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Conversations with the President

No Man is entitled to exert power and control over any Woman

In a heartrending address at the Gender Summit held in Tshwane on 01 November 2018, President Cyril Ramaphosa proclaimed that Gender-based violence was an affront to our shared humanity and that the unrelenting murder of women – for no reason other than that they are women – is steadily corroding the soul of our nation.

South African women and men gathered at St Georges Hotel in Tshwane to respond to a crisis that is tearing our society apart. It is a crisis that affects every community in our country and that touches the lives of most families in one way or another.

Survivors of sexual violence

and abuse – be it physical, psychological or economic – often live with these scars for the rest of their lives. When abuse occurs in a situation of trust, whether in the family, the church, in schools or elsewhere, the sense of betrayal is intensified.

The physical and psychological effects may recede, but they very rarely disappear. One moment of violence can have permanent consequences. Most of us know someone who is a survivor of gender-based violence or who has in some other way been affected by this evil.

We made a commitment that we shall convene the Summit to develop a national plan of action against gender-based violence. This promise was made following

Let us pledge here and now to begin to change the way we communicate about gender-based violence

the activism, borne out of pain and anger, of those who held marches around the country to highlight the scourge of gender-based violence and femicide in this country.

We need a multi-sectoral approach that responds to the demands of the marchers, and strengthens the broader interventions that address the causes and effects of such violence.

We are agreed that we need a multi-sectoral approach that responds to the demands of the marchers, and strengthens the broader interventions that address the causes and effects of such violence.

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EDITORIAL & GLOBAL

African Union Reforms

"If there was any lesson that the pioneers of our pan-African dreams drew and then imparted through their teachings and actions, it was that solidarity among Africans and a unity of action among them were indispensable to the goal of retrieving and defending our individual and collective dignity."

*AU Commission Chairperson,
Moussa Faki Mahamat*

From the OAU to the African Union

Sixteen years after the launch of the African Union in Durban, the AU this weekend holds an Extraordinary Summit (17-18 November 2018, Addis Ababa), to decide on comprehensive institutional reforms.

The transition from the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) to the African Union took place against the backdrop of continental and global changes: the end of apartheid in Namibia and South Africa, and the Rwanda Genocide of 1994; the end of the Cold War, and the information communication revolution. Moreover, as the 20th century drew to a close, it was also the era of consolidation of regional blocks, and Africa had to fight for its space in a world that regarded it as a 'hopeless continent.'

The transformation was not simply a name-change. The AU Constitutive Act brought together the mandates of self-determination and development from the OAU Charter and of economic integration of the Abuja Treaty. The Constitutive Act also saw a decisive move away from the non-interference principle of the OAU, to a principle of "non-indifference", laying the basis for an AU Peace and Security Council with more teeth for interventions. The AU Commission also has more powers than the Secretariat of the OAU, in addition to the powers to convene, it is also tasked to initiate, facilitate and coordinate development and integration. Moreover, the Act made provision for structures such as the Pan African Parliament, and a range of institutions for economic integration.

Agenda 2016. The Africa We Want

In May 2013, the African Union celebrated fifty years since the formation of the OAU in Addis Ababa in 1963. On this occasion, the AU resolved to develop a long-term vision for the continent for the next 50 years.



Thus Agenda 2063 was adopted, after extensive consultations with civil society and various sectors: trade unions and business, faith-based organisations, the creative sector, women, students and youth, farmers and small business owners. Agenda 2063 also incorporated previous continental policy frameworks such as the Lagos Plan of Action, the Abuja Treaty and NEPAD, as well as sectoral frameworks on science and technology, agriculture, infrastructure, education, energy, health and so forth.

Moreover, the national development plans of over thirty African countries, including from South Africa, were analysed and incorporated into Agenda 2063. Agenda 2063 is therefore a framework for the Africa we want, captured in seven aspirations. The guiding vision for Agenda 2063 is the AU Vision of "an integrated, prosperous and peaceful Africa, driven by its own citizens and representing a dynamic force in the international arena."

An African Union that can drive and lead the African Agenda

Aspirations and even a plan is however not enough. We also need institutions that can drive the integration and developmental agenda, and the African Union is key.

The AU Reforms is therefore aimed at having a continental Union that is fit for purpose, and effective. The African Union resolved that it needed institutional reforms in order to ensure that this continental union:

- Serve as a union of the peoples and in so doing, advance the project of unity, integration and solidarity through a variety of measures, including free movement of citizens across boundaries and the harnessing of citizen voices in matters of the African Union.
- Give deeper meaning to the political freedoms won by vigorously prosecuting the economic liberation and human rights in the continent.
- Take decisive steps to more effectively harness the African voice in world affairs generally and within the counsels of the United Nations in particular.
- Build stronger bridges with the African Diaspora.
- Invest in the collective capacity to prevent intra and inter-state crises and to manage conflicts, including peace-keeping and peace enforcement operations as and when they arise.
- Be self-sustaining in human and financial terms through collective efforts and sacrifices to break the cycle of dependency that limit African horizons and aspirations.

The eyes of the whole African continent and her Diaspora will therefore be on Addis Ababa this weekend, as the African Union Extra-Ordinary Summit of Heads of State and Government deliberate on how to reform the Union, so that it helps to build the Africa we want. **FPG**

Conversations with the **PRESIDENT**

No Man is entitled to exert power and control over any **Woman** continued from page 1



We are here today to listen and learn from the experiences of survivors; to hear their voices and to have the lived experiences of women and children inform our responses to gender-based violence.

Gender-based violence is a global phenomenon.

The World Health Organisation tells us that 35% of women worldwide experienced either physical or sexual intimate partner violence or non-partner sexual violence in 2013.

This is an alarming figure that underscores the need for global cooperation in overcoming gender-based violence. In South Africa, we know that the problem is even more severe. We are a country with relatively high levels of violence and criminality.

More than 20,000 people were killed in the past year, the majority of the perpetrators and victims were men. The most recent data from the World Health Organisation shows that South Africa's femicide rate was 12.1 per 100,000 in 2016. This was almost five times higher than the global average of 2.6 per 100,000.

The South African Police Service Crime Statistics report of 2018, femicide increased by 11% over the last two years. Statistic SA report cites that 138 per 100,000 women were raped last year, the highest rate in the world. We cannot, and we will not, rest until we have brought those figures down to zero. We are aiming for a femicide rate of zero per 100,000.

We want to reach a point where no woman, child or man has to experience the violence, violation and trauma of rape. There is no acceptable level of gender-based violence. We want to eradicate it.

Women are often violated by their intimate partners, often in the privacy of their homes. They are slapped, hit, raped, assaulted and emotionally abused and killed because they are with a man who feels entitled to exert power and control over them.

There is a danger that society begins to normalise such practices. That is why we need to be vigilant. Condemnation needs to be constant and consistent, perpetrators need to be prosecuted.

We want to reach a point where no woman, child or man has to experience the violence, violation and trauma of rape.

It requires that we address societal issues of patriarchy, economic relations and changing the way of thinking about gender relations. Patriarchy means that men feel entitled to exert economic and other forms of power over women.

This can lead to situations where women may find themselves tolerating the injustices perpetrated against them simply because they may have inadequate economic or emotional resources to walk away from a dangerous relationship.

Social perceptions about the roles of girls and boys, and preconceived notions of how women and men should behave, are often

harmful to the development of both sexes.

When we improve the way we raise our children we can go a long way to preventing violence against girls and boys.

We must raise boys and girls with the knowledge and understanding that no person has the right to treat them as inferior or to harm them in any way and that boys and girls are equal in all respects.

A society that does not support notions of authority and control over women, and does not tolerate violence against women, is more likely to reduce gender-based violence.

We must name and shame those who perpetrate violence against girls and women. We must ensure that our law enforcement officers are trained to investigate the cases of abuse to get convictions in these cases.

It was extremely distressing to hear ordinary South Africans question why a parent would let a child play by herself after a six-year-old was recently raped at a well-known restaurant. The degree of victim blaming evident in this statement is appalling. As a society, we must applaud the courage of women like Cheryl Zondi who are prepared to testify about their ordeals.

As a society, we must express our deep gratitude to them for leading the way in the struggle against sexual violence and affirm our commitment to support and protect them.

Let us pledge here and now to begin to change the way we communicate about gender-based violence and sexual assault. Our language must empower and support the voices of survivors.

We are looking to this summit to provide clear direction on a comprehensive national response to gender-based violence. I am convinced that by working together, by confronting difficult issues, and by mobilising all South Africans, we shall create a society where women and children feel safe and are safe at all times and in all places.

DOMESTIC

Infrastructure Expansion, transforming the face of South Africa

Announcing the economic stimulus and recovery package on 20 September 2018, President Ramaphosa said, “The contribution from the fiscus towards the Infrastructure Fund over the medium-term expenditure framework period would be in excess of R400 billion, which we will use to leverage additional resources from developmental finance institutions, multilateral development banks, and private lenders and investors.” This intervention builds on the work that continues to gain traction through investments in both the economic and social infrastructure programmes. As we continue to unwind the legacy characterised by apartheid spatial planning locating the majority of people away from centres of economic activity, health amenities and other social infrastructure, we must stay the course in seeing infrastructure build programme to its logical conclusion. The President’s pronouncements is the clearest affirmation of the ANC’s commitment to transform the face of South Africa through investment in infrastructure.

Over the last decade, we have embarked on an aggressive and ambitious infrastructure build programme across all sectors. This is in line with the commitment the ANC made in the 2014 manifesto to massively expand infrastructure as a driver to improve the lives of our people, create an inclusive economy and unlock opportunity. Despite these commitments and the great strides we have made, the challenges loom large and the backlog in addressing apartheid spatial planning legacy remains a binding constraint.

Between 1998 and 2017, the public sector spent more than R2.7 trillion on infrastructure. True to the commitment made in the 2014 manifesto, the spending increased from R48 billion in 1998 to R250 billion in 2016, resulting in an average increase of 5.2% per annum. Our commitment to investing in infrastructure is premised on the appreciation that such investments stimulates the economy and deals a debilitating blow to the structural tenets of poverty and inequality. The increase in spending by Provinces and Municipalities contributing R554 billion and R643 billion respectively, to build schools, hospitals, clinics and other community infrastructure, goes to the heart of creating access to social infrastructure for citizens.

Equally, economic infrastructure spending account for 76.2% of the total public sector infrastructure spending. This relates to expanding power generation capacity, upgrading and expanding the transport network and improving sanitation and water services. On the other hand, social infrastructure accounts for 20% of the total infrastructure spend, with education and health accounting for 6% and 4% respectively.



It is important to appreciate that the Presidential Infrastructure Coordinating Commission is a driver of key strategic infrastructure projects, and is mandated to harmonise infrastructure planning and implementation across all spheres of government, organs of state as well as social partners. The PICC has 18 Strategic Infrastructure Projects (SIPs) which cut across sectors to support economic development and service delivery across all Provinces with a total budget commitment of R124 billion in 2018.

A right to protest, does not include a right to damage or destroy public infrastructure, which action not only deprives others of the use of such infrastructure,

There is no doubt that the infrastructure build programme remains one of the most successful interventions of the ANC government in a decade and the impact of each intervention will have far reaching spin-offs as they reach maturity. The impact of massive infrastructure investments is only felt once the projects are completed, which at times may be years from the initial investment, such is the story of the infrastructure build programme.

Our ability to realise the noble objectives of the massive investments in infrastructure are dependent on our ability to ensure

that allocated resources are spent on the intended purpose; we implement zero tolerance on corruption; we reign in irregular expenditure; eliminate fruitless and wasteful expenditure and ensure effective consequences management where anyone has been found wanting in relation to procurement practices and service delivery.

Our people must equally appreciate that in a democracy, rights come with a heavy responsibility on the part of every citizen. Rights by the very nature are reciprocal and require those who enjoy them to be mindful of this. A right to protest, does not include a right to damage or destroy public infrastructure, which action not only deprives others of the use of such infrastructure, but undermines the very effort to improve socio-economic conditions of the people. Such conduct is in fact criminality which must be nipped in the bud, if we are to thrive as a nation. The damage to public infrastructure over the last decade runs into hundreds of millions, and therefore negatively impact on the massive infrastructure build programme of the country. A social pact with all organs of civil society to support and preserve public infrastructure is a necessary ingredient if we are to succeed in our efforts to invest in infrastructure that transforms the lives of ordinary South Africans.

Over the next few weeks, we will analyse and profile infrastructure investment interventions across all the 18 Strategic Investment Projects and tell the story of our impressive achievements over the last two decades of ANC government.

Domestic

Small Businesses are a crucial partner in building our Economy

An address by ANC
Treasurer General at the
Small Business Institute
SME Indaba, Bryanston, 14
November 2018

The Treasurer-General of the African National Congress Comrade Paul Mashatile, speaking at the Small Business Institute's SME Indaba in Bryanston this week, said it was common cause that all over the world Small, Medium and Micro Enterprises (SMME's) were the ones who create more economic opportunities.

The small businesses play an important role in the economy as they create jobs for thousands if not millions of people, hence it is critical that they are supported and sustained.

Comrade Mashatile recalled that President Cyril Ramaphosa had made a clarion call – Thuma Mina, a call to action to rebuild our country and its economy. The call is not only reverberating across our country but also globally. Since January when he led a delegation to the World Economic Forum in Davos, Switzerland, the recent trip to the United Nations General Assembly and even the recently concluded inaugural investment summit, our message has been and is a simple one: South Africa is open for business!

We are escalating our efforts to rebuild our country's economy through amongst other measures, massive investment in infrastructure, education, health and agriculture. Already Comrade Ramaphosa has unveiled a stimulus package to kick-start our country's economy. We have also held a successful investment conference that has seen over R290 billion in investments pledged.

We are also revitalizing our manufacturing sector through a number of measures, including preferential procurement in both the public and private sectors to stimulate demand for local goods and to reduce domestic manufacturing costs. We therefore appeal to investors to also contribute to rebuilding our economy through investing more in our economy generally, but in township and rural economies specifically as part of building an inclusive economy.

Education is also receiving attention as having a skilled workforce will make our country more competitive. The implementation of free higher education for students from poor and working class backgrounds whose household income is less than R350 000 is one of the steps to develop appropriate skills that will build our country's economy.



Small businesses are a crucial partner in building our economy and in the process assisting in meeting the triple challenges of poverty

We are also hard at work to uproot the scourge of corruption from our society. The ANC is intensifying efforts to fight corruption hence we support the work of the commission of inquiry on state capture. We believe that the investigation and prosecution of those implicated will go a long way in placing our state back in the hands of our people.

Our government is all hard at work to improve good governance and clean administration. These efforts include ensuring that suitable candidates are appointed and mechanisms for the appointment of individuals to senior government positions, state owned entities and law enforcement agencies are being strengthened as this will improve transparency, prevent undue influence and ensure adequate vetting of candidates.

We are also opening access to quality health. Hence, our government will be the

implementing the National Health Insurance (NHI). In this regard, we are intensifying efforts to improve the health of our people, particularly in the context of the devastating impact of the AIDS epidemic and the emergence of other diseases.

Small businesses are a crucial partner in building our economy and in the process assisting in meeting the triple challenges of poverty, unemployment and inequality.

For this to be possible, an enabling environment including friendly legislative and regulatory frameworks have to be in place as rigid legislations and regulations have devastating effect on business generally and SMMEs in particular. We have to provide consistent and better support to SMMEs for them to flourish and this must include the Development Finance Institutions (DFIs) being sensitive to the realities and needs of small businesses.

Government must also nudge commercial banks to provide better support to SMMEs by amongst others relaxing their stringent lending criteria. The other obstacle that must be removed is the high cost of doing business as this has led and leads to SMMEs particularly going out of business. We must lower the cost of doing business in our country and this must include cutting the red tape. The leadership of the ANC and the government are seized with, amongst other tasks, turning around our country's economy so as we improve the lot of everyone.

OPINION

The Scorpion of political opportunism

Nature is often a good indicator of character. When one wishes to judge or test the character, it is frequently revealed in the nature of the person. Many philosophers of old would suggest that what people are, their character, is based on what they do, say and think; their nature.

One of the most apt tales of nature is obviously the story of the frog and the scorpion. For those who don't know the story, Frog finds Scorpion at the river bank. "Help me across the river", begs Scorpion to Frog. "No" refuses Frog, "you are going to sting me."

"Don't worry I won't" insists Scorpion, "for you will be helping". Still Frog refuses; doubting the assurances of Scorpion. Finally, Frog gives in and says to Scorpion, "OK, get on my back, I'll swim across".

As they get to the other side, just as Scorpion is about to jump off, he stings Frog. "But you promised, you wouldn't do that" laments Frog. "How can you pay me like this? You gave me your word!", cries Frog.

in relation to the VBS Mutual Bank.

At the media conference, Malema reminded South Africans what he was like when he was still president of the ANC Youth League. From a decade ago, when he was first elected president of the League to this day, almost nothing has changed in Malema's strategy or tactics.

Anyone who knows the history of the ANC Youth League, its "twin-tasks" of the role it must play within society, would also know that the role it plays within the ANC is very different. In society, its twin-tasks are to be the seminary for future leaders and members of the ANC, and championing the plight of young people. Within the ANC itself, the Youth League serves as an instigator for change, a catalyst for reform. It is for this latter reason that the Youth League used to pride themselves as so-called "king-makers".

Yet what is the role that Julius Malema and his collective played in pursuing the twin-tasks of the Youth League? What kind of members and leaders of the ANC did Malema



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worst ever. It was a period where political education, and the promotion of education in general was weakened, while all that was on young people's minds was bling and brands.

Much has been written and said about the Guptas in the last five years, and yet we hardly hear of Malema's dealings with the family before he was expelled from the ANC. Are we too naive when we ask: will Malema testify at the Zondo Commission about the role that the Kebbles played in state capture?

The kernel of Malema's media conference, in the wake of the allegations made against Floyd Shivambu by the Daily Maverick, is that he wants consistency. Yet Malema himself has become a national joke on social media as people point out that certainly in this case, he has been the most inconsistent.

What Malema and his present leadership collective are consistent with is that they have transferred the culture of crass materialism into the party he leads. The EFF today is a continuation of the leadership of Malema of the Youth League from 2012. Julius Malema remains a youth league president, just not the ANCYL.

Malema has not changed his nature. He is like the scorpion, suggesting to South Africans that he be allowed to ride on their backs as he seeks to grab our vote next year. With some unemployed youth having crass materialism and racist populism dangled before their eyes, we know what will be the end result should we give in to his demands. Permitting Malema to the side of victory will be our death as a country. It is simply in his nature to sting.

Malema has not changed his nature. He is like the scorpion, suggesting to South Africans that he be allowed to ride on their backs as he seeks to grab our vote

"It's in my nature to sting" replies Scorpion.

The Economic Freedom Fighters' (EFF) top six held a media conference in the wake of allegations of impropriety made against its deputy-president, Floyd Shivambu,

and his collective produce for the ANC? How did Malema and his collective champion the plight of young people in society?

Sadly, the ANC Youth League will look upon that period of its history as probably the

Views contained in this article are personal views of the author and do not represent official positions or policy of the ANC.

Maximum contributions of 700 words, in accessible language, in any South African language, adequately sourced. We reserve the right to edit.

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INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

Quo Vadis Brazil?

On 28 October Jair Bolsonaro of the Social Liberal Party was elected as president of Brazil.

Bolsonaro is a right-wing, sexist, homophobic, populist and an outspoken apologist for the military dictatorship that ruled Brazil from 1964-1985. He led an electoral alliance under the slogan: “Brazil Above Everything, God Above Everyone!”

Bolsonaro was standing against Fernando Haddad of the Workers Party, who was nominated after the courts disqualified former President Luiz Inacio “Lula” da Silva from standing.

We have gone from the “Lula Moment” to a “Bolsonaro Moment”.

This has serious implications for all progressive formations, the international balance of forces, and blocs such as BRICS.

It should compel us, as the ANC and the Alliance, to engage in serious reflection on the following:

(1) The importance of continuous and rigorous analysis of the balance of forces globally and locally and understanding phenomena such as the rise of rightwing populism;

(2) The dangers of losing the moral high-ground and the confidence of the people and;

(3) The need to maintain strong organisation and alliances with labour, business and civil society, as we pursue transformation programmes that are likely to elicit vicious counter-reaction.

Internationally, Bolsonaro has made it clear that he supports Trump’s international positions, including withdrawal from the UN Human Rights Council, moving Brazil’s embassy in Israel from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem, opposition to China and regime change in Venezuela.

It remains to be seen what approach his administration will adopt in relation to BRICS. As part of the Chairpersonship of BRICS, the ANC will host the BRICS Dialogue of Political parties from 4-5 December 2018.

The rise of Bolsonaro is seen as a Brazilian manifestation of an international rise in right-wing populism and narrow nationalism. However, it must be understood in the context of Brazilian specificities.

Anver Saloojee argues in the latest edition of *The Thinker* (Vol 78 - Q4, 2018) that populist movements have certain similarities – charismatic leadership; an organisation centred on ‘The Leader’; a hierarchical order; appeals to an undifferentiated “people”; and an ideology that reflects a heterogeneous mass base.

However, despite apparent similarities there are important differences in these movements, differences which Saloojee argues, are to be found in the origins, organisational form, modus operandi, the nature of their appeals to “the people” and the content of their ideologies as well as different historical conditions.



A focus on rallying around leadership versus mobilising collective action among its voters.

Central to the specificities of rightwing populism in Brazil is the role of the middle-class.

Pablo Vivanco makes the point in the journal, *Jacobin* (October 2018), that the far right is on the rise not only in Brazil but across Latin America — driven by the middle class that left-wing governments helped create.

He explains that over the past 20 years the combination of the commodities’ boom and redistribution policies, often by leftwing governments, saw 70 million people joining the middle class between 2002 and 2014. Almost 30 million of those were in Brazil. Ironically this middle class is voting in significant numbers for conservative candidates.

Vivanco argues that right-wing appeals to individual attainment, as well as

arguments that government interventions are responsible for economic slumps, have been powerful narratives in directing this new middle class towards right-wing candidates.

Workers Party presidential candidate, Fernando Haddad explained in an interview with *Jacobin* (September 2018) that:

“The main tension in Brazil after Lula’s success ... was that the rich got richer and the poor got less poor.

Secondly, demoralisation, a sense of guilt and lack of fighting spirit caused by successive scandals affecting the party.

Thirdly, and fundamentally, the transmogrification of the party into an electoral machine, financed overwhelmingly by corporate donations as opposed to membership fees. A focus on rallying around leadership versus mobilising collective action among its voters.

Haddad admitted that there were undeniable problems in the financing of campaigns. They imagined, he said, that they could change the material structures of society without changing the institutional structures.

He concluded with the somber observation that: “The party itself withered, becoming an enclave in the state, without self-awareness or strategic direction, ... so insensible it took lucre, wherever it came from, as the condition of power. Its achievements will remain. Whether the party will itself do so is an open question.”

COMMENT & ANALYSIS

Small businesses drives economic growth, poverty reduction and Job Creation

Dear Mr President,

Firstly, let me commend your government for placing entrepreneurship and small business development at the centre of your economic agenda. You will surely agree with me that twenty years since our freedom, the participation of black people in the country's economy still leaves much to be desired. It must trouble our collective conscience as a nation that twenty-four years since the dawn of our freedom and democracy the economy of our country still resides in the hands of a tiny minority. Your government, Mr President, carries a responsibility to help correct this historical injustice.

Our point of departure is that small businesses can be the backbone of any economy and the main driver of economic growth, poverty reduction and job creation. A healthy SMME sector can make a massive contribution to the economy by creating more employment opportunities and generating higher production volumes.

Mr President, our country's high rate of unemployment and extreme inequality call for bold and far-sighted interventions. The National Development Plan is the vehicle which seeks to address poverty, unemployment and inequality. Meeting the NDP's growth target of 5.4 % for the next 16 years would not only guarantee South Africa's material prosperity, but would be an elevating and inspiring narrative for the country.

One of the specific targets of the NDP is to reduce unemployment to 6% by 2030 through the creation of 11 million jobs. The NDP projects that if we implement the full range of its recommendations, our economy will grow at 5% per annum, with 60-80% of this value being generated by SMMEs and expanding businesses, and that this sector will create 90%, or 9.9 million, of the 11 million new jobs by 2030.

You carry a responsibility, Mr President, to do whatever it takes to help promote access to economic opportunities for all historically marginalised people of our country in order to give practical meaning to the pledge we made during our struggle for liberation that we would never consider our mission complete and our liberation achieved, if the people of our country are still not freed from economic exclusion and deprivation.

I urge you, Mr President, to pay particular attention to revitalising township and rural economies. You know as much as I do, Mr President, that small businesses and co-operatives find it difficult to flourish in townships and rural communities due to

inadequate investments in infrastructure and lack of appropriate policies to protect informal businesses. Many townships are a hive of economic activity, yet the bulk of the products and services bought by township residents are from outside. Part of our radical economic transformation agenda must be to turn around this picture through practical interventions such as infrastructure investment; access to funding; market access and easing the regulatory burden.

Mr President, many small businesses have complained that when they seek assistance from government, they are sent from pillar to post. Indeed, the approach of co-location by the Department of Small Business Development may ease some of these frustrations. Entrepreneurs will now be able to register companies, apply

the SMME sector holds the key to our job creation and economic growth prospects

for funding, register with SARS and get business plan advice services - all under one roof.

Mr President, as your experience in business will attest, when small businesses knock on the doors of government, they are not looking for hand-outs. They are looking for support, opportunities and market access. Government has the lever to unlock economic opportunities for small entrepreneurs. For example, the government's annual procurement spend is in the region of over R500 billion. Imagine the economic impact if the bulk of this budget was to be directed to small businesses.

Mr President, many small businesses are burdened by red tape. We must ease regulatory and compliance burdens on the shoulders of small businesses. We accept that compliance with policies, laws and regulations are necessary in any democracy. However, the reality is that some of the policies and compliance processes may have the unintended consequences of being a heavy burden that constrain the growth and development of businesses.

Mr President, many small businesses collapse because they are either not paid



on time or not paid at all. I am sure you understand their frustrations. I therefore urge you to start cracking the whip against culprits within government who abuse small businesses by not paying them on time. Small businesses do business mainly with government departments, and if the invoices of small businesses are not paid within the 30 days, small businesses run the risk of collapsing due to financial distress and constrained cash-flows.

As you are aware, Mr President, the SMME sector holds the key to our job creation and economic growth prospects. You must be heartened to note that the contribution of SMMEs to the economy continued to increase despite the increasingly difficult economic conditions. You must stay on course and strengthen the small business sector to enable it to occupy its rightful place in the mainstream economy.

I am the first to concede that the task of promoting and nurturing small businesses is not only limited to government but is a joint compact between government, civil society and the private sector. The key responsibility of government is to create an enabling environment for small business to grow and thrive.

Mr President, the youth unemployment is a time-bomb. Young people must be empowered to occupy the front trenches in the reconstruction and development of our country, rather than being mere spectators. Given the current state of youth unemployment in our country, the question is not whether we should encourage our young people to look in the direction of entrepreneurship, but rather, can we afford not to? Your government, Mr President, cannot afford to turn a blind eye or postpone its intervention. Let us mobilise the whole of government to empower businesses of your people. Creating opportunities for meaningful youth participation in the economy is a fundamental prerequisite for a prosperous society. Young people must be job creators, and not job-seekers!

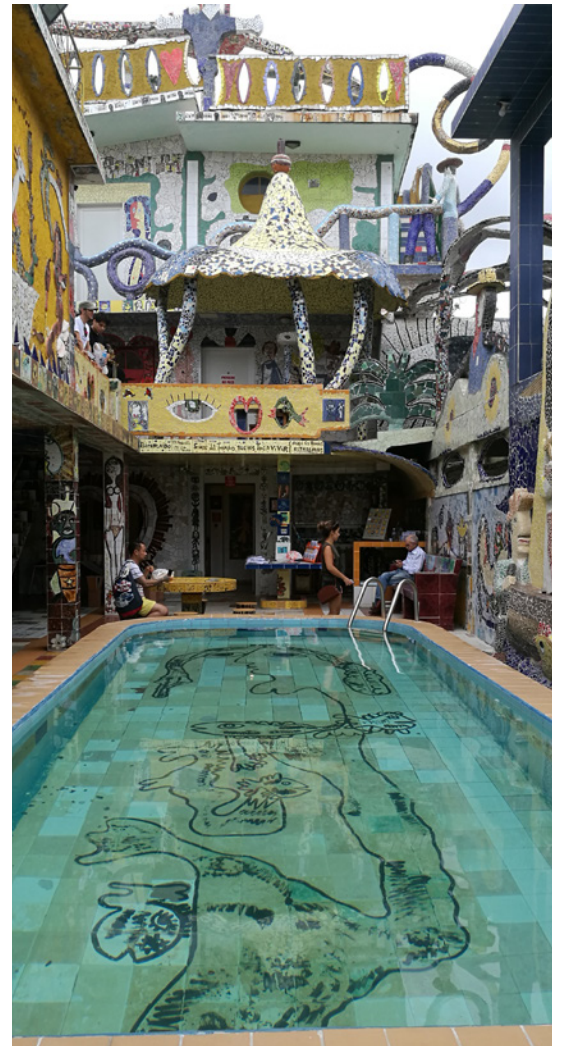
Comradely Yours

Pule Mabe

ANC National Spokesperson
twitter: @pulemabe

LIFESTYLE

Dispatches from Havana – Fusterland



My fellow ANC comrades and I are based at the Nico Lopez Party School in the Havana suburb of Jaimanitas. We arrived on Friday night and after an arduous 30 hour journey. Hence on Saturday morning, I needed a walk, some fresh air.

After a brisk ten minute walk down the main road, I noticed this beautiful bus stop. The stop was a mural with amazing mosaic patterns. It had tentacle tubular structures hanging over the bus shelter. I peered around the corner where the bus stop was and saw another house or building also with murals and mosaic. This is when I realised that the entire street was murals and mosaic patterns. I had found another world, Fusterland, named after the Cuban artist, Fuster

There were businesses like curio shops and mini-galleries, but there were also normal houses that were decorated in these mural and mosaic patterns. One of the curio shops was run by Comrade Antonio and his wife Marielle, they were veterans of the war in Angola, where they fought on the side of the Angolan MPLA, Namibia's SWAPO and uMkhonto We Sizwe against the apartheid army.

I then noticed a family surgery and it was also gloriously decorated. Of course the comrade in me, started to conjecture that it must be the Cuban government, that when decorating the surgery and the public bus stop they also decided to decorate the houses nearby.

Apparently there have been a number of world-renowned celebrities that have visited Fusterland, from Madonna to Bon Jovi

But, alas I was incorrect. I was set straight when I found the most amazing house. It was built on three to four levels, and every inch of it was decorated with mosaics. It had lookout spots, a working art studio, just so many nooks and crannies of design! It was the home of the Cuban artist Fuster.

The street was the labour of love (and revolution) of Fuster. He was greatly influenced by Picasso and his political philosophy of Gandhi (who he called his uncle). Although not that successful initially, over time Fuster became quite well known in Europe and some of his artwork got picked up for a tidy sum or two. Instead of wanting to spend his new found loot on rum and cigars, Fuster yearned to transform his environment. After steadfastly and consistently requesting that the local Havana municipality allow him to change his home, he was finally given permission. He transformed his home into this remarkable masterpiece of fantasy.

He did not stop there, and proceeded to decorate his neighbour's homes, the local surgery, etc. He had made a mosaic mural of the Granma boat which comrades Fidel Castro, Che Guevara, Raul Castro and others commandeered when leading the revolution against the Batista dictatorship. There was even a mosaic of the late Chavez of Venezuela. He has taught his neighbours to do mosaics and murals, and thereby providing some extra income for them.

Apparently there have been a number of world-renowned celebrities that have visited Fusterland, from Madonna to Bon Jovi. It truly is a unique sight.

For me what I found most remarkable was that when Fuster made it big, he did not choose to leave the area he grew up in, remaining with his kinfolk. We recognise that because of the apartheid Group Areas act, many of us move away from the areas we grew up in. It is further exacerbated by the urban nature of our economy and many of us are migrant labourers. But it would be great for social cohesion and nation building that if celebrities and even our political leaders would choose to live in the areas they grew up in. If Fusterland and Fuster teaches us anything, it is that we can overcome social distance by living in the areas we are grew up and sharing in each other's success.

MEMORIUM



George Chaane
(1930-2018)

George Chaane was born in August 1930, in Phefeni, Soweto, Johannesburg. He got a scholarship to attend St Peter's School in Rosettenville, Johannesburg and went on to study Geography at Fort Hare University. After graduation in the 1950s, in the spirit of Pan Africanism, he left South to teach in Northern Rhodesia and thereafter went on to teach in the newly-independent Ghana, following an invitation from President Kwame Nkrumah to African graduates from South Africa.

In 1960, he married Thokozile Zulu, a graduate science teacher from South Africa, whom he met in Ghana. Thokozile herself was in Ghana, together with her maths-graduate-teacher sister Bethukile, also at the behest of President Nkrumah.

His deep sense of justice and desire to achieve the liberation of his people, led

George to study law at the University of London, and was accepted as a barrister at the Inns of Court in London in 1964. Chaane's daughter, Busisiwe Diana, was born in London.

As a growing number of African countries gained independence, George accepted a position as public prosecutor in newly-independent Zambia, until he opened his own law practice on Lusaka's Cairo Road. He continued to run his law practice from Farmer's House, but behind the scenes, he was frequently entrusted as custodian of sensitive and confidential documents on behalf of various southern African liberation movements - often on a pro bono basis.

Comrade George Chaane worked as an African National Congress lawyer in Lusaka, liaising with the Political-Military Council on cases of cadres arrested. After the Kabwe Conference in 1985, he was tasked by ANC President OR Tambo to be the anchor of the newly formed ANC's Legal Department, working with the likes of cdes Zola Skweyiya, Brigitte Mabandla and Penuell Maduna. The legal department not only concerned itself with matters of defence, but also on the constitutional guidelines and the ANC Constitution.

Since his return to South Africa in 1992, he had worked at the ANC Legal department until his retirement due to ill-health. During this period, he played an instrumental role in helping to shape the ANC Constitution, advising on bills and ANC submissions on such, on court cases and the general go-to legal-eagle for ANC cadres.

Comrade George was a principled man of few words, with meticulous attention to detail, a great legal mind.

Rev Chris Wessels (1935-2018)

involvement in the Black Consciousness Movement landed him in prison a few times. In the 1970's he was arrested under the Terrorism Act for his work in helping the squatter communities of the Cape Flats. He was arrested again and labelled 'the enemy of the state' for taking part in the famous pro-Frelimo rally of 1974.

Rev Wessels, as the organizing secretary of the Vereniging van Christelike Studente (VCS), was also instrumental in recruiting many activists into the organisation. One of those he recruited was Dr Alan Boesak who became the founding member of the United Democratic Front (UDF). He worked as the Leader of the Eastern Cape Council of Churches. His involvement angered the apartheid regime and in 1976 he made matters worse when he drew up resolutions against the state, with a number of stints in prison and harassment of his family. He remained undeterred, helping in the late 1980s to shield Umkhonto we Sizwe cadres in his home in Elsies River. He continued to live a life of service in the democratic South Africa, in the Moravian church and in the community.



Struggle stalwart, Reverend Chris Wessels, passed away this week at the age of 83.

Reverend Wessels was born in Genadendal, Overberg in the Western Cape and also lived his last years of retirement there after having worked in various places in South Africa. He was passionate about the history of Genadendal and its people and was very involved in community issues.

He lectured at the Moravian Theological Seminary for over thirty years. His fight against apartheid injustices and

VERBATIM



At Davos and even today, we said and still say: our country and people are experiencing a new dawn. It is a time of renewal and hope. A time of change! Indeed, winds of change are blowing. These winds will sweep our country to rebuild its economy and rebuild the goodwill of our people and investors - a necessary ingredient in building investor confidence. ANC TG Cde **Paul Mashatile**.

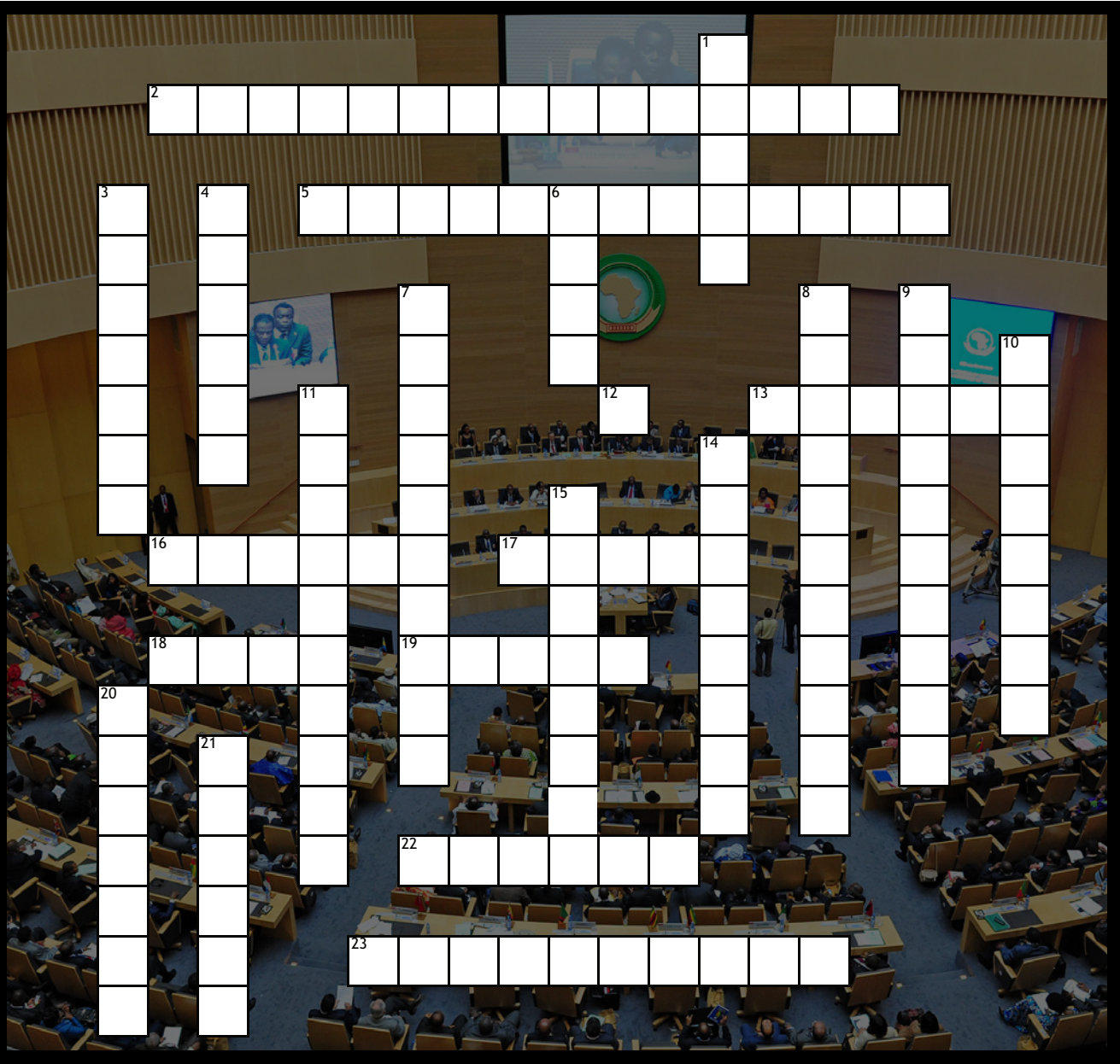


"We decided that maybe we should reinvent The Federation of South African Women and the most important lesson for us was that it should be non-racial and it should encompass all women from all walks of life, professional women and not forgetting the working class." **-DSG Cde Jessi Duarte** during an interview on Mostwako Honoring Mama Albertina Sisulu.



"We seek to create a united Democratic and non-racial society. We have a vision of South Africa in which black and white shall live and work together as equals in conditions of peace and prosperity. Using the power you derive from the discovery of the truth about racism in South Africa, you will help us to remake our part of the world into a corner of the globe on which all — of which all of humanity can be proud." **OR Tambo** – A speech at Georgetown University in January, 1987.

CROSSWORD



ACROSS

2. Theof the African Union is its foundation document, adopted in 2001.

5. Emperor that convened the conference in May 1963 to form the Organisation of African Unity (OAU)?

12. Continental parliament based in Midrand, South Africa

13. The AU ... Protocol promotes the rights of Women and Girls

16. One of two Regional Economic Communities for East Africa

17. The ... Plan of Action is an OAU framework for self-reliance and cooperation amongst African countries

18. In 2018, the AU adopted this treaty to create a common African market.

19. Treaty adopted in 1991 formed basis for establishment of a African Economic Community, also the capital of Nigeria.

22. An AU Agency that promotes African indigenous languages

23. Fifty year continental framework to build a united, peaceful, integrated and prosperous Africa.

DOWN

1. African programme championed by Presidents Mbeki (South Africa), Wade (Senegal), Obasanjo (Nigeria) and Bouteflika (Algeria).

3. The ... decision on Unconstitutional Changes of Government (1999), gave the AU the powers to intervene in case of military coups. Also the capital of Algeria.

4. City where the African Union was launched in July 2002

6. The regional economic community that South Africa is part of

7. The OAU and AU headquarters are in which African capital.

8. First woman to lead the AU and OAU as Chairperson

9. President of Rwanda and AU Chairperson in 2018

10. Part of the integration of Africa must lead to the free ... of people, goods and services

11. The OAU Committee for the ... of Africa helped coordinate the struggle of African countries against colonialism and apartheid.

14. The ... of Heads of State and Government is the supreme organ of the AU.

15. The African Commission for Human and Peoples Rights is situated in the capital of The Gambia.

20. Civil society organisations are represented in the AU through this organ

21. Regional Economic Community of West Africa

Word Bank				
Agenda2063	Assembly	ECOWAS	ACALAN	Abuja
Algiers	NEPAD	CFTA	movement	ECOSOCC
Haile Selassie	Addis Ababa	P	Paul Kagame	SADC
Constitutive Act	Banjul	Durban	Dlamini Zuma	
	COMESA	Lagos	Maputo	
		Liberation		

Source: African Union - <https://au.int/en/au-nutshell>

POEM



Yesterday, Today And Tomorrow

There are two days in every week
About which we should not worry
Two days which be kept free from
fear and apprehension.

One of these days is Yesterday with
its mistakes and cares,
Its faults and blunders
Its aches, pains and sorrows.
Yesterday has passed forever
beyond our control.

The other day we should worry
about is Tomorrow,
With its possible adversities
Its burdens
Its large promises and poor
performance.

Tomorrow is also beyond our
immediate control
The sun will rise either in splendor
or behind a mask of clouds
But it will rise

Until it does, we have no stake in
tomorrow,
For it is yet unborn.

And this leaves only Today.

Any person can fight the battles just
of one day
It is only when you and I add
The burdens of those two awful
eternity's Yesterday and Tomorrow
That we break down.

It is not the experience of today
that brings bitterness
It is the remorse or bitterness
For something which happened
Yesterday
And the dread of what Tomorrow
may bring

Let us therefore live
But one day at a time.

(As a tribute to Uncle George
Chaane)

IN ACTION



ANC President Cde Cyril Ramaphosa on a Thuma Mina program in Bloemfontein, Free State.



ANC secretary general Cde Ace Magashule meets the community of Mamello informal settlement in Vaal Marina. The visit is a follow up to a meeting that Cde Ace held with the community earlier this month to discuss service delivery in the area. Mamello lack basic services such as water, housing, roads, electricity, water and sanitation. Cde Ace is accompanied by a team from Gauteng provincial government to offer practical solutions to these challenges. #ThumaMina



NEC member Cde Nathi Mthethwa on a Thuma Mina program in East London.



ANC Deputy Secretary-General comrade Jessie Duarte at the Welkom taxi rank addressing the plights of the taxi operators. The ANC promise to fix issues of the industry in the area. #ThumaMina