

THE 12<sup>TH</sup> NELSON MANDELA ANNUAL LECTURE 2014

“BUILDING SOCIAL COHESION THROUGH ACTIVE  
CITIZENSHIP”

HELD AT THE CAPE TOWN CITY HALL

DATE: 9 AUGUST 2014

HOSTED BY: DOCTOR JOHN KANI

GUEST SPEAKER: HER EXCELLENCY,  
PRESIDENT MICHELLE BACHELET OF CHILE

THE 12<sup>TH</sup> NELSON MANDELA ANNUAL LECTURE 2014

“BUILDING SOCIAL COHESION THROUGH ACTIVE  
CITIZENSHIP”

DATE:

9 AUGUST 2014

---

ON RESUMPTION: (at 14:45)

MR HATANG: Honourable guests, ladies and gentlemen, as you would say because now we are hosting all diplomats, all protocol observed. My name is Sello Hatang, and I am the Chief Executive of the Nelson Mandela Foundation.

Please join me in welcoming our host and our special guests for today to the stage; Doctor John Kani, Honourable Mayor de Lille, our Honourable Chairman, Professor Njabulo Ndebele, Ma’am Graça Machel and Her Excellency, President Michelle Bachelet. Doctor John Kani, over to you.

DR KANI: Good afternoon on this incredible day, which is a day we remember our mothers, our sisters and our aunts and our grandmothers. Let me introduce to you the esteemed guests that happened to come with me.

On my right is the wonderful, wonderful Patricia de Lille, our Executive Mayor of Cape Town; a comrade whose work is ...(inaudible – applause). We do of course in ...(indistinct) in context, not in that one, a true educator, a son of the soil, a comrade and cultural activist, Professor Njabulo Ndebele. And

/...

of course the pleasure for this evening to welcome Mama Africa, not in the sense of Yvonne Chaka Chaka, but the mother of our country and of our nation, Madam – ...(inaudible – applause), Madam Machel. And of course, Her Excellency, Michelle Bachelet, the President of Chile.

Can we please all rise for the national anthems. We will start with the Chilean national anthem.

(CHILEAN NATIONAL ANTHEM PLAYED)

DR KANI: And now the South African national anthem.

(SOUTH AFRICAN NATIONAL ANTHEM PLAYED)

DR KANI: Please be seated. I want to thank you, Sello, for saying this wonderful phrase in South Africa, “all protocol observed” or “protocol is being observed at the moment”; because looking just at this gathering today I could spend half my opening speech in acknowledging all the people sitting in the front row and I would still not do justice to people in the second row. So all the great people of South Africa are here.

I am now just going to begin by something that I read which moved me last night and I thought I would open with this quotation which Madiba said in the year 2000. Madiba said,

“My inspiration are men and women who have emerged throughout the globe and who have chosen the world as the theatre of their operation and who fight socio-economic conditions which do not help towards the advancement of humanity; men

and women who fight the suppression of the human voice, who fight disease, illiteracy, ignorance, poverty and hunger. Some are known, others are not. These are the people who inspire me.”

And this is why we are here today at this incredible day when we honour not just the women who walked, including our mothers and all mothers on the continent of Africa, we also in our generosity include all mothers all over the world.

This gives me the opportunity to bring to the podium someone whose role in the struggle for the liberation of our country, someone whose role as an administrator exemplifies the dedication to service, that which Madiba always said three very important things, free yourselves, free others and serve, and these were the guiding principles. Ladies and gentlemen, allow me to call up on the stage the Mayor of the City of Cape Town, Madam Patricia de Lille.

MAYOR DE LILLE: Thank you, Programme Director. Good afternoon, *goeie middag, molweni*. To the President of Chile, Michelle Bachelet; our former Deputy President, Kgalema Motlanthe; Ministers and former Ministers, our beloved Mrs Graça Machel; the Chairperson of the Nelson Mandela Foundation, Professor Njabulo Ndebele; the Nelson Mandela trustees; the CEO of the Nelson Mandela Foundation, Sello Hatang; people of South Africa, distinguished guests, ladies and gentlemen, I would like to welcome you to – can I

start again. I would like to welcome you to Cape Town City Hall this afternoon. It's a great privilege for us to host this lecture devoted to our former president, Tata Madiba.

The Nelson Mandela Annual Lecture provides an important opportunity for leaders to further our dialogues and debates on issues of social importance. It is through such fora that we advance our collective interrogation of the questions that the intersections between past, present and future raise. The theme of this year's lecture, Building Social Cohesion Through Active Citizenship, addresses a challenge for modern states. The question of how we can build stronger societies with individuals who take ownership of those societies.

I see the challenge written large across South African landscapes and confront it as a leader of a diverse city with a population that cuts across many diverse communities. The challenge of our democracy has been, trying to breach these divisions and to create social cohesion. One of the major devices that we use is trying to get people to take ownership of this democratic project and contribute to it by engaging with government between elections, shaping social discourse and taking the lead in the everyday lives.

Indeed, an active citizen need only be defined as one who engages with the processes of government. In fact, such a view is far too limiting. Rather, an active citizen is someone who shapes and influences events and people around him or

her by working for social upliftment within her community, taking the lead to encourage further participation and engagement of others around him or her. It is this kind of citizen that makes for a meaningful democracy.

The process of building social cohesion requires an active citizen with the will to shape their society. In the words of our late Tata Madiba himself, and I quote, he said,

“What counts in life is not the mere fact that we have lived it; it is what difference we have made to the lives of others that will determine the significance of the life we led.”

With those words, ladies and gentlemen, once again welcome to the City of Cape Town and God bless.

DR KANI: Thank you again, Madam Mayor. Thank you for those wonderful words opening this great event. As the world reflects on Nelson Mandela’s legacy we give thanks for his life, his leadership, his devotion to humanity and humanitarian causes; we salute, thank him for his sacrifices for our freedom and future.

This is a time of intense reflection as we remember those who sacrificed so much to bring us our freedom, those who stood side by side with Nelson Mandela, like Maya Angelou, Mahatma Gandhi, Nadine Gordimer, Martin Luther King Jr, and I see the Emeritus Archbishop Tutu and I see Ahmed Kathrada, the old men, and I see Justice Albie Sachs and I see all of you

and our wonderful comrade, of course, former President Motlanthe.

We salute them for their tireless work and we commit ourselves in these legacies to the growing democracy through promotion of social justice for all. Madiba is gone but his legacy lives on. Madiba is gone but the call to fight injustice and to work tirelessly for a better world lives on. So this afternoon it is about reflection, memory, legacy and sharing in honour of Nelson Mandela and his peers.

It is fitting to follow these wonderful words from this man, that I call upon Professor Njabulo Ndebele. Give him a big hand, ladies and gentlemen.

PROF NDEBELE: President Bachelet, Mrs Machel, Madam Mayor, distinguished guests, all of you, and ladies and gentlemen, I would like to thank all of you, one and all, for attending the 12<sup>th</sup> Nelson Mandela Annual Lecture. On behalf of the Board of Trustees and staff of the Nelson Mandela Foundation, I express our profound gratitude to all of you for your presence in support of this 12<sup>th</sup> Lecture, the first one since the passing of our beloved founder.

I am sure I speak for all present in saying that the world feels a very different place since December 5 2013. We miss Madiba, but the work continues. The Foundation now, in his physical absence, does the work of promoting an inestimable legacy which resonates globally. At the heart of that legacy is

the pursuit of social justice. For the 12<sup>th</sup> year now the Nelson Mandela Annual Lecture continues to be an important thread in the tapestry of dialogue for peace, human rights, justice and democracy.

Many individual expressions of gratitude for this lecture are due and they will be conveyed by our Chief Executive, Sello Hatang, in his closing remarks. My task today is a simple and immensely pleasurable one, it is to introduce our esteemed 12<sup>th</sup> Annual Lecturer. Madam President, we are deeply honoured that you accepted our invitation.

You come at a very significant moment in South Africa; after we began a new calendar of history on the 27<sup>th</sup> of April in 1994. This year we mark 20 years of that history and the democracy that was given birth of that day. The entire country has been assessing how far we have come and how far we still have to go. There has been no moment of boredom as South Africans in their diversity weighed in on this matter. I believe if there was to be a world contest in public discussions of the state of the nation, South Africans would be sure of a top position of honour.

The Board of Trustees wanted for the 2014 Annual Lecture a person who would have empathy for this beautiful moment, one who in another context has lived a struggle for freedom, has contributed to difficult transitions and has demonstrated extraordinary leadership in finding sustainable



solutions to intractable social problems, one who could speak with authority about active citizenship and social cohesion, one who Nelson Mandela would have been proud to welcome on stage today.

I am, of course, a poor substitute for Mr Mandela; but I am proud to introduce President Michelle Bachelet today. Her work and life speak for her and have inspired those who for more than hunger, who have striven for more than hunger around the world, have also gone on to do the work of bringing it about.

When we sent you the invitation you were busy preparing for an election, which you resoundingly won in December of last year. This overwhelming victory must, in part, be testimony to what you said way back in October of 2008 when you spoke at the John F Kennedy School of Government at Harvard University. You underscored the importance of trust between people and their governments,

“Trust deepens when the actions of governments and their leaders do not contradict their declarations. The consonance between words and actions is the fundamental basis of public trust and the moral and ethical legitimacy of leadership.”

It must be that you were elected partly because you inspired trust, confidence and pride from a proven ability to make intentions and actions work together.

Madam President, you come to Cape Town exactly 50 years since Nelson Mandela came here to serve a life sentence for sabotage. You are the second Nelson Mandela Annual Lecturer to speak in a building which will always symbolise to South Africans that day when his voice was heard for the first time after an unspeakably long imprisonment.

This makes me recall also that so much that Chile and South Africa have in common, as they have worked in their different ways to rebuild the social fabric after a great deal of social and political trauma. Through our common experience of Truth and Reconciliation Commissions the voices of the oppressed were heard and their experiences, once officially denied, confirmed. Their testimonies become a part of solutions to the future.

We have heard one Chilean voice on this very platform before, when your distinguished fellow citizen, Ariel Dorfman, delivered the 8<sup>th</sup> Nelson Mandela Annual Lecture in 2010. Your visit as a distinguished leader of your country crowns a special relationship that is bound to grow even deeper. We cannot wait to hear your voice and we welcome you warmly to this esteemed platform. Ladies and gentlemen, President Michelle Bachelet.

PRESIDENT BACHELET: Good afternoon to all of you. I want to name some of our dear friends here; Ms Graça Machel, Mr Kgalema Motlanthe, former president of South Africa;

/...

Ms Patricia de Lille, Mayor of Cape Town; Mandela family members, Mr Chairman and Trustees of the Nelson Mandela Foundation, Honourable Ministers, Honourable Chilean Delegation, ladies and gentlemen. And please, all feel included when I say dear friends.

First of all, happy Women's Day. As the first female president in my country I feel really honoured to be able to speak in this 12<sup>th</sup> Lecture, particularly in this so special day for South African women and for women around the world. It is not only an honour but also a privilege to address you from this platform, where other figures who are so relevant in our history, in our time, have stood before, such as Kofi Annan, Desmond Tutu, the Archbishop; Wangari Maathai, Muhammad Yunus, Bill Clinton, Ellen Johnson-Sirleaf, Mary Robinson, among others, and of course, as Professor Ndebele has mentioned, my fellow countryman, Ariel Dorfman.

It is also an honour to address all of you on behalf of an initiative by the Nelson Mandela Foundation less than one year after his passing. I cannot be part of this event without having present in my memory, my heart and my mind, an exceptional and irreplaceable man, Nelson Mandela; who this lecture is rightfully for, but who also makes our spirits shine this afternoon.

His image, existence and name are synonymous with dignity; they are synonymous with a man who loved his people,

who made unity possible and who understood the value of humanity itself beyond all of the differences that exist. And if Madiba is mentor and an example to follow for South Africa, it is also for us, for the rest of the planet.

It is not only for the strength of his resistance but also for his enormous ability to convert this resistance into a reason to promote understanding and not discord. Because his resistance, strength and humanity is based on the profound sanctity that there are no differences that justify exclusion, there is no differences that justify discrimination, there are no differences that justify injustice, violence, abuse or oppression.

It is a lesson and an inspiration that drives us and guides us to eradicate the shadows of fearing the other prejudice and confrontation among equals. It is a lesson that places the utmost importance on Nelson Mandela's perseverance, courage, generosity and integrity; qualities that nurtured his unbreakable will for peace throughout his existence. And they are also the qualities required of any major change that is worthwhile in this planet.

We have learned from him that not impatience, nor fear, nor small advantages change the world for the better. We have learned that the best way to serve our urgency is, as the poet, Rimbaud, said "armed with a burning patience". We have learned that fear cannot stop our battle but rather make them

more profound, transcendental(?) and courageous. We have learned that integrity is not a weakness but rather a defence, perhaps the most insurmountable of all; and overall, we have learned that the greatest strength in a historic process is its ability to bring together a community, an entire nation, on a common mission, in other words, when the subject of transformation is collective .

Mandela has this ability to be able to understand that no significant social process could occur if he did not regain the trust of South Africans, if they did not heal the relationship of a society divided for decades by segregation policies. With his example he show us that it is not possible to push around certain sectors of the population, steal their identity and remove them from a process of national construction.

Through his vision he show us that the only viable path is one of cohesion and unity. Our societies have paid a price far too high when unity and social cohesion are denied, when one group or another is excluded from historic processes and from the decisions that affect us all. Our continents knew the consequences of the inability to dialogue during the last century.

Entire generations still have the brutal denial of the value of the other under the framework of authoritarian regimes. Directly or indirectly we know the brutality of brothers killing brothers; we know the relentless cruelty of the state when it

systematically violates the human rights of its citizens. This is a history that is hard to talk about, one where all of us have lost, but we have the duty to recognise and take an honest look at. Because although it hurts us, we have a commitment that links us with the truth and the peace of future generations.

It can be said that we share a common wound, a common pain, but we also share a sense of common pride. Chile and South Africa have been able to bear these painful experiences and move forward on a transition towards democracy, social peace and the recognition of human rights for everyone. In large part because they were stolen from us in the past, we now know how to appreciate the true value of democracy and national unity.

Our transitions, from the military dictatorship in the case of Chile and apartheid in the case of South Africa to democracy, occur nearly simultaneously, making our learning process virtually parallel. In both cases the privilege of living in peace took precedence, protected by the newly-obtained return to order, that which is so essential for our people, the tranquillity to be able to plan for one's future without fear of seeing legitimate dreams arbitrarily crushed.

And I want to take this opportunity to pay tribute to all those, and here is Archbishop Desmond Tutu, who made this transform into state policy possible through the creation of the Truth and Reconciliation Commissions in Chile and South

Africa; to the staunch defenders of human rights, lawyers, activists, men and women from churches and, of course, the victims and their families that spread the word so that all of us could have access to the truth. The truth is the first step assuring that we never again fall into this abyss.

The truth is recognising human dignity beyond ideological barriers that allow us to aspire to reparation and reconciliation, and the truth that continues to live in the apartheid and memory and human rights museums both here and in Chile. Thanks to these efforts and to the recognition of reparation processes in our societies and institutions, we have been able to establish new relationships between our compatriots who were at one time in opposing trenches.

Overall we have been able to achieve a culture of human rights. Boys and girls now have new models of co-existence. We are creating trust and we are witnessing the first product of peace. Thanks to the leaders who were able to look at the wounds and the pains of the people, we were able to establish democratic processes for ourselves that, despite all the difficulties, have been successful and have been supported by ample social agreements, although there is always room for improvement.

This was done through instruments available to collectively process the differences between one another. This, without a doubt, is a great source of pride. Now that we

share common context we must continue to address the challenges that have become successively more present. We must update our democracies and not concern ourselves solely with what is left to do or what we have not done, but to take on the challenges of the future in a more complex world.

On the one hand we are consolidating our own forms of democracy, creating ways to live together that are in line with our ethical consideration, meanwhile on the other hand, the needs for social cohesion are becoming even greater. And this is a good thing. It is a sign that our nations are advancing.

The political foundations to co-existence are no longer limited to the recognition of civil rights that were previously denied; freedom of expression, the right to vote in fair elections, the right to assembly. Economic growth, reducing poverty and social protection policies for the most vulnerable sectors are essential, but still also not enough. Nor is it enough that there is a growing middle class that has better access to education, information, goods and services.

Because this middle class, and especially young people, are now living without fear and with a new perspective on living as a community have created new challenges for us to overcome. So we have old challenges; the task of equality we haven't been able to achieve and to accomplish, but on the other hand, we have new challenges that pull us, new tasks.



In Chile a study shows that confidence in institutions have been weakened, especially in those that have to do with political duties such as political parties and congress. And the latest OECD study on social indicators shows a drop in confidence in institutions, both in Chile and in South Africa. And this is not strange because this is a global trend. The global decline in confidence in institutions between 2007 and 2012 was approximately six points.

This mix between high levels of dissatisfaction and low level of confidence in institutions puts at risk what we worked so hard to recover, our democracy. So we must be capable of reading these powerful signs and acting accordingly. As societies have changed the world has changed and together with this phenomenon, social movements around the planet have multiplied. Today citizens on every continent are raising their voices, defying all dangers, to demand more.

And this is essential for the social cohesion, peace and governance of our countries. Behind these new demands is a vision about what we understand to be fair and how to build it. Without a doubt there is a changing view in legitimacy on justice that no longer depends solely on institutional order for adherence to rules and legal orders. Today legitimacy for justice is much broader than legality and has a special role thanks to the citizen's voice.

Whether it be in Cape Town, in Johannesburg, in

Santiago Chile, in Madrid or Wall Street or in Sidi Bou Said in Tunisia, citizens have been making demands that are diverse in nature but similar in their roots. And these roots are, more and better democracy, more and better policies, more and better inclusion. In all of this expression of discontent we see the need for changes, but ...(indistinct) that these changes be driven by society.

In summary, basic standards of legality are no longer enough. I would say representative democracy is no longer enough for citizens; not with the civility of our institution, not with regards for a set of rights that have already been achieved. Today on top of demands for democracy, an equal distribution of opportunities, goods and services, the demand for participation is essential.

Societies want to be consulted in a more complex and complete manner than just through their votes. Stemming from this demand a new objective is won for our institutions, for policies and for the citizens themselves. And this demand to raise our standards beyond the strictly legal sense, giving rise to new forms of dialogue and social consultation is the key for legitimising the entire modern democratic system.

And thus, the key to our unity in diversity, to our ability of common belonging, to our dreamed communities or imagined communities, as Benedict Anderson described, to all nations. In other words, opening spaces and forums so that

these new demands are reflected in the institutional, social and economic sectors and pervade our structures, is one of the central focuses for democratic legitimacy. The time has come to make structural changes in the way that we would like to live with each other and guarantee rights, opportunity, material goods and participation.

But of course, as usual, there is no magic recipe for this complex path. But the path that certainly is the wrong one is the path that denies its citizens the change needed in order to maintain governance, cohesion and trust amongst the members of its community.

And how should we understand and work towards these changes in order to successfully tackle the challenges of the future. First, we must take charge of the longstanding pending task we have with regards to inclusion and equality. Second, we must guarantee recognition of identities and of diversity. And third, all these tasks should include participation in the implementation; not only in the implementation, I would say, also in the process of defining, prioritising and identifying which is needed to do.

As one woman told me when I was at UN Women, she said, 'you know what, I don't want to be sitting at the table, I want to decide the shape of the table too'. So that's what I try to say before.

Let me expand on these ideas. Our first demand as

developing nations and regions continues to be quality of life, an equal distribution of goods, opportunities and capabilities among our people. I am stating a difficult fact when I say that a large part of Africa today, especially sub-Saharan Africa, prioritises social struggles, in terribly harsh situations like extreme poverty, illnesses like Ebola and HIV, and hunger and malnutrition.

Despite the complexity of this situation, economic figures show us important continental momentum. Over the last 50 years Africa's GDP growth has been greater than in the rest of the developing world except for China. And this is a promising outlook and future. Foreign investments have increased, and not only in extractive industry. Many countries have begun programmes to improve infrastructure and increase their export capacity. Africa could transform its economy and undergo a large-scale growth in terms of development, according to the 2014 African Economic Outlook Report.

Despite this impulse however, almost half of the population on this continent lives with less than \$1.25 a day, according to data from the World Bank. So poverty and unemployment continue to be important problems in much of the region; in other words, a strong economic performance does not help to reduce poverty at the same rate.

A similar situation exists in Latin America and the Caribbean; one out of every four people lives below the

poverty line. A third of the population belongs to the middle class and for the first time in Latin America and the Caribbean the number of people in the middle class is higher than the number of poor people. There are indeed encouraging figures, however despite this progress, inequality in the region is high and the equality gap is not closing.

And Chile is not an exception to this trend. Despite the fact that we have been able to reduce dramatically extreme poverty and poverty and maintain growth, the benefits of this progress have still not reached all people equally. A more equal distribution of wealth also requires a development model for our economies to consider the priorities of our sustained growth and not one where the market operates as a separate entity from the strategic priorities of the people. And that of course requires a strengthening in the public sector.

But above all, we know that there is a particular group that the benefits of development always reach later and in a reduced way; I am referring of course to women. Cultural, economic, social and political discrimination against women is one of the most scandalous inequalities that exist on our planet. And this is a reality not only in Chile, Africa, Latin America and on the African continent, it's an integral reality around the world.

And when I talk about discrimination I am referring to realities such as domestic violence against women, which

affects nearly a third of women with partners around the world. I am referring to the fact that four out of 10 murders of women around the world are committed by their partner or former partner, according to the WHO. I am referring to the daily violation of such basic rights like physical and mental integrity, the right to participate in community decisions, the right to live a life free of violence.

I am referring to the fact that six out of every 10 poor people in the world are women, or that 75% of women cannot get a loan from a bank because they have unpaid or unstable jobs and they don't have titles to property or goods. In addition I am referring to the discrimination, sexism, a lack of inclusion in relevant participation forums, peace talks, political representation, a leadership position in businesses and social organisation.

And as a former director of UN Women I had the experience of working in the areas of integration and equality with diverse countries, many of them on this continent. And we move forwards on the initiative they will allow us to increase female leadership under development and training projects to improve women's incomes. We also promoted the creation of national policies against violence against women.

So without a doubt, these initiatives are necessary. But we need to promote them concurrently in every country, from every international body and as each of our individual duties.

As president of Chile, this has also been my commitment; make equality within men and women a state objective, mainstreaming public policy with this vision and promoting a cultural change that has taken far too long. But this is just one of the faces of inequality and discrimination.

Stigmatisation and transgression stemming from culture or identity differences is another form of division that persists in our societies today and we are all very aware of. This is why I insist that the progress of our societies in a globalised world requires us to rethink the way we incorporate cultural diversity in our roles on domestic co-existence and in our relationship with other countries.

Our continents are a mosaic of people and communities. It is only from the affirmation of our identities that we can communicate with others. And as no nation can plan for its future if it rejects its diversity, the question to be asked is how we can make living together possible. How can we create spaces where no collective feels excluded and that allow us to generate a common us, both on a national level as well as an international dialogue.

It is a complex topic and one that is in permanent evolution. We have a lot to learn on this topic from South Africa, Rainbow Nation, on the rights acquired by the 11 official languages in recognition of tradition and history. We have a lot to learn from Nelson Mandela and his tenacity to

generate a common identity amongst South Africans and to take on this mission while constantly recognising diversity. Chile, despite being a more culturally homogenous country, also has an important challenge recognising and accepting our indigenous population. We are talking about a situation involving relinquishing lands and cultural tradition and way of doing things and demands for structural changes.

And this implies efforts and action. It is our responsibility to recognise the role that the state has claimed historically in the damage and violation of the rights of the indigenous population. And it is this which the state today must recognise and repair. We must offer a democratic process and to hold conversations on the vindication that the indigenous populations are demanding.

We have the determination to generate institutional and political foundations to re-establish the trust necessary and to make a new deal possible. A new deal that constitutionally recognises Chile as a multicultural state and that guarantees respect for the rights of all groups; consultations and decisions that involve different collectives and the necessary tools for full integration in our democracy.

And this is the effort that we have started in my government, based on the implementation of the new institutional framework on this topic, while consulting indigenous populations as established in Convention Number



169 of the ILO. We are handing over lands and tools that promote their participation in parliament.

Part of my programme, I have the creation of some ministries. One of them is the Ministry for Women, the other is the Ministry for Indigenous People, and some others like the Ministry of Culture. We have Services but not Ministries and we wanted to elevate its capacity and status. But we have not sent those projects to the parliament because we will do what we said we're going to do.

We will start consultations with the indigenous groups in all the aspects, that includes any decision that can impact their lives. Because we believe that's the way we should really be able to gain trust again and be able to build confidence that we are building a nation for all.

Above all we must encourage cultural changes that allow us to recognise ourselves in the other, that allow us to understand, even with all the difficulties, our place in a common history; in order to, through dialogue and mutual understanding, build a common future. But this common future is not possible if we do not incorporate citizens in decision-making and in the implementation of these decisions.

This implies an active way of looking at participation, popular initiative or loss, referendum ...(indistinct), incorporation of citizens' views in the diverse areas of public policy, citizen control, transparency and accountability, among

other initiatives of course.

Part of what Chile is proposing is to accept responsibility for the new challenges regarding social cohesion, not only in a quantitative way, but also with a qualitative perspective as well. For this reason we are leading a large-scale structural reform process in the economic, social and political dimension.

In the political dimension we are driving a national process that allows Chile to have a new constitution to be able to generate a new institutional framework that our re-established social and political relationship can be based on.

In the economic dimension we started a fiscal reform that improves not only revenue collection but also allows us to improve the distribution of revenues through taxation. These revenues will be earmarked for social policies like improving pension, investment in healthcare, and above all to carry out a large-scale reform of our education system on all levels.

In Chile we do have very high levels of coverage of education, primary general education. We still have much more to do in terms of access to tertiary education but we do have a huge challenge, that equality means not only access but it means also quality of the education, excellence of education. So that our job now.

So I was mentioning that the heart of this transformation is the structural reform in education at all levels. And our goal is to assure in the medium-term quality, free-of-charge and

completely integrated education for boys, girls and adolescents. Through this objective we are aiming to meet three goals; promote opportunities and inclusion for everyone, continue to support growth and sustainability of our economy going beyond our natural resources, promote a sense of civic duty and democratic values in our population.

In short, this is an economic, social and political goal at once. It is a powerful tool for shaping a new type of citizen, a new social structure and for eradicating exclusion and injustice, opting for social peace; because we, like Nelson Mandela, believe that, and I will quote him, "education is the most powerful weapon we can use to change the world".

This is a great crusade to change the destiny of my country. My dear friends, our nations have come a long way since the democratic, political, moral and unification struggles. We have made peace a goal and democracy and integration values to be kept close. We must be consistent with this destiny that we have written for ourselves as countries. We must rise to the occasion, just as the honourable people who preceded us in decades past and who, together with our societies, made our present possible, one where liberty, voting and respect are guaranteed.

But just as Nelson Mandela said, these victories are nothing more than the start of the road. Today our goal of achieving unity should consider the new demands and from the

confidence of all members in our countries we should create the best possible defence of cohesion, correct governance and peace. Overcoming this challenge depends on us. Demonstrating to millions of women and men that the truth of our ideals, the value of a goal respect for differences, passion for dialogue, the justice in our laws and the integrity of our institutions also depends on us.

And this is a new course for humanity, a course like all great steps, requires the best of each of us. It requires action that is untiring, non-negotiable and passionate for human dignity. It requires new, more horizontal leadership models that are based on dialogue. It requires an ability that is not always natural in those of us who exercise power, the ability to listen. And without a doubt, it requires the active participation of citizens capable of constructive criticism, of speaking out to demand that certain topics and demands be considered and to exercise control of the authorities.

And if what is being asked is a lot, what we are committing to our people and the future is so much more. In this land, the birthplace of the human species, we can dream of a new humanity conscience of its existence, conscious of its differences, conscious of its past, and conscious of its common destiny; a humanity that is profoundly respectful of its memory and that has learned the lessons of co-existence, union and justice that people like Madiba left us.

Nelson Mandela asked, and I will quote,

“When the history of our times is written we will be remembered as the generation that turned our backs in a moment of global crisis or will it be recorded that we did the right thing.”

We know that he did the right thing. Like him, we too want to be up to this challenge. A woman from my country, one of the most intelligent, talented and brave woman from my land, she was an artist, a musician, Violeta Parra, once wrote that if Africa and America hugged, despite the tears from both continents, it would be a happy hug because it could change the world and put an end to the sorrows.

Please allow me to – this is exactly what she said, but please allow me to read in Spanish, (reads quotation in Spanish). Despite the language difference or perhaps because of the difference in languages, we have hope to build a common future. We can sing together and we should, a poem about despair and bright future for all. Thank you very much.

DR KANI: The words thank you, *nkosi*, *dankie*, *siyabulela*, *siyabonga*, will not suffice. The applause and this standing ovation and the warmth and the passion to which you listen to this great moment is a testimony of why the Nelson Mandela Foundation Prof Njabulo was right that you were the guest speaker today on the 12<sup>th</sup> Annual Memorial Lecture.

You know, Prof, you did not mention the 5<sup>th</sup> of December.

In my mind I was going to say it's the first one when Madiba is not present. Because I don't have this idea in my mind that he has passed on, I am thinking maybe he has gone to somewhere abroad, he will be back soon; which answers the question, what will be South Africa without Madiba, it will live on, remembering his legacy.

Sometimes I ask myself, Mama Graça Machel, why do we love him? Why? As a young man of 70, why do we love him? President, Your Excellency, Madam Patricia, perhaps it is just because he led South Africa to freedom from the vicious regime of apartheid, or was it because he made us feel good about ourselves; he joked, he laughed and he loved children, he loved us.

I would like to suggest that we loved him because he saw himself in us. He loved us not in a sort of a lip-service way, but by leading by example. Nelson Mandela saw himself first and foremost as a servant of South Africa's people to whom he owed a duty.

I have a younger man who is going to be thanking everybody, including you, Your Excellency, and your presence; all you great people here who still remembers most of the things that needs to be said. Ladies and gentlemen, put your hands together for the Chief Executive of the Nelson Mandela Foundation, Sello Hatang.

MR HATANG: Thank you very much, Tata Kani, Mrs Machel,

former president Motlanthe, Ms Nkoana-Mashabane, Honourable Mayor de Lille, Nkosi Zwelivelile Mandela, the Chairman and Trustees of the Nelson Mandela Foundation, Honourable Minister's here present, special guests, friends of the Foundation, ladies and gentlemen.

Your Excellency, President Bachelet, if Madiba had been here with us today I think he would have been proud. You certainly have done the NMF and all of us here a great honour. Thank you for an inspiring lecture, *gracias*. That's my attempt at Spanish. You have set the bar very high for all future Nelson Mandela Annual Lecturers. For us, this afternoon has been about reflection, memory, legacy. It has been about honouring Madiba, it has been about a reminder that we have a responsibility as global citizens to take his legacy forward.

Some of us were privileged this morning to engage President Bachelet in a dialogue about memory, about memory work as a project for a shared future. Like Madiba, I am happy to inform you that she believes in transforming contestants into stakeholders. She believes in fading the 'we' rather than the 'us' and the 'them'. She has faith in a walk to freedom that never ends.

This afternoon we have been encouraged to look for social cohesion in passion for freedom, for social justice. We have been inspired to find confidence in global ...(indistinct) dialogue and collaboration. We have been urged to insist on

leadership of the highest quality. I am happy to also announce that Minister, the President has invited us formally to also convene these dialogues in Chile.

For President Bachelet, leadership is not only to be found at the summit of society; we need leaders at every level. This, I would argue, is also fundamental to the legacy of Nelson Mandela. He taught us to take responsibility for our own liberation and he taught us that with freedom comes responsibility. And this responsibility is not only for us, but for the underprivileged, the weak and the wretched. Madiba once said, and I quote,

“The foundation has been laid, the building is in progress, with a new generation of leaders and a people that rolls up its sleeves in partnership for change. We can and shall build the country of our dreams.”

Today President Bachelet has given us fresh energy to roll up our sleeves. Thank you for this gift, Madam Bachelet; *muchos gracias*. I think my second attempt worked better than the first. We would like to thank our colleagues and friends from Kampala at the Makerere University in Uganda, who have shared in this incredible lecture and platform today. The Chairman of Abeto, Mr Moses Musana, we thank you and look forward to an even greater and bigger engagement in the future.



To those who joined us via the live stream and live broadcast coverage today, please continue this critical conversation and journey. Let's take action and inspire change together. To our sponsors, this is about a journey that is our collective responsibility and it cannot be achieved without valued, like-minded partners. Honourable Mayor, thank you and the City for helping us realise and achieve this event. Honourable Nkoana-Mashabane Maite, thank you very much again.

And Minister Dlamini, please convey our gratitude to the government and His Excellency, President Jacob Zuma, for helping make President Bachelet's visit possible. I would like to send a special thanks to Brand South Africa, First for Women, Audi South Africa, Coca-Cola South Africa, Carolyn and Douw Steyn, Nashua Central, Rupert and Rothschild, I am told there is going to wine flowing, and Vodacom.

Thanks also to our Chairman and Board of Trustees, Tata Kgalema Motlanthe, Doctor Mamphela Ramphele, Sis Futhi Mtoba, Tokyo Sexwale, Ahmed Kathrada, Sello Moloko and Irene Menell. I cannot, of course, thank the NMF team enough. They have done a sterling job. In closing, I would like to remind you of Madiba's words when he said,

“When a man has done what he considers to be his duty to his people and his country, he can rest in peace. I believe I have made that effort and that is,

therefore, why I will sleep for eternity.”

Now please join me in welcoming the mother of Africa to the stage to send us off today, internationally-renowned singer and humanitarian, Yvonne Chaka Chaka.

LECTURE CONCLUDES