communications agency developing the advertisement noted,

> Fifteen years into South Africa's democracy, the ANC as the leading party found itself facing several interesting challenges. Firstly, how does the incumbent and

---

[180] Mattes and Schreiner, 10
[181] Owen, n.p.
[182] Edelman, 93

leading party drive a strong message on increased and speedy delivery without discounting the numerous and multiple achievements the ANC had achieved together with the nation? Secondly, how does it address the rising cynicism about [the] pace and capacity of delivery? The campaign we are rolling out is a response to these market challenges. Essentially it is a partnership strategy, which captures the heartbeat of who we are as a nation – collectively working together to achieve more and to hold our leadership accountable for delivery.[183]

A series of four advertisements that centred on key themes of the manifesto – rural development, education, youth employment, crime alleviation, and economic empowerment and small business development – were aired during the latter stages of the campaign on a free-to-air basis on public television.[184] Aiming to reflect the 'lived' experience of 'everyday' South Africans, the protagonists in each advertisement carefully reflected key constituencies of the ANC including women, youth and an elderly rural dweller. Its message conformed with the overall campaign themes. Highly stylised, well-packaged and emotive the message communicated the progress that had been made in the delivery of basic social needs to the majority of South Africans since the ANC assumed power in 1994. Each advertisement espouses the social, infrastructural and welfare advances that have been undertaken by the ANC government in its quest for the provision of a 'better life for all.' At the same, there is an honest rendering that this process is unfinished and ongoing and that greater impetus is needed to effect a 'better life' through 'working together'. As such, the narrative of each advertisement filters into the overarching ethos of the campaign and endows with with a moral and ethical rationale to continue the project for liberation that commences in 1994. References to the Freedom Charter and the iconography of Nelson Mandela and his release from prison, provided an important emotional imagery to connect the viewer to earlier and momentous events.

---

[183] Nunu Ntshingila quoted in Marketingweb, 'South African First: Political Party TV ads', 3 March 2009 Available online:
http://www.marketingweb.co.za/marketingweb/view/marketingweb/en/page74600?oid=116583&sn=Marketing webdetail (accessed 3 March 2009)
[184] The advertisements, while broadcast on South African public television, are archived on the ANC's elections 2009 Youtube site. The advertisements were: Youtube, 'My Vote' Available online: http://www.youtube.com/user/elections2009#p/u/13/xNBGfboypCI (accessed 4 March 2009); Youtube, 'My Dream', Available online: http://www.youtube.com/user/elections2009#p/u/10/2vcBQREGUTc (accessed 29 June 2009); Youtube, 'iLewe' Available online:
http://www.youtube.com/user/elections2009#p/u/7/VD14aOPh_nA (accessed 29 June 2009); Youtube, 'The Woman Next Door', Available online: http://www.youtube.com/user/elections2009#p/u/6/pOC1FXCSs8U (accessed 22 June 2011)

The stylised nature of the advertisements resonates within the body politic as the protagonists convey a widespread and 'lived' social and economic experience. The settings of the advertisements in rural areas and black and Coloured townships, with protagonists utilising local vernaculars, jargons, accents lends an authenticity to the image and the recognition resemblance of the social, economic and cultural milieu that they inhabit for the target market. Such 'everydayness' and the uncomplicated narrative forwarded, reinforces the overarching discourse and aesthetic of the campaign and gives the ANC a definite presence within communities. More than that, the advertisements endow the protagonist, and by extension the electorate, with agency to address the ANC and Zuma directly, and assert their expectations that more needs to be done to realise the project that commenced in 1994. Thus, Alfred Xaba, an elderly protagonist asserts,

> My vote is backing the ANC and all the good work they have done to improve the lives of our people. It is also a message telling the ANC that the nation is expecting more. This is a message for you Nxamalala. Heed this call Msholozi![185]

Accepting the challenge made by the protagonist to continue the project that commenced in 1994 and thus ensure momentum for the creation of a 'better life for all', an authoritative, suited Zuma closes each segment by acknowledging that "as a nation, we have achieved much"; that "working together, we can do more" and that it is incumbent on the voter to "vote for a better life for all. Vote ANC."[186]

These advertisements functioned as important cultural artefacts and provided another theatrical dimension to the ritual of the election campaign. Nevertheless, they were also underpinned by a distinct political motive as they lent consistency and cogency to the ANC's overarching governance narrative and performed a public display of its reach, successes and incumbency in the creation of democratic South Africa. Acknowledging its shortcomings and the need 'to do more' underscored a truthfulness and openness that aimed to ingratiate a social relationship between the image of the ANC and its target market after a highly divisive political period. As such, the advertisement served to professionally package the politics of the ANC and its campaign and aimed to create positive, lively, exchange between the ANC and the electorate, underpinned by an historically-rooted, moralistic and values-oriented exposition.

---

[185] Youtube, 'My Vote' 'Nxamala' and 'Msholozi' are Zuma's clan names.
[186] See each of the advertisements. While they do include different messages, this notion is expressed in each.

The Siyanqoba Moment

You can't topple elephants[187]

The ANC demonstrated an assertiveness and confidence in the late phase of its campaign. The final decision to not prosecute Jacob Zuma on charges of fraud and corruption served as a political boon – firstly, as vindication for Zuma and his supporters, and secondly, by providing the final spark to the ANC's election activities. The campaigning in the lead up to polling day would culminate in a spectacle of "the largest ever [rally] held in a South African election."[188] Read as an exercise in the performance of power by demonstrating its dominance in political sphere, the ANC held the rally, dubbed Siyanqoba, in "two adjacent stadiums simultaneously" in Johannesburg while being televised at eight other venues around South Africa. The Johannesburg rallies were expected to draw 120,000 people and aimed to [send] a clear signal that the ANC is the people's movement, determined and able to meet the needs of the people and advance their interests."[189]

Signalling the climax point of the campaign, the rally aimed to invigorate the electorate and mobilise constituencies and representatives "to achieve a decisive mandate to intensify the struggle to achieve a better life for all."[190] The size, coordination and publicity generated for the rally served as a clear demonstration of the professionalism of the ANC's campaigning and by extension, provided an insight into the coherence of the organisational structures, nationally and regionally.

---

[187] Jacob Zuma quoted in Michael Georgy, 'You can't topple an elephant: Zuma' *Independent Online* Available online: http://www.iol.co.za/index.php?art_id=nw2009042320075267C254316&set_id=1&click_id=3086&sf= (accessed 23 April 2009)
[188] African National Congress, 'ANC Wraps Up Its Election Campaign With Mass Rally' Available online: http://myanc.org/Press%20Statements/?id=00056 (accessed 14 April 2009)
[189] African National Congress, 'ANC Wraps Up Its Election Campaign With Mass Rally'
[190] Jacob Zuma, 'Siyanqoba: Letter from ANC President to All Structures' Available online: http://myanc.org/Hot%20Topics/?id=00035 (accessed 16 April 2009)

Figure 30: Siyanqoba Rally, Johannesburg, 19 April 2009. Obtained online from image repository on the ANC's facebook page. https://www.facebook.com/photo_search.php?oid=61829275081&view=all

The rally captured the prevailing mood of excitement and anticipation within the ANC and wider body politic. It was a carnivalesque performance evoking notions of celebration, accomplishment and power while serving to legitimate the leadership of the ANC. The Coca-Cola stadium, the heart of the proceedings, was awash with a mass of supporters in yellow, campaign T-shirts. A sea of ANC flags and banners, both official and homemade, decorated the spectacle, while dancers entertained the large crowd and the sounds of the droning vuvuzelas punctuated the air.[191] The dancing audience was enraptured by the presence of doyens of the struggle, including Winnie Mandela and Ahmed Kathrada. Special significance was accorded to a frail Nelson Mandela's presence at the rally. Like it had signified at the Dutywa rally three months earlier, Mandela's attendance authenticated and legitimated again 'this' ANC as 'Mandela's ANC' and thus as a continuation of a project that was given impetus in 1994, but which had deeper historical roots. Indeed, 'brand ANC' was rejuvenated for as Zuma noted in his address,

---

[191] Youtube, 'ANC shows force at final Siyanqoba rally', 19 April 2009, Available online: http://www.youtube.com/user/elections2009#p/u/5/zvwt6U9I6z8 (accessed 21 June 2009)

The 2009 election is a defining moment for the ANC and the country. Only a few months ago, pessimistic predictions were made about the ANC, by many who claim to know best. Our exuberant campaign has proven that the ANC continues to capture the imagination of our people as it has always done since 1912. We have seen excitement about the ANC that we not witnessed since the release of Madiba and the 1994 elections. The movement has come alive. The ANC brand is more popular than ever with young and old![192]

'Siyanqoba' as spectacle had the explicit intention of entrenching the ANC's dominance in the political sphere and as such serve to mobilise interest and excitement just prior to the election. This excitement permeated across South Africa and enveloped the country. Aware that uniformity of experience was not possible, on polling day, I reflected on my experience in a Cape Town township as such,

'Here, my brother, hold this while I get you a T-shirt. I live just there, I've got a lot of them in my house.' he said as he thrust his microphone in my hands to hold. We were somewhere between Browns Farm, Phillipi and Nyanga and the township was pumping! This is where the excitement was at – people on the move, cars decked out in ANC paraphernalia. The atmosphere was awesome, exciting ...a general sense of camaraderie. This is where the ANC lived.[193]

The final result saw the ANC obtain 65.9% of the vote nationally down from the 69.7% of 2004, in an election characterised by high voter turnout.[194] Despite losing support across the provinces, save for Zuma's home province of Kwazulu Natal, the ANC was satisfied with its "decisive win" and was "happy with the mandate the people have given us."[195] Aware that its

---

[192] African National Congress, 'Address by ANC President at Siyanqoba Rally'

[193] Authors notes from a field 'scrap book'

[194] Independent Electoral Commission, South Africa 'Party support: ANC', Available online: https://www.elections.org.za/content/Pages/LGE_NPE_Reports/ReportHandler.aspx?lReportID=16&sEvent=22%20Apr%202009%20National%20Election&sReportName=Party%20Support&sParty=AFRICAN%20NATIONAL%20CONGRESS&sFormat=PDF (accessed 12 July 2011)

[195] In light of the uncertainty that preceded the election and the emergence of an ANC offshoot party, I contend that it was precisely because of the scope and extent of the campaign, that the ANC managed to achieve its decisive win. This position does not ignore the political and strategic undertaking that the ANC had embarked upon since 2004. Indeed, in Kwazulu Natal, the ANC had improved its "service delivery initiatives" that eventually "tiled the balance of forces" in its favour. For more, see Jabulani Sithole and Nirode Bramdaw, 'Kwazulu Natal Analysis' *The Thinker, 3* , (2009), 24Quoted in *Independent Online,* 'ANC pleased with margin of victory' 25 April 2009, Available online: http://www.iol.co,.za/index.php?art_id=nw20090425151102613C120534&set_id=1&click_id=6&sf= (accessed 25 April 2009).

electoral dominance would not be challenged in any significant way, and confident of a strong victory, in a final display of ANC 'coolness' a street-party was held outside its banner-covered Luthuli House headquarters on the eve of the final election result. Thousands of cheering supporters packed the streets of downtown Johannesburg and revelled to the songs and dances of well-known South African musicians and groups.

Dressed in an ANC-branded leather jacket, a jubilant Jacob Zuma laughed and jived with fellow members of the ANC's NEC. In the crowd, the inevitability of the ANC's victory obtained resonance as the performance of a mock funeral opposition parties was undertaken – coffins bearing logos of the Inkatha Freedom Party, Democratic Alliance and COPE passed through exuberant hands to chants of "we are burying them."[196] As the Harley Davidson motorcycles were revved, magnums of champagne were splashed over the crowd and explosions of fireworks and confetti filled the autumnal Johannesburg air. Akin to a rock-concert more than a political rally, a new politics, steeped in the spectacle, celebration and celebrity, came to characterise this election.

---

[196] *News24* , 'Funeral for opposition parties' Available online:
http://www.news24.com/News24/Elections/News/0,,2-2478-2479_2506202,00.html (accessed 23 April 2009)

Figure 31: Jacob Zuma in celebratory mood at the pre-victory rally, Johannesburg 23 April 2009, Obtained online from image repository on the ANC's facebook page.
https://www.facebook.com/photo_search.php?oid=61829275081&view=all

A more presidential, even rarefied, Jacob Zuma took to the pages of *ANC Today* to thank South Africa for voting for the ANC and promising "a new era of hope and progress" in which there would be a need to "bury mistrust, uncertainty, pain and tension, and begin a new chapter of harmony and collaboration."[197] Aiming to create a more responsive, citizen-informed ANC and government for all South Africans, regardless of party political persuasion, Zuma keenly asserted the need to continue the project of emancipation that had begun fifteen years previously. Assuming this duty, he asserted that he "would lead the country towards the realisation of Madiba's vision", not the ANC's interestingly, of "a truly non-sexist, non-racial South Africa, united in diversity."[198] As the fullest embodiment of the ANC, Zuma re-asserted his claims to bring the ANC back to its most honourable and rightful traditions as the "custodian of [the] hopes and dreams" of all South Africans, and more

---

[197] Jacob Zuma, 'Siyabonga, Thank You Mzansi' *ANC Today,* 9,17 (2009) Available online: http://www.anc.org.za/docs/anctoday/2009/at17.htm (accessed 13 June 2009)

[198] Jacob Zuma, 'I will lead the country on a path of friendship, cooperation, harmony, unity and faster change' *ANC Today* 9,18 (2009) Available online: http://www.anc.org.za/docs/anctoday/2009/at18.htm (accessed 13 June 2009)

narrowly, of its voters.[199] The emphasis on nation-building, reconciliation and unity here were key themes that Zuma defaulted to in his public pronouncements in the period immediately after the ANC's electoral victory.

CONCLUSION

This chapter has demonstrated the utilisation of political marketing in the general election of 2009. Viewing the campaign as spectacle, I have highlighted the rich and textured nature through which the ANC attempted to assert its political authority in the public sphere in contesting the election. The political milieu that preceded the campaign deeply informed its strategy, robustness and highlighted the professionalization of campaign activities by the ANC while commensurately berthing its discursive and representational thrust within a more historically-indebted register.

The spectacle of the election campaign of 2009 served to demonstrate the power and strength that the ANC commanded in the political and public spheres. Disunity, and the disruption of its brand identity that political ructions occasioned, required a decisive, professional and well co-ordinated campaign. The ANC delivered on this, as it,

> [...] outspent, outthought, outworked, outmanoeuvred the opposition, muscling them out of every millimetre of public space. It also outsang and outdanced the, capturing the hearts and minds of the youth by making politics cool and sexy again.[200]

The spectacular nature of the campaign, as I have demonstrated, was constituted by numerous smaller spectacles that lent public significance and presence to the ANC in the South African political imagination. I have demonstrated how the recourse to memory, embodiment, history, personality and identity were variously utilised to inform and construct the political spectacle of the campaign. Accessing this rich cultural repository allowed the ANC to flit between its liberation movement and political party identities and thus develop and undertake a nuanced and rich political campaign. Further, the representational aesthetic that emerged served to infuse the tenor of the campaign with a symbolic resonance that legitimated and

---

[199] Zuma, 'I will lead the country on a path of friendship, cooperation, harmony, unity and faster change'
[200] John Daniel and Roger Southall, 'The National and Provincial Electoral Outcomes: Continuity and Change' in Roger Southall and John Daniel (eds.), *Zunami: The 2009 South African Elections* (Auckland Park: Jacana Media, 2009) 235

authenticated the ANC and its candidate, Jacob Zuma who represented a (re-)turn to the ANC's more venerable and popular manifestation.

The campaign was, moreover, an exercise in the performance of power by the ANC and sought to locate it at the centre of political life. Indeed, in the theatre of electoral South Africa, the ANC materially, rhetorically and indeed virtually, undertook a 'communicative interaction' that sought to 'dramatise aspirations' of the electorate but which was also marked by a superficiality and parochialism. Indeed, as props in the political theatre, the use of cultural artefacts such as posters, banners, comic strips and websites allowed for the presence of the ANC to be inculcated, but rendered politics superficial. Further, in its campaign performance, the ANC built on to the notion of 'celebrity' that coalesced around the figure of Jacob Zuma and marketed it to popular effect. Ultimately, and despite the reduction of its vote-share, the ANC was afforded a strong popular mandate to continue its project of providing 'a better life for all' and continue the move toward to full liberation of South Africa.

8.

CONCLUSION
'A KIND OF MAGIC':
POLITICAL MARKETING AND THE ANC

****

Political marketing has been an integral part of the ANC's political strategy, both during the struggle against apartheid and in the birthing of a 'new' and democratic South Africa. As such, this thesis has critically analysed and interrogated the political marketing of the ANC and has examined the relationship between the use of various marketing techniques and its strategic behaviour around seminal events in South African political life. Demonstrating the means by which the ANC came to locate itself at the centre of liberation and post-apartheid narratives, the analysis in this thesis has highlighted the continuities and discontinuities in the its discursive and representational grammars.

This study of the ANC has expanded and enriched the conceptual and theoretical remit of the notion of political marketing to include activities. In doing this, I have demonstrated the fluidity between a technical application of marketing and other forms of representational practice including propaganda, promotion and publicity. By incorporating the 'cultural' influences that inform and punctuate the public political sphere, this thesis has accorded greater consideration to the complex of influences that have come to shape and inform the ANC's discursive and representational registers and the narrative of its continued project to realise the liberation of South Africa's oppressed. Indeed, I have argued that utilisation of myth, memory, symbolism and performance by the ANC are integral to understanding its location within the political and public spheres in South Africa. Importantly too, its invocation of these meaningful registers permits an insight into the means by which the ANC sought to position itself within the 'cultural consciousness' of specific constituencies.

In expanding the theoretical parameters of the sub-discipline, I have demonstrated the 'embeddedness' of political discourse within a wider social and cultural universe and the influences that inform that relationship. Colonialism and apartheid have remained an important touchstone around which these registers have cohered and have afforded legitimacy and longevity to the ANC's discursive orientations. Imperatively, given its historical opposition to apartheid – physical, corporeal and discursive, representational –the ANC has aimed to endow its brand with a particular moral legitimacy based on such opposition. Thus, its continued refrains to the quest for full and final liberation are premised on an attempt to entrench affective and emotional ties with particular constituencies based on an historically-endowed repository of positive associations. However, and as I have argued, particularly in chapters six and seven, a more nuanced reading of the ANC's political behaviour in the post-apartheid milieu reveals a disjuncture between its rhetorical pronouncements and its political and strategic behaviours. I will address this further, subsequently.

A clear 'marketing consciousness' informed the ANC's political agenda over time. Through the theme of liberation, this thesis has examined the importance the ANC ascribed to marketing and the strategic and political imperatives that informed its approaches to 'winning hearts and minds'. The ANC developed and utilised a sophisticated and highly nuanced marketing apparatus that sought to inculcate a sense of political ownership over the process of liberation amongst its supporters. Despite its proscription and banning, the ANC was adept at marketing itself within South Africa and abroad. I demonstrated in chapter three the rich and varied influences that characterised the ANC's political marketing. The armed operations of MK, the popularly-inspired agitating of the UDF and the more educative role that prisoners on Robben Island undertook, both on the Island and within communities on their release, permitted the creation of a rich narrative tapestry that demonstrated the imbrications of actors, discourses and exchanges in the political sphere. An overarching constancy and continuity in its messaging was apparent. Indeed, as this thesis has demonstrated, the ANC's political marketing was informed by an ideological framework that gave, and more importantly, continues to give, its marketing resonance and currency as it addressed the social, political and economic milieus of its targeted constituencies. Pivoting on the notion of a national democratic revolution, I have demonstrated in chapters three (on the marketing of liberation), five (the 1994 election) and six (on economic policy as marketing) the changing nature and fluidity that came to inform its premises. Despite this, the adherence to the NDR

over time has not only provided an ideological coherence to the ANC's realisation of a democratic South Africa, but its invocation has lent temporal continuity to the process of realising liberation. As a marketing device, the NDR endows the ANC with the legitimacy to continue its historical project of realising economic and social liberation.

Keen to ascribe an agency the people as their 'own liberators', the political marketing of the ANC nevertheless located it at the centre of struggle against apartheid and as the political arbiter of liberation and emancipation. The rectitude of the ANC was deeply informed by the lore and myth that surrounded the development of the Freedom Charter. The ideological harbinger to the NDR, the Charter became the centre-piece of the ANC's moral and ethical vision and an instrument around which it could rally and mobilise support. As I have demonstrated in chapter four, the Charter's centrality lay as much in its content as it did in the process of its constitution. The popular input and participation that the COP generated was intimately inscribed into the lore of resistance against apartheid. Multi-racial, multi-organisational and 'bottom-up', the event of the COP became the rhetorical embodiment of the vision of a united and liberated South Africa. The widespread appeal of the Charter moreover occasioned support from various anti-apartheid organisations and lent credence to its vision and purport. Significantly, the Charter's marketing imperative was underpinned by a more dissonant political reality. While the emphasis on democratic and popular participation was key to ensuring the sanctity and venerability of the document, the thesis demonstrates that in reality, its constitution was more elite-driven and sheltered from popular input as those responsible for its drafting sought to 'focus' its ideological content. Thus, while the COP was important to adumbrate the topography of a democratic South Africa, it served a more political purpose in that it functioned as a marketing campaign for the ANC.

The sidelining of the popular foundations of the Charter permits an important insight into the second theme around which this thesis orientates, the political culture of the ANC. The rhetorical adherence of the importance of popular input and participation in policy development that circulated around the Freedom Charter also informed the discourse of the ANC's policy-making orientations as the democratic settlement gained momentum. Building on the political utility of the idea of 'people's power' discussed in chapter three, the ANC approached the 1994 elections on the popularly-inspired RDP. Not only inspired by the Freedom Charter, but also seen as the natural means to give it effect, the RDP was firmly ensconced within the representational teleology of the ANC and gave impetus to notions of 'democratising power', of being 'people-driven' and allowing for citizen empowerment.

Bottom-up participation and popular involvement were not only accorded rhetorical centrality in the RDP by the ANC, but also informed its campaign to popularise the programme. Moreover, given the continuity that the RDP signalled within the teleology of liberation, it also located the ANC at the centre of South African political life. Thus, the RDP played an important symbolic function within a newly democratic South Africa. The turn to GEAR signalled a tipping point in post-apartheid politics and was, as the chapter on marketing on economic policy demonstrated, the culmination of protracted embrace of economic orthodoxy within the ANC. Akin to the process of the writing of the Freedom Charter, but without the veneer of popular participation, GEAR signalled the ascendancy of a technocratic grouping within the ANC, which was more responsive to prevailing economic exigencies.

I have argued, however, for a more nuanced reading of the perceived capitulation to orthodoxy. Notwithstanding the need to inculcate a sense of confidence in its ability to govern through policies that conformed to global economic diktats, GEAR also represented an effort to modernise the ANC and similarly, set in motion the process of 're-birthing' the African continent. Exerting ownership over its economic course was part of the ANC's strategic balancing between 'accommodation and challenge'. As I have demonstrated in chapter six, viewing economic policy development historically sheds light on the tenuous balancing that the ANC needed to undertake in asserting its economic policy orientations. A distinctly marketing imperative underpinned such approach. Politically, however, I contend that the negotiation between 'accommodation and challenge' was part of a larger emancipatory project in which the ANC would utilise the hegemonic instruments of economic orthodoxy to assert an (South) African agency. Despite the venerability of an African renaissance, opposition to GEAR served to rupture the narrative of the ANC's people-centred and people-driven bias that was codified in the Freedom Charter and the RDP. This rupture not only had organisational and political implications that would continue through the democratic period, but was marked also by ideological incongruity. Indeed, GEAR served to reconfigure the basis of the NDR and promote the creation of an African capitalist class that stood in counterpoint to its earlier formulations. Moreover, it reoriented notions of liberation and democracy in the post-apartheid period and the tenuousness of the process of state formation that the ANC encountered. In representing, the 'cleansing' of the ANC from its discursive and rhetorical flirtation with leftist ideology, GEAR re-moored the ANC within its earlier, elite predispositions. The changing political culture of the ANC as examined through economic policy has an important marketing function. Indeed, as

demonstrated in chapter six, the operation of marketing extends beyond its normative and 'exterior' functions to provide an insight into the narratives of government and thus offers a clearer understanding of its motivations, orientations and ethics. In so doing, an appreciation of the creation of the symbolic state is obtained through the strategic behaviour of political protagonists.

The intersection of themes of liberation and political culture inform the analysis in chapter five. Returning to political marketing in election campaigns, I argue that a deeply liberatory discourse permeated through the ANC's political marketing and resonated with the historically-entrenched conceptions of freedom, democracy and emphasised the socio-economic basis of liberation. Such continuity in its messaging and campaigning added to the sanctity and import of South Africa's first free and democratic election. In marketing terms, the ANC was able to meld a formal and technical approach to political campaigns with bottom-up and mass-based mobilisation. Such participation and grassroots involvement also inflected the campaign with a 'popular' aesthetic. The strategic employment of personalities marked the campaign. The 1994 election, the moment of political liberation, also set in motion the ANC's overarching project of realising 'a better life for all.' As the symbolic crystallisation of the ANC's governing mission, the pursuit of the 'better life' would inform the ANC's discursive project through the democratic period. The mass-based nature and the populist-bent of the campaign were also significant in the ANC's self-reflection on its identity between liberation movement and political party. The discussion and examination in this thesis has demonstrated the continuous pivoting the ANC undertakes between these identities and the political expediency which underlies such pivoting.

While the 1994 campaign has obtained a mythical status within the narrative of South African political life given its democratic import, the election campaign of 2009 was notable for its use of spectacle. Such framing does not deny or exclude the spectacularity of other elections or general campaigns in both apartheid and post-apartheid South Africa, but rather functions as an apposite lens through which to highlight the textures of this campaign and thus enrich contemporary understandings of political marketing. Indeed, as I demonstrated in chapter seven, the political exigencies and malaise that preceded the campaign necessitated a performance of power by the ANC which 'captured the imagination' of the public. Moreover, the scale, scope and breadth of the campaign and the presence that the ANC exerted in the public and political spheres were unprecedented. The ructions that characterised the political sphere in South Africa, I have argued, fractured the ANC and permitted opposition to the

incumbent regime to cohere around the figure of Jacob Zuma. The threat of a serious electoral challenge from the ANC off-shoot COPE further necessitated a robust and commanding campaign. The analysis presented in chapter seven provides an insight into the strategy of the campaign and the utilisation of political marketing by the ANC. Highlighting its recourse to myth, memory, claims to history, sanctification and the embodiment of traditions of the ANC within Nelson Mandela, the campaign struck an emotive appeal that demonstrated historical continuity in its discursive posturing. Moreover, this process of historical reflection also manifested in the recursive claims to realigning the ANC with its mandate in the Freedom Charter and reorienting the foundations of the NDR to reflect its working class bias. Implicit in the ANC's marketing was the characterisation of the Mbeki years as an aberration in the teleology of realising a liberated South Africa.[1] Discursively, the framing of the campaign through the slogan, 'Working together we can do more' linked it to the 1994 election and to the Masakhane campaign that I discussed in chapters five and six respectively, and permitted a continuity in its representational *oeuvre*. However, the recourse to history and tradition could not promise the delivery of the election, especially given the changing demographic profile of the electorate. Thus, the need to render the ANC 'cool' became an important campaign technique.

In 'dramatising aspirations' particularly among the black youth market, the ANC's 'ride and braais' permitted the advertising of 'better life' that centred on material wealth and socio-economic advancement – a 'better life' was being progressively realised. Moreover, the ANC undertook a technologically savvy campaign and established a 'virtual' presence that allowed for increasing interaction within the political marketplace. In addition, this virtual presence inculcated a sense of ownership of the campaign within its audience. The campaign stretched into new arenas and the creation of the spectacle was further witnessed through a set of television advertisements that captured key elements of its manifesto. Overall, the spectacular nature of the campaign was informed by numerous smaller spectacles that accessed a rich historical repository upon which the ANC could draw symbolic capital. I have argued in chapter seven, however, that as much as the ANC was able to draw on this capital, its campaign was also marked by superficiality and parochialism particularly in its representational props and visual cultures. Nevertheless, the theatrics of the campaign and the

---

[1] This rhetoric belies a reality in which the very freedoms that were struggled for are being eroded. At the time of writing, a highly contentious Protection of Information (or popularly dubbed 'secrecy') Bill was passed by the National Assembly and was awaiting consideration by the lower house, the National Council of Provinces before final promulgation. The bill would effectively curtail media freedom wherein the 'national interest' would trump public interest.

performance that the ANC undertook confirmed its centrality in the political life of South Africa and continuation of its rhetorical quest of liberation and the pursuit of 'a better life for all.'

<p style="text-align:center">***</p>

Political marketing provides an important lens through which to understand the political development of the ANC. I have demonstrated consistently through the preceding chapters that marketing was accorded key strategic importance in both the apartheid and democratic epochs. The pervasiveness of this 'marketing consciousness' provides an insight not only into the socio-political and cultural engagement of the ANC with its constituencies, but also more critically, the means by which such engagement was managed and mediated. As a technology of power aimed at persuasion, the analysis of political marketing here permits an insight into the strategic thinking of the ANC as a movement and party and the historical continuities and discontinuities in how it approached the process of interaction and engagement. Furthermore, I have demonstrated how political marketing provides a critical insight into the ANC's ability to manage politics and its mediation of the complexity of forces and actors in the political sphere. It is important to note too, that such mediation of various factions and groupings *within* the ANC was also necessary. In doing so, further understanding of the shifting bases of the ANC's own organisational identities – between political party and liberation movement – may be obtained.

The importance ascribed to political marketing by the ANC confirms the idea that it is what parties 'actually do' in the political sphere to garner support, mobilise constituencies and effect political action. More critically, I have demonstrated the difficulty of separating out marketing from these more 'political' functions. A central assertion in this thesis has been to demonstrate the interactivity between marketing mobilisation and political action. Further, I have demonstrated that the highly particularistic and nuanced means by which the ANC 'packaged politics' served not only to distil its ideological posturing over time – and indeed, the shifting bases of that posturing – but also the means by which it was put to specific political effect in the public sphere both consistently and constantly. Thus, while the content of the messaging may have changed, the importance ascribed to its communication has not.

I have demonstrated the uneven nature of the ANC's approach and engagement to political marketing. While consultation, engagement and popular participation continue to be central to the discourse of its marketing approach, the professionalization of its capacities in the post-

apartheid epoch, particularly in elections demonstrates the tensions in the modernisation of the ANC as a political party while aiming to maintain its liberation movement character. To some measure, the ANC succeeds in the balancing of these political identities and is thus able to effectively address contending constituencies. As such, it is able to give credence to its claim to representing the emergent South African 'nation'. It is a truism that the ANC maintains its position at the centre of South African political life. Political marketing, as I have argued here, has been central to this process.

<div align="center">***</div>

Given these theoretical and empirical findings, this thesis make a unique and important inter-disciplinary contribution to understandings of South African politics and the politics of the ANC through the lens of political marketing. Marked by a 'methodological pluralism', as outlined in the theoretical framing of the thesis, and given the inter-disciplinary approach here, the utilisation of political marketing has served as an adjunct to understandings of the political sphere. The focus on the liberation movement and political party offers new areas of insight to questions of culture, power and identity in both South Africa and Africa more broadly. Expanding the definition of political marketing to include more 'cultural' aspects in its theoretical constitution not only enriches its analytical purview, but also endows political marketing analysis with a particular historicity that highlights the rich and complex influences that shape behaviour and attitudes over time. Indeed, it serves to provide a longitudinal insight into the interplay between political and cultural production and consumption through the techniques of political marketing. Temporally, this study remains significant as the debates around economic questions, the Freedom Charter, the history of the struggle for liberation, the national democratic revolution and more continue to punctuate present political discourse in South Africa.

It would be fallacious, even intellectually offensive, to view the 'cultural' aspects of political marketing as uniquely 'African'. Rather, the operation of myth, symbolism, political theatre, carnival and the like are also deeply rooted within Western political markets. Rather, in incorporating these elements into the analysis of the ANC's political marketing, I have demonstrated points of both convergence and divergence with global political and electoral practices. Further, in positioning the analysis around the themes of liberation, political culture and spectacle, this thesis has shed light and offered a richer understanding of the key aspects of the apartheid and post-apartheid political milieu. Moreover, while disciplines such as

political geography, sociology and political science have tended to focus on points of conflict and cleavage in the social and political body, this study on the ANC's political marketing has also provided an insight into 'shared interests' amongst various constituencies in the South African political sphere.

As the analysis in this thesis has demonstrated, the predominance of the ANC in the political life of South Africa belies a more nuanced and complex reality. It would be theoretically and empirically myopic to assume a complete genuflection by the majority populace to the ANC as an organisation, both during the struggle for liberation and in the democratic period. Implicit in the overall analysis, is that a critical and rational, even suspicious, electorate continues to exist in South Africa. Thus, I have demonstrated that the need for marketing has been imperative to the political importance and centrality of the ANC over time.

The focus on the elite political formation in this thesis privileges specific relations of power and the discourses and representations that flow from there. I do not dispute this. It is precisely because of the predominant position that the ANC holds in South African political life that an understanding of its marketing is important. As this study has demonstrated, analysis and examination of the ANC's political marketing serves to provide a deeper understanding of the social and cultural bases of political change in a post-apartheid and post-colonial setting.

This study should be read as the initial step in a much longer and richer process of understanding the political marketing of the ANC. The elite-disposition of this analysis may be enriched by being counter-posed with a 'subaltern' analysis in which research is directed toward understandings of the bottom-up process of marketing that the ANC sought to generate within communities. Initial attempts have been undertaken in this regard but greater depth is required.[2] Moreover, and as is evident in this present work, the public functions of the ANC were diverse and rich and the imbrications within organisations, persons, and functions are ripe for exploration and study. The geographical spread of the ANC and the discursive and representational content that was generated would make important contributions to spatial understandings of power and culture in resistance struggles. Moreover, the political marketing of the ANC should not be understood in isolation. The revolutionary theatre of anti-apartheid struggles led to interaction amongst fraternal

---

[2] A good example of this would be Raymond Suttner, *The ANC Underground in South Africa: A Social and Historical Study*

organisations and movements, regionally and internationally Further, such studies may be integral to understanding the processes that inform the transition from liberation movements to political parties. Examinations – comparative or otherwise – of the discursive and representational apparatus of these movements and parties would enrich understandings of liberation struggles in the region and beyond. A large archival collection of ANC materials remains under-explored. Future research would benefit greatly from examining the contents of these archives and stories that they hold. It is perhaps in this way, a better and more critical understanding of the 'ANC name as a kind of magic' may be obtained.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Adelzadeh, A. and Padayachee, V. 'The RDP White Paper: Reconstruction of a Development Vision?, *Transformation*, 25, 1994, 1-18

Adam, H. and Moodley, K. *The Negotiated Revolution: Society and Politics in Post-Apartheid South Africa* (Johannesburg: Jonathan Ball Publishers, 1993)

African National Congress, 'Questions on the National Democratic Revolution' in African National Congress, *Selected Writings on the Freedom Charter: A Sechaba Commemorative Publication* (London: African National Congress, n.d.), 72-77

African National Congress, 'Introduction' in African National Congress, *Selected Writings on the Freedom Charter'* A Sechaba Commemorative Publication (London: African National Congress, 1985), ii - iv

African National Congress, 'An Analysis of the Freedom Charter: Revolutionary Programme of the African National Congress – Adopted at the Morogoro Conference, 1969' in African National Congress, *Selected Writings on the Freedom Charter'* A Sechaba Commemorative Publication (London: African National Congress, 1985), 5 -14

African National Congress/Congress of South African Trade Unions, 'Recommendations from the Post-Apartheid Economic Policy Workshop' 28 April-1 May, 1990, Harare, *Sechaba,* October, 1990, 18-25

African National Congress, 'Tasks of the NDR and the Mobilisation of the Motive Forces' *Umrabulo* 8, (2000)

Alexander, J.C. 'Cultural pragmatics: social performance between ritual and strategy' in Jeffrey Alexander, Bernhard Giesen and Jason L. Mast (eds.), *Social Performance: Symbolic Action, Cultural Pragmatics and Ritual* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 29-89

Alexander, N. 'Robben Island: A Site of Struggle' Lecture presented at the University of Cape Town Summer School on the theme 'Robben Island: The Politics of Rock and Sand' (1992)

Allen, L 'Music and Politics in Africa', *Social Dynamics* 30, 2 (2004), 1-19

Anderson, B. R. O'G. *Language and Power: Exploring Political Cultures in Indonesia* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1990)

Anderson, B.R. O'G. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso, 1991)

Ankersmit, F.R *Political Representation: Cultural Memory in the Present* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2002)

Angrosino, M.V. and Mays de Perez, K.M. 'Rethinking Observation: From Method to Context' in Norman K. Denzin and Yvonna S. Lincoln (eds.) *Handbook of Qualitative Research* (Thousand Oaks: SAGE Publications, 2000), 673-702

Apter, D.E. 'Politics as theatre: an alternative view on the rationalities of power' in Jeffrey Alexander, Bernhard Giesen and Jason L. Mast (eds.) , *Social Performance: Symbolic Action, Cultural Pragmatics and Ritual* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 218-256

Arvidsson, A. 'The Function of Cultural Studies in marketing: A New Administrative Science?' in Mark Tadajewski and Douglas Brownlie (eds.) *Critical Marketing: Contemporary Issues in Marketing* (Chichester: John Wiley and Sons Ltd., 2008), 329-343

Ashplant, T., Dawson, G and Roper, M 'The politics of war memory and commemoration: Contexts, structures and dynamics' in Timothy Ashplant, Graham Dawson and Michael Roper (eds.) *The Politics of War Memory and Commemoration* (London: Routledge, 2000), 4-84

Askew, K.M. *Performing the Nation: Swahili Music and Cultural Politics in Tanzania* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 2002)

Babenia, N. *Memoirs of a Saboteur: Reflections on my Political Activity in India and South Africa* (Bellville: Mayibuye Books, 1995)

Barrell, H. *MK: The ANC's Armed Struggle* (London: Penguin Books, 1990)

Barrell, H. 'Conscripts to their age: African National Congress Operational Strategy, 1976-1986' DPhil Thesis, University of Oxford, 1993

Barthes, R. *Mythologies* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1972)

Blake, M. *50 Years of the Freedom Charter: Cause to Celebrate?* (Cape Town: Workers World Media, 2005)

Bennett, K. 'Participant Observation' in Pamela Shurmer-Smith (ed.) *Doing Cultural Geography* (London: SAGE Publications Ltd, 2002), 139-149

Benson, M. *South Africa: The Struggle for a Birthright* (London: International Defence and Aid Fund, 1985)

Blouin, F.X. and Rosenberg, W.G. 'Archives and Archiving' in Francis X. Blouin and William G. Rosenberg (eds.) *Archives, Documentation and Institutions of Social Memory: Essays from the Sawyer Seminar* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2007), 1-3

Blumenfeld, J. 'From Icon to Scapegoat: The Experience of South Africa's Reconstruction and Development Programme', *Development Policy Review*, 15 (1997), 65-91

Bond, P. 'Thabo Mbeki and NEPAD: Breaking or shining the chains of global apartheid' in Sean Jacobs and Richard Calland, (eds.) *The Politics and Ideology of the South African President* (Pietermaritzburg: University of Natal Press, 2002), 53-82

Bond, P. 'The Making of South Africa's Macroeconomic Compromise: Scenario Planning and the Narrowing of Development Strategies' in Ernest Maganya and Rachel Houghton (eds.) *Transformation in South Africa?: Policy Debates in the 1990s* (Johannesburg: Institute for African Alternatives, 1996), 16-34

Bongmba, E.K. 'Reflections on Thabo Mbeki's African Renaissance' *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 30, 2 (2004), 291-316

Booysen, S. and Charney,C. *The Minds and Feelings of Swing Voters: Keys to Winning South Africa's First Democratic Election*, Research Initiatives Focus Group Report, (1992)

Booysen, S. 'Congress of the People: Between Foothold of Hope and Slippery Slope' in Roger Southall and John Daniel (eds.) *Zunami: The 2009 South African Elections* (Auckland Park: Jacana Media, 2009), 88-113

Bourdieu, P. *Language and Symbolic Power* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1994)

Buntman, F. *Robben Island and Prisoner Resistance to Apartheid* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2003)

Butler, A. 'How Democratic is the African National Congress?' *Journal of Southern African Studies* 31, 4 (2005),719-736

Butler, A. 'The State of the African National Congress' in Sakhela Buhlungu, John Daniel, Roger Southall and Jessica Lutchman (eds.) *State of the Nation: South Africa 2007* (Cape Town: HSRC Press, 2007), 35-52

Butler, P. and Harris, P. 'Considerations on the evolution of political marketing theory', *Marketing Theory*, 9, 2 (2009), 149-164

Cabral, A. *Return to the Source: Selected Speeches of Amilcar Cabral* (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1973)

Carrim, Y. 'The ANC as a Mass Political Organisation' in Alexander Johnston, Sipho Shezi and Gavin Bradshaw (eds.) *Constitution-Making in the New South Africa* (London: Leicester University Press, 1993), 89-114

Carter, C. "We are the Progressives': Alexandra Youth Congress Activists and the Freedom Charter, 1983-1985' *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 17, 2, (1991), 197-220

Centre for Development and Enterprise, *Policy-Making in a New Democracy: South Africa's Challenges for the 21st Century* (Johannesbug: Centre for Development and Enterprise, 1999)

Ceruti, C. 'African National Congress Change in Leadership: What Really Won it for Zuma?' *Review of African Political Economy*, 115 (2008), 107-114

Chari, S. 'Photographing Dispossession, Forgetting Solidarity: Waiting for Social Justice in Wentworth, South Africa,' *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, 34, 4 (2009), 521-540

Chipkin, I. 'The South African Nation', *Transformation*, 51, (2003), 25-47

Chipkin, I. *Do South Africans Exist: Nationalism, Democracy and the Identity of 'The People'* (Johannesburg: Wits University Press, 2007), 108-109

Chomsky, N. *Media Control: The Spectacular Achievements of Propaganda,* 2nd edition (New York: Seven Stories Press, 2002)

Clark, T. *Art and Propaganda in the Twentieth Century* (London: Orion Publishing Group, 1997)

Clifford, J. 'Introduction: Partial Truths' in James Clifford and George E. Marcus (eds.), *Writing Culture: The Poetics and Politics of Ethnography* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986), 1-26

Cuthbertson, G. 'South Africa's Democracy: from celebration to crisis', *African Identities* 6, 3, (2008), 293-304

Cwalina, A., Falkowski, A. and Newman, B.I. *A Cross-Cultural Theory of Voter Behavior* (New York: The Hawthorn Press, 2008)

Dalton, R.J. *Citizen Politics: Public Opinion and Political Parties in Advanced Industrial Democracies*, Fourth Edition (Washington DC: CQ Press, 2006)

Daniel, J., and Southall, R. 'The National and Provincial Electoral Outcomes: Continuity and Change' in Roger Southall and John Daniel (eds.), *Zunami: The 2009 South African Elections* (Auckland Park: Jacana Media, 2009), 232-269

Dansereau, S., Zamponi, M., and Melber, H. *Zimbabwe: The Political Economy of Decline* (Uppsala: Nordiska Africainstitutet, 2004)

Darracq, V. 'The African National Congress (ANC) Organisation at the Grassroots' *African Affairs*, 107/429, 589-609

Davenport, T.R.H. *The Transfer of Power in South Africa* (Cape Town: David Philip Publishers, 1998)

Davis, D. 'The Freedom Charter: A Challenge and Bequest' in Nico Steytler (ed.) *The Freedom Charter and Beyond: Founding Principles for a Democratic South African Legal Order* (Plumstead: Wyvern Publishers, 1991), 1-19

Deacon, H. *The Island: A History of Robben Island, 1488-1990* (Cape Town: David Philip, 1996)

Debord, G. *The Society of the Spectacle,* (New York: Zone Books, 1995)

Department of Foreign Affairs (Republic of South Africa), Speech delivered by President Thabo Mbeki at 'A New Era for Africa in a Globalizing World' UNESCO, Paris, 19 November 2003

de Villiers, R. (ed.) *Transforming South Africa: The ANC's Reconstruction and Development Programme*, Proceedings of a seminar held at the Centre for Policy Studies, Johannesburg, 13 April 1994

Dexter, P. 'Make the RDP, Make the Left', *Work in Progress*, 95, February/March, (1994), 30-31

Discussion Paper presented to the ANC National Conference on Reconstruction and Strategy (edited version), 21-23 January 1994, *African Communist*, First Quarter, (1994), 51-60

Dingake, M. *My Fight Against Apartheid* (London: Kliptown Books, 1987)

Dlamini, S. and Vavi, Z., 'Defend our Movement: Advance the Gains of Polokwane! Expose and Isolate the Black DA!' (South Africa: COSATU, 2009)

Docker, J. *Postmodernism and Popular Culture: A Cultural History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994)

'Does the Freedom Charter Mean Socialism' *New Age*, 17 November 1957 in African National Congress, *Selected Writings on the Freedom Charter'* A Sechaba Commemorative Publication (London: African National Congress, 1985), 28-31

Dolan, F.M. and Dumm, T.L. (eds.) *The Rhetorical Republic: Governing Representations in American Politics* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1993)

Donnelly, D. 'Book review: African Posters and Images of Defiance: South African Resistance Posters in the 1980s' *criticalarts* 19, 1 and 2 (2005), 187-195

Downs, A. *An Economic Theory of Democracy* (New York: Harper and Row, 1957)

Dubow, S. *The African National Congress* (Johannesburg: Jonathan Ball Publishers, 2000)

Edelman, M. *Constructing the Political Spectacle* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1988)

Edelman, M. *Politics as Symbolic Action: Mass Arousal and Quiescence* (New York: Academic Press, 1971)

Edwards, J.L. 'Echoes of Camelot: How images Construct Cultural Memory Through Rhetorical Framing' in Charles A. Hill and Marguerite Helmers (eds.), *Defining Visual Rhetorics* (Mahwah: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates Publishers, 2004), 179-194

Ellis, S. 'The ANC in Exile' *African Affairs*, 90 (1991), 439-447

Ellis, S. and Sechaba, T. *Comrades Against Apartheid,: The ANC and the South African Communist Party in Exile* (London: James Currey Press, 1992)

Ellis, S. and Ter Haar, G. 'Religion and Politics in Sub-Saharan Africa,' *Journal of Modern African Studies* 36,2 (1998), 175-201

El Refaie, E. 'Metaphor in political cartoons: Exploring audience responses' in Charles J. Forceville and Eduardo Urios-Aparisi (eds.) *Multimodal Metaphor* (Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 2009), 173-196

Erwin, A.'Restructuring South Africa's Post-Apartheid Economy', Paper presented for the Cape Town Mass Democratic Movement/Consultative Business Movement (CBM) Encounter, February 9-11, (1990), 1-7

Eyal, G. 'The Making and Breaking of the Czechoslovak Political Field' in Loic Wacquant (ed.) *Pierre Bourdieu and Democratic Politics: The Mystery of Ministry* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2005), 151-177

Fanon, F. *The Wretched of the Earth* (London: Penguin Classics, 2001)

Feinstein, A. *After the Party: A Personal and Political Journey inside the ANC* (Johannesburg: Jonathan Ball Publishers, 2007)

Fikeni, S. 'The Polokwane moment and South Africa's democracy at the crossroads' in Peter Kagwanja and Kwandiwe Kondlo (eds.) *State of the Nation: South Africa 2008* (Cape Town: HSRC Press, 2009),3-34

Fischer, F. *Discursive Politics and Deliberative Practices* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2003)

Foot, K.A. and Schneider, S.M. *Web Campaigning* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 2006)

Foucault, M. *Archaeology of Knowledge* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2002)

Frederikse, J. 'The Unbreakable Thread: Non-Racialism in South Africa (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1990)

Friedman, S. 'Beyond Symbols? The Politics of Economic Compromise' in Robert Schrire (ed.) *Wealth or Poverty?: Critical Choices for South Africa* (Cape Town: Oxford University Press, 1992), 608-622

Friedman, S. *The Long Journey: South Africa's Quest for Negotiated Settlement* (Johannesburg: Ravan Press, 1993)

Friedman, S. 'Voters and Voice: The ANC Vote and the 2009 Election' *Discourse*, 36,2, (2008)

Gelb, S. 'Economic Growth, People and the Environment' in Gitanjali Maharaj (ed.), *Between Unity and Diversity: Essays on Nation-Building in Post-Apartheid South Africa* (Claremont: David Philip Publishers, 1999), 147-167

Gevisser, M. *Thabo Mbeki: The Dream Deferred* (Cape Town: Jonathan Ball Publishers, 2007)

Giliomee, H. 'The Freedom Charter and the Future' James A. Polley (ed.) *The Freedom Charter and the Future* Proceedings of the national conference on 'The Freedom Charter and the Future – a critical appraisal', organised and presented at the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for SA', Cape Town, 15-16 July 1988, 18-20

Gish, S.D. *Alfred B. Xuma: African, American, South African* (Basingstoke: MacMillan Press Ltd, 2000)

Greenberg, S.B. *Dispatches from the War Room: In the Trenches With Five Extraordinary Leaders* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 2009)

Gumede, W.M. *Thabo Mbeki and the Battle for the Soul of the ANC*, (Cape Town: Zebra Press, 2005)

Gumede, W.M. 'South Africa: Jacob Zuma and the Difficulties of Consolidating South Africa's Democracy' *African Affairs,* 107/427, (2008) 261-271

Gumede, W.M. 'Modernising the African National Congress:: The Legacy of President Thabo Mbeki' in Peter Kagwanja and Kwandiwe Kondlo (eds.) *State of the Nation: South Africa 2008* (Cape Town: HSRC Press 2009), 35-57

Gunner, L. 'Jacob Zuma, the Social Body and the Unruly Power of Song' *African Affairs* 108,430, (2008), 27-48

Gyekye, K. *Tradition and Modernity: Philosophical Reflections on the African Experience*, (New York: Oxford University Press)

Habib, A. and Padayachee, V. 'Economic Policy and Power Relations in South Africa's Transition to Democracy' *World* Development, 28, 2, (2000), 245-263

Habib, A. 'The politics of economic policy-making: substantive uncertainty, political leverage, and human development', *Transformation* 56, (2004), 90- 103

Habib, A. and Naidu, S. 'Race, Class and Voting Patterns in South Africa's Electoral System: Ten Years of Democracy' *African Development* XXXI, 3 (2006), 81-92

Hall, M. 'Social archaeology and the theatres of memory' *Journal of Social Archeology* 9,1 (2001), 50-61

Hall, S. 'Introduction' in Stuart Hall (ed.) *Representation: Cultural Representations and Signifying Practices* (London: Sage Publications Ltd, 1997), 1-12

Hall, S 'Encoding/Decoding' in Simon During (ed.), *The Cultural Studies Reader* (London: Routledge, 1999) 507-517

Hammett, D. 'Zapiro and Zuma: A symptom of an emerging constitutional crisis in South Africa?' *Political Geography*, 29, (2010), 88-96

Handley, A. 'Business, Government and Economic Policy-Making in the New South Africa, 1990-2000' *Journal of Modern African Studies* 43, 2, (2005), 211-239

Hansen, T.B. and Stepputat, F. 'Introduction: States of Imagination' in Thomas Blom Hansen and Finn Stepputat (eds.) *States of Imagination: Ethnographic Explorations of the Postcolonial State* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2001), 1-37

Haraway, D. 'Situated Knowledge's: The Science Question in Feminism and the Privileges of Partial Perspective' *Feminist Studies* 14, 3 (1988), 575-599

Harris, L. 'Economic Objectives and Macroeconomic Constraints' in Jonathan Michie and Vishnu Padayachee (eds.) *The Political Economy of South Africa's Transition: Policy Perspectives in the Late 1990s* (London: The Dryden Press, 1997), 89-100

Harrop, M. 'Political Marketing', *Parliamentary Affairs* 43 (1990), 277-291

Hart, G. 'Changing Concepts of Articulation: Political Stakes in South Africa Today', *Review of African Political Economy* 111 (2007), 85-101

Hassim, S. *Women's Organisations and Democracy in South Africa: Contesting Authority* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2006)

Henneberg, S.C. 'The views of an advocates dei: Political marketing and its critics' *Journal of Public Affairs*, 4, 3 (2004), 225-243

Henneberg, S.C. 'An Epistemological Perspective on Research in Political Marketing', *Journal of Political Marketing* 7,2 (2008), 151-182

Henneberg, S.C., Scammell, M., and O' Shaughnessy, N.J. 'Political marketing management and theories of democracy', *Marketing Theory*, 9,2 (2009), 165-188

Henneberg, S.C. and O'Shaughnessy, N.J. 'Political Relationship Marketing: some macro/micro thoughts', *Journal of Marketing Management*, 25,1-2 (2009), 5-29

Hill, C.A. 'The Psychology of Rhetorical Images' in Charles A. Hill and Marguerite Helmers (eds.), *Defining Visual Rhetorics* (Mahwah: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates Publishers, 2004), 25-40

Hirsch, A. *Season of Hope: Economic Reform Under Mandela and Mbeki* (Scottsville: University of Kwazulu Natal Press, 2005)

'History in the making' in 'Freedom Charter Background: The Freedom Charter – A Guiding Light for the Future,' full reference not available

Holland, H. *The Struggle: A History of the African National Congress* (London: Grafton Books, 1989)

Holt, D.B. *How Icons Become Brands: The Principles of Cultural Branding* (Boston: Harvard Business School Press, 2004)

Houser, G.M. and Shore, H. *I Will Go Singing: Walter Sisulu Speaks of his Life and the Struggle for Freedom in South Africa* (Cape Town: Robben Island Museum, 2001)

Hudson, P. 'Images of the Future and Strategies in the Present: The Freedom Charter and the South African Left' in Philip Frankel, Noam Pines and Mark Swilling (eds.) *State, Resistance and Change in South Africa* (London: Croom Helm, 1988), 259-277

Hughes, A. and Dann, S. 'Political marketing and stakeholder engagement', *Marketing Theory* 9,2 (2009), 243-256

Interview with Comrade Thabo Mbeki, 'To Mobilise the Masses into Action', *DAWN,* 7, 9 and 10, 1983, 3-9

Interview with Mac Maharaj, 'We Must Continue to Make South Africa Ungovernable', *Mayibuye,* 2 and 3, (1988), 9-15

Interview with Pallo Jordan, From the Freedom Charter to a Democratic Constitution', *Sechaba*, 24,12, (1990), 10-14

Interview with Nelson Mandela, 'Year of Liberation if…we work harder', *Mayibuye*, February, (1994), 8-11

Jones, N., Vanderhargen, Y,. and Viney, D., 'The rise of the *Daily Sun* and its contribution to the creation of post-apartheid identity' in Adrian Hadland, Eric Louw, Simphiwe Sesanti and Herman Wasserman (eds.) *Power, Politics and Identity in South African Media* (Cape Town: HSRC Press, 2008), 167-183

Jowett, G.S. and O'Donnell, V. *Persuasion and Propaganda*, 3rd edition, (Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications, 1999)

Karis, T.G. and Gerhart, G.M. *From Protest to Challenge: A Documentary History of African Politics in South Africa, 1882-1990* Volume 5: Nadir and Resurgence, 1964-1979 (Pretoria: UNISA Press, 1997)

Kertzer, D.I. *Ritual, Politics and Power* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1987)

Kertzer, D.I. *Politics and Symbols: The Italian Communist Party and the Fall of Communism* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1996)

Kertzer, D.I. 'Political rituals' in Luciano Cheles and Lucio Sponza (eds.) *The art of persuasion: Political communication in Italy from 1945 to the 1990s* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2001), 99-112

Key, V.O. *The Responsible Electorate* (Cambridge: Belknap Press, 1966)

Koller, V. 'Brand images: Multimodal metaphor in corporate branding messages' in Charles J. Forceville and Eduardo Urios-Aparisi (eds.) *Multimodal Metaphor* (Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 2009), 45-72

Kornegay, F.A., and Landsberg, C. 'Can South Africa lead an African Renaissance?' Occasional Paper Series, Konrad Adenauer Stiftung, May (1998), 29-48

Kotze, D. 'Debates about the Freedom Charter' in Romaine Hill, Marie Muller and Martin Trump (eds.) *African Studies Forum* Volume III (Pretoria: HSRC Press, 1993), 1-38

Kotze, H. 'Swimming in a Wild Sea: The Challenges Facing Civil Society' in Gitanjali Maharaj (ed.), *Between Unity and Diversity: Essays on Nation-Building in Post-Apartheid South Africa* (Claremont: David Philip Publishers, 1999), 171-197

Krantz, D.L. 'Politics and Photography in Apartheid South Africa' *History of Photography,* 32,4 (2008), 290-300

Lachmann, R. 'Bakhtin and Carnival: Culture as Counter-Culture', *Cultural Critique*, 11, (1988-89), 115-152

Lekgoathi, S.P. 'The African National Congress's Radio Freedom and its audiences in apartheid South Africa, 1963-1991', *Journal of African Media Studies* 2,2 (2010), 139- 153

Lesetja, M. 'The Role of Umkhonto We Sizwe (MK) in the National Liberation Struggle of South Africa, with reference to Northern Transvaal, 1976-1990' PhD Thesis, University of Cape Town, 2007

Lester, A., Nel, E., and Binns, T. *South Africa: Past, Present and Future: Gold at the End of the Rainbow?* (Harlow: Pearson Education Ltd, 2000)

Lock, A and Harris, P. 'Political marketing – vive la difference!' *European Journal of Marketing*, 20, 10/11 (1996), 1-7

Lewis-Beck, M.S. 'Comparative Economic Voting: Britain, France, Germany and Italy' in Pippa Norris (ed.) *Election and Voting Behaviour: New Challenges, New Perspectives* (Aldershot: Dartmouth Publishing Company Limited, 1998), 153-184

Lodge, T. 'The African National Congress in South Africa 1976-1982: Guerilla War and Armed Propaganda' *Journal of Contemporary African Studies,* 3, 1 and 2 (1983), 153-180

Lodge, T. 'State of Exile: The African National Congress of South Africa, 1976-1986' in Philip Frankel, Noam Pines and Mark Swilling (eds.) *State, Resistance and Change in South Africa* (London: Croom Helm Publishers, 1988), 229-257

Lodge, T. 'Rebellion: The Turning of the Tide' in Tom Lodge and Bill Nasson, *All, Here and Now: Black Politics in South Africa in the 1980s* (Cape Town: David Philip Publishers, 1991), 23-232

Lodge, T. 'The African National Congress in the 1990s' in Glenn Moss and Ingrid Obery (eds.) *South African Review 6: From 'Red October' to CODESA* (Johannesburg: Ravan Press, 1992), 44-77

Lodge, T. 'The African National Congress and It's Allies,' in Andrew Reynolds (ed.), *Election '94: South Africa: The Campaigns, Results and Future Prospects* (Cape Town and Johannesburg: David Philip, 1994), 23-42

Lodge, T. 'Policy Processes within the African National Congress and the Tripartite Alliance', *Politikon*, 26,1, (1999), 5-32

Lodge, T. 'South Africa's Succession Politics' Paper presented at the Centre for African Studies, University of Edinburgh, February (2009)

Lowenthal, D. 'Archives, Heritage and History' in Francis X. Blouin and William G. Rosenberg (eds.) *Archives, Documentation and Institutions of Social Memory: Essays from the Sawyer Seminar* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2007), 193-206

Luthuli, A. *Let My People Go: An Autobiography* (London: St. James's Place, 1962)

Maaba, B.B. 'Liberation Archives in South Africa: An Overview' in Chris Saunders (ed.) *Documenting Liberation Struggles in Southern Africa* Selected papers from the Nordic Africa Documentation Project Workshop, Pretoria, 26-27 November 2009.

Maasri, Z. *Off the Wall: Political Posters of the Lebanese Civil War* (New York: I.B. Taurus and Co Ltd, 2009)

Mabaso, P. 'Propaganda in the Armed Forces', *DAWN* 10, 5, (1986), 1-5

MacDonald, A. 'On the Campaign Trail', *Work in Progress*, April/May, (1993), 14-15

MacGinty, R. 'The Political Use of Symbols of Accord and Discord: Northern Ireland and South Africa', *Civil Wars* 4, 1 (2001), 1-21

Maganya, E. 'The Contemporary Development Paradigm and South African Policy-Making in the 1990s' in Ernest Maganya and Rachel Houghton (eds.) *Transformation in South Africa?: Policy Debates in the 1990s* (Johannesburg: Institute for African Alternatives, 1996), 2-14

Maharaj, M. 'Memoirs of the Island' in International Defence and Aid fund for Southern Africa, *Nelson Mandela: The Struggle is my Life: His speeches and writings brought together with historical documents and accounts of Mandela in prison by fellow prisoners* (London: IDAF, 1986)

Maharaj, M. 'The ANC and South Africa's Negotiated Transition to Democracy and Peace' (Berlin: Berghof Research Centre for Constructive Conflict Management, 2000)

Makgetla, N.S. 'Policy-Making and Development in South Africa' in Ann Seidman, Robert B. Seidman, Pumzo Mbana and Hanson Hu Li (eds.) *Africa's Challenge: Using Law for Good Governance and Development* (Trenton: Africa World Press, 2007), 107-134

Mandela, N. 'Clear the Obstacles and Confront the Enemy' in Mac Maharaj (ed.), *Reflections in Prison* (Cape Town: Zebra Publishers, 2001), 7-20

Mandela, N. 'Freedom in Our Lifetime' *Liberation* June, 1956 reproduced in African National Congress, *Selected Writings on the Freedom Charter'* A Sechaba Commemorative Publication (London: African National Congress, 1985), 23-27

Mamdani, M. 'State and Civil Society in Contemporary Africa: Reconceptualising the Birth of State Nationalism and the Defeat of Popular Movements' *Africa Development* 15, 3-4 (1990), 47-70

Mamdani, M. *Citizen and Subject: Contemporary Africa and the Legacy of Late Colonialism* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996)

Mancini, P. and Swanson, D.L. 'Politics, Media and Modern Democracy: Introduction' in David L. Swanson and Paolo Mancini (eds.), *Politics, Media and Modern Democracy* (Westport: Praeger Publishers, 1996), 1-28

Mangcu, X 'Reflections on the Revolution of Our Times', Paper delivered as a Public Lecture, University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, 11 October 2006

Marais, H. *South Africa: Limits to Change: The Political Economy of Transition* (Cape Town: University of Cape Town Press, 1998)

Marais, H. *South Africa Pushed to the Limit: The Political Economy of Change* (New York: Zed Books, 2011)

Marschall, S. 'Symbols of Reconciliation or Instruments of Division?: A Critical Look at New Monuments in South Africa' in Marc Howard Ross (ed) *Culture and Belonging in Divided Societies: Contestation and Symbolic Landscapes* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2009), 151- 175

Masakhane, 'Transformation through Design', Facilitators Guide, Western Cape Education Department, Cape Town, 1999

Mattes, R. 'Voter Information, Government Evaluations and Party Images in the First Democratic Decade' in Jessica Piombo and Lia Nijzink (eds.) *Electoral Politics in South Africa (*Pretoria: HSRC Press, 2006), 40-63

Mbeki, T. 'The African Renaissance' Statement by the Deputy-President, Gallagher Estate, 13 August 1998 in Foundation for Global Dialogue, 'South Africa and Africa: Reflections on the African Renaissance' Occasional Paper, no. 17, October 1998, 38-41

Miller, D. 'The IFAA Research Project: Introduction and Background' in Reconstruction and Development Programme National Office and Institute for African Alternatives, *Government by the People? Institutionalising Interaction between Government and the People* (Johannesburg: Institute for African Alternatives, 1996), 7-13

May, T. *Social Research: Issues, Methods and Process* 3rd edition (Buckingham: Open University Press, 2001)

McBlain, L. 'Building a Better Life, Together' *RSA Review*, 8,8 (1995), 29-38

McKinley, D.T. *The ANC and the Struggle for Liberation: A Critical Political Biography* (London: Pluto Press, 1997)

McEwan, C. 'New Spaces of Citizenship? Rethinking Gender Participation and Empowerment in South Africa', *Political Geography*, 24, 8, (2005), 969-991

McEwan, C. 'Bringing Government to the People: Women, Local Governance and Community Participation in South Africa', *Geoforum* 34 (2003), 469-481

McEwan, C. 'Building a Postcolonial Archive? Gender, Collective Memory and Citizenship in Post-Apartheid South Africa' *Journal of Southern African Studies* 29,3 (2003), 741 - 759

Melber, H. *Liberation Movements as Governments: Southern African Experiences – with Special Reference to SWAPO and the Post-Colonial Political Culture in Namibia*, Paper presented to the Sociology Seminar, University of Johannesburg, August, 2005

Melber, H. (ed.) *Re-examining Liberation in Namibia: Political Culture since Independence* (Uppsala: Nordiska Afrikainstitutet, 2003)

Michie, J. and Padayachee, V. 'Introduction' in Jonathan Michie and Vishnu Padayachee (eds.) *The Political Economy of South Africa's Transition: Policy Perspectives in the Late 1990s* (London: The Dryden Press, 1997), 1-26

Miller, P. and Rose, N. 'Governing Economic Life', *Economy and Society*, 19,1 (1990), 1-31

Millward, C. and Pillay, V. 'The Economic Battle for South Africa's Future' in Ernest Maganya and Rachel Houghton (eds.) *Transformation in South Africa?: Policy Debates in the 1990s* (Johannesburg: Institute for African Alternatives, 1996), 35-51

Ministry in the Office of the President (Republic of South Africa), *Taking the RDP Forward: Report to Parliament,* 8 June 1995

Ministry in the Office of the President , (Republic of South Africa), *The RDP: April 27 1995 – The First Year Reviewed*

Molele, C 'Communicating the RDP – A Flop or not?' *Ontwikkel Saam, Develop Together, Sikhule Sonke*, March, (1995), 16-17

Muir, R and Paddison, R. *Politics, Geography and Behaviour* (London: Methuen, 1981)

Mzala, 'Towards People's War and Insurrection' *Sechaba*, April (1987), 2-6

Nattrass, N. 'The ANC's Economic Policy: A Critical Perspective' in Robert Schrire (ed.) *Wealth or Poverty: Critical Choices for South Africa* (Cape Town: Oxford University Press, 1992), 623-634

Nattrass, N. 'Politics and Economics in ANC Economic Policy' *African Affairs* 93, (1994), 343-359

Ndebele, N. 'The African National Congress and the policy of non-racialism: a study of the membership issue', *Politikon* 29, 2 (2002), 133-146

Needham, C. 'Brand Leaders: Clinton, Blair and the Limitations of the Permanent Campaign' *Political Studies*, 53, (2005), 343-361

Neocosmos, M. 'From People's Politics to State Politics: Aspects of National Liberation in South Africa' in Adebayo Olukoshi (ed.) *The Politics of Opposition in Contemporary Africa* (Uppsala: Nordiska Afrikainstitutet, 1998), 195 - 241

Netshitenzhe, J. 'The National Democratic Revolution – Is It Still on Track? *Umrabulo* 1, (1996)

Nixon, R. 'Mandela, Messianism and the Media' *Transition*, 51, (1991), 42-55

Nkabinde, D. 'Is the ANC Ready? Treading the Campaign Trail' *Mayibuye* August, (1993), 10-12

Norris, P. 'Introduction' in Pippa Norris (ed.) *Election and Voting Behaviour: New Challenges, New Perspectives* (Aldershot: Dartmouth Publishing Company Limited, 1998), xiii-xxvxv

Norris, P. *A Virtuous Circle: Political Communication in Postindustrial Societies* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000)

Nqakula, C. 'Address to COSATU's 5th National Congress, Soweto, September 9, 1994', reprinted in *The African Communist*, Third Quarter, (1994), 7-13

O'Cass, A. 'Political marketing and the marketing concept', *European Journal of Marketing* 30, 10/11, (1996), 37-53

Orkin, M. 'Black Attitudes to Disinvestment: The Real Story' Overview of a Survey Conducted in September 1985, Community Agency for Social Enquiry and Institute for Black Research, University of Natal.

O'Malley, P. *Shades of Difference: Mac Maharaj and the Struggle for South Africa* (New York: Viking, 2007)

Ong, A. 'Neoliberalism as a mobile technology', *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* 32, (2007), 3-8

O'Shaughnessy, N.J. *The Phenomenon of Political Marketing* (Basingstoke: MacMillan Press Ltd, 1990)

O'Shaughnessy, N. 'Social propaganda and social marketing: a critical difference?', *European Journal of Marketing* 30,10/11 (1996), 62-75

O'Shaughnessy, N. 'The marketing of political marketing', *European Journal of Marketing,* 35,9/10 (2001) 1047-1057

O'Shaughnessy, N. 'The symbolic state: A British experience', *Journal of Public Affairs,* 3,4 (2003), 297-312

O'Shaughnessy, N.J. *Politics and Propaganda: Weapons of Mass Seduction* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2004)

O'Shaughnessy, N. 'Commentary: The Abuse of Rhetoric', *Journal of Public Affairs,* 7 (2007), 109-122

O'Toole, J. 'Between Veneration and Loathing: Loving and Hating Documents' in Francis X. Blouin and William G. Rosenberg (eds.) *Archives, Documentation and Institutions of Social Memory: Essays from the Sawyer Seminar* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2007), 43-53

Ottaway, M. 'The ANC: From Symbol to Political Party' in Helen Kitchen and J. Coleman Kitchen (eds.) *South Africa: Twelve Perspectives on the Transition* (Praeger: Westerport, 1994), 28-48

Padayachee, V. 'Making: Economic Policy in South Africa's Transition to Democracy' in Peter Skalnik (ed.) *Transition to Democracy : Czech Republic and South Africa Compared* (Prague: Set Out Publishers, 1999), 61-87

Palmer Development Group, *Masakhane Municipal Case Studies: Key Successes of the Annual Award Winners: Final Report,* 30 September 1998

Papacharissi, Z. 'The Virtual Geographies of Social Networks: A Comparative Analysis of Facebook, LinkedIn and ASmallWorld' *New Media and Society* 11 (2009), 199-220

Patche, P. 'An Island of Meaning in a Sea of Oppression: The Other Side of Robben Island' *Alizes,* November, (1994), 85-90

Peet, R. 'Ideology, Discourse and the Geography of Hegemony: From Socialist to Neoliberal Development in Postapartheid South Africa', *Antipode*, 34,1, (2002), 54-84

Phillips, I. 'The Political Role of the Freedom Charter' in Nico Steytler (ed.) *The Freedom Charter and Beyond: Founding Principles for a Democratic South African Legal Order* (Plumstead: Wyvern Publishers, 1991), 61-83

Pillay, D. 'COSATU, the SACP and the ANC post-Polokwane: Looking Left but does it Feel Right?' *Labour, Capital and Society*, 41, 2 (2008), 5-37

Pink, S. *Doing Visual Ethnography: Images, Media and Representation in Research,* 2nd edition (London: SAGE Publications, 2007)

Piper, L. and Matisonn, H. 'Democracy by Accident: The Rise of Zuma and the Renaissance of the Tripartite Alliance' *Representation* 45, 2 (2009), 143-157

Pollard, A.B. 'Rhythms of Resistance: The Role of Freedom Song in South Africa' in Angela M.S. Nelson (ed.) *This is how we flow: Rhythm in Black Cultures* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1999), 98-147

Power, M. ''Geopolitics and the Representation of Portugal's African Colonial Wars: Examining the Limits of 'Vietnam Syndrome', *Political Geography*, 20 (2001), 461-491

Prevost, G. 'The Evolution of the African National Congress in Power: From Revolutionaries to Social Democrats?' *Politikon,* 33, 2 (2006), 163-181

Radcliffe, S and Westwood, S. *Remaking the Nation: Place, Identity and Politics in Latin America,* (London: Routledge, 1996)

Radebe, J. 'Celebrating the Implementation of the Freedom Charter', *Umrabulo,* June-July, (2001), 9-13

Ramphele, M 'Political Widowhood in South Africa: The Embodiment of Ambiguity' *Daedalus* 125, 1, (1996), 99-117

Rantete, J.M. *The African National Congress and the Negotiated Settlement in South Africa* (Pretoria: JL van Schaik, 1998)

Rapoo, T. 'Making the Means Justify the Needs: The Theory and Practice of the RDP', Centre for Policy Studies, Research Report no 45, January (1996)

Rich, P.B. 'Reviewing the Origins of the Freedom Charter' in Norman Etherington (ed.) *Peace, Politics and Violence in the New South Africa* (London: Hans Zell Publishers, 1992), 254-283

Ritchken, E. 'The RDP, Governance and Rural Development' in Patrick Fitzgerald, Anne McLennan and Barry Munslow (eds.) *Managing Sustainable Development in South Africa* (Cape Town: Oxford University Press, 1997), 192-218

Rose, G. *Visual Methodologies*, (London: SAGE Publications, 2001)

Rose, G. 'Situating knowledges: positionality, reflexivities and other tactics' *Progress in Human Geography*, 21,3 (1997), 305-320

Ross, M.H. 'Cultural Contestation and the Symbolic Landscape: Politics by Other Means?' in Marc Howard Ross (ed.) *Culture and Belonging in Divided Societies: Contestation and Symbolic Landscapes* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2009), 1-24

Salazar, P.J. *An African Athens: Rhetoric and the Shaping of Democracy in South Africa* (Mahwah: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, Publishers, 2002)

Salmon, C. *Storytelling: Bewitching the Modern Mind* (London: Verso, 2010)

Schilperood, J. and Maes, A. 'Visual metaphoric conceptualisation in editorial cartoons' in Charles J. Forceville and Eduardo Urios-Aparisi (eds.) *Multimodal Metaphor* (Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 2009), 215-240

Schmitz, T. and Kabemba, C. 'Enhancing policy implementation: Lessons from the reconstruction and Development Programme', Centre for Policy Studies, Research report 89, September (2000)

Schopflin, G. 'The Functions of Myth and a Taxonomy of Myths' in Geoffrey Hosking and George Schopflin (eds.) *Myths and Nationhood* (London: Hurst and Company, 1997), 19-35

Schrire, R. 'Party Tricks', *Indicator* SA, 11, 2, (1994) 7-10

Schulz-Herzenberg, C. 'Trends in Party Support and Voter Behaviour, 1994-2009' in Roger Southall and John Daniel, *Zunami!: The 2009 South African Elections'* (Auckland Park: Jacana Media, 2009), 23-46

Schulz-Herzenberg, C. *The Silent Revolution?: South African Voters During the First Year's of Democracy,* Doctor of Philosophy Thesis, University of Cape Town, 2009

Scammell, M. 'Political Marketing: Lessons for Political Science', *Political Studies*, XLVII, (1999), 718-739

Scammell, M. 'Political Brands and Consumer Citizens: The Rebranding of Tony Blair' *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 611 (2007), 176-192

Seekings, J. 'The UDF: A History of the United Democratic Front in South Africa, 1983-1991' (Cape Town: David Philip, 2000)

Seekings, J. 'Partisan Realignment in Cape Town, 1994-2004' *Journal of African Elections* 5, 1 (2006), 176-203

Seekings, J. 'The Electoral Implications of Social and Econoimc Changes since 1994' in in Jessica Piombo and Lia Nijzink (eds.) *Electoral Politics in South Africa (*Pretoria: HSRC Press, 2006), 23-39

Seidman, S.A. *Posters, Propaganda and Persuasion in Election Campaigns Around the World and Through History* (New York: Peter Lang Publishing, 2008)

Sesanti, S. 'The Media and Zuma/Zulu Culture: An Afrocentric Perspective' in Adrian Hadland, Eric Louw, Simphiwe Sesanti and Herman Wasserman (eds.) *Power, Politics and Identity in South African Media: Selected Seminar Papers* (Cape Town: HSRC Press, 2008), 364-377

Shurmer-Smith, P. 'Methods and methodology' in Pamela Shurmer-Smith (ed.) *Doing Cultural Geography* (London: SAGE Publications Ltd, 2002), 95-100

Sitas, A. 'Reconstruction' in *RDP Poems* (Durban: Madiba Publishers, 2004)

Sitas, A. 'The Road to Polokwane: Politics and Populism in Kwazulu-Natal', *Transformation: Critical Perspectives on Southern Africa* 68 (2008), 86-98

Sithole, J and Bramdaw, N 'Kwazulu Natal Analysis' *The Thinker, 3,* (2009), 23-24

Slovo, J. 'The Theory of the South African Revolution' in Basil Davidson, Joe Slovo and Anthony R. Wilkinson, *Southern Africa: The New Politics of Revolution* (Harmonsdworth: Penguin Books, 1976), 118-149

Smith, G. and French, A 'The political brand: A consumer perspective' *Marketing Theory* 9, 2, (2009), 209-226

Soudien, C. 'Emerging Multiculturalisms in South African Museum Practice: Some Examples from the Western Cape' in Marc Howard Ross (ed.) *Culture and Belonging in Divided Societies: Contestation and Symbolic Landscapes* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2009), 176-192

Southall, R. 'Zunami!: The Context of the 2009 Election' in Roger Southall and John Daniel (eds.), *Zunami: The 2009 South African Elections* (Auckland Park: Jacana Media, 2009), 1-22

Sparks, A. *Tomorrow is Another Country* (Johannesburg: Jonathan Ball Publishers, 2003)

Spitz, R. and Chaskalson,M. *The Politics of Transition: The Hidden History of South Africa's Negotiated Settlement* (Johannesburg: University of the Witwatersrand Press, 2000)

Staeheli, L.A., Mitchell, D. and Nagel, C.R. 'Making publics: immigrants, regimes of publicity and entry to 'the public', *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, 27 (2009), 633-648

Staeheli, L.A. and Mitchell, D. 'Locating the Public in Research and Practice', *Progress in Human Geography* 31, 6 (2007), 792-811

Stapleton, T.J. and Maamoe, M. 'An Overview of the African National Congress Archives at the University of Fort Hare' *History in Africa*, 25, (1998) 413-422

Steedman, C. ''Something She Called a Fever'": Michelet, Derrida, and Dust (Or, in the Archives with Michelet and Derrida) in Francis X. Blouin and William G. Rosenberg (eds.) *Archives, Documentation and Institutions of Social Memory: Essays from the Sawyer Seminar* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2007), 4-19

Strachan, J.C. and. Kendall, K.E. 'Political Candidates' Convention Films: Finding the Perfect Image – An Overview of Political Image Making' in Charles A. Hill and Marguerite Helmers (eds.), *Defining Visual Rhetorics* (Mahwah: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates Publishers, 2004), 135-154

Street, J. 'Celebrity Politicians: Popular Culture and Political Representation' *British Journal of Politics and International Relations*, 6, (2004), 435-452

Suttner, R. 'The Freedom Charter – The People's Charter in the Nineteen-Eighties', Paper delivered at the Twenty-Sixth T.B. Davie Memorial Lecture, University of Cape Town, 26 September, (1984), 1- 34

Suttner R. 'Culture(s) of the African National Congress of South Africa: Exile and Prison Experiences' in Michael Neocosmos, Raymond Suttner and Ian Taylor, *Political Cultures in Democratic South Africa* Discussion Paper 19, Nordiska Afrikainstitutet (2002), 16-33

Suttner, R. 'Transformation of Political Parties in Africa Today', *Transformation*, 55 (2004) 1-27

Suttner, R. and Cronin, J. *50 Years of the Freedom Charter* (Pretoria: Unisa Press, 2006)

Suttner, R. 'Talking to the Ancestors: National Heritage, the Freedom Charter and national building in South Africa in 2005', *Development Southern Africa* 23, 1, (2006), 1-27

Suttner, R *The ANC Underground in South Africa: A Social and Historical Study* (Auckland Park: Jacana Media, 2008)

Swanson, D.L. and Mancini, P. 'Patterns of Modern Electoral Campaigning and their Consequences' in David L. Swanson and Paolo Mancini (eds.), *Politics, Media and Modern Democracy* (Westport: Praeger Publishers, 1996), 247-276

Taithe, B. and Thornton, T. 'Propaganda: A Misnomer of Rhetoric and Persuasion?' in Bertrand Taithe and Tim Thornton (eds.) *Propaganda: Political Rhetoric and Identity, 1300-2000* (Stroud: Sutton Publishing Limited, 1999)

Tam-George, A. 'Ken Saro-Wiwa, the Ogoni Struggle and the Aesthetics of Spectacle' Paper presented at the Centre for African Studies, University of Cape Town, n.d.

Tasks of the NDR and the Mobilisation of the Motive Forces, African National Congress National General Council: Discussion Document, University of Port Elizabeth. 11-15 July, 2000, *Umbrabulo* No. 8, May (2000)

Taylor, I. *Stuck in Middle GEAR: South Africa's Post-Apartheid Foreign Relations* (Westport: Praeger, 2001),

'The Pain and Pleasure of Democracy' *Mayibuye*, February, (1994), 12-14

Tolbert, C.J. and McNeal, R.S. 'Unravelling the Effect of the Internet on Political Participation?' *Political Research Quarterly* 56,2 (2003), 175-185

Truesdell, M. *Spectacular Politics: Louis-Napoleon Bonaparte and the Fete Imperiale, 1849-1870* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997)

Turok, B. 'The RDP: Reform, Restructuring and Transformation' in AP Johan Burger, Francois Theron and Andries van Rooyen (eds.) *Challenges in Change* (Stellenbosch: University of Stellenbosch, 1996), 103-114

Turok, I. ''Restructuring or reconciliation? South Africa's Reconstruction and Development Programme' *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 19, 2, (1995), 305-318

Tedlock, B. 'Ethnography and Ethnographic Representation' in Norman K. Denzin and Yvonna S. Lincoln (eds.) *Handbook of Qualitative Research* (Thousand Oaks: SAGE Publications, 2000), 455-486

Vale, P and Maseko, S. 'Thabo Mbeki, South Africa and the Idea of an African Renaissance' in Sean Jacobs and Richard Calland, *Thabo Mbeki's World: The Politics and Ideology of the South African President* (Pietermaritzburg: University of Natal Press, 2002), 121-144

van Kessel, I. 'In Search of an African Renaissance: An Agenda for Modernisation, Neo-Traditionalism or Africanisation?' *Quest*, XV, 1-2, (2001), 43-52

van Ham, P. 'The Rise of the Brand State: The Postmodern Politics of Image and Reputation', *Foreign Affairs* 80,5 (2001), 2-6

Vavi, Z. Speech delivered to the ANC Veterans Commission on the 45th Anniversary of the Freedom Charter, 25 June (2000)

Vice, S. 'Introducing Bakhtin' (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1997)

Williams, B and Wallach, W.K. 'Documenting South Africa's Liberation Movements: Engaging the Archives at the University of Fort Hare' in Francis X. Blouin and William G. Rosenberg (eds.) *Archives, Documentation and Institutions of Social Memory: Essays from the Sawyer Seminar* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2007), 321-332

Waldmeir, P. *Anatomy of a Miracle: The End of Apartheid and the Birth of a New South Africa* (New York: W.W. Norton and Company, 1997)

Walton, M and Donner, J. 'Read-Write-Erase: Mobile-mediated publics in South Africa's 2009 elections' in James E. Katz (ed.)*Mobile Communication: Dimensions of Social Policy* (New Brunswick: Transaction Publishers, 2011), 117-132

Ward, S and Gibson, R. 'European political organizations and the internet: Mobilization, participation and change' in Andrew Chadwick and Philip N. Howard (eds.) *Routledge Handbook of Internet Politics* (New York: Routledge, 2009), 25-39

Webster, E and Adler, G. 'Towards a Class Compromise in South Africa's 'Double Transition': Bargained Liberalisation and the Consolidation of Democracy' *Politics and Society*, 27,3, (1999), 347-385

Wedeen, L. *Ambiguities of Domination: Politics, Rhetoric and Symbols in Contemporary Syria* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1999)

'Why Mass Action Must Roll On', *Mayibuye* June, (1993), 12-13

Williams, R. 'The Other Armies: Writing the History of MK' in Ian Liebenberg, Fiona Lortan, Bobby Nel and Gert van der Westhuizen (eds.) *The Long March: The Story of the Struggle for Liberation in South Africa* Pretoria: HAUM, 1994), 22-33

Williams, R. *Marxism and Literature* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1977)

Williamson, S. *Resistance Art in South Africa* (Cape Town: Double Story Books, 2004)

Winkiel, L. *Modernism, Race and Manifestoes* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2008)

Worden, N. *The Making of Modern South Africa: Conquest, Segregation and Apartheid* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 1994)

Wring, D. 'Reconciling Marketing with Political Science: Theories of Political Marketing', *Journal of Marketing Management,* 13 (1997) , 651-663

NEWSPAPER SOURCES (ONLINE AND PRINT):

'ANC gears up for weekend of campaigning' *Mail and Guardian*, 23 January 2009 Available online: http://www.mg.co.za/article/2009-01-23-anc-gears-up-for-weekend-of-campaigning (accessed 23 January 2009)

Brandt, H. 'South Africa's ANC Dominates the Freedom Struggle,' *Sunday Mail*, 4 October 1981

Dispatch, 'Political rivals target EC youth' 17 March 2009, Available online: http://www.dispatch.co.za/article.aspx?id=301052 (accessed 17 March 2009)

Chauke, A., Malefane, M., and Hawkey,K. 'Partying their way to the ballot box,' *Sunday Times* 19 April 2009

Doke, L. 'Guess who's SA's favourite person? *Sunday Times*, 23 August 2009

Georgy, M. 'You can't topple an elephant: Zuma' *Independent Online* Available online: http://www.iol.co.za/index.php?art_id=nw2009042320075267C254316&set_id=1&click_id=3086&sf= (accessed 23 April 2009)

Gevisser, M. 'Clinton's Men on the ANC Campaign Trail', *Weekly Mail*, February 25 to March 3, 1994

Haffajee, F., Tabane, R. and Forrest, D. *Mail and Guardian*, 13 December 2007, Available online: http://mg.co.za/article/2007-12-13-do-i-look-like-ive-got-horns (accessed 14 December 2007).

Harper, P., Mkhabela, M., Ncana, N., and Malefane, M. 'Bringing sexy back to politics', *Sunday Times,* 26 April 2009

Holomisa, B. United Democratic Movement leader quoted in *News 24,* 'Poll preparations in high gear', 11 March 2009 Available online: http://www.news24.com/News24/Elections/News/0,2-2478-2479_2483722,00.html (accessed 11 March 2009)

Indepenent Online, 'ANC courthouse rally 'a diversion' – analyst' 3 February 2009, Available online: http://www.iol.co.za/news/politics/anc-courthouse-rally-a-diversion-analyst-1.433253 (accessed 3 February 2009)

Independent Online, 'I support the ANC and it's not secret' 22 April 2009 Available online: http://www.iol.co.za/index.php?art_id=nw20090422165124322C18221&set_id=1&click_id=3086&sf= (accessed 22 April 2009)

Independent Online, 'ANC pleased with margin of victory' 25 April 2009, Available online: http://www.iol.co,.za/index.php?art_id=nw20090425151102613C120534&set_id=1&click_id=6&sf= (accessed 25 April 2009)

Mkhabela, M. 'Be like Jesus' disciples for the ANC' *Sunday Times* 10 April 2009

Monare, M. 'Zuma: I will keep my song and my cellphone' *Independent Online*, 11 April 2009 Available online: http://www.iol.co.za/index.php?art_id=vn20090411065024487C177171&set_id=1&click_id=3086&sf= (accessed 11April 2009)

Morna, C.L. 'RDP: Growth the only answer', *African Business,* May 1996

Naidoo, J. 'Delivering the goods on reconstruction and development', *Business Day*, 4 March 1994

News24, 'Mbeki Letter to the ANC' Available online: http://www.news24.com/MyNews24/YourStory/Mbeki-letter-to-the-ANC-20081031 (accessed 31 October 2008)

News24,'Funeral for opposition parties' Available online: http://www.news24.com/News24/Elections/News/0,,2-2478-2479_2506202,00.html (accessed 23 April 2009)

Omarjee, H. 'Mandela joins Zuma on ANC campaign trail', *Business Day* 16 February 2009 Available online: http://www.businessday.co.za (accessed 16 February 2009)

Paddock, B. 'ANC Plans US-Style Campaign Jamboree' *Business Day*, 21 January 1994

Sboros, M. 'Campaign Run as a Military Exercise', *The Star*, February 16

Sunday Times-Pulse of the People, *Sunday Times,* 16 January 1994

'Upliftment for All…', *The Argus* 4 March 1994, 17

INTERNET SOURCES:

African National Congress, 'The Freedom Charter, 1955' Available online: http://www.anc.org.za/ancdocs/history/charter.html (Accessed 20 April 2010)

African National Congress, 'First Consultative Conference: Report on the Strategy and Tactics of the African National Congress, 1969,' Available online: http://www.anc.org.za/show.php?id=149 (accessed 4 May 2010)

African National Congress, 'Drawing up the Demands of the Freedom Charter', *Sechaba*, June 1976, Available online: http: //www.anc.org.za/ancdocs/history/campaigns/cop/demands.html (Accessed 6 July 2010)

African National Congress, 'Statement of the National Executive Committee on the Occasion of the 68th Anniversary of the African National Congress, January 8th, 1980' Available online: http://www.anc.org.za/2640 (Accessed 25 November 2010)

African National Congress, 'RDP White Paper – Discussion Document, September 1994', Available online: http://www.anc.org.za/ancdocs/policy/rdpwhite.html (accessed 12 June 2009)

African National Congress, Address by President Nelson Mandela to the 'National Conference on Reconstruction and Strategy, 21 January 1994, Johannesburg. Available online at htttp://www.anc.org.za/ancdocs/speeches/1994/sp940121.html (accessed 3 September 2009)

African National Congress, Speakers Notes for Election Speech on Peace and Security, Available online: http://www.anc.org.za/ancdocs/speeches/1994/sp940400c.html (accessed 24 March 2009)

African National Congress, 'Speakers Notes for Election Speech on Peace and Security', Available online at http://www.anc.org.za/ancdocs/speeches/1994/sp940400c.html, (accessed 24 March 2009)

African National Congress, 'Nelson Mandela's Election Speech in Manenberg', Available online at http://www.anc.org.za/ancdocs/speeches/1994/sp940400a.html, (accessed 24 March 2009)

African National Congress, 'Speech by Nelson Mandela Announcing the ANC Election Victory at the Carlton Hotel,' Johannesburg, 2 May 1994. Available online at http://www.anc.org.za/ancdocs/speeches/1994/sp940502.html accessed (24 March 2009)

African National Congress, 'The Reconstruction and Development Programme: A Policy Framework' Available online: http://www.anc.org.za/rdp/rdpall.html (Accessed 5 April 2009)

African National Congress, 'Communication Central to RDP Success' *Mayibuye*, 6,1, 1995 Available online: http//: www.anc.org.za/show.php?doc=ancdocs/pubs/mayibuye/mayi9505.html#ART22 (accessed 2 March 2009)

African National Congress, 'Speech by Mr. TM Mbeki, Deputy President, at the Opening of the ANC Archives, University of Fort Hare, 17 March 1996, Available online: http://www.info.gov.za/speeches/1996/960624_5.htm (accessed 6 July 2011)

African National Congress, 'The State and Social Transformation': Discussion Document', 1 November 1996, Available online: http://www.anc.org.za/306 (accessed 13 March 2009)

African National Congress, 'The Character of the ANC', Discussion Document, 50th National Conference, 1997, Available online: http://www.anc.org.za/show.php?id=2026 (accessed 12 May 2009)

African National Congress, 'Statement of the National Executive Committee on the Occasion of the 85th Anniversary of the ANC', 8 January 1997, Available online: http://www.anc.org.za/show.php?id=63 (accessed 23 March 2010)

African National Congress, 'Statement of the President, Thabo Mbeki at the ANC Policy Conference' Kempton Park, 27 September 2002, Available online: http://www.anc.org.za/2500 (accessed 2 February 2010)

African National Congress, 'Organisational Report by Secretary General Kgalema Motlanthe', National General Council, 2005. Available online: http://www.anc.org.za/show.php?id=2579, (Accessed 12 July 2008)

African National Congress, '52nd National Conference Resolutions', 20 December 2007 Available online: http://www.anc.org.za/show.php?id=2536 (accessed 15 January 2008).

African National Congress, 'A commitment to put people first, make a difference to the lives of the poor and ensure higher economic growth in the longer term' *ANC Today,* 8,42 (2008) Available online: http://www.anc.org.za/docs/anctoday/2008/at42.htm (accessed 25 October 2008)

African National Congress, 'My ANC. My Vision. My Future.' *ANC Today* 8,46 (2008) Available online: http://www. anc.org.za/docs/anctoday/2008/at46.htm (accessed 10 December 2008)

African National Congress National Executive Committee, 'ANC gears up to attain victory in the upcoming 2009 election,' *ANC Today* 8, 50 (2008) Available online: http://www.anc.org.za/docs/anctoday/2008/at50.htm (accessed 21 January 2009)

African National Congress, 'Speech by Jeff Radebe at the St. John's Apostolic Church of Prophecy in North West on the occasion of the Easter Weekend services' Available online: http://www.anc.org.za/show.php?doc=./ancdocs/speeches/2009/sp0412b.html (accessed 6 November 2009)

African National Congress v Congress of the People, High Court of South Africa, Transvaal Provincial Division, 12 December 2008, Available online: http://www.saflii.org.za/cases/ZAGPHC/2008/411.pdf (accessed 16 January 2009)

African National Congress, 'Address by ANC President Jacob Zuma on the Occasion of the Celebration of the 97th Anniversary of the African National Congress and the Launch of the 2009 Election Manifesto' Available online: http://www. http://www.anc.org.za/show.php?id=3783 (accessed 20 January 2009)

African National Congress, 'Everyone agrees the ANC's manifesto is pro-poor' *ANC Today* 9,5 (2009) Available online: http://www.anc.org.za/docs/anctoday/2009/at05.htm (accessed 6 February 2009)

African National Congress, 'Speech delivered by the President of the African National Congress, Comrade Jacob Zuma at the funeral of the late Inkosi Mbongeleni Zondi', Ngome, Greytown, 31 January 2009 Available online: http://www.anc.org.za/show.php?id=293 (accessed 21 November 2009)

African National Congress, 'Address by ANC President Jacob Zuma on the occasion of the 30th anniversary of the execution of MK hero Solomon Kalushi Mahlangu' Available online: http://www.anc.org.za/show.php?id=3761 (accessed 21 November 2009)

African National Congress, 'Policies that change people's lives' *ANC Today*, 9,1 (2009), Available online: http://www.anc.org.za/docs/anctoday/2009/at01.htm (accessed 15 January 2009)

African National Congress, 'Speech by ANC President Jacob Zuma to the Indian Christian Community', Available online: http://www.anc.org.za/show.php?id=3756 (accessed 12 March 2010)

African National Congress, 'ANC Wraps Up Its Election Campaign With Mass Rally' Available online: http://myanc.org/Press%20Statements/?id=00056 (accessed 14 April 2009)

Carey, P. 'A Weekend's Electioneering: 2009 General Election Posters in Durban' Available online: http://www.dut.ac.za/site/files/6636/careyposters.pdf (accessed 12 June 2011)

Congress Alliance, *The Freedom Charter*, 26 June 1955, Available online: http://www.anc.org.za/show.php?id=72 (accessed 12 December 2010)

Congress of the People – I Was There' Available online: http://www.anc.org.za/ancdocs/history/campaigns/cop/iwastehre.html (accessed 6 July 2010)

Cronin, J. 'Masakhane and Socialism' *Umsebenzi*, November 1996 Available online: http://www.sacp.org.za/main.php?include=pubs/umsebenzi2/1996/umseb9611.html (accessed 13 October 2010)

Department of Finance (Republic of South Africa), National Budget Speech by Trevor Manuel, Minister of Finance, 12 March 1997 Available online: http://www.info.gov.za/speeches/1997/000223318p2003.htm

 (accessed 16 March 2010)

Department of Finance (Republic of South Africa)**,** *Growth, Employment and Redistribution: A Macroeconomic Strategy* Available online: http://www.treasury.gov.za/publications/other/gear/chapters.pdf (accessed 8 December 2009)

Drew, C. 'Religion and Politics in South Africa' Berkley Centre for Religion, Peace and World Affairs: Georgetown University, 1 October 2006 Avaialble online: http://berkleycenter.georgetown.edu/letters/charlotte-drew-on-religion-and-politics-in-south-africa (accessed 12 July 2011)

Duarte, J. 'Election Advertising' *ANC Today* 9,8 (2009) Available online: http://www.anc.org.za/docs/anctoday/2009/at08.htm (accessed 27 February 2009)

Human Sciences Research Council (South Africa) *The Results of the 2008 Voter Participation Survey Commissioned by the IEC* Available online: http://www.hsrc.ac.za/Document-3107.phtml (accessed 12July 2009)

Independent Electoral Commission, South Africa 'Party support: ANC', Available online: https://www.elections.org.za/content/Pages/LGE_NPE_Reports/ReportHandler.aspx?lReportID=16&sEvent=22%20Apr%202009%20National%20Election&sReportName=Party%20Support&sParty=AFRICAN%20NATIONAL%20CONGRESS&sFormat=PDF (accessed 12 July 2011)

Interview with Tito Mboweni conducted by Padraig O'Malley, 15 December 1999, O'Malley Archives, Available   online: http://www.nelsonmandela.org/omalley/index.php/site/q/03lv00017/04lv00344/05lv01258/06lv01351.htm   (23 January 2011)

Interview with Jeremy Cronin conducted by Padraig O'Malley, 21 October 1994, O'Malley Archives, Available Online: http://www.nelsonmandela.org/omalley/index.php/site/q/03lv00017/04lv00344/05lv00832/06lv00850.htm (accessed 19 January 2011)

Interview with Jeremy Cronin conducted by Helena Sheehan, 24 January 2002, Available online: http://webpages.dcu.ie/~sheehanh/za/cronin02.htm (accessed 10 June 2011)

IPSOS-Markinor, 'ANC supporters loyal, but feeling uneasy', 18 December 2009, Available online: http://ipsos-markinor.co.za/news/anc-supporters-loyal-but-feeling-uneasy (accessed 19 December 2008)

Klaaren, J. and Roux, T. 'The Nicholson Judgment: An Exercise in Law and Politics' Available online: http://www.wits.ac.za/files/res9e3609335ad54b43a54af0bccb4a1ddb.pdf (accessed 12 June 2011)

Mandela, N. H.J. Heinz Company Foundation Distinguished Lecture, University of Pittsburgh, 6 December 1991 Available online: http://www.anc.org.za/show.php?doc=ancdocs/history/mandela/1991/sp911206.html (accessed 6 June 2010)

Mandela, N. 'Address by President Nelson Mandela at the 5th National Congress of COSATU', 7 September 1994, Available online: http://www.anc.org.za/3676 (accessed 12 March 2010)

Mandela, N. 'Address by ANC President Nelson Mandela to ANC-Business Summit' 30 March 1994, Available online: http://www.anc.org.za/show.php?doc=ancdocs/histroy/mandela/1994/sp940330.html (accessed 12 March 2010)

Marketingweb, 'South African First: Political Party TV ads', 3 March 2009 Available online: http://www.marketingweb.co.za/marketingweb/view/marketingweb/en/page74600?oid=116583&sn=Marketing webdetail (accessed 3 March 2009)

Marketingweb, 'ANC gets animated on its own terms', 26 March 2009, Available online: http://www.marketingweb.co.za/marketingweb/view/marketingweb/en/page74600?oid=117462&sn=Marketing webdetail (accessed 26 March 2009)

Mbeki, T. 'I am an African' , Speech delivered by Thabo Mbeki, Deputy-President of the Republic of South Africa on the Occasion of the Adoption of the Republic of South Africa Constitution Bill, 8 May 1996 Available online: http://www.anc.org.za/show.php?id=4322 (accessed 4 January 2011)

Mbeki, T. Nelson Mandela Memorial Lecture, University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, 29 July 2006, Available online: http://www.dirco.gov.za/docs/speeches/2006/mbek0729.htm (accessed 5 August 2010

Mokoena, H. 'Jacob Zuma and the evanescent legacy of nineteenth-century Zulu cosmopolitanism and natinoalism' in *Concerned Africa Scholars,* Bulletin 84 (2010) Available online: http://www.concernedafricascholars.org/docs/Bulletin84.pdf (accessed 17 June 2011), 50 **of 46-51**

National Action Council, *Call to the Congress of the People: Leaflet issued by the National Action Council of the Congress of the People,1955* Available online: http://www.anc.org.za/ancdocs/history/campaigns/cop/calltocop.html (Accessed 6 July 2010)

Ndlovu-Gatsheni, S. 'Tracking the Historical Roots of Post-Aparthied Citizenship Problems: The Native Club, Restless NativesPanicking Settlers and the Politics of Nativism in South Africa'. Working Paper 72 (2007) African Studies Centre, Leiden University, 59-63, Available online: http://unisouthafr.academia.edu/SabeloNdlovu/Papers/674102/Tracking_the_historical_roots_of_post-apartheid_citizenship_problems_the_Native_Club_restless_natives_panicking_settlers_and_the_politics_of_nativism_in_South (accessed 12 June 2011)

News24, 'Mbeki Letter to the ANC' Available online: http://www.news24.com/MyNews24/YourStory/Mbeki-letter-to-the-ANC-20081031 (accessed 31 October 2008)

Nzimande, B. 'The elite agenda has major weapons in its hands' *Umsebenzi*, 8,8 (2009) Available online: http://www.politicsweb.co.za/politicsweb/view/politicsweb/en/page71619?oid=127985&sn=Detail (accessed 7 May 2009)

Nzo, A 'The Freedom Charter a Beacon to the People of South Africa' *African Communist*, Second Quarter, 1980 Available online: http://www.anc.org.za/ancdocs/history/campaigns/cop/beacon.html (Accessed 6 July 2010)

Pandor, N. *Celebrating 50 Years of the Freedom Charter, June 26 1955-2005: Guidebook for Schools*, Department of Education, Republic of South Africa, Available online, http://www.sahistory.org.za/pages/pdf/Freedom%20Charter_reduced.pdf (accessed 13 September 2010)

Russell, A. Jacob Zuma Interview, *Financial Times* 6 March 2008, Available online: http://www.ft.com/cms/s/0/40a1dbea-ebab-11dc-9493-0000779fd2ac.html#axzz1TTfUjPec (accessed 6 March 2008)

Schreiner, W. and Mattes, R. 'The possibilities of election campaigns as sites for political advocacy: South Africa in comparative perspective' Centre for Social Science Research: Democracy in Africa Research Unit, University of Cape Town, Working Paper 293, April 2011 Available online: http://www.cssr.uct.ac.za/sites/cssr.uct.ac.za/files/pubs/WP293.pdf

South African Communist Party, *The Road To South African Freedom* (1962) Available online: http://amandlawonye.wikispaces.com/1962,+The+Road+to+South+African+Freedom (accessed 12 March 2009)

Slovo, S. 'The South African Working Class and the National Democratic Revolution', *Umsebenzi* (1988) Available online: http://www.sacp.org.za/docs/history/ndr.html (Accessed 12 March 2010)

Truter, I. 'An Overview of the Living Standard Measure' *South African Pharmaceutical Journal*, October (2007), 52-54, Available online: http://www.sapj.co.za/index.php/SAPJ/article/viewFile/260/252 (accessed 12 July 2011)

Turok, B. 'Memorandum by Ben Turok before the ANC's Morogoro Conference and a 'reply' byJoe Matthews' Available online: http://www.anc.org.za/show.php?id=4503 (accessed 12 April 2010)

van der Linde, I. 'Attitudes towards the role of religion in politics' South African Social Attitudes Survey, HSRC Media Release, Available online: http://www.hsrc.ac.za/Media_Release-372.phtml (accessed 12 July 2011)

Vavi, Z. 'COSATU General Secretary Zwelinzima Vavi message of support to the ANC on the launch of manifesto and election campaign', 10 January 2009, Available online: http://www.cosatu.org.za/docs/sp/2009/sp0110.htm (accessed 23 May 2009

Webster, E. and Adler, G. ' Towards a Class Compromise in South Africa's 'Double Transition': Bargained Liberalisation and the Consolidation of Democracy' Available online: http://www.columbia.edu/itc/seminars/671/article.html (accessed 3 December 2010).

Windeck, F. 'Political Communication in Sub-Saharan Africa and the Role of New Media' Konrad Adenauer Stiftung, South Africa. Available online: www.kas.de/wf/doc/kas_19703-544-2-30.pdf?100526134006. , 17-38

Xuma, A. 'Letter on "Certain Tendencies"' Letter written in anticipation of the 44th National Conference of the ANC, 18 December 1955. Available online: http://www.anc.org.za/161 (Accessed 16 December 2010).

Youtube, 'Launch of 2009 Election Manifesto' Available online: http://www.youtube.com/elections2009#p/u/2Z/yf90zXL5dpQ (accessed November 2010).

Youtube, 'ANC Women's League 60 Days of Electioneering', 31 January 2009 Available online: http://www.youtube.com/elections#p/u/20HxSX0ZhrRL4 (accessed 21 November 2010)

Youtube, 'Manifesto Endorsement Gala Dinner', 31 January 2009, Available online: http://www.youtube.com/user/elections2009#p/u/19/s5A5ijqH8jU (accessed 12 October 2010)

Youtube, 'Zuma Defends ANC's History with Nelson Mandela at Cape Town rally', 22 February 2009 Available online:http:// http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=dqHJzuE4boA (accessed 13 November 2009)

Youtube, 'My Vote' Available online: http://www.youtube.com/user/elections2009#p/u/13/xNBGfboypCI (accessed 4 March 2009)

Youtube, 'My Dream', Available online: http://www.youtube.com/user/elections2009#p/u/10/2vcBQREGUTc

(accessed 29 June 2009)

Youtube, 'iLewe' Available online: http://www.youtube.com/user/elections2009#p/u/7/VD14aOPh_nA (accessed 29 June 2009)

Youtube, 'The Woman Next Door', Available online: http://www.youtube.com/user/elections2009#p/u/6/pOC1FXCSs8U (accessed 22 June 2011)

Youtube, 'ANC shows force at final Siyanqoba rally', 19 April 2009, Available online: http://www.youtube.com/user/elections2009#p/u/5/zvwt6U9I6z8 (accessed 21 June 2009)

Zuma, J. 'We will prove there is no alternative to the ANC' *ANC* Today, 8,39 (2008) Available online: http://www.anc.org.za/docs/anctoday/2008/at39.htm (accessed 21 January 2009)

Zuma, J. 'Siyanqoba: Letter from ANC President to All Structures' Available online: http://myanc.org/Hot%20Topics/?id=00035 (accessed 16 April 2009)

Zuma, J. 'Siyabonga, Thank You Mzansi' *ANC Today,* 9,17 (2009) Available online: http://www.anc.org.za/docs/anctoday/2009/at17.htm (accessed 13 June 2009)

Zuma, J. 'I will lead the country on a path of friendship, cooperation, harmony, unity and faster change' *ANC Today* 9,18 (2009) Available online: http://www.anc.org.za/docs/anctoday/2009/at18.htm (accessed 13 June 2009)

ARCHIVE MATERIAL

African National Congress, 'Information and Publicity Departmental Structure' ANC Lusaka Mission, DIP, 1983-1985, University of Fort Hare, Box 109 Folder 75

African National Congress, 'The ANC Calls on You…' African National Congress: ANC London, Internal Propaganda, 1960-1980, Mayibuye Archive, MCH02-7

African National Congress, 'We Are At War', African Studies Library, University of Cape Town, Ephemera Collection, Uncatalogued, no date

African National Congress, 'The Task of the DIP for 1984 Arising from the January 8th Statement: Discussion Paper for the DIP Plenary Meeting: February, 1984', African National Congress: Lusaka, Women's Section, Documents: DIP, Box 12.5, Mayibuye Archive, MCH01-12

African National Congress, 'ANC Call to the Nation: From Ungovernability to People's Power,' African National Congress: Historical Papers, University of the Witwatersrand, AG2510, A2.4 – B2.3.4.1.3

African National Congress, 'The ANC Calls on You...' African National Congress: London, Internal Propaganda, 1960s -1980s, Mayibuye Archive, MCH02-7

African National Congress, 'Sechaba and External Publicity: Report for DIP Conference – Problems, Achievements and Perspectives, July 1983' ANC London: Documents, Media, 1977-1985, Mayibuye Archive, MCH02-133

African National Congress, 'Untitled Memorandum' ANC London: Documents, media (ANC), 1977-1985, Mayibuye Archive, MCH02-133

African National Congress, 'Memorandum - Internal Propaganda', ANC Lusaka, Women's Section: Documents, DIP, Mayibuye Archive, MCH01-12, Box 12.5.

African National Congress, 'The Economics Unit and the Decision of the National Consultative Conference' African National Congress Archive: University of Fort Hare, ANC Lusaka Mission: Department of Economics and Planning, Part 2 Box 2, Folder 4, 1-5

African National Congress, 'The ANC Economic Unit (For NEC Consideration)' : Office of the Secretary General, Department of Economics and Planning, South African History Archive, AG 2510

African National Congress,' Report of the Commission on Restructuring the DEP, Harare, September 21, 1990' South African History Archive, Barbara Hogan Collection, AL 3013, Box 1.5, 1

African National Congress, 'Report of the Sub-Committee Set up To Look Into the Modalities of Establishing a Department of Economics and Planning', 3. Archival details not available

African National Congress, 'Minutes of National Planning Meeting of the DEP', 16 February 1991 South African History Archive: University of the Witwatersrand, Barbara Hogan Collection, AL 3013, Box 1.5., 2

African National Congress, 'The Department of Economics and Planning',1 my emphasis. *Archival information not available.*

African National Congress, 'Report of the First In-House Seminar of ANC Economists Organised by the Department of Economics and Planning' 14-17 August, 1989, Lusaka, Zambia, African National Congress Archive: ANC Lusaka Mission: ANC In-House Department: Department of Economics and Planning, University of Fort Hare, 1989,

African National Congress, 'Minutes of the Discussion on Draft Policy Document', South African History Archive, University of the Witwatersrand, Barbara Hogan Collection, AL 3013 Box 1.5

African National Congress, 'Report of the Department of Information and Publicity to Joint NEC-RC Meeting'

African National Congress, 'ANC and Information Policy' ANC Lusaka Mission, Mittah Seperepere Papers, University of Fort Hare, Box 91 Folder 3, no date

African National Congress, 'DIP Report from the meeting 25-26th February 1990', ANC Lusaka, Secretary General: Commissions/Sections, 1981-1986, Mayibuye Archive, Box 61.1

African National Congress, 'Report of the Organising Department for the Consideration of the NWC, 23 April 1992', African National Congress: Nelson Mandela Papers, Discussion Documents, University of Fort Hare, Box 142 Folder 188

African National Congress Elections Commission, Report of the National Sub-Working Committee on Elections, 14 April 1992, full reference not provided

African National Congress, PWV Region, Commission on Election Strategy, Election Strategy Workshop, 14-15 November 1992, Barbara Hogan Collection, South African History Archive, AL3013, Box 9

African National Congress, Elections Strategy Workshop Report, 25-27 September, African National Congress: Zambia Mission, Elections:1992-1993, Additions 2 Box 3 Folder 19, University of Fort Hare Archive

African National Congress, Working Committee Documents, 13 August 1992, Barbara Hogan Collection, South African History Archive, AL 3013, 1.7, 43

African National Congress, General Strategy to Win the CA Election, Nelson Mandela Papers: Elections and Fundraising, Box 319, Folder 92, University of Fort Hare

African National Congress, Statement of the Elections Commission to the International Solidarity Conference, 19-25 February, Miscellaneous: South African History Archive, AL2457, H5.3.3

African National Congress, 'Framework for Election Strategy; South African History Archive: Elections, 1994, University of the Witwatersrand, AL 2457 H5.9.1

African National Congress, Report: National Election Strategy Workshop, 29-31 January 1993, Nelson Mandela Papers: Elections: Reports Box 519 Folder 96, University of Fort Hare Archive,

African National Congress, National Executive Committee Documents, 31 August – 2 September, 1992, Barbara Hogan Collection: South African History Archive, AL3013, 1.6.20-1.6.36

African National Congress, 'Programme of Action' n.d., Miscellaneous: South African History Archive, University of the Witwatersrand, AL2457, 5.3.5,

African National Congress, 'The ANC Strategy for the Constituent Assembly Elections', Nelson Mandela Papers: Elections, University of Fort Hare Archive, Box319 Folder 92, n.p

African National Congress, 'Get Ready for Democratic Votes For All', Programme of Action: ANC PWV Region, January, 1993, full reference not available

African National Congress, PWV Media Committee, 'Taking It To The Streets: A Simple Guide To Making ANC Media', March 1993, Barbara Hogan Collection: South African History Archive, AL3013, 1.1.1-1.1.15

African National Congress, 'Assessment of Phase One of the Election Campaign' Nelson Mandela Paper, University of Fort Hare Archive, Box 321 Folder 104, no date

African National Congress, *Door-to-Door Work Canvassing Manual*, Jean de la Harpe Collection: South African History Archive, C.1.1

African National Congress, ANC Election Campaign for a Constituent Assembly 1992-1993: Proposal for Funding', Jean De La Harpe Collection, South African History Archive, AL2921, B2.1.1, 10

African National Congress, ANC Leads To Freedom, ANC Western Cape, Draft Regional Election Strategy, 28 April 1992, Barbara Hogan Collection, South African History Archive, AL 3013 Box 9, 2

African National Congress, 'ANC Media Statement Rubbishing NP Critique of the RDP, 20th April 1994' South African History Archive: University of the Witwatersrand, Barbara Hogan Collection, AL3013, Box1.12-1.20

'Confidential – Please Treat With Absolute Caution', Nelson Mandela Papers: Elections, Reports, University of Fort Hare Archive, Box 321 Folder 106, n.p.

DAWN Annual General Meeting, Review, 12/01/84, African National Congress, Lusaka: Women's Section, Documents, DIP, Mayibuye Archive, MCH01-12, Box 12.5

Department of Political Education, Discussion Paper, 'ANC: National Liberation Movement or Political Party?' September 1991, Barbara Hogan Collection, South African History Archive, AL 3013, 1.3-1.3.24

Department of Constitutional Development: Cabinet Memorandum, 2. Full archival reference not available

Draft Propaganda Political Programme, 1990, Barbara Hogan Collection: South African History Archive, University of the Witwatersrand, AL3013, 1.3.1-1.3.24

IDAF Research and Information Department, 'Arguments in Ruling Circles against Nationalisation, A Survey of the Press: February-March 1990', Archive reference not available

Interview Transcript, UDF National Executive – Cheryl Carolus, Murphy Morobe, Mohammed Valli Moosa, Julie Frederikse Papers, South African History Archive, AL 2460

Interview Transcript, Thabo Mbeki, 'A Broad Coalition of Anti-Apartheid Forces', An Interview with Comrade Thabo Mbeki, Member of the National Executive Committee of the ANC and Director of the Department of Information and Publicity', African National Congress: London: Lectures on Underground Work, 1970s-1980s, Mayibuye Archive, MCH02-23, 6-13

Pallo Jordan, 'Draft Guidelines for ANC Propaganda and Information Media for 1982', DIP Subject Files, 1981-1983, University of Fort Hare, Box 109, folder 75, n.p

Jordan, P. 'The Tasks of the DIP in the Current Period', 7 February 1990, ANC Lusaka Mission: DIP Part 2, 1990-91 Reports, University of Fort Hare, Box 2 Folder 8

Langa, P. 'Restructuring and Reorganisation of DEP Work: An Urgent Task', Paper presented at the DEP In-House Seminar, 20-23 September 1990, Harare, 1 Archival details not available

Leaflet, 'The Truth About South Africa – Even Now' , Ephemera Collection, University of Cape Town African Studies Library Uncatalogued

Lekota, T. Interview Transcript, 14 November 1983, Julie Frederikse Papers, South African History Archive, AL2460

Letter to Joan Anne Nolan, Director: Special Programmes, CUSO ECSA Region, from Max Sisulu, Head: Department of Economics and Planning, dated 22 February 1990 Archive details not available.

Lodge, T 'The African National Congress in South Africa 1976-1982: Guerilla War and Armed Propaganda' African National Congress, Subject Files: DIP, 1981-1983, University of Fort Hare, Box 109 Folder 75, 1-14

Mbeki, T. 'Untitled Letter: Radio Freedom' ANC London: Internal Propaganda (1960s-1980s), Mayibuye Archive,

Mboweni, T. 'Some Notes on the Strengthening of the Department of Economics and Planning', May 1990 Archival details not available

Meli, F. Speech, London, January 9th, 1988, Wolfie Kodesh Collection, Mayibuye Archive, MCH88-3

Molefe, P. 'The Future of the UDF', Notes from the National Workshop, April 1990, UDF Collection: National, South African History Archive, AL 2431, Box 1, no page

'Problems of Strategy and Tactics', *Vukani-Awake* October 1977, 2 African National Congress: London, ANC Internal Propaganda, 1972-79, Mayibuye Archive, MCH02-9

Political Organisations of the National Liberation Movement: The African National Congress of South Africa: (ANC(SA)) Robben Island General Recreational Committee, Mayibuye Archive, MCH64-72, Box 72

'Problems of Strategy and Tactics' *Vukani-Awake*, October, 1977, 1 African National Congress: London, Internal Propaganda, 1972-1979, Mayibuye Archive, MCH02-9

Radio Freedom, 'On the Passing of Moses Kotane', 27 May 1978, African National Congress: London, Internal Propaganda, 1972-1979, Mayibuye Archive, MCH02-9

Report of the UDF (NEC) held on Saturday 28 July 1990, Johannesburg', UDF Collection: National, South African History Archive, AL2431, Box 3

Sechaba, 'On Our Political Education' Report on the Morning Political Classes, Robben Island: Mrabulo Planning Documents, Political Programme Documents, Mayibuye Archive, MCH64-76, Box 76

Sisulu, M. Interview, South African History Archive, University of the Witwatersrand, Julie Frederikse Paper, AL 2460

Speech delivered by Mohammed Valli Moosa at the David Webster Memorial Service Held at Wits University, 10 May 1989, South African History Archive, AL2431, UDF Collection: National, Box 8

Supplement A: Main Mrabula Programme, Robben Island: Mrabula Planning Documents, Political Programme Documents, Mayibuye Archive, MCH64-76

The People's Scribe, English Essays Robben Island: Mrabulo Reading Material, Mayibuye Archive, MCH64-77

Umkhonto we Sizwe, 'Umkhonto we Sizwe: Intensify People's War' Pamphlet, University of Cape Town African Studies Library Ephemera Collection, Uncatalogued

Umkhonto we Sizwe, 'Why We Fight', Leaflet, University of Cape Town African Studies Library, Ephemera Collection, Uncatalogued, no date

United Democratic Front, 'Setting the Record Straight' Pamphlet issued by the Students Representative Council Projects Committee, University of the Witwatersrand, South African History Archive, UDF Collection: National, Box 14

United Democratic Front, 'Declaration of the United Democratic Front', African National Congress: London, UDF, Mayibuye Archive, MCH02-136

United Democratic Front, 'UDF Focus on the Freedom Charter: Freedom Charter Campaign from 26 June to 20 August,' University of Natal, Durban Student Representative Council Press

UDF Rally Transcript, 'People's Weekend', Frank Chikane Interview Transcripts, Julie Frederikse Papers, 1979-1990, South African History Archive, AL2460

United Democratic Front, 'The Future of the UDF' ,UDF Collection – National, South African History Archive, AL2431, Box 1, no date

Wa Mathe, S. *The Face of S.A.* ANC Lusaka Mission, Poetry: Freedom Fighters, University of Fort Hare Archive Box 123 Folder 203

TELEVISION

South African Broadcasting Corporation, *Agenda*, May 1990, African Studies Library, Film Collection, University of Cape Town, author's transcription