



ANC TODAY

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Conversations with the
President



We must all get involved. Let us not look away.

BY CYRIL RAMAPHOSA, ANC PRESIDENT

THE THREE life sentences handed down to the rapist and killer of UCT student Uyinenne Mrwetyana by the Cape High Court are befitting of this heinous crime. The life sentences serve the cause of justice and must act as a deterrent to men who rape and kill the women of our country. We remain firm in our resolve that a life sentence must mean life. Those who commit crimes against women and children must know that they will be caught and tried, and that our courts will act firmly against those found guilty.

The pain we felt as a nation at the brutal killing of Uyinenne, of Jesse Hess, of

Leighandre Jegels, of Janika Mallo and of the many other slain women and children remains fresh. We dare not rest. The violence perpetrated by men against women remains a scourge and national crisis that we must act urgently to end. The Emergency Action Plan to deal with the scourge of gender based violence that I announced at a special joint sitting of Parliament in October is being implemented.

The women of our country demanded that financial and other resources should be made available to address this national crisis. I directed that government should respond to the call that had been made by the women of our country. The gov-

ernment has responded. The responsible government departments have together reprioritised R1.6 billion for the plan to be resourced and implemented.

The plan focuses on improving access to justice for survivors of violence and prevention campaigns to change attitudes and behaviour. It involves measures to strengthen the criminal justice process and to prioritise the creation of economic opportunities for women who are vulnerable to abuse. I have directed that I be given weekly reports on the implementation of the plan. There has been notable progress on a number of aspects of the plan. We are on track to achieve our target

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CONVERSATIONS WITH THE PRESIDENT



of establishing 11 more sexual offences courts by the end of the current financial year. A new Sexual Offences Court has been opened in Sibasa in Limpopo and eleven regional courts across all provinces have been identified for upgrade.

To protect the rights and dignity of child survivors and mentally disabled survivors, CCTV systems have been upgraded at 38 regional courts. Two weeks ago I opened the High Court in Mpumalanga and I was pleased to see that the court has the appropriate facilities to protect the rights and dignity of child survivors and mentally disabled survivors. Such facilities allow testimony to be given without having to face assailants in an open court room.

We are in the process of establishing three new Thuthuleza Care Centres in the Eastern Cape, KwaZulu-Natal and Gauteng. Provinces are identifying underutilised buildings that can be refurbished and used as shelters. Clearing case backlogs is a priority. The National Prosecuting Authority is implementing a 100 day rapid results approach to speed up case turnaround times. Courts with significant backlogs in the North West, Eastern Cape and Limpopo have been identified for roll-out.

Several parts of the growth strategy are already in place. These include how we can strengthen our reform programme, a revitalised industrial strategy in support of key growth sectors and the establishment of an Infrastructure Fund with a clear plan to revive infrastructure investment.

Much work is under-way to improve the ease and reduce the cost of doing business, as are efforts to restructure state owned enterprises and ensure that they perform better in meeting the country's needs. A clear strategy to place Eskom on a sustainable path of recovery is also being finalised.

All this work is taking place at a time when government's finances are under great strain, and there is very little room to increase spending or borrowing. This means that we need to spend our limited resources more smartly, get rid of wastage and shift more resources to infrastructure investment.

On the first Monday morning of each month, the Deputy President and I meet

*Gender-based violence
is not a problem of the
rich or the poor.
IT IMPACTS US ALL...*



JUSTICE AT LAST: The ANC joined civil society and the country at large to express outrage at the killing of Uyinene

with the leaders of business, labour and the community sector to review the implementation of measures agreed at last year's Jobs Summit. Our continued focus is on job creation and how we can reduce the numbers of people who are unemployed. It is clear that, as a country, we are taking firm action to grow the economy and create jobs. But we need to do more to turn things around. We need to finalise a comprehensive growth strategy that takes all the work being done to another level. I am certain that with the active involvement of all sectors of society, this will be achieved.

South Africans are ready to rise to the challenge. National and provincial 24-hour call centres to deal with complaints against police officials, prosecutors and

magistrates on gender-based violence and femicide cases are now up and functioning. We are working to reduce the GBV case backlogs at forensic laboratories and are developing a tracking mechanism that will be rolled out in January 2020.

The SAPS has allocated 312 new recruits currently undergoing basic training to the Family Violence, Child Protection and Sexual Offences Units. To date, 7,000 rape evidence collection kits have been distributed to police stations across the country. A project to reopen unresolved murder and sexual offences cases (so-called cold cases) will soon be operational. It has already begun in the Eastern Cape. Government employees who work with children and mentally disabled persons are being vetted against the National Register of Sex Offenders. To date, 1,222 officials have been vetted, including prosecutors and members of the SAPS.

Legislative reform is underway to tighten conditions around bail and sentencing for perpetrators of gender-based violence, as well as provisions that extend the protection afforded to women and children. We are rolling out an education, awareness and prevention campaign on various media platforms. This includes providing information on how to access the Thuthuleza Care Centres and the gender-based violence command centre.

The women of our country are tired of living in fear. It is their rightful expectation that they should be protected from violence, and that perpetrators of such acts should be imprisoned. I have taken personal responsibility to ensure the emergency plan is implemented, and I will provide our citizens with regular reports on our progress. Gender-based violence is not a problem of the rich or the poor. It is not a problem of the townships or the suburbs or the villages. It impacts us all, and we have had enough of its deeply harmful effects: broken families, ravaged communities and lives destroyed.

Our success depends on the involvement of each South African. It is a responsibility none of us should abdicate. We must all get involved. Let us not look away. Let us work together, in the words of the Freedom Charter, '**sparing neither strength nor courage**' to eradicate this evil from our country. ■

TOWARDS A UNITED AND PROSPEROUS AFRICA



Dear Mr President

THE African National Congress (ANC) is revered and respected as the oldest liberation movement in Africa. This is borne out of the more than a century of struggle against the oppressive systems of imperialist and apartheid colonialism – a titanic struggle which culminated in the liberation of our country in 1994. During those dark days of repression and banning, the ANC built formidable alliances with like-minded organisations in the Frontline States, across the continent and abroad. When the ANC spread its wings all over the world during the 30 years of unrelenting struggle from the time when it was banned, our freedom fighters found refuge in the neighbouring countries, including in Europe, Nordic countries and Eastern Europe. The International Anti-Apartheid Movement further solidified the reputation of the ANC as a formidable force on the road to the liberation of the oppressed masses in South Africa.

The priceless relationships with Mozambique's Liberation Front (Frelimo), the People's Movement of Angola (MPLA), the Zimbabwean African National Union (ZANU) and Zimbabwean African People's Union (ZAPU) and the United National Independence Party of Zambia (UNIP), to mention but a few, formed the backbone of the Frontline States* who were dedicated to overthrowing the apartheid regime in South Africa. So, the formation of the Frontline States was a welcomed development and a new front in the fight against apartheid.



By Pule Mabe

Tanzania was closely involved with and actively participated in several groupings and organisations that aided the liberation struggle. Of the most well-known was the Organisation of African Unity (OAU).

Julius Nyerere of Tanzania was a strong proponent of the formation of such an organisation, and when it was established in 1963, Tanzania became one of its founding member. The OAU had wider goals alongside freedom from colonialism, and so it was agreed that an organ of the OAU, named the African Liberation Committee (ALC) would be formed to focus solely on the liberation struggle.

By providing funding, logistical support, training and publicity, the ALC helped to

support and organise the opposition to colonial rule in Guinea-Bissau, Mozambique, Angola, Zimbabwe, Namibia and South Africa.

The formation of the Southern African Development Coordination Committee (SADCC) in 1980 was one of the most significant events in the isolation of South Africa. SADCC brought together nine Southern African countries, including Tanzania, with the declared purpose of developing greater economic self-reliance and cooperation, so as to reduce dependence on South Africa and its apartheid regime.

Nyerere and his government also took action without the support of other states to challenge minority White rule in Southern Africa. In 1965, the White racist government of Ian Smith declared Rhodesia independent of the British Empire and usurped power. The OAU threatened that its members would break diplomatic ties with Britain if they did not intervene to remove the white minority government. When the British government failed to do so, by the set deadline, Tanzania was one of a few members that made good on their promise to end diplomatic relations, and in doing so, sacrificed £7.5 million in aid from Britain.

This willingness to forgo such a significant sum of money at a time of serious economic woes, demonstrated the country's commitment to fighting colonial and minority rule in Africa, in spite of the dire consequences.

Flags of Member States
at the African Union



The Tanzanian government also threatened to immediately withdraw from the Commonwealth if apartheid South Africa ever became a member, saying 'to vote South Africa in is to vote us out.'

When South Africa was finally liberated in 1994, the ANC took a conscious decision to develop a foreign policy which recognised the role played by other countries in achieving our freedom. Since South Africa was the last country on the African continent to attain liberation, the ANC acknowledged its leadership role and took its place in the continent to work towards peace and economic liberation and prosperity.

To this end, the government of the ANC has always played a critical role in facilitating dialogue among warring factions in countries such as the Democratic Republic of Congo, the neighbouring Lesotho, Zimbabwe, the Sudan and the Central African Republic.

Mr President, your organization's records have it on good authority that in 2013, the ANC considered various issues relating to international work. The records have clearly reaffirmed that all bona fide members are to be armed with the necessary understanding and appreciation of progressive internationalism, a cornerstone of the international character of our movement.

Mr President your organization the African National Congress acknowledges the role played by the Liberation Committee of the OAU in liberating Namibia under SWAPO, Angola under MPLA, Mozambique under FRELIMO, Zimba-

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bwe under the leadership of ZANU-PF and South Africa under the leadership of the ANC, as well as other countries in our region and across the continent. It is a patriotic duty a humane revolutionary gesture and act to continue harnessing these relations that have existed for quite a protracted period.

The deepening of understanding of the strategy and tactics in the context of internationalism and the global balance of forces helps to sharpen the resolve of what is to be done amongst the cadres of your movement.

During some of these historic engagements, your organization never shied away from calling for the implementation of the UN Resolution 1495 of 2003 to have the Saharawi people call a referendum to determine their destiny. This is in recognition of the struggle of the people of Western Sahara for independence from Morocco, which is occupying the land of the people of Saharaw as a colonial power.

Mr President, the struggles of the peoples of Saharawi came into sharp focus

following the election of the Morocco to chair the Congress of United Cities and Local Government (UCLG) that was held in Durban about a week ago. The longstanding principled position of the ANC with regards to Morocco and its illegal occupation of the Western Sahara, as well as our support for the Polisario Front is well established. The 54th National Conference International Relations Resolution No. 27 also condemned Morocco for having withdrawn from the UN-led peace process and supports the efforts to bring both parties back to the negotiating table.

Mr President, this principled position of your organisation remains firmly in place and is unchanged. The history of our great organisation puts the added responsibility on the Peoples movement – leader of society – to ensure that ANC resolutions take precedence over individual pursuits and ensure that they are implemented to the benefit of our partners, on the continent and abroad. ***The struggle of the people of Western Sahara is our own struggle!*** ■

Yours sincerely

Pule Mabe

National Spokesperson
Head of the Department of Information
and Publicity

* The **Frontline States** were Angola, Botswana, Lesotho, Mozambique, Swaziland, Tanzania, Zambia and, from 1980, Zimbabwe. They were formed in 1970 to co-ordinate their responses to apartheid and formulate a uniform policy towards apartheid government and the liberation movement.



The ANC and the International Balance of Forces

By Thato wa Magogodi

THE POLITICAL EXERCISE of crafting a Strategy and Tactics (S&T) Document for the African National Congress (ANC) has always been understood by its revolutionary ideologues as both a political binocular and a change tool that defines “the broad objectives of the struggle, and the kind of society we seek to create” (ANC STRATEGY & TACTICS 2002). As a matter of necessity, this ongoing activity has to encapsulate understanding the forces that are key social agents of that struggle and those that will try and prevent them from succeeding at any given point in history.

Furthermore, this must include an alignment and configuration of these forces depicted in the kind of power they have in society to either fast-track or derail the success of the struggle. It is against this background that the ANC has always armed itself with the relevant tools of analysis to read this environment under the spectacles of what is called the balance of forces. These tools must of necessity read the environment both domestically and internationally. This is so as to know how to process the struggle both in terms of immediate and long term tasks, guided by the type of society that this movement is striving to create. It is for this reason that the exercise of reading the balance of forces correctly in an ever-changing environment as part of the S&T document is sacrosanct.

Reading these balance of forces correctly, has always given the ANC an upper-hand above other liberation movements in the past. It is because the ANC has always known when and how to act under different conditions of struggle with necessary revolutionary timing. Other liberation movements have either suffered from

being dismissed by history as adventurist because they applied certain tactics too early, or as opportunist because they applied those tactics too late without a clear strategy.

If we study the evolution of the S&T tomes of the movement hitherto, from Morogoro to Nasrec, we will appreciate that in the third conference ever to discuss this document which was at the Durban Conference, a controversial debate on the international balance of forces arose. The significance of this conference in the history of the movement is that it was the last conference of the ANC before the democratic breakthrough and the first inside the country after its unbanning. In the aftermath of this conference, there was a school of thought that contended that the international balance of forces was not adequately discussed. This was because the document did not sufficiently appreciate the shift of polarity, from a bi-polar to a unipolar world due to the collapse of the Soviet Union and the emergence of the US as a hegemon.

History is repeating itself regarding the debate on the conclusion of the analysis on the international balance of forces from Nasrec. As a historic recurrence, this time around, the international balance of forces analysis does not appreciate the shift of power from one pole to many other poles with the dwindling hegemony of the US. On the contrary, the analysis has produced a shift to a ‘denialist model’, of primary unipolarity and secondary multipolarity.

This piece is therefore a contribution to the revision of our S&T Document in the run up towards the next policy conference, challenging the correctness of our

reading of the international balance of forces in particular. It specifically lifts the debate of polarity and hegemony in the international balance of forces as captured in the recent S&T Document that was adopted at the 54th National Conference in Nasrec.

Under the topic “**Assessing the Global Balance of Forces**” it was wrongly resolved that “*The world, currently, is characterized by primary unipolarity and secondary multipolarity*” (ANC STRATEGY & TACTICS 2017). The key motivation for the reading of the global balance of forces this way is that on the one hand Capitalism is the dominant social system with negligible variants. Furthermore, that the countries propagating an alternative system are involved in a web of mutual dependence on Capitalism. Secondly, that the US has uncontested military dominance, all of which crafts the basis to characterize the world as primarily unipolar.

On the other hand, the motivation is that there are other new and emerging points of growth that are beginning to hold their own by distributing substantive global power but not enough to depose the US as a sole superpower. Similar power is also being distributed into the multilateral system through regional blocks or unions serving only as a limited counterweight to US dominance, all of which crafts the basis to characterize the world as secondarily multipolar.

Looking at the four pillars of global state power, this piece will also unpack the role and nature of power in international relations. This is because this is a topic which a lot of political ideologues have not sufficiently invested in but comment on with

VIEWPOINT



unfortunate ignorance. David Baldwin says *"there is widespread consensus among international relations scholars on both the necessity of addressing the role of power in international interactions and the unsatisfactory state of knowledge about this topic"* (D.A Baldwin; Handbook of International Relations, Pg 273 ; 2013).

This is an important debate for any liberation movement, as it invokes a scientific environmental scan. Politico-economic environmental scanning is the process of gathering consequential information that will affect an organisation and its objectives as a function of internal and external factors or dynamics. In this regard, we focus on the external factors, noting that the internal factors have been sufficiently debated and relatively understood in the ANC of today. In this regard, our angle of externality is specifically couched on the international balance of forces as our area of examination. At all material times, the ANC has to understand how power is distributed internationally, and how it must relate to it without taking its eyes off the historic mission.

Our simple understanding of the concept of hegemony or preponderance is that it is a state of affairs where a single power has overwhelming influence over others. If this simple understanding is extended to the terrain of inter-state power, it will have to grapple with the four key pillars of global state power. These are namely economic, political or ideological, military and cultural power. If a state among many has dominance in three or all of these four ingredients of power concurrently, it is likely to become a superpower. If there is no other superpower that contests this strength, it is likely to become a hegemonic or preponderant state. In balance of forces terms, this hegemonic state of affairs assumes the character of a unipolar world. This was the case after the Soviet Union collapsed in the early 1990's when the US was the most dominant in the four ingredients of power. It's a situation which led the likes of Francis Fukuyama and other parochial scholars to conclude that we had reached the end of history, and that this US hegemony will never be disrupted in these four pillars of global power.

Treating the subject of the weakness of strong states towards the end of the

At all material times, the ANC has to understand how power is distributed internationally, and how it must relate to it without taking its eyes off the historic mission.

1980's, Fukuyama once argued that the other strong states which posed a threat to US dominance were collapsing because they were no longer appealing to their citizens ideologically. As he had put it *"the critical weakness that eventually toppled these strong states was in the last analysis a failure of legitimacy – that is, a crisis on the level of ideas"* (F. Fukuyama, The End of History; Pg 15; 1989). The essence of his argument is that countries like Russia as a leader of the Soviet Union had lost the battle to contest US dominance because their socialist ideas were no longer seen as attractive by the citizenry in the broader Soviet Union and the world at large, which forced Gorbachev to come with his Perestroika and Glasnost Openness Policies, leading to a change of ideological outlook in governance. This is Fukuyama's main argument, which he eventually realized was analytically judicious.

The fall of the Soviet Union, in retrospect, for everyone who believed otherwise, was not a death of the popularity or legitimacy of socialist ideas in the world. It was just a disruption of an ideological block. Besides Russia, countries like South Korea, Nepal, Nicaragua, Cuba and China still consider themselves as Socialist in orientation despite their survival in a Capitalism mode of production. Even though they are involved in a web of mutual dependence with Capitalism as our S&T argues, our theory of revolution teaches us that Socialism is just but a deliberate period of transition from Capitalism to Communism. Furthermore, the fact that a lot of governments have not pronounced

that they are socialist has no bearing on the class reality that the majority of the ordinary citizens of the world who are trapped in poverty because of Capitalism have now lost faith in it ideologically and are hoping for alternative paths of development.

From a class perspective, the Italian Marxist, Antonio Gramsci crafted the Marxist concept of hegemony to also explain the idea that the ruling class can manipulate the value system and mores of a society, so that their view becomes or looks like the world view. This manipulation was taken further to denote the politico-military dominance of certain states over others. This is the cardinal point that a younger Fukuyama in 1989 failed to observe and therefore erroneously exaggerated the longevity of US dominance. This is the very point the S&T must never miss in its modeling of the current international balance of forces.

Unlike many who ponder over these complex questions in abstraction, Gramsci is believable because he was both an ideologue and an activist at the same time. He was able to combine theory and practice to actualize what he wrote. He did this because he believed the proletariat needed organic intellectuals who emerged from their ranks, understood their issues conceptually and advanced them with a semblance of revolutionary passion and practical method. He wanted to be an example of these organic intellectuals. So when he crafted the concept of hegemony, amongst others, he was creating theory for the purpose of practice, not theory for the sake of it. Now if we use hegemony to analyze the world we must use it to guide action. If we say that the US is the current superpower (and every other pole of power is secondary) through the *"primary unipolar-secondary multipolar analysis"* of our S & T document, we must know that we are guiding or misguiding action for the entire liberation movement in pursuit of its historic mission. The direction we take in action must take into account all the hard facts but guided by revolutionary ideology.

For an entire liberation movement which has always prided itself with the correct reading of the balance of forces in an ever-changing environment, this conclusion of primary unipolarity and secondary

multipolarity is an unfortunate capitulation to parochial liberal theories which history have proven wrong. When all is said and done, this conclusion means we are falling into the trap of the end of history theory which suggests that Liberalism and Capitalism have won, and therefore they have no potential of being replaced by a more progressive mode of production or outlook in the socio-political system of human development.

To consult the classics, it is perhaps necessary to go back to the outline of the 1845 German Ideology tome, specifically in the **Eleventh Theses on Feuerbach** in which Karl Marx reminds us that *"Philosophers have hitherto only interpreted the world in various ways, the point however is to change it"*. In this outline, Marx is trying to break away from abstract theory into radical historicism, which was the basis for crafting his theory of historical materialism. What is important to lift from this citation is that our analysis of international balance of forces must be realistically consistent with how we want to influence the development of history and force it to move towards the embetterment of human life in general within the vision of creating a better World and a better Africa in particular. A revolutionary liberation movement such as the ANC must never accept the hegemony of liberal preponderance as a reality that cannot be altered by exaggerating its influence as we do in the *'primary uni-polarity and secondary multi-polarity model'*.

The cardinal point of reality is that the world cannot be both unipolar and multipolar at the same time because these two cannot co-exist. History teaches us that the world can either only be unipolar, bipolar or multi-polar and not two of these at the same time. This *"primary and secondary polarity concept"* in hegemony is an ahistorical fallacy which will blind any scientific reading of the global balance of forces in an ever-changing environment of global affairs. The world we know has only experienced, uni-polarity, bi-polarity and multi-polarity all existing on their own. If these polarity models are to co-exist evidence must be provided beyond reasonable doubt, from the benefit of history, the spectacles of the current situation and the science of futuristic projection.

The world we live in today by its nature and content is indeed multi-polar given



Our National Policy Conference, held in the run-up to the National Conference sets the tone for policy discussion and adoption.

the different pockets of power distribution that exist. Besides the US, China and Russia are powers on their own which have surpassed the US on some of the four pillars of global state hegemony. Multi-lateral Institutions, Multi-National Co-operations which influence the policies of other governments are also global pockets of power on their own that qualitatively contest US hegemony.

Looking firstly at economic hegemony: Donald Trump, whose country the power of primary uni-polarity is attributed to, is just but a noisy and empty shark with big teeth that has the airtime through US controlled international media to make empty noise, but all of us know that compared to others global players like Xi Jinping who is a small-looking cone snail with more dangerous harpoon like teeth can excrete a deadly venom called political conotoxin. This toxin can stop nerve cells from communicating with one another and thereby causing deadly paralysis, which is what is proverbially happening in the US-China Trade War as an example in modern history. In this case, the skin of the US economy has been bitten by the cone snail in China and it is reaching a point paralysis. The US economy is the most indebted economy and most of this debt is owed to China and Japan which is more than one-third of its foreign holdings. In 2011 the US debt to China was 9.1% which amounts to \$1.3 Trillion, but has only been negligibly reduced to 5% which is still huge in economic terms. According to Wikipedia in 2018 China owned \$1.18 Trillion of US debt which makes its eco-

nomically hold on the US more venomous. To illustrate the point further, there are more wealthy people in China than there are in the US, put in dollar-millionaire-terms there are more millionaires in China than there are in the US as we speak.

Looking at political or ideological hegemony: Firstly it is becoming clear that the US influence in multilateral institutions is politically dwindling. The recent most glaring case is when the World Trade Organisation ruled against the US in its tariff dispute with China. The US could not use its historic global political influence to sway the direction of the case. Secondly, as one of the great powers in the world today, Russia convened the most successful Summit between a single North Power and African countries collectively in recent history. This was not just based on the mutual economic interests of all parties, but it was fortified by ideological convergence because Russia is currently generally regarded as a progressive country in global affairs as opposed to the US which is seen as right-wing and anti-African in interest. Based on these cases alone it is not necessary to mention that in the UN the US shares power with other members of the Security Council which are treating it with suspicion given the schizophrenic foreign policy choices of the Trump administration as a result of losing political influence in the world.

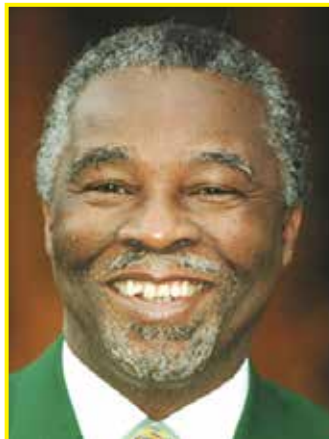
Looking at military hegemony: The test of military superiority rests on four key issues which are namely military intelligence, numbers in the land and air forc-

es, the superiority of military technology and military equipment. Whilst we admit that the US has the most powerful Defense Force because of its investment in military technology, equipment and size of the budget we must note that it is not invincible because, amongst others, of the porousness of its military intelligence which was exposed by 9/11 and continues to be exposed hitherto.

Secondly, The People's Liberation Army Ground Force of China has the world largest army with more than 1.6 Million troops giving China an added advantage in the number science of warfare. The US in this regard is number three trailing behind India (with less than 1.5 million reserve and active duty troops put together). China as a technology hub in the world is also using this endowment to advance its army for conventional war purposes limiting the superiority of the US army.

Looking at cultural hegemony: In the late 1980s and early 1990's there is no doubt that the US was culturally hegemonic. As an example, the US music industry produced one of the biggest Multiple Grammy Award Winners who was the first and only artist to have five of his solo albums sell over 20 million copies worldwide according to Wikipedia, in the huge name that Michael Jackson was. In the television industry it housed Hollywood, which then and hitherto has the biggest television industry in the world. These two industries, amongst others, connived to give the US mammoth cultural hegemony in the world in terms of global influence in soft-power in the period under discussion. All other continents beyond the Americas saw young people hero-worshipping US stars like Michael Jackson to a point colossal assimilation.

However, when we study the world today, the US cultural hegemony has begun to melt. For instance in the African continent, the ascendance of Presidents like Thabo Mbeki brought back the discourse of the African Renaissance which con-



I am an African. I owe my being to the hills and the valleys, the mountains and the glades, the rivers, the deserts, the trees, the flowers, the seas and the ever-changing seasons that define the face of our native land.



fronted the cultural identity crisis of the African child to a point on reversing the damage. For instance, in South Africa social icons like Bob Mabena wanted to be called Kgomo Mabe and no longer Bob Mabena. Political icons like Sam Shilowa now wanted to be called Mbazima Shilowa which trend symbolically influenced African consciousness as juxtaposed to Americanism and Euro-centrism. Among many such cultural shift engaging efforts in more recent history, the fallist student movement has also called for the Africanisation of Curriculum in tertiary education.

Both the African and Asian continents now have a huge television and music industry that challenges American cultural hegemony. Big music stars like Beyonce are seen coming to Africa to copy the sounds and dance moves like Pantsula Dance which is a sign of cross-pollination of ideas instead of assimilation. The African television industry has grown with the rise of Nollywood and Joziwood, with India in Asia also making its global mark through Bollywood. Vietnam in Asia is able to produce international music stars like Suboi with more than 106-thousand subscribers from all over the world. South Africa in Africa has internationally acclaimed music DJs like Black Coffee who scooped a BET Award in 2016 for the best international act. All of this means the influence of television and music is no longer only coming from the US alone. This cultural reverberation of Africanism and Asianism has begun to fortify alternative belief systems and introduce a significant cultural paradigm shift that has reduced American cultural hegemony.

Based on the above we can safely conclude that the world is actually multipolar,

as the four pillars of its power have been taken away from the US as disrupted by time and space. Where the world stands today, power is distributed sufficiently in different pockets. These range from the US, other countries like China and Russia, multilateral institu-

tions and multi-national co-operations. In the multilateral arena specifically, beyond the old blocks, the emergence of BRICS serves to shift power from historic pockets giving its member countries a platform to craft their development without the support of the US or the erstwhile all-powerful Bretton Woods institutions.

If the US is not preponderant or hegemonic in three of the four key ingredients of power it cannot be the sole dominant superpower at this current conjuncture of history, its location in the distribution of power cannot be scientifically described as primary unipolarity, rendering the other poles of power as secondary. In other words, the US is significantly contested in all four fronts of power pockets except in military power although new military powers are beginning to emerge like China and India with Russia also being an alternative military power.

We must also pre-empt those who may want to abuse the concept of the unity and the struggle of opposites to justify this view (of primary unipolarity and secondary multipolarity) which is a central category in the superior ideological notion of dialectical materialism in Marxism, by firstly clarifying that unipolarity and multipolarity are not necessarily diametric opposites. The point is that these stations (unipolarity as juxtaposed to multipolarity) are not politically situated on the further side of each other when politically analysed from a specified conceptual viewpoint. Put differently they are not the reverse image of each other and therefore to employ them as dialectical opposites is disingenuous to justify their co-existence.

Thato wa Magogodi is the Former Head of Political Education, ANC North West.



Did the ANC Western Cape

Squander the Ramaphosa dividend

By Yonela Diko

THE POST-ELECTION analysis of the Western Cape results reflected an interesting phenomenon. In almost every voting station, the percentage of people who voted for the ANC in the national ballot was higher than the percentage vote in the provincial ballot. This effectively means people split their vote, choosing the ANC to lead national government and rejecting the ANC as a possible government for the Western Cape Province.

The explanation for this phenomenon was said to be the Ramaphosa effect. Western Cape voters trusted President Cyril Ramaphosa to lead the country for the next 5 years but did not share the same enthusiasm about the ANC in the Western Cape. This means the ANC in the Western Cape could not enjoy the spill-over benefits of a possible Ramaphosa Presidency. While the Ramaphosa effect stopped the bleeding of the ANC at a national level, ANC in the Western Cape sunk even deeper, effectively squandering the Ramaphosa dividend, so that as the ANC regained its lost trust since the local government elections in 2016, ANC in the Western Cape did not enjoy such restoration of trust.

Historically, research has always shown that ANC Western Cape fortunes or misfortunes are singularly tied to the public perception of the ANC Nationally, so that as the ANC vote of confidence nationally rose and fell, so did the confidence in the ANC Western Cape. Since 1994, as confidence of ANC's ability to govern nationally became more established, Western Cape voters gradually grew their confi-

dence on the ANC in the Western Cape so that by 2004, the ANC had increased its provincial vote by 12%, from 33% in 1994 to 45% in 2004, enough for ANC Western Cape to form a coalition government in the Province.

In 2008, a year after President Zuma was elected as President of the ANC in that watershed National Conference in Polokwane, Limpopo, Afrobarometer conducted a research on what the Western Cape voter thought of the newly elected ANC President and likely President of the country in a year's time. 87% of the Western Cape voter said Jacob Zuma could not be trusted and or could not be trusted all the time. A year later, at the 2009 national and provincial elections, ANC Western Cape moved from 45% in 2004 to 31% in 2009, a whopping 14% drop.

The current phenomena therefore, of an inverse relationship between an ANC that is improving nationally and an ANC that is deteriorating Provincially is very curious and effectively speaks of an ANC Western Cape that stand apart as unworthy to even be seen as part of a singular unit with the ANC nationally, much less to be seen by the residents as worthy of their vote. It is one thing to lose confidence in the eyes of pundits and opinion makers, it is quite another to lose confidence of the ordinary citizens who are only interested in their material conditions of life and less interested in the political theatre of the day.

The inability of the citizens to see an ANC in government as the hope for a better life, particularly the poor, even as their

lives have remained unchanged over the last 10 years under the DA speaks to ANC in the Province that does not even exist in the minds of the people. How did the ANC continue to lose confidence of the voter even when it was no longer in government?

Like all parties who lose power and see their slice of the pie shrink, the internal squabbles are to be expected. Although the internal squabbles of the ANC are great fodder for the columnists and commentary club, ordinary people do not seem to share the enthusiasm and luxury of seating on the couch and watching the elite class fighting over positions and state largess. Ordinary people have their own concerns, told in every special assignment and every news headline. In every research conducted since 1994, residents concerns have remained relatively the same, making them wonder why their issues don't seem to matter as politics continue to metastasize into a litany of insults and schoolyard battles.

In 1994, a research done by the Institute for Multiparty democracy said 53% of the Western Cape voter put crime as their biggest decider in how they voted. While the National Party took advantage of such research by presenting ANC as a violent party that would bring violence in the province, ANC seemed incapable of shaking off the violence tag, especially with daily township violence playing on TV screens and front-page newspapers. Townships were always seen as ANC strongholds. The message was that if the ANC cannot protect residents in areas where they are effectively in charge, what



will happen if they govern the entire province. That was National Party message of 1994.

Prolific writer, Mandla Langa, in his book with Madiba called 'Dare not linger', points out that part of the plan of the NP was to ensure that there was continued violence in ANC strongholds of townships post 1990, so that people began to question ANC's capacity to protect its own people. In this, it's clear that the NP succeeded in painting the ANC as the source of violence in Western Cape's townships and Cape Flats.

The NP also overplayed the conspiracy about Communists and their association with ANC. At that time internationally, communists were suffering existential challenges and reputational collapse after the fall of the Berlin Wall and Soviet Union. The NP took the Western Cape with a majority of 53% in the 1994 elections.

In 2019, ANC is still the dominant party in Western Cape townships and violence has gotten even worse, and with freedom of movement, Statistics SA now says a Western Cape resident is most likely to be attacked in their home than anywhere else in the country. Twenty years later, the number one concern of a Western Cape voter is still crime and ANC areas are still engulfed with crime. Inevitably, and ANC that is supported predominantly by a black majority, with the face of crime

made black, poor, it's easy to see an ANC government in the province through the eye of violence, chaos, lawlessness and the ever present fear of black.

Crime in the Western Cape has become a potent tool to drive other messages and give them salience. If Africans are portrayed as violent, poor, lawless, there is no stereotype that cannot be believed about them to other races. If coloureds are portrayed as gangsters, drug dealers and drug addicts, violent and lawless, there is again no stereotype that cannot be believed about them.

In this mess, this leaves white people, with their leafy suburbs and neighbourhood watches the only sane and stable people in the province. Who would not want to give them the power to govern; such fine people?

Crime is a source of all social problems in the Western Cape and a party that can solve the problem of crime would make it impossible to sustain stereotypes about any race or creed. Black and coloured people who escape the so-called black and coloured neighbourhoods start identifying with their new sane and stable neighbourhoods, because finally they are in an environment that allows them to be themselves, fine and sane people like the white folks. Unfortunately, instead of these black people seeing their new found freedom as natural, they start see-

“

The DA Western Cape government that has no appetite for solving crime in townships.

If the ANC is to win the Western Cape, it must focus all its energies on solving the crime question in its base.

”

ing something wrong with people from whence they came. This is again a deliberate effort from those who would benefit from such enduring suspicions.

It is in the interest of the Democratic Alliance for violence to continue in townships and Cape Flats and there is nothing that moves them more than when violence spills over into the suburbs. Crime in these neighbourhoods justifies DAs lack of service delivery, poor housing, no roads, no streets lights, no cameras, no weapons seizures; because if these neighbourhoods would also stabilise and be sane, and even prosper, there would be no reason why any of the people who live in these spaces would not also govern the province. Fine and sane people.

If the ANC is to win the Western Cape, it must focus all its energies on solving the crime question in its base. Unabated crime does more than just expose a DA government that has no appetite for solving crime in townships, something we must always highlight as ANC. Crime and violence pit these neighbourhoods that are experiencing the most crime against one another, not only blaming one another but they have long viewed one another less human and unworthy of each other's respect, and dignity, and power.

If our people don't see one another as worthy of respect and power, they will struggle to unite and govern this province.



A Winter's Night at the Hristo Botev Hall

By Saul Pelle

WHEN BULGARIA extended her hand to me, I embraced and fed on the whole arm. I stayed longer than most of my compatriots. In the process I plunged myself in books. I read and studied extensively while enjoying the hospitality of some of the most interesting people I have ever had the honour to meet. Dimiter Stoikov, otherwise known as Mitko the Mathematician would be stuttering all over the show, and would dutifully relate the story of the 'Big Chief' to his fellow Bulgarians. How they would laugh, not realising that this yarn has crossed seas and mountains and valleys to reach Bulgaria. Then there were Krasi, Irina, Ilko, Yavor, Yaneva and Tsacheva...

I worked at the External Service of Radio Sofia from 1980 while still a first-year journalism student at Sofia University, with loving souls like Asya Chendova, Angel Nedyalkov and my friend and class mate Ivailo Malinov. Like most students, I drank Bulgarian yoghurt (Kiselo Mlyako) and wine and a Balkans fruit brandy called Rakiya, in that order. During summer holidays I would work for a month or so at a brewery plant (Pivovaren Zavod) just outside Sofia, liberating a bottle or so now and then. However, that was not to be the case with my stint at the steel factory "Kremikovtsi". I came to understand the true meaning of the

word "batchka" (earning your bread through the sweat of your brow). There I worked and really sweat, and uttering profanities at every given opportunity. Yes, I was once a Christian.

I had the rare opportunity of travelling the length and breadth of Bulgaria—from Sofia to Plovdiv and Varna and Bourgas; from Tolbukhin to Archar and Pleven; from Veliko Turnovo to small Kriva Bara, from Vratsa to Koprivtchitsa. Those were the days...

Winters! I hated Bulgarian winters with a passion. It was not because I was used to the searing heat or the humidity of Dar es Salaam or Luanda. It was not the garlic smell that populated the busses to and from school early in the mornings. Someone would be chewing away the last piece of the deadly stuff and the smell would hit you straight in the nostrils. No, it was when the snow had piled, layer upon layer, and a fiendish wind from Mount Vitosha would howl at you to school and back. It was when the biting cold would nibble at your toes and feet, not caring whether you had woolen socks or heavy boots on. Added to that, you would stumble and fall and your books and tissue paper would scatter everywhere. And the laughter would be subdued – which is rather more painful than when you are greeted with hearty guffaws from those whose appetite for laughter is insatiable.

Now that I have painted somewhat of a picture, here begins my story. A somewhat 'chilling' incident took place in Dervenitsa – a student town during those days.

A group of South African students had earlier left for Tanzania's Solomon Mahlangu Freedom College (named after Solomon Mahlangu, an Umkhonto we Sizwe freedom fighter hanged by the apartheid regime in 1979) for a visit during the summer holidays. We, as the South African Students Union (Snuki Zikalala was its President then), had implored them to bring along, if possible, traditional costumes for our dancing ensemble.

And sure enough, they brought along the whole accouterments – three African drums and traditional apparel complete with head gear and hand bands – the works. We were then preparing to participate in the Hristo Botev International Student's Cultural Festival.

After a few weeks of rehearsals, we were ready for the great day. Different students' cultural groups were also to participate in this festival, to be held at the Hristo Botev Hall – Palestinians, Angolans, our neighbours the Namibians with golden haunting voices, Portuguese, Bulgarians, Vietnamese, Laotians, Greeks, Chileans, Iraqis,

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Stay With Me

Tribute to Comrade Sandile Dikeni

Moferefere Lekorotsoana

THE 1980's were as exciting as they were dangerous. On the one hand, Die Groot Krokodiel and his junta were fashioning their WHAM strategies in their great scheme of a Total Onslaught to exert racist minority rule over the majority. On the other side, the fires of liberation stood burning in the streets and halls through theatre and poetry in resilient defiance. And the halls of Bush University – the University of the Western Cape (UWC) if you do not know, willed the young lions to,
*“throw that liquid of capitalist invention ...
 (and) throw before they know your intention,
 Just throw”.*

Damn, we would throw! Such that our arms would grow numb to the cry for Liberation Today, Education Tomorrow. These are the tumultuous times and words that earned comrade Sandile Dikeni his affectionate nickname, **“Guava Juice”**.

Poets, like the Biblical prophets and ancestral sages, reflect on and reflect their society. They can reinforce existing perceptions; and thus, appear in a similar manner to the royal praise singers whose task is merely to extol the virtues of the royal household. Other times they sound like a voice in a wilderness. They comment on their lived experiences and on the historical realities of their societies. In carrying out this function, they incur scorn or praise from their audience.

Sandile Dikeni ultimately made a choice, to incur the wrath of the racist apartheid system. He bore the full brunt of the violence of apartheid on his person and on those closest to him. His father was falsely accused, and his grandma was set alight for expressing a different view. These are the melancholic Dikeni family tales I also heard from his brother, Leslie.

We often confine the violence of apartheid, meted on each black person, to only those moments of suffering under torture inside the prisons or when we were interrogated just before being detained. Yet, there are other kinds of violence whose legacy remain, as Sandile's voice beams:

*“it begins with a laugh
 but it's hard like steel”*

...
“night comes, sweating”
 ...
“dark and black as the soot from the coal mines of Newcastle”
 ...
*“we sing until death comes
 and sing in our breath”.*

The irony of this is that Sandile wrote these words for his brother who died from tuberculosis (TB), a scourge that accounts for many black lives in our country – then and now; and he too succumbed to its fatal effect. Professor Keorapetse Kgositsile, in reference to Alex La Guma, said that when La Guma wrote of the absence of water, and the wanton violence of racism, he sought to tell of a society where such ills would not exist. Herein lies our lesson from the poet.

Yet, as the innermost soul of the poet constantly pesters him, he commands louder with the last breath left to him:

*“I shall rise like the sun
 to caress your broken souls
 shattered by bullets and bomb”.*

These are the poetic telegraphs of hope for a new beginning, as we struggle with the present that is not the utopia we extolled in our youth.

I suppose that, when you are born in die Karoo, coupled with growing up under the most draconian system, you either give chance to hope or despair. The nature of the environment forces you to develop a resilience against the odds, natural or otherwise, around. It is hard to sometimes tell if the path one embarks upon is imposed or chosen. The Karoo's winters, on the one hand, are harsh and the summers, on the other, are scorching. The rains, often time, take so long to come. When they finally do come, they are like many moons of waiting for a lover whose postcard was read and kept securely for memory's sake.

The Karoo is, often enough, unforgiving in its relentless dishing out of misery. A mere summer walk on the dry dead ground, would elicit a plentiful of images that could cause you to think

TRIBUTE



that you are bewitched. It can be lonely and desolate. Thus, if Sandile Dikeni walked or ever felt alone – at any point, including in his writings; *hy is 'n mens van die Karoo, wat daar sit onder die boom voor die skade verskyn.*

So, I sip to you from my own **Juices van die Karoo:**

*make haste juice boy
the dust of your drought-stricken earth
comes to choke your emptied lungs*

*rise, rise to pick up the spear
shoot like the bushman's arrow
lest the mirage of the karoo heat deflects
your aim*

*when we must shake, shake
and shake from this capitalist intoxication*

*do the children know,
we petrol-bombed our way into this freedom?*

*their knowledge is synonymous with our forgetfulness
at dawn*

*perhaps, theirs is like your memory
since that fateful moment near Mangaung*

*poet hear me; hear me
"days like this are a system from hell
you need more than a poem
for a cure"*

a dirge from the ancestral voice of Kgosi

*so run poet, run fast
run faster before the hour of the witches
come*

*escape before they know your invention
but let the children know your intention
this way you can stay with me.*

Ulale ngoxolo Dikeni omhle. ■

Quotes for Sandile Dikeni's poems: **Gauva Juice; Track of Tracks and Spear.**

The last piece is mine, **Juices van die Karoo**, a dedication.

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A winter's night at the Hristo Botev Hall

Mongolians, Cubans, Argentinians, Congolese, Nigerians and many others.

When our turn came on the day, or to be exact, on the night of reckoning, we mounted the stage amid roars of applause. I mean, this was about the first time that the majority of the large audience had seen such a spectacle. Needless to say, it was winter and we were scantily clad. However, the stage was transformed into what Archbishop Tutu could readily call "*Technicolor*".

What the audience saw were shiny healthy black bodies, bare feet, thick black curly hair under colourful head gears, shiny spears and artful shields. The bodies from the waist down were held firmly by male skirts made out of cow hide (Amabeshu). The front parts of the costumes tended to be slightly shorter and cut into string like pieces of rawhide to allow ample space for the pulsating stomping of muscle-toned legs. A good sight for sore eyes. The rhythmic thumping of the drums, at times sounding as though the clouds were gnashing their robust teeth in preparation for a storm, was heard loud and clear even from outside the hall. The dancers, in two formations belted a traditional song to the rhythm of the powerful drums and their dancing blended with the set majestic melody.

Our ensemble was a formation of twelve dancers. The dancing warrior-swere Kalahari Masemola, Reggie Mhlango, Peige Boikanyo, Stanley Mgadi, Tiza Kotsoe, Francis Fra Maphisa, Mandla Sibeko, Chris Maputo Mandubu, Bra Mpho Keagile, Eddie Dlamini,

Mothupi Njo Malaka, Andile Chavdar Njobe, Ndumiso Ntshinga, Peter Lebello and Jacky Mahlangu. Bada Pharasi, Jimmy Mokgosi and I were charged with making the drums talk. Kalahari Masemola was the leader of our dance pack.

The hall was in a trance. For a few minutes there was complete silence, like one that reigns momentarily before a storm. The audience was electrified. But then after that brief trance all hell broke loose. The audience started dancing and clapping hands and ululating to the rhythm of African sounds. The mood was set for anebullient festival.

Not all were dancing though. The mischievous and highly curious were also to be found in the midst of our unpretentious audience.

It is said by those whose eyes are always on the lookout for a story, that at that time, some students, the peeping Toms, who were hopelessly trying to ascertain, whether our dancers had any stitch of underwear on, especially when the dancers raised their feet high above their heads.

Suffice to say, that to this day, as if they were made to take the "*Scottish oath*", members of the dance group have flatly refused to confirm or deny that, in the middle of the Bulgarian winter, our dancers were wrapped only in "*Amabeshu*" and nothing else.

Indeed, this was the hottest winter night anyone had experienced in Hristo Botev Hall. ■

IN THE SPOTLIGHT: Mavivi Manzini

Q & A

By Bongiwe Msweli
DIP Intern

1. What is the greatest quality that your disability has brought out in you?

My disability has proved or highlighted that you can be disabled but that does not mean you cannot do anything; you are abled in a different way. Unlike other disabled people, I grew up with this disability, it arose from polio which I had contracted when I was 2 years old. So, it was easier for me to accept because it has always been a part of me, unlike other people who became disabled at a later stage and having to adjust to it.

2. What did you struggle the most with regards to your disability?

I couldn't run as fast as other kids but I could play and participate in most of the games, I could walk but I was walking with a limp, my feet were not that strong. People used to say I must not get injured, once I do I won't be able to walk again and that used to scare me. But it never stopped me from playing with other kids.

3. What is the most memorable highlight of your political career?

My highlight was participating in the constitution making process for the ANC delegation headed by President Cyril Ramaphosa, which began in 1992. I was representing the Women's League together with Cde Baleka Mbethe. Thereafter I wanted to leave Parliament because I had felt like I have done my job.

4. If you could improve or change one thing about the disabled community what would it be?

One of the things is stigma, education for the family, society and the government. I personally feel that welfare is not the correct approach of solving the problem. They should not be regarded as people



Comrade Mavivi Myakayaka-Manzini was born in Alexander Township. Her journey in politics began when she got involved in the South African Student's Movement (SASM) in 1973 and later South African Students Organisation in Turfloop University. Mavivi left the country in 1975 to work underground for the African National Congress (ANC) in Swaziland. She later went to Botswana to do her second year in social work. She continued her studies in Zambia and got her BA degree. She subsequently studied for her M.Ed in The Hague, Netherlands. Mavivi became leader of the ANC Women's League (ANCWL) in Johannesburg from 1990 to 1992. She was elected ANC Member of Parliament and serve until 1999. She then she left to work in the International Relations Department in Chief Albert Luthuli House. Mavivi was our High Commissioner in Namibia from April 2012 to December 2017.

who need welfare. They should be mainstreamed in our education and those who cannot cope should be channelled to special schools with certain skills so that they can be able to do things on their own.

The other is that government needs to look into the issue of infrastructure. Most of the buildings and roads are not user friendly to people in wheelchairs and those that are blind, particularly the ones who cannot read except in Braille.

Also, parents that hide their children with disability. I remember when I was growing up, we later found out that there was a child that lived in one of the house in the same street as us that was disabled. He was always locked inside the house. As a result, he was very light complexioned, he couldn't even walk. So, we need to educate the parents and remove the stigma and deal with it as a community.

5. What has politics taught you and what do you appreciate the most about the journey?

Through politics I was able to do everything; I joined everything and participated in all of the activities of our liberation movement. Personally, I feel like we haven't completely decolonised our country. The struggle still continues. The ANC should not be called a party but a liberation movement. As a country we are still fighting for gender equality, economic growth and for our people to participate fully and effectively in our economy, including the unity of our country.

6. How are you planning on making your experience as a disabled person beneficial to disabled people and society as a whole?

I would like to use my experience as a person who grew up with disability to advocate that there is nothing that is impossible in this world. I obtained my Masters at the age of 30 years, so anything is possible. I was able to go to a mainstream school. I was able to participate in the liberation struggle, being in the leadership of both the ANC and the ANC Women's League, I represented the country in the United Nations, as an ambassador in Namibia and I'm still participating in whatever I'm asked to do or invited to do. I want

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THIS WEEK IN HISTORY



23–29 November 2019

Sources: : SA History Online (www.sahistory.org.za)

23 November 1887

Founder of ESKOM and ISCOR born

Hendrik Johannes van der Bijl, an industrialist who founded ESKOM (1923) and later ISCOR was born on 23 November 1887 in Pretoria. His father was merchant and a property investor who associated with the likes of Louis Botha and Jan Smuts. Van der Bijl studied physics in Germany where he obtained a Masters of Arts and Doctor of Philosophy degree at the University of Leipzig, after which he returned to South Africa in 1920. He founded the Electricity Supply Commission (Eskom) in 1923, providing inexpensive power to South Africa. Van der Bijl then set his sights on the steel industry and established the South African Steel and Iron Corporation (Iskor). Van der Bijl died in 1948 and is regarded as one of the greatest South Africans for his contribution to the country's industrialisation.

23 November 1973

Arab states agreed on Oil Embargo against apartheid South Africa



A summit of Arab countries adopted an oil embargo against apartheid South Africa. Other Arab countries, like Kuwait, already since 1962 refused to sell oil to South Africa.

23 November 2005

Ellen Johnson Sirleaf elected as first female president in Africa



After a closely contested elections in Liberia, Ellen Sirleaf Johnson, a former assistant minister of finance (1972-73) and finance minister (1980-1985) was announced as the winner of the Presidential elections. She was sworn in as President in January 2006, and served as President until 2017, when she stepped down at the end of her second term. President Johnson Sirleaf, along with Leymah Gbowee and Tawakkul Karman won the Nobel Peace prize in 2011.

24 November 1986

Barclays Bank announces its disinvestment from South Africa

Barclays Bank, announced that it was selling its remaining 40 per cent holding in its South African associate, Barclays National Bank Limited of South Africa. Sir Timothy Bevan, chairman of Barclays, admitted that while the decision to pull out of the South African market was a commercial one, the pressure exerted against the bank by anti-apartheid protesters had a detrimental effect on the bank's business in other areas. Student campaigns against Barclays Bank, initiated in the 1960s, were carried on year after year, especially at the beginning of every academic year, to persuade students not to open accounts with that bank.

25 November 1981

South African mercenaries involved in Seychelles coup

South African mercenaries, collaborating with Seychelles citizens, are involved in a failed coup attempt in the African island state of Seychelles on this day. Twenty-seven (27) of the 54 mercenaries par-

ticipating in the coup were members of the South Africa Defense Force.

26 November 1919

Corner stone of the Union Buildings laid

The Union Buildings is the seat of the South African government and is situated in the capital city, Pretoria, now known as Tshwane. It was designed by Sir Herbert Baker in 1908 and the building started in 1909. On 26 November, 1910, the corner-stone was laid, with completion intended for 1913. The construction of the Union Buildings took approximately 1265 artisans and laborers. Almost fourteen million bricks were used for the interior office walls. South African stone was used throughout the building, with most of the mountain stone quarried on the site.

26 November 1953

First woman to win Formula 1 racing born

Desiré Randall Wilson was born on 26 November 1953 in Brakpan. Wilson is a former racing driver who is one of only five women to have competed in Formula One. In 1980 she won the Formula One race at Brands Hatch in the British Aurora F1 series. The win made her the only woman to ever hold the Formula One title. Wilson also competed in CARTS and sports car racing. A book documenting her life as a racing driver titled 'Driven by Desire' has been published.

27 November 1929

Premier Winkie Direko born on this day



THIS WEEK IN HISTORY

Isabella Winkie Direko, former teacher, winner of the Bloemfontein of the Year Award in 1993, Premier of the Free State from 1999-2004 and a member of the National Council of Provinces (NCOP), was born in Botshabelo, Bloemfontein in South Africa. Direko served in numerous positions in the educational and development fields, including as President of the National Council of African Women, a member of the Council of Vista University and Chancellor of the Free State University. Direko also played a leading role in the Girl Guides Association of South Africa and was a council member of NICRO and the Child Welfare Organisation. In 2001, she obtained a M.Ed degree at the University of the Free State. Mam Direko passed on 17 February 2012 at the age of 83.

28 November 1987

South African Airways Boeing 747 crashes into the Indian Ocean



SAA flight 295, a Boeing 747 called Helderberg was en route from Taiwan to then Jan Smuts International airport (now OR Tambo International) in Johannesburg when it crashed. Reports indicated that the plane experienced a catastrophic fire in its cargo area and crashed in the Indian Ocean near the island of Mauritius, killing

all 159 passengers and crew aboard. The government appointed Judge Margo to investigate the causes of the crash, but no conclusions were reached as to the causes of the crash, especially since some of the air traffic control tapes of the incident were alleged to have gone missing. The Margo commission's inconclusive findings spurred many theories, the most persistent that the plane carried substances for the security forces (including mercury and other dangerous substances), which caused the fire that led to the crash. The matter also served before the Truth and Reconciliation Commission in 1996. A decade after the crash, it was discovered that apartheid South Africa's chief oil sanctions buster, who was also a director of the IDC, also perished on the flight.

INTERNATIONAL DAYS

Source: <https://www.un.org> and www.awarenessdays.com

25 November

International day for the Elimination of Violence against Women

Violence against women and girls is one of the most widespread, persistent and devastating human rights violations in our world today and remains largely unreported due to the impunity, silence, stigma and shame surrounding it. In general terms, it manifests itself in physical, sexual and psychological forms, which include: intimate partner violence (battering, psychological abuse, marital rape, femicide); sexual violence and harassment (rape, forced sexual acts, unwanted sexual advances, child sexual abuse, forced marriage, street harassment, stalking, cyber-harassment); human trafficking (slavery, sexual exploitation); as well as in female genital mutilation; and child marriage. The theme for 25 November 2019 as spearheaded by UN Women is **"Orange the World: Generation Equality Stands against Rape!"** It is also the first day of the 16 days of activism against gender based violence (25 November – 10 December).



the Palestinian People, all UN member states are encouraged to continue to give the widest support and publicity to the human rights of the Palestinian people and their right to self-determination in observance of the Day of Solidarity. This year's day of solidarity is particularly important, as the state of Israel continues to escalate violence against the people of Palestine, including children. The Palestinian representative to the UN on 12 November 2019 urged the UN Secretary General: "I write to urgently draw the international community's attention to Israel's escalation of military aggression against the Palestinian people under its occupation, particularly in the besieged Gaza Strip. This most recent unlawful military aggression risks the outbreak of another deadly and destructive cycle of violence, endangering the lives of millions of innocent civilians." The African Union has been consistent in its condemnation of Israel's aggression, and the Palestinian Authority are invited to address every Summit of the AU. There is a very strong lobby by Israel against this solidarity by the African continent, including application for membership of the AU.



International Day of Solidarity with the Palestinian People

29 November

International Day of Solidarity with the Palestinian People

The UN General Assembly in 1977 declared 29 November as the International Day of Solidarity with the Palestinian People. On that day, in 1947, the Assembly adopted the resolution on the partition of Palestine. On the International Day of Solidarity with

By Fébé Potgieter-Gqubule



Speaking of Empire and Resistance.

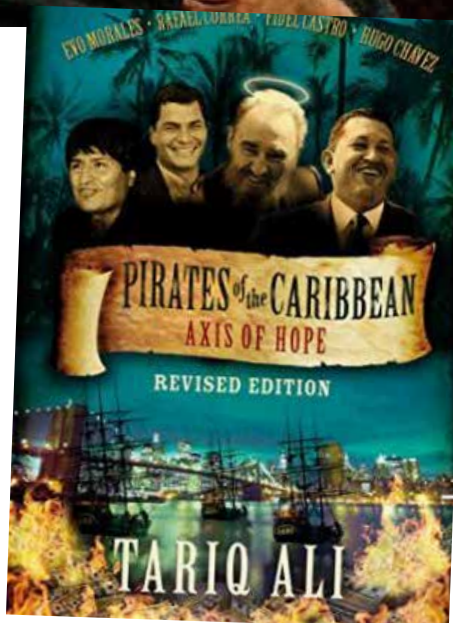
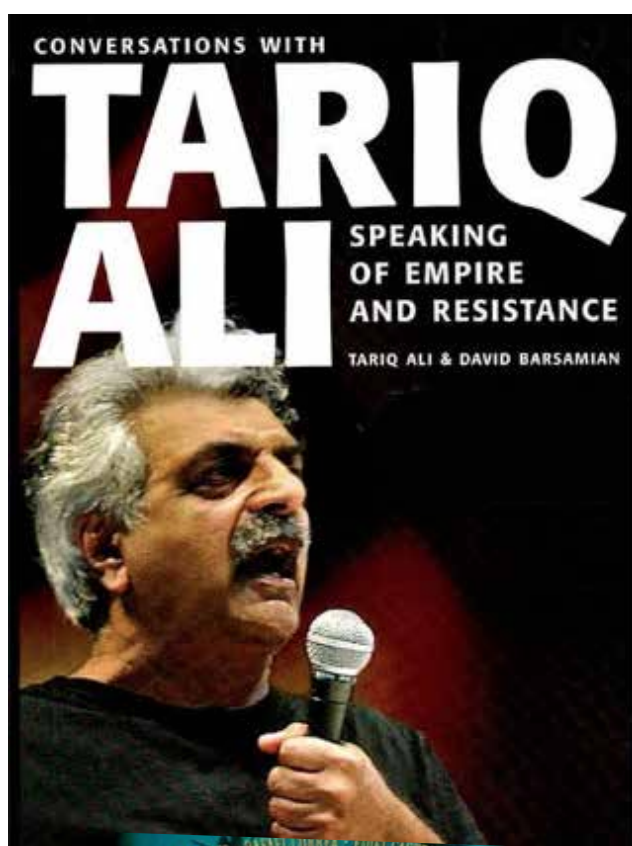
Conversations with Tariq Ali

(The New Press, 2005)

29 NOVEMBER will see the forty second observance of the United Nations General Assembly declared International Day of Solidarity with the Palestinian People; and the Palestinian-Israeli conflict seems as intractable as ever.

Tariq Ali, born in Lahore, Pakistan and a British citizen, has been described as 'a leading figure of the international left since the 1960's and 'a political activist, writer, journalist, historian, filmmaker, and public intellectual'. Editor of **The New Left Review**, this accolade as a leading global left figure is also reflected in many of the other books he published over many years: *The Death of a State* (1983), *Clash of Fundamentalisms: Crusades, Jihads and Modernity* (2002), *Bush in Babylon* (2003), *Conversations with Edward Said* (2005), *Pirates Of The Caribbean: Axis Of Hope* (2006), *A Banker for All Seasons* (2007), *The Duel* (2008), *The Obama Syndrome* (2010), and *The Extreme Centre: A Warning* (2015) and the *Dilemmas of Lenin, Terrorism War Empire Love Revolution* (2017)... Tariq Ali also wrote a series of five historical novels known as the Islam Quintet: *Shadows of the Pomegranate Tree* (1992), *The Book of Saladin* (1998), *The Stone Woman* (2000), *A Sultan in Palermo* (2005), and *Night of the Golden Butterfly* (2010).

The Conversations with Tariq Ali. Speaking of Empire and Resistance



is a series of interviews between Ali and journalist David Barsman from the Alternative Radio in the US, published in 2004. The interviews cover a wide range of global events, and Tariq Ali's incisive take on all of these developments – from how Pakistan was used for a second time as a frontier by the US to invade Afghanistan, the first time in the 1980s when the "US and Pakistan funded and armed the mujahedeen to defeat the Soviet Union; to the resurgence of the 'Empire' mentality so evident in the War on Terror, the invasion of Iraq, the role of the US in South America, as well his critique and comparisons of current manifestations of imperialism".

The piece in the book that however stands out, is Chapter 7, on Palestine and Israel. If you want to know more about the history of the Palestinian question, this is a must-read. And in typical

Tariq Ali style, he leaves no prisoners: from his critique of the Zionist state of Israel and its policies towards the Palestinians, to Arab League countries and their role over the years, the guilt of Europe in dealing with this matter; to the Palestinian leadership under Arafat, and of course the role of the United States. Underlying it all, is the strong political and intellectual commitment to the course of the Palestinian people.

Asked by the interviewer to explain why Palestine is so central to Muslim consciousness, he responded: "*The Palestinians were regarded as amongst the oldest inhabitants of (the Arab world). The crude, brutal way in which the state*

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of Israel was created, with mass expulsions of Palestinians, the destruction of Palestinian villages, ethnic cleansing, the rape of Palestinian women – the exact numbers of which are yet to be revealed – left a mark on the Arab world.”

And yet, Ali acknowledged the right of Israel to exist, without undermining the rights of the Palestinians. Instead, he calls for co-existence, because as he eloquently argues..”its not even in the interest of the majority of Jews to live in a ghetto state. All your live you have been put in ghettos; you’ve been

trying to get out of these ghettos, trying to integrate. Now you want to build a ghetto state in a part of the world which isn’t yours. I think we have to argue, on principle, for the right of all states to be multicultural.”

South Africa is due to host the Africa-Palestine solidarity conference, and as we prepare for the International Day of Solidarity with the Palestinian people on 29 November, getting to know more about this conflict, which in the end impacts on all of our entire world, is important. ■



Together we can end gender violence!

16

DAYS
OF

ACTIVISM

Against Gender-Based Violence
25 November – 10 December

continued from page 14

Q&A

In the spotlight: Mavivi Manzini

to be an advocacy person for people with disabilities, women and children because I believe that if you empower a woman, you empower the nation.

7. What are your other aspirations and how do you plan on implementing them?

To find a vehicle to implement my wishes as an advocacy person and not only in South Africa but across the continent. I have also been encouraged to start my own foundation.

8. What is your favourite quote or motto?

A quote by Cabral which says “tell no lies, claim no easy victories”. ■

VERBATIM

CHRIS HANI ON NON-RACIALISM



The ANC pushed on and explained its non-racialism. That this non-racialism was not just to be moderate, but it was a radical non-racialism, a non-racialism which accepted the need to build a South African Nation out of all groups in our country.

We saw ourselves fighting a system and not fighting a race. I think that is why the ANC was found attractive by almost all our people inside the country.

in pictures



ANC Treasurer General Comrade Paul Mashatile and Members of the REC joined Branch Members at a Memorial Lecture of Cde Levai Lombart Mbatha hosted by ANC Evaton Central Zone at the Multi Purpose Centre in Evaton on Sunday 17 November 2019.



X-WORD

16 Days of Activism



Across

2. We must ... gender-based violence.
3. Rape is rooted in ... beliefs.
6. Colour for the campaign by UN Women.
8. Slogan stands against rape.
9. 2019 is ... years since the Beijing Platform of Action.

Down

1. 16 days of activism is a campaign against ...
4. Children, women and men can be victims of ... violence.
5. Hashtag for the campaign #
7. 25 November is International days for the ... of violence against women and children.

WORD BANK

gender based violence
patriarchal
orange

generation equality
end

domestic
HearMeToo

twenty five
elimination

write for us 

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

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