



ANC TODAY

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Conversations with the President



We have both the will and the means to act decisively against theft, fraud and corruption

AS A country that has become far too used to hearing stories about corruption, little could have prepared us for seeing, in detail, the lengths to which some among our people have gone to steal at a time when our nation is facing the worst health emergency in modern times.

The report released last week by the Special Investigating Unit

■ *By President Cyril Ramaphosa*

(SIU) into procurement during the coronavirus state of disaster makes for disturbing reading. At the same time, it provides encouragement that unlawful deeds are being uncovered and action is being taken against those who are responsible.

What is most disturbing is that this was not simply a matter of negligence or poor oversight. There was willful intent to defraud.

As scores of people became ill and many were dying, some people saw an opportunity to cash in. They purposefully set out to steal millions in public money, misuse state property and divert resources meant for the South African people into personal pockets.

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CONVERSATIONS WITH THE PRESIDENT



Individuals and entities with no experience in the manufacture, supply of distribution of critical medical supplies hastily set up companies. In some case they were registered on national databases and received purchase orders. In others they weren't even registered but profited nonetheless. This includes entities operating as a car-wash and a shisa nyama.

Suppliers used different front companies to obtain multiple contracts from the same department. Personal protective equipment and other supplies were procured at inflated prices, in some cases at mark-ups exceeding 400%. Some products did not meet the necessary specifications.

When investigations started, some companies did not have paper trails to substantiate their procurement. Some officials refused to comply or claimed they were 'only following instructions' from their superiors. Documents were destroyed.

The diversion of resources meant for public benefit came at a direct cost to people's health and lives.

That is why all involved in wrongdoing will be dealt with harshly and appropriately. They will not get to enjoy their ill-gotten gains, as steps have been taken to recover stolen money, including the freezing of bank accounts.

A number of civil litigation cases have been instituted for the return of ill-gotten money. Specific cases have been referred to for prosecution.

Contracts found to be unlawful have been cancelled. Govern-

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ment entities have been directed not to make payments to the service providers pending the outcome of investigations and or civil proceedings.

There have been referrals for disciplinary action against implicated officials and a number of these have commenced.

This is a practical demonstration of our determination to deal decisively and swiftly with corruption.

Similar action is being taken against individuals and companies implicated in maladministration and fraud around the COVID-19 Temporary Employment Relief Scheme. This includes employers who pocketed the benefits owed to their staff, or kept quiet about TERS funds paid to them by mistake.

A number of hard lessons have been learned in this entire process.

It has taught us that every regulatory, legislative and procedural loophole must be closed to ensure there is no point of entry for those who seek to exploit them.





It is clear that those who have made profits from the COVID-19 disaster, and those who have colluded with government officials, took advantage of the urgency of the moment to disregard National Treasury and provincial treasury instructions. This was especially the case in the earliest days of the pandemic when PPEs and other equipment were in short supply.

It has shown the need for a coordinated approach to fighting corruption that brings in several organs of state.

The work of the Fusion Centre, which brings together various government agencies focused on enforcing the law, was particularly valuable in this instance. It has facilitated complex investigations and uncovered the criminal tracks that those who are implicated in wrongdoing sought to cover.

We must remember that not every company that supplied equipment, products and services to the state during the national state of disaster engaged in unlawful conduct. In fact, most contracts were lawful and most of the amounts spent were properly paid and accounted for.

The SIU investigation looked into

over 2,500 PPE contracts. While some investigations are ongoing, in many cases the allegations were found to be without substance and the companies were cleared of wrongdoing.

Unfortunately, the reprehensible conduct of those who do have cases to answer has created the impression that the entire COVID-19 period has been marked by corruption and thievery of state resources.

We must remember that not every company that supplied equipment, products and services to the state during the national state of disaster engaged in unlawful conduct. In fact, most contracts were lawful and most of the amounts spent were properly paid and accounted for.

I would like to assure South Africans that the net is closing on those involved in corrupt acts. This includes not just private companies, but also those in the public service who thought they could collude with outside individuals to sell off resources meant for our people.

The outstanding work of the SIU and other law enforcement bodies has sent the clear message that those guilty of criminal acts will be found and will be prosecuted.

In time to come, it will be remembered that the action we took in this instance set the standard in our quest to build an ethical state staffed by incorruptible public servants and elected public representatives.

Our nation's experience in the procurement of essential supplies and services during the national state of disaster is a disgraceful chapter that must be firmly closed.

This experience has shown that, as a state and as a society, we have both the will and the means to act decisively against theft, fraud and corruption.

Rebuilding our country requires a common effort

■ This is an edited version of the *State of the Nation Address* delivered by **President Cyril Ramaphosa** on 11 February 2021

NEARLY a year has passed since South Africa saw its first case of the novel coronavirus, COVID-19.

Since then, nearly one-and-a-half million people in our country are known to have been infected by the virus. More than 45,000 people are known to have died.

Beyond these statistics lies a human story of tragedy and pain.

There is no family, no community, and no place of work that has not lost someone they knew, worked with, and loved. It is also a story of courage and resilience.

This is no ordinary year, and this is no ordinary State of the Nation Address.

I will therefore focus this evening on the foremost, overriding priorities of 2021.

First, we must defeat the coronavirus pandemic.

Second, we must accelerate our economic recovery.

Third, we must implement economic reforms to create sustainable jobs and drive inclusive growth.

And finally, we must fight corrup-



tion and strengthen the state.

Fundamental to our nation's recovery is an unrelenting and comprehensive response to overcome the coronavirus.

South Africa has just emerged from the second wave of infections since COVID-19 arrived on our shores in March last year.

Driven by a new variant of the virus, this second wave was more severe and cost many more lives than the first wave.

This year, we must do everything in our means to contain and overcome this pandemic.

It is nearly four months since I stood here before a Joint Sitting of this Parliament to present to the nation the Economic Reconstruction and Recovery Plan.

Since the launch of the plan, we

have focused on four priority interventions:

- a massive rollout of infrastructure throughout the country,
- a massive increase in local production,
- an employment stimulus to create jobs and support livelihoods,
- the rapid expansion of our energy generation capacity.

We announced that we would be embarking on a massive rollout of infrastructure throughout the country.

We have now developed an infrastructure investment project pipeline worth R340 billion in network industries such as energy, water, transport and telecommunications.

Construction has started and progress is being made on a number of projects.

We have worked closely with the auto sector to help it weather the pandemic. By the end of the year, the sector had recovered around 70% of its normal annual production, in difficult circumstances.

Last week, the Ford Motor Company announced a R16 billion investment to expand their manufacturing facility in Tshwane for the next generation Ford Ranger bakkie. This investment will support the growth of around 12 small and medium enterprises in automotive component manufacturing.

Nearly half of the procurement spend on construction of the bulk earthworks and top structure at the Tshwane Special Economic Zone during this phase is expected to be allocated for SMMEs, an amount equal to R1.7 billion in procurement opportunities.

Toyota has invested in their Kwa-Zulu-Natal facility to start production of the first generation of hybrid electric vehicles to come off a South African assembly line.

Our third priority intervention is an employment stimulus to create jobs and support livelihoods.

It involves environmental programmes such as the clearing of alien trees, wetland rehabilitation, fire prevention and cleaning and greening across all municipalities.

These programmes are about real lives and real livelihoods.

Eskom is making substantial progress with its intensive maintenance and operational excellence programmes to improve the reliability of its coal fleet.

We are working closely with Eskom on proposals to improve its financial position, manage its debt and reduce its dependence on the fiscus.



This requires a review of the tariff path to ensure that it reflects all reasonable costs and measures to resolve the problem of municipal debt.

Over the last year, we have taken action to urgently and substantially increase generation capacity in addition to what Eskom generates.

As we mobilise all of the resources at our disposal to support economic recovery, we cannot lose sight of the threat that climate change poses to our environmental health, socio-economic development and economic growth.

We are therefore working to fulfill our commitments under the UN Framework Convention on Climate Change and its Paris Agreement which include the reduction of greenhouse gas emissions.

After many delays, we will begin the phased switch-off of our analogue TV transmitters from next month.

It is anticipated that this process, which will be done province-by-province, will be completed by the end of March 2022.

We are repositioning Durban as a hub port for the southern hemisphere and developing Ngqura as the container terminal of choice.

In the midst of the economic damage caused by COVID-19, South

Africa's agricultural sector has performed remarkably well.

In 2020, we became the world's second-largest exporter of citrus, with strong export growth in wine, maize, nuts, deciduous fruit and sugar cane.

The favourable weather conditions in 2020 and the beginning of 2021 mean that agriculture is likely to grow in the near term.

This provides an opportunity for further public-private partnership in agriculture to promote transformation and ensure sustainable growth.

It is an opportunity to accelerate land redistribution through a variety of instruments such as land restitution, expropriation of land in order to boost agricultural output.

To date, government has redistributed over 5 million hectares of land, totaling around 5,500 farms, to more than 300,000 beneficiaries.

This is in addition to the land restitution process, which has benefited over two million land claimants and resulted in the transfer of around 2.7 million hectares.

Corruption is one of the greatest impediments to the country's growth and development.

The revelations from the Zondo Commission of Inquiry laid bare

the extent of state capture and related corruption.

Testimony at the Commission has shown how the criminal justice system was compromised and weakened. It is therefore vital that we sustain the momentum of the rebuilding effort that we began three years ago.

We have started implementation of the National Anti-Corruption Strategy, which lays the basis for a comprehensive and integrated society-wide response to corruption.

In a significant advance for transparency and accountability, the Political Party Funding Act will come into operation on the 1st of April this year.

This will regulate public and private funding of political parties. Among other things, it requires the disclosure of donations to parties and establishes two funds that will enable represented political parties to undertake their programmes.

When I launched the National Strategic Plan on Gender-Based Violence in April last year I made a promise to the women and children of this country that we were going to strengthen the criminal justice system to prevent them being traumatised again, and to ensure that perpetrators face justice.

To give effect to this, three key pieces of legislation were introduced in Parliament last year to make the criminal justice system more effective in combating gender-based violence.

In the State of the Nation Address last year, I said that we would prioritise the economic empowerment of women.

Last year, Cabinet approved a



policy that 40% of public procurement should go to women-owned businesses. Several departments have started implementing this policy and are making progress.

Last week we also launched a groundbreaking private sector-led GBVF Response Fund.

Equally we need to give attention to issues affecting children including improving school-readiness, ECD planning and funding, protection against preventable diseases, policy reform around child welfare and reducing violence against children.

In the year ahead we are also going to forge ahead with efforts to provide greater opportunities for persons with disabilities to participate in the economy and in society in general.

Over the last few months, we have had ongoing discussions with our social partners in business and labour, who proposed an extension of some of the social and economic support.

We have therefore decided to extend the period for the Special COVID-19 Grant of R350 by a further three months. This has proven to be an effective and efficient short-term measure to reduce the immediate impact on the livelihoods of poor South Africans.

Rebuilding our country requires a common effort.

Let us work together as government, as business, as labour and as all of society to clear away the rubble and lay a new foundation.

Above all, let us return this country to the values upon which it was founded.

On the day of his release, 31 years ago, Madiba gave his first public address here in Cape Town, where he reminded South Africans there were difficult days ahead, and that the battle was far from won.

Madiba said:

"Now is the time to intensify the struggle on all fronts. To relax our efforts now would be a mistake which generations to come will not be able to forgive."

In counting the great cost to our society over the past year, we may be tempted to lose faith.

But we can get through this. Because we are a nation of heroes.

I am referring not to the glorious lineage of struggle icons, but to the everyday heroes that walk among us, who work hard every day to put food on the table, to keep the company running, and to give support, help and care to our people.

It is your resilience that will help this country recover.

Decolonise the mind: one step at a time

Dear Mr President

FOLLOWING a difficult year in which the academic calendar was disrupted by the coronavirus pandemic, public schools are set to open next week. This ought to bring joy and smiles on the faces of millions of schoolchildren. Schools are repositories of knowledge and development and are crucibles of tomorrow's leaders. In the words of former African National Congress (ANC) President, Nelson Mandela: *"Young people must take it upon themselves to ensure that they receive the highest education possible so that they represent us well in future as future leaders."*

Indeed, Mr President, as the world navigates the coronavirus, education has become one of the weapons in our arsenal to defeat this pandemic. The future belongs to those who are educated and this country has made education compulsory and affordable for every child in the land.

Our Department of Education was forced to make hard decisions in defence of the academic calendar versus the protection of lives in the midst of the lethal COVID-19.

Thousands of teachers and learners were not spared from infection and many succumbed to it.

We are pleased as an organisation that the learners are familiar with



Comrade Pule Mabe

the hygiene protocols necessary to protect themselves from infection. The government has spent heavily to ensure that schools are safe havens and have become an important environment to screen for the symptoms of the virus.

The introduction of African print as school uniform, as done in Ghana is also important in decolonising the minds of young people and ensuring pride in our heritage.

Mr President, an issue that trended this week has caught the eye of many people across the continent. Ghana, as the first country to attain independence from British colonialism in 1957, has shown the way by changing the school uniform from the colonial era plain coloured cotton and Khaki materials to wear Kitenge African attire. This makes Ghana the first African country to introduce its own pure African fabric as school uniform.

This is a very significant milestone on a continent that bore the yoke of European imperialism for centuries.

The history of school uniform dates back to the 12th century as a measure of identifying children from different schools.

Our own school environment has been dominated by European designs in the form of dungarees. The introduction of African print as school uniform is also important in decolonising the minds of young people and ensuring pride in our heritage. In South Africa, it is only in September when people of our land celebrate and embrace their heritage by wearing traditional clothes. Mr President, I posit that this is not enough and we can take a leaf from Ghana in this regard.

During the apartheid era, the school uniform was a weapon which fostered our oppression by forcing even the parents who

could not afford, to buy the school uniform. Until corporal punishment was abolished by the democratic government, a student who did not wear a uniform could be lashed and be embarrassed among his or her peers even when it was their parents who lacked the means to buy a uniform.

In our country, with all the known inequality levels, this opprobrium is a source of shame. In recent times, the Competition Commission investigated and uncovered collusion between schools and suppliers which disadvantaged and limited the options of the parents who could not afford expensive uniforms. It was also found that certain suppliers were favoured above their cheaper counterparts.

As a result, the Department of Basic Education issued the guidelines which were meant to level the playing field. These include that school uniforms should be as generic as possible so that they are accessible from as many suppliers as possible. The department also urged the schools to follow a competitive bidding process when appointing suppliers and that they appoint more than one supplier in order to give parents more options. In this way, anti-competitive behaviour in the school uniform market has been eliminated. Parents have been spared from paying excessive prices for uniforms.

The Competition Commission expressed satisfaction that the Federation of Governing Bodies of South Africa as well as the Independent Schools of South Africa made a public pledge to comply with those guidelines.

Mr President, this cuts deep in the heart of the transformation of the economy, to prevent monopolies that dominated the market under the previous regime. Indeed, in



School uniform in Ghana

our efforts to bring in more entrepreneurs into the formal economy, the school uniform is an important marker which we can leverage to empower more players. The development in Ghana is worthy of being emulated and, of course the starting point should be a debate on the significance of Africanising our education sector.

During the Rhodes Must Fall campaign by tertiary education students, one of their key demands was the decolonising of the curriculum. Mr President, it is a fact of history that one of the first universities in the world was located in Africa. The Sankore Mosque was founded in 989 AD in Timbuktu in Mali. That mosque would become known as the University of Sankore and scholars from around Africa, the Middle East and Europe travelled to Timbuktu to study.

Mr President, when it comes to black colleges and universities, the common historical narrative is that higher learning did not commence until after slavery.

The greatest expansion of the Sankore University came under

the rule of King Mansa Musa, who was the richest man in the world whose wealth at the time was estimated to be \$400 billion. He restructured resourced the university with jurists, astronomers and mathematicians, and the university had one of the largest libraries in the world. The University of Sankore is still functioning today but with limited resources on the ancient site and it is hoped that UNESCO (United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation) will help preserve its history and ancient buildings.

Mr President, it is important that this knowledge is preserved to instil pride in the African child. The architect of apartheid, Hendrik Verwoerd, infamously questioned the logic of teaching the African child mathematics and the sciences since in his eyes all they were good for was to be drawers of water and hewers of wood. Ghana has shown the way and it is time to pick the cudgel.

Pule Mabe

National Spokesperson and Head of the Department of Information and Publicity

TOWNSHIP ECONOMY

Historical Locational Context of the Economic Deprivation of Black South Africans

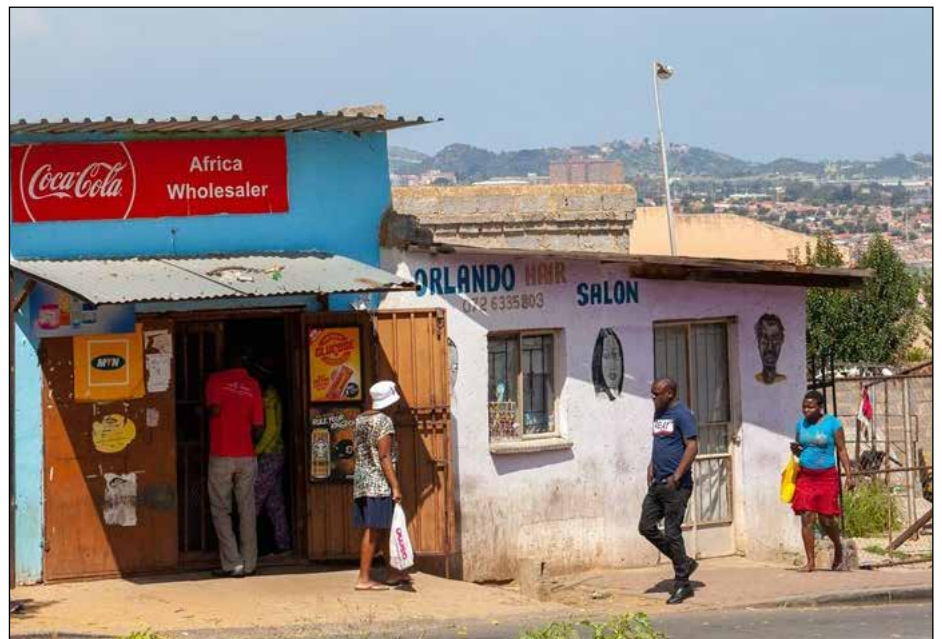
■ *By Patrick Makhaya*

THIS ARTICLE is aimed at debunking the myth that black South Africans are a lazy lot that lack initiative. We look at the historical context of deprivation. We look at the genesis of the problem in order to find solutions going forward.

In the pre-colonial era, various South African communities thrived mainly on the land economy. They used their labour to till the land and reared livestock. Food was generally plentiful and there was no starvation of any degree. Iron smelting, leather tannery and early building technologies were among key activities that took place.

Following the war of Constantinople (today's Istanbul) in 1453 between the Ottoman Empire and the Byzantine Empire, it became impossible for European traders to use the route through Constantinople in Turkey, to proceed to India, where they bought spices. Thus, they began to explore the sea route via the Cape to India.

It was within this context that Jan van Riebeeck arrived at the Cape



of Good Hope to set up a half-way station between Holland and India. The sailors needed fresh vegetables and water in their long journey. The Khoi and the San chiefs gave the Dutch parcels of land for this purpose. With the passage of time, Jan van Riebeeck began to take more land by force. The peaceful Khoi and San communities were brutally massacred in the process.

This is what led to the first War of

Resistance (Khoi-Dutch War of 1659). These wars were to continue for centuries until the last one (The Bambatha Rebellion of 1906). In the process, there was conquest of the land and systematic displacement of communities therefrom. In the Cape Province alone, these wars were fought intermittently for over a century.

Finally, mines were discovered, and modern cities began to emerge. In the cities, it was main-

ly white traders who could conduct business. Communities of Asian extraction were given some concessions on trade. They were not allowed to occupy an entire city in terms of trade so as not to compete with Whites. In Durban, for example, Asian traders were restricted to certain parts of the city.

On the other hand, Africans continued to face an onslaught of displacement through the 1913 and 1936 Land Acts. As far back as 1894, Prime Minister of the Cape Colony, Cecil John Rhodes, introduced the Glen Grey Act, to compel Xhosa men to work on white commercial farms and industry. The Glen Grey Act practice was later extended to the mining industry, involving other African groups from various provinces. The culture of working the land gradually declined over the years, among Africans, as their labour was needed by white industry. Shanty accommodation was built for Africans to be nearer places where their labour was needed. The shanty towns metamorphosed into modern townships.

Unlike Europeans and Asians, Africans were not allowed to trade in both the townships and the cities. Coloureds could have some economic activities in their areas.

Many enterprising Blacks began to buy bread and milk to sell secretly from their houses through the window. This was the beginning of Township tuckshops, spazas or skroxos as they were called in different townships. Traders who were mainly women, would sell vegetables and fruits from their temporary stands adjacent to bus stops and taxi ranks used by black South Africans. The target market of these street traders were customers who used buses as their mode of transport.



These outlets were initially raided by the police, but the regime gave up and these flourished. These were followed by other activities such as barber shops, shoemakers, dressmaking and so on. The Shebeens also started as an illegal activity until licenses were issued. The original mode of transport between townships and the cities was the train and the bus. Those with cars started ferrying passengers illegally between the inner city and Township. That gave birth to the taxi industry.

In terms of the South African Population Registration Act, the population was mainly categorised into four groups: White, Asian, Coloured and Blacks. All these groups were involved in economic activity, against all odds, in the case of Blacks who were the most marginalized. Those who could not find employment engaged in any economic activity within the confines of the Township.

The Job Reservations Act of 1926 further pushed black people down the economic ladder, as they were always the last to be considered for any for any meaningful employment.

The Township upheavals from 1976 and beyond impacted neg-

atively on the growth of whatever businesses were there. During the intensification of resistance and upheavals in the townships during the mid-1980's, the system played some role in ensuring that some businesses were destroyed in retaliation to consumer boycotts that resulted in businesses in the inner cities being boycotted. The system sponsored criminal elements to burn down a number of businesses.

The entry of monopolies such as Pick 'n Pay, Shoprite and Boxer into the township market also led to the demise of the old general dealers that were the mainstay of the township economy.

Other groups that came to South Africa after 1994 (who are economic migrants) came from countries where there was a properly functioning system of local government, with business funding to local communities.

They came in with strong financial muscle to revive the ailing businesses. Their business intelligence found fertile ground in South Africa to thrive, for six reasons:

- There was no funding to South African businesses by local municipalities.

- There were also no laws that preserved certain levels of the economy for local communities.
- Foreign economic migrants were easily allowed to compete at the same level with local communities, something that is not done in their own countries.
- The policy of allowing refugees to integrate with local communities backfired in the sense that thousands of economic migrants who should not be in the country, took advantage of the situation.
- There was no system of sifting economic migrants from genuine political refugees, resulting in black South Africans being unfairly swarmed out of existence in terms of economic activity.
- South Africans ended up renting their shops to foreign economic migrants.

This inevitably led to conflict between South African nationals and the invading illegal, economic migrants. South African politicians also had no exposure to the regulatory environment of other countries. Unfortunately, it was South Africans who ended up being blamed for lacking in business acumen, and of being xenophobic. It is time to accept that these assertions were misleading. They negated the context that has been outlined.

Political leaders and other eminent persons in society should view the problems of economic deprivation of their countrymen with sympathy. They must understand where their woes come from. They must not be castigated as lazy and lacking in initiative.



The ANC needs genuine members and leaders for it to genuinely serve the people

■ By Orapeleng Vanilla Matshediso

THE ANC is not doing very well in the battle of ideas. This is because quite a number of its membership and some in leadership are not properly trained on ideological orientation and policy articulation and positions, as well as on the thinking such as why the ANC exist; why does it contest elections for attaining state power and what revolutionary task has history placed upon this revolution movement of Oliver Tambo, Chief Albert Luthuli, Reverend Mahabane and many others.

In his 1994 state of the nation address, former President Nelson Mandela assured the people of South Africa that the deployees of the ANC have always understood the mission of the ANC, when he said: *“We are confident that, motivated by the desire to serve*

the people, the public service will discharge its responsibilities with diligence, sensitivity and enthusiasm...We shall carry out this plan within the context of a policy aimed at building a strong and growing economy which will benefit all our people”.

More than 26 years later, we have people who unfortunately have been elected and affiliated with the ANC for the sole purpose of enriching and serving themselves and defending individuals within the ANC. This is irrespective of whether such individuals have betrayed and committed a wrong that negatively affected the ANC's decorum and its moral standing in the society.

I have had some of such characters as friends/comrades on social media (platform for the battle



An ANC member with an ANC logo on her cheeks

of ideas) and elsewhere for many years. Since I befriended them, I have neither heard nor read about such comrades articulating policy positions of the ANC or trying to influence the society to hold the elected accountable or educate the society about what the ANC stands for and why it exists.

Such hands-off brigades are dangerous for the ANC. They are lumpens who do not see the ANC as an instrument of liberation in the hands of the masses. To them the ANC is a vehicle that carries their selfish and narrow interests and not that of the society it claims to lead. They contest leadership position in the ANC in order to be closer to the deployees, state institutions and influence decisions on tenders and employment for the benefit of their business friends and cronies. We must understand that the ANC should not just claim to be a leader of the society, but it must earn that tittle through its action and delivery on the vision and plan as enunciated in our manifesto, including through its historic mission of existing to serve the people, more so the working class and the poor. The society cannot view us as its leader for as long as

some among us continue to defend corrupt individuals and their lumpen cronies who are hell bent in their agenda of collapsing state institutions.

At its 53rd National Conference in 2012, the ANC declared 2012 to 2022 as “a decade of a cadre”. I do not think much has been done to seriously implement this resolution of building cadres who are imbued with the ANC history, its mission, character and moral values. However, I think the establishment of Oliver Tambo School of Leadership is a move in a right direction. However, I’m still to be convinced that the school is getting the necessary support it needs and deserves.

The OR Tambo School of Leadership has online courses. Many of hands-off brigades and lumpens would never take time to enroll because to them such is a waste of time. Those lumpens have not joined the ANC for the purpose of placing their skills, energy and experience at its disposal for it to realize its historic mission. These lumpens and hands-off brigades have a very narrow understanding of a being a member in good

standing. To them a member in good standing is when you have paid up membership and wearing a t-shirt of the ANC. In my view, one cannot be a member of the ANC in good standing if you do not know the basic reasons why the ANC exist, why it contests elections, what is its historic task and what is your role as a member to ensure that the ANC remains relevant as a leader of society, and continues to serve the people in the cause of building a National Democratic nation.

As the ANC self corrects and as it renews itself, it must deal decisively with these negative tendencies the provincial chairperson on the ANC in Northern Cape comrade Zamani Saul correctly observed: “...the revolutionary leadership with the capacity of theoretical firmness and action is necessary for organisational renewal, because the renewal of the party (ANC) cannot be built on the quicksand of ideological confusion...revolutionary leadership must have the capacity to honestly identify political tendencies that are detrimental to the movement, and provide fundamental solutions.”



Vandalising public assets, destroying a nation

■ *By Saul Pelle*

Is this who we have become? A nation of scoundrels devoid of morals. Sociopaths with no regard for fellow citizens. When a person torches a train in a depot, meant to move thousands of workers who rely on this mode of transport for their livelihood as they cannot afford other modes, what does that make us? When someone vandalizes a station, breaks windows, steals doors and equipment required to enable others to use the service, what does this say about us? When an individual steals cables meant to enable signaling for trains to move rapidly to their destinations, what is our excuse?

The destruction, theft and vandalism of public assets is an indictment on us as a nation and something we ought to be ashamed of. Those who have no qualms in sabotaging public infrastructure have lost their humanity and do not deserve our mercy. Yet it is the very communities that fall victim to the criminal deeds of these

scoundrels that shelter them and give the lifeline to their dastardly deeds time and time again. When Matlakala, a domestic worker who relies on commuter rail to go to work, joins a community protest demanding the restoration of the rail service, yet conveniently forgets that she recently bought wooden sleepers stolen from the railway line she uses to commute to work, what is to be done?

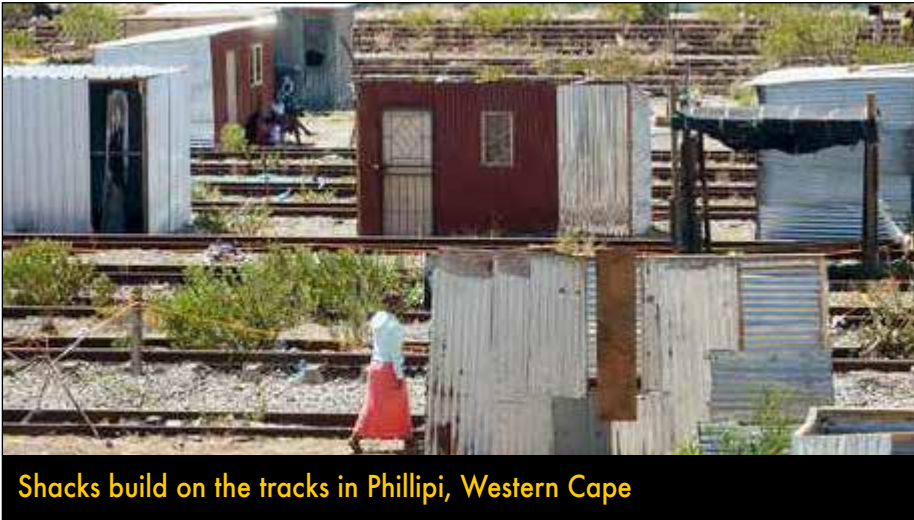
Individuals who build shacks on top of railway tracks in Nyanga, Phillippi and Langa, causing the collapse of the rail service on the central line are no patriots. Why should we accept that their rights trump those of the users of the commuter rail system? Their motives are driven by narrow self-serving interests with scant regard to the consequences for those who suffer as a result of their selfish deeds and criminal conduct.

It can never be acceptable that contractors who are hard at work

to modernize and restore our commuter rail system have their assets destroyed because workers are disgruntled. This is the same mob mentality that kicks in when a community protest demanding a clinic results in the torching of a school. Or it is when a community protest over water results in deliberate destruction of a road with picks. This is not an expression of any democratic right, but downright criminality that must be stopped dead on its tracks.

Our constitution provides that only the right to human dignity and the right to life are fully protected and cannot be derogated. It therefore follows that the application of individual rights must be premised on a principle that upholding one's rights cannot be at the expense of the rights of another. A right to shelter cannot be at the expense of the other's right to safe and affordable public transport as a means to sustainable livelihood.

The Minister of Transport, Fikile



or the livelihood of those who live from hand to mouth?

For far too long law-abiding citizens have been victims at the mercy of self-serving criminals who have no regard for others. Communities and civil society at large must step up and play their part in eradicating this cancer that undermines efforts to make a better life for the poor a lived reality.

Every day, we are confronted with horrifying images of damage and destruction of our infrastructure that require millions to rehabilitate. Every day, we are confronted with images of cables stolen from the energy, telecoms and rail environment. Our collective resolve to turn the tide and throw a book at these criminals must be greater than their ability to hold the nation at ransom. Surely, as a country, we are equal to the challenge and should leave no stone unturned to turn the tide as we take the war to these criminals.

The crime these people should answer for should be nothing less than sabotage as their actions constitute economic sabotage, which should attract steep sentences upon conviction.

Mbalula, has made significant strides in bringing a semblance of stability in securing the commuter rail environment. The joint safety plan produced in collaboration with the Ministers of Police, Intelligence, Justice and the National Prosecuting Authority. This is a bold step that signifies the political will to break the back of this criminality not only to protect public infrastructure, but also to ensure commuters are safe from crime when using trains. However, this intervention is not a panacea for the overwhelming challenges confronting commuter rail in the country, but it is a giant leap forward that will undoubtedly yield tangible results within months.

In his closing remarks at the ANC NEC Lekgotla, President Ramaphosa conveyed a firm commitment for *“the state to implement drastic measures to deal with individuals who are vandalising and destroying public infrastructure such as schools, water, electricity and transport networks.”* This is the bedrock on which decisive interventions to arrest this thuggery must be anchored. It is equally a rallying call to communities to rally behind government efforts to protect and develop these assets.

The criminality that ravages our

railway environment undermines efforts to modernise the commuter rail system and deliver a service that is safe, reliable and affordable. When a cable is stolen resulting in delays, the worker who loses their job as a result, is somebody’s parent or sibling. When track is stolen, resulting in derailment, the commuter who loses their life is somebody’s relative.

It must never elude us that the people who suffer the consequences of this brazen criminality are the poor who cannot afford the more expensive taxis and buses to get to work. Have we become a society of heartless criminals who have no regard for human life

It is estimated that the economy loses about R5 billion to cable theft





South Africa's Social Pacts to overcome COVID-19

■ *By William Gumede*

SOUTH AFRICA urgently needs social pacts at all levels between government, business and civil society, to quickly overcome the financial, social and political crises caused by COVID-19.

What is meant by social pact is an agreement between social partners, whether government, business, organised labour or civil society, to jointly solve a development, social or economic problem. The pact describes the responsibilities, objectives, and timeframes in which to do so, of each signatory in the partnership. Social pacts are usually struck in national economic, social and political emergencies. During the 2007-2008 financial crisis, many European countries such as Germany, Sweden and Finland struck social pacts to deal with company closures, job losses and social breakdowns. In 2012, when Sweden saw a spike in youth unemployment the country stitched together a Jobs Pact, between social partners, to quickly increase youth employment.



LEVELS OF SOCIAL PACTS

Social pacts could be struck at various levels: The national level between government, business, labour and civil society, as has been the case in Ireland, Sweden and the Netherlands during their economic crises pacts. At provincial level, as in Germany, where the state (province) of Brandenburg put together a regional social pact to increase investment, foster skills training and regional development. Another level that could work for social pacts is at a single industry or sector level.

In addition, they could be struck at

the company level. For example, in Japan and South Korea, Germany and Sweden, many companies have created social pacts at the workplace level, where employees are involved in decision-making. Here, companies have joint management-labour structures to share company information, strategy and direction, and where employees share in profits.

INGREDIENTS OF SUCCESSFUL SOCIAL PACTS

The advantages of social pacts during crises is that they mobil-

ise a wider set of skills, resources and ideas, not only those in the state, to find solutions to complex problems. The engagement between the government, trade unions, civil society, communities and policy experts fosters consensus over how to tackle a crisis. Not only are better quality policies brought about, but they are also more readily embraced by the wider society, and therefore execution becomes more effective.

There are some lessons in the core ingredients of successful social pacts. For national social pacts it is crucial that moderators in government, business, labour and civil society prevail to cobble together the pacts. That has been behind the success of Ireland's 1980s and 1990s social pacts which turned the country into an economic miracle.

When the governing Social Democratic Party in Sweden in the late 1970s turned hard left, the world's most successful social pact went belly-up. When organised business left the pact, the Social Democratic Party soon lost power too. In all successful social pacts, the government must have credibility among all social partners. A prerequisite of government credibility is that it must not be seen as corrupt, which undermines trust in it to be a power broker.

If a country does have a dedicated social dialogue institution, it must be seen as credible, as having the requisite capacity and competence. In the Netherlands, recommendations from the national dialogue agency, the Social and Economic Council (SER), are debated in Parliament. Government is required to explain whether or not its advice will be followed, and if not, why not. The Dutch SER also has an advisory role to Cabinet.



HAY'KHONA CORONA!
YOUR ACTIONS CAN SAVE LIVES!

CORONA VIRUS (COVID-19) IS HERE.
THIS IS A NEW AND DANGEROUS VIRUS WHICH SPREADS EASILY AND HAS ALREADY KILLED MANY PEOPLE AROUND THE WORLD.

COUGH! EYES, NOSE, MOUTH

CORONAVIRUS (COVID-19) INFECTS PEOPLE THROUGH THEIR EYES, NOSE OR MOUTH.

HOW CAN YOU KEEP SAFE AND SLOW DOWN THE SPREAD?

Wash your hands regularly with soap and water for at least 20 seconds.

Avoid touching your eyes, nose, and mouth with unwashed hands.

Cover your cough or sneeze with a flexed elbow or a tissue, then throw the tissue in the bin.

Avoid close contact with people. Stay at home, and keep (social) distance from others.

REMEMBER, IF YOU TAKE CARE OF YOURSELF, YOU TAKE CARE OF OTHERS!

LOOK OUT FOR MORE HAY'KHONA CORONA MESSAGES.

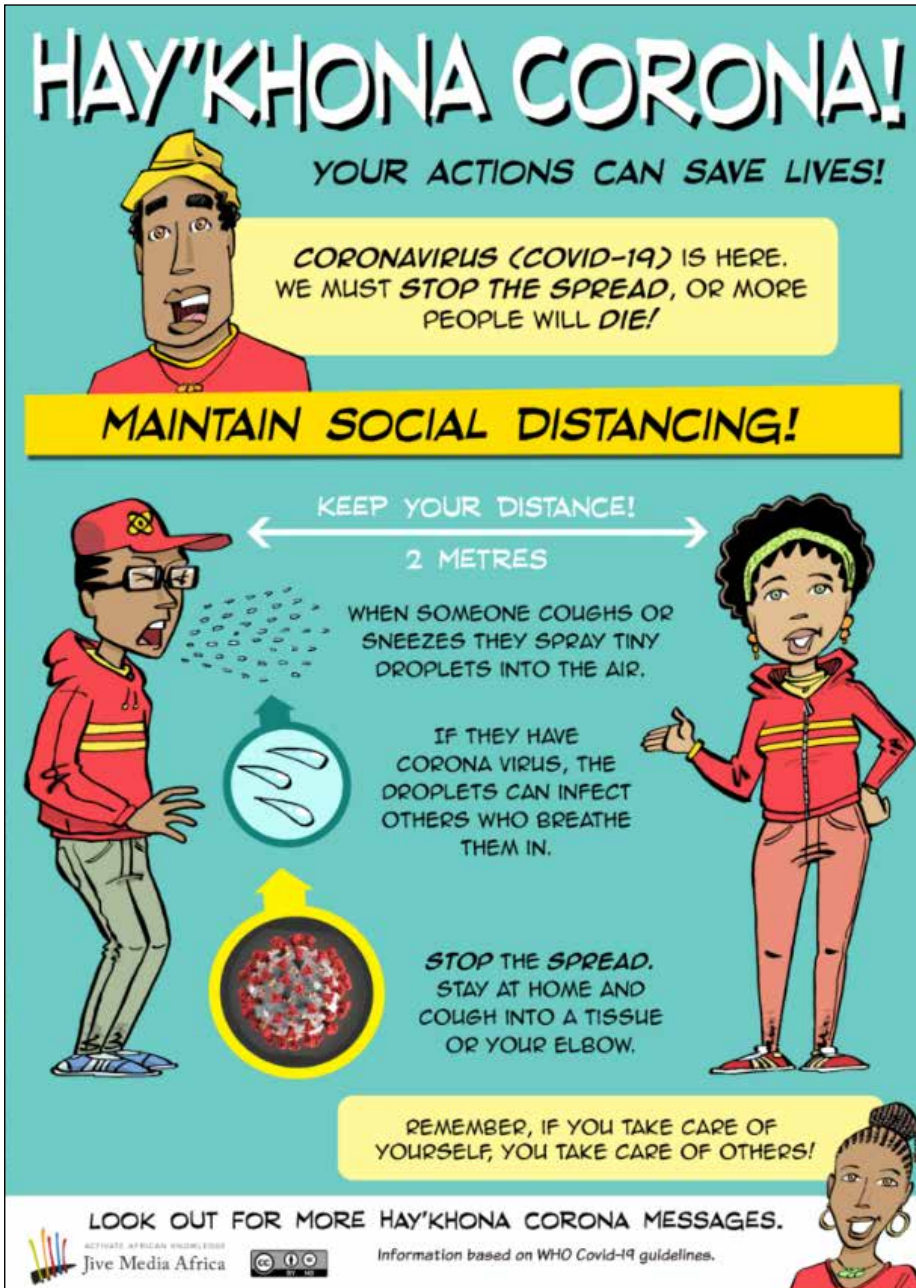
Jive Media Africa Information based on WHO Covid-19 guidelines.

COVID-19 awareness campaign by the South African Agency for Science and Technology Advancement (SAASTA) and universities

SOCIAL PACTS DURING CRISES

Forming social pacts at all levels of South African society – forging partnerships between the public sector, business, labour and civil society – is going to be crucial to rebuild the post-COVID-19 economy, social order and politics. The state on its own cannot overcome the COVID-19 crises. The state simply lacks the capacity, leader-

ship and ideas to do so. In a country crisis, such as the multiple crises caused by COVID-19, it is even more crucial, when the state lacks capacity, resources and leadership, because it brings non-state skills, ideas and resources to help tackle the calamity. Partnerships not only bring goodwill, they also bring skills, resources and wider buy-in for policies, decisions and delivery.



HAY'KHONA CORONA!

YOUR ACTIONS CAN SAVE LIVES!

CORONAVIRUS (COVID-19) IS HERE. WE MUST STOP THE SPREAD, OR MORE PEOPLE WILL DIE!

MAINTAIN SOCIAL DISTANCING!

KEEP YOUR DISTANCE!
2 METRES

WHEN SOMEONE COUGHS OR SNEEZES THEY SPRAY TINY DROPLETS INTO THE AIR.

IF THEY HAVE CORONA VIRUS, THE DROPLETS CAN INFECTION OTHERS WHO BREATHE THEM IN.

STOP THE SPREAD. STAY AT HOME AND COUGH INTO A TISSUE OR YOUR ELBOW.

REMEMBER, IF YOU TAKE CARE OF YOURSELF, YOU TAKE CARE OF OTHERS!

LOOK OUT FOR MORE HAY'KHONA CORONA MESSAGES.

ACTIVATE AFRICAN KNOWLEDGE
Jive Media Africa

Information based on WHO Covid-19 guidelines.

Attempts at cobbling together national social pacts in the post-1994 period have mostly been unsuccessful in South Africa. Sectoral or industry-based social pacts have fared moderately better.

The gold crisis in the late 1990s, saw a reasonably successful social pact between goldminers and trade unions, to safeguard the sustainability of the mines, the competitiveness of the industry and preserve job security.

In the mid-2000s, trade unions

and industry came together with a social pact strategy to rescue the textile and clothing industry, ensure its global competitiveness and secure jobs – government supported the strategy. It is important to observe that in both the gold and textile crises, the social pacts were initiated by business and trade unions, bringing government on board, who supported it.

However, there have been no attempts to foster provincial-based social pacts. There have been no attempts to foster social pacts at

municipal level either.

Neither have company-based social pacts been widely attempted in South Africa, except for a few farm-based ones, some with reasonable success.

Provincial-based, municipal-based and company-based social pacts offer great potential to find post-COVID-19 economic, political and social solutions to seemingly intractable problems.

WHY HAVE ATTEMPTS AT NATIONAL SOCIAL PACTS BEEN SO DIFFICULT IN SA?

Social partners involved in South Africa's social dialogue have not been diverse enough, meaning decisions therefore often do not have broad societal buy-in. Since 1994, South Africa's trade union make-up has changed dramatically. Yet, many trade union federations are not included in the current social dialogue forums, undermining the legitimacy of any social pact.

South Africa's social dialogue forums do not include non-social partners. Professionals, as a separate constituency, are also not included in social dialogue forums, unlike in Sweden. Neither are the self-employed, like in the Netherlands. Furthermore, unlike the Netherlands and Ireland, the unemployed are not representative in national social dialogue. Yet, in South Africa, more people are out of work than in employment.

SMMEs are not substantially included in social dialogue efforts in SA. Most South Africans employed are in the informal sector; yet the informal sector is not in-

continues on page 21



The AstraZeneca issue: Reflections

■ *By Dr Ndiviwe Mphothulo*

ON February 7, Health Minister Dr Zweli Mkhize, with a panel of experts, hosted a media briefing to outline new developments in South Africa's COVID-19 vaccine acquisition and roll out. The press briefing followed results of a small study that showed that the Oxford/AstraZeneca vaccine, of which South Africa had procured one million doses from the Serum Institute of India, may not be highly effective against the strain in South Africa. Following this press briefing, there was uproar and confusion. It is important to understand scientists do not have advantage of hindsight and there has been a transparent approach by the Government in this process. It is important to go back




Dr Ndiviwe Mphothulo

and reflect on the process.

Late last year South Africa paid a deposit to COVAX facility to secure a vaccine. COVAX facility is a World Health Organization (WHO) coordinated fund that seeks to distribute vaccines globally in a fair manner. But as South Africa, we did not put our eggs in one basket. So, we approached individual vaccine manufacturers. The best option at the time became AstraZeneca (AZ). At the time of procurement of AZ, we were not aware of the existence of the 501Y.V2 variant. Before the rollout of AZ, our scientists conducted a study on the effectiveness of AZ against 501Y.V2 variant and found that AZ was only 22% effective against the 501Y.2

South Africa's Vaccine Rollout Plan



Phase 1: Frontline healthcare workers	Target population: 1 250 000
Phase 2: Essential workers	Target population: 2 500 000
People in congregate settings	Target population: 1 100 000
People over 60 years old	Target population: 5 000 000
People over 18 years old with co-morbidities	Target population: 8 000 000
Phase 3: Other persons over 18 years old	Target population: 22 500 000

Who falls into which group?

Essential Workers

Police officers, miners, teachers, people working in security, retail, food, funeral, banking, and essential municipal and home affairs, border control and port health services.

People in congregate settings

People in care homes, detention centres, shelters and prisons. People working in the hospitality and tourism industry and in educational institutions.

People over 18 with co-morbidities

People living with uncontrolled diabetes, chronic lung disease, poorly controlled cardiovascular disease, renal disease, HIV, tuberculosis and obesity.

variant for mild and moderate disease, but we know from previous studies that it is about 90% effective against the old variant. The fact that South Africa conducted its own studies to determine the effectiveness of AZ against 501Y.V2 variant should be applauded.

The South African study did not make findings on the effectiveness of AZ against severe illness caused by 501Y.V2 variant, whilst international studies found that AZ was effective against severe disease and hospitalisation by the normal COVID-19 strain. The plan going forward is to vaccinate 100 000 people with AZ and find out about its effectiveness against severe disease in our circumstances. If it is indeed effective, we continue with it to prevent severe disease. If it's not effective,

we can still continue with it and wait for a "booster dose" in the future. Companies are currently designing "Booster doses", that are effective against the 501Y.V2 variant.

Unfortunately, we are dealing with a dynamic situation and a virus

that is trying to outsmart us. We keep on soldering on and trying to outsmart the virus. We should not despair because although Astra-Zeneca vaccine results are disappointing, there are some positives:

- 1). It will protect 3 in 4 people against variants from the first wave.
- 2) May protect 1 in 4 people from the new variant in the second wave.
- 3) Likely to protect all from the severe disease.

It is also important to make the public understand the concept of expiry dates on vaccines. Regulators are not able to certify an expiry date of the vaccine beyond a period of six months as there is no data. The regulators therefore are guided by reports from health authorities in different countries on how much longer the vaccine remains stable beyond six months. So, the expiry date may or may not be extended depending on new information available.

Dr Ndiviwe Mphothulo [MBCHB, Diploma in HIV Management (SA), MBL, MPH, PHD Candidate (Public Health)] is a member of the ANC Ward 23 Branch, Greater Johannesburg Region Gauteng Province. He writes in his personal capacity.

#VaccineRolloutSA
#VaccineforSouthAfrica
#PresidentSpeaks

“

We have put in place a comprehensive vaccination strategy to reach all parts of the country.

This will be the largest and most complex logistical undertaking in our country's history.

”

Cyril Ramaphosa
President of South Africa



Q&A

■ By Leo Ndabambi

IN THE SPOTLIGHT: Andiswa Mosai

1. Cde Andiswa, please tell us about yourself.

My name is Andiswa Mosai and I am the daughter of the Mighty Africa, at the rich soil and rivers of South Africa. Every day, I remind myself that I am following on the footprints of great men and women, selfless, immaculate, activists, brilliant, community developers, life-long learners, fearless and a servant to the masses of our people.

2. What are lessons you've learnt from leaders who have passed on, leaders of society, especially the likes of Mam Charlotte Maxeke, taking into account that 2021 has been declared the "Year of Unity, Renewal and Reconstruction in the Year of Charlotte Maxeke"?

A society, a community consists of both male and female; and all of us are to play a role to reclaiming our space, true identity and developmental path. We are called on to unite to achieve that vision, in order to ensure that we renew our organisation and reconstruct country our. We need to engage ourselves fully in all spheres of life – mentally, socially, economically, spatially and politically. In the memory of Mama Charlotte Maxeke we need to celebrate and remember her life in pictures, songs and artifacts and have her life illustrated for the young and emerging leaders of our time. Many of our leaders who have passed on are an ocean of inspiration, lessons and courage to unite, renew



*Comrade Andiswa Mosai
Speaker of the Sedibeng
District Municipality*

and rebuild our beloved country and lift our people to full socio-economic freedom.

3. What are your outstanding leadership qualities that make you a better leader and what do you think are your shortcomings?

I am grounded, visionary, empowering, attentive, calm and surround myself with strong characters, ever focusing on the life changing interests of the community. No one in this world is perfect. Only armchair politicians are immune from having shortcomings. The issue is, what you do when you

discover those shortcomings. I persevere to ever trying to pay attention to detail, working on my skills to be innovative and continuously aspiring and working on my self-development.

4. How can we fight the second pandemic of GBV (COVID-19) and LGBTQI+?

There are many scourges that are pounding our society. Firstly, we need to have and engage in conversations on GBV and LGBTQI+ in all social spaces – both at a personal level and as different sectors of the society. Secondly, we need a revolutionary gender empowerment programmes and lastly, when we have had the two up and running, we need to put in place remedial programmes/ actions for offenders. Above all, we must share and celebrate our positive milestones of a changing society.

5. Can you tell us about the moments that stand out from the rest as your proudest so far?

I have had many tough moments in my time, but this one takes that cake – to be deployed by the African National Congress (ANC) to serve the people and fellow Councillors of Sedibeng district region. As the Speaker of Council, I am entrusted with the oversight and accountability role in Council as well as Councillor's welfare and wellbeing. And that is an immense task that the ANC has deployed me for and I am profusely thankful.

6. Adherence to COVID-19 regulations, especially from the vulnerable and the poorest to the more astute?

It was difficult at the beginning but we are adapting to the times. Many of our communities are wearing masks and more people are becoming proactive about their health and wellness. Our lives have changed drastically since last year.

The outbreak of COVID-19 and the latest variant have squarely placed a focus on our country's ability to effectively and efficiently respond to dealing with this virulent virus. The government keeps on adapting and ensuring that all sectors of society are catered for, particularly the vulnerable and the poorest. The homeless and

the destitute are provided with homes to stay and they are provided with food parcels. In addition, our people who are without adequate water or sanitation services receive help from the local municipalities. Some people seem to be fatigued by the COVID-19 virus and attendant regulations. However, we have to constantly remind ourselves that these are unprecedented and abnormal times. We need to continue to oversee and ensure that hygiene and safety messages are localised and reach our people timeously.

7. What do think South Africa should do to gird ourselves for future pandemics or variants that may break out at a mo-

ment's notice?

Education, education and preparing ourselves especially in developing skills for such eventualities. We need all hands-on deck from all sectors of society – the public and the private sectors, political parties, civic organisations and formations. In the long term, we need to industrialise and reconstruct our healthcare sector and its value chain for the majority of all South Africans.

8. What is your motto?

“Always be grounded, attentive, learn, excellently serve, embrace and appreciate the time and space you've been granted.”

continued from page 17

South Africa's Social Pacts to overcome COVID-19

cluded as an important constituency. Civil society are also excluded in social dialogue, like they are in Ireland.

But South African social partners also appear too rigidly ideological, often seeing the world in terms of fixed ideological lenses, making compromise, so crucial to successful social pacts, rather difficult.

SA'S SOCIAL DIALOGUE INSTITUTION

South Africa's national social dialogue institution, the National Economic Development and Labour Council (Nedlac) for a long period has lacked credibility. One of the reasons of course is that not all the critical social partners are included at Nedlac, making

the organisation not representative enough. Nedlac also lacks independent members, who are not aligned to social partners, as is the case in the Dutch SER.

Nedlac has been criticised in recent years for lacking the capacity to lead complex social dialogue negotiations. It was mired in allegations of corruption, undermining the credibility of the institution. Rebuilding Nedlac's capacity will be crucial if it is to remain as the institution hosting national social dialogues in the post-COVID-19 era.

William Gumede is Associate Professor at Witwatersrand University

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A New Social Contract within societies will enable young people to live in dignity; will ensure women have the same prospects and opportunities as men; and will protect the sick, the vulnerable, and minorities of all kinds.

Antonio Guterres

United Nations Secretary-General
NELSON MANDELA ANNUAL LECTURE
18 JULY 2020

13–19 February 2021

Sources: *South African History Online* (www.sahistory.org) and *O'Malley Archives*

■ 13 February 1713 Smallpox epidemic strikes the Cape, annihilate Khoi clans



Smallpox is exogenous to Africa, and mainly brought to the continent by settlers or through contact with areas outside Africa. The Dutch East India Company established a halfway station at the Cape of Good Hope, laying the foundation for the colonization of South Africa, with settlers moving more and more inland. A smallpox epidemic broke out in 1713, after arriving with the crew on a Dutch ship. The disease wreaked irreparable havoc amongst the indigenous and colonist population of the Cape Peninsula and adjacent interior. Hardest hit were the indigenous Khoisan people, with whole clans wiped out. In other instances, the few survivors could not reconstruct a coherent clan. For this reason, the indigenous clan names were lost. Instead the Khoikhoi became known by the derogatory term “*Hottentots*”. As the smallpox epidemic decimated most of the Khoikhoi, what remained of their economic strength after colonisation was further eroded. Settler farmers moved into areas previously inhabited by the Khoi and started a new existence for themselves with the aid of the Cape government. In an-

other smallpox epidemic in 1831 in the Cape Province, over 80% of the Griqua communities were also wiped out.

■ 13 February 1982 Neil Aggett buried in Johannesburg



Neil Aggett, former organiser of the Food and Canning Workers Union and African Food and Canning Workers Union, was buried in Johannesburg. It was estimated that 15 000 people attended his funeral. His labour organisation issued a call that on 11 February 1982, that on the day of his burial, all workers should stay away from work. About 7 000 FOSATU workers at the Uitenhage branch of Volkswagen responded. The presence of police did not stop mourners from reaffirming the struggle for which Aggett died by singing revolutionary songs. Aggett's funeral was filmed as a symbol of the impact he had on people through labour issues and his community work.

He became the 51st person to die in police detention, and was the first White person to die under those circumstances since 1963. The inquest into his death is currently under way.

■ 13 February 2005 Ladysmith Black Mambazo wins Grammy Award



Ladysmith Black Mambazo won their second Grammy Award on 13 February 2005 for their album *Wenyukela*. A hybrid of the album was released in the United States and went platinum, helping the group win the award. The group, through their leader Joseph Tshabalala made the genres of isicathamiya and Mbube a lasting and living legacy.

■ 14 February 1981 Samora Machel pledges solidarity after Matola Raid

President Samora Machel of Mozambique pledged solidarity with the South African people, in reaction to the Matola massacre on 30 January 1981, where more than 14 uMkhonto weSizwe (MK) cadres were killed. Machel, together with the African National Congress (ANC) President, Oliver Tambo addressed mourners at the funeral of the victims of the Matola raid in Mozambique killed by South African security forces. The victims were Lancelot Hade-

be, Mandla Daka, Daniel Molokisi, Steven Ngcobo, Vusumzi Ngweni, Thabang Bookolane, Krishna Rabilal, Themba Dimba, Motso Mokgabudi, Collin Khumalo, Levinson Mankankaza, Albert Mahutso, Mduduzi Guma, William Khanyile and Vuyani Mavuso. Mavuso was kidnapped during the raid, and was later executed when he refused to cooperate with apartheid security agencies and betray his comrades.

■ 15 February 1900 Siege of Kimberley ended



During the Second Anglo-Boer War, a 123 day siege was held over Kimberley, which came to an end on this day. After numerous attacks by the Boer commandos firing 5 800 shells, the town suffered only 134 casualties among armed defenders and twenty-one civilians, but some 1 500 people, mostly Coloureds and Africans, died of famine and disease. Infant mortality rate during the 4 months of the siege rose to 67,1% among Whites and 91.2% among Coloureds and Africans.

■ 15 February 1960 Oldest Bank trade union in Commonwealth formed

SASBO, now an affiliate of COSATU was formed in secret in February 1916, the first in the British Commonwealth of its nature. *"In the earliest days, the founders met in absolute secrecy and it was necessary to produce proof of identity*

before admittance to a meeting." SASBO started as a whites-only union, but became more non-racial since the 1980s. Though started in banks, it is now called SASBO – the Finance Union.

■ 15 February 1964 ILO suspends South Africa

The governing body of the International Labour Organisation (ILO) meeting in Geneva, votes in favour of suspending South Africa from participation in its Annual General Conferences. The resolution is passed by thirty-two votes to fourteen with two abstentions.

■ 15-21 February 1986 Six Day War in Alexandra



The 1986 six-day war in Alexandra was sparked by the tear-gassing of mourners after a funeral, sparking running battles between police and youth, arrests and 27 people killed.

■ 15 February 1986 University of Pretoria admits first 20 Black students

The university which was formed in 1908 remained exclusively white. On 15 February 1986, the university admitted its first twenty black students. It later opened a campus in Hammanskraal for black students, and in 2004 merged with the defunct Vista University's Ma-

melodi Campus. Today the university has three languages of communication, Afrikaans, English and Sepedi.

■ 15 February 1995 President Mandela announced he will not stand for re-election

President Nelson Mandela on this day announced he will not be standing for re-election in 1999. Mandela, who was released from prison in February 1990, became the first democratic president of the Republic of South Africa in April 1994. His announcement meant stepping down as African National Congress's (ANC) and as the country's president. The struggle icon took over as ANC president from Oliver Reginald Tambo in 1991. Thabo Mbeki, his Deputy President in government replaced him as president of the ANC in 1998 and as State President in 1999.

■ 15 February 2018 Parliament elects 5th President of the Republic



ANC President, Cyril Ramaphosa was elected unopposed as the fifth President of democratic South Africa by the National Assembly on 15 February 2018.

■ **16 February 1991**
Bheki Mlangeni, Human rights lawyer, activist assassinated



Bheki Mlangeni was a member of the national executive committee of the student organisation AZASO (now SASCO) during the 1980s; active in the UDF and ANC, and practiced as a human rights lawyer in the 1990s. He worked with former Captain Dirk Coetzee to expose the existence of a secret police unit based at Vlakplaas, which carried out assassinations of anti-apartheid activists. On 16 February, Mlangeni received a postal package with a tape player, and when he tried to listen to the tape it exploded. He died instantly, leaving his wife and young child. He was only 35 years old when he was assassinated.

■ **17 February 1951**
Patricia de Lille born in Beaufort West



Patricia de Lille, leader of the GOOD party, and Minister of Public Works was born on this day in the Western Cape town of Beaufort West. She went to Bastiaanse High School, and worked as a

laboratory technician until 1990. During this period, she joined the SA Chemical Workers Union, became a shop steward and eventually regional secretary of SACWU and elected onto its national executive in 1983. She was elected as Vice President of the black consciousness trade union federation, National Council of Trade Unions (NACTU) in 1988, the highest position for a woman in the trade union movement at that time. She was part of the PAC delegation during the negotiations of the early 1990s, and elected as a PAC Member of Parliament in 1994, where she went on to serve on the Parliamentary committees of Transport, Health, Minerals and Energy, Trade and Industry, Communications, the Rules Committee and the Code of Ethics. In 2003, she left the PAC to form the Independent Democrats, and later went into coalition with the Democratic Alliance, and became MEC for Social Development (2010-2011) and Mayor of Cape Town (2011-2018) in the DA government. She formed the GOOD party ahead of the 2019 national and provincial elections, winning two national seats and one in the W Cape legislature. De Lille was appointed as Minister of Public Works in the Cabinet of President Cyril Ramaphosa in 2019.

■ **17 February 1962**
Football match called off

On 17 February 1962, the soccer match between Lourenco Marques (Mozambique) club Desportive and Durban City Football Club (South Africa) was called off. A Lourenco Marques newspaper reported that this was because no Coloured players would be allowed to play during the game. According to a report by Cape Times, the teams' members themselves decided not to take part in the game.

■ **18 February 1857**
Nongqawuse prophecy



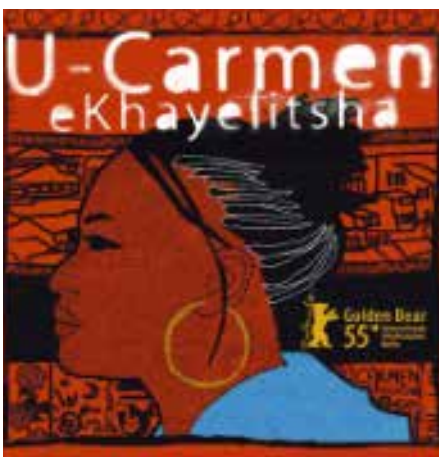
A period of hardship set in for the AmaXhosa after their defeat in the Eighth Frontier War. In April 1856 Nongqawuse, an adolescent girl living in a part of the country ruled by Paramount Chief Sarhili (Kreli), was reputedly addressed by her ancestors. Their message was to tell the AmaXhosa that their ancestors would rise from the dead on a certain day and also to instruct them that all cattle were to be slaughtered. There was to be no cultivation, but people should dig new granaries and erect strong cattle-folds to house what would be received from the ancestors. On that specific day the sun would rise and set again in the east and a whirlwind would sweep all White people into the sea. Sarhili ordered his subordinate chiefs to obey the injunctions. The first date of resurrection was set for 11 August 1856, but as the day dawned and nothing happened, other dates were set, including 18 February 1857. Disappointment followed disappointment, until Sarhili finally renounced all belief in the prophecy after about fifteen months. By then, the AmaXhosa had been nearly heavily affected. Tens of thousands died, while about 30,000 streamed across the border in search of food and work. Many AmaXhosa held the belief that the true plotters were land-hungry colonial authorities.

■ 18 February 1953 Jeff Radebe born



Jeffrey Thamsanqa Radebe was born in Cato Manor, where his family lived until they were forcefully removed in 1958 to KwaMashu. An activist since student days in 1976, a member of Umkhonto we-Sizwe, a lawyer, political detainee, a leader in the SACP, he served on the ANC NEC since 1991. He was also amongst the cadres from the 1994 parliament and served as Minister of Transport, Constitutional Development and Justice, Minerals and Energy and Minister in the Presidency from 1994 to 2019, when he retired. He continues to serve as a member of the ANC NEC, a longtime chair of its Policy committee and as Special Envoy of President Ramaphosa.

■ 18 February 2005 isiXhosa film wins Golden Bear Award



The South African Xhosa film *uCarmen eKhayelitsha* became the second South African movie to compete and first to win the Golden Bear award as the best film at the 55th Berlin Film Festival in Germany. The film was shot in Khayelitsha, Cape Town. The musical, sung entirely in isiXhosa, is about an HIV-positive rural woman and won two other awards, the Human Rights Award at the Venice Film Festival in 2004 and the Best Film award at Pune, India. The lead actress, singer Pauline Malefane, accepted the award in isiXhosa before bursting into song at the request of the film's director, Dornford-May.

■ 19 February 1962 Report calls for more say for Afrikaans press in SAPA affairs



The first part of the South African Press Commission's first report is tabled in parliament by the Minister of the Interior, de Klerk. The report, which has taken eleven years to draw up consists of two volumes totaling 700 pages, with nineteen annexures running to 1,566 pages. It strongly recommends that the South African Press association (SAPA) gives more say in its

affairs to the Afrikaans-language press.

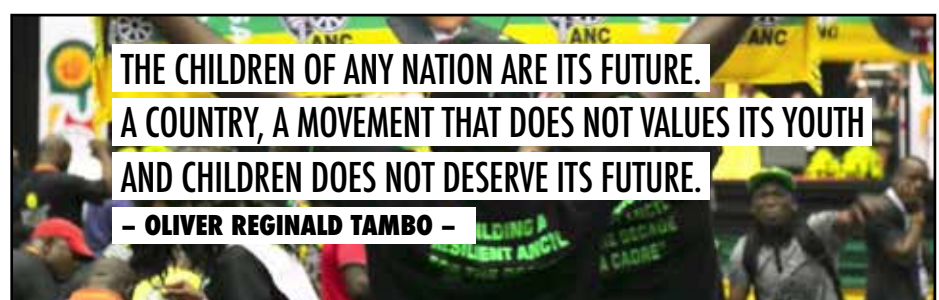
■ 19 February 1971 Arrests of Unity Movement activists

It is reported that the Security Police have detained about twenty Africans, Coloureds and Asians. The detainees are said to be members of the Unity Movement of South Africa, founded in 1943 by Coloured schoolteachers.

■ 19 February 1990 Mandela issued with his first South African passport



Nelson Mandela was issued with his first South African passport on 19 February 1990, eight days after he was released from prison. It was this passport that he used to embark on a tour of some of the African states that supported the South African liberation struggle, including Zambia, Tanzania, Zimbabwe and Ethiopia.



INTERNATIONAL DAYS

13–21 February 2021

Source: <https://www.un.org>

■ 13 February World Radio Day

World Radio Day 2021 (WRD 2021) celebrates radio as part of humanity's history of 110 years of radio, which followed developments in society and adapting its services. As the world changes, so does radio. Thus, during the COVID-19 pandemic, radio made it possible, for example, to ensure continuity of learning, and fight against misinformation.

South Africa has a very vibrant radio sector, with audience growth from 34.6 million in 2014 to 38.2 million in 2018. These are across 19 SABC radio stations, 21 radio stations and 264 community radio stations. Nine out of ten of the top ten stations in terms of radio listenership are public broadcasters in African languages.

The theme for World Radio Day 2021 is NEW WORLD. NEW NORMAL. Radio in the context of the COVID-19 pandemic had to adapt, and became more important as sources of information. It was reported that radio stations in South Africa, for example, had to scale down on music played, with more news and information, because that was what listeners demanded.

On the occasion of World Radio Day 2021, UNESCO calls on radio stations celebrate the more than 110 years of radio through three sub-themes:

- **Evolution:** The world changes, radio evolves – radio is resilient and sustainable;
- **Innovation:** The world changes, radio adapts and innovates - radio adapts to new technologies and remains the go-to medium of mobility, accessible everywhere and to everyone;
- **Connection:** The world changes, radio connects - radio services our society during natural disasters, socio-economic crises, epidemics, etc.

■ 15 February International Childhood Cancer Day



According to Child Cancer International, every year over 400,000 children are diagnosed with cancer, with survival rates ranging from 80% in high income countries and 20% in low income countries. The day raises awareness of childhood cancers and support to survivors and families.

■ 20 February World Day of Social Justice

Social justice is an underlying principle for peaceful and prosperous coexistence within and among nations. We uphold the principles of social justice when we promote gender equality, or the rights of indigenous peoples and migrants. We advance social justice when we remove barriers that people face because of gender, age, race, ethnicity, religion, culture or disability. For the United Nations, the pursuit of social justice for all is at the core of our global mission to promote development and human dignity.

■ 21 February International Mother Language Day

Languages, with their complex implications for identity, communication, social integration, education and development, are of strategic importance for people and planet. Yet, due to globalization processes, they are increasingly under threat, or disappearing altogether. When languages fade, so does the world's rich tapestry of cultural diversity. Opportunities, traditions, memory, unique modes of thinking and expression — valuable resources for ensuring a better future — are also lost. At least 43% of the estimated 6000 languages spoken in the world are endangered.

■ 21 February World Whale Day

World Whale Day reminds us of the challenges faced in our oceans across the globe, and is observed annually on the third Sunday in February. Whales are the largest mammals on the planet and they are found in all oceans. The Blue whale is the largest, and can weigh as much as 33 elephants! Although they live in water, they breathe air. They are warm-blooded and also parent their young.

■ 21 February International Tourist Guide Day

Tourist or tour guides are persons who guide visitors in the language of their choice and interpret the cultural and natural heritage of an area. The tour guide must have area-specific knowledge and/or qualification, recognised by the appropriate authority.

Political Parties (Part 2)

Political Parties: A Cross-National Survey.

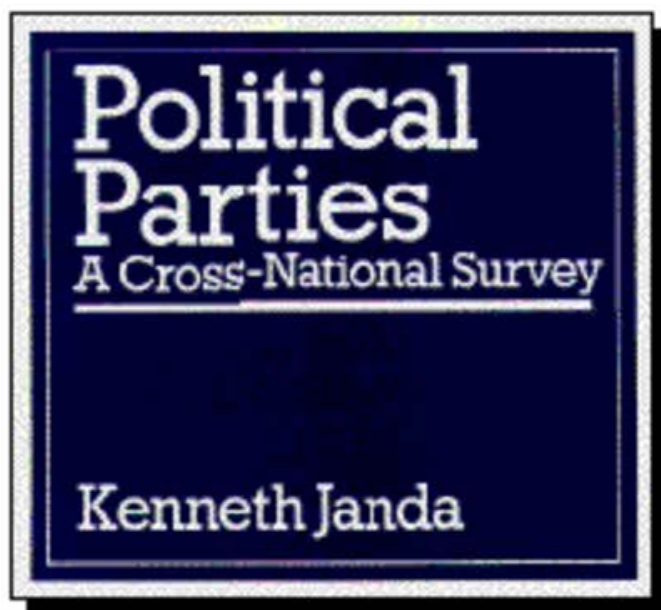
By Kenneth Janda (1980, The Free Press)

Political Parties and Democracy in Theoretical and Practical Perspectives. Adopting Party Law.

By Kenneth Janda (2003, National Democratic Institute)

THE two books on Political Parties that we covered last week – *African Political Parties* by Salih (2003) and *The Handbook of Party Politics* by Katz and Crotty (2003) examined a range of themes about the role of political parties – in historical perspective as well as contemporary themes.

South African parties and party systems too have evolved and changed over the last 27 years of democracy. The ANC has just turned 109 years, and after 27 years as governing party (and opposition) is grappling with the challenges of incumbency and renewal. The National Party that governed South Africa from 1948 to 1994 is no more, with sections having gone into the Democratic Alliance, the Freedom Front+ and some to the ANC. The Democratic Alliance, the official oppo-



sition party with its initial roots in the liberal Progressive Federal Party of Helen Suzman, Zac De Beer and Van Zyl Slabbert, has governed the W Cape since 2009 and after 2016, formed coalition metro governments in Tshwane, Johannesburg and Nelson Mandela metro. Besides the IFP, the Bantustan-based parties are no more. The other liberation par-

ties – the PAC and AZA-PO – have been struggling. And, we've seen the emergence of new parties: UDM, COPE and the EFF as splinter groups from the ANC, as well as smaller issue-based parties.

There are also specific new developments that will likely impact on our party system, including the Constitutional Court ruling that allows for individuals to stand for national and provincial elections (hitherto only possible at local government levels) and the operationalisation of the Political Party Funding Act. This is in addition to other more contextual issues – a younger electorate with less knowledge and loyalty to a liberation history than older generations; the impact of social media on the nature of information and politics; developments on the African con-

continent; and the simple fact that South Africa is approaching two generations (of 15-year cohorts), who holds the ANC as governing party, responsible for the 1994 aspirations of a better life for all.

One of the classic texts on Political Parties, is Kenneth Janda's *Political Parties. A Cross National Survey*, where he developed a range of indicators to assess political parties, and then went on to survey 158 political parties from 53 countries. Many of the variables that he used in the book: institutionalisation, governmental status, social support, issue orientation, goal orientation, autonomy, degree of organisation, centralisation of power, coherence, and involvement, still provide an important framework of analysis for political parties.

Although Janda calls political parties the “*leprechauns of the political forest*”, he is in no doubt about their importance to democracies, as his 2003 book on *Political Parties and Democracy*

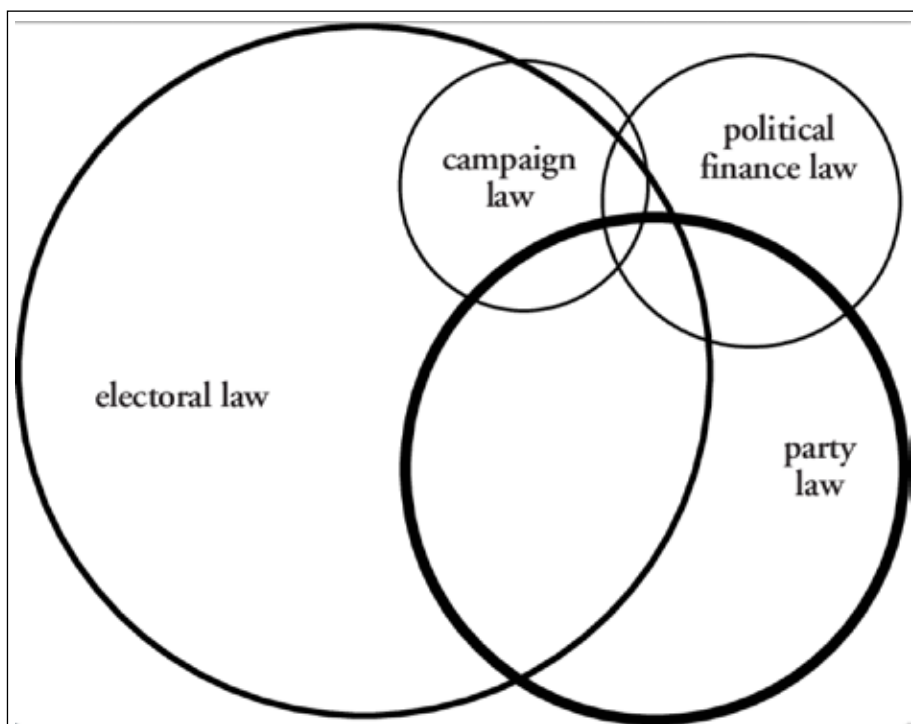


Figure 1: Selected models of party organization and organizational tendencies [Adopting Party Law by Kenneth Janda (2003)]

in Theoretical and Practical Perspectives advances. Here he advances the importance of ‘party law’ – the combination of internal party statutes and the country legal framework in dealing with political parties, set out

in the attached Figure 1. The ANC over the last few years has seen a number of judicial rulings about its internal party processes, and with the Electoral Act and now the Political Party Funding Act, there is an evolving ‘party law’ developing in the country.

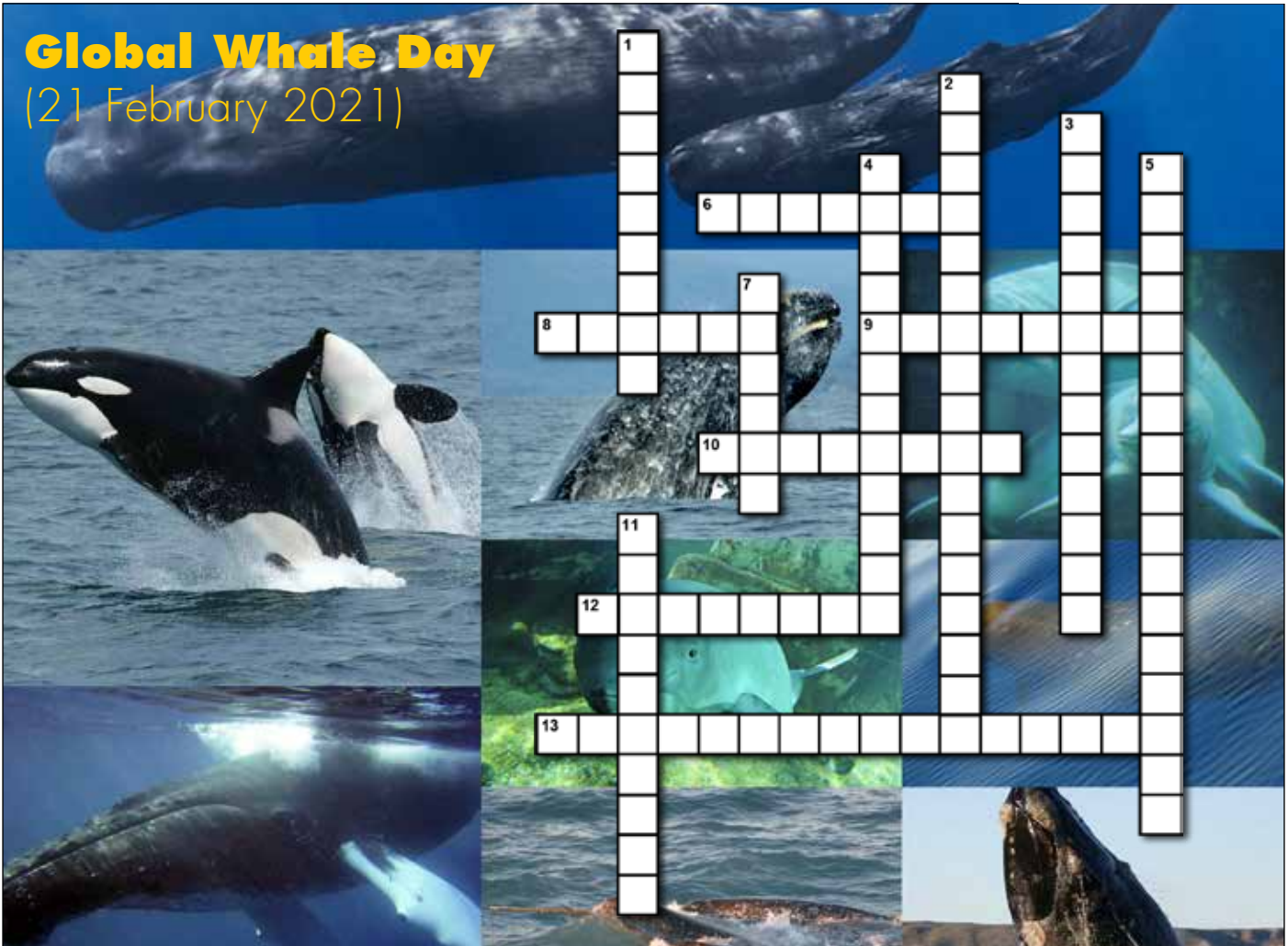


Posters of various political parties contesting the 2019 elections.

As a country, we can learn from Janda, who always comes back to the core of what political parties are about, as reflected in the Preface to his book on Party Law (2003:1)

“A democracy needs strong and sustainable political parties with the capacity to represent citizens and provide policy choices that demonstrate their ability to govern for the public good. With an increasing disconnect between citizens and their elected leaders, a decline in political activism, and a growing sophistication of anti-democratic forces, democratic political parties are continually challenged.”

X-WORD



Global Whale Day
(21 February 2021)

ACROSS

- 6. Whales classified as ... because they give birth to live young, they have fur, lungs and breath air, provide milk for their young.
- 8. These whales have flexible necks, and can move their heads.
- 9. The blue whales tongue weigh's as much as one of these animals and its total weight 33 of them.
- 10. Whales are also cetaceans, which other water animals form part of this family of mammals?
- 12. Whales with a tusk that grows from a tooth.
- 13. Plastic pollution impacts on whales, they become ensnared in ... and ...

DOWN

- 1. Largest animal on earth.
- 2. Sounds made by whales ...
- 3. Whales found along the coasts of South Africa.
- 4. Whales without teeth are called ...
- 5. The International World Whaling Commission issued a ban on whaling (or the killing of whales) in which year.
- 7. Whales contribute to combatting climate change by absorbing ... into their bodies.
- 11. Smallest whale, only 2-3 m long and weighing 136-270 kg, called whale.

WORD BANK

- | | | |
|--------------------|---------------------|---------------|
| mammals | whistles and clicks | dolphins |
| Blue Whale | elephant | Baleen whales |
| Humpback whale | nineteen eighty six | carbon |
| fishing nets ropes | dwarf sperm | Beluga |
| Narwhals | | |