

**PARTY SYSTEM IN SOUTH AFRICA AND INDIA: A
COMPARATIVE STUDY OF AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS
AND INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS, 1991-2014**

*Thesis submitted to Jawaharlal Nehru University
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DOCTORATE OF PHILOSOPHY

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DECLARATION

I declare that the thesis entitled "PARTY SYSTEM IN SOUTH AFRICA AND INDIA: A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS AND INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS, 1991-2014" submitted by me for the award of the degree of DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY of Jawaharlal Nehru University is my own work. The thesis has not been submitted for any other degree of this University or any other university.


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Rajesh Singh Yadav

ABBREVIATIONS

ABET	Adult Basic Education and Training
AEC	Anti-Eviction Campaign
ASGISA	Accelerated and Shared Growth Initiative for South Africa
AIDS	Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome
ANC	African National Congress
APF	Anti-Privatization Forum
APRM	African Peer Review Mechanism
AU	African Union
BBBEE	Broad Based Black Economic Empowerment
BRICS	Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa
CA	Constitutional Assembly
CASE	Community Agency for Social Enquiry
CBOS	Community Based Organizations
CHE	Council for Higher Education
CIMC	Crime Information Management Centre
CLC	Community Land Conference
CODESA	Convention for Democratic South Africa
COMESA	Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa
COPE	Congress of the People
COSATU	Congress of South African Trade Unions
DCCS	Duty Credit Certificate Scheme
DIRCO	Department of International Relations and CoOperation
DLA	Department of Land Affairs
DPEA	Department of Public Enterprises Administrators
DRC	Democratic republic of Congo
DTI	Department of Trade and Industry
EC	European Commission
ECA	Electrical Contractors Association
EPRD	European Programme for Reconstruction and Development

EU	European Union
FTA	Free Trade Agreement
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GEAR	Growth, Employment and Redistribution
GNU	Government of National Unity
HRVC	Human Rights Violation Committee
IBSA	India, Brazil and South Africa
ICD	Inter Congolese Dialogue
INC	Indian National Congress
IFP	Inkatha Freedom Party
IMC	Independent Media Commission
IMF	International Monetary Fund
IOR-ARC	The India Ocean Rim Association for Regional Cooperation
IPILRA	Interim Protection of Informal Land Rights Act
LRP	Land Reform Programme
MDGs	Millennium Development Goals
MP	Member of Parliament
MTSF	Medium Term Strategies Framework
NA	National Assembly
NACF	National Anticorruption Forum
NCHE	National Commission on Higher Education
NCOP	National Council of Provinces
NDA	National Development Plan
NEDLAC	National Economic Development and Labour Council
NEPAD	New Partnership for Africa's Development
NEPI	National Education Policy Institute
NFA	National Framework Agreement
NP	National Party
NPT	Non Proliferation Treaty
NQF	National Qualification Framework
OAU	Organization of African Unity

OECD	Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development
OFS	Orange Free State
PAC	Pan African Congress
PRC	People's Republic of China
R&RC	Representation and Rehabilitation Committee
RDP	Reconstruction and Development Programme
ROC	Republic of China
SACP	South African Communist Party
SACU	South African Custom Union
SADC	Southern African Development Community
SADF	Southern African Defence Forces
SANNC	South African Native National Congress
SCM	Subsidies and Counter Veiling Measures
TAC	Treatment Action Campaign
TDCA	Trade Development and Cooperation Agreement
TEC	Transitional Executive Council
TRC	Truth and Reconciliation Commission
UK	United Kingdom
UNO	United Nations Organization
UNSC	United Nation's Security Council
UP	United Party
USAID	United States Agency for International Development
WTO	World Trade Organization

PREFACE

Political parties can be termed as associations formed by citizens that enable individuals to have influence on government affairs and processes. Political parties therefore provide effective means through which individuals express themselves and make decisions on appropriate system of government. Political parties plays various roles in the society that includes offering individuals with alternatives and freedom of choice, check on the excesses of governments, give important information to citizens and ensure that the government fulfills its promises.

The Political parties develop common ideas among a significant group in order to exert pressure upon the political system. Thus, they help place citizens' local concerns in a national context. Citizens may be divided over interests, leaders, or policies; political parties can organize these differences, creating grounds for compromise and helping societies to unite. In addition, political parties train and nominate political leaders who will assume a role in governing society. Through their efforts to control and influence public policy, political parties play an intermediary role, linking the institutions of government to economic, ethnic, cultural, religious and other societal groups. They can rally support behind important legislation, advocate positions that improve the public welfare, and advance citizens' interests. Further, their participation in elections allows citizens to hold them accountable for their policies and actions.

In multi-party systems, and based on the constituencies they represent, political parties often express conflicting viewpoints on public policy. These principled differences of opinion are not only an important part of the democratic process, but the exchanges they generate can also help to create a better understanding of the issues and possible solutions, potentially leading to new insights or workable compromises. Further, when parties in opposition present themselves as the alternative government voters may wish to choose, they pressure incumbents to better address the public's interests.

The new South Africa appeared after the abandonment of Apartheid in 1994, when Nelson Mandela became first president of a new democratic and racial South Africa. The

concept of non-racialism is broadly supported by all section of society. In the context of South Africa, the concept of *Ubuntu* articulates a social humanism of interpersonal care, sharing and a commitment to the greater social good. It posits the individual human being as a social construct in public culture of human reciprocity and solidarity.

South Africa and India both are democratic countries and have followed the western model of democratic governance. By given reality, socio-cultural, historical diversity and world largest multi-ethnic democracy, it was natural to South Africa and India to adopt multi-party system. Though they have multi-party system yet their systems have been dominated by single party for a long time. African National Congress (ANC) has remained major dominant party in South Africa and has played crucial role in providing platform to South African people since the freedom movement and anti-apartheid struggle, Indian National Congress (INC) has played major role in people's mobilisation during Indian freedom struggle. It has provided the structure to represent the villages to centre during freedom struggle till 1980s to every section of society, which is known according to Rajini Kothari as Congress System. Since independence Congress had hedding the central government for a total of forty-nine years. Congress shaped Indian economy and polity through Nehruvian socialism, mixed economy via Indira Gandhi's populist socialism and moves to neo-liberal economic model during Dr. Manmohan Singh's government. Congress implemented many inclusive policies for the betterment of historically disadvantaged groups. These are some path-braking policies: The constitution (117th Amendment) Bill 2012 for reservation for SC/ST in promotion in government services passed in the Rajya Sabha, Reservation in Private Sectors Bill (pending), SC/ST (Prevention of Atrocities) Act, OBC reservation in all education institutions including private institutions, Indira Awas Yojana, Food Security Bill, Forest Right Act (2006) for National Rural Livelihood Mission (NRLM) which inducts fifty percents STs/ SCs of total beneficiaries.

African National Congress, which was founded as the South African Native National Congress (SANNC) on 8th January 1912 at the Waaihoek Wesleyan Church in Bloemfontein for the right of the black South African people. It emerged as the central organiser and inspirer of a vast popular upsurge against apartheid, involving a great array

of social, cultural, religious, trade union, professional and political organisation. Like INC, The ANC Constitution reflects the ANC's dual position as liberation movement and political party. Amendments have been made which streamlined the structures of the ANC to make them fit for the process of governance. As liberation movement organisation, African National Congress provided platform to South African people to fight against colonial and apartheid rule. It played a crucial role in uniting and leading a powerful movement and represented the diversity of views and experiences, which have enriched the voice of the ANC. Since South Africa became Republic of South Africa, ANC emerged as a dominant political party like Indian National Congress Party in India after 1947. It has provided structures to connect the South African people. The fundamental goals of the African National Congress have remained to construct a united, non-racial, non-sexist, democratic and prosperous society in South Africa. In the historic election 1994, African National Congress got a landmark victory leading the process of reconstruction and development. It aimed at eradicating the problems of poverty and inequality created by apartheid and creating a just and equitable economic and social order. In the critical years of consolidation after transition to democracy, it provided the effective structures at all levels so as to face the world with continuing vigour and success.

South Africa, known as Rainbow nation, becomes fastest growing inclusive economy in whole Africa. South Africa heading by ANC government adopted growth-centric economic model with inclusive face. In 1998, Nelson Mandela's government backed a plan in which black South Africans would need to constitute sixty-nine percent of workforce at all levels. South Africa constitutes Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) in 1994 to achieve the leading and enabling role of the state, a vibrant private sector and active involvement by all sectors of civil society to maintain sustainable growth. ANC government launched Growth Employment and Redistribution policies (GEAR) in 1996 which proposed a set of medium-term policies at the rapid liberalization of South Africa economy. Here are some policies which are dedicated to empowering Black majority of South Africa: National Economy Development Labour Council (NEDLAC) 1994, Labour Relations Act 1995, Higher Education Act 101 of

1997, Employment Equity Act 1998 and Broad-Based Black Economic Empowerment Act 2003 etc.

During the 2001, severe difference emerged in tripartite alliance between the African National Congress (ANC), Congress of South African Trade Union (COSATU) and South African Communist Party (SACP) regarding the more liberalization policy like Growth Employment and Redistribution (GEAR) programme. In the late 2004, it led to the sharp difference by ANC regarding South Africa's quite diplomacy in case of Zimbabwe as well as black empowerment policy, which benefited few in the black rather than black masses. During the 2005, the alliance faced a big crisis due deep difference between Thabo Mbeki and Jacob Zuma. Like the ANC in South Africa, in India the post Nehru-era, the shrinking of democratic space for dissent voice and centralization of powers within congress, had led the formation of several new political parties at regional and national level.

By the decline of one party's domination in the post 1980s and emergence of the strong regional aspiration for autonomy and protection of regional culture have led the formation of a large number of regional parties in India. The regional party means a party which operates within a limited geographical area and its activities are confined only to a single or handful of states. Generally most of the regional parties have cultural agenda and participate in neighboring states, which has similar dominant cultural. Since 1980s, the decline of congress parties has resulted greater transformation of Indian politics. It has also speed up democratization process in India through growing regional representation in post 1990s. By the 1990s due to end of congress system, Congress party lost its domination. Though it has remained an important national party yet it provided opportunities to several regional parties for participation in the national politics. Their voices have been getting importance in national decision making. In the views of scholars like Hee Koh and MP Singh, the Indian party system since independence can be divided in to three phases. First the one party (Indian National Congress) consensual dominance since 1952-67, Second erosion of congress dominance and its personalization around prime minister Indira Gandhi's personality cult, which led the oppositional politics within

the party, third the onset of federal politics within the political framework of fragmented multi-partism .

The Research work is an effort to compare the evolution of South African and Indian political party in historical perspective. The proposed study seeks to evaluate the role of ANC in South Africa and INC in India in making democratically ruled society. The entire research work is divided into five chapters. The first chapter would lay down the political development and theoretical understanding of evolution of political parties in South Africa and India. The chapter would apply the Sartory dominant and pre dominant theoretical frame work and also follow Almond's structural functional approach in analysing of South African and Indian political party structure function and political development. Furthermore, it would also give coverage socio-political and economic overview of South Africa and India. It would describe the historical evolution of political parties and development of South Africa and Indian political system. Second Chapter of this thesis is about the evolution of African national congress, its structure and functions and also emphasis on the role of ANC in nation building and development. Third chapter highlights the functions of Indian National Congress Party and on the multi-party system in India and structure, functions of Indian National Congress Party and evaluate the process of constitution making and regime formation, role of political parties, electoral system and also analyse historical role of INC in political development like establishment of political institutions, forming of governments, mobilising several different social forces for nation building.

The chapter four provide the comparative study of multi-party system of South Africa and Indian and compare the structure and function of South African and Indian political parties the focus on the comparative study of historical evolution of the African nation national congress and Indian national congress and examine similarities and difference in the formulation of ANC and INC, their objectives, structures, mode of functions, and their role in mobilising people under one umbrella.

The Conclusion is the final chapter of the thesis highlights the contemporary situation of South Africa and India, with the efforts of ANC and INC to make both countries more strong democratic and progressive.

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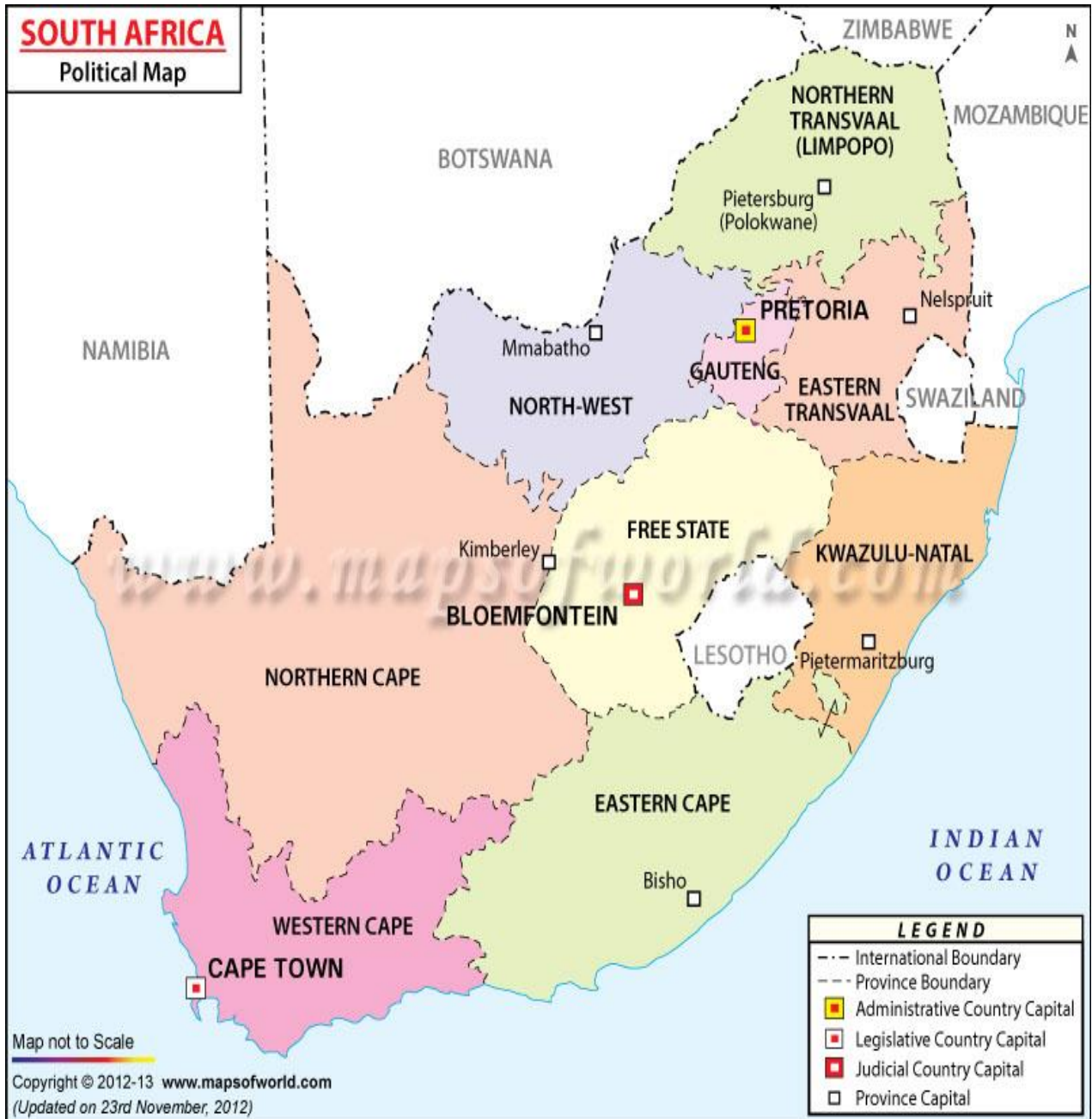
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SOUTH AFRICA

Political Map



India Political Map

States & Union Territories

Number of States in India - 29

Union Territories - 7



Chapter- I

Introduction: Background of Political Party System in South Africa and India

1.1 Introduction

Parties are important tool in the functioning of parliamentary democracy. They provide vital link between the institutions of governance and group and interests that operate within society. Political parties play an important role in political aggregation, articulation, socialization and participation. Their roles are crucial in enabling and enhancing the people participation in political life. In most Eastern European States, political life after the changes of the early 1990s continued to be dominated or strongly influenced by the successor parties to the defunct communist parties. For the most part, these parties inherited strong organizations, and human and material resources that put them in a class of their own. They also had seasoned political elites and an ideology that made them popular in the context of increasing social and economic dislocation. The presence of the successor parties in multi-party systems created specific dynamics among the contenders for power in the post-communist world, in some cases making it difficult for new left-leaning parties to enter the competition.

In addition, the years of forced political mobilization by communist parties left many people unwilling to join political formations and, in some cases, even uncertain about the benefits of political parties operating in the new multi-party systems. These attitudes contributed to the difficulty of new parties to attract members, establish strong organizations, and find a persistent core of supporters, although the extent to which this has been the case has varied from system to system. However, political parties remain essential components of modern democratic government, making it necessary for the young post-communist democracies to establish stable parties and functioning party systems if they are to be accepted in the family of democratic states.

1.2 Party System: A Conceptual Framework

The existing analytical frameworks focus on various aspects of political parties including their support base, organizational structure, relationship to the state, electoral purpose, and voter linkages. Party systems are categorized by the number of parties, level of institutionalization, level of competitiveness, and the nature of their emergence. The literature on ethnic conflict and peace building is similarly diverse. The origins of ethnic identity and conflict is examined with essentialist, constructivist, and instrumentalist approaches. Scholars of institutional design and peace building dispute the effect of electoral system choice, federalism, and party rules on ethnic conflict. The following sections synthesize these debates. Political Parties and Party Systems: Formation and Typologies Political science has developed a multitude of classifications and typologies of political parties and party systems, but none has become hegemonic in the literature. This indicates the complex and oftentimes unique formation, organization, and behavior of political parties that emerge and compete within distinct historical, social, and political settings.

1. Dominant Party System (Cadre-based parties, Elite-based, mass-based parties)
2. Charismatic, Clientelistic, and Programmatic,
3. Two-party systems and types of Multiparty systems,
4. Institutionalized and Hegemonic party systems

Much of the field's theorizing builds on the early writing of political scientists Maurice Duverger and Sigmund Neumann and uses mostly European cases studies (Wolinetz 2002). Although the literature provides competing and complementary frameworks valuable to our understanding of the development and action of political parties, it does not produce a unified theory or provide much insight into the potentially unique politics of the newly democratic developing world. Political Party Typologies Maurice Duverger's classic book *Political Parties* provided a foundational understanding of the topic (Duverger 1954). Duverger theorized two core party types: cadre and mass. Cadre parties are elite-oriented, have weak organizational structures, and low party enrollment. In contrast, mass parties have large party membership and highly developed

organizational structures. These parties are differentiated by their ratio of members to voters and the extent of their non-governmental activity. This typology is grounded in Duverger's belief in the class foundation of political parties. Cadre parties are able to raise funds and resources from the middle and upper classes whereas mass parties are reliant on membership for votes and resources (Wolinetz 2002). Duverger's mass party is comparable to Sigmund Neumann's equally cited concept of a mass integration party (Neumann 1956). Many scholars continue to modify and apply Duverger's typology to present-day political parties.

Ruud Koole writes that modern cadre parties have a low voter-to-membership ratio and small and elite centers of power while now mimicking the massparty structure and drawing funds from party members (Koole 1994). Alan Ware adapts Duverger's typology into a new two party framework: elite-centered and mass membership parties. Elite parties have large membership but a highly centralized power center. Mass membership parties disperse far more power to party members. Ware distinguishes further between elite and mass parties with high and low membership (Ware 1987). In 1966, Otto Kirchheimer theorized a new type of party that remains widely cited: the catch-all party (Kirchheimer 1966). Looking specifically at Western Europe, Kirchheimer argued that previously mass-based parties had transformed into catch-all parties, which had abandoned ideology in favor of votes, become leadership driven, and were dominated by elites.

The emergence of a catch-all party, he believed, would spur an ideological depolarization of a party system, during which all parties would begin to converge on the political center in an effort to maximize vote share. Catch-all parties are distinct from their predecessor, mass integration parties, which represent the interests of an economic class or religious group (Williams 2009). Angelo Panebianco approaches political parties from the perspective of organizational power dynamics, which "offer the key for understanding its functioning, as well as the changes it undergoes" (Panebianco 1988: xii). Panebianco's two primary party types are therefore distinguished by organizational structure. First, a mass bureaucratic party similar to the mass-based models of Duverger and Neumann is defined by the central role of party bureaucracy, strong ties to

membership, preeminence of internal leaders, membership financing, and emphasis on ideology. Second, an electoral-professional party is marked by the central role of professionals, weak ties to membership, preeminence of public representatives, and emphasis on issues and leadership (Panebianco 1988: 264). Building on Duverger and Kirchheimer, Richard Katz and Peter Mair theorize a linear movement of dominant party types from elite-based to mass-based to catch-all to what they term cartel parties (Katz and Mair 2002; Katz and Mair 1995).

Elite parties, they argue, rely on a small core of wealthy and powerful individuals who can place their representatives in parliament without the assistance of central party structure or masslevel support. However, as demands for universal suffrage began, elite parties gave way to mass parties, which amassed funds from ordinary people and used an extensive organizational apparatus—both internal and local—to manage the interests of competing organizational and public constituencies. With the achievement of universal suffrage and political power, write Katz and Mair, mass parties morphed into catch-all parties, which sustained electoral victories with broad and non-ideological messages. The success of this strategy brought dominance and ultimately corruption. Katz and Mair call this new ascendant party type a cartel party. These erstwhile catch-all parties have become reliant on state resources and collude with each other to maintain power and access. Their leadership, say Katz and Mair, have more in common with each other than with their own party members. Steven Wolinetz, borrowing a typology from the literature on coalition formation, advocates a new classification scheme: policy seeking, vote seeking, and office seeking (Wolinetz 2002). A policy-seeking party pursues policy goals. A vote-seeking party aims to maximize its vote and win elections. An office-seeking party looks to secure the benefits of public office, i.e., patronage and influence.

Wolinetz acknowledges that the blurred boundaries between the categories undermine his typology. For example, an office-seeking party must also be to some extent a vote-seeking party and a policy seeking party must also be to some extent an office-seeking party. It is unlikely an actual political party will correspond to any one of these theoretical types. Voter linkages can also constitute fundamental differences between parties. Herbert Kitschelt's classification differentiates three party types based

on the nature of the linkage between the party and its voters (Kitschelt 2000; Kitschelt 1995). Charismatic parties derive popularity from a single leader, therefore avoiding the high costs of organization and mobilization. Clientelistic parties exchange electoral support for policy favors and are therefore highly organized. Programmatic parties present a well-developed platform to the voters; these parties require a high information and high intelligence electorate to decipher between competing alternatives. Kitschelt's typology suffers from the same drawbacks as Wolinetz's classificatory scheme. The categories of charismatic, clientelistic, and programmatic are theoretically mutually exclusive; however, in practice, parties could employ these strategies simultaneously in different districts within elections or change their approach between elections. An additional typology, ostensibly distinct from the above literature though conceptually linked, analyzes the ethnic character of a political party, positing three types: ethnic, multiethnic, and nonethnic. The literature on ethnic political parties focuses on two classification dimensions: 1) the extent to which a party draws its votes from a particular ethnic group; and 2) the extent to which a party portrays itself as representing a particular ethnic group (Ishiyama and Breuning 2011). Kanchan Chandra emphasizes the latter dimension when identifying the fundamental difference between multiethnic and ethnic parties: whether a party purposefully excludes a particular ethnic group (Chandra 2011; Chandra 2007). The important distinction, therefore, is not how many groups a party includes, but rather whether a group is deliberately excluded. An ethnic party must be in some way exclusive. However, Chandra argues that an ethnic party can and should be identified by a variety of characteristics, including its name, campaign messages, legislative behavior, voter base, and composition of leadership. Consequently, Chandra defines the three party types in the following way.

A multiethnic party champions the interests of all ethnic groups without excluding any. An ethnic party promotes the interests of a particular group or set of groups. A non-ethnic party does not include or exclude groups on the basis of ethnicity. This typology appears logically separate from the elite-mass-catch-all-cartel classification that predominates the study of European political parties. However, multiethnic and ethnic parties should in fact be understood as distinct types of the party categories postulated in

conventional typologies. An ethnic party mimics a mass or mass integration party, which relies on membership activity, high organizational capacity, and appeals to a specific group—in this case an identity group. A multiethnic party can be understood as type of catch-all party, which is non-ideological, elite dominated, and pursues all ethnic groups in order to maximize vote share. Party Systems: Formation and Typologies Political parties are situated within party systems, which have their own set of typologies and theories of emergence and change, on which there is ample academic literature (Kitschelt 2009; Charles Boix 2009). Herbert Kitschelt borrows a theoretical framework from international relations theory to elucidate the relationship between parties and party systems. Using Ken Waltz's levels of analysis, Kitschelt explains party system theories are systemic theories, which operate at a high level of abstraction and identify the number of players, distribution of resources, and capabilities and rules that shape the way parties interact (Kitschelt 2009, 523). Similar to international relations theory, there remains a high degree of disagreement over the nature and impact of party systems.

A long-standing typology of party systems examines the number of parties competing in the system (Mair 2005). Duverger divided party systems into categories of two-party or multiparty (Duverger 1954). Jean Blondel's typology included four 25 categories: two-party, two-and-a-half party, multiparty with one dominant party, and multiparty without a dominant party (Blondel 1968). Stein Rokkan identified particular case-based numerical types, such as the British-German system and the Scandinavian system (Stein 1968). Giovanni Sartori distinguished between two-party systems and types of multiparty systems, including moderate and polarized multiparty systems (Sartori 1976; Sartori 1966). In their study of Latin American party systems, Scott Mainwaring and Timothy Scully look not only at the number of parties but also the nature of their connection to society and the polity (Mainwaring and Scully 1996). They differentiate between institutionalized, inchoate, and hegemonic party systems. An institutionalized party system includes stability of inter-party competition, parties with stable roots in society and a sophisticated organizational structure, and the societal legitimacy of parties and elections. Parties that populate inchoate party systems have weak connections to social organizations, high levels of party switching and indiscipline, and high electoral

volatility between elections. Finally, a hegemonic party system is centered on one party, which does not allow formal competition between itself and other secondary parties. A hegemonic party system can be distinguished from dominant party systems— what Dahl calls “inclusive hegemonies” (Dahl 1972) —in which the dominant party establishes “the system of interactions resulting from inter-party competition” (Sartori 1976: 44). Therefore, the presence of a dominant party by definition creates a dominant party system.

Yet the point at which a party becomes “dominant” is contested: the threshold has been put at 70 percent of seats (Coleman 1960), 60 percent of seats (De 26 Walle and Butler 1999), and 50 percent of seats (Ware 1996), among other estimates (Bogaards 2004). Regardless of the exact threshold of dominance, theorists of dominant parties/party systems largely agree that a dominant party is one which has won one or more elections and is unlikely to lose in the foreseeable future (Suttner 2006). . Level of competitiveness also differentiates party systems. Robert Dahl’s classic account of party system competitiveness included strictly competitive, cooperative competitive, coalescent-competitive, and strictly coalescent systems (Dahl 1966). Herbert Kitschelt argues that five conditions constitute “intense” competitiveness in a party system: when marginally greater support for a politician translates into substantial political leverage in the parliament; when there are identifiable alternative parties or party blocs competing for power; when elections results are close; when there is a high number of ‘floating’ voters; and when the stakes of competition are high (Kitschelt 2009: 533– 534). Another body of literature examines how and why particular party systems emerge. This literature is predominantly divided between sociological and historical theories (Boix 2009). The archetypal sociological account of party-system emergence in Seymour M. Lipset and Stein Rokkan’s *Party Systems and Voter Alignments* (Lipset and Rokkan 1967). They argue that national revolutions and industrial revolutions shape party systems. During national revolutions, state consolidation and centralization challenges existing peripheral territorial power centers and religious power. Additional conflicts emerge during industrialization, during which capitalism and urbanization create divisions between rural areas and cities and between capital and workers. Lipset and Rokkan link the nature of a

country's parties and party system to the prevalence of whichever conflict was most salient (territorial, religious, capital-labor, or rural-urban). Their influential social-cleavage approach to party-system emergence has been used in many other studies, including Gregory Luebbert's examination of agrarian constituencies and party politics (Luebbert 1991) and Kalyvas's work on confessional parties and the Catholic Church (Kalyvas 1996). The second core explanation of party-system emergence is institutional, which postulates that electoral and constitutional rules determine the characteristics of party competition (Duverger 1954; Cox 1997; Sartori 1997; Taagepera and Shugart 1989).

The central claims of this approach focus on the differing political incentives embedded in proportional representation and majoritarian systems. PR is argued to produce multiparty systems, coalition governments, a low number of wasted votes, greater accountability to voters, and policy inefficiency. In contrast, majoritarianism is associated with two-party systems, single-party governments, a high number of wasted votes, low accountability to voters, and policy efficiency. The institutional approach also examines the effects of district magnitude, minimum vote thresholds, party lists, and other election rules on the attributes of party systems. The discord in the literature regarding typologies and approaches to parties and party systems indicates the extraordinary diversity of political competition across the world. Even within the European cases on which most of the current literature focuses, there is little consistency in the formation or behavior of political parties. When 28 developing countries—with their unique histories and cultures—are included, a generalized theory of political parties becomes significantly more complicated. Ethnic Conflict, Peace building, and Institutional Design The formation and nature of parties and parties systems is an essential component of conflict processes in deeply divided societies. Party systems dominated by ethnic parties can create instability and perpetuate conflict. Alternatively, multiethnic political parties employing catch-all election strategies can stabilize political competition and alleviate ethnic tension. Consequently, scholars of institutional design have debated extensively the possibility of fostering moderation and stability through

electoral institutions. The various perspectives on this debate are informed by differing assumptions about the origin and nature of ethnic identity and ethnic conflict.

1.2.1 Party System: Structural-Functional Approach

Structural-Functional Approach has been a very popular and useful approach to the study of Politics as Political System. It seeks to study Political System as a set of functions performed by several structures which together constitute the system of politics. It seeks to identify and analyse the structures which constitute the political system and perform several functions both internally and vis-a-vis other societies. Structural-Functional Approach seeks to analyse: what basic functions are performed by what political structures? Charles worth explains the crux of this approach in a very simple way. He writes, “The structural part of the approach refers to any human organisation that can do things and have an effect on human beings and other human organisations, viz., a family, a public corporation, a court, a bureau, or a legislative body. The functions part relates to the activity of the agency and its external effects.” These, according to some, are divided into “latent” and “manifest”, meaning that the latter are intentional and the former incidental or accidental.”

1.2.2 Origin and Development of the Structural-Functional Approach

The Structural-Functional analysis originates in the biological and mechanical sciences but it was first used in Anthropology to study in social sciences. Later on it was developed and refined as a mode of sociological analysis, predominantly by Talcott Parsons and Marion Levy.

It has been under the influence of the sociologists, particularly these two, that the Structural-Functional Approach has come to be developed by political scientists, particularly by Gabriel A. Almond and his associates.

In 1960, Almond and Coleman, in their work ‘The Politics of Developing Areas,’ used this approach for the study of non-Western political systems. Six years later, Almond and Bingham Powell published their work ‘Comparative Politics: A Development Approach’.

In this, they came out with the Structural-Functional Approach designed to study and classify political systems in terms of the levels of their political development.

The Structural-Functional Approach has several strong exponents and supporters, but more than them, a place of primacy belongs to Almond and his co-authors.

1.2.3 Structural-Functionalism: Definition and Assumptions

Davies and Lewis are of the view that “the Structural-Functional analysis is a form of systemic analysis which looks at political systems as coherent wholes which influence and are, in turn influenced by their environments.” Each political system is characterised by ‘legitimate force’ which is the basis of all its activities. The interactions (functions) which characterise political systems take place not between individuals, but the roles individuals adopt. These are the basic units of the Structural-Functional analysis.’ “That all systems have structures which can be identified and that the parts or elements of these structures perform functions within the system which have meaning only in terms of the working of the system. They are dependent on the system as an active entity for their existence, and are, in turn, linked in such a way as to be also dependent on each other for their activity. Accordingly, this analysis regards comprehensiveness, interdependence and boundaries as the three properties of the political system.”

1.2.4 Structural-Functional Approach in Political Science

The Structural-functional approach revolves mainly around two concepts: Structure and Functions. This approach ‘is a means of explaining which political structures perform which basic functions in the political system and it is a tool of investigation.’ In the words of Samuel H. Beer and Adam B. Ulam, “The survival and maintenance of a social system require that society must be having a well-functioning economic system, a legal system, a system of values and so on. In this scheme, the political system would appear as that sub-system performing the distinctive function of making legitimate policy decisions, or to use a shorter expression, the function of goal attainment for the society of which it is a part.”

South Africa is both a new democracy and a developing country. Her people are attempting a difficult experiment in political transformation while managing the economic and social strains that come with poverty, urbanization and economic development. Like the inhabitants of other developing countries, most South Africans must wage bitter struggles for access to scarce resources in a highly unequal society bequeathed by history.

Yet South Africans often consider themselves to be a special people. Their uniqueness, they believe, derives from their particular history of colonization, racial segregation, and triumphal democratization. At the heart of that exceptional history lies 'apartheid' – literally 'apartness' or separation. The legacies of segregation and apartheid, together with irreconcilable differences over their significance, continue to obstruct efforts to create sustainable national identity and a coherent and inclusive social order.

1.3 South African Political Parties: An Overview

The political history of South Africa is full of many ups and downs since the invaders arrived firstly at the Cape of Good Hope. Politics in South Africa is raised from discriminatory, apartheid system to the concept of Rainbow nation. Here is an overview.

South Africa's unique history was decisively shaped by the discovery of diamonds and then gold from 1870, and then by the responses its imperial power. Britain, to the opportunities and threats these finds presented. Yet, if modern South African history begins with the 'minerals revolutions', the ramifications of these discoveries cannot be understood without first comprehending the complex balance of forces that in the 1870s characterized the area that is today South Africa. Four great historical stories of the Khoisan peoples: African pastoralists and farmers. Boer European-descended settlers and British imperialists are represented in any political map of the 1870s. The least widely known of these histories concerns the subjugation of the earliest inhabitants of what is today South Africa. These hunting and herding societies, known today as Khoikhoi and San, or collectively Khoisan, had been present in the west and northwest since around 1000s.

They fared particularly badly during the early period of European settlement – during Dutch East India Company rule from the mid-seventeenth century – with the settlers (and the diseases they brought with them) very rapidly subjugating them in the Cape. In 1870 within the borders of the yet-to-be created South Africa, three more resilient modes of society, the actors in our three remaining great histories were engaged in increasingly harsh competition for resources but with none achieving predominance. The first and most important of these were Bantu-speaking African peoples – such as those who in the colonial period became known as the Xhosa or Zulu. Their resilience in the Face of European settlement is evident in the widespread distribution of African polities after 200 years of colonial intrusion.

African political kingdoms had been expanding into what is today South Africa from around the third century AD. These dynamic African politics had spread by means of a migratory drift or gradual territorial expansion almost to the west of South Africa by the time of European settlement. By the end of the eighteenth century, their population was reaching the limits of the potential of the South African land mass. The economics and social organization of these African societies were centered upon livestock. The effective political units of African pastoralism and farming were hereditary chiefdoms varying in size from less than 1000 members to over 50000. Chiefdoms were not closed entities but rather included people of different descent groups, migrants from poor regions and arrivals who had broken away from other chiefdoms. These were not 'tribes' as Thompson (1990: 11) stresses: The western concept of tribalism, which is usually taken to refer to closed populations reproducing fixed cultural characteristics, is not applicable to (these) African farmers. Rather than closed entities with unique unchanging culture, he observes such societies were fluid and politically affiliative in composition. 'People interacted, co-operating and copulating as well as competing and combating, exchanging ideas and practices as well as rejecting them.'

The third extraordinary history concerns the 'Boers' (meaning farmers) primarily descended from the Dutch-speaking colonists of the Cape from the early seventeenth century, whose original function had been to supply passing ships of the Dutch East India Company. Initially a fuelling and provisioning station for the ships of the company, the

Cape eventually became the springboard for settler's dynamic if uncertain expansion. The experience of these Boer societies was in many respects similar to that of their African contemporaries. Their expansion north and east into the areas occupied by African polities began in the late eighteenth century. Boer settlers achieved advances through a combination of factors: exploitation of divisions in African society, (uneven) cooperation between Whites, the technological superiority of firearms, and the ability to store wealth in a more sophisticated economic system.

New opportunities for Boers were then unexpectedly created by a major transformation in African societies. As a result of a series of devastating conflicts, centering on the region between the mountain escarpment and the Indian Ocean, and driven by a centralization of the Zulu kingdom, there was a great dislocation of African farmers. The reasons for this upheaval are contested. Fresh territory for exploitation had become exhausted and competition for land and water supplies grew. Severe droughts in the early nineteenth century triggered a process of concentration of power and led to the emergence of a new scale of standing armies. The series of major conflicts that ensued dislocated the region's economics and displaced great numbers of refugees. Some historians argue that foreign trade caused or contributed to Zulu state centralization, with competition of control trade routes spurring militarization. Whatever the dynamics of dislocation the resulting turmoil presented White settlers with an unprecedented opportunity to colonize seemingly empty and unclaimed land.

Meanwhile the Cape colony became inhospitable to Boers Britain which had taken direct control over the Cape in 1795 to pre-empt French intervention was introducing cultural and legal changes which damaged their interests and threatened to curtail their hitherto untrammled power over their labourers. The influence of the ideals of the French Revolution and evangelical anti-slavery campaigns in England threatened Boers customary practices of quasi-slavery campaigns in England threatened Boers customary practices of quasi-slavery. For them migration to the immediate east was blocked by Xhosa chiefdoms which in frontier wars had demonstrated political and military resilience. Many Boers therefore embarked upon what came to be celebrated a century later as the Great Trek. In reality this was a series of episodic migrations in the

late 1830s totaling about 12000 persons half of whom were Khoi servants and former slaves. These 'Trekking' battled sporadically with African politics settling firstly in Natal and then (after British annexation of Natal) in the 'high veld' to the North. They secured effective independence from the British since a warning of abolitionist sentiment left London less well disposed to protect African against Trekker. The Boers remained poor and vulnerable and in quite incomplete control of the territory over which they had claimed the right to rule. But by 1870 they had established a tenuous presence across great tracts of the African interior.

The final narrative is that of the imperial power Britain which increasingly but unevenly predominated over the economy and politics of the coastal regions. These far less numerous British settlers who complete our survey of pre-1870s politics were backed by the immense but largely unexercised power of a great empire. London behaved in a characteristically calculating manner expending few resources on what it viewed as a backwater. The Cape Colony was consolidated as a British possession after 1806 only because of its strategic location on trading routes to India. Like the Dutch before them. Thompson (1990: 53) remarks, the British had no vital material interest in South Africa beyond the peninsula. But appended to that strategic prize was a complex violent, and largely anarchic society scattered over a vast hinterland. The limited importance London attached to South Africa was reflected in the small proportion of British overseas capital attracted to it modest British immigration by comparison with other colonies and a paucity of manpower and resources. By 1870 the United States had 32 million inhabitants of European origin or descent and 53000 miles of railways: Southern Africa as a whole possessed 250000 White people and around 70 miles of railways. The total value of imports was only £3 million per annum and exports were even less (Thompson 1990:53.108). The biggest town contained only 50,000 inhabitants.

The turbulent hinterland continued to command little attention through the early and mid-nineteenth century. In the face of potential alliances between Sotho and 'Trekker' (migrant Boer) the British were willing to concede Boer independence in the South African Republic (later Transvaal) in 1852. Further Sotho resistance led to a truce between Europeans and to colonial withdrawal (Worden 1994: 16). While the mid-

nineteenth century was a time of limited British migration the 1820 Conservative government eager to placate domestic critics funded the migration of 4000 settlers from the British Isles to the Eastern Cape agricultural belt. Rapidly adopting trading and commercial occupations, these migrants remained culturally distinct from Afrikaner settlers, creating a nascent antagonism within the White population that went on to deepen and persists today.

Reform influences in Britain were not decisive in dividing Whites Participation in the slave trade was outlawed in 1807 (depriving Cape farmers of easy labour access) and from 1823 minimum standards of food, clothing and maximum working hours and punishments were patchily enforced in a spillover from a Caribbean tax on slavery. Further legislation secured the legal position of the Khoi-Khoi and former slaves although it could not remove their poverty and economic dependence. As Thompson (1990:65) puts it, the reforms were the reforms of freedom, but the facts were still the facts of exploitation. The tide of philanthropy in any event ebbed in Britain by the mid-nineteenth century and British settlers were increasingly faced with the same conditions as Afrikaners insecure frontiersmen fighting against Africans for land legally granted to them without the consent of its customary inhabitants. They brought with them the scientific racism of mid-Victorian Britain and adapted it adroitly to their new circumstance.

A seeming retreat of British colonial power in the mid-nineteenth century was belied by the establishment of considerable colonial economic influence by the 1850s. While Afrikaners lay beyond the reach of systematic imperial constraint the colonial heartland was increasingly incorporated into the Empire. Trade was centered on the Cape and migrant labour had tern drawn to the colony from the 1840s. Where Cape interests were threatened, intervention by the imperial power was rapid and effective. Moreover the very fact of possession brought with it an inescapable if unwanted responsibility to provide a modicum of law and order in the frontier zone. These pressures, mediated through military, evangelical and commercial interests, resulted in a continuous stream of (to Boers) unwanted interventions by the British authorities.

Many twentieth-century histories of South Africa penned by Europeans wrongly viewed the African societies of 1870 as static-‘tribes’ impacted by dynamic caters. There was little sign among African societies of the social disintegration that had affected the-indigenous peoples of many other colonies Change within these robust politics was primarily driven by domestic rather than colonial factors, accelerating in the early nineteenth century with the rise of the Zulu kingdom (Bcinart1994: 16). Africans jostled with vulnerable Afrikaners and isolated colonialists who could command few of the resources of the imperial power. Many Africans, moreover, were using the economic opportunities presented by settlement arte trade to their advantage (Bundy 1988).

All of Southern Africa’s relatively small 1870s quasi-states were multi-ethnic and multi-lingual. Most of them lacked the bases of political and cultural unity, and limited political self-consciousness was the rule. The history of the polities in the 1870s could never be told as an attempt to master collective destiny. Political leaders were attempting to survive in unforgiving circumstances, and the part-mythical histories through which they justified their claims to rule were themselves ever changing.

1.4 Roll of the South African Political Parties in Historical Junctures

1.4.1 The Creation of the State 1870-1910

Post 1870 South Africa was marked by a new speed and magnitude of social change and the populations of the area were driven by a common series of impersonal forces. The roots of this upheaval lay in discoveries of diamonds and gold, and in the responses of the British colonial power to these discoveries. Four massive processes marked the transformation of South Africa over this period: war unification, economic development, and the forging of a migrant working class.

The Diamonds were discovered in 1867 attracting foreign investment, initiating modern capitalism in South Africa, and creating unprecedented demand for labour. By 1871, 75000 people had flocked to the diamond fields and development created labour shortages not just in the mines, but also on the farms, in new industries, on the railways and in public works. Diamonds were soon overtaken by gold, discovered in 1886 on the

Witwatersrand (white waters reef) and soon to transform the entire southern African region. While the metal ore was of low quality and difficult to extract potential gold wealth was vast, and the metal was central to the liquidity and stability of the then gold-based international economy. Its effective and immediate exploitation was for these reasons a British strategic imperative. In order to accomplish this, the imperial power required a massive input of cheap domestic anti skilled foreign labour, together with the infrastructure, regulation, and stability that only a complex and unified modern state could provide.

The demands for stability and for labour led the imperial power to break the resistance of African politics through military force. Then, at great cost, they subdued the Afrikaners in the South African or Boer War of 1899-1902. Unification was the ultimate goal of war. Far from merely representing a legalistic or constitutional device, unification was a comprehensive process of state creation. British power built the machinery of State control through which it could enforce contracts, secure transport links, regulate labour and business, and ensure strategic security across the area of contemporary South Africa as a whole. By so doing it ensured that the mineral wealth of South Africa could be exploited safely by British-based conglomerates.

Economic development in the new urban areas, the third key process of change, was signaled by the extraordinary growth of Johannesburg and the Witwatersrand region, and by the wholesale transformation of the economic geography of South Africa. Johannesburg did not exist in 1880. By 1911 it contained 240 000 inhabitants, and the Witwatersrand as a whole held twice that number. Cape Town, by contrast, contained less than 200000 people and was to become thereafter something of an economic backwater. The new urban areas were a maelstrom of diversity encompassing low-waged miners and highly paid immigrants, and a plethora of races and classes. The state carefully managed the influx of African labour, using already embedded practices and ideologies. Britain's High Commissioner Milner viewed native reserves, urban 'influx' control, and the manipulation of chiefs as necessary instruments to keep Africans in check in the colonial economy. Social Darwinism helped justify segregationist policies, and further ideological support was provided by new racial doctrines from the United States.

The fourth major process of change in South Africa lay in part beyond the towns. South Africa developed a system of ‘migrant labour’ that was to mark its later twentieth-century history - the cyclical and often annual movement of able-bodied young African labourers into and out of the core-urban economy. Migrant labour in South Africa began on the sugar fields of Natal which depended upon labourers from Mozambique. Later cyclical migracy became a generalized domestic and sub-continental cheap labour system, feeding the country’s mining, commercial, and agricultural sectors. Ultimately it became the backbone of the industrial and commercial systems of apartheid as a whole. The mine owner’s preference for such migrant labour, primarily because it was cheap, initially coincided with some Africans’ own interests. Young male urban labourers - nine out of every ten of the 1910 Black population of Johannesburg was male - provided money for chiefs and for fathers. Only gradually (and in large measure through systematic and deliberate government action) did money become necessary for survival in rural South Africa, and migrant labour correspondingly become a necessity for survival. By the 1920s 30 to 40 per cent of active men in rural areas were away at work at any given time.

While White Supremacy and segregation predated and shaped this period of transformation, the impersonal forces of market, imperial power, and capital were the primary driving agents of change. The 1910 *Act of Union* formalized the new state’s existence and cemented its political structures it served, moreover, to entrench the privileged interests of Whites by means of racialized political machinery. Whites secured a virtual monopoly of electoral power, with a property franchise retained in the Cape colony alone. This period of South African history laid the economic, political, and institutional foundations of segregation and apartheid.

1.4.2 Segregation and Early Apartheid: 1910-60

The decade after 1910 saw continued English dominance and deepening racial segregation under the auspices of a political alliance between Afrikaner agriculture, White mine owners, and those dependent on them (Terreblanche and Nattrass 1990). During post-unification reconstruction, labour supply remained at the heart of government policy. Native reserves, influx controls, and compliant “traditional

authorities”, became reliable policy instruments for a state supporting mining and agricultural capital. The African population was increasingly pervasively regulated where it remained on the land, and further forged into a working class through the migrant labour system.

The *Native Land Act* of 1913 allocated 87 per cent of land to Whites and moved to prohibit native land purchase and non-labour based tenancies. The 1923 *Urban Areas Act* created legal tools to entrench further the practice of segregation and ‘influx control’ (the coercive manager of migration to work in the cities). Initially a partly discretionary process through which cash income supplemented rural economic activity influx control eventually became unavoidable as taxes, dispossession, and population growth squeezed rural populations. The Chamber of Mine used chiefs, traders, and criminals to recruit young, male workers, and from 1910 became increasingly cost-focused and geographically ambitious in recruitment. By 1920 a centralized labour migration system managed more than 200000 workers a number that was to grow in later years reaching a peak of 430000 migrants in 1961.

Open class conflict meanwhile intensified in White South Africa between 1907 and 1933 a period of economic nationalism and struggle between mining capital and White workers. The 1922 Rand Revolt, in which Afrikaans- and English-speaking Whites fought against capitalism but also against Blacks, was crushed only by considerable military firepower and at the cost of over 200 lives. The government of 1924, which combined Hertzog’s National Party with the Labour Party, oversaw the foundations of an Afrikaner welfare state. The emergence of Afrikaner nationalism, itself a creature of social dislocation, served as a bridge across regional and class divides.

From 1933 to 1948 South Africa emerged from the depression into a second industrial revolution. On the back of a rise in the gold price which followed the collapse of the Gold Standard, and further bolstered by increased demand for manufactured exports as the North prepared for global war the economy grew rapidly with English interests spreading out from their heartland in the gold-mining economy. General economic affluence, fuelled by gold and the export boom, helped to fund government

welfare and agricultural support programmes. The period also, however, saw the growth of D.F. Malan's 'purified' National Party, with dreams of more complete racial segregation. White unity, furthermore, was shattered over the issue of participation on the side of the Allies in the Second World War. After the 'fusion government' was formed in 1934 the breakaway National Party had managed to mobilize Afrikaners nationally by deploying cultural and educational organizations. Afrikaner unions and business groups Farmers, civil servants, teachers, and poor Whites turned increasingly towards the Nationalists.

The mid- to late-1930s marked a first high point of segregation. Legislation passed in 1936 consolidated the native reserves and removed propertied Africans from the Cape voter roll. This was also a low point of Black resistance. The African National Congress, elitist, isolated from labour and radical protest since its foundation in 1913 continued on an ineffectual way. Indian and Coloured political movements organized around particularist or local concerns. Political resistance was largely expressed within churches and through widespread non-compliance with the law. Politics for Africans was a defensive process; the use of forms of traditional authority and religious belief to defend land rights and grazing, and to advance localized interests in urban situations.

The wartime economic bonanza of 1939-48 saw a relaxation of segregation and an inexorable urbanization. White and Black alike were drawn to the towns, but the change in Africans' situation was striking. Between 1936 and 1946, their numbers in urban areas grew from 139000 to 390000 and for the first time many of these were women. The presence of Africans in the urban economy was expressed politically in a number of ways. Black trade unions blossomed; higher-skilled jobs were opened to Africans, and colour bars in many sectors boated upwards. The formal structures of African politics - notably the ANC Youth League from 1944 - began to organize deliberately integrative protests to draw together the opponents of segregation. The South African Communist Party arranged anti-pass campaigns in 1943-44. Bus boycotts became a major instrument of protest, strikes escalated across the war years, and thereafter the turmoil continued into the peace as the younger generation of activists, led by Nelson Mandela and Oliver Tambo galvanized the ANC into action, catalysing strikes

and politically motivated land occupations on the Rand.

The year 1948 is a significant date in modern South African history: the year in which the Afrikaner 'National Party' won the first of many election victories under the slogan of 'apartheid'. The National Party (NP) was to remain in power until the first universal franchise election of 1994. Continuities between pre-war segregation and post-war 'apartheid' however, were far more striking than the discontinuities. Only in the 1960s with the second phase of apartheid, did Afrikaner power exert itself to produce the unprecedented social deformation of high apartheid. Why then, has 1948 so often been taken to be the key date in South African twentieth-century political history?

First, the general election of 1948 represented a decisive triumph for a new and non-conciliatory generation of Afrikaner politicians in the NP. This victory was a slender one and represented no massive swing in White (or even Afrikaner) sentiment. Defeated Prime Minister Jan Smuts lost much Afrikaner support because of 'swamping' fears associated with Black urbanization and the presence of Africans in jobs formerly reserved for (war-mobilized) Whites. Local issues made a major impact in Natal, where anti-Indian land restrictions placed a central role. In the Transvaal and Orange Free State, doubts among farmers about labour supply and the intentions of the United Party (UP) led to a swing for Malan's National Party, despite the latter's Cape origins and core support. Four-tenths of Afrikaners voted for the UP and the NP relied on the votes of 20 per cent of English speakers to achieve their overall 39 per cent (Beinart 1994; Chapter 5). Once again, fortune smiled on the NP. While the UP and Labour won 53 per cent between them, the NP secured narrow victories in more heavily weighted rural and peri-urban constituencies. The pivotal 1948 election victory was therefore fortuitous, turning on minority and protest voters. The changed electoral coalitions that secured long-term NP power came earlier and later. Afrikaner nationalism was already a cross-class and inter-regional force that could potentially unify labour and agriculture around the policy of segregation. Afrikaner control over the White electorate as a whole was still to be established.

The second reason for the predominance of 1948 as the key date in twentieth-century South African historical writing was a slogan: 'apartheid' (or apartness). The term first rose to prominence in the NP's electoral campaign of 1948 and became a common figure of speech across White South Africa in that year. The apartheid of 1948 was not, however, the apartheid of the 1960s. This would be to read history backwards. The slogan 'apartheid', along with the fears of Black, urbanization and job competition to which it drew attention, was an important asset of the NP in its marginal minority win in 1948. Its power lay in its very ambiguity. NP supporters agreed that Africans should continue to be excluded from political power and that White supremacy should be maintained. Beyond this, however, apartheid provided a means of papering over great differences. Should Afrikaners strive for total segregation, with the replacement of African labour by White labour (by birth or migration), as many intellectuals, denes, teachers argued? Or should businessmen and agriculturalists continue to have access to Black labour a pragmatic and moderated form of segregation? Appealing to new voters, those demobilized from the military and building cross-class and cross-regional support from a diverse electorate, the slogan 'apartheid' was an accidental success of political rhetoric.

A third reason for the significance attached to 1948 is a body of repugnant legislation enacted by the NP immediately after its first electoral victory. This legislation included the *Population Registration Act* which enforced the classification of people into four strict racial categories: White Coloured, Indian/Asiatic and Native (later Bantu or African). This fourfold classification provided a basis for the systematic social and economic engineering of 'high apartheid' that was to come. In the first period of NP rule, however, the focus was on symbolically important aspects of life as much as upon the economics of the labour market. 'Mixed marriages' were prohibited to 1949, and in 1950 all sexual contact between Whites and other South Africans was prohibited in an *Immorality Act*. Residential segregation was another focus of legislative activity, with the *Group Areas Act* of 1950 applying residential segregation by race comprehensively across the country. The *Reservation of Separate Amenities Act* of 1953 segregated transport, cinemas, restaurants, and sporting facilities, and later acts enforced segregation in schools, colleges, and universities. Unlike much of the law that succeeded it, 'petty'

apartheid legislation was not designed to reshape South Africa's structures of economic opportunity but was distinguished by its undisguised racial malevolence.

Three factors in combination - the electoral win of the NP, the significance that the term apartheid later accrued, and the repugnancy of early NP legislation - made 1948 a year of seemingly unprecedented importance. The myth of 1948 as a great break to South African history has been manifest in the notion that apartheid was a 'Grand Plan', unfolded by NP leaders in the 30 years following 1948. The idea of a grand plan became established because of its attractiveness to both liberals and Afrikaners. The former used the notion to condemn Afrikaners as fanatical imposers of a systematic oppression. The latter overemphasized their control over events and concealed the messy reality of oppression behind the moral perfectionism of a project. Scholars, however, have shown that NP policy represented a pragmatic continuation of pre -1948 government strategy - albeit an intensification of it – and a reactive series of responses by the party.

Not merely in the economic sphere; but more generally across the fields of social policy, apartheid in the 1950s represented a series of ad hoc attempts to resolve embedded problems. In urban areas, nationalists warned to re-establish control over Black population growth, and embarked on a 'stabilization' strategy of squatter camp destruction, the 'purification' of White areas, and township construction. In rural areas, the messy compromises of re-tribalization were formalized through the *Bantu Authorities Act* of 1951 into a distinct realm of African politics with an associated 'traditional' system of administration and authority (Bonner *et al.* 1993: 15-21).

As Deborah Posel (1991) has shown, the steady consolidation represented by the policies of the 1948 government's legislation does not imply a great degree of planning or control. Proponents of the NP's ability to plan systematically point to the government commissioned Sauer Report of 1947. This document gave substance to the slogan of apartheid while uniting the farmers of the Transvaal Orange Free State and the Cape with White labour and the Afrikaner petty bourgeoisie. Posel demonstrates however, that this report reproduced divergences within Afrikanerdom rather than settling them. The total segregationist aspirations of intellectuals and petty bourgeois Afrikaners were

irreconcilable. With the practical of prosperous Afrikaner industrialists and financiers, The effort to accommodate them led to an ‘ambiguous combination of purist and “practical” recommendations’ leaving the 1948 government without a com- ambiguous, and uncontested blueprint from which state policies ply be read off (Posel 1991: 60).

Not only was there no consistent plan, moreover, there were immediate and inescapable pressures upon NP leaders. Their policies had to satisfy not merely Afrikaner interest’s bill also English capital and the largest opposition controlled local authorities. They also faced the threat of African resistance and the nagging danger of electoral desertion (Posel 1991: 6). They secured their position rapidly and skillfully first by consolidating the electoral dominance of the NP by abolishing the ‘Cape franchise’ (which had provided some non-Whites with the vote) and rigging the Namibian constituency contribution. Second, the NP fostered a new moral climate among White electors as a whole. The blatant and systematic racism of 1950s legislation, combined with population classification made possible the conception of quite distinct social lives being created for distinct, racial and ethnic groups. Third, it sidelined English-speaking bureaucrats and advanced Afrikaners, in particular members of the secretive nationalist establishment group, the Broderbund ‘Bond ‘members became instruments of Afrikaner political dominance by the mid-1950s occupying key positions in the heartlands of Executive power. The Native Affairs Department (NADS, in particular grew to be a state-within-a-state, within which the policies of the 1960s fomented.

Stale intervention was a defining theme of 1950s politics. The Nationalists, according to Bonner *et al.* (1993: 31) believed that most of the problems [the state] confronted in 1948 could be solved effectively by simply expanding the scope and intensity of state intervention on the social, political, and economic fronts. Even where the NP appeared to be following a new and distinctively statist route, it seems very likely that a UP government would have followed very much the same one since the structural problems facing the economy would have predisposed any government towards these policies. The Fagan Commission report of 1946 had recommended ideally voluntary’ labour bureaux land identity documents in its prescriptions for the control of African urbanization (even while admitting that such population movements had to be tolerated).

The UP put its name to Fagan's recommendations. Had the UP won that election, 'there is good reason to suppose that the shift: into a more statist era would have happened anyway' (Bonner *et al.*, 1993: 31).

1.4.3 The Rise and Fall of 'High Apartheid'

The governments of the 1950s were in certain respects unexceptional. White supremacy and the exclusion of Africans from participation in formal political activity were the norm in colonial Africa. Apartheid's second phase in the 1960s by contrast, represented a qualitatively distinct period in South African history, bringing a change of direction rather than merely a cumulatively deepening segregation. Mass forced removals of 'incorrectly' located Black people, newly created homelands or Bantustans and deliberate 'retribalization' added up to a quite new scale of social engineering. The reach of the state increased, the policing system intensified, and distinct security and military' apparatuses competed to dominate the South African state's executive core.

The Segregationist doctrine was supplanted by the more dangerous notion 'separate development'. This involved the idea that Africans and others should reside, and enjoy citizenship rights, in distinct ethnic homelands. Whereas White supremacy and segregation had involved an explicit racial hierarchy in legislative and political practice, the NP from 1961 was committed to formal equality between groups understood in ethnic terms. The inspiration for these moves was in pan the decolonization movement's elsewhere in Africa and especially the experiences of the Burner British protectorates of Botswana, Lesotho, and Swaziland, which many Afrikaner political leaders had earlier hoped to incorporate into South Africa in recognition that they were dependent on the Witwatersrand economy. If African nationalists could press for the independence of artificial and arbitrarily defined states then why could not equally artificial states be granted 'independence' within South Africa itself 'separate development' was the key concept in this phase of apartheid. Africans political rights were transferred ultimately into 10 Bantustans and in 1970 homeland citizenship was forced upon all Africans. In the following decade four of the homelands were nominally and without international recognition declared independent.

The doctrine of separate development implied that every South African must be assigned to an ethnic group nation or tribe and that each of these must have its own site of self-government. Ethnic categories were enforced on a largely unwilling Black populace by means of comprehensive social engineering. Communities and even families were divided as the bureaucracy of apartheid categorized and entire people in accordance with rules of descent. Consequent population removals simplified now by a clear classification by race and ethnic group could adopt a stark brutality. Between 1960 and 1989 there were 3.5 million forced removal of people who were found to be of 'incorrect' ethnicity for their location.

The homelands never came close to acquiring economic self-sufficiency or political legitimacy. As a contribution to their viability the South African government introduced incentives for business to locate on their borders. The major source of income however was always work in the core (now White) economy. Bantustans were justified primarily as political homes for ethnicities bolstered by systematic 'retribalisation'. Ethnicity or tribalism was established as the principal foundation of homeland self-government with ethnic affiliation designed to displace South African nationality as the proper basis of African political identification. The official ethnic divisions of 1960s South Africa had plainly been defined by European academics and missionaries who in earlier decades recorded what they took to be permanent 'tribal' languages and cultures. It transpires they were quite mistaken in doing so.

Under apartheid created tribalism was given fresh impetus by a deliberate project of 're-tribalization'. New groups emerge that found tribalism and the homeland system to be in their interest: the political and bureaucratic elites of the Bantustans. Each Bantustan destined for political independence required separate political judicial and executive institutions together with a political elite (often drawn from existing traditional leaders) to exercise government. These 'homeland bureaucrats' were joined by a new homeland-based African business class which exploited the withdrawal of white traders and businessmen and took advantage of state investment subsidies.

While Africans political rights were confined to the Bantustans democratic elections meanwhile furnished the NP with the legitimacy to entrench its rule. The Broderbund had by 1960 established itself in the heartland of the South African executive and oversaw an ambitious centralization of state powers. The local authorities that had obstructed influx control in the 1950s were easily circumvented by a 1960s central state that had acquired the machinery to run influx control virtually independently of them. African political resistance strengthened the hand of those arguing for new measures and for the far-reaching revolution of separate development. It was individual acts of defiance of influx control however repeated by millions of workers that made the system ultimately unsustainable. Between 1960 and 1970 while the African population in White urban areas fell by over 200000 the population of the Bantustans grew by almost a million. The extreme overcrowding and impoverishment that resulted in there serves and the artificial reduction in available labour in the White urban areas created a strong incentive for millions of workers of defy the system of influx control.

1.4.4. Explaining South Africa's 'Transition to Democracy'

The Long-range international developments profoundly influenced the circumstances within which apartheid collapsed and a democratic settlement was ultimately negotiated. Economic nationalism became decreasingly viable in any country in the 1970s and 1980s as international financial movements and floating exchange rates defeated state defenses. The importance of technology transfer and international collaboration for modern industry redoubled these pressures (Goodman and Pauly 1993). Theorists of economic deregulation eventually made inescapable a new neo-classical outbox or 'Washington consensus' fundamentally at odds with the statist and anti-market foundations of apartheid. Domestically, the South African state had long faced a structural crisis. Influx control institutions never very effective in operation began to crumble and urban Black populations to grow rapidly. The effects of South Africa's long-standing productive investment crisis in which investment barely replaced capital stock began to kick in sharply.

The economic crisis of the Soviet bloc reduced the interest of the United States and other Western powers in client regimes such as South Africa while Pretoria was gradually stripped of its buffer regimes to the north by the independence of Angola, Mozambique, Zimbabwe and Namibia. Many simultaneous experiments in democracy around Southern Africa by the 1990s indicate how general the pressures at work were. The requirements of economic growth inward investment and international political legitimacy all pointed the same way. In South Africa in combination with the stagnation of the economy the collapse of labour control and urbanization these pressures made collaboration between the ANC and the NP government a very great likelihood rather than an unexpected miracle.

While this context pointed towards a negotiated transition it required decades of organized political opposition to close down the NP's avenues for evasion and delay. The endgame of the fight against apartheid saw extended struggle between a militarised Afrikaner regime and a powerful mass protest movement – which included organized labour, students, schoolchildren and community associations – that was able to exert continuous tactical pressure on the regime. Independent Black trade unions in the 1980s formed a formidable ANC-aligned Federation (later Congress) of South African Trade Unions (COSATU) that ultimately proved able to bring the economy to a standstill. Young people and students after the watershed youth revolt that began in Soweto in 1976 were a relentless force for protest and change. Meanwhile ideological shifts among political and economic elites led to the progressive desertion of Afrikaner intellectuals and the development of contacts between the ANC in exile and South African business leaders. In the new President from 1989 FW de Klerk the process of negotiation finally found an adroit and brave Afrikaner tactician.

The key parties arrival at the negotiating table albeit after a bruising and extended struggle was ultimately unsurprising and the prospects of a negotiated settlement would seem to have been bright. There were after all few identifiable ideological divides between the leaders of the NP and the ANC. Statist and South African nationalist pragmatic about economic policy-making and public policy each was evidently capable of compromise and sophisticated negotiation. Despite the diverse experiences of exile

imprisonment and domestic struggle ANC members showed an almost pathological commitment to organizational accountability and cohesion. The NP had few serious doubts about the reliability and integrity of the military and (with some exceptions) the security apparatus. There was little likelihood of state disintegration or coup. Notwithstanding the violent conflict in Natal moreover there was little danger of a state destabilizing civil war. The means of state coercion remained too overwhelming to permit this possibility.

The negotiation process itself reflected the powerful forces for settlement with continuity and predictability evident throughout. One insider's account discounts the significance of day-to-day political turmoil pointing to the immense economic and international pressures that forced even hard-line NP leader Botha to begin contacts with the ANC in mid-1987 (Asmal 1995). FW de Klerk's relaxation of controls on political activity in 1989 after he wrested power from an ailing Botha seems a natural corollary of this recognition. February 1990 brought de Klerk's decisive legalization of opposition organizations multiple unbanning of individuals and selected releases of detainees. Soon after exiles were allowed to return and the State of Emergency was lifted. Concentrated and extensive negotiations embarked upon in 1991 ended at Christmas with a reasonably unproblematic statement of joint commitment to negotiation through a Convention for a Democratic South Africa. CODESA incorporated 18 political groups which each agreed to the goals of an undivided South Africa a bill of rights a multi-party system constitutional government a separation of powers civil liberties and specified freedoms to be enjoyed by all citizens.

There were wrong turnings and reversals. The year 1992 in particular was a year of stalemate. The CODESA working party on constitutional principles found itself unable to advance especially on the size of majorities required to achieve control in the elected constitution-making body. However even a temporary withdrawal of the ANC was not the dangerous risk that many analysts made it out to be. By March 1993 all 26 negotiating parties were back in public debate in the Multi-Party Negotiating Process. 'Consensus' was the basis upon which talks were based although this rapidly became established as 'sufficient consensus'. As Johnston has remarked ANC-NP negotiations

were helped by the assumption on both sides that sufficient consensus meant consensus between themselves (Johnston 1994: 722). As early as April 1993 technical committees were exploring solutions to problems in the fields of violence discriminatory legislation the media the electoral commission, human rights, constitutional issues and the Transitional Executive Council (or TEC) that was to take over executive functions in the run-up to the first non-racial election. By September the Constitution of South Africa (known usually as the transitional or interim constitution) had been enacted and legislation on the conduct of a free and fair election had been passed. The entire process had been enacted by existing institutions – as clear an indication as there could be of the degree of extraordinary control over events achieved by the key negotiating parties. Immense attention to detail was displayed in the drafting of the interim constitution: powers and rules were precisely specified and much of the document read like a detailed contract rather than a frame work of general rules. The TEC – the alternative cabinet that was to be the ultimate executive authority in the run-up to the election – was regulated by detailed statutes. Other transitional arrangements were equally carefully defined including a timeframe that required the final constitution be passed by May 1996 and to be formulated in accordance with 34 Constitutional Principles under the oversight of the Constitutional Court. Despite brinkmanship on the part of the Inkatha Freedom Party the negotiation process was a triumph of political management and elite control. In 1994 a few short years after negotiation began in earnest Nelson Mandela was President of South Africa.

The chronology and conditions of creation of the final constitution provided a tidy solution to an entrenched difference between the key negotiating parties. While the NP was all along in favour of drafting the full constitution before the first election the ANC wanted the election to create an assembly with the power to write a constitution from scratch. The inclusion of compulsory respect for Constitutional Principles together with the safeguards offered by the principle of consensual decision-making a government of national unity and the constitutional court permitted de Klerk to carry his constituency into an agreement that favoured the ANC. The ANC's additional concessions – sunset clauses and pension guarantees for a vast range of state and security force employees – were a blatant and successful bribe to incumbents of state offices (Guarantees of MPs

pensions were perhaps the most shameless and effective of such measures). Certain legal-constitutional changes including the end of the parliamentary sovereignty inherited from British legal thought rendered less threatening the idea of majority rule. Confidence was cemented by the elevation of the constitution to a new status as supreme law of the land and by the expanded role of judicial review. A number of fundamental rights were inscribed in the constitution thus placing them beyond the reach of parliamentary power. Property rights in particular were given firm and visible expression.

The negotiators also developed an inclusive formula for parliamentary elections which guaranteed the privileges of parliamentary membership to the elite within even the smallest parties. Inclusion was achieved by means of a broadly proportional electoral system without the cut-off for very low votes that characterizes most such systems. One seat was allocated for every quarter per cent of the vote. In the event this proved most important in guaranteeing for the very visible. In the event this proved most important in guaranteeing for the visible Democratic Party and Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) a number of seats in Parliament for their leaders despite their tiny vote shares.

A multi-party executive was guaranteed for a transitional period: fundamental rights were defined the potential use of emergency powers was restricted courts with new review powers were set up and new offices including the Public Protector the Human Rights Commissioners and the Financial and Fiscal Commission were developed. Asmal notes that the line between fair and equitable protection of the interests of those not represented in government and the hobbling of a government with a clear popular mandate must be finely drawn (Asmal1995: IV) an issue that has always been at the heart of liberal democratic political thought. However the decisions reached were the product of extended horse-trading rather than of academic deliberation.

1.5 Indian Political Parties: An Overview

The history of origin and growth of political parties can be traced from the days of Indian's struggle for freedom. The mass social awakening eventually crystallized into the framework of party system, initiated by the twin factor of socio-religious reforms and political reactions to colonialism. The colonial experience was producing political parties

in Asia. The colonialism and its natural product of nationalist movements tended to strengthen and reinforced the essential spirit of politics, basic to imperial traditions. The most significant direct impact of colonialism was the realm of public administration, law and order, as well as the introduction of some social welfare measures, in most of the Asian countries. These patterns gave some room to the creation of political parties in colonial countries, but many countries were reluctant to exploit such opportunities. In case of India, there were various groups and factions, participating in local elections dating back to the 1840's and 1850's. They might form some significant political parties at that time. However, India did not have a long tradition of local elections. These traditions emerged from the evolution of local governments, were largely pushed aside by nationalist movement.

1.5.1 National-Level Parties in India

In the 2009 election, the Election Commission of India identified seven “national parties.” However, only two—the Congress and the BJP—have the actual potential to lead coalition governments. The following briefly introduces the history, agenda, and recent electoral performance of the Congress and the BJP as well as two other small national parties: the Communist Party of India and the Bahujan Samaj Party. It also includes the Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh (RSS), which is a powerful political organization but not a formal political party.

- **Indian National Congress (INC)**

The INC (or the Congress) was formed in 1885 and became an integral part of the Indian independence movement. The party's platform is center-left and is known for its broadly secular agenda. It dominated early Indian politics, but struggled in the 1990s. It currently leads the incumbent government under Prime Minister Manmohan Singh. The party has become increasingly centralized under the leadership of successive descendants of Nehru, whose family has controlled the INC virtually without pause since 1947.

- **Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP)**

The BJP was the first non-Congress party to lead India for a full term (1999-2004) and remains the leading opposition party in parliament. Its agenda is generally characterized as Hindu nationalist and conservative. It is associated with controversial religious issues, including the Ram Temple and common personal status laws for all religious communities. Its Hindutva, or Hindu nationalist, agenda is closely aligned with the conservative Hindu organization Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh (RSS).

The BJP is a descendant of the right-wing Bharatiya Jana Sangh party, which formed in 1951. Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh (RSS) – The RSS was founded in 1925 to counter both British colonialism and Muslim separatism. Since its founding, the RSS has violently promoted religious nationalism. Its members have been responsible for various violent acts, including the assassination of Mahatma Gandhi and continuing anti-Christian and anti-Muslim riots and terrorist attacks. The RSS and its affiliate, the World Hindu Council (VHP), are closely associated with the BJP though not formally linked.

- **Communist Party of India (Marxist)**

Communist Party of India (Marxist) is political party in India which was formed at the Seventh Congress of the Communist Party of India held in Calcutta from October 31 to November 7, 1964. The CPI(M) combines the fine heritage of the anti-imperialist struggle and the revolutionary legacy of the undivided Communist Party which was founded in 1920. Over the years, the Party has emerged as the foremost Left force in the country. The CPI(M) is currently heading two state governments - Tripura and Kerala. The CPI(M) is currently heading two state governments - Tripura and Kerala. It also has representation in the Legislative assemblies of Kerala, West Bengal, Tripura, Telangana, Jammu & Kashmir & Maharashtra.

- **Communist Party of India (CPI)**

Established in 1925, the CPI is one of the oldest parties in India. Despite its lengthy history, its highest vote share was only 9.9 percent in the 1962 election. It has not won

over 2.8 percent of the vote since 1977. In 2004 and 2009, it achieved 1.3 percent and 1.4 percent of the vote respectively. The CPI fractured in 1964, producing the Communist Party of India (Marxist) [CPI (M)]. The CPI (M)'s hard-left politics have strong support in Kerala, West Bengal, and Tripura. The CPI (M) leads the Left Front coalition in parliament, but itself has received less than 6 percent of the vote since 1998.

- **Bahujan Samaj Party (BSP)**

The BSP primarily represents Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes, and Other Backward Castes (OBC), which collectively constitute the lowest rank in India's socio-economic hierarchy. The party's stronghold is Uttar Pradesh, which is India's most populous state. The BSP's leader, Mayawati, has been chief minister of UP four times in the 1990s and 2000s. Her proclivity for erecting statues in her honor throughout in the state's capital earned her fame and controversy. In 2004 and 2009, the BSP won 5.3 percent and 6.2 percent of the national vote respectively.

1.6 Research Design

1.6.1 Review of literature

There are ample of literature available on the theme regarding party system in South Africa and India. Several books and articles evaluate the emergence of political parties, their process and political structure. Several scholars have discussed how the process of formation African National Congress in South Africa and Indian National Congress in India put the strong foundation for development of political system. The literature has been broadly reviewed under three themes to specify it.

- Political Structure and Party System in South Africa
- Historical Evolution of African National Congress
- Evolution of Political Parties in India

➤ **Political Structure and Party System in South Africa**

The process of political party formation and political development in South Africa has been described by many scholars. Over the last 20 years, many scholars have released a regular stream of new titles on South Africa's political history. It has been assumed that African political parties played a key role in democratic consolidation. Efforts are made to assess their performance in terms of particular democratic functional requirements. It explained apparent shortcomings in their performance by reference to the imbalance of party systems and 'weakness' of parties, especially opposition parties. These include the economic context, weakness of civil society, prevalence of ethnicity as a basis for political mobilization, personalism, clientelism and strong presidencies (Randall and Lars 2002). The large majority of these concern on the history of the African National Congress (ANC) and to a lesser degree its allies, the South African Communist Party (SACP) and the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU). Many of these books are biographies of important figures in the anti-apartheid struggle, mostly associated with the ANC (Chipkin and Sarah 2013). The South African debate on democratic consolidation has raised the question of the need for a viable parliamentary opposition to the African National Congress (ANC) as a necessary condition. Scholars have evaluated the major factors why South Africa is able to establish multi-party system while several African countries could not able to establish multi -party democratic system. Several articles are interested to understand South African democratic transition, party regulation and the main reasons for the particular constitutional practice. The article argues that the structures of South Africa's transition to democracy, in particular the beliefs, experiences, and interests of the main transition actors, account for this specific constitutional choice (Kemmerzell 2010). The ANC's organizational deployment is directed to the mobilization of a militant activist community. Its commitment to consultative decision-making has declined, however, though under certain conditions the rank and file can challenge leadership successfully. The ANC's internal electoral arrangements promote consensus rather than competition, despite the interest they evoke from members. Despite the ANC's hegemonic aspirations, increasingly it conforms to the behaviour of an electorally oriented party in a liberal democracy. (Lodge 2004)

There is an attempt to interrogate the debate on democratic consolidation in South Africa with particular reference to the role of ‘white’ opposition parties. It is informed, first, by the view that the major opposition political parties represent the interests of the white minority, secondly, by Osaghae’s notion of the dual character of the South African transition, thirdly, by Christopher Clapham’s and John Wiseman’s argument that ‘the criteria by which the “consolidation” of democracy is to be assessed are inherently judgmental and finally by David Beetham’s comprehensive definition that ‘a democracy can best be said to be consolidated when we have good reason to believe that it is capable of withstanding pressures or shocks without abandoning the electoral process or the political freedom (Maloka 2001). There are three dimensions of ANC led democracy in South Africa: the movement’s entrenchment of liberal representative democracy, its pursuit of national democratic revolution, and its internal organisational democracy. It identifies tensions over the meaning and significance of democracy and the relations between internal democratic processes and external democratic goals. The movement has defended constitutionalism but failed to entrench democratic attitudes or to prepare for a multi-party system. It has promoted social transformation but failed to buttress the minimal gains of liberal democracy and prevented debilitating conflict over policy and candidate selection but grown increasingly intolerant of internal debate and competition (Butler 2005). Post-apartheid South Africa is characterized by centralized, neo-liberal policymaking that perpetuates and in some cases exaggerates, socio-economic inequalities inherited from the apartheid era.

The African National Congress (ANC) leadership’s alignment with powerful international and domestic market actors produces tensions within the Tripartite Alliance and between government and civil society. A new form of oligarch power, combining entrenched economic interests with those of a new ‘black bourgeoisie’ promoted by narrowly implemented Black Economic Empowerment policies, diminishes prospects for broad-based socio-economic transformation. Because the new policy environment is failing to resolve tensions between global market demands for increasing market liberalization and domestic popular demands for poverty-alleviation and socio-economic transformation, the ANC leadership is forced increasingly to confront ‘ultra-leftists’ who

are challenging its credentials as defender of the National Democratic Revolution which was the cornerstone in the anti-apartheid struggle (Andreasson 2006). The literature has provided the background of development of the political party system in South Africa. There is lack of the study to understand the structure, pattern of organising political parties. The literature has also not well analysed the South African constitutional provisions and existing political space for emerging new political parties. Many articles have tried to emphasis South African liberal democratic structure, the existing social division and agendas, roles of political parties; people's participation has not been properly focused.

➤ **Evolution of Political Parties in India**

During independence and post- independence period the Congress Party of India had facilitated the institutional structure to mobilize people and its regional congress working committee gave a platform to regional people to express their opinion. Several dissent voices, groups functioned within one congress umbrella. Since 1980s, the decline of congress parties has resulted greater transformation of Indian politics. In many scholar views it has also speed up democratization process in India through growing regional representation in post 1990s.

By the 1990s due to end of congress system (Kothari 2012), Congress party lost its domination. Though it has remained an important national party yet it provided opportunities to several regional parties for participation in the national politics. Their voices have been getting importance in national decision making. In the views of scholars, the Indian party system since independence can be divided in to three phases. First the one party (Indian National Congress) consensual dominance since 1952-67, Second erosion of congress dominance and its personalization around prime minister Indira Gandhi's personality cult, which led the oppositional politics within the party, third the onset of federal politics within the political framework of fragmented multi-partism (Singh and Hee Koh 2010). Three major trends post -1989, the decline of the congress, the rise of BJP and regional or state based parties have led to the formation of minority and coalition governments. After considerable change in parties and party system, two

coalition blocs have emerged. Both the NDA led by the BJP and the UPA led by the Congress were propped up by a host of state-based and regional parties eager to share the spoils of office (Hasan 2010).

The formation of regional parties is based on four major arguments. First argument is identity, second autonomy, third development and fourth statehood. Mostly the regional based parties' argument involves the demands pertaining to regional culture, history and language (Palshikar 2012). The first manifestation of regional aspiration on the basis of identity was the demand for reorganization of states on linguistic basis. The growing politicization of social cleavages along regional lines since the late 1960s due to the increasing centralization of Congress party and insensitivity to regional concerns about language, culture identity, political autonomy and economic development has led the emergence of regional parties (Sridharan 2010). There are several regional parties which are based on regional culture and ethnicity. Their objectives are basically to protect and promote their regional culture. In Tamil Nadu, there are two main state parties are All India Anna Dravida Munnetra Kazagham (AIADMK) and Dravida Munnetra Kazagham (DMK). Of these two parties the DMK is the veteran party. The origins of these parties are prior to India's independence.

The main ideology of this party is Tamil national pride. Before India's independence there were two Dravidian parties. One was Independent Party, which demand an independent Dravidstan in south India. Other was Justice Party, which had a Dravidian pride ideology. After India's independence, the Dravida Munnetra Kazagham (DMK) was established from the merger of these two parties in the former state of Madras, in south India. This party first demanded an independent Dravidstan for all of south India. Later on the demand was changed to independent Tamil state. Finally this party compromised on a Tamil Nadu state within the Indian Union. In 1972, the DMK party got split and a new party was founded by MC Ramachandaran. It was named as All India Anna Dravida Munnetra Kazagham (AIADMK). After three decades of Congress rule, in Andhra Pradesh, Telegu Desam was founded in 1982 by Telegu film actor, NT Rao. The ideology of the party is local cultural pride. Their major objectives were to promote local Telugu culture through enhancing Andhra Pradesh's regional autonomy.

Since the 1990s, the role of regional parties in the state as well as centre is growing in decision making and power sharing. There are several outcomes of emerging role of regional parties in Indian democracy. The first important outcome is the rise of regional parties has led decline of national parties and formation of coalition government in centre. With the emergence of regional parties key role in the formation of national coalition government in centre, the Indian politics has moved from an era of single-party rule with the absolute dominance of the congress from (1952-1989) to an era of coalition politics (Kumar 2013).

Thus, the literature has analyzed the evolution of African National Congress and Indian National Congress. Available literature has also analyzed the detail of social structure of South Africa and India in the context of the political development. There is lack of the literature which has focused on the social cleavage, which has put the foundation of several new regional parties in South Africa and India. Mostly available literature has focused on the evolution of ANC and INC separately, but they have rarely focused on the comparative study of evolution of African National Congress and Indian National Congress. There is knowledge gap and is need to study the nature, similarity and difference in evolution of African National Congress and Indian National Congress. There is need to relook and study political development and changing socio-political structure of South African and Indian society in the context of emerging new political parties. The available literatures rarely have analyzed the emerging political scope in South African and Indian political structure for new emerging political parties.

1.6.2 Rationale and Scope of Study

The formation of ANC and INC in South Africa and India put the foundation for the development of political parties. Both ANC and INC had played the crucial role during the liberation movement in uniting the people. The emergence of ANC in South Africa, INC in India as liberation political organization and political parties gave ground to dominate the politics since independence. Whereas INC before the independence was a political organization for the freedom fighter and after 1947 it emerged as a political parties, which has dominant role in the ruling India, ANC was also a liberation movement

organization, which provided the platform to raise the voice for black and struggle against the apartheid regime. Like INC, ANC has also remained a ruling party with the coalition of South African Communist Party (SACP) and Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU) since South Africa became Republic 1994.

But in the past 1990s decade, the decline the one party rule in India and emergence of the difference within the coalition of INC regarding the liberal policy has given ground to emerge to other parties. While in South Africa ANC is still one of the major ruling parties, in India the emergence of several regional parties have weakened the central parties' dominant position and had bred ground for the coalition politics. These new development and emergence of the parties have made a rationale to study the Party System in South Africa and India, to compare the role of important political parties particularly ANC and INC. It also made the rationale to study what is continuity and changes in their policies, organization and function as a politically party. Emergence of several new parties also made ground to examine the role and space for other parties in the South Africa and Indian political system.

1.6.3 Research Question

- What are the backgrounds and origins of African National Congress (ANC) and Indian National Congress (INC)?
- What are the major understandings of the developmental and inclusive perspective of the ANC and INC?
- What is the role of Indian National Congress and African National Congress in nation-building and inclusive development in respective countries?
- What are the major characteristics of liberalisation and privatisation programmes adopted by ANC and INC?

1.6.4 Hypotheses

- Role of ANC and INC in their Liberation/Nationalist Struggle in enable them to gain domination in the political system.

- ANC's and INC's liberal economic policies have given a ground for increasing unrest which resulted in to the loss of their dominance in phases.

1.6.5 Research Methodology

The proposed study compares the evolution of South African and Indian political party in historical perspective. It would also apply the Sartory dominant and pre- dominant party system theoretical frame work and also follow Almond's Structural Functional Approach in analysing of South African and Indian political party structure function and political development. The study would employ historical, analytical and descriptive methods. In primary sources African national congress and Indian national congress parties' documents, the reports of various international organizations, NGOs, speeches of the leaders will used in the research work. The relevant materials from numerous internet sites will be used in significant manner in due course of this study. For the secondary sources, useful books, journals, articles, magazines, internet and newspapers will enrich this proposed research work.

Chapter-II

Role of ANC in South Africa's Nation Building and Development

2.1 Introduction

The Republic of South Africa as it exists today is the aftereffect of a long and convoluted procedure of cooperation between African individuals, the Dutch and British colonialists. The historical backdrop of South Africa is the legislative issues of race relations, which goes back to the sixteenth century when Dutch initially touched base at South Africa to utilize it as a reviving focus. The Colonization of South Africa began when Jan Van Riebeeck set sail from a Dutch port on Christmas Eve of 1651 for the Cape of Good Hope coming to their on April 9, 1652 (Freda, 1975: 41). The historical backdrop of ANC was built up with the name of the South African Native National Congress (SANNC) in the year 1912. Seme Pixley, a standout amongst the most splendid understudies of Oxford University, with other three African legal counselors put his conviction that the tribes must meet up. The initial step he proposed as to call a gathering of every single African Chief and pioneers. On January eighth the meeting started. An Anthem made for the meeting "NKOSI SIKELEL Afrika" otherwise known as "God Bless Africa" was sung interestingly at an extraordinary African social event (Carter, 1977: 70). Pixley drove the talk and clarified that in the place that is known for their introduction to the world, Africans are dealt with as hewers of wood and drawers water. He put forth a wonderful expression, "The White individuals of this nation have framed Union of South Africa, in which we have no voice really taking shape of laws and no part in the organization. In this manner, this meeting discovers ways and methods for framing our national union with the end goal of making national solidarity and protecting our rights and benefits". (Beeman 1963: 25-28).

The rise of ANC in around the country had occurred because of numerous exploitative and prejudicial laws of White minority government. There was a fantastic however agonizing authentic conditions those restricted the ANC as a solitary and local option of outside run the show. Progressive John Langalibalele Dube moved toward

becoming President General, Rubsuana moved toward becoming Vice-President, Seme moved toward becoming Treasurer – General and Richard Msimang moved toward becoming director of the board of trustees and set up draft of the constitution. Mapikala known as guide of Africa was speaker of the Congress. Under the authority of these men, the recently shaped Congress chosen to look for review of grievances by established means and shake for the evacuation of shading bar in instruction, industry, parliament and organization. They would have liked to educate the African individuals to comprehend their obligations (ANC Strategy and Tactice 1997: 2). The Native Land Act of 1913 acquainted with merge white ownership of land in South Africa outside the territories delimited as African holds, and to devastate the autonomy of African worker agriculturists and compel them to work in the shoddy work advertise. This demonstration was the start of politically-sanctioned racial segregation approach as far as separation. Africans in numerous ranges had been permitted to keep living on white claimed arrives as tenant farmers or lease paying occupants was prohibited. The ANC dissented futile at the Act and its outcomes (ANC, Memorandum on Program of Action, 1949).

The approach of politically-sanctioned racial segregation was honed in every one of the circles of human action. The whites ruled the social, political, financial and social existence of the state by actualizing out of line laws and arrangements. These hostile to Black laws, for example, The Population Registration Act (1950), Group Areas Act (1950), Master and Servant Laws had composed a grisly script of conflict between the children of soil and outsider rulers. The pioneers of ANC in January, 1952 requested, both the annulment of prejudicial laws and requested portrayal of blacks in the parliament of the nation and in the common and city boards as an inborn right of the blacks. With the expansion in the force of the resistance development, the white minority administration likewise strengthened its harsh activities. This outcome in Sharpeville Massacres in 1960, had sweeping results for the union as they excited a solid outrage all through the world. On 31st May 1961, South Africa was announced republic following a 'whites just' submission in 1960. The Governor-General was supplanted by a President in South Africa. In 1960 the legislature likewise prohibited ANC, the Pan African Congress (PAC) and numerous different associations working for the disposal of politically-sanctioned racial segregation.

A mid 1960 to 1990s another quill had been restricted in the ANC. ANC, after its boycott, activated underground famous uprising against politically-sanctioned racial segregation imperialism. The ANC in this way chosen to embrace the outfitted battle as a component of this munitions stockpile of resistance. This drove, after some time, to the appropriation of a methodology which joined four essential columns: 'the association and activation of the mass of the general population against all signs of oppression', 'the foundation of underground structure of ANC to work among these masses and make conditions for the association to offer authority to their battles', 'the development of Umkhonto We Sizwe in 1961, and the lead of furnished activities against the hardware of persecution', and 'the preparation of the worldwide group to help the battle of the South African individuals and separate the politically-sanctioned racial segregation administration' (ANC Strategy and Tactics, 1997: 3).

As the battle spread, understudies searched out more established individuals whom they trusted, large portions of them with ANC experience and guidance and help with delivering flyers and pamphlets and aides in getting away from the nation. The captures and trails of its exercises the undercover flow of its writing and its flexibility Radio Broadcast from outside the republic. The Goch Street Incident on June 13, 1977, occasioned much untimely discourse about the begin of the Urban Guerilla war mass migration proceeded to various nations for military preparing (Sacheba, 1977: 23-24). In the presidential explanation of the African National Congress on eighth January 1984, the then president Oliver Tambo expressed that "it will be our exceptional errand this year to compose and activate our womenfolk into an effective, joined together and dynamic drive for progressive change. This assignment falls on men and ladies like every one of us together as friends in the battle" (Sacheba 1985: 5). At that point the Government of National Unity (GNU) was the blend of the left, moderate and the correct philosophies. These units conveyed the thought strongly and attempted to clean the indication of politically-sanctioned racial segregation. The solidarity government was formed to enhance the theoretical existence of greater part of the general population. The Indian inception individuals of South Africa cooperated and hinted at the solidarity in differing qualities practically speaking. This was the start of uniformity, principal rights and the chance to the general population to move anyplace in South Africa for their individual

improvements. This solidarity government worked for instruction for all, equivalent chances of business, wellbeing and standardized savings. The adjustment in the auxiliary elements of the organization, political foundation, police and armed force enrollment, all games establishment, school and colleges were obvious unmistakably.

2.2 Structure and Function of ANC

The Branch is the essential unit of the ANC, where individuals take an interest in ANC exercises and political exchanges. The branch is the `vanguard` of the group, speaking to its interests, communicating its goals and activating it to cooperate for nearby advancement. Each branch chooses a Branch Executive Committee at an Annual General Meeting.

- The Regional Executive Committee (REC) is chosen at a Regional Conference like clockwork by the agents of the branches in the area. The Provincial Executive Committee (PEC) is chosen at a Provincial Conference like clockwork by the agents of the branches in the region.
- The National Executive Committee (NEC) is the most noteworthy organ of the ANC amongst Conferences and has the duty to lead the association. It is chosen at regular intervals at the National Conference. The NEC chooses a National Working Committee (NWC) from inside its positions to arrange the work of the association on an everyday premise.
- The National Conference, which happens at regular intervals, is the most noteworthy basic leadership body of the ANC. Branch agents contain no less than 90 percent of voting delegates at the National Conference. A National General Council (NGC) is held between National Conferences to assess the program of the development.
- The ANC Women`s League works as a self-governing body inside the general structure of the ANC. Its goal is to safeguard and propel the privileges of ladies against all types of abuse and to guarantee that ladies assume a full part in the life of the association. The Women`s League is interested in all ladies who are individuals from the ANC.
- The ANC Youth League likewise works as an independent body, with the target

of joining together and driving youngsters in going up against and managing the issues that face the adolescent, and in guaranteeing that the adolescent make a full and rich commitment to the work of the ANC. Participation of the Youth League is interested in all individuals between the ages of 14 and 35.

The African National Congress, shaped in 1912, turned into the main association testing racial segregation. As the ANC mobilized its imperviousness to politically-sanctioned racial segregation, the white South African state wildly quelled it and different associations and activists. The Sharpeville killings and the Soweto riots came to symbolize the politically-sanctioned racial segregation state's savage concealment of dark freedom exercises. Be that as it may, even after the arrival of Nelson Mandela and the unbanning of the ANC in 1990, racial viciousness kept on seething. The white government powered an internecine fight between the ANC and the Inkatha development, which executed thousands, and white vigilantes killed dark pioneers. Brutality has died down however not finished since the primary post-politically-sanctioned racial segregation decision in 1994. There stay sporadic demonstrations of racial 213 savagery, including killings, bombings, and loathe discourse. This complementary racial slaughter fortifies effectively profound racial divisions in South Africa, which thus make an establishment for ethnic governmental issues. However the direct initiative of Nelson Mandela blocked a post-politically-sanctioned racial segregation political framework ruled by racial governmental issues. ANC pioneers minimized the extremes of the dark freedom development, shunning ethnic outbidding and advancing a multiracial and comprehensive "rainbow country".

The ANC, which has won each of the four equitable races since politically-sanctioned racial segregation's fall, holds ostensible multiracialism. Its race proclamations and talk incorporate every racial gathering. In any case, a nearby examination of the ANCs race crusades, voter focusing on endeavors, and gathering list synthesis demonstrate that the ANC is lopsidedly focusing on dark voters and barring white, Indian, and shaded voters. This discretionary preparation technique is intended to counter the main restriction party, the Democratic Alliance, which is gradually constructing a multiracial partnership against the ANC. The pattern of racial legislative

issues in South Africa risks the nation's delicate multiracial peace. The development of Mandela's ANC was significantly vital for South Africa.

The long history of racial brutality and separation prepared for a wrathful political move that could have shredded South Africa. Rather, energetic and stable majority rules system developed. Be that as it may, the remarkable initiative of Mandela has been supplanted by the very normal administration of the present African National Congress. As turncoats and reformers—both white and dark—have tested the ANC, the gathering 214 has reacted with progressively troublesome political strategies that have kept up racial polarization in the South African electorate. This section observationally shows the ethnic measurements of South Africa's gathering governmental issues, especially the worsening multiethnic character of the decision African National Congress.

2.2.1 The ANCs Membership and its Organizations

In 1991, after scarcely a year's legitimate action, the ANC asserted a composed after of 500,000. Certain current proclamations about enrollment have been impressively more unassuming. For instance, ANC authorities told their parliamentary assembly toward the start of 2002 that ANC participation remained at 89,000, down from 300,000 in mid 2000. Such proclamations ought to be deciphered mindfully. For this situation, the ANC was alluding to paid-up enrollment recorded in the new records created through a procedure of reconstituting ANC branches. Toward the start of 2001 branches started to be redesigned so their catchment territories agreed with the new ward limits received for the December 2000 civil races. In principle, this method was expected to create an aggregate of 3,000 branches. New branches regularly enlisted much lower followings, particularly after the disposal of "phantom" individuals from their records that is names included after the unpredictable offer of participation cards by contending nearby initiative gatherings. For instance, in KwaZulu-Natal, two participation reviews were held amid 2001 and branches were changed after an underlying examination found that enlisting specialists were marking shapes all at once in the interest of gathered new individuals.

Senior ANC executives kept up this was a result of competition between supporters of the common director, Zweli Mkize from one viewpoint, and those of the commonplace secretary, S'bu Ndebele, on the other, in the keep running up to the commonplace party meeting. Ndebele, whose power base is in Durban, as of late obtained a homestead outside Pietermaritzberg, a buy that was broadly translated as a push to start assuming control over Mkize's regional base. In Limpopo, the organization of the new branches revealed a scope of misuse including different participation of a few branches as a methods through which insights were expanded and in addition an inclination for branches to "mushroom" before meetings, a training that the run of one branch in each ward is wanted to check. Dynamic ANC participation has a tendency to change generally between party meetings and government decisions. In Gauteng, for instance, participation dropped by about 66% in the vicinity of 1994 and 1998, from 120,000 to 45,000 preceding ascending over the span of 1999, a decision year. It appears that amid 2002, the jolt of the 51st general meeting toward the finish of the year served to re-energize participation and enlistment: at the gathering the ANC's Secretary General, Kgalema Motlanthe, advised agents that enrollment was up to 416,874.

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In 2001, the way toward realigning branches with metropolitan ward limits was planned to rouse them with a new feeling of reason in which they would move toward becoming “vanguards of the group” and in which the association would “reassert the centrality of the branch in the structure of the ANC”. In 2002, the recovery of branch activism was to be empowered by the arrangements for the ANC's 51st national gathering in December. This was gone before by a national strategy meeting in September that clearly gotten more than 400 “entries” from branches and ANC districts and which itself had been expected by 97 provincial and sub-local workshops to which branches sent agents. The 3000 or so branch delegates going to the December gathering were relied upon to pay a R500 enlistment expense from branch finances, a prerequisite speaking to an extremely impressive responsibility from the ANC's base structures. Yearly accomplishment grants for branches were started toward the begin of 2002.

In January the ANC propelled a “Time of the Volunteer” to “recover the group soul of letsame ilima”. Every month would be agreed a different topic. In January, for instance, ANC branches would focus on repairing schools and branches of the Congress of South African Students (COSAS) would endeavor to recover missing books and classroom hardware and additionally conveying affirmation frames. In February the attention would be on wellbeing and security. The next month, ANC individuals would attempt and acquire cash for defenseless kids. In April, wellbeing focused exercises would incorporate way to entryway visits to help family units influenced by jungle fever, HIV-AIDS or TB and in addition “clean-ups” close taxi positions and around outside business sectors. In May volunteers would coordinate their endeavors at “Urban and Rural Community Development”, chipping away at neediness lightening ventures including funneled water plots and helping at annuity pay-out focuses. ANC home office pronounced itself to be profoundly happy with the reaction it got the battle in the main

month, however squeeze detailing from that point forward has been for the most part erratic. Meeting based hands on work is expected to build up whether the ANC prevailing with regards to meeting the exceptionally yearning targets it set itself. In Gauteng, for instance, common pioneers would have liked to prepare (and enlist as individuals) 50,000 volunteers. Five hundred unemployed individuals turned up at Moroka police headquarters, Soweto, with tidying up gear toward the start of February and gatherings were composed to help police at barriers or to go with them on watches

Fifty years back, Maurice Duverger drew a qualification between unit gatherings and mass based associations. In his origination, a unit party was a specific world class gathering of notables, agents and specialized specialists amassed exclusively for raising money and appointive purposes though a mass based gathering makes enlistment “a basic movement” for through such a procedure it looks to teach its body electorate and select its authority and additionally fund its operations. In an African setting Ruth Schachter Morgenthau made a similar refinement between benefactor parties that “generally ended their structure with the adherence of locally powerful notables” and mass gatherings of social reconciliation that looked for “support to grave” distinguishing proof from each man, lady and child. The ANC imparts affinities to these originations of mass gatherings. To make certain its budgetary requests on its individuals (a yearly membership of R12.00) are unobtrusive and speak to a little offer of its general subsidizing, similar to the case with most present day parties, mass based or something else. In principle in any event, however, it makes extensive different sorts of requests on its individuals, not simply amid races in which way to entryway peddling stays critical to battling in dark townships, yet between them also. Its admired origination of enrollment, to refer to Duverger once more, is of an aggressor organized group, activists inside a mass-based association, in the expressions of a Youth League motto, “each part a coordinator, a commissar”.

2.2.2 ANC's Terms and Conditions with tripartite alliance of SACP and COSATU

In actuality, however, as it has noticed, the ANC experiences significant trouble in satisfying this perfect of branches as “vanguards of progress in their groups” and in 2000 Thabo Mbeki was clearly thinking about the likelihood of “slowing down” the

association amongst decisions and “twisting it up once more” just before them. This would make for a “considerably littler, less bureaucratic gathering that would make and execute approaches quicker”. This would speak to an exceptionally radical move in work from the ANCs customary perspective of its part as a well known development undertaking a significantly more extensive assortment of lobbyist parts than only electioneering and Mbeki seems to have back-followed from such recommendations, yet he stays focused on the view that the ANC ought not select individuals aimlessly: “better less, but rather better”, he noted in September 2002 at the arrangement meeting.

Mapise Nqakula herself, similar to her better half, is a SACP part additionally an obvious member in President Mbeki’s trusted internal circle. In the mid 1990s, Peter Mokaba as Youth League president had practiced a definitive impact in marshaling support for Mbeki’s candidature as ANC representative president at the 1993 gathering. Inconsistent with the SACP since charges by driving gathering individuals that he had been enrolled as a police witness after his capture as a guerilla in the 1980s, he had by then risen in charge of the ANCs “African Nationalist” inclination. ANC “Africanists” have by and large connected themselves with a conservative accentuation in the translation of the ANCs key mission of “national majority rule” upset. Himself an effective proprietor of a string of hair salons, Mokaba kept up that the ANC had dependably grasped industrialist morals. In a more insightful commitment to the ANCs hypothetical diary, Umrabulo in May 2001, Mokaba noted different lessons for South Africa of the recently industrializing nations of Asia in which “the authenticity of the state is construct more in light of capacity to adequately convey to all its advantage bunches as opposed to on majority rules system”. In such an express the bureacracy and the political authority is “basically combined”, the common administration is not independent⁴⁰. “Africanist” talks have a tendency to have a solid dictator component: an ANC “media organizer” upbraided assaults by dark daily paper columnists on government serves by noticing that “African esteems... incorporate among others, regard for senior citizens in the public eye’. She thought that it was ‘odd’ that African columnists could “stoop so low in being vitriolic against these pastors - unAfrican indeed”.

In 2001 Dumisane Makhaye was blamed for supremacist conduct in the KwaZulu lawmaking body in view of his propensity for holding his nose amid addresses by white resistance MPLs and his derisive reference to them as “abelungus”. This was amid a period when he was under assault for living rent free in a state claimed estate in the Umhlanga Rocks occasion resort. He is obviously held in high regard by initiative, however. In March 2002, he showed up as the keynote speaker at the ANC's Mpumalanga common gathering, telling the amassed delegates that the gathering (the ANC) was “battling the West” to keep the Zimbabwean resistance pioneer out of the administration and cautioning them of a Western intrigue to debilitate governments drawn from previous freedom developments. South African and Zimbabwe, he noted, were “inseparably connected” - an expression that was likewise utilized as a part of the ANC online pamphlet. Africanist sensitivity for ZANU was the subject of an article in the notice of the SACPs Central Committee that recommended that pragmatists and communists inside the ANC would support a more basic position to Zimbabwe.

In March 2001 an ANC National Executive discourse concentrated on ‘foes inside’ the development, and a few NEC individuals affirmed that there were individuals inside the Alliance trying to guarantee that Thabo Mbeki would serve just a single term as ANC president. Just a single voice at this meeting enlisted a note if doubt: Pallo Jordan obviously recommended that such reports did not speak to genuine dangers, authentic point of reference proposed that the ANC expelled just awkward or powerless presidents⁴⁵. A “respective” experience amongst ANC and COSATU pioneers brought into the general population area these distractions. A fifty page “instructions record” that had been flowed to ANC branches following a National Executive session in September 2001. Mbeki attracted upon this record to whine about COSATU’s joint effort with worldwide left wing powers. He likewise blamed the organization for harboring “ultra-radical” and “counterrevolutionary” plans to dispatch a free political plans and additionally attempting to unseat him as ANC president. Obviously the meeting finished on a placating note with protestations of exchange union faithfulness to the ANC as the senior Alliance accomplice and a resulting experience between the two associations in February was more warm.

A mid the interim between the NEC meeting in September and the ANC/COSATU 'two-sided', the instructions record was displayed by NEC individuals to no under 52 territorial gatherings to which SACP and COSATU individuals were welcomed. The reactions to the archive at these congregations appeared to soberingly affect the two sides. As indicated by Jeremy Cronin, SACP Deputy Secretary General, and a central focus in the NWC attack on double commands, "the input that returned from the ANC from its own particular base was different, yet individuals said we need the collusion and authority was rebuked for the fumble of the alliance". Exchange unionists, however, discovered that any burst in the Alliance may test their own particular help; discourses in terms of professional career unionists at the provincial gatherings recommended that "the let one moves down the pecking order the more straightforward the felt association with the ANC". A consequent NEC determination called upon ANC individuals to take an interest all the more vivaciously in unions to "reinforce the organization together". COSATU was later to gripe that this order has been utilized by senior ANC individuals, including Dumisane Makhaye, to meddle in exchange union issues. Five of COSATUs subsidiaries asserted that they had encountered "penetration" by knowledge agents.

The reprieve in open quarreling was just impermanent. In May, the SACP discharged a paper that contained the most broad talk to date of the possibility of a break with the ANC, however it utilized greatly qualificatory dialect. "Would it be proper for us", the creators asked, "to consider the likelihood that sooner or later the union may disband". Such an activity would rely upon the probability of either a SACP propelled however ANC drove move to communism or - the supposed Cuban choice - or, on the other hand, a free SACP communist development. Socialist Party pioneers themselves differ on the probability of every alternative; in a meeting with an Irish lobbyist in January Jeremy Cronin contended that leaving the organization together "would be a renunciation of the conceivable outcomes of the circumstance", noticing his own endeavors as a parliamentary portfolio advisory group executive to "propel a left venture on the front of transport". Notwithstanding such contentions, the meeting pulled in sharp assaults from the ANC chain of command after the distribution of passages in the press in July. This was not really amazing for in his discussion Cronin had alluded to the

“Zanufication propensities” inside the ANC, referring to the association’s prohibition from “key arrangement development”, the lessened impact of the National Executive, and his own and the left’s minimization by “the Mbeki administration”. These comments drew an extraordinary reproach from the ANC presidential representative, Smuts Ngonyama: Jeremy Cronin was a disappointed individual, unfaithful and blameworthy of spreading purposeful untruths. “The African Revolution does not require a white savior to succeed”, Dumisane Makhaye noted in the Sowetan. Along these lines, after guidance from individual SACP focal board of trustees individuals and weight from the NEC, Cronin issued an open expression of remorse. At this point, however, ANC pioneers were gone up against with a fairly more genuine test to their power from their partner.

The Mpumalanga report griped of a “move towards fascism” inside the ANC and proposed that power had been gathered in the hands of “Mbeki comrades” to the detriment of previous Robben Island detainees and United Democratic Front authorities. It likewise contained a proposed waitlist of six contender for selection to the ANC’s best six workplaces. In the North West, chief Popo Molefe was accounted for to be included in an arrangement by a previous UDF gathering to get more impact on the NEC for ‘inward’ pioneers. Molefe was accepted by authorities at the ANC home office to be required in the generation of a flyer that proposed that a level headed discussion was required on whether ANC presidents should serve just a single term and in addition the uncoupling of the connection between the ANC and the state presidency. In the keep running up to the National Conference, the North West provided a further flag of its autonomy when it assigned Blade Nzimande, Jeremy Cronin, and Philip Dexter, SACP pioneers all related in the general population eye with the “ultra left”. The Limpopo gathering saw a significant close challenge for the chairmanship between Ngoako Ramathlodi and Aaron Motsoaledi. Ramathlodi won yet the survey recommended very profound splits over issues of rule in the commonplace association for Motsoaledi as MEC for agribusiness had been an astringent commentator of defilement inside the Limpopo government. A prior opponent of Ramathlodi, one time common seat George Mashamba, a SACP “stalwart”, prevailing with regards to acquiring Limpopo Youth League backing for his offered to win a seat on the NEC. Zachie Achmat, the pioneer of the Treatment Action Campaign spoke to another concentration of endeavors by the left

to secure assignments for thoughtful individuals on the National Executive: Achmat's name was incorporated into the rundown presented by the Muizenberg branch in the Western Cape.

In the Eastern Cape a muddled grouping of occasions incited the national authority to discredit the races held at the common meeting in October. Toward the start of the meeting it was found that the five challengers against occupants for the best positions in the common association did not have the fundamental selections from no less than ten branches required for candidature. The contenders incorporated the MP, Mluleki George, who was trying to supplant the head, Makhenkesi Stofile, as common executive. George in the end prevailing with regards to acquiring designations from the floor however he and different hopefuls asserted that they had gotten the required number of assignments yet that these had been lost by commonplace authorities before selections were sent for reviewing by the Electoral Institute. The chances against George's fruitful race were expanded by the gathering's coordinators refusal to concede sixty representatives from Lusikisiki in the Transkeien OR Tambo ANC district, George's primary power base inside the commonplace association. George lost the decision with 203 votes contrasted with Stofile's 398.

Stofile's triumph was shortlived, however. The day after the gathering the National Executive invalidated every one of the choices made at the common gathering, legitimizing this activity by belligerence that an excessive number of inquisite branches had sent representatives to the meeting. Stofile would hold office with his old common official until the point that new decisions were held three months after the fact, an admission to Stofile that was achieved simply after "hearty" resistance in the National Executive to a prior recommendation that the commonplace association ought to be disbanded and set specifically under the expert of Lutuli House. As indicated by one member, many individuals at the NEC meeting felt that the base camp's reaction to the anomalies in the Eastern Cape was "over the best... there are dependably these issues at commonplace meetings and the individuals who talked said this was not strange". An undertaking group comprising of twelve bureau priests and other ANC notables (counting Dumisani Makhaye) would visit all the common branches to guarantee that the agents to

speak to the region at the national gathering were chosen appropriately. This was not the principal intercession by national administration into the undertakings of the commonplace association: an errand group was expected to secure tranquil races in the OR Tambo district, a zone that had been influenced by contentions amongst Stofile and George supporters that had brought about the development of two parallel arrangements of branches amid the realignment of neighborhood party structures with ward limits. In spite of the fact that national initiative presumably had great procedural reason for applying its power in the area, and additionally very much advocated tensions about the nature of its open organization and political authority, locally numerous activists deciphered such moves as roused by ideological contemplations: Stofile appreciates bolster from COSATU and the SACP though George is seen to be more preservationist. The examination of national meeting delegates certifications brought about the decrease by 33% of the Eastern Cape's designation to Stellenbosch, a huge misfortune for the left in a setting in which as one Communist Party part watched: "we (the SACP) and the ANC have a beneficial interaction here, we are one". Govan Mbeki's burial service in Port Elizabeth gave a telling example of the SACP's neighborhood prominence.

Govan Mbeki was a notable figure inside the Communist Party however the burial service game plans were solidly controlled by the Mbeki family and no SACP speakers showed up on the program. This exclusion was not lost on the grievors who welcomed a message from the Chinese Communist Party with an "overwhelming yell of endorsement" and the tune, "Speak, Nzimande, talk", an occurrence that later provoked assertions that the gathering had organized a "left trick". Adding conviction to dissident doubts that an ideologically provoked cleanse was in advance was the NECs directive to Stofile to sack three of his MECs: Phumelo Masualle, Ncumisa Kondlo, and Stone Sizani, the famous seat of the ANCs Nelson Mandela (Port Elizabeth) area, in which the SACP had successfully taken control of the official after races in July. Apparently this request emerged from worries about debasement and maladministration: Sizani's specialty was the concentration of all around advanced bureau disappointment before in the year. Notwithstanding, in terminating Masualle and Kondlo (Sizani surrendered deliberately) Stofile made it very clear he was acting under weight, accentuating at a question and answer session that "this is not about non-conveyance". Along these lines

SACP individuals affirmed to columnists that Masualle, the SACP seat in the territory, and Kondlo had been the guideline figures in the endeavors to deny bureau pastors situates on the Communist Party's focal panel at its meeting in July. Eastern Cape ANC pioneers additionally trust that ANC home office was acting because of a record it had gotten from Mluleki George in which he depicted an arrangement by commonplace pioneers to vote GEAR adversaries onto the national official.

2.2.3 Party and policy

This grouping of improvements speaks to a genuinely strange case of a fruitful test by general population activists to authority choices however for this situation, AIDS activists inside the ANC appreciated intense foundation bolster including lawful guide for suit, and Mbeki's arrangement with dissenter researchers isolated best level ANC initiative and permitted unordinary scope for the basic audit of government approach inside the development. All in all, however the ANC's initiative puts significant exertion in inciting general population support in strategy discourses, the motivation for such consultations are deliberately controlled. As noted over, the ANC's 51st meeting was gone before by a strategy gathering gone to by about 700 agents from ANC branches and additionally delegates of "Collusion partners" and "dynamic NGOs". This meeting created 62 pages of draft resolutions for dialog at the national gathering. A large number of these resolutions were not really petulant, however, their conditions only rehashing and asking support for existing government approach. Their substance resounded the substance of a 131 page volume of exchange papers that had been flowed to branches in the August issue of Umrabulo, a large portion of these, it appears, the work of NEC sub-boards of trustees. An untypically open-finished determination tended to "technique and strategies and the adjust of powers", that is the ANC's own particular automatic vision. Here the approach gathering whole session surrendered that there "was a need to disaggregate different types of capital and characterize the connection between the popularity based development and private capital", apparently to empower it to reach out past the officially existing consideration of "the dark new part of the entrepreneur class" inside the "intention powers" of National Democratic Revolution. This was uncommon however, for not very many of either the exchange papers or the draft resolutions were composed

so as to propose a scope of choices over which there may be contradiction or open deliberation, and a number of their worries identified with very particular zones of open strategy, well outside the ability to grasp of branch level activists.

Generally the most important elements of the approach resolutions were their watched bolster for the utilization of against retroviral solution in a concise five provisos tending to HIV-AIDS, a reference to the need to explore the impacts of land deals to outsiders, different coded supports of government large scale monetary arrangements, and, at last, a genuinely equivocal determination on state resource rebuilding - an obvious admission to one side. None of the exchange papers nor any of the resolutions welcomed any verbal confrontation on what more likely than not been for some ANC branch individuals a standout amongst the most combative choices by their administration, that is, the current incorporation of the New National Party into the overseeing coalition, an advancement that obviously caused much on edge discourse at a NEC meeting in January. All the more critically, the four pages of ANC sacred and disciplinary issues assessed by the arrangement meeting did exclude two new decides that would have been proposed in December. One of these would characterize as a “genuine offense... joint effort with a political association or gathering... in a way in opposition to the points, approaches and goals of the ANC”, a measure that was plainly coordinated reducing ANC majority inclusion in weight gatherings, for example, the Treatment Action Campaign. Another change to the constitution presented crisp confinements on the scrutinizing of gathering strategy by singular individuals, forcing upon them the “individual and aggregate” commitments to safeguard approach positions embraced at national meetings

ANC pioneers frequently guarantee that their association speaks to a “parliament of the general population” and, to be sure, the as far as anyone knows participatory system that in 1955 created the Freedom Charter keeps on providing a key reference point in its own particular cases to majority rule conventions. The way toward looking for general population arrangement supports that come full circle in the five yearly selection of meeting resolutions clearly speak to a legitimating custom that has passionate and moral criticalness to the individuals who partake, the two pioneers and adherents. Neither

in 1997 nor in 2002, however, do we discover confirmation of genuine and fruitful resistance to administration activities by delegates at gatherings. Altogether, in his discourse for the 90th commemoration of the ANC, Pallo Jordan picked as his subject “toleration and cooperation in inner and outer open deliberations” as a “center value” in his development’s history, however every one of the cases he chose as delineations originated before 1994. In a strangely frank commitment to Umrabulo, Gugile Nkwinti yielded that however “as approach the ANC takes into consideration criticism...its initiative has a tendency to be guarded when reacting to feedback. One is scared to censure because of a paranoid fear of being marked as an individual from either gathering”.

2.2.4 Leadership Elections

At the 1997 national meeting, appoint decisiveness was more obvious in races than as for strategy choices. A few of the senior workplaces were challenged in spite of Mandela’s request in 1996 to his NEC partners that the ANC authority ought to be picked through a consensual assention as opposed to by election. The position of national chairmanship was the most huge rivalry with the Eastern Cape, Western Cape and KwaZulu Natal and the Youth League choosing Mbeki’s partner, Steve Tshwete and the inland territories supporting the victor, Lekota, for the most part seen as the favored competitor of the left, exchange unions and previous UDF activists. Left wingers could likewise determine fulfillment with the triumph of Thenjiwe Mthintso in her offered for the Deputy Secretary General’s post over the authority favored chosen one Mavivi Myakayaka-Manzini, Thabo Mbeki’s “parliamentary advocate”. The 1997 meeting was likewise charged by Winnie Madikizela-Mandela’s endeavors to secure a designation from the floor to challenge the Deputy-Presidency, a position that Jacob Zuma was to win unopposed after the disappointment of an entangled interest including a few cupboard priests to propose Cyril Ramaphosa as an option hopeful. Prior in the year a proposition inside the Youth League to back Mpumlanga chief Matthews Phosa for the Deputy Presidency caused top level disappointment. Phosa at first energized his childhood alliance supporters to trust that he would acknowledge assignment. Youth League secretary general clarified their help for Phosa by proposing that his decision would “counter recognitions that Thabo Mbeki

jumped at the chance to encircle himself with companions and that it would likewise wreck the conviction that best positions were held for outcasts and Xhosas”, barely assessments figured to win top level endorsement of Phosa’s candidature. The League later withdrawn its designation and after two years Phosa was expelled from his prevalence, in what was broadly comprehended as a retaliation for his underlying readiness to oppose top initiative inclinations by testing Zuma. In 1997 the races and rankings of fruitful contender for the National Executive additionally vouched for the prevalence of such moderately autonomous figures as Pallo Jordan, Cyril Ramaphosa, and Tito Mboweni.

The 2002 races provided a great deal more restricted proof of fair inclinations among the branch activists gathered at Stellenbosch. Given the ANC’s current compromise with the New National Party, whose delegates were welcome to the meeting, the decision of setting itself was critical, as “the scholarly support of Afrikaner patriotism”, a point apparently underlined by Thabo Mbeki in his opening discourse when he alluded to the collected assembling as “the results of the battle in which Moses Kotane and D F Malan occupied with”. For the best five workplaces just the officeholders pulled in selection, in spite of prior bits of gossip that specific gatherings would bolster a move by the Chairperson Monsioua Lekota into the Deputy Presidency and that the left was reevaluating its before sponsorship of Kgalema Motlanthe as Secretary General. Nor did anybody restrict the assignment of Minister of Housing Sankie Mthembie-Mahanyele as the agent secretary, to succeed Thenjiwe Mnthintso who had declined a moment term on grounds of sick wellbeing. Six months prior the Youth League had prescribed that the best positions ought not be challenged and on this event its perspectives won.

Any cheerful contenders for inevitable progression to Mbeki who may have needed to position themselves for the opposition for the administration at the 2007 meeting may well have been debilitated by the treatment distributed to previous “fakers” to ANC.

2.2.5 ANC: From development to Party

It remains universality inside the ANC that the association is not only a political gathering, that it remains a freedom development. Through this portrayal, its representatives recommend that it grasps a considerably more extensive voting public than social cleavage-based political gatherings and that it holds a private association with various types of organs of “common society”. Today its authorities even claim that inside its following “the blame lines of the past are beginning to vanish”, referring to as confirmation the foundation of new branches in Pretoria’s Afrikaans-speaking rural areas. For specific experts this differing qualities implies that the ANC must remain a development of “talk about and political discourse”, for others that such open deliberation must be surrounded by the need to “activate and compose all the social strengths”, that it ought to be “an expansive development speaking to a mix of social classifications”, including the white “center strata”. This sort of scientific refinement relates to the more broad scholastic use of such terms as “get all” gatherings. Be that as it may, the ANC in its self-origination as a freedom development is not only alluding to its wide social interest. It additionally expect that its part keeps on being one of freedom, “of Africans specifically and dark individuals when all is said in done from political and financial subjugation” and that this objective relies on its own endeavors to change government establishments and to re-sort out monetary life. Given the probability of imperviousness to such endeavors, as the creators of a 1998 discourse paper noticed, the “National Liberation Movement” would need to expand its impact “to all levers of energy: the armed force, the police, the organization, insight, the legal, parastatals, and offices, for example, the administrative bodies, people in general telecaster, the national bank et cetera”. Arrangements of ANC work force to senior posts inside such organizations were expected to “counter the impact of the previous decision class” that still “prevailed in the common administration, in the financial division, in the media”. In such goals, the ANC has a hegemonic or absolutist origination of legislative issues, in which the “mission of the gathering is to understand a social request uncovered to initiative”, in which the “gathering is the most elevated esteem barring state, country, family or other social group” and in which “formal government is only an instrument of accomplishment”.

In its brave projections of its national progressive mission there is an expanding quality of phony, however. In spite of the fact that gathering ideologues jump at the chance to explode against the quality of “counter progressive powers in the economy, common administration, media, courts, and so on”, such protestations look progressively fantastical in a setting in which, for instance, sixty for each penny of open administration is dark and as of late delegated. Did Dumisane Mkhahye’s group of onlookers in Nelspruit truly trust him when he let them know at the common ANC meeting that “our foes have spent restless evenings plotting our demise ... every so often the adversary completes counter hostile assaults against us utilizing the counter progressive system it has fabricated particularly in this forefront province”. Not at all like the hegemonic associations of the African one gathering states and Eastern European organizations that facilitated the outcast pioneers of Thabo Mbeki’s era, the ANC needs to restrict any absolutist slants it might have inside the limits set by liberal majority rule government. As its own official program proposes, “any legitimate and hearty (however comprehensively counter-progressive) articulation of the genuine logical inconsistencies in the public eye... ought to be dealt with as authentic articulations”. Despite the fact that ANC pioneers oppose the proposal that their association has turned out to be progressively arranged to the requests of electoralism and parliamentary legislative issues -thus the endeavors to energize group advancement endeavors by branches- progressively the behavioral attributes of such a development are obvious. They are perceptible, for instance, in the prevalence inside the gathering’s authority structures of MP’s and bureau priests, in its control of the focal territory in the ideological range of South African legislative issues, in its emphasis on its right as the chose government to make strategy without anyone else’s input as opposed to surrendering the corporatist cases of its exchange union partner, in its endeavors to reduce inward hierarchical vote based system, and obviously in the expanding inclination for its extremist enrollment to end up plainly engrossed and vivified by rivalry by equal groups for open office. Also, in a liberal popular government with a very much created private area would-be-hegemonic endeavors to expand the gathering’s impact through society can have surprising outcomes. As Jeremy Cronin has noticed, the “arrangement” of ANC notables into vital positions in business and open organizations has basically caused a “variety of focuses of

impact and power inside the ANC” as opposed to the expansion of a brought together expert. Not all dark strengthening bunches depend for their thriving on government business.

2.2.6 ANC as a Single Largest Party of South Africa

In its brave projections of its national progressive mission there is an expanding quality of phony, however. In spite of the fact that gathering ideologues jump at the chance to explode against the quality of “counter progressive powers in the economy, common administration, media, courts, and so on”, such protestations look progressively fantastical in a setting in which, for instance, sixty for each penny of open administration is dark and as of late delegated. Did Dumisane Mkahaye’s group of onlookers in Nelspruit truly trust him when he let them know at the common ANC meeting that “our foes have spent restless evenings plotting our demise every so often the adversary completes counter hostile assaults against us utilizing the counter progressive system it has fabricated particularly in this forefront province”. Not at all like the hegemonic associations of the African one gathering states and Eastern European organizations that facilitated the outcast pioneers of Thabo Mbeki’s era, the ANC needs to restrict any absolutist slants it might have inside the limits set by liberal majority rule government. As its own official program proposes, “any legitimate and hearty (however comprehensively counter-progressive) articulation of the genuine logical inconsistencies in the public eye... ought to be dealt with as authentic articulations”. Despite the fact that ANC pioneers oppose the proposal that their association has turned out to be progressively arranged to the requests of electoralism and parliamentary legislative issues - thus the endeavors to energize group advancement endeavors by branches - progressively the behavioral attributes of such a development are obvious. They are perceptible, for instance, in the prevalence inside the gathering’s authority structures of MP’s and bureau priests, in its control of the focal territory in the ideological range of South African legislative issues, in its emphasis on its right as the chose government to make strategy without anyone else’s input as opposed to surrendering the corporatist cases of its exchange union partner, in its endeavors to reduce inward hierarchical vote based system, and obviously in the expanding inclination for its extremist enrollment to

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2.2.7 Party Dominant System

Co-optive power gives the vital intends to keep up party strength in a majority rule framework. As indicated by (Friedman: 99) a gathering prevailing framework is a vote based system in which standard races occur, restriction parties are allowed to arrange and convey what needs be, and where common freedoms are, generally, regarded. What recognizes a gathering overwhelming framework from different majority rules systems is the imposing business model of energy by one gathering. The gathering wins its position through popularity based decisions; its predominance can't be accomplished through drive or misleading.

Duverger characterizes such predominance as "an issue of impact as opposed to quality". Since the prevailing party holds control inside a popular government, its strength is not guaranteed and should thusly be persistently kept up. Strategies used to guarantee strength incorporate

- delegitimizing the resistance;
- relying on and underscoring "family relationship" contacts between the residents and government, for instance through persistently highlighting a mutual past;
- the imposing business model or close restraining infrastructure of people in general arrangement motivation; and
- creating or sustaining a foe to join against, regardless of whether the adversary is genuine or not.

A gathering overwhelming framework would fit in to what (Southall 74-75) perceives as 'low power' popular government – the street, he trusts, South Africa is on. This infers the formal necessities for majority rules system are met, yet “under states of diminishing rivalry and declining well known cooperation” where disagree and basic idea are relentlessly being overpowered through the procedures of centralisation. (Friedman 116) likewise perceives that to best guarantee its control, a prevailing gathering should command the formal commonwealth and in addition common society. For (Heywood 262) common outcomes of the prevailing party framework are as per the following:

- The disintegration of the refinement between the state and the decision political gathering. With the continuation of a similar gathering in control, a 'procedure of politicization' happens as state authorities and establishments embrace the ideological and political needs of the decision party.
- Due to an absence of 'dread of the tally' the prevailing party may start to show carelessness and haughtiness, and perhaps defilement.
- This framework is likewise regularly portrayed by powerless and inadequate resistance, particularly where the predominant party feels no commitment to consider their feedback.
- It is hence important to evaluate the pertinence of the above hypothetical understandings of energy on account of South Africa.

2.2.8 Role of ANC as the spearhead of South African Government

With its wide help base because of its history as the triumphant freedom development, the underlying party strength of the South African government framework by the ANC was guaranteed. The ANCs predominance has been affirmed by its achievement of a mind larger part in the 1994, 1999 and 2004 decisions. Scholarly observers, including Giliomee, Myburgh and Schlemmer, have connected the idea of 'party predominance' to South Africa, while (Southall 2005: 39) alerts that in spite of the fact that there is

confirmation of a prevailing gathering framework, the ANC's strength is restricted by established stabilizers, its failure to force itself on society, and proof of lively interior level headed discussion. Hence, (Southall 2005: 39) contends for a "frail" adaptation of the prevailing framework. In any case, because of the very idea of a popularity based framework, paying little mind to party strength being solid or frail, such predominance requires support and methodology without the utilization of drive or extortion. At the end of the day, hard power is impossible for the ANC-drove government. The paper accordingly swings to research the utilization of instruments of co-optive power in South Africa.

Radiating from and inside the South African government, two signs of co-optive power are obvious; that is, institutional centralisation and dispositional centralisation. The strategies used to guarantee party predominance, as recognized by (Friedman 100) are clear in the procedures of institutional and dispositional centralisation. The previous can be found in the legislative structure through the fortifying of brought together control by an extended presidential office. The last mentioned, dispositional centralisation, is more subtle, however is discovered when one unwinds the energy of talk. It is attested that the political space of South Africa's political and common society is being fought, and along these lines seriously controlled, utilizing the domain of talk.

2.2.9 Organisational Structure: From Federal to Centralisation

The procedure of decentralization was acknowledged by the ANC as the finish of established negotiations (Niksic 2004: 35) The ANC was pressurized into yielding on its vow to unitary government by pleasing the interests of minority gatherings, and in this manner it acknowledged a more federalised type of government. For instance, amid the Multi-Party Negotiating Forum in 1993, more noteworthy levels of expert and obligation to bring down levels of government were consented to. An arrangement of relative portrayal was additionally consented to. However, disregarding the explanatory affirmation of decentralization in strategy papers and enactment, centripetal inclinations are undermining the execution of these arrangements. Galvin and Habib bring up that "in spite of the fact that the new South African government has embraced a scope of

arrangements that advance decentralization, contending propensities toward centralisation have turned out to be progressively clear”.

There are four conceivable clarifications for this unifying inclination and the move towards a more unitary framework. To start with, the politically-sanctioned racial segregation framework depended on an elected and as far as anyone knows decentralized, but distorted, type of government; in this way there is a reasonable repugnance for an elected framework. It additionally clarifies why our arrangement of government, despite the fact that it has an elected shape, is never alluded to accordingly by the administration. Second, albeit national pioneers may put forth smooth expressions in acclaim of decentralization, in all actuality they have a tendency to see it as undermining their ability to regulate advancement and to control the procedures and assets thereof. Rather, they consider that centralisation empowers better coordination. Third, there is a becoming overall inclination towards centralisation, a wave that South Africa seems resolved to ride. What’s more, last, President Thabo Mbeki and numerous in the ANC government authority have been prepared inside the radical Leninist school of thought. This gives pre-prominence to the part of the ‘vanguard party’, consequently supporting their comprehension of a various leveled connection amongst rulers and ruled. This last clarification will be returned to in the last segment as it insinuates the belief system that underlines the ANC government’s approaches and activities.

2.2.10 ANC and South African Political Society

By races, the nearness of a dynamic and practical political society as political gatherings has turned into another measuring stick of the soundness of a majority rule government. The event of political gatherings is not an adequate measure of popular government, but rather it is a fundamental sign of democracy. It is again recognized that political gatherings may move toward becoming apparatuses of oppression and suppression, particularly where the gathering framework moves to a one-party state: along these lines, the requirement for solid restriction gatherings to counter such a movement. For the motivations behind this paper a political gathering will be characterized as “a gathering of individuals that is sorted out with the end goal of winning government” in a perfect world through appointive means.

2.2.11 Delegitimising the Competitors

The ANC's National General Council Report from its 11–15 July 2000 meeting gives a sign of the ANC's approach towards other political gatherings. It states: While the decisions showed a lessening in help for the powers restricted to change accentuation included. By suggestion, resistance parties are 'powers restricted to change' and the ANC views itself as, as was beforehand cited, as the main true blue pioneer of the general population. Mbeki states at the ANC's 51st National Conference held in 2002 that:

The Democratic Party/Democratic Alliance has kept on situating itself as the most decided adversary of our development and our viewpoint of the key change of our nation. In the period since our last National Conference, the DP/DA has undoubtedly done all that it could to restrict our change exertion.

Therefore, on the off chance that you are incredulous of the ANC-driven government or its authorities then you will be marked as traitorous to South Africa and the fate of South Africa. This is particularly clear when even the past gathering of politically-sanctioned racial segregation sings a similar tune. On 7 August 2004 the New National Party's (beforehand the National Party) pioneer Marthinus van Schalkwyk reported that he would be joining the ANC and called his individuals to go along with him. One of the gathering's individuals went ahead to state to different individuals that they would need to choose whether to "help assemble South Africa or reprimand from the sidelines". Once more, on the off chance that you don't join the positions of the ANC-drove government then you are not fabricating South Africa. President Mbeki's address at the 51st ANC National Congress additionally repeats this point: "From its establishment, the African National Congress has filled in as the parliament of our kin and an operator of solidarity of the African individuals". It shows up, along these lines, that there is just political space for the ANC inside Parliament and that the legislature is the main "unifier" of the people. Consequently, there is no place for the voices of restriction parties, since they are depicted as 'strengths contradicted to change'. Resistance is additionally obliged by the genuine risk of being marked as unfaithful to South Africa on the off chance that one is condemning of the ANC-driven government.

The ramifications of keeping up the title incorporate, to start with, the obscuring of the recognizing line amongst government and society, in this manner infringing upon the political space and independence of society all in all, and common society specifically. Second, if the development is for and of the general population, why might the general population restrict it? In this manner, restriction would essentially convert into being non-transformative. Third, it has suggestions with respect to responsibility. To whom and what foundation is a development responsible? Not at all like a political gathering responsible to its electorate and an administration responsible to its natives everywhere, has a development had no responsibility partner, particularly on the off chance that it is the legislature also. The ANC, as a development, is mounted towards the point of accomplishing a National Democratic Revolution (NDR). The key goal of the development is the formation of an assembled, non-racial, non-sexist and popularity based society. This basically implies the freedom of Africans specifically and dark individuals all in all from political and monetary servitude. It implies inspiring the personal satisfaction of every single South African, particularly poor people, the dominant part of whom are African and female.

Joel Netshitenzhe expressed in 1996 that the NDR is a “procedure of battle that looks for the exchange of energy to the general population. When we discuss control we mean political, social and monetary control”. The change will “come to fruition because of steady exertion on our the ANC part, which will involve a complex ideological, political and authoritative struggle” (Mabeki 2012) The formation of a majority rule society is a vital and honorable errand; however the talk and activities show up far expelled, particularly when the satisfaction of the transformation implies an exchange of energy to one political gathering through the hushing of option voices and through the inconvenience of ideological dominion.

In his address at the 51st National Conference of the ANC (2002), Mbeki contended that “the target of remaking and improvement can’t be accomplished unless the ANC and whatever is left of the dynamic development are solid and joined around the acknowledgment of clear approach goals which really result in reproduction and advancement”. As needs be, the NDR will be acknowledged through, to begin with, “the

utilization of the standards of law based centralization” emphasis added, 52 and by “fortifying the hold of the just government on state control, and changing the state apparatus to serve the reason for social change”. Second, the NDR is to be accomplished through its Cadre Development and Deployment Strateg in the achievement of ideological authority. The term unit signifies party individuals prepared and trained in the belief system of the gathering who are “required to show an abnormal state of political duty and doctrinal teach” An element of the framework party is dependence on a political tip top to offer ideological authority to the majority. In the previously mentioned ANC approach record, under the heading ‘Winning administration’, it attests that the “obligation of their frameworks e.g. those situated inside the state to utilize whatever power they need to guarantee that change approaches are acknowledged and actualized”. The strategy record likewise requires the organization of frameworks for compelling mediation on all fronts, including the administrative, parliamentary and additional parliamentary, with legitimate coordination among every one of these levels, to guarantee that we go about as one development, joined around a typical arrangement and bound by a typical program of activity.

The Parliamentary infers the political society and additional parliamentary suggests common society. The ANC in this way expects for all circles of political and common society to be impacted and infiltrated by its belief system. At the ANC's current 2005 National General Council meeting it again reasserted the significance of the “ideological battle and unit improvement”, where the pertinent commission prescribes the need of paying “close thoughtfulness regarding issues relating to the socialization of new eras in organizations, for example, the family, schools and advanced education foundations”. Along these lines, this ideological administration is to incorporate the political socialization of all South African nationals in the perspective of the ANC. Read: dispositional centralisation. Institutional and dispositional centralisations are in this manner appearances of the satisfaction of the ANC's NDR. Supplications coordinated at the ANC to confine its energy and to abstain from penetrating all circles of the state and society would consequently be equivalent to asking for it not to satisfy its points and goals, as expressed in its approach and dialog reports.

2.3 Role of ANC in Nation Building and Development

2.3.1 The Issue of Corruption

- South Africa had a past filled with solid judicious bureaucratic association, yet this had, after some time, been extremely harmed as far as its level of polished methodology by the political changes. The most recent two decades had turned out to be eminently influenced by debasement as there was no trust by the approaching government in the senior government workers. The ANC required organization as an authoritative association and fuse standard common administration. The new government required the help of the dark white collar class civil servants, with a specific end goal to regulate provincial ranges of the nation. The ANC itself brought an eagerness and high trusts later on.

- The nine new common organizations were influenced by defilement. The most outrageous defilement has showed up in the three territories where the provincial common sendee was most widely and solely drawn from the old Bantustan structures-the Eastern Cape, Mpumalanga and the Northern (Limpopo) territory. In Mpumalanga, after the 1999 decisions, three ANC commonplace clergymen who had beforehand been sacked in connection to defilement were re-designated to the commonplace official. The ANC common chief, Ndaweni Mablangu commenced his term of office by guaranteeing a public interview that it was typical for lawmakers at comparative level. The poor report of the state distinguished common administration misrepresentation in annuities and other social advantages as especially intense in the region.

- A transforming chief general who had endeavored to get serious about defilement in the training division fled the territory after death dangers. 'Assets for the nourishing of school kids were lost, the common bureau part in charge of wellbeing Tan a private emergency vehicle benefit, evidently without harm to his profession' (Wdge 2001: 129-252). The ANC commonplace initiative tremendously neglected to handle the uncontrolled defilement in the Eastern Cape

and in the end President Mbeki sent in an outer interval administration group to endeavor to correct issue in region. In April 2003, the group created a report distinguishing' significant inadequacies in the wellbeing, training, Social improvement and open works division. Under Nelson Mandela and much more under Thabo Mbeki government approach, supported lease looking for movement by dark business visionaries and granting to state contracting and corporate possession. The propensity of such approaches was to make an atmosphere in which the line between authoritative documents of lease chasing and by and large defilement and cronyism turned out to be progressively obscured.

- Mr. Zuma wiped out accountable for defilement identified with a disputable \$ 5 bn (3.4 bn) 1999 arms bargain. Zuma confronted this test, battling a long fight over assertions of defilement, coming about because of his money related guide SchabirShaik's conviction for debasement and extortion, on 6 April 2009. The National indicting expert chosen to drop the charges against Zuma (Daily Dispatch, 8 April 2009).
- South African had endured an unlawful surge of R185 billion because of debasement out in the open part in the vicinity of 1994 and 2008. It is evaluated that in 2009, government debasement totaled R70 billion (Report of Global Financial Integrity, 2009). In 2010, organization extortion in South Africa was "raising at a disturbing rate" and assessed that defilement added up to R100 billion (Report of Audit Firm EDO, 2010). The legislature has officially constituted a hostile to debasement act at the nearby and in addition larger amount. A National Anti-Corruption Forum was built up in June 2001. Its destinations are:
 - To contribute towards the establishment of a national consensus through the co-ordination of sectoral strategies against corruption,
 - To advise the government on national initiatives for the implementation of strategies to combat corruption,

- To share information and best practices on sectoral anti-corruption work and,
- To advise sectors on the imprudent of sectoral anti-corruption strategies. (National Anti-Corruption Forum, 2001).

There is a need to adopt more stern action against all (including President) in this act to strengthen it, which will help to deck the practice of corruption.

The ANC built up the Constitutional Assembly (CA) as a discussion to draw up the constitution in 1996. The general population welcomed to play an immediate part in the constitution - composing process 'by submitting thoughts or requests for consideration through a scope of get to focuses, 1.9 million entries were made to the get together' (Nhlapo Interview, 1996). This approach was novel and energizing as it conceivably actuated everybody and was a decent method for including individuals.

The Community Agency for Social Enquiry (CASE) was charged by the get together to embrace an assessment of the CA's media, open interest and training efforts in 1995. The CASE was asked for to attempt the second vast period of the assessment in 1996. The full evaluation included:-

- An inspection of the interval administration of the CA in order to understand the context in which the campaigns were undertaken,
- Interviews with constitutional drafters in order to provide the back ground for assessing the plain language initiative.
- Establishing nine focus groups among ordinary citizens (although with some degree of higher education), one in each province to test the plain language initiative,
- Holding workshops with likely interpreters of the constitution, for example legal professionals, civil servants and so on.
- Participated observation and exit polls to evaluate the effectiveness of the local constitutional education meeting organized by the CA,

- Re-analyzing CA data dealing with the outreach of their public participation campaign, and
- Conducting a national sample survey of 3,800 respondents aged 18 years and above” (A Constitution for a New South Africa. 1996).

The survey was nationally representative and covered all racial groups, provinces, large metropolitan cities, smaller urban centers, rural areas including farm workers as well as homesteads and farms and informal settlements in both metropolitan and urban areas.

2.3.2 The 1996 Constitution

South Africa had adopted the interim constitution during the period of 1994-1996. The outcome of negotiations between the ANC and the governing national party contained some important power sharing had consociational features. All party winning at least 20% of the national assembly seats were guaranteed executive deputy presidencies and a proportional number of cabinet ministries, in what was known as the GNU. The President was required to consult executive Deputy Presidents and minority parties in the cabinet and function “in a manner which gives consideration to the consensus seeking spirit of a government of national unity as well as the need for effective government” (Final Constitution of Republic of South Africa 1996, Schedule: 151).

The NP just barely achieved the 20% requirement of participation in the GNU and set in a coalition government until it withdrew in 1996, after the final constitution was ratified.

The last constitution is a completely popularity based one and was distributed in November 1995. ‘The constitution of the Republic of South Africa was received by the established get together on 08th May 1996 contains 14 sections and 7 plans and is the aggregate shrewdness of the South African individuals which has been landed at by general assention (Constitution of Republic of South Africa, 1996). The last constitution set up a parliament, the national get together, chosen in a to a great degree corresponding shut gathering list framework with a low least limit, and an official picked by a larger

part of the National Assembly and responsible to it. There were no genuine conditions to section for new or little political gatherings, and once in parliament these gatherings sat on advisory groups in extent to their quality, and all ready to solicit composed and oral inquiries from the administration, to which the legislature is required to react.

The way toward drafting the content included numerous South Africans in the biggest open support program at any point completed in the nation. After about two years of serious counsels, the sacred get together arranged the result which is a combination of the thoughts of standard residents, common society and political gatherings (Neumann 1960: 673). The last constitution contains a totally new preface. It perceives the shameful of the past, distinctions the individuals who had languished in their battle over equity and opportunity and others regard to the individuals who had been attempting to fabricate and grow new South Africa. The preface completely says that South Africa has a place with all who live in it, joined in our assorted qualities. This affirmation mirrored ANC's dedication which was first made in its flexibility sanction in 1955, South Africa's parliamentary structure most altogether the combination of official and administrative forces and the shut party list framework, which gives the political gatherings an additionally directing part in respect to individuals from parliament than would a German style blended part relative portrayal System. The single part locale majority arrangement of the UK has been broadly referred to as hindering the responsiveness of government to people in general and how much the lawmaking body can consider the official responsible.

The constitution of 1996 is the preeminent law of the republic, any law or lead conflicting with it is invalid and the obligations forced by it must be performed. No individual can conflict with it in the court and the administration should likewise ensure that what they do is protected. The constitution ensures popular government through giving each individual more than 18 the privilege to go and guaranteeing one voters part for every single other subject, normal race and multi party arrangement of government. There is a typical South African citizenship and all natives are similarly qualified for the rights, benefits and advantages of citizenship.

The parts in definite constitution are worried about a bill of rights, agreeable government, parliament, the courts and the organization of equity, state foundations, security administrations, customary loan specialists, fund and general arrangements.

The timetables focus on decision methodology, vows and grave certify activities, the national banner, national and common administrative fitness, transitional plans and annulment of laws. Section 1 of the constitution 'outlines its establishing arrangements and pronounces that South Africa is one sovereign, popularity based state in light of specific esteems, human nobility the accomplishment of correspondence and progression of human rights and flexibility, non-racialism and non-sexism, amazingness of the constitution and the administer of law, general grown-up establishment, a national normal voters part, customary decisions, a multi-party arrangement of fair framework to guarantee responsibility, responsiveness and receptiveness (Constitution of Republic of South Africa, 1996: 146).

2.3.3 Bill of Rights

The bill of rights guarantees the privilege to life, freedom and security under which it incorporates the flexibility of development, the privilege to due procedure of law, the privilege to free get together and affiliation, the privilege to serene appeal, opportunity of thought and articulation, the privilege to insurance and unbiased courts, which incorporates the rights to a reasonable trial lastly the correct training. So by taking a gander at this one can presume that bill of right contained in the 1996 constitution can be viewed as genuinely fair all inclusive adequate rights.

The Chapter-1 of the constitution enshrines four values regarded as the corner stone's upon which the country are founded:

- a) Human dignity, the achievement of equality and the advancement of human rights and freedoms.
- b) Upon-racialism and on sexism.
- c) Supremacy of the constitution and rule of law.
- d) Universal adult suffrage, a national common voters roll, regular elections

and a multi-party system of democratic government, to ensure accountability, responsiveness and openness (Constitution of Republic of South Africa, 1996: 146).

An analysis of these values are indicative of the governments resolves to ensure that all the citizens of the country, irrespective of race, colour or creed enjoyed the same rights and privileges as inhabitants of a democratic country.

The section on languages in Chapter-1 is of paramount importance as it not only accords recognition to eleven official languages, but also makes provision for minor Asian, European and other indigenous languages as well. The state must take practical and positive measures to elevate the status and advance the use of especially the “indigenous languages” which have been discriminated earlier in the past.

2.3.4 The Issue of Crime

The Crime Information Management Centre (CIMC), as a component of the directive services, was established by the South Africa police service on 1 January 1996, tasked with the co-ordination, processing, analysis and interpretation of crime (Heather, 1999: 164).

Since the abolition of apartheid, levels of violence in South Africa have dropped dramatically. Violent crime and organized criminal activity are at high levels and are a grave concern.

In 1996, South Africa's recorded crime rate is 5, 651 per 100,000 people, while the international average is less than half of that (2,662). According to “Nedocor Project on Crime, violence and investment”, South Africa has a reported murder rate of 45 per 100, 000 people, while the international average is 55 (Fast Facts, 1996: 2).

2.3.5 The Issue of Human Rights

The part of Human Rights Commission Act 54 of 1994 is to advance the recognition of regard for and the assurance of essential human rights, will deal with the gross human rights infringement that had been executed amid the 46 years of National Party govern

and explore any asserted infringement of central rights and to help any individual influenced in this manner to secure change. Human Rights infringements were uncovered by the advancement of National Unity and compromise Act of 1995 and foundation of the South African Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC). The TRC depended on the advancement of National Unity and compromise act, No. 34 of 1995 to manage what occurred under politically-sanctioned racial segregation. The point of this demonstration implied for the examination and the foundation of an entire picture about the nature, causes and degree of gross infringement of human rights conferred amid the period from 1 March 1960 to the cut-off date pondered in the constitution. The demonstration gone for the giving of reparation to and the recovery and the reclamation of the human and common nobility of casualties of human right infringement.

The Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) had worked through three panels, for example, Human Rights Violations Committee (HRV), Representation and Rehabilitation Committee (R&R) and Amnesty Committee (AC). The TRC risen as a scaffold between the old and the new. The main different alternatives gave off an impression of being a sweeping absolution or Nuremberg-sort trials, neither of which would have been probably going to work.

The Commission was enabled to allow reprieve to the individuals who conferred manhandle amid the politically-sanctioned racial segregation time. The TRC issued a report specifying an awful history of human rights infringement by the legislature in 1998. The report made proposals concerning reparations and the arraignment for that official who had not gotten absolution. 'Mandela's legislature completely supported the reports and apologized in the interest of the state. The ANC-drove government set up a checking body in 2006 to guarantee that proposals were executed, identified with reparations and exhumations' (United State Institute of Peace, Truth Commission South Africa, 2011). One of the significant accomplishments of the TRC is that it has prompted the start of a rights based culture in which individuals know about the presence of certain fundamental rights that can't to be taken away.

2.3.6 Right to Education

The ANC led government knows the worst condition of the education during apartheid period as the black community had no right to education. The ANC had reformed the education system in South Africa. The constitution of 1996, describes that everyone has the right:

- to a basic education, including adult basic education; and
- to further education, which the state must take reasonable measures to make progressively available and accessible (Constitution of Republic of South Africa 1996, Appendix 2).

Everyone has the right to receive education in the official language or languages of their choice in public educational institutions. In order to ensure the effective access to, and implementation of this right, the state must consider all reasonable educational alternatives taking into account:

- (a) Equity
- (b) Practicability; and
- (c) The need to redress the results of past racially discriminatory law and practice.

Everyone has the right to establish and maintain independent educational institutions at their own expense such as:

- Do not discriminate on the basis of race;
- Are registered with the state; and
- Maintain standards that are not inferior to standards at comparable public educational institutions (Constitution of Republic of South Africa, 1996. Appendix 2).

Though, the ANC government initiated by making the education for all, unfortunately, it get off to a slow start under Mandela's minister of education Sinuses Beigbu, 'who lacked the breath of vision to see what South Africa needed to meet the challenges of global competition' (Spark 2003: 222).

Today, the principal challenge in education in South Africa is to improve its quality. 'The poor quality of education and its weaknesses is the implementation of outcome-based education, especially at the matric level where the pass rate has declined every year since 2004, when it was as high as 70 percent. In 2008, only 62.7 percent of matriculates had passed their matric (Serraroa 2008). Access to education has steadily improved, especially at primary level and has increased at secondary level. "In 2007, 60 percent of five year old, 88 percent of six-year old, 98 percent of seven to 15 year old were enrolled" (South Africa Presidency, 2008). The achievement gap between advantaged and disadvantaged schools also needs to be addressed.

Overall, the constitution of 1996 provides the establishment of one sovereign state, a common South African citizenship and democratic system of government committed to achieving equality between man and women and people of all races. Everyone shall enjoy universally accepted fundamental rights, freedom and civil liberties, which shall be provided for and protected by entrenched and justifiable provisions in the constitution. The constitution prohibits racial, gender and all other forms of discrimination and shall promote racial, gender equality and national.

2.3.7 Conflict over HIV-AIDS policy

The second issue that has provoked clash inside the ANC is less simple to translate with reference to a parliamentarian/electoralist - aggressor/extremist division. In 1999 the arrangement by ANC activists of another weight gathering, the Treatment Action Campaign, was incited by the administration's choice, one year prior, to suspend the remedy of a hostile to retroviral tranquilize, AZT, to HIV-AIDS patients on grounds of the two its cost and assumed "danger". A TAC challenge in March 1999 was joined by two ANC parliamentarians, Sister Bernard Ncube and Salie Manie. Unease about the ANC initiative's approaches as for the AIDS pandemic escalated when President Mbeki

first promoted his own perspectives about the traditional logical comprehension of AIDS etiology and in this way collected an admonitory board that incorporated into its enrollment a few driving protester researchers who questioned that AIDS was caused by the human immuno-lack infection. A debilitated resistance framework, the president kept up, was only the result of neediness, and was basically highlighted by the remedy of against retroviral prescription. Standard restorative clarifications of the disease were justifications energized by universal medication organizations. The Treatment Action Campaign was supported by these interests and itself was caught up with “penetrating the exchange union” development.

The course of this level headed discussion has been depicted in detail somewhere else and won't be related here. What merits accentuation in this paper is how much the President's clear acknowledgment of nonconformist conclusions about HIV-AIDS and its treatment turned into an issue that separated the ANC. As ahead of schedule as April 2000, the delegate pioneer of the ANC in KwaZulu-Natal, the MEC for Health, Zweli Mkize, distributed an announcement assaulting the dissenter researchers on Mbeki's board and keeping up that the affirmed danger of hostile to retroviral drugs was “another issue that has been confounded”. In this way the Treatment Action Campaign would dispatch a progression of claims to propel the specialists to endorse Nevirapine, another against retroviral medication, to pregnant ladies in healing centers. Against a foundation of progressive court judgements finishing in a protected court triumph for the TAC, a prudent defiance to government strategy gathered help inside the ANC. The SACP and COSATU called upon Mbeki to quit bringing up issues about AIDS in broad daylight in September 2000 soon after he had illustrated his view that “an infection can't cause a disorder” in parliament. Their voices were joined by restless discourse at a National Executive Committee meeting that acquired a confirmation that the president would henceforward “certainly attempt to be close-lipped regarding the issue”. In a consequent admission to a developing groundswell of supposition for the utilization of Nevirapine, including articulations of help for the TAC by MP Pregs Govender and additionally Winnie Madikizela-Mandela and Nelson Mandela, in October 2000 the Health Minister, Manto-Tshabala Msiminag approved constrained trial remedies of the medication in clinics in eight areas.

In mid 2001, the chief of Gauteng, Mbhazima Shilowa all alone activity stretched out this program to twelve doctor's facilities in his region, drawing a sharp denunciation from the priest. Mbeki's perspectives appreciated some help inside the ANC chain of importance and progressed toward becoming universality among a few wellbeing MECs, most outstandingly in Mpumalanga, Eastern Cape and the Northern Cape. Mbeki's most obvious train in this field was from Peter Mokaba, who in a matter of seconds before his passing (presumably from AIDS) composed a paper entitled "Castro Hlongwane, Caravans, Cats, Geese, Foot and Mouth Statistics: HIV-AIDS and the Struggle for Humanity in South Africa". The paper proposed that AIDS was a legendary disease spread by a "supreme mechanical assembly" that endeavored to misuse prevalent biases about African sexuality. It went ahead to assert that few conspicuous AIDS casualties had in reality been executed by hostile to retroviral prescription.

In March 2002, Mokaba prevailing with regards to inducing the National Executive to support the conveyance of this record all through the development. This was not long after Nelson Mandela had made an open require the free mass medicine of Nevirapine, an announcement that drew a harsh remark from Dumisani Makhaye who seen in his Sowetan segment that "the most unsafe go getter is a legit one, and benefit looking for can transform national symbols into scoundrels". Therefore an article in ANC Today educated its perusers that the development would not be threatened, threatened, beat, controlled, charged or in whatever other route compelled to embrace policies and projects unfriendly to the wellbeing of our kin... that we are poor and dark does not imply that we can't have a problem solving attitude and figure out what is beneficial for us, neither tributes it imply that we are accessible to be purchased, whatever the cost.

At this crossroads, however, Mbeki's supporters on the AIDS issue appeared to have exaggerated their hand. No AIDS nonconformist herself, Manto Tshabala Msimang had endeavored to bring individuals from the ANCs wellbeing secretariat to the NEC meeting that talked about the "Castro Hlongwane" archive yet had been kept from doing as such. Acquiescence dangers by the Director General of the Department of Health, Ayanda Ntysabula, a political deputy, Nelson Mandela's open articulation of his perspectives, feedback inside the ANC of the Castro Hlongwane paper, the Constitutional

Court's finding for the TAC and campaigning by two key figures in Mbeki's company, Essop Pahad, the Minister inside the Presidency and the leader of the administration's correspondence office, Joel Neshitendze, arranged the ground for a NEC meeting and a bureau choice in mid-April to grow the arrangement of Nevirapine with the objective of making it broadly accessible toward the start of 2003. Mandela had assumed a particularly key part, communicating his despondency over the disappointment of any bureau pastors to restrict Mbeki's perspectives and meeting Thabo Mbeki in February with an end goal to determine contrasts. Through the rest of the year, Mandela kept on partner himself freely with TAC exercises, showing up at a TAC exhibition wearing one of their T-shirts just days before the ANCs 51st Conference. His voice provoked NEC restriction to nonconformist perspectives and the administration's approach on hostile to retroviral drugs at gatherings in March and April, 2002.

2.3.8 Commission on Gender Equality Act 39 of 1996

Since ladies were to a great extent underestimated amid the politically-sanctioned racial segregation period, the foundation of this commission expects to guarantee the advancement of sexual orientation equity vivaciously. This commission additionally has made proposals to parliament as to any laws or proposed enactment, which influences sexual orientation uniformity and the status of ladies.

The undertaking of this commission is to advance sex fairness in the public eye and to guarantee that administration and other non-statutory bodies execute their sense of duty regarding sexual orientation value. The Human rights Commission and the workplace of the Public Protector set up by parliament additionally assume a noteworthy part in securing ladies human rights as laid out in the constitution. Along these lines, South African ladies rights have been advanced overwhelmingly, which has prompted a change in their status in the public eye in this way guaranteeing they are conceded into fields up to this point obscure to them. The rate of ladies in parliament has additionally expanded significantly and more ladies than any other time in recent memory in the historical backdrop of the nation have been elevated to administrative positions. The extent of ladies in the councils and administrators has expanded throughout the years.

‘After the 1994 decisions, 33 percent of MPs were ladies and numbers are comparatively high in the common and nearby circles. Thirteen out of 30 clergymen are ladies; as are eight out of 21 Deputy Ministers, and four of the nine premiers’ (South African Presidency, 2008).

2.3.9 Employment Opportunities for the Youth

- a. The Employment Equity Act 55 of 1998 plans to amend past segregation by making open doors for beforehand impeded gatherings to be all the more positively considered for positions that they were denied access previously. The basic point of this demonstration is to counter the negative impacts of the employment reservation polices, which favored whites amid both British govern and the National Party period.

- b. The work value demonstration of 1998 contains various arrangements accommodating governmental policy regarding minorities in society and security against among other, out of line segregation and inappropriate behavior. Area 5 accommodates the end of uncalled for separation by requiring that each business must find a way to advance equivalent open door in the work environment by dispensing with out of line segregation in any business strategy or practice. Area 6 forbids out of line segregation and segment 6 (1) no individual may unreasonably separate, straightforwardly or in a roundabout way, against a businesses in any work approach or practice, on at least one grounds including, sex, sex, pregnancy, conjugal status, family duty, ethnic or social starting point, shading, sexual introduction, age, inability, HIV status, inner voice, conviction, political conclusion, culture, dialect and birth.

The protest of the Act is with regards to the yearning to make an all the more simply, impartial and tolerant society. The objects of the Act are as per the following:-

To enact legislation required by section 9 of the constitution.

To give effect to the letter and spirit of the constitution, in particular:

- (i) The equal enjoyment of all rights and freedoms by every person,
- (ii) The promotion of equality,
- (iii) The values of non-racialism and non-sexism contained in section 1 of the constitution,
- (iv) The prevention of unfair discrimination and protection of human dignity as contemplated in section 9 & 10 of the constitution,
- (v) The prohibition of advocacy of hatred, based on race, ethnicity, gender or religious, that constitutes incitement to cause harm' as contemplated, in section 16(2) (c) of the constitution and section 12 of this act.

2.4 Conclusion

Both sentiment surveys and enrollment insights propose that the ANC has held a strong center of conferred bolster, however the announced increment of factional strife in the gathering's base structures likewise demonstrate that for some individuals, joining the gathering might be propelled by instrumental concerns, related either to office-chasing or to the trades of formal and loyalties that describe supporter customer relations. South African open foundations, however, are still moderately flexible, and until further notice at any rate, speak to confinements on the gathering's utilization of political support. The ANCs outstanding hegemonic yearnings are abridged by liberal protected limitations that leave significant space for its rivals, including the likelihood of winning office at subordinate levels of government. The ANC holds a little yet proficient administration however it keeps on relying upon volunteer activism amid decision crusades. Unpredictable however after some time sensibly predictable enrollment insights propose that the ANC still prevails with regards to filling in as "an instrument of political investment and enlistment"; this is not yet a gathering that has progressed toward becoming bureaucratized or generously consumed into government, in the chronicled

example of more seasoned predominant gathering or one gathering administrations in other creating nations.

The ANCs extremist after adds to strategy making, however in a to some degree ritualized design. Limitations on aggressor dissident impact in the approach area help to clarify for the astoundingly quick advancement of “automatic union” in the South African political framework given the still late section into delegate governmental issues of a poor and minimized dominant part. Official structures do practice a level of free specialist, now and again addressing and some of the time prevailing with regards to impacting top-level basic leadership both in the gathering and in government. The ANC initiative is chosen however party authorities have prevailing with regards to encompassing the decisions delegates make when they vote at gatherings. In this regard the ANC progressively accept the traits of a parliamentary gathering. Despite its sending of senior government officials as gathering functionaries the association is mostly driven by open office holders and has to a great extent relinquished the corporatist inclinations of a social development in control. Undoubtedly, how much government arrangement has served to isolate the memorable organization together between patriots, communists and work pioneers that the ANC once spoke to speaks to a huge special case to the pattern in original African freedom or patriot party governments in which “administering elites” “look for to attract all types of existing affiliations”.

The gathering has survived one noteworthy authority move since its increase to government and is recently starting a moment progression strategy; this is not an arrangement in thrall to appealing identities. Among match associations there are a few gatherings with protracted histories and genuinely entrenched help bases, however few of them can guarantee an across the nation nearness or similarly modern inner structure to the ANCs. That the ANC has so far figured out how to keep down a hefty portion of the side effects of authoritative rot that portray overwhelming gatherings that face no genuine constituent test broadly is a cheerful flag that a popularity based gathering framework may yet wind up noticeably dug in.

Chapter- III

INC's Role in Nation Building and Development in India

3.1 Introduction

Indian National Congress is a political gathering of India. Shaped in 1885, the Indian National Congress overwhelmed the Indian development for freedom from Great Britain. It in this manner shaped a large portion of India's administrations from the season of freedom and regularly had a solid nearness in many state governments. The Indian National Congress initially met in December 1885, however the possibility of an Indian patriot development restricted to British administer dated from the 1850s. Amid its initial quite a few years, the Congress Party passed genuinely direct change resolutions, however numerous inside the association were getting to be radicalized by the expanded neediness that went with British colonialism. In the mid twentieth century, components inside the gathering started to embrace an approach of swadeshi (of our own nation), which approached Indians to blacklist of imported British products and advanced Indian-made merchandise. By 1917 the gathering's 'fanatic' Home Rule wing, which was shaped by Bal Gangadhar Tilak and Annie Besant which had started to apply noteworthy impact by speaking to India's differing social classes.

In the 1920s and 1930s the Congress Party, driven by Mohandas (Mahatma) Gandhi, started supporting peaceful noncooperation. The new change in strategies was hastened by the dissent over the apparent weakness of the established changes sanctioned in mid 1919 (Rowlatt Acts) and Britain's way of doing them, and in addition by the across the board shock among Indians in light of the slaughter of regular citizens in Amritsar (Punjab) that April. A large portion of the demonstrations of common insubordination that completed were actualized the All India Congress Committee, shaped in 1929, which supported evading charges as a challenge against British run the show. Outstanding in such manner was the Salt March in 1930 driven by Gandhi. Another wing of the Congress Party, which had faith in working inside the current framework, challenged general races in 1923 and 1937 as the Swaraj (Home Rule) Party,

with specific accomplishment in the last year, winning 7 out of 11 provinces. When World War II began in 1939, Britain made India a belligerent without consulting Indian elected councils. That action angered Indian officials and prompted the Congress Party to declare that India would not support the war effort until it had been granted complete independence. In 1942 the organization sponsored mass civil disobedience to support the demand that the British “quit India.” British authorities responded by imprisoning the entire Congress Party leadership, including Gandhi, and many remained in jail until 1945. After the war the British government of Clement Attlee passed an independence bill in July 1947, and independence was achieved the following month. In January 1950 India’s constitution as an independent state took effect. When India attained its independence from Britain in 1947, after a long and bitter struggle under the leadership of Congress, a mass-based strong nationalist movement. At the forefront of the struggle for independence were two men who came to dominate the country’s politics, Mahatma Gandhi and Nehru. They symbolized the struggle for the independence of the country. Congress dominated Indian politics from its formation through the period of independence. (Candland 1997: 21)

3.2 Origin of Indian National Congress

Indian National Congress is one of the most established political gatherings on the planet. This association, which established in 1885, is firmly connected to the birth, of a free India. In 1953, Jawaharlal Nehru, India’s initially Prime Minister, summed this up when he stated, Congress is the Country, and the Country is Congress (Robinson 1982: 33). The two were inseparably entwined. Dissimilar to other political gatherings, which are alluded to by their acronyms, the Indian National Congress is basically called Congress. Congress was shaped by the elites of Indian culture. Amid the time of its development there were an expected 55 000 English-taught elites in India (Kochanek 1968: 322). Vatsal (1982: 155) brings up that amid the nineteenth century there an expansion in a Western-instructed in India, Congress participation comprised basically of three gatherings: men from the business and business divisions, government hirelings and experts, for example, legal counselors, specialists and instructors (Kochanek 1968: 322).

Congress was not framed with the aim of battling for the autonomy of the nation; to be sure this was a long way from the psyches of the general population in charge of its arrangement. The gathering made no requests for freedom, or even self-government. Candland (1997: 19) brings up that Congress was established to appeal to the British government in India for authoritative and political change. Vatsal (1982:155) states that Congress did not make any radical requests on the pilgrim experts, it just made a direct interest for the change of government strategy. Deol (1980:185) communicates the sentiment that Congress was a weight gathering, instead of a gathering. The general population who framed Congress had no squabble with His Majesty as prove by the Congress was an association that held the British in high respect, as can be seen by this remark made by one of the Congress delegates (Kochanek 1968: 323). At this stage Congress couldn't be said to have been a progressive association. The 1908 constitution announced its mean to be the achievement by the general population of India of an arrangement of government like that delighted in by the self-overseeing individuals from the British Empire (Robinson 1982: 33). From being a submissive association, Congress consequently turned out to be more emphatic, and in addition turning into a mass association after an effective enrollment battle. From being an association of the first class, it opened its enrollment to each individual who was set up to pay its negligible participation charge (Robinson 1982: 34). Inferable from its broad enlistment drive, the association got bolster from the rustic regions and individuals from the lower pay gatherings. Alongside this enlistment drive there was a move in the association's accentuation. The concentration of the association changed as it began discussing the likelihood of the nation achieving autonomy (Robinson 1982: 36).

As indicated by Kochanek (1968: 330), the constrain behind this enrollment drive and the new intensity shown by Congress was Gandhi. Gandhi was a prepared legal counselor who had come back to India from South Africa where he had taken an interest in detached resistance developments against the administration's enactment which oppressed the Indian individuals (Vatsal 1982: 177), On his landing from South Africa, Gandhi joined the battle to accomplish autonomy for India, He later turned out to be a thistle in the tissue of the British due to the techniques he used to drive his message over. He took the battle to the British frontier organization which responded with compel

keeping in mind the end goal to suppress it. This brought about the patriot development enduring numerous losses. Mahatma Gandhi added another measurement to Congress in 1919 with the presentation of peaceful, non-cooperative activity which was utilized to challenge British predominance. This strategy for resistance was called *Satyagraha*, which called upon those included in common defiance not to strike back against the mercilessness of the police and to be set up to go to imprison proudly and without offering any resistance. Gandhi said if their rivals depended on viciousness it must be borne merrily as a type of refinement (Robinson 1982: 34). Gandhi utilized different techniques to oppose the British and assemble the Indian individuals. He sorted out exhibits and walks all through the nation, went on hunger strikes and urged the Indian individuals to challenge the unjustifiable laws of the British regardless of the possibility that they needed to go to imprison. Gandhi himself was imprisoned on various events for sorting out challenge activity against the British. This, as indicated by Hardgrave Jr (1980: 33), picked up him respect among his kin. This procedure of peacefulness and noncooperation was utilized to prepare the majority to join the association. Common insubordination and inactive resistance crusades pulled in a huge number of Indians: an extensive and various participation that changed the piece of the association (Kochanek 1968:330).

The business and commercial sectors, government servants and professionals such as lawyers, doctors and teachers (Kochanek 1968: 322). The Indian National Congress is one of the most seasoned political gatherings on the planet. This organization the Congress embraced a determination on noncooperation, which was to incorporate the renunciation of government titles and the boycotting of races under the 1919 Act, the law courts and government schools and universities (Vatsal 1982: 182). It likewise required a blacklist and withdrawal from pilgrim foundations, with the outcome that numerous legal advisors and educators surrendered (Kochanek 1968: 331). Gandhi visited parts of India to offer support to those participating in the crusades and when he was captured in 1930 amid one of the battles, exhibitions softened out up each significant city in the nation (Kochanek 1968: 332). The shows sorted out by Gandhi took an overwhelming toll on the individuals who partook in them, as the specialists acted with fierceness so as to put

them down, which brought about a high number of setbacks. In one such challenge showing, 100 individuals were slaughtered and 60000 detained. At the point when Gandhi propelled the Quit India challenge in 1942, undermining to dispatch a huge common rebellion crusade if the British did not regard his request, savagery emitted, and police fire brought about the passings of 1000 individuals. In the meantime the experts captured 100000 individuals, including the administration of Congress who were later prohibited (Hardgrave Jr 1980: 39). Gandhi assumed a noteworthy part in the battle for Indian freedom. He was loved in the nation as confirm by this tribute to him by a unidentified individual from the gathering who stated: “no man accomplished more than Gandhi to accomplish the opportunity of India and the finish of British run the show”. But Gandhi accomplished more than that. He reestablished India’s expectation and self-assurance. For a considerable length of time, the British had been revealing to Indians that they were weaklings and a powerless and inadequate race, bound to be led by more unrivaled individuals (Vatsal 1982: 190). Gandhi did not live to see the autonomy of his nation that he had worked eagerly to free as he was slaughtered in 1947.

Under Gandhi’s tutelage, Nehru assumed a critical part in sorting out Congress and additionally in driving it in the battle against British expansionism. Nehru surrendered an existence of solace and extravagance to satisfy the mission of his life, which was picking up autonomy for his kin. This significantly motivated the Indian masses (Hardgrave Jr 1980: 43). Candland (1997: 3) affirms that under the initiative of Nehru, Congress summoned colossal authoritative limit, depending on neighborhood, state and national level Congress boards of trustees. It set up immense systems extending the nation over. Nehru filled in as Secretary-General of Congress, it was through his endeavors that it turned into a mass development since he composed branches all through the nation. Amid his long residency in this position, he sorted out the gathering's foundation. Amid the 1937 and 1946 common decisions, he aroused the majority to join and vote in favor of Congress, with the outcome that Congress developed successful from both these races (Candland 1997: 22). Edwardes (1971: 27) brings up that amid the 1936 decisions, he secured more than 50 000 miles conveying the message of Congress to truly a large number of voters and nonvoters alike. He expresses that before the finish of the

battle probably Nehru was the valid and unenviable beneficiary of Gandhi. Patil (1977: 270) agrees, expressing that Nehru was the most imperative identity in India amid the time of the battle for autonomy. He was at the focal point of each critical issue, providing guidance and direction. Patil (1977: 272) calls attention to that Nehru was impacted by Gandhian idea. He contends that Nehru found in Gandhi a man of activity, as well as one who honed with energy what he lectured with conviction.

As a genuine supporter, Nehru partook in the battles started by Gandhi. Nehru was one of the legal advisors who deserted their lawful works on amid the 1920-1922 noncooperation development. Nehru assumed a main part in Congress exercises. In the vicinity of 1923 and 1939, he held the workplace of President three times. Nehru was devoted to his main goal of winning freedom for India (Patil 1977: 272; Vatsal 1982: 208) proposes the view that by 1945 his prominence as a pioneer in Indian governmental issues must be outperformed by that of Gandhi. Under his initiative, Congress thrived and turned into a solid association till the autonomy in India in year 1947. After India's freedom, the British passed the organization of India to the pioneers of the Indian National Congress. Mahatma Gandhi, who was the father figure of the Congress Party, recommended changing the Indian National Congress into a philanthropy association, on the grounds that the primary driver of the Congress Party had been accomplished. Be that as it may, alternate pioneers of the Congress did not acknowledge his proposition. The Indian National Congress turned into a political gathering with a mainstream, communist and law based propensity, which established in 1885, is firmly connected to the birth, of an autonomous India. In 1953, Jawaharlal Nehru, India's initially Prime Minister, summed this up when he stated, Congress is the Country, and the Country is Congress (Robinson 1982: 33).

The Congress was not shaped with the goal of battling for the freedom of the nation, surely this was a long way from the psyches of the general population in charge of its arrangement. The gathering made no requests for freedom, or even self-government. Candland (1997:19) brings up that Congress was established to appeal to the British government in India for regulatory and political change. Vatsal (1982:155) states that Congress did not make any radical Congress was not formed with the intention of

fighting for the independence of the country, indeed this was far from the minds of the people responsible for its formation. The party made no demands for independence, or even self-government. Candland (1997:19) points out that Congress was founded to petition the British government in India for administrative and political reform. Vatsal (1982:155) states that Congress did not make any radical demands on the colonial authorities, it simply made a moderate demand for the reform of government policy. Deol (1980:185) expresses the opinion that Congress was a pressure group, rather than a party. The people who formed Congress had no quarrel with His Majesty as evidenced by the Congress was an organisation that held the British in high regard, as can be seen by this comment made by one of the Congress delegates (Kochanek 1968: 323).

At this stage Congress couldn't be said to have been a progressive association. The 1908 constitution announced its expect to be the accomplishment by the general population of India of an arrangement of government like that delighted in by the self-representing individuals from the British Empire (Robinson 1982:33). From being a submissive association, Congress along these lines turned out to be more confident, and additionally turning into a mass association after an effective enlistment crusade. From being an association of the first class, it opened its participation to each individual who was set up to pay its insignificant enrollment charge (Robinson 1982:34). Inferable from its broad enlistment drive, the association got bolster from the country regions and individuals from the lower wage gatherings. Alongside this enrollment drive there was a move in the association's accentuation. The concentration of the association changed as it began discussing the likelihood of the nation accomplishing autonomy (Robinson 1982:36).

In the 1998 general race, the Congress won 141 seats in the Lok Sabha, its most reduced count until at that point. To support its prevalence and enhance its execution in the inevitable race, Congress pioneers asked Sonia Gandhi, Rajiv Gandhi's dowager, to accept the authority of the gathering. She had already declined offers to end up noticeably effectively included in party issues, and had avoided legislative issues. After her race as gathering pioneer, an area of the gathering that questioned the decision as a result of her Italian ethnicity split away and framed the Nationalist Congress Party (NCP), driven by

Sharad Pawar. The breakaway group instructed solid help in the province of Maharashtra and restricted help somewhere else. The rest of to be known as the Indian National Congress. Sonia Gandhi's arrangement at first neglected to have an effect; in the snap surveys called by the National Democratic Alliance (NDA) government in 1999, the Congress won 114 seats — its most reduced count ever. The authority structure was unaltered and the gathering crusaded unequivocally in the get together decisions that took after. At these races the gathering was fruitful; at a certain point, the Congress ruled 15 states. In the 2004 general race, the Congress fashioned an organization together with a few local gatherings, including the NCP and the Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam. The gathering's effort stressed social consideration and the welfare of ordinary citizens, standing out from the NDA's 'India Shining' effort that tried to highlight the accomplishments of the NDA government in making India into a 'cutting edge country'. The Congress-drove United Progressive Alliance (UPA) won 222 seats in the new parliament, overcoming the NDA by a generous edge. With the help of the comrade front, the Congress won a larger part and framed the new government. Regardless of enormous help from inside the Party, Gandhi declined the post of PM, selecting Manmohan Singh. She stayed as gathering president and headed the National Advisory Council (NAC).

Amid its initially term in office, the UPA government passed a few social change bills. These incorporated a business ensure charge, the Right to Information Act, and a privilege to instruction act. The NAC, and the Left Front that upheld the administration all things considered, were broadly observed just like the main impetus behind such enactment. The Left Front pulled back its help of the administration over differences about the U.S.–India Civil Nuclear Agreement. Regardless of the powerful loss of 62 situates in parliament, the legislature survived the trust vote that took after. In the Lok Sabha races held before long, the Congress won 207 seats, the most noteworthy count of any gathering since 1991. The UPA in general won 262, empowering it to frame the administration for the second time. The social welfare arrangements of the main UPA government, and the apparent disruptiveness of the BJP, are comprehensively credited for the triumph. By the 2014 Lok Sabha races, the gathering had lost a lot of its mainstream bolster, chiefly due to quite a while of poor financial conditions in the nation, and

developing discontent over a progression of defilement charges including government authorities, including the 2G range trick and the Indian coal portion trick. The Congress won just 44 seats, which was its most noticeably awful ever execution in a national decision and brought into question whether it would keep on being distinguished as an authoritatively perceived gathering.

3.3 Functions of the Indian National Congress

It in a profile of the Congress based on a survey of the Indian electorate, D. L. Sheth emphasizes the broadly aggregative character of the party, but concludes that there are certain segments of the population that lend their support disproportionately to Congress. According to him its supporters consists more of the middle aged and old voters and less of the young voters; it has a slightly higher proportion of illiterates than highly educated' voters; more rural supporters than urban supporters. Its occupational and caste base is fairly diversified, with slightly greater supports from middle caste groups and Muslims. Its economic base is also very broad based, with slightly less support from higher income groups. In 1980, Mrs. Gandhi succeeded in building the electoral coalition of the Brahmins, Muslims, Harijans and big business and won the Lok Sabha elections. Mrs. Gandhi's assassination and the consequent development on the eve of 1984 election, considerably widened the support base of the Congress.

The Promotion of Democratic and Parliamentary System: In the 1980 Lok Sabha elections the Congress (I) polled 42.7% of the votes and won 353 out of 539 seats. In June of the same year, Indira Gandhi called election to state legislatures and the Congress (I) captured power in 15 out of 22 States. The return of the Congress (I) to power in 1980 was attributed to the failure and eventual disintegration of the Janata Party coalition that had captured power in 1977. Assisted by her son Sanjay, she selected only persons of proven loyalty to the Nehru/Gandhi family to run for Parliament. She especially sought to reward those political cronies who had stood by her during the period in which she had been out of power; administrative skill and parliamentary skill did not matter. In addition to these elements, many persons of dubious character and criminal backgrounds, entered into the Congress Party. In the 1984 Lok Sabha elections following the assassination of Indira Gandhi, the Congress (I) won with a record setting vote, capturing around 48.1 per

cent of the popular vote and 415 Lok Sabha seats—a feat unmatched in the history of free India. The key issue in the 1984 election was the threat to national unity. The Congress (I) under the leadership of Rajiv Gandhi swept all the States in the Country except Andhra Pradesh, Jammu & Kashmir and Sikkim. In 1989, the Congress (I) won only 197 Lok Sabha seats and its popular vote also fallen from 48.1 per cent in 1984 to 39.5 per cent, the Party in 1991 Lok Sabha elections polled 36.5 per cent votes to win 232 seats out of 492 it contested. In U.P. the Party got only 18 per cent of the votes that even the fragmented non-congress votes were large enough to push the Congress into third place. In 1996 Lok Sabha elections, the Party secured 28.8 per cent votes with 140 seats. An all-India negative swing of over 8 per cent from a rather modest vote share in 1991 sealed the fate of the Congress. This time U.P. was joined by Bihar in the list of those States where the Congress has reached the point of no recovery. The Party has obtained only 25.82 percent of votes polled with 141 seats for the Lok Sabha elections of 1998. The Congress faced its greatest humiliation in-Uttar Pradesh and Bihar Lok Sabha elections of 1998 because it could not win a single seat in UP, and in Bihar it succeeded because of the shoulders provided by Laloo Yadav of the RJD. In 1999 the congress is faced with the awkward realisation that under Sonia it has won 114 seats (with 28.4% votes)—27 less than what it did under Sita Ram Kesri in 1998. The results of the May 2001 Assembly elections have come as a shot in the arm for the Congress (I). For a party starved of electoral success lately and reduced to playing a peripheral role, the results have put it back on centre stage. Now with governments in 16 States the party can claim to being the premier national party with a presence in every State. The party's geographical spread covers every region of the country. It has managed to reestablish its presence in the Hindi heartland with governments in as many as four States—Delhi, Madhya Pradesh Rajasthan and Chhattisgarh. In the south, it has governments in Kerala, Karnataka and Pondicherry. In the east, the Congress has added Assam to its tally of Nagaland and Arunachal Pradesh.

The Expansion of Socialist and Secular Value: The Congress (I) is ideologically committed to socialism, secularism and democracy. The Party professes its commitment to democratic socialism and places special Emphasis on the planned economic development of the country in which the government is expected to play a key role. In its

1989 manifesto it has promised 'power to the people' through Panchayati Raj and Nagarpalika bills. It also promises to revamp the co-operative movement to make it the dynamic counterpart of political democracy at the grassroots. Among the other points stressed are: emancipation of women, fighting communalism, social justice and sweeping judicial reforms. In foreign relations, the Party has been strongly committed to a policy of non-alignment. Under the leadership of Indira Gandhi, however, the party became more pro-Soviet. The Constitution of the Congress Party provides for an elaborate organization headed by a President, assisted by a working committee and supplemented by the All-India Congress Committee, the deliberative branch of the party. Its central office, located in New Delhi, supervises the work of the Pradesh Congress Committees as well as subordinate organization. However, during her control of the party, Indira Gandhi stifled inter-party democracy and did not hold party elections from 1972.

Thus the party's organization structure has been reduced to a machine that is held together by political notables who possess power and are able to distribute patronage. The Congress (I) is like a giant without a backbone. There has been steady decline in its support base. The Congress has obtained only 28.4 percent of votes polled for the Lok Sabha elections of 1999. This trend of declining people's electoral support to the Congress began in 1989. Not only have the poor and socially vulnerable strata of society shifted away from the Congress, the party has failed to evolve any new social agenda to meet the rising aspirational levels of the deprived and depressed segments who are now trying to find answers for their problems from parties like the BSP or SP or RJD. The BJP could never compete with the Congress for the votes of the scheduled castes and tribes and Muslims, but in the 1998 and 1999 Lok Sabha elections, even the BJP has received sizeable percentage of votes from these sections. The Congress of the 1990s has witnessed a total abandonment of programmatic politics for social reconstruction and the Congress leadership during the 1990s has been occupied in 'palace conspiracies' and individual advancement. The latest act in this drama is the manner of induction of Mrs. Sonia Gandhi as Party President. Thus, the renewal of a crisis ridden party is always dependent on its ideological revision and reformulation.

3.4 Supporting the Communal Harmony

India's post-autonomy party governmental issues started with the destructive occasion of parcel. The multiethnic character of India's freedom development broken with the separatist requests of Jinnah and the Muslim League and completely separated with the British choice to partition the subcontinent into two countries: one unequivocally Muslim, one verifiably Hindu. Despite the fact that pioneers from the Indian National Congress (INC) stayed focused on multi-religious state, mutual viciousness in 1946-1947 spiraled crazy and at last slaughtered no less than one million individuals. The implosion of M. K. Gandhi's fantasy of a peaceful and bound together India forecasted the ascent of common governmental issues. There were a greater number of Muslims in India after segment than were in the recently made Islamic territory of Pakistan. This considerable Muslim minority had little motivation to put stock in the goodwill of Indian pioneers who, in spite of their talk, had been not able or unwilling to keep the butcher that went with parcel. As decades advanced, ethnic mobs kept on scarring Indian culture. Blasts of Hindu fury focused on Sikhs and Muslims, especially in 1984, 1992, and 2002. On these events, a relatively little start encouraged a blaze of viciousness that overwhelmed whole urban areas and killed thousands—in many cases through remarkably merciless means. Islamist aggressors and fear based oppressors have countered this brutality with assaults on 89 Hindus, Christians, and non-Muslims in Kashmir, Mumbai, Hyderabad, Delhi, and somewhere else. This corresponding savagery attempts to reify religious divisions in Indian culture, which thusly show an open door for political on-screen characters to assemble voters with petty common interests.

Be that as it may, the multi-religious Congress Party has overwhelmed India's political framework. The INC has won ten of the India's fifteen post-autonomy national races, including the last two races subsequent to floundering in the mid-1990s. The gathering's decision declarations and race talk are common and comprehensive. In spite of the fact that the rate of Muslims among INC individuals from parliament has been not as much as the general populace, it incorporates a bigger number of Muslims than some other national gathering. Indeed, even the customarily Hindu patriot Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP), which is the essential resistance party in parliament, has started to imitate the

Congress' multiethnic interests. The BJP's center stage never again underlines religiously polarizing issues. The Indian case is an astoundingly effective case of peacebuilding. Given the ingenuity of public clash, one would anticipate that the political framework will be profoundly isolated along religious lines, with militantly Hindu and Muslim political gatherings developing to speak to and secure the interests of their groups. However the two noteworthy gatherings—the INC and the BJP—to a great extent contend on arrangement issues amid decisions. Moreover, post-decision reviews demonstrate that no religious gathering gives the greater part of its vote to any one political gathering. Religion is accordingly strikingly missing from national-level governmental issues in spite of the consistent polarizing stew of Hindu-Muslim strain that periodically ejects into across the board viciousness.

3.5 Role in Nation Building and Development

Indian gathering governmental issues can be isolated into three particular periods. The principal time frame, from 1952-1967, was encapsulated by Congress predominance. The second time frame, from 1967-1989, saw the enduring decay of Congress control, especially at the state level. The third time frame, from 1989-exhibit, brought the ascent of shared governmental issues and additionally the reconsolidation of Congress control in the last two decisions (Hasan 2012; Sridharan 2011; Yadav 1999; Dutta 2009). This area gives a concise story of post-freedom party legislative issues and short acquaintances with four noteworthy political gatherings. Indian freedom introduced start of the “Congress System”, in which one-party strength took into account the quest for the Congress “objectives of secularism and financial improvement, guaranteeing residents of equivalent rights paying little heed to their rank and religion, and attempting to end neediness” (Hasan 2012: 2).

Amid this period, the Congress had hegemonic control in the gathering framework. It prevailed upon 73 percent of the seats in the initial three races (1952, 1957, and 1962) with 45 percent, 47.8 percent, and 44.7 percent of the well known vote individually. Albeit neglecting to accomplish 50 percent of the 91 national vote, the Congress was overwhelming. In 1952, just five different gatherings gotten more than 2 percent of the vote: the Socialist Party (10.59), Kisan Mazdoor Praja Party (5.79),

Communist Party of India (3.29), Bharatiya Jana Sangh (3.06), and the Scheduled Caste Federation (2.38). The 1957 and 1962 decisions were correspondingly unbalanced, with Congress outpacing its closest rival by 37 percent and 36 percent of the vote separately. The second time of Indian gathering governmental issues started in 1967, which denoted a sharp decrease in Congress bolster at the national and state level. The gathering lost 78 parliamentary seats in 1967, dropping its aggregate to 283, and its vote share declined to 40.8 percent. In addition, the Congress lost eight of sixteen state races.

After two years, the Congress part down the middle. Indira Gandhi—Jawaharlal Nehru's little girl—framed Congress (I) in the wake of blaming the gathering for restricting her dynamic strategies. Morarji Desai drove the back end group of the gathering, now called Congress (O). Indira Gandhi recharged the gathering, driving Congress (I) to an avalanche win in the 1971 race. Be that as it may, Indira Gandhi's tyrant impulses—shown in her undeniably tyrannical part inside the gathering—overflowed into administration. In 1975, she pronounced a highly sensitive situation after a state court blamed her for race misrepresentation and invalidated her 1971 race triumph. The Emergency endured until 1977 and finished in the Congress first national constituent misfortune. Crisis control included draconian approaches, for example, ghetto clearing, constrained sanitization, mishandle of political detainees, and cooptation of media outlets. In 1977, nonetheless, Emergency governs finished suddenly. The consequent race was a noteworthy turning it is theorized that crisis administrators finished in light of the fact that Indira Gandhi's security administrations guaranteed her she would win. She additionally purportedly did not have any desire to give imperious Pakistan a chance to hold 92 point in Indian history. The Congress lost 198 seats, a decay of 39 percent of its seat share from 1971, and its mainstream vote dropped 9.2 percent to 34.5 percent.

The Janata Party (JP), which was an amalgamation of four restriction parties (the Jana Sangh, Bhartiya Lok Dal, Congress(O), and the Socialist Party), won 41.3 percent of the vote and a dominant part of the seats. Not as much as a full term later, the Congress reestablished itself to control following the deterioration of the peevish JP The following decision in 1984 gave the Congress a passionate avalanche triumph after Indira Gandhi's death that same year. The third time of Indian governmental issues, which is progressing,

started with the Congress Party's second national-level misfortune in 1989. E. Sridharan contends that the decision "meant... an extensive and seismic move in the gathering framework, established in the movements in party hierarchical quality and bolster bases at the state level in an expanding number of states..." (Sridharan 2011: 123). The 1989 decision was the finish of a time of rising state-based and collective governmental issues.

The "disentangling of the common texture" in India started with Sikh separatism in Punjab, which had been encouraged by Indira Gandhi keeping in mind the end goal to stir Hindu outrage and in this way gather Hindu help in north India (Hasan 2012: 11). A long time later, dreading lost Muslim help, Rajiv Gandhi's Congress government switched a preeminent court choice that had managed a Muslim lady separate installment from her significant other, which had irritated preservationist Muslims. The 1986 Shah Bano court case thusly estranged hard-line Hindus, who trusted the administration had mollified Muslim social requests. At the point when the BJP drove a walk to the Uttar Pradesh town of its planned race in 1977 while "vote based" India remained in crisis control (Guha 2008: 520) 93 Ayodhya in 1989 to request the development of a Hindu sanctuary set up of a longexisting mosque, 12 the Congress government sat quiet. Zoya Hasan composes that the Congress "couldn't bear to lose the activity and the Hindu help it was going for and was anxious" to tackle the political preferences opened by the Ayodhya discussion regardless of the possibility that that implied forgetting about common standards (Hasan 2012, 20–21).

The 1989 race delivered the first of a progression of feeble governments. The ninth Lok Sabha broke up 16 months after its arrangement, taking the Congress back to control in 1991 as the leader of a minority coalition. Outside parliament, the BJP's religious assembly at last prevailing with regards to destructing the Ayodhya mosque in 1992, which hastened mass uproars and additionally expanded help for the BJP. In 1996, the BJP turned into the biggest party in parliament, however couldn't assemble enough accomplices to hold together a representing coalition. After two years, the BJP directed its Hindu patriot plan and shaped pre-decision cooperations with state-based gatherings (Sridharan 2011). This approach gave the BJP triumphs in 1998 and 1999, and drove the Congress out of energy for a full term without precedent for Indian history. In 2004, the

occupant National Democratic Alliance, driven by the BJP, confronted a Congress-drove coalition (later named the United Progressive Alliance). The race saw a move in the Congress way to deal with legislative issues. The gathering had already ignored coalition working under the resolute faith in its national character. This inability to adjust to the diffusive idea of the Indian party framework left the Congress defenseless against awkward—¹² The mosque, called the Babri Masjid, is said to lie over the origination of the Hindu symbol Rama. Hindu radicals advocate a sanctuary to be worked in its place. ⁹⁴ however viable—pre-race coalitions driven by the BJP (Sridharan 2011, 127).

Notwithstanding, in 2004, the Congress amassed a 19-party coalition against the BJP's 13-party organization together. Its 2004 win was recreated in 2009, when the UPA again accomplished triumph with 36.87 percent of the vote. The discretionary recrudescence of the Congress under Sonia Gandhi is credited to a move in party system. In the 1990s, the Congress endeavored to champion the Muslim minority while pacifying Hindu hawkishness. Be that as it may, as Zoya Hasan takes note of, the Congress endeavors “to control the religious suppositions of the two groups did not run down well with voters”. In the end, it just aided the BJP, which was better situated to tackle Hindu assessment amid races (Hasan 2012). The thrashing Congress moved systems amid its triumphs in 2004 and 2009. The gathering reasserted its common accreditations, sought after local organization together accomplices, and contacted the Left gatherings (Hasan 2012, 225). The INC's 2009 race statement was sweeping in scope. The prelude starts with a promise “to proceed with our work to guarantee an existence of security, poise and flourishing”. It lays out the gathering's center estimations of “secularism, patriotism, social equity, and financial development for all, particularly for the aam admi (normal man)”. It attests that the INC is the ‘main party’ that accepts monetary development, common congruity, and social equity ‘should dependably go as one’.

It at that point praises the commitments of past INC pioneers M.K. Gandhi and Jawaharlal Nehru for liberating India from expansionism and setting up the cutting edge Indian country state individually. Recognizing the fractionalized idea of India's gathering governmental issues, the declaration guarantees that the INC is the main party with an “All-India point of view” and “All India nearness”. The archive at that point

straightforwardly tended to the INC's foremost opponent, the BJP. The INC "has dependably been in the front line of the fight against those strengths that try to partition and section our general public", it peruses. The INC, its drafters composed, is a "defense" against communalism, phonetic haughtiness, territorial parochialism, and casteism. The INC advances "mainstream and liberal patriotism", observes "India's numerous diversities", and practices "the legislative issues of agreement and collaboration". The statement stands out this approach from the BJP, which, it contends, advances "restricted and common patriotism", looks for "to force a simulated consistency on our kin", and practices the "governmental issues of disruptiveness and strife".

The Third Front's Leftist gatherings are likewise tarred for having "effectively lined up with the BJP before". The INC's "center way" to social, financial, and outside strategy is better than the "religious polarization that is natural for the BJP". The INC's declaration additionally trumpeted the achievements of the gathering's past term in office from 2004-2009. Its monetary accomplishments incorporated the National Rural Employment Guarantee Act (NREGA), which ensured work to each country family through open works ventures; fortifying framework in rustic and urban India; expanding advance waivers and lessening loan fees for agriculturists; extending financial development; and guaranteeing the exchange of sufficient focal assets to state-run improvement projects and activities. The gathering's social accomplishments included enhancing the quality and openness of medicinal services in towns; giving Scheduled Tribes (ST) land to develop; giving reservations to Other Backward Caste (OBC) understudies in proficient establishments; and actualizing a supper program for poor school kids. The statement additionally referred to The Right to Information Act, which empowered nationals "to request responsiveness and responsibility from open authorities".

At last, it praised India's "new 115 regard and stature globally", originating from the US-India atomic arrangement, and in addition the gathering's push to battle outside psychological warfare and inside strife. The INC's plan for the future depended for the most part on growing and fortifying the approaches of the past term inside three center zones: security, flourishing, and poise. Inside the topic of security, the INC guaranteed

zero resilience for fear mongering, abnormal amounts of guard readiness, police changes, and human safety efforts including ensured access to medicinal services, government disability, and nourishment security. The thriving plan included enhanced training, ability advancement, country welfare, and business openings.

The substance investigation demonstrates the dialect of Indian legislative issues is unequivocally arrangement situated and along these lines verifiably multi-religious. Among the twenty-six gatherings incorporated into the specimen, 4.10 percent of the talk is holding, 9.60 percent is crossing over, and 86.30 percent is nonpartisan. BJP proclamations constituted 95 percent of the holding talk. Be that as it may, of the 132 BJP explanations coded, just 12.9 percent were holding. Its talk extensively coordinates the tenor of gathering governmental issues as a rule: 81.8 percent of the BJP's announcements were impartial and 5.30 percent were spanning. Of the 161 INC articulations coded, none were holding, 12.4 percent were spanning, and 87.6 percent were nonpartisan. A vast part of these issues encompassed the subject of improvement and monetary strategy. INC BJP All Parties Neutral Bridging Bonding 122 supported plans, including a contamination reduction design, calling the Left's govern against individuals.

At a rally in Madhya Pradesh, INC President Sonia Gandhi blamed BJP state governments for not utilizing the focal assets dispensed to them. In Uttar Pradesh, Rahul Gandhi told a rally, "we sent Rs 165 crore to the state Government yet nothing achieved poor people and Dalits. There is a major elephant in Lucknow which eats up everything", alluding to then-Chief Minister Mayawati of the BSP. Deriding the BJP's 2004 "India Shining" trademark, INC serve Anand Sharma summed up the gathering's advancement approach: it is 'certain that India was sparkling just for a chose couple of under the NDA administration. We wish to take improvement to poor people'.

More broadly, campaigners praised Prime Minister Manmohan Singh and the UPA government's economic policies for limiting the harm of the global recession and fostering distributive growth Issues of poverty, unemployment, and service delivery also dominated the INC's neutral rhetoric. In Kerala, Rahul Gandhi trumpeted the National Rural Employment Guarantee Programme (NREGA), which he called "the most

progressive programme implemented by the UPA,” which “guaranteed employment to one person from each “State ignoring repatriates: Rahul,” *The Hindu*, April 14, 2009 “Sonia questions BJP’s ‘nation first’ claim,” *The Hindu*, April 15, 2009 Maulshree Seth, “Visit to Dalit homes: Rahul counters BSP,” *The Indian Express*, April 28, 2009 “There is no entity as the Third Front: Congress,” *The Indian Express*, April 25, 2009. “Rahul harps on Centre’s pro-poor policies,” *The Hindu*, April 14, 2009; Ravish Tiwari and Amitabh Sinha, “Regional parties are a reality, PM never discounted their relevance,” *The Indian Express*, April 25, 2009. 123 families for the 100 days a year.” Targeting farmers, the INC promised loan waivers for rice, and expanded electricity.²⁴ The INC also used these issues to critique state governments. In West Bengal, Rahul Gandhi argued that poor educational and health facilities symbolized the failure of the Left government. The INC also maintained its historic connection to the lower castes in Chhattisgarh, Kerala, Gujarat, and elsewhere. Psychological warfare and security is another impartial issue that got much consideration from the Congress Party. Redirecting BJP assaults, the INC scrutinized the BJP government's decision to consult with fear based oppressors amid its 1999-2004 term. In Arunachal Pradesh, Sonia Gandhi scrutinized the BJP/NDA government's choice to enable a psychological oppressor to be “discharged and escorted as a visitor to Afghanistan” from where he went to Pakistan and “UPA has stayed faithful to its commitment: Rahul Gandhi”, *The Hindu*, April 14, 2009 “YSR guarantees 30 kg rice to poor people”, *The Hindu* April 14, 2009; “Congress anxiety for poor genuine: Rahul”, *The Hindu*, April 11 “Old gathering, old perspectives: Rahul on Left”, *The Indian Express*, April 25, 2009 Aarti Dhar, “UPA needs will to handle fear based oppression, says Advani”, *The Hindu* April 12, 2009. “Congress is for poor, BJP for rich: Rahul”, *The Indian Express*, April 28, 2009 arranged assaults against India, including assaults on the Indian Parliament. Questioning L.K. Advani’s part in the fear monger discharge, Rahul Gandhi asked: Was it a reality that Mr. Advani did not think about the arrangement to discharge three no-nonsense fear mongers who were to be escorted to Kandahar by the then External Affairs Minister Jaswant Singh or did the previous Prime Minister Atal Bihari Vajpayee not take him into certainty. In Chandigarh, INC competitor Pawan Kumar Bansal negatively contrasted the BJP’s record on fear mongering and that of Congress, saying that the Congress-drove UPA government was

“sufficiently cognizant to capture the Mumbai assault blamed alive” and afterward “to pressurize Pakistan into conceding that the psychological oppressor is a Pakistan resident”. The substance investigation found that 12.4 percent of the INC's talk was spanning. The gathering's connecting explanations called the BJP a shared gathering, which claims to some extent (if not for the most part) to Muslim voters, and advanced secularism and consideration.

Sonia Gandhi, at a rally in Meghalaya, said the governmental issues of the BJP “depends on the strategy of absolutely making disdain among individuals of various beliefs and groups; they are controlled by fundamentalist and mutual powers”. She guaranteed later that the BJP was “remote controlled” by the fanatic RSS. At a public interview, Rahul Gandhi declared that “Sonia impacts BJP, Advani for addressing PM”, *The Hindu*, April 14, 2009. Neena Vyas, “BJP cites Chidambaram on Kandahar”, *The Hindu*, April 14, 2009. “Gurdwara advisory groups express solidarity with Cong”, *The Indian Express*, April 27, 2009. Sushanta Talukdar, “Sonia impacts BJP, Advani for addressing PM”, *The Hindu*, April 14, 2009. “PM verbal confrontation annoying BJP now, Cong calls Advani Modi's cover”, *The Indian Express*, April 28, 2009 the “Babri Masjid was broken by the legislative issues of BJP and governmental issues of division”. Also summoning the Babri mosque pulverization, Prime Minister Singh, at a rally in Gujarat, stated, “Whatever had occurred in 2002 in the state was the handicraft of a modest bunch of people and against the pleased conventions of Gujarat”. Campaigning for the INC, Sharad Pawar said the “BJP recollects Lord Ram just amid decisions and sends him on ‘vanvas’ (oust) after that”.

On monetary, social, and remote approach, the BJP and the Congress were extensively comparable. Despite the fact that specifics fluctuated, the two gatherings distinguished comparable issues and supported comparable medicines. Nor was reluctant to advance state-drove improvement and against destitution programs, which ruled the two gatherings plan. The Congress forcefully surrounded the BJP as collective; an accuse met of counter-cases of ‘vote-bank governmental issues’. Strangely, the BJP seemed to make light of its disputable positions while putting forth unequivocally comprehensive expressions. CP Thakur, a BJP individual from the Rajya Sabha, rejects the INC's

reactions. He contends his gathering “takes care of the interests of everybody: Sikhs, Muslims, Christians, and Hindus”.

The INC likewise advanced a dream of comprehensive government for all Indians. “Inward solidarity is an absolute necessity”, said Congress leader Anand Sharma, “which just the Congress—as the main skillet Indian gathering—can give”. At a rally in Arunachal Pradesh, Sonia Gandhi asserted the Congress was the main party that could give a solid, stable, and secure government and ensure the popularity based and mainstream esteem in the nation. In Gujarat, Prime Minister Singh stated, “parties that advance communalism are really doing an insult to the Father of the Nation”. At a similar rally, Prime Minister Singh connected the economy with consideration: no option other than secularism for the development “I am not prepared to be PM: Rahul Gandhi”.

3.6 The Congress place in politics and Government

Having verbalized the two models for country building let us now dissect the models and techniques embraced by the Congress. Congress model and procedures were advanced amid provincial lead and on account of its belief system and the target social reality of India; the Congress embraced the relationship show. The arrangement of the provincial ruler to gap and manage over Indians was an additional factor, It would be notwithstanding, incorrectly to gather that the mix display had no disciples in India. Aside from the Muslim League and Hindu MahaSabha, there were inside the Congress a sizeable number of Hindu patriots who subscribed to the reconciliation show. As will turn out to be clear in the following pages even the Congress arrangements amid pre and post freedom periods veered from one model to the next. The association demonstrate embraced by the Congress imagines a relationship of reliance between various ethnic gatherings uncommonly between the larger part and minority ethnic gatherings. Various parts of this association and the techniques embraced to accomplish it order our consideration. To begin with is the origination of national culture, a critical patriot procedure gone for country building. In the joining model national culture is basically the way of life of the dominant part ethnic group. In the interference show then again, national culture is considered in composite terms. Culture is related with land and its kin

and not with religion. Indian patriot erudite people imagined Indian culture as a composite culture really taking shape of which all religious and social gathering have made their commitment after some time. The accentuation has been on the shared traits as opposed to on angularities or particularities of social life. There is an accentuation on the hidden solidarity of various strains as opposed to on their formal particularities. This origination of culture is basically humanistic as opposed to partisan and empowered the Congress to make an expansive and successful social interest to every single religious gathering in the general public. Subsequently the Congress did not permit any religio-political gathering to appreciate the restraining infrastructure of ethnic help.

The origination of secularism is the second vital part of the patriot methodology for country building. Western origination of secularism including division of Church and state while it helped in country working by keeping the political strength of the lion's share aggregate over the minorities and furthermore helped in the development of common political gatherings is basically negative in its import. While it helped to expel the preclusions from which the minorities endured amid the prime of the Church-State duality, it didn't keep the Anglo-Saxon lion's share from forcing its own particular origination of national culture on the minorities Equally imperative is the way that the Western origination of secularism is in an extraordinary measure unimportant to Indian experience in light of the fact that the intellectual introduction of most Indians was and continues to be religious. Amid the patriot battle no compelling mass assembly could have been conceivable without acquiring religion some shape into legislative issues. Religiosity was in actuality the mystery of Gandhi's achievement in assembling Indian masse against British run the show. Gandhi would have turned out to be superfluous had the Congress received the western origination of secularism.

The origination of secularism received by the Congress under Gandhi took after the association display and underscored less the partition of religion and governmental issues however more so equivalent regard and treatment for all religions. This origination of secularism is sure in its morals as opposed to the western origination which is basically negative Non segregation and not detachment of religion and legislative issues is in this way the pith of Indian origination of secularism. This origination of secularism

empowered the state to give gifts in-help to instructive establishment possessed and overseen by various religious and rank relationships without damaging standards of secularism". However, in the zone of social change square with treatment has offered approach to particular treatment meaning along these lines that the state can direct religion based social practices if the interest for changes is advanced by the religious gathering concerned that such controls apply to that religion as it were. Laws controlling Hind common marriage, separation and legacy and the laws directing the administration of particular sanctuaries or gurudwaras are cases of specific treatment. The social rationality behind the particular treatment shows up be that a social practice in light of religion can be improved just if the concerned religious gathering makes an interest for change Congress methodology in this way underlines volunteerism in social change.

The state of mind of the Congress towards religio-political gatherings was administered by the association display. Given the social structure of India and the way that station and religious personalities had developed before the rise of a national character, the Congress couldn't keep the rise of religio-political gatherings amid frontier run the show. In any case, aside from the Muslim League whose interest for the formation of Pakistan disregarded India's essential solidarity, the Congress suited the requests of the religio-political gatherings, despite the fact that the Congress felt that these gatherings debilitated the patriot drives in the nation. The Congress therefore upheld the Khilafat development and this help denoted the start of the relationship of numerous Muslims with the Congress. Correspondingly, the Congress upheld the Akali development in the 1920s and increased extensive help in the Sikh people group, which thus was an essential factor in weaning the Akali Dal far from collaboration with the Muslim League in 1947. Another part of the Congress system of winning the certainty of minority ethnic gatherings was to allow double enrollment of the Congress-men in religious, social and in the 1930s even in religio-political association. It was in the rationale of India's social structure and the succession of political change to which reference has just been made that such associations would mushroom in the wake of social mobilization. The Jamiat-i-Ulema-i-Hind, the Hindi Sahitya Sammelan, the Arya Samaj, the Sanatan Dharam and the Singh Sabha are a portion of the imperative cases of such associations. The double individuals gone about as kind of transmission belts or

weight gatherings. From one viewpoint they explained the interests of the religio-social relationship in the Congress and guaranteed level with treatment to all religions by the Congress. Then again they likewise compelled their religio-social associations to join and stay inside the standard of Indian patriotism. This type of course of action put strain on the Congress⁸⁴ but on the other hand was a procedure to empower the religio-social associations settle any personality strife for the national character.

The dialect approach was another country building methodology embraced in compatibility of the association show. We will talk about two parts of this strategy, specifically, the decision of the national dialect and the arrangement of phonetic territories. The way that national dialect is an effective instrument of country building is too clear to ever be underscored. In any case, in a multiethnic culture like our own, in view of the connection amongst dialect and ethnicity, dialect likewise turn into a noteworthy wellspring of ethnic clashes, extraordinarily if any dialect, national or territorial, is forced on non-speakers of that dialect. There are two parts of a dialect with which we are concerned. Dialect is general cash for the trading of Ideas. It is additionally medium and an image of social and religious articulation and henceforth a piece of the religiously arranged culture. Thus, dialect likewise has a religious holiness and enthusiastic interest.

Be that as it may, in an advanced country express, the enthusiastic interest of a national dialect depends on the mainstream culture of patriotism with the exception of in situations where patriotism itself depends on religion just like the case in Iran and Pakistan. These two parts of dialect as a medium for trade of thoughts and as medium of social articulation frame the bases for the procedures received under the two models for country building. In the coordination show, dialect is conceptualized as a medium of social articulation and as an image of national culture which as we have effectively noted is likened with the way of life of the lion's share group. In the association display, dialect is seen basically as a medium of correspondence, as a connection amongst individuals and political foundations and among the general population themselves.

The contrast between the two originations of dialect may come down either to a distinction on the decision of the national dialect or on the idea of the dialect picked as the national dialect. In the mix display the decision of the national dialect would normally be the dialect of the dominant part and it should truly express the soul of the country. In the reliance show the decision of the national language(s) would be on the premise of an accord among ethnic gatherings. In the previous case the decision would be the dialect of the writing and in the last case the dialect of the avenues and markets. The contrast between Gandhi's Hindustani and the Sanskritised Hindi briefly communicates the distinction between the two. Gandhi's arrangement on the national dialect took after the reliance demonstrate and considered the realities that all Hindus don't communicate in Hindi and that the south was hesitant to acknowledge Hindi and that it was important to advance an agreement on the national dialect among Hindus and Muslims and amongst north and south. His promotion of Hindustani, which implied straightforward Hindi written in Devnagari or Persian script, considered every one of these actualities. To influence the south acknowledge Hindustani,

Gandhi organized the Dakshin Bharat Hindi Prachar Samiti which made good progress especially during 1937-39. The first draft on national language presented to the Constituent Assembly in 1946 provided for Hindustani written in either of the above mentioned two scripts. However, by the time the issue came up for detailed discussion in 1948 Gandhi was dead. The Hindi enthusiasts forming a slight majority in the Congress Parliamentary Party and the Constituent Assembly were able to carry a resolution asking for Hindi in the Devnagari script only as the national language. This was a clear departure from the interdependence model and followed the integration model. The analysis below of the subsequent events shows the effectiveness of the strategies followed under the two models.

Following the Congress Party resolution the Constitution provided for Hindi as the official language of India after 15 years time limit (1965) given for developing Hindi. It seems that Nehru and the Gandhians who subscribed to the interdependence model were unable to assert themselves on the language issue. The Hindi that the official agencies began developing was Sanskritised Hindi so far removed from the common man

that even Hindi speakers found it difficult to understand it. Opposition to Hindi began in the 1950's. The first important protest came from the non-Hindi members of the Official Languages Commission appointed in 1956 to make recommendations on the Hindi policy of the government in pursuance of the constitutional directive.

The onslaught against Hindi began in 1958 when Rajagopalachari, who had been in the forefront of the pro-Hindi movement in the south in the 1930's, spearheaded the anti-Hindi campaign. The widespread protests in the south led Nehru to assert himself and assure the non-Hindi speaking states that Hindi would not be forced on the unwilling south. The assurance was repeated in the Official Languages Act 1963 and in the amendment to it in 1967. The present position is that even a single non-Hindi speaking state enjoys a veto over Hindi and can prevent it from becoming the exclusive official language of India. India has travelled a long way from the consensus that Gandhi had built and our present failure is the failure of the integration model.

They could hardly be expected to part with territory and political and economic power willingly. As such the policy followed by the centre was an open invitation to settle the linguistic issues in the streets. And they were settled in the streets. It was only after the agitations and violence had made the functioning of the state governments and party units difficult that the demands were conceded. We may also take up the choice of script as a part of the analysis of linguistic politics. In the integration model, as in the case of language, script is an integral part of the authenticity and identity of the language. Furthermore in India particularly, an attempt has been made to associate script with religion. Thus Devnagari is associated with Hinduism, Persian script with Islam and the Gurmukhi with Sikhism. This is despite the fact that language speakers in most cases happen to be a mixed lot. In the interdependence model, since language is medium for mass communication, the choice of script is a matter of convenience and not of cultural authenticity. Gandhi had no hesitation in advocating Devnagari and Persian scripts for Hindustani. The Indian army uses Roman script for its manual and road signs. Having discussed the utility and limitations of both models on the basis of our past pre and post independence experience, let us briefly discuss our present problems in regard to nation building. The broad national consensus that the Congress under Gandhi and Nehru had

so assiduously tried to build appears to be in the process of breaking down as new groups with new demands emerge or old groups raise new demands.

The emergence of new groups and the proliferation of demands underline the important fact about nation building that it is an on going process. Ethnic conflicts instead of decreasing are on increase. This is particularly so in regard to the three important minorities, namely, Muslims, Harijans and Sikhs. In the northeast, federalism seemed to have eased the situation but Assam and Mizoram are again in ferment. There are also indications particularly during the late 1970's that state and central governments have to varying degrees abandoned the inter-dependence model and followed the integration model.

Muslim grievances in regard to their share and discrimination against them in jobs, the status and facilities for teaching in Urdu in schools and in regard to the minority character of Aligarh Muslim University have been piling up since independence. Most of these grievances relate to the attitude of the state governments in U.P. Assam and M.P. The state of communal violence in cities like Moradabad and Hyderabad indicates that religious groups in these cities live in some form of temporary truce which can be broken by an unfortunate stray incident. It speaks volume for our sensitivity towards Muslim demands that Himachal Pradesh, a practically non-Muslim state, introduced Urdu a second language in the 1960s. U.P. and Assam having a sizeable Muslim population in cities have taken more than 30 years to provide for instructions in Urdu in schools despite considerable pressure from the central government. The share of the Muslims in jobs in these state already much lower than their population percentage, is alleged to have fallen further since 1977. The share of the Muslims in the middle class is certainly much below their population percentage.

The position in regard to the scheduled castes is still worse. In the urban areas they still perform their orthodox duties which nobody else in the society is willing to perform. They still live in slums with few civic amenities. The only saving feature of the urban scene has been that we have maintained social peace between caste Hindus and the scheduled castes. Considering the present trend of growing opposition to reservations in

state jobs, even this social peace is not likely to last long as the anti reservation riots in Gujrat indicate.

However, it is in the rural areas that the situation is worst. Vast majority of the scheduled castes in rural areas are poor handicrafters or agricultural labourers. A few are original farmers mostly tenants. A prosperous scheduled caste landowning farmer is still a rare thing indeed. What is worse since the late 1970s the individual and gang attacks on the scheduled castes in rural areas have been on increase showing the increasing arrogance and intolerance of caste Hindus. During 1980 there were a spate of conversions of untouchables to Islam and Christianity. While these conversions aroused resentment and protests from Hindu organisations, precious little has been done to combat the evil of untouchability in rural areas where it is rampant. The joint lunches and unity conferences in some cities were more of a show piece than a concerted effort to fight untouchability. Special programmes and legislation designed to help the scheduled castes need to be reviewed in the light of our past experience. The benefits of reservations in jobs have filtered to a small section of the scheduled castes who were able to make up to the high school. Poverty has prevented most scheduled castes parents from sending their children to schools at all. It is also interesting to note that the legal provisions of reservations for scheduled castes apply to state and semi government organisations only and do not apply to private jobs in the organized sector.

The share of the scheduled castes in private jobs is practically nil. In the United States while there is no reservation for blacks and other coloured minorities, the Civil Rights Bill which provides among other things for non-discrimination in jobs, public or private, has proved effective in increasing the share of minorities in the job market. It is high time that the constitutional provisions relating to non-discrimination are reviewed and suitably amended so as to provide for non-discrimination in jobs in the private and public sectors. Feasibility of extending the system of reservations to private jobs should also be examined. The state should also provide special funds and prepare programmes for scheduled castes for self employment in small businesse and manu-facturing enterprises. The purpose of all these recommendations is to generate additional jobs in non-governmental sector and relieve / the pressure on state and semi-government

agencies where avenues for employment are already limited. The agitation in Assam against 'foreigners' and Akali Agitation in Punjab fall in a differently category of ethnic conflicts. It is not the ethnic poverty but a comparative affluence and a feeling of comparative deprivation that has given rise to the two movements. Both movements are middle class phenomena. However, the similarity ends here. While the Akali movement was marks of a separatist movement, the Assam movement is not separatist but a movement for the redistribution of political and economic power within the state. Let us offer a brief analysis of these two movements in terms of our models.

The Assam development is apparently against nonnatives – Bangladeshis and Nepalis. The clear objective of the development is the end of the outsiders from the appointive procedure. A dominant part of those prone to be influenced are Muslims and most are Bengalis who are and to be the pillar of the Congress' help in the state. By their end from the electoral procedure the pioneers of the development want to adjust the structure of energy in the state. They trust that they would have the capacity to come to control in the switched set up. Be that as it may, the genuine grievances of the Assamese are more profound and basically monetary. The connection between the Assamese and the Bengalis are not of shared relationship but rather of *dépendance* and strength. The modernization of Assam has been attempted by non-Assamese who now command the economy of the state. Most enterprises in the state are in the hands of Bengalis and are basically extractive, which means along these lines that the industrialists are occupied with extricating timberland and land assets with least handling inside Assam. For instance while mash making and tea picking is done in Assam, mixing and offer of tea and paper making is done in Calcutta. Bengali proprietors overwhelm the provincial economy in a few areas. Bengalis additionally command the organization and hold an excessively high offer of occupations. Assam is along these lines a normal instance of reliance economy coming about because of the modernization of a retrogressive range by outside foundation capital, business visionary, innovation, talented specialists, and so forth. Assamese have felt the squeeze of the reliance economy and it is the informed working class youth who have felt the squeeze most, since they, more than any other person, have turned out to be mindful of the near hardship they experience the ill effects of. Our examination proposes that for congruous relations the reliance relationship ought

to be changed to that of association. It is, hence, a glad sign to take note of that the majority of the requests of the agitationists in Assam have been acknowledged, the two sides indicating vital soul of bargain and convenience. In any case, there is the opposite side of the development that ought not overlooked. The development happens to be coordinated against Bengalis and Muslims, both being minorities in the state. Hardly any Muslims or Bengalis have joined or upheld the development. Truth be told counter affiliations have jumped up to secure minority interests..51 on the off chance that the pioneers and associations leading the development come to control, it is expected that the ethnic clash may become further extraordinarily when the minorities are probably going to be politically weaker later on set up of the state. It is not protected arrangement but rather the character and approaches of the political gatherings in the state which would decide the between ethnic relations in Assam.

Truly a little segment of the Sikh youth harbor separatist propensities and have swung to fear based oppression to accomplish their objective, most by far of the Sikh administration and masses are faithful to India. The current understanding between the Center and Akali Dal shows the benefits of the association model of country building. The above examination of the model and methodologies taken after by the Congress for country building shows the viability of the reliance demonstrate and the risks inalienable in following the joining model. At whatever point the Congress withdrawn from the association display, just like the case with Hindu approach, the outcomes were appalling. The investigation likewise proposes why regardless of a larger part of Hindus, India is not a Hindu state and albeit Hindu political gatherings are not obscure, they are for the most part in wild. The Congress laid excessively dependence on the social and mental parts of country fabricating and to some degree overlooked the financial measurement. A decent a large number of India's present between ethnic issues are basically financial notwithstanding when they are communicated in ethnic terms. In any case, it can likewise be contended that expelling monetary irregular characteristics amongst areas and groups is a protracted procedure and gradualness of the change is not really a sign of the absence of responsibility. Country Building is an on-going procedure. Country is not a condition of being but rather is dependably in a state getting to be. New clashes and new requests emerge as new social gatherings rise or old ones make new requests for redistribution of

political and monetary power. Country building is therefore an on-going activity in the determination of contentions. Over the long stretch of its history, the Congress has indicated adequate abilities in accomplishing reconciliation and keeping the framework in place. A free joined together and vote based India in Congress' most noteworthy blessing to the country.

3.7 Contributions of INC to Nation Building and Development: From Nehru Government to UPA-II

The Assam development is apparently against nonnatives – Bangladeshis and Nepalis. The clear objective of the development is the end of the outsiders from the appointive procedure. A dominant part of those prone to be influenced are Muslims and most are Bengalis who are and to be the pillar of the Congress' help in the state. By their end from the electoral procedure the pioneers of the development want to adjust the structure of energy in the state. They trust that they would have the capacity to come to control in the switched set up. Be that as it may, the genuine grievances of the Assamese are more profound and basically monetary. The connection between the Assamese and the Bengalis are not of shared relationship but rather of dependence and strength. The modernization of Assam has been attempted by non-Assamese who now command the economy of the state. Most enterprises in the state are in the hands of Bengalis and are basically extractive, which means along these lines that the industrialists are occupied with extricating timberland and land assets with least handling inside Assam. For instance while mash making and tea picking is done in Assam, mixing and offer of tea and paper making is done in Calcutta. Bengali proprietors overwhelm the provincial economy in a few areas. Bengalis additionally command the organization and hold an excessively high offer of occupations. Assam is along these lines a normal instance of reliance economy coming about because of the modernization of a retrogressive range by outside foundation capital, business visionary, innovation, talented specialists, and so forth. Assamese have felt the squeeze of the reliance economy and it is the informed working class youth who have felt the squeeze most, since they, more than any other person, have turned out to be mindful of the near hardship they experience the ill effects of. Our examination proposes that for congruous relations the reliance relationship ought

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political and monetary power. Country building is therefore an on-going activity in the determination of contentions. Over the long stretch of its history, the Congress has indicated adequate abilities in accomplishing reconciliation and keeping the framework in place. A free joined together and vote based India in Congress' most noteworthy blessing to the country.

The state of mind of the Congress towards religio-political gatherings was administered by the relationship display. Given the social structure of India and the way that station and religious personalities had raised before the rise of a national character, the Congress couldn't keep the rise of religio-political gatherings amid pilgrim run the show. In any case, aside from the Muslim League whose interest for the making of Pakistan damaged India's fundamental solidarity, the Congress obliged the requests of the religio-political gatherings, despite the fact that the Congress felt that these gatherings debilitated the patriot compels in the nation. The Congress hence bolstered the Khilafat development and this help denoted the start of the relationship of numerous Muslims with the Congress. So also, the Congress upheld the Akali development in the 1920s and increased impressive help in the Sikh people group, which thusly was a critical factor in weaning the Akali Dal far from participation with the Muslim League in 1947. Another part of the Congress technique of winning the certainty of minority ethnic gatherings was to allow double enrollment of the Congress-men in religious, social and in the 1930s even in religio-political association. It was in the rationale of India's social structure and the arrangement of political change to which reference has just been made that such associations would mushroom in the wake of social mobilization. The Jamiat-i-Ulema-i-Hind, the Hindi Sahitya Sammelan, the Arya Samaj, the Sanatan Dharam and the Singh Sabha are a portion of the imperative cases of such associations. The double individuals gone about as kind of transmission belts or weight gatherings. From one viewpoint they enunciated the interests of the religio-social relationship in the Congress and guaranteed square with treatment to all religions by the Congress. Then again they additionally compelled their religio-social associations to join and stay inside the standard of Indian patriotism. This type of game plan put strain on the Congress⁸⁴ but on the other hand was a procedure to empower the religio-social associations settle any character struggle for the national personality.

The dialect approach was another country building procedure embraced in compatibility of the relationship display. We will examine two parts of this arrangement, to be specific, the decision of the national dialect and the development of semantic areas. The way that national dialect is an intense instrument of country building is too clear to be in any way accentuated. In any case, in a multiethnic culture like our own, on account of the connection amongst dialect and ethnicity, dialect likewise turn into a noteworthy wellspring of ethnic clashes, exceptionally if any dialect, national or provincial, is forced on non-speakers of that dialect. There are two parts of a dialect with which we are concerned. Dialect is a widespread money for the trading of Ideas. It is additionally medium and an image of social and religious articulation and henceforth a piece of the religiously arranged culture. Accordingly, dialect likewise has a religious sacredness and passionate interest.

Be that as it may, in a present day country express, the enthusiastic interest of a national dialect depends on the mainstream culture of patriotism aside from in situations where patriotism itself depends on religion similar to the case in Iran and Pakistan. These two parts of dialect as a medium for trade of thoughts and as medium of social articulation frame the bases for the methodologies received under the two models for country building. In the mix demonstrate, dialect is conceptualized as a medium of social articulation and as an image of national culture which as we have effectively noted is likened with the way of life of the dominant part group. In the relationship show, dialect is seen basically as a medium of correspondence, as a connection amongst individuals and political establishments and among the general population themselves.

The distinction between the two originations of dialect may come down either to a distinction on the decision of the national dialect or on the idea of the dialect picked as the national dialect. In the combination show the decision of the national dialect would more often than not be the dialect of the dominant part and it should really express the soul of the country. In the relationship show the decision of the national language(s) would be on the premise of an accord among ethnic gatherings. In the previous case the decision would be the dialect of the writing and in the last case the dialect of the roads and markets. The distinction between Gandhi's Hindustani and the Sanskritised Hindi

briefly communicates the contrast between the two. Gandhi's strategy on the national dialect took after the relationship display and considered the actualities that all Hindus don't communicate in Hindi and that the south was hesitant to acknowledge Hindi and that it was important to advance an agreement on the national dialect among Hindus and Muslims and amongst north and south. His backing of Hindustani, which implied basic Hindi written in Devnagari or Persian script, considered every one of these realities. To influence the south acknowledge Hindustani,

3.8 Conclusion

Indian National Congress which is a political party of India formed in 1885 led the Indian movement for independence from Great Britain. During its first several decades, the Congress Party passed fairly moderate reform resolutions, though many within the organization were becoming radicalized by the increased poverty that accompanied British imperialism. In the early 20th century, elements within the party began to endorse a policy of "swadeshi" and "extremist" Which begun to exert significant influence the India's diverse social classes. In the 1920s, the Congress Party, the new change in tactics was taken place by the protest and the acts of civil disobedience. In 1942 the organization sponsored mass civil disobedience to support the demand that the British "quit India." British authorities responded by imprisoning the entire Congress Party leadership. After the World War II, the British government passed an independence bill in July 1947, and independence was achieved the following month under the leadership of Indian National Congress. After the independence, the period from 1952-1967 was under Congress dominance. Then, the period from 1967- 1989 saw the steady decline of Congress power, particularly at the state level. The period from 1989 to present was the period of reconsolidation in Indian National Congress.

The 1989 election produced the first of a series of weak governments. The 9th Lok Sabha dissolved 16 months after its formation, bringing the Congress back to power in 1991 as the head of a minority coalition. In 2004, the Congress amassed a 19-party coalition against the BJP's 13-party alliance. Its 2004 win was replicated in 2009, when the UPA again achieved victory with 36.87 percent of the vote. The electoral

recrudescence of the Congress under Sonia Gandhi is attributed to a shift in party strategy. In the 1980s and 1990s, the Congress attempted to champion the Muslim minority while mollifying Hindu chauvinism. But, as Zoya Hasan notes, the Congress efforts “to manipulate the religious sentiments of both communities did not go down well with voters.” In the end, it only helped the BJP, which was better positioned to harness Hindu sentiment during elections (Hasan 2012). The flailing Congress shifted strategies during its victories in 2004 and 2009. The time span of UPA-II (2009-14) was inclined towards a mixed set of liberal economy and social inclusive policy. Opposition parties had challenged the hegemonical-in-waiting Congress in bit a bit. There was also transformational change in party high-command from Sonia Gandhi to Rahul Gandhi, the latest scion of Nehru-Gandhi family. It has to be seen the major prospects and challenges of Congress party.

Chapter-IV

Comparative Study of African National Congress and Indian National Congress

4.1 Introduction

This chapter briefly depicts the main constituents of the post-independence Indian and post-apartheid South African party systems, the dominant party and opposition parties in these party systems and paves the ground for analysis on how and why the emergence of One-Party Dominant system (OPD) in both countries took place.

4.2 Dominant Party System

The prevailing party as the core of any arrangement of OPD quite often directs the making of the nation and, on account of India and South Africa; they originate from the long battle for liberation. Consequently, these gatherings have greater offer of famous authenticity available to its than any of the conceivable contenders and assumes the deciding part in sacred designing. While in India after segment there was doubtlessly about the Congress being responsible for ruling the political procedure and gathering scene since was the sole political development which had involvement in parliamentary governmental issues, the ANC needed to rival equal freedom associations (Pan African Congress - PAC, Black Consciousness Movement - BCM), to manufacture a hierarchical system from the Democrazia Christiana, contending powerfully that – even despite their disparities, the two gatherings had created comparable instruments of control (1983: 295).

The term, ‘Congress System’ suggestive of the primary theoretical and diagnostic components of India’s arrangement of OPD, was first acquainted with the academic group by Rajni Kothari (1961, 1964, 1974). Autonomously, W. H. Morris-Jones arrived at comparative decisions about the theoretical and expository nature of India’s arrangement of OPD, and, regularly utilized an indistinguishable wording from Kothari. See Morris-Jones (1966, 1967). Notwithstanding the appointive mishap of the INC in the

decisions of 1967, the pattern was switched in the races of 1971, 1980 and 1984. In any case, the decisions of 1967 denoted a change of recognition in the electorate towards a more grounded issue-introduction and assessment of the execution of the overseeing party (Kothari 1975: 102), a change of restriction procedure in light of the discernment that INC predominance can be undermined, and, the start of a deterioration procedure of the INC that finished in the part of 1969. In certainty, the INC and ANC are the most established freedom developments on their particular landmasses with the INC established in 1885 and the ANC in 1912. ANC was stood up to with resistance from parties speaking to the white minority with some of them having officially long involvement in (elite) parliamentary legislative issues.

All things considered, the ANC could pick up control of a genuinely bound together African electorate, to introduce itself as the essential dealing accomplice of the decision National Party and, throughout the transaction procedure that prompted the principal equitable races of 1994, and prevailing with regards to guaranteeing pre-distinction over all other political strengths in the nation. However, in hierarchical terms the INC was greatly improved arranged to discretionary rivalry than the ANC which unmistakable from the way that up to 1971, the quantity of competitors challenging Lok Sabha races for the INC surpassed the quantity of applicants of any of the resistance parties by over 90%. The two gatherings accumulated a mass after before autonomy and before the finish of politically-sanctioned racial segregation individually. While the INC under Gandhi's stewardship was greatly fruitful in activating India's assorted intrigue gatherings and social strata to join the flag of the patriot development, the ANC – following 30 years in a state of banishment and covertly – united in a solitary structure, the disciples of the dissimilar fragments of the freedom development it was leading, typically in any event.

It must be viewed as one of the numerous riddles encompassing the move to majority rules system on how rapidly the ANC in the end prevailing with regards to solidifying together an incredible scope of social gatherings and ideological positions. It was an extreme procedure including the starting of ‘moving mass activity’, strong transactions, and battle over administration with the establishing of the ‘Tripartite

Alliance' (1990), the hierarchical sign of the ANCs long-standing organization with COSATU (Congress of South African Trade Unions) and the SACP (South African Communist Party) as the most obvious stride towards a standardization of the gathering's wide help base.

The prevailing party as the core of any arrangement of OPD quite often directs the making of the nation and, on account of India and South Africa, they originate from the long battle for liberation.²⁰ Consequently, these gatherings have greater offer of famous authenticity available to its than any of the conceivable contenders and assumes the deciding part in sacred designing. While in India after segment there was doubtlessly about the Congress being responsible for ruling the political procedure and gathering scene since was the sole political development which had involvement in parliamentary governmental issues, the ANC needed to rival equal freedom associations (Pan African Congress - PAC, Black Consciousness Movement - BCM), to manufacture a hierarchical system from the Democrazia Christiana, contending powerfully that – even despite their disparities, the two gatherings had created comparable instruments of control (1983: 295).

The two gatherings execution coordinates the criteria of OPD in a strict numerical sense. The normal contrast between the two gatherings and the particular second biggest gathering is a long ways past the edge one ordinarily finds in two-or multi-party frameworks. The powerful number of gatherings, a record that measures the relative size of gatherings, could be misdirecting for it gives the feeling that we are managing two-party frameworks. In any case, considering the quantity of restriction parties that goes into that list, and, considering resistance fracture, the figures allude to the mastery of the constituent procedure by the INC and ANC individually. The outrageous variety as respects the particular party frameworks normal distinction in vote/situate share is a reasonable sign of the contortions or 'multiplier impact' created by the Indian FPTP appointive framework.

Truth be told, the INC never won over half of the well known vote all through its history of appointive strength. It's legislative specialist was constantly in light of alleged

'fabricated greater parts. All things considered, when it went to the extent of parliamentary seats which each gathering increased under their individual constituent frameworks and to the normal contrast amongst biggest and second-biggest gathering regarding seats, the INC surpasses the ANC by an edge of about 5 and 14 rate focuses separately. Given the high normal turnout which, on account of India, is surprising in perspective of its transcendently rustic and unskilled electorate, the level of unpredictability is generally low contrasted with western popular governments .But the strength of a gathering is likewise subject to the condition of the restriction parties, how they communicate with the predominant party and what part they perform for the example of rivalry common in an arrangement of OPD.

4.3 Opposition's roll in One Party Dominant System

Regardless of restriction parties in an arrangement of OPD having for all intents and purposes zero chance to take control, they in any case have a fundamental capacity ensuring the intensity of the gathering framework and deciding the overwhelming party's system. Aside from the Communist and Hindu-Nationalist gatherings, resistance governmental issues in India amid the initial two decades after autonomy was basically a matter of Congress groups no longer agreeable inside the structure of the prevailing party. Truth be told, aside from the Jana Sangh, the Hindu Mahasabha and the Communist Party of India (CPI), most gatherings had heredities that could have been followed back to the INC. On the left half of the gathering ghost there were the Communists and the Socialists. The Communists, at first effective in expanding their vote share after autonomy, progressively lost energy after the part of 1964 and remained moderately negligible in Indian governmental issues with the exception of their local fortifications in West Bengal and Kerala. The discretionary vocation of the Socialists, once a group inside the INC, is portrayed by a progression of different mergers and parts frequently incited by the INC party initiative. Up to the decisions of 1971 there were four important communist gatherings contending with the 'popularity based communism' of the INC.

In spite of minor discretionary victories they were never ready to dig in themselves in the Indian party framework over the long haul. On the correct side of the

gathering apparition, in the event that one applies the classifications gotten from European gathering humanism, there were the Hindu Nationalists in type of the Jana Sangh, the parliamentary arm of the RSS and antecedent of the BJP, and the Swatantra Party, established in 1956. The Swatantra, initially a group inside the INC also, endeavored to countervail left-inclining propensities inside the INC and gave itself the picture of the main 'really liberal' gathering in India around then. It could pick up help among the INC demographic in the races of 1962 and 1967, however after enormous misfortunes in 1971, they at last vanished from Indian gathering governmental issues.

Aside from these fundamental restriction parties which together with the INC won 85% of the well known vote all things considered in the initial four decisions after autonomy, there were a plenty of territorial gatherings which were of minor pertinence for the organization of the Lok Sabha, be that as it may, in any case, hosted an effect on the national get-together framework through their appointive victories on the local level. In South Africa, the circumstance is distinctive. There, the gathering framework is to a great extent the result of the change procedure. All the set up gatherings of the South African gathering framework and in addition the broadly significant developments and antiapartheid gatherings were profoundly influenced by the political change handle started by President De Klerk. The greater part of the earlier prohibited gatherings or developments like the ANC or PAC speaking to the African dominant part were surprisingly gone up against with setting themselves up for discretionary rivalry, participating in the elaboration of a constitution and making themselves accessible for government obligation. In entirety, they needed to consider the future state of the nation and their part inside its political framework. For the gatherings of the ancient administration, i.e. the broadly applicable gatherings speaking to the white minority separated from the Democratic Party (DP), it implied taking in the ropes of resistance legislative issues. For quite a while, the National Party (NP) as the prime illustrative of the politically-sanctioned racial segregation administration needed to show an oppositional remain toward the ANC while, in the meantime, sitting in bureau because of the arrangement of a 'Legislature of National Unity' (GNU) until the races of 1999 as indicated by area 88 of the break constitution.

The support of the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) – once settled in severe contention to the ANC - in the GNU outlasted the arrangements of area 88 of the break constitution. Despite the fact that there was no requirement for the ANC as the larger part gathering to share legislative power after the 1999 races, the IFP held its three bureau situations in the recently shaped government under Thabo Mbeki. “White” resistance attempted to rethink their picture and to focus their appointive quality. The NP was renamed in the blink of an eye before the races of 1999 (New National Party – NNP) and in 2000 DP and NNP declared that they were combining as the Democratic Alliance (DA). In any case, the last endeavor was brief. Only one year later, the DA split along these lines strengthening restriction discontinuity by and by. Aside from these three principle resistance parties (NNP, DP (DA) and IFP), the United Democratic Front (UDM) driven by previous Transkei military boss Bantu Holomisa and the NPs main arbitrator Roelf Meyer developed as a fourth gathering in the last races winning 14 parliamentary seats with a solid execution in the Eastern Cape region. Presently, considering the two nations socio-auxiliary givens and discretionary frameworks, the accompanying conclusions could have been attracted agreement with hypothetical thinking inside basic gathering framework hypothesis: Simplified, on account of India the institutionalist - propelled by ‘Duverger’s Law’ - would contend that because of the appointive arrangement of SMSP/FTPT a two-party framework ought to have risen, though the researcher in the convention of Lipset and Rokkan’s cleavage hypothesis would state that because of the bounteous abundance of social cleavages, the gathering framework is destined to extraordinary discontinuity or even atomisation. On account of South Africa, the institutionalist would state that because of PR the gathering framework ought to fundamentally be described by a multiplication of a plenty of political gatherings, while the humanist would contend that the larger racial cleavage unavoidably prompts a gathering framework organized along the number juggling of the racial registration.

With the exception of the humanist in the South African case every single other researcher's contentions were demonstrated wrong exactly. What’s more, even the humanist could be blamed for not being exact in his investigation of the South African electorate for there are numerous a larger number of cleavages common in South African

culture than simply race and it is at this point an integral part of academic learning that South Africa is comprised of a few distinct ‘social orders’. Presently, one could contend that the determinism inborn in these two hypothetical methodologies has for quite some time been overcome and that the organizing consequences for the gathering arrangement of either political foundations or the socio-basic make-up of a general public depend intensely on other mediating factors and parts of the particular provincial setting.

Yet, this would mean opening the way to some type of social relativism and solitary clarification, something no political researcher would concur with. Rather, the following passage will contend that in spite of institutionally and fundamentally extraordinary settings, vital decisions and choices made by the separate prevailing gatherings authority were urgent for the “accomplishment” of OPD, and, it will present gathering organization as the ‘missing connection’ important to clarify the comparability in the authentic result.

4.4 The Achievement of One Party Dominant System in India and South Africa

The topic of ‘how an arrangement of OPD developed in the two nations’ requests a multi-layered answer including a mind boggling blend of institutional, auxiliary and gathering agentive elements. Obviously, the ‘historical backdrop of battle’ through which the two gatherings were related to assumed a critical part beginning constituent strength of the INC and ANC. The way that the memory of this history was combined with the alluring authority of Nehru and Mandela fortified the two gatherings appointive interest considerably more. This is in accordance with the general insightful expectation about India’s regional honesty and equitable profession at the time sociological understandings of democratization picked up unmistakable quality, see, for instance, Harrison (1960: 338).

Furthermore, a few studies led from the principal decisions in 1994 onwards demonstrate that race is by all account not the only essential wellspring of social personality, additionally that its pertinence for party ID is less imperative than assumed (see, for instance, information on South Africa gathered by the ‘Organization for a Democratic South Africa’ (IDASA, <http://www.idasa.org.za>) as a major aspect of the

“Afrobarometer” extend (<http://www.afrobarometer.org>), and Mattes et al. (1995: 390); Mattes and Piombo (2001). In this view, two early quotes by Nehru and Mandela separately are uncovering ‘they additionally allude to the two particular gatherings development character, a logical gadget frequently used to reinsure their claim to authenticity and administration’ But, even in the developmental period of a gathering framework, the typical capital gotten from this ‘history of battle’ and magnetic initiative is not adequate to ensure the predominant party’s control over the electorate.

In any case, the space to move for party elites in incipient majority rule governments is greater and they can host a significant effect on get-together framework arrangement. While the greater part of the writing verifiably sees party framework arrangement as reflecting society, the accompanying recommends a best down approach. It contends that frameworks of OPD are to some degree “accomplished’ and exuding from society as well as organized from above. There are fundamentally three factors or procedures that were significant for this “accomplishment” of OPD in India and South Africa: First, the predominant party appropriate from the earliest starting point started a ‘notable venture’ that decided the national open strategy motivation and laid the roots for a dependable help base (Pempel 1990: 340). The automatic interest of these gatherings through which they imparted to the mass electorate that the representing gathering will change their lives, ensured a profound distinguishing proof between the overwhelming party and a lion's share in the electorate. In India this ‘memorable venture’ was revolved around a national accord involving the outstanding elements of secularism, equitable communism, blended economy, non-arrangement and patriotism. aside from the typical esteem appended to this ‘national belief system’ - mostly regulated in type of the Directive Principles cherished in the constitution and the autonomous arranging commission, two parts of this agreement were vital. From one perspective, the mainstream perfect of the INC’s strategy ensured the arrangement of the Muslim supporters to the Congress. It likewise turned into the pleased benefit for the officers in the powerful national development which conveyed flexibility to this nation. We can’t enable Congress to shrivel now into only a discretionary association our gathering association must be something more than a gathering. It must win certainty and regard by patient and benevolent administration, and along these lines live in the hearts of our kin.

The ANC has never been a political gathering. It was framed as a parliament of the African individuals. Ideal from the begin, up to now, the ANC is a coalition of different political affiliations. Some will bolster free venture, others communism. Some are moderates, others are liberals. We are joined exclusively by our assurance to contradict racial mistreatment. That is the main thing that joins us. There is no doubt of belief system to the extent the odyssey of the ANC is concerned, in light of the fact that any inquiry moving toward philosophy would part the association start to finish. Since we have no association at all with the exception of this one, our assurance is to disassemble politically-sanctioned racial segregation (Mandela in *The Washington Post*, Washington, 26 June 1990).

As Kothari (1970: 144) notes: “Harping always and in a practically tedious way on the subjects of majority rules system, communism, arranging, non-association in control coalitions, and related thoughts, he (Nehru) made a structure of talk which laid the semantic and typical premise of national solidarity. Then again, legislative issues of social change, particularly the organization of reservations and portion, secured the help of the socially mistreated, i.e. the untouchables. Together with the locally overwhelming ranks that were united to the INC for different reasons (see underneath) these gatherings constituted 33% of the Indian electorate, a vote pool that – combined with the particular states of the Indian constituent framework – quite often ensured discretionary lion's share. In South Africa, party administration inside the ANC was very much aware that the visualized working of an admired ‘rainbow country’ would not be adequate to ensure the typical capital important for the proceeded with syndication of the national plan. That is the reason soon after the races of 1994, the Reconstruction and Development Program (RDP) was propelled, a co-ordinated, halfway arranged and interlocking way to deal with the national upliftment of the some time ago hindered” (Schlemmer 1999: 290).

Despite the fact that the ensuing suspension of the RDP (1996) and the reception of the Growth, Employment and Redistribution program (GEAR), which was essentially a neo-liberal and star entrepreneur large scale financial structure, added to an abatement in validity of the administering party as far as its ability to ‘convey’, and, in the meantime, delivered pressures inside the tripartite collusion, the RDP consoled the

overwhelming party's help base of its great aims and the ANC has all things considered remained immovably dedicated to governmental policy regarding minorities in society and the social change of the general public. Second, party elites needed to guarantee that the institutional game plan of the commonwealth works in the support of the prevailing party which implies that there are ensures that the predominant party is in a position to play its authoritative leverage and discretionary strength off against resistance parties.

While in India, INC pioneers, cognisant of the way that they would profit by the Westminster FPTT discretionary framework as long as restriction stayed divided and in a lumbering authoritative state did not consider elective appointive administrations. They looked for arrangements for giving Indian federalism a unitary shape keeping in mind the end goal to modify advancements of the gathering framework to their support at whatever point important similar to the case with the inconvenience of President's administer on the CPI legislature of Kerala in 1959. Be that as it may, in spite of the chances of control by the Center inalienable in Indian federalism the INC under Nehru's initiative decided on some sort of 'co-agent federalism' whereby party administration mediated at whatever point factional question in the states undermined to go off the rails. At a similar time, gave the states enough self-rule to oversee clashes all alone without imperiling the specialist of the focal government. This co-agent federalism was additionally fortified by the states rearrangement which was likewise joined by a slow regionalisation of the Congress mechanical assembly. Over the span of this procedure, the INC prevailing in co-selecting provincially predominant ranks and town specialists along these lines widening its effectively huge help base. In South Africa, strikingly enough, the ANC settled on a discretionary framework that ran counter to its divided advantages, for a first-past-the-post framework would have obviously profited the ANC as the putative greater part party.

The choice for an appointive arrangement of corresponding portrayal, in any case, can be seen either for instance of the ANCs goodwill for compromise or ideological sense of duty regarding incorporate whatever number societal gatherings as would be prudent into the political framework (see, for instance, Sisk 1994: 12, and Pottie 2001: 154), or, as a sign that the ANC was cognisant of the way that it would yield enough constituent

help to defeat the power-sharing prerequisites of the break constitution which was, all things considered, outfitted towards building up dominant part govern (Mattes 1994: 7; Sisk 1995: 190). In different words to transform South Africa into what was once named by Nelson Mandela as a “typical majority rules system as the world knows it”. The selection of PR picked up fascination for the ANC for yet another reason: On the one hand, the shut rundown variation of PR which was received implied that eventually it is the gathering initiative which chooses will’s identity named as the contender for challenging decisions in this manner empowering the gathering to ‘rebuff’ insubordinate or disliked MPs.

Then again, an end product of the South African appointive framework is the restriction on floor-intersection or against abandonment law, a further consolation to remain inside the predominant party with a specific end goal to ‘share the products of power’ To be clear, discretionary frameworks or government game plans do little to clarify OPD (Esping-Andersen 1990: 57), yet as institutional impetuses they can strengthen OPD if the “legislator of the overwhelming part settles on the fitting choice (Arian and Barnes 1974: 614). At last, party pioneers and activists of the predominant party must be locked in as business people on the appointive market meaning they should effectively look for help in the most even minded form accessible.

This includes both, the situating of the picture of the gathering such that it yields the best constituent interest, and, the enlistment of pioneers with solid neighborhood or territorial followings. The capacity of the INC to secure ‘vote-banks’ is outstanding. Clientelist linkages invaded the neighborhood and provincial gathering structure and a procedure of ‘vertical assembly’ (Rudolph and Rudolph 1967) picked up force. In the meantime, INC strategies involved the depoliticisation of potential cleavages through convenience like, for instance, the abrogation of the zamindari framework or the previously mentioned states rearrangement, and, the most stretched out conceivable changeability and practicality as far as its ideological introduction simply relying upon a swing of the pendulum in popular supposition. In this manner, changing issue positions enabled the INC to involve the center ground of the ideological ghost and to respond specifically to the ascent of oppositional powers. To give an illustration, its Avadi

determination of 1955 situated towards a ‘communist example of society’ detracted from the communist gatherings a decent arrangement of their basis, and, when the Swatantra party attempted to assemble laborers against the INC’s property changes, it effortlessly altered its governmental issues of co-agent cultivating to defuse the challenge. Lijphart (1994: 229) It even went further, expressing that the ANC’s decent position on PR runs totally counter to the standard way of thinking that political gatherings follow up on the premise of their restricted fanatic self-interests – putting political researchers who work on this presumption to disgrace Quote from, FW Briefs Leaders on Plans for Multi-Party Talks, in: Argus. 5 November 1991, Giliomee and Simkins (1999: 16): “In fact, it [the shut PR list discretionary formula suited the ANC so well that it would have needed to develop it on the off chance that it didn’t exist”.

The circumstance in South Africa is distinctive. While in India the effective system of the INC included the “quieting” of potential cleavages keeping in mind the end goal to safeguard its picture as the catch-all ‘gathering of agreement’, a methodology of empowering the racial solidification of the vote must be viewed as the best (and most levelheaded) choice that was and is at offer for the ANC to sustain its appointive strength. Regardless of various potential cleavages other than racial and a developing African working class there is as yet a mind-boggling fortuitous event of race and class that supports a typical impression of a ‘Dark White’, ‘Rich-Poor’ division.

The ANC benefits from this polarity that papers over veritable cleavages of the South African culture by depicting the greater part of the nation’s imbalances in racial terms and inspiring emotive help for the ‘proceeding with battle’ against the inheritances of politically-sanctioned racial segregation. This methodology is made simpler by the way that the NNP and DP are fundamentally pandering to their non-African voting demographics, and, the IFP, unfit to pick up a greater part of the vote even among its most evident pool of supporters, Zulus, has joined Mbeki in announcing that the “race” partition is likewise the “disparity” isolate for sharing force inside an ANC- drove government. Be that as it may, the ANC additionally tries to co-select neighborhood elites by giving them promising positions in the gathering’s competitor records. This was

clear in the Western Cape territory before the 1999 decisions as the ANC endeavored to expand its help base by speaking to the region's Colored people group.

One can deduct from the previous that against regular scholarly shrewdness and gathering framework hypothesis the part that gathering agentive components play in the beginning and organizing of the two party frameworks under examination is unmistakably a critical illustrative factor with regards to the topic of how a particular gathering framework is molded and a great deal more significant than any sort of basic or institutional determinism. In the two cases it was or is fundamentally gatherings drive regarding political on-screen characters and gathering pioneers going about as determinant operators of institutional courses of action and strategies and business visionaries on the constituent market that records for a lot of the development of an arrangement of OPD.

Neither social cleavage hypothesis, nor institutional determinism leave enough space to move for party elites and political performing artists, or, as it were, give entirely political factors and gathering organization the informative power they merit inside gathering framework hypothesis, in any event with regards to evolving social orders. The former compares to the view detailed by Arian and Barnes (1974: 599) in their fundamental article on OPD in Italy and Israel in numerous multiparty frameworks, parties are the consequence of verifiable and social powers and are just somewhat the cognizant making of political pioneers. What's more, in single gathering frameworks, just authoritative deficiencies set points of confinement on the activity of energy. The overwhelming party framework is one in which legislative issues is ruler, in which predominance comes about because of key political choices made by the gathering first class. A governmental issue is not a reliant variable. Political technique is deciding.

4.5 One Party Dominant system in South Africa and India: Mechanisms of Control and Competition

The previous may represent the rise or establishing of OPD in the individual local settings however can't clarify proceeded with strength and gives just a slight sign of the instruments of control and rivalry at work in an arrangement of OPD. How and why is

the prevailing party ready to keep up strength after the rapture of opportunity has worn off, or, at the end of the day, how is it ready to countervail the characteristic flow of OPD once depicted by Duverger (1954: 312) as takes after: Domination takes the get-up-and-go from political life, all the while bringing solidness. The prevailing party wears itself out in office, it loses its life, its veins solidify. It is conceivable to demonstrate that each mastery bears inside itself the seeds of its own obliteration.

There are fundamentally four procedures of steady calibrating and adjustment to changing social conditions whereby overwhelming gatherings endeavor to guarantee proceeded with strength and attempt to decide the further improvement of the gathering framework. The accompanying along these lines likewise indicates the subjective criteria or systemic constituents of an arrangement of OPD that ought to be a piece of any characterization or typology of OPD with regards to evolving social orders. In the Indian case, there is as of now a noticeable interpretative model within reach to represent the inside elements of the gathering framework in the two decades following autonomy. The idea of the ‘Congress framework’ as spearheaded by Kothari and Morris-Jones perfectly gets a handle on the rationale of two of the four procedures of keeping up strength expounded beneath. Collaboration with Opposition The first of these procedures is the particular cooperation with restriction parties occurring in an arrangement of OPD.

Resistance gatherings can either be co-picked or endured inside specific points of confinement or delegitimised (Levite and Tarrow 1983: 295). Frequently, a few procedures are utilized at the same time, however every one of them fill in as vital gadget to strengthen predominance and sustain vertical gathering association described by examples of (moral) mastery as opposed to rivalry. In India, the essential example of collaboration with resistance was toleration inside specific breaking points or, in the expressions of Kothari (1964: 1162), restriction parties were 31 In a similar vein, Morris-Jones depicted the conundrum of post-autonomous OPD in the Indian setting: “to rule, Congress [Indian National Congress, C. S.] must suit; yet settlement energizes disjointedness which annihilates the ability to rule” (Morris-Jones 1978 (1966): 224). A conflicting perspective is given by Pempel (1990: 16) who contends that OPD is portrayed by strengthening procedures of the interrelationship between its causes and

results making a “highminded cycle of predominance” where office accomplished through a prevailing position is utilized to guarantee promote predominance permitted to go about as ‘gatherings of weight’ on the gathering of agreement’s subsequently applying an ‘inert risk’ on the overwhelming party and, in the meantime, making it delicate to winding down famous help.

Restriction parties in this manner campaigned groups inside the prevailing party keeping in mind the end goal to explain particular interests and, at whatever point a Congress group or resistance party came to near transparently contradicting the standard Congress position, their prosperity or disappointment filled in as a gauge which the INC seen for confirm that it is twisting excessively in a specific direction. But, when this type of ‘disguised resistance’ was not at offer for reasons of ideological separation or discretionary accomplishment of resistance in the states, the INC – separated from what Hardgrave (1980: 150) has depicted as “undermining the resistance, assuming control over their projects, yielding essential issues, and co-selecting their authority” – likewise fell back on coordinate mediation regarding avoidance or forcing President's administer on restriction governments at whatever point vital. Delegitimisation of restriction is considerably more noticeable in South African gathering legislative issues, at any rate logically. Despite the fact that co-optation of restriction parties happens, most unmistakable on account of the IFP, the ANC’s remain towards the resistance is fundamentally one of denying them any validity to condemn the overseeing collusion. Be that as it may, as Friedman (1999: 111) brings up, “Brutal talk is not really delegitimisation: to satisfy the last paradigm, administering party criticisms must scrutinize the resistance's dedication to the law based request”. There have been assaults of this sort on the NP34 and DP (DA), - even on the IFP before 1994 - yet despite everything they happen at the talk level as it were. In any case, delegitimisation takes puts in another, yet related field of political talk, one that was of no significance amid the prime of OPD in India: Since 1997 the ANC government is progressively making the claim that media scope of the legislature and gathering, especially of Mbeki, is as yet in view of racial generalizations; the impact of such claims on the activity of press opportunity could be pulverizing. See Kothari (1970: 305): One of the qualities of the INC as an undeniable gathering framework has been the impossible to miss

correspondence arrangement of Indian legislative issues by which the position of each of the real restriction parties has been reflected in some of the groups inside the Congress Party: the communist group, the Swatantra group, the Jan Sangh group, et cetera.

Aside from the ,watchdog part portrayed by Kothari, the Congress framework did not esteem subordinate gatherings unnecessary for yet another reason. As Burger (1969: 284) takes note of the most essential capacity that resistance parties play is as “feeder” associations to the predominant party. A prevailing gathering is not really an ‘open accordion’. It might be that the prevailing party can open its positions to new gatherings just when they have turned out to be politically critical – which implies past to section. Resistance parties in Uttar Pradesh could be lasting minority parties, serving to mingle, politicize, select, sort out, coordinate and well-spoken the interests of gatherings just to see them consolidated into the overwhelming party. Attacks on the authenticity of the NP as the gathering which presented and executed politically-sanctioned racial segregation approach a ‘self-satisfying prediction’.

To some degree, the ANC has “disguised” resistance too by producing its potential left contenders, the SACP and COSATU, into a delicate however yet rational organization together. Both, the INC and ANC, legitimize endeavors of delegitimation by anticipating themselves as the epitome of a comprehensive patriotism and the main political compel competent in realizing ‘change’. There is a striking similitude between Nehru’s celebrated decree that “The Congress is the nation and the nation is Congress” and its verifiable importance, and, the announcement of the ANCs National Executive Council that “As the association of the general population, it is our obligation to guarantee that the masses utilize the valuable equitable rights they won through battle, to decide their own particular predetermination once more, just our development, and no other political arrangement, is equipped for doing this national mobilisation.³⁶ Selective Mobilization The second procedure of guaranteeing control over the electorate is specific activation. Specific assembly as depicted by Arian and Barnes (1974: 598) drives the overwhelming party to ‘concentrate its mobilisational endeavors on those fragments of society that will make less requests on government’. Selective activation includes fundamentally two procedures: buying support by positive segregation of or conceding

assets to certain societal gatherings, and Quoted in Morris-Jones (1964: 90). Explanation of the National Executive Committee of the ANC on the 87th Anniversary of the African National Congress, January 8 1999. (www.anc.org.za.)

Indeed, even today, the INC is following a comparable line of thinking as obvious from the Golden Jubilee Resolution of 1997: The Indian National Congress, alone of all political gatherings of our majority rule government, has a place with the greater part of the nation. There is not a town in India, not a mohalla, where there is not a Congress nearness. That nearness rises and falls - that is the embodiment of majority rules system. In any case, the pith of country building is that no area of the general population must feel that there is not a place for them in the head political gathering, the regular party of administration. Different gatherings speak to an area, a class, an ideology, a rank, an intrigue. The Congress alone speaks to, and is spoken to in, each locale, each class, each statement of faith, each rank - and in each intrigue which is in light of a legitimate concern for the country. That is the reason, at whatever point the Congress has secured the general population's command to administer the nation, it has never vacillated in satisfying its order to the end, and that is likewise why at whatever point some other gathering or gathering of gatherings has been endowed by the general population with the obligation of administration, they have never neglected to flounder, dropping out among themselves in a matter of months, jeopardizing the solidarity, the security, the advance and the thriving of this awesome country.

The Congress is the paste, the holding glue that holds the nation of this nation together. Brilliant Jubilee Resolution gone at the 80th Plenary session of the INC in August 1997 at Calcutta; see *Congress Marches Ahead* (Jan 1996- December 1997; AICC production, April 1998: 160). totaling an extensive scope of enthusiasm for society however giving voice just to certain representative of these interests. Aside from the positive separation of the socially burdened and ideological interest to the minorities as of now said, the INC at first concentrated mobilisational endeavors at making work gentry in view of its strategy of arranged and state-instigated industrialisation and progression of the urban segment. Support was fundamentally acquired by transforming unionized

specialists into a work world class with better wages, sponsored credit, lodging and medicinal services and so on.

Furthermore, the INC effectively secured help from one of the two national umbrella associations of Indian unions, the Indian Trade Union Congress (INTUC). In spite of the fact that the discretionary profit of this procedure was not overpowering because of a somewhat incremental industrialisation, it by and by kept a bound together and broadly significant laborers gathering from picking up momentum. But one of the fundamentals of proceeded with constituent strength is a “dynamic extension” (Mitra 1996: 706) of the predominant party’s social base. In a dominantly agrarian culture this requires an assembled exertion at preparing laborers and overwhelming agrarian ranks. In spite of the fact that the INC could speak to agrarian interests inside its overlap, noticeable from the way that the offer of MPs with a country foundation ascended from 15% out of 1947 to 40% of every 1962 (Rosen 1967: 73), it never truly prevailing with regards to prevailing upon the agrarian vote by methods for particular preparation containing broad land change, social projects and improvement of the agrarian segment. Corporatism as key gadget to tie specialists to the overwhelming party and not to threaten business interests is significantly more conspicuous in the South African setting given the extent of sorted out work in the nation (33% of formal division laborers).

The corporatist course of action is regulated in type of the National Economic and Development and Labor Advisory Council (NEDLAC) and gives the ANC the chance to effectively seek after specific preparation. Union-accommodating work enactment or close imposing business models for expansive white-controlled companies guarantee the help of the financially fulfilled. With COSATU as a component of the decision cooperation union requests remain inside points of confinement. In the meantime, a developing African white collar class is progressed through governmental policy regarding minorities in society in the common administration and through state contracts (Giliomee and Simkins 1999: 345). The Achilles Heel of the ANCs ‘dynamic extension’ of its social base are the rustic poor and unemployed. Regardless of whether the ANC will have the capacity to keep the ascent of an intra-African cleavage (what it tries to do

by tallying all Africans being a piece of a the ‘lion’s share will, as it were, rely upon the status of ‘conveyance’.

Another vital gadget of the INC/state’s control over union requests was portrayed by Rudolph and Rudolph (1987: 257) as “involuted pluralism” whereby a state-incited augmentation of opponent exchange unions makes it simpler for the state “to control an expanding number of weaker units”. Factionalism and Party Coherence But particular activation is insufficient to guarantee the overwhelming party’s goal and basis to “make its help structure coterminous with the whole politically significant open” (Singh 1981: 27).

For that reason the authoritative set-up of the predominant party must enable inside pluralism or factionalism to guarantee the portrayal of societal interests as different as the social make-up of the nation, at the same time, in the meantime, the level of gathering cognizance ought not dip under a specific farthest point. From a systemic point of view factionalism likewise ensures the intensity of the framework and makes up for an absence of shift in government: Where between parties rivalry is feeble, there is a requirement for counterparts that countervail the ascent of tyrant basic leadership. Factionalism inside the INC was a craftsmanship much more than certainty.

From one viewpoint, it enabled the INC to ingest, oblige and respond to veering societal intrigue. The presence of vertical “group chains” (Kothari 1964: 1163) in this manner improved the INC’s ability to channel and co-ordinate clashes. Factional battles on a lower level of administrative or intra-party decision making were unraveled through specialist and support from the following upper level, factional battles in the more elite classes of government or gathering were settled by building coalitions through arrangement making on a lower level. Then again, factionalism ensured a high level of first class turnover³⁸ and casual ‘inside majority rules system’. The most conspicuous case of factionalism and its usefulness for the INC was the competition between hierarchical wing and parliamentary wing. As Mitra (1990: 85) brought up: “The parliamentary wing freely recognized itself with the fundamental estimations of secularism, administration arranging, nonalignment and libertarianism which shaped the premise of the present day state. The hierarchical wing gone about as the middle person

between the state and the general public, changing the ‘primordial’ to suit the ‘cutting edge’ and adjusting present day foundations to the standards of a customary society.” But party authority dependably must know about the potential perils inborn in factionalism and to mediate at whatever point factional inclinations debilitated to gain out of power.

The well known conflict of the INC’s representing world class and the “Syndicate” or the contention over the progression of Shastri were first indications of the steady decay of the unpredictable factional adjust common amid the prime of OPD in India. Factionalism in South Africa is to some degree systematized in type of the Tripartite Alliance of the ANC, COSATU and SACP. Moreover, the nearby linkage between the ANC and common society originating from the mutual experience of the counter politically-sanctioned racial segregation battle fortifies the convention of the development’s regularly noisy assorted qualities. However, rather than the INC, the distinctive groups inside the decision collusion are principally of an ideological nature. From one perspective, this is an assurance that not each individual desire is converted into a group. Then again, if there are real approaches shifts, factional clashes can go off the rails all the more effectively. The current strains inside the cooperation over the appropriation of GEAR take the stand this reality. A case of this sort of casual world class pivot was the Kamaraj plan of 1963. What’s more, with the continuous picking up of energy of the outcast wing inside the ANC – customized in the authority of Thabo Mbeki – accentuation on party teach in the convention of an outcast development has picked up force. Much will rely upon diminishing centralist propensities to guarantee that the implied concurrence on “solidarity” inside the partnership will persist for years to come. As far as representativeness of the overseeing tip top, the ANC is fundamentally seeking after an indistinguishable procedure from the INC (Nicholson 1975).

On a basic level, the PR list appointive framework gives the gathering authority a solid instrument within reach to force teach on its units, at the same time, rather, the ANC has utilized this gadget to show its preparation to speak to each area of South African culture. In the expressions of Giliomee and Simkins (1999: 17): “The ANC has prevented reactions of a dark inclination by drawing up its gathering list such that for every penny of those chosen to Parliament originate from the hued, Indian and white groups in spite of

the way that these groups contributed just six for every penny to the general ANC vote”. State-party agreement and support I will vote in favor of the restriction when they are in control.

The last and regularly most unmistakable of these four procedures is the steady endeavor of the predominant party to obscure the line amongst it and the state. This is accomplished for two reasons: On the one hand, it encourages the bestowal of support on the overwhelming party’s customer base. Then again, ID with the state to some degree winds up plainly synonymous with distinguishing proof with the predominant party. In India support governmental issues were supported by what has been named as “statedominated pluralism” (Rudolph and Rudolph 1987: 255). The inescapability of the state and the impact of the nearby contact between the INC and government offices on divided connection is delineated by Morris-Jones (1978: 222) Eevery amass that looks for new focal points and enhancement of its position should most importantly attempt to guarantee that its voice is heard in the direction of government. The level of government that is most important changes as indicated by the sort of advantage that is looked for a private business permit, it is the Center; for instructive concessions for a standing alliance, it will be the State, for either advancement advantage for a cultivator, it will be, progressively, the new in a roundabout way chose neighborhood bodies, for example, the Panchayati Samiti. For these operations one must have companions who can impact individuals. Congress is such an assemblage of sorted out companions. The second factor that encouraged a support structure was the presence of conventional customer list organizations like the jasmine arrangement of equal bonds between status bearers and demographic. Regularly, these were the base for the prevailing Anonymous Serb laborer referred to by Timothy Garton Ash. Cited in Gilomee and Simkins (1999: 337).

A gathering’s association of political machines relating to Arian and Barnes (1974: 601) see that these hierarchical lines of correspondence, expanded and refined by systems of individual ties, are the genuine instruments of control in the social orders, and they are to a great extent co-picked by the prevailing party. Blurring the line between the state and the overwhelming party is a standard gadget of the ANCs talk. By comparing the ANCs noteworthy mission of change of the general public with the South African

state's method of reasoning, ANC pioneers and government representatives are exceptionally prepared to see reactions and even legitimate difficulties to their power as confirmation of conspiratorial imperviousness to change (Lodge 1999: 73). Describing resistance as "unpatriotic" leaves little space to move, since each assault on the ANC approaches an attack on the state. Yet, support governmental issues while part of the ANC's technique to augment its help base is compelled by the constrained reach of the South African state and the ANC's grip of a market economy. Given the constrained chance of the ANC to depend on a solid interventionist state makes the development of distributive legislative issues more troublesome and significantly more risky considering that, though an overwhelming gathering must convey enough to its help base to hold its dedication, it should likewise guarantee "that its adversary's supporters get enough from open organization to guarantee their proceeded with reliability to the vote based request" (Friedman 1999: 104).

4.6. ANC's Affirmative Action Programme and Reconstruction Policy

The fall of politically-sanctioned racial segregation was a consequence of a purposeful inside and outside battle. For pioneers of the African National Congress (ANC) it implied adjusting to the new political atmosphere and rising desires. In its restriction days ANC depended on a very basic level on the Freedom Charter of 1955 to give the political and ideological worldview of resistance, however by the mid 1990s, as the possibilities of popularity based races lingered, there was expanding weight to devise new strategies for administration for a rising state (Myburgh 2006). This was a mammoth undertaking in light of the fact that the post-politically-sanctioned racial segregation government "has acquired a guileful past of monetary botch, racial and social mistreatment, tremendously convoluted and exorbitant bureaucratic structures, and extraordinary neediness and imbalance" (Luiz 1994: 230).

One of the issues of remaking was the manner by which to encourage the "exchange off amongst development and value" (Terreblanche 1992: 551). In tending to the value question, two sorts of imbalance should have been centered around: "initially, the (auxiliary) disparity in the circulation of property, power, and control; furthermore, the unequal open doors, salary, and utilization accessible to racially characterized

gatherings” (in the same place: 552). At the same the economy expected to develop to guarantee that redistribution was feasible. Truth be told the development versus value talk about had its roots in the start of 1990 and it forcefully energized the left and right of the ideological gap. On one side was the freedom talk, which upheld development through redistribution, and on the other was a more traditionalist position, which favored redistribution through development. After 1994, the ANC, the vanguard of the liberationist worldview, figured out how to consolidate the two contentions because of the need to encourage both the foundation plan keeping in mind the end goal to grasp neo-radicalism and reconciliation into the worldwide economy, and redistributive measures, for example, the Reconstruction and Development Program (RDP) and the Economic Equity Bill (EEB). In the conditions, this “blended economy” appeared to be the most suitable, however over the long haul, “the issue is the manner by which to organize the blend to fulfill political, social and financial objectives” (Maasdorp 1992: 588).

This level headed discussion likewise observed ideological ease and contestation inside the ANC itself. For example, at the season of Nelson Mandela's discharge in 1990, the ANC had just the Freedom Charter, a to a great extent ideological proclamation of motivation, as opposed to a solid program of reproduction, as a composed controlling vision for what's to come. The acknowledgment that freedom implied genuine political and monetary obligation prompted the initial two workshops by the ANC and COSATU in Harare in 1990 and a Discussion Document on Economic Policy came about because of these. The primary purpose of the record supported the focal part of the state as the gatekeeper of monetary advancement. Redistribution was viewed as “helpful for development, through a rebuilding of interest prompting a formation of mass markets and as a method for fulfilling the fundamental needs of the populace” (Lundahl 1998: 28).

Be that as it may, later the nationalization plan was slowly diluted and came to be seen just as a conceivable option in certain given conditions. In 1991 there was a further move far from the supremacy of redistribution and in 1992 an ANC political rule, Ready to Govern: ANC Policy Guidelines for a Democratic South Africa was delivered. This record accentuated interestingly the attractive quality of a blended economy and the

significance of the private segment. Be that as it may, in the meantime an exploration report in 1993 by the ANC-adjusted scholastic system called the Macroeconomic Research Group (NERG) brought up vital issues of value and redistribution which turned into the premise of the Reconstruction and Development Program (RDP) of the ANC.

The Reconstruction and Development Program (RDP) was one of the principal governmental policy regarding minorities in society and re-distributive arrangements of the post-politically-sanctioned racial segregation state. It guaranteed to give ten years of obligatory instruction for everyone; the working of no less than one million ease houses in the following five years; arrangement of power for an extra 2.5 million families by the year 2000; clean water and satisfactory sanitation for everyone; enhanced and moderate wellbeing, especially preventive and essential social insurance for all; and land appropriation to the landless. In view of the Malaysian NEP standards, these were yearning arrangements which were to depend intensely on turn offs from financial development.

In any case, the RDP was gone up against with a progression of difficulties, which prompted the conclusion of its office in 1996, after only two years of operation, therefore “bringing up major issues about the eventual fate of improvement and the administration's sense of duty regarding it” (Caliguire 1996: 5). In spite of the fact that the RDP Office was shut, RDP as a reproduction program proceeded and its automatic and vital angles were moved to the workplace of then Deputy President Thabo Mbeki, where reassignment of obligations to the line offices was to happen. The disassembling of the RDP office itself was politically typical as in it “demonstrates that financial development, as opposed to redistribution, has won the day as the national essential device for change” (Caliguire 1996: 20).

RDP did not have the institutional limit with respect to administration and dispensing of assets. For example, 2.5 billion rand were planned for 1994-95 and this was required to increment in 1998-99, yet 1.7 billion rand was unused and must be continued to 1995-96 (Lundahl 1998). From the earliest starting point, there was perplexity with respect to who was responsible for the RDP spending plan, the RDP office or the Ministry of Finance.

4.6.1 Affirmative Action on post-Liberalisation Era

On different fronts, arrangement of houses, wellbeing and training offices was frustratingly bulky and moderate. Of 400,000 houses, which were to be worked inside a two-year time span (1994-96), just 15,000 were manufactured (Caliguire 1996). These issues were generally connected with the budgetary procedure, resistance and an absence of duty in the state organization, absence of help by common society associations and absence of help by the private monetary part for government arrangements, for example, stretching out advances to low-pay blacks, for instance (Michie and Padayachee 1997: 18-19).

RDP ventures were to be done in co-operation with common gatherings and neighborhood government. Notwithstanding, in spite of the democratized execution prepare, it was uncovered that RDP would be exorbitant to actualize, particularly when open interest in framework would need to be expanded by no less than 21 % per annum. Moreover, RDP operations clashed with existing line divisions, which contended that their portfolios were assumed control or copied by RDP. There were likewise steady claims of debasement, which prompted the crumple of some RDP social and physical infrastructural ventures, the President's R500 million encouraging plan being one of them (South Scan, 18 September 1995).

Presumably the best RDP extend in the 1990s identified with the supply of power. More than 300,000 new family unit associations per annum were accomplished by the state enterprise, ESCOM (Fine and Stoneman 1996: 27). Generous advance was likewise accomplished in the arrangement of water: towards the finish of 1995 somewhere in the range of 300 activities taking water to 4 million individuals were planned for culmination inside year and a half (Financial Times, 21 November 1995).

4.6.2 Employment Equity Act (EEA): Affirmative Action in Labour Market

The Growth, Employment and Redistribution Strategy, (GEAR) of 2006 to a great extent mirrored the joining of neo-liberal arrangements into the South African advancement system (Fitzgerald, McLennan and Munslow 1997: 49). In executing GEAR South Africa was aware of its commitments to the World Trade Organization

(WTO), which it participated in 1993, while in the meantime it was aware of its political and good commitment to redistribution. Apparatus expected to make right around 1.5 million occupations more than five years, and in addition to advance intensity through exchange progression and profitability measures, to help coordinate venture and fare introduction, to upgrade the social and monetary framework through organization with the private area and enhanced adaptability in the work advertise (Cargill 1996). Rigging's financial strategy was gone for decreasing the deficiency significantly finished a time of six years, while no immediate mediation in fiscal approach was imagined. The whole spending process for 1996 and 1997 was focused on diminishing shortage, with an objective of 4% (Gelb 1997: 4).

Apparatus did not sufficiently address the issue of employment creation, which depended vigorously on infrastructural and open works programs. To make 400,000 employments, a 6% development rate was required; however this could be accomplished just if settled speculation expanded 19% to 24% of GDP. Speculation required subsidizing from reserve funds by government, and from the private segment and remote speculators. These were difficult to pull in.

In the mean time, disappointments inside the ANC progressive system over GEAR expanded, as there was a solid feeling that attention on development had undermined the standards of value and redistribution (Cargill 1996). In the meantime, there was a conviction that GEAR should subsidize RDR, however because of the low development rate (less 2.2% out of 1992; 1.3% of every 1993; 2.7% out of 1994 and 3.3% of every 1995) this desire appeared to ring empty. This was a colossal difference to occasions in Malaysia, where a development rate of right around 10% in the 1980s gave the essential assets to the NEP. For South Africa, the "development before redistribution" neo-liberal change has been to a limited extent animated by multilateral intercession by the WTO and IMF. portfolios were assumed control or copied by RDP. There were likewise steady claims of debasement, which prompted the crumple of some RDP social and physical infrastructural ventures, the President's R500 million encouraging plan being one of them (South Scan, 18 September 1995).

4.6.3 Black Empowerment through ANC-led Government

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Five key zones of worry in the privatization face off regarding were recognized. These identified with meeting RDP objectives, including dark strengthening; tending to exchange union concerns identified with obligation and intrigue installment alleviation; averting huge business control; assembling neighborhood and remote capital; and enhancing administrative proficiency. At first, there was a dread that privatized state resources would wind up with white-commanded aggregates and privatized para-statals. That would not be to the greatest advantage of the country and urban poor and would undermine the re-distributive and formative points of the RDP and the ideological push of the ANC.

In any case, there was a solid contention that privatization could in certainty be a perfect vehicle for governmental policy regarding minorities in society and dark strengthening by guaranteeing particular dark shareholding of privatized endeavors and by enabling dark experts to completely take an interest in the privatization procedure

(Thomas 1995). There was developing weight from the rising African white collar class for a more noteworthy offer in privatization resources and, accordingly, by 1997 the legislature had just reserved 10% of the para-statal media transmission organization TELKOM for dark strengthening gatherings (Adam, van Zyl Slabbert and Moodley 1997: 217).

The gathering which was most distrustful about privatization was COSATU, which was incensed by the administration's privatization of urgent territories of people in general administration. There was expect that employment justification and harder work relations would hit the incompetent and poor hardest. The other group of COSATU, particularly the individuals who had profited from the new organization together with the white companies, contended that privatization would be a "brilliant chance to build up participatory administration and more edified work relations" (Thomas 1995: 6). Weight had been mounting from multilateral organizations, private enterprises and gatherings inside the legislature to accelerate the privatization procedure due to raising open obligation and the requirement for development. Collected obligation has been faulted for the "flighty spending" of the politically-sanctioned racial segregation administration (South African Parliament 1998b: 2). Outside obligation made up 2.2% of GDP in 1996, while residential obligation was 56.0% of GDP. South Africa expected to burn through 6.5% of its GDP to pay for enthusiasm on these obligations. Around R39, 643 billion was spent on overhauling the intrigue alone. Development in the 1990s was moderate however consistent. The economy developed by 3.1% of every 1996, the fourth sequential year of development, yet the general photo of the economy was as yet one of blended fortunes. To upgrade development and bolster dark strengthening, change in key zones of the economy was basic. The arrangements for change incorporated an expansion in subsidizing for modern improvement and research and innovation, from R454 million to R604 million; setting up of another Competitive Fund and sectoral association office to empower firms and associations to draw on specialist exhortation in propelling aggressiveness; and making another transient Export Finance Guarantee Scheme for little and medium-sized firms.

The effect of neo-liberal arrangements on governmental policy regarding minorities in society was very immediate. The African bourgeoisie or "liberation privileged people", as Adam et al. (1997) called them, were the most direct recipients of the privatized resources. Some of them were free business visionaries while a sizeable number were "dark" fronts for white organizations (or "Ali Baba" organizations as the Malaysians called them). A developing pattern was the combination of entrepreneurial connections between the white and the dark working class. Regularly blacks were utilized as token delegates to empower white-run organizations to gain privatized resources. Enrollment of blacks into the administrative positions of white organizations was observed to be favorable "both for a dynamic advertising picture and the use of an extra pool of ability, however most importantly for the points of interest dark administration gives in promoting to a quickly developing dark purchaser showcase and building up linkages with government for state contracts" (Adam et al. 1997: 210). By 1997, only three years after the command of the ANC, dark combinations controlled 10% of market capitalisation in the Johannesburg Stock Exchange (JSE). An effective and well off dark white collar class, progressively confined from its unique political base, and dynamically related to the corporate existing conditions had immovably united itself.

While there was a marvelous ascent in a dark white collar class which profited from privatization and particular strategies, there was likewise a developing mass of destitution stricken subjects, which represented an immediate test to the new political request. A considerable measure of the poor were late landings from the farmland and did not have any formal business at all. This underclass was not being tended to sufficiently by the EEB as a result of its essential concentrate on the formal part. That compounded the financial disparity and prompted an acceleration of savage wrongdoing. The circumstance was made more basic by the loss of occupations because of privatization. Rigging's point of making 1.5 million occupations inside five years was derided by the real net loss of 80,000 employments exuding from GEAR's own particular privatization strategies. Albeit 11,000 posts were held for governmental policy regarding minorities in society competitors in the general population benefit in 1994, the cost-slicing defense handle prompted a net loss of employments. This pattern proceeded, even after the administration's White Paper on Transformation of the Public Service (1996), which

recognized various pertinent strategy ranges, for example, the presentation of a lowest pay permitted by law, square with pay for measure up to work esteem, diminishment in differentials, advancement of fitting vocation ways, word related change and change of conditions for ladies and the crippled.

Then, privatization kept on helping the dark white collar class to venture into different divisions of the economy, grouped by Iheduru (1998) into seven classifications:

(a) holding/recorded organizations, or what white stockbrokers unfavorably alluded to as "dark chips;" (b) potential recorded organizations; (c) portfolio speculation confides in; (d) proficient ladies financial specialists; (e) smaller scale and little undertakings (MSE) extending from enrolled unlisted organizations to "shut companies" to sole proprietorships and associations; (f) the casual segment, where the larger part of dark business visionaries worked; (g) political business people. The greater part of dark organizations were MSE, which numbered one million, or casual area organizations, with an aggregate of 2.5 million: but since they were so little and had couple of assets they needed to battle hard to survive. Then again, the organizations recorded on the Johannesburg Stock Exchange (JSE) were the most noticeable as far as the attention they got. Albeit just eight dark claimed organizations were recorded on the JSE in July 1997, this number expanded consistently finished the years.

It is significant that the improvement of the dark entrepreneurial class had its underlying foundations in the 1960s, when various dark business associations were shaped. The first was the Greater Soweto Chamber of Commerce and Industries (GSCCI), from which the National African Chamber of Commerce (NAFCOC) developed, and others took after. Participation of these business associations fluctuated from 300,000 to 400,000 on account of the Foundation for African Business and Consumer Services (FABCOS) to 40, as on account of the Western Cape Black Builders' Association (WCBA) (Sidiropoulos 1994). FABCOS and NAFCOC were in actuality umbrella associations, to which other little associations were subsidiary. The pioneers of these associations were firmly connected to the ANC initiative and were a piece of the rising working class talked about before.

NAFCOC's governmental policy regarding minorities in society design, acknowledged amid the 1990 yearly gathering, accommodated the accompanying focuses for corporate changes by the year 2000: (a) 30% of all board individuals from organizations recorded on the Johannesburg Stock Exchange (JSE) ought to be dark; (b) 40% of all offers on the JSE ought to be dark possessed; (c) 50% of the estimation of all outside buys by the organizations recorded on the JSE should originate from dark providers; (d) 60% of best administration in JSE-recorded organizations ought to be dark (Nkuhlu 1993: 16). FABCOS's enrollment included people from various political gatherings, for example, ANC, Azanian People's

Association, Inkatha Freedom Party and Pan-Africanist Congress. It was set up essentially to consult with the legislature for the evacuation of every single unfair law and approaches; guaranteeing the foundation of autonomous organizations and establishments with the end goal of encouraging dark financial headway; and bringing issues to light about the need to stretch out the free undertaking framework to the dark group. Both NAFCOC and FABCOS have been condemned for being excessively undemocratic, "top substantial", and in light of "insignificant chains of importance" ruled by coterie loyalties (Sidiropoulus 1994). In spite of their own contentions, their new- discovered power as their organization together with the ANC and participation of the National Economic Forum (NEF) gave them the essential political authenticity.

The expansion of dark enterprise was supported by the lifting of different confinements which once disallowed dark interest in business. An illustration was the cancelation of the Group Areas Act, which had restricted dark organizations from working in white ranges and the other way around. Incomprehensibly, amid the politically-sanctioned racial segregation time, the state emptied cash into dark business, essentially with the end goal of building an expansive dark white collar class that would turn into an eager partner of the politically-sanctioned racial segregation state and to dominate the radicalized urban political and youth authority (Iheduru 1998). Dark business was additionally helped after numerous official confinements on business possession by blacks vanished by the 1980s and by the expulsion of large portions of the

mainstays of politically-sanctioned racial segregation by President F.W. de Klerk, encouraged by the entry of the Abolition of Racially Based Measures Act of 1991.

Many dark organizations were intentionally incorporated with white organizations and dark businesspeople immediately created corporate abilities in securing, value buy and takeovers in regard of many existing white and dark organizations in the regions of keeping money, protection and other budgetary administrations, transportation, development, print and electronic media, tourism, medicinal services and assembling. Some dark specialists additionally framed close connections with African and American negotiators, government officials, games and diversion hotshots, representatives and lawful lights and expanded their shareholdings all the while.

The potential recorded endeavors, which were generally established in the 1990s, were the quickest developing dark holding organizations. Their interests ran from money related administrations, tourism and aeronautics, amusement and recreation to mechanical property in providing food administrations, PCs, instructive distributing, properties, and printing (South Scan, 16 June 1995). Some of the authors and executives of these organizations were ex-guerrillas and previous hostile to politically-sanctioned racial segregation activists who later fashioned ties with standard white business. Dark business visionaries united their interests effortlessly. For example, in 1991 blacks involved just 30 (under 2%) of the 2,550 directorships accessible in the main 100 organizations recorded on the JSE. This number expanded to 120 of every 1993 and by May 1995 dark guys held 276 directorships. This quickened development was joined by a civil argument about "coordination" and "parallelism." Should dark business incorporate with white business or keep up a different character? Financial sober mindedness and political goals managed that there ought to be expanding incorporation to help the national economy and in addition to give dark business people the aptitudes and assets they required. Incorporation instead of confinement was basic for dark strengthening. The hopefulness of the early years of governmental policy regarding minorities in society after 1994 couldn't be coordinated by the mind boggling substances. A portion of the objectives were met while some were definitely not. For example, in 2008, in spite of endeavors to enhance the level of instruction to coordinate the interest for blacks to enter

the more elevated amounts of administration, just around 379,000 Africans, or 1.8% of the African populace, had finished advanced education (Jeffery 2010). Regardless of this inadequacy, a deliberate push to accomplish the points of dark strengthening prompted quickened change of the work advertise. By 2008 blacks, who made up 74% of the financially dynamic populace, were very much spoken to out in the open division administration positions, where they held 76.41% of the aggregate open administration positions contrasted with 11.31% for whites, 3.2% for Asians and 8.74% for coloreds. For senior administration positions, blacks made up 57.31%, contrasted with 26.87% for whites, 7.81% for Asian and 7.59% for coloreds (Business Day, 11 February 2008).

The first focus for dark administrators in the general population benefit was half, yet this was expanded to 75% of every 2003, to be accomplished by March 2005. Of these, 30% were to be ladies. By 2005 these objectives had been pretty much accomplished, with blacks representing 70% of senior administration posts, 29% of whom were ladies (President Thabo Mbeki, State of the Nation deliver to Parliament, February 2006). This gave the stage to eagerly expanding the objective for ladies to half. Be that as it may, some portion of the issue was that, while there was exceptional political will for the strengthening of blacks and ladies, the level of training and abilities in the objective populace couldn't coordinate and this prompted an inability to meet targets (Jeffery 2010).

The extent of blacks in the common administration changed from office to office. For example, in 2009 over 80% of the best posts in the Department of Home Affairs, Department of Science and Technology and the Independent Complaints Directorate of the South African Police Service (SAPS) were held by blacks. This was a similarly high extent, given the way that blacks made up 79% of the populace and 74% of the monetarily dynamic populace (Business Report, 9 April 2010).

The effect of governmental policy regarding minorities in society in the corporate part has likewise been huge. In September 2009 dark officials held an expected 25% of senior administration positions, a noteworthy increment contrasted with 5% of every 1994. In any case, this was as yet far from the underlying target and just a slight increment contrasted with 22% of every 2004. The failure to achieve the objective was

because of an aptitudes' deficiency, absence of appropriately qualified dark officials and "employment bouncing" by governmental policy regarding minorities in society representatives who tended to change occupations because of "fascination premiums" paid to governmental policy regarding minorities in society arrangements (P-E Corporate Services (SA) Pty Ltd 2009). Additionally, in 2009, around 32% of center administration positions were held by blacks contrasted with 7% out of 1994. By and by there was just an unassuming increment since 2004, when blacks held 28% of center administration positions. This was far beneath the administration targets. In the meantime, the extent of blacks at the lower administration level expanded from 26% out of 1994 to 55% out of 2009. This was a fairly moderate increment given the 49% level in 2004 (P-E Corporate Services Pty Ltd (SA) 2009).

The accentuation on dark work value targets implied that organizations needed to design their business structure in an expert dynamic manner. The objectives included 60% for senior administration inside a ten-year time frame and 80% for junior administration, likewise inside 10 years. This is a major ask, given the way that under 17% of Africans are of senior administrative level age (40 to 64 years) and just 1.8% of them hold degrees. In 2006 blacks with degrees made up 28% of lawmakers, senior authorities and chiefs and 41% of experts. This means gifted blacks were at that point built up in specific positions (Jeffery 2010).

4.6.4 Challenges for Black Empowerment

An overview by the Unilever Institute at the University of Cape Town demonstrated that the dark work value system has united a "dark precious stone" class, which in 2007 was assessed to number around 2.6 million, with a spending energy of R180 billion. Inside a year the dark jewel class had developed to 3 million individuals, with an expanded spending energy of R250 billion. This investigation depended on the meaning of white collar class as those, including government workers, gaining at any rate R5,000 a month. This definition has been censured for being excessively wide. The option definition, which puts the required wage at R16,700 a month, yields a much lower figure of 322,000 "center" dark white collar class in 2004 (15% of aggregate center

working class); 454,000 out of 2007 (20% of aggregate center white collar class) and 788,000 of every 2009 (31% of aggregate center working class) (Jeffery 2010).

It has been contended that governmental policy regarding minorities in society has been utilized by the decision ANC as a device for dominion. One such case alludes to the "framework sending" program, in which ANC supporters were doled out headship positions in nearby government, government foundations and different regions of political criticalness as a method for regulating the operations of those associations and connecting up to the focal state mechanical assembly. This has prompted cronyism and has undermined proficiency in administration and efficiency. It likewise negated Section 197 of the Constitution, which made illicit supporting or prejudicing a man "since that individual backings a specific political gathering or cause," a contention upheld by a current High Court choice in the Eastern Cape (ConsWatch 2008: 1–3).

While unit arrangement was sorted as a governmental policy regarding minorities in society program, it was seen by political rivals of ANC as a political instrument of control. As the pioneer of the Democratic Alliance, Helen Zille, contended: Unit sending went undetected for what it was really going after long in light of the fact that it was masked by the fig leaf of governmental policy regarding minorities in society. Presently, an ever increasing number of South Africans are starting to see the approach for what it truly is: a way to concentrate influence, amass riches corruptly, and subvert the Constitution (Zille 2009: 1).

ANC's endeavor to control the general population benefit and diverse levels of administration and the drive to make a dark white collar class has made bends inside the economy and more prominent society. Numerous unfit individuals are being pushed into senior positions and accordingly there has been noticeable corruption of the standard and nature of administration, foundation and disregard of the lower end of society. Around 19.65 million individuals are still in neediness and subsist on a normal of about R3,000 a month for a family of eight individuals or more. About portion of the young people between the ages of 15 and 24 are unemployed and this has raised the issue of wrongdoing and savagery. Devastating destitution, lacking training, high wrongdoing rate and the HIV/AIDS emergency have all given the ANC uplifted difficulties. A further

issue is the issue of the remote workers who have been attracted since the main decade of 1900 (Prothero 1974). This developed after some time as the South African economy flourished, pulling in both gifted and incompetent outside laborers. A few businesses offered inclination to talented remote specialists over local people and this caused significant restriction, which prompted racial savagery.

4.7 A Comparative Analysis of ANC and INC

- Having sketched out the premise of correlation between the ANC and INC, it has been explained on the key components of the Congress party show as illustrated by Kothari and Morris-Jones. Generally, they say that to depend on the thin Westminster two-party show in which there is a normal variation of energy between two contending parties does not precisely reflect legislative issues in social orders, for example, South Africa and India. This model, they accept, does not portray the exact elements of, for this situation, the Indian framework, particularly amid the time of one-party predominance. The Indian party framework was not an aggressive multiparty framework where administering party shift was possible, nor was it a one-party framework like China or the Soviet Union where no different gatherings contended in normal decisions.
- In spite of the fact that the Indian political gathering framework showed the monopolistic predominance of one gathering it additionally held the estimation of gathering rivalry normal for a fair political framework. Morris-Jones depicts the Indian political gathering framework as strength existing together with rivalry, yet without a hint of variation. The central elements are the:
 - existence of one dominant party;
 - presence of party competition; and
 - absence of alternation or the likelihood that the opposition will control government.

The structure and composition of the dominant party helps to explain the party's dominant position and the role of the opposition parties in the system. Kothari, the main theorist of the model, divides the Indian party system into two parts:

- 1) a dominant party, which he calls a party of consensus; and
- 2) Sites of opposition external to the dominant party. These represent the diverse interests of opposition parties, civil society organisations and even important individuals.
- 3) The predominant party itself contains different groups of differently sorted out interests. Since the Congress' procedure was to ingest bunches it couldn't crush in races, the quantity of groups tended to increment. The Congress, and comparably we have seen with the ANC, would request that opponent associations disband (as with the New National Party – NNP) in return for participation. In spite of the fact that the Congress endured groups, it precluded autonomous organisations. Similarly, the ANC in its constitution does not permit groups. Truth be told, there has never been a gathering on the planet that confesses to having groups in light of the fact that these are viewed as being troublesome. Be that as it may, contending groups in, I would contend, the ANC or INC add to their constituent predominance. Groups take into consideration the enrollment of new authority and keep the gathering generally open. Likewise, the contending groups balance the improvement of a tight-weave vanguardist Leninist association (despite the fact that, for the sake of effectiveness and solidarity, party elites the world over do have sensitivities for dictator structures and incorporated organisation). In this sense, subsequently, in spite of the fact that the INC and ANC are overwhelming gatherings, they are not the socialist gatherings of China or the previous Soviet Union decisively because of the differing qualities of groups inside the association, and a more noteworthy resistance and increase by party elites to keep up as expansive a base of help as could be allowed.

4.7.1 The Party of Consensus and the party of Pressure

What at that point is the connection between the gathering of accord and the gathering of weight? In Kothari's opinion,⁸ these gatherings are moderately open; they are not really ill-disposed but rather have a tendency to be more agreeable. Very particular of this sort of framework, the gathering of accord and the gathering of weight accept comparative capacities to that found in a run of the mill multiparty framework – to control and contradict separately – yet they play out these parts differently. The overwhelming gathering is the field that truly checks; all arrangement move makes put inside it. The resistance parties are not governments in holding up since they don't constitute reasonable contrasting options to the prevailing party. Rather they apply weight on and inside the overwhelming party. That is, restriction gatherings will discover at least one groups inside the overwhelming party that are thoughtful with it.

Kothari's model proposes that the divisions between resistance parties (say the DA and the PAC) are substantially more lively, profound and serious than the connection between a restriction party and a conceivable group inside the overwhelming party, and it is really simpler for a restriction gathering to work with an ideologically similarly invested group in the prevailing party than with another resistance party. In applying this to South Africa one would, for instance, discover a supposed Africanist propensity inside the ANC. In this regard, on the off chance that I am a card-conveying individual from the PAC I most likely have obvious chronicled contrasts with the ANC, however I would discover certain addresses made by Mbeki that support the convention to which I embrace. Thus, in the event that I was a DA part esteeming the part of the market there would be sure discourses and positions inside the ANC that I would discover sensitivity for. Each gathering consequently has this uncertain association with the overwhelming party – they are not totally against the majority of the ANC, just those groups speaking to philosophies that they absolutely can't help contradicting. In the event that, to rehash, the key components of the INC display are the presence of one prevailing gathering, the nearness of gathering rivalry, and the nonattendance of shift or the probability that the restriction will control government, how does this model contrast and the ANC's present position in the South African setting?

In the first place, in the event that we acknowledge that the Congress framework in India was the predominant party since it was the lead association in the resistance development, the same was clearly the case as far as the ANC's position in South Africa in 1990. The PAC, the Black Consciousness tight-weave vanguardist Leninist association (despite the fact that, for the sake of effectiveness and solidarity, party elites the world over do have sensitivities for tyrant structures and unified organisation). In this sense, hence, in spite of the fact that the INC and ANC are prevailing gatherings, they are not the socialist gatherings of China or the previous Soviet Union decisively because of the assorted qualities of groups inside the association, and a more prominent resilience and increase by party elites to keep up as expansive a base of help as could reasonably be expected.

4.8 South Africa turns India : What Way Ahead

Regardless of the similitude in the verifiable result - an aggressive gathering framework organized around the constituent and ideological predominance of one gathering that is viewed as the essential epitome of a comprehensive patriotism - , and the closeness in procedures of control and rivalry natural in the working of the two individual gathering frameworks as explained above, there are three mediating factors that crucially affect the technique of the prevailing party and the working of the framework: The first is the level of political mindfulness and political entrance of the electorate. Political detachment and absence of enthusiasm for political issues serves the overwhelming party, for it makes the errand of controlling cleavages less demanding and the likelihood of a 'gliding vote' more outlandish.

In a similar vein, the quality of common society and associational life in South Africa gives a countervailing power to the overwhelming party's control over the electorate. Second, the globalized worldwide political economy wherein the South African state is implanted limits the accessibility of a solid interventionist state in this way lessening its scope and obstructing the powerful utilization of support governmental issues. Also, third, the status of industrialisation and size of composed work recommends

a more grounded accentuation on corporatism as key gadget for the ANC to settle in its strength.

These distinctions, together with the way that - contrasted with the INC - the ANC is significantly less arranged organisationally to achieve adequate first class mass coordination, may represent an alternate improvement of the two nations' frameworks of OPD. All things considered, three situations in light of the Indian experience of post-OPD advancement are probably going to develop in the South African setting too: Tensions CLEMENS SPIDE 26 inside the decision tripartite partnership may portend a part of the overwhelming party just like the case with the INC in 1969.

Yet, though the INC under Indira could solidify discretionary predominance at the end of the day, a leftwing contender of the ANC pestering a comparable ideological program and depending to some degree on a similar customer base, would make an arrival to an arrangement of OPD more troublesome. Another situation would be the regionalisation of the South African gathering framework along the Indian example. Indications of a contention between national initiative and commonplace ANC frameworks that stems from a disregard of the areas by the more elite classes of the gathering are now unmistakable and help one to remember the conflicts of the INC's administering first class and the 'Syndicate'. Also, the statistic dispersion inside South Africa takes into account the appearance of contrasting examples of gathering rivalry in the areas and the rise of sub-national inclinations. The last and most hazardous situation would be the turning of the ANC's authority to a sort of populism as practiced by Indira Gandhi and in light of the need to suit and assemble the provincial poor and unemployed keeping in mind the end goal to maintain control over the electorate. As we have seen from the previous, the 'street' that the South African gathering framework will take is a great deal more reliant on basic leadership by and office of the gathering world class than on any sort of auxiliary or institutional determinism.

Chapter-V

Conclusion

The African National Congress (ANC) was South African political party that helped fight apartheid during the 1900s. This party was responsible for many important tasks during the apartheid movement. The ANC is South Africa's governing body, which is not just composed of them but an alliance of three. The alliance was made up of the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU), South African Communist Party (SACP) and the African National Congress. The motto of the tripartite government is that each alliance partner is an independent organization with its own constitution, membership and programs. The African National Congress is an organization founded in 1912 to protect the rights of the black South African's against apartheid.

There were several issues that made the people of South Africa change their views and form an organization who will stand for their rights, dignity and property holdings. Through the years the people have had to fight just to keep their own land, work unjust hours in unfair working conditions, and also for the right to vote for their own leader. In 1862 the British arrived in South Africa demanding control of all of the land. One of the most famous tribes who rebelled was the Xhosa. They fought a total of nine wars, but the streak came to an end when they were finally defeated in 1878. Valuable resources such as diamonds were discovered in 1867, and gold in 1886. This gave the British an even bigger incentive to control South Africa. On January 8th 1912, chiefs, church organizations, and other prominent individuals gathered in Bloemfontein and formed the African National Congress. Their main goal was to reunite the blacks, and return them with the power in which they thought they should be granted. Soon after the ANC was formed a flag was created to recognize their party. It is composed of three colored stripes (black, green, and yellow) and each color symbolized a different part of South Africa. Black symbolizes the native black people who live in South Africa, green represents the land of the country, and yellow represents the riches and wealth South Africa has to offer. The logo of the ANC contains a spear and shield which represents the

early wars and inexperience of the South African's. These two symbols show what the people had to endure just to live in their own country.

There were many setbacks during the beginning of the ANC. One of the first was the Native Land Act of 1913. This was a rule set by the Parliament of South Africa that segregated where the natives could own land. "It stated that only certain areas of the country could be owned by natives, and the percent was only 7% of all South Africa. The Land Act forced the people to look for work outside of their native cities, and travel to larger cities such as Johannesburg just to find work. They usually worked all year traveling around getting second hand jobs to make ends meet, and at the end of the year they would return to their home town. This act was in place until the late 1990s, and the ending of this law was a milestone in African history. The ANC also had a fighting side to the party which was named Umkhonto we Sizwe (Spear of the Nation). This fighting party associated with the ANC was put together in response to the Sharpeville Massacre of 1960. This massacre involved a riot of blacks which outnumbered the police. The police thought they were going to rebel, so they open fired on the crowd of blacks, killing 69 people. The natives did not have any firearms, and were not planning on fighting back. This massacre was the reason the ANC decided to make a fighting force in case something like this happened again. In the first 18 months they carried out 200 acts of sabotage . In 1963 the police raided the secret headquarters of the organization, arresting some of the most powerful members, which led to the Rovonia trial. This trial was in response to the Umkhonto we Sizwe, in that the police thought they were trying to cause a violent revolution.

Before those violent struggles during the 1960's the ANC boosted with emergence during the 1940s. This period in time was the worst violence upon the Africans, which created the need for a more military side of the ANC. Although it was a tough time for the people of South Africa, it created a greater agreement among all of the non-white people. In 1944 the ANC Youth League was formed, which was a group who wanted to be involved in decision making in the community. Nelson Mandela, Walter Sisulu, and Oliver Tambo were among the members of the Youth League. Unlike the African National Congress they believed Africans could only be freed by their own

efforts, even if that included militant efforts. Since more people were living in the cities at this time, the people working in the factories supported what the Youth League wanted. They rebelled through strikes, boycotts, and fighting.

The defiance campaign was the beginning of a large movement in South Africa during the 1950's. This was a time that segregated different parts of South Africa for whites and blacks. This encouraged more campaigns against apartheid laws because the land was being split up into different races. In 1955, the government announced that women must carry passes. This angered the women of South Africa, so they held a large campaign. The women also held a military campaign against beer halls; the law said it was illegal for women to brew traditional beer. The government wanted the men to go to beer halls and buy their own beer instead of brewing it themselves. The women in turn attacked the beer halls and destroyed all of the equipment. Throughout all of these struggles it brought the blacks and whites in close proximity to fight for freedom. The government in turn tried to help the people by expressing the freedom charter, which was a document that declared that South Africa belongs to all of the people who live in it. The breaking point of peaceful protests came to an end on March 30, 1966, ten days after the Sharpeville Massacre, the government banned the ANC and the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC).

During the 1970's the cost of living began to rise, which made it more difficult for the workers and their families to live on low wages. Spontaneous strikes resulted workers walked off the job demanding wage increases, the main strikes began in Durban in 1973 and later spread to other parts of the country. This was a short movement until the struggle for the power of the people in the 1980s. Thousands of youths began to make their way into the Spear of the Nation after the large uprising in 1976. Their main goal was to change the views of the blacks and to get them on their side.

Throughout the years of killing and banning laws, they were finally able to make an agreement. The ANC was claimed unbanned in February 1990, and the blacks were now free. They began to establish committees and branches all across South Africa. After they were established the Congress began to elect members to rule different parts of the

committee. The ANC's main goal was to unite South Africa, and to ultimately free the country and bring the people back together. At the 1991 National Conference of the ANC, Nelson Mandela was elected President. After the election of the nation's favorite leaders they held the first national election in 1994 in which blacks were able to vote. The ANC won a majority of seats in the new national assembly. This was a great change in South Africa, and will always be a milestone in their history. The ANC went through many struggles and hardships to achieve peace, and is still in power today. Their struggles and hardships will always be remembered in history for years to come.

On the other side, the Congress- career of Indian Freedom Struggle, was founded 1885 at Bombay by A.O. Hume, a retired member of the Indian Civil Service. W.C. Bannerjee was its first President. It was formed with the purpose of getting a few more posts for Indians in the services and greater share in administration of the country. Gradually, it changed its aim and in 1929, it passed the resolution for complete independence. It was mainly on account of the freedom movement carried on by this organisation under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi that India achieved independence on 15th August, 1947. The party earlier stood for democratic socialism. The Congress had its first post-independence split in 1969 when Mrs. Gandhi forced the so-called "Syndicate" out of party on the issue of introduction of radical reforms, viz., bank nationalisation and abolition of privy purses.

The Congress under the leadership of Mrs. Gandhi imposed Emergency in June 1975, when as alleged by her, there were disruptionist tendencies in the country. The Emergency turned out to be the cloak for the establishment of an authoritarian regime. It goes to the credit of Mrs. Gandhi that she was honest in her endeavor to bring democracy back on wheels, when she announced elections in January 1977. The Congress was completely routed in the northern states mainly on account of the excesses committed and the role played by the "caucus" during the period when emergency was in force. There was another split in the Congress in 1977 when Mrs. Gandhi formed her own Congress Party called the Congress (I) and the stalwarts of the Congress Party like B. N. Reddy, Y. B. Chavan and others were left to take care of the original Congress Party.

Mrs. Indira Gandhi was, unfortunately, assassinated in Oct. 84, and it was feared that it would be the end of Congress (I). Mr. Rajiv Gandhi, however, infused new spirit and vigour into the Party, after Congress turned out as a majority party in Eighth Lok Sabha Elections. The massive mandate notwithstanding, Cong (I) lost grip over the country. The state units had been totally demoralised on account of concentration of power in the centre and frequent interventions by it. The old guard had been sidelined, and the new one lacked moral authority. As a result of their ham-handed ruling of the country, the Congress (I) lost power in the Ninth Lok Sabha elections held in 1989. Congress (I) lent support to the ministry formed by Mr. Vishvanath Pratap Singh at the Centre in November 1990. A few voices within the Congress (I) advocated that the party must share power with the Janata Dal (S).

It was indeed a travesty of justice and negation of democracy that the country was run by only 54 MPs belonging to a party with no popular mandate and support. The death of Shri Rajiv Gandhi in a bomb blast on May 21, 1991, posed a new danger to the Congress (I). In the tenth Lok Sabha elections, the Cong (I) put up good performance in the states of Maharashtra, Rajasthan, M. P., Tamil Nadu, and A.P. It was, however, routed in U. P. and Bihar where the BJP and Janata Dal captured majority of the seats. The assassination of Mr. Rajiv Gandhi and the consequent sympathy wave won a number of seats for the Cong (I) in Rajasthan, A. P., T. N. and Maharashtra. The Cong (I) also captured the states of Haryana, Tamil Nadu, Kerala and Pondicherry, where State Assembly elections were held. Mr. Narasimha Rao was elected to succeed the late Mr. Rajiv Gandhi, and he was sworn in as Prime Minister in June 1991. The Indian National Congress was on crossroads after the conclusion of the 11th Lok Sabha elections in May 1996. It could capture only 143 seats in the Parliament. It, however, had the satisfaction of capturing 4 Lok Sabha seats in J & K.

The former Prime Minister, Mr. Narasimha Rao, was primarily blamed for the decline of Congress (I). First, some of the influential leaders including P. Chidambaram, Madhav Rao Scindia, Arjun Singh, N. D. Tiwari and Kalpanath Rai were unceremoniously compelled to leave the Congress on one pretext or the other. The Congress and its allies (UPA) inflicted a shocking defeat on the NDA for 14th Lok Sabha

elections (May 04). Sonia Gandhi, however, declined the offer of premiership in deference to her “Call for Conscience”. Dr. Manmohan Singh was ‘nominated’ as the PM by her.

She turned out to be the most popular mass leader in the country and her rallies are well attended. In 2004, Congress government, had been established in Karnataka, Kerala, Andhra Pradesh, Maharashtra, and Arunachal Pradesh. The BJP lay in ruins and its loss was clearly the gain of the Congress. The Congress continues to be in the grip of a dynastic rule. President of the Party Sonia Gandhi, Italian born widow of the late Prime Minister, Mr. Rajiv Gandhi, and her son, Rahul Gandhi, control an important wing of the Youth Congress and the daughter Priyanka Vadra also asserts her authority and flaunts the Gandhi name. The discarded and shamed politicians are being re-inducted into the party and given important positions of authority. Sonia remains the sole arbiter of all important decisions pertaining to the party reshuffling; appointment of Chief Ministers etc. is her prerogative. The Marxists dictate their own terms and were primarily instrumental in churning process of important institutions; they wanted the saffron brigade to be shown the door and replaced by people with Leftist leanings. The India-US nuclear deal at one stage wrecked the government, at the Centre, the Congress and the CPI (M) refusing to deviate from their respective stands. They were fast losing their base amongst the Muslims who are the biggest minority in West Bengal thanks to the CPI (M) policy of ignoring massive influx from Bangladesh-Truce appears on the horizon, the Marxists have toned down their rhetoric. The 123 agreement is now a reality.

The 125-year old national party is now firmly controlled by its foreign-born president. She has a full grip over the situation and nothing happens without her nod. The victory of the Congress during the 15th General Elections could be ascribed first to the absence of a credible opposition capable of handling the situation and secondly, the idol worship and sycophancy which is a basic characteristic of gullible Indians. It is indeed surprising that how could a lady who does not have her ears to the ground, oblivious of our traditional culture and moorings, has managed to emerge triumphant. None in the Congress is even half as tall as Sonia Gandhi. They are all at her beck and call and willing to accept her leadership and supremacy.

Last but not Least Both the Indian Congress Party and the African National Congress are mass parties and are currently in a position of political hegemony in their respective countries. The Indian Congress has enjoyed this position almost without interruption since Indian independence in 1947. It was defeated in the elections of 1977 under the leadership of Indira Gandhi who, however, returned to power three years later. When she was assassinated her son Rajiv governed until his own assassination in 1989. In more recent years, the Congress was in opposition for eight years from 1996 to 2004, when it returned to power under the leadership of Rajiv's Italian widow Sonia. Being a foreigner, however, Sonia did not become Prime Minister, leaving the role to M. Singh. On the contrary, the ANC rule is more recent and dates back to the end of apartheid in South Africa in 1994.

Though nobody could sensibly have anticipated the seriousness of the Congress vanquish, the outcome was not really a dart from the blue. With just a small portion of knowledge of the past, one can see the Congress Party as having been in decrease since the mid-sixties. The decrease, be that as it may, has been neither consistent nor uniform all through India. In this manner for a brief period in the mid seventies-the benchmark being the decisions of 1971-72 the crumbling appeared to have been ceased inside and out. What's more, at no time before 1977 was the resistance spread pretty much equitably finished the different locales and social gatherings of even North India. The verifiable decrease of Congress has been deficiently seen by a few understudies of Indian legislative issues. Along these lines as late as 1974 Rajni Kothari, one of the best spectators, contended that Congress had built up a political agreement on the bearing that Indian legislative issues should take. Admittedly not all specialists were set up to make such solid cases for the Congress framework. Seven years prior, when Congress had been far more grounded, Morris-Jones was substance to recognize the framework as one gathering predominance without asserting that Congress had really made some sort of all-India consensus.

Demonstrably, there was something stressed in the scholarly push to mark down the significance of the political restriction in India. Indeed, even in its prime, the Congress Party neglected to win a greater part of votes at any decision; in the three

parliamentary races of 1952, 1957 and 1962 its vote had drifted in the vicinity of 45 and 48 for every penny of the total. The thought of an Indian agreement epitomized in Congress was still less conceivable after the 1967 race, when its vote declined to under 41 for each penny. In any case, if the predominance of Congress was now and then exaggerated, it was no insignificant figment. Congress was one of a kind among political gatherings in having dealt with the remarkable pluralism of Indian culture.

As opposed to embracing a forcefully characterized ideological position, Congress controlled through the settlement of an awesome differing qualities of interests and the vigorous work of support. The restriction parties, by differentiate, were composed around nearly limit interests or more characterized ideological positions. It was deluding to treat “the resistance” as though it were a solitary element, since there were in reality an awesome number of restriction parties at any rate as tremendously contradicted to each other as they were to Congress. No single issue could fill in as a mobilizing point for these gatherings, nor could any normal center of philosophy. They tended to go about as discrete gatherings of weight on Congress, as opposed to as genuine political rivals in a battle for control. What’s more, by contradicting each other and in addition Congress in the first-past-the post voting framework, they neglected to win parliamentary seats comparable with their rate of the well known vote: in 1952, 1957 and 1962 not as much as a large portion of the vote had yielded Congress about 75% of the aggregate seats. The constituent decrease of Congress has accompanied a waning offer of the vote, maybe still more vital, with an undeniably joined restriction. The race of 1967 brought the principal significant sign of inconvenience for Congress: its vote tumbled to 41 for each penny and its number of seats to 54 for every penny of the aggregate.

The unbalanced fall in seats is generally reasonable by a to some degree more noteworthy level of solidarity and consequently less vote-part, among the restriction parties.⁸ Had the resistance of 1967 been as joined as it was 10 years after the fact, it may have verged on winning that race. The hugeness of the 1967 survey was clouded by the following decisions in 1971-72, when Congress was reestablished to generally a similar position it had delighted in up to 1967. The vote in favor of Congress went up again and, essentially, the resistance parties fell back to the interminable disunity of the initial three

decisions. Be that as it may, in the light of the 1977 race, it is the survey of 1971-72 that would now be able to be viewed as the free thinker. The 1977 decision proceeded, however it conveyed especially further, the procedure that had first affirmed itself in 1967. Consequently, an excessive amount of weight can be appended to the possibility that the Emergency released a very sudden restriction to Congress and this was in charge of the annihilation.

Without a doubt the Emergency had a critical effect in both estranging huge segments of the populace and driving the resistance parties into phenomenal solidarity. The oversight is inability to welcome the degree to which the stage had just been set for the annihilation of Congress. Indeed, even without the sensational occasions of the most recent two years, the 1977 decision is probably going to have seen a Congress vote pointedly down from that of 1971-72. This view can be contended by looking at the mounting and progressively sorted out resistance to Congress lead under two heads. To start with is the expanding financial cases of different areas of Indian culture; the Government's inability to meet these cases brought expanding dismissal of Congress. Second are all the more barely political issues: a test has been mounted on the premise of both belief system and gathering enthusiasm to an arrangement of individuals who have shaped something of a decision class in autonomous India. Both these types of restriction have involved a dismissal of the Congress claim to speak to an accord of the Indian populace.

Despite the fact that the turning points are hard to discover, there can be little uncertainty that eagerness for Congress disappeared with a creating view of its poor monetary execution. Creation in the agrarian and modern segments has risen stunningly however so has the quantity of individuals. Expanded creation and efficiency have drastically enhanced the life of a numerically noteworthy however relatively little segment of the populace. The center to-extensive working class and the urban white collar classes have succeeded while the little laborers, the landless and the most minimal strata of the urban areas have stagnated. Yet, low expectations for everyday comforts and notwithstanding expanding holes between social gatherings have no programmed political criticalness. In India, the most denied bunches have for the most part been ease

back to contradict the Government. Low levels of politicization, a nonattendance of political options, a conviction that Congress has their best enthusiasm on the most fundamental level these have been factors in keeping gatherings, for example, the lion's share of Untouchables inside the Congress overlap until 1977. Who, at that point, restricted Congress on financial grounds? In light of the colossal trouble of breaking down India in class terms, the appropriate response is a long way from straightforward. It won't do to state that the low class rejected Congress: who are the working class in India? Be that as it may, one can state that the industriously substantial, if territorially divided and fluctuating, bolster for radical gatherings is proof of the political importance of neediness and disparity however once more, it can't be said that the gatherings of the left have been the main recipients of the social occasion discontent.

Apart from that, a portion of the best confirmation of a connection between mounting monetary discontent and political activity originates from the 1971 race presumably the first to be overwhelmed by an issue. Mrs. Gandhi had part the Congress Party in 1969, and in 1971 she anticipated her New Congress as a radical gathering that would handle the monetary and social issues of the nation as at no other time. She adroitly characterized the terms of the decision as a decision between a Government focused on *garibi hatao*, the annihilation of destitution, and a diverse restriction overwhelmed by degenerate managers conferred just to themselves. The strategy succeeded splendidly and at one stroke Mrs. Gandhi appeared to have halted the decay that had prompted the appointive misfortunes in 1967. She additionally combined her achievement in the State Assembly races of 1972, this time supported by India's evisceration of Pakistan in December 1971.

In any case, in a specific sense she caused her own downfall. Politically clever as it was to yell *garibi hatao*, the new extremist position forced crisp bramble nooks on the Congress Government. It worked out that Mrs. Gandhi was more capable at distinguishing than taking care of the issues of worry to a larger part of Indians. With regards to tragic expansion sustained by the oil emergency and a progression of product disappointments in 1973 and 1974, the counter Congress tide reasserted itself surprisingly rapidly. In an audit of legislative issues amid the year 1973, Rajni Kothari could express:

“Not a lot occurred in India in 1973. Be that as it may, the year was outstanding for one thing—a developing feeling of inconvenience among a wide assortment of groups”. That feeling of uneasiness expanded through 1974 and by mid 1975 it had achieved a level which, while not specifically debilitating the proceeded with presence of the Congress administration, was causing a formerly unparalleled level of instability for the Government.

There are points of contrast and difference as far as the tactics of the two parties to achieve their respective main goals (independence for India, the end of apartheid in South African society) were concerned. With the return of Mahatma Gandhi in India in 1915, the Indian Congress espoused the Satyagraha, a philosophy that stressed non-violent resistance against the oppressor. The concept behind this philosophy is that the means are inseparable from their ends. It is therefore unacceptable to use violence to obtain a fairer and more just society. The Satyagraha influenced the leader of the ANC Nelson Mandela. However, the ANC also had a military wing, known as The Spear of the Nation, which was formed in the 1960s in the face of continuous.

These qualifications, together with the way that - diverged from the INC - the ANC is essentially less orchestrated organisationally to accomplish satisfactory top notch mass coordination, may speak to a substitute change of the two countries' systems of OPD. Things being what they are, three circumstances in light of the Indian experience of post-OPD progression are most likely going to create in the South African setting as well: Tensions inside the choice tripartite organization may forecast a piece of the mind-boggling party simply like the case with the INC in 1969. However, however the INC under Indira could set optional prevalence toward the day's end, a leftwing contender of the ANC hassling a practically identical ideological program and depending to some degree on a comparative client base, would make a landing to a game plan of OPD more troublesome. Another circumstance would be the regionalisation of the South African social affair system along the Indian illustration. Signs of a dispute between national activity and typical ANC structures that stems from a negligence of the ranges by the more exclusive classes of the social event are presently unmistakable and enable one to recollect the contentions of the INC's managing first to class and the 'Syndicate'.

Additionally, the measurement scattering inside South Africa considers the presence of differentiating cases of social affair competition in the regions and the ascent of sub-national slants. The last and most risky circumstance would be the turning of the ANC's power to a kind of populism as polished by Indira Gandhi and in light of the need to suit and collect the common poor and unemployed remembering the ultimate objective to keep up control over the electorate. As we have seen from the past, the road that the South African social affair structure will take is significantly more dependent on fundamental authority by and office of the get-together world class than on any kind of helper or institutional determinism.

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Appendix –I

African National Congress Constitution

As amended by and adopted at the 50th National Conference, December 1997

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INTRODUCTION

As a successful liberation movement, the African National Congress strives to represent the aspirations of the oppressed. Over a long history, we have sought to be in tune with the strongest urgings of our people so as to ensure that we remain their champions - not only as a liberation movement but in the rebuilding of our land after apartheid.

Within our united, powerful movement, there is a diversity of view and experience which enriches the voice of the ANC.

The ANC must enter the future, the critical years of consolidation after transition to democracy, with its house in order. This means reviewing the effectiveness of our structures at all levels so as to face the world with continuing vigour and success. All members must examine their actions to ensure that they fit into the pattern set by the institutions of the ANC.

The movement is judged not only by the performance and personality of individual members, but also as a collective, as an organisation. Its strength lies in its capacity to embrace all its members. They all have a role to play. The voluntary

basis of membership of the ANC implies not only rights but acceptance of obligations to the ANC.

While the ANC has won political power, the task of transforming South African society and building a new nation is far from complete. The ANC is the lead organisation in achieving this transformation. It is the prime agent for renewal. In view of this, all ANC members must seek to be exemplary members of society. They share in the vanguard of the new nation.

The 50th National Conference of the ANC held in Mafikeng in the North West Province in December 1997 considered the role of the ANC in government and the challenges facing the organisation as we move to the 21st Century. The amendments made by the Conference to the ANC Constitution reflect those deliberations.

The ANC Constitution defines the character and nature of the organisation. The Constitution also prescribes the rights and duties of its officials and members. The ANC Constitution reflects the ANC's dual position as liberation movement and political party. Amendments have been made which streamline the structures of the ANC to make them fit the process of governance.

We therefore call on all our structures and members to support and comply with the provisions of the ANC Constitution so that we may more effectively meet the challenges of the 21st Century.

PREAMBLE

Whereas the African National Congress was founded in 1912 to defend and advance the rights of the African people after the violent destruction of their independence and the creation of the white supremacist Union of South Africa; and

Whereas in the course of fulfilling this historic aim, the ANC has emerged to lead the struggle of all democratic and patriotic forces to destroy the apartheid state and replace it with a united, non-racial, non-sexist and democratic South Africa in which the people as a whole shall govern and all shall enjoy equal rights; and Whereas through the struggles and sacrifices of its members over the generations, the ANC has come to be recognised as the central organiser and inspirer of a vast popular upsurge against apartheid, involving a great array of social, cultural, religious, trade union, professional and political organisations;

Whereas the fundamental goal of the ANC remains to construct a non-racial, non-sexist, democratic society in South Africa;

And whereas the historic April 1994 election has placed the ANC in the position of responsibility for leading the process of reconstruction and development aimed at eradicating the problems of poverty and inequality created by apartheid and creating a just and equitable economic and social order;

Now therefore, the 50th Conference of the ANC, duly constituted and assembled, cognisant of the historic mission of the ANC and of the need to build a mass based democratic structure to enable it to fulfil its historic mission, hereby adopts this amended Constitution.

Rule 1 NAME

The name of the organisation shall be the African National Congress, hereinafter referred to as the ANC.

The logo and the colours of the ANC are as described in the attached schedule.

Rule 2 AIMS AND OBJECTIVES

The aims and objectives of the ANC shall be:

- 2.1 To unite all the people of South Africa, Africans in particular, for the complete liberation of the country from all forms of discrimination and national oppression.
- 2.2 To end apartheid in all its forms and transform South Africa as rapidly as possible into a united, non-racial, non-sexist and democratic country based on the principles of the Freedom Charter and in pursuit of the national democratic revolution.
- 2.3 To defend the democratic gains of the people and to advance towards a society in which the government is freely chosen by the people according to the principles of universal suffrage on a common voters' role.
- 2.4 To fight for social justice and to eliminate the vast inequalities created by apartheid and the system of national oppression.
- 2.5 To build a South African nation with a common patriotism and loyalty in which the cultural, linguistic and religious diversity of the people is recognised.
- 2.6 To promote economic development for the benefit of all.
- 2.7 To support and advance the cause of women's emancipation.
- 2.8 To support and advance the cause of national liberation, development, world peace, disarmament and environmentally sustainable development.
- 2.9 To support and promote the struggle for the rights of children and the disabled.

Rule 3 THE CHARACTER OF THE ANC

- 3.1 The ANC is a non-racial and non-sexist and democratic liberation movement.
- 3.2 Its policies are determined by the membership and its leadership is accountable to the membership in terms of the procedures laid down in this Constitution.
- 3.3 The ANC also contests elections as a registered political party drawing its electoral support from all sections of South African society.
- 3.4 The ANC shall, in its composition and functioning, be non-racial, anti-racist and non-sexist and against any form of tribalistic exclusivism or ethnic chauvinism.
- 3.5 While striving for the maximum unity of purpose and functioning, the ANC shall respect the linguistic, cultural and religious diversity of its members.
- 3.6 The ANC shall support the emancipation of women, combat sexism and ensure that the voice of women is fully heard in the organisation and that women are properly represented at all levels.
- 3.7 The principles of freedom of speech and free circulation of ideas and information shall operate within the ANC.
- 3.8 Membership of all bodies of the ANC will be open to all men and women in the organisation without regard to race, colour or creed.
- 3.9 The ANC co-operates closely with religious bodies in the country and provides, on an interfaith basis, for the recognition of the spiritual needs of its many members who are believers.

Rule 4 MEMBERSHIP

- 4.1 Membership of the ANC shall be open to all South Africans above the age of 18 years, irrespective of race, colour and creed, who accept its principles, policies and programmes and are prepared to abide by its Constitution and rules.
- 4.2 Spouses or children of South Africans who have manifested a clear identification with the South African people and its struggle, may apply for membership.
- 4.3 All other persons who have manifested a clear identification with the South African people and their struggle and are resident in South Africa may apply for membership.

4.4 The National Executive Committee may, acting on its own or on the recommendation of branch or provincial executive committees, grant honorary membership to those men and women who do not qualify for membership under Rules 4.1, 4.2 or 4.3, but who have demonstrated an unwavering commitment to the ANC and its policies.

4.5 Applications for membership shall be considered by the branch executive committee where such exists, and by the regional executive committee, if no branch executive committee exists. The branch executive committee, the regional executive committee, or such interim structures as the Provincial Executive Committee or the NEC may create from time to time to decide on applications, shall have the power to accept or refuse any application for membership provided such acceptance or refusal shall be subject to review by the next higher organ of the ANC.

4.6 Membership cards shall be issued to registered members of the ANC and to persons whose application for membership has been accepted, subject to review as aforesaid, and, in all cases, subject to payment of the prescribed subscription. An applicant shall be issued with an acknowledgement of provisional membership and the details of the branch and constituency/area in which the applicant resides and any available information about the local branch structures.

4.7 a) Provisional membership shall apply to persons who wish to join the organisation for the first time or who wish to re-join the organisation after a considerable lapse of time.

4.7 b) Provisional membership rights commence from the date of production of acknowledgement following receipt of the application and the appropriate membership subscription. A provisional member shall have the right to attend branch meetings only in a non-voting capacity.

4.8 Any objection to any application for membership may be made by the membership to the branch, regional or provincial secretary within eight weeks of the notification.

4.9 At any time before the individual is accepted as a full member of the organisation, or in exceptional circumstances even after the member has been admitted, the Secretary-General may rule that the application or the membership may be rejected if it was invalidly obtained.

4.10 In the absence of any objection from the structures and/or any ruling by the Secretary-General, the applicant shall, on the expiry of eight weeks from the date of notification of provisional membership, become a full member. The provisional member shall then be transferred to the national membership list as a full member as soon as is practicable.

4.11 The reasons for the rejection of an application for membership by the Secretary-General or the objection by the membership to the application for membership must be sent to the individual applicant in writing.

4.12 Membership cards shall be issued to registered members of the ANC and to persons whose application for membership have been accepted, subject to review and subject to payment of the prescribed subscription in all cases.

4.13 Members shall pay an annual subscription fee as determined by the National Executive Committee.

4.14 Non-earning members or those on reduced incomes will pay such fees as are determined by the NEC.

4.15 On being accepted in the ANC, a new member shall, in a language he or she knows well, make the following solemn declaration to the body or person designated to administer such oaths:

I,, solemnly declare that I will abide by the aims and objectives of the African National Congress as set out in the Constitution, the Freedom Charter and other duly adopted policy positions, that I am joining the organisation voluntarily and without motives of material advantage or personal gain, that I agree to respect the Constitution and the structures and to work as a loyal member of the organisation, that I will place my energies and skills at the disposal of the organisation and carry out tasks given to me, that I will work towards making the ANC an even more effective instrument of liberation in the hands of the people, and that I will defend the unity and integrity of the organisation and its principles, and combat any tendency towards disruption and factionalism.

4.16 The following acts will be regarded as an abuse of organisational rules, whether committed by individuals or groups:

- a. The payment of membership subscription of the organisation for persons or groups of persons who would otherwise be unwilling or unable to pay their own subscriptions;
- b. The offer of reduced rate membership to those known by the individual or group making the offer to be ineligible for that category of membership;
- c. The recruitment of members who do not reside at an address claimed, where this is done in order to manipulate branch meetings or the outcome of organisational votes.

4.17 The commission of any of the abuses described in rule 4.16 will be considered as behaviour likely to invoke disciplinary proceedings.

4.18 Any member of the ANC who stands in an election for local government, provincial or national government elections or acts as the election agent or canvasser of a person standing for such election in opposition to a candidate duly endorsed by the PEC or NEC shall be ineligible to be or remain a member.

4.19 a) Any member who joins a political organisation or party other than the ANC or a party in alliance with the ANC shall be automatically expelled by the PEC or NEC where applicable.

4.19 b) Any member who supports a political organisation or party other than an organisation in alliance with the ANC in a manner contrary to the aims, objectives and policy of the ANC shall be liable for disciplinary action.

4.20 Members who fail to pay their subscriptions for three months and having being reminded of their lapse shall not be regarded as members in good standing until they pay their arrears.

Rule 5 RIGHTS AND DUTIES OF THE MEMBERS

5.1 Rights:

A member of the ANC shall have the right to:

- a. Take a full and active part in the discussion, formulation and implementation of the policy of the ANC.
- b. Receive and impart information on all aspects of ANC policy and activities.

- c. Offer constructive criticism of any member, official, policy programme or activity of the ANC within its structures.
- d. Take part in elections and be elected or appointed to any committee, structure, commission or delegation of the ANC.
- e. Submit proposals or statements to the branch, province, region or NEC, provided such proposals or statements are submitted through the appropriate structures.

5.2 Duties:

A member of the ANC shall:

- a. Belong to and take an active part in the life of his or her branch.
- b. Take all necessary steps to understand and carry out the aims, policy and programme of the ANC.
- c. Explain the aims, policy and programme of the ANC to the people.
- d. Deepen his or her understanding of the social, cultural, political and economic problems of the country.
- e. Combat propaganda detrimental to the interests of the ANC and defend the policy, aims and programme of the ANC.
- f. Fight against racism, tribal chauvinism, sexism, religious and political intolerance or any other form of discrimination or chauvinism.
- g. Observe discipline, behave honestly and carry out loyally decisions of the majority and decisions of higher bodies.
- h. Inform his or her branch of movement to any other area and report to the branch committee secretary on arriving at any new area.
- i. Refrain from publishing and/or distributing any media without authorisation which purports to be the view of any organised grouping, faction or tendency within the ANC.
- j. All members shall ensure that they are registered as voters in the constituency where they live.
- k. ANC members who hold elective office in any sphere of governance at national, provincial or local level are required to be members of the appropriate caucus, to function within its rules and to abide by its decisions under the general provisions of this Constitution and the constitutional structures of the ANC.

Rule 6 ORGANISATIONAL STRUCTURE

6.1 The ANC shall consist of the following organs:

- a. The National Conference which elects the National Executive Committee.
- b. The Provincial Conference which elects the Provincial Executive Committee.
- c. The Regional Conference which elects the Regional Executive Committee.
- d. The Branch Annual General Meeting which elects the Branch Executive Committee.

6.2 Branches may be grouped together in zones and may be subdivided into smaller units such as street committees, and zones may be grouped into sub-regions.

6.3 The ANC Women's League shall be open to women who are members of the ANC and shall have the same basic structure, namely, national, provincial and branch. Its objectives will be to defend and advance the rights of women, both inside and outside the ANC, against all forms of national, social and gender oppression and to ensure that women play a full role in the life of the organisation, in the people's struggle and in national life. The Women's League will function as

an autonomous body within the overall structure of the ANC, of which it will be an integral part, with its own Constitution, rules and regulations, provided that these shall not be in conflict with the Constitution and policies of the ANC.

6.4 The ANC Youth League shall be open to all persons between the ages of 14 and 35. It will operate on a national, provincial and branch basis. Its objectives will be to unite and lead young men and women in confronting and dealing with the problems that face the youth, and in ensuring that the youth make a full and rich contribution to the work of the ANC and the life of the nation. The Youth League will function as an autonomous body within the overall structure of the ANC, of which it will be an integral part, with its own Constitution, rules and regulations, provided that these shall not be in conflict with the Constitution and policies of the ANC.

6.5 Members of the Youth League over the age of 18 shall be expected to play a full part in the general political life of the ANC.

6.6 A member of the Youth League shall not be eligible for any position as office-bearer of the ANC or to attend ANC conferences, members' or executive meetings of the ANC (unless specially invited), unless he or she is a full member of the ANC.

Rule 7 THE HEADQUARTERS

The site of the National Headquarters of the ANC shall be determined by the NEC.

Rule 8 PROVINCES

8.1 For purposes of ANC structures, the country shall be divided into the following provinces:

Western Cape, Northern Cape, Eastern Cape, KwaZulu Natal, Free State, Gauteng, Northern Province, Mpumalanga, North West.

8.2 The provincial headquarters will be determined by the Provincial Conference.

8.3 The National Executive Committee may from time to time alter the number, the boundaries or the names of the Provinces.

Rule 9 THE NATIONAL CONFERENCE

9.1 The National Conference shall be the supreme ruling and controlling body of the ANC.

It shall be composed of:

9.2 Voting delegates:

- i. At least 90% of the voting delegates at Conference shall be from branches which shall be represented by elected delegates. The number of delegates shall be in proportion to the paid up membership.
- ii. The number of delegates to be elected to National Conference by each province shall be fixed by the NEC in proportion to the paid up membership of each province.
- iii. The remainder of the 10% of voting delegates at the Conference shall be allocated by the NEC from among the Provincial Executive Committees, the ANC Youth League and the ANC Women's League.
- iv. All members of the National Executive Committee shall attend ex-officio as full participants in the conference.

9.3 Non-Voting Delegates:

The NEC may invite individuals, who have made a special contribution to the struggle or who have special skills or experience, to attend the Conference.

9.4 The NEC shall appoint a conference organising committee which will circulate conference information in advance, determine the precise procedure for

selection of delegates and indicate how the membership can then ensure their concerns are on the agenda.

9.5 The Conference shall determine its own procedures in accordance with democratic principles.

9.6. Voting on key questions shall be by secret ballot if at least one third of the delegates at National Conference demand it.

9.7 a) The National Conference shall be convened at least every five years. A National General Council may be convened by the NEC from time to time, provided that the NEC shall convene a National General Council not later than 30 months after National Conference.

b) The NEC shall, after consultation with Provinces, determine the composition of the National General Council.

c) The National General Council shall:

- i. Subject to paragraph (iv) below, determine and review the policies and programmes of the ANC;
- ii. receive and discuss reports of the NEC;
- iii. have the right to ratify, alter or rescind any decision taken by any of the constituent bodies, units or officials of the ANC, including the evaluation of the performance of members of the NEC;
- iv. have the power to discuss any issue it deems necessary taking into account policies and directives of the National Conference.
- v. Subject to Rule 11.3(g) it may fill vacancies that have arisen in the NEC provided that such vacancies do not exceed 50% of the Executive.

Rule 10 DUTIES AND POWERS OF THE NATIONAL CONFERENCE

The National Conference shall:

10.1 Decide and determine the policy, programme and Constitution of the ANC.

10.2 Receive and discuss the reports of the NEC which shall include the Presidential Address, the Secretary General's Report, which shall include a report on the work and activities of the Women's League and Youth League, and the Treasurer General's Report.

10.3 Have the right and power to review, ratify, alter or rescind any decision taken by any of the constituent bodies, units or officials of the ANC.

10.4 Elect the President, the Deputy President, National Chairperson, the Secretary General, Deputy Secretary General, the Treasurer General and the remaining 60 members of the NEC.

10.5 Have the power to elect or appoint any commission or committee and assign specific tasks and duties to such commission or committee.

Rule 11 NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

11.1 Powers

The National Executive Committee is the highest organ of the ANC between Conferences and shall have the authority to lead the organisation, subject to the provisions of this Constitution.

11.2 Without prejudice to the generality of its powers, the NEC shall:

- a. Carry out the decisions and instructions of the National Conference.
- b. Issue and send directives and instructions to and receive reports from the provinces.

- c. Supervise and direct the work of the ANC and all its organs, including national, provincial and local government caucuses.
 - d. Ensure that the provincial regional and branch structures of the ANC function democratically and effectively. The NEC may suspend or dissolve a PEC where necessary and call for new elections within three months. The suspension may not last for more than three months.
 - e. Oversee the work of the Women's League and the Youth League.
 - f. Establish departments and set up committees as it considers appropriate.
 - g. Manage and control all the national and international property and assets of the ANC.
 - h. Receive reports, supervise the work of, and delegate such functions to the NWC as it considers necessary.
 - i. Issue documents and other policy directives as and when it deems fit.
 - j. Confer such honours as it may deem appropriate.
 - k. Appoint annually a National List Committee of not fewer than five and not more than nine persons for the selection and adoption of candidates for the national Parliament. The NEC shall draw up regulations for the procedures to be followed in such a selection. The National List Committee shall report to the NEC prior to the implementation of its recommendations. Provincial structures for the adoption of candidates shall report to the National List Committee. Every candidate for elections must undertake to abide by the Constitution of the ANC and the relevant Code of Conduct for elected representatives.
- 11.3 The National Executive Committee, except where otherwise stipulated, shall be elected by secret ballot by the National Conference and shall hold office for five years and shall be constituted as follows:
- a. The President, Deputy President, National Chairperson, the Secretary General, Deputy Secretary General and the Treasurer General who shall be elected separately by the National Conference.
 - b. Sixty (60) members of the NEC who shall be elected by secret ballot by the National Conference.
 - c. The Chairperson and the Secretary of each elected ANC Provincial Executive Committee who shall be ex officio members of the NEC.
 - d. The National President and Secretary of the ANC Women's League who shall be ex-officio members of the NEC.
 - e. The National President and Secretary of the ANC Youth League who shall be ex- officio members of the NEC.
 - f. The NEC shall have the power to co-opt not more than five (5) additional members at any time during its term of office in order to provide for a balanced representation that reflects the true character of the South African people, provided that such co-option enjoys the support of the Provincial Executive Committee of the Province from which the proposed person comes.
 - g. Should a vacancy occur on the NEC for any reason, the NEC shall have the power to fill the vacancy by appointing a replacement.
 - h. The quorum for meetings of the NEC shall be 50%+1 of its total membership.
 - i. A person shall have been a paid-up member of the ANC for at least five years before she or he can be nominated to the National Executive Committee of the ANC.

11.4 Nominations for the NEC members referred to in Rule 11.3(a) and 11.3(b) above shall be by the following procedure:

a) (i) Nominations for the posts of:

1. President
2. Deputy President
3. National Chairperson
4. Secretary General
5. Deputy Secretary General
6. Treasurer General shall be made by any Province and placed before the National Conference.

ii. A delegate to the Conference shall, however, have the right to nominate any person whose name has not been proposed in terms of sub-section (i) above. In such event the presiding officer shall call for seconders to the nomination. If such nomination is seconded by a minimum of 25 percent (25%) of Conference delegates, then such nomination shall be regarded as having been duly seconded, in which event the name of such nominees shall be placed on the ballot paper. If the nomination fails to secure the support of a minimum of 25% of conference delegates, such nomination shall fall away.

b) Nominations of candidates for the National Executive Committee other than the above positions shall be carried out by the following procedure:

i. Subject to sub-section (ii) below, only those candidates who have been proposed by a Province shall appear on the National Conference ballot paper.

ii. A delegate to the conference shall, however, have the right to nominate any person whose name has not been proposed in terms of sub-section (i) above. In such event the presiding officer shall call for seconders to the nomination. If such nomination is seconded by a show of hands by a minimum of 25 percent (25%) of Conference delegates, then such nomination shall be regarded as having been duly seconded, in which event the name of such nominee shall be placed on the ballot paper. If the nomination fails to secure the support of a minimum of 25% of delegates, such nomination shall fall away.

iii. Not more than two persons per province may be successfully nominated in terms of b)(ii) above.

11.5 Voting shall take place by secret ballot. Each voting delegate shall vote once in each ballot.

11.6 If any Provincial Chairperson or Secretary is elected to the NEC in his or her own right or as a national official, such person shall vacate the Provincial position, provided that the Province has the right to make representations to the NEC, in a special case, where extraordinary circumstances may warrant an exception to this rule. However, when such a provincial officer is allowed to retain his or her NEC position, the Province shall not be entitled to an additional member on the NEC.

11.7 Subject to the provisions of this Constitution, the Secretary General, the Deputy Secretary General and the Treasurer General shall be full-time functionaries of the ANC.

11.8 The NEC shall meet in plenary session at least once every three months and shall provide broad political and organisational perspectives to the National Working Committee.

Rule 12 NATIONAL WORKING COMMITTEE

12.1 As soon as possible after the conclusion of the National Conference, the NEC shall meet and elect a National Working Committee.

12.2 The National Working Committee shall be constituted as follows: The President, Deputy President, National Chairperson, Secretary General, Deputy Secretary General and the Treasurer General.

12.3 In addition, the NEC shall elect additional members to the NWC from among the directly-elected members of the NEC. These shall not exceed one-quarter of the composition of the directly-elected members.

12.4 The members of the National Working Committee shall not necessarily be full-time functionaries of the ANC. However, the NEC shall determine the extent to which the elected members shall be full-time functionaries who may be allocated specific responsibilities.

12.5 The ANC Women's League and the ANC Youth League shall appoint one representative each to serve on the NWC.

12.6 The National Working Committee shall:

- a. Carry out decisions and instructions of the National Conference and the NEC.
- b. Conduct the current work of the ANC and ensure that provinces, regions, branches and all other ANC structures such as parliamentary caucuses carry out the decisions of the ANC.
- c. Submit a report to each NEC meeting.

Rule 13 THE ELECTORAL COMMISSION

13.1 The NEC shall appoint an Electoral Commission of not fewer than three members whose task it will be:

- a. To prepare the ballot papers as directed by the Constitution.
- b. To make provision for ballot boxes or other means of secret voting.
- c. To create machinery for the counting of ballot papers and the effective supervision of the counting of votes.
- d. To announce the results of all ballots and make known the number of votes received by each successful candidate.
- e. To establish procedures for voting and to determine any dispute raised in regard to elections and election procedures, and to determine how any tied vote should be resolved.

13.2. The names of the electoral commission whose work shall commence before Conference opens shall be submitted to the Conference for endorsement and they shall then be reinforced by a representative appointed by each Provincial delegation.

Rule 14 GENDER AND AFFIRMATIVE ACTION

14.1 In an endeavour to ensure that women are adequately represented in all decision-making structures, the ANC shall implement a programme of affirmative action, including the provision of a quota of at least one-third (1/3) in all its structures to enable such effective participation.

14.2 The method of such implementation shall be addressed in all ANC structures immediately and on a continuing basis.

Rule 15 THE NATIONAL FINANCE COMMITTEE

15.1 The NEC shall appoint the National Finance Committee.

15.2 The NEC shall determine the composition and powers of the National Finance Committee.

15.3 The National Finance Committee shall report to the NEC at least twice a year on the finances and budget of the ANC.

Rule 16 DUTIES AND FUNCTIONS OF OFFICIALS

16.1 The President

The President is the head and chief directing officer of the ANC and the leader of the house at a National Conference. He or she shall:

- a. Present to the National Conference a comprehensive statement of the state of the nation and the political situation generally.
- b. Make pronouncements for and on behalf of the NEC outlining and explaining the policy or attitude of the ANC on any question.
- c. Preside over meetings of the NEC in conformity with the Constitution, by-laws and rules of procedure adopted by the NEC.
- d. Under the overall supervision of the NEC, orient and direct the activities of the ANC.
- e. Be an ex-officio member of the NWC.

16.2 Deputy President

The Deputy President shall assist the President, deputise for him or her when necessary and carry out whatever functions are entrusted to him or her by the National Conference, the President or the NEC. He or she shall be an ex-officio member of the NWC.

16.3 In the event of death or permanent incapacity of the President and the Deputy President, the NEC shall as soon as possible appoint an **Acting President** until such time as the National Conference meets.

16.4 The **National Chairperson** shall:

- a. Preside over the National Conference.
- b. Remain the custodian of the decisions taken by the National Conference and ensure that all organs of the ANC implement these decisions and operate within the parameters of policy set out by Conference.
- c. Carry out such additional tasks as the Conference or NEC may instruct.
- d. Be an ex-officio member of the NWC.

16.5 In the absence or incapacity of the National Chairperson, the President shall assume his or her functions.

16.6 The Secretary General

The Secretary General is the chief administrative officer of the ANC. He or she shall:

- a. Keep the minutes of the National Conference, the NEC, the NWC as well as other records of the ANC.
- b. Conduct the correspondence of the NEC and the NWC and send out notices of all conferences and meetings at the national level.
- c. Convey the decisions and instructions of the National Conference, the NEC and the NWC to the provincial executive committees, and see to it that all units of the ANC carry out their duties properly.
- d. Prepare annual reports on the work of the NEC and the NWC and such other documents which may, from time to time, be required by the NEC and the NWC.
- e. In the absence of the President or the Deputy President, the Secretary General shall assume the functions of the President.

- f. All departments, save those falling directly under the President, shall report on their activities to the Secretary General.
- g. Be an ex-officio member of the NWC.

16.7 Deputy Secretary General

The Deputy Secretary General shall assist the Secretary General, deputise for him or her when necessary and carry out the functions entrusted to him or her by the National Conference or the NEC and shall be an ex-officio member of the NWC.

16.8 Treasurer General

The Treasurer General is the chief custodian of the funds and property of the ANC. He or she shall:

- a. Receive and bank all monies on behalf of the NEC and shall, together with any two members of the NEC, operate a banking account.
- b. Keep such books of account as may be necessary to record clearly the financial position of the ANC.
- c. Submit to the National Conference a report showing the Income and Expenditure Account and Balance Sheet of the ANC for the period since the previous National Conference, and shall submit periodic reports to the NEC and the NWC.
- d. Be responsible, with the National Finance Committee, for working out and executing plans for fund raising.
- e. Be an ex-officio member of the NWC.

16.9 The National Chaplaincy

There shall be a National Chaplaincy appointed by the NEC on an interfaith basis to provide spiritual guidance.

Rule 17 PROVINCIAL CONFERENCE

17.1 Subject to the overall guidance of the NEC, the Provincial Conference shall be the highest organ of the ANC in each Province.

17.2 The Provincial Conference shall:

- a. Be held at least once every three years and more often if requested by at least one third of all branches in the Province.
- b. Be a conference attended by delegates chosen on a democratic basis by all branches in the Province with representation in proportion to membership, with attention being paid to ensuring representation of areas where membership is reduced.
- c. Be attended by members of the Provincial Executive Committee who shall have full voting and speaking rights as ex officio participants.
- d. Be attended by representatives of the Women's League and Youth League with voting rights.
- e. Carry out the decisions of the National Conference, the NEC and the NWC.
- f. Receive and consider reports by the Provincial Executive Committee.
- g. Elect the Provincial Chairperson, Deputy Chairperson, Secretary, Deputy Secretary, Treasurer and other members of the Provincial Executive Committee who will hold office for 3 years. The Provincial Secretary shall be a full-time functionary of the organisation.
- h. Carry out and develop the policy and programme of the ANC in the Province.

Rule 18 THE PROVINCIAL GENERAL COUNCIL

18.1 A Provincial General Council shall be convened between Provincial Conferences.

18.2 The Provincial General Council consists of all members of the Provincial Executive Committee and delegates representing branches in proportion to membership, with a minimum of one delegate per branch. The Women's and Youth Leagues shall be represented by their PECs. The RECs shall be appropriately represented as determined by the PEC.

18.3 The PGC shall meet at least once a year. A PGC shall, for good cause shown, be convened by the PEC upon the request of one-third (1/3) of branches in the Province.

18.4 The Provincial General Council may discuss and decide any issue it deems necessary, including any matter brought before it by the PEC, and may decide on any matter falling within its competence, subject always to the policies and directives of the National Conference, National General Council, Provincial Conference or the NEC.

18.5 The PGC may fill any vacancy on the PEC provided that the filling of vacancies does not exceed 50% of the membership of the PEC.

Rule 19 PROVINCIAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

19.1 The Provincial Executive Committee shall be responsible for carrying out the decisions of the Provincial Conference and Provincial General Council always subject to Rule 18.4.

19.2 It shall consist of the Provincial Chairperson, Deputy Chairperson, Secretary, Deputy Secretary, Treasurer and not more than 13 other persons elected by the Provincial Conference. A person shall have been a paid-up member of the ANC for three years before she or he can be nominated to a Provincial Executive Committee of the ANC. Each region shall be equally represented by the Chair and/or the Secretary as determined by the PEC provided that the number of regional representatives on the PEC does not exceed the number of elected members of the PEC.

19.3 The Women's League and the Youth League in the Province shall be represented by two representatives with full voting rights.

19.4 The PEC shall:

- a. Meet as soon as possible after its election to elect the Provincial Working Committee and thereafter at least once a month.
- b. Carry out the decisions of the Provincial Conference and the NEC.
- c. Manage and control the funds and assets of the ANC in the Province.
- d. Submit reports to the NEC Provincial Conference and Provincial General Council as often as is required on the state of the organisation, the financial position of the province, and such other matters as may be specified.
- e. Appoint the regional organiser and staff as required.
- f. Organise, establish and service branches in the Province and supervise the work of the regions in the Province; suspend, dissolve, and re-launch branch executive committees and regional executive committees where necessary, subject to any directives from the provincial conference provided that where a BEC or REC has been suspended or dissolved there shall be a right of appeal to the NEC. A suspension shall not exceed a period of three months. Elections for dissolved structures shall be called within three months.
- g. Carry out the policy and programme of the ANC and do all things necessary to further the interests, aims and objectives of the organisation

- h. Have the right to co-opt up to 3 persons subject to confirmation by the Provincial General Council.
- i. The quorum for any meeting of the PEC shall be 50% (fifty percent)+1 of its total membership.
- j. Have the duty to appoint annually a Provincial List and Candidates Committee which will identify regulations for the drawing up of the Provincial List of candidates for national elections, provincial elections and for the selection of candidates for local government elections. The Provincial Executive Committee shall report to the NEC and shall be bound by the recommendations of the National List Committee. Every candidate for elections must undertake, in writing prior to the elections, to abide by the Constitution of the ANC and the relevant Code of Conduct for elected representatives.

Rule 20 PROVINCIAL WORKING COMMITTEE

20.1 The Provincial Working Committee shall be a core group of the PEC and shall consist of not less than one quarter of its members, including the Chairperson, Secretary and Treasurer of the Province and the Chair or Secretary of the ANC Women's League and the ANC Youth League in that Province.

20.2 It shall perform the duties and functions of the PEC to which it shall report.

20.3 It shall meet at least once a week.

Rule 21 FUNCTIONING OF THE PROVINCIAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

21.1 Provincial offices shall, with due allowance for differences of scale and level of work, perform the same functions as their national counterparts.

21.2 The PEC shall, wherever possible, set up provincial departments in line with national departments.

21.3 The PEC shall determine the boundaries of regions within the Provinces, in consultation with the NEC.

Rule 22 PROVINCIAL REGIONS

22.1 The PEC, under the supervision of the NEC, shall divide the Province into regions for the more efficient and democratic functioning of the ANC.

22.2 The maximum number of regions shall be determined by the PEC but shall not exceed 13 in number.

22.3 Each region shall hold a regional conference every two years which shall elect the Chairperson, Deputy Chairperson, Secretary, Deputy Secretary and Treasurer and a committee of not more than fifteen members; in addition the Chair and Secretary of the ANC Women's League and the ANC Youth League in that Region shall be members of the Regional Executive Committee. A person shall have been a member of the ANC for at least two years before she or he can be nominated to a Regional Executive Committee of the ANC.

22.4 Each branch within a region shall be entitled to send delegates to the biennial regional conference in proportion to its members.

22.5 There shall be at least one regional council meeting in the course of each year with each branch being entitled to send at least one delegate. Additional regional council meetings may be convened by the regional executive committee or the PEC or on the request of at least one-third of the branches.

22.6 The regional executive committee shall be accountable to the PEC for its functioning. The powers of the regional executive committee are such powers delegated to it by the PEC.

22.7 Regional Executive Committees may recommend to the PEC the suspension or dissolution of a BEC, Zonal Committee or Sub-Regional Committees.

Rule 23 PROVINCIAL CHAPLAINCIES

Provincial Chaplains may be appointed by the PEC on the same basis as National Chaplaincy.

Rule 24 BRANCHES

Every member of the ANC shall belong to a branch, which shall be the basic unit of the organisation.

24.1 The branch shall:

- a. Be registered with the PEC and have a minimum of 100 members, provided that the PEC may confer special recognition, where due to exceptional circumstances, the branch has fewer than 100 members.
- b. Meet as provided for in the rules and regulations.
- c. Be the place where members exercise their basic democratic rights to discuss and formulate policy.
- d. Be the basic unit of activity for members.
- e. Elect at an annual branch meeting a Branch Executive Committee consisting of Chairperson, Deputy Chairperson, Secretary, Deputy Secretary, Treasurer, and other committee members, consisting of not less than three and not more than ten persons. A person shall have been a member of the ANC for one year before she or he can be nominated to a Branch Executive Committee of the ANC, provided that where a new branch is being established, the PEC may waive this provision. The Women's League and the Youth League, shall be entitled to two representatives each on the BEC.
- f. Meet at least once per month.

24.2 The branch executive committee shall:

- a. Meet as soon as possible after its election and allocate tasks and functions among its members to enable it to carry out the day-to-day activities of the Branch.
- b. Carry out the publicity and organisational work in its area in furtherance of the policy, programme and decisions of the ANC.
- c. Meet at least once per fortnight.
- d. Submit reports on its work to the branch meeting and at least each month to the Regional Executive Committee.
- e. Co-opt not more than three persons, if it considers it necessary to ensure greater representativity.
- f. The quorum for each meeting of the Branch Executive Committee shall be 50%+1 (fifty percent plus one) of the total BEC membership.

Rule 25 ZONAL STRUCTURES AND SUB REGIONS

25.1 Any three (3) or more branches within a Region for the purpose of co-ordination of activities and better organisational efficiency, may be formed into a Zone at the instance of the Regional Executive Committee after consultation with the relevant branches, or on application to the PEC, by at least two branches within an area of a proposed Zone.

25.2 Whenever a Zone has been established the Branch Executive of constituent Branches shall at a properly convened meeting, elect a Zonal Committee which shall consist of a Chairperson, Secretary, Treasurer and one (1) representative elected per Branch within the Zone.

25.3 Where Zonal structures of the Women's League and Youth League exist, they shall be represented by one (1) member each, subject to the same provisions relating to the requirement for ANC membership.

25.4 The tasks of the Zonal Committee will include:

- a. To meet at least once a month.
- b. To co-ordinate the work and activities of the constituent branches and submit reports to the REC.
- c. To see to the implementation of the instructions of the NEC, PEC or the PWC, REC in the Zone.
- d. To participate in the work of the Regional Council.
- e. To maintain effective links with all branches in the Zone.

25.5 Sub-regions may be formed by 3 or more Zones with similar arrangements and powers as between Zones.

Rule 26 DISCIPLINE

26.1 All members, without exception, must abide by the Constitution of the ANC, the Rules, the Standing Orders and Codes of Conduct as adopted or amended from time to time.

26.2 Disciplinary proceedings against a member shall be confined to violations of the ANC Constitution, Rules, Standing Orders, Codes of Conduct, or the commission of offences as set out in Rule 26.3, and shall not:

- a. Be used as a means of stifling debate or denying members their basic democratic rights;
- b. Be instituted as a means of solving private problems or as a means of interfering in the private lives of members where the norms of the organisation are not directly affected, unless such conduct itself constitutes a violation or an offence affecting the organisation.

26.3 A serious offence shall be committed by any member who:

26.3.1 Prejudices the integrity or repute of the organisation, its personnel or its operational capacity by:

- a. Impeding the activities of the organisation;
- b. Creating division within its ranks or membership;
- c. Doing any other act which undermines its effectiveness as an organisation.
- d. Acting on behalf of or in collaboration with:
 - i. Counter-revolutionary forces;
 - ii. A political organisation or party other than an organisation or party in alliance with the ANC in a manner contrary to the aims, policies and objectives of the ANC;
 - iii. Intelligence or the security services of other countries;
 - iv. Any person or group who seriously interferes with the work of the organisation or prevents it from fulfilling its mission and objectives.

26.3.2 The following shall also be regarded as serious offences, without prejudice to the generality of this provision and the right of the NEC to add to this category of offences:

- a. Conviction in a court of law and sentenced to a term of imprisonment without the option of a fine, for any serious non-political offence;
- b. Misappropriation of the funds of the organisation or destruction of its properties;
- c. Behaving corruptly in seeking or accepting any bribe for performing or for not performing any task;
- d. Engaging in sexual or physical abuse of women or children or abuse of office to obtain sexual or any other undue advantage from members or others;
- e. Abuse of elected or employed office in the organisation or in the State to obtain any direct or indirect undue advantage or enrichment;
- f. Fighting or behaving in a grossly disorderly or unruly way;
- g. Deliberately disrupting meetings and interfering with the orderly functioning of the organisation.

26.3.3 If, in the opinion of the NEC or the relevant body exercising its right to invoke disciplinary proceedings under this Constitution, a member is guilty of the following offences, disciplinary proceedings may follow:

- a. Behaviour which brings the organisation into disrepute or which manifests a flagrant violation of the moral integrity expected of members or conduct unbecoming that of a member;
- b. Sowing racism, sexism, tribal chauvinism, religious and political intolerance, regionalism or any form of discrimination;
- c. Behaving in such a way as to provoke serious divisions or a break-down of unity in the organisation;
- d. Undermining the respect for or impeding the functioning of the structures of the organisation;
- e. Participating in organised factional activity that goes beyond the recognised norms of free debate inside the organisation and threatens its unity.

26.4 a Disciplinary proceedings shall normally be conducted at the level where the alleged violation or offence took place, namely the branch, region, province or national, and may be heard by the relevant structure;

b The NWC may direct that the disciplinary proceedings should be heard at a higher level from where the alleged violation or offence took place.

26.5 a Any person faced with disciplinary proceedings shall receive due written notice of any hearing and of the basic allegations and charges against him or her and be afforded a reasonable opportunity to make his or her defence.

b The National Disciplinary Committee shall draw up guidelines for the interpretation of this section on discipline and for the rules of procedure including time limits to be followed before, during and after a hearing.

26.6 Any person found guilty in a disciplinary proceeding, or the complainant has the right, within a reasonable period, to appeal against the conviction or sentence, to the next higher body of the ANC. The NWC may direct that any appeal should be heard by a body higher than the one to which the appeal has been made. The PEC may direct that an appeal against the decision by a branch should be heard directly by the Provincial Disciplinary Committee.

26.7 Penalties for proven violations of the Constitution, principles, norms and decisions of the ANC shall include reprimand, payment of compensation and/or the performance of useful tasks, suspension and expulsion.

26.8 Temporary Suspension

The Provincial Disciplinary Committee, the National Disciplinary Committee or the NWC having regard to the nature and seriousness of an alleged violation or offence by a member, may summarily suspend the membership of any member pending the preparation of a charge against the member and the finalisation of disciplinary proceedings against the member. The member shall be informed of such suspension. The temporary suspension shall lapse if no disciplinary proceedings are instituted against the member within 30 days of the date of the temporary suspension. Such disciplinary proceedings shall be attended to as quickly as possible and completed within a reasonable period.

26.9 All disciplinary proceedings shall be attended to as speedily as possible.

26.10 Decisions relating to disciplinary proceedings shall be publicly announced.

i. The NEC shall appoint a National Disciplinary Committee from among its membership and from other structures of the ANC. The decisions of the NDC shall be final except that the NEC may, in its discretion, review a decision. Such a review shall be regulated by standing orders adopted by the NEC.

ii. The National Disciplinary Committee shall hear and determine violations or offences on appeal from appropriate organs of the ANC. In addition, the national officers, the NWC or the NEC may refer such violations or offences directly to the NDC. In exceptional situations arising out of serious breaches of the Constitution, Rules or Codes of Conduct, the NDC itself may exercise jurisdiction to investigate and determine a complaint.

26.11 The NEC may authorise other structures of the ANC to institute disciplinary proceedings and to set up appropriate structures to apply the provisions of this Rule.

Rule 27 RULES AND REGULATIONS

27.1 The NEC shall have the power to adopt rules and regulations for the better carrying out of the activities of the ANC.

27.2 The PECs shall have the power to adopt rules and regulations for the better functioning of the ANC in their respective provinces.

27.3 All such rules and regulations shall be consistent with the constitutional norms of the ANC, and rules and regulations framed by the PEC shall only become operative when approved by the NEC, or, on a provisional basis pending approval by the NEC, by the NWC.

27.4 The NEC shall have the power to frame a code of conduct to cover all structures, officials, public representatives, office bearers and members.

Rule 28 GENERAL

The ANC shall have perpetual succession and power, apart from its individual members, to acquire, hold and alienate property, enter into agreements and do all things necessary to carry out its aims and objects and defend its members, its property and its reputation.

Rule 29 AMENDMENTS

Any amendments to this Constitution shall be by a two-thirds majority of delegates present and voting at the National or Special Conference. Notice of intent to propose any amendments to the Constitution should be forwarded to the Office of the Secretary General at least three months before the National or Special Conference. The NEC shall provide at least one month's notice for any Constitutional amendment.

Rule 30 SPECIAL CONFERENCE

30.1 A special conference of the ANC may be convened by the NEC at any time or at the request of a majority of the Provinces for a stated purpose or purposes.

30.2 Not less than one month's notice of such conference shall be given.

30.3 Participation at the Conference shall be determined by the NEC, provided that branches shall be represented at such a conference in proportion to their membership.

Rule 31 CONTRACTUAL LIABILITY

Only the National Officials shall have the authority to bind the ANC or to create any legal relationship. Any other person purporting to bind the ANC must produce a written authorisation from one of the National Officials which must indicate the extent of that person's authority.

Rule 32 TRANSITIONAL ARRANGEMENTS

The NEC is authorised to make consequential changes to the content and style of these rules following these amendments and to make such transitional arrangements as necessary.

Rule 33 DISSOLUTION

The National Conference or any Special Conference may dissolve the organisation by a two-thirds majority of delegates present and voting and transfer the assets and liabilities of the movement in such a manner as determined by the Conference.

SCHEDULE TO ANC CONSTITUTION

ANC Logo and Colours

The ANC logo is a black African shield in the form of a pointed oval with a narrow white border and canton, the latter bearing six narrow black horizontal bars, surmounted in the centre by a spear erect the shaft white bearing a narrow black vertical line and the blade faceted vertically, white and black, held by a right hand issuant from behind an eight-spoked wheel set to the viewer's right, both white, the rim and spaces between the spokes of the wheel, black, floutant from the upper shaft of the spear and partly surmounting the wheel, a horizontal tricolour, comprising from top to bottom, equal bands of black, green and gold.

ANC Flag

The ANC flag is rectangular; it is one and a half times longer than it is wide. It is a horizontal tricolour, comprising from top to bottom, equal bands of black, green and gold.

APPENDIX

Disciplinary Procedure (as amended on 17 February 1998)

INTRODUCTION

Rule 26 of the Constitution deals with discipline. This disciplinary procedure prescribes how the disciplinary procedure is to be used and how disciplinary proceedings are to be conducted.

OBJECTIVE OF DISCIPLINARY PROCEDURE

The objective of disciplinary procedure is to ensure that in all disciplinary proceedings:

- There is a formal procedure.
- There is a just and fair procedure.
- A member is presumed innocent until proven guilty.
- A member has a chance to defend herself or himself.
- A member has the right to appeal.

STARTING DISCIPLINARY PROCEDURE

Disciplinary Proceedings may be instituted:

1. Only for violations or offences of the ANC Constitution, the Rules, the Standing Orders, Codes of Conduct, or the violations and offences set out in Rule 26.3.1 or Rule 26.3.2 or Rule 26.3.3. (See Rule 26.2. of the ANC Constitution.)
2. By any organ or official of the ANC at Branch, Regional, Provincial or National level. However, the NWC may direct that the disciplinary proceedings should take place at a higher level than where a violation or offence was committed (Rule 26.4).
3. By the National Disciplinary Committee which can hear and decide cases:
 - Referred to it by the ANC National Officials, NWC, or the NEC.
 - Of very serious violations or offences on its own initiative (Rule 26.11).

At Branch, Regional, Provincial or National level by a Disciplinary Committee unless:

- The NWC directs that the disciplinary proceedings should take place at a higher level than where a violation or offence was allegedly committed (Rule 26.4).
- The National Disciplinary Committee institutes disciplinary proceedings referred by the ANC National Officials, NWC, or the NEC (Rule 26.11).
- The National Disciplinary Committee institutes disciplinary proceedings itself for very serious violations or offences. (Rule 26.11)

HOLDING DISCIPLINARY PROCEEDINGS

1. A charge must be made within reasonable time of the violation or offence. (Rule 26.9)
2. A charge must be prepared on behalf of the organ or officials of the ANC instituting the disciplinary proceedings. The charge must:
 - Be in writing
 - Set out the information forming the reason for the charge and the alleged violation or offence in reasonable detail.
 - Identify the:
 - Provision of the ANC Constitution, the Rules, the Standing Orders, Codes of Conduct alleged to have been violated.
 - The violations and offences set out in Rule 26.3.1 or Rule 26.3.2 or Rule 26.3.3 alleged to have been committed.
 - Advise the charged member of her or his right to be represented by a member of the ANC in good standing, to have an interpreter present, to call witnesses for defence of the charge, and to recall and question witnesses called for prosecution of the charge.
 - Specify the time and place of the disciplinary proceedings.

- Be delivered to the charged member seven days before the disciplinary proceedings or sooner if this is necessary in certain serious circumstances.
3. The following persons must be present at a Disciplinary Proceeding:
 - The Chairperson and members of the Disciplinary Committee.
 - The presenter of the charge.
 - The charged member, who can be tried in her or his absence if she or he does not appear.
 - The charged member's representative and/ or interpreter who is a member of the ANC in good standing.
 - The witnesses.
 - A minute taker.
 - 4 The Chairperson of the Disciplinary Committee must ensure that:
 - The disciplinary proceedings are held in a fair manner. He or she will rule on all matters that may arise and ensure order is maintained.
 - The charged member is informed of the charge, is informed of her or his rights and is asked to plead guilty or not guilty to the charge.
 - The presenter of the charge details the charged member's alleged violation or offence and may call witnesses in support of the charge and may produce relevant documentation in support of the charge.
 - The charged member or her or his representative presents the defence to the charge and may call witnesses and may request the recall of and question witnesses called in support of the charge, and may produce relevant documentation.

ADJUDICATION

At the end of the disciplinary proceedings, the Chairperson of the Disciplinary Committee must ensure that:

1. The members of the Disciplinary Committee discuss the issues raised at the disciplinary proceedings in private and make a finding based on the facts and evidence of the case and make a ruling.
2. The Chairperson and the members of the Disciplinary Committee decide a penalty. The penalties are:
 - Reprimand
 - Payment of compensation and/or performance of useful tasks
 - Suspension
 - Expulsion.
3. The charged member is advised of the ruling and the penalty of the Disciplinary Committee with the reasons for these and is advised of her or his right to appeal.
4. That the ruling and penalty are publicly announced. (Rule 26.10).

APPEAL

1. An appeal may be lodged by:
 - The charged person against whom a finding has been made or a penalty imposed by the Disciplinary Committee.
 - The organ and/or officials who laid the charge against a finding or a penalty imposed by the Disciplinary Committee.
2. An Appeal Hearing must be held by the next higher level unless:
 - The PEC directs that any appeal from a Branch Disciplinary Committee appeal should be heard by the Provincial Disciplinary Committee.

- The NWC directs that any appeal should be heard by a higher level than the next higher level.
3. The National Disciplinary Committee is the final structure for appeals to be heard. However, the NEC may at its discretion review a decision of the National Disciplinary Committee in accordance with standing orders adopted by the NEC. (Rule 26.11).

APPEAL PROCEDURE

The following procedure must be followed for appeals:

1. The appeal must be made at the next higher level or the level which the NWC or the PEC directs to hear the appeal.
2. The appeal must:
 - Be made within fourteen days of the charged member being informed of the ruling and penalty with the reasons for these.
 - Be in writing
 - Set out the reason for the appeal in reasonable detail.
 - Set out the grounds for the appeal in reasonable detail.
3. Except in exceptional circumstances determined by the Chairperson of the Disciplinary Committee hearing the Appeal, no new evidence may be presented or considered at the appeal. No new charges may be brought at the appeal.
4. The Chairperson and the members of the Disciplinary Committee must discuss the issues raised at the appeal hearing, and come to a finding based on the facts and evidence of the appeal hearing and make a ruling which can confirm, vary or amend the original ruling and/or penalty.
5. The person who appeals must be advised of the ruling and the confirmation or variation of the original ruling and/or penalty.
6. Any further appeal will need the permission of the next higher level.
7. Any such further appeal must follow the above appeal procedure.

GLOSSARY

EXPLANATION OF TERMS USED IN THE CONSTITUTION

Accountable: To answer for, or explain, one's conduct, decisions or acts.

Additional Members: NEC Members who are elected.

Annual subscription fee: The NEC decides the annual subscription fee.

Appeal: A resort or an application to a higher authority for a decision.

Assign: To give out as a task.

Autonomous: The Leagues operate independently, next to and in addition to ANC structures and within the framework of the Constitution and policies of the ANC.

Bribe: A bribe includes any promise or offer to give something, usually money, to procure services or gain influences in an improper manner.

Candidate duly endorsed: A candidate nominated and elected democratically by the constitutional structures of the ANC at the appropriate levels, and endorsed by the NEC, the PEC or the Branch.

Chaplaincy: Does not have the usual meaning which necessarily refers to one faith only, and it is therefore qualified by the word "interfaith" in the next line.

Consistent with: Agreeing, compatible, not contradictory.

Constitution: The Constitution of the ANC contains the rules and principles that prescribes the rights and duties of its official structures and members. It is the basic law of the movement which must be observed by all members.

Contractual liability: The effect of this is to protect the ANC against being held responsible by outsiders (e.g. a money lender) for the actions of an individual member who may have been acting on his or her own account.

Co-opt: This is an option whereby an elected body appoints further (non-elected) members to itself.

Deemed [necessary]: Considered, regarded as a subjective opinion; indicates a state of affairs which does not necessarily or in fact exist, but is taken or regarded to exist.

Designated to administer...oaths: The ANC designates someone within the organisation to administer the oath.

Direct: To conduct the affairs of, manage, regulate.

Directive: An order or instruction, especially one issued by a central authority.

Disrepute: The absence or loss of reputation; discredit; disgrace.

Elective office: Refers to an office held as Councillor, Member of the Provincial Legislature or Member of Parliament.

Electoral Commission: The ANC appoints from among its members a body to constitute an Electoral Commission.

Election agent: Representative of a candidate contesting an election and who represents the interests of the candidate.

Ex officio: Means by virtue of his or her position or office.

Eligible/Ineligible [for membership]: These are the rules that determine which persons are eligible for (qualified for or worthy to be) members of the organisation. A person qualified for membership is not necessarily entitled to membership.

Endorsed: Approved or supported

Ethnic chauvinism: A prejudiced belief in the superiority of a certain ethnic group (a cultural or social group with certain characteristics like religion, language, ancestry or physical traits).

Freedom Charter: The document containing the essential philosophy of the ANC, adopted by the (then) alliance in 1955 and ratified by the ANC in April 1956.

Good cause shown: Sufficient reasons. Any fact or circumstance that would make it just and fair between the parties. Good cause should not merely be alleged, but must be able to be shown.

Honorary membership: Membership given as a mark of honour without the usual requirements or privileges of membership.

Impeding [activities]: Obstruct the way of, hinder the progress of.

Incapacity: Lack of strength or ability; disability, helplessness.

Invalidly obtained [membership] Membership obtained falsely, not in accordance with the Constitution, and therefore legally ineffective.

Legal relationship: A relationship, like for example a contract, from which legal rights, obligations (like debts) and duties flow.

Logo and Colours: The ANC is the sole copyright holder of its logo and colours.

Member: A person who has applied for and being accepted as a paid up member of the ANC. South African citizens over 18 years of age may apply for membership.

Members not in good standing: A member who fails to pay his or her subscriptions for three months and whose membership has lapsed.

Misappropriation: To use money or funds wrongly or dishonestly, especially for one's own use.

National Democratic Revolution: Refers to the process of transforming the country from an apartheid state to a non-racial, non-sexist, united democratic society in which all people enjoy equal rights.

National List Committee: This is appointed annually by the NEC and which is responsible for drawing up regulations and procedures to be used in the selection of candidates for National Parliament. It shall consist of at least five members and not more than nine members.

Nominate: To propose by name as candidate.

Official: One who holds an office or position of authority in the organisation.

Party in alliance: Includes our alliance partners: SACP, COSATU, and others as decided by the NEC.

Perpetual succession and power: Rule 28 confers legal personality on the ANC, by which it exists in law as an entity with rights and duties independent from the change in its members or officials from time to time, and these rights vests indefinitely in the organisation as a legal person.

Provincial List and Candidates Committee: Refers to the Committee in each province responsible for the compilation of elections lists and ward candidates.

Provisional membership: Refers to a member whose membership has not yet been confirmed, but who may participate in the activities of the organisation except election onto any committee, structure, commission or delegation of the ANC.

Quorum: The minimum number of officials or members of a structure, committee or assembly, usually a majority, who must be present for the valid transaction of the business of the meeting.

Ratify: Approve, give formal sanction to.

Reasonable Period: The NEC may declare a time frame as to when an appeal may be lodged (see Rule 27.1).

Region: This means the geographic area of the Province, and not the "region" as defined in Rule 22.

Registered political party: This refers to registration in terms of the Electoral Act, 1993.

Rescind: To void or repeal.

Review [of membership application]: The reconsideration of an acceptance or refusal of membership.

Rules and Regulations: In addition to the Rules contained in this constitution, the NEC may also adopt subordinate Rules for the better carrying out of the activities of the ANC.

Second: An utterance or show of endorsement of a proposal or nomination.

Shall/may [convene, etc]: 'Shall' normally means 'must' (obligatory, no discretion). 'May' is permissive, and usually confers a discretionary power or function.

Supervise: To direct and inspect the performance of work, to oversee.

Suspend/suspension: To bar for a period from a privilege, office or position; to render temporarily ineffective or inoperative under certain conditions.

Tied vote: A state of equality of votes; a draw

Tribalistic exclusivism: To prevent persons from certain tribes to play a role in the organisation, or to admit only persons from certain tribal backgrounds to memberships or participation.

Undermines: To weaken, injure or ruin insidiously or secretly.

Universal Suffrage: The right of all persons to vote.

Voting and speaking rights [at meetings]: The right to vote is a matter that is regulated in the Constitution of the organisation. The reason why non-members of a structure are afforded speaking rights (when they do not have voting rights) is to

ensure that the non-members have spoken at the meeting and by virtue of their forceful character possibly unduly influenced the meeting or inhibited free discussion or decision.

Zones: A (geographical) area distinguished from adjacent parts by some distinctive feature or character.