

ANC TODAY

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Conversations with the **President**



THE WAR AGAINST COVID-19

TOWARDS A ROBUST PROGRAMME OF RECONSTRUCTION AND RECOVERY

S SEVERAL parts of our country experience a surge in coronavirus infections, we are also confronted with the economic damage of this pandemic.

The most recent economic indicators show a drastic decline in economic activity and in confidence. Despite the support measures we have put in place, businesses are

being forced to close and jobs are being lost.

The path to recovery will be long and difficult. And so, it needs to start now.

Despite the economic challenges we face, we must continue to work towards the achievement of economic dignity for all South Africans. This is not the time to despair but to act. It is untenable, and unacceptable, to live with an unemployment rate of 30 percent, which will soon increase. It is also impossible to build an economy built on inequality.

It is often said that South Africans do not lack for ideas. We have seen the publication of various economic recovery proposals recently, including by the governing party, or-

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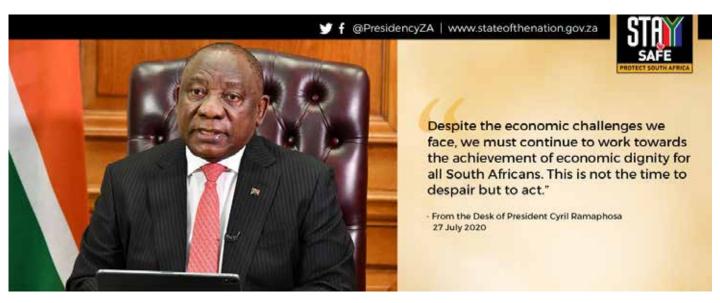
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ganised business, civil society and independent analysts.

I am encouraged by the significant areas of agreement in these proposals. In the State of the Nation Address in February, I said that there were three things we would focus on this year. First, we were going to fix the fundamentals. Second, we would pursue new sources of growth. Third, we would ensure that our actions are underpinned by a capable state.

Many of the plans under discussion raise these fundamentals, such as reliable energy, access to broadband spectrum, competitive ports and efficient transport. Working with our social partners, we must speed up the pace of implementation so that we can rebuild the base of our economy.

In all the proposals put forward in recent weeks, there is a substantial emphasis on improving execution. They all say that we should seek out pockets of excellence in the state and support and deepen them. But they also say that we must look outside the state. We need to bring together the best available local skills, whether in business, academia or civil society to support our common programme.

There is a strong commitment to a social compact - and the institutions necessary to support it - so that the reconstruction of our economy can be a shared responsibility and a shared undertaking.

With the advent of the coronavirus, we now need to pursue new sources of growth within a fundamentally different context. Many of the areas we had identified before remain relevant and urgent, such as a growing small and medium enterprise sector and an agricultural sector that delivers food security. Some sectors have taken on a new significance. We should, for example, use this opportunity to build a greener economy, with our entrepreneurs entering new fields such as hybrid cars, fuel cells, battery storage and waste beneficiation. This element has come out quite clearly in the various plans that have been released.

In the year of our chairship of the African Union, we were planning vigorously for the activation of the African Continental Free Trade Area, which has been delayed by the pandemic. All social partners see the value of expanding trade in an integrated Africa, with concrete proposals on how to overcome the barriers that impede the ability of Africans to trade with one another. Our strategies to promote local production, which is a common theme across the various recovery plans, should support efforts to create regional value chains on the continent.

When we launched the economic stimulus and recovery plan nearly two years ago, we announced the establishment of an Infrastructure Fund that could blend different forms of finance to drive infrastructure development. This we identified as the flywheel of economic growth. There is now general consensus that our recovery should be led by infrastructure development and maintenance. At the Sustainable Infrastructure Development Symposium organised by the Presidency a few weeks ago, business and government were of one mind on a new methodology to develop an infrastructure pipeline and deliver on it. Investors from the multilateral development banks, development finance institutions and the private sector all showed a strong appetite to make the necessary investments to meet South Africa's extensive and diverse infrastructure needs.

In the coming weeks, we will work

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with our social partners to finalise an economic recovery programme that brings together the best of all the various proposals. The most important part of that programme must be the protection and the creation of jobs.

Analysts have estimated that this pandemic will cost the country millions of jobs. In the supplementary budget presented last month, government made provision for job preservation and job creation efforts. The job preservation efforts, such as those through the UIF and tax measures, aim to prevent job losses in the private sector.

However, if we are going to recover from the worst effects of the pandemic, we also need well-crafted public employment schemes. Creating jobs for people that add value to their communities through maintenance, care work and other

services, keeps people engaged in productive activity. It helps them to retain and to develop skills. It gives many young people a chance to climb the first rung in the job market ladder. Such jobs complement employment created by businesses as they start to recover and private investment returns.

As the recovery takes hold and the world gradually adjusts to a global economy marked by COVID-19, we expect economic activity to pick up. By then, our initiatives to reform and improve the business environment will establish a firm platform for industries with high potential to flourish.

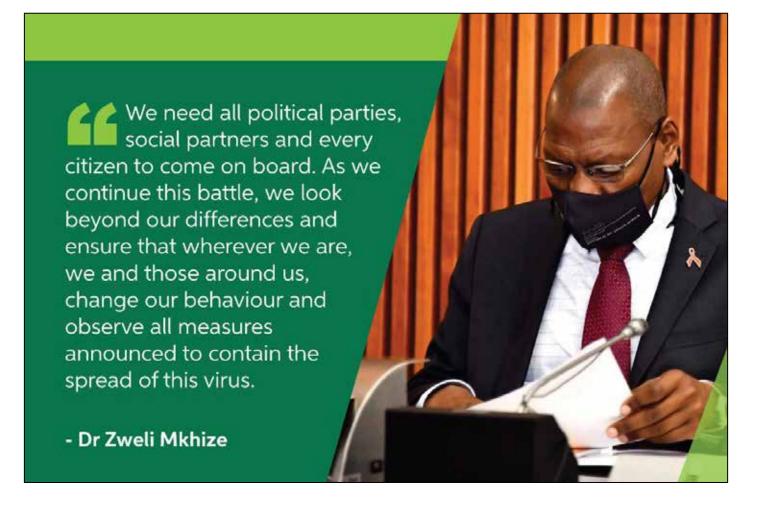
Since the onset of the pandemic in South Africa, our strategy has been to provide whatever support we can, within our constrained resources. to protect businesses and preserve jobs. Now we must move quickly towards a robust programme of reconstruction and recovery - and we must do so together.

Building on the vast areas of common ground among the proposals from social partners, we now have to put in place a clear, focused and ambitious set of measures to not only restore our economy, but to set it on a new path of inclusive and sustainable growth.

We are faced with a health, social and economic crisis of massive proportions. But we are not daunted, nor discouraged.

We will do what we must to build an economy that is resilient and dynamic, that creates work and opportunity, and that meets the needs of all our people.

We have all the ingredients for an economic recovery. Now let us work together to make it happen.



EDITORIAL



RECLAIMING THE LEGACY OF OUR LEADERS

Extracts from A Tribute by the Secretary General of the African National Congress, **Comrade Elias Sekgobelo Magashule** dedicated to the Living Memory of the Stalwart of our National Liberation

Movement, Isithwalandwe Andrew Mokete Mlangeni, 29 July 2020

UR NATION is mourning. The community of the Southern African region and the African continent is mourning, and indeed, the whole of the progressive world is in mourning. The light that has become a guiding torch of the struggle of our people against imperialism and colonial domination has been extinguished.

The gallant son of the African soil, an undaunted hero and revolutionary leader of the struggle of our people, the commander of the glorious army of our people's army Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK), a recipient of the highest order of our liberation movement *Isithwaland-we/Seaparankoe*, comrade Andrew Mokete Mlangeni is no more. Destiny has let his beautiful heart sleep in the glory of the immortals.

On behalf of the leadership of the National Executive Committee (NEC) of the ANC and its membership across the length and breadth of our country, on behalf of the entire people of our country, we convey our heartfelt and sincere condolences to Comrade Mlangeni's family, friends and relatives. Our prayers are with you during this difficult moment of sorrow and anguish.

As we pay tribute to the memories of his revolutionary life, we find comfort in the words of the Greek pot and philosopher Titus Lucretius Carus when



he said:

"Rest assured that we have nothing to fear in death. One who no longer is cannot suffer or differ in any way from one who has never been born, when this life has been usurped by death the immortal..."

It is true that the embodiment of any revolutionary hero is not measured by the size of his strength, but by the strength of his heart. His warm heart became a beacon for the achievement of the wishes and aspirations of humanity and never his greatest fears.

Born from a working class background, by a family of labour tenants at a farm near the town of Bethlehem in the province of the Free State, comrade Andrew Mlangeni was baptized by the brutality of the vicious system of the racist apartheid colonial regime. The harsh realities of the inhuman system of apartheid subjugated his family to the most horrible of the conditions.

Comrade Mlangeni was of the generation of a rare mould of men and women who understood that heroes and outstanding individuals may play a part in the life of society only in so far as they are capable of correctly understanding the conditions of its development of a particular time, and therefore the ways of changing it for the better.

The understanding of this important theoretical view by his generation propelled them to transform the ANC from being just a movement of peti-

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tions and deputations into a militant revolutionary movement, informed by the realities of the new conditions imposed by the declaration of the racist apartheid regime. The new conditions of the heightened oppression and exploitation by the apartheid colonial regime ignited his generation to take the forms of our struggle to a higher trajectory.

This historical period gave birth to the formation of the ANC Youth League (ANCYL) which formulated a radical program of action to mount an offensive against the oppressive laws imposed on our people by the then new racist regime. This prompted the call by this heroic generation to declare that during their lifetime, they would attain the freedom of our people.

This unbending commitment for the liberation of our people, led to his generation taking a leading role in the intensification of resistance against the regime. This commitment led to the rolling mass action during the defiance campaigns of 1952, the campaign against the imposition of Bantu education in 1953, the campaign to demand for the return of land back to the people, and more importantly, the holding of the watershed Congress of the people of 1955 in Kliptown, Soweto.

This fearless generation of inspiring young men and women was part of the nucleus of our historic leadership which took the life and death decision of forming the military wing of the ANC, Umkhonto we Sizwe, and therefore declaring the arm struggle against the apartheid regime.

As part of the High Command of Umkhonto we Sizwe, he was amongst the first after its launch in 1961 to take the solemn oath of its Declaration which says in part:

"The time comes in the life of any nation when there remain only two choices - submit or fight. That time has now come to South Africa. We shall not submit and we have no choice but to hit back by all means in our power in defense of our people, our future, and our freedom".

Together with his fellow Rivonia trialists, comrade Mlangeni was sentenced to three life sentences on account of conspiracy to overthrow the apartheid regime. Together with his comrades, he agreed to the collective statement read by the accused number one Nelson Mandela which stated: "...It is an ideal for which I hope to live for and to see realized... but if needs be, it is an ideal for which I am prepared to die".

Together with his fellow comrades they spent over 25 years incarcerated by the apartheid government on Robben Island. Despite harsh and long confinement behind the dark prison walls, they remained committed to the struggle and refuted numerous attempts by the regime to persuade them to denounce violence as a form of our struggle.

He comprehended the significance of the unity of the revolutionary Alliance in the context of the realities of the South African situation. It is for this reason why he appreciated the multi-class character of the ANC and its historic task of uniting all sections and classes of the oppressed masses against colonial oppression and exploitation.

Borrowing from the teachings of the late General Secretary of the South African Communist Party Cde Moses Mabhida, he understood the relationship between the ANC, SACP and COSATU (plus SANCO), to be based on mutual trust, reciprocity, comradeship in battle and common struggle for national liberation.

The time has come, that the leadership of the ANC and its membership, our revolutionary Alliance formations and the progressive formations to reclaim the legacy of our own leaders. The enemy is determined to convert them into harmless icons, the enemy is determined to canonise them, to hallow their names and therefore distort the rhythm of the revolutionary ideals they stood for and for which they were prepared to die for.

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Tata Andrew Mlangeni and Tata Dennis Goldberg, both recipients of Isithwalandwe/Seaparankwe during a visit to Liliesleaf in Rivonia.

Neither of them, from OR Tambo, Walter Sisulu, Nelson Mandela, Andrew Mlangeni, Govan Mbeki, Raymond Mhlaba, Elias Motsoaledi, Ahmed Kathrada, JB Marks, Moses Kotane, Alfred Nokwe, Mark Shope, Lawrence Phokanoka, John Nkadimeng, Dora Tamane, Winnie Mandela, Florence Maphosho, Lilian Ngoyi, and many others ever told us that our struggle is complete and over. During their lifetime, they have unequivocally become part of the broader struggle for radical socio-economic transformation.

Our enemy has mastered the art of deceit, malice, propaganda and the capacity to distort the history of the struggle of the people of our country. They were not harmless icons but revolutionaries in the trenches of our struggle.

But we are confident that our people are more becoming vested with the tactics of the enemy, with its characteristic feature of being vague, amorphous and elusive. We see today those who were blue eyed boys and girls of the vicious regime which the world declared a crime against humanity becoming instant heroes of the history of the struggle of our peo-

ple. They mastered the art of wearing the best of our regalia and to sing and dance the best of our songs.

As we salute their living memories, we shall continue with our struggle for the implementation of the resolutions of the 54th conference of the ANC which, amongst others, demanded for the expropriation of the land without compensation, the nationalisation of the South African Reserve Bank (SARB), transformation of the financial sector, establishment of the state bank, establishment of the national health insurance and introduction of a free and compulsory education to all the people of our country.

In their memory we shall be part of the contingent of the world community to wage the struggle for the improvement of the living conditions of our people. We shall demand for a better world of peace and harmony.

We shall be part of the international campaign to demand for the freedom of the people of the SAHARA-WI Republic. Yes, we shall be part of the campaign for the freedom of the people of Palestine. We shall be part of the campaign to demand for the end of the illegal economic sanc-

We shall forever cherish the heroic generation of the Rivonia Trialists and emulate their exemplary leadership.

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tions against the people of Zimbabwe, Cuba, Venezuela and Nicaragua.

The passing on of comrade Andrew Mlangeni closes the last page of the chapters of our history books about the heroic generation of the Rivonia trialists, a generation of outstanding leaders whose exemplary leadership we shall forever cherish and emulate.

We shall forever be inspired by their outstanding and magnificent contribution to the struggle for the liberation of our people. They are indeed a living example that leaders are not born as leaders, but are born in the trenches of struggle, honed and shaped by the values and the traditions of our revolutionary movement in the daily struggle of the people.

This constant historical flow is expressed in the ages old revolutionary slogan - that we, as true internationalists, have also made our own: "A LUTA CONTINUA, VICTORY IS CERTAIN" Yes, indeed our struggle continues, and as long as we carry forward the revolutionary ideals that comrade Andrew Mlangeni bestowed on us, victory is certain!

Let his heart sleep in the glory of our beautiful nation for which he has devoted his life. As we say farewell to his mortal remains, we are confident that we shall meet again in the other and better world.

MAY HIS REVOLUTIONARY SOUL **REST IN PEACE.**



Mphephethwa's Political Theory Lives on

Dear Mr President

LL OF US who are privileged to lead in the African National Congress stand on the shoulders of giants. The oldest liberation movement on the African continent is blessed with a treasure trove of leaders who came before us, and who sacrificed their lives and livelihoods in order to put the interests of the oppressed people foremost. We shall never forget.

This week as we bid the final farewell to Ntate Andrew Mlangeni, the last surviving Rivonia Trialist, we also remembered the "The Lion of the Midlands", Isithwalandwe/Seaparankwe Themba Harry Gwala, who would have celebrated his 100th birthday on July 30th.

On the occasion the centenary of this fearless revolutionary, we are unable to gather and celebrate his life and contribution to the liberation of his people, but we shall not forget.

The ANC comrades duly convened a webinar on virtual platforms and on the South African Broadcast Corporation platforms to reflect on his life. This was in accordance with the lockdown regulations that prevent gatherings in order to curb the spread of the COVID-19 pandemic.

Mphephethwa, as he was fondly known to his peers, passed away in June 1995, a mere year after the ANC won the inaugural democratic elections in 1994.



Comrade Pule Mabe

He was born on July 30th in New Hanover in what is now the Kwa Zulu Natal province. He trained as a teacher at Adams College and taught at Slangspruit where his students included Moses Mabhida, who later became one of the iconic leaders of the liberation struggle.

Now, more than ever is the time to stop the squabbles and marshal the troops towards the common objective of saving lives, just as Mphephethwa did in the Midlands three decades ago in the face of danger.

In 1942, Isithwalandwe/Seaparankwe Gwala joined the Communist party of South Africa (today's SACP) and two years later, he joined the ANC and moved into trade union organisation.

He was one of the organisers of a national stay-away in 1950 and was subsequently banned under the Suppression of Communism Act.

In 1964, Comrade harry Gwala was imprisoned on Robben Island for sabotage and recruiting for Umkhonto we Sizwe. He was released in 1972, after serving eight years but was restricted to Pietermaritzburg by a banning order. There, he established a laundry collection business as a cover for continued ANC activity. In 1975, he was arrested again and was sentenced to life on Robben island under the Terrorism Act. At that notorious prison for political prisoners, he taught fellow inmates political theory.

In 1995, Nelson Mandela recalled: "Mphephethwa was a great 'political teacher' who taught generation after generation of struggle. Many of today's leaders drank from the deep well of Mphephethwa's political wisdom. But such was the nature of his teaching, that the product of his education would themselves develop into political giants in their own right; using the tools he gave them to develop independent thought and analysis."

Mr President, this was no faint praise to the diminutive giant, who led the

COMMENT & ANALYSIS

ANC in the Midlands after it was unbanned. During those turbulent times, as the apartheid intensified its dirty tricks campaign and fomenting the killing of our people, it was Isithwalandwe/Seaparankwe Gwala who marshaled the troops on the ground, applying his firebrand oratory to great effect.

This was remarkable since he had lost the use of both his arms after contracting motor neuron disease during his second prison term. The deterioration of his health led to his release in November 1988.

The apartheid regime refused him permission to attend the funeral of his wife, Elda, four years earlier in 1984.

After the 1994 elections, he was elected to the KZN legislature where he served as the Chief Whip of the ANC.

Mr President, it is crucial that we pay homage to stalwarts such as Mphephethwa in order to keep his memory alive but also to ensure that the younger generation comes to understand that the freedom we enjoy today came at a great price.

Our country is currently grappling with a pandemic that has wreaked havoc with our health and socio-economic activities in an unprecedented manner.

The national lockdown imposed to halt the spread of the virus has led to the government being taken to court on numerous occasions by lobbies, interest groups and political parties opposed to some of the measures taken to safeguard the lives of our people.



We continue to learn from the lessons provided by Mphephethwa and his political theory.

While these distract from the common mission of saving lives, they are welcomed since they demonstrate that our democracy is alive and everyone is free to resort to legal instruments where they perceive a grievance. The generation of Mphephethwa did not enjoy such freedoms and endured untold misery when they confronted the apartheid reaime.

The ANC is in unchartered territory as it faces the coronavirus monster as a governing party. The pandemic has put in sharp focus the inequalities that hobble our country from reaching its full potential and pros-

per. Those who would wish to let the status quo remain, are frustrated by the opportunity presented by this health and economic pandemic which has forced all of us to reimagine the future we want to build for the next generation.

Mr President, we will not leave it to history to absolve the ANC of responsibility to lead during these trying times.

Mphephethwa and his generation handed us an ANC that was strong and united and it would be a sad day if we were to tarnish their legacy by equivocating on our mission to drive the revolution of our society. In the wake of the destruction wrought by the pandemic should rise a phoenix that

must restore the confidence of our people in the ANC as the only movement that cares.

As the virus reaches its peak of transmission, we need all hands on deck to mobilise our people to observe the safety and hygiene protocols reauired to stem the loss of lives.

Now, more than ever is the time to stop the squabbles and marshal the troops towards the common objective of saving lives, just as Mphephethwa did in the Midlands three decades ago in the face of danger.

We continue to learn from the lessons provided by Mphephethwa and his political theory.

Long Live the undying spirit of Harry Gwala, Long Live!

Pule Mabe

National Spokesperson and Head of the Department of Information and Publicity



AN ECONOMIC OUTLOOK FOR 2020

Keeping in mind that the lockdown due to COVID-19 is not only affecting the South African economy, but most economies of the world, **ULRICH JOUBERT** looks at a likely scenario of how our economy will play out over the next year

HE South African economy remains an open economy, with exports and imports comprising more that 50% of the total economy. Therefore, it is to a large extent influenced by international trends. This is the situation in 2020 and will be in subsequent years.

At the beginning of 2020, there were high hopes that the South African economy would show an improved growth rate compared with the dismal 0.2% achieved in 2019. It was based on the assumption that world economic growth could improve in 2020, as the trade friction between the US and China subsided following the signing of a trade agreement between these two superpowers in December 2019.

In 2019, growth of the Chinese economy was adversely impacted by the trade dispute between China and the US. Following the trade agreement, it was hoped that China would show improved growth in 2020 and as the major trading partner of South Africa, this would also benefit growth of the domestic economy.

Given a good summer rainfall season, it was also anticipated that the agricultural sector, which had shown strong negative figures in the first quarter of 2019, would add to an improved outlook for 2020.

When the central government budget was delivered on 26 February, the problems caused by the coronavirus were regarded as a distant problem affecting China and some other countries.



Currently, forecasts for the domestic economy indicate that South Africa could have a negative growth rate of between 6% and 16% in 2020.

—<u>"</u>"

The budget, however, showed that we faced a credit downgrade by Moody's Investor Services by the end of March as the budget deficit was too large and economic growth too slow, while no new major policy adjustments to rectify these problems were announced.

At the time of the budget, Moody's was the only major international credit rating agency which still had South Africa on investment grade. In March everything changed, and the coronavirus became a threat to the South African community. On 26 March, the shock to the economy came as it was put under an initial lockdown period of three

weeks, which was eventually extended to five weeks.

On Friday night 27 March, Moody's downgraded the economy to sub-investment. The total lockdown is an immediate shock to the economy and causes a 'sinkhole', where economic activity comes to an almost total standstill, causing total disruption of economic activities which in many cases cannot be rectified. For example, the money of the international tourist who is prohibited from crossing our borders will never be spent in South Africa and is lost forever – even if he or she arrives next year.

The lockdown is not only affecting the South African economy, but most economies of the world. Whereas positive growth of at least 2.5% was forecast for the world economy at the beginning of the year, it is currently anticipated that negative growth of almost 5% will be realised in 2020. All the major economies of the world are forecast to show negative growth rates in 2020. Negative growth of approximately 6.5% is forecast for the US, for the UK about 9%, for the Euro Area 7%, for Germany about 6%, for Japan more than 7%.

Fortunately, for our most important international trading partner, positive growth of just more than 1% is currently forecast for 2020, but is of course much weaker than the almost 6% positive growth of 2019. Most forecasts indicate that 2021 could see positive growth of about 6% for the world economy, but this is from the very low base of 2020.

To prevent world economies from falling into a prolonged deep depression in subsequent years, central banks have, where possible, cut interest rates drastically and increased liquidity in the financial system by buying financial instruments, like government bonds. At the same time, governments embarked on massive spending programmes as well as some tax cuts in an effort to stimulate some economic growth and prevent economies from falling apart. It must be realised that the current situation is without any precedent.

When a normal physical war is fought, it actually stimulates the economy, because those things that are destroyed during the war are replaced. In the current war against the invisible virus that travels fast and is not even prevented from spreading during lockdown periods, a big hole develops in the economy and activities and money flows come to a complete standstill. In the long term, adversely affects the livelihoods of people. The risk remains that if the lockdown lasts too long and the economy collapses, more people could die of hunger than of the virus.

Currently, forecasts for the domestic economy indicate that it could have a negative growth rate of between 6% and 16% in 2020. This very wide divergence between the various forecasts indicates the extent of uncertainties that are present at the moment. These uncertainties are related to the period of lockdown, the severity of lockdown on specific sectors of the economy, the number of employees that will lose their jobs, the number of small, medium and large companies that will not survive the lockdown, the impact on consumer behaviour, even after the lockdown has come to an end.

Given the poor outlook for the economy, the Reserve Bank cut interest rates aggressively and indicated that they could be cut even further in the rest of the year. Unfortunately, given the fiscal situation, government is limited in its ability to provide more assistance to the various sectors of the economy, employees who have lost their jobs or are unemployed or to the beneficiaries of the welfare payments.



Notwithstanding the restrictions on its finances, government decided to embark on a handout of R500-billion. This additional expenditure as well as the financial support of R400-million to the Cuban government, puts government finances under more strain. At the same time, government tax revenue will also be less than budgeted for as the economy weakens.

These developments indicate that the budget deficit will exceed the figure announced in the February budget by far and increases the risk for further future credit downgrades. To finance these deficits, South Africa needs foreign financing as well and therefore approached international institutions, like the World Bank and the IMF for funding.

Fortunately, indications are that the deficit of the current account of the balance of payments could be much smaller than in previous years and will need smaller inflows of short-term foreign capital to finance these deficits. It therefore allows the Reserve Bank to pursue an accommodative monetary policy and cut interest rates without fear that it would push inflation too high and impoverish the poor even more.

The current lockdown, however, indicates that many companies, especially small- and medium-sized companies, will not survive the lockdown. This indicates at the same time that unemployment is likely to rise sharply in the rest of the year and even into 2021. Forecasts indicate an unemployment rate of more than 30% in the rest of 2020.

Sectors which are severely affected and unlikely to recover quickly are

tourism, aviation, sport and property markets. Some, like the property market, could change permanently if people decide that they could rather work from home, than to travel to and from work on a daily basis. This could eventually also affect the car industry, if households decide that they do not need two vehicles any longer. Only the really financially strong airlines will survive the current lockdown period.

The coronavirus disrupts the world economy as well as international and local financial and commodity markets. This disruption could last until 2021, given the fact that the virus will still be around, with a vaccine possibly only available in 18 months' time.

Fortunately, people are able to adapt to new circumstances and those that survive the virus and the lockdown period will carry on with their lives and their current or new businesses.

However, economic realities do not change even during a period of lockdown and politicians, medical professionals or the virus, cannot escape these realities.

Hopefully, the current crisis will force political parties, government, trade unions and businesses to rethink economic policies in an effort to put the domestic economy once again on a growth path and regain the growth potential which has been lost in the past few decades.

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.



Playing with power, a recipe for disaster

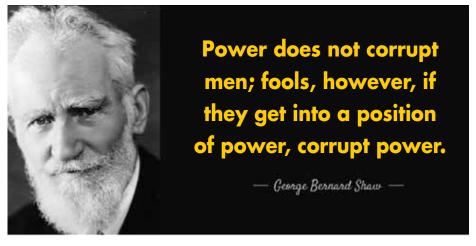
By Sigqibo Biggz Mfuywa

INCE THE advent of democracy in 1994, the ANC has achieved a lot of things especially on the social front, but things have not been so good on the economic front. The previous regimes used legislation to advance their divisive aspirations of segregation and underdevelopment of black people, and were never apologetic about that. I ask myself, why can't the ANC use its political power in the legislature to advance an economic agenda that will benefit the majority? Does the ANC think it will never lose power?

Perhaps, but this is misplaced when people are not receiving a democratic dividend from the ANC's tenure in office. South Africa's economic policies have failed to yield the desired results, that is, create jobs, stimulate growth and lessen inequalities. At some point debate was rife about jobless growth and recently negative growth. All these have done nothing to transform the economy which is overwhelmingly owned by the white minority.

The COVID-19 lockdown has shown us how government can use its political power to fast-track decisions that are aimed at changing our socio-economic architecture. This illustrates that the ANC can use its political power to advance economic freedom. In my view, if there is political will, the rest becomes easy.

It still baffles me to hear that there are South African based companies that have accumulated their wealth through the sweat of the majority and yet some of these companies are on an investment strike. The major consumers of



any product in this country is the black majority, now why should government beg private sector entities to invest in the economy. The role of government is to create a conducive environment for investment.

Ideally, the relationship between the private and public sector should be cordial and courteous, both need each other. We have seen great success when these two converge and are driven by one thing - pride of the nation. Maybe one of the things that propel this investment strike is trust deficiency. There has been a lot of dodgy shenanigans within the government which might have pushed the private sector away.

The trust between the two sectors has diminished over the years, and President Ramaphosa has been appealing to the private sector to come to the party, presenting different proposals, promising to fix crime intelligence and other things. Those discussions are necessary and we still await results with bated breath albeit to say COVID-19 has been a major disruptor.

All investment plans should lean towards enhancing our production capabilities, deal with unemployment, instill fiscal discipline and root out wastage. We must rid the consumption behavior and preoccupy ourselves with industrializing and expanding our productive sector.

In football we always say a team must have an identity, that is its style of play. What is the South African dream? What is the South African identity? Why are we so scared to say South Africans first in everything we do? As a country we should be driven by common interests that each and every citizen drives towards. I saw myself asking another rhetorical question this week, why should a native buy land in his country of birth? I still cannot answer that question.

We say South Africa belongs to all those who leave in it. I am not sure if that's true. Maybe it belongs to the elite who own the means of production. Each and every country in the world prioritises its citizens, and protects the natives. I am not sure how easy it is to open a spaza shop in China or elsewhere in the world.



Wherever there is great poverty, there is great inequality.

- ADAM SMITH -

In my previous writings I argued strongly that we should only import what we can't produce locally, and that must be supported with legislation. I still do not understand why a petrol station or a restaurant should employ foreign nationals as if that is a specialized skill which can't be found in South Africa, yet 59% of youth is unemployed.

Adam Smith, in his famous book, The Wealth of Nations says "Wherever there is great poverty, there is great inequality". Many say we are amongst the most unequal societies in the world, and the gap between the poor and the rich keeps widening every yea. Will we ever bridge this gap? I will leave that to the reader to answer. He further says, "Never complain of that of which it is at all times within your power to rid". Some argue that we can no longer blame previous governments about our economic woes and that we must use our political power to emancipate black people. The ANC must roll up its sleeves, get its hands dirty and deliver economic freedom to the citizens of this country.

It looks like the class struggle continues. The fall of the bourgeoisie 'and the victory of the proletariat is inevitable', economic freedom in our lifetime will not be postponed, and it must happen NOW. "Power does not corrupt men; fools, however, if they get into a position of power, corrupt power." George Bernard Shaw.

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COVID-19 lessons

In the phase of national despair, backyard gardens can increase resilience

By Tshiamo Tsotetsi

HE ADVENT of the state of disaster as declared in South Africa necessitates that we must stop and think carefully about how we want to carry ourselves as a nation. The state of disaster was declared following the deadly COVID-19 outbreak, and it exposed a widespread vulnerability of our nation and its citizens.

What was mostly exposed is the reality which we at times turn to ignore, that the majority of South African citizens lead lives which hang in a balance. The hash reality of our country is that black citizens survive from one paycheck to the other, or through other unsustainable means.

The long gueues and at times violence which broke at the distribution centers for food parcels were all a bold written sign, suggesting that there was no way the lockdown could be successful owing to hunger that the masses of our people were vulnerable to. The people were justifiably ready to disregard the dangers of a rapid spread of COVID-19 virus in search for survival.

In this regard, we must applaud the COVID-19 Command Council as led by President Cyril Ramaphosa, for manag-



Comrade Tshiamo Tsotetsi

ing to delay the explosion of a ticking time bomb. They delayed the inevitable by topping up the social grants and further extending them to deserving unemployed South Africans, enabling them to purchase the basic food items monthly.

These extreme levels of vulnerability to hunger for both the workers and, worse, amongst those who are unemployed are as a result of not working towards self sufficiency as the people.





The ANC-led government must as a matter of urgency declare the backyard gardens as major attributes for food security.

As a laaitie who was partly raised by my pensioner grandmother, one of the most profound aspect for survival that she had was a well cared for vegetable garden which, by all standards became our source of stable supply for decent meals on a daily basis. At the time I obviously never bothered to understand why was it that my grand mother's friends all had gardens to which they were so dearly attached.

I realise now that these gardens where a reliable supply of vegetables for their families. This is a generation from which we must draw lessons, individuals who never knew anything about the social grants until the inception of a democratic government in 1994. They were never groomed to be dependents of government. As a nation that is vulnerable to hunger, we must urgently develop a culture of growing vegetable gardens, as a means to enhance our resilience.

Various progressive countries which have experienced periods of severe distress overtime, have turned into encouraging food gardening by their citizens. To give an example, at the time of the collapse of the Soviet Bloc and as a result of the US imposed embargo, Cuba was plunged into an economic crisis. In 1991, the government declared a "special period in peacetime": a wartime economy-style austerity program as described by (Perkins 1993).

The government launched a huge national food program directing production of medicine and vegetables. Perkins further insists that Cuba had to turn to its human and natural resource in order to survive its economic crisis. History records that in this period, the Cuban government would only offer its citizen staple food through rations which were rice and beans. Thereafter, the people relied on their home gardens for the rest of the nutrition supplements.

The idea behind the drive towards self sufficiency by a nation whose leadership had a clear revolutionary vision, was to increase resilience amongst the motive forces and ensure that they are able to weather the storm, because the real storm will come in a form of pressure imposed by the external forces on their attempts to twist your hand into surrendering self determination as a people.

Beyond a lockdown period, SA is likely to experience sanctions for radical economic decisions which we are expected to take, including the ongoing amendments of the property clause. That is a period for which we must be prepared because backtracking will amount to selling out, which we as the youth of the movement will never accept. The ANC led government must as a matter of urgency attend to the following:

- Declare the backyard gardens as major attributes for food security.
- Identify the vulnerable and deploy the EPWP and CWP to help them with gardens.
- Supply basic requirements such as seeds, pesticides and fertilizers.

- Through its district offices, the agriculture departments must publish a simple quideline (which include using water sparingly) on how to take care of backyard gardens.
- Monitor progress in these gardens.
- Advocate for the use of communal land for this purpose and offer support.
- Avail government owned land (including in schools yard) to youth cooperatives and support them with equipment, financial management skills and project management capabilities.
- Create market access in order to enable the local trade of various vegetables.

South African society still has maximum confidence on the ability of the ANC to lead them beyond any national tragedy we may come across. The onus rests with the ANC itself to demonstrate capacity to lead the people not only in the best of times, but also in the most challenging periods post the liberation struggle period.

Tshiamo Tsotetsi is a former Secretary General of COSAS, Former chairperson of YARD NW and current NWPL ANC caucus spokesperson. Member of the ANC in Ward 24 Rustenburg. Writing in his personal capacity.

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CHALLENGES IN CHANGING CONTROL OF THE SA ECONOMY

Let us take the baton and propel forward from the fallen heroes of our struggle and write our own history in the emancipation of the people of South Africa

By Siboniso Duma

The passing on of Isithwalandwe/Seaparankwe Cde Andrew Mlangeni has, correctly, been characterised as marking the end of an era which had, among others, the Rivonia trialists as some of the selfless heroes of the struggle for the emancipation of the African majority from the shackles of apartheid. However, there is one thing that we cannot allow to disappear from the radar screen as a result of the end of the said era, and that is, the consciousness of the martyrs, heroes and heroines of our struggle for the political and economic emancipation of our people.

What drove the selfless struggle, I argue, was the ideal of realising the vision of the National Democratic Revolution (NDR) as espoused by the African National Congress (ANC). The culmination of the NDR will be reflected by the manifestation of the National Democratic Society (NDS) where the motive forces enjoy civil liberties which include political and socio-economic freedoms in the same way that the previously advantaged white minority enjoyed these to the exclusion of the previously marginalised.

The pursuit of the NDR by the ANC is by no means an agenda setting exercise wherein the white minority will be driven to the sea. Instead, it is the pursuit of a class which seeks to change the socio-economic conditions of black people in general and Africans in particular.

Whilst great strides have been made



Comrade Siboniso Duma

A rattlesnake, if cornered, will become so angry it will bite itself. That is exactly what the harbouring of hate and resentment against others is - a biting of oneself. We think we are harming others in holding these spites and hates, but the deeper harm is to ourselves.

- E. Stanley Jones -

by the ANC-led government in driving and effecting reforms in the country, the fact of the matter is that we still have fundamental challenges in changing the ownership and control of the South African economy.

The ownership of the South African economy is, 26 years into our democracy, by and large still controlled by whites especially white males. When we raise this challenge in society, members of the Democratic Alliance (DA) construe it as an attack on their members or its constituency. Of course, we understand why this is so. The character and the political agenda of the DA is, at all cost, to protect minority interest and the status quo which benefits the white minori-

It is for this reason that the reaction of the DA leaders like Christopher Pappas assumes a protective character when there is an issue of the killing of white farmers when compared with their reaction to the killing or victimisation of black farm workers. Christopher Pappas makes it his business to shout at the top of his voice in condemning farm killings and finds it correct to maintain the highest levels of silence when farm workers are victimised by their white bosses. This he does because, in his mind, it is correct for the black farm worker to be victimised and wrong for the white farm owner to be killed.

When we call him out on this, he takes offence precisely because agreeing with us on this question goes against





This picture of an overcrowded informal settlement next to one of the opulent suburbs in Cape Town is a stark reminder of the inequalities that continue to exist in South Africa.

what the DA stands for. The fact of the matter is that both of these evils are wrong and we must all roll up our sleeves and eliminate them from the fibre of the South African society. However, it is hypocrisy of the highest order to elevate one over the other.

In June 2020, Helen Zille, without any provocation, attacked Phumzile van Damme when she was taken to task regarding her apartheid legitimisation tweeter comments to the effect that "there are more racist laws now than during apartheid" and that FW de Klerk "dismantled apartheid". When Zille was asked about how the likes of Phumzile take these apartheid tweets from the Federal Council Chairperson, Zille retorted that "They chill at home and enjoy the sea view".

The essence of the response by Zille was that Phumzile and all other black DA members and leaders who have had their socio-economic conditions change by virtue of their proximity with the DA must keep quiet when their white bosses spit in their faces because they have been done a favour by the DA by being exposed to privileges like sea views. What nonsense!

But true to form, Christopher Pappas and his white mates were nowhere to call Zille out on these derogatory comments directed to a fellow member and leader. Are we surprised by the lack of reaction by Christopher Pappas and his cronies? No, we are not because, in their minds, it is fine to humiliate and dehumanise a black person as they are nothing but secondclass citizens in the country of their birth.

I am not going to even waste time about the manner in which Lindiwe Mazibuko and Mmusi Maimane were unceremoniously kicked out of the DA without Christopher Pappas uttering even a single word of condemnation and we all know why. The victims of the ruthless behaviour by the DA were black and in the minds of the DA Black Lives Don't Matter. You may wonder why I am speaking for Phumzile. It is public knowledge that the ANC is the leader of society and we discharge this responsibility without fear or favour even if it means protecting the interests of our political opponents.

The final bit about the hypocrisy of the DA relates to an incident by the anti-land invasion unit from the City of Cape Town which impugned the dignity of Bulelani Qholani and dragged him out of his shack, naked, in broad daylight, under the pretext that he had built his shack on invaded land. Dan Plato, in his interview with Sakina Kamwendo on Morning Live was taken to the cleaners about the conduct of the City of Cape Town for the disparaging and disgusting behaviour of the city officials. There are no prizes for guessing what Christopher Pappas said in condemning the behaviour of the officials from the City of Cape Town. Again, the 'loud silence' by Pappas and his cohorts was not surprising as the colour of the victim, to them, matters more than the injustice that was meted out.

The ANC must, from now henceforth, use the new normal presented by the novel coronavirus to accelerate the realisation of the vison of the NDR. The NDS will only be achieved if we push back in the fight against inequality, poverty and unemployment. In my view, the class and racial struggle will be easier to win if the comrades who are deployed in strategic positions in public and private sectors make a deliberate effort to defeat these triple challenges and be unapologetic about their will to win.

If we do this, what Martin Luther King Jr said will become a reality for all South Africans and that is "... the dark clouds of racial prejudice will soon pass away, and that in some not too distant tomorrow the radiant stars of love and brotherhood will shine over our great nation with all their scintillating beauty."

Siboniso Duma is a Member Of The Provincial Executive Committee Of the ANC (KZN). He writes in his personal capacity.

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By Amanda Tshemese

IN THE SPOTLIGHT:

Tswarelo Phyllis Mahasha

1. Cde Tswarelo Phyllis Mahasha, briefly tell us about yourself?

I am a 33 years old young woman, a wife, daughter and an activist in my own right. I am the first born of three, born and bred in Limpopo, Tzaneen, Ga-Modjadji. I am currently working as a Branch manager at Old Mutual in Johannesburg.

2. What made you to join the ANC and what do you love about this organisation?

I was influenced by my mother and grandmother. My whole family joined the ANC because of its good deeds. As a child, I also fell in love with the ANC and later decided to join it. My grandmother used to tell me that there's no political home like the ANC.

3. As we are celebrating Women's Month, as a young woman working in the private sector, what challenges are you facing and what keeps you going?

One common challenge facing employees working in the private sector is retrenchments. However I am lucky to work for an organization that



Comrade Tswarelo Mahasha

takes good care of their employees. There has never been retrenchments and we are assured everyday that there will not be retrenchments, and that therefore job security keeps me going.

4. Do you think Government is doing enough to empower women especially the young ones in high position such as in the business

sector and in Government executive leadership?

Personally, I feel that Government is doing enough. South Africa has a lot of hardworking and capable women who are not being recognized for their capabilities, be it in Politics or in Government executive positions. I think the government is more focused on empowering young black men than women and young women seem not to be considered.

5. Women of this country are living in fear. Women and children are being raped and killed. What do you think must be done to perpetrators in order to end this Gender-Based Violence (GBV) crisis we are saddled with?

The same energy displayed by police during lockdown to ensure that people adhere to the rules and regulations for example, respecting the curfew, wearing of masks, zero tolerance on alcohol and cigarettes should match the one when following up on rape cases and arresting the perpetrators. The problem is that the perpetrators get out of jail and come back to the community. Where is justice when the victim gets to see this man walking around the streets? There's no



Q & A



justice and I am saying probably the issue of the death penalty must be relooked. The modalities for interrogating this issue must not be left with government, but communities should be involved.

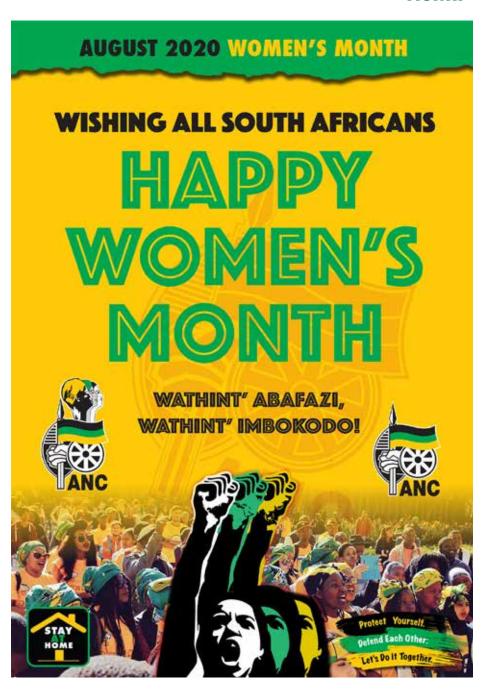
6. Due to COVID-19 and lockdown. we will be celebrating this year's women's month differently. How are you going to commemorate this year's Women's Day?

Last year in August on Women's Day, the President assured us that there would be changes and he will make sure that the perpetrators are dealt with. However I don't seem to see that happening. So, when he addresses us this year, I would like to know what he has done to ensure that the streets are safe for women. We should never repeat what we did last year, honoring GBV victims for the whole month.

7. Given a chance, what would you do to change the lives of those women who are victimized, less fortunate and without hope?

Their cases should be treated as a priority. Their cases should be attended to with humility, care and respect. They shouldn't be questioned as if they asked to be victimized. The courts must make the process easy and not daunting. Perpetrators must compensate the victims and when it comes to parole, the victims must have a say. Women need to stand together and support one another. The less fortunate and hopeless must be given opportunity to better their lives through community development projects which will empower them to help others and support their families.

8. What's your motto? People will forget what you said, people will forget what you did, but people will never forget how you made them feel.



The overwhelming majority of women accept the patriachy and protect it. Traditionally, the violated wife offloads her aggression onto the daughter-in-law. Men dominate women through the agency of women themselves. - Winnie Madikizela-Mandela

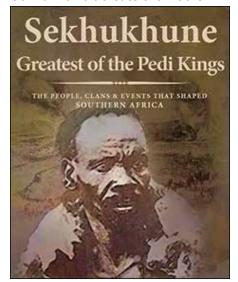
THIS WEEK IN HISTORY

1-7 August 2020

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

1 August 1876

Sekhukhune defeats the Boers



Sekhukhune I, King of the Bapedi, successfully resisted the Boers during a protracted Boer/Bapedi land ownership war. On 16 May 1876, the Volksraad of the South African Republic declared war on Sekhukhune and his followers. A Boer commando under President T.F. Burgers, armed with 7 pounder Krupp guns, reached the Bapedi stronghold on 1 August. The Bapedi, also armed with rifles, offered stiff resistance and inflicted a humiliating defeat on the well-armed Boer force.

1 August 1936

Official Launch of SABC

In 1934, General James Barry Munnik (JBM) Hertzog, prime minister of South Africa, ordered an official investigation into all aspects of Broadcasting in South Africa. The investigation ultimately led to the formation of the South African Broadcasting Corporation (SABC), under Act 22 of 1936. The broadcasts of the African Broadcasting Company (ABC), which was formed in 1927, ceased and the broadcasts from the newly formed SABC began.

1 August 1985 Victoria Mxenge Assassinated



Victoria Nonyamezelo Mxenge was a human rights lawyer, a former nurse and UDF activist and leader. On 1 August 1985, Victoria Mxenge (43) was shot dead by four men in her driveway in Durban. At that time she was one of fifteen United Democratic Movement team members facing trial for treason and also part of the defence team of the Pietermaritzburg Treason Trial, and represented the families affected by the cross border raids by the regime at Matole and Lesotho . This assassination happened nearly four years after the assassination of her activist husband Griffiths Mxenge in November 1981. At the time of her passing, Victoria Mxenge was national treasurer of the UDF, a leader of the Natal Organisation of Women (NOW) and the Release Mandela Committee.

2 August 1894

Transvaal Republic tries Chief Malebogo

A council of war tried Chief Malebogo for refusing to allow his people to pay hut taxes and waging war against the Transvaal Boers in defence of his autonomy. Although he was never sentenced, he was kept in jail as a prisoner of war and his followers were indentured in different districts for five years, after which they were settled on a government location. Chief Malebogo languished in prison until 1900, when the British authorities allowed him to return to his people during the South African War (Second Anglo Boer War).

3 August 1946 Artist Cyprian Shilakoe born



Cyprian Mpho Shilakoe was South African artist who studied under Azaria Mbatha at Rorke's Drift. Shilakoe was known for his wooden sculptures and etchings. Unlike most of the first group of artists at Rorke's Drift who preferred working in linocut, Shilakoe produced etchings, often combined with aquatint, as seen in one of his famous works, Loneliness. In a short art career of just over four years, Shilokoe was prolific, with an estimated 80 prints and a number of sculptures. He died tragically in a car accident in September 1972.

THIS WEEK IN HISTORY

4 August 1996

Josiah Thugwane wins Olympic Gold



Josiah Thugwane became the first Black South African athlete to win an Olympic gold medal award by winning the marathon in Atlanta, Georgia.

5 August 1962 Nelson Mandela arrested



Nelson Mandela. African National Congress (ANC) leader and first commander-in-chief of Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK), was captured in Cedara, a small town near Howick, Natal, shortly after his return to South Africa on completing six months' military training in Oujda, Morocco, and after attending the All Africa People's Conference in Ethiopia. He was charged with incitement to strike and with illegally leaving the country. Bob Hepple acted as his legal representative. His trial took place in Pretoria's Old Synagogue. In November 1962, he was sentenced to five years' imprisonment on the charges. He began his sentence in Pretoria Central Prison.

6 August 1990 Pretoria Minute Agreed on



PRETORIA MINUTE

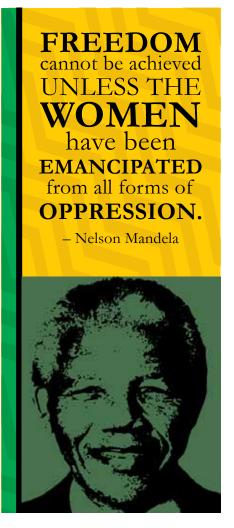


The government and the African National Congress (ANC) reaffirmed their commitment to talks about talks (Groote Schuur Minute) and the consensus reached on the release of political prisoners, return of exiles, obstacles in the Internal Security Act and suspension of armed action by the ANC as part of the on-going negotiations to end minority White rule. This consensus between the two parties became known as the Pretoria Minute.

7 August 1992 President Chissano meets Renamo leader



President Mozambican Joaquim Alberto Chissano met with Afonso Dhlakama, leader of the Resistancia Nacional Mozambicana (RENAMO), to sign a peace agreement in Rome. The two leaders signed a joint declaration committing themselves to the spirit of established protocols and ensuring that agreed constitutional quarantees would be adopted as law before a final peace agreement is signed. The final agreement was signed on 4 October 1992.



THIS WEEK IN HISTORY



INTERNATIONAL DAYS

1-7 August 2020 Source: https://www.un.org

1 August World Wide Web Day

The World Wide Web (WWW) was conceived in 1989 at the CERN lab in Geneva, Switzerland, as a way for scientists to share knowledge. Tim Berners-Lee invented the World Wide Web in 1989. While working at CERN, he wrote the code for WWW using a NeXT computer, to share documents among researchers across the world using hyperlinks. By December 1990 the world's first server and website went live at CERN. Over about 4.5 billion people use the internet today, nearly 59% of the global population.



BOOK REVIEW By Fébé Potgieter-Gqubule

Global Gender Gap Report 2020

published by the World Economic Forum

HE Global Gender Gap Report is an annual report by the World Economic Forum, tracking progress towards closing the relative gender gap between men and women in four areas: Health, Education, Economy and Politics. It tracks these issues in

153 countries across the world, and also aggregate this according to regions.

The tool of gender gap tracking is important, because it gives a sense of where we are with regards to achieving gender equality and the emancipation of women and girls, in these four areas critical to development.

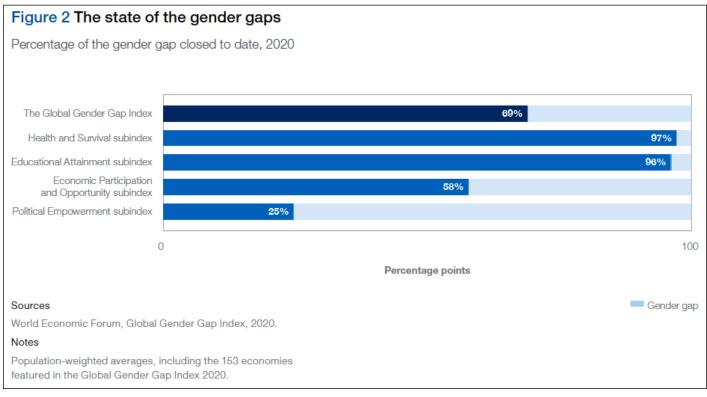


Another 99.5 years to close the **Gender Gap!**

Since the Report was first published in 2006, there has been progress across the world, with the gender gap in 2020 standing at 68.6%, in other words, to narrow the gap between men and women, we still have 31.4% to go. That doesn't seem too bad, except according to the report, at the current pace of change, it will take the world another 99.5 years!

There are five countries in the world that are doing very well, having closed over eighty percent of the gender gaps. Four of these countries are Nordic countries (Iceland, Norway, Finland and Sweden), and one from South America (Nicaragua). The oth-





er African countries scoring high are Rwanda (No. 9), Namibia (No. 12), and South Africa (No. 17).

Despite perceptions to the contrary, that women's participation in the political sphere is improving, in fact there is still a 75% gender gap to close. According to the Gender Gap Report, "to date only 25% of these 35,127 global seats are occupied by women and only 21% of the 3,343 ministers are women; and in some countries, women are not represented at all."

In the Economic Participation and Opportunities index, the gender gap is also slow in closing, although better than the political sphere, with nearly

58% of the gap closed. According to the report, this is because of "slow... progress in terms of leadership positions (boards, management and professions), women's participation in the labour market is stalling and financial disparities are slightly larger. In many countries, women are significantly disadvantaged in accessing credit, land or financial products, which prevents opportunities for them to start a company or make a living by managing assets."

In the Educational Attainment and Health Indexes, the gender gap is getting closer, both in the 95%, on average. There are however, countries that are still doing very little

Global Gender Gap Report 2020

to invest in girls and women. Thirty five out of the 135 countries have achieved gender parity in education, but there are still "10% percent of girls aged 15-24 in the world that are illiterate, with a high concentration in developing countries. Further, in these countries, education attainment is low for both girls and boys, which calls for greater investment to develop human capital in general."

The report though, drew attention to the fact that "the presence of girls and women in professions of the future, still lags seriously behind, specifically that women are underrepresented in six of the eight micro-clusters with the highest employment growth rate (people

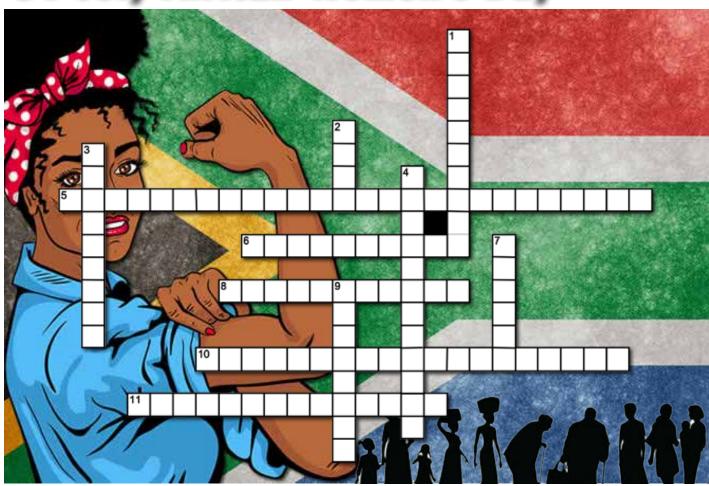
and culture, content production, marketing, sales, specialized project managers, data and AI, engineering and cloud computing)."

The Global Gender Gap 2020 report once again is a call to action, for all countries to do more to ensure that we close the gender gap, especially in those areas lagging behind. We cannot afford to wait another century, for women's rights to be treated as human rights, everywhere.

The Global Gender Gap report can be read on: http://www3.weforum.org/docs/WEF_GGGR_2020.pdf



31 July African Women's Day



Across

- 5. It was formed one year before which organisation.
- 6. At current rate gender gap in Africa will close in ... years.
- 8. East African capital where PAWO was formed in 1962.
- 10. Founding PAWO conference included 14 independent states and
- 11. African Union Protocol on Gender Equality also called ...

Down

- At current rate of change, gender gap in world will close in how many years (WEF, 2020).
- 2. Pan African women's organisation formed on 31 July ...
- 3. Zimbabwe, Malawi, The Gambia, Liberia and Tanzania top 5 countries in world with largest share of women in the ...
- 4. Regional organisation celebrating this day.
- 7. African Educational Attainment gap will close in how many years.
- 9. PAWO was formed in nineteen ...

WORD BANK

African Union
Dar es Salaam
ninety nine
workforce

PAWO

liberation movements

ninety five

Organisation of African Unity

sixty two

Maputo Protocol

twelve



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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