

VOICE OF THE AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS



Conversations with the

16 - 22 AUGUST 2019

ANC WOMEN'S LEAGUE IN CONVERSATION WITH THE PRESIDE

President

As part of the Women's Month commemoration at the Emoyeni Conference Centre in Parktown, Johannesburg, President Cyril Ramaphosa held frank and robust conversations with Souh African women from all walks of life at the invitation of the ANC Women's League.

n his opening remarks, the President thanked the ANC Women's League (ANCWL) for the role it played in mobilising voter support ahead of the May 08th general elections. The President had also taken time to acknowledge the passion displayed by scores of young women from urban to rural areas who went all out to campaign for the ANC, exclaiming that he was very impressed by the vibrancy of "Ama-younger-younger".

Focusing on conversations with the ANC Women's League, the President acknowledged the leading role it played in supporting efforts to unite the party. The President however, maintained that despite criticism from various quarters, the party will eventually emerge more united and more energised to deliver on its electoral mandate.

He described the Women's League convened conversations session with him as part of the ANC's structures' commitment to support and embrace the unity and renewal process, adding that this gesture has affirmed the

movement's status as a leader in society.

Amongst the accolades that the President showered on the leadership of the ANC Women's league was amongst others, its efforts to lead campaigns and influence policies to advance gender equality. In highlighting some of the major successes, the President pointed out the fact of a 47% women representation in the National Assembly. He also cited the government's gender parity (50 – 50 percent) in cabinet, as yet another milestone.

Then the President took time to re-Continues on page 3

Dear Mr President THE NEW DAWN **BUILDING STRONG** INSTITUTIONS

The 4th industrial revolution presents an opportunity

Women participation in tourism a vital necessity

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EDITORIAL

WOMEN'S MONTH

POLITICAL FUNDING IS NORMAL AND NECESSARY

By Jessie Duarte

ith the Public Protector's report on allegations against President Cyril Ramaphosa heading to court for a judicial review - and the question of whether she overstepped her mandate under scrutiny - the report has nevertheless placed the issue of political funding in the spotlight. The matter has been seized upon by political opportunists of all shades to damage the President and undermine the renewal effort that he is leading. The twitter bots have come to life and even some media outlets have gotten in on the game.

Yet, this is an important issue with which society should engage. It is an opportunity to have a public discussion about political contestation and funding. The calls for President Ramaphosa to 'come clean' are misplaced and unfair. There is no requirement in law and there is no convention that leaders should declare donations made to internal campaigns. No other leaders in the ANC have done so and no other parties have done so. It is not correct to seek to establish and impose some kind of standard after the fact, and to do so with respect to only one campaign out of many. It is also unfair to do so when the fundraisers in this case, as is the norm, made a promise to donors of confidentiality. The leak of the details of some donors should not change that commitment.

The broader reality, which some choose to forget, is that democratic contestation costs money. In a multiparty democracy, parties need to deploy resources to reach, persuade and mobilise voters. The electorate





Jessie Duarte, ANC Deputy Secretary General

needs to be able to form a view on the policies, ideological persuasion, track record and personalities of the various parties. In a vibrant and highly-contested political terrain such as ours, a great deal of money is spent on elections.

Across the world, donors give money to political parties and leaders for campaign. In many cases - one

hopes in most cases - they do so because they support the policies and programmes of the party. They often do so anonymously and without expectation of personal reward.

But, as we have learnt, funding of elections and the other activities of political parties can distort or even corrupt the democratic process. It is for this reason among others, that the ANC championed the adoption of the Political Parties Funding Act, which places certain restrictions on the raising of funds and requires greater levels of transparency and accountability. This is a historic development - which some parties vigorously opposed - that will have far-reaching consequences both for the political process and parties. As the Independent Electoral Commission puts in place the mechanisms to implement the Bill, parties will need to come to terms with its implications.

The Political Parties Funding Act does not extend to leadership contests within parties. These are voluntary organisations that have their own



CONVERSATIONS WITH THE PRESIDENT

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ANC Women's League in Conversation with the President



spond to issues raised by various women led organisations and interest groups.

BUSINESS

President Ramaphosa had once again reiterated government's commitment towards affirming women in top leadership positions within the public and private sector. He noted concerns raised about failure by government's small business entities to financially support women-owned cooperatives, and has therefore tasked the relevant ministry to ensure that those concerns are prioritised and attended to.

Citing the success of small business cooperative models like in Kenya, the President called on all stakeholders to work together and learn from economically viable entrepreneurship development models from their peers in the East and West African nations.

Responding to the call for government to bolster domestic and foreign direct investment, the President announced that government would once again host the international investor conference in November which will strive to raise over 300 Billion Rand investment.

However, the President cautioned that

political and policy certainty is crucial in attracting major investment flows. He remarked that "The investment community want us to seriously commit to our own development. They don't want to see us fighting amongst ourselves. When they see us fighting amongst ourselves, whether in the governing party or the country; they will think that there is political instability". Adding that "They will walk away with their Dollars, Euros and their Pounds" He emphasised that "Now I want these Dollars and Euros to be here...and that local investors open up their wallets and invest in our economy to create jobs".

The representative of the ANC's Young Women's Desk Cde. Anisa Mazimbaka bemoaned the high levels of tertiary education drop-outs, especially amongst the women mainly due to lack of funding. In response, the President reiterated government's commitment to funding young people, particularly from the poor and working class families. To support his argument, the President cited government's spent of more that 15 Billion rand funding towards tertiary education. However, the President highlighted the need for government to focus on the poor academic outcomes of funding recipients. He stressed the need for intensive efforts to improve low levels of tertiary education qualifications that often are at the range of below 60%.

On the land question, the President was unflinching in reiterating that government was "pushing ahead with land reform" stressing that "women must also become owners of land.. they must not be by-standers".

LESBIAN, GAY, BISEXUAL, TRANS-**GENDER, QUEER, INTERSEX, ASEXU-**AL (LGBTQIA+) COMMUNITY.

Responding to concerns raised by a representative of the LGBTQIA+ community, the President re-affirmed the ANC government's commitment to protecting and embracing the country's diverse cultures, religious beliefs and lifestyles. He maintained that the ANC would continue to lead efforts to ensure that all citizens are treated equally, irrespective of their sexual orientation. The President directed the Ministry of Women, Youth and People with Disabilities to heed the call by the representative of the LGBTQIA+ community to establish a committee which would focus on fostering all government and private institutions and sectors to respect and uphold laws that promote and protect sexual equality rights.

In conclusion, President Ramaphosa concluded by saying that the ANC-led government would "re-focus on the need to re-orientate and re-focus the public service to serve the interest of the people and to punish government officials engaged in acts of corruption and other unethical conducts". He added that in the advancement of the Batho-Pele principles "as the governing party we are irrevocably committed toward the empowerment of WOMEN. We've gone all the way to have equality within the ranks and structures of the ANC, ...and that's not going to go backwards nor is it going to change"■

COMMENT & ANALYSIS



Dear Mr President

THE NEW DAWN - BUILDING STRONG INSTITUTIONS

In his celebrated and iconic novel, Things Fall Apart, one of Africa's foremost literary giants, Professor Chinua Achebe, paints a picture that could very well have been a picture of the hopes as well as the trials and tribulations of our nation today.

To fully appreciate the context and perhaps the primary message this world-renowned novel carries, it may be important to reflect on the period in which the then 25 year-old Achebe began writing the book.

This was a time of great contradictions. A time of conflict. It was the end of an era and the beginning of another. Nigeria had just gained independence while emancipation for other African countries was on the horizon. It was a period of great optimism on the one hand and looming despair on the other. It was a New Dawn, albeit brief.

Mr President, I am recalling Professor Achebe's, Things Fall Apart, to draw some similarities to what is apparently happening in our country, especially in the period of persistent low economic growth, rising unemployment and the internal fights among politicians.

There is no doubt that the current phase in the leadership of our country heralded a new dawn for our country. The New Dawn ignited a positive mood amongst the people of South Africa. It energized and rejuvenated all the progressive forces and all South Africans of goodwill.

Many South Africans stood ready to put their collective shoulder to the wheel in a national effort to make a meaningful difference in national effort to build a better society and to push back the frontiers of poverty.



Pule Mabe

Speaking on the occasion of your inaugural State of the Nation Address as President of the Republic of South Africa in February 2018, you enjoined all of us to the mood:

"We should put behind us the era of diminishing trust in public institutions and weakened confidence in our country's leaders. We should put all the negativity that has dogged our country behind us because a new dawn is upon us and a wonderful dawn has arrived.

It is a new dawn that is inspired by our collective memory of Nelson Mandela and the changes that are unfolding in our midst. As we rid our minds of all negativity, we should reaffirm our belief that South Africa belongs to all who live in it."

You are painfully aware, Mr President, that unless we do something tangible to sustain the new dawn momentum, the positive national mood will dissipate. There is now a very real sense

of anxiety across society that the new dawn is at risk of being derailed owing to debilitating political infighting.

The question we must pose to ourselves, therefore, is: are the conditions we now face as a nation similar to those that prevailed at the time the novel, Things Fall Apart, was penned - a time of great optimism on the one hand and looming despair on the other; a new dawn cut short? If our answer to this question is in the positive, then we must agree that our country is facing a new, serious challenge going forward. What becomes the role of a graduate in dealing with these complex issues?

Mr President, we must invest in education and prepare young people to be the stewards of a better future. It is these young minds in whom the dreams of South Africans are embedded. They are the light our country has been yearning for. Their stewardship of the dreams of our nation does not exist outside their conscious decision to be the leaders that will take this country to greater heights.

Indeed, Mr President, if you want to predict the prosperity of our country, just look at the quality of its graduates. They provide a platform for future progress. They are critical to generating national progress - to solve the increasingly complex problems of collective existence. Our graduates, on whom the nation has invested so much, have a responsibility to commit to building strong national and continental institutions.

Up to this day, institutions continue to contribute massively towards the creation of an enabling environment for investment to pour in, for businesses

COMMENT & ANALYSIS



to thrive and thus for the economy to grow. In economic literature, the quality of institutions has been found to be a key determinant of economic growth and development. Institutions also play a critical role in explaining "Why Nations Fail". Institutions create a predictable framework for the public and private sectors to collaborate more effectively, resulting in significant benefits for the economy.

When institutions fail, trust is eroded. This, in turn, can damage economies! Sound institutions also prevent excesses by those in authority. They foster accountability, transparency and ethical conduct. Institutions provide the necessary buffer against anarchy and lawlessness.

Sound institutions and ethical leaders facilitate fair and equitable access to opportunities. They prevent the destructive winner-takes-all tendency. Institutions also create conditions for human talent and capabilities to flourish. When you build strong institutions, you take the destiny of this country into your own hands!

Our country needs competent and ethical professionals in the new dawn of the 6th Administration, more than ever before. We have witnessed in the recent past negative economic indicators, which demonstrate that our economic woes are worsening.

Ethical leadership is often described as leadership that is directed by respect for ethical beliefs and values and for the dignity and rights of others. It is characterised by trust, honesty and humility amongst others. This type of leadership is best defined by one of the greatest leaders of all time, Comrade Nelson Mandela, when he said:

"I always remember the regent's axiom: a leader, he said, is like a shepherd. He stays behind the flock letting the most nimble go on ahead, whereupon the others follow, not realising that all along they are being directed from behind" From LONG WALK TO FREEDOM by Nelson Rolihlahla Mandela.

He adds: "It is a grave error for any leader to be oversensitive in the face of criticism, to conduct discussions as if he or she is a schoolmaster talking to less informed and inexperienced learners" From Nelson Mandela's UN-PUBLISHED SEOUEL TO HIS AUTOBI-OGRAPHY.

As the current generation of leaders, we must draw inspiration from the leadership of the ANC's longest-serving, President Oliver Reginald Tambo. In describing the leadership credentials of O.R, as he was affectionately known, ANC stalwart, Joel Netshitenzhe, described him as one of the best examples of how good leaders can contribute to forging excellence, and to raising the movement's performance to a high pedestal. "His incisive mind encouraged all of us to learn". This is the challenge that the life of Oliver Tambo places before us today.

We want young people and graduates that are enablers of strong institutions. Our country is led by President Ramaphosa – a leader with solid credentials and a leader who inspires a great deal of confidence. While the caliber of leaders is important in driving thorough-going change, it is the building of credible, enduring institutions that will deliver sustainable progress. For, indeed, institutions outlive individu-

A clarion call to all South Africans, especially young people, is to help sustain the new dawn the country has entered into. Our new dawn must not be short lived. It must endure. Failure is not an option.

Yours sincerely

Pule Mabe

National Spokesperson and Head of the Department of Information and **Publicity**

DOMESTIC



The 4th industrial revolution presents an opportunity to elose the industry gender gap

By Nombulelo Nyathela

ver the past two years, revolution 4.0 has been the buzz word in South Africa with all sorts of efforts by government and industry to make sure that we, as a country, do not get left behind in this space of innovation and technology. At the core, the fourth industrial revolution is the blurring of boundaries between the physical, digital, and biological worlds. It's a fusion of advances in artificial intelligence (AI), robotics, the Internet of Things (IoT), 3D printing, genetic engineering, quantum computing, and other technologies.

In 2016, the chairman and co-founder of the World Economic Forum, Klaus Schwab coined the term "the fourth industrial revolution". At the time, he argued that revolution 4.0 had potential to grow the global income levels and improve the quality of life of people world-wide. I would take the argument further to say, this revolution presents immense opportunity for a narrowing of the gender gap between men and women.

For decades, women have battled workplaces that they do not deem as equal, often remunerated less than their male counterparts, closed out of work spaces that are seen to be physically suited for men, marginalised in work spaces that demand unreasonable working hours, discriminated and burdened by working a double shift - one at work and another at home, the list is endless. This is all due to a disproportionate amount of burden placed on women by a sexist society that constantly shifts the goal posts.

The disruptive change that comes with revolution 4.0 offers an opportunity for women to disrupt industries,



disrupt economic patterns and, as millennials would say "level-up". Industries like manufacturing and construction; businesses that are mostly male-dominated, are likely to be the most affected by automation which opens space for more participation from women. Household work is likely to be further automated, allowing women agility with their time. Changes to what have traditionally been men's roles in the workforce will also reshape the division of labour at home. Lastly, the emerging landscape of less rigid work and workspaces could also present the type of work patterns that allow for a more gender balanced work place.

However, all this is wishful thinking if we do not position women to take full advantage of these developments. According to the World Economic Forum's (WEF) Future of Jobs report, "65 percent of children entering primary school today could ultimately end up working in completely new job types that do not yet exist". Most of these jobs are expected to be created in science, technology, engineering, mathematics (STEM), and IT - all these jobs require an element of creativity and entrepreneurial mind-set.

In practical terms, we need to commit to certain deliberate interventions to allow technology to be an accelerator for gender equality. Firstly, there is a need to address the mismatch between the education system and technological advancements. Ultimately, the country's skills-set must match the demands for future jobs. Secondly, efforts must be placed in channelling and retaining the girl child in STEM fields. Thirdly, we need to build the type of social compacts (between government, labour, business) that are intentional in placing women at the centre of driving the developmental agenda for revolution 4.0. Lastly, lifelong learning must be promoted for those women who are in routine jobs that may be replaced by automation. Re-skilling and upskilling must be central to organisational development.

The key to the country's success will be two-fold: ensuring full and effective participation of women in the economy and building a knowledge-based society anchored in technology and innovation■

OPINION

Women participation in tourism a vital necessity

t the dawn of democracy, the African National Congress (ANC) prepared a policy document popularly known as "Ready to Govern." It outlined quidelines for the policies the ANC intended to pursue after assuming power. The document dealt with issues ranging from the construction of the democratic state, socio-economic transformation to South Africa's relations with the continent and the rest of the world, among others.

With respect to gender relations, the document noted that: "Gender discrimination has either excluded or subordinated women's participation in all socio-economic and political institutions. Combined with apartheid, this has resulted in African women being the most exploited and povertystricken section of the South African population." To remedy this injustice, the ANC proposed a national economic strategy which, amongst other things, would ensure that "...legal, practical and psychological barriers created by apartheid and patriarchy will be broken down, so as to open up the economy to give opportunities to those who have historically been excluded," especially women.

Guided by this framework, the governing party did indeed develop and implement policies to undo the injustices of the past with varying degrees of success. As we take stock of 25 years into democracy, the socioeconomic status of women in our society vital Notwithstanding the progress we have recorded with respect to women empowerment, they remain the most affected by inequality, poverty and unemployment. Penetrating areas of meaningful economic participation for women, remains a huge challenge.

One of the sectors in which the test expresses itself sharply is the tourism sector.



Mmamoloko Kubayi-Ngubane

Although most people employed in tourism worldwide are women, both in formal and informal jobs, there remains an under-representation of women in more lucrative professions such as tour guides, chefs, land and water-transportation and, most importantly, managerial roles.

Ironically, both the United Nations and the World Bank have identified travel and tourism as a sector most likely to provide women with more opportunities for empowerment compared to other industries. This is partly because the sector places less emphasis on formal education and training; instead emphasises personal and hospitality skills. Additionally, the sector does not require heavy start-up financing and online platforms such as Airbnb and Uber have further broken down the barriers to entry. Despite all this, women are still concentrated in the lowest paid, lowest skilled areas of the industry and carry out a large amount of unpaid work in family tourism businesses.

So, the odds are heavily stacked against women so much so that even when they own businesses, they find it harder to get the necessary financing to grow their enterprises. According to the International Finance Corporation (IFC) estimates, 70%

of women-owned small and medium enterprises in developing countries are underserved by financial institutions, resulting in a credit gap of \$285 billion

Because of the prevailing backward and socially regressive beliefs of male superiority, women are still victim to a high degree, of gender-role stereotyping. This results in the concentration of women in lower-paid menial tasks, clerical, and cleaning jobs. Furthermore, women are more likely to be caretakers and together with other domestic demands, these render them dirt poor. Thus, they seek part-time or flexible positions limiting their chances of earning more or ascending to significant managerial

The local trends are just as devastating as the global trends. To address this, the Department of Tourism in 2013 initiated the Women in Tourism (WiT) Programme to spearhead initiatives to support the development and empowerment of women in the sector. Three years ago, the department further launched the Executive Development Programme for Women in Tourism. The programme has so far graduated 50 out of 60 women. These women are increasingly being promoted to senior management levels in their various organizations.

Undoubtedly, more needs to be done to multiply opportunities for women in the tourism sector. As with all other sectors of society, stakeholders in the tourism sector must eschew the prevailing tendency of relegating the responsibility for empowering only women to government. Government admittedly has an important role to play. However, the structure of our economy is such that most value-adding activities are found in the private sector and it must rise to the challenge for its own interest and that of society as a whole.

The success of the sector and larger economy remains indissolubly intertwined with women empowerment. One cannot therefore stress the vital need for women participation in all socio-economic and political institutions enough

OPINION



New era in social housing delivery had dawned | PART 2

The author argues for a policy review that provides an ideal opportunity to learn from the housing programme's shortcomings and strengthen it so that it succeeds and achieves its intended spatial justice.

ne might ask, if social housing is so good, why are tenants protesting against Social Housing in several provinces? The answer is not a simple one.

Firstly, the Social Housing Programme and social housing institutions are facing the brunt of pent up frustrations with the slow pace of housing delivery. Social housing is owned and managed by social housing institutions (SHI). These are mainly independent of government but some institutions are state-owned entities. To the public, the owner becomes the face of government, even though most SHIs are only partners in delivery and are not government agencies.

Secondly, while many households rent throughout their lives in other countries, the history of dispossessing people from land gives rise to a bias toward ownership in South Africa. The



Anthea Houston is President of the National Association of Social Housing Organisations (NASHO) and CEO of Communicare, a provider of social housing rentals.

aversion to rentals is the reason the Social Housing Programme comes under fire as some detractors don't see a role for rental housing.

The third reason Social Housing has faced criticism is closely related to the second. Those who desire ownership but have low affordability levels, are prevented from owning as the property market excludes them. This structural problem limits their options and leaves them unsatisfied with longterm renting. They have an unrealistic expectation that the Social Housing Programme must deliver ownership to them while the programme is, by design, a rental programme distinct from government's other programmes that promote and facilitate home ownership.

Lastly, regulated government funded Social Housing is largely misunderstood by the public, councillors, public officials and others. Its strategic role as a rental programme providing more affordable rental options than the market offers in the same excellent

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New era in social housing delivery had dawned PART 2

neighbourhoods is not well understood. Consequently, many expect it to solve all housing problems such as the problem of those who are indigent and cannot pay any rent at all.

These four issues give rise to a set of expectations that can put most social housing institutions out of business. There is an expectation that any household should be able to rent at whatever price they can afford; that nobody would ever face eviction; and that rental units will eventually be owned by the tenants. Such expectations could never be met by the institutions that own social housing.

SHIs get into the business to provide well managed housing opportunities in good locations at more affordable rates than the market makes available to people with low affordability levels. So, evictions are always a last resort. These institutions usually take a number of steps to avoid reaching a point where the court is asked to consider evictions. Payment arrangements may be made with tenants, some arrears may be written off, a more affordable unit may be offered to the tenant, etc. Ultimately if these options are not taken up or if arrears grows then an eviction may become inevitable.

Eviction of tenants who cannot pay are inevitable because the regulations restrict the beneficiaries of government funded Social Housing to households with incomes between R1500 and R15 000 per month without providing any grants to cover operations. This contains the revenue coming into any social housing institution while the expenses are subject to the same market forces faced by other businesses in our economy such as rising costs of fuel, utilities, taxes and building materials.

Under the current policy, the state provides a fixed portion of the funds per unit to buy or build new regulated Social Housing. This is usually between 50% and 60% if a three or four-storey walk-up is built or acquired. If the building is higher rise (above 4 floors)



then the government contribution to total cost is even less since the rand value is fixed even though the building cost is higher. In these higher rise developments, the government contribution is closer to 40%. Either way, the social housing institution borrows the shortfall from financial institutions, anything between 40% to 60% of the cost of building or buying the stock. With the average unit costing between half a million rand (in 4-storey walk-ups) or R900 000 in higher rise, this means borrowing between R40m and R90m. The loans usually come at rates above the prime rate and must be paid off over 10 to 15 years.

Beyond construction or acquisition of social housing stock, the state makes no further financial investment in the social housing. No operating grants are available to help keep rents low for tenants. In other countries with strong Social Housing programmes, the state usually provides operating grants to keep rents down and support financially viable operations.

In the absence of operating grants, the social housing institution must collect

enough rent to cover rising costs, pay back its loans, maintain its properties and also save for major building repairs down the line. With the institutions forced to escalate rentals, the tenants' pockets are placed under pressure. The South African model for social housing is premised on the ability of each tenant to pay an escalating rental. It is critical that the institutions collect rentals. If they do not, the whole model collapses and the massive public capital investment in social housing is lost.

In the current environment, the average and younger social housing institutions operate with small or no margins and struggle to achieve long-term sustainability. A few in the country have diverse operating models so that they can cross-subsidise internally and grow. Usually, this diversification is the provision of unregulated rentals or the development of houses for sale.

The institutions that have not diversified risk financial insolvency if a substantial number of their tenants fail to pay. This is why many social housing institutions are more than just landlords. They usually offer a range of social development programmes that help tenants improve their lives and incomes. Interventions such as these help tenants strengthen their resilience.

It's important that a programme such as this has a place in the new era of housing delivery. The policy review provides an ideal opportunity to learn from the programmes shortcomings and strengthen it so that it succeeds and achieves the intended spatial justice.

The target market of the government social housing programme cannot generate sufficient revenues required by social housing institutions to be sustainable. The model has to evolve to allow a mixed-income target market as has been implemented successfully abroad. Such a mix is key to create sustainable precincts that continue to be well-maintained and well-managed

Q & A

WOMEN'S MONTH

IN THE SPOTLIGHT: Nompendulo Mkhatshwa

By Bongiwe Msweli

1. Did your mother's political involment influence your political interest or did you find it along the way? I remember her being very critical on matters affecting society. So, I guess I picked up on her progressive views, thus instilling some level of consciousness in me.

2. What is the most insightful conversation you have ever had?

I think everyday we have conversations with different people that we can take something from and that makes us better people.

3. What lessons have you learned about being Member Parliament?

Having only been a member of parliament since the 22nd May 2019, which is less than three months ago, it might be too soon to give a very meaty response. However, I would say that I have truly come to appreciate the presence of women who were part of the first democratic administration of the South Africa government such as Mam' Thoko Didiza. I appreciate their effort to assist us in better understanding the space we find ourselves in, as a security measure to ensuring that we succeed in being effective in the roles we have been given.

I have also learnt that society has a very skewed understanding of the role and functions of parliament and parliamentarians, and perhaps it is important that we as new members work towards bringing the people closer to this August House and taking parliament to the people.

4. What makes you proud of being a young woman in the 21st century?

WOW! Young women are just making things happen. Everywhere and anywhere they are a force to be reckoned with. Sithathazonke! Senza konke! Literally breaking all the barriers. The voice of women has always been one



Nompendulo Mkhatshwa

is a 26-year-old young woman who is a former Fees must Fall activist. She was one of the leaders of the Student's Representative Council (SRC). She studied BSc degree at the University of the Witwatersrand. Mkhatshwa is a Member of Parliament (MP) of the Republic of South Africa.

to be reckoned with. However, I feel that right now through an intentional effort to fight for our space, the voice of young women has been amplified to be reckoned with. Young women are organizing themselves and asserting themselves in society. I want to believe that our foremothers are smiling wherever they are resting.

If we continue in this manner and collaborate better, we can do much more.

5. If you were a president of our country, what is the first thing you would do?

I wouldn't even want to begin to imagine myself in that position. Acknowledging that society is not a homogeneous collective; I want to believe that it must be a very challenging position to find yourself in. But perhaps I would work towards ensuring that South Africa is a safe space for all that live in it, particularly children, women, persons with disabilities and members of the LGBTQIA+ and of course that goes hand-in-hand with ensuring the people's socioeconomic livelihood.

6. What is the first lesson you would want to teach your daughter about being a woman?

In the case that the universe grants me a daughter let alone a child; I would want to inculcate a lifestyle of selflessness, servitude and patriotism within my child, Boy or Girl. I would want my child or children to understand that the South Africa we live in was fought for by our foremothers and that they have the responsibility to protect our democracy in rendering it fruitful. I will remind them that the only citizenship that they have is South African and if they do not make sure their home is functional, they will have nowhere else to go to. Very harsh, I know. But true!

This is generally a culture or lifestyle that I believe schools and various microcosms of society must inculcate and harness in the children of this country. Children must grow to be socially connected beings of society.

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7. What is your worst habit?

Punctuality / Time Management I try to do too many things at once. I want to do them all because I have the most skewed understanding of how much can be done in an hour.

There must just be more hours in a day.

8. How did you celebrate Woman's

I spent my morning engaging with society on the gender question through various radio stations from Ikwekwei FM to SAFM. I then ended my day by playing 30Seconds with my mom, my sisters, my girl-cousin, my girl-friends and my mom's friends.

But, of course as gender activists we spent the whole of August engaging society on gender questions.

9. What is your favorite quote or

Taking from the tone that the President set in the first ANC Parliamentary Caucus of the Sixth Administration and from the first SONA of the Sixth Administration as he spoke to implementation; the following words resonate with me:

"Our revolution is not a public-speaking tournament. Our revolution is not a battle of fine phrases. Our revolution is not simply for spouting slogans that are no more than signals used by manipulators trying to use them as catchwords, as code words, as a foil for their own display. Our revolution is, and should continue to be, the collective effort of revolutionaries to transform reality, to improve the concrete situation of the masses of our country."

- Thomas Sankara

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POLITICAL FUNDING IS NORMAL AND NECESSARY

constitutions and rules to govern internal activities. It is not clear whether legislation can or should regulate such contests.

For its part, the ANC sees the current public debate as an opportunity. In responding to the Public Protector's preliminary findings, President Ramaphosa's legal team went to great lengths to explain the funding and operations of the CR17 campaign, providing a level of transparency and detail that no other Presidential campaign, past or present, has done.

Therefore, at its most recent meeting, the ANC National Executive Committee accepted the President's suggestion that the organisation have a discussion on its approach to internal leadership contests.

For years, the ANC has referred to the principles contained in the Through the Eye of a Needle document, but is now asking whether it provides sufficient guidance in such a contested environment. While some try to pretend otherwise, ANC leadership contests have, over time, begun to take a form not unlike a national election campaign. Groupings coalesce around different candidates and campaign for them through meetings, rallies, social media and other forms. To support these activities, all of these campaigns raise funds and nearly all ANC leaders are involved in the campaigning in one way or another.

In addition to what may be termed 'legitimate' campaigning, tendencies have also emerged that subvert the democratic process, such as vote buying and even intimidation. As the President said at the NEC: "If we are to put an end to the politics of factionalism, patronage and the unbridled contest for resources, we

need, among other things, to have an honest 'discussion about a new approach to internal leadership contests."

The NEC of the ANC will be presented with options for discussion that will however, ensure that the branches of the ANC remain the core decision makers of who leads the ANC at all

The ANC will therefore be looking at whether it should clearly define forms of campaigning that are permissible and those that are not. Should it accept that major internal contests now involve the establishment of a campaign machinery with many of the resources and functions of our traditional election campaigns?

Importantly, the discussion will consider what guidelines are needed on fundraising. How does organisation ensure that there is greater transparency and accountability? Does it place limits on funds that can be raised, and how can it ensure that state resources aren't abused.

For the ANC, this is not simply about setting new rules. It is fundamentally about ensuring that leadership contests do indeed produce the best cadres to lead transformation. It is about using leadership contests to unite and strengthen the movement, and use them as platforms for political education and cadre development.

The ANC is undertaking this process of its own accord, understanding that democracy consumes resources, but determined that these resources should not be allowed to consume democracy. We hope that all parties and all South Africans will seize this opportunity for a necessary and meaningful debate

THIS WEEK IN HISTORY

16 - 22 August 2019

Source: SA History Online - www.sahistory.org.za

17 August 1982.

Ruth First assassinated in Mozambique Ruth First, journalist, academic, author,



anti-apartheid activist and member of the South African Communist Party, was brutally killed by a letter bomb in Maputo, sent by South African government agents. At the time of her death, First was a lecturer at the Eduardo Mondlane University. Her funeral in Maputo was attended by presidents, members of parliament and envoys from 34 countries. The Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) granted amnesty to Craig Williamson and Roger Raven, two men responsible for the death of Ruth First. Born in 1925 from Latvian parents who immigrated to South Africa, both members of the Communist Party, Ruth also became active. After matriculating from Jeppes Girls High, she did a BA at Wits University, where along with Ismail Meer, Joe Slovo, Yusuf Dadoo, and J.N. Singh, formed the Federation of Progressive Students, a radical non-racial student organisation opposing apartheid. She worked for the Guardian, focussing on labour stories and later edited Fighting Talk, participated in the drafting of the Freedom Charter, though she was banned from participating in the Congress of the People. Shortly thereafter she was arrested and placed on trial as part of the 1956 Treason trial. She was later detained under the 90 day clause of the state of emergency, and left the country for exile in 1964 with her three daughters (Shawn, Gillian and Robyn).

17 August 1992. SADC Treaty signed

Leaders of 10 southern African states met in Windhoek, Namibia and signed the Treaty establishing the Southern African Development Community (SADC). This replaced the Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference (SADDC) set up in 1980 to reduce dependence on South Africa.

18 August 1994. Mandela deliver speech after first 100 days in office



One hundred days after his inauguration, after the first democratic elections and at the helm of a Government of National Unity, President Nelson Mandela in a speech to Parliament reported on his first 100 days in office. He hails the spirit of reconciliation, introduces the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) as the cornerstone, and also announces plans to have the Truth and Reconciliation Commission. He said of South Africa's achievements in those first few days: "A hundred days after our inauguration, our overwhelming impression of our reality is that:

- our nation has succeeded to handle its problems with great wisdom;
- we have a government that has brought together bitter enemies into a constructive relationship;
- our parliament and cabinet have properly focused on the task of reconstruction and development; and
- we have a government that is in control and whose programmes are on course.

18 August 1994. Earthquake strikes Algeria

Between 120 and rising to 171 people were killed, and over 12,500 people made homeless by a magnitude 5.7 earthquake, which strikes the Mascara region of western Algeria. Mascara is the provincial capital, with over 150,000 inhabitants at the time.

19 August 2013. Phumzile Mlambo-Nqcuka sworn in as UN Women Executive Director



Africa's South former Deputy President, Phumzile Mlambo-Ngcuka was sworn in as the Executive Director of UN Women during ceremony on 19 August 2013 at United Nations

Headquarters in New York City, presided over by Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon. In this position, Mlambo-Ngcuka lead the UN's work on advancing gender equality and women empowerment. Ngcuka was also the first President of the Natal Organisation of Women (NOW) formed in December 1983 and an affiliate of the United Democratic Front (UDF) She also served as South Africa's first female deputy president from 2005-2008. She is admired as one of the exceptional women figures in South Africa who has played a crucial role in fighting for women upliftment. When pledging her allegiance to the UN she said ,"I Phumzile Mlambo Ngcuka solemnly declare and promise to exercise in all loyalty, discretion and conscience functions entrusted to me as an international civil servant of the United Nations, discharge these functions and regulate my conduct in the with the interests of the UN only in view. And not to seek or accept instructions in regards to the performance of my duties from any government or other source external to the organization."

19 August 1970. Chinese community declared White

The South African Chinese community is granted official white' status for the first time, but only for sport and leisure. They were officially classed non-White before though were admitted to White theatres, restaurants and residential areas. In 2008 years after the end of the Apartheid, South Africa's high court ruled that Chinese South Africans would be reclassified as 'Black,' a term that includes Black Africans, Indians and others who were subject to discrimination under apartheid. As a result of this ruling, Chinese-South African citizens can benefit from affirmative action policies aimed at undoing the effects of Apartheid.

THIS WEEK IN HISTORY

19 August 2002. Amina Lawal's sentence of death by stoning upheld



On 19 August 2002, an Islamic high court in the Katsina state of Nigeria, upheld a sentence of death by stoning for Amina Lawal. The 31-year old woman had been convicted of adultery by a village court for having a child more than nine months after her divorce. She was not represented by a lawyer at the hearing and the man who allegedly fathered her daughter denied the offence and was acquitted. Following the intervention of lawyers appointed by Amnesty International, who defended her free of charge, Lawal was granted 30 days to appeal against the decision. Amina's lawyer filed another appeal to the Upper Sharia court of appeal in Katsina. Her sentence drew worldwide condemnation. Women's organisations and human rights campaigners branded the sentence inhumane and discriminative towards women. According to some interpretations of Sharia law, for a man to be convicted of adultery, he either has to confess to the crime or four men have to have witnessed the act. The law favours men. A man is allowed to beat his wife if she is disobedient, provided he does it within the guidelines prescribed by Islamic scholars. According to these guidelines, he must not break any bones or hit her in the face. In February 2004 the Sharia Court of Appeal ruled that Amina Lawal's conviction was invalid because she had been pregnant already when the harsh Islamic Shariah law was implemented in her home province.

20 August 1919.

Author Noni Jabavu born 100 years ago

Helen Nontando (Noni) Jabavu was born in 1919 in the Eastern Cape into a literary family. From the age of thirteen, she was schooled in England, and continued to live there for many years. She went on to become one of the first African female writers and journalists. The Ochre People is one of her two autobiographical works; the other is Drawn in Colour (1960). Both were written early in her literary career and have been hailed by critics as being brilliant and fascinating. The works indicate that she preferred positioning herself as being simultaneously an African and a European. tracing her origins in both England and

South Africa. In her books she looked at the alienation she felt, issues of identity and the impact of the West on Africa. Jabavu also "studied music, was a prolific writer, had a stint as a radio personality for the BBC and worked as a film technician and semi-skilled engineer and oxyacetylene welder, working on bomber engine parts during the Second World War." Noni Jabavu died on 19 June 2008 at the age of 88 and was buried in East London.

19-22 August 1996.

Political parties Submissions to the Truth and Reconciliation Commission

On 19 August 1996, the major parties begin their political party submission to the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC). In a 43-page document Freedom Front (FF) leader, General Constand Viljoen, emphasizes the need for reconciliation and nation-building. The PAC acknowledges that its armed wing, APLA, targeted white civilians, takes responsibility for this, but makes no apoligies. On 21 August, former President F.W. de Klerk tells the Truth and Reconciliation Commission that he reiterates his apologies for suffering caused during the conflict that ended the apartheid system. However, he says that when in power (1948-1994) his National Party (NP) had not, to his knowledge, authorized the security forces to commit murder, torture, rape, assassination or assault. The ANC presents to the Truth and Reconciliation Commission a detailed 300-page self-analysis of the A NC's human rights record and strategy during its campaign to end apartheid. The document names thirty-four ANC members who were executed by an ANC military tribunal at an external base in Angola.

20 August 1983. UDF formed in Rocklands, Mitchells **Plain**

The United Democratic Front, a federation of anti- apartheid organisations is launched in Cape Town, to oppose the racist tricameral parliament system to introduced by the Apartheid government. As an umbrella organisation of civic associations, student, youth, women's, religious, trade union and other organisations, it campaigned throughout the 1980s against the apartheid system and laws, and against is repression. Alberina Sisulu, Archie Gumede and Oscar Mphetha were elected as the first UDF Honorary Presidents.

20 August 1994. Vuyani Bungu wins the IBF World Title.

The South African junior featherweight, Vuyani Bungu, from Mdantsane East London registered a stunning victory against highly rated American Kennedy McKinney at Carousel to lift the International Boxing Federation (IBF) world title. The victory earned Bungu recognition and respect, and was dubbed the Upset of 1994. Bungu held the junior featherweight world title from 1994 till 1999 and then went on to win the IBF featherweight title in 2004. Vuyani Bungu retired in 2005 with 39 wins, 19 knockouts and five losses.

22 August 1990. Death toll in political violence reaches 503

503 people killed during the ten previous days of violence. Fighting was particularly heavy in the township of Vosloorus, 20 miles east of Johannesburg.

23 August 1942.

Jazz singer Letta Mbulu born in Soweto ■

INTERNATIONAL DAYS

19 August. World Humanitarian Day World Humanitarian Day raises awareness of the plight of civilians around the world who have become caught up in conflicts, and also honour and raise support for the humanitarian workers who risk, and sometimes lose, their lives to help. Over 130 million people throughout the world are currently in crisis, either through war or natural disasters and are in need of humanitarian aid. World Humanitarian Day 2019 theme is dedicated to Women Humanitarians and their contribution in making the world a better place. They hold a sense of unparalleled uniqueness, one that adds to the global momentum of female strength, power and perseverance. It is time to honor the women who have acted as first responders to the darkest hours of crisis.

23 August. International Day for the Remembrance of the Slave Trade and its Abolition

In late August 1791, an uprising began in Santo Domingo (today Haiti and the Dominican Republic) that would have a major effect on abolishing the transatlantic slave trade. The slave rebellion in the area weakened the Caribbean colonial system, sparking an uprising that led to abolishing slavery and giving the island its independence. It marked the beginning of the destruction of the slavery system, the slave trade and colonialism. International Day for the Remembrance of the Slave Trade and its Abolition was first celebrated in many countries, in particular in Haiti, on August 23, 1998, and in Senegal on August 23, 1999. Each year the United Nations Educational, Scientific Cultural Organization (UNESCO) reminds the international community about the importance of commemorating this day. This date also pays tribute to those who worked hard to abolish slave trade and slavery throughout the world. This commitment and the actions used to fight against the system of slavery had an impact on the human rights movement ■

CULTURE



CULTURE

Every August, Women's Month, we gather to remember the toil and suffering of women under sexist and dehumanizing forces of slavery, apartheid and capitalism. These are the tributaries that feed the devastating tide of patriarchy.

Yet the spirit of triumph prevails. We see and feel it through a defiant young girl - she who defies all forms of chauvinism. She refuses to be defined by anything other than her worth, her humanity, character and intellect.

She defies crime and claims her space and time. She fights those who turn her body into a crime scene. She yearns for and fights for freedom, freedom of being and becoming.

She is freedom!

In her embrace of history and radiant vision of the future, she defies her own accumulated disabilities of poverty and inequality.

We hear her sing "senzenina..."
We hear her cry in song, "mabayekeumhlabawethu..."

We saw her read "the land is ours". She asserts herself in being and deeds. She is freedom personified.

We will meet her as innovator and global leader tomorrow. She flies supersonic jets, performs open brain surgeries, writes and sings to global acclaim.

She doesn't want pity or handouts.

She wants free, quality and decolonized education.

Through knowledge she smells economic freedom in her lifetime.

She wears a doek in celebration, not in submission. She wears it also to annoy and defy those who despise the ways of her people. She breaks free from chauvinists, including bigots, who dictate her ways of self-determination.

She is freedom. She is Nomzamo. She knows Nomzamo was also Zanyiwe. She says if Winnie Mandela, our Zanyiwe, if our mother of freedom was on trial till the end, she will get justice for her children.

She rose from a tiny village to make a mark in the global village, shaking the establishment.

She didn't cower nor take cover.

She meditates for the freedom of the people of Palestine and Western Sahara - bound together by the bonds of human solidarity.

These are the children of Winnie Madikizela-Mandela.

They are her. She lives in them.

She long multiplied.

She uses defiance as a negation of oppression and affirmation of hope about a future free of white supremacy, patriarchy, economic bondage, misogyny, xenophobia, homophobia and all forms of gender-based violence.

She is the fire burning all traces of prejudice.

She is the spear of Shaka, the shield of Hintsa and the heart of Queen Mantantisi tearing down racial and patriarchal oppression.

She is a poet, a prophet, a professor, a philanthropist, a pianist, a pilot, a physicist, a protégée, a protector, a preacher, a politician, a polyglot and most importantly she is people-centric.

Even as history and capitalism pulls her down, she keeps on trying, uyazama, uNomzamo!

Nomzamo, the zeitgeist of young women who defy all odds in a hostile political economy.

She is the future. The future she chose. The future we choose.

Through this resilient young woman, Winnie Madikizela-Mandela defied death, she multiplied.

Nomzamo lives!



Book Review

By Fébé Potgieter-Gqubule

The Source of Self-Regard

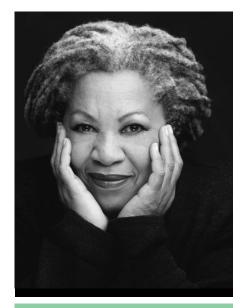
by Toni Morrison

(2019, Penguin Random House)

The Loss of a Literary Mother

Toni Morrison, African-American larger-than-life Nobel Laurette passed away on 5 August 2019, at the age of 88 years with obituaries across the world highlighting different aspects of this great intellectual, activist and woman. Having published her first book "The Bluest Eye" in 1969, she went on to become editor at Random House in the 1970s, where she ensured the publications of black voices. In addition to her own books that followed: Sula (1971) and Song of Solomon (1977), at Random she published"The Black Book" of black history, some say along the lines of WEB Du Bois dream of an Encyclopedia Africana. Then followed four decades when she went on to win the Pulitzer Prize for Beloved (1987) and then the Nobel Prize for Literature in 1993; inspired generations of writers, feminists and activists; publishing eight more novels, children's books and a number of works of non-fiction. collections of speeches and lectures.

The tributes after her death spoke volumes. Jesse McCarthy from The Nation "...it never occurred to Morrison to ask for a seat at the table: She pulled the table to where she sat." Michelle Obama "For me and for so many others, Toni Morrison was that first crack in the levee — the one who freed the truth about black lives, sending it rushing out into the world. She showed us the beauty in being our full selves, the necessity of embracing our complications and contradictions. And she didn't just give us permission to share our own stories; she underlined our responsibility to do so. She showed how incomplete the world's narrative was without ours in it." Feminism in India -"with the death of Toni Morrison at 88,



Toni Morrison

"Books are a form of political action. Books are knowledge. Books are reflection. Books change your mind."

writers all around the world feel like they've lost a literary mother." Tracy K Smith in The Guardian wrote: "Great novels enter us. They reconfigure our sense of who we are and what we feel. They urge a part of ourselves to take flight, to merge with something alive outside of us, the proxy for which is often the novelist herself. In this way, great literature helps us to feel recognised, comprehended, accompanied. The Vanguard of Nigeria calls her "a true revolutionary" and Asanda Ngoasheng of News24 South Africa says that she taught us to be unapologetic about racism by "constantly

reminding us that the real work of racism is to keep black people busy proving they have a history, a language, a heritage..."

The Source of Self-Regard

Toni Morrison received accolades for her novels, but it is her works of non-fiction, when she spoke about topics that matter - race, consumerism, feminism, the future and our obsession with the past, globalization, migration, human rights and above all on the art of writing - indeed all the large philosophical issues of our time that the power of her writing shines through. Reading her work one is forever torn between the profound ideas she puts forward and the absolute beauty of her writing.

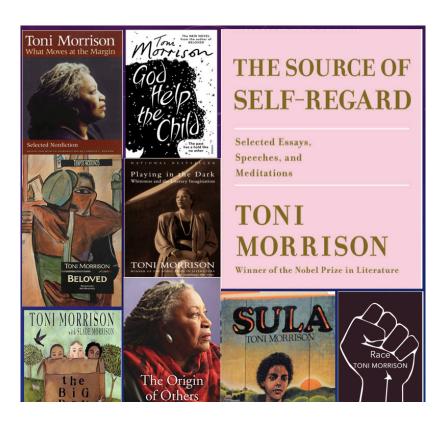
As a black and woman writer who garnered recognition, Morrison had to deal with the inevitability of critics trying to pigeonhole her work. She confronts it heads-on: ""I can accept the labels because being a black woman writer is not a shallow place but a rich place to write from. It doesn't limit my imagination; it expands it. It's richer than being a white male writer because I know more and I've experienced more." She likens this construction of a black woman writer to a house/home, and the need to consciously write about race, but not to be imprisoned by it. As she says in the chapter "Race Matters" (p192), "I have never lived, nor have any of you, in a world in which race did not matter." And therefore "...how to be both free and situated; how to convert a racist house into a race-specific yet non-racist house."

In response to a question about her novels focusing on the black experience, Morrison responded;

BOOK REVIEW

continued from page 16

The Source of Self-Regard by Toni Morrison



"I never asked Tolstoy to write for me, a little colored girl in Lorain, Ohio. I never asked [James] Joyce not to mention Catholicism or the world of Dublin. Never. And I don't know why I should be asked to explain your life to you. We have splendid writers to do that, but I am not one of them. It is that business of being universal, a word hopelessly stripped of meaning for me. Faulkner wrote what I suppose could be called regional literature and had it published all over the world. That's what I wish to do. If I tried to write a universal novel, it would be water. Behind this question is the suggestion that to write for black people is somehow to diminish the writing. From my perspective there are only black people. When I say 'people,' that's what I mean."

The Source of Self-Regard is a collection of Toni Morrison's speeches, lectures and meditations, spanning over four decades. As a commentary on our times, she is scathing. The globalization we know today, writes Morrison, neither has the "workers of the world unite" agenda of the old internationalism," the postwar appetite for

"one world," nor "the universalism" of the 60s and 70s. "Its disregard of borders, national infrastructure, local bureaucracies, internet censors, tariffs, laws and languages; its disregard of margins and the marginal people who live there; its formidable, engulfing properties accelerating erasure, a flattening of difference, of specificity for marketing purposes. An abhorrence of diversity."

In this, she comes time and time back to the issue of identity, asking the universal question: "To what do we pay greatest allegiance? Family, language group, culture, country, gender? Religion, race? And if none of these matter, are we urbane, cosmopolitan, or simply lonely? In other words, how do we decide where we belong? What convinces us that we do? Or put another way, what is the matter with foreigners?"

Morrison writes intersectionality with ease and confidence. Her chapter on "Women, Race and Memory" starts with the story of the 45 year old woman who in 1868 asked the US Senate for back pay for work done during the

Civil War: as nurse, cook and "commander of several men," and "It took thirty years for the men in the nation's Capitol to make up their minds on a matter in which money, sex, race and class were so helplessly entangled." Here she examines how 'hundred and fifteen years later, women are still their own worst enemy, our collusion with sexism and patriarchy a "deliberate treason" like "a bone lodged in the throat of every woman." More specifically, how women - feminists, anti-feminists, non-aligned humanists - focusing on the victims rather than the enemy, and thus making it difficult for women to unite. This chapter also deals with many other aspects of patriarchy, such as today's challenge about the future of work. "The control men exert on the labor market is exacting - more so now because house-free women are clearly superfluous to laissez-faire or corporate capitalism. There is too little work and too much skill. Too little work and too many workers. Teens, minorities, women, recently retired people, farmers, factory workers, and the work-trained disabled are the reserve workforce available for constantly changing labour needs. And build into this supply-demand system is a violent job-career struggle that seethes in offices and factories everywhere. Because of their dependency, women are the most disposable of laborers."

Scathing about the state of humanity, but her stunning writing and belief in humanity are beacons of hope. So Morrison reminds us of Martin Luther King Jr's 'audacious faith': "His confidence that we were finer than we thought, that there were moral grounds we would not abandon, lines of civil behavior we simply would not cross. That there were things we would gladly give up for the public good, that a comfortable life, resting on the shoulders of other people's misery, was an abomination this country, especially among all nations, found offensive."

The world has lost a great person. But she left a great legacy in her books she left behind. Go find them ■

in pictures 🙃



ANC Women's League members at a gathering in conversation with ANC President Cyril Ramaphosa



in pictures 🙃



Comrades and friends of Isithwalandwe and Veteran icon of the struggle, Mam Getrude Shope, celebrate her 94th birthday at Zonkezizwe

























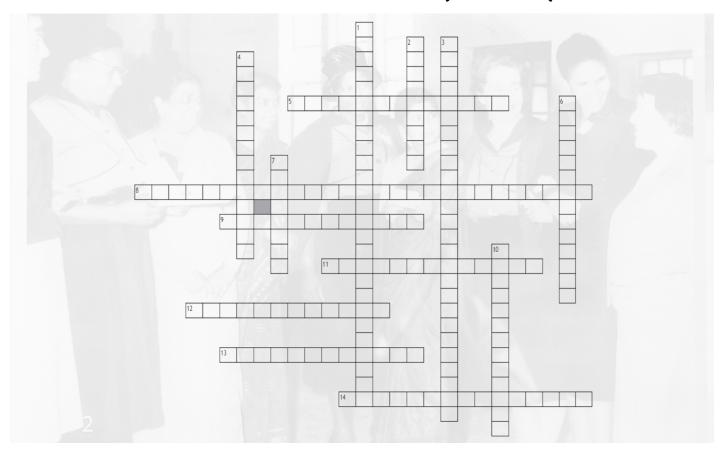




X-WORD



Federation of South African Women (FEDSAW)



Across

- 5. At its founding Congress in 1954, FEDSAW adopt this document
- 8. FEDSAW affiliate form the 1980s
- 9. FEDSAW leader who was one of four petitioners during the 1956 women's march
- 11. A FEDSAW leader
- 12. FEDSAW leader
- 13. One of the Fedsaw founders
- 14. One of the FEDSAW affiliates

Down

- Trade union affiliate of FEDSAW
- 2. FEDSAW campaign against pass laws, and
- 3. FEDSAW was revived in the 1980s, amongst its affiliates
- 4. The fight against ... was an important campaign
- 6. Another FEDSAW founding member
- 7. The FEDSAW founding conference pledged to stand ... to ... with menfolk in struggle
- 10. FEDSAW leader

WORD BANK

ANC Womens League bantu education Food and Canning Workers

Union Ray Alexander National Organisation of

Women

Amina Cachalia Dorothy Nyembe Francis Baard

Lillian Ngoyi Hilda Bernstein beerhalls shoulder

Womens Charter

Federation of Transvaal Women



Maximum contributions of 600 words, in accesible language, in any South African language, adequately properly referenced. We reserve the right to edit.

info@anc1912.org.za