



REIMAGINE. REDESIGN. REORGANISE

**NATIONAL CONVENTION OF SOUTH AFRICA:
THE CIVIL SOCIETY MANIFESTO
AS DECLARATORY STATEMENT OF
THE NATIONAL CONVENTION OF SOUTH AFRICA PROCESS
[November 2017 – March 2019]**

The South Africa we live in today, 25 years into Nelson Mandela’s promised “united, non-racial, non-sexist, democratic and prosperous society”, is a far cry from that vision. We are a polarised nation – spatially, socially, economically, and politically. The cost of corruption and maladministration to poor communities has been immense, and will take a long time and hard, deliberate systemic work to address and to change for the better. It has brought us to the brink of losing the glimmer of the Post-Apartheid Promise of a just, reconciled, peaceful, equitable and sustainable society, free of racism, tribalism, xenophobia and gender prejudices; free of corruption and deprivation; with food and shelter for every citizen, and where every child born can grow to its God-given potential.

The revelations at the various commissions and enquiries currently in progress – the Zondo, Mokgoro, Nugent and Mphathi processes, are all examples of gross corruption at the national level. But they do not speak to what is happening on a massively grand scale at provincial and local government level, with the well-entrenched “tender-jacking” practice that has become pathological in some provinces. The SACC became exposed to some of this with the Unburdening Panel work, when people revealed, in confidence, what was happening at that level, away from the national glare. It is this, and the evidence of chequebook politics at political party branch level, that persuaded the SACC leaders that the moral integrity and legitimacy of the governmental environment had been seriously compromised.

President Ramaphosa has talked of the “lost nine years” in reference to the economic and governmental challenges of the immediate past. Yes, much has been suffered, but all is not lost. Instead, the country has received a wake-up call, a call for ordinary people to commit to take charge of their destiny and create functional collaborations for the realisation of their own vision of the Promise of the Post-Apartheid South Africa. This is a call for active citizenship at all levels of society. For we cannot expect accountability from government if we do not take responsibility for what we need government to do to facilitate our self-development. In this regard, when the public reacts to public wrongdoing, or assesses the

actions or lack thereof on the part of government, they do so on the basis of an innate set of values that speak to what is right. We refer to this as public values and standards.

The SACC-initiated National Convention of South Africa has, from the beginning of this process, sought “to offer the country a firm foundation of public values and minimum standards, that should inform the governmental environment and services for the common good, regardless of who is in government”. We suspect that most South Africans will not seek to unpack policy positions, whether of government or in a political party manifesto. We suspect that most South Africans will likely focus more on milestones that are achieved in their interests - standards, based on principles or values with which they can identify, and which are a basis for a common understanding of South African citizenship.

When we began this process, we set out on a quest for building a consensus on such minimum standards, requirements necessary as a strong foundation for basic public values in the best interests of every South African. This would be in order to address the challenge of poverty and inequality, to deal decisively with the culture of corruption, greed and inordinate self-interest in the private sector, and the impunity and lack of constitutional accountability in the public sector, while at the same time coaxing diverse sections of the South African population to move toward a common location of the South African social and economic mutuality.

For this we focused on four themes that were considered fundamental to the achievement of the Promise of the Post-Apartheid South Africa:

- I. ANCHORING DEMOCRACY
- II. ECONOMIC TRANSFORMATION
- III. COMPREHENSIVE QUALITY EDUCATION
- IV. HEALING AND (FOR) RECONCILIATION

I. Anchoring Democracy:

This theme was the triggering point of the Convention Process in the context of State Capture that undermined the governmental system and raised serious questions on what it would take to ensure that, to borrow President Mandela’s famous words, “never, never and never again shall it be that this beautiful land will again experience the gross ...” violations of the constitution, betrayal of public trust and abuse of public resources and institutions. To this the National Convention Process would say: **“We must ensure that never again shall the country surrender public values to the whims of politicians – regardless of party or the leadership thereof.”**

Our commitment to nation building and reconciliation demands a political culture that upholds the democratic values enshrined in our Constitution, which we should closely monitor as a responsible citizenry. This citizen responsibility and commitment hinges on **certain values and principles to uphold.**

- a. **Value Statement:** The core value statement for Anchoring Democracy is that:

South Africa is a Constitutional Democracy, where the Constitution is the highest law of the land, rooted in openness, democracy, accountability, and social justice; such a Constitutional Democracy must be anchored in serving the interests of all who live in this country, especially those who are socially, economically and politically the weakest, in the spirit of the popular dictum "The people shall govern!"

The premiere place of the Constitution in our law means that the values enshrined in this piece of legislation are inviolate in the South African Constitutional Democracy. Some of these are found in:

- The Preamble – Sections 1-3
- Section of Cooperative Governance – Chapter 3
- Public Administration & Governance – Chapter 10

Section 195 (1) & (2) of Chapter 10 is quite instructive of the values, principles and ethical standards of the public administration in our Constitutional Dispensation. Prof. Stan Sangweni, former Chair of the Public Service Commission, compiled a Pledge of Conduct that is the basis of *Batho Pele*, and which is almost word for word from the Constitution, as a stark reminder of the responsibility of those in institutions that receive the support of the *fiscus* (see below for the full text of the pledge).

- b. **Standards to sustain the core value:** To uphold and sustain the core value of Anchoring Constitutional Democracy, we call for certain standards to be in place and observable. These include:
- i. A professionalised, as against a politicised, civil service, with defined permanence for institutional stability and defined categories of acceptability for political appointees.
 - ii. Protocols for transparency in the appointment of senior civil servants and officers, with provision for independent random lifestyle checks.
 - iii. Cuts and transparency in spending on public servants' accommodation and other perks.
 - iv. Special measures against corruption in the public and private sectors aggressively applied and enforced; special corruption courts established to demonstrate visible and specialised attention to the scourge of corruption.
 - v. Probity and integrity measures for eligibility to public office, including the legislature. This calls into question putting candidates on Parliamentary lists with serious allegations of corruption against them. Parties must make the difficult decisions in regard to how they deal with allegations that have yet to be processed. While respecting the principle of presumed innocence and that of listening to the other side, we have the challenge of such allegations impugning on integrity.
 - vi. A hybrid electoral system for provincial and national legislatures – with direct constituency and proportional representation candidates, enabling direct citizen representation to maximise accountability of representatives to the

citizens, while providing for small parties to retain their proportional presence in the legislatures.

- vii. Members of the legislatures to uphold the Oaths and Solemn Affirmations taken in assuming their office and serve the interests of the populace where these clash with the internal interests of their political party.
- viii. Direct public election of the State President, where parties field candidates for the citizens to elect their most preferred candidate for the Head of Government.
- ix. Measures to ensure ease of access to justice by citizens, with considerations for equal access to justice for poor and rural communities.
- x. Clear protocols to prevent the abuse of justice and security services - protecting the credibility, independence and competence of the criminal justice system.
- xi. Civic Education in the school curriculum, including education on the Constitution, the mechanisms and institutions of democracy, as well as the duties and responsibilities of citizens. The same to be offered also for citizens through the Public Broadcaster.

c. Action proposals:

- i. *Electoral Integrity 2019:* With the urgency of the upcoming 2019 elections the SACC has been recruiting in local churches across the country, church leaders as peace monitors, and local church members known for integrity and uprightness in their communities, to work in shifts as all-day election observers in their nearby polling stations. They will provide a trusted neutral eye, functioning as “party-observers” without a party.
- ii.
 - iii. *Voter Education and Messaging:* Together with establishing the observer mission, the SACC proposes to mount a voter messaging campaign that will encourage particularly young voters to come out and vote, as well as communicate the values and standards that have come out of the National Convention Process that should inform their voting for a greater hope of the realisation of the Post-Apartheid Promise – that they may have life abundantly!
- iv. *Democracy Education:* The leaders of SACC member churches have committed to have Constitution and Democracy Education as part of Church Education, an ongoing democracy education that the SACC will mount together with other democracy education entities and Chapter Nine institutions – especially focusing on the Constitution, considering how minimally it is understood and the danger that comes with the negative attitudes to it that are beginning to surface in society. Churches have a regular rhythm of the meetings of their formations throughout the week: women, youth, men, children’s ministry, and the whole congregation gathering on Sunday or Saturday (for some). Aspects of the Constitution will be programmed to become a regular part of the weekly routine. This will reach a huge part of the South African electorate and help ensure

citizen ownership of the State as served by the government of the day - the servant of the citizens.

- v. Promote the Sangweni Code of Governance in the Public Sector
- vi. Advocate for electoral reforms such as:
 - a. The direct election of the State President by the voting public
 - b. A possible hybrid system with some proportional and direct and election of candidates for public representatives at provincial and national levels, with lessons learned from the local government experience to date, as may be applicable at the other levels of legislative elections.
- vii. Advocate for a consideration of various options for universal access to justice for poor persons, families and communities.

SANGWENI CODE OF GOVERNANCE FOR:

Executive Members; Employees of Public Service; Board Members and Officials of Public Enterprises.

- I pledge my loyalty and allegiance to the Constitution of the Republic;
- Therefore, I shall at all times uphold and maintain the Constitution of the Republic;
- To this end I shall at all times act in compliance with the core values and principles enshrined in the Constitution;
- Therefore in all actions in discharge of my duties I shall conduct myself with the highest standard of professional ethics and spurn conflict of interest;
- I shall promote and maintain economic, effective and efficient use and management of human and financial resources in public administration;
- I shall ensure that public administration is development-oriented.
- I shall ensure that public services are provided to all who live in South Africa impartially, fairly, equitably and without bias;
- I commit myself to respond to people's needs promptly and to encourage the public to participate in policy making regarding services to them;
- I commit myself to accountability for all my actions in discharge of my responsibilities, and to this end shall hold myself open to public scrutiny on all my actions;
- I shall foster transparency by providing the public with timely, accessible and accurate information;
- I shall adhere to meritocracy by ensuring that employment and management practices in the public service / State-owned enterprises are based on merit, ability, objectivity and fairness;
- I shall ensure that no employee in the public service and State-owned enterprises is favoured or prejudiced only because that person supports a particular party or cause.
- So Help Me God! I so Affirm!!

II. Economic Transformation:

The area of economic transformation is the most contested and most critically essential area if South Africa is to have a future of justice, peace, and stability. The painful reality is that of gross and indeed obscene levels of economic inequality, where some 90% of the country's asset value is in the hands of about 10% mostly white male South Africans, according to the SAHRC equality report 2017/2018. It is to these South Africans and the institutions that sustain and perpetuate this state of affairs, that much attention needs to go – to persuade them to embrace patriotic honesty for the sake of the whole. There are a number of matters to be considered in this context.

- a. **Value Statement:** The core value statement for economic transformation is that:
“Economic transformation must deliberately and systematically enhance human dignity and the quality of life, by preserving not only the environmental sustainability of our planet, but also by enabling the participation in the productive economy, of poor citizens and the disadvantaged majority, with a process that progressively engenders wealth redistribution. This would involve the country's commercial and development finance institutions and focus on knowledge resources and physical resources such as the land, the oceans and mineral resources; manufacturing, commercial and business opportunities, to reverse poverty, inequality and low growth through inclusivity.”
- b. **Standards and Measures:** The standards and measures that will uphold and sustain the values of a transformed economy might include:
 - i. Measures for patriotic persuasion and regulatory mechanisms to stem the rampant practice of shipping money out of the country and externalising wealth. Special attention needs to be paid to the practices of transfer pricing, intellectual property licensing, art, blind trusts, etc.
 - ii. Measures to increase local productivity, service provision, and the circulation of money in the local economy as long as possible before it is used outside the neighbourhood.
 - iii. Dedicated focus on nationally significant products for poor families, such as bread, to encourage these to be locally produced for a reduced price, but still creating income streams – a significant transition from poverty to self-sufficiency, with measurable outcomes ensuring wealth creation.
 - iv. There should be no barriers that hinder equitable participation by marginalised communities in the economy and taking seriously and exploring best practices in incorporating some of the resilient economic survival measures of poor communities into the “formal” economy.
 - v. Measures to persuade financial institutions that hold on billions of unclaimed monies to invest in a new generation of pro-poor financial institutions that foster local economies as suggested above. [We note that the rich stay rich and perpetuate that through generations because the way that money circulates favours, and will always favour the rich, unless the financial architecture is transformed.]

- vi. A reimagined role for the State pools of capital in an aggressive development of rural and previously disadvantaged communities and in how these powerful State Development Finance Institutions and the commercial banks can begin to play a more effective developmental role in the interests of changing the financial architecture in favour of poor and marginalised communities such as rural people, young people, women and people with disabilities.
- vii. The urgent need to rescue poor families from the quicksand of debt and the everyday *mashonisa* phenomenon. To take lessons from other operative models, and explore working with relevant institutions, the prospects of debt consolidation and with debt forgiveness to enable afflicted poor families to make a structured fresh start. This might cost the banks much less than the bad debts they write off every year for the rich. Examples of debt forgiveness for the rich include the practice for property developers who borrow, invest, and then liquidate; and banks write off the debt. They also buy the properties back at much reduced prices and still make profits that way. Meanwhile poor people are forced into ill health and poverty to pay off their debts unto death. There is a direct correlation between debt, violence, reduced life spans and family break ups.
- viii. Quick-win measures to alleviate critical debt for incoming professionals and free up energy away from debt towards innovative thinking; for example, immediately extinguish all education related debt to free young people to become champions of community service where they live, with whatever socially appropriate conditions of debt release.
- ix. A high impact and coherent industrialization plan, and a bold manufacturing-led growth strategy.
- x. Radical, creative and reimagined land and spatial utilisation, noting that land is as much a metaphor for economic freedom and security as it is a metaphor for belonging and identity in the divided history of this country and its impact on the present and future national fortunes.
- xi. Is there another way to reimagine, reorganise and redesign spatial organisation to address historical injustices, and meet envisioned economic and equity measures? In this regard questions may be asked as to whether:
 - a. the country can level the playing economic fields and deal with poverty and inequality without addressing the huge historically racial disparities in access to land – whether through market purchase or inheritance? The reality is that white citizens have had a huge head start on everything, and thus will forever remain beneficiaries of the history of conquest and dispossession – this with the corollary of African disposition of hurt, and a life of perpetual struggle and growing resentment.
 - b. the land question cannot be addressed through a deliberate process of healing and reconciliation, bringing the divergent communities to a common national identity in keeping with the constitutional values, and coax a give-and-take approach that provides for chunks of land to be made available for any young South African who wants to use land commercially to be enabled to do so with adequate government support – going beyond “restitution”, but allowing for a fast de-racialisation of the country’s spatial utilisation, both urban and rural; and both agricultural and non-agricultural.

- c. the above can be achieved without having a nuanced view of “historical” tribal lands; especially where “historical” relates to the residual 13% of the Bantustan South Africa.
- xiii. A regime to heavily tax or expropriate unused assets to provide for effective and productive use of assets for economic development.
 - xiv. Economic models that are in harmony with nature - all economic development should be clean, green and safe; and balanced with environmental sustainability. The country cannot thrive if the ecosystem is not thriving.
 - xv. The consideration of a broader regional economic integration that takes into account the common stock of economic resources and opportunities, not only the chronic challenge of economic immigrants, but also to strengthen the comparative advantage of the region in areas and commodities in which it has relative global monopoly.

c. Action proposals:

1. Special Task Team/s to engage National Planning Commission on the reflections of the National Convention in this regard, to engage the financial sector and to engage the Government
2. Advocate for a commitment to a State-supported micro-finance system for access to finance by small scale entrepreneurs needing micro-financing solutions, thus, also circumventing the ‘*mashonisas*’ who charge start-up entrepreneurs high interest.
3. Make bread affordable (MBA), while building community supply provision
4. Work Garments for Living (WGL): Community groups in partnership with industry to manufacture and supply diverse work clothes – overalls, work coats etc.
5. Earnestly explore Prophetic Debt Relief Bank
6. Explore Land Resolution Options in Spatial Utilisation
7. Explore Regional (SADC) Economic Common Cause

III. Comprehensive Quality Education - Preschool to Tertiary:

This requires a thoroughgoing attention to the education offering - from early childhood cognitive development to technical and vocational training at TVETs and its articulation with industry and economic drivers; as well as university education. Adequate funding and spatial provisions are critical to success. Large scale access to schooling serves little purpose if there are no standards and measures in place to ensure that quality education is provided. The Comprehensive Quality Education theme covers all aspects of education and training – from the first 1000 days to the labour market and beyond. In this work we envisage a system of education that will imbue children, from a very early stage of their lives, with the values of integrity, accountability, meritocracy and community. Through educating and training current and future generations of learners differently, our country stands a good chance of redefining the future of South Africa. We seek to fundamentally re-author the future of our country and its prospects through the values, standards, ethos and policy proposals we set out to promote greater agency of its citizens.

- a. **Value Statement:** The lodestar **value** that defines the call for Comprehensive Quality Education is:

Access to high quality education for optimum enhancement of human potential from cradle to career and beyond, including preparation for informed and active citizenship.

In pursuit of this core value, we identify and adapt the Singapore Education Department guide to say: “South African education must be a continuous journey of growth from birth to the work place and beyond: intellectually, socio-culturally, and spiritually for: the mastery of self, critical and inventive thinking; for communication, collaboration and information skills; and for civic literacy, global awareness and cross-cultural skills.”

Comprehensive Quality Education must develop and empower young people to become able citizens of a constitutional democracy, with the competencies and skills needed to live with compassion, respect, honesty and integrity, trustworthiness and self-esteem.

- b. **Standards to sustain the core value:** To uphold and sustain the core value of Comprehensive Quality Education, we call for certain standards to be in place and observable. These include:

- i. A stimulating environment for babies in the first 1000 days of life.
- ii. A continuing pre-school early childhood development environment with professionally trained teachers to ensure the seven critical developmental domains: gross and fine motor, language, cognitive, social and emotional, self-help and adaptive, spiritual and moral.
- iii. An integrated support system of maternal and child primary health care, and nutrition.
- iv. A safe, welcoming, encouraging primary and secondary school environment conducive for learning and nurturing holistic growth. Well-resourced schools with the necessary equipment, facilities, and well trained and caring teachers to continue and enhance the well-rounded development process. Such an environment would result in graduating a responsible adult with a comfortable sense of belonging, self-mastery, independence and generosity towards others in the spirit of *ubuntu-botho*.
- v. Tertiary institutions that combine theoretical with practical/experiential education opportunities to create a seamless pathway between learning and the world of work, and a structured system of articulation with industry and civic life – education for productivity.

We call on South Africans to play their part in the spaces nearest to their sphere of influence to advocate for and activate the application of these standards and values. The Churches will work with various role players in civil society, with interventions that promote those values and standards and do not have to await State policy processes.

- c. **Action proposals:**

1. Elementary and Basic Education Work:

- a. *The “Morning Star” Early Childhood Development Programme:*

Use local infrastructure for wall-to-wall spread of Early Childhood Cognitive and Emotional Development Centres in appropriate sections of municipal wards and villages. The “Morning Star” programme is an offering to give a head-start for each of the participating children to be like “the bright star” in the “early morning” of life through the nurture and an accelerated cognitive and emotional development, of otherwise disadvantaged children. Children who have no opportunities to develop essential concepts from an early age are likely to stay disadvantaged throughout their life. The objective here is to create spaces for such children at pre-school centres, at churches or any other locations where they can be afforded effective development opportunities.

b. *Integrated support for children’s first 1000 days:*

- i. Promoting supportive circles of expectant mothers and mothers of babies in the first 1000 days of life; encouraging organisations like Embrace, a mother-led, mother-supporting national movement bringing back the power of the sisterhood and the strength of the village to women in pregnancy and the early years of motherhood.
- ii. Promoting maternal and child primary health care and nutrition, including productive food gardens and affordable healthy recipes.

c. *Young People’s Network for Self-Development in Education:*

Community-based Resource and Learner Aid Centres will be used for school children and youth, with computers for projects and research, books, magazine and newspapers – yester-magazines and newspapers from local sales outlets, that would otherwise be recycled or dumped. Appropriate church premises shall be considered for such services.

Around the Resources and Learner Aid Centres would be a network of learners on a participant-driven programme that opens up opportunities to enable each participant to choose their desired programme, incentivised by a system of points earned for meaningful participation.

Two forms of incentives would be offered according to each person’s energy and drive. One is a progressively growing portfolio of participation achievements that earn the participant periodic rewards that may include useful equipment, educational trips and excursions, scholarships and other forms of recognition. The other would be the permanent career effect of such a rich portfolio as part of a young person’s demonstrable experience and fullness of active social, and intellectual life development.

The idea is to cultivate sustainable exit opportunities for young people with life skills as well as marketable skills that enhance a progressive portfolio of experience for the work environment. The outcome sought is well-rounded development of young people towards a responsible adulthood with a comfortable sense of belonging, self-mastery, independence and generosity towards others in the spirit of *ubuntu-botho*.

There could be a wide variety on a menu of possible activities to choose from for participation. Some of the activities for which points could be earned may include:

i. Programmes in Skills and Intellectual development:

A high impact intellectual development programme, accompanied by the points incentive system, in a capacity-building programme for young people, would promote reading, numeracy enhancement, analytical skills and critical thinking. For example, activities like, participation in a concentrated science lab programme with a requirement that they read a minimum number of diverse books and write up what they have learned from them. Such a reading list would include literature in the African vernacular where applicable.

ii. Serving others and developing a social conscience:

Participating in the service of others more in need, and gaining points for their portfolio of achievements, such as:

- Engaging in intellectually stimulating volunteering opportunities such as tutoring younger learners;
- Providing a support presence to learners who need help with activities such as monitoring school attendance and following up their class participation and homework.
- Providing service to other families and situations of need in the community, for example, tending gardens and helping build homes for the indigent and elderly.

iii. Stimulating Logic Games and Character Forming Group Activities:

- Participate in character-forming outdoor experiences in the of Outward-bound or Journey, to engender self-awareness and personal growth in group dynamics.
- Participate in clubs of chess and other logic games, with annual competitive events with group points for awards and portfolio enhancement.

iv. Expanding Personal Horizons:

- Promote individual youth research on family and family trees, clan and tribal history and research on various aspects of cultural practices and value systems such as elements of ubuntu.
- Learning a different African language and understand its culture.
- Research and reflect on positive intersectional experiences that feature mutuality of respect and human worth in society – across race, ethnicity, country-nationality, gender and class.
- Participate in the programme “Adopt your past” with awards for African historical and cultural research whereby young people adopt an historical era, epoch or personality for a series of essays in a progressive portfolio..
- Participate in group studies and active engagement with others from different backgrounds, on African socio-spiritual and moral values and how these can anchor society in the roots of the African world-view (such as *ubuntu-botho*), to inform urgent campaigns

for moral regeneration. Through this, promote youth capacity for value-based personal and community leadership.

- Participate in an Africa Youth Awareness Programme to educate young people on the SADC region and on the African continent and its place in the world – ancient and modern history; achievements to celebrate, challenges to take on and possibilities to explore.

d. *Education Community Support Movement:*

Local movements are proposed for the support of education. Local churches would join with the families of participating young people. Support would be broadened to the community as a whole in collaboration with local schools, to motivate communities to take responsibility for the success of their schools. Communities would ensure the establishment of a safe, welcoming and encouraging primary and secondary school environment conducive to learning and nurturing holistic growth. Well-resourced schools with all the necessary facilities and equipment, well-trained and caring teachers would be the standard.

2. Tertiary Education:

This covers both universities and TVET colleges. We advocate for tertiary institutions, especially TVETs to combine theoretical with practical/experiential education opportunities for a seamless pathway between learning and the world of work, articulating with industry to enhance effectiveness and productivity.

a. TVET Colleges:

There has to be a focused promotion of TVETs as learning centres of value to the economy. The desire is for these institutions to produce graduates that are ready for the work place or self-employment. To support and pilot this approach, we propose identifying a TVET college or two as partners to show their effectiveness and dynamism as life-changing institutions for participants. Key and relevant private sector players would be persuaded to join in turning participating institutions around. The turn-around process would include help with curriculum, equipment and tools, providing internships and other experiential learning interventions.

In this regard:

- i. *Mpumalanga Possibility:* There may be an opportunity to partner on a TVET College with a mining company in Mpumalanga. This will be explored further.
- ii. *The German Opportunity:* The SACC, through a partnership with its German Counterpart, the *Evangelische Kirche in Deutschland* (EKD), is in discussions to develop a link between German companies and TVET colleges, to promote meaningful articulation with their factories in South Africa. The proposal is to begin with the motor assembly companies such as Volkswagen, Mercedes Benz and BMW. We would then explore possibilities with other German companies where this partnership could be of relevance. The SACC and the German

Churches are working with the South African Embassy in Germany to support this process.

b. Universities:

Our Universities have nodes of excellence that compete effectively with the best in the world. The opportunity for greater excellence and relevance is to leverage their position in Africa - the cradle of humanity - to dig deep into its indigenous knowledge and richness of its biodiversity and cultures. Teaching, research and greater utilisation of African languages is essential to enhancing pride in our identity, our self-confidence and enriching access to the cultural tools that made the evolution of humanity in Africa possible.

The youthfulness of our population presents opportunities for us to leap into exploiting disruptive technologies, and for us to work together across colonial boundaries with other countries to develop powerful collaborative platforms of teaching, research and service.

Africa's vulnerabilities to climate change and its huge assets in plentiful sunshine, rivers, wind and oceans present powerful incentives for initiating and sustaining teaching, research and service programmes to lead the urgently needed transitions to sustainable energy, transport, agriculture and rural development as well as city planning. These transitions would energise research and technological development engaging young people as students, young researchers, entrepreneurs and civil society to advocate for lowering our carbon footprint whilst enhancing wellbeing for all.

Universities and TVETs need to work together to use the best of Artificial Intelligence innovations to create new types of jobs, food security, support governments at all levels to prepare for a world that is governed by core values of *ubuntu-botho*. Collaboration in Artificial Intelligence for sustainable ecosystems would promote harmony between humans, and between humans and nature. Systems' thinking, is central to the required shift in how we relate to one another and to nature.

IV. Healing and (FOR) Reconciliation:

Reconciliation, which is often seen as mainly referring to racial or ethnic reconciliation, goes beyond the traditional concerns, and must include addressing poverty and inequality, economic transformation for a reconciled economic dispensation. A healed and reconciled South Africa must be a society that has faced squarely the stark realities of the systemic impact of poverty, of broken families and redefined family structures, of abiding racism and ethnicism as an identity rallying phenomenon.

Reconciliation is best understood as a process and integral to its realisation is the healing of past wounds, restoration of relationships, and addressing structural injustices. The healing has to take place across generations. The wounds inflicted by our past are often unconscious and show up in the fracture of the social fabric and the desolation that characterises our human relations. Some of this manifests itself in the

present-day South African experience of acts of racism, xenophobia, violence against women and children, violent crime and lawlessness, as well as many other social ills.

Reconciliation and healing are organic processes which cannot be legislated. Genuinely bringing them to fruition is largely dependent on organised communities such as churches or defined neighbourhoods, and society at large, consciously challenging itself to address the cultural causes of injustice. This is to counter the “can’t we just move on” narrative. It must include an interruption between the unconscious and the conscious woundedness or unfair social advantage, involving the identification of the problem, information dissemination of the problem and the effects of such a phenomenon, for example, the social capital of white skin, of maleness; and the socio-economic disadvantage of being black, female, disabled, foreign African. A common and inclusive national identity is the fruit of a conscious appreciation of the place of our racial ethnic and gender diversity in the tapestry of the national fabric.

- a. **Value Statement:** The core value for the Healing and Reconciliation of South Africa is in the imperative of our Constitution “to heal the divisions of the past and establish a society based on democratic values, social justice and fundamental human rights”. It posits, and we should advocate, that “everyone has inherent dignity and the right to have their dignity respected and protected; no person may unfairly discriminate directly or indirectly against anyone on one or more grounds in terms of: race, gender, sex, pregnancy, marital status, ethnic or social origin, colour, sexual orientation, age, disability, religion, conscience, belief, culture, language and birth.” The value statement therefore says:

The Constitution calls on us; our faith traditions prevail; and the indigenous knowledge worldview of ubuntu-botho beckons to a journey of healing to reconcile South Africa’s diverse population; to address honestly the deep root causes of historical and multi-generational woundedness and divisions at national level; the brokenness of family and the tensions of individual identity and personal relationships. To heal and reconcile requires of us to care to understand each other, our different languages and cultures, our historical and present experiences, fears and concerns, for each individual to experience freedom and empowerment in the mutuality of the whole in a just and reconciled society.

This requires a healing that goes beyond merely dealing with manifestations of woundedness, but engaging with the deep root causes of woundedness, for a lasting impact and to help bring about a more reconciled and just society. In this context children are the most important and the impact on them most significant. Societal woundedness impacts on children and impacts the future; healing the children is healing society and heals the future; for a child lives in the context of a family and a community whose power once unlocked through healing and reconciliation, ensures the safety and security of children to blossom limitlessly.

- b. **Standards and Measures:** The standards and measures that will uphold and sustain the values for healing and reconciling South Africa, might include:

- i. Safe and brave spaces for stories of individual and collective multi-generational humiliation as well as shame to be told and attended for healing.
- ii. Deliberate and observable efforts for all South Africans, black and white, to gain proficiency in one African language that is not normally their own.
- iii. A new life reality for today's children through a reimagined and redesigned childhood experience through a transformative early childhood education programme that affords them a healed future.
- iv. Socialisation spaces such as school, public broadcaster, religious institutions, as sites for the cultivation of the ideal South African, embracing and living the characteristic values that will define the national character.
 - A platform on the kinds of conduct that should be considered un-South African as they bring the country into disrepute and undermine the national project of a just society as the Constitution prescribes in the Preamble and in the Bill of Rights.
 - A revisiting of our diverse histories in knitting together a common South African history, acknowledging and confronting the hurts and appreciating the positives in the encounters of our diversity towards a decolonized national identity with social cohesion.
 - A positive gender consciousness and intersectionality, confronting institutional, cultural and pervasive social and physical gender-based violence.
 - Heal of the masculinity of men, from both humiliating experiences, and the superiority complex of the inflated sense of self which leads to distorted male-female relationships.
- v. In recognition that land is a metaphor for identity, security and deep seated woundedness, a purposeful and creative exploration of ways to use the opportunity of land reform to heal and to build social cohesion.
- vi. Processes to complete the prescripts of the TRC with prescribed restitution, addressing past atrocities, and embrace processes of People's Tribunal for closure on the ugly past.
- vii. An acceptable standard of religious observances that draws the line for unacceptable gimmicks increasingly being practiced by presumed religious practitioners who take advantage of the emotional and spiritual vulnerability especially of poor communities; and some who make money from the sale of religious "spiritual benefits", as has been established by the recent investigation by CRL Rights Commission. (This relates also to the woundedness of our society where the Christian faith among the poor in particular, is abused for corrupt purposes.)
- viii. Sound corporate governance in churches, in order for the prophetic voice of the church to be sustained.

c. **Action proposals:**

The task of healing our society for reconciliation requires the promotion of a Movement of Socialisation for Self and Mutual Appreciation for Healing, (Reconciliation and Social Cohesion).

- i. Socialising the Young: Because the task is to build towards a reconciled future in light of the past, the primary focus of socialisation must be on the younger generation – children, working with organisations in children's development. For this we propose intensive work to cultivate for a healed society, using the lenses of gender, family and children, identity – individual and national; indigenous knowledge systems and values (*ubuntu-botho* and its values of mutual respect and mutual healing) and historical woundedness.

- ii. Individual Stories for Healing & Mutual Recognition: In this regard, we propose a combination of activities that include promoting spaces of safe and brave exchange of experiences amongst vulnerable and wounded adult and youth groups and individuals for healing through their stories.
- iii. Community Socialisation for Healing: We propose to initiate work in pilot sites during 2019, to work with families, churches, the media – public broadcaster, the schools and communities, to initiate the elements of a Community Movement of Socialisation for Healing.
 - o With family, to gain understanding of their circumstances, and networking neighbourhood families in the healing movement.
 - o With Churches, to activate their mission mandate of community healing and care.
 - o With the local schools to partner into a network of schools in socialisation for healing
 - o With local communities, to promote and popularise the responsibility and agency for a healed society.
 - o With the media, especially the Public Broadcaster, to partner for the Movement of Socialisation for Healing.
- iv. Chief Albert Luthuli Model & The South African: It is necessary to not only identify that which takes away from South Africa’s good name – what may be considered un-South African, but to also work on what is the desirable “character” of the ideal South African, towards which we need to socialise and cultivate. The Chief Albert Luthuli Foundation has kindly agreed for the Convention Process to use the name of South Africa’s first Nobel Laureate to promote the ideal South African character – The Chief Albert Luthuli model South African.

Conclusion:

To conclude, it is appropriate to end with a reminder of the constitutional imperative for this effort, as prescribed in the pledge of the Preamble to the Constitution:

“We, the people of South Africa,
 Recognise the injustices of our past;
 Honour those who suffered for justice and freedom in our land;
 Respect those who have worked to build and develop our country; and
 Believe that South Africa belongs to all who live in it, united in our diversity.
 We therefore, through our freely elected representatives, adopt this Constitution as the supreme law of the Republic so as to:

- Heal the divisions of the past and establish a society based on democratic values, social justice and fundamental human rights;
- Lay the foundations for a democratic and open society in which government is based on the will of the people and every citizen is equally protected by law;
- Improve the quality of life of all citizens and free the potential of each person;

and

- Build a united and democratic South Africa able to take its rightful place as a sovereign state in the family of nations”.

This is what we hope South Africans will seek to rally around and find common cause.



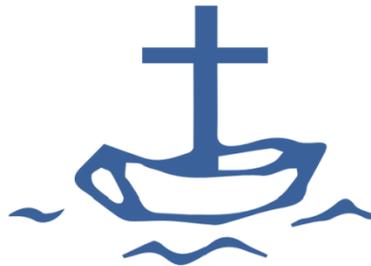
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