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**KHANYA COLLEGE: PERSPECTIVES, POSITIONING & STRATEGY BEFORE & AFTER MARIKANA
An Activists Summary
by Khanya College
FOREWORD**

This is a Summary of a document which was finalised after the 2014 Khanya All College Congress (ACC). The contents of the document were critical in informing the strategic direction of the College over the past 10 years.

The original document, published by Khanya College in 2014 is considerably longer than this summary and participants are still encouraged to refer to the longer more comprehensive analysis.

In providing a summary, to encourage discussion at the 2024 Khanya All College Conference (ACC), certain important elements of the original document are omitted.

Part 1 of the original document looked at the prehistory of the 2000 ACC and events in the run up to the 2014 ACC. Whilst these are critically important to understand they are touched upon again in Part 2 and the summary focuses primarily on Part 2 of the original document which deals with the broader Strategic Considerations dealing with the theoretical and contextual framework. It then summarises how these considerations informed the strategic direction of the college in 2014.

In providing the summary, every effort has been made to present the analysis as presented in 2014 and not to update this to the current period. Some sections have been omitted in full, but so far as possible the original text and framing has been retained. Only where absolutely necessary have additional transitional words or sentences been added or paragraphs moved to assist with the continuity and flow of the argument. Inevitably the structure, and numbering of Sections have been amended.

Whilst the context and issues facing us have changed over the past 10 years, a number of the theoretical, contextual and strategic issues raised in the original document still confront us today. This Summary, will help us understand what has and has not changed, and how some of the work which was initiated by the college in 2014 is still relevant and still needs our focussed attention in 2025.

It is important to note that this summary document does not deal in any detail with the prehistory of the ACC leading up to 2014 (nor between 2014 and 2025 for that matter), the College Coordinators report and nor does it assess Khanya Colleges performance against the strategic direction which was identified in 2014. These are matters to be discussed in a separate assessment of the College's performance, and at the 2025 ACC itself.

A. INTRODUCTION

The last two years, 2012 and 2013, have probably been the most momentous since the dawn of South Africa's democracy in 1994. In 2012, 34 miners were massacred by a police force controlled and directed by a democratic government. Barely 20 years into the new democracy deep fractures have appeared in the party that led the country to freedom, and in the broader movements that this party led.

These developments have made it imperative that Khanya College, review where we have come from, where we are, and where we are headed in the social justice struggle.

The Marikana massacre shook South Africa to the core, and was a wakeup call to the steady and consistent decline of the democratic experiment in South Africa. For Khanya College, the massacre and its aftermath signalled the need to go back to the drawing board so as to reflect on the way forward in the light of the historic developments.

The strategic reflections in this Summary paper takes a look forward and discusses Khanya College's positioning and strategic orientation in the post-Marikana period.

B. STRATEGIC PERSPECTIVES: THE POST-MARIKANA CONTEXT

The Marikana massacre is the defining moment of the social, economic and political context within which South Africa is positioned, and this will be the case for the foreseeable future.

Following the first democratic elections in 1994, the first step on the road to Marikana was taken with the adoption of the Growth, Employment and Redistribution (GEAR) economic strategy in 1996. This step set the scene for the systemic poverty that lay at the basis of the massacre in Marikana.

In this section we outline the following 6 core components required to understand the post-Marikana context:

1. Deepening poverty and inequality and a restructuring of the working class
2. The integration of the ANC into the historical elites
3. The closure of democratic spaces, and violence
4. The crisis of the Congress Alliance and political realignment
5. A weak working class and civil society
6. Absence of a women's liberation politics

1. Deepening poverty and inequality and a restructuring of the working class

The combination of a cheap labour economy inherited from apartheid in 1994, the neoliberal structural adjustment brought into being initially via GEAR, and the global economic crisis has produced a long-run recomposition of the working class in South Africa. In the 20 years of democracy, South Africa has completed a transition to an economy with a small and diminishing core of permanently employed workers on the one hand, and a growing mass of unemployed and casualised labour on the other hand.

This split of the working class into two has a number of important features that will define the terrain in four key areas which will impact the future of Khanya College's work.

A permanent but vulnerable core of workers

The important long-run development for the work of the College is that the core labour force will itself be of a "floating" kind. Even if the number of permanent positions in the economy remain relatively stable, and these core jobs increase marginally, the individual workers who occupy these positions will not be a stable set of individual workers, but a rotating set of individuals whose experience of work is intermittent and unstable. The permanent core labour force will itself tend towards casualisation.

An "unemployable" mass of unemployed workers

An increasing number of the unemployed are more and more likely to spend the rest of their adult life without ever having been in any form of formal employment and will become increasingly "unemployable".

They will not be able to participate even in the casual and intermittent work that currently characterises large sections of this part of South African society. This section of the South African society will increasingly depend on precarious forms of income for its survival, including, government social grants, income from occasional government 'work opportunity schemes', casual work, remittances from permanent workers, informal trading, and income from criminal activities and syndicates.

Deepening inequality and concentration of wealth

The long-run tendency towards wage depression, the growing army of the unemployed, the ceiling on the ability of the fiscus to disburse more social grants, and to increase social expenditure (and thus raise the 'social wage'), the export of profits (to countries that have become 'flags of convenience' for South Africa's corporations and its rich owners) that is encouraged by the dominant economic model, are factors that will deepen wealth and income inequality in the coming years and will lead to a bifurcation (dividing into two branches – one for the rich and the other for the poor) of the access to education, health and other social services.

Deteriorating position of women

Over the past 20 years in South Africa, women have borne the brunt of the deteriorating social and economic conditions, the closure of political spaces and the gender backlash that has been a feature of South African life in both the State and society. In the State, the advancement of women has been starved of financial support, signified by declining budgetary support for the Gender Commission, the marginalisation of women within the ministries, the closing of sexual offences courts, and attempts to pass legislation that for all intents and purposes disenfranchises women.

In the broader society the persistence and increase of violence against women has been a visible feature of the last 20 years. Unemployment is rife among women, and the precariousness of employment has registered most among women.

2. The integration of the ANC into the historical elites

Within a few years of democracy (some would say that this phenomenon predates 1994), the ANC was subordinated to white, monopoly capitalist interests. Throughout the 20 years of democracy, the new government has capitulated to one set of demands after another, from this powerful class. The first dramatic capitulation was the adoption of GEAR – when many longstanding policies of the ANC were summarily abandoned. This dramatic capitulation was followed by numerous but less dramatic shifts away from the social democratic policies that had formed the core of ANC policies.

3. The closure of democratic spaces, and violence

Although there was no direct electoral threat to its rule, organised resistance by the mass of the disenfranchised population posed a threat that could only be met by increasing violence on the one hand, and by the closure of any other available democratic spaces on the other. These latter spaces included press freedom, rights of assembly, the right to strike, and other general civil liberties.

The other side of this process was the increasing use of violence and repression as an instrument to manage the contradictions thrown up by the persistence of poverty in a democratic context.

Since about 2000, there has been a steady growth in state repression of social and political protests and this growing hostility to protests by citizens reached its peak with the massacre of 34 striking miners on 16 August 2014.

4. The crisis of the Congress Alliance and political realignment

The massacre at Marikana also brought to an end the Congress alliance (the ANC, COSATU, the SACP and its student and youth wings) as an active mass movement. The implications of this development for the movement building context in the short and medium-term future are profound, and are playing themselves out in three key areas:

The end of the anti-apartheid democratic labour movement

The impact of the Marikana massacre has continued to play out within COSATU causing major fractures in the federation, and in its various affiliates. As with the NUM, the massacre brought to the fore the long-run decline in the servicing of members by all the COSATU affiliates. It highlighted:

- the depth of COSATU's integration into capital through their investment companies,
- the transformation of union organisers and shop stewards into functionaries of capital on the shop floor, and
- the transformation of the unions into conveyor belts for the wishes and whims of the ANC leadership.

The realignment of political terrain to the left of the ANC

The new social movements were never able to mount a sustained political challenge to the ANC. Even in their period of growth, the movements did not have the length of runs needed to create a new public political identity. Indeed, attempts by elements within the movements to mount some kind of electoral challenge even at a local level, did not gain any traction.

It was the Marikana massacre that triggered the readiness of the public to experiment with political possibilities to the left of the ANC. First, the Economic Freedom Fighters was formed as a party in July 2013, and in December 2013 the National Union of Metalworkers of South Africa (NUMSA) announced that they would no longer support the ANC and would start a movement that would lead to the formation of a socialist party.

The crisis of ruling class leadership

The transformation of the ANC into a party serving the interests of the rich was an important victory for the old ruling classes in South Africa. This transformation was a guarantee that the interests of capital, which were threatened by the association of capitalism with apartheid in the 1980s, would be safeguarded.

The victory of monopoly capital would remain a victory only to the extent that the ANC maintained its legitimacy as the 'sole and authentic representative' of the mass of black South Africans. In South Africa there are no natural candidates to succeed the ANC and still guarantee the interests of capital.

The implication of this crisis for the political leadership of the ruling class is that it introduces a period of political instability and volatility in national politics.

5. A weak working class and civil society

In its 2004 Annual Report, Khanya College observed that "there is a weakening of NGOs, and in a process reminiscent of the early post-1994 period, a number of major NGOs are facing major financial and institutional crises".

The organisational and political crisis does not only affect NGOs: a whole range of social movements and community based organisations, many of which emerged from 1999 onwards, have become weaker as we entered 2004.

The weakness of the working class in general, and of the social movements in particular, is not only confined to organisation. This weakness extends to issues of strategies and tactics, and equally important, to issues of political culture.

A weak movement of the oppressed tends to adopt the methods and the vision of those who dominate it. It is only as the movement becomes stronger, as it clarifies its vision of a new society, that it frees itself from the underlying assumptions that lie at the base of a society characterised by oppression and exploitation. Only then does it free itself from the political culture of the ruling classes.

6. Absence of a women's liberation politics

Nowhere is the weakness of the political culture of the social movements more evident than in its failure to advance gender awareness within the social movements. Notwithstanding the fact that women constituted a

majority of participants in many township 'service delivery' protests, the leadership of the social movements remained overwhelmingly male in composition.

The weakness of the movements on gender issues played itself out in two other important ways. The social movements failed to give rise to any women's movement in South Africa. Furthermore, the social movements themselves showed a deep persistence of patriarchy and misogyny, and incidents of sexual harassment and even rape were not unknown in the social movement.

C. STRATEGIC CONSIDERATIONS: FURTHER LESSONS

In our discussion of the post-Marikana context we emphasised the restructuring of the working class that has been underway over the last 20 years in particular.

This social recomposition of the working class has important impacts, with direct strategic implications for the work of Khanya College in the following main areas:

1. Discontinuity in relation to capital
2. Discontinuity in relation to working class organisation
3. Fragmentation and decline of the primary capacities of members of the working class
4. The long-run weakness of the cadre and the politics of "strongmen"

1. Discontinuity in relation to capital

In the South African context, in spite of the fact that social democracy was for a white minority only, from the late 1950s (at least), a significant majority of urban blacks had a long-run and continuous relationship to capital. This relationship produced the foundations of the democratic labour movement, and by producing large settled urban townships, it also produced the foundations of the civic movement of the 1980s.

The recomposition of the working class that has been underway since the 1990s (and formalised by GEAR in particular) has transformed and is continuing to transform the relationship of individual members of the working class to capital and therefore of the working class itself to capital.

Many members of the working class now relate to capital on a short-term basis (a contract worker or casual worker), and also at a distance from the individual capital (they are now employed by 'labour brokers' and therefore their relationship is not an immediate one). This primary discontinuity (of relation to capital) is producing a discontinuity in incomes leading to a range of insecurities within the working class, and instability in neighbourhoods and communities. Individual members of the working class are constantly on the move within cities, provinces, countries and between countries) chasing short-term employment.

2. Discontinuity in relation to working class organisation

From the point of view of movement building, the most important consequence of the discontinuity of the relationship between members of the working class and capital is the discontinuity between individual members of the working class and their own organisations.

In South Africa the trade unions, as the core of this relationship with capital, produced a leadership that led the labour unions for more than 3 decades from the early 1970s to the late 1990s. This leadership began to drift out of the unions at the end of the 1990s, and only in the 2000s did the impact of its drift out of the unions begin to be felt on the quality of leadership of the trade unions.

In addition, the continuity of this relationship also produced stability in the leadership of the working class organisations in the townships. The leadership of the civic movement was itself involved in struggles in the workplace, and often occupied leadership positions in both the workplace and in the township. The longevity and stability of the leadership group within the working class allowed for a relatively long period of cadre development.

The breakdown of the stability of the working class, its relation to capital and its relationship to its organisations has produced a twofold movement within the working class and its organisations.

On the one hand, the advent of neoliberalism has triggered off a decline in the established or traditional organisations of the working class. This decline is a product of the recomposition of the working class and the failure of the traditional organisations to adapt to this recomposition.

On the other hand, the working class has not developed organisational forms that can respond to the challenges of organising the large mass of unemployed people in the townships.

3. Fragmentation and decline of the primary capacities of members of the working class

Our discussion on the current context noted that growing inequality in South African society is leading to a bifurcation of access to education, health, and other services. The mass of the working class is now accessing a dysfunctional education system. This is leading to a decline in basic skills needed for civic participation in general, and basic organising in particular.

The activist of the 2000s was trapped in a constant battle for survival, and was thus unable to self-educate in similar ways to the activist of the 1970s and 1980s.

4. The long-run weakness of the cadre and the politics of "strongmen"

The recomposition of the working class, the restructuring of the relationship of the working class to capital and to its own organisations produces authoritarian tendencies within the working class more broadly, and within working class organisations in particular. These factors include:

- the decline in what we referred to as the elemental capacities of the working class that militate against its full and democratic participation in civic life;
- the discontinuous nature of the working class's relationship to its organisations;
- the discontinuous and episodic nature of the formation of the cadre groups within working class organisations, and therefore,
- the lack of any continuous memory of the organisations and its traditions.

These factors, conversely, lead to the concentration of knowledge, memory and organisational capacities in a few individuals linked to an even smaller number of leaders. The resurgence of social energies within the working class that has been triggered off by the massacre at Marikana, may therefore turn into its opposite: instead of leading to the revival of strong democratic working class organisations with an egalitarian vision and practice, it may lead to the emergence of an authoritarian politics – the politics of strongmen – within the working class.

D. SOME THEORETICAL REFLECTIONS ON MOVEMENT-BUILDING

1. Three moments of social change

Progressive social change or transformation, or indeed any social change, requires the confluence of three distinct but interrelated moments in the life of members of society in general, and in the lives of social classes in particular. These moments are:

- the organisation and mobilisation of a social class or group;
- the way this group, and in particular its leading activists or cadre, understand and interpret the world in which they live and act (theoretical generalisations); and
- the way this group is able to preserve the continuity of the memory of its social struggles, its organisation and its vision.

While these three moments of the process of social change needs to be understood in their own right, in real life of movement-building they are in fact coterminous.

The general task of movement building is to constantly struggle to bring these three moments into alignment and to ensure that they positively reinforce each other. The process of social change is successful when these three moments are aligned in a manner that shifts the balance of power even if partially in favour of the social group struggling for change.

2. The three moments and their relationship to working class organisations

In one form or another, all working class organisations, and in particular working class organisations that are involved in social change in a self-conscious manner, participate in all the three moments of social changes. It is the concrete historical conditions in which a social class finds itself, the nature of the spaces open to it for pursuing its social struggles, and the nature of the forces and resources at its disposal at the historical conjuncture that determines the roles different forms of organisation play in the process of social change.

The growing depth and breadth of civil society¹ has changed the very nature of the way we understand social change. Sustained and deep social change cannot be a product of the “capture” of the State, but rather a product of a fundamental realignment of power within civil society within and among that “ensemble of organisms commonly called private where hegemony and spontaneous consent are organised”, on the one hand, and parallel and simultaneous changes in ‘political society’ in the State.

To emphasise, this therefore means that sustained social change can be achieved only when the shifts in power relations take place both in civil society and in the State. However, the fundamental and motive forces for change do not lie in the State or ‘political society’, but they lie in civil society.

This fact is the overriding one in determining the strategic positioning of Khanya College as a social justice institution.

3. Some considerations on different levels of working class organisations

People live all their lives, and undertake all activities that produce and sustain their lives, in the context of organisation.

Indeed, organisation is the one fact of life that is forever present from the ‘cradle to the grave’. This is the case because organisation is nothing but a structured set of social relationships. These organisations include the most elemental ones, such as the family, to the most extensive ones such as states or systems of states. The defining feature of capitalism, and of modern capitalism in particular, is that these ‘ensembles of organisations, of social organisms’ referred to above is produced and reproduced spontaneously by individuals and groups of individuals going about their business of daily survival. Standing apart and above

¹ Following Gramsci, by civil society we refer to “the ensemble of organisms commonly called ‘private’ where hegemony and spontaneous consent are organised”

this 'ensemble of organisms' is the State, while itself a product of a lengthy and spontaneous process of historical development, which reproduces itself and the power of the dominant groups in society as a self-conscious act.

The power of the dominant groups or classes in society is produced and reproduced as a conscious act in the State. This process is not only a planned and conscious one, but equally important, one that is enforced through force and repression.

A society that is constantly and spontaneously producing a range of social organisms addressing varying interest cannot, however, be controlled by repression alone. The great strength of modern bourgeois society is that civil society is involved in a spontaneous act of reproducing the dominant relationships of power, and that therefore ensure that the powerful groups in society rule by consent as much as they rule through repression.

As with all other social classes in modern bourgeois society, the organisations of the working class in civil society splits along three basic lines.

There is what we will refer to as **'primary' or elemental organisations of the working class**. These are the 'ensemble of organisms' that reproduce, on a daily and spontaneous basis, the daily existence of the working class. These include, for example, the family, the social associations or clubs active within the working class (stokvels, etc.), backhome associations of migrant workers, so-called cultural associations within the working class (including for instance 'clan' associations), burial societies, women's groups of various kinds, church groups and associations, leisure groups within the working class, sports clubs and so on. These social organisms are born and die on an ongoing basis. They encompass formally constituted groups, informal groups or even loose networks where the members may not even carry an 'identity' of being a member of a group or network. The key issue is that these are spontaneously produced or reproduced organisational forms, and they do not see themselves – in the first instance as being concerned with 'political society', in other words with the conscious reproduction of, or resistance to, power in society.

The **secondary organisations of the working class** are formed for the express purpose of defending and advancing the interests of this or that section of the working class, in this or that locality. While these organisations may themselves emerge spontaneously out of an immediate need to defend the individuals or groups, they tend to be reproduced with the express intention of changing the conditions that led to their emergence, or of preventing the recurrence of the conditions which gave rise to them in the first place. Secondary organisations include, trade unions, civic associations, social movements, women's rights organisations and so on. Secondary organisations of the working class tend to (but not invariably) have a more active interest in the developments in 'political society'.

The **tertiary organisations of the working class** are those that are expressly created or formed for participation in 'political society'. Although political parties of the working class themselves positioned within civil society like all political parties are the predominant form of tertiary organisations, they are by no means the only ones. Many NGOs are set up with the express purpose of engaging the State and its various institutions in other words of operating in 'political society'.

The important issue here is that although there is a relationship between the level at which an organisation is formed and at which it operates, on the one hand, and the form of that organisation, on the other, this relationship is neither invariant nor it is absolute. The same form of organisation – for example an NGO may operate at different levels, and within the same level there may be different forms of organisations.

We have therefore an interconnected matrix of forms of organisations, the levels at which these organisations are located and the moments of social change on which they focus their activities. As with the shifts between moments of social change, organisations may shift the levels at which they are located and operate, and their location may straddle the different levels at the same time.

E. KHANYA COLLEGE'S STRATEGIC POSITIONING POST-MARIKANA

1. Khanya College's purpose and mission: a movement building institution

The College's Statement of Purpose states that the mission of Khanya College is to:

- Provide education that is relevant to the needs of historically oppressed communities;
- Contribute to the strengthening of community based organisations, trade unions and nongovernmental organisations;
- Contribute to a process of social change and development, especially in education, and
- Operate democratically, accountably and efficiently.

The strategic positioning of Khanya College in the next period is made within the framework of the College as a working class movement building institution. This historical positioning of Khanya College is derived from this fundamental mission, and in its turn, this mission is derived from Khanya College as a movement building institution.

The meaning of this positioning is that Khanya College's mission is not just concerned with particular sectors within the working class The College's mission is to build movements within the working class, without limitation of sector or geography.

It was against this background that the College defined its long-term position in relation to the organisations of the working class as:

1. Recognition of the primacy of popular social movements in the struggle for social justice;
2. Recognition of the supportive and catalytic role that is played by organisations like Khanya;
3. The building of a social justice movement as the primary goal of Khanya;
4. That the building of popular movements is a long and complex social process, and
5. That in order to bear fruit, Khanya's interventions must be deepened and sustained over a long period.

Since its shift from its primary focus on the academic programme, to its support for trade unions in the 1990s, to its support for the social movements in the early 2000s, Khanya College has had to clarify its positioning concerning the various roles it could play in the process of social change.

From this period until the present, Khanya College has defined its contribution as that of producing and facilitating the production of theoretical generalisations, and the preservation of the historical memory of the working class. The College has not entered the space of direct organising within the working class. There have been a number of factors that have led the College to adopt this position over the years.

Firstly, as a social justice organisation Khanya College comes out of a tradition that subscribed to the principle of the self organisation of the oppressed and exploited people, and thus believed that the primary role of any organising initiative is for the people to organise and to speak for themselves.

Secondly, when Khanya College was formed in the 1980s, and in particular engaged in movement building in the early 1990s, there was already in existence a large number of mass membership organisations that had a deep organisational experience.

Thirdly, given this context, Khanya College's positioning within the social justice movement was to facilitate the development of theoretical generalisations, the development of alternative visions of society to the apartheid system and the capitalist inequalities it had brought in its wake.

It is the College's view that it should continue to position itself as an institution whose primary contribution to movement building is to focus on theoretical generalisations and the preservation of the historical role of the working class.

This role focuses on assisting with the movements' theorisation and understanding of its challenges, its tasks and how it can go about meeting its objective of a solidaristic, just and equitable society.

Post-Marikana, Khanya College has to position itself in such a way that it can realise the medium-term strategic objectives that arises out of its analysis of the context, and that arise out of the needs of specific phases in the development of the working class movement.

In particular, at each phase in the development of the working class movement, the College must attend to:

- Where the College positions itself with respect to the 3 moments of the process of social change;
- Which level of working class organisations should the College orientate towards; and where it will focus its movement building efforts;
- Khanya College's strategic positioning: theoretical generalisations, memory and a new role in organising

2. Khanya College's new role in organising

While the principle of democratic self-organising emphasises the primacy of mass organisations in the process of organising the working class, it does not *a priori* exclude the role of non-membership organisations in organising the working class. The concrete circumstances within which the working class finds itself may dictate that non-membership organisations may play a more or less important role in promoting democratic self-organising. In our analysis of context, we have identified a situation of serious weakness of the social movements.

The experience of last few years, and the reflections on the state of movement building, has led to a shift in the College's positioning in relation to organising. The College's view is that while there are important differences between the early 1970s and the present period, in some way the present situation is analogous to the early 1970s, and that the College will now play a more direct role in organizing which will include:

- Working more closely with specific organisations in assisting them in the development of their organising and organisational strategy;
- Incubating organisations where none exist, and
- Within the framework of this incubating role, the College will put field worker organisers into the field – who will be directly accountable in their daily work to the College's management and supervisory staff.

3. Khanya College's strategic positioning: shift towards primary organisations of the working class

Khanya College's historical positioning in relation to the various levels of working class organisations was a focus on secondary organisations of the working class. Within this focus, the main approach was to provide training to the activist cadre within organisations.

This strategy had a number of limitations that we began to notice as the weaknesses of the movement began to deepen. These included:

- Most activists are new and do not have the benefit of a long period of education in various aspects of movement building.
- The breaks in the continuity of the activist cadre weaken the ability of the activists to learn, and to accumulate the knowledge and strategic/ practical understanding that will make it possible for them to transmit this knowledge.
- There is a tendency toward "gatekeeping" by those who came first into organisations and have therefore developed the links with the support organisations and institutions.
- Patriarchy and gender biases within organisations also have a negative impact on the processes of leadership formation and knowledge transfer within organisations and knowledge tends to be concentrated among male activists.

These factors therefore develop a set of interests that militate against knowledge transfer within organisations by these cadres who were exposed to Khanya College or other organisations.

Towards primary organisations of the working class

The secondary organisations of the working class are a crucial lever in the struggle for social justice. This is the case because they "are formed for the express purpose of defending and advancing the interests of this or that section of the working class, in this or that locality". They therefore represent a particular stage in the evolution of the consciousness of the working class; and they tend to be important levers in the defence of democracy and democratic spaces.

In order for these organisations to be sustained, however, they need a supply line from the deep reserves of leadership that are within the working class. The secondary (and tertiary) levels of working class organisations are not, however, the primary producers of these reserves of leaders; they are merely their beneficiaries from leaders emerging from the primary organisations of the working class.

It is the process of spontaneous and continuous organising to reproduce the daily existence of the working class that makes the primary organisations of the working class the foundations of working class civil society. This process, has a range of features and characteristics that are crucial to movement building in general and to a social justice movement in particular.

The formation of the primary capacities of members of the working class

We all know how members of the working class have to organise themselves for survival.

The famous stokvel of the township was born of necessity, it is an organisation formed to organise access to means of survival for the working class. In its wake the stokvel develops and cements a range of elemental capacities cognitive, social capacities that express themselves as organising skills. Certainly, there is a range of technical and administrative skills that are cemented and developed in this process (including financial administration skills) but at a more fundamental level it is important to understand that the ability of these individuals to function in the world is enhanced, and therefore new insights and understanding of the world are developed.

In a context where there is a bifurcation of education in society into an elite education system and a mass education system for the children of the working class where the elemental capacities are badly or hardly developed, the spontaneous and continuous organising that takes place within the working class becomes absolutely fundamental to the development of the elemental capacities of the working class.

Without these primary capacities, the ability of a social class to organise for its interests is seriously compromised. Such a social class cannot become a champion of its own interests and the principle of democratic self-organising is impossible to realise.

The creation of leadership capabilities

A direct outcome of the continuous organising that takes place in civil society is the development of leadership capacities. It is important to realise that the organic intellectuals of the working class, that is those that interpret and organise the various aspects of the life of the working class in modern society, are created on a continuous basis by the process of the formation of civil society itself; the formation of the 'ensemble of social organisms' that make up the daily experience of living.

These are members of the working class that are engaged in a permanent function of persuading their fellow class members to participate in actively advancing and taking charge of their lives in an often hostile environment. These members of the working class – who are in their thousands across the country are 'risk takers' (that characteristic so celebrated by the bourgeois order), and they are known to put their own personal resources to get the local projects and initiatives started.

During the first phase of movement building the basic error was that there was no theory of cadre or leadership formation. The consequence of this error, was that the leadership groups of the social movements

imagined that the primary location of the process of leadership formation was at the tertiary level, and therefore the activists were directed and encouraged (even if not consciously) to detach themselves from the primary organisations of the working class.

Sustainable movement building perspectives and interventions need to locate the primary process of leadership formation among the primary organisations of the working class, and to understanding how these leadership reserves formed in working class civil society are 'supplied' to the secondary and tertiary organisations of the working class.

The formation of solidaristic cultures among the activists

Commitment to social justice is in the first instance a feeling of empathy for the downtrodden and the poor; it is the solidaristic impulse to help others; it is the impulse to resolve the problems of a community or neighbourhood collectively through helping others

The primary location of the formation of solidaristic cultures the foundation of the social justice movement is working class civil society. An orientation to the primary organisations is in the first instance an orientation to the 'engine room' of solidaristic impulses within the working class.

The formation of new forms of organisations

The leaders of any social group or class are also the most creative individuals in that class. They are the individuals who have the capacity or intuition to find solutions to the problems facing that class, and who have the energy to drive the realisation of the solutions needed by their class.

It is becoming increasingly evident that the traditional organisations of the working class are unable (and sometimes unwilling) to respond to these challenges. The working class is therefore forced to search for new forms of organisations. The process of this search is by definition one of continuous experimentation and testing out, of failures, of half starts and retreats. It is at this level (of primary organisations) that the propensity for experimentation exists.

An orientation to this level is therefore also an orientation to, and openness to, experimentation to produce these new forms of organisations.

4. Khanya College's strategic positioning and programmes post-Marikana

Khanya College's positioning up to Marikana can be described as one where the institution orientated to the secondary organisations of the working class (and within this level to the activist cadre in particular) with a focus on theoretical generalisations.

In its implementation via programmes and projects, this (pre-Marikana) orientation was simple and straightforward in the sense that the 'target group' (the activists) was relatively easy to define and also easy to access.

The new orientation to the primary organisations of the working class requires specific interventions and poses new and difficult challenges.

Repositioning Khanya College in the public domain

It is in this context that the emphasis on the need for Khanya College to build a public profile (not in the mainstream media, but in communities) must be understood.

As a bearer of the ongoing political discussions and interpretive framework, Khanya College must become a public and visible pole of attraction for many in communities who are searching for a new social justice vision that explains their present plight, and that offers a framework for organising.

Khanya College needs to find ways of relating to the 'ensemble of organisms' in the working class at a general level, without necessarily having to relate to all of them individually. The key to this will be its position in the public domain – its visibility as a bearer of a social justice vision. In positioning itself as a bearer of a social justice vision Khanya College needs to ensure that it promotes, and certainly does not undermine, the principle of democratic self-organising within the working class.

Khanya College needs to eschew the conservatism that has become the hallmark of NGOs and other secondary organisations of the working class active in the social justice movement, and embrace the understanding that only through experimentation, testing out and even a few false starts will the post-apartheid, and now post-Marikana social justice movement find its new voice. The next phase in the development of this strategic positioning must explore the meaning of this orientation for the College's programming and daily work

This must now be explored through programming, and more fundamentally through the experience of organising.

Strategic objectives in the coming period

The strategic objectives of the College in the coming period are organised into four core areas:

1. Working class organisation, education and leadership
2. Building resources for working class movements
3. Promoting democracy and solidarity
4. Developing Khanya College as a working class institution

Working class organisation, education and leadership

- To rebuild the basic capacities of the working class and its activists of the activists' capacity to deal with 'the world of work'.
- To facilitate the discovery and formation of, and to strengthen, new forms of organisations within the working class
- To build a leadership cadre within the working class more broadly, and within the secondary organisations of the working class in particular
- To intervene in building a women's movement and a women leadership cadre within the working class
- To facilitate and provide platforms for the development of networks that strengthen the social justice movement

Building resources for working class movements

- To develop strategies and interventions to deal with the survival challenges facing working class communities, and in particular individual activists in the social justice movement
- To develop strategies and interventions to resource working class organisations and struggles

Advancing democracy, solidarity, and alternatives

- To build a broad human rights culture, tolerance, and nonviolence within the working class
- To build platforms for debate and discussions within the working class
- To build a democratic political culture within the social movements, and working class organisations more broadly

Developing and strengthening Khanya College as a working class institution

- To work towards transforming Khanya College into a mass based working class educational association
- To develop strategies and interventions that will ensure that the College becomes financially self-sufficient
- To strengthen the administrative and technical infrastructure of the College and of its programme
- To develop and strengthen the College leadership cadre.

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