



# ANC TODAY

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Conversations with the  
**President**



# Global development financing must achieve local benefit

■ By **Cyril Ramaphosa**

**F**or two days last week, several world leaders gathered in Paris, France for a global summit on financing development and climate action in developing economies. While such international summits may seem like a world apart from the daily challenges that South Africans face - such as poverty, unemployment and crime - they are actually closely connected.

Global development financing, if properly directed and provided on a significant scale, can make a huge difference to the lives of people living in countries like our own.

While much has been achieved since the advent of democracy in our country to address the needs of the poor, this work has been undermined by slow economic

growth, state capture and corruption, the electricity crisis and the COVID-19 pandemic. These problems are made worse by the damaging effects of climate change, which include catastrophic flooding and drought. Poor communities and countries are most vulnerable to the effects of global warming, and yet they carry the least responsibility for causing climate damage.

**A Key Towards  
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**The idea that BRICS  
can be contained is  
a pie in the sky**

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That is why South Africa and many other countries have maintained that the industrialised countries that have contributed most to greenhouse gas emissions have a responsibility to fund the actions that less industrialised countries need to take to protect their people from climate change.

And since these countries have been able to develop their societies through economic activities that have caused the current climate crisis, they should also contribute to meeting global development goals such as eradicating poverty, improving health outcomes, expanding access to quality education, promoting gender equality and ensuring everyone has clean water and sanitation.

As we said at the summit, we do not want to be treated like beggars, as if we are asking for charity. The industrialisation and economic development of the Global North was achieved at the expense of the Global South. Wealthier countries therefore have both an obligation and an interest in supporting development and climate action in poorer countries.

As South Africa, we argued for a fundamental overhaul of the international financial institutions that are responsible for supporting development across the world. These bodies, which include the World Bank and International Monetary Fund, should be restructured to be more inclusive and responsive. They should provide funding in a way that does not increase the debt burden of countries that are already struggling to service their debt.

We said that the international community must appreciate the scale of the challenge and make sure that sufficient funds are available.

As a start, industrialised countries need to meet their existing commitments, such as mobilising \$100 billion a year for climate action in developing economies.

Yet, even as this goal is achieved, much more money will be needed to ensure an effective response to climate change. South Africa's own Just Energy Transition Investment Plan, which was released last year, estimates that our country alone would need around \$98 billion over the next five years to enable a just transition towards a low-carbon economy.

While the Paris Summit is not a formal structure through which international agreements are reached, it is significant that there was broad consensus among most of the countries that much more funding is needed and that international development banks needed to be significantly reformed to direct that funding to where it will have the greatest impact. There was general agreement that additional private sector funding should be mobilised and that funding should be provided on better terms.

But what does this mean, practically, for the people of South Africa?

With improved funding for our just energy transition, we will be able to invest substantially

in strengthening our electricity grid and new renewable energy generation.

This will make a significant contribution to ending load shedding and securing a reliable and affordable supply of electricity. This will, in turn, promote economic growth, make our exports more competitive and create employment.

This funding will also enable us to develop new industries, such as electric vehicles and green hydrogen, which will increase our industrial output and create jobs for the economy of the future.

Through such funding, we can increase our investment in infrastructure, expanding the capacity of our economy and reducing the costs for emerging businesses.

There are immediate challenges that we are addressing as a country. We are working to accelerate the implementation of our Energy Action Plan and Economic Reconstruction and Recovery Plan so that we can end load shedding, grow the economy and create jobs.

At the same time, we need to continue to assert the needs and interests of developing economies in these international forums, so that we can raise the funds that are required to achieve a just transition and advance our developmental objectives. This is important not only for people in South Africa, but for people throughout the Global South ■

# War must be ended as a matter of urgency

■ By **Secretary General Fikile Mbalula**

## Introduction

**T**he historical relationship between Russia and Ukraine signifies the complexities underpinning the formation of Nation States. Very importantly, States generally emerged through conquest, annexation and subjugation.

For the greater part of the 20th Century, Ukraine was integral to the USSR until its collapse in 1991. In Contrast, we underwent a difficult national reconciliation period, to politically engineer a new society through amongst others the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC). The national question with regards tounity is a complex one, and in Ukraine that has been compounded by the history between Russia and Ukraine, particularly the USSR period.

## Rationale behind the ANC position on non-alignment and an anti-war posture

Since its founding in 1912, the ANC adopted peaceful protest to both national and international political challenges. Since the end of the Second World War, the ANC associated itself with the founding articles of the United Nations on the sovereignty of States. This is amplified by Article 33 of United

Nations Charter which argues that: “The parties to any dispute, the continuance of which is likely to endanger the maintenance of international peace and security, shall, first of all, seek a solution by negotiation, enquiry, mediation, conciliation, arbitration, judicial settlement, resort to regional agencies or arrangements, or other peaceful means of their own choice”, The ANC National Conference made the following observations with regards the Russia – Ukraine war:

“The ongoing war in Ukraine has far-reaching strategic geopolitical and economic consequences for the peoples of the world. This can no longer be described simply as a Russia-Ukraine war – it is primarily a conflict between the US and US-led NATO and Russia in pursuit of the objectives of the so-called Wolfowitz doctrine.

According to this doctrine, the US should not allow that any country in the world should have the possibility, in the post-Cold War period to challenge US interests, especially its hegemony. In this regard, US geopolitical strategy has identified Russia and China as the two powers that must be contained, according to the Wolfowitz doctrine

which undergirds US foreign policy. This is why the US provoked the war with Russia over Ukraine, hoping to put Russia in its place. The peace and “free market economy” dividends promised at the end of the Cold War in the early 1990s have been shattered. The Western imperialist dominance over Eastern Europe is being advanced not through free trade and open competition for markets, but through US-led expansionist military strategies.”

The ANC National Conference further observed that:

“The ANC has been part of the non-aligned movement. We are also part of the anti-imperialist and anti-colonial forces. The ANC remains firm in its view that all conflicts should be resolved through dialogue and diplomacy. We totally reject gun-boat diplomacy. Coming from a continent’s structural transformation this is hampered by conflicts sponsored by imperialist interests, we know from experience that war is costly and that without peace, there can be no sustainable development” The practical steps that South Africa initiated led by President Ramaphosa on the African Peace Mission was informed by the ANC National Conference resolutions on non-align-



ment which declared firstly that: "The ANC calls for the revitalisation and reinforcement of the Non-Aligned Movement in view of the worsening global peace and stability."

And secondly that:

"The ANC calls on countries of the African Union (AU) as a whole to remain non-aligned and to actively participate in the Non-Aligned Movement."

Non-alignment does not mean being impartial on matters of justice. However, non-alignment remains relevant globally because many countries resolved that the agenda informing proxy wars by the big powers does not represent their aspirations in international relations. Non-alignment gives us the opportunity to be impartial peace brokers, hence we were able to participate in the African Leaders Peace Mission to Ukraine and Russia. Therefore, I will argue that non-alignment remains relevant

with regards to wars but we are aligned to justice.

Part of what has come out in the international context as a consequence of the Russia – Ukraine War has been the ICC verdict against President Putin.

It should be borne in mind that again the ANC National Conference was resolute on strengthening BRICS, whose sitting in South Africa has become part of the storm around the Russia – Ukraine war.

In this regard we accordingly resolved that: "The ANC must mobilise for the 2023 BRICS Political Parties Plus Dialogue by enhancing implementation of the 2018 resolutions and also attend to timeous preparations for the 2023 BRICS Political Parties Plus Dialogue."

This was because expanding BRICS is part of consolidating multilateral frameworks on international trade and finance as opposed to

the threats posed by countries that act unilaterally.

The Pacifist policy posture by the ANC is not new. We have as an organisation taken similar stances premised on the sovereignty of States as per the UN Charter in this regard. Even our struggle against apartheid was peaceful until repression reached intolerable levels and were forced into engaging in military combat against the apartheid regime.

That is why we have called for cessation of hostilities and granting of sovereignty to the peoples of Western Sahara, Palestine and the democratisation of eSwatini and in all these instances through peaceful means. We have been opposed to wars in Iraq, Afghanistan, Sudan, Ethiopia and so forth. It is also against this backdrop that we stand opposed to the Cuban Blockade which undermines the sovereignty of that country on self-determination. We advocate

for peace because that was the DNA of our political breakthrough in South Africa, and when war and repression failed, it was a negotiated settlement that enabled democracy in South Africa.

#### **African Initiative on a Peace deal**

President Cyril Ramaphosa participated in the African Leaders Peace Mission, meeting with both President Zelensky and President Putin, to try to end the war as a matter of urgency. President Ramaphosa briefed the ANC National Working Committee on the peace mission and that it was by and large a success, particularly to the extent that the message of peace was effectively communicated to both leaders.

The African leaders presented the 10 point plan, which amongst others highlighted the negative impact the war was having not only on the people of Ukraine and Russia but on other regions such as in Africa where food security has been compromised.

This flies against the propaganda suggesting that because we belong to BRICS together with Russia we are therefore pro -Russia in the conflict. South Africa's stance is that of anti-war hence we call on de-escalation across the board. Our approach in solidarity with like-minded African countries will strengthen the resolve on multilateral institutions as arbiters on all conflicts as opposed to unilateral military actions. This African Leaders Peace Mission put Africa on the world map as champion for peaceful resolution of conflicts. The reform of the United Nations systems including the UN Security Council will enable a greater voice

## “ *The ANC calls for the revitalisation and reinforcement of the Non-Aligned Movement in view of the worsening global peace and stability.*”

by the people of the world as opposed to unilateralism.

#### **Conclusion**

There is no doubt that the Russia – Ukraine war signifies the complex evolution of the Ukrainian State and its historical links with Russia, including the years of the USSR.

The Russia – Ukraine war also signifies the proxy war that the west has fought with the USSR during the Cold War and Russia post the collapse of the Soviet Union.

Whilst some may insist the Cold War is dead, there is no doubt that

the war has been fuelled partly by external geopolitical factors that can be attributed to the legacy of the Cold War, with regards to encroachment.

In as much as the US could protest military presence of either Russia or China in Cuba, for the same reasons that we have the challenges of Ukraine joining NATO as well as the US – China standoff over the South China seas, mainly evolving around Taiwan. The test on adherence to the UN Charter on the sovereignty of States must be asserted but not in isolation to such geopolitical issues that undermine the very claim to national sovereignty and the national security of all countries involved.

The test to global peace will be on how the international community navigates these geopolitical realities, with ever tilting balance of power signified by the rise of China as a super power, amongst others.

As the ANC, we re-iterate the message conveyed to Russia and Ukraine by the African leaders that the war must be ended as a matter of urgency.

In this regard, we call on all other countries to desist from fueling the conflict through military support either to Ukraine or Russia instead of utilising multilateral platforms to end the war. It was against this backdrop that we were dismayed when allegations were made that we could have exported military weapons to Russia, besides the absurdity of the claims as in fact we need weapons from Russia and not the other way round ■



# The National Congress of the African National Congress Youth League - A Key Towards the Future

■ By **George Magoma**

**T**he curtain closes on the Youth Month, a month laden with many activities, spurring young people into action, including the much awaited Congress of the ANC Youth League. Beyond this month, what does the future look like?

This year, after many years of hiatus with huge implications on the lives of young people, the African National Congress Youth League (ANCYL) will be convening its Congress, slated for 29 June to 02 July. The heroic struggles of this day present fresh challenges to the present generation of young people to advance their interests and unleash their potential in the new age of technological development and digitisation. These struggles present a new set of conditions that brings hope on the horizon.

This is hope amidst heart-rending conditions of youth unemployment that stand at a staggering 62%, high levels of poverty, wider inequality and rampant crime that tear our social fabric, affecting investments and economic growth.

*"Each generation must, out of*

*relative obscurity, discover its mission, fulfil it, or betray it"* -

Frantz Fanon

The 1976 generation has fulfilled its mission of an education system that is inclusive and reflective of the country's demographics, entrenching the right to dignity, respect and equality of all languages by codification of linguistic rights. The 1976 struggles were beyond Afrikaans as a medium of instruction. They were also about human dignity, better learning conditions, and reaffirming the sacrosanct right to learning as propagated by the Freedom Charter.

*"The doors of learning and of culture shall be opened to all"* - Freedom Charter

The ANC regards young people as an important sector that resides at the apex of its priorities. To advance people's interests at whose primacy resides young people and other sectors of the populace, the ANC's policy on youth development had created the National Youth Development Agency (NYDA) as a vehicle for development in the areas of education, entrepreneurship, digitisation and technology, agricultural development, policy

and research, cooperatives and Small, Medium, Micro Enterprises (SMME) development.

The struggles of the 1976 generation were not in vain. This is a generation, alongside a generation of the South African Youth Congress and the student movement sworn to the dicta of *"Free Education in our Lifetime; Freedom or Death"*; *"Peoples' Education for Peoples' Power"*; *"Unity in Democracy; Fight, Produce and Learn"* and *"Each One Teach One"* as advocated by the youth and student movements inter-generationally.

The struggles of the 1976 generation were not in vain. Government had introduced the National Financial Aid Scheme (NSFAS) to ensure unfettered, universal access to higher education. Beyond its narrow definition of its mandate and purposes, NSFAS is a contribution to skills training and development commensurate with, and relevant to the human capital needs and development strategy of the country to address challenges of a growing economy and technological advancement in a global competitive sphere.



Young people remain a priority of the democratic State led by the ANC.

***"The children of any nation are its future. A country, a movement, a person that does not value its youth and children doesn't deserve its future"***- Oliver Tambo

Central to the priorities of the Conference of the Youth League should be a leadership that is principled, seized with the responsibility to advance and fulfil a mission of development.

Ethical leadership, unity, common objectives and vision are vital cogs which give impetus to development through organisational cohesiveness, vitality and dynamism with specific focus on the identified challenges besieging young people.

The NYDA approached the month of June under the *theme* "Accel-

*erating youth economic emancipation for a sustainable future."*

The ANC Youth League goes to its Conference under the *"Economic Freedom and Social Change, Now and not Later"*. The complementarity of these themes gives rise to an urgent need to develop a programme of action geared towards the advancement of the aspirations of young people through emancipatory and empowerment policies to ensure sustainability and socioeconomic change and transformation.

This is important and crucial for the ANC and its overarching agenda and strategic mission, especially the advancement of the National Democratic Revolution and quest for a better life for all.

The Conference sits at a time when the movement is at a low ebb of our societal psyche, with young people in a deep state of apathy

and despondency. This is on account of the absence of job opportunities, when many are drowning into alcohol and substance abuse, crime and hopelessness.

These weaknesses have a potential to foment revolts akin to the Arab Spring as predicted by some of the leaders of the ANC and social commentators. We cannot be dismissive of these warnings. The revolts may manifest themselves in young people boycotting the ballot, with huge ramifications on the NDR, the Freedom Charter and the ANC as a leader of society and the life of the movement itself.

In just a few months the country will be going to the polls. The ANC election machinery is in full swing. The ANC Youth League should rise to mobilise young people and to rally them behind the agenda of economic freedom and social change. The time is now. This is a future that cannot be deferred.

In order to achieve this, the ANC Youth Leagues needs to urgently:

- Invest in political education germane to fight, produce and learn. This is in line with organisational renewal and to build organisational capacity and leadership capabilities and expertise, and necessary organisational, ideological, theoretical and practical organisational tools congruent to its strategic objectives.
- This requires a new vision and a leadership that understands the priorities of the developmental State, its challenges and how to address these challenges in order to give meaningful effect to the agenda of economic freedom and social change.
- Political education is paramount in building a future leadership pipeline with the ideological tools and intellectual capacity to implement its resolutions and the programme of action, and building the future in a manner that is sustainable ;
- Developing an agenda that extricates young people from the doldrums of apathy, pointed to job creation and poverty alleviation, education and training, SMME and cooperatives development as change catalysts. This would contribute in restoring the confidence of young people in the organisation's ability to steer development in a manner that is expansionary, reflective of the interests of young people;
- Develop an election strategy and volunteers who will be the face of the ANC's 2024 campaign and machinery. This will

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rebrand and reposition the ANC Youth League as a vehicle for the future, thus reaffirming its leadership role and status as a home of young people;

- Develop and contribute to policy development in order to create jobs and advance its agenda of creating sustainable livelihoods. This requires strong policy lobbying, research on how to empower agencies of the State to execute their legislative mandate of service delivery and job creation;
- Building a higher education and vocational training systems appealing and attractive to the job market, and to build the necessary technical skills relevant to the economy;
- Developing an effective communication strategy that is perennial, sustainable and programme based, relevant to the priorities of the State and plight of young people;
- Develop preventative and ac-

tion based strategies to enhance the pillar Strategic Plan on Gender Based Violence. South Africa is battered by the pandemic of GBV and the persecution of the LGBTIQ+ community, including people living with albinism, the frail and the elderly;

- Partnerships and collaborations with progressive organisations, Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs), Community Based Organisations and State institutions by exploring meaningful interventions to the crisis of unemployment and poverty. Small, Medium, Micro Enterprises (SMMEs) and cooperatives are part of the economic spine and mainstream value chain. These sectors play an important role in economic development, job creation and poverty alleviation.
- Fighting crime by building organs of people's power to strengthen efforts to prevent and combat crime in all its manifestations.

The ANC Youth carries upon its shoulders aspirations of millions of young people relegated to the margins of the economy, hence a need for an expansionary and inclusive approach that elevates job creation to the pinnacle of development.

It is out of this perspective for posterity, sustainable livelihoods, emancipation and socioeconomic change that the Congress of the ANC Youth League, delegates and its leaders across all tiers of the organisation, fulfil this intergenerational mission, or betray it ■



# The Lessons of Three Allegories

## Part 1

### The Allegory of the Cave, The allegory of Metamorphosis and The Allegory of the Four Horsemen of the Apocalypse

■ By **Magashe Titus Mafolo**

I have chosen these three allegories because I believe they have valuable lessons and in many ways, can help both the Strategic Dialogue Group and all us in our different organisations as we try to reset the values and morals that are critical for the deepening and strengthening our democracy, helping to ensure that in reality, it is meaningful and relevant, especially to the poor and the marginalised of our society; as well as trying to understand and navigate the current complex and complicated global relations.

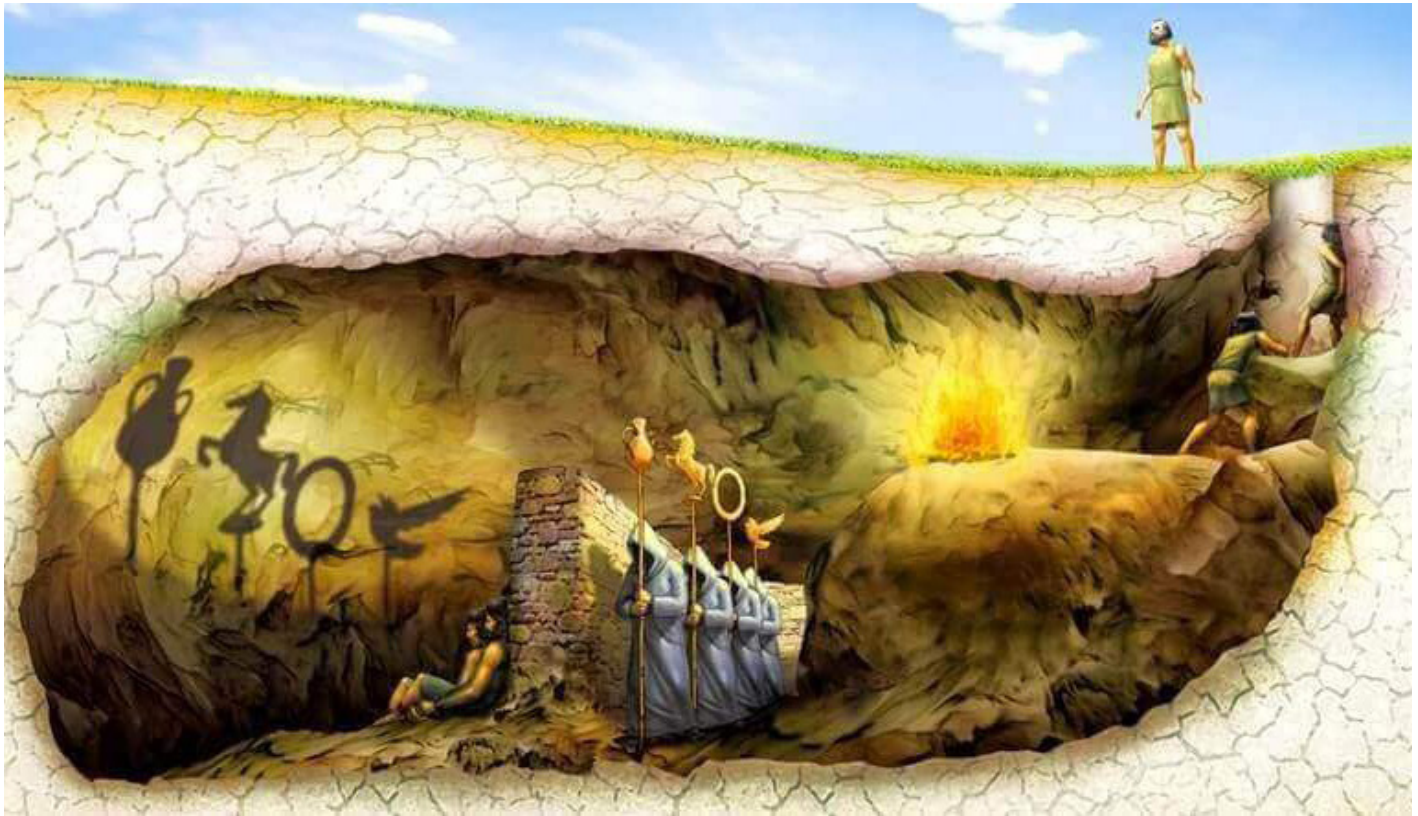
First, the ***Allegory of the Cave*** by the Greek philosopher, Plato.<sup>1</sup> The *allegory* is presented by Plato in his work ***Republic*** and is written as a dialogue between Plato's brother, Glaucon and his mentor Socrates. In the *allegory*, Plato describes a group of people – prisoners – who have lived chained inside a cave all their lives, facing a blank wall, which is like a mirror. They are chained so that their legs and necks are fixed, forcing them perpetually to gaze at the wall in front of them.

Behind the prisoners, there is a fire, and between the fire and the prisoners, is a raised passage with a low narrow path, where people walk carrying objects. These people walk in a manner that their bodies do not cast shadows for the prisoners to see, but the objects they carry can be seen as shadows by the prisoners. On the wall, the prisoners watch projected shadows of the objects passing in front of a fire behind them. The sounds of the people talking, echo off the walls and the prisoners believe these sounds come from the shadows. They then give names to these shadows of the objects. For the prisoners, the shadows of the objects shielding people carrying them are a reality because they have never seen anything else. But since they have been in this dungeon all their lives, their eyes are used to the darkness of the cave, the illuminating fire behind them (not the direct fire) and the shadows.

Then, after a long time, some prisoners are released from the cave. They would then turn around to look direct at the fire. The direct light will hurt

their eyes and make it difficult to see the people carrying the objects that have been casting shadows on their wall. They are then told that they are now seeing reality instead of the mirror image of that reality to which they were accustomed – and that is the real fire and the real people carrying the objects that were casting shadows. To add to their disorientation and bemusement, they now see the natural sunlight, something to which their eyes are not accustomed.

So, there are three bewilderments: the direct fire, actual people carrying the objects (rather than the shadows of the objects) and the sun. Both the direct fire and the sun are now hurting their eyes; and the people who are carrying the objects they have always seen as shadows adds to their utter befuddlement. In pain and confusion, these freed prisoners refuse to adjust to their new reality. Instead, they turn away and run back to what they are used to – into the cave where they see the shadows of the carried objects and the reflected fire. But Socrates says, maybe some people may drag some prisoners out of



the cave, by force up the rough ascent, the steep way up until they face the light of sun. Initially, the prisoners may be angry and in pain, on account of the light of the sun which is unfamiliar, but slowly the eyes would adjust to the sun and then see shadows for what they really are. Having been freed from the cave, in time the former prisoners will be able to see and appreciate the stars, the moon and indeed the daylight sun. Only then, would the freed prisoners appreciate that the world outside the cave was better and superior. They would then attempt to help those prisoners remaining in the cave

In the dialogue, Socrates explains that the philosopher is like a prisoner who is freed from the cave and comes to understand that the shadows on the wall are actually not the real objects, they are fake. However, the inmates of the cave do not even want to leave their prison because they know no better life.

Naturally, we may ask some questions, especially the fact that some

of the prisoners still refuse to leave the cave despite being chained and



***Perhaps in the future, there will be some African history to teach. But at present there is none: there is only the history of the Europeans in Africa. The rest is darkness ...and darkness is not a subject of history. We cannot therefore afford to amuse ourselves with the unrewarding gyrations of barbarous tribes in picturesque but irrelevant corners of the globe.***

made to look one way, something that must be excruciatingly harmful. Who are we in this allegory? Where do we belong? In the cave or those liberated from the cave? Where are we, together with our communities – in the cave or outside the cave? Have we really, all of us been released from our apartheid cave? Do we see real things or are we still accustomed to the shadows of objects, without even seeing those who hold the objects? What are these objects that cast shadows on us such that we believe them to be a reality? Why are those holding the objects shielding themselves in a manner that they can't be seen, but we must see the shadows of their objects?

The ***Allegory of the Cave*** represents the superficial reality that people who are trapped in a false state of consciousness believe. In our case, one can analogise this allegory in quite striking terms. The ***Allegory of the Cave*** points to a situation where by people believe in many things that

those who control the means of persuasion consistently and deliberately feed them. Therefore, not only would it take an exacting effort to get them to transit from this location distortive of their sense of the real world, but this transitioning stage would be cumbersome if not forbidding for them as they have to contend with the blinding glare of new information to which they are not used, even if that information and knowledge would liberate their minds.

In one of our many social media Platforms we once had a heated discussion about the newspaper Daily Sun, with one of our comrades giving it credit for its strategy that ensures that it remains afloat when other print media outlets are facing difficulties. And we all know what Daily Sun publishes – tokoloshes, people having sexual intercourse and being perpetually stuck to each other; and many other stories that the publisher, who is white, would not successfully promote among the white readership. In fact, these are stories that reinforce the racist stereotypical approaches of black people and their lives. The fact that we can even have people thinking that there are some positive aspects of the Daily Sun, means that we have some of us still stuck in Plato's cave. That is the challenge facing the Strategic Dialogue Group.

This is not new. It follows a long deep-rooted assumed historiographical approach, which, many, including the celebrated Friedrich Hegel, asserted that: *"Africa is not a historical continent; it shows neither change nor development, and the peoples were capable of neither development nor education. As we see them today, so have they always been."* Yes, the same Hegel of thesis, anti-thesis and synthesis! He was then followed by a 20th century Oxford professor who said: *"Perhaps in the future, there will be some African history to teach. But*

*at present there is none: there is only the history of the Europeans in Africa. The rest is darkness ...and darkness is not a subject of history. We cannot therefore afford to amuse ourselves with the unrewarding gyrations of barbarous tribes in picturesque but irrelevant corners of the globe."*<sup>2</sup>

Recently, we have seen how in Egypt there is a push back about the fact that the Egyptians of the great civilisation were black Africans, and the Arabs as we know came in the 7th century of the Christian era, long after that great civilisation. Without getting too much into that, this is consistent with what historian Basil Davidson observed about why it became necessary to contest the true nature of the Egyptians of the great civilisation. He argues that it was the 19th century racism of Europeans, like Hegel, who believed themselves to be superior beings and thus could not believe that blacks were capable of such a great civilisation which influenced the Greek civilisation. They then started a narrative asserting that Egyptians who created that great civilisation were not black Africans.<sup>3</sup>

The reason I am raising these matters, which speak directly to the message of the ***Allegory of the Cave***, is that part of our challenges includes working hard to reverse these historical stereotypes on which Bob Marley rendered his rendition of redemption: *emancipate yourself from mental slavery; none but ourselves can free our mind*. Steve Biko said the same thing. This is one aspect of the need to come out of the cave. In doing this, we need to help one another to write and record our stories, to learn from those stories and ensure that we pass those stories and their lessons to our children. In that way, we would be helping ourselves to see things for what they are, not those reflected on the walls of today's

caves that tell tales of tokoloshes among us. If they really exist, these tokoloshes must be racist, because they don't bother white people.

Have you ever tried to discourage people from reading the demeaning publications about blacks, the ones that churn out stories after stories of tokoloshes – or the TV programmes that portray black people's lives as those of endless fights, witchcraft, sorcery – whose dictionary meaning is black magic! These hark back to racist ideas which are still strongly prevalent today in our society and, thus, its owners deliberately produce papers and TV programmes based on a deep-rooted, assumed historical approach of a static past of black lives, that are still defined by some savage primitive existence in God-ordained socio-economic wretchedness which are then contrasted with civilised and developed white lives.

Of course, today we have a limited number of progressives willing and capable to venture into areas that must help us escape the intellectual and mental caves, even if they have to be negatively labelled by some of the strong forces that have occupied those spaces. Many progressives have retreated from intellectual engagements, for various reasons, including perhaps that there are many strong forces that are capable of stringent and polarising polemic contests. But the challenges remain, which means we have to find ways and means to embark on this difficult and enduring work, to ensure full enlightenment or revolutionary consciousness among many of us. This would require, among others, that we must have deliberate campaigns to help us escape the cave and make the difficult transition of embracing critical consciousness, in terms of which are to interrogate given and presented narratives ■

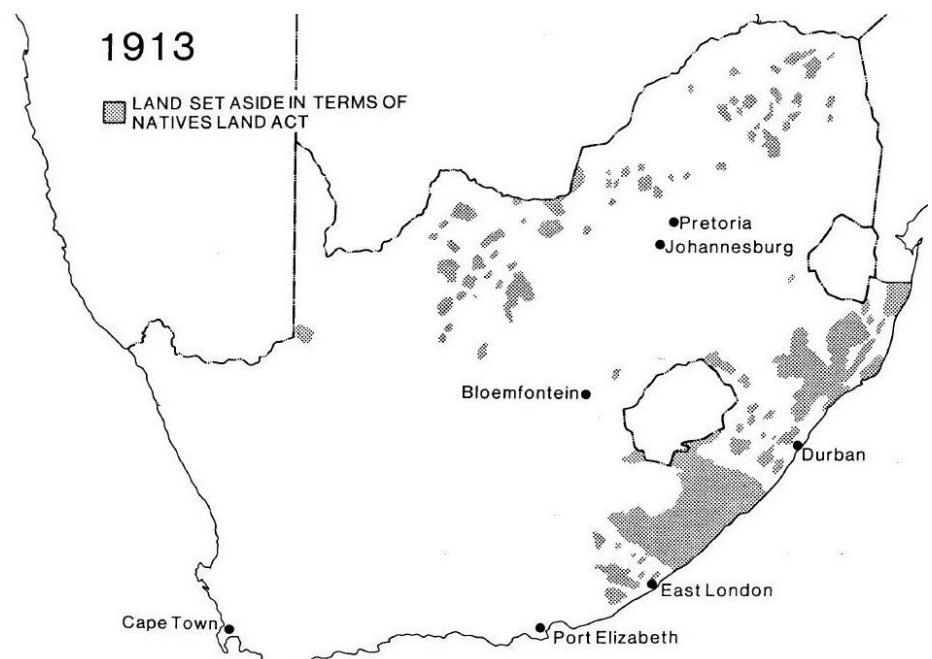


# 1913 Native Land Act Reflection

■ By **Ayabonga Cawe**

**19 June 1913** is a part of our social and economic 'origin' story, inextricably woven with our contemporary project of land reform. Our Restitution Act uses 19 June 1913 as a chronological marker defining who has claim to redress. In providing for a framework of redress to all those dispossessed of land rights following that day, it has often in the public discourse, obscured the earlier uses of the tools of legislation to dispossess Black communities in South Africa.

Unsurprisingly then, much of the debate in the public discourse freezes in time, much of the dispossessive acts of an earlier period. All of which had the embryonic features of the systems and institutions of social control that would later be visited on our people. From the ordinances that controlled the formerly enslaved at the Cape, to vagrancy laws, male primogeniture in succession and inheritance, regressive taxation, and deeper restrictions on African franchise. The 1913 Act effectively closed any of the slim but at the time, existing avenues for agricultural advance by Black peasants in the countryside while explicitly resolving the labour supply problem confronting white agriculture, mining, and emerging industry.



The Act severed the land 'use-rights' associated with leasehold, sharecropping or 'farming on the share'. Many black farmers in the Eastern Cape, the Free State, the Northern Cape, and parts of the former Transvaal had lived under conditions where, as tenant farmers they, '(provided), besides their labour, a part of the operating capital' that made land ownership viable for their white landlords. In return they would receive a 'share' of the production from the farm subject to their agreement with the landlord.

This system was not unique to South Africa. Karl Marx observed

that, 'the share-cropper, whether he applies his own labour or that of others, has a claim to a share of the product not in his capacity as a worker, but as owner of a part of his tools, as his own capitalist'.

In this way, the sharecropper is fundamentally different to the labour tenant or seasonal agricultural worker, who is entitled only to wages, rather than any share of the upside in profit. J.T.A. Verschuur, a farmer from Elliot to a hearing of the Beaumont Commission in Queenstown in January 1914 painted a picture of the functioning of such arrangements, as an income source for white speculators and

absentee landlords;

'You will find that the European owner goes and settles in town', lamented Verschuur, 'and he is satisfied to live on what the native can give him, it is a most unsatisfactory state of affairs' he added .

In outlawing this practice, the 1913 Land Act closed an avenue to the accumulation of capital for Black peasants and imposed a particular agrarian differentiation and national hierarchy in the countryside. We are grateful also to R.W. Msimang, a lawyer and a founder member of the ANC, whose living account of the experiences of those evicted, read of the losses: numerous houses, heads of cattle and goats in parts of now KwaZulu Natal and the Free State, families made vagabonds overnight. He suggested that in Natal then, there were 436 000 set to be evicted and around 80 000 in the Free State, most given notice of just a few days.

This marked a significant departure towards the deepening of capitalist relations in agriculture. Along with this shift, came the rising precarity and land hunger of an agrarian Black under-class that was faced with two options: labour tenancy on the farms or wage labour at starvation wages in the mines and mills further afield. In so doing, the Land Act irreversibly changed tenure forms in the countryside, forbidding any ownership or meaningful use rights to Africans to purchase and rent land outside of the overcrowded areas specifically meant for African occupation. These 'reserved' areas or 'Native Reserves', as many Africans lamented, were located on the most overcrowded, least arable, and most discon-

nected (from roads, rail, harbours, and telecommunications) pieces of land on less than a tenth of the total surface area of the country.

The 1913 Act, by the restrictions it introduced also made the land question, rather than a narrowly confined agrarian phenomenon, an urban question. In the cities, where much migration happened, the land question took and continues to take on a different form, but its 'essence' remains the same.

In 1890, before the start of deep-level mining, there were 14 000 people living in the gold mines in the Witwatersrand. Nine years later before the end of the 19th century, nearly 100 000 were mining low grade ore on the Reef . Outside of the gold and diamond fields, in places like Port Elizabeth, industrial employment grew following the collapse of wool prices in the late 19th century. This employment was concentrated in consumer goods industry such as the leather and footwear sector by the middle of World War 1, servicing a growing internal demand and employing the bulk of African workers in the area , prior to the arrival of the automotive assembly industry in the 1920s. This major shift birthed the deeply contradictory features of the colonial and later Apartheid segregation approach.

Urbanisation continued as the 'Native locations' began to grow in size alongside these urban centres and their growth, while rural evictions continued. The census of the Union of South Africa showed major urban population growth that accompanied these changes. In 1921, the population of the Witwatersrand consisted of 537 307

people. By 1951 the population had more than tripled to over 1.6m people. The rise was nearly four-fold for Durban from 168 743 to 479 974 and in Port Elizabeth the population had grown from 52 753 to 188 987 in the three-decade period .

Secondly, this growth of particularly the African population in the cities, made 'permanent' a layer of people who were theoretically supposed to be a 'temporary' workforce in the environment spawned by the 1913 Land Act; with no meaningful tenure or land use rights in the urban core. These restrictions were not solely confined to Africans, as the legal restrictions on Indian merchants' retail and wholesale activities and their ability to buy and sell property in 'white areas' since 1897 in Natal and the old Transvaal shows, all the way through to the Group Areas Act of 1950.

While placing restrictions on ownership or sale of land across different national groups, the Group Areas Act made provision for specific exceptions. One of these was for mining or manufacturing firms, which had 'machinery to the value of not less than five thousand pounds installed', at the time of the Act . This allowed white mining and manufacturing operations in what would be the Bantustan areas the right to continue without loss of any property rights or prior investments or any concern of African competition. All of these restrictions to Black economic advance received a foundational coherence and founding form, from 1913 Land Act.

Today, the 1913 Land Act casts an



ominous shadow over the urban and rural settlements of growing number on the margins of our cities and in the vast expanse of informal settlements in the countryside. Yet there have been notable advances. More African households (80,7%) lived in formal dwellings in 2021 than twenty years ago in 2002 (67%), according to the General Household Survey. Around a fifth of African households are still living in informal or 'temporary' dwellings, however.

In response to this, the Budget passed in February this year, targets the on-site upgrade of 900 informal settlements through the informal settlements upgrading partnership grant, to the tune of R27.2 billion over the next three years. This will involve the provision of secure tenure on relatively well-located land, water and sanitation and access to social services and public goods; providing 60 000 serviced sites per year. Policy and implementation work continues in the creation via similar grant instruments of mixed-use residential housing developments that pursue to undo the spatial disintegration and provide affordable rental and subsidized housing for low and middle-income households that fall outside of private mortgaged financing.

Unfortunately, challenges remain, and strategic setbacks threaten to reverse whatever progress has been achieved. A declining proportion of households in the rural provinces of the Eastern Cape, Limpopo and KwaZulu Natal are engaged in one or more productive agricultural activities, than in the early 2000s. Of those who are producing around 2% do so as

their main source of income, with the majority undertaking such activities to augment household food requirements

Agricultural production remains concentrated in large, commercialized farms employing wage rather than family labour. Put simply, capitalist production and its associated social relations of precarity, wage labour and insecure tenure, are the dominant mode of production, insofar as the distribution of value is concerned, even though these firms constitute a small proportion of all farming units. Large farms (those with an annual income of more than R22.5 million), while constituting less than 7% of all farming units, account for two thirds of income and more than half of all employment in agriculture. Micro farming units, while constituting just under half (46.7%) of all farms, account for less than 2% of all income, and 6% of employment. The land and agrarian reform strategy of the democratic movement must and needs to confront this pernicious legacy of duality and the large-firm bias of production that is an inheritance from the 1913 Land Act, and many measures before and after it.

Our task is to diversify what is produced and who received 'incomes' from that production on the land and participation in agricultural markets; and to secure the base for food self-sufficiency and security for the peasantry. Related to this task, is the protection of the land tenure and use-rights of labour tenants.

In the urban sector, the task is to spatially integrate our cities, drive residential construction on well-lo-

cated land, regulate rents in gap and social housing and regulate private developer activity to contribute to building of public goods and to ensure affordable housing within well-located developments. So too have we seen that the poor Black working class is,

also in its settlement in informal areas, prone and vulnerable to environmental shocks arising from climate change. This can be seen in the states of disaster and the reconstruction activities that have subsequently followed flooding risk events. Our work must respond to this.

The peasants and the urban Black working class are not in a land struggle to have land leased to them or to be 'overlorded' by institutions of a civic or traditional authority, but rather to own the land in a manner they so wish, be it individually or collectively under institutional, distributional and governance framework of their own choosing.

In the diligent execution of these tasks, we may reverse the concerning and persistent scenes observed by R.W. Msimang in 1914 of, 'the capricious removals without check, the loss of buildings without compensation and reduction (of the people) to a state of vagabondage with no prospect of permanent settlement'.

So long as many in our country can resonate with these experiences over a century later, the land struggle continues ■

**Ayabonga Cawe** is Chief Commissioner at International Trade Administration Commission

# The idea that BRICS can be contained is a pie in the sky

■ By **Sikhumbuzo Thomo**

**T**he explosive exposure by President Vladimir Putin of the peace deal that was signed and subsequently forsaken and discarded by President Volodymyr Zelensky after the advice from the then Prime Minister Boris Johnson has wounded the NATO alliance. It has accelerated the low intense 'war' we see inside Europe against the war in Ukraine, over the realisation that the United States of America (US) is using NATO as a vehicle for the pursuit of its own unilateral national economic and security interests. One of those interests is the containment of the BRICS countries, starting with both Russia and China. Masses in their numbers across Europe are demonstrating through countless anti-war protests. Many people in the West are starting to realise that the US is not their true friend.

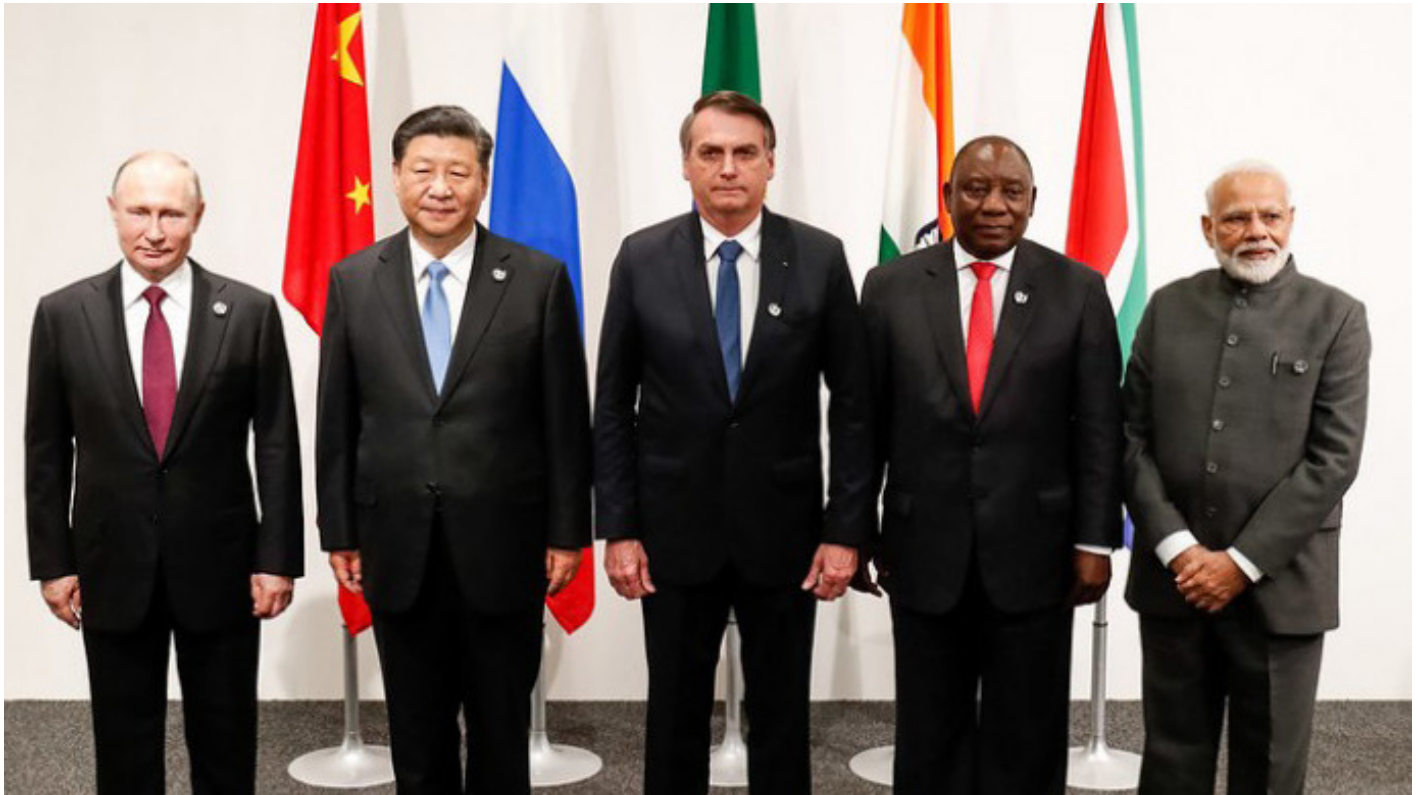
The other factor that is of importance is that of the geopolitical consequences of unilateralism and the foreign policy diktat by the US that the world has been subject to since the end of the second world war. For the last several decades we have witnessed



global US coercion as opposed to cooperation. Conversely, the BRICS bloc has amicably lured basically almost the entire global South to its sphere, to its ranks and agenda.

There is a growing global lethargy of unilateral sanctions that get imposed by the West, often

willy nilly of which it is normally accompanied by seizure of assets and private property by the West that has no basis on international law. Looking at most policies that Europe has enacted, one can see that all this has been at the unilateral advantage of the US at the expense of Europe. The entire



EU bloc has gone into a technical recession (Q2 2023).

The shape of the world economies today since the establishment of BRICS, member states have been very successful, with China leading the way from India, Brazil, Russia and South Africa. In terms of the Purchasing Power Parity, the BRICS countries have now surpassed the all-time high G7 countries. The same goes for combined GDP. It is also stronger than the G7 countries. As of March 2023, the numbers have shown 31.5% for the BRICS and 30.7% for the G7 countries nominally, and continue to grow exponentially.

As a consequence, this growth and policy certainty by the BRICS has opened up flood gates of applications to the bloc. While China trails the US economy by a few trillion dollars, India has already surpassed the United

Kingdom and France to be the fifth largest economy in the world. The Brazilian Development Bank (BNDES) is already signing more approvals than the International Monetary Fund (IMF), while the BRICS Bank has the most favourable loan conditions than any Global Financial Institution. As things stand, it will surpass Germany in the next ten years or even sooner, depending on the outcome of Russia's Special Operation in Ukraine.

So, with that said, the idea by some that think that the BRICS can be contained is a fallacy. Nobody outside the West wants to take any side in the current conflict in Ukraine, neither do they want to conform to coercive diplomacy but everybody is in fact all walking towards the BRICS Bloc. This should be a wake-up call to the West that the policy of none recognition and the emphasis on military power is

no longer working.

Most international relations scholars agree that there is a tendency for protracted conflicts to escalate as other countries inevitably get pulled into the fight as a result of heightened violence. The potential of this happening in Ukraine is real. The fact that President Matamela Ramaphosa together with other African leaders were able to lead a global peace talk at the time that they did could not have been timely enough, and to top it off, also formulate a ten point plan that was tabled to both leaders in the conflict as a conflict resolution package indicates that the balance of global diplomatic forces has now shifted, if not tilted towards the BRICS. This effort is being hailed in all four corners of the world but the US administration and the European Union ■



# SA's Position on the Russian-Ukraine Conflict

■ By **Vusumzi Vusie Mba**

**A**s South Africans we must learn to give credit where it's due. We need to acknowledge and recognize the efforts of the South African government, led by the ANC, on the initiative of peace between Ukraine and Russia. We must applaud the initiative done by African leaders to go and speak about peace with the Europeans. It was a first of its kind. It is a historical moment that we must be proud of as Africans. For the first time in history, Africans have taken a step to erase the poor perception and all the bad things about them.

It is not an accident of history; that for the longest time, Africa has been viewed and labeled by Western imperialist forces as warmongers and warlords. For the longest time in international politics, Africans in general and black people in particular have been perceived as people who are not fit to run political affairs in the post-colonial era. This, in the eyes of the West, makes them uncivilized, barbaric and epistemologically inferior to participate and mediate in instances of war, and, when it comes to sustaining global



peace and cooperation. It is a well-known historical fact that Western Countries, through their imperialistic intervention and interference are responsible for the social, political, economic and cultural dilemma of Africa which has led to its ruin.

In instances like these, which are a

stepping-stone in affirming Africa's ingenuity, which postulates that, not everything must be resolved through war, particularly between these two countries that have such a historical context of commonality and cultural affinity that once constituted the Soviet Union, which was an ally of liberation

movements in Africa.

South Africa should stand firm on its stance of not-supporting the breaches of war in the Russia-Ukraine conflict; the international dictates of human rights should apply to everyone with no double standards and partiality. Therefore, South Africa should not take sides between countries as alluded above who were its historical allies in the fight against colonialism and apartheid.

The USA ambassador to South Africa, Reuben Brigety, has accused South Africa of providing weapons to Russia on a cargo ship that docked secretly at a naval base near Cape Town. Such reckless statements with no proper context really show desperation of the Western Countries to continue their Russophobia, because Russian is a threat to the so-called "American Dream" of unilateral global predomination of other countries through imperialistic means rather than that of mutual cooperation.

The USA's concern about South Africa's exercising military relations with Russia should not deter South Africa from continuing to strengthen its cordial relations with Russia from time immemorial. All Countries worldwide conduct military exercises with their allies for their respective mutual benefits of their national interests. South Africa demonstrated in March when Pretoria abstained from voting on a United Nations resolution that was condemning Russia's invasion of Ukraine and calling for Moscow to withdraw its forces immediately. NATO's interference on the conflict between Russia and Ukraine is

uncalled for and is adding insult into injury, because everywhere were NATO intervenes it leads to a global catastrophe and trampling on the values of human rights.

South Africa's neutrality emanates from the strong cordial relations, between the ANC and the Soviet Union that were forged during the liberation struggle against apartheid whereby the Soviet Union backed the ANC financially and militarily for the total liberation of the African people, whilst the United States labeled the ANC back then as a "terrorist organisation".

Furthermore, they viewed our liberation hero Nelson Mandela as



*I think that's an important position to take because we must try and understand what each side is saying, what is the nature of the problem, what is the nature of the solutions. I think that it becomes possible for us as Africans to have our own proposals, having listened to both sides*

a "terrorist" till 2008. Apart from that, it is a historical fact that South Africa is part of a movement with a membership of 120 countries, a movement that has been non-aligned during the cold war. South Africa never aligned with or against any major bloc or superpower.

Since the advent of democracy in 1994, one of the critical pillars of South Africa's foreign policy when it comes to conflict resolution has been the call for dialogue. As Fuzile Prince Jwara argues: "The mere thought of the government covertly supporting Russia with arms sparked controversy over the future of South Africa-US relations." He further extends his argument by stating that: "The US has publicly given military aid to Ukraine. But now we have more questions than answers as the US Ambassador to South Africa, Reuben Brigety apologised and backtracked on the allegations."

Emotions must be put aside, and a call made by former president Thabo Mbeki must be heeded, which states as follows: "I think that's an important position to take because we must try and understand what each side is saying, what is the nature of the problem, what is the nature of the solutions. I think that it becomes possible for us as Africans to have our own proposals, having listened to both sides".

Peace efforts must be made to ensure that an amicable solution to the conflict between Russia and Ukraine is reached and the cold-war mentality needs to be thrown out of the window for the purposes of the triumph of global peace and solidarity.



# Lessons from Germany: Nurturing Unity, Accountability, and Economic Prosperity for South Africa's Future

■ By **Faez Jacobs**

**H**aving spent several days in Berlin, Germany currently, as part of the South African Parliament's Multi-Party exchange programme as a ANC deployee, I have had the opportunity to reflect on the valuable lessons we, South Africans can learn from the German people. Here are some key observations:

**German patriotism:** Despite having diverse political, religious, and economic views, Germans exhibit a strong sense of patriotism. They possess a deep love and pride for their country, which transcends their individual differences. This unwavering patriotism allows them to work together towards common goals, putting the interests of the German people above all else. We, as South African politicians, engage and worked with each other abroad, why can't we do it at home?

**Coalition management:** Germany's governance structure incorporates



coalition management at various levels, from federal to local. Our Ambassador, His Excellency Honourable Sizani explained that the German political system is driven by a shared commitment to serve the interests of the German people. Instead of letting political differences hinder progress, they find ways to collaborate and form alliances that promote effective governance. This

approach ensures that diverse perspectives are considered, leading to balanced decision-making and representation. We together must serve our people, not narrow sectarian selfish interest. Our politics, including coalitions, must move away from individual, personality, and ego based to focus on issues and solutions-based approach.

**Action-oriented accountability:** Germans emphasize action and accountability over excessive talk. While public consultations, commissions, and dialogue are essential, they prioritize translating discussions into tangible actions. They focus on achieving measurable results and holding individuals accountable for their responsibilities. This approach promotes a culture of efficiency and effectiveness, where actions have consequences, leading to improved outcomes for society. Let's stop being shocked, surprised, and commissioned to check and investigate. Let's be proactive, take responsibility, and make examples of incompetence and serial offenders. Build trust and restore credibility by solving and serving.

**Forward-looking mentality:** Germans have embraced a forward-looking mindset, shifting their focus from a troubled past. They have moved beyond the divisions between East and West and fostered a united Germany. Instead of dwelling on historical grievances, they concentrate on building a prosperous future for all Germans. This perspective serves as a powerful reminder that as a nation, we must not be consumed by our colonial and Apartheid past. Instead of just blaming and complaining, let's rather focus our energy on constructive efforts and nation-building. Stop the 'them and us', 'black and white' narrative, the victim or entitlement mentality and replace it with CAN DO attitude that as a South Africans we will contribute and be part of the positive change needed.

**Cooperative and mixed economy:**

Germany's success can be attributed, in part, to its cooperative and mixed economy model. Economic ownership and participation are encouraged, allowing citizens to have a stake in various sectors. This inclusive approach has resulted in low unemployment rates, with only 3% unemployment in Germany. By prioritizing economic empowerment and shared prosperity, they have created an environment conducive to sustainable development and social cohesion. The German Cooperative and Raiffeisen Confederation (DGRV) model of which 1 out of every 4 Germans are members provides a blueprint for success in cooperative movements. They've mastered a philosophy we need to incorporate, we need each other, and by working together, we can achieve more. Their emphasis on self-help, self-responsibility, and self-administration is a template we can adapt to our unique South

African context.

In addition to their cooperative enterprise model, we're already embracing Germany's vocational education and apprenticeship programmes, which provide practical skills and training to the youth, and aligning education with industry needs. This approach has contributed significantly to their low youth unemployment rates and skilled workforce. What must we do differently to achieve similar desired results.

Moreover, Germany's investment in renewable energy sources and sustainable practices has led to a thriving green economy, reducing dependence on fossil fuels and promoting environmental sustainability. This commitment to clean energy aligns with our own goals of transitioning towards a greener future.

In addition to these reflections, we should also explore areas such as technological innovation, efficient public transportation systems, and inclusive social policies as potential avenues for learning and collaboration.

By embracing the lessons, we can learn from Germany. We have the opportunity to enhance our own governance, economic models, and social cohesion. Let us foster a culture of unity, forward-thinking, and accountability, with a firm focus on creating a better future for all South Africans. Whilst abroad and missing home, I remain hopeful for our beloved motherland South Africa.

In solidarity from Berlin.

***We together must serve our people, not narrow sectarian selfish interest. Our politics, including coalitions, must move away from individual, personality, and ego based to focus on issues and solutions-based approach.***

## A Leaf out of South Africa's History

# LET US ACT TOGETHER

## Extracts of ANC President OR Tambo's Reflections on the Kabwe Conference (June 1985)

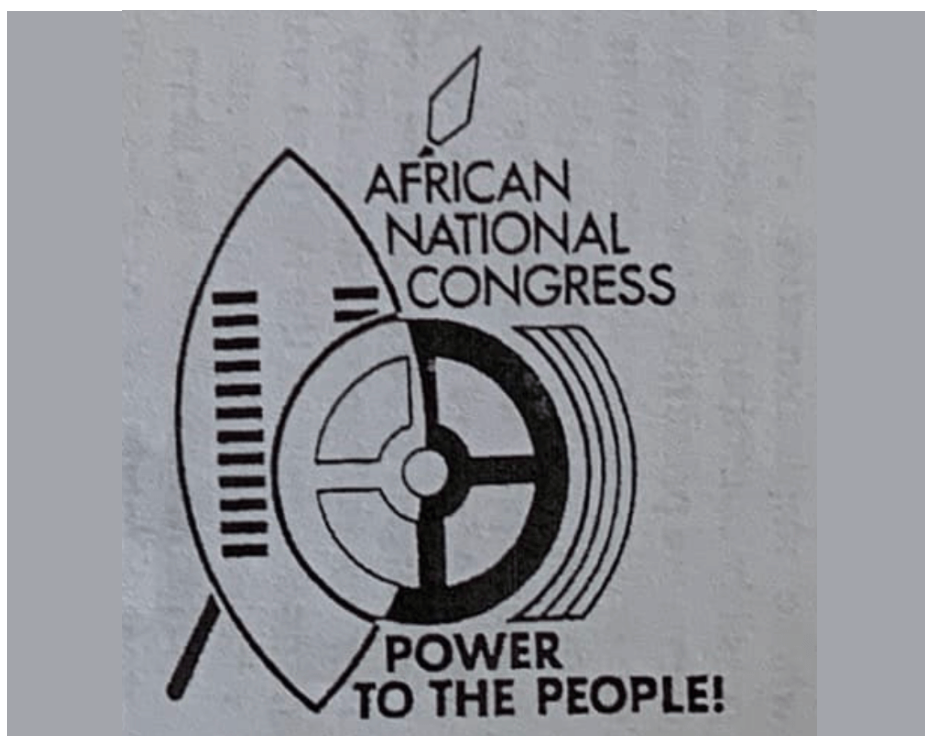
### Part 1

■ By **Castro Khwela**

#### African National Congress (ANC) on Unity

**T**he ANC has always encouraged the unity of our people inside the country. We have campaigned ceaselessly for united action. We've called on our people in the various organisational formations, in different political units, to fight on their own fronts; but also to address the common enemy, and to do so in unity with everybody else. That covers all political organisations, all ideological trends. It addresses the workers, the South African people as a whole who are opposed to the racist system of education. That is why the ANC was pleased, to say the least, when the UDF (United Democratic Front) was formed, because it created a platform exactly for united action.

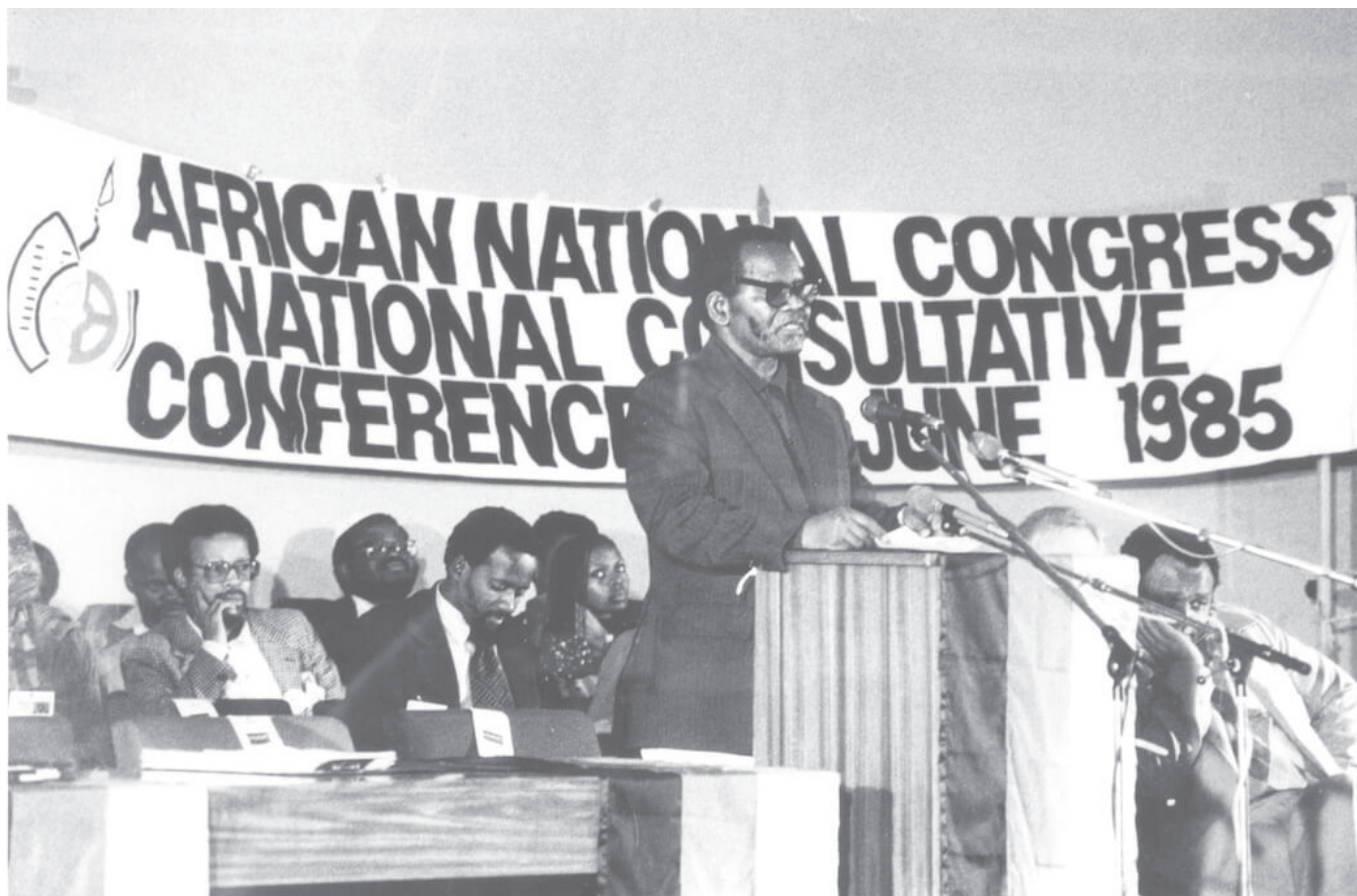
Now and again there are slight differences, but by and large the ANC



pursues the position that whatever we differ about, let us be united in defeating and destroying the apartheid regime. Some organisations, for example, don't quite accept every word that the Freedom Charter

says. We accept that. We continue to try to convince them that the Freedom Charter poses the alternative to the apartheid system; that there is no other answer. But, even when they differ with any article





in the Freedom Charter – they still believe that the regime should be overthrown. On that basis we say – let us act together.

### **The Conference Resolved the Struggle Must Escalate**

When we decided on armed struggle, we accepted its consequences. It was a declaration of a readiness to sacrifice. On the other hand, when the regime persists in its apartheid system in the first instance, and also in killing our people, subjecting them to a succession of massacres, it also must accept the consequences of its actions. We have declared war on apartheid. The regime has declared war on all opponents of apartheid. But we declared war because apartheid was war against the people anyway.

From 1948 when the Nationalist

Party came into power, it pursued policies which were a declaration of war on the people, on the international community. This has been particularly manifest during the last decade when the leaders of our region have complained of an undeclared war against their countries. So, the region is unavoidably in a state of continuing war of one degree or another, and it will be in that state of war until the war is ended. The war will end when the Nazis of our region are defeated by our people and the international community, which knows about Nazism.

### **Apartheid Reforms vis-à-vis the Freedom Struggle**

Apartheid expresses itself in many ways. Small ways, big ways. There is something fundamental about apartheid; there is something su-

perficial. Not so long ago we were not allowed to go into the same lift. When I say we, I mean Blacks – non-Whites, as we are called. That restriction was removed. That was many years ago. Since then the struggle has waged on – apartheid has continued killing, it has even crossed its own borders and killed freely in Botswana, Lesotho, Swaziland, Mozambique, in Zimbabwe, Namibia, Angola, Seychelles and in this country – it has continued despite the removal of that restriction, because the removal of the restriction of going into a lift was not what we were fighting about. We were not asking to be allowed to go into a lift with anybody. And the same thing applies to trains; now you can go into any compartment.

That has nothing to do with what we are fighting about ■

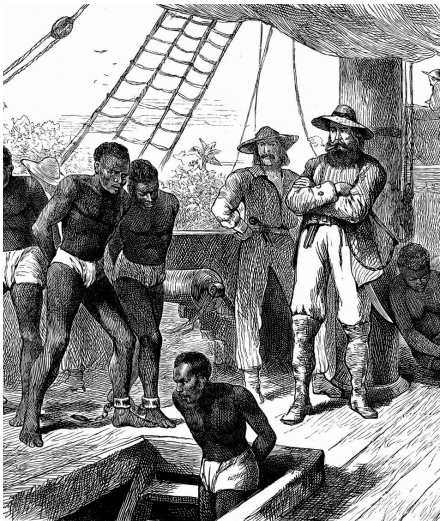
*(To be continued)*

# THIS WEEK IN HISTORY

1 - 7 July 2023

Source: SA History Online, O'Malley Archives and The Africa Factbook

## ■ 1 July 1860 Four million African slaves



National census day in the US Tabulations shows that the country is home to 4 million African slaves, making the USA the world's largest slave state. Slavery is abolished by law in the US in 1862, but most remain enslaved until 1865.

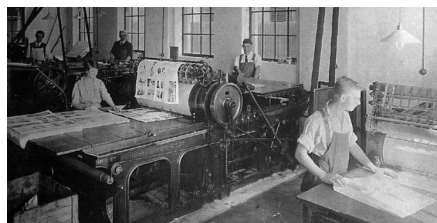
## ■ 1 July 1899 Rhodes writes will

South African mining magnet, British imperialist and white supremacist Cecil John Rhodes writes his will, which establishes upon his death the prestigious Rhodes Scholarships to be awarded to outstanding (white, male) individuals to study at the University of Oxford in the UK. Females were admitted to the full scholarship in 1977 and the first black South Africans that qualified in 1992.

## ■ 1 July 1921 Botswana founding President Seretse Khama born

Sir Seretse Khama was born on 1 July 1921 in Serowe, Bechuanaland, now known as Botswana. He studied in South Africa and graduated from Fort Hare College with a BA in 1944. In 1966, he became the first president of the Republic of Botswana. Under his leadership Botswana developed from an impoverished and internationally obscure protectorate inherited from Britain to an increasingly democratic and prosperous country with a significant role in Southern Africa. He served as president until his death on July 13, 1980, in Gaborone.

## ■ 1 July 1938 South African Press Association formed



The South African Press Association (SAPA) was formed as a not-for-profit platform for local newspapers to share national and international news. With changes in the industry, SAPA closed shop and sent out its last story on 31 March 2015; its archives bought by Sekunjalo Investment Holdings.

## ■ 1 July 1959 Central Bank of Nigeria starts operations

The Central Bank of Nigeria, founded the previous year and entirely owned by the Nigerian government, begins operations in Lagos.

## ■ 1 July 1960 Ghana becomes a republic

Ghana, the first African country to gain independence from Britain in 1957, became a republic on 1 July 1960. Kwame Nkrumah became its first President. The country remained a member of the British Commonwealth and became one of the founders of the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) in 1963.

## ■ 1 July 1960 Democratic Republic of Somalia founded

On 1 July 1960, the independent Somali Democratic Republic, commonly known as Somalia, was formed out of former British and Italian territories, with Mogadishu as capital and Aden Abdullah Osman Daar as its first president. Italian Somaliland and British Somaliland, situated on the eastern coast of Africa and bordered by the Gulf of Aden and the Indian Ocean, were occupied by the two colonial powers since the early 19th century. In 1956, in accordance with a decision by the United Nations, Italy granted its territory internal autonomy which evolved into independence in 1960. The same development took



place in British Somaliland when Britain ended its protectorate in June 1960.

### ■ **1 July 1966** **African Development Bank starts operations**



The African Development Bank (AfDB) created by a treaty signed by 23 African nations in 1963 begins operations at its headquarters in Abidjan, Cote d'Ivoire. Initially, only African countries may join the bank, but in 1982, non-Africans are allowed to join. Today, the AfDB has 54 African member countries and 26 non-African members. The AfDB board is split according to the size of each member's share, currently 60%-40% between African and non-African members. The top ten shareholders are Nigeria, USA, Egypt, Japan, South Africa, Algeria, Germany, Canada, France and Cote d'Ivoire.

### ■ **1 July 1970** **Key African universities founded**

This is an important day in the development of the university sector in Africa: the University of Nairobi, founded in 1956, becomes the first national university in Kenya. After being established as an affiliate college of the University of London in 1961, the University of Dar es Salaam was founded in post-independence Tanzania. The University of Benin became a fully-fledged university, on

this day. On 1 July 2005, the South African Walter Sisulu University, main campus in Mthatha, Eastern Cape was created out of the merger of the Border Technikon, Eastern Cape Technikon and University of Transkei.

### ■ **1 July 1975** **Ethiopia nationalizes urban land**

Ethiopia's Derg government nationalizes all urban land, including rental houses and apartments. Three million urban residents are organised into urban dwellers associations.

### ■ **1 July 2010** **East African Common Market Protocol launched**

The Protocol, which permits free movement of workers, capital, goods and services is launched by the East African Community Chairperson, Kenya President Mwai Kibaki.

### ■ **1 July 2011** **Kingdom of Morocco reforms**

Morocco voters approve political reforms proposed by King Mohammed VI, giving more power to the legislature, making the Prime Minister head of government and not the King, greater judicial independence from the monarchy and making the local Berber language the second official language besides Arabic.

### ■ **2 July 1839** **Armistad slave revolt**



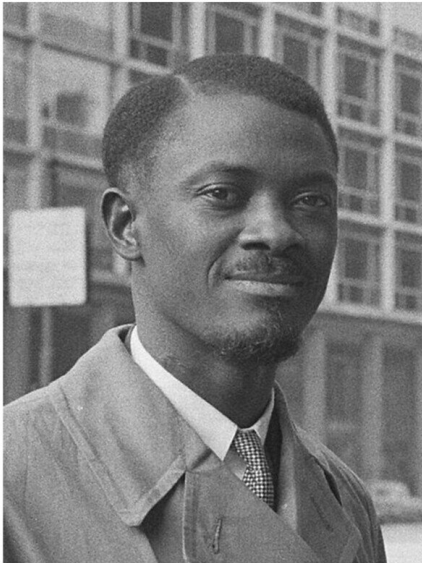
African slaves aboard the Armistad revolted in a bid to be free. The slaves were mainly from Sierra Leone, part of millions of Africans taken during the Transatlantic Slave Trade. Their revolt was led by a young Mende man called Sengbe Pieh, popularly known as Cinque. Cinque, on 2 July managed to free himself from his shackles, helped to free other slaves and they took charge of the ship, killing the captain. A US Confederate captain, Lt Thomas Gedney highjacked the ship, taking it to Connecticut, where slavery was still legal. The US anti-slavery movement came to their rescue and the matter taken to the courts. They eventually won their freedom. In January 1842, the surviving 35 Amistad Africans who survived returned to the continent. In 1997, Steven Spielberg directed the movie Amistad, based on these historic events.

### ■ **2 July 1867** **Griqua leader Andries Le Fleur born**

Andries Abraham le Fleur, Griqua leader and visionary, was born in Herschel, Eastern Cape. He was the son of Abraham le Fleur and one of the leading figures in Griqualand East. Both he and his father were extremely active in the 1890s on behalf of the Griquas who claimed that they had lost their land unfairly. His father, Abraham de Fleur was part of the commission appointed by Adam Kok II (1811-1875) to find alternative land for the Griqua, and served as Kok's secretary. He married into the Kok family, and after the death of Adam Kok IV, he assumed the position as Paramount chief of the Griquas. In April 1898 Andries le Fleur was sentenced to fourteen years' hard labour for sedition, but was released early in 1903. Le Fleur is also known as 'die Hervormer', the Reformer. A legendary figure, his grave is venerated among the Griqua people.

## ■ 2 July 1925

### **Patrice Lumumba born**



Patrice Emery Lumumba was born in the Katakombes region of the Kasai Province of Belgian Congo. Lumumba became involved in politics as a young man and in 1958 founded the Mouvement National Congolais (MNC). As MNC President, Lumumba helped win Congo's independence from Belgium in 1960. He was elected Prime Minister of the Republic of the Congo. After only 12 weeks in power, the new government was deposed in a coup which led to Lumumba's arrest. He was executed by a firing squad on 17 January 1961. It later emerged that Lumumba's death had been orchestrated by Belgian and US forces who opposed his vision of a united Congo.

## ■ 2 July 1991

### **NUSAS disbanded**

The National Union of South African Students (NUSAS) decided to disband on this day. NUSAS was formed in 1924, organizing university students. It was open to members of all races; and also called for the end of Apartheid and all discriminatory policies. In 1969, Steve Biko led black students in a walk-out from NUSAS to form SASO, feeling that the organisation

did not represent their issues. NUSAS played an important role in mobilizing white youth and students against apartheid; including many playing a role in the trade union movement. In the 1980s, NUSAS adopted the Freedom Charter, became a member of the United Democratic Front (UDF) in 1981, and formed a non-racial student alliance with COSAS and AZASO (fore-runner to SASCO). NUSAS was also represented (by Leila McKenna) in the Provisional National Youth Committee (PNYC) formed in 1990 to relaunch the ANC Youth League. NUSAS members decided to dissolve the organisation ahead of its merger with black student organisation, SANSCO in September 1991 at Rhodes University, to form SASCO.

## ■ 2 July 2012

### **30 June stadium opens in Cairo**

The 30<sup>th</sup> June stadium was built by the Egyptian Air Force for its team. The stadium opened on this day and was used during the 2021 Africa Cup of Nations.

## ■ 3 July 1992

### **South Africa rejoins FIFA**

South Africa's membership of the Football International Federation Association (Fifa) is reinstated on this day, 31 years after being expelled for its racial segregation policy in sports. Clubs were divided according to race, and in 1956 the apartheid government introduced its first racist policy on sport, and the South African Football Association (SAFA) became a federation of only white clubs. FIFA ruled that SAFA was not a 'real national association', and in 1961 South Africa was expelled. Before the readmittance in 1992, SAFA united into a non-racial federation for all South African footballers.

## ■ 3 July 2007

### **AU Accra Declaration on**

## **The Union Government of Africa adopted.**

At the conclusion of the "Grand debate on the Union Government of Africa", held in Accra, Ghana, the African Union Heads of State and Government resolved that "the ultimate objective of the African Union is the United States of Africa with a Union Government as envisaged by the founding fathers of the Organization of African Unity and, in particular, the visionary leader, Dr. Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana;" and agreed to accelerate African economic and political integration of Africa.

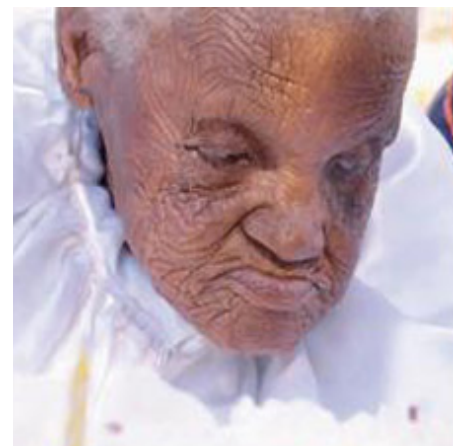
## ■ 4 July 1864

### **Extinct Dodo bird featured in Alice in Wonderland**

Lewis Carroll children's classic Alice in Wonderland is published on this day, featuring the Dodo bird from Mauritius. The last dodo bird was killed by European settlers in 1681, rendering the species extinct, after first recorded mention of the bird in 1598 by Dutch sailors.

## ■ 4 July 1874

### **Birth of South Africa's claimed oldest person**



Birth of Granny Moloko Temo, South Africa's claimed oldest person who lived until the age of 135 before passing on in July 2009.

## ■ 4 July 1979

### **President Ahmed Ben Bella released from prison**

Algerian liberation icon, socialist and former President Ahmed Ben Bella is released from prison after 14 years. He was Algeria's first prime minister after independence in 1962 and elected president in 1963. Along with Kwame Nkrumah (Ghana), Mobido Keita (Mali) and Sekou Toure (Guinea), he supported liberation and anti-colonial movements in the rest of the continent, including South Africa. He was at the founding conference of the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) in 1963. He was deposed in a coup in 1965 and arrested, until his release in 1979.

## ■ 4 July 1994

### **Rwanda Patriotic Front enters Kigali**

After the Rwanda Genocide that started in April 1994, the RFP enters Kigali, ending the Hutu led genocide, which saw in the space of less than two months nearly a million Rwandese, mainly Tutsis and moderate Hutus, being massacred.

## ■ 4 July 2008

### **Africa's largest number of rail passengers**

Egypt has Africa's largest number of rail passengers, with over 41 million passengers transported during this year. It is four times the number of rail passengers transported by Africa's second largest rail network country, South Africa. The high density of the Egyptian population living along the Nile river (99%), creates the necessary conditions for rail use. By this year, the Egyptian National Rail agency operates nearly 6000 km of standard gauge rail, out of 10,500 km of rail. In 2021, the Egyptian government announced the construction of a 660 km high speed line (Green

line) starting in Mersa Matruh on the Mediterranean ocean through Alexandria ending in Ain Sokhna in the Gulf of Suez. There were also plans under discussion to connect with Khartoum by rail, as part of a Cape to Cairo rail project.

## ■ 4 July 2019

### **Advocacy for Kiswahili**

The African Academy of Language joins the advocacy for Kiswahili to become the official Pan-African language. On the basis of this recommendation, the East African Community announced a partnership with the African Union to promote kiSwahili as 'a language of wider communication.'

## ■ 5 July 1201

### **Deadly Egypt-Syria earthquake**

One of the most deadly earthquakes in recorded history took place in Egypt and Syria, killing over 1.1 million people, including due to famine in its aftermath. According to accounts, more than five years after the event, clearing up of the tragedy was still not completed.

## ■ 5 July 1937

### **Publisher and Author Asenath Bole Odaga born**

Kenyan publisher, Asenath Bole Odaga was born on this day in Raneda. Odaga founded Lake Publishers, the first woman-owned publishing company. Lake Publishing issues work of Kenyan publishers in book forms as well as through audio and visual story telling. She wrote several children's books herself, so that African children could "read about their own background and know real African heroes with whom they can identify."

## ■ 5 July 1954

### **TANU formed**

The Tanganyika African Association,

formed in 1921 by Ali Saidi to advocate for African interests against British colonialism, is transformed into the Tanganyika African National Union (TANU) by Mwalimu Julius Nyerere. TANU became the principle organisation in the achievement of independence.

## ■ 5 July 1957

### **Afro-Shirazi Party of Zanzibar formed**

The future ruling party of Zanzibar, the Afro-Shirazi Party is formed from a merger of the Afro Party (mainly African members) and the Shirazi Party (mainly Islamic members). TANU and Afro-Shirazi Party merged on 5 February 1977 to form Chama Cha Mapinduzi (CCM)

## ■ 5 July 1975

### **Cabo Verde gains independence**

One of the African island states, Cabo Verde, which consists of 10 volcanic islands in the Atlantic oceans on the west coast of Africa, gains independence from Portugal. The capital of Cabo Verde is Praia, which is on the most populous island in the country, Santiago

## ■ 5 July 1991

### **ANC Conference elects Nelson Mandela**



The 48<sup>th</sup> National Conference of the ANC held in Durban elects Nelson



Mandela unopposed as its new President and Walter Sisulu as its Deputy President. Oliver Tambo becomes National Chairman, Cyril Ramaphosa Secretary General and Jacob Zuma Deputy Secretary General. Thomas Nkobi retains his post as Treasurer General. This was the first conference in South Africa of the ANC since the banning in 1960.

### ■ 5 July 2000 **Blood diamonds ban**

The UN Security Council imposed a ban on Sierra Leone "blood diamonds", as part of efforts to end the civil war, which started in 1991 and only ended in 2000. The Revolutionary United Front (RUF) occupied diamond mines and used diamonds to fund its insurgency. The civil war saw over 50,000 casualties, and countless rapes, mutilations, torture and the abduction of children forced to become soldiers. The Kimberley Process Certification scheme came into effect in 2000, adopted by the World Diamond Congress in order for the industry to police conflict/blood diamonds.

### ■ 6 July 1937 **Author and Historian Bessie Head born**

Bessie Amelia Emery was born in Pietermaritzburg on this day, as a child to mixed parents. Her mother was sent to a mental hospital when pregnant and Head given up for adoption. Her love for books manifested early, and she went on to train as a teacher in Durban. Bessie soon resigned from teaching and took the train to Cape Town to work as a journalist, and later worked in Johannesburg, where she interacted with notable writers such as Can Temba, Lewis Nkosi and Dennis Brutus, and where she met Robert Sobukwe and joined the PAC. She immigrated to Botswana in the 1960s, where her career as an author took off, with three novels *When Rain*

*Clouds Gather* (1968), *Maru* (1971), and *A Question of Power* (1973).

### ■ 6 July 1951 **African fashion icon Kofi Ansah born**

Ghanaian fashion designer Kofi Ansah was born on this day, to an artistic family who encouraged his creativity. He studied fashion design at the Chelsea School of Art with a first class honours in 1979. He went on to place African fashion on the global stage, including as founding president of the Federation of African Designers. Characteristic of his style was the use of quilting, embroidery and appliqué.

### ■ 6 July 1967 **Biafra war starts in Nigeria**

Nigeria, with its many ethnic groups, a product of British colonialism and the forced integration of the three major groups, the Yoruba, Igbo and Fulani-Hausa that always had their own administration, cultures and religion, into a unitary state. In 1966, a coup by Igbo army officers was followed by reprisals against the Igbo population and unilateral declaration of independence of Biafra in the eastern region by Emeka Odumegwu Ojukwu. On 6 July 1967 the Nigerian army sought to reannex Biafra, leading to a 30 month civil war that saw over a million people perished.

### ■ 7 July 1889 **Celebrated nurse Constance Nothard born**

Constance Annie Nothard, nursing sister and recipient of the Florence Nightingale Medal from the International Red Cross Society, was born in the Eastern Cape. Nothard rendered outstanding service in the South African Military Service in Europe during the First World War and was awarded the Croix de Reconnaissance for

distinguished service in France. She received the first Gold Medal of the South African Nursing Association on 12 May 1961 in recognition of exceptional service in times of war and peace. The Library at the South African Nursing Association headquarters in Pretoria was named the C.A. Nothard Library in her honour.

### ■ 7 July 1988 **Five Cape anti-apartheid leaders released**



Five prominent anti-apartheid activists were released in Cape Town after being detained for up to two years under the Internal Security Act. The five are Trevor Manuel, Ebrahim Rasool, Mountain Qumbela and Hilda Ndude, all officials of the United Democratic Front (UDF) in the Western Cape region, and Mzonke Jacobs, president of the Cape Youth Congress (CAYCO). Three of them, Manuel, Rasool, and Jacobs, were immediately served with restriction orders limiting their movements and activities and barring them from speaking to the press.

### ■ 7 July 2017 **Ghana launches its first nano-satellite**

The satellite, GhanaSat-1 is launched from the International Space Station. The device will monitor the environment of Ghana's coastline, taking images and collecting atmospheric and other data ■

# INTERNATIONAL AND NATIONAL DAYS

**1 - 7 July 2023**

**Source:** [www.un.org](http://www.un.org), [www.au.int](http://www.au.int), *The Africa Fact Book (2020)*, [www.daysoftheyear.com](http://www.daysoftheyear.com)

## Plastic-free July

Single-use disposable plastics (bags, cups, straws, packaging) are amongst the worst pollutants in our modern world. According to the United Nations Environmental Programme (UNEP) around the world 1 million plastic water bottles are bought every minute, and 5 trillion single use plastic bags bought and disposed every year. The plastics end up in landfills, in our oceans, lakes and rivers, in the natural environment and in our communities. Plastic-free July is a campaign for all of us to try and for one month, to eliminate single-use plastic use.

## ■ 1 July

### International Reggae Day

This international day started in Jamaica, the birthplace of reggae music, and was inspired by a speech by Winnie Madikizela in Kingston, Jamaica in 1992, when she admired the capacity of reggae “to encourage, inspire and unite people.” According to Folklife, an online music magazine, “roots or reggae music, through its close association with the philosophy and culture of the Rastafari, and inspired by Pan African Marcus Garvey, played a major role in transforming Jamaica’s national identity from one of an Anglophilic British post-colony to a ‘conscious’ Black nation with a proud African heritage. It has since become an international day for lovers of the genre the world over.

## ■ 1 July

### International Joke Day

Laughter is an important part of human interaction and emotion, and jokes have been around for a long time. Laughter has many social benefits, helping us to connect with people, build bonds, relax, release stress and is good for your health. The first comedy club is said to have been established in 320 BCE in Greece.

## ■ 2 July

### International Cooperatives Day

Cooperatives are people-centred enterprises owned, controlled and run by and for their members to realise their common economic, social,





and cultural needs and aspirations. Co-ops range from small-scale to multi-million dollar businesses in over 100 countries across the globe, employ more than 100 million people and have more than 800 million individual members. In the fields of health, agriculture, production, retail, finance, housing, employment, education, social services and many other spheres where cooperatives are found, the more than one billion cooperative members worldwide continue to prove that no one needs to face a crisis like the pandemic on their own. International Cooperative Day is celebrated on the first Saturday of July, and this year it will be 100 years since #CoopDay was first celebrated.

### ■ 2 July

#### **International UFO Day**

The day draws attention to humankind's belief that there are other living and possibly sentient beings, somewhere in the universes. The day is celebrated on the anniversary of the supposed UFO crash in Roswell, USA in 1947, and on this day, those who believe in UFOs share their stories, whilst watching the skies. You can also celebrate the day by watching movies about or reading about space. May the Force be with you!

### ■ 3 July

#### **Global Plastic-bag free day**

Single use plastic bags are amongst the most insidious pollutants across the globe, dirtying our cities, towns and rural areas, the lakes, rivers and oceans. Alternatives to single plastic bags are available, with bags made of hemp and other reusable products. To date Bangladesh (2002), Rwanda (2008), Kenya (2017), New York State (2020) and

Thailand (2020) are the countries in the world that have completely banned plastic bags. Seventy seven (77) other countries have introduced partial bans.

### ■ 7 July

#### **African Integration Day**

highlights progress with the integration of the continent, seen as key to its social and economic development, and shared prosperity. The economic integration plan is set out in the Abuja Treaty of 1991, ultimately to have a fully-fledge African common market. The operationalisation of the African Continental Free Trade Area at the beginning of 2021 was one important step towards integration. The African Union Agenda 2063 highlights other areas of integration, such as integration through infrastructure, political integration including an African passport and harmonization of university qualifications.

### ■ 7 July

#### **World Kiswahili Day**

Swahili is amongst the official languages of the African Union (AU) and United Nations, and is spoken by over 200 million people in the world. Kiswahili originated in East

Africa, and is spoken in Tanzania, Kenya, Uganda, Rwanda, Burundi, the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC), South Sudan, Somalia, Mozambique, Malawi, Zambia, Comoros, and as far as Oman and Yemen in the Middle East. South Africa and Botswana have introduced it in schools, while Namibia and others are considering doing so.

### ■ 7 July

#### **World Chocolate Day**

Chocolate is made from the seed of the cacao bean, which is fermented and roasted, before being used. Cote d'Ivoire and Ghana produce over half of the world's cocoa beans, and if you add production from Nigeria and Cameroon, that rises to over 70% of global production. According to [www.makechocolatfair.org](http://www.makechocolatfair.org), "worldwide, 90% of cocoa is grown on small family farms of 2 to 5 hectares, while just 5% comes from large plantations of 40 hectares or more. Cocoa production provides livelihoods for between 40 and 50 million farmers, rural workers and their families in the Global South. In Cote d'Ivoire and Ghana up to 90% of the farmers rely on cocoa for their primary income■"



## Higher Education in Africa



### Across

6. Continental association of African agricultural faculties
8. Senegal's oldest university named after this intellectual
9. Total number of African students' enrolled (2017)
11. University of ..., Nigeria's first
12. University of ... in Morocco, oldest in world
13. Largest African university
14. ... University, oldest higher education institution in Uganda
15. Number of universities in DRC (p. 95M)
16. Oldest university in Ethiopia (1950)
17. African universities as percentage of global universities

two hundred ninety four

### Down

1. ..., Accreditation and Quality Assurance in African Higher Education
2. Number of African universities in 1980
3. First Egyptian university, founded 971
4. Measure of youth participation in higher education
5. SA university produced number of African post independence leaders
7. Continent wide ... by the African Union
10. AU Initiative for integration of African higher education

## WORD BANK

fourteen point six million  
 six point six percent  
 gross enrollment rate  
 Addis Ababa  
 Al-Azhar University  
 Ibadan

Makerere  
 Al Quaraouiyine  
 Pan African University  
 twenty  
 Cheikh Anta Diop  
 UNISA

Harmonisation  
 HAQAA  
 RUFORUM  
 Fort Hare

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## Dialogue: Russia-Ukraine Conflict

