



ANC TODAY

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17–23 July 2020

Conversations with the President



THE WAR AGAINST COVID-19

WE WILL WEATHER THIS STORM

LAST SUNDAY, I addressed the nation on the state of the coronavirus pandemic in our country. What follows is an edited version of that address:

Our nation is confronted by the gravest crisis in the history of our democracy. For more than 120 days, we have succeeded in delaying the spread of a virus that is causing devastation across the globe.

But now, the surge in infections that we had been advised by our medical experts would come, has arrived. More than a quarter of a million South Africans have been infected with coronavirus, and we know that many more infections have gone undetected. We are now recording over 12,000 new cases every day.

Since the start of the outbreak in March, at least 4,079 people have died from COVID-19. What should

concern us most is that a quarter of those who died passed away in the last week.

Like the massive cold fronts that sweep into our country from the South Atlantic at this time of year, there are few parts of the country that will remain untouched by the coronavirus. The coronavirus storm is far fiercer and more destructive than any we have known before. It is stretching our resources and our resolve to their limits.

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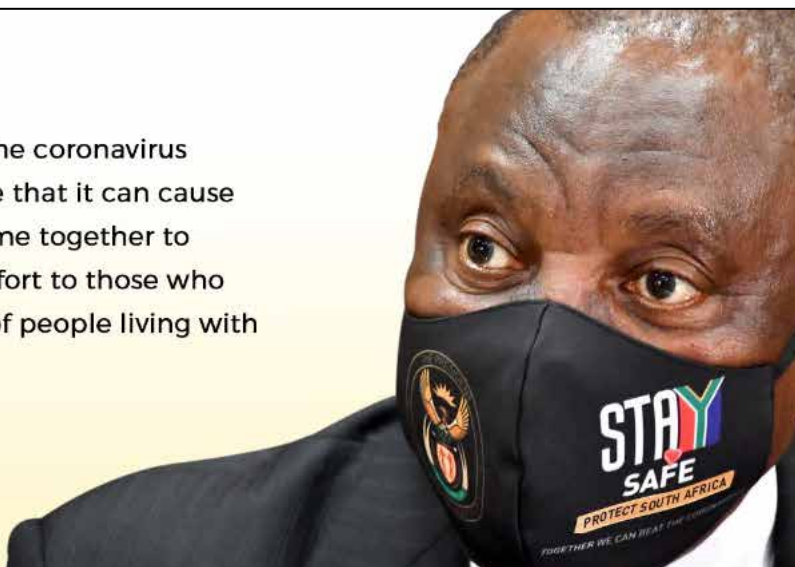
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There is no way that we can avoid the coronavirus storm. But we can limit the damage that it can cause to our lives. As a nation we have come together to support each other, to provide comfort to those who are ill and to promote acceptance of people living with the virus."

- President Cyril Ramaphosa
12 July 2020



The surge of infections that our experts and scientists predicted over three months ago has now arrived. It started in the Western Cape and is now underway in the Eastern Cape and Gauteng.

Yet, while infections rise exponentially, it is important to note that our case fatality rate of 1.5% is among the lowest in the world. This is compared to a global average case fatality rate of 4.4%. We owe the relatively low number of deaths in our country to the experience and dedication of our health professionals and the urgent measures we have taken to build the capacity of our health system.

Even as most of our people have taken action to prevent the spread of the virus, there are others who have not. There are some among us who ignore the regulations that have been passed to combat the disease.

In the midst of such a pandemic, getting into a taxi without a face mask, gathering to meet friends, attending parties or even visiting family, can too easily spread the virus

and cost lives. This may be a disease that is caused by a virus, but it is spread by human conduct and behaviour.

Through our own actions – as individuals, as families, as communities – we can and we must change the course of this pandemic in our country. We need to wear a cloth mask that covers our nose and mouth whenever we leave home. We must continue to regularly wash our hands with soap and water or sanitiser. We must continue to clean and sanitise all surfaces in all public spaces. Most importantly, we must keep a safe distance – of at least 2 metres – from other people.

There is now emerging evidence that the virus may also be carried

in tiny particles in the air in places that are crowded, closed or have poor air circulation. For this reason we must immediately improve the indoor environment of public places where the risk of infection is greatest.

Our decision to declare a nation-wide lockdown prevented a massive early surge of infections when our health services were less prepared, which would have resulted in a far greater loss of lives.

In the time that we had, we have taken important measures to strengthen our health response. We have conducted more than two million coronavirus tests and community health workers have done more than 20 million screenings.

The entire country remains at Level 3 to contain the spread of coronavirus

Level 3 restrictions remain in place

New measures to reduce infections:

 <p>Wearing masks in public places is mandatory Employers, business owners and managers are legally obliged to ensure compliance</p>	 <p>Taxis must have some windows open during all journeys Taxis may have 100% occupancy on local trips and no more than 70% on long distance trips</p>	 <p>Sale of alcohol is suspended This is to prevent hospital capacity being overwhelmed during the peak of infections</p>	 <p>Curfew in place between 9pm and 4am This excludes permitted workers or for urgent medical assistance</p>
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STAY SAFE PROTECT SOUTH AFRICA

We have made available almost 28,000 hospital beds for COVID-19 patients and have constructed functional field hospitals across the country. We now have over 37,000 quarantine beds in private and public facilities across the country, ready to isolate those who cannot do so at home.

We have procured and delivered millions of items of personal protective equipment to hospitals, clinics and schools across the country to protect our frontline workers. We have recruited and continue to recruit additional nurses, doctors and emergency health personnel.

We continue to make progress in our efforts to deal with COVID-19, but our greatest challenge still lies ahead. Across all provinces, we are working to further increase the number of general ward and critical beds available for COVID-19 patients.

Ward capacity is being freed up in a number of hospitals by delaying non-urgent care, the conversion of some areas of hospitals into additional ward space and the erection or expansion of field hospitals.

We are working to increase supplies of oxygen, ventilators and

other equipment for those who will need critical care, including by diverting the supply of oxygen from other purposes. We are deploying digital technologies to strengthen the identification, tracing and isolation of contacts, and to provide support to those who test positive.

As we now approach the peak of infections, we need to take extra precautions and tighten existing measures to slow down the rate of transmission.

Regulations on the wearing of masks will be strengthened. Employers, shop owners and managers, public transport operators, and managers and owners of any other public building are now legally obliged to ensure that anyone entering their premises or vehicle must be wearing a mask.

Taxis undertaking local trips will now be permitted to increase their capacity to 100%, while long distance taxis will not be allowed to exceed 70% occupancy, on condition that new risk mitigation protocols related to masks, vehicle sanitising and open windows are followed.

There is now clear evidence that the resumption of alcohol sales has resulted in substantial pres-

sure being put on hospitals, including trauma and ICU units, due to motor vehicle accidents, violence and related trauma. We have therefore decided that in order to conserve hospital capacity, the sale, dispensing and distribution of alcohol will be suspended with immediate effect.

As an additional measure to reduce the pressure on hospitals, a curfew will be put in place between the hours of 9pm and 4am.

We are taking these measures fully aware that they impose unwelcome restrictions on people's lives. They are, however, necessary to see us through the peak of the disease.

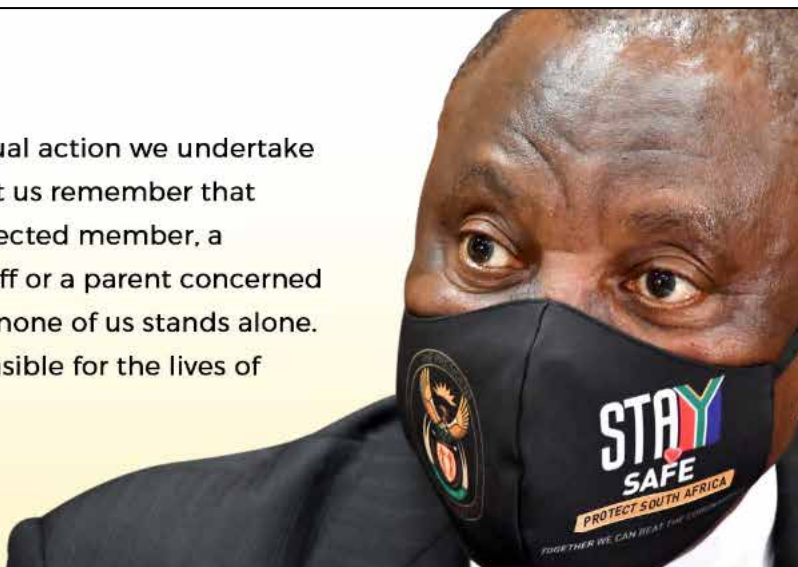
There is no way that we can avoid the coronavirus storm. But we can limit the damage that it can cause to our lives. As a nation, we have come together to support each other, to provide comfort to those who are ill and to promote acceptance of people living with the virus.

Now, more than ever, we are responsible for the lives of those around us.

We will weather this storm. We will restore our country to health and to prosperity. We shall overcome.

Let us remember that every individual action we undertake can and does make a difference. Let us remember that whether we are a family with an infected member, a business owner worried for their staff or a parent concerned for the safety of their children, that none of us stands alone. Now, more than ever, we are responsible for the lives of those around us."

- President Cyril Ramaphosa
12 July 2020



FOR THE SAKE OF THE FREEDOM OF HER CHILDREN

*ANC Secretary General **Elias Sekgobelo Magashule**'s message of support on behalf of the ANC National Executive Committee (NEC) to the National Congress of Tanzania's Chama Cha Mapinduzi: Saturday, 11 July 2020*

ON THE occasion of the Presidium of the National Congress of the Revolutionary Party (Chama Cha Mapinduzi), we expressed, on behalf of the NEC of the ANC, our warm greetings to all of you gathered here. We convey our warm gratitude and felicitations to Chama Cha Mapinduzi and the entirety of the heroic and peace loving people of the great nation of the United Republic of Tanzania.

The people of Tanzania, confided President Nelson Mandela at a Banquet in honour of Julius Mwalimu Nyerere in October 1997, gave unstinting support to the liberation of South Africa. They gave recognition of the most practical kind to the principle that our freedom and theirs were interdependent.

The ANC and the people of our country will forever cherish the outstanding contribution of your great nation to our own struggle against the monstrous and abominable apartheid regime. Your incredible feat of solidarity over the years of our struggle against colonial domination, have indeed built indestructible bonds of friendship and comradeship between our two nations.

Your National Congress is taking place at a crucial time when the world is faced by the outbreak of one of the most unprecedented calamities in



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the history of the existence of human society. The devastating coronavirus pandemic has come to threaten the very existence of human society.

We wish to take this opportunity, from this rare platform of the presidium of

your National Congress, to convey our heartfelt condolences to the many people of the African continent and the world, who have lost loved ones during this period. We also wish those who are receiving treatment in hospitals throughout the world a speedy recovery.

From the early ages of our civilization, Mother Nature has imposed its influence in many ways on the development of human society. This has shaped us to be who we are, and bolstered our determination to triumph over adversity. Even today, as we are confronted by this disastrous pandemic, we are confident that through solidarity and friendship, through brotherhood and internationalism, we shall overcome and together we shall emerge from this deadly tempest with our hopes intact.

Therefore our determination as the people of the continent, and the whole of progressive humanity, is what must bring us together to conquer the COVID-19 pandemic and all its adverse consequences. The outbreak of the pandemic has necessitated the people of the world in general, and the progressive movement of the world in particular, to join hands and to work together more than ever before. This has indeed imbued us with a new sense of solidarity to achieve the common aspirations of the people of the world.

CCM supporters at an elections rally



As the pandemic continues to ravage our societies, we need to share both our human and material support to save the lives of our people. There is nothing that can defeat this deadly pandemic but our unity and solidarity in purpose. Our foremost task remains the struggle against neo-colonialism. Our immediate task is our struggle against disease, poverty and underdevelopment. This is what must remain the strategic focus of our national liberation movement in our region, the continent and the world.

Of importance is that this strategic objective can only be achieved if we work together in solidarity and internationalism. We are confident that your National Congress will be a platform to analyse the balance of forces in the context of the current realities of the world, and also to provide robust solutions to the pertinent questions of how we can together continue to work to achieve the strategic objectives of our liberation.

We need to consolidate our critical efforts of regional integration in order to accelerate the important work of improving the living conditions of our people. Our region, and the whole of

the African continent, has the required natural resources to realise this noble objective.

We must continue to strengthen our party-to-party relations, and also our existing historical relations with other liberation movements in the region, the African continent, and the world. The relationship between the ANC, Chama Cha Mapinduzi and other liberation movements in the continent and the world was born out of our common struggle against oppression and exploitation. The neo-colonial enemy is constantly rearing its treacherous head to undermine – and ultimately destroy – the role of our liberation movements in the region and on the African continent. The only way we can defeat it is through unity and cohesion.

Our experience throughout the years is that unity and cohesion of our movements and our people, is indeed the only weapon to defeat the enemy of our revolution. In referring to the enemy, we refer to those who are opposed to our agenda for the fundamental transformation and economic empowerment of our societies, and all our people on the African continent.

It was that son of Africa, Nelson Mandela, whose life we celebrate this month who, in not so many words expressed our gratitude for the brotherly assistance and solidarity we received from you and other African countries. At the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) Summit in Tunisia in June 1994 he declared:

“Africa shed her blood and surrendered the lives of her children so that all her children could be free. She gave of her limited wealth and resources so that all of Africa should be liberated. She opened her heart of hospitality and her head so full of wise counsel, so that we should emerge victorious. A million times, she put her hand to the plough that has now dug up the entrenched burden of oppression that had accumulated for centuries.”

Again on behalf of the National Executive Committee of the African National Congress, we wish you robust and fruitful deliberations during this Congress, and we are indeed confident that you will emerge out of this Presidium more united than ever before. The future of Chama Cha Mapinduzi Party is the future of this great nation of Tanzania.

IN LOVING MEMORY OF COMRADE ZINDZI MANDELA

Tribute by ANC Secretary General Elias Sekgobelo Magashule to the

LIVING MEMORIES OF THE LATE CDE ZINDZI MANDELA

THERE ARE times that bring you to a recollection and re-assessment of all that brought you to this point in one's life. Such a moment came for us on Monday morning, the 13th of July, when we woke up to the sad news that our dearest comrade, Zindziswa (Zindzi) Mandela, had passed on. This is truly a time for honest introspection, contemplation, and rededication to our liberation struggle.

We deliver this tribute in the context of the huge challenges that we, as the African National Congress (ANC), and indeed our whole nation, are faced with in the midst of the COVID-19 pandemic. The Mandela family announced that comrade Zindzi had tested positive to COVID-19. They did so intentionally in order to heighten awareness of the deadly serious nature of COVID-19 infections, and also to de-stigmatize any infections. We are deeply grateful for the dedicated comradeship and leadership that the Mandela family continues to display to all of us.

Comrade Zindzi is one of several of our leaders, and comrades, in the ANC whom we have lost to the pan-



demic. In remembering the life of comrade Zindzi and her huge contribution to our liberation struggle, it is very important that we must also commemorate the lives and contributions of all our comrades who have succumbed to the COVID-19 virus.

Like her Father and Mother, comrade Zindzi always insisted that she was part of the ANC collective. Thus, it is correct that we today launch a virtual memorial platform to commemorate all our ANC comrades, as well as distinguished leaders in all walks of life of our South African society, and in-

deed every single South African who lost their lives during this very difficult time in our country. Our heartfelt sympathy and condolences go out to the families and loved ones of each and every one of them.

In doing so, we also commit ourselves to honor their lives and memories by intensifying our efforts to fight the COVID-19 pandemic, and to do everything possible to save lives. We once again call on all our South African compatriots to diligently observe the lockdown regulations, and to fully

cooperate with the government and law enforcement agencies, to keep the curve of infections as low as possible.

More than anything else, the COVID-19 pandemic calls for unity of action and solidarity – especially in reaching out to the poor in our nation and throughout the world who are the hardest hit by this cruel disease. Mandela Day – with its crucial message of unity, solidarity and internationalism – speaks with singular clarity to the world-wide challenge that we are all faced with. On Mandela Day tomor-

row, we make a clarion call to all of those – in our country and throughout the world – to assist with all the resources at their disposal to help the less privileged and poor who are the hardest hit, and are suffering most. In the words of uTata Madiba we say: “It is in your hands”, to reach out with magnanimity and compassion. We know that is what Madiba would have expected of you.

In specifically paying tribute to comrade Zindzi, memories flood back of having met her as a young woman, together with her Mom, comrade Winnie Madikizela Mandela, come flooding in. Her vibrancy, and love for life, defined by her larger than life character as a young woman; her infectious laughter, her playfulness, but also her sharp tongue. The twinkle in her eyes, that in a moment turned into a spark that could light a raging fire of anger and outrage against any injustice that she was confronted with.

These were very same flames of raging anger against the oppression and injustices of apartheid that we had so often seen in the eyes of comrade Winnie. More than anything, comrade Zindzi was her Mother’s daughter – strong and unwavering in their commitment to the struggle for the freedom of our people, and in the very best of ways stubborn and single minded in their pursuit of justice.

Comrade Zindzi was fiercely protective of comrade Winnie. Nothing touched her more than, and brought the raging lioness that was always just under the surface present in her, quicker to the fore than when her beloved Mother was attacked, abused, and treated unfairly.

From her earliest childhood, when she was still a little toddler, and could hardly walk and talk, comrade Zindzi had experienced apartheid security policemen coming into their home, assaulting her Mom, arresting and handcuffing her, and taking her away



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in the back of a police truck, leaving her and her older sister, Zenani, alone behind in their home in Vilakazi Street in Orlando West, not knowing who would take care of them.

We remember how as a young student activist, with a rucksack on our back, we went to visit comrade Winnie in Soweto. We remember how we literally sat at her feet, and got taught so much about our struggle from her. Comrade Zindzi was always around, amplifying what her Mom was saying, and sharing with us as young student activists our revolutionary commitment. She was a young revolutionary in her own right, with her own strongly held views.

Yes, comrade Zindzi was her Mother’s daughter in looks, fiery in spirit, and an unwavering commitment, but she never stood in the shadow of comrade Winnie; she was always her own person. That is how comrade Winnie brought her daughters up, to be strong and independent.

All of these memories and many more came flooding through one’s mind. Some like raging waves breaking on the shores of our pain – scattered with the broken rocks of so many revolutionary sacrificed lives – that we have lost such a committed comrade far too early in her life. Other memories are like soothing rivers of clear quiet flowing water, nurturing the deep roots of the huge tree with its thick trunk and wide spreading branches of our revolutionary Liberation Movement and struggle – like a centuries old baobab tree standing strong, and silhouetted, in our sweeping South African landscape.

We remember the incredible strength of comrade Zindzi, when – her young voice trembling with indignation – she read the statement of her Father, President Nelson Mandela, rejecting the treacherous offer of PW Botha to denounce the armed struggle in return for his freedom: “*Only free men can negotiate. Prisoners cannot enter into contracts ... My father says, I cannot and will not give any undertaking at a time when I and you the people are not free*”. When she had finished reading the letter, she defiantly punched the air with her clenched fist, and shouted “**Amandla!**”.

That image is ingrained in our minds, and the minds of millions of South Africans. It had become part of the revolutionary history, and psyche, of our nation. In the midst of the hardest, and most difficult years of our liberation struggle, all of us found solace and strength in the incredible strength of comrade Zindzi.

However, none of that extraordinary



strength must ever make us to forget the pain, and deep wounds, that the apartheid regime inflicted so cruelly and sadistically on Cde Winnie Mandela and her daughters. Throughout comrades Zindzi and Zenani's childhood and young lives, they had to deal with the enforced absence of their father, who was for 26 years incarcerated by the apartheid regime.

As vulnerable young girl-children they often had to fend for themselves, with comrade Winnie being for long periods detained in solitary confinement, or banished. They were never able to have a normal childhood, and the most basic dignity, respect and humanity of a normal family life. The deprivation, pain, and humiliation that were inflicted on them – and which they took for all our sake – were, and remain, unsurpassed and left deep wounds and scars.

We recall the terrible humiliating isolation Comrade Winnie suffered when she was banished to Brandford in the Free State. We often visited comrade Winnie there, and while we were always encouraged by her unwavering commitment and formidable strength in the face of so much adversity, we also often left with our hearts heavy and crying for her pain, and cruelty subjected on her by the racist Apartheid regime.

The bonds of mutual love and care that were forged between comrade Winnie and her two beloved daughters, in the midst of all these painful challenges of our struggle, are truly legendary, and stand as a towering triumph of the human spirit over adversity and evil.

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We recall how the evil security police threatened the people of Brandford and tried to scare them from having any contact with comrade Winnie. It was only through comrade Winnie's humanity and the love for all her people, and how she reached out to that community, that she won them over.

The bonds of mutual love and care that were forged between comrade

Winnie and her two beloved daughters, in the midst of all these painful challenges of our struggle, are truly legendary, and stand as a towering triumph of the human spirit over adversity and evil. That salient example of love also talks to us today, in the midst of the current crises that we are faced with – made worse by the coronavirus pandemic – to nurture our families, and to take care of our children.

They suffered for us, were tortured and separated, so that now we as families in our liberated country can be together. The love of Nelson Mandela for his children reaching out in his prison letters to them from behind the high walls of Robben Island, and the love of the mother to her two daughters, are all great gifts and legacy examples that they have shared with us, and for which all of us should be hugely grateful, and must always try to emulate.

This tribute to comrade Zindzi will not be complete without us recognizing her courage and long years of dedicated work in the underground work of the ANC, and specifically Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK). Like her Mother, comrade Zindzi, was a member of MK. Comrade Winnie commanded many of us. Comrade Zindzi was many a time part of the military oper-

ations of MK. We have the fondest of memories of having worked together with our dear sister in the same underground unit.

One of the closest person who was at the heart of both Cdes Winnie and Zindzi was the late General Secretary of the South African Communist Party and the Chief of Staff of our glorious liberation army Umkhonto we Sizwe Cde Chris Hani. This was a relationship borne out of their common commitment to the cause of the struggle for the liberation of our people.

This is what has defined their comradeship – bravery and commitment – to volunteer their own lives for the sake of the freedom of our people. It is for this very same reason that Comrade Zindzi must be recognized and honored as one of our very own in MK, a true fellow liberation soldier.

In acknowledging that comrade Zindzi's whole life was defined, and dedicated to the liberation struggle, we must also acknowledge that there were times when there were those among us who did not behave in a comradely manner towards our very own comrades. Some comrades were too quick to believe the terrible lies that were peddled about comrade Winnie, and her two beloved daughters.

More than anyone else, comrade Zindzi stood tall and defended her beloved Mother against these onslaughts. She was truly a bulwark of deep daughterly love and unwavering commitment. Comrade Zindzi often, and in no uncertain terms, shared her anger and pain with us about the injustices that had been inflicted on her family, and especially on her Mother.

With the passing of comrade Zindzi it is important that we acknowledge that mistakes had been committed against her Mother and the family. This is a time for us to be remorseful, and to show contrition. With this sad passing of our dearest comrade Zindzi, it is for us – as the Secretary General of the ANC – to say formally, that we are truly sorry for the hurt and pain that had been caused.

We acknowledge that, despite everything, comrade Zindzi remained a loyal and dedicated member of the African National Congress, who throughout the 59 years of her life never wavered in her commitment to the full liberation of the people of South Africa. In recent months, she again gave expression to that commitment when she reminded us that we in the African National Congress have a solemn duty to return the land

to our people. At times her strong committed radical voice was strident, and caused some among us discomfort, but we must indeed be deeply grateful that she kept on reminding us of our true duty as a Liberation Movement.

For the example of comrade Zindzi's life we, as the ANC, can never be grateful enough. Right to end, also as our Ambassador at various Foreign Missions, the last one having been Denmark, she continued to serve our country with selfless dedication.

On behalf of the African National Congress, we extend our heartfelt condolences to her family and loved ones. We thank all of them for having so graciously and selflessly shared her great revolutionary soul with our nation.

Comrade Zindzi's spear has fallen, as we collectively kneel down to pick it up, we rededicate ourselves to continue with the struggle until the full liberation of all our people is truly achieved.

HAMBA KAHLE OUR DEAREST COMRADE.

MAY YOUR SOUL REST IN PEACE.

#RIPZindziMandela

**HAMBA KAKUHLE
ZINDZISWA MANDELA
1960 TO 2020**

Digital condolence book available at
<https://nelsonmandela.org/content/page/zindisiwe-mandela-1960-to-2020>

IN LOVING MEMORY OF COMRADE ZINDZI MANDELA

A homage to Madiba, an ode to Zindzi

Dear Mr President,

ON THE eve of Isithalandwe Rolihlahla Mandela's birthday and Mandela Day, our hearts bleed as we bid farewell to his daughter.

The name Zindziswa means the rooted, anchored and grounded one and Zindzi lived to epitomise the meaning of her name.

It was only two years ago when the world mourned the passing of her beautiful mother and struggle stalwart, Mama Winnie Mandela.

Mr President, as we mourn the untimely passing of Zindzi Mandela, it is time to honour the Mandela family for choosing the greatest cause on earth: the liberation of their people.

Zindzi, who was our ambassador to Denmark, is not only the daughter of the struggle but a feisty woman who was not afraid to speak her mind to advance the cause of her people.

Zindzi and her sister, Zenani had a tortured childhood as a result of the choices of their parents, Mama Winnie and Tata Mandela, who were persecuted, harassed and jailed for fighting for the liberation of their people.

As a result, Madiba was separated from his family for 27 years and



Comrade Pule Mabe

missed a chunk of the upbringing of his children.

In his autobiography, *Long Walk To Freedom*, Mandela expressed the pain he felt when his children suffered persecution by the apartheid regime as a result of his incarceration.

Zindzi Mandela, who served as our stand-in First Lady from 1996-1998, was only 18 months old when her father was sentenced to life on Robben Island. She was often left in the care of her older sister, Zenani, when their mother was imprisoned for months at a time.

When Mama Winnie was banished to Brandfort in the Free State, Zindzi was unable to complete her educa-

tion until she was sent to Swaziland.

In 1985, Mandela was offered a conditional release by then state president, P.W. Botha. His reply could not be delivered by either him or Mama Winnie and it was left to Zindzi to read his refusal to betray the people in a public meeting on 10 February 1985.

The apartheid government was caught off-guard by Zindzi's defiance when she read her father's refusal at a packed Orlando Stadium in a powerful voice that reverberated to the rafters. The gathering was organised by the United Democratic Front (UDF) as a celebration of Archbishop Desmond Tutu's Nobel Peace Prize Award.

The people heard her father's voice through her feisty vocal chords and cheered loudly when the courageous and fearless younger Zindzi inspired them to intensify the struggle on that unforgettable day.

Mr President, Zindzi is Madiba's blood through and through. As we observe Mandela Day, we need to restore his daughter. Only hypocrites can celebrate Mandela's birthday without mourning his daughter.

Since we are not allowed to roam and gather in accordance with the lockdown regulations this year, we need to reflect deeply on rebuilding

the black family, a topic that was close to Zindzi and which occupied her father all his life.

The black family has never properly healed from the battering and bruising blows from oppression. The apartheid dispensation exerted untold misery on the black nuclear family by separating parents from their children and siblings on the basis of race.

The migrant labour system further fractured the black nuclear family and we live with the consequences of those destructive policies to this day.

As a country, we have never truly reflected on how to deal with the effects of this inter-generational trauma visited on our people by an uncaring and oppressive regime.

It has been 26 years since we attained our freedom, but we cannot afford to neglect the well-being of the black family any longer.

As we celebrate Mandela's 102nd birthday and mourn the passing of his youngest daughter, we have to travel the difficult road and reflect on the role of the black nuclear family and how to reignite the embers of active parenthood.

As a child of the struggle, Zindzi and her siblings did not experience childhood like many others. She was only eight years old when Mama Winnie was sentenced to her longest prison stay in 1969 (491 days).

Mr President, we need to raise our voices when the enemy seeks to tarnish and despoil Zindzi's memory, just like they tried when we put Mama Winnie to rest two years ago. The African National Congress remains eternally grateful for the choices of the Mandela family.

Zindzi may have left to join her



MamWinnie sharing a rare moment with her daughters

parents but their joint sacrifices for our people are etched indelibly in our struggle folklore and we shall never forget.

Mr President, let me leave you with an elegy penned by journalist, arts and culture critic Sam Mathe for Zindzi Mandela:

***Your tragic departure has pleased racists
but even bigots knew your pearly smile
your sad passing is welcomed by sadists
but they heard your gentle laughter from a mile***

***Deprived of the spring of the spring of your life
as father sacrificed family for nation
he took a cause above progeny and wife
all in the name of a people's liberation***

***How many had their youth stolen by the martyrdom of activist fathers
as families were left behind and broken
by a system that persecuted mothers?***

***What happened to children and mothers
when the shield and shade was***

***taken away
from their lives and left to the tender mercies
of the authoritarian powers that were?***

***Beautiful child of the liberation struggle
your upbringing has been trouble with apartheid police in your space
and a family name that was an albatross***

***Raised by a mother who was a lioness
the whole family endured suffering in exile
in the hands of those who preached whiteness
against a race that was not deemed worthwhile***

***Gallant daughter of our grieving nation
your day is done, your race is run
your departure is deeply mourned by all freedom loving people in the world***

***Your struggles against racist tyranny
will be stored in our collective memory
and anchored in the texts of history.***

Pule Mabe

National Spokesperson and Head of the Department of Information and Publicity



IN LOVING MEMORY OF COMRADE ZINDZI MANDELA

Farewell Aunt Zindziswa!!

By Nkosi Zwelivelile Mandla Mandela

DEATH has snatched another member of our family too soon and left a gaping chasm of pain in the wake of her passing. We shall always treasure fond memories of her as a feisty, fearless and proud freedom fighter in her own right.

Zindziswa, the youngest daughter of my grandfather, Nkosi Dalibhunga (Nelson Rolihlahla Mandela) from Mam Winnie, was very close to my father Makgatho Lewanika Mandela in the wake of uTatikhulu's incarceration. My father acted as a father figure to her in this difficult time.

My earliest and fondest childhood recollection of her was my mispronunciation of her name and I called her Zinjisha much to everyone's amusement.

I have fond memories of the ride to Brandfort in her purple beetle to visit Mam Winnie. She and my dad were also instrumental in arranging my visit to Polsmoor Prison to meet my grandfather for the first time. I am eternally indebted as this marked an important milestone in my life and the genesis of my political education at a tender age.

For a long time, she was the only member of the Mandela family residing at 8115 Vilakazi Street in Soweto and we shared many fond and treasured memories. Every time I came by, she would teach me how to play a piano in the lounge.

For most activists and ordinary South Africans though, it was the image of a beautiful courageous and fearless Zindzi that inspired them on an unfor-



gettable day of the 10th February 1985 at Soweto's Orlando Stadium. The UDF had organized a celebration of Archbishop Desmond Tutu's Nobel Peace Prize Award.

She cut a colossal figure for someone still in her teens when she defied the authorities and read her father's refusal of PW Botha's conditional release. Her voice powerfully and courageously carried and conveyed Nelson Mandela's resolute challenge to dismantle apartheid; unban the ANC; free all political prisoners and those who had been banished; the return of all exiles and to guarantee free political activity.

This is how we shall fondly remember her, and remind ourselves that the long walk to freedom is far from over. In her honour and to the undying legacy of Madiba, that as long as there is a single human being suffering anywhere, our struggle is far from over. Our country, our continent and our world is filled with suffering, the homeless, the poverty stricken and the unemployed; all longing for freedom from this burden.

Our family mourns the loss of a dear and loved one and our thoughts are especially with her children today. They too suffer the tragic loss at a young and impressionable age. They can be proud of her legacy as a critical voice always prepared to speak her mind and state her case without any fear.

We have lost a champion of the people's right to land that so riled those opposed to her fearless stand on expropriation without compensation. We shall pursue this agenda in her honour without fear or faltering. Madlomo, your courage and outspoken manner on this critical issue made us all proud.

Aunt Zindzi's words echoed Madiba's voice powerfully on that historic day in 1985 and it must continue to ring loud in our ears and our hearts. *"I cannot sell my birthright, nor am I prepared to sell the birthright of my people to be free."*

Lalangoxolo Nkosazana, Mthembukazi, Madlomo, Mzukulwana kaGabhaliduduma, igqibelo lika Dalibhunga!!



IN LOVING MEMORY OF COMRADE ZINDZI MANDELA

REMEMBERING MY DEAREST COMRADE, FRIEND AND SISTER

By Slauzy Mogami

I remember how as a very young woman, Zindzi was always the adult – even though she was younger than most of us. Just to mention a few incidences: While living with her at 8115 Orlando-West, together with comrades such as MK Malefane, Oupa Seakamela, Mzwakhe Mbuli and others, I once came home from rehearsal for a play I was in with the likes of Sbongile Khumalo, Ramolao Makhene and Arthur Molepo (It was directed by Malcolm Purkey and William Kentrige). Someone had given me the keys to fetch something from the car. Even though I had never driven a car in my life, I got into the car and switched on the engine to the horror of onlookers. I can only thank God nobody was hurt. The first thing that Zindzi did when I told her, was to look at me, and told me in that strong voice of hers, “*But you don’t drive?!*”

I vividly remember another incident. Comrades MK, Vusi and I dutifully arrived early in the morning in Bradford with only one request from her – “*a barrel of KFC*”.

uMama Winnie always confused our voices, sometimes saying something about me thinking she was talking to Zindzi! There are the priceless memories of sitting for long hours in bed, talking and teasing the Special Branch police on the phone when we knew they were listening! Zindzi had the most hearty, loud laughter and an amazing sense of humor. Her animated talking was always accompanied by funny

gestures. Her voice, hands and eyes always talked together in the most amazing way. She was genuine, straightforward, and truthful – an open book.

Zindzi was amazingly strong, always calling me to order, and reminding me how uMama taught us that we should NEVER cry in front of our enemies. When we were short of food, she would tell MK, who was in charge of house-keeping money and orders from Mama in Branford, that we should cook a big pot of uMngqusho and keep reheating it for days. She resolutely refused to ever feel sorry for herself, and expected the same courage and strength from us. We would sometimes be alone in the house protected outside only by our beloved dog called Krushev!

Comrade Zindzi had the biggest of hearts, and with her deep compassion she would take over other people’s pain and suffering, as if it were her very own. I learnt so much from her. She encouraged me by wearing the first garment I made, reminding me how I would one day tell people that she was my first fashion model.

Later in life, she would come over to my house with the kids, and we would trick Madiba when he would call at 8am! I would take the call, and he would think he was talking to Zindzi, looking for her and Rochelle!

I remember how this selfless sister of mine – who knew how nervous I was with butterflies in my stomach on the

first opening of the play at Market Theater – made sure that she came with Archbishop Tutu, MK and others to take the front row to watch me perform for the first time.

There are also the priceless memories of watching her as a young mother to cute little baby Zoleka. Throughout her life, sometimes under the most difficult of circumstances, Zindzi was a dedicated, loving and caring mother. In that she was the personification of her own mother, uMama Winnie, who loved her two daughters deeply and unconditionally.

Recently, Zindzi called all those who mattered to her, and her dear Mother, to come and plot together to build Mama Winnie’s legacy. When she did so, little did she know that she would soon join her beloved Mother.

My dearest sister and comrade, may your beautiful, brave soul Rest in Peace! As I say this, I can feel the lump in my throat, and I want to cry, but I can hear Zindzi’s strong voice admonishing me that we must always be strong, for the sake of our people.

My dearest sister’s life was whole. There was no separation between her private life and her political existence. For her the personal was political, and the political was personal. If there is one thing she’d have asked all of us to commit ourselves to, it is to continue with the struggle until our people are truly free.



IN LOVING MEMORY OF COMRADE ZINDZI MANDELA

ZINDZI MANDELA: UNCONQUERABLE SOUL

By Yonela Diko

THE AIM of Apartheid was to swamp and frustrate and brutalise every African with an irreplaceable spark until they lay flat and decided to fight no more, defeated and dead inside. They came for Nelson Mandela, but with each year of his incarceration his spark was rippling the globe and frustrating his jailers. They came for Winnie Mandela, she would fight them to the bitter end and came out on the other side with a blaze that could not be put out.

Like a family jewel passed on from parent to daughter, that blaze and ripple of light that Apartheid securocracy could not extinguish, was passed on to the youngest daughter, Zindzi. When Zindzi plunged into a stadium packed to its rafters armed with a message from her father in 1985, Nelson Rolihlahla Mandela, she was also armed with her own message, that if my father does not make it, that if they kill my mother, I'm the next in line, you are the next in line, and they cannot kill us all.

So began a South African story, an African story, a child born into the struggle, born with a target on her back, Mandela versus the government of the day. At a young age of barely three, Zindzi would go through the same state induced hardship against her parents, especially her mother, every step of the way, and she would learn to endure. She would grow a lion's heart and even when the political freedom was won, she would demand justice for black people, and there would be no Kumbaya until all



that had been brutally taken away, the years that had been lost, the lives and livelihoods that had been brutally lost, would be fully restored and those responsible face justice.

Since then, Zindzi has fought like a warrior, over and against a hostile opinion by those who sought to trap her in the legacy of her father. Zindzi has had to fight for her happiness and fight to live her truth with intensity and honesty that no traps, no projections, no manipulation would ever lower her sights and dim her light.

The only time I met Zindzi was when we were launching the book of her father, a compilation of letters her father had written to her mother while he was in Prison. All South Africans had come out to celebrate this moment with the Mandela family, from John Kani to Phumzile Mlambo Ngcuka, it was a great celebration. Zindzi took center stage, although the shadow of her father loomed large, all eyes were on her, this great daughter

of Nelson Mandela, was she up to the demands of her last name? Zindzi took all of us to her own thoughts, imbued both in her own memories and her own duty to champion new struggles. We came out of that launch fully aware that the battle for a black child is far from over.

Zindzi could never accept that every indice in this country has a black face, from poverty to unemployment to homelessness and that was not by natural allocation; it was a product of social engineering which had robbed her and her parents and all black South Africans a fair and early start to life. This could not be swept under the carpet and the nerve of some white people to think they can whitesplain this engineered reality and put a claim on their death squared benefits irked Zindzi so much and she could never pretend.

There is a box for all black people who refuse to accept the white comfort with the benefits of their evil forebears. Angry, black, racist, even Kaffir. While the tools of propaganda are still in the hands of the former oppressor, heroes are turned into villains for refusing to accept the real villains' claim to the loot. Zindzi endured it all but she remained unbowed. She knew all the tricks, that if you remained polite, made no sudden moves, smiled at them, maybe there is a place for you at the top. If you did not acknowledge them, refused to legitimize them, daughter of Nelson Mandela,

continues on page 19



By Jullie Beya

ON 26 March 2020, South Africa was brought to a standstill and the doors of learning were shut to safeguard human life as a result of the outbreak of the COVID-19 pandemic. The subsequent reopening of schools under level 3 of the lockdown has sparked spirited debate on human rights and protection of children. It presents an opportunity for policy makers to re-evaluate the framework for the delivery of education, the provision of infrastructure for a conducive environment for education to occur, and most crucially, it may introduce a different academic calendar that takes into consideration the change in seasons and its impact of the health and well-being of children.

Whilst on the one hand preserving the lives of one's bundle of joy in the comforts of their homes should be the priority for all parents, the economic inequalities that exist in South Africa tell a different story. The black majority live in informal settlements, townships and rural parts of South Africa. Here they live in a situation wherein a family shares a room or hut wherein there's little or no network connectivity and are not able to observe the



Comrade Jullie Beya

regulations on social distancing and provide a conducive environment.

Frustrations due to the inability to provide more than one meal a day as a result of not having access to the feeding schemes at school has resulted in a 'let them go play approach'. Those without the ability to provide a laptop, unlimited Wi-Fi and indoor study for their children, are burdened by the responsibility of being a parent-teacher-sports-educator overnight. Lastly, the specter of Grade 7 and 12 learners being unable to complete their academic year will have a negative impact in the admission and value chain towards their educational progression.

The reopening of schools and reports of teachers and learners testing positive for the COVID-19 virus forces us to raise questions and identify opportunities on how we can do things differently. Reviewing the academic calendar to a July to May cycle would safeguard children and parents against the demons of yearly flu outbreaks.

This would assist in the recovery of time lost during the lockdown period and shutdowns due to the virus infections in school premises. Furthermore, developing a hybrid model of learning and providing off-site support such as the delivery of food parcels, mobile libraries and smart learning tools would aid in addressing some of the socio-economic concerns faced in homes. Lastly, the safety measures should be regulated and made a permanent feature in assuring the health and wellbeing of learners in schools

Jullie Beya is a Youth Skills Development Practitioner and member of the ANC Youth League in the Gauteng Province.

The views and opinions expressed in this article is solely that of the author and do not necessarily reflect the official policy and position of the African National Congress.

FROM THE DESK OF THE



- PART 2 -

Business in the time of COVID-19

This is the last segment of measures to combat the impact of COVID-19 on SMMEs and to break down barriers impeding small business from reaching its full potential are crucial to the economy's relaunch.

Joanmariae Fubbs argues that in fact, **small business is the future!**

IN THE FIRST set of relief measures on automatic tax deferrals, tax compliant businesses will be able to defer 20% of their employees' tax liabilities over four months, ending July 2020. This proportion of employees' tax will increase to 35%. An increase in the employment tax incentive amount provides for a wage subsidy of up to R500 per month for every employee who earns R6 500. This amount will be increased to R750. These measures are designed to relax pressure on cash flow.



The outsourcing of all kinds of business processes and data management from advanced economies to third-party providers, offers other opportunities for rapid growth for countries like South Africa. Services have traditionally not featured strongly in development countries' strategies. Their production and consumption often takes place within the same territory.

This means that trade in services is usually local. In an attempt to encourage the growth of small businesses, government proposes to review the small business tax regime, the VAT threshold and turnover tax.

In his National Budget Speech in February 2020, Finance Minister Tito Mboweni said the government intended to broaden the corporate income tax base. In this regard, labour-intensive growth must be prioritised through agriculture services and a focused and flexible industrial and trade policy must promote competitiveness and facilitate long-run growth.

The promotion of export competitiveness and harnessing regional growth and opportunities is then expected to be implemented under this strategy. During her budget speech in 2019, Minister for Small Business Development Khum-

budzo Ntshaveni hit the nail on the head by not simply acknowledging access to affordable finance as a critical impediment to small business sustainability, but also identifying the four fundamental determinants that negatively impact on financial access.

These fundamental determinants are worth mentioning again as many South Africans, especially small business stakeholders, have never heard of the Small Enterprise Development Agency (SEDA) and Small Enterprise Finance Agency (SEFA). Thus, targeted communication by government becomes imperative. For at least a decade, analytical economists in South Africa and public representatives through their Parliamentary Constituency Offices and engagement with residents in the community have known this, but this is the first time these fundamental determinants will be focused on strategically with determination.

The four fundamental determinants are:

- Location of business support service and time taken to approve funding applications;
- Requirements imposed on SMMEs;

The four fundamental determinants are:

- Location of business support service and time taken to approve funding applications;
- Requirements imposed on SMMEs;

- Complexity of application forms;
- Cost of finance.

Fortunately, Minister Ntshaveni's commitment to small business has ensured that the Department of Small Business Development has begun improving communication about the support and services these agencies provide and the department's programmes, including the funding instruments available.

More good news for small business is that the department has decided to provide SEFA and SEDA services through all the incubators and LED units of municipalities. In turn, the incubators and LED units will be supported by the regional offices of the Small Business Development agencies. The training of LED officers and staff will proceed where the President has launched the District Development model.

Meanwhile, the department is engaging with SALGA on a national roll-out programme. Small Business can also apply for SEFA funding online at www.sefa.org.za. Given that innovation and technology are being driven by the youth and create more small business opportunities, the Small Business and Innovation Fund (SBIF), which falls under SEFA, is geared to fund 100 000 young entrepreneurs including an emphasis on women.

Then there is the implementation of the reimagined industrial strategy: An Innovation Fund will be capitalised with R1.2-billion over the next three years. To encourage the growth of small businesses, government proposes to review the small business tax regime, the VAT threshold and turnover tax.

Industrial business incentives worth R18.5-billion will create and retain approximately 56 500 jobs. An additional R107-million is reprioritised for the refurbishment of 27 industrial parks in townships and rural economies. A sum of R6.5-billion is allocated for small business incentive programmes, of which R2.2-billion will be transferred to the Small Enterprise Development Agency. Together with the Department of Trade, Industry and Competition,



Small Business Development is considering various proposals from ITAC related to scrap steel and poultry.

Small business bears the brunt of the costs of doing business, which this budget also addresses, to boost productivity growth and reduce the cost of doing business by, for example, using the BIZ-Portal which, as Minister Mboweni put it, provides a streamlined way to register a new business with the CIPC, SARS, the UIF and the Compensation Fund in one day. As mentioned earlier, small business is agile enough to adopt the digital age as South Africa continues to embrace the Fourth Industrial Revolution.

Perhaps more significantly, the youth are in their natural element in this digital age. Regulation is intended to create freedom for business, especially small businesses, to operate effectively while ensuring workers are not mistreated. Furthermore, regulations also offer protection of minority shareholders.

However, the challenges arise when regulation does not take account of the limitations of small business. The Public Preferential Procurement Act is one of the few pieces of legislation which does protect small business. The intention of the Broad-Based Black Economic Employment Act is also not only the promotion of an inclusive economy but also to protect the small business. Given an enabling environment which effectively communicates information about the support

and services available to small business, the growth of SMEs could contribute a massive 42% of the GDP.

SMEs have, what I call a King Shaka set of skills, which made him one of Africa's, if not the world's, greatest generals. It is the unique combination of speed, surprise and concentration. Translated into the business environment, this means SMEs are small enough to make speedy decisions and to fluster bigger enterprises, which even lose their momentum and innovation as they still struggle to capacitate their staff.

Small business can break down barriers, impeding it from reaching its full potential and create jobs. The relaxed regulations in the energy sector emphasises that government knows it needs to create an enabling environment for small business development to achieve its full potential, and the market needs to acknowledge the critical role that entrepreneurs and small business play in driving economic growth.

There is general recognition of the importance of youth. President Ramaphosa reiterated the expansion of the National Youth Service to take on 50 000 young people every year and governments support of tech enabled platforms for self-employed youth in rural areas and townships. Filling another gap will be the work-based internships for graduates of technical and vocational programmes. Incubation centres to support youth driven start-ups will concretize government's commitments.

What needs to be done, therefore, is to finalise and implement the stated programmes to ensure economic rejuvenation. The country has an arduous road ahead. But the *sine-qua-non* is: **Small Business is simply the future.**

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Q&A

By Amanda Tshemese

IN THE SPOTLIGHT: Moloantoa (Geoff) Makhubo

1. Please tell briefly about yourself.

Moloantoa is a husband, a father, a son and an activist. I grew up in Soweto and finalised Matric in the then Mafikeng. I went to Wits University during hard times. That's when I also joined the student and youth structures. I am currently the Chairperson of the ANC in the Greater Johannesburg Region and the Executive Mayor of the City of Johannesburg. I am also the Former ANC Youth league Treasurer and Former MMC for Finance in the city of Johannesburg.

2. You've joined the organisation at a very young age and served in many structures. How has the journey been?

The journey has not been easy from the turbulent 80s – from working in rural development in Matatiele, Hershel and surrounding rural areas to some of the most rural areas of Limpopo. One had to content with poverty levels where mostly women singlehandedly raised children with their husbands being migrant labourers, and had to bear the brunt of extreme poverty. Leading the ANC youth league as its chairperson in Johannesburg was challenging as we led the process of realignment of branches to be ward-based.

3. July is a very important and historic month in our country as we celebrate the life of our struggle



Comrade Moloantoa Makhubo

icon, uTata Nelson Mandela. What comes to your mind when we particularly mark the 18th of July?

This day is all about celebrating Tata's selflessness, wisdom and strength. He is the epitome of selfless leadership. Comrade Mandela's contribution to the struggle for freedom in our country is immeasurable. This day reminds me of the many sacrifices that Comrade Mandela made to ensure that this country is free. However, as we celebrate Mandela Day, we cannot do so without adding a voice against Gender-based Violence and Femicide. President Mandela and many other struggle icons did not sacrifice their lives for women and children to be killed. We need to condemn Gender-Based Violence and Femicide in the strongest terms.

4. Comrade former President Mandela, a freedom fighter and a hero of our struggle, spent his entire life for the freedom of this country. If it wasn't for people like him, where would we be as a nation and country today?

Comrade Mandela and many other comrades played an indispensable role in the liberation of the country. We remain indebted to them for their selflessness and commitment to the cause of freedom. They dedicated their lives to the betterment of this country and that we can never take away. And through his wisdom we are still able to navigate through the most difficult times as a people and as a country. One cannot speak of Freedom and not include his name.

5. Unfortunately this year we are celebrating and commemorating Mandela Month under the COVID-19 pandemic. How are you going to commemorate this year's Madiba Day?

It is truly unfortunate that we will celebrate the day amidst the COVID-19, however, as we celebrate Mandela Day, we must draw strength from the battles and great struggles of anti-apartheid activists such as Tata Mandela and work hard to defeat this pandemic. We must commit ourselves to fight the pandemic. But most importantly, we must remember to give back as society. Covid-19 has impacted many people, especially the disadvantaged. Let's use this day as an opportunity to give

back to those less fortunate while also practicing extra caution.

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ZINDZI MANDELA: UNCONQUERABLE SOUL

6. How would you wish to see our politicians and public servants changing lives of those who are less fortunate as that was Madi-ba's wish?

The principle of *Batho Pele* is what needs to drive us. We need to serve the people and ensure that they trust us in providing a better life for them. Service delivery should be centered around the betterment and empowerment of our people. Public servant should be selfless and dedicate their lives to the society.

7. Coronavirus is everyone's problem and everyone should be fighting against it. However, there are still those individuals who are not complying with the regulations. What would you say to those people as we are now at the peak and we see frightening cases on a daily basis?

Let us be reminded that despite the hardships and uncertainties we currently face, we all still have a role to play in curbing the spread of this disease. Complying with the lockdown regulations will go a long way in curbing the spread of this virus. Let us make sure we adhere to social distancing, wear our face masks and ensure that we sanitize our hands regularly. My years in the liberation struggle have taught me that only when we're united we can defeat the enemy.

8. What's your motto?

When I started working, I was exposed to so much poverty and my biggest drive was to reverse the poverty levels and seek how to create economy safety nets. And that's when I made a commitment to work hard to transform people's lives for the better.

la, first daughter, what is she so angry about, she is not poor, Zindzi knew that 'The hardest thing to explain is the glaringly evident which everybody has decided not to see'.

Zindzi knew that the easiest thing and most rewarding would be to accept the script written for her, the glory of her name, the doors it could open, and build an empire that will rival the riches of white capital. But as she did then, in 1985, her financial freedom could not be separated from the people's prosperity. 35 years later, she was still the same daughter, tied at the hip with the oppressed people of the country.

Zindzi Mandela, like her mother, had the courage to be wholly devoted to what is just and fair. Reconciliation was good but it was seating heavy on the backs of black people and there was no willingness on the part of white people to shoulder the yoke. Seeking justice in a world that wants to forget, an oppressor still dominant in every sphere of life, comes at a high cost. Zindzi and her mother were willing to pay it over again, all the cost, all the sacrifices.

Zindzi Mandela loved life, so much that she could never live it to tiptoe around anyone's fragile sensibilities, especially those so well served by an unfair status quo. Zindzi was her own woman and made no apologies for it. She rejected those who sought to trap her in the legacy of her father, because she knew that as strange as they were treating her, her father remained a stranger to them too, a sojourner, as was her mother. They never truly loved him, for racist attitudes are self-serving, and when you see them change, you must know that it is only because such a shift is beneficial to the racist.

Zindzi's mother had a story; it was a story of old black men, friends of her father's, stripped of their dignity by young white boys who had the power of the state. Zindzi had heard her moth-

er's tales daily and lived to experience her own brutal memories of seeing thousands of black people, humiliated, without work, tossed to and fro like the waves of the sea, without a station or a security of a home, and like her mother, she vowed that until the dignity of black people is restored and those who took it are made to pay, justice will never be truly served.

Zindzi was on a path of her own, carved out of the best parts of both her towering parents, and she walked armed with nothing but faith of youth and passion of new roads. There were things that were not acceptable and it did not matter the long suffering that came with standing and standing by her truth, it did not matter how it would take for everyone to stand on that truth, and not accept anything less, she was going to stand alone if needs be.

While most people know that there has been no justice for black people, they have chosen to keep quiet, tied as they are to this imperfect system, like a shop keeper who knows that screaming about injustice won't change the reality of his rent when its due, due to the very oppressor who fights his justice.

Zindzi was ready to lose it all and this may well be her legacy. She fought for freedom and would never accept any form of bondage and delayed justice in order to please the very people who destroyed her family and the black family.

May her death stir us into action and make us reject the reality that continues to make black people observers in the mainstream and wealth of their own country.

Go Well Zindzi! No country could have asked more of you.

Yonela Diko is Spokesperson of the Minister of Human Settlements, Water and Sanitation. He writes in his personal capacity.

18–24 July 2020

Source: SA History Online (www.sahistory.org.za)**18 July 1918*****Nelson Rolihlahla Mandela is born***

Rolihlahla Mandela was born into the Madiba clan in Mvezo, Transkei, on 18 July 1918. He received the name “Nelson” on his first day in primary school from his teacher.

Nelson Rolihlahla Mandela became known and respected all over the world as a symbol of the struggle against apartheid and all forms of racism; the icon and the hero of African liberation.

Mandela or Madiba, as he was affectionately known, has been called a freedom fighter, a great man, South Africa’s Favourite Son, a global icon and a living legend, among countless other names. He has been an activist, a political prisoner, South Africa’s first democratically elected president, an international peacemaker and statesman, and a Nobel Peace Prize winner.

As a husband and a father, Mandela sacrificed the joys of family life and

of seeing his children grow up. As a young man, he missed out on a normal life spent with family and friends and pursuing a career of his choice, to fight for the cause he unshakably stood for. On 18 July every year, citizens of the world are invited to mark Nelson Mandela International Day (in South Africa we celebrate it as **Mandela Day**) by making a difference in their communities. Everyone has the ability and the responsibility to change the world for the better! Mandela Day is an occasion for all to take action and inspire change.



ANC National Executive Committee members took time off during an NEC meeting in 2009 to wish Tata Madiba well on his 91st birthday.

18 July 1963***UN Special Committee on Apartheid releases report***

The United Nations Special Committee on Apartheid, which was set up by the General Assembly under resolution 1761 (XVII), released its second interim report. The committee was entrusted with the responsibilities to monitor and promote a comprehensive programme of action against apartheid in South Africa. It pressed for effective international sanctions against South Africa, particularly with reference to the supply of arms, ammunition and petroleum.

19 July 1988**Mandela Birthday Committee
Activists Released**

On 19 July 1988, Zollie Malinga, Bulenani Ngcuka, Omar Badsha, Jonathan Shapiro, Rehana Rossour, Veronica Simmers, Saleem Mowzer, Ngconde Balfor and Nams Wessels were released from detention. At the time, the apartheid government had banned all gatherings and the activists were arrested for being part of a Nelson Mandela Birthday Celebration organising committee, to celebrate Madiba's 70th birthday.

20 July 1985**Cradock Four Laid to rest**

On 27 June 1987, activists Matthew Goniwe, Fort Calata, Sparrow Mkhonto and Sicelo Mhlauli, four activists from Cradock were returning from a United Democratic Front (UDF) meeting in Port Elizabeth. They were intercepted by the apartheid security police, and disappeared. The four were abducted, tortured, killed and their bodies burnt. Mkhonto and Mhlauli's bodies were found in different parts of a dump near Bluewaterbay, Port Elizabeth. Goniwe and Calata's bodies were found in Bluewater Bay days later. On 20 July 1985 the four were buried at a massive funeral, with people from all over the country, defying roadblocks, arrests and other attempts from stopping them getting to the funeral. At the funeral, held in Lingelighle, Cradock, for the first time since the banning of the 1960's, huge flags of the ANC and the SACP were raised, watched by police on horseback, monitoring the funeral from the surrounding hills. At midnight that evening, the state of emergency

was declared, that would last until the start of negotiations in 1990, with tens and thousands detained, many tortured and killed and countless banings and restricted. Today a heritage monument to the Cradock Four has been erected in their hometown.

20 July 1998**Law and Order Minister Adrian
Vlok implicates De Klerk at TRC**

On 20 July 1998 former Law and Order Minister, Adriaan Vlok testifies under oath that while in office, the former president of South Africa, F.W. de Klerk knew of illegal operations by the security forces against Black opposition groups. Vlok and more than 30 senior police officers are seeking amnesty from the Commission for a bombing campaign carried out during the 1980s. In two earlier submissions to the commission, De Klerk categorically denied that he knew of any illegal operations by his government.

21 July 1967**Nkosi Albert Luthuli killed in
Groutville**

On 21 July 1967, Chief Albert Luthuli died after he was struck by a train on a railway bridge close to the home that he had been confined to by the Apartheid regime in Groutville, (then) Stanger, KwaZulu-Natal. Chief Luthuli was President-General of the African National Congress (ANC) from 1952 until his death in 1967. In 1960, he received the Nobel Peace Prize and he was the most widely known and respected African leader of his era. Born near Bulawayo in Zimbabwe, in 1898, the Chief's family moved to Kwazulu-Natal in 1908. Luthuli trained as a teacher and lay preacher in the Methodist Church. His political activ-

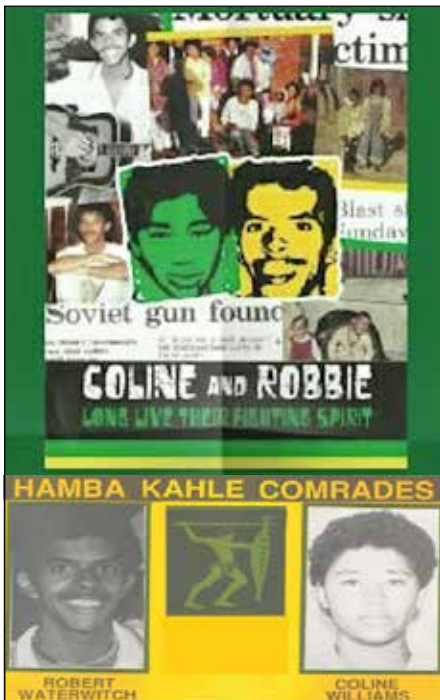
ities and defiance brought him into direct conflict with the apartheid government. He was banned from public gatherings and confined to his home. This, however, did not stop him from playing a political role in the country. Throughout his life Chief Luthuli steadfastly believed that a non-racial society in South Africa could be achieved.

22 July 1987**Murphy Morobe and Valli Moosa
detained in Port Elizabeth**

Police arrested United Democratic Front national secretary-general Mohammed Valli Moosa and its acting publicity secretary Murphy Morobe in a pre-dawn raid on the home of Judge Dayalin Chetty in Port Elizabeth. The two men had been on the run from the police for more than a year. The following year on 15 September 1988, Valli and Morobe escaped from detention in Johannesburg after feigning illness and spent thirty-seven days in the American Consulate, before securing passports and flying out of the country. Their actions were aimed at highlighting the plight of detainees and the harshness of the state of emergency in force since 1985.

23 July 1989**Coline Williams and Robbie
Waterwitch killed in Athlone blast**

On 23 July 1989, a blast occurred opposite the Athlone Magistrate's Court and police complex, which took the lives of two African National Congress (ANC) activists. Coline Williams (22) and Robbie Waterwitch (20) from Cape Town, were killed when the explosive device they were attempting



to plant opposite the Athlone Magistrates Court and Police Station detonated prematurely. Foul play was suspected, since it was known that the underground cell Williams and Waterwitch were part of was under surveillance and the injuries sustained by the two were inconsistent with their manner of death.

24 July 1999

King Hassan II from Morocco dies

King Hassan II, who ruled Morocco for 38 years, died of heart failure at the age of 70 at the Avicenne hospital in Rabat. Hassan's death was announced by his son and successor Crown Prince Sidi Mohammed on national Television. Hassan had previously been hospitalised in the United States for lung problems. Under his reign, Morocco annexed the current territories of Western Sahara, which was declared illegal by the Organisation of African Unity (OAU). The OAU accepted the membership of the Saharawi Arab Republic in 1984 and the Kingdom of Morocco left the OAU 1982, only to rejoin in 2017 under King Mohammed VI. The Kingdom supported the South African liberation movements financially and through training during the struggle against apartheid.

INTERNATIONAL DAYS

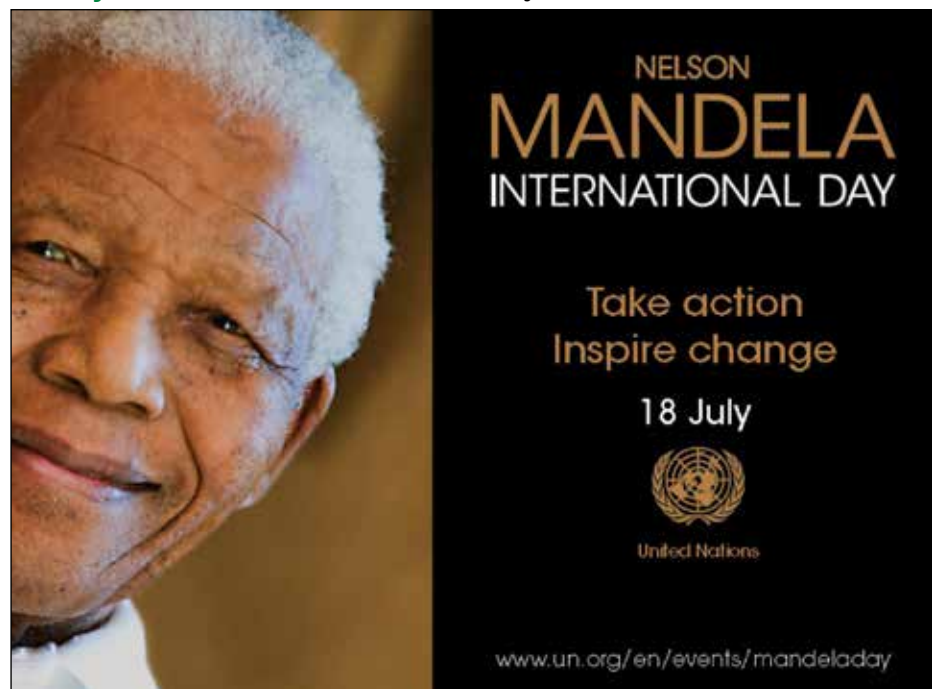
17–24 July 2020

Source: <https://www.un.org>

17 July World Emoji Day

Emojis were first used in Japan on cell phones in the 1990s and have become an integral part of our communications experience. An unofficial day, it celebrates how emojis have become global. Increasingly emojis recognize the diversity of our experiences, with emojis in different skin colours, and recognizing other religions besides Christianity. Most recently, a young Ivorian O'Plerou Grebet, developed a series of African emojis that give expression to the African experience and symbols. (www.holidayinsights.com).

18 July Nelson Mandela International Day



The United Nations in 2009 declared 18 July, the birthday of Comrade Nelson Rolihlahla Mandela as an international day, first celebrated in 2010. On this day, global humanity is called upon to devote at least 67 minutes of their day to serving their fellow human beings. This is in honour of the sixty seven years that Nelson Mandela devoted to the service of humanity – as a freedom fighter, a human rights lawyer, an activist, organiser and volunteer, a prisoner of conscience, an international peacemaker and the first democratically elected president of a democratic South Africa.

20 July World Chess Day

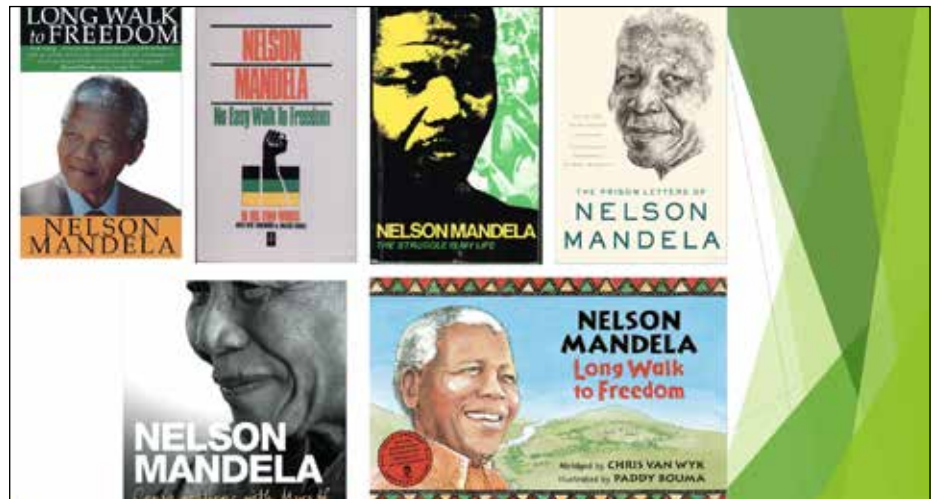
Chess is one of the most ancient, intellectual and cultural games, with a combination of sport, scientific thinking and elements of art. As an affordable and inclusive activity, it can be exercised anywhere and played by all, across the barriers of language, age, gender, physical ability or social status. Chess is a global game, which promotes fairness, inclusion and mutual respect, and noting in this regard that it can contribute to an atmosphere of tolerance and understanding among peoples and nations.

THE NELSON MANDELA READING LIST

AS WE celebrate ten years since the world first started to celebrate Mandela International Day, books about this icon keep growing, and his epic autobiography *Long Walk to Freedom*, first published in 1994 remains a global best seller. It has also been abridged (considerably!) into a children's book with the same title by Chris van Wyk (2013, Heineman)

This was by far not his first. In 1965, Heineman released *No Easy Walk to Freedom* (reissued with a foreword by Walter Sisulu in 1990). This is a collection of articles and speeches by Mandela, during the period 1953 and 1963, when, according to the Editorial Note, "Mandela had to use the pen instead of the microphone to address his people." With an Introduction by Oliver Reginald Tambo, written in December 1964 from Dar es Salaam, the book includes his speech made to the Transvaal Indian Congress in 1953 on the Defiance campaign from which the book takes its title; and is divided into sub-sections: Streams of African Nationalism; Living under Apartheid; Resistance against Apartheid, Our Tactics and Theirs; Resistance from Underground; and On trial. This book gives insight to Mandela, the organiser, intellectual and militant during a decade when the ANC grew into a mass movement and resistance to apartheid moved to a new level.

The Struggle is My Life (1978), a collection of speeches and articles, was published by the anti-apartheid movement of India on the occasion of Mandela's 60th birthday, at a point when he had already served 16 years in jail. It includes key events during the three



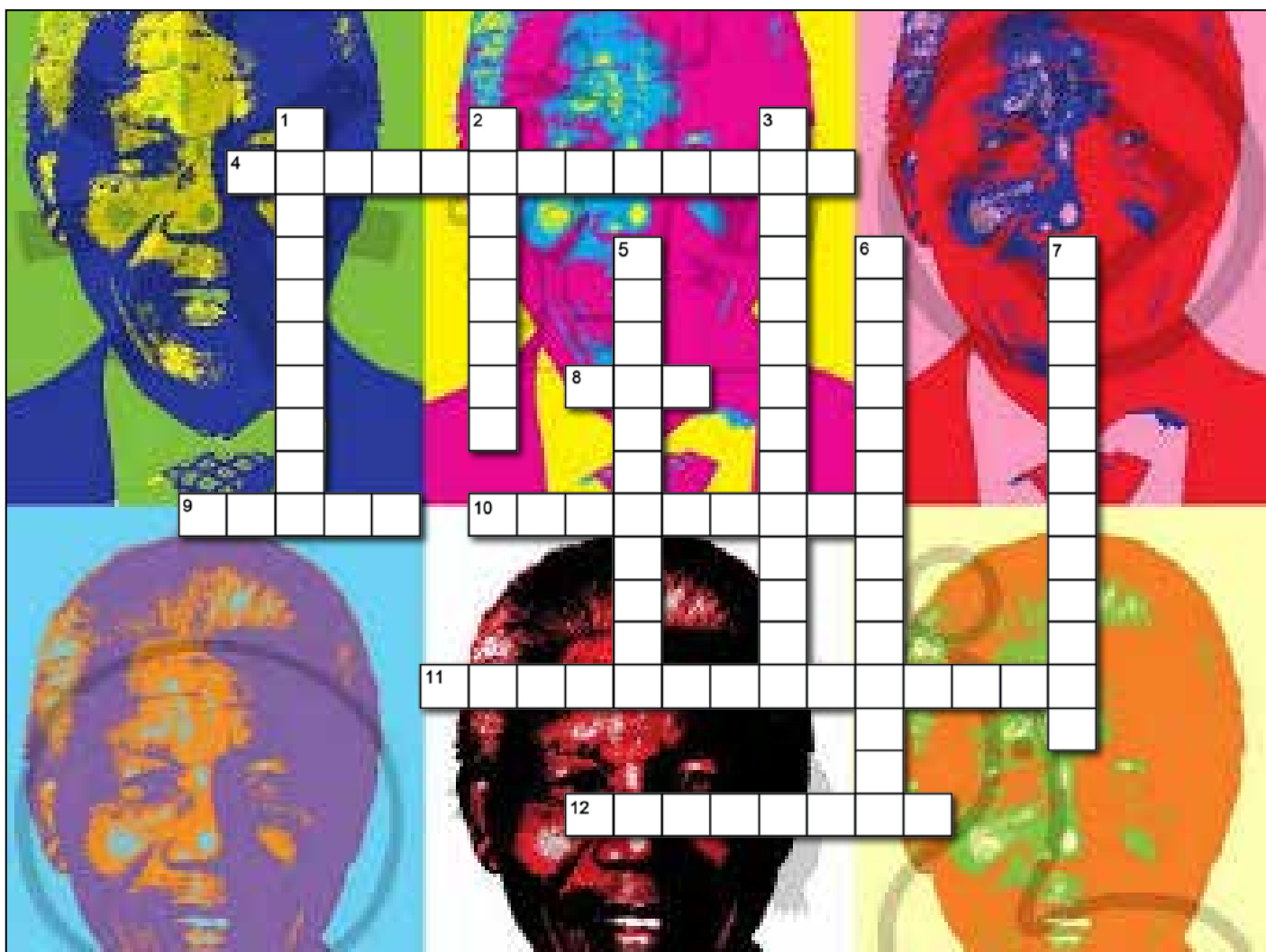
decades before he went to prison: the ANC Youth League formation and Manifesto, the Defiance Campaign, the Congress of the People, having to build the underground and the move towards armed struggle as repression intensified in the 1950s and 60s, and the Treason and Rivonia Trials. Subsequent editions of the book (1990) also include communications smuggled out of Robben Island and Victor Verster prisons, and therefore deals with his time in prison.

Besides his official autobiography, a number of other works about his life came out after his release from prison. These include *Conversations with Myself* (2010), a collection based on his personal archives of private reflections on some of the pivotal moments of his life; and *The Prison Letters of Nelson Mandela* (2018). The latter perhaps, even more than his autobiography, gives an insight into the man, with selected letters from his days in Pretoria prison awaiting trial in 1962-1963 until the prison from which he was released on 10 February 1990. In a poignant foreword to the book, his granddaughter Zamaswazi Dlamini-Mandela writes: "During his incarceration, my grandfather wrote many

hundreds of letters. Through the letters, he documents the ongoing prosecution of my grandmother and provides insight into what it must have been for his children Thembi, Makgatho, Makaziwe, Zenani and Zindzi to have an absent father that they could hardly communicate with or, this I find unbearable, even visits until they turned sixteen. My grandfather reminded us that we should never forget the past or where we came from."

As we celebrate **Mandela Day** in 2020, in the midst of a global pandemic, with its devastating effect on health, social life and livelihoods of peoples across the globe, as South Africans, we may well remember Madiba's words in *No Easy Walk to Freedom*: "Dangers and difficulties have not deterred us in the past, they will not frighten us now. But we must be prepared for them... not waste energy in vain talk and idle action. The way of preparation (for action) lies in our rooting out all impurity and indiscipline from our organisation and making it the bright and shining instrument that will cleave its way to (Africa's) freedom."

Our long walk to freedom is not yet over.

**Across**

4. Daughter who died a few days before Mandela Day.
8. He was a member of his organisation from his youth till the day he died.
9. Mandela said, *"it is in your ... to make a difference..."*
10. Occupied this position as the first and founder in a democratic South Africa.
11. Aspect of our history strongly associated with Madiba.
12. Madiba was a staunch advocate for the rights of ...

Down

1. Amount of years of public service that Madiba gave us.
2. 18 July is the ... of Tata Madiba
3. When he was in hiding in the 1950s and 60s, he was also called ...
5. Number of years Mandela spent in prison.
6. Mandela, with Sisulu, Lembede, Mda and Tambo were founders of the ...
7. Prison where he spent most of his sentence with his comrades.

WORD BANK

birthday

ANC Youth League

ANC

twenty seven

reconciliation

Zindzi Mandela

Robben Island

Black pimpernel

sixty seven

hands

President

children



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

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