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President

OUR DEMOCRACY IS SAFE AND SECURE BECAUSE IT IS PROTECTED BY THE PEOPLE

By **President Cyril Ramaphosa**

ON Saturday we joined with people across the world in marking Nelson Mandela Day through acts of service and generosity.

But this Nelson Mandela Day was different to previous years. It took place in the aftermath of a week in which parts of our country were gripped by violence and mayhem.

It was a week in which we were confronted by deeply unsettling images of desolate owners standing outside the shells of what was once a thriving business; of looted shops and warehouses; of burning trucks and buildings and streets strewn with debris; of anxious citizens barricading their communities; and of snaking queues of people lining up to buy food.

Despite this, we observed Nelson Mandela Day not as country on its knees, but as a people who collectively embody the spirit of

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CONVERSATIONS WITH THE PRESIDENT



Maponya Group chairperson Chichi Maponya thanking the community in Soweto for protecting the Maponya Mall from looters

Nelson Mandela, perhaps as never before.

What I have seen in the last few days is a people united, resolute and determined to protect this country from anyone and anything that wants to destroy it. Those who lit the tinderbox of this unrest hoped to mobilise our people by exploiting their conditions of hardship. They were counting on citizens falling for crude propaganda designed to turn them not just against the state, but against each other.

What they were not counting on was the enduring ability of South Africans to unite in the face of a common threat.

This has always been our greatest strength as a nation, and it came to the fore.

In Tembisa, residents stood at night outside shops to protect them from looters. In Mthatha, taxi drivers formed a protective cordon around shopping malls. In Mahikeng, community members organised themselves to guard businesses. In eThekwini, students from Mangosuthu University of Technology and other campuses embarked on clean-up campaigns in the inner city and other affected areas.

In Soweto, a young activist who leads the Soweto Youth Parliament has mobilised scores of young women and men to defend the Maponya Mall on a 24-hour basis in defence of *"their township economy".*

On this Nelson Mandela Day, the South African people are the heroes of which Madiba once spoke; the people who make peace and build where it is easy to break down and destroy.

In the coming days, weeks and months, the true cost of this campaign of destruction will be keenly felt, especially by the poor.

Businesses have been destroyed and livelihoods lost at a time when we are already feeling the strain one and a half years into a global pandemic. The economic damage has sapped many of the budding shoots of recovery we were witnessing just a few weeks ago.

As we work to stabilise the country and secure essential supplies and infrastructure, we must work together to mitigate the effects of this unrest on society's most vulnerable.

We are called upon to help with food relief and support businesses in distress. We are called upon to join small volunteer teams to help clean up affected communities if we are able to do so, all the while mindful of the pandemic and what we must do to keep safe.

As businesses let us do what we can to provide employee wellness and other support to staff who have been affected by the violence.

The religious community in South Africa joined hands in praying for an end to the unrest and looting.



CONVERSATIONS WITH THE PRESIDENT



The vast majority of South Africans were opposed to the looting

But we are not only rebuilding our country after the destruction of the past week; we are rebuilding after the devastation of decades of dispossession and exploitation. We need to fundamentally transform our economy and our society, deepening our efforts to create employment, lift millions out of poverty and ensure that the country's wealth is shared among all its people.

The events of the last week are a stark reminder of how deep the problems are and how far we still have to go. These events must propel us to act with greater purpose and speed.

We should continuously strive to give true meaning to the promise of equality and freedom for all by making every day Nelson Mandela Day, more now than ever.

As a people, we must perform what is at this time the greatest service to our fellow man and woman. We should go out and get vaccinated so we can secure the health of our nation.

More than one million citizens in the age 35 and older category registered for vaccinations last week. This record registration, taking place in a week when we were experiencing such mayhem, says a great deal about our national character.

It speaks to our resilience and determination. It speaks to our enduring optimism that things will indeed get better.

Last week the BBC captured an iconic image that will in time come to symbolise what we as a nation stood for during a dark week in July 2021.

It was of 2-year-old Melokuhle Manyoni falling from a smoke-filled building in the Durban city centre that had set alight by looters. The child's distraught mother threw her from the ledge in a desperate bid to save her life. Avoiding what could have been an unspeakable tragedy, the falling baby was caught by a group of people below and taken to safety.

Over the past week our country was plunged into turmoil. There were those who sought to destroy our constitutional order. But like baby Melokuhle, our democracy was rescued by the strong arms of the South African people. And in the wake of the destruction, the ideals for which Nelson Mandela worked and to which he devoted his life have galvanised our nation's spirit.

The values of peace, tolerance and compassion that underpin our democracy have not been destroyed by its enemies. Our democracy is safe and secure because it is protected by the people.

Wherever you may have been on Sunday 18 July, I thank you for your service, and wish you a belated happy Nelson Mandela Day.



Communities came out in numbers on Nelson Mandela Day to help clean up their community and surrounding areas.

Vaccines offer hope: **One life lost is one too many**

Dear Mr President

ON a cold Sunday morning of the 18th of July 2021, I received a call conveying the unexpected news that my only surviving grandfather, Mashao Cleamance *"Pele"* Mabe had succumbed to COVID-19 at the Lenasia South Clinic in Johannesburg, Gauteng Province. The mood immediately became somber in the house. Just yesterday, Thursday the 22nd of July 2021, I had to sit amongst a limited number of mourners to watch from a distance as the pallbearers clad in COVID-19 PPEs surrounded what was to become my Grandfather's permanent address without any sight of a family member by the gravesite. It immediately dawned on me that the sorry site of those who succumb to COVID-19 is that they are buried at a distance, removed even at their burial site from their loved ones in keeping with the relevant health protocols on the maintenance of social distance.

The raging pandemic continues to rob many in our country of their loved once – a monstrous visit made by the pandemic to my family resembles many others that this cruel, monstrous pandemic often makes to thousands of families. A reservoir of skills, knowledge and wisdom is being lost daily in the hands of this terrible monster.

My Grandfather was an ordinary member of the African National Congress who took great pride in always putting on the movement's regalia. The ANC didn't just give him a sense of belonging; it also in his own words granted him a sense of service.



Comrade Pule Mabe

True to his activism, my Grandfather was part of a machinery that pioneered the electrification of homes out in Lenyenye in Limpopo Province.

Mr President, COVID-19 continues to rob thousands of families of their loved ones in South Africa and millions across the world. We have lost colleagues, comrades and family members. The pandemic has shown no sign of slowing down and has shown no mercy. Although my Grandfather was in his mid-seventies, there was a lot we still expected from him as he also embodied in him a rich knowledge about our culture and tradition, always leading in the performance of our family rituals. It is customary to perform these rituals in the presence of a knowledgeable elder to facilitate that seamless connection with the ancestral powers. Perhaps, as a gesture of gratitude, I must give in and accept that he retires from the world of the living having passed on the baton to our younger generation. *Re a leboga Kolobe!!!*

My Grandfather, popularly referred to as Uncle Pele was a handy man in his community and despite his advanced age, he did not slow down. He volunteered to assist fellow pensioners at the health centre at his place of residence, Lakeside – Orange Farm – Johannesburg. Through his volunteerism, fellow pensioners elected him to serve on the community health forum as a champion and mouthpiece of their overall interests – a task he performed with diligence.

Mr President, the swathe of graves that have swallowed many of our people bear testimony that the fight against this pandemic will be long and hard. Hardly a week passes without someone we know succumbing to this cruel virus.

We are growing tired of burying friends and relatives and the most cruel part is being unable to give the departed a proper farewell. The limitation of the number of people who attend funerals has exacerbated the pain of not being able to practice traditional funeral rites.

While these measures are understandable to reduce transmissions, they have unfortunately hampered the traditional mourning of our be-

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loved family members. This new normal has affected crucial religious and traditional ways of sending off our dearly departed.

The roll-out of the vaccines offers our only hope of containing the impact of COVID-19 and the reticence by others to be vaccinated shows disregard for their lives and those of people they care about.

As the country teeters on the brink of another hard lockdown, it is important to urge our people to continue to behave responsibly and adhere to the established hygiene protocols of wearing their masks in public, washing or sanitising their hands regularly and maintaining social distance

Scientists and health experts have predicted that the fourth wave of COVID-19 will hit out shores in October. As we saw with the recent third wave, the virus mutates aggressively and spreads wider.

Whereas children were somewhat shielded in the first wave, we have now seen them infected and many have also succumbed to the virus. The demise of my Grandfather has broken our hearts and shown that the elderly remain at high risk on account of their co-morbidities.

It is important to urge members of the ANC and the wider South African public to heed expert advice and get their next-of-kin to be vaccinated.

The sooner our country achieves herd immunity, the sooner will lives and livelihoods be saved. The impact of the lockdowns on the economy and jobs and livelihoods has been severe. Our economy, which was in bad shape before COVID-19, seriously needs a new mental shift to ensure growth.

Many businesses have not been able to survive under these strict measures meant to mitigate the transmission of COVID-19.



Mashao Cleamence "Pele"Mabe

Tourism outlets are buckling under an absence of visitors. Many restaurants have closed their doors as clients are unable to dine like they used to. The entertainment industry has struggled to pay the bills as events had to be cancelled. This week, the iconic Dome in the north of Johannesburg put up a *"For Sale"* sign. This would have undoubtedly hit artists and other entertainers hard.

The bus company, Greyhound, which ferried many travelers around and beyond our borders has closed shop after many decades of operation. The company was unable to survive under the restriction of movement of people. These are but only a few examples of the impact of COVID-19 on lives and livelihoods.

Mr President, under these conditions, it is sheer irresponsibility on the side of those who peddle fake news about the efficacy of the vaccines. Those fake news peddlers have no regard for the lives of their fellow human beings.

While the vaccines are a bit mandatory, it must be emphasised that the more people inoculate, the better are our chances of defeating this monster.

Only then will we stand a better chance to pick up the pieces and rebuild our economy. We have seen other countries slowly return to a semblance of normality after their people have been vaccinated.

The return of spectators to watch their teams in European stadiums augurs positively that vaccines indeed offer protection against COVID-19.

This week, the Independent Electoral Commission heeded the advise of Justice Dikgang Moseneke to postpone municipal elections that were penciled for October to February next year as a precautionary measure until it is safer for people to go to the polls. While pundits and other political parties have lamented this postponement, it must be remembered that this unusual decision was taken for a good course and not merely to limit our peoples' democratic rights to elect their leaders.

Those who would second-guess scientists about the efficacy of the vaccines should be disregarded as they are just a total destraction. The battle will not be won in the midst of many doubting Thomases. The vaccines have passed many stringent conditions before they were approved for use by human beings. While indeed the speed they were produced has raised eyebrows, this is understandable as the race against the pandemic was unusual.

Our country was in the forefront, piloting vaccine trials and there had not been any findings or scientific proof to support those who claim they are not safe.

One life lost to this pandemic is one life too many.

Robala ka Khutšo Kolobe ya Bjatladi – Tsela Tšweu Mokone wa Ntšhi Dikgolo!!!

Yours sincerely

Pule Mabe
National Spokesperson and Head of the Department of Information and Publicity

Postponing local government elections is a moral and a patriotic duty

By **Mzwandile Masina**

IN May this year, the Independent Electoral Commission appointed former Deputy Chief Justice Dikgang Moseneke to lead a process to evaluate the impact of the COVID-19 global pandemic on conditions conducive for the holding of free and fair local government elections on 27 October 2021. The Inquiry is in line with Section 14(4) of the Electoral Commission Act (51 of 1996) which provides for the Commission, should it deem necessary, to publish a report on the likelihood or otherwise, that it will be able to ensure that any pending elections will be free and fair.

This past Tuesday, Justice Moseneke released a 120 page report which provides an in-depth legal and socio-political analysis into the feasibility of holding the elections. The Inquiry, having issued calls for submissions, considered submissions from registered political parties, the Chief Electoral Officer, key stakeholders in the electoral process and importantly, health authorities in the country. The former's submissions, grounded in scientific analysis, held particular sway in the conclusion of the report. In summary, the report recommends the postponement of the elections to no later than the end of February 2022 – in line with the prescripts of the Constitution.



While some political parties welcome the recommendations, there are some members of the opposition who are vehemently opposed to the postponement. The Democratic Alliance is leading this charge, arguing that parties must use other available platforms to reach out to voters as part of their campaigning. The party contends that COVID-19 is going to be around for a long time and should thus not be used as a basis to postpone elections – an act the party sensationally deems an *"assault on democracy"*. In the words of the party's Werner Horn, the elections must happen *"come hell or high water"*.

One of the most fundamental responsibilities of a democratic government is to protect its citizens. In fact, according to Anne-Marie Slaughter, in an article titled 3 responsibilities every government has towards its citizens, published by the World Economic Forum, protecting citizens is the very justification for the existence and legitimacy of any government. Without this protection, according to Slaughter, countries become fragile and descend into social, economic and political chaos. For this

reason, the South African government, tasked with protecting its people, would be irresponsible to abdicate this responsibility by insisting on holding elections in the midst of a devastating pandemic that has decimated many countries across the world.

The COVID-19 pandemic has been relentless in South Africa. As of the 21st of July 2021, the country has seen a positivity rate increase to 27.5 percent, with more than 68 000 confirmed deaths – 516 of which were confirmed just in the last 24 hours. The highest numbers of new cases occurred in the two most populous provinces in the country – Gauteng and KwaZulu Natal, with a combined total of 7022 in just a day. The inoculation drive in the country has been severely hampered by vaccine nationalism that is affecting the entire developing world as wealthier nations hoard vaccines. The result of this is that less than 10 percent of our country is fully vaccinated. But recent social unrests in the country have also impacted significantly on inoculation targets owing to the closure of over 100 vaccination sites during the week of chaos that we recently experienced.

As Justice Moseneke correctly argues in his report, it is improbable that the country will have inoculated enough of the population to achieve community immunity by the time elections are scheduled to take place. And in the absence of this, proceeding with elections under such conditions would be nothing more than setting parameters for genocide. This is not conjecture – we have seen the cost of political campaigning in India which is still reeling from the devastation wreaked by the pandemic over the past few months. Between April and June, India



Former Deputy Chief Justice Dikgang Moseneke

was reporting more than 200 000 COVID-19 per day and has one of the world's highest case-fatality ratios. Prior to this, the country had seen a decrease in infection and fatality rates, resulting in the decision to ease lockdown rules. These included rules around gatherings, which resulted in crowded events organised in the run-up to elections. To make matters worse, India is dealing with the Delta variant - both the most contagious variant and among the most dangerous variants in terms of infection fatality rates. This is also the dominant variant in South Africa's ongoing third wave.

The argument that other platforms of communication can be used for campaigning demonstrates very problematic classism. Such platforms are predominantly virtual. But the reality is that there is a digital divide in our country, a result of, among many factors, unemployment, spatial inequalities and racial segregation. This means that poor Black people in rural areas particularly will be excluded from the democratic electioneering process. A party that seeks to redress persistent injustices of the past which permeate into the present cannot reasonably allow such an atrocity to happen. In addition to this, those who will be most affected are independent candidates who do not have the same infrastructure and resources that bigger parties have. How then is an election free, fair and democratic when some people are inherently disadvantaged through no fault of their own?

A responsible government protects its citizens. There can be no justification for putting the lives of our people at risk to hold an election that can be postponed within Constitutional prescripts. When this pandemic started, our government had to make the difficult choice of whether to put the country on lockdown and risk economic collapse, or to not put it on lockdown and risk the deaths of many. We correctly chose to save lives because we recognised that rebuilding an economy will need healthy people. The dead cannot rebuild. Equally, we are faced now with a choice between holding an election to maintain democracy and saving the lives of our people. We must bear in mind that it is people who make democracy work. For them to do this, for democracy to thrive, people must be alive.

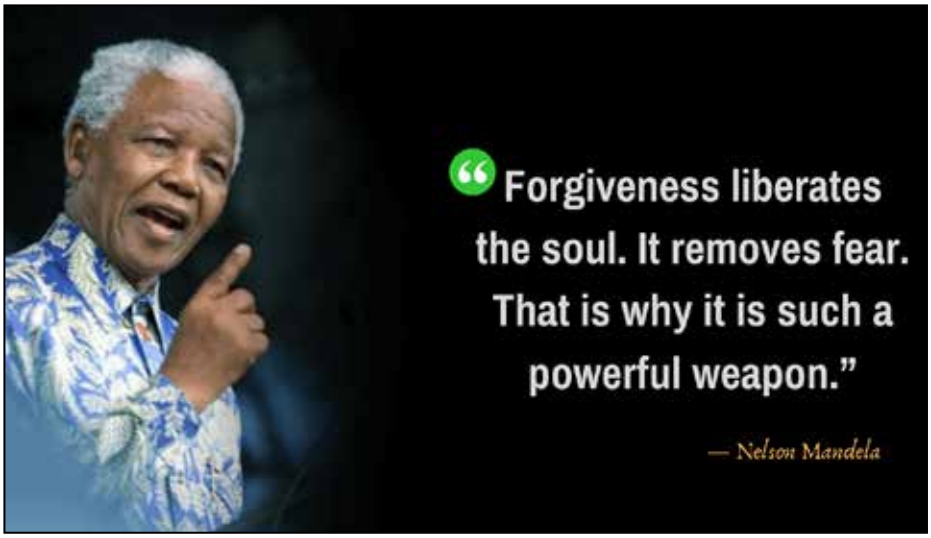
Mzwandile Masina is the ANC Ekurhuleni Regional Chairperson.

The Legacy of Nelson Mandela Today

By **Prof. Monique Marks**

THIS is perhaps the most somber Mandela Remembrance Day we have had to date, but the sobriety and reflection that is called for presents an opportunity to get the Mandela Legacy back on track.

The past few days have seen a further destruction of infrastructure (mostly capital) as a result of what can now be termed insurrectionary mobilisation. Such insurrections are planned by strategists but only succeed if there is a groundswell of people who are prepared to join in on both planned and spontaneous riotous activities because they have nothing to lose but their chains. Our socio-economic status is dire with a number of forces having contributed to this.



The humanist legacy of Mandela

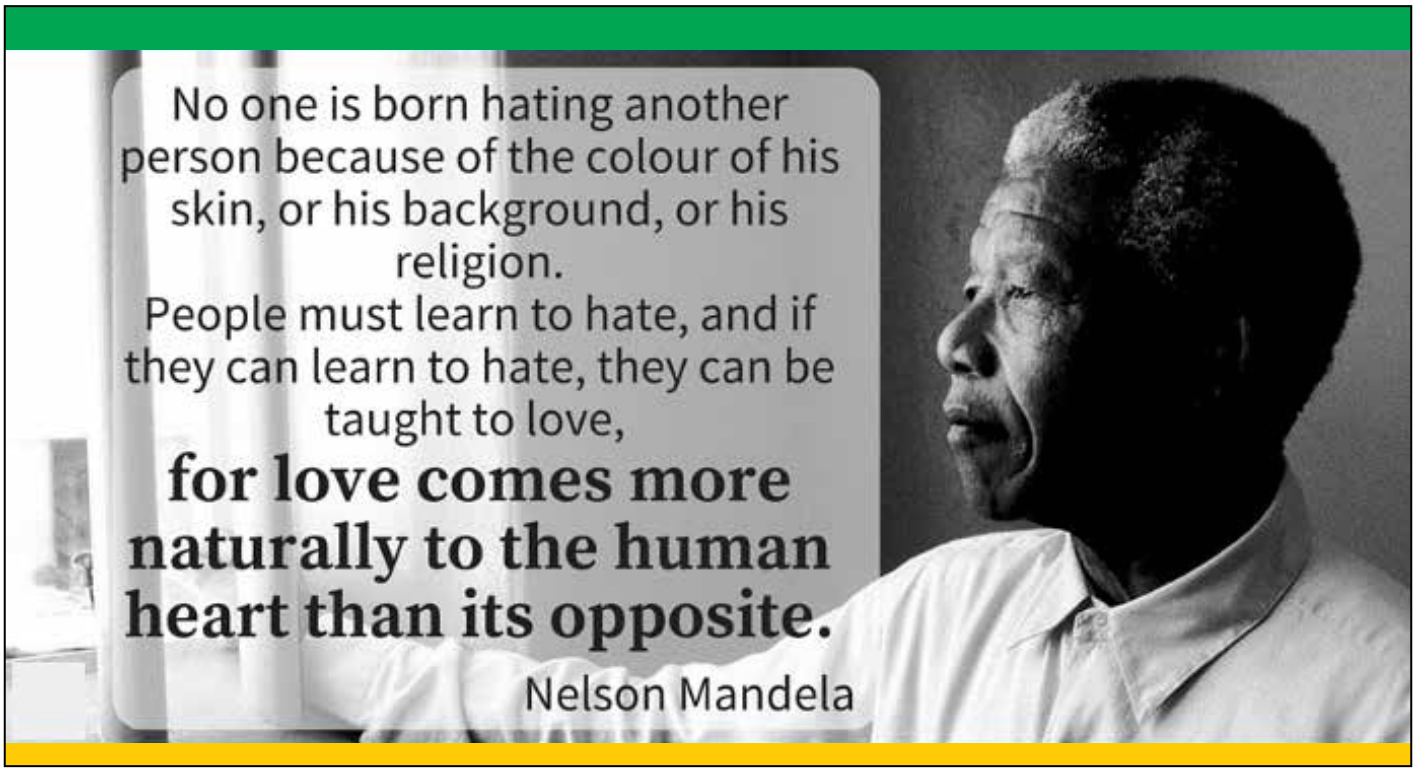
When I think back on what Madiba fostered and what qualities made him perhaps the greatest global icon in our living history, three words come to mind. They are forgiveness, hope and healing. I am going to talk to each of these in recognition of Madiba, and reflect on how we can pay tribute to Madiba by fostering them going forward. Embedded are recommendations that I make with humility as a social scientist schooled in the activism of the 1980s and 1990s and who continues to be committed to engaged scholarship.

Forgiveness

From the courtroom and the prisons, to the helm of government, Mandela spoke of the importance of forgiveness. He understood this as critical to growth, both personal and political. And through acts of forgiveness he united a nation that had been divided and deeply hurt. There were those who were critical of the extent of Madiba’s forgiveness, but there were none who were not in awe of it.

We are in awe of those who forgive, as Madiba did, because it is perhaps the most difficult human act to truly embrace and extend. Forgiveness is unfortunately spoken of in religious terms. Yet forgiveness is not about our relationship to what we might refer to as God or the ‘Grand Architect’. It is rather about our interactions as humans to humans who can sense, make mistakes and errors and view them as such. It is to recognise that imperfection is what is human and that humility comes from recognising our own and others’ frailty, contradictions and inconsistencies.

Forgiveness is not easy to enact. It requires some degree of closure in regard to past hurts and revelation of the truth of circumstances. It is almost impossible to forgive blindly, perhaps more so than to



have blind faith as many religious faiths require of us. The past, present and future trauma and scars of our society have made forgiveness very difficult. But attaining personal and collective forgiveness is made even more elusive because we have shut down mechanisms and forums for speaking about pain and hurt and having these acknowledged. What is required then as a starting point is for us, individually and collectively, to do what the feminist movement called 'speaking bitterness'. This means vocalising, narrating, making visual experiences of dehumanization, discrimination and profound mistrust.

Hope

Through the dark decades of apartheid, Madiba embodied and was the emblem of hope. The dream of his release from prison inspired social movements. The hope and the clear thinking of Madiba gave credence internationally to the mass democratic movement. He reminded us constantly that as an individual he would not have had the clarity of thought that he so eloquently articulate. Nor would his hope have been sustained without his comrades and his absolute faith in the fundamental good of humankind. Mandela had a dream, and he dreamed it into reality. And in so doing he inspired a nation and a world to hold onto hope.

Despair was never an option for Mandela or for what I would like to call the many Mandela generations that shared his lifetime and that came after. Hope persists in South Africa, most evident in the refusal of the majority of South Africans in the past week to allow an insurrection to take hold of the country and to overthrow a democratically elected government. It was hope that quickly mobilised local community members into neighbourhood patrols, closely resembling what we once knew to be street committees.

It was in creating mechanisms for the sharing of resources such as food, water and medications which were unattainable for days and for some may be unattainable for weeks and months going forward. Perhaps this is the legacy that Mandela has left.

Healing

The importance of forgiveness and hope so present in the Mandela legacy was how it was geared toward collective healing. And the years of the Mandela government were geared toward reconstructing society at almost all levels. Commitment to good governance, to Constitutional order, to human rights all played an important role in giving voice to wounds and recognising the ravages of inequality. This period saw the beginning of a programme that was never carried through, even in the later Mandela government years.

This commitment to healing has been consistent in the narrative of government subsequently. Be-

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Nelson Mandela and the struggle for non-racialism

By **Vishwas Satgar**

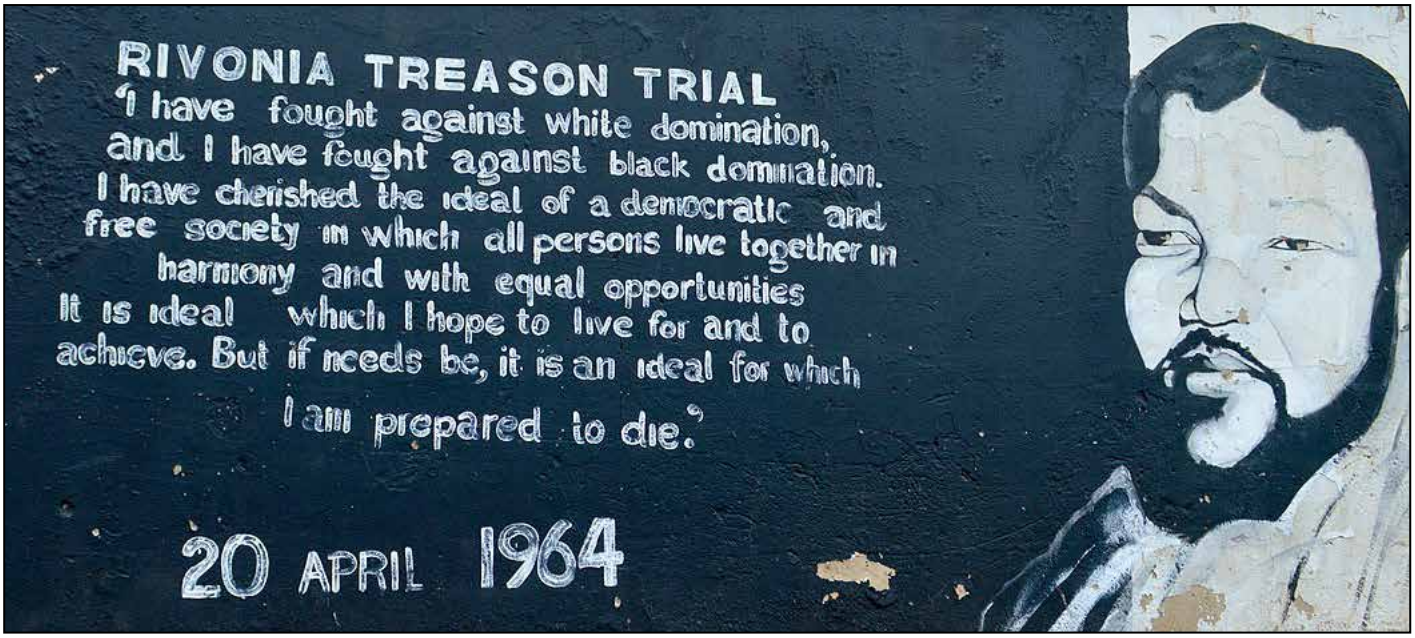
ACCLAIMED African Scholar Mahmood Mamdani, who was expelled by Idi Amin together with other Asians in the early 1970s from Uganda because of his ethnic identity, but who is now back in the country after Ugandans turned against Amin's racist madness, has published a recent book titled: '*Neither Settler No Native: The Making and Unmaking of Permanent Minorities*' which is relevant to our engagement.

Mamdani lauds the importance of the non-racial tradition in South Africa. More than most countries that experienced colonialism, he argues that non-racialism in South Africa provides the intellectual and political foundations to build a truly decolonial society.

In his view, it provides the basis for a refusal of the divisions of apartheid, whether economic, cultural, or political and he essentially, in my view, affirms the radical non- racial tradition as a basis for a decolonial identity.

Now Nelson Mandela did not invent the non-racial tradition but he was actually a product of it and he made a very powerful contribution to that tradition in his own terms, both theoretically and practically. The Mandela legacy is definitely part off the decolonial cannon. If we look at Mandela's ideological formation, he shifted from African nationalism to revolutionary nationalism and then to what I would call emancipatory humanism.

Emancipatory humanism is about an existential journey to confront the dehumanised subject. It is also about confronting the demons of racism in all of us. Mandela is one of the best examples of emancipatory humanism. We must appreciate that he was human, he wasn't a God. He was not perfect but he is one of our best examples of humanising the self and advancing a decolonial self which is a very important contribution to our tradition of non racialism. It is visible in how he embraced all races.



PERSPECTIVE

Non-racialism in South Africa exists at different levels. There's formal non-racialism, a core value of our constitutional order and enshrined in our constitution. Then there is what I would call a historical inheritance of people's non-racialism based on a people's history of struggle. This lives in the everyday memory and fabric of our society.

A people's non-racialism is what courses through our everyday life, forcing us to confront our own racism and dehumanisation. However there is a third level at which non-racialism exists in our society. This is the non-racialism claimed by the ANC-led alliance, the proclaimed leader of society.

The decolonial Mandela is not just about radical non-racialism as neocolonial scholar Sabelo Ndlovu Gatsheni shows us through his reading of Mandela's life and legacy. Mandela represents a challenge, an anti-thesis to the paradigm of war. The paradigm of war in Gatsheni's view is derived from imperial /colonial/ apartheid hierarchies, classifications and divisions.

In the Rivonia trial Nelson Mandela said: *"I have cherished the ideal of a democratic and free society in which all persons live together in harmony and with equal opportunities."* He said: *"It is an ideal which I hope to live for and to achieve. But if needs be, it is an ideal for which I am prepared to die."* This quote is on the walls of the constitutional court as well.

What we see in Mandela's political life is a shift from the guerrilla fighter to the agent of the paradigm of peace but without abandoning his principles and cherished beliefs. This, I believe, he would have advanced even if he did not receive the Nobel Peace prize with De Klerk in 1993.



Phoenix residents calling for restoration of peace in their community

Mandela's historical contribution was to advance the paradigm of peace: this is about democracy, human rights, racial reconciliation and what I would prefer to call an emancipated humanism. It is this paradigm of peace that also clashed with Sonny Abacha in Nigeria in the early 1990s when Mandela raised his voice in defence of Ken Saro-wiwa and other activists. He stood up in defense of their human rights. Of course, many have argued that Mandela's commitment to human rights in international relations and global politics was naive but actually he has been trailblazing.

Recently, many communities were under siege particularly in KZN, but the Indian community was under siege because of its Indian identity; it faced a racialized onslaught that could have led to genocidal violence in context of extremely toxic social media.

The state failed to protect and guarantee the constitutional rights of Indians in these communities. It also failed to guarantee the rights of African people. Many of these historically Indian communities became cauldrons of fear, suspicion and defensiveness.

While the situation is volatile in some areas, some level of calm is returning in other parts of the province. We have stepped back from the brink.

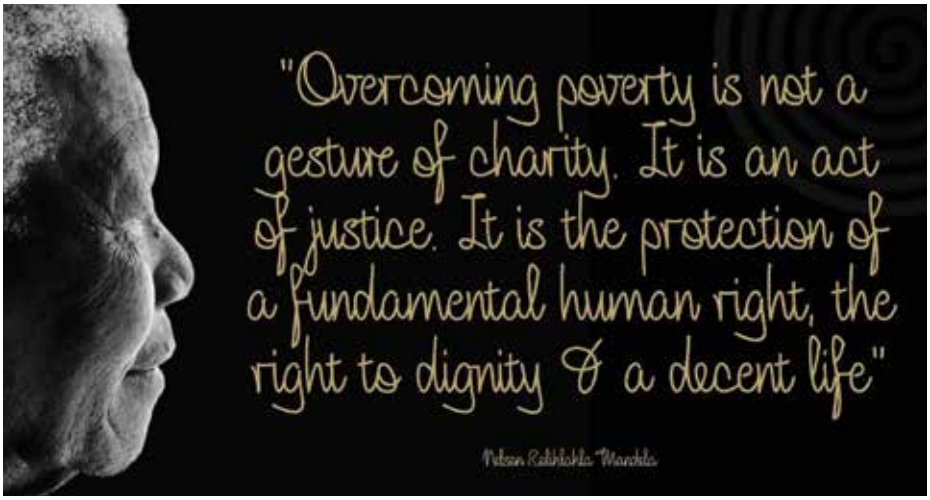
I fully support the investigations into the murders in Phoenix. Those responsible for the killings must be held accountable. However, this is not enough.

I would like to argue and propose that consideration be given to resourcing and giving a mandate to the Human Rights Commission to pursue an inquiry into what happened in Kwa-Zulu Natal between African and Indian peoples. This has to be a mandate to pursue a just and a non-racial peace-building agenda. The Human Rights Commission should go to all hotspot communities now and start such a process of inquiry, of dialogue and make recommendations to parliament for a just and non-racial peace building agenda.

This is consistent with the Mandela peace paradigm.

Remembering the Nelson Mandela that embraced the Freedom Charter

By **Busi Sibeko**



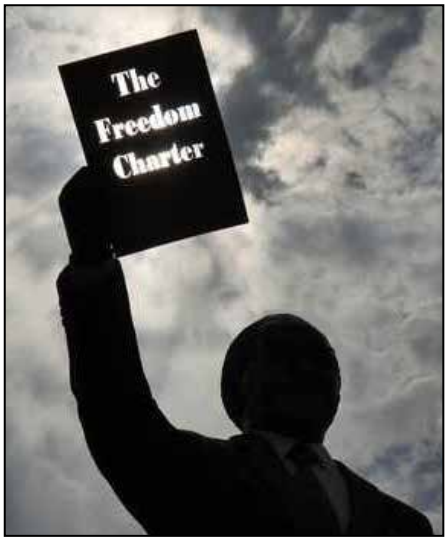
NELSON Mandela was a complex political figure. The question is: Which Mandela do we choose to remember? Today I choose to remember the Nelson Mandela that embraced the ANC's Freedom Charter, which included such demands as *"land to be given to all landless people"* and *"living wages and shorter hours of work"*. It is one who believed that political liberation without economic dispensation does not represent even a shadow of liberation.

Using this definition of liberation, I have come to conclude that we are not liberated. South Africa is a non-viable society for the majority. From the beginning of a violent colonial extraction, accumulation in South Africa has been built on the exploitation and oppression of the Black working class, and specifically the social reproduction of underpaid labour. This structure remains largely the same. While some things have gotten better in health and education for example, the socio-economic injustice continues to be reproduced. Without a change to the socio-economic conditions, which underpin crisis after crisis, we will continue to experience social unrest.

The current economic structure cannot and will not deliver on the goals of the Freedom Charter. South African economic policy has been characterised by attempts to achieve stabilisation, liberalisation, privatisation, and rationalisation. The paradigm has been that a *"stable"* macro-economic environment – low inflation, floating exchange rates, liberalised capital markets, lightly regulated financial sector, high real interest rates, and low fiscal deficits – will lead to growth and investment. This model has not created the equal opportunities that Nelson Mandela was prepared to die for. Macro-economic stability of this nature does not automatically translate to social stability as we have seen.

While the country burns, the commitment to the status quo macroeconomic framework has won above liberation. In the midst of the crisis, there is a strong commitment to austerity despite the evidence that it exacerbates existing inequalities. The treasury itself acknowledges that it will have negative impacts on public service provisioning and that children in no fee paying schools will be disproportionately impacted by these cuts. What does this say about the constitution?

In the midst of the crisis, most of the emergency measures have ended leaving business, workers and household in a state of desperation. While the crisis is not the sole cause of this crisis, what is it that we expect those who have been systematically dispossessed



to do in the absence of political power? What happens when people no longer matter to capitalism and even as the real economy burns, the credit ratings agencies tell us that this will not have a significant impact on the economy?

In the midst of the crisis, caregivers, mainly women, have been excluded from the social relief of distress grant. I think Mandela would particularly not approve of this gendered injustice. After all, he did say that *"As long as women are bound by poverty and as long as they are looked down upon, human rights will lack substance."*

The gender responsive budget was first considered during his term and yet we have had a gender responsiveness recession since the late 90s.

The list goes on.

This moment needs to respond to the economic violence that has rained on the majority. Emergency rescue measures are still needed. Another thing that is needed is the reinstatement of the freedom charter process. What I love about the Freedom Charter is how it was compiled through mass participation. What does the Freedom Charter mean in 2021?

...continued from page 9

The Legacy of Nelson Mandela Today

neath this talk of healing is a misconstrued understanding of South Africans as endlessly resilient and strong, withstanding almost all adverse events. What the events of the last week and the devastating impact of the raging global virus is that healing at all levels is far from being attained. We have all of us relied too much on goodwill and self-management and we have given too little attention to what tinctures (to use a homeopathic term) are required to ensure a far deeper level of healing than the stitching of wounds or provision of pain killers.

While we have collectively resisted what could have been an insurrection through sheer will and tenacity, we need to recognise the limits of our physical and emotional immunity. The virus is real. The cancerous spread of disillusionment and disregard is too. Healing, it is now clear, has to be understood as a very deep and protracted process that requires a range of interventions, both conventional and non-conventional.

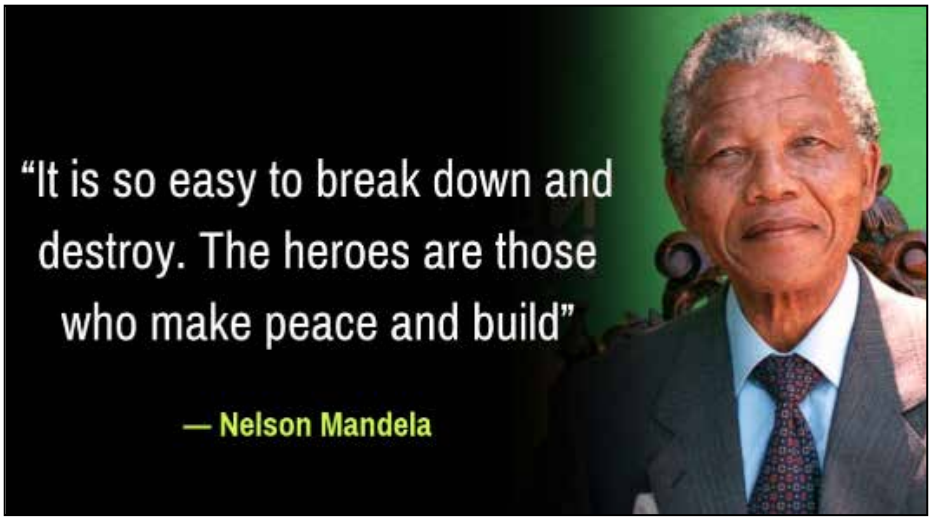
Going forward and keeping the Mandela legacy alive

Madiba dreamed of an Africa that was at peace with itself. How do we dream this into reality as a way of honouring his legacy? How do we move from being a society in decline to a society that is prosperous? We do this by building hope, forgiveness and healing with a lens that sees hurt and unease and the future burdens.

Going forward, from today, what is required at the most basic level is integrity, transparency and sacrifice. This is needed in all spheres of society, but we do need government to lead by actioning these principles.

This past week will go down in history as a time before and a time after. Let it also be an opportune moment to fix what is so very broken.

We need to make the right sacrifices to ensure that we can dream forward. We owe this to Madiba, but we also owe this to ourselves.



LAND & AGRIARIAN REFORM

Just and Equitable Compensation, a Confusing Phenomenon

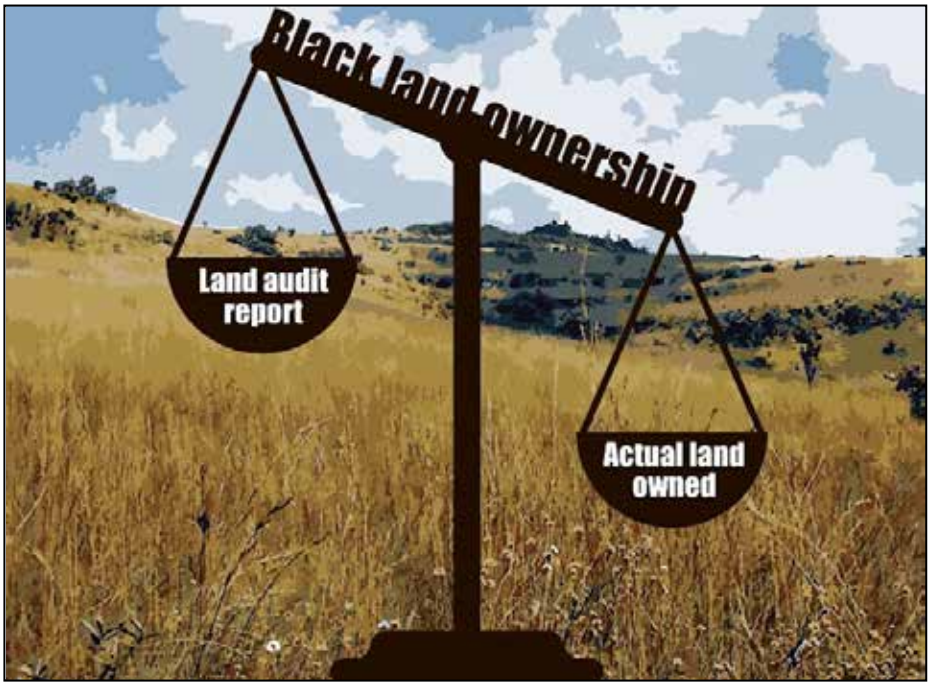
By **Sigqibo Biggz Mfuywa**

SECTION 25 (2) of the Constitution states that property may be expropriated only in terms of the law of general application:

a) for a public purpose or in the public interest; and
b) subject to ***compensation***, the amount of which and the time and manner of payment of which have either been agreed to by those affected or decided or approved by a court.

Section 25 (3) of the Constitution postulates, *"The amount of the compensation and the time and manner of payment must be **just and equitable**, reflecting an equitable balance between the public interest and the interests of those affected, having regard to all relevant circumstances."*

According to Ben Woodward from Frank Law, equity ensures that parties cannot dismiss the spirit of the law. He further says that property settlements need to be both just and equitable, meaning they should be morally right and just, as well as fair for both parties. The law also considers lots of factors when evaluating whether an outcome is just and equitable. This definition favours those who benefited from land dispossession. I say this because when the natives were dispossessed of their land, there was nothing just or equitable; they were forcefully removed from their properties. Being fully aware that land reform is an emotive and uncomfortable issue, I am of the view that it is high time that we face this reality as a country and take back the land from those who took it without any consent whatsoever.



The neoliberal land reform agenda adopted by the ANC from 1994 to date has not yielded positive results. Moreover, if the state continues with this unjust trajectory, it might find itself bankrupt and unable to deliver basic services.

Land reform, in its current operation, is an expensive exercise. The 2019 report of the presidential advisory panel on land reform and agriculture also viewed the pace of land reform as very slow. As a result, the state has managed to distribute 8.4 million hectares (ha) of land in terms of government's land reform programme between

1994 and March 2018. It is estimated that the progress amounts to under 10% of all commercial farmland, over 23 years, compared to the initial target of 30% by 1997.

In the post-apartheid political dispensation South Africa has opted for restorative rather than retributive justice, in an attempt to build a *'unified'* South Africa. The restorative justice finds expression in land reform provisions of the Constitution, and perhaps it is the reason for putting compensation as a requirement for expropriation. Without compensation, the land reform program could be perceived as retributive. Restorative justice also tries to put together all those affected by the transgression and start a process that attempts to bring about forgiveness, healing, and reintegration. Based on the history of this country, it is difficult to blame the ANC for opting for restorative justice. However, it appears that posture has not brought the desired results. Inequality and poverty have reached unimaginable levels.

Is there any moral reason why compensation should be paid, in cases of expropriation? It remains to be seen if the ANC resolution of expropriating land without compensation will ever see the light in the modern South Africa. What is just and equitable land compensation? Why did the ANC opt for market-led land reform? Is the constitution an impediment to expropriation without compensation? These are some of the questions that we must continue to ask ourselves in an attempt to respond to the just and equitable paradigm.

Sigqibo Biggz Mfuywa is a land reform researcher and a PhD candidate at Unisa. He writes in his personal capacity.

Recognising over 3 decades of continuous, dedicated and distinguished service

By **ANC Gaby Shapiro Branch**
Mike Leslie, Pamela Harris and Senzeni Mphila
with acknowledgements to Doug Blackmur



ANC Stalwart and still active member of the Gaby Shapiro Branch in Sandton, Comrade Keith Gottschalk

PERSPECTIVE

IN 2021, the Year of Charlotte Maxeke, we are seized with the tasks of Unity, Renewal and Reconstruction. As we seek to contribute to a better ANC, we have found inspiration from a local stalwart and an exemplar of the kind of dedicated and distinguished service to our organisation and country.

Gaby Shapiro Branch recently celebrated Comrade Keith Gottschalk's more than 30 years of continuous, dedicated and selfless service to the branch. As the branch's most reliable and engaged member in good-standing over three decades, Cde Keith has demonstrated how each rank-and-file member of the ANC can, and should, provide Leadership inside and outside of their local branch.

Part of what has distinguished Cde Keith's contributions are the values he lives out and the behaviour he models:

- Cde Keith's contributions to debates in the ANC rely on evidence, logical argument, clear analysis and respect for others who may disagree with the positions he is advocating. He avoids slogans, abuse and simple assumptions. He is willing to reconsider his views in the light of persuasive alternative evidence. His approach provides us with a model of how to conduct political discussions, and, more broadly, how to treat other people.
- Cde Keith often initiates discussion of important matters of policy within the Branch. He regularly attends Branch meetings and functions, regularly leads the Branch on policy proposals, briefs members on the Branch's history and supports ANC activities wholeheartedly. His contributions give meaning to the idea that the Branch is the life-blood of the ANC.
- His policy perspectives embrace a very wide scope. South Africa's policies on space exploration, the environment, electoral systems, human rights and Pan-Africanism are just a few examples.



Comrade Keith Gottschalk with members of the Gaby Shapiro branch.

"In honouring Cde Keith Gottschalk we celebrate his integrity, truly constructive critique, and a steadfast contribution to the community and country."

Cde Keith offers humane and intelligent ideas on these, and many other, issues precious, not only to the ANC but to the wider community as well.

Even preceding his involvement in Gaby Shapiro Branch in the democratic era, Cde Keith was widely known throughout the mass democratic movement for his anti-apartheid poetry and activism, often performed at cultural events and rallies. He went on to become an extraordinary senior lecturer, emeritus, at the University of the Western Cape, and is a former head of the political science department. He is a widely published academic, political commentator and analyst, with his progressive analysis featured on the SABC and regularly under letters to the editor in a cross-section of South African newspapers.

In honouring Cde Keith Gottschalk we celebrate his integrity, truly constructive critique, and a steadfast contribution to the community and country. As we seek to forge Unity, Renewal and Reconstruction of our organisation and country in the face of current challenges, Leaders of the calibre of Cde Keith Gottschalk provide us with much inspiration. We give thanks and appreciation to him for the Leadership he has provided, and the Leaders he has helped to grow.

PBF
PROGRESSIVE BUSINESS FORUM



Using mindfulness to reduce stress

By **Werner Gaigher**

IN highly competitive environments such as business and athletics, and in lifethreatening situations, acute stress is beneficial. It gives us that drive to get things done and stay safe. As I highlighted in my previous article, Working with stress, not against it, we often remain in this stress response long after the threat is over, or the deadline has been achieved. This chronic stress wreaks havoc on our body, mind, relationships, and ability to function effectively in our everyday lives.

The flight or fight response

Chronic stress keeps the body in a fight or flight state, where the body is constantly prepared for a high energy response. In this state, the nervous system perceives (neuroception) the threat as still present (real or not) and fighting or running away as an insufficient response. As a result, our body moves into an immobilised, or collapsed, state to protect us.

Without awareness, our body and mind remain in this incomplete defence state and the energy never completes its natural cycle. Whatever the cause, suppressed and blocked energy causes discomfort, illness and disease, and needs to be released and biologically completed for the body to return to a state of balance. It is often our rational mind and suppression of this blocked energy in our bodies that keeps us in a hyper-aroused anxious state or hypo-aroused depressed, or collapsed, state.

Without a sense of awareness that this is happening to us, we get stuck in this cycle, unable to bounce back.

How do we reset our nervous system and work with future stressors?

It starts with being mindful of our body. Mindfulness requires us to turn towards our present moment experience without judgment, but rather, with acceptance. It does not require us to fix anything, only to become the observer of our actual experience. It reveals the truth of our reality.

Turning towards and noticing our bodily sensations, we can soon identify what is our experience on a feeling level and then do something about it. When we are stressed, we will often find areas in the body that are constricted, tense, or even in pain. We need to start becoming aware of these stuck places, befriend them and move through them, in order to return to a state of equilibrium. It is easy to *"talk the talk"*, but to put this into practice requires a perception of safety and often we need to be guided. These stuck energies can be overwhelming when we first start turning towards and feeling them. But, by changing our understanding of and relationship with these sensations, we can gently remove the fear from these energy states.

By removing the fear, we can start investigating what triggers us into these states and questioning the legitimacy of our nervous system responses. If we find ourselves in a mobilised fight or flight response or an immobilised, or collapsed, response when we know there is nothing threatening our life at the time, we can then use various techniques to regulate our nervous system.

PERSPECTIVE

Cues of safety

For the nervous system to regulate, there needs to be a neuroception of safety, whereas being stuck means there is a neuroception of danger or life-threat. One of the things we lose when we are activated in fear or collapse is a sense of presence.



Through various grounding techniques such as sensing soothing areas of our bodies, feeling the pressure of gravity, feeling our feet on the ground and orientating ourselves within our environment, takes us out of the negative feedback loop and into the present moment. This regulates our nervous system and helps us to start feeling the body and tracking sensations.

Movement is a tool we can use to help us complete these immobilisation/mobilisation responses. Unfortunately, going for a run or a yoga class might help in the short term, but movement needs to be directed towards the particular body response and there needs to be a sense of awareness.

A movement strategy will look and feel different depending on the state; it is not a one size fits all model.

Understanding and regulating our own nervous system also allows us to understand and co-regulate others around us. We only need to look to nature to understand how we can regulate ourselves and others. When a member of a wild herd of horses has a dysfunctional nervous system – as in feeling distressed – the horse is seen as a liability to the herd because it is not present enough to sense potential danger and alert the herd. Consequently, the herd will work on the distressed horse's nervous system to bring it back into equilibrium. They do this through co-regulation with their own nervous system.

When a member of the herd is feeling anxious, the other horses drop their heads and slow their breathing down to slow their own heart rate down. This, in turn, causes the anxious horse's heart rate to entrain (synchronise) with theirs and so, it too slows down, and the horse begins to feel calm. When a horse is feeling low, flat or depressed, the other horses increase the speed of their breathing, which causes their heart to beat faster. The depressed horse's heart rate then speeds up as it entrains with the other horses in the herd and experiences more vitality and energy. The outcome of both responses is to bring the horse's nervous system back into equilibrium.

How can a corporation utilise this approach? Through co-regulation and removing fear from the immobility response. This then increases the three critical components of leadership: resilience, compassion and courage.



First published in ***Business Update***, ***Issue 20***.

A Tribute to Dr Sam Gulube (Scientist Manifesto)

An extract from 'Time Is Not The Measure' by **Vusi Mavimbela**

JOHNNY Makhathini, who was in charge of the ANC office in New York, was not in America during my speaking tour, so the acting head, David Ndaba, officially welcomed me. His real name was Sam Gulube, whom I knew by his nom de guerre, Scientist Manifesto. I asked him how he had acquired the name David Ndaba. He told me that when he was supposed to leave Lusaka for New York, he discovered that his passport had expired. As he did not have time to apply for a new one, the ANC leadership in Lusaka took the passport of somebody else called David Ndaba who looked like him. He used that to enter America and had continued to use the name.



Gulube briefed me about the American political environment and the priorities and campaigns of the ANC in America. He briefed me about student and youth organisations and other institutions I was going to address. The ANC office was very busy; Gulube was in demand. He had to dexterously juggle constant calls whilst briefing me.

I had known Gulube for many years: he is one of the most intriguing characters I have ever met. The first time I bumped into him was at an intervarsity competition at Ongoye. Several universities were participating in different sporting codes including soccer, boxing athletics, baseball and netball. Participating universities were African universities that included Turfloop, Wentworth, Fort Hare and, of course, Ongoye. Gulube came with the contingent from the University of Natal Medical School at Wentworth.

Gulube and I were what were called *'home destroyers'* – an unsavoury term reserved for those who failed to represent their institutions in any sporting code. Because we did not play, we had a lot of time to imbibe alcohol, buoyed by the atmosphere of bonhomie that accompanied such events. I met Gulube in those binges that went on all night. He was brought into the room where we were drinking and chatting after midnight, supported by two

TRIBUTE



students because he was too inebriated to walk. They laid him gently on a coach, and he immediately slouched back and fell asleep.

Some of the students in the room were his campus mates, and what made me pay attention was the academic respect that his fellow students from Wentworth accorded him. As he slept, his mates marveled at the brilliance of his academic mind. They called him 'genius' and told stories of how he went around quaffing gallons of alcohol before exams, while they swotted for days on end. When results came out, he was not only at the top of the class but had earned several distinctions.

He went to high school at Adams College south of Durban. Those who did matric with him say that at the end of the semester in June, he had left some of his set books at home. He told them that he did not need to study those books again to pass the December examinations because everything they contained he had read and was already in his mind. He went on to pass the exam with distinction.

The next time I met Gulube was in MK camps in Angola. The international solidarity movement supplied our camps with a variety of indoor games and puzzles, including Rubik's Cube. A number of them were meant to develop the mind or test the ability to solve tricky or coded problems. Gulube's ability to break those codes and solve problems in short order was astonishing. I later learnt that he had obtained the best pass marks and was number one student on top of all those who wrote the National Senior Certificate in South Africa in the year 1973.

Gulube was born into a religious family in Delmas, a small farming community southeast of Pretoria. His father was a pastor in the Dutch Reformed Church and his mother a primary school teacher. When he joined the ANC office in New York, he took advantage of a scholarship and enrolled as a part-time student. He wanted to complete the medical degree he had been forced to abandon at Wentworth. He passed his American medical degree with flying colours. His professors at the institution offered him further research, study and lecture opportunities, which he politely turned down. His priority of focus was the political struggle in South Africa.

Gulube was an unassuming character that never drew undue attention to his abilities and achievements. I soon got to know of the great respect he commanded throughout the anti-apartheid movement, including among lawmakers and academics in America. As I watched at him working, I realised how much both of us had matured since our student days when we enjoyed counting the bottles of brandy or lager we could finish in one sitting.



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ANC

Q&A

IN THE SPOTLIGHT: Masilo Serekele

By Leo Ndabambi

1. Briefly paint us a picture of who Cde Masilo Serekele is?

Masilo Serekele is a proud product of the struggle for liberation; nothing sums it up beyond this. I am a product of the community, always found with the downtrodden of our masses, trembling with indignation against injustice.

University opened the door to activism and politics at large from the University of Limpopo where I obtained my B-com in Accounting. Masilo is one of the longest serving Zonal leaders of the ANCYL in Johannesburg from 2011 up to 2019.

I am also an Entrepreneur and a Non-Executive Director for Jo'burg City Parks & Zoos.



Comrade Masilo Serekele

Former Coordinator of the ANCYL RTT in Greater Johannesburg

2. The ANC theme for 2021 "Unity, Renewal and Reconstruction, in the Year of Charlotte Maxeke." What is it that you can tell us about Mme Charlotte Maxeke?

The name of Mme Charlotte Maxeke evokes so many emotions. To a greater degree, it is a reminder of the resilience and fighting spirit of the women of South Africa, from time immemorial.

She was a fearless freedom fighter whose blistering roars struck deep fear in the enemy camp.

An early opponent of passes for black women, Mama Charlotte Maxeke imbibed Western education which she received under the tutelage of Pan-Africanist scholar and proponent Dr. W.E.B Du Bois, to awaken and empower her people against the diabolical system that held captive, the land of their forefathers.

Zubeida Jaffer, in her book: **Beauty of the Heart**, cements Mama Charlotte Maxeke, who spearheaded the cause of women's emancipation so gallantly and valiantly, as a model to defying the architects of both colonialism and apartheid, and that hers was a triumphant spirit that powered on in spite of the multitude of odds stacked against her.

3. What can we learn from past activist, stalwart and Seaparankoe/Isithwalandwe Tata Madiba as he is commemorated during his birth month in July?

Frantz Fanon writes: *"Each generation must, out of relative obscurity, discover its mission,*

fulfill it, or betray it". In essence, those that came before us fulfilled theirs; it is upon us – to be better informed and equipped, to march on from where they left off. We bore witness to their sacrifices and fighting spirit that was opposed to the fascist apartheid regime.

President Nelson Mandela will forever be an embodiment of what Anton Lembede termed, *"Youth of stoical discipline"* from whom we've learnt complete subjugation of the self, and a consuming love for our people.

4. As the former Coordinator of the ANCYL in Greater Johannesburg Region, what practices do you think people should follow in order to further curb the spread of COVID-19 in light of the ravaging Delta variant?

If you can, stay at home. Your protest against government measures not only puts your life in danger, but the lives of your loved ones and those around you too.

Continue taking precautionary measures, and when the times come for your age group to be vaccinated, do so. It is the only way we will move this country forward. Let us wash our hands regularly or sanitise as often as we can, and observe social distancing measures to minimise the spread of the virus.

5. As a youth activist and businessman, what is your opinion on how best we can fight the second pandemic of GBVF and LGBTQIA+?

Because of the strength of the unit of society as a genesis, we must challenge African families to use their social and financial powers to condemn and hold to account family members who violate the human rights of LGBTQIA+ and gender-diverse persons. We must challenge African families to stop enabling violence, so that generations that follow, will also denounce violence as foreign.

It is also upon governments to inculcate gender-sensitive policies to address the plight of women and children, and the LGBTQIA+ community.

6. What has been your proudest achievement so far?

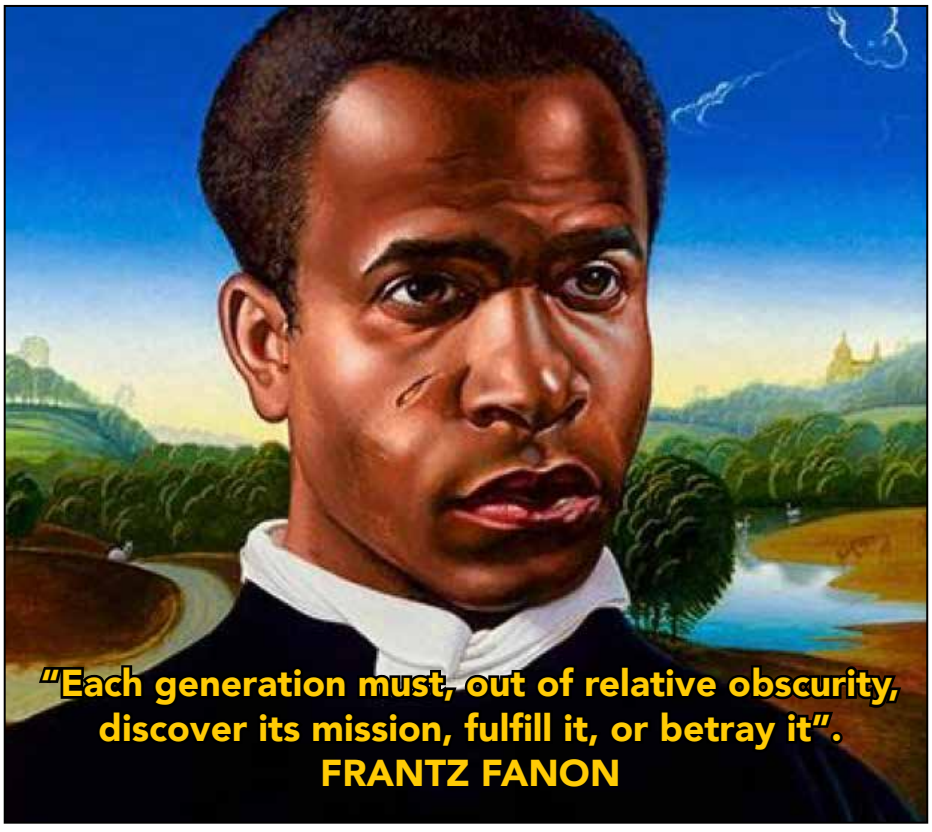
Advocating for young people to occupy strategic sectors in society, to build the country we envision. To date, we have registered a higher number of young people employed in the Municipality, and occupying boards in entities of the City of Johannesburg. Local government is the nerve-centre of service delivery, and we have always believed in positioning young people who bring a youthful zeal to the table.

7. What do you think the youth in South Africa can contribute towards the African and the world stages, in light of young people occupying strategic positions in State Owned Entities?

Young South Africans have the potential to lead advancements on the African continent, and greatly contribute to economies of the world, if positioned and invested in. It goes without saying, and has been historically proven, that the young are uncompromising when in the driver's seat of development.

8. What is your motto?

The young are a significant symbol of strength and persistence; to prove this, their participation in the struggle of our liberation cannot be removed from the echelons of history; field them!



THIS WEEK IN HISTORY

24 – 30 July 2021

Sources: *SA History Online and O'Malley Archives*

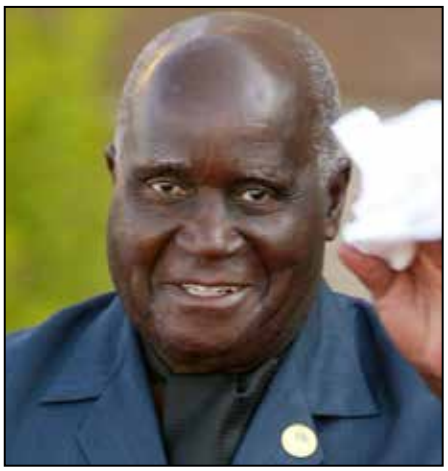
24 July 1961
South Africa signs up to the Antarctic Treaty

South Africa signs multilateral agreement under article 18 of the Antarctic Treaty. The Antarctic Treaty regulates international relations for scientific purposes and the environmental protection of the territory. South Africa has a base in Antarctica since 1959, and with two other bases on Marion and Gough islands, as part of the SA National Antarctic Programme.

24 July 1978
Margaret Gardiner becomes Miss Universe

The 19- year old model from Cape Town became the first South African to win the title in Mexico in 1978.

24 July 1986
Kenneth Kaunda rebukes Howe and Reagan for supporting apartheid



Zambian President, Kenneth Kaunda publicly rebuked Britain's foreign secretary, Geoffrey Howe, accusing him and President Reagan of supporting South Africa's apartheid government. The attack by Kaunda on Howe and Reagan came at the height of popular unrest across South Africa. Kaunda's anger was prompted by Reagan's rejection of stronger United States (US) economic sanctions. Kaunda said: *"As a fellow human being, Sir Geoffrey, I must welcome you. But as a messenger of what you have come to do in South Africa, you are not welcome at all."*

25 July 1913
ANC meeting to discuss Land Act



A meeting in Johannesburg, called by the South African Native National Congress, now ANC, was attended by a large number of men and women from South Africa, Botswana, Lesotho, and Swaziland. The meeting was convened to discuss the conditions caused by the Native Land Act of 1913 and to chart a way forward. The meeting heard a report from a delegation, sent to Cape Town to present African objections against the act. Dr Walter Rubusana, presenter of the report, informed the public that the government would not delay the passage of the act. The meeting decided to send a deputation to London and meet with Her Majesty's Imperial Government. The delegation included Solomon Tshekisho Plaatjie, Dr Walter Rubusana, and Pixley Ka Seme.

25 July 1990
Operation Vula operatives arrested



Senior ANC members, Mac Maharaj, Pravin Gordhan, Siphiwe Nyanda, Billy Nair and over forty other members of the ANC and the SACP, are detained for allegedly attempting to overthrow the government, known as ***Operation Vula***. Operation Vula aimed to get larger numbers of MK soldiers into into South Africa and to ensure closer communication links amongst ANC Leaders in exile, at home and in prison. With the unbanning of the ANC in 1990, Operation Vula continued, because there were no guarantees that the government would negotiate in good faith with the liberation movement.

26 July 1847
Establishment of Liberia

The republic of Liberia was formed by freed slaves and descendants from the Transatlantic slave trade, and who repatriated back to the continent. The American Decolo-

THIS WEEK IN HISTORY

nization Society founded Liberia in 1822, helping to settle those who chose to return. On this day, the Liberian Declaration of Independence was signed. The repatriated returnees made up 5% of the Liberian population, and dominated the first republic, until an uprising by indigenous Liberians led by Samuel Doe in 1980. The country went through two civil wars (1989-1996 and 1997–2003). Liberian women, through the Women in Peacebuilding Network and the Women of Liberia Mass Action for Peace, and the continental organisations (ECOWAS and the OAU/AU), played an important role in ending more than two decades of civil war. Liberia elected Africa's first female President, Dr Ellen Johnson Sirleaf, serving two terms from 2005-2018. In 2018, former footballer George Weah was elected as Liberia's 25th President.

26 July 1939
Poet and artist Wopko Jensma born



South African poet and graphic designer Wopko Jensma was born in Middelburg, Eastern Province. Highly talented but suffering from schizophrenia, he studied at various tertiary institutions and majored in sculpture at the University of Pretoria. After having lived in Mozambique, Botswana and Swaziland for some time, Jensma returned to South Africa where he disappeared in 1993 without a trace from a Salvation Army Men's Home, a shelter that accommodates homeless people.

26 July 2004
Music legend Sipho Gumede passed on



Born in Cato Manor near Durban, Sipho Gumede started playing music on a homemade guitar. He joined his first band at the age of 16 and soon became a sought-after bass player. Over the course of his career, he recorded 18 albums under his own name and four with his band ***Sakhile***, formed together with Khaya Mhlangu and Mabi Gabriel Thobejane. He recorded and performed with Timmy Thomas, Kippie Moeketsi, Stimela, Margaret Singane, Abdullah Ibrahim, Winston Mankunku, Hugh Masekela, Brenda Fassie, Caiphus Semenya and Letta Mbulu.

27 July 1999
Law Society apologises to Mahatma Gandhi, 105 years later

The Natal Law Society, 105 years later, apologized to Mahatma Gandhi. In a statement issued in 1999, Law Society President David Randles said: *"The society apologises unconditionally, albeit posthumously, to the late Mahatma Gandhi for having attempted to restrict his rights to practice as an advocate in Natal."*

27 July 1970
Establishment of Uranium Enrichment Council

Government release Uranium Enrichment Bill to cater for the establishment of the national Uranium Enrichment Council, and South Africa's plans to become a nuclear power. Already in 1948, an Atomic Energy Board (now the Atomic Energy Corporation) was established, and the country became a member of the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) in 1957; two years later in 1959 government announced the creation of a domestic nuclear industry. Although the then Prime Minister, John Vorster proclaimed the sole objective was *"to promote the peaceful application of nuclear energy",* the country went on to build nuclear weapons. Two nuclear power stations, Pelindaba and Koeberg were built, both still in existence today. In 1991, South Africa signed the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT), voluntarily dismantled its nuclear weapons programme in 1993, and in 1996, South Africa signed the African Nuclear Weapon Free Zone Treaty – also called the Pelindaba Treaty. (www.nnr.co.za/history)

28 July 2008
South Africa gets new R5 coin

In response to the wide circulation of a counterfeit version of the old R5 coin around 2003/2004, the Reserve Bank redesigned the R5 coin, to make it more difficult to copy. The new thicker and heavier bi-metal coin has a silver coloured border and a bronze coloured center.



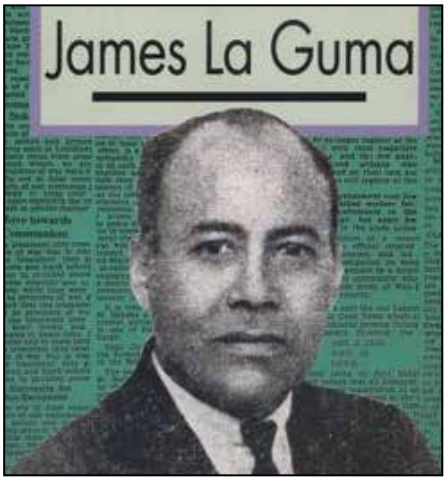
THIS WEEK IN HISTORY

28 July 1945
Father of isiXhosa poetry, Samuel Mqhayi passes on



Samuel Edward Krune Mqhayi, author, educator, linguist, poet, translator and composer, grew up in rural Transkei, and was a teacher who also edited a number of isiXhosa-language journals, served on the board of the isiXhosa Bible Revision committee, and helped to standardize isiXhosa orthograph and codify isiXhosa. His published works include his first "*U-Samson, Ityala lamawele"* (1914), *"The Lawsuit of the Twins")* and "*Imihobe Nemibongo"* (1927); *"Songs of Joy and Lullabies"* which included original stanzas from Enoch Sontonga's *Nkosi sikelel' iAfrica,* to which Mqhayi added seven additional stanzas. He also wrote *U-Don Jadu* (1929), described a futuristic non-racial state that combines elements of Xhosa society and Western culture. Mqhayi's autobiography, *U-Mqhayi wase Ntab'ozuko ("Mqhayi of the Mountain of Beauty")*, was published in 1939; and two other of his works, *"The Death of Hintsa"* and *"The Dismissal of Sir Benjamin D'Urban,"* were published posthumously in Mqhayi in Translation in 1976.

28 July 1961
James La Guma passes on



James La Guma, born in 1894 in Cape Town was a trade unionist, political activist and a member of the ANC and Communist Party of South Africa. Orphaned at age 5, he started work in a bakery in Parow at the age of eight. Having left school early, he was largely self-educated, buying books at second hand stalls on the Grand Parade. Reading exposed La Guma to radical ideas and in 1906 he participated in his first strike, organising workers on the diamond fields. He was escorted by police from the mines and shortly thereafter left for Namibia (then South West Africa) with a friend to work. Upon his return in 1921, he joined the Industrial Commercial Union (ICU), with the first task to revive the defunct Port Elizabeth ICU. In 1923, La Guma married Wilhelmina (Minnie) Alexander, the daughter of a carpenter who was active in the African Political Organisation (APO). In Minnie, La Guma found a lifelong companion and fellow activist. Of their marriage a son, Alexander, the celebrated novelist, and a daughter, Joan, were born. La Guma joined the Communist Party in 1925 and was elected to its Central Committee in 1926. He devoted his energies to the CPSA and the African National Congress (ANC). In 1927, he was elected secretary of the Cape Town branch of the ANC and the following year became the organisation's secretary for the Western Cape. In February 1927, he travelled to Brussels, Belgium, as CPSA delegate to the first international conference; also visiting Germany to give lectures; and visiting the Soviet Union with ANC president JT Gumede. Although a committed communist, La Guma displeased the largely white CPSA hierarchy because of his Africanist militancy. In 1929, La Guma was expelled from the CPSA for breach of discipline. He rejoined the CPSA in 1947, was elected to its Central Committee and served until the party's dissolution after the passage of the Suppression of Communism Act of 1950. La Guma re-entered protest politics in 1957 when his son, Alex La Guma, was arrested on a charge of high treason in December 1956 for his role in the Congress of the People. La Guma's health failed rapidly after his release from prison, and died on 28 July of a fatal heart attack at Groote Schuur Hospital in 1961. La Guma received the Order of Luthuli, Silver posthumously. (http://www.thepresidency.gov.za/national-orders/recipient/james-arnold-jimmy-la-guma-1894-1961)

29 July 1921
The Communist Party of South Africa (CPSA) founded



At a public meeting held in Cape Town, attended by thousands of mainly Coloured workers, Bill Andrews announced the establishment of the CPSA, and its aims and objectives. Its founding con-

THIS WEEK IN HISTORY



Surviving members of the Luthuli Detachment

gress followed shortly, from 30 July – 1 August 1921. The CPSA was formed mainly by radical white worker leaders and socialists, inspired by similar communist and Marxist parties in Europe. The first CPSA executive included CP Tyler as Party chairperson, Bill Andrews as general secretary and SP Bunting as treasurer. By 1928, the CPSA and ANC started overtures to work together. The SACP was relaunched as a legal organisation on the same day in 1990, at a rally of over 45,000 people in Soweto. An interim leadership, the SACP named a 22-member interim leadership core to work on recruitment and building legal SACP structures, after decades of illegality. Members of the ILC included Joe Slovo, Dan Tloome, Chris Hani, Ronnie Kasrils, Sydney Mufamadi, Chris Dlamini, and Moses Mayekiso.

30–31 July 1967
Luthuli Combat Detachment and start of Wankie campaign

The ***'Luthuli Detachment'***, made up of units of Umkhonto we Sizwe



(MK) operatives, and the Zimbabwean African People's Union (ZAPU) guerrillas, crossed the Zambezi River from the Zambian banks of the river into Rhodesia (now known as Zimbabwe) on 30 and 31 July 1967, at the start of the Wankie and Sipolilo battles which continued until late 1968. Fearing possible leakage of information to the Rhodesian and South African Forces, the area where the crossing was to take place was kept secret until the day of the event. The primary objective of this operation was to march across Rhodesia to South Africa to set up underground operations to politically mobilise South Africans in different sections of the country. The other mission was to set up military bases, together with ZAPU forces, in north-eastern Rhodesia. The operation became known as the Wankie campaign, after the Wankie Game Reserve, where the ANC and ZAPU guerrillas infiltrated into Rhodesia.

30 July 1947
Passing of ANC Youth League first President, Anton Lembede



Teacher, lawyer, activist and the founder thinker of Pan Africanism, Lembede suddenly died at the age of 33 in Johannesburg. At the time of his death, Lembede was doing his doctoral thesis through UNISA.

THIS WEEK IN HISTORY

INTERNATIONAL DAYS

24 – 30 July 2021

Source: *https://www.un.org/en/observances/international-days-and-weeks*

July Month Key Milestones

- Plastic-Free July
- Mandela month
- Moral Regeneration month

25 July
African Day of Oceans and Seas



Over 80% of today's international goods are transported in sea vessels and over 90% of Africa's imports and exports are conducted by sea. Over the past four decades, the volume of global sea borne trade has more than quadrupled. 90% of world trade and two-thirds of energy supplies are carried by sea. The world's oceans and seas are interlinked, and action in one sea or one policy area with impact on the sea may have positive or negative effects on other seas and policy areas. Fish and seafood make a vital contribution to the food and nutritional security of over 200 million Africans and provides income for over 10 million. The coastal and marine ecosystems also play a significant role in mitigating the impacts of climate change as they serve as carbon sinks. The paradox is that the marine and coastal areas in Africa are among the most vulnerable areas to the impacts of climate change in the world, mainly attributed to the low adaptive capacity in the continent. These negative effects are compounded by human pollution, especially the dumping of plastic, with devastating consequences on marine life.

28 July
International day for the Conservation of the Mangrove Ecosystem

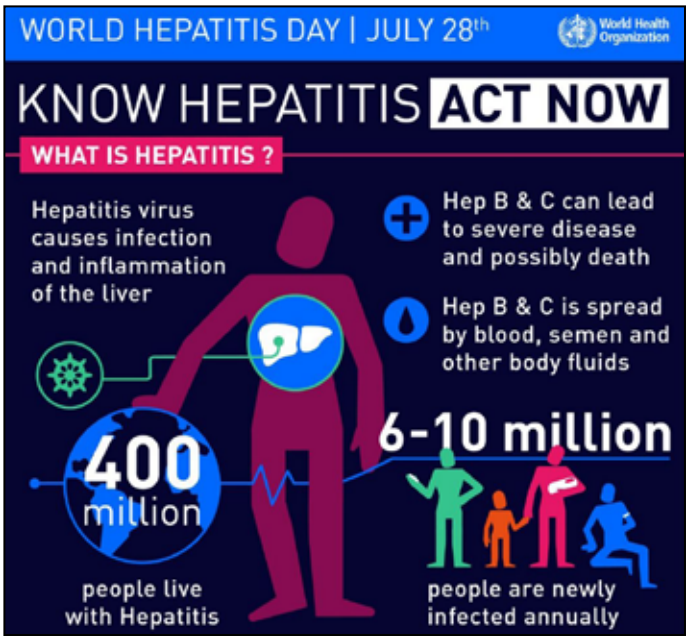
Mangroves are rare, spectacular and prolific ecosystems on the boundary between land and sea. These extraordinary ecosystems contribute to the wellbeing, food security, and protection of coastal communities worldwide. They support a rich biodiversity and provide a valuable nursery habitat for fish and crustaceans. Mangroves also act as a form of natural coastal defense against storm surges, tsunamis, rising sea levels and erosion. Their soils are highly effective carbon sinks, sequestering vast amounts of carbon. Yet mangroves are disappearing three to five times faster than overall global forest losses, with serious ecological and socio-economic impacts. Current estimates indicate that mangrove coverage has been divided by two in the past 40 years. South Africa has about 9000ha of mangroves, mainly on the KZN east coast from Khosi Bay to the Nahoon estuary, with the largest mangrove forests in St Lucia and Richard's Bay.



28 July
World Hepatitis Day

Hepatitis is an inflammation of the liver, most commonly caused by a viral infection that causes severe liver disease and hepatocellular cancer. There are

THIS WEEK IN HISTORY



five main hepatitis viruses, referred to as types A, B, C, D and E. These five types are of greatest concern because of the burden of illness and death they cause and the potential for outbreaks and epidemic spread. Hepatitis is spread through contact with the blood or body fluids of an infected person. Viral hepatitis B and C affect 325 million people worldwide, causing 1.4 million deaths a year. It is the second major killer infectious disease after tuberculosis, and 9 times more people are infected with hepatitis than HIV. Hepatitis is preventable, treatable, and in the case of hepatitis C, curable. However, over 80% of people living with hepatitis are lacking prevention, testing and treatment services. During World Hepatitis Day 2021 campaign, the World Health Organisation urges all countries and partners to promote the theme ***"Hepatitis Can't Wait"***.

30 July
International Day of Friendship

Our world faces many challenges, crises and forces of division – such as poverty, violence, and human rights abuses, among many others – that undermine peace, security, development and social harmony among the world's peoples. To confront those crises and challenges, their root causes must be addressed by promoting and defending a shared spirit of human solidarity that takes many forms – the simplest of which is friendship. Through friendship – by accumulating bonds of camaraderie and developing strong ties of trust – we can contribute to the fundamental shifts that are urgently needed to achieve lasting stability, weave a safety net that will protect us all, and generate passion for a better world where all are united for the greater good.

30 July
World Day against Human Trafficking

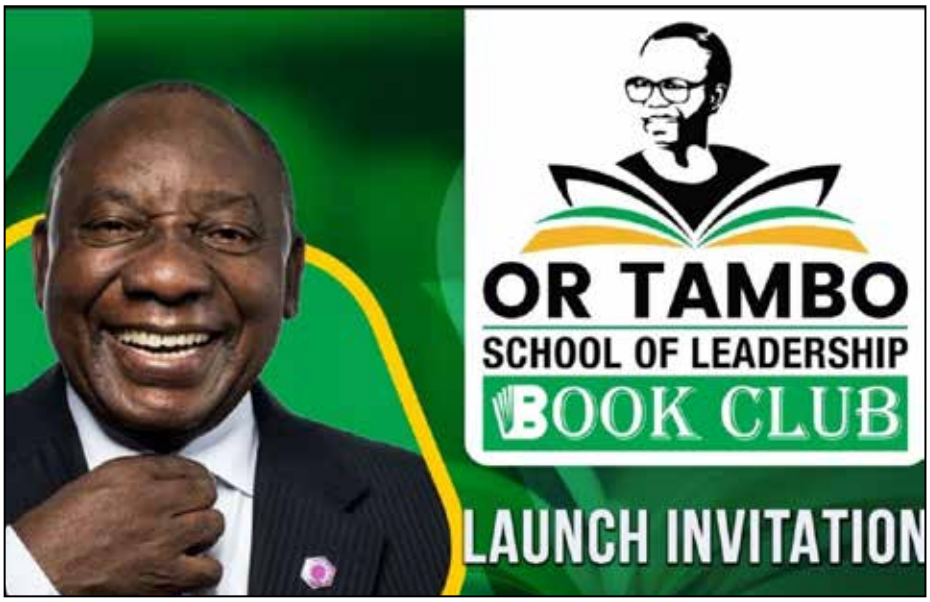
Human trafficking, also called 'modern slave trade' is a crime that exploits women, children and men for numerous purposes including forced labour and sex. Globally, countries are detecting and reporting more victims, and are convicting more traffickers. This can be the result of increased capacity to identify victims and/or an increased number of trafficked victims. Every country in the world is affected by human trafficking, whether as a country of origin, transit, or destination for victims. Traffickers the world over continue to target women and girls. The vast majority of detected victims of trafficking for sexual exploitation and 35 per cent of those trafficked for forced labour are female. Conflict further exacerbates vulnerabilities, with armed groups exploiting civilians and traffickers targeting forcibly displaced people. Data also shows that trafficking happens all around us as the share of persons trafficked within their own country has doubled in recent years to 58 per cent of all detected victims, according to the 2018 United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC) Global Report on Trafficking in Persons.



OR Tambo School of Leadership launches Bookclub

By **Fébé Potgieter**

THE OR Tambo School of Leadership on 21 July 2021 launched its book club, which, according to Dr David Masondo, principal of the School is aimed at *"deepening the culture of reading and by extension, of political education amongst ANC members and activists."* Masondo quoted the study on reading and book culture in South Africa of 2007, which indicated at the time that only one in seven South Africans read a book in their spare time.



Keynote speaker at the event, ANC National Chairperson Gwede Mantashe further expanded about the timely arrival of this book club:

"(The) OR Tambo Book club launch takes political education to another level and locates it at the centre of organisational renewal. This book reading is an innovation that confirms that the ANC takes renewal seriously. The ANC and the Alliance partners are blessed with cadres of note, who have been at the helm of refining our revolution, ideologically and theoretically. These are well read and schooled individuals who should always be central to development and training of our youth.

It is also logical to assert that this platform of a Book Club can be used to mentor our young members. There is an outcry that we should not create political orphans whereby the youth of our movement are not politically mentored by the experienced. Indeed, this is a direct response to the concern.

Accordingly, our young members will find it befitting that in the OR Tambo Book Club, they will be able to engage with substance from books and in addition, tap from the wisdom of the experienced. Equally, the book Club will allow space to factor in the energy and enthusiasm of the youth.

The sharing of information and knowledge through book reading will stand our members in good stead. Our members and leaders will also appreciate the importance of functioning from a factual basis. Revolutionaries have always asserted that we should use facts to search for the truth; therefore it is no cheap claim that the Club and the books would set a sound basis to empower the members of our movement.

At another level, the vigilance and consciousness of our members will be such that we detect the onslaught of fake news timeously. Social media is powerful, and information is circulated faster. The downside of fake news is that information is consumed without deciphering. Therefore, massification of reading at the scale of our

BOOK REVIEW

movement is critical in the development of members and cadres.

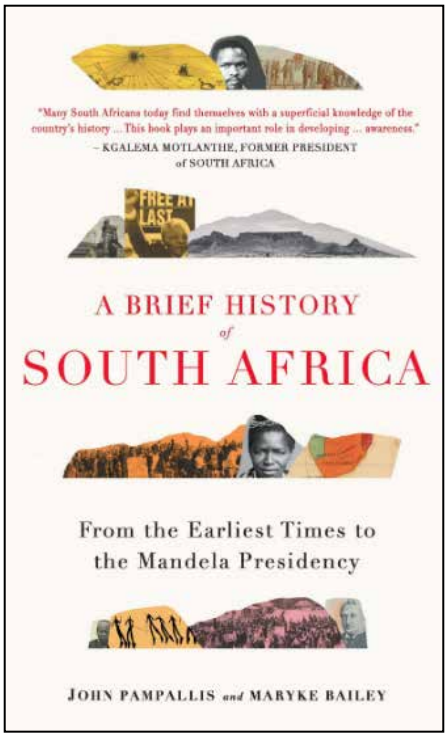
It is a fact that anyone who reads does not only travel the world but also travels through time. Our members will allow themselves to refine their experiences and compare with others in the most profound ways. This book club is also about refining members to graduate as cadres. That is an involved journey.

It is an accepted practice that book clubs infuse discipline in members. Members of the Club are given time to read and to share information with their colleagues. This sounds basic but goes a long way to ensure that reading is purposeful. Reading requires discipline; therefore in the endeavour of the Book Club to instill it, the values and principles of the ANC would find expression."

The Book Club also Launched **A Brief History of South Africa**, by John Pampallis and Maryke Bailey.

The National Chairperson welcomed the fact that the OR Tambo Book Club is launched, with the introduction of the new book by Pampallis and Bailey. Pampalis reflects:

*"The book, **A Brief History of South Africa** fits this occasion because it is high time that we critically look at our history and appreciate the journey we have traversed thus far. It facilitates a groundbreaking understanding of our history because it covers adequate ground that had been deliberately omitted. The book is elaborate in capturing the trade union movement and thus empowering our members with how the Alliance got forged. A strong historical basis provides a sound basis*



to deal with the present and to shape the future. This is a loaded book that captures many aspects of our liberation struggle.

South African history has proven to be rich and full of complexities that require meticulous attention. When we deal with the demon of racism, we should be informed on how it found place in our country and society. There are areas of uniqueness that require originality in our endeavour to resolve and unpack the complexities. Our country carries deep scars of racism, therefore, building a socially cohesive nation should be underpinned by deep knowledge acquired from books and other sources.

We have a responsibility to transform society. It is important to understand the complexity of the system that we have to eradicate."

Book Clubs and the Culture of Reading

OR Tambo Board member, Mahlengi Bhengu spoke about the importance of reading in furthering understanding. *"The OR Tambo Book club"*, she advanced, *"the books it will recommend and the formation of local Book Clubs, are not just restricted to ANC and Alliance members, but also more generally to all South Africans interested in the transformation, the creation of a better life for all, social cohesion and nation-building."*

Historically, book clubs were seen as activities by mainly white middle class women, drinking red wine. The growth of Afrikaans literature in this country is also closely linked to book clubs ran by different publishing and cultural institutions and companies.

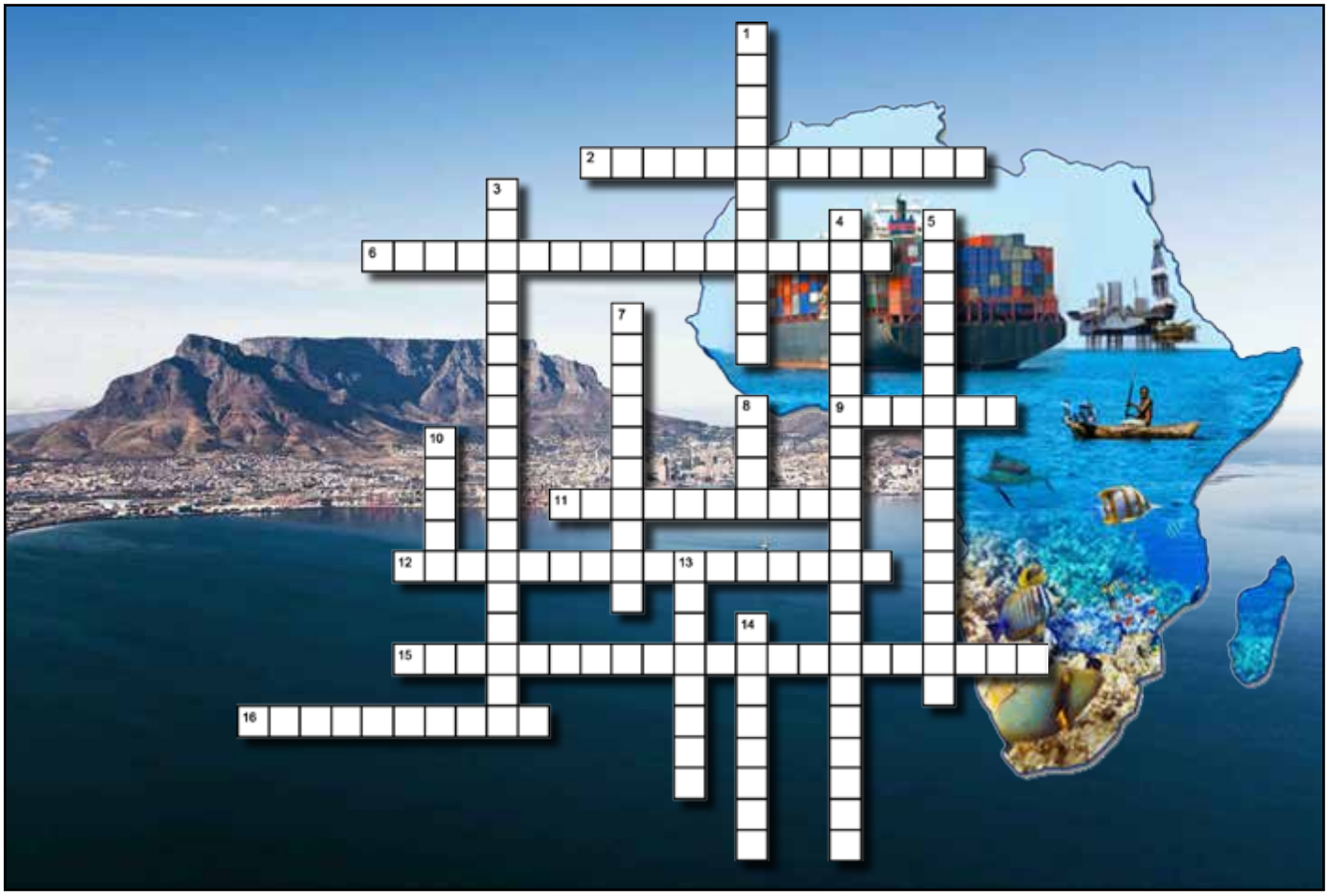
Since the advent of democracy, we have seen a renaissance in South African publishing, with more and more black and women authors taking up the space. These authors continue to struggle, having to compete with high printing costs, distribution monopolies and the fact that African books are still just a section in book stores dominated by books from the west.

It was author Niq Mhlongo, who said that it is township book clubs, which play a major role in the growth of African authors and publications. In the article about book clubs published in 2018, Mhlongo observed: *"The majority of these book clubs read African literature exclusively; and the great majority are made up of women, which in a broader sense shows exactly who is driving the decolonisation of knowledge in South Africa."*

We look forward to the OR Tambo Book club taking its place within this context, contributing not only to ANC renewal, but also the 'decolonisation of knowledge in South Africa.'

X-WORD

African Day of Oceans and Seas 25 July 2021



ACROSS

2. One of the African seas.
6. Agreement amongst Indian ocean states to promote healthy rivers, oceans and coasts.
9. Percentage of African goods transported by sea.
11. Large African island state in Indian Ocean.
12. African Charter on ... ... and Development adopted in 2016.
15. Africa's territory in the oceans and seas also known as ...
16. Gulf situated near Somalia.

DOWN

1. Ocean economy also called the ..
3. African island state located in the Gulf of Guinea.
4. WIMA stands for ...
5. African coastal and ... are vulnerable to pollution.
7. Fish and seafood provide protein to over ... million Africans.
8. African Integrated Maritime Strategy 2050.
10. Combined Exclusive Maritime Zone for Africa.
13. ... begins and ends with the oceans tides.
14. Ocean on the west coast of Africa.

WORD BANK

Women in Maritime Africa	Maritime Security	Madagascar	
Nairobi Convention	African Maritime Domain	marine ecosystems	
Sao Tome and Principe	Blue economy	AIMS	
Mediterranean	Gulf of Aden	two hundred	
Atlantic	CEMZA	Eternity	ninety