

Closing Address of ANC President Cyril Ramaphosa to the 26th National Congress of the ANC Youth League NASREC 2 July 2023

It is truly a privilege to address the Congress of the ANCYL at its conclusion.

Truly, it is a fitting end to youth month that we are, after eight long years, in a position where the young people of the African National Congress can take charge of reviving their organisation.

You are the heirs to a proud and distinguished legacy.

You stand on the shoulders of giants of the liberation movement and you

must stretch every sinew to ensure you live up to proud and militant traditions bestowed upon you by comrades such as Anton Lembede, Nelson Mandela, Walter Sisulu, the generation of Steve Bantu Biko who revived internal mass resistance and who swelled the ranks of the ANC and uMkhonto we Sizwe.

It includes the Young Lions of the 1980s, who rose to the calls to revive the formation of student organisations (COSAS, AZASO) after the banning of the BC

student organisations in 1977, who spearheaded the Education Charter Campaign and built a non-racial student movement with NUSAS. The Young Lions also include the thousands who rose to the call to form youth organisation in every township and village, that spearheaded the call to make the country ungovernable and apartheid unworkable, and formed that bombshell of our revolution, the South African Youth Congress in 1987.

It includes the generation who

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relaunched the Youth League in 1991 in KwaNdebele, who went on to defend young people and communities in the face of third force violence, ensured young people participated in and supported the negotiations process, partook in the formulation of the RDP and ensured an ANC Elections victory in 1994. It was this generation who contributed to crafting the youth policy architecture our country has today.

We must always remember that the formation of the Youth League in 1944 was in response to mass unemployment, widespread poverty and a leadership that is said to have been out of touch with the needs of ordinary people.

Our country faces similar challenges today.

Unemployment is still unacceptably high; poverty is still widespread and our Movement still struggles to bridge what we call the "social distance" between its leaders and membership.

The Young Lions of 1944 wanted to change the nature of resistance from passive deputations to mass boycotts and a more militant programme of action. Many of these young leaders would go on to become outstanding leaders of the ANC itself and succeeded in changing the very history of our movement and our country.

This is your history.

This is the legacy which you must strive to emulate.

The 2017 Strategy and Tactics says:

"The Youth League has the responsibility of harnessing the energies of young people to lend vigour and dynamism to the process of social transformation. It acts as a school for imparting theory and practical experience to young people who align themselves with the policies of the ANC.

Guided by the strategy, tactics and policies of the movement, the League is tasked with organising and campaigning around issues of special interest to young people and broader questions of social transformation.

To play this role, the League must have discipline of thought and action, the courage to try new things and the humility to drink from the well of the liberation movement's collective experience."

We must therefore measure the



events, deliberations and outcomes of this Congress against this standard.

It has been a long and arduous road to reach this point, where we are closing a successful Congress of the ANC Youth League. It has taken many task teams and interim committees, forward and backward movement.

The resilience, perseverance and dedication of many young people brought us here.

I commend you for ensuring this Congress spend time on the hard work of discussing and agreeing on policies aimed at the economic emancipation of young people as well as contributing to the overall unity and renewal of the ANC.

Like the generation of comrades Anton Lembede and Nelson Mandela, the Young Lions of the 1980s who formed student organisations and contributed to making the country ungovernable and the 1991 generation who relaunched the Youth League in KwaNdebele, you are called upon to define for yourself what it means to be a vibrant, strong, autonomous, militant and disciplined African National Congress Youth League.

The ANC and ANCYL constitutions refer to organisational autonomy of the League from the ANC. Organisational autonomy implies administrative autonomy. It means independence in structure and activity. The League is not merely an auxiliary or appendage of the ANC but should

appendage of the ANC but should have an organisational and administrative life of its own.

This means the right of the League to convene and hold its own

conferences; take resolutions which affect it and its programmes; and to elect its own leadership. It has the right to establish its own infrastructure, its bank accounts and to run its own projects.

It is organisational autonomy, not political autonomy. Therefore, the ANCYL must adhere to the policy, political programme, strategy and tactics and ideological view of the ANC. On the other hand, the ANC always welcomes those ANCYL political positions which help to enrich its own policies.

In cases where conference and other leading structures of the ANCYL take decisions which affect the political positions of the ANC, those positions are subject to endorsement, modification or even disapproval by the National Executive Committee of the ANC.

Having convened the 26th Congress of the ANCYL, under the theme of

" ECONOMIC FREEDOM AND SOCIAL CHANGE. NOW RATHER THAN LATER"

delegates grappled with how to tackle the fundamental question of the second phase of our transition, that of economic freedom. It deliberated on how to ensure young people are empowered through economic and other initiatives that cater to their needs and interests.

It further deliberated on what social programmes and initiatives are required to genuinely transform our society in the interests of the people. Congress therefore deliberated on issues of access to health and education as it pertains to young people and the broader population.

Finally, delegates had to deliberate on how the Youth League must be organised and structured to respond to challenges facing young people and our movement, broadly.

There are therefore, a number of key tasks ahead of you:

- Rebuild and renew the ANC
 Youth League as the preferred
 leader of young people in South
 Africa
- Mobilise young people for economic freedom and social change.
- 3. Mobilise young people for a decisive victory for the ANC in 2024.

Rebuild and renew the ANC Youth League as the preferred leader of young people in South Africa

The ANC NEC said in its 2023 January 8th Statement that the ANC will only succeed in realising its strategic objectives when it confronts its subjective weaknesses and successfully transforms itself into a renewed, responsive, modernised, well-governed, well-resourced, ethical, caring and effective political formation.

The ANC has embarked on this journey and has registered successes and setbacks along the way. However, we can confidently say that the successes are outweighing the setbacks and this journey of renewal is unstoppable and irreversible.

All our structures, including the Leagues, must embark on and contribute to this journey of renewal and rebuilding.

The Youth League must now begin this necessary process.

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and Renew our Movement

It is undeniable that the absence of elected national leadership has had a negative effect on the ability of the Young Lions to effectively lead young people in South Africa. That period is hopefully at an end today.

The leadership of the Youth League will now have to do the hard and thoroughgoing organisational work to rebuild structures, embark on membership drives and engage in political education to recruit young people.

You will also have to deal with negative tendencies that have crept into all our structures over a long period, such as factionalism, gatekeeping and the use of money. This you will have to do in an organisational and principled manner and without fear or favour.

It is imperative that the Youth League at national level participates fully in structures and the activities of the Alliance, especially in the Progressive Youth Alliance (PYA) as part of efforts to strengthen progressive youth activism across society. This will play an important part of ensuring that youth debates become genuinely progressive and constructive.

The Youth League must also form part of and participate in international progressive youth fora and ensure that the message of the ANC finds resonance throughout the world.

Mobilise young people for economic freedom and social change!

This newly elected leadership will lead young people at a time when the cost of living is high and unemployment, in particular youth unemployment, is unacceptably high.



The Youth League has the responsibility of harnessing the energies of young people to lend vigour and dynamism to the process of social transformation.

More than 11 million people are unemployed in our country. Critically for this Congress, the most recent Quarterly Labour Force Survey says that youth aged 15-24 years and 25 -34 years recorded the highest unemployment rates of 62,1% and 40, 7% respectively.

Approximately 3,7 million (36,1%) young people between aged 15 -24 were not in employment, education or training (NEET).

You are thus very correct when you say youth unemployment is a ticking time bomb and like the Young Lions of 1944, you are correct to demand that we become more dynamic, systematic and urgent in addressing this crisis.

This ANC government recognised that the state has a pivotal role to play in directly creating employment and other economic opportunities. That is why we established the Presidential Employment Stimulus, which has to date created employment and livelihood opportunities for more than a million people.

We are aware that more must be

done and look forward to engaging with the contributions of the Youth League on this and other job creation initiatives.

However, as we recognised in the January 8th Statement, much of the work we are doing to stimulate investment and create jobs is being hampered by the severe electricity crisis.

The Energy Action Plan we announced in July last year has been broadly accepted as the most realistic route towards resolving the energy crisis.

We are undertaking several farreaching measures to completely transform the country's energy sector. Apart from the immediate steps to stop state capture at Eskom and rebuild the utility, government has made significant policy changes to enable a more competitive, reliable, cost-effective and sustainable electricity industry.

We know that delegates to this Congress would have developed a broad range of innovative proposals to address the energy crisis and we look forward to engaging with these proposals.

Despite tremendous and meaningful progress in improving the quality of life for many South Africans, too many of our people still live in poverty and nearly a quarter of our compatriots live below the food poverty line.

We continue to make strides in increasing access to education for all South Africans, but especially learners and students from poor and working-class households.

The percentage of South Africans with at least a grade 12 qualification

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increased from 31% in 2002 to 51% in 2021.

An important intervention to improve school attendance and alleviate poverty was the introduction of nofee schools in poor communities. Around 9.6 million learners received free school meals.

The number of poor and workingclass students receiving NSFAS funding increased from 580,000 to 770,000 between 2018 and 2021.

Our interventions to improve school enrolment and attendance show steady progress, but the rate of school drop outs remains too high. It is said that a significant number drop out due to disability/illness, 21% due to academic performance and nearly 20 % due to lack of resources. (General Household Survey).

We are looking at the Youth League to support our interventions through diversion and other community projects for young people. We must do all we can to keep young people in schools and other education institutions as dropping out may adversely affect their chances of getting a job or earning a living wage.

We have no doubt that delegates to this Congress would have held intensive discussion and developed substantive proposals aimed at enhancing access to education. The movement cannot wait to begin engaging with these proposals.

There is still significant inequality in access to health care and we look forward to hear the proposals emanating from this Congress.

The long overdue introduction of

the National Health Insurance will enable every South African to receive appropriate standardised quality health care regardless of their ability to pay. We are looking forward to signing this Bill into law as soon as it reaches the desk of the President of the country.

The ANCYL must join the rest of the Mass Democratic Movement in mobilising communities to defend and support the NHI.

Comrades, there has been an alarming increase in the rate of HIV infections, especially amongst young people. The reasons for this increase are multi-fold, such as our unacceptably high rate of gender-based violence, a marked drop in HIV-testing and focus on HIV during the COVID-19 pandemic.

The Youth League must embark on a multi-pronged campaign, targeting issues of prevention, safe sex and utilising both traditional and new, innovative forms of campaigning. I commit that the mother-body, and hopefully the Alliance, will partner with you in such a campaign as HIV/ AIDS affects all of society.

Mobilise young people for a decisive victory for the ANC in 2024.

We will be going to elections in 2024. The ANC is optimistic that now that there is an elected leadership of the ANCYL, there will be new impetus and drive to mobilise young people on behalf of our movement.

The absence of the ANC Youth League was quite obvious in the muted dynamism of our recent campaigns. Of course, the last campaign was waged during the global pandemic

which brought its own challenges.

You must drive campaigns on voter education amongst communities, focusing on encouraging young people to register to vote. The Youth League must also focus on broader civic education as too many people are still not aware of their rights and responsibilities.

The revival of youth structures represents a fundamental pillar of the overall renewal and rebuilding of the revolutionary movement.

Without a militant, vibrant and disciplined youth movement that is responsive to the needs of young people, the ANC may eventually lose the ability to grow and renew itself.

The NEC said in the 2023 January 8th Statement that it will prioritise the convening of successful Conferences of the Leagues to establish proper and effective structures.

The ANCYL, under the guidance of the NEC, has now concluded its Congress and has elected its leadership.

We trust that this leadership will lead the renewal and rebuilding of the ANCYL and, in this manner, contribute to the renewal and rebuilding of the ANC.

It is only when the ANCYL lives and leads the youth that renewal of our movement, the fundamental transformation of our country and renaissance of our continent can become a reality in our lifetime

Forward with the revival of the ANCYL!

Roar, Young Lions, roar!



ANC Statement on the outcomes of the National Working Committee Meeting held on 3rd July 2023

INTRODUCTION

The National Working Committee of the African National Congress (NWC) met on Monday, the 3rd of July, 2023. This meeting occurred immediately after the weekend the African National Congress Youth League successfully convened its long-awaited National Congress. This media briefing is to inform the nation of the outcomes of the NWC meeting and the way forward concerning matters deliberated upon and their impact on the ANC, the country, and the world.

ANC YOUTH LEAGUE 26th NATIONAL CONGRESS

Over the weekend of 30 June – 02 July, the African National Congress Youth League successfully convened its 26th National Congress. The ANC NWC welcomes this significant political milestone as the ANCYL will now effectively position itself as the true champion of youth development while simultaneously mobilising them behind the vision of the ANC, as elaborated in its twin tasks mission statement.

The ANCYL 26th National Congress was convened under the "Programme of Action for Economic Freedom and Social Change" theme.



Now and Not Later." Arising from political discussions at the ANCYL National Congress reaffirmed the organisation integrity, underpinned by its autonomy. Critical in this regard is that National Congress delegates committed themselves to organisational renewal under the leadership of their newly elected officials and NEC, which will ensure sustainability beyond the current leaders and members of the ANCYL.

The ANC fully supported the ANCYL NYTT to convene this National Congress without interfering with the autonomous political processes on political content and leadership preferences. The ANC will continue to defend the autonomy of the ANCYL

because it is only in that way that the ANCYL leadership at all levels can truly and fearlessly champion youth interests and thereby be relevant to the youth of our country.

Therefore, the ANC urged the ANCYL to live up to its historic mission of championing youth interests while mobilising them behind the vision of the ANC. The ANC emphasised that the ANCYL must fearlessly define its autonomous role as a disciplined integral to the ANC. The NWC was confident that given the political climate under which the ANCYL National Congress was convened, both the leadership and membership of the ANCYL would now have a deeper appreciation of the importance of building a





stronger organisation and thereby never repeat the mistakes of the recent past wherein the organisation was in perpetual limbo for about eight years, without a duly elected National Executive Committee.

The ANCYL is now better positioned to champion youth development concerning combating youth unemployment, expanding youth entrepreneurship opportunities, and spearheading skills development in industry areas relevant to the economy.

The ANC recognises and accepts that it is like young people to be impatient with change, and we are looking forward to a vibrant, militant, radical, disciplined, and autonomous ANCYL.

The Top Six Officials that were elected without being contested at the ANCYL 26th National Congress were:

- (a) President Cde Collen Malatjie
- (b) Deputy President Cde Phumzile Mgcina
- (c) Secretary General Cde Mntuwoxolo Ngudle
- (d) First Deputy Secretary General Cde Tsakani Shiviti
- (e) Second Deputy Secretary General

- Cde Olga Seate
- (f) Treasurer General Cde Zwelo Masilela

The ANCYL 26th National Congress also successfully elected additional members to constitute the National Executive Committee.

ANC WESTERN CAPE PROVINCIAL CONFERENCE

The NWC welcomed the successful sitting of the Western Cape Provincial Conference, which will help consolidate our political and organisational programs in the province. The newly elected PEC must be aligned with their roles and responsibilities.

ANC MANIFESTO REVIEW

The ANC manifesto review process is at an advanced stage, and both the manifesto and the guidelines for the candidates' selection process will be presented before the National Executive Committee for consideration and adoption at the meeting to be held from Friday to Sunday this coming weekend. The manifesto review will occur on Monday following the NEC meeting and be reported to the public. The implementation of the man-

ifesto remains a commitment of the ANC to the people of South Africa, and it will outline what the ANC has achieved over the past five years. After the NEC Meeting, we will report to the nation on the Manifesto Review process under the theme: "How far have we gone – to implement Let's grow South Africa together."

LEADERSHIP ASSESSMENT

The ANC is seized with a process to assess leadership performances during the current government administration. This will enable optimal deployment by the ANC in the future. Leadership assessment will further ensure that all the ANC deployees in government will be held accountable for their work in governance. This will also resolve challenges of service delivery challenges in the country.

SETTLEMENT AGREEMENT WITH SOLIDARITY

The NWC received a report on the Settlement Agreement with Solidarity. This followed the claims by Solidarity that the new Regulations on the implementation of the Employment Equity Amendment Bill were biased against minority groups and,

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therefore, in violation of the Discrimination (Employment and Occupation) Convention 111 of 1958.

This meeting between the Minister of Employment and Labour and Solidarity was convened under the national mediation process, a new requirement introduced by the International Labour Organisation (ILO). Through this provision, the government needed to demonstrate that the allegations put forth by Solidarity were incorrect and damaging to the brand South Africa, hence the need for the Settlement Agreement. The agreement stipulates that Employment Equity is not one fit but that provincial variations must be considered.

The propaganda, characterised by distortions of the Employment Equity Amendment Bill and the subsequently proposed regulations, wrongfully suggested that the result of the amendments would be the disposal of Coloureds and Indians from jobs and replacement of them with Africans. Some political parties have henceforth grossly misled the masses of our people on this as a way of garnering votes in what is a re-igniting of the apartheid era "swart gevaar" tactics by creating a fictitious racial gulf premised on baseless fears between Africans on the one hand and Indians and Coloureds on the other.

The NWC emphasised the importance of the ANC participating in public hearings to debunk this propaganda which is fashioned as a cheap electioneering strategy at the expense of truth by perpetuating racial polarisation. The ANC remains committed to resolving the National Question.

The NWC further highlighted the

paramountcy of class analysis as a uniting and overarching ideological paradigm, spanning all formerly oppressed and marginalised black people, this being inclusive of Coloureds, Africans, and Indians and in sharp contrast to this new "black gevaar" of divide and rule tactics that polarise society. The ANC will continue to support Affirmative Action and Employment Equity, but not as a job reservations tactic, which was notoriously applied by the apartheid regime. The ANC holds the firm belief that Black Africans include Indians and coloreds.

Therefore, the Settlement Agreement aimed to debunk the myth that Employment Equity was unconstitutional or violated the Discrimination (Employment and Occupation) Convention number 111 of 1958. The NWC further reiterates that these regulations are up for public consultations and call on all our people and our structures to participate in these public hearings as we strive for a non-racial, non-sexist, democratic, and prosperous society, which is informed by our class analysis and not racial balkanization of society.

SOCIO-ECONOMIC TRANSFORMA-TION

The NWC noted the ongoing socio-economic transformation challenges pertaining to the high cost of living, energy challenges, and general matters of national transformation.

National Transformation: The NWC discussed the continued challenges of implementing the BBBEE. This was further highlighted at the Black Business Summit convened by the Black Business Council. The ANC will strengthen its monitoring of the implementation of the BBBEE both in

the public and private sectors, with proposed timeframes on the accelerated implementation of BBBEE. Our Constitutional democracy will be hollow without attaining socio-economic equality across race, gender, and class.

of **Energy:** Following months sustained load-shedding and the subsequent appointment of a Minister in the Presidency for electricity to coordinate and drive the government response restoring energy security, the interventions at Eskom are beginning to show definite signs of a turnaround, which will see South Africa being relieved from the devastating socio-economic impact of energy shortfalls. Since 08 May 2023, a range of key performance indicators have all shown signs of sustained improvements. These include that Generation Output improved from a low of 25759 MW (average for 08-12 May 2023, to 29092 MW average for the last week of June (26-30 June 2023). For the Month of June 2023, the average generation stabilized at around 29000MW.

As part of the Winter 2023, planned outages were to be contained below 3000MW. This has been achieved, but with improved generation and lower demand, planned maintenance has bridged 3000MW during June. This affirms the appropriateness of commitment to maintenance as part of efforts to restore the reliability and stability of the fleet.

Unplanned outages, partial Load Losses (due to generating units not performing optimally), and outage delays (non-return to service on planned dates) continue to consume around 3000MW of generation ca-



pacity. The Power station managers are dedicating responses per fault type, with boiler tube leaks being a persistent cause of generation capacity losses.

The NWC noted that there have been challenges with energy, and the Minister of Electricity, Dr Sputla Ramokgopa continues to successfully combat the challenges facing Eskom. The Eskom board, management and all employees must be commended for carrying out their roles diligently and ensuring that the challenge of load-shedding is addressed.

Partial Load Losses (PLLs) have fallen from a high of 18125MW for the week 08-12 May 2023 to 15440MW for the last week 26-30 June 2023. During June 2023, PLLs averaged 15540 MW compared to 17369 MW for June 2023. Demand has also tracked lower than the anticipated band of 32000MW-34000MW (winter projection) and has stabilised at 30000MW for eight weeks from 08 May to 30 June 2023.

The improvements are attributed to increased capacity as a result of the return to service of coal-generating units previously decommissioned, improved demand management (consumers being more conscious about energy usage), the increase in yields from Wind Generation, as well as large power users shutting down plants for planned maintenance during the June month)

The improved performance in a generation has resulted in an upward trend in the Energy Availability Factor (EAF) and a reduction in the severity of load shedding from daily stages 4-6 to stages 1-3 for the last two weeks of June 2023, with stage 3 largely only during evening peaks

with the remaining part of the day (up to 16 hours) subject to only one stage of load shedding.

Cost of living: The NWC noted that 7.1% inflation is well beyond the interest targeting range, leading to a higher cost of living. While the NWC said the continued correctness of the social grant policy enabling indigent individuals to receive R350 per month, the NWC further upheld and appreciated that the masses of the people, first and foremost, want jobs as the basis for sustainable livelihood.

The NWC noted the importance of the Reserve Bank working with the Treasury to effect measures to mitigate against high inflation, such as expanding consumer basket goods earmarked for zero rating. In creating employment for sustainable livelihood, the government must look into public works projects such as pothole repairs on roads, road and bridge construction, and increasing sewage capacity to improve the health conditions of our people.

MEETING WITH THE SACP

The ANC and the SACP agreed that the meeting was long overdue while welcoming the opportunity to meet. High on the agenda of this meeting was organisational and governance issues. On the African Leaders Peace Mission to Ukraine and Russia, the SACP commended the role played by President Cyril Ramaphosa, which among others focused on continental food security and trade on critical goods such as fertiliser. In addition to discussing geopolitical issues, the Alliance bilateral meeting between the ANC and the SACP also discussed the upcoming BRICS Parties-Political Plus Dialogue scheduled for the 18th to the 20th of July 2023. The BRICS Summit is scheduled for August 2023.

Another issue discussed within the context of the state of the NDR was the high unemployment level, with 11 million people unemployed, which could be linked to the colonial—apartheid monopoly structure of the economy. It was also agreed that land redistribution must be accelerated. The SACP further called on the government to increase State economic investment.

The ANC and the SACP discussed several critical issues of mutual concern and agreed on further bilateral engagements on several topics as we advance, including the economy and energy issues. There was also consensus towards dealing with issues of violence and repression throughout the African continent, such as the situation in Eswatini. The ANC and SACP also discussed the reconfiguration of the alliance, and this will ensure that the relationship between all alliance partners is redefined.

MEETING WITH SANCO

The ANC continues to be seized with the important task of helping SANCO attain unity and rebuilding a stronger organisation. The ANC met the various SANCO groups and Veterans. The ANC will convene a joint meeting with SANCO on the 6th of July 2023 to establish a roadmap for their unity Conference and to ensure that there is unity of SANCO through the joint integration process.

The ANC has held numerous meetings with all SANCO leaders and elders, and all parties have shown interest in ensuring unity and ending the warring factional battles that have affected SANCO. On the occasion of the 40th Anniversary



of the UDF, in which many civic organisations took the lead, the unity of SANCO will be a fitting tribute to the UDF as it was characterised by unparalleled civic unity across a broad spectrum of South African society against the apartheid regime.

PUBLIC PROTECTOR REPORT

The NWC further reiterated its support of the Office of the Public Protector and welcomed the Report by the Acting Public Protector on allegations of the criminal events that took place at the Phala-Phala Farm, involving theft of money.

The ANC reiterates that only opportunists seek to abuse the provision of the Executive Ethics Code to suggest the President violated the provisions therein. The ANC welcomes the Public Protector Report, which found nothing untoward in the conduct of the President, including the fact that there was no evidence of paid work outside his duties as President of the Republic.

The ANC reiterates its alarm at the attacks on the integrity of the Office of the Public Protector merely because some disagreed with the Report by the Acting Public Protector. We view such attacks as undermining our democracy and constitutionalism. Political parties have the right to review the Public Protector report. The ANC believes that no one must attack the Public Protector and no women must be violated and grossly attacked. As the ANC, we firmly believe that we must always respect the rule of law and the role played by the Public Protector. As the ANC, we firmly believe that all Chapter Nine institutions must be respected, and there should be non-interference in their roles and responsibilities.

NATIONAL DIALOGUE ON RUSSIA / **UKRAINE CONFLICT**

The ANC convened a public engagement through a National Dialogue on the Russia / Ukraine Conflict, which saw the participation of various ambassadors, academics, public commentators, ANC deployees, and almost 200 guests.

It was a successful event and further solidified our position as a messenger of peace and not war. Again, the ANC reiterated its policy stance of non-alignment and anti-war posture. The ANC firmly believes that to achieve peace and concord. There is nothing better than communication and personal contact. Dialogue is a way of peace suitable for solving interpersonal, national, and international tensions. Peace and prosperity depend on increasing interaction with others and building bridges with other civilisations. Furthermore, for this, dialogue is essential.

This National Dialogue on the Russia/Ukraine Conflict appreciated that our non-aligned and anti-war stances enabled our country, represented by President Cyril Ramaphosa, to effectively and directly participate in the African Leadership Peace Mission, meeting both Ukrainian President Zelensky and Russian President Putin, urging them to end the war as a matter of urgency. Emerging in the dialogue also discouraged other countries from arming Russia or Ukraine because that would fuel the war and lead to grave human circumstances.

The ANC practically demonstrated that dialogue across antagonistic parties is not only possible but the only way to resolve differences and various areas of conflict, which was the premise of our negotiated settlement ushering in the new post-1994 democratic dispensation. The ANC has held many discussions with all countries involved in the war, and this was part of the peace dialogue initiative and silencing the guns globally in the presence of war and conflict.

BY-ELECTIONS AND VOTER REGIS-**TRATION**

The NWC noted the continued positive strides made by the ANC in various by-elections. The NWC notes that the increases in voter registrations will, in due course, Report on further strides being made. The ANC will focus on social categories, such as youth as first-time voters and women, on voter registration. The NWC believes churches and Amakhosi can be important in encouraging and increasing voter registration.

ANC WOMEN'S LEAGUE NATIONAL **CONFERENCE**

There are preparations for convening the ANC Women's League National Conference. The ANCWL National Conference will be held from 14th to 16th July 2023 at Nasrec Expo Centre. The ANC wishes the Women's League well and that all issues that affect the Conference are fully resolved to ensure that the Conference is successful. The ANC will play a critical role in ensuring that all the Leagues have elected leadership, and this is also aimed at advancing the Renewal project of the ANC.

BANYANA BANYANA

The ANC congratulates Banyana Banyana as they prepare to participate in the World Cup and wishes them every success. While we commend the resolution of the disputes between SAFA and Banyana Banyana, we urge SAFA to appropriately incentivize these national heroines for once more putting our country on the world map through this World Cup

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participation.

We thank the proactive role of the Minister of Sports, Arts, and Culture, Cde Zizi Kodwa, for helping resolve the impasse between SAFA and Banyana Banyana. We call on corporate South Africa to fully support efforts at professionalizing women's football in South Africa. We must ensure that SAFA moves quickly to address the challenges facing women in sports. As Banyana Banyana has raised the South African flag high in Sports, SAFA can no longer be silent on women's matters.

Minister Zizi Kodwa must ensure that SAFA is transformed and promote women's participation in soccer. In addition, the Department of Arts, Culture, and Sport must set aside sufficient funds or budget to support the women's football team and attract sponsors to create better conditions and more promotion for the growth of women's football.

POLICE ROAD RAGE

The ANC was extremely alarmed by the news of a road rage incident involving members of the SAPS assigned to protect Cabinet members. This was cowardly and ran against the grain of what the SAPS must stand for to protect all members of society. Most policemen and women serve our country diligently, but such incidents put a serious blight on the police service in their selfless national service to our country. We urge IPID to investigate this matter and that the alleged perpetrators of this violence be immediately suspended and ensure consequence management in this regard should they be found to be in the wrong.

The IPID must conduct its investigation and ensure that the violence

ensued is addressed fully, and no stone must be left unturned. There must be consequence management immediately, and those involved must be suspended and prosecuted to the maximum if they are found guilty. We firmly believe that the law must take its course and protect innocent civilians from harm and violence. This matter must be investigated, and the public must be kept abreast of this violence.

The ANC also condemns the road rage incident that saw an off-duty SAPS police officer allegedly shot to death a metro police officer. What was unfortunate was that the violent altercation resulting in the tragic death involved two officers charged with enforcing the law. We call on the government to support all police officers, SAPS and Metro Police through appropriate occupational support as they discharge their work mandates to avoid such incidents resulting in injury or death. We also call on the IPID to investigate this incident and ensure any possible appropriate consequence management where wrongful conduct is ascertained.

The NWC resolved that there must be checks and balances aimed at ensuring that police/protectors carry out their duties properly and are held responsible if they fail to do so. Such a system is meant to uphold integrity, deter misconduct, and restore or enhance public confidence in policing. All security personnel must be well-prepared and equipped to perform their functions professionally. Effective accountability requires a proper complaints system that is easily accessible to the public and can effectively investigate allegations, recommend disciplinary sanctions, or refer cases for criminal prosecution. It should also be able to make recommendations that target the underlying causes of misconduct.

ANC NEC MEETING

The ANC will hold its National Executive Committee meeting from Friday to Sunday this weekend. Various issues for discussion and implementation will include combating crime, employment creation, water and sanitation, and generally the state of the economy, focusing on the relevant interventions that must be made. The ANC will be seized with accelerated implementation of its National Conference resolutions on several socio-economic challenges, such as service delivery. The reiterates that 2023 is the year of decisive action.

CONDOLENCES

The NWC dips its revolutionary banner in honor of the memory of Comrades Marhooma Khatija Cachalia, Noganiwe "Antie" Nyathela, Juned Pahad, and Sally Motlana. We convey our sincere and profound condolences to their loved ones. They will be remembered for their selfless contributions to the struggle for our freedom and democracy.

The ANC received with shock and deep sadness about the tragic passing of Comrade Dr. Danny Mokumo, who died on 03 July in a car accident involving a truck on the N1 in Limpopo on his way home from the 26th ANCYL National Congress.

Comrade Dr. Danny Mokumo was the current Branch Chairperson and Branch Executive Committee member in Ward 31, TJ Ledwaba branch in the Mokopane Mogalakwena subregion, which is part of the Waterberg region in the Limpopo Province. The ANC sends its deepest condolences to his family, relatives, comrades, and friends



The Political Economy of SA and where we are heading

■ By Khumbudzo Ntshavheni

he political economy of South Africa is a complex tapestry, interwoven with historical injustices, aspirations for equality, and confronted by ongoing challenges presented by both the global and domestic environments. Addressing income inequality, promoting economic transformation, managing natural resources sustainably, and fostering international partnerships are essential components of South Africa's path towards inclusive and prosperous development.

Important in this framing, is providing a definition of what political economy is. Political economy refers to the relationship between individuals, governments and public policy, and how they influence one another or what the International Monetary Fund describes to be how politics affects the economy and the economy affects politics. The interplay between politics, the economy and society often manifests in the form of policy decisions, trade relations, and international partnerships a country enters into.

Therefore, the question of what is the political economy of South Africa and where is the country headed to, is basically the question about the politics behind the economy of this country. We can simply state that ours is a pursuit of a developmental state to achieve the objective of a better life

for all as set out in our Constitution.

What is the context of South Africa's political economy?

The end of apartheid in the 1990s and the resultant transformation ushered in an era of hope, where political liberation became intertwined with economic aspirations. However, the legacy of apartheid still casts a long shadow over South Africa's political economy. Decades of institutionalised discrimination created vast disparities in wealth and opportunities, with the majority of the population remaining marginalised and excluded.

One of the primary challenges facing South Africa's political economy is the issue of income inequality. While progress has been made, the gap between the rich and the poor remains alarmingly wide. The concentration of wealth in the hands of a few exacerbates social tensions and undermines the nation's inclusive growth. The World Bank has, in 2022, reported that South Africa remains the most unequal country in the world with race playing a key role in society where 10% of the population owns more than 80% of the country's wealth. Almost 30 years after the end of Apartheid, race remains a key factor in South Africa's inequality due to its impact on education and labour market. A recently published survey has reported that top management

in the private sector still shows a disproportionate representation with white people occupying 62,9% of all positions.

Addressing the imbalances has been at the forefront of South Africa's political economy. Thus, a critical aspect of it is the pursuit of economic transformation and empowerment. Broad-Based Black Economic Empowerment (B-BBEE) initiatives were introduced to redress the imbalances of the past and ensuring increased participation of historically disadvantaged individuals in the economy. While these policies aim to create a more representative and inclusive business landscape, their effectiveness and impact continue to be subjects of debate. I must be upfront that from a government perspective, calls for the scrapping of Broad-Based Black Economic Empowerment (B-BBEE) without an alternative economic transformation and empowerment policy, are completely pre-mature and have no basis in economic data.

In addition, we have witnessed the resurgence of an active and blatant push back against transformation which is spurred by an open demonstration of racism. Transformation policies have been successfully challenged in our courts, and businesses that sought to implement transformative programmes, such as Dischem in 2022, successfully intimidated,





whilst society stood aside like non-affected parties. An unequal society is detrimental to the interest of all, be it government, private sector, non-governmental sector, and citizens (both black and white) as demonstrated by the events of July 2021.

Education or access thereof also contributes to the deepening inequality in South Africa – with a 30% influence on inequality gap. However, education also holds a key to addressing disparities in society by providing equal opportunities for all. Investing in quality education, particularly for historically disadvantaged communities, equips individuals with the knowledge and skills needed to participate meaningfully in the economy, reducing income inequality and promoting social mobility.

On another front, South Africa's rich natural resources, including minerals, play a pivotal role in its economic landscape. The mining sector, in particular, has historically been a cornerstone of the nation's economy. However, the reliance on finite resources poses challenges such as environmental degradation, resource

depletion, and vulnerability to global commodity price fluctuations. Diversification and sustainable resource management are key considerations for South Africa's future economic resilience.

The country's ability to diversify the economy is also affected by its inability to facilitate domestic investments as well as attract foreign direct investments. Therefore, South Africa's political stability, sound governance, and commitment to the rule of law are crucial in attracting foreign investment and fostering economic growth. The pursuit of balanced international trade agreements and collaborations ensured South Africa's integration into the global economy while protecting its domestic industries. There is a raging debate of whether protecting the existing domestic industries without diversifying the ownership of the economy is a strategic move as it does not address the country's goal of inclusive growth. As government firms up both at policy and programmatic level its localisation drive, it will be important to check the goals of inclusive growth.

What is the future political economy of South Africa

Assessing the future political economy of South Africa requires careful consideration of various factors and dynamics at play. While I can offer some insights based on existing policies, current trends and knowledge, it's important to note that future developments can be influenced by a multitude of unpredictable factors. With that in mind, here is my view on the direction for South Africa's political economy, I summarise this view through seven factors:

1. Inclusive Growth and Economic Reforms: South Africa will continue its pursuit of inclusive growth, income addressing inequality, marginalized and empowering communities. This may involve implementing and refining policies that promote job creation, skills development, and entrepreneurship, with a particular focus on youth, women, people with disabilities and historically disadvantaged individuals in general.





- 2. Economic Diversification: As the nation seeks to reduce its reliance on finite resources and adapt to changing global trends, economic diversification will gain importance, including the encouragement of sectors such as renewable energy, technology, tourism, services and green economy to increase their contribution to long-term sustainability and resilience. However, mining and agriculture will remain significant players in South Africa's economy given our endowment in natural resources and the climate
- 3. Infrastructure Development: Investing in infrastructure, such as transportation, energy, and telecommunications is vital for economic growth and development. South Africa will focus on enhancing infrastructure networks to support industrialization, trade facilitation, and regional integration, while also addressing historical disparities in access to services.
- **4. Anti-Corruption and Governance:** Tackling corruption and strengthening governance structures will remain crucial for South Africa's political economy. Continued efforts to combat corruption, enhance transparency, and improve accountability are essential for attracting domestic and foreign investment, fostering trust, and ensuring efficient resource allocation.
- 5. Social Welfare and Poverty Alleviation: Reducing poverty and improving social welfare programmes will likely remain on the political agenda. This will involve expanding social safety nets, improving access to quality education and healthcare, and implementing targeted interventions to uplift vulnerable populations. A robust education system that aligns with industry needs and equips students with relevant skills can bridge the gap of high youth unemployment and a mismatch between the skills

demanded by the labour market and those possessed by job seekers. The education and training system will emphasize technical and vocational training, entrepreneurship, and digital literacy education to enhance employability and drive economic growth.

- **6. Foreign Relations and Trade:** South Africa's political economy will be influenced by its trade relationships and regional integration efforts. Strengthening ties with African nations, deepening partnerships with emerging economies, and pursuing mutually beneficial trade agreements will feature prominently in South Africa's economic strategy.
- 7. Technological Advancements: Embracing digitalization and technological advancements significantly impact South Africa>s future political economy. Encouraging innovation, fostering digital literacy, and promoting the growth of the technology sector can lead to increased productivity, creation, and economic competitiveness.

It's important to recognize that whereas this assessment is based on current and planned policy interventions, South Africa's future political economy will also be shaped by a multitude of internal and external factors. The country's ability to effectively navigate challenges, implement reforms, and leverage its strengths will play a vital role in shaping its economic trajectory in the coming years. Central to these is the imperative of innovative policies that will promote redistribution, empower marginalised communities, and foster sustainable economic development

Extract from Cde Khumbudzo
Ntshavheni's speech delivered at the
Black Business Summit



The Lessons of Three Allegories



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

■ By Magashe Titus Mafolo

he second one is the Allegory of Metamorphosis. In 1915, Franz Kafta, wrote a short book of 70 pages called The Metamorphosis, (Die Verwandlung in German).¹ The book relates the story of Gregor Samsa, a travelling salesman and cloth merchant. Gregor works for a very cruel despotic employer, but he can't quit his job because he is a breadwinner, and, among his fiduciary responsibilities is to pay off his father's debts.

But one morning, something abnormally and frightfully monstrous happen to Gregor. He wakes up to find himself, inexplicably transformed into a giant dung beetle - which the writer describes in German: ungeheueres Ungeziefer, literally translated as 'monstrous vermin'. Gregor, being an eternal optimist, told himself that this transformation was temporary and he was determined that soon he would go back to work, especially because of the highly impoverished and destitute conditions of his family. His immediate supervisor, indignant about Gregor's unexplained absence, and who was not as devilish as the owner of the company, comes to check on him. But, to his and the family's continued horror, Gregor speaks incomprehensibly in tongues.

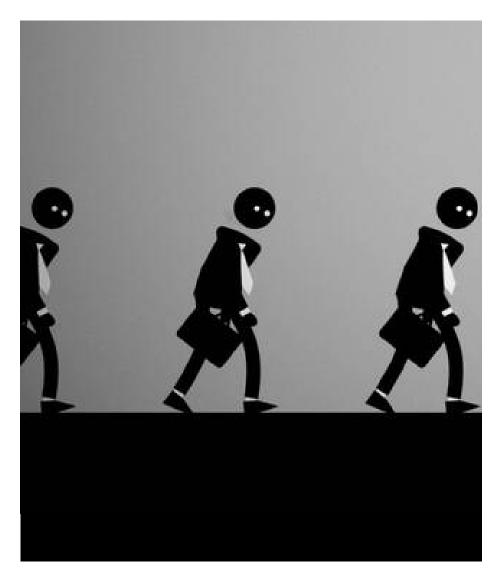
By now, Gregor, has grown into some huge ponderous, cumbersome and bulky vermin. Naturally, upon seeing the transformed Gregor, the supervisor runs faster than the bullet.

Although deprived of financial stability, Gregor's family could not run away like the supervisor. They kept Gregor locked in his room and he also began to accept his new identity, his perilous circumstances and try to adapt as best he could to his new body. One by one, friends deserted him, spoke of him in hushed tones and the atrocious-minded ones doing so with some mocking smiles. His sister, Greta, was the only one willing to bring food while the poor fellow spent time crawling about on the floor and like a true insect, also climbed the walls and ceiling. Upon, discovering Gregor's new pastime, Greta and the mother decided to remove his furniture to give him more space, emptying the room except for the sofa under which Gregor hid himself whenever anyone came in, especially those who had made trade out of being scuttlebutts. The second challenge of getting out of the cave and indeed ensure that we don't metamorphose into insects like Gregor, is in the area of working together for economic emancipation.

A year back, Jantjie Xaba wrote a very important article entitled: Social capital and economic empowerment: Lessons for black South Africa from the Afrikaners of Vanderbiljlpark. The article traced how in 1940, the Afrikaners in the Iscor-dominated town of Vanderbijlpark developed networks and trusts to overcome poverty, joblessness and skills shortage. The Borederbond and companies such as Sanlam as well as the Dutch Reformed Church played ciritcal roles ² Referring to what he calls the Afrikaner Economic Empowerment, Xaba says that there was a conscious effort to uplift white Afrikaners through protected employment, skill development and welfare services. While the apartheid government, especially after 1948, played a hugely critical role, there were also community and social groups that helped to accelerate the process of Afrikaner Economic Empowerment. Some of the organisations that played important roles were groups like the Helpmekaar Vereeniging (Mutual Support Society), volkskapitalisme (people's capitalism) and others.

In other words, the Afrikaners combined their efforts to release those of their own who were still stuck in Plato's cave and ensured that none





among them are so marginalised and demoralised that they may have ended into Gregor's metamorphosis, turning into utterly hopeless vermin. Indeed, this was given more momentum in 1948 when the National Party came into power, accelerating the Afrikaner Economic Empowerment through focussed and deliberate policies and actions that included Job Reservation and others.

We know that so far, since 1994, what we have tried in terms of economic transformations have brought poor harvests for the majority of the people. Can any one of us be detached from the realities of people in Nongoma, Matateile, Sekhukhune and in the many other villages and

townships where black people live? Have we accepted that options for better economic realities for the majority are permanently foreclosed; boundaries irreversibly drawn – the rich will continue to get richer and the poor poorer – inter-generationally – and thus we have stiffened our backbones to that eventuality and reality!

Like in the *Allegory of metamorphosis*, how do we respond to our Gregors? What exactly are we doing that our own people are not unexpectactly transformed into huge insects? The issue of economic freedom cannot be dismissed as belonging to 'peace-time revolutionaries'. It is a real challenge for all South Africans.

More than a decade ago, Hein Marais wrote: "A wealthy country by continental standards, South Africa is also one of the most unequal societies on Earth. It has more luxury-car dealers than any country outside the industrialised north, yet almost half of its population lives in poverty and more than one third cannot find waged work. An average assistant manager punching the clock in the service sector would need to work more than 102 years to earn the average annual salary of a corporate CEO and 520 years to match the take-home salary and bonuses that the top-paid banking-industry executive earned in 2009."3

I am pleading that this important conclave must lead us in areas similar to those that helped the poor Afrikaners out of poverty and destitute. It may well be that you are already doing it. If so, accelerate that process. Because, in reality, you cannot and should not merely be a discussion forum, important as that may be. You may have heard about some Stokvels-Cooperatives – some are sectoral like those of doctors, others are of those of emerging farmers and so on. But I sincerely believe that, with your skills, expertise and exposure, you can be the necessary catalysts that can and should lead us out of the debilitating socio-economic caves and the oppressive negative media-induced caves and thus help Gregor and his friends from being metamorphosing into economic and psychological giant insects.

This is the youth month. It has been so declared because of those youths of 1976, many of them, who initially, were apolitical, yet, they were never timorous. But were bravely able to face the might of the well-armed apartheid forces with nothing but stones. Indeed, they poked power in the eye and dared the monster to do



its damnedest. Have we, especially those among us, who are a little better-off, pondered where are these people, some of whom skipping the country to take up arms, many others continuing to face the wrath of the atrocious apartheid regime? Where are those who, from 1983 onwards, faced the brutish brutal army of PW Botha to usher the rudimentary organs of power, constantly creating crisis after crisis and as the regime tried reforms to placate the masses, these youths using the small reform openings to ensure that the struggle gained more and more momentum until we attained our freedom? Where are they?

Some of them are the Gregors who, after 1994, may have gone to work for the very people that were chasing them with Hippos in the townships and villages; the same owners of Gregor's multiple clothing shops and others, who perhaps are smiling despots, some of whom may, in the comforts of their like-minded fellows, use derogatory terms that are outlawed in the democratic order.

I have no doubt that many people can relate to Gregor's catastrophe that leads to unimaginable meltdowns. These are multiple burdens that impose monumental tolls on the shoulders of many poor people today – the cruel factory owner, the low wages paid to workers; the long hours of work and the many family responsibilities that make it difficult for breadwinners to properly plan for their own future; the debauched and decaying conditions occasioned by unemployment and deteriorated socio-economic circumstances.

Like Gregor's friends, it is the reality of how we isolate fellow human beings, indeed, some of those with whom we walked a long difficult

road to attain our freedom. But once some of us have been better able to adjust to the new conditions and in fact made good of the opportunities presented by a post-apartheid South Africa, we tend to insulate ourselves from our own who are poor, unemployed and marginalised. We shun many who occupied difficult and treacherous trenches with us, merely because they occupy the lowest rung in our societal order. Yet, every time elections come, we remember them and want to remind them of their heroic and glorious sacrifices and how their cross next to our party makes them abiding perpetual patriots, regardless of their beggary existence.

The Gregor of today, in the townships and villages is unemployed. He is destitute. He has walked the streets of big and small towns looking for a job, with a placard: 'I can do any job', even when he has some trade or qualification. Indeed, he has grown tired to stand in streets where the detached, cold-hearted and callous gazes greeted him every single day. Now, he spends time hiding in his small room and sliding under the old sofa when he hears people coming. He is one of the many black unemployed people, whose only solace is the government grant. Over the weekends, he does not come out of his room, because we come in our numbers, not to engage in some job-creation programme, or extra classes for the young ones; but to show-off our new cars.

For those marginalised in our society, there is no such thing as solidarity in times of stress, anguish and dire straits. There is no such thing as solidarity, support and teamwork as forms of unity that mediate between an individual and community; no moral content. There are no ties that bind the community together which

in turn inform moral obligations among members. Indeed, nothing of the sort that suggests some positive form of collective responsibility that creates and strengthens networks of accountability and closeness. These are what characterise many of our communities today. We really have to do something about this situation. We need *Active Citizenry* to deal with these matters so that we don't have to produce and reproduce many metamorphosing citizens.

Gregor's world is like the situation explained in Letters to Christina by Paulo Frere, where the structures of oppression are rooted in a real and material experience of concrete hunger that had no specific date of departure, although it had the date of arrival. Frere says: "...This hunger was of the type that arrives unannounced and unauthorised, making itself at home without an end in sight. A hunger, that, if it was not softened as ours was, would take over our bodies, moulding them into angular shapes, legs, arms, and fingers become skinny. Eye sockets become deeper, making the eyes almost disappear."4

Again, in a co-authored book, Ideology Matters,5 Paulo Frere believed that one cannot reduce the analysis of racism merely to social class and vet, one cannot understand racism fully without a class analysis, for to do one at the expense of the other is to fall prey into sectarian position, which is despicable as the racism that needs to be rejected. What is important here is to see oppression through a convergent theoretical framework where the object of oppression is cut across by such factors as race, class, gender, culture, language and ethnicity. Thus, there should not be a theoretical analysis that would collapse the multiplicity of factors into a monolithic entity



The South African Land Act of 1913:

A Legacy of Dispossession and the Imperative for Comprehensive Reform

■ By Sibusiso Xabangela

he Native Land Act of 1913 was a landmark legislation that solidified the dispossession of land from indigenous communities, primarily targeting black Africans. The Act divided the country into separate territories, allocating specific areas for black Africans and reserving the majority of the land for white ownership. This discriminatory policy entrenched racial segregation and economic inequality, creating a lasting legacy of land deprivation and marginalization.

The effects of the 1913 Land Act were devastating for black Africans, as it stripped them of their ancestral lands and disrupted traditional agricultural practices. Forced removals became a common occurrence, as entire communities were uprooted from their homes and herded into overcrowded reserves or designated homelands. These forced relocations resulted in the loss of cultural heritage, social cohesion, and economic stability for affected communities.

When interrogating the history of land dispossession in South Africa, our perspective often begins with the passing of the Native Land Act in 1913 and the subsequent devastation it caused. However, it is crucial to view the South African land dispossession history as multifaceted, bringing together all the pieces to better understand the historical significance of the 1913 Act. This Act stands as the ultimate legal sanctioning of the history of land dispossession in the country.

Land dispossession in South Africa occurred through two crucial means. Firstly, it was carried out through the barrel of a gun. A prime example of this is the Cape Frontier Wars, a series of nine conflicts spanning from 1779 to 1879, which pitted the Xhosa Kingdom against the British Empire. Thousands of Xhosa people lost their lives defending their ancestral lands against the encroachment of foreign invaders. This violent form of dispossession left a trail of bloodshed and destruction across the land.



Secondly, land dispossession occurred through legislation. The Cape Parliament passed a series of laws that controlled the movement of black people and regulated land tenure. One such law was the Glen Grey Act of 1895, enacted by the Cape Colony, which compelled Xhosa people to work on local whiteowned farms or in industries. These laws not only further marginalized indigenous communities but also

The Year of Decisive Action
To Advance the People's Interests
and Renew our Movement

reinforced the power imbalance between the colonizers and the colonized.

It is important to note that a comprehensive land reform project should not only focus on the victims of the 1913 Native Land Act. It should delve deeper into the broader history of land dispossession and address the wider legacy of injustice. This recognition is crucial for developing effective and inclusive land reform initiatives.

Efforts to address the historical injustices caused by the 1913 Act have been ongoing since the advent of democracy in South Africa. The government has introduced various land reform programmes, such as land restitution and land redistribution, aimed at rectifying past wrongs and promoting a more equitable distribution of land. However, progress has been slow and fraught with challenges.

One major obstacle to effective land reform is the contentious issue of land ownership and property rights. The process of land restitution, which seeks to return land to those who were dispossessed, has been met with legal complexities, competing claims, and inadequate resources. The lack of clarity and transparency in the process has resulted in prolonged disputes and frustrations for both claimants and landowners.

In recent years, the land occupation movement across South African cities has emerged as one of the most impactful approaches to land reform. Although these occupations often occur through illegal means, they have served as a catalyst for government and society to

confront the issue of land reform. Since the establishment of democracy in 1994, the government has passed various legislations aimed at rectifying the crimes of the 1913 Act. However, it is crucial to acknowledge that true land reform cannot begin in 1913 when land dispossession was legalized. Instead, it must start from the point when these crimes were first committed.

The land occupation movement teaches us that a genuine land reform project must be guided by the human experiences of those affected. This movement has also highlighted the failures of existing laws to address historical imbalances, such as the Group Areas Act. Cities like Cape Town still bear the scars of apartheid-era spatial planning, with black people confined to townships located far from the city center and industries. Furthermore, the movement has exposed the vulnerability of poor communities to the interests of capitalism, exemplified by organizations like Reclaim the City, which was formed to protect themselves from gentrification and displacement by powerful business interests. Movements like Singabalapha, which occupy land in Observatory, face constant harassment from law enforcement and are treated as outlaws by the City of Cape Town.

For a land reform program to be truly meaningful, it must prioritize the protection of the rights of thousands of land occupants, from the occupation movements in Cape Town to organizations like Abahlali Base Mjondolo in KwaZulu-Natal, and provide essential services for them. These individuals represent generations of victims of legisla-

tion such as the Native Land Act of 1913 and other laws and methods implemented by the colonial administration to remove African people from their ancestral lands.

The land occupation movement has also showcased how an alternative egalitarian society is possible. These communities have not only designed their own settlements but have also established and administered structures based on true human values, acceptance, and the spirit of Ubuntu, all without relying on assistance from the government. It is on these values and the lessons learned from these small communities that the government should draw inspiration for a successful land reform project.

As we commemorate the 100-year anniversary of the passage of the Native Land Act of 1913, it is incumbent upon us to reflect on the failures of the past. It is disheartening that, even to this day, South Africa has not achieved a truly transformative and meaningful land reform programme. The wounds inflicted by the Act run deep, and only through comprehensive reform efforts that address historical injustices, empower marginalized communities, and ensure equitable land distribution, can we begin to heal the scars of the past and forge a more just and inclusive future

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BRICS is growing and South Africa should be part of that growth

■ By Sephoka David Sekgobela

he decision to join BRICS seems to be the best decision ever taken by the South African government. BRICS is an acronym for five regional economies - Brazil, Russia, India China, and South Africa. South Africa joined BRICS in 2010. In April 2011, former President, Jacob Zuma, attended the 2011 BRICS Summit in China, with South Africa as a full member. The current BRICS members have an estimated 26.7% of the world's land surface and 41.5% of the global population.

Despite being comparatively small economically demographically, South Africa is not a junior partner in the equation, but an equal member of BRICS alongside other big global economic players. There is mutual respect among BRICS members. Bilateral relations among BRICS members "are conducted mainly on the basis of non-interference, equality, and mutual benefit". South Africa should thus treat and value that relationship amongst BRICS members with respect as if its global survival depends on it. The forthcoming BRICS Summit

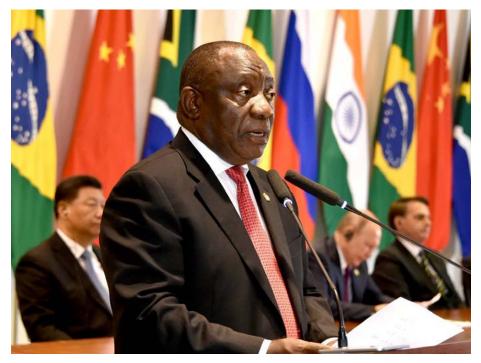


in South Africa in August 2023 is probably going to accept almost thirty new additional member countries, including:

- Algeria
- Argentina
- Bahrain
- Egypt
- Indonesia.
- Iran
- Saudi Arabia.
- **United Arab Emirates**

Should that happen, BRICS' status would be elevated above that of the G20, and probably even NATO. Of importance is that some of those countries that have applied for BRICS membership are oilproducing countries, i.e. members of the current OPEC. Should that indeed happen, how much more power would BRICS membership wield? If BRICS establishes the new currency to transact in oil,





how much powerful would that currency be over the US dollar and the Euro? It has been suggested that, "The inclusion of Saudi Arabia into the BRICS could force the European Union to ditch the US dollar and settle the oil and gas trade in the new currency. Therefore, Saudi Arabia joining or accepting the BRICS currency could tilt the global powers from the West to the East."

South Africa was recently not invited to the 49th G7 Summit that was held in Japan in May this year. The reason for exclusion could possibly be that BRICS is "considered the foremost geopolitical rival to the G7 bloc of leading advanced economies. G7 consists of Canada, France, Germany, Italy, Japan, the UK and the US.

South Africa is preparing to host BRICS Summit in August 2023. However, the elephant in the room is the warrant of arrest issued by the International Criminal Court (ICC) against the Russian

President, Vladimir Putin, for Russia's 'invasion' of Ukraine.

The treaty that established the ICC, i.e. the Rome Statute, was adopted in Italy on 17 July 1998. It became effective on 1 July 2002. The ICC is a voluntary authority, which is not applicable to other states. As of November 2019, 123 states were party to the Roman Statute, and Russia, just like China and the US, have not ratified the Rome Statute, and are also not state parties to the ICC.

The US did not only refuse to sign and ratify the Rome Statute, but it even went further to coerce other states to sign bilateral agreements with it, binding them not to try US military personnel, or, allow the ICC prosecutor to charge and prosecute them. That is hypocrisy of the highest order. Not being signatories to the Rome Statute means that it should not be applicable or enforceable against them.

It is ironic that it is now expected

that, though Russia is also not signatory, Vladimir Putin should be subjected to the Rome Statute of the ICC in South Africa, just because South Africa is a signatory thereof. Apparently, one of ANC's NASREC 2017 Resolutions was to withdraw from ICC membership, but NASREC 2022 Resolutions reversed that decision. South Africa has nothing to gain or lose out of the ICC membership or withdrawal respectively.

The problem with the ICC is that it is selective and biased in its approach towards implementation of its authority in international justice. The ICC still has to issue similar warrants of arrest for instigators of wars in Afghanistan, Iraq and many other countries across the world. For instance, the US invaded and destroyed many countries, but there was never any intervention or sanction from the ICC. There are many atrocities worldwide committed by the US, but they are not being pursued by the ICC. The classic case is Iraq, which was attacked under the false pretext that there were "weapons of mass destruction." If the ICC was fair and impartial, both George W. Bush and Tony Blair would have been hurled before the ICC for lying about the "weapons of mass destruction" in Iraq. They waged unnecessary war in Iraq that saw many innocent people killed, including Saddam Hussein.

As part of preparations for the BRICS Summit in South Africa, the government gazetted Government Notice No. 3472 on 29 May 2023, to grant immunities and privileges provided in terms of Section 6 (1) (a) of the Diplomatic and Privileges Act, 2001 (Act No. 37 of 2001), to



BRICS Summit delegates, including Vladimir Putin, despite the warrant of arrest issued against him by the ICC. This was the proactive approach by the South African government to avoid the repeat of the embarrassment of Omar Al Bashir incident in 2015 when attending AU Summit in South Africa. The Sudanese President had to be whisked out of the country because the UN had issued a directive for him to be arrested and taken to the ICC for atrocities committed in his country.

However, South Africans are themselves divided about the ICC matter. For instance, the Premier of the Western Cape, Allan Winde, has been saying that they will ensure that Vladimir Putin is arrested should he set his foot on the South African soil, especially in the Western Cape. It is laughable that, the commitment to arrest Putin is made by someone who cannot even deal with gangsterism in the Cape Flats. Is there anyone in a unitary state, not a federal state, who could go against policy directives and legislative instruments of the government? His party, the DA, is also challenging in court the decision of the government to grant immunities and privileges to Putin.

Calling for South Africa to arrest the Russian President on the South Africa soil when he comes to attend the BRICS Summit in August is being grossly irresponsible. That would be unwise, provocative and suicidal. Arresting the sitting head of another country, especially a nuclear power like Russia, would be tantamount to a declaration of war against that country. Dmitry Medvedey, Vladimir Putin's Security Council Deputy and former Russian President, did not mince his words when he openly stated that "Vladimir Putin is head of a nuclear state" and "arresting him would be a declaration of war on the Russian Federation." Can South Africa afford to declare war against Russia? Obviously not. South Africa should not even think of starting the war with Russia for any reason whatsoever, because South Africa cannot afford to poke a finger into the eye of a tiger and expect to easily get away with it. Should that happen, there would definitely be drastic consequences.

South African Despite the government's stance on the matter as articulated in the gazetted Government Notice No. 3472, even foreigners still feel like they could dictate terms for South Africa, undermining its sovereignty, and violate its laws. A US-based NGO, Avaaz, apparently hoisted two massive billboards on South Africa's busiest highways, namely N1 and R21, calling on President Cyril Ramaphosa to arrest Russian President, Vladimir Putin, if he comes to South Africa for BRICS Summit in August. This is being provocative and contemptuous.

The country's sovereignty seems to be undermined. Can the South Africa NGOs go to any country, let alone the US, hoist billboards, make spurious demands, and calling for the President of the host country to do this or that? This is unthinkable. South African citizens cannot do that even to our landlocked countries like Lesotho and Swaziland, because we respect their sovereignty. If this were happening in the US, foreign NGO members would have been

detained, or, swiftly thrown out of the US.

On the other hand, there are also talks of imminent sanctions against South Africa by the US and the West due to South Africa's nonaligned stance in the Ukrainian-Russian war, but mainly for her close relationship with Russia and China, through BRICS. It is probably for that reason that South Africa is threatened with the exclusion from the US's African Growth and Opportunity Act (AGOA) benefits. They would not hesitate to impose economic sanctions against South Africa should they find one good reason to do that.

In conclusion, as South Africans, we need to learn to read signs of the times. There are indications that the dominance of the US and the West in global politics and economy is waning, and South Africa should not let go of what she has attained already through the relationship with member countries in BRICS. In today's dog eat dog world, South Africa needs leadership with foresight and agility to deal effectively with alignment politics globally. We need to know how to choose sides and friends - carefully and wisely. In no time, BRICS would be a force to be reckoned with, and South Africa should not sell itself short as one of the founder members of BRICS.

South Africa should ensure that the BRICS Summit is successful. In fact, South Africa has a duty to protect all delegates on its soil at the BRICS Summit, particularly the Russian President. Nothing more, nothing less



Conference Declaration Provincial Conference of the Free State VL

he 3rd provincial conference of the Free State Veterans League took place last weekend on the 30th June - 02 July 2023, constituted of delegates and participants drawn from branches as well as other structures. Conference took place within three months after the appointment of the Provincial Task Team (PTT). Amongst others, we were to mobilise veterans who are 60 years and older, who have an unbroken record of service in the struggle for 40 or more years, revive structures and organize for this conference. The conference met under the theme, "Unite, Renew and Rebuild the ANC to Advance the National Democratic Revolution!'

As delegates to this conference, we re-affirm the role of the ANC as the strategic leader of the National Democratic Revolution through which the three basic and inter-related contradictions of colonialism of a special type - racial oppression, women's oppression and class exploitation which can be resolved, thus building a united, non-racial, democratic and prosperous South Africa.

As delegates we are grateful for the enormous work done by the PTT in executing its mandate and in con-

vening this successful conference. We thank the National Task Team for the support and guidance provided in the process towards the conference.

We acknowledge the invaluable support and resourcing of the 3rd Veterans League Conference by the ANC PEC, including the ANC Provincial Chairperson Cde Mxolisi Dukwana, words of encouragement and pledging continuous support to the Veterans League.

We draw inspiration from the messages of support and active participation of representatives from the ANC Women's League, COSATU, MKLWV, and the SACP. In keeping with the directives of the ANC 55th national conference and inspired by the common messages of the fraternal structures, the Veterans League commits to ensure delivery of quality services to our communities, to fight against crime and corruption, to help unite the ANC and the society to be in the forefront of the renewal of the ANC, to fight against factionalism and to explore and hold ANC structures accountable for incidents of ill-discipline, membership gatekeeping and bogus branch meetings.

The Veterans League urges law en-

forcement agencies to expedite processes of investigations, prosecutions, recovery of losses from fraud and corruption in the community.

The Veterans League supports strategic and principled coalitions as resolved at the ANC's 55th National Conference; coalitions whose priority is to serve the basic needs of our people, as opposed to horse trading on positions.

The Veterans League rebukes comrades who are found to be involved in acts of gender-based violence, patriarchy and violation of the rights of children, women and the elderly.

Forward with the Veterans League in its resolve to unite, renew and rebuild the ANC to advance the National Democratic Revolution!

Viva ANC Veterans League Viva!
Viva Branches of the ANC Veterans
League Viva!
Amandla!

Matla!



As Steenhuisen's Battlestar Galactica lumbers into gear, are we seeing a moonshot or a howl in the dark?

It can be argued that the moonshot pact is a creative solution to the existential crisis the DA has had to manage in recent years, and how the party defines liberalism in a society as unequal as ours, particularly with its racial fault lines.

■ By Joel Netshitenzhe

arlier this week, final preparations for the launch of South Africa's electoral version of Battlestar Galactica were made public.

The countdown to August has begun, as the Democratic Alliance (DA), the Freedom Front Plus (FF+), ActionSA, the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP), the United Independent Movement (UIM) and the two-yearold Spectrum National Party inch towards their national convention.

According to DA leader John Steenhuisen - lead pilot of the "moonshot" mission - a few other parties are expected to hitch a ride, or at least attend the launch as observers.

As expected, the announcement has added fuel to the excitement among pundits who wager that the African



National Congress (ANC) will be brought some distance below 50% at a national level. Depending on where one stands on the political spectrum, such an outcome would represent welcome progress – or an

unmitigated disaster.

If the 2021 local government elections are used as a bellwether, it is instructive that the ANC not only dipped below 50% on aggregate,





but it also went down by more than nine percentage points in four provinces, compared with 2016.

The ANC had already been trending downwards since 2009.

Mixed DA fortunes

However, the leader of the moonshot pact, the DA, has also had mixed fortunes. In 2021 its overall support decreased by some five percentage points compared with 2016. In the Western Cape – where it is the incumbent – it declined by about nine percentage points.

It can be argued that the moonshot pact is a creative solution to the existential crisis the DA has had to manage in recent years: how to approach issues of racial redress, haemorrhaging support among white Afrikaner and coloured communities, and the departure of senior black leaders. The crisis boils down to how the party defines liberalism in a society as unequal as ours, particularly with its racial fault lines.

Faced with this dilemma, the DA

seems to have settled on defending its right flank and fishing from a smaller pond by consolidating white support which had remained solid at 90% in this community. The coalition pact allows it to have its cake and eat it, by pursuing this approach while drawing partners to pad vulnerable flanks and sue for national office.

Besides party mobilisation in the white community and supportive media analysts, all manner of "apolitical" platforms such as country clubs and golf estate community forums are being marshalled to ensure success.

Some of the scenarios being painted in these sessions include:

- Reducing national electoral support for the ANC so far below 50% that it would not be able to retain political office through a coalition with the Economic Freedom Fighters (EFF), the so-called "Doomsday scenario";
- Even if this fails in 2024, the oppo-

sition pact should ensure a majority in the "main" provinces of the Western Cape, Gauteng and Kwa-Zulu-Natal and pursue a federalist devolution of powers;

- Mobilising for the largest voter turnout possible among DA supporters while encouraging the opposite, especially in African townships and among the black middle strata; and

Persuading public servants at national and provincial levels to support the pact by assuring them that there would not be wholesale dismissals, even of those perceived to be aligned to the ANC.

This is, of course, the stuff of democratic electoral politics.

But, among those who genuinely wish to see a fundamental transformation of South African society from its apartheid past, there is a genuine fear that such a project would bring an end to the efforts to attain the ideals of the Freedom Charter and the country's Constitution. This applies particularly to

economic and social rights.

This apprehension is about more than just narrow party-political preferences. Leaving aside the claims about effective delivery, which have been so spectacularly debunked in places such as Tshwane, there are two important conceptual issues at play. The first is about the essence of the socioeconomic platform espoused by the leader of the moonshot alliance. The second relates to whether the Constitution is capable of imposing limits on extreme radicalism from both the right and left of the political spectrum.

Given South Africa's challenges of poverty and inequality, defined largely by race and gender, concern about the DA's socioeconomic policies attaches to, among others, the promotion of wholesale privatisation of state assets; antipathy towards Black Economic Empowerment, and suggestions of cheap labour through an overly flexible labour market.

On the whole, the DA seems to believe in an unbridled free market, with increased social grants and cash transfers thrown in as a sop. Insulting references to "tribal chiefs", "tribal boundaries" and "tribal subjects" in sections of its policy documents do underline, to borrow a phrase, the party's attitude of mind.

Constitutional protections

What about protections afforded by the Constitution against extreme right and left policies?

The starting point is that the basic law of the land is a broad canvas, and South Africa relies on the judiciary to define the limits within which the free will of political players can be exercised. The concern, however, is that policy and administrative actions - at either end of the political spectrum – that may appear innocuous, can insidiously threaten the transformative essence of the democratic order.

State Capture is one such instance. Expropriation of land without compensation, combined with state ownership of all land, is another example that would result in such enormous power to state functionaries as to encourage dictatorial conduct and corruption. The DA's socioeconomic platform does have elements of concerning extremes. Would the judiciary be able to prevent this?

Related to both these issues is foreign policy and where South Africa would locate itself under a moonshot pact.

To illustrate this pointedly: would a moonshot government abandon support for Palestinians' quest for freedom and statehood, given the DA's affinity to the Israeli government and its right-wing prime minister, demonstrated, for instance, during then-leader of the DA Mmusi Maimane's 2017 visit, and Johannesburg leader Mpho Phalatse's infamous 2018 "friends of Israel" speech for which she had to apologise?

What about the current government's firm "one-China" policy? Considering the 2016 visit to Taiwan by the DA's then-mayor of Tshwane, Solly Msimanga, would we see South Africa perhaps becoming a sixth member of the current "Five Eyes" alliance of English-speaking

countries (Australia, Canada, New Zealand, the United Kingdom and the United States) that seems bent on preventing the global rise and pre-eminence of an Oriental power?

True values

All this and more inform the apprehension among those who genuinely care about South Africa's journey from its apartheid past. Beyond party-political preferences, this concern also relates to our nation's true values, at the centre of which is a democratic and humane system in which all social rights are progressively and speedily realised.

Of course, the Battlestar Galactica effort may well turn out to be a case of merely howling at the moon. The ANC is striving to reverse its fortunes and emphasising the fundamental changes that have taken place since 1994, acknowledging the wasted years of State Capture which were followed by Covid, and, in government, focusing on immediate challenges such as load shedding, the logistics nightmare and the spike in crime.

Many do believe that, with all the reforms and the focus on implementation, the economy should start growing at 3% of GDP and higher sooner than expected.

However, all scenarios – especially those with the most uncertain variables - deserve reflection. South Africans cannot afford to be caught off-guard.

Joel Netshitenzhe is Executive Director at the Mapungubwe Institute for Strategic Reflection (Mistra)



Oration by Thabo Mbeki at the Funeral of Mme Sally Motlana: Johannesburg, 3 January 2023.

ot for the first time, the cadres of Umkhonto we Sizwe borrowed a hymn and transformed it into a liberation song. And so they sang with great passion about the day they will report to their Commander:

Nxa e bizwa amagama amaqhawe, ngabe lam ngolifica likhona; Koba njani sesihlezi noTambo, Sesimtshela ngamaBhul egingqika?

When the roll of the heroes and heroines is called,

Will my name feature among these; How will we feel the day we sit with Tambo,

And tell him of the enemy biting the dust?

We meet here today to say farewell to one who I am absolutely certain never doubted that her name would be there on the day of the roll call, regardless of who it was who would be present to listen to the roll call, our very dear Mme Sally Motlana, esteemed Member of the Order of the Baobab.

I say this not because she was an arrogant person, but because she was both an honest and a humble person who knew what she had done, who



would have felt pain if she had not done what she should have done to take our people even one step forward towards their liberation and fulfilment.

As we lay to rest the mortal remains of Mme Motlana today, we may be saying farewell to one of the very last of an extraordinary generation of South Africans who were born at a time when it would have been madness to dream of freedom, but yet made the dream to come true.

It seems to me that this generation, the generation of Mme Sally Motlana, did this because it had the pre-

science and courage to follow in the footsteps of the earlier generations which had resisted the process of colonisation, and thus work to define itself as being other than the pliant and docile beasts of burden into which colonialism had tried to fashion the African oppressed – the sub-humans about whom Verwoerd said there is no place for (the Bantu) in the European community above the level of certain forms of labour!

Almost 45 years ago Mme Sally spoke to a foreign correspondent exactly about what Verwoerd meant and said:

(The white people) want me, the black person, they want me when it suits them. I nurse their babies, I suckle them, hold them to my black breast, feed them, change them. I prepare their food with my black hands which they don't want to touch, I take their children to the parks, and to the school. I teach them, I sing to them, I love them. And then, then when the children are 10 years old they are taught that they must never touch me, touch me because I am a stinking black, or they will turn partially black. That is why I feel sorry for them. They are not being honest with themselves. Even now you go to all these hotels and in the kitchen there is a black man preparing the food, the waiters are all black. They're not being honest with themselves."

And thus spoke one of our women leaders over many decades describing in very graphic words the practice of servitude of forcibly providing to white South Africa certain forms of labour which are not above a certain level!

Her rejection of the servitude which

Verwoerd believed was the natural order of things was an important step forward towards the reassertion of the identity of those who had known a protracted period of dehumanisation by colonialism and apartheid.

Mme Sally was saying to the oppressors, no longer will we be your house maids and garden boys whom you named Jane and Jim, and shall therefore regain our identities and our names as Ntombenhle and Kgositsile.

During the interview we have cited given in 1979, during the very dark years of extreme repression, Mme Motlana said:

"I feel sorry for (the whites). They don't understand what they are doing.

And what do we hear in those words?

We hear a voice of great compassion. We hear a voice of unequalled maturity. We hear a commander's voice which says the struggle continues and victory is certain. We hear the soft-spoken promise of a combatant that she will liberate the oppressor. This is the voice of a humanist who will not allow the barbarism of white oppression and arrogance to turn her back on what she has learnt which is that 'do not hasten in your spirit to be angry, for anger rests in the bosom of fools. (Ecclesiastes: 7:9).

And what voice do we hear?

This is a black woman's voice.

It tells us never to forget what Oliver Tambo meant when he said - Women in the ANC have a duty to liberate us men from antique concepts and attitudes about the place and role of women in society, and in the development and direction of our revolutionary struggle.

In addition, Oliver Tambo had said the women's place is not in the kitchen, but in the battlefront of struggle!

Beyond all that, we should hear Mme Sally speak about herself and understand the true and deep meaning of what she said when she spoke to another foreign correspondent, 47 years ago, saying:

The Bible teaches me that I am made in the image of God. I believe that I honestly believe that and I don't see how other Christians can discriminate against me. Then they must teach me again, and tell me I am not made by God, and teach me who did make me.

And here spoke a woman who, by her deeds, had done what Oliver Tambo had called for to liberate us men from antique concepts and attitudes about the place and role of women in society, and in the development and direction of our revolutionary struggle.

Undoubtedly Mme Sally felt this very deeply that she should use her talents to help especially the millions of black women themselves practically to define their own place and role in society, fully cognizant that these, too, were made in God's image, with Mme Sally knowing very well that God charged these who were made in his image, to:

"have dominion over the fish of the sea, and over the birds of the air, and over the cattle, and over all the wild animals of the earth, and over every creeping thing that creeps upon the earth."





The more she recalled all this heavy and unique responsibility given to humanity, the more she bemoaned the condition of especially the black women of our country.

Even today, they remain at the bottom of the heap, the poorest and most abused echelon in our society. Where there is no water delivery and no electricity the task still falls on this black woman to work like a beast of burden to fetch the water and the firewood, otherwise the children and the family will not eat. And still the cry rings out an end to gender violence - and yet the figures are read out every quarter and they tell a bleak story that yet more women have fallen victim to rape and other violent crimes against the person.

I can only imagine the intense pain and shame Mme Motlana must have felt as she listened to the Police Service announce that, between the Apr/June, 2021 Quarter and the Apr/ June 2022 Quarter,

- Sexual Offences as a whole increased by 74.1%,
- Rape by 72.4% and,
- Sexual Assault by 77.6%.

This was an outstanding female leader of our people who sought to rebuild our nation by, among other things;

- fighting dependency especially among black women for its corrosion of human agency on the one hand and lowering the dignity of the human being;
- opposing supplication as a means of fighting poverty as it not only lowered the dignity of the supplicant but also exposed her to all manner of abuse; and
- encouraging self-reliance as the most authentic expression of taking charge of ones immediate environment, preparatory to the exercise of the right to self-determination.

It is because of all this that it would be a grave error to mention only in passing the Black Housewives League. The League was not a passing hobby or diversion to Mme Sally.

It could not be a mere diversion because it was to the black oppressed an important school, and incubator in which was developed the dignified, self-reliant and self-confident black woman, and especially the rural black woman, inspired to reach out towards the new society which would open all doors for her fully to realise herself and all her aspirations.

Mme Sally was driven to immerse herself in the work of the Black Housewives League because she was inspired by the blessed call:

Cast thy bread upon the waters, For thou shalt find it after many days.

Thus was Mme Motlana a nation-builder who would have cried out as she listened to the crime statistics, which, inter alia, speak of the sustained abuse of women she would have cried out - of what significance is it, then, that we are made in Gods image, entrusted with dominion over all other living things on earth!

Prince Mangosuthu Buthelezi was a student at Fort Hare during the same period as Mme Motlana, then Miss Maunye. Of her Nkosi Buthelezi has said: "(She was) passionatea good activist and a great patriot. She silenced

quite a number of us male comrades. She was very blunt and very passionate, absolutely very blunt. She didnt hesitate to speak truth to power. She really stood out. "

Nkosi Buthelezi was speaking of a fellow-member of the ANC Youth League who ended up being Secretary of the Victoria East Branch of the ANC, which included Fort Hare.

Explaining why she got there, Mme Sally said:

"(As you grew up) you began to see the interconnectedness of things in a way that made more senseWhy were Black people at the bottom of the rung with respect to everything? The answer to that (was that) it was the outcome of political decisions by those with power, and when you probed further, you found out that the way they got to be powerful was part of the wrong that needed to be corrected in this country."

And so it was that she joined those in our country who had decided to confront what she called the wrong that needed to be corrected in this country, obliged never to hesitate to be blunt and passionate and to speak truth to power as Nkosi Buthelezi said.

It spoke to the high esteem in which she was held already then, in 1953 when she got married to the now late Dr Nthato Motlana, that Oliver Tambo and Father Trevor Huddleston spoke for the family of the bride.

The honour and respect bestowed on her even on the occasion of her wedding proved justified during the following decades of Mme Motlanas activism.

Because of what she did to advance the cause of freedom, she became, in many respects, the exemplar of the all-weather cadre for the liberation of our country.

A devout Christian and eminent faith leader, she reaffirmed the principled posture of the Christian Church which was expressed in the 1985 KAIROS document in these words:

For very many Christians in South Africa this is the KAIROS, the moment of grace and opportunity, the favorable time in which God issues a challenge to decisive action. It is a dangerous time because, if this opportunity is missed, and allowed to pass by, the loss for the Church, for the Gospel and for all the people of South Africa will be immeasurable.

Mme Motlana stood firm and said she was ready for decisive action.

And so it was that she never betrayed the struggle even though she was subjected to frequent bouts of imprisonment. And so it was that she stood with the children as they defied apartheid terrorism from 1976 onwards. And so it was that she remained a constant pillar which drew many to her to receive inspiration to rally behind the cause of liberation, confident of victory.

I am certain that even from a distance we could always hear her sing, even to herself:

Lizalis idinga lakho, Thixo Nkosi yenyaniso! Zonk iintlanga, zonk izizwe, Ma zizuze usindiso

Bona izwe lakowethu, uxolel izoono zalo; Ungathob ingqumbo yakho, Luze luf usapho lwalo.

Mme Sally Motlana has left us, but such is the state of the nation that we too who live must repeat after her and Tiyo Soga,

Bona izwe lakowethu, uxolel izoono zalo; Ungathob inggumbo yakho, Luze luf usapho lwalo.

We say a fond farewell to an outstanding South African heroine, for ever thankful for everything she did for our nation and country, confident that when it is time for the roll call to honour the heroes and heroines, her name will be among the first to be called.

Truly to respect her, this I must say:

I felt very sad but moved by her usual honesty and well known bluntness when she said, not long before she passed away:

The ANC I knew has died. We must start anew and build itThe ANC I knew was the ANC of Luthuli, Mandela. Robert Resha

The Official Oration of the President on the Solemn Occasion of Admission into the National Orders, such as the Order of the Baobab, ends with these words:

To them all, the living and the dead, on this day, the nation says - bayethe!

On this day, let all citizens and patriots proclaim: Glory to the Honoured Members of the National Orders!

May the Esteemed Member of the Order of the Baobab, our eminent leader and comrade, Mme Sally Motlana, rest in eternal peace



Tribute To Comrade Essop Pahad An Intellectual Giant

■ By George Magoma



he morning dew of the 6th of July 2023 was a harbinger of cold news. The intellectual well from which flowed wisdom is dry, robbing society of thoughtfulness and intellectual critical thinking that exposed us to different prisms from which we can view and interpret the world.

Comrade Essop Pahad was a member of the ANC, serving in many capacities and roles as a member of the National Executive Committee, a member of the South African Communist Party (SACP), a Parliamentary Counsellor from 1994 to 1999, a deputy minister in the office of the Executive Deputy President, and a Minister in the Presidency from 1999 to 2008. He carried these responsibilities with distinction in the selfless service of his people and the country. Above all these callings, he was a servant of the people.

A revolutionary intellectual rooted in working class internationalism, Comrade Essop Pahad played a leading role in the liberation struggle and the development of policies that would advance the interests of the people. Born on the 21 June 1939 in Schweizer-Reneke, his life spans years in political activism, from 1958 as a member of the Transvaal Indian Congress. He paid a heavy price for his involvement in human justice. He was banned and

detained for his activism in the liberation struggle as a member of the ANC and SACP.

A great scholar of the University of Sussex and a prolific writer, his world views were seminal and thought provoking, shaping and influencing the world for a global order based on humanity. His acumen, critical thinking and skills were instrumental during negotiations for a peaceful settlement during CODESA and the nature of society we yearn to build post 1994 in accordance with the dictates of the Freedom Charter, elevating the principle of "The people shall govern" as a loadstar that would deliver the 1994 political breakthrough.

In the course of negotiations, the ANC did not veer from its mandate and strategic goal of building a united non-racial, non-sexist democratic South Africa based on freedom, equality and justice.

Amongst his contributions he is a credited as an architect, along with his comrades in the ANC and SACP of a new democratic order that ushered democracy in 1994. This is a democratic dispensation achieved through his courage and wisdom in the prosecution of the struggle for freedom, justice and human dignity. His passing leaves a deep void at a critical time in the life of the ANC and mass democratic movement.

His leadership and wisdom are of great loss to the nation. He was a fertile oasis in an arid desert where hope was a mirage, the dry sand that blinded and blurred our hope, turning it into a dream never to be reached, yet a deeper voice in ourselves egged us to be hopeful of the future, a future of hope.

It was his struggles and determination that kept this hope alive. He resided among his people, without glory and praise, sharing in their pain and grief. In 1993 when Nelson Mandela profoundly said "It is not the kings and generals that make history but the masses of the people", a recognition of the great strides that echoed among the mountains adorning the beauty of the landscape of humanity and dignity, he counted Comrade Essop as one of the people, not as the kings and generals given the self-effacing character of the late Comrade Essop, his value and what he represented.

This, he said for he knew that the struggle was not his but for freedom and justice and for the greater benefit of humanity.

The ANC dips its revolutionary flag in tribute and honour of an elder and revolutionary giant, intellectual and working class internationalist

May his soul rest in peace



Tribute to Blanche La Guma

■ By **Faiez Jacobs**

oday, we mourn the passing of Blanche La Guma, an extraordinary woman whose dedication to the cause of social justice has left a lasting impact on our world. Born on November 30, 1927, in Athlone, Cape Town, she dedicated her life to the struggle for equality and dignity for all people.

Blanche's commitment to justice was evident early on. Inspired by her mother's involvement in local civic associations and community support, Blanche saw firsthand the power of community mobilization. She carried these lessons with her throughout her life, from organizing queues for food distribution in her youth to leading demonstrations of hundreds of nurses later in her career.

She pursued a career in nursing, specializing in midwifery, at St. Monica's Home, the first institution in Cape Town where Coloured women could train in this field. Despite the demanding nature of her profession, Blanche always found time for political activism, becoming a stalwart in the Communist Party of South Africa and the Federation of South African Women.

Blanche's marriage to the celebrated writer and activist Alex La Guma was not just a personal partnership but a shared commitment to the



cause of justice and equality. Their home became a hub of political activity, even as they faced political persecution and personal hardship.

In 1963, Blanche was detained under the draconian 90-day solitary confinement laws, reflecting the apartheid regime's fear of her influence and determination. This did not deter her; rather, it fueled her resolve to continue fighting for the rights of the marginalized and oppressed.

The La Gumas were forced into exile in 1966, moving to the United Kingdom. There, Blanche continued her work as a midwife, bringing life

into the world even as she fought against the forces that sought to oppress and devalue it. Later, she and Alex moved to Cuba, where they continued their tireless advocacy.

The loss of Alex in 1985 was a profound personal blow to Blanche, but she remained unwavering in her commitment to their shared cause. She returned to Cape Town in 1992, continuing her life's work in the city of her birth.

Blanche La Guma was a formidable advocate for justice, a dedicated nurse and midwife, and a devoted wife and mother. She lived a life of resilience and determination, facing down injustice and standing up for the dignity and worth of all people.

As we mourn her passing, we also celebrate her extraordinary life. Her legacy, intertwined with that of her late husband Alex, will continue to inspire and guide future generations. Rest in power, Blanche La Guma, and thank you for your unwavering dedication to the cause of justice and equality. Your spirit, your strength, and your indomitable courage will never be forgotten.

Faiez Jacobs is ANC Member of Parliament for Greater Athlone and WHIP for Small Business Development Portfolio Committee



A Leaf out of South Africa's History

Mandela Engages PW Botha

■ By Castro Khwela



On 5 July 1989, Nelson Mandela was taken in the middle of a fivecar convoy to apartheid President P.W. Botha's office at Tuynhuys, the early Cape Dutch home that is situated alongside the Houses of Parliament in Cape Town. When Mandela entered the room, there were the Justice Minister, Kobie Coetsee and Niël Barnard, the Head of the National Intelligence Service (NIS), along with a host of prison officials. A while later the door to the adjoining office opened, where Mandela was ushered in and apartheid President Botha walked in from the other side, smiling broadly with his hands outstretched. They met halfway and posed for a picture shaking hands, as everybody left, except for General Willemse, Coetsee and Barnard, who joined Botha and Mandela at the long table for tea.

Mandela began by saying he read

an article in an Afrikaans magazine about the occupation of a town in the Free State during the 1914 Afrikaner Rebellion. He said that he saw parallels between that struggle and that of Black South Africans. They then got to discussions about the rebellion.

According to Mandela, "South African history, of course, looks different to the black man and the white man. Their view was that the rebel-





lion had been a quarrel between brothers, whereas my struggle was a revolutionary one. I said that it could also be seen as a struggle between brothers who happen to be different colours".

Passionately, Botha elucidated the role Afrikaners could play in Africa to help in the development of the continent, especially in the fields of education, transport, health, agriculture, employment, welfare and the advancement of Africa's enormous human potential. He then mentioned the relationships he had with African leaders and heads of state, in particular mentioning President Kaunda. He told Mandela that the Zambian leader had said that if "the people of southern Africa came to an agreement with the Afrikaners, this would lead to far better conditions in the region".

After about half-an-hour the discussions were finalised and Mandela began reiterating his viewpoint that the African National Congress (ANC) had not wished to take the

route of violence, but was left with no other choice with the refusal of previous National Party (NP) Prime Ministers to meet with ANC leaders. Furthermore, he indicated that he was very pleased with the discussions undertaken between him and the government team, viewing the process as "laying the foundation for fruitful negotiations". Botha reassured Mandela that as Afrikaners they were "ready to talk…to participate in real discussions".

Mandela then began raising substantive issues, in particular the unconditional release of all political prisoners, including himself. Botha said he was afraid that he couldn't do that. Then Mandela asked him to release Walter Sisulu on compassionate grounds, which Botha referred to Barnard "to look into it".

Both leaders then began a brief discussion on what they were going to say if news of the meeting happened to leak out, which both agreed would be interpreted as having met for tea in an effort to

promote peace in the country. After the statement was agreed upon, Botha then arose, shook Mandela's hand and said it had been a pleasure. Mandela thanked him and headed for the door.

On Monday, 10 July 1989, Botha circulated the photos of the meeting with Mandela at the meeting of the State Security Council (SSC). According to Niël Barnard, "Anyone who had the slightest inkling of the importance of the meeting realised that regardless of what the future held, a bridge had been crossed".

For Mandela though, the meeting was not a breakthrough in terms of negotiations, but to a certain extent it was a step in the right direction, as Botha had been talking about the need to cross the Rubicon, and the meeting at Tuynhuys was that Rubicon. Accordingly, Mandela felt that since then, there was no turning back

"Your freedom and mine cannot be separated". Nelson Mandela



8 - 12 July 2023

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

■ 8 July 1946 Stella Chiweshe born



The Zimbabwean musician was born in Mujumi village, Mhondoro. When she turned 20, she mastered the Shona instrument mbira dzavagdzimu, which few women played. When recording companies were not interested in mbira music, she formed her own record company. Stella Chiweshe performed internationally and recorded 12 albums between 1987 and 2021.

8 July 2003 Sudan plane crash

A Sudan Airways passenger jet lost power shortly after takeoff from Port Sudan, due to an engine failure. The plane returned to the airport, missed the runway and hit the ground killing all 117 people on board.

■ 8 July 2004 South Africa to host Pan African Parliament

The third conference of the African Union (AU) meeting in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, selected South Africa as the seat of the future Pan African Parliament (PAP). President Thabo Mbeki announced that it would be erected on the site of the Gallagher Estate, Midrand.

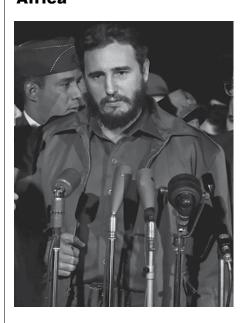
■ 9 July 1860 Last African slave ship arrives in Alabama

The last ship carrying enslaved Africans across the Atlantic ocean – from the Dahomey kingdom of Benin – arrives at the port of Mobile in Alabama, US.

9 July 1893 Durban's first mayor passed on

George Christopher Cato, first mayor of Durban, died in the city on 9 July 1893. Cato was born in London, England in 1814 and came to South Africa as a trader. He was asked to plan Durban while it was still under the Natalia Republic Government and when Durban achieved municipal status in 1845, he was elected as the first Mayor. In 1865 Cato was granted an area of land behind the current day Natal University, which became the densely urban township of Cato Manor.

■ **9 July 1992**Fidel Castro honoured by Africa



Cuban President Fidel Castro received Angola's Order of Agostinho Neto, the highest national order. Castro was later decorated with national orders by Ghana, Mali and South Africa in 1998, Algeria in 2001, Guinea-Bissau in 2007, Namibia I 2008 and Zambia in 2009, for Cuba's contribution to the liberation struggle in Africa

■ 9 July 1995 FW De Klerk implicated in Third Force violence by Police Commissioner

Ex-Police Commissioner General Johan van der Merwe and ex-Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok, implicated former state President



and Deputy President of the Government of National Unity, F.W. de Klerk, of knowing and condoning a 'dirty tricks' campaign that was waged against the African National Congress (ANC) between 1990 and the 1994 election in a bid to destabilise the organisation. Van der Merwe further testified that the entire National party (NP) leadership knew about this operation and at times instructed the police to carry out these brutalities against its opponents.

9 July 2002 **African Union launched**

The African Union, which replaced the Organisation of African Unity (OAU), is launched at a Summit in Durban. With fifty-five member states, the AU seeks to build an Africa that is united, peaceful, democratic and prosperous.

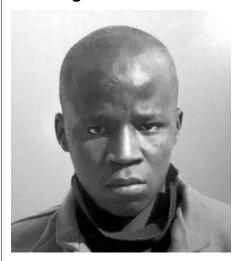
9 July 2011 South Sudan independence

After five decades of unrest and civil war, South Sudan was granted independence on 9 July 2011 with the town of Juba as its capital. The declaration of independence marked "the end" of intermittent clashes with the north. Salva Kiir became the first President of the newly born African state.

10 July 1924 Cairo Qur'an Published

The King Fuad I Edition of the Qur'an is published at Egypt's Al-Azhar University. Work started on the work, also called the "Cairo Qur'an" in 1907. The edition of the Holy Book became immensely popular, easy to recite and accepted by both Sunni and Shi'a Muslims.

■ 10 July 1956 Solomon Kalushi Mahlangu born



Solomon Kalushi Mahlangu, a soldier of Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK), the armed wing of the African National Congress (ANC), who was executed by hanging in Pretoria Central Prison, was born on 10 July 1956 in Mamelodi, east of Pretoria. Mahlangu left the country to join the ANC's military wing in exile in October 1976 after the student demonstrations of 1976. He received his military training in Angola and Mozambique. He returned to South Africa in 1977 on a mission to help students commemorate the 1976 demonstrations. On route to Soweto, his group was accosted by the police and a gunfight ensued. Mahlangu was captured along with Monty Motloung who was beaten to the point of severe brain damage. The third member of the group, George Mahlangu, managed to escape. Kalushi was sentenced to death, and he went to the gallows singing in early morning of 6 April 1976. His final words were, "Tell my people that I love them and that they must continue the fight, my blood will nourish the tree that will bear the fruits of freedom, Aluta continua."

■ 10 July 1970 King of Kwaito Arthur **Mofokate born**

The musician and producer was born in Soweto. His first kwaito hit, Kaffir in 1995, sold more than half a million copies, establishing The King of Kwaito as a major force in South African music.

■ 10 July 1993 **Kenyan Yobes Ondieki makes History**

Kenyan runner Yobes Ondieki surprised the world when he became the first man to run 10 000 Meters in less than 27 minutes. Ondieki was taking part in the Bislett Games in Oslo, Norway, when he made history. This achievement saw him ranked number one in the world in the 10 000 meters. Prior to the record in Oslo, Ondieki participated in the Olympic Games in 1988 and 1992 but failed to win medals. In 1991 he won the World Championships gold medal in Tokyo and set a Kenyan 5000 meter record of 13; 01.82 in Zurich.

■ 10 July 2000 **OAU Summit adopts** Lomé Declaration on **Democracy**

In an address to the OAU Summit in Togo, UN Secretary General Kofi Annan raised concerns about the number of coups d'état destabilizing African countries. The summit adopted the Lomé Declaration that calls for a shared set of democratic values.

■ 11 July 1957 Djamila Bouhired, Algerian militant appears in court

Djamila Bouhired (b.1935), a militant of the Algerian War of Inde-



pendence appears in a French military court. She and co-defendants are charged with the bombng of an Algiers café that killed 11 people. She was eventually sentenced to death by guillotine, but her sentence was converted to life after pressure. Bouhired joined the Algerian Liberation Front as a student activist. She was released from prison after independence and became chair of the Algerian Women Association. She remains active in Algerian politics.

■ 11 July 1960 Katanga declared secession from DRC

Congolese businessman and politician Moise Tshombe declared that the mineral-rich Katanga region is seceding from the Democratic Republic of Congo. This threw the newly independent Congo into chaos, leading to a UN peacekeeping intervention. The crisis is further exacerbated by the assassination of Prime Minister Patrice Lumumba and the death of UN Secretary General Dag Hammarskjöld.

■ 11 July 1963. Umkhonto High Command arrested at Lilliesleaf farm



South African police raided the African National Congress (ANC) underground headquarters, the Lilliesleaf Farm in Rivonia, just outside Johannesburg. Virtually the entire leadership of Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK), armed wing of the ANC, were arrested on this day. This moment came as a terrible titanic dream in the history of the ANC. Amongst those arrested were: Walter Sisulu, Govan Mbeki, Raymond Mhlaba, Ahmed Kathrada, Lionel Bernstein and Bob Hepple. Nelson Mandela, the commander-in-chief of MK, was not arrested at the time as he was serving a five-year prison sentence for leaving the country illegally in 1962. The farm was privately owned by Arthur Goldreich, but bought with funds from the Communist Party of South Africa (CPSA). At the farm, police found documents relating to the manufacture of explosives, Mandela's diary of his African tour and copies of a draft memorandum, 'Operation Mayibuye'. It outlined a possible strategy of guerrilla warfare. The six men had been studying the document when police arrived. More arrests followed shortly after this incident, including Arthur Goldreich, Andrew Mlangeni, James Kantor, Dennis Goldberg, Harold Wolpe and Elias Motsoaledi. Goldreich and Wolpe later managed to escape from prison. Mandela and his co-accused were sentenced to life imprisonment in the Rivonia trial that ended in June 1964.

■ 11 July 2000 Trans-African Highways Network Agreement signed

An Agreement to cooperate on a network of highways is signed by the Summit of Heads of State and Government of the African Union.

This was an idea already touted as early as 1971 by the UN Economic Commission for Africa (UNECA), spanning roads of over 60,000 km. Some of the tar roads include a connection of highways from Tripoli, Libya to Windhoek, Namibia (9,610km), Cairo, Egypt to Dakar, Senegal (8,636km), Algiers, Algeria to Lagos, Nigeria (4,505 km), Cairo, Egypt to Gaborone, Botswana. The project is also referred to as transport corridors, since some aspect of rail is being incorporated. It is a joint project of the AU, UNECA and the African Development Bank.

■ 12 July 1912 First Malian MP, Aoua Keita born

Aoua Kéita, Malian writer, midwife and activist was born in Bamako. She was educated on her dad's insistence, despite objections from her mother. She was Active in the independence movement, a leader of the African Democratic Rally (RDA) and also set up a women's trade union in Mali in 1956. After Mali independence in 1960, Kéita was elected as the first woman member of the National Assembly. She was also one of the founders of the Pan African Women's Organisation (PAWO). Her autobiography was published in 1975, and she passed on in 1980.

■ **12 July 1929**Sudan author Tayeb Salih born

Writer and cultural expert was born in Karmakol, Sudan. He popularized Sudanese, African and Arabic culture in broadcasts, working for UN-ESCO, and in newspaper columns and novels. His most famous work is Season of Migration to the North (1966).



■ 12 July 1941 Children's writer Affaf Tobbala born

Egyptian children's book writer was born in Cairo. After a successful career as a TV documentary director, at 64, she started writing award-winning children's stories, translated into several languages.

■ **12 July 1954** Nkosi Albert Luthuli banned

Chief Albert Luthuli was elected as ANC President in 1952. In 1954 the Minister of Justice C.R. Swart issued the ANC President with two banning orders. One prohibited him from attending public gather-

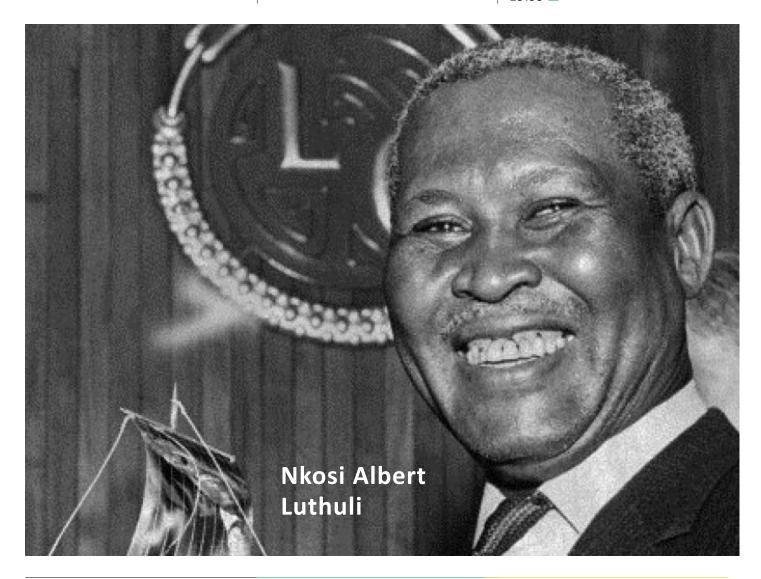
ings and another confined him to the magisterial district of Lower Tugela, Natal. He was to report frequently to the SA Police in the area. After his part in leading the 1952 Defiance Campaign, a non-violent, national, anti- pass protest, the apartheid government summoned him to Pretoria. Here he was challenged to denounce the ANC or be removed for his chieftainship, involving a loss of power and salary. He chose the latter. On 12 July 1954 Luthuli was scheduled to address a group protesting against forced removals of Black people in Johannesburg and the Minister served him with the banning notices under the 1950 Suppression of Communism Act.

■ 12 July 1975 Sao Tomé and Principe national independence

Sao Tomé and Principe achieves national independence from Portugal, with a population of 83,134 and Sao Tomé as capital. The new African island state forms a one-party Marxist state.

■ 12 July 2002 Oldest human to run 200m in under 20 seconds

Namibian sprinter Frankie Fredericks becomes the oldest human to run 200 meters in under 20 seconds when at age 34 years and 283 days he runs the 200 meters in Rome at 19:99





INTERNATIONAL AND NATIONAL DAYS

9 - 14 July 2023

Source: www.un.org, www.au.int, The Africa Fact Book (2020), www.daysoftheyear.com

■ 9 July

Eid al-Adha.

Also known as the Festival of Sacrifice, this is one of the two holiest Islamic celebrations. Eid al-Adha is observed by Muslims around the world, and the date is determined by the Islamic lunar calendar. It celebrates the devotion of Ibraham, willing to sacrifice his son Ismael.

■ 11 July

World Population Day.

In 1950, the world population stood at 2.5 billion inhabitants, by 2022, this figure has reached just below 7.9 billion people. World Population Day seeks to focus attention on the urgency and importance of population issues, particularly in the context of overall development plans and programmes, and the need to find solutions for these issues. A world of nearly 8 billion humans, is both a challenge and an opportunity with implications on urbanisation, access to health services, access to water, energy, food and for youth empowerment. It is also a challenge for other species — animal and plant — which have to share the planet with us.

■ 11 July

African Anti-Corruption Day.

It marks the day when the African Union adopted the AU Conven-

tion on Preventing and Combatting Corruption (AUCPCC).

■ 13 July

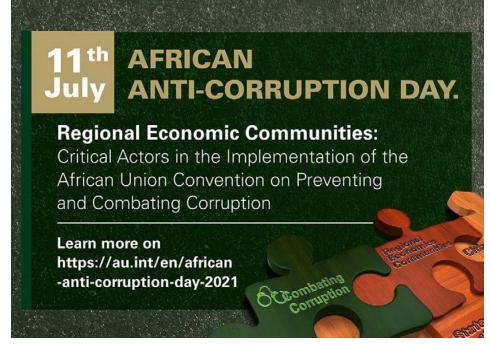
International Rock Day.

We take them for granted, but rocks make up a large part of our planet. According to National Geographic, a rock is a "natural substance composed of solid crystals of different minerals that have been fused together into a solid lump." There are three basic types of rock - igneous, sedimentary, and metamorphic. The study of rocks is not geology, which is the study of the earth, but is called petrology!

■ 14 July

World Sharks Day

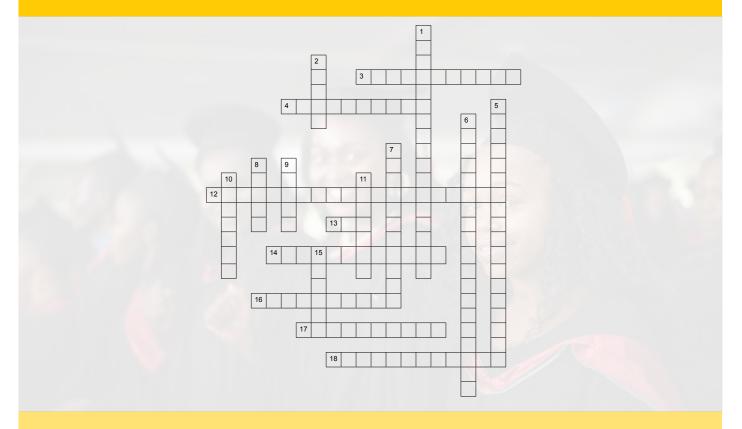
Sharks date back 420 million years, nearly 200 million years before the dinosaurs roam the earth. Sharks have the reputation of being dangerous, but in fact human beings kill more sharks, about 100 million of all sizes each year. There are more than 500 different known species of sharks in our oceans, the smallest is as big as a human hand (the dwarf lantern shark) and the largest over 12 metres long (the whale shark). Sharks have excellent night eyesight and can also see colours. Human pollution, especially plastics, and global warming also impact on the survival of sharks



X-WORD



World Population Day. 11 July 2023



Across

- 3. Country with 29% share of population under 15 years
- 4. Global population in 1804
- 12. Estimated 15-24 year olds in world by 2030
- 13. Country with 25% of population 60 years and older
- 14. 2011 World population
- 16. Most populated city, 38 million inhabitants
- **17.** African island state with smallest population, 100,000 people
- 18. November 2022 the world reached

Down

- 1. Number of global citizens 100 years and over
- 2. Country with half population under 15 years
- 5. Population of Djibouti
- 6. World population in 1950
- 7. 11 July 1987 the world population reached
- **8.** Country where over 28% of population are over 65
- 9. Most populous African city, 20 million
- **10.** Portion of global population 20 years and below
- **11.** Matej Gašpar was 5 billionth person alive in 1987, from Zagreb in
- 15. Continent with oldest population

WORD BANK

five billion two point five billion seven billion one billion Croatia eight billion Tokyo Japan Cairo
Seychelles
one point one million
six hundred million
Europe
USA
one third

Japan Niger one point three billion South Africa

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Funeral Proceedings of Comrade **Dr Essop Goolam Pahad** Hamba Kahle Mkhonto!

