



ANC TODAY

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Conversations with the
PRESIDENT

Relegating the apartheid constitution to the dustbin of history

■ *By President Cyril Ramaphosa*

31ST May is the anniversary of an event in our history that most South Africans would rather not remember.

Sixty years ago, in 1961, apartheid South Africa became a republic, cutting its ties with the British Empire. But while a ‘re-

public’ is generally defined as state in which supreme power is held by the people and their elected representatives, this was not the case in South Africa.

The Constitution of the apartheid republic pledged allegiance to God, “*who gathered our forebears together from many lands and*

gave them this as their own.”

It was a Constitution written by and for a racial minority, and it used faith to justify tyranny. It outlined the administration of government, providing that only white people were eligible to vote and serve as public representatives. It contained no Bill of Rights.

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Architect of Apartheid - Hendrick Verwoerd

The country's majority was relegated to a footnote towards the end of its 121 provisions, in a section titled 'Administration of Bantu Affairs, etc.'

In a televised message from the Prime Minister's residence, now known as Mahlamba Ndlopfu, Prime Minister HF Verwoerd said: "We seek the gradual development of each of our groups in a certain direction. Here the solution is openly sought by retaining the white man's guiding hand."

"We are very happy to be a united people," he declared to the world.

But the reality was that we were not a united people.

We were inhabitants of a country where one's rights, prospects and life expectancy were determined by one's race. For two decades, the Republic of South Africa Constitution Act of 1961 was the legal impetus for the repression of nearly ninety per cent of the South African population. It provided legal cover for discrimination, dispossession and exploitation.

This unhappy anniversary takes place in the same month that we

celebrate the 25th anniversary of the adoption by the Constitutional Assembly of our new democratic Constitution, which became the birth certificate of a real united nation.

Now we have one law for one nation.

Together, we have chosen for ourselves a system of government that gives true meaning to the concept of a republic.

We have said that in our democratic republic, everyone is equal before the law and has the right to equal protection and benefit of the law.

South Africa today is a country where the administration of justice is vested in independent courts and a judiciary that is subject only to the Constitution. We live in a country where everyone has the right to approach the courts for the fulfillment of their rights.

We live in a country where communities can stake a legal claim on land they were forcefully moved from, and where individuals or families are protected against arbitrary eviction from their homes.

We live in a country where everyone is permitted to freely practice their culture and traditions. It is a country where anyone can freely protest in support of social, political and other causes anywhere.

Our constitutional dispensation is premised on accountable government, where the Executive is answerable to the people and where



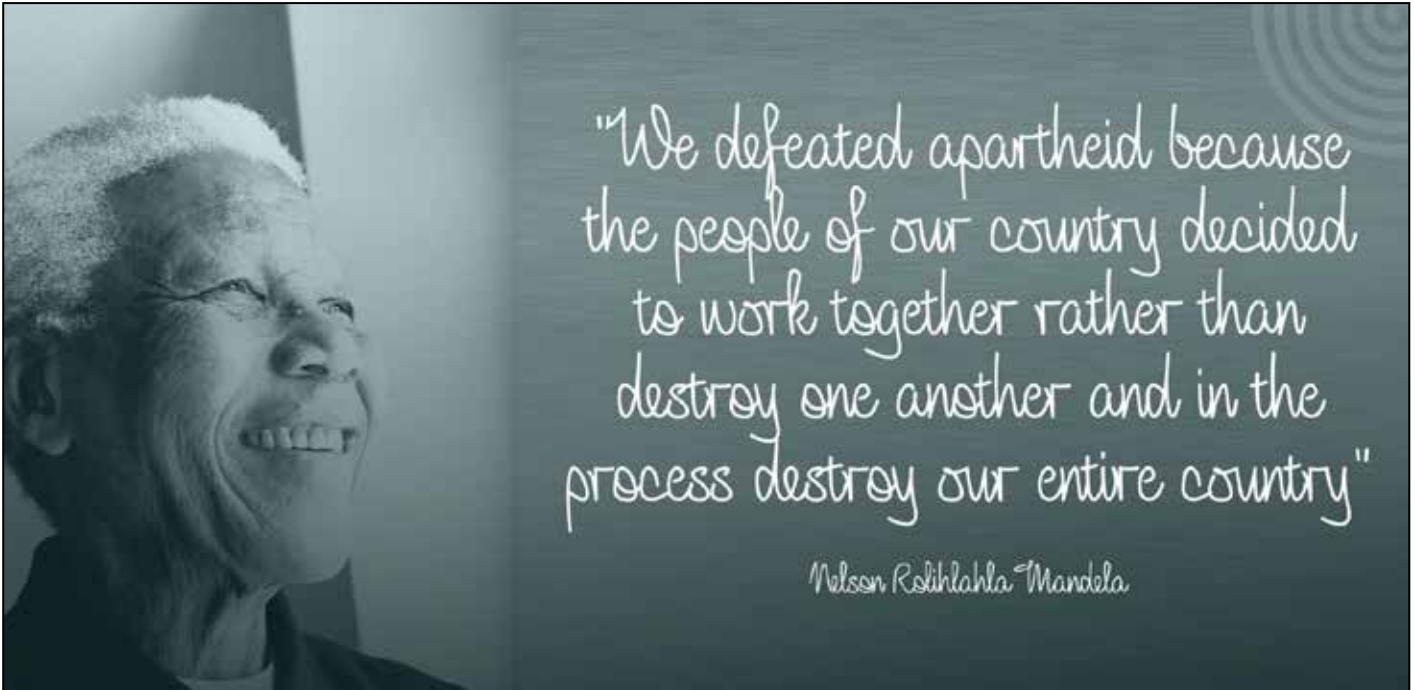
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Every South African, including those who claim ignorance, know for a fact that

**APARTHEID
 WAS A CRIME
 AGAINST HUMANITY.**

It was our lived reality. Trevor Noah puts it succinctly in the title of his book - *Born A Crime*. Therefore, the question of whether or not Apartheid was a crime against humanity should not even arise to begin with.

Jackson Mthembu”



Parliament is representative of the people. It is a country where the law applies equally to any citizen. We now have a government of the people, for the people, and by the people.

We share a common responsibility, as both the state and citizens, to respect, protect, promote and fulfill the Bill of Rights.

As elected officials, we have a responsibility to uphold our oaths of office, and to not steal from the state, engage in corruption, or mismanage resources meant for the benefit of our citizens.

When the apartheid regime triumphantly paraded its racist constitution to the world 60 years ago, it had misplaced confidence that it would endure.

In an unanswered letter to Verwoerd a month before the Republic was declared, Nelson Mandela affirmed the liberation movement's rejection of the forcibly imposed white republic. He said that no constitution or form of government decided without the participation of the African people would enjoy

moral validity.

Indeed, no system that entrenches the systematic denial of people's rights can be sustained. Though it would be over three decades before the demands of the liberation movement were met, we eventually won our freedom.

In relegating the apartheid constitution to the dustbin of history, we committed ourselves to a new constitution and a new set of values.

When I addressed the Constitutional Assembly 25 years ago, I said our Constitution must become more than words on a page; it must become a reality in the

In relegating the apartheid constitution to the dustbin of history, we committed ourselves to a new constitution and a new set of values.

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lives of our people. Unless we do so, this progressive and revolutionary document will be rendered irrelevant and meaningless.

We have long decided what kind of society we want to be. It is a society rooted in human dignity, equality, freedom and non-discrimination.

For a quarter of a century we have worked to build such a society. We have made undeniable progress, but we still have many challenges and there is much work still to be done.

As we mark the anniversary of the adoption of our democratic Constitution, let us remember what a decisive break it was with the system underpinned by racism, exploitation, dispossession and oppression that had come before. Let us also remember that it is up to us to make the vision contained in our Constitution a reality.

For it is only by ensuring that all South Africans are able to freely and fully exercise their constitutional rights, that we will truly become a united people.



Revolutionary Morality

■ Remarks by the ANC National Chairperson, **Comrade Gwede Mantashe** during a virtual political lecture hosted by the ANC Sarah Baartman Region, in the Eastern Cape

WE were asked to talk on a very complex subject “*Revolutionary Morality*”.

For me, morality must be understood first in many of its aspects. That is, morality as determined by society, morality as determined by religion and morality as determined by the revolution.

Any revolutionary who does not pay attention to standards set up by society in general cannot be a good revolutionary. Adhering to these standards distinguishes revolutionaries from elitists. Elitists at times project themselves as having monopoly of ideas and wisdom. For example, Gender Based Violence (GBV) is the enemy of society irrespective of their stand or identity in society. If one of us is soft or non-committal on this major challenge to society but claim to be a revolutionary, that individual must be examined.

Believers always fight about the relevance of the “*Book of Leviticus*” in setting up standards that make a distinction between them and the ordinary. Many of the strict rules are said to be out-dated but without clear replacement test of compliance with religious morality. I am not arguing for any change thereof, but I am asking a question as to how do we practically see morality in religious terms?



Comrade Gwede Mantashe

Morality as a set of principles, making a distinction between right and wrong, and between good and bad behaviour: It is based on values and principles of conduct. If you are a member of the ANC, you must understand the values of the ANC and respect them all the time. Without those basic rules and values, the ANC will not be a revolutionary movement. We must make a distinction between an ANC that worked under conditions of illegality, where discipline and security were intertwined, and an open ANC where it is an all-comer movement. Therefore, that should tell us that not every member of the ANC is a revolutionary.

We must understand the principles guiding the revolutionary programme of the ANC. Is the ANC programme revolutionary? It is that programme that will make the ANC to be known and accepted as a revolutionary movement. If there is doubt on the revolutionary nature of the programme of our movement, then, we would be in trouble.

The question that must be answered is, what is a revolution in simple terms?

It is a change in the governance of society for the better. It is about changing a repressive regime and replace it with a democratic government. This change may be smooth and negotiated, it may be violent or it may be a combination. This may end in a violent rupture and violent takeover of power. It may be a smooth handover of power on negotiated terms or it may go through a painful transition. When power changes hands, it is a milestone in a revolution. Transformation of society and changing the life of the people begins in earnest.

The revolution is executed within a frame of rules and prescriptions. Development of an individual from being an activist through to being a revolutionary is a long journey. It is not mere membership of a movement but an outcome of a process of development.



In the ANC, we have a policy on “*Cadre development*” where we pay attention to individual members. An ANC member must go through a process of developing the understanding of the principles, the values and behaviour distinguished and distinguishable from that of criminals and vigilantes or enemy agents. That is what President OR Tambo urges us to do. Revolutionaries must be distinguishable from criminals, vigilantes, or enemy agents. This requires of the movement to be able to distinguish between revolutionary conduct and revolutionary sounding articulation, but empty in content.

Revolutionaries are described as those who constantly advocate and seek fundamental different reality to that which is oppressive, exploitative or abusive in any manner.

The Communist Party of China talks of the most advanced mature productive forces. Orientation to an advanced culture, motivated by the interest and aspiration of the overwhelming majority characterises the revolution. Once we have personal interests, overshadowing the interests of the majority, then the revolution would suffer.

Therefore, every revolution must be motivated and characterised by the interests and aspirations of the overwhelming majority. Trust among revolutionaries must be based on revolutionary morality. One must be able to trust a Comrade based on morality through their behaviour.

The words of comrade Yusuf Dadoo eulogising Moses Kotane capture the revolutionary trust: “*But if there is one quality in Moses Kotane which I would single*



out before all others, it was that he was incorruptible. He was incorruptible not only in his politics but also in his personal life.”

These are characteristics of revolutionaries as seen by our forebears, which are very scarce today. This highlights the importance of higher standards for judging revolutionaries. We cannot use the behaviour of the nationalists to measure the standards of revolutionaries. When we are told not to loot, we cannot say, the apartheid government used to loot. You do not take the lowest common denominator to measure revolutionaries. Revolutionaries are measured against the highest standards.

There is a Conference resolution on “*Step Aside*”, which is lifting the bar for revolutionaries. It is not a tool to target individuals. Conference resolved that people who have been charged with corruption must be asked to step aside. Assumption made by Conference, is that revolutionaries will have conscience of their own and, therefore, stepping aside will be a voluntary action. We have seen

many people in the movement who have stepped aside to protect the ANC. To adapt a resolution to situations is counter revolutionary. It is a painful process for the ANC to navigate through the journey of cleansing itself. From the pains of the Cultural Revolution, the Communist Party of China (CPC) had to embark on a painful journey of not only dealing with mosquitoes but also with tigers. Hence, the CPC can today boast that factions and corruption are an exception. That resolution is not about constitutionalism. It is about the reputation of the ANC as a revolutionary movement in the eyes of society.

Revolutionary morality is not by association - that we are members of the same movement, therefore, we are all revolutionaries. It cannot work that way. Commitment is not to the same extent for cadres of the movement. The roles to which we are deployed have serious impact on our behaviour. For an example, if we put mice to guard a cheese store, I can tell you that real revolutionaries will emerge, some of the erstwhile revolutionaries will eat the cheese



to their own death. Revolutionary achievement can make us better but can also destroy some of us.

Revolutionary morality is tested in action and cannot just be assumed. I still cannot understand why are our municipalities, which are supposed to be led by revolutionaries, almost a disaster. Revolutionary activity is about knowing what is good over bad. If you have been proven to have looted, in my own view, there should be no place for you in the movement.

At the 2017 ANC Policy Conference, the Secretary General tabled a document called *“A diagnostic organisational report”*. This report attempted to highlight some of the issues that impacted on the revolution negatively. One of those was, blurring of common purpose, whereas as a revolutionary movement, we understand the direction we are taking as revolutionaries and there is no deviation. Sheer deviation from the vocabulary of a revolutionary movement appears innocent but distorts the political space.

The strategic goal of the NDR, for example, is the resolution of

the three basic and inter-related contradictions of colonialism of a special type. Progress made in this regard is quantified regularly by the revolutionary movement. Once individual Comrades spend all their time trying to smear one another, you must know that there is nothing revolutionary about that. We would be in trouble. This confuses society and destroys the movement from within.

Revolutionary morality is about upholding the ethics, values, and traditions of the movement. It is about the leadership adhering to higher standards of behaviour. Reactionary forces cannot be used for comparison. When people protest against unethical behaviour, it is not because they hate the ANC, but because they feel betrayed. They expect better and higher standards of behaviour from revolutionaries. The values that must guide revolutionaries are honesty, humility, hard work, commitment, sacrifice and selflessness.

The ANC should not be perceived as inherently corrupt, because there are corrupt individuals in the ANC. We must always remember that revolutionaries have no

private life. All our actions attract attention of society. Do we still have the quality of membership or branches that can defend the movement in action? That is a preoccupation of building a revolutionary movement.

Cadre development should be a continuous programme for the movement to continue graduating activists into revolutionaries. If the programme is weak, we are going to be ‘materialists’ and individual interests will take precedent over the interests of the movement and the revolution.

My experience when Comrades are deployed is that the elitists always think that they have the monopoly of wisdom. We have the responsibility to remind the elitists that there is society. Many things will be written about you because you stand in the way of those who are elitists. You will be called stubborn.

I conclude by reminding all of us that the ANC is currently going through a difficult period. It requires a concerted effort to cleanse itself. We resolved at the 54th National Conference, that the *“Zondo Commission”* must be established. Today, there are views that the Commission is hurting the ANC. My view is, it is hurting individuals. That is necessary for us to cleanse the ANC and ultimately be able to confidently say factionalism and corruption are an exception in the ANC, not a norm. If there is a contingent of revolutionaries, then there is hope. If there is the death of activists, there is no hope.

Without claiming to have any monopoly of wisdom, revolutionary morality is something that we should work on and continue to strengthen.



Youth and Morality: A New Programme of Action

Dear Mr President

SEVENTY seven years ago, young cadres came together to found the ANC Youth League. A.P. Mda, Anton Lembede, Mxolisi Majombozi, Walter Sisulu and Oliver Tambo marked the rise of a new generation of leaders in our movement.

It was Lembede, the first President of the Youth League who shaped its militancy. Nelson Mandela wrote that Lembede had a “*magnetic personality who thought in original and often startling ways.*”

Indeed Mr President, it is this militancy which shaped the character of the ANC Youth league over the years. The aim of the Youth League was to galvanise young people to step up the fight against segregation within the country. The exuberance and energy of young people have always been the fuel that galvanises the nation into action, as witnessed during the June 16, 1976 protests that started in Soweto and spread throughout the country.

The manifesto of the Youth League, launched in March 1944 ahead of its inaugural meeting, stated that the African youth should be united, consolidated, trained and disciplined because from their ranks, future leaders would be recruited. History will reflect that for decades, the Youth League served as a reservoir of activist cadres and raised many



Comrade Pule Mabe

leaders who graduated to lead the ANC, such as South Africa’s first democratically-elected president, Nelson Mandela.

To strengthen the fight for liberation, the Youth League developed a **Programme of Action** which involved methods like boycotts, strikes and other defiance tactics. In 1949, the ANC adopted this Programme of Action, which represented a radical departure from the strategies of the past and it ushered a transformation of the organisation into a revolutionary movement.

Mr President, as we take stock of the state of the youth in this country, we must acknowledge that what is lacking today is a Programme of Action. The revolution-

ary morality of the founders of this glorious organisation has been allowed to dissipate at a huge cost to the cause of young people in our country. The plight of young people has become pronounced in the era of the pandemic and our society lacks a voice to champion their cause during these turbulent times. Even before the pandemic arrived, young people bore a disproportionate burden of unemployment and poverty. Half of the young people in our country are neither employed nor studying. This is a recipe for disaster and has been described as a ticking time bomb.

The Coronavirus pandemic has exacerbated a situation which was already bubbling above the surface although as the country shakes the cobwebs of the devastating virus, it offers young people to emerge and lead the efforts to rebuild our country.

The youth are strategically placed to navigate the new normal and new ways of going about our business. The advent of the Fourth Industrial Revolution favours young people as their era is sufficiently poised to adapt to new technologies better than their older forebears.

While the digital divide exists as a result of the known inequalities in our country, the tools exist to expedite the ushering of a new era which will equalise access to these technologies.

The leadership of the ANC Youth League NYTT at a recent march organised by the PYA



What do I mean about revolutionary morality, Mr President.

To an extent that young people are of necessity radical and impatient by nature, as leaders of society and our movement, that we channel the exuberance and energy of the youth into worthy causes. In the last few years, young people at higher learning institutions united under the #RhodesMustFall and #FeesMustFall movements to agitate for transformation at tertiary institutions as well as access to education. The irony was that free education has always been a policy of the ANC as enshrined in the Freedom Charter which said the doors of learning shall be open for all.

As has been the case in 1976, the youth of this country stood in unison once again to make their demands heard. By embarking on that action, they lived true to the ideals of the Programme of Action of the founders of the Youth League which called for the unity of the African youth.

The National Youth Task Team has made huge strides to ensure the resuscitation of the Youth league

and while the pandemic has interfered with their work, we need to be resolute and ensure the rise of this powerful force of the ANC.

What is required as a matter of urgency is the “*magnetism*” of Lembede at the helm to champion the cause of young people in the modern era. The incoming leadership of the Youth league should not only be a lobbying structure within the ANC but a force that prioritises the plight of all young people in this country.

We need young leaders infused with revolutionary morality in order to be on the forefront of channeling the exuberance and energy of young people properly. While radicalism has always been the hallmark of young leaders, this cannot be at the expense of cold logic and ethical leadership.

In her book, *The Rise and Fall of the ANC Youth League*, former National Task Team member Rebone Tau laments that the Youth League has become inward over the years.

“Too many members just think about getting a job in government or becoming a member of parlia-

ment. But in terms of championing the interests of young people and rallying them behind the banner of the ANC, we have failed. We are not championing their interests on a daily basis and taking their struggles seriously,” she said in an interview with the Rosa-Luxemburg Stiftung.

Mr President, this is the food for thought that we need to chew on as we breathe new life into the ANC Youth League.

The Youth League must take its place among the shapers of a new narrative and society the ANC seeks to build to ensure that the fruits of liberation are enjoyed by all.

The time for a new Programme of Action to chart the way forward is now. The programme should be led by leaders who possess revolutionary morality and policies which seek to attain the goal of a better and prosperous South Africa.

Yours sincerely

Pule Mabe

National Spokesperson and Head of the Department of Information and Publicity



We stand with the women of Palestine: Their struggle is our struggle

■ *Speech by President of the ANC Women's League (ANCWL), Comrade Bathabile Dlamini
on the day of Solidarity with the people of Palestine, 27 May 2021*

THE recent cruel bombings and killings of the innocent people we witnessed in the past few weeks are a sad testimony of cruel acts of brutality the world has ever witnessed by Israel. The international community must stop this impunity and Israel must be held accountable for its crimes against the people of Palestine.

We must urge our government to support the International Criminal Court (ICC) in the planned investigation of the abuse of human

rights by the Israeli Zionist government. It cannot be correct that the ICC only holds African leaders accountable for crimes much less than what the world has witnessed under the Israel's leader Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu. President Nelson Mandela rightly characterised the Palestinian struggle as "the greatest moral issue of our time" and the ANC has, throughout its history, affirmed its support for Palestinian aspirations for an independent state along the 1967 borders, with East Jerusalem as its capital.

Various conferences of the ANC have noted their unequivocal support for the Palestinian people in their struggle for self-determination, and unapologetic in their view that the Palestinians are the victims and the oppressed in the conflict with Israel. At the 54th Conference, we resolved on a more concrete path of solidarity. The delegates unanimously agreed that the time is now for South Africa to degrade the status of its Embassy in South Africa to that of a liaison office, similar to our diplomatic arrangements in



Taiwan where we continue to support a One-China policy.

The ANCWL must ensure that this resolution is operationalised by our government. We will continue to support the two-state solution and to vehemently oppose the illegal occupation of Palestinian land, land seizures, detentions without trial and extra judicial killings; including the expansion of settlements, especially in the occupied West Bank.

From our own experience of apartheid, we know that on this

conflict, women are at the receiving end. We stand with the women of Palestine, their struggle is our struggle.

We reject in the strongest possible terms the continued systematic policy of Israel's colonial expansion, ethnic cleansing and military occupation of the most brutal kind, which as South Africans we readily recognise from our own experience of apartheid. This conflict is not a religious conflict. It is simply about a belligerent Zionist state using its military power to occupy the land of the Palestinian people,

callously killing them, the majority of whom are women and children.

The ANCWL remains committed to working with the women from both Palestine and Israel and plays a constructive role in the Middle East peace process mainly through the Women Peace and Security Agenda which has found expression in the UNSC Resolution 1325 and the latest UNSC Resolution 2493 adopted under the UNSC Presidency of South Africa.

We commend our government for using its Presidency to strengthen the WPS Agenda. We therefore reaffirm the need to engage, directly if need be, with women across the political spectrum in both Israel and Palestine to find a lasting solution to this impasse.

In various multilateral institutions, our government, through the Department of International Relations and Cooperation, has consistently called for a just and lasting solution to the Israel-Palestine question and has also engaged the parties through the president's special envoys.

Our government furthermore con-





tinues to emphasise its commitment to multilateralism to ensure lasting peace and security in the region.

We have, since 1994, played a role in supporting peace efforts by, among other things, *“sharing our negotiating experience, supporting capacity building and institutions-strengthening in Palestine itself, providing humanitarian assistance through support to the United Nations Relief and Works Agency (UNRWA) for Palestinian Refugees in the Near East and facilitating inter-Palestinian dialogue”*.

In the words of Albert Luthuli at the opening of the 42nd conference of the ANC in 1953: *“Our interest in freedom is not confined to ourselves only. We are interested in the liberation of all oppressed people in the whole of Africa and in the world as a whole ... our active interest in the extension of freedom to all people denied it makes us align ourselves with freedom forces in the world.”*

The ANCWL will continue to intensify our solidarity efforts in line with the ANC’s principled position on Palestine.

It is in the best interests of both the people of Palestine and Israel that an urgent and lasting solution be found to end a protracted conflict that has endured for far too long. We must ensure that the guns are not only silenced in Africa. We must help silence the guns in

the Middle-East and anywhere, where the sound of guns is louder than the sound of its children playing peacefully on the streets.

The ANC Women’s League supports overwhelmingly the statement made Minister Dr Naledi Pandor in the UN. We support the Ambassador of Palestine resident in South Africa for the work she has been doing to mobilise support for the people of Palestine.





Statement on the outcomes of the ANC Free State Interim Provincial Committee (IPC) meeting

■ *An Extract*

THE African National Congress (ANC) in the Free State held its first Interim Provincial Committee (IPC) meeting from the 1-2 June 2021, after its announcement by the National Working Committee of the ANC. The meeting convened through hybrid at Bloemfontein Showgrounds. The IPC members comprising of Youth and Women's league representatives, ex-officios and NEC deployees to our province were in attendance. The meeting was characterised by robust, constructive and frank discussions on pertinent organisational and political issues reflective of state of the organisation and our revolutionary obligation.

The meeting dealt with political overview by Provincial Convener, Cde Mxolisi Dukwana, PEC handover report, presentation of unity

programme, update on COVID-19, election of Interim provincial working committee and deployment to regions for purpose of elections.

The ANC PEC elected in 2018 was dissolved by the Supreme Court of Appeal and a decision was taken not to appeal the verdict. Instead, we decided to renew the organisation through an important path, as resolved in the last national conference, of unity. It is through that path that the ANC resolved to establish this Interim Provincial Committee.

The IPC members acknowledged and accepted their appointment by the National Working Committee. We therefore understand the huge task to renew and unite the organisation. The IPC further deeply reflected on the causes of disunity in the province and identi-

fied gate keeping, careerism, personality cult, political intolerance as some of the tendencies that IPC must get rid of in its path to renew the organisation.

Over the years different generations of ANC members contributed to some negative tendencies one way or another. The ANC is a living organisation therefore its members are alive to the character and values of the organisation and find it in their consciousness to strive for a strong organisation and take efforts to renew and unite the organisation.

The unity of the organisation is one of the sacrosanct principle of the movement, therefore the IPC will never tolerate any form or divisive measures by any member of the organisation including within IPC itself.



CELEBRATING 25 YEARS OF A DEMOCRATIC CONSTITUTION

Socio-economic rights enshrined in the Constitution

■ By Yunus Carrim

“WE vote once every few years, but we have to eat three times a day,” said somebody. “You can’t eat the vote,” others have said. Wise words. They capture why the ANC insisted on socio-economic rights in the constitution, making ours one of the first and still among the few constitutions in the world to include these rights. We have, say experts, probably the most advanced socio-economic

rights in a constitution globally.

But these rights did not fall from the skies. They were an outcome of the titanic mass struggles waged over decades against the apartheid system with its entrenched class, race and gender inequalities. Our struggle was not just for civil and political rights. It was that. But it was about more. Much more. Ultimately, it was a struggle against grotesque material inequalities, it was a class

struggle; even if it took a largely racial form, it was a struggle of the have-nots, mainly African and more generally Black, and the haves, mainly Whites.

Ultimately, what was apartheid about if not economic exploitation? Of course, apartheid was about brutal racial oppression. But this racial oppression was ultimately a rationalisation for economic exploitation. There is absolutely no biological basis for racism. No scientific basis. Racism is a social construct. It’s a myth created by a dominant group in a society to rationalise their exploitation of others on the basis of their skin colour.

Of course, racism has many complex dimensions and has assumed a life of its own independent of class exploitation and can’t always be crudely reduced to that. Even so, ultimately the roots of racism lie in the false justification – the rationalisation – for economic exploitation. And in the case of our country, it’s clear. Unless we significantly reduce material inequalities, we will not be able to effectively deal with racism and the pernicious legacy of apartheid.



Which is why the ANC, increasingly since the 1969 Morogoro Conference, argued that the struggle against apartheid was not just against racial oppression but economic exploitation too, and why it emphasised that the struggle had to be led by the working class in alliance with other classes and strata.

So it wasn't just the wisdom of the legislators and the legal experts that enshrined socio-economic rights in the Constitution. It was also the outcome of the heroic mass struggles and the nature of the class alliances that led it. Aspects of the socio-economic rights were there in the ANC's **1943 African Claims** document and the **1955 Freedom Charter**.

And there too in the ANC's **1990** draft **Bill of Rights** in an explanatory note that said: "*We do not feel that it is necessary to make a constitutional choice between having freedom or having bread. We do not want freedom without bread, nor do we want bread without freedom.*"

And the ANC fulfilled this in the constitution.

What basically are socio-economic rights? Constitutions usually have civil and political rights – the right to life, vote, a fair trial, freedom of expression, religion and association, and other individual rights. These are referred to as "*first generation*" rights.

Socio-economic rights are the rights to food, water, land, housing, health services, education and the other basic material needs that human beings need to survive. These are referred to as "*second generation*" rights.

There are also rights to have a healthy environment, and cultural



and linguistic expression. These are referred to as "*third-generation*" rights

These different generation of rights are inter-related.

Some of the socio-economic rights have to be implemented immediately, for example basic education, but others, for example housing, have to be realised progressively through the state taking reasonable legislative and other measures, within its available resources.

Judge Albie Sachs said that for the vote to have meaning, it must be an instrument of achieving second and third generational rights.

"It would be a sad victory," he said, "if the people had the right to vote every five years or so to emerge from forced-removal hovels and second-rate Group Area homesteads to go to the polls, only thereafter to return to their inferior houses, inferior education and inferior jobs".

These rights, importantly, are enforceable by the courts. And the Constitutional Court has certainly not hesitated to do this, as was seen in the Grootboom housing case, the TAC's demand for

anti-retrovirals and other cases. South Africa has developed a comprehensive globally influential socio-economic rights jurisprudence.

Just as people can't eat the vote, they can't eat the words in the constitution. For the socio-economic rights to come alive, they have to be implemented. How have we fared?

Of course, there have been huge improvements since 1994. Free water, electricity, education and health services for the indigent. Almost a third of the population receive social grants. And much more. But there is still a very long way to go.

Especially disturbing is that South Africa has the most acute income inequalities in the world. This has been made worse by COVID-19.

And so we need to move faster on implementing the socio-economic rights in the constitution. This is going to be especially challenging given the major economic, financial and COVID crisis confronting us. But if we don't address the material needs of the poor and disadvantaged and reduce the widening inequalities, we are going to be far worse off.



CELEBRATING 25 YEARS OF A DEMOCRATIC CONSTITUTION

The Constitution as a national compact

■ By Qubudile Richard Dyantyi

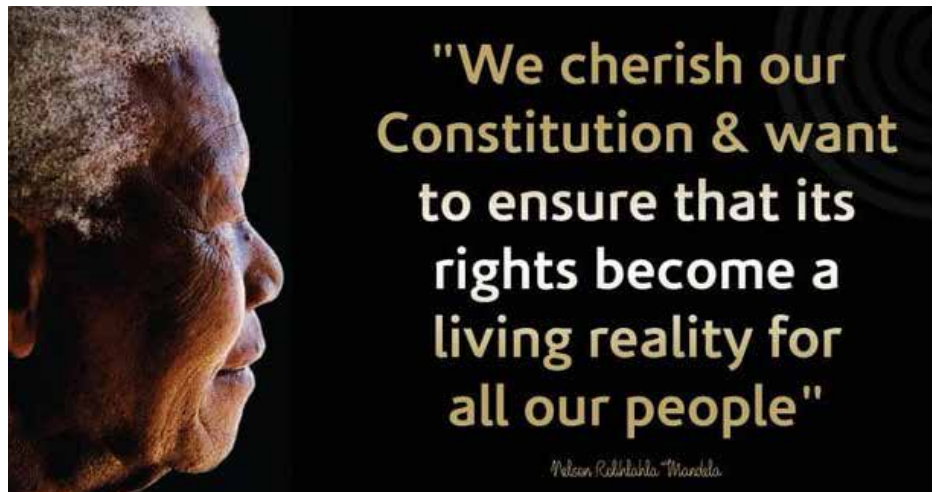
WE join our compatriots to mark an important milestone in the history of this country.

We mark this occasion, not just as an irrational attachment to anniversaries; but we do this to demonstrate the continuity of our struggle and underline the values of our movement:

- Humility
- Selflessness
- Integrity.

Many people erroneously characterise the agreements reached at Kempton Park as the political settlement that ushered in a democratic dispensation in South Africa. The truth, however, is that the final settlement was reached when the elected Constitutional Assembly drew up the Constitution that was adopted in Parliament in May 1996.

The Constitution is therefore a national compact among the people of South Africa to live with one another in one indivisible state. This Constitution and strong formal and informal checks and balances on all the institutions of the state and private sector, including a robust



legal framework, an independent Judiciary, Chapter 9 institutions, active civil society and a free press, underpin our democracy.

Judge Albie Sachs – in the book, *“Oliver Tambo’s Dream”* says every constitution-making project has a central drama.

The biggest drama in our case was Group Rights vs Majority Rule and Bill of Rights. OR wanted us to look at ourselves as citizens of a New, Free, United and Democratic Society:

“You protect people from abuse not because they are black, not because they are white, not because they are the majority, not

because they are in the minority, BUT BECAUSE THEY ARE HUMAN BEINGS”

The South African compact included a commitment to reverse the political, social and economic disparities inherited from apartheid. In his inaugural address, President Nelson Mandela said, *“Let there be work, bread, water and salt for all.”*

The ANC has been faithful to this pact for socio-economic justice throughout our twenty seven years in government. We have also been conscious that the effort to combine growth and redistribution would require a collective, society-wide commitment – one that



cuts profoundly against the grain of South Africa's historical legacy.

We have inherited an economy on the brink of collapse. We must not forget that by the end of the apartheid era, the economy had stopped growing. In the first decade and a half of the ANC in power, South Africa experienced the longest sustained growth period in its history.

To assess where we are on the 25th anniversary of the Constitution, we need to look at the developments in terms of socio-economic rights, and civil and political rights.

Socio-economic Rights

Over the last 25 years, SA has made significant strides in achieving socio-economic rights, the *"life and soul"* of the Constitution, and the rights that have the most tangible impact on people's lives: There have been tremendous strides in housing, education, social assistance and healthcare. Millions of houses were built for the poor. Access to potable water grew from 60 percent to nearly 90 percent. Electricity connections grew from 50 percent in the 1990s to over 90 percent of households today. Immunization coverage targeting diseases such as polio, measles, tuberculosis and diphtheria also grew to over 92 percent. Enrolment at primary school is among the highest in the world at 99 percent. Tertiary education admissions have more than doubled since 1994.

Furthermore, the private sector investment rose as a share of GDP from an average of 14 percent in the 1990s to 17 percent in 2007. With growing revenues and a strong SARS, government was able to reduce absolute pov-

THERE SHALL BE HOUSES, SECURITY AND COMFORT!

Freedom Charter



RDP houses in the Eastern Cape

erty, with a near doubling of real incomes for the poorest 50–60 percent of the population.

Over and above, we take pride in many successes such as the strong judiciary, our election system and a strong human rights culture.

For all of the above gains, there were some stark limitations on the progress experienced by those at the bottom of South Africa's distributional pyramid. The poorest forty percent are largely unemployed and live mostly in rural areas (designated as *"homelands"* in the apartheid era) and informal settlements that are poorly integrated into the social life of the towns and cities.

Social grants are the principal source of livelihood for our people in these areas.

We acknowledge that many of the underlying structural realities in our country have not been addressed. If left unresolved, these dimensions of exclusion and in-

equality will place pressure on the institutions of our democracy and could even lead to the unraveling of the national compact.

At the 53rd National Conference in Mangaung, the ANC reaffirmed that our economic vision rests on the Freedom Charter's call that the people shall share in South Africa's wealth. The Conference resolved that the ANC would drive radical socio-economic transformation.

The phrase *'Radical Economic Transformation'* has been appropriated by a group that purports to be an organisation within the ANC. This situation has created a false perception that some ANC members are not committed to this resolution of our movement.

The ANC has always believed that a thriving future can be built around cooperation and of win-win outcomes with shared benefits. That was the essence of the 1994 electoral slogan – *"a better life for all"*.



African Continental Free Trade Area (AfCFTA) – opportunities for SA

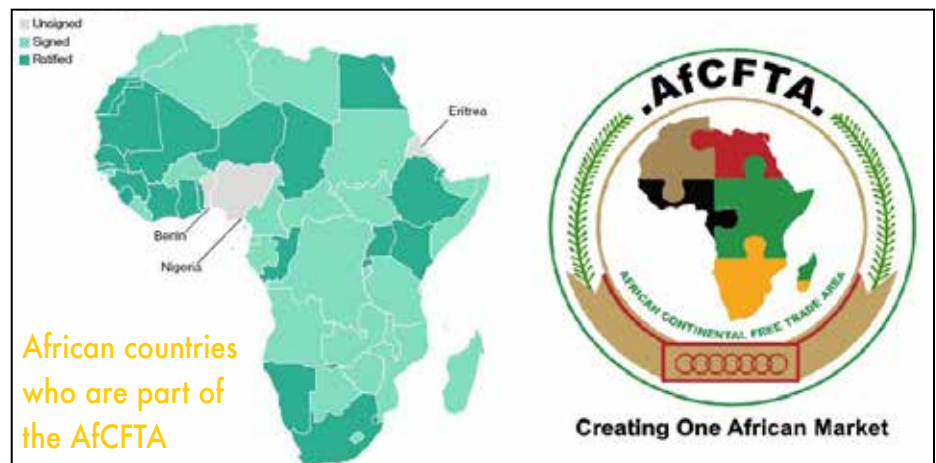
■ By *Fikile Majola, Deputy Minister*

IN conventional trade integration theory, regional integration is understood as a process through which participating partners climb a 'ladder' of institutionalised trade arrangements: From Preferential Trade Area (PTA) to Free Trade Area (FTA) to Customs Union to Common Market to Economic Union.

The "ladder approach" to integration approach has been criticised as not being appropriate in developing country regions. In developing regions, the major barriers to increasing intra-regional trade are not just tariffs but rather real economy, productive constraints: under-developed production structures and inadequate infrastructure.

If one under-developed country's trade profile is dominated by the export of primary product (and it does little processing in its domestic economy), it has little to trade with its neighbour whose specialisation is also export of primary raw materials.

If the road and rail connection be-



African countries who are part of the AfCFTA

tween the two is inadequate that further impedes trade between them.

An alternate approach is needed – the "Development Integration" approach.

In this perspective, we argue that trade integration needs to be seen as only part of a broader integration strategy. It must be accompanied by cooperation to overcome infrastructure backlogs and policy cooperation to promote economic diversification, including industrial development.

African integration is a longstand-

ing continental objective. From the dawn of the independence, virtually all African countries have embraced regionalism. The commitment to regionalism was part and parcel of the broader aspiration of continental integration, a vision that led to the creation of the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) in 1963.

Integration in Africa since then has proceeded at the sub-continental level, notably the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS); the Economic Community of Central African States (CEMAC); East African Community (EAC); Southern African Devel-

opment Community (SADC); and Southern African Customs Union (SACU).

The AfCFTA builds on these arrangements and does not replace them. Very importantly, the strategy document – **“Agenda 2063: The Africa We Want”** – adopted by the AU in 2015, speaks of structural transformation that is in line with recent developments on regional integration.

We use some figures to illustrate Africa’s place in the broader scheme of things, for example, Africa has:

- 17% of the world’s population
- 3% of the world’s GDP
- 3% of the world’s trade
- 2% of the world’s manufacturing output
- Only 1% of the world’s steel production. Policy initiatives like trade must change this. There is general concern that Africa’s share of world trade is small – estimated at 3%. Intra-regional trade is also relatively small: between 16%-18% and this compares to intra-Asian trade at 52%, intra-North American trade at 50%, and intra-EU trade at 70%.

While this is the case, it is important to consider that despite the fact that commodities to the rest of the world dominate Africa’s exports – such as oil and minerals – Africa is by far the second most important export market for most African countries behind Europe. It is often said that “Africa consumes what it does not produce; and produces what it does not consume”.

African countries imported R8-trillion of goods in 2019 but only



African Heads of State at the inaugural meeting of AfCFTA

R1-trillion came from other African countries.

Lowering trade barriers presents a massive opportunity for South African industries, and for development across the continent.

The 10 million jobless South Africans need to have the AfCFTA as a jobs-driven strategy, focusing on an expansion of labour-intensive sectors and those with strong rural and women-employment linkages. Currently, 250 000 direct jobs are sustained by African exports.

The rest of Africa imports R2.9-trillion worth of manufactured goods annually from outside Africa. If South Africa were to supply just 2% of these manufactured goods, it would add 1,2 percentage points to SA’s annual GDP and add R60-billion to our economic output a year.

African countries (excluding SA) imported goods worth R6-trillion from outside of Africa in 2019. Key imports of other African countries from outside the continent represent growth areas for South Africa, including refined oil, automotive, agro processing, CTFL,

iron and steel, plastics and pharmaceuticals and in investment in services sectors (telecoms, retail, banking and E-Commerce).

South Africa exported R347-billion to other African countries in 2019 – mainly to SADC countries. The AfCFTA provides opportunities to export to North, West and East Africa.

Foreign direct investment into Africa has plateaued in recent years, with investment across the continent falling from US\$50.6-billion in 2018 to US\$45.3-billion in 2019 (Source: UNCTAD). The World Bank estimated that successful implementation of the AfCFTA can raise GDP across the continent by US\$450-billion per annum by 2035.

An estimated US\$100-billion annually is needed in infrastructure investment on the continent – SA will need to drive the effort to attract this investment, backed by commitment to policy certainty. Increased industrial opportunity across the continent will spur investment in key “gateway” economies like South Africa.

continues on page 22



We are the leaders we have been waiting for

■ *By Luzuko Bashman*

AS we inaugurate Youth Month, we have an enormous responsibility to introspect and reflect on our own personal contribution to the decay of our revolutionary movement and take an extraordinarily important decision to desist from any behaviour or conduct, individually or in a group, which undermines the task of renewing and rebuilding the revolutionary youth movement.

Through our progressive activism, we have to answer the huge question of whether we are worthy of a duty to honestly serve the youth of

our country and thus demonstrate through our principled actions, deeds and articulations, conduct which restores the trust and confidence of young people, in the Congress Youth League.

We've got to break rank with negative tendencies which undermine the very moral and ethical standing of the Congress Youth League such as factionalism, gate keeping, corruption, bogus branches, bogus membership, members of members, vote buying and roll up our sleeves to genuinely embark on the mammoth task of rebuilding the Spear and the Shield of

the South African Youth.

We have to make a deliberate effort to rise above our differences (real, perceived or sponsored), to listen and hear each other, to support and build one another, to train and develop each to be the quality of revolutionary cadreship which will emulate the founding generation of the Congress Youth League, by taking over the reins of liberation movement and provide decisive leadership in accelerating the struggle for the victory of the national democratic revolution.

We must build a genuine unity of

PERSPECTIVE

purpose, not only amongst ourselves but the entire South African Youth and all progressives, around a common programme for the rooting out of poverty, unemployment, inequality and underdevelopment across the country.

It must be us, found at the centre of the skills revolution, the defeat of crime, drugs, gangsterism, gender-based violence and femicide, the strengthening of organs of people's power and our democratic institutions to deliver services to our people. That includes the promotion of the rule of law, the moral and ethical regeneration of our society, the building of reliable public service and an accountable and patriotic private sector, the restoration of a reliable energy supply, the turning around of our SOEs, the building and support of the youth, women, differently abled and black owned businesses and industries, the establishing and running of successful cooperatives in our communities, thus helping our country to succeed.

Our ideas, energy and courage are urgently needed in the re-



Cde Luzuko Bashman

building of our stagnant economy, inclusively to reflect equality and equity in its ownership, control and participation, thus ushering into reality a truly transformed South Africa, where all our people truly govern and genuinely share the wealth in our country.

To succeed in this important and existential obligation, we must be deliberate about organising ALL the youth of South Africa, of all races, class, gender and sex, of all sections and sectors of society, rural and urban, including the differently abled, all religious and cultural beliefs, thus making our Congress Youth League their

most reliable and dependable voice.

Only then shall we be on a successful path towards reclaiming the title we earned in the theatre of struggle, of being called the Leader of the South African Youth and thus labeled, as a result of our heroic efforts for the liberation of our people, as Revolutionary Young Lions.

We Are The Leaders We've Been Waiting For. Happy Youth Day fellow Young Lions!

Selflessness is Revolutionary, so is Integrity!

Members of the newly inaugurated ANC Youth League NYTT





Celebrating the beginning of a new era at the South African National Defence Force

■ By *Nomfanelo Kota*

IN his book “*A Time for new dreams*”, the Nigerian author and poet, Ben Okri, writes that Africa has a weird resilience. Her future bristles with possibilities. When she heals, Africa will amaze”

I couldn't think of any better quote in ushering a new era at the South African National Defence Force as Lt Gen Thalita Mxakato ascends to the distinguished Office of Chief of Defence Intelligence, a first for a woman in the tough patriarchal history and hierarchy of the SANDF since 1994.

Armed with a political background as a former MK combatant who integrated into the newly formed SANDF in 1994, under her military belt Lt Gen Mxakato brings a formidable experience, having risen through the ranks and having been thoroughly prepared for this role when she was Major General, deputizing in this position a year ago.

Appointments like these are not easy to come by in the Defence Force because Defence Intelligence of a Nation's life is a very sensitive and critical aspect of its armoury and capabilities.



Lt Gen Thalita Mxakato

When Condoleeza Rice served as Secretary of State under President Bush, she brought a lot of experience garnered in this field both from her days in academia as well as in practice. It was the same case with Ambassador Susan Rice when she served under President Obama at the UN as the US's Representative.

Similarly, Prof Joy Ugwu served as Nigeria's Permanent Representative to the UN when South Africa was serving its second stint

as a non permanent member of the UN Security Council.

The political deployment of these capable women in this premier global security organisation undergirded the importance their countries of origin attached to that important office at a time when the world was battling with pertinent issues in its peace architecture.

The people Nations choose to lead certain frontiers and certain epochs matter.

When Ambassador Sonto Kudjoe ascended to the Office of Secretary for Defence (Secretary of Def), the most senior technocrat in the echelons of the Defence Force in the middle of the COVID-19 pandemic ensured that we were better prepared to manage the intricacies of massive deployments when a Nation was facing a global crisis.

At the change of command farewell, the now retired General Shoke commended Ambassador Kudjoe for her sterling role.

In the year we mark the legacy of Mama Charlotte Maxeke, we do not take these developments



lightly.

Okri tells us that Oye who invest in Futures, pay need to Africa. Today she is wounded and is somewhat downcast. But tomorrow she will flower and bear fruit, as the Nile once flowered into the Pyramids, or like the savannahs after the rain.

Let every young girl out there know that she can do this, that her dreams are real and that when she looks into the totality of the women leadership in the politics and security sector, she can know that her dreams are valid.

Together with our vibrant South African Ambassador at the United Nations, Mathu Joyini, we have a calibre of women who can heal this land in the peace and security environment.

We must as a Nation continue to transcend the limitations we impose on the possibilities of being human.

Today we have a Mandisa Mfeka, who is a fighter pilot in the Defence Force, who mesmerized us with her abilities during the Inauguration of our President in 2019.

We must build on this legacy and unfortunately it is left to the likes of Lt Gen Thalita Mxakato to ensure that the likes of Mandisa Mfeka rise to occupy the Chief of the South African Air Force one day.

Mama Charlotte Maxeke, more than a century ago left us with a very important message that **“If you can rise, take someone with you”**.

Phakama Mbokotho, *ixesha lifikile* as we salute the incoming Chief of Defence Intelligence, Lt Gen Mxakato.

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African Continental Free Trade Area (AfCFTA) – opportunities for SA

A focused capital-raising strategy will need to accompany implementation of the trade provisions of the AfCFTA.

A number of large and medium-sized South African companies have established businesses across the continent.

South Africa’s manufactured product exports to other African countries is strong, representing 80% of all exports to the rest of Africa.

Bilateral engagements (for example, Nigeria) will be undertaken to address practical obstacles to deepening trade.

Key imports of other African countries from outside the continent represent growth areas for South Africa.

There are already companies with these demographics active in the export market. Over the next five years, the DTIC will nurture and seek to expand such enterprises through the AfCFTA.

Efforts to improve competitiveness of the sectors through industry Master Plans and financial support to upgrade local sector are underway.

To underpin the AfCFTA, a whole-of government implementation plan will be put into effect during 2021.

We must also take to heart that for sustainability and legitimacy, the benefits of the AfCFTA must be



shared across all members.

Countries across the African continent are engaged in a battle to restore the economy in the midst of an ongoing onslaught from the COVID-19 pandemic that has destroyed lives and livelihoods.

One of the instructive lessons learned from this crisis is that economic resilience is critical. It is critical to build up industrial capabilities, trade and supply chains across African countries.

Greater supply-chain resilience needs to include efforts to spread risk by enabling the greater geographic spread of manufacturing. This resonates with bringing to fruition the goal of the ‘Made in Africa’ initiative.

We have to seize the opportunity presented by the African Continental Free Trade Area (AfCFTA), which is aimed at boosting intra-Africa trade.

*First published in **Business Update, Issue 20***



Q&A

■ By Leo Ndabambi

IN THE SPOTLIGHT: Phumzile Sithole

1. Briefly paint us a picture of who comrade Phumzile Sithole is?

I was born as Phumzile Portia Sithole in Alexandra by parents who would be classified as the working class. My dad Madoda Alfred Sithole worked as what was termed as “*thutha mabhakede*”, which translates to “*bucket picker*” with reference to the bucket toilet system in Alex, and my mom Lovely, was innovative and could sell anything and everything in the streets, an Alexandra true hustler.

I attended primary school in Alexandra, Ekukhanyisweni Primary School, and then went on to Pholosho Higher Primary school, whose colours are like those of the ANC.

In high school I found myself in impromptu protests against how we were treated as African black learners, fighting for our rights and recognition. I joined the ANCYL in the year 2000, prompted by the generation of my peers, which made me to realise that my community was deteriorating and the people required leadership. To this day, my fight is for the holistic development of my township (Alexandra) and this beautiful metropolis (Johannesburg), both with a rich history.

I am an honours student at the University of Johannesburg – studying African Studies and Public Policy.



Comrade Phumzile Sithole

ANC Councillor in the City of Johannesburg

2. The 2021 theme of the ANC is “The year of Unity, Renewal and Reconstruction, in the Year of Charlotte Maxeke.” What is it that you can tell us about Mam Charlotte Maxeke as a role model?

Mme Charlotte Maxeke, also referred to as the “mother of black heroism”, was a woman of many firsts. She was a pioneer, an activist and a true revolutionary. She was the first South African woman to earn a university degree and the first black woman to become a parole officer for juveniles. She set up an employment agency for black people in

Jo’burg. She was also a teacher, an advocate on social ills against women; she helped organise the anti pass movement of women in 1913.

Mam Maxeke founded the Bantu Women’s League (BWL) in 1918. She fought for workers’ rights and was the part of the formation of the ICU (Industrial Workers Union). She testified on matters concerning African Education.

3. What can we learn from past leaders such as Mme Florence Mophosho as she is due for her reburial in Alexandra, which is also the home of Vincent Tshabalala?

Bo Mme Florence Mophosho was born in Alexandra Township. She had been an inspiration to many young leaders of the Congress movement that came after her. She was also inspired by great leaders of the ANC, bo ntate Alfred Nzo, Thomas Nkobi to name but a few.

Her bravery led her to help in organising the Congress of the People. She was a full-time organiser for the ANC. She also mobilised for the Women’s anti-pass march, and was a part of the famous 1957 Alexandra Bus Boycotts Committee.

These activities forced her to go underground when the ANC was banned. Mme Florence Mophosho was an internationalist and



later served in the NEC of the ANC as she continued to fight for gender equality. Her struggles inspired heroism in young people like Vincent 'Toivo' Tshabalala; a young man who came to call Alexandra his home in the early 1980's.

Vincent Tshabalala went to Minerva High School in Alexandra and went on to become a member and chair of COSAS, where he met the likes of cdes Paul Mashatile, Dipuo Mvelase, the late Conny Bapela and countless others. Cde Vincent was also a founding member of AYCO, we was very passionate about the education of a black child. He joined the ANC underground and went to exile in 1983 where he joined Umkhonto we Sizwe. Vincent 'Toivo' Tshabalala sacrificed his life for freedom, he died aged 20 in a heroic battle against apartheid police.

4. As a PR councilor in what is known as the City of Gold, what practices do you think people should follow in order to further curb the spread of COVID-19?

This is mainly for the younger people who still believe that COVID-19 has ended. The reality is that COVID-19 is alive and active and we are at the verge of a third wave. It is important that lives and health of the elderly are especially protected. We must avoid organising and attending super spreader events where alcohol is heavily consumed and COVID-19 protocols are ignored. People must continue to wear masks in public, observe social distance and sanitise their hands.

5. On your most recent appointment as the Chairperson of Section 79 Development Plan-

ning Committee, what is your opinion on how best we can fight the GBVF and LGBTQIA+ second pandemic?

It is important that we firstly acknowledge the role of women in society. Young men must be taught from an early age in life on how to treat women, and that females are their equal partners and not the weaker sex. (Women too, from a early age must also be taught to defend themselves). Local government should invest in media; print media awareness on the rights of the LGBTQIA+ community. The City must push the visual campaigns in respect of humanity and free-will – they should run campaigns in communities for spreading awareness.

6. What has been your proudest moment so far?

I am a mother of the most amazingly inquisitive girl. She has sur-

vived in my care for eleven years. I am proud that I was nurturing and looking after this beautiful gift. Her name is Reneilwe Kopano Sithole.

7. What do you think the youth in South Africa can contribute towards their own local communities, especially now as we celebrate Youth Month and observe child protection week?

Young people need to realise how important their basic right to vote is, this right that so many have lost their lives for; they should fully embrace and protect it. Young people must encourage each other to hold government accountable and be a positive voice in society.

8. What is your motto?

It's not a dead-end, it's a plot twist ...

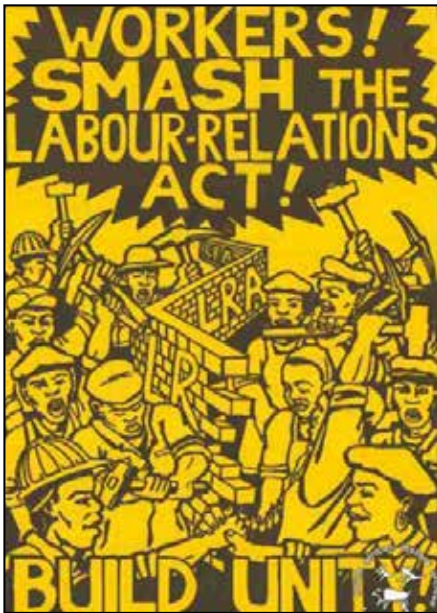




5 – 11 June 2021

Sources: SA History Online and O'Malley Archives

■ 5 June 1988 COSATU stay-away against the Labour Relations Act



At its Special Congress in May, the Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu) called for three days of national protest against the Labour Relations Amendment Bill (LRA) and restrictions on political organisations. The bill sought to curb the growing union movement and undermine gains made by workers since the 1970s. Cosatu's call led to the largest stay-away (5 – 7 June) up to that time in South African labour history and exceeded all expectations. On the first day, between 2.5 and three million workers stayed away.

■ 5 June 1981 First recognised cases of AIDS reported in USA

On 5 June 1981, the Centre for Disease Control and Prevention (USA) reported that 5 gay men in California were suffering from a rare pneumonia (Pneumocystis carinii pneumonia or PCP). This

strain of pneumonia was found in patients with weakened immune systems. These were the first 'recognised' cases of what became known as AIDS. Therefore, 1981 is often referred to as the beginning of the HIV/Aids epidemic in the USA, and at this stage doctors believed that the disease only affected gay men. Later in the 1980s, a blood sample taken in the Democratic Republic of Congo back in 1959 was tested to reveal the HIV virus. This suggested that HIV/AIDS might have been introduced to humans in the 1940s or early 1950s. However, in 2000 the results of a new study presented at the 7th Conference on Retroviruses and Opportunistic Infections, suggested that the first case of HIV infection occurred as early as 1930.

■ 6 June 1890 Chief Bambatha ascends to power



Chief Magadu kaMancinza Bhambatha, who was held responsible for the *Impi Yamakhanda* (poll tax) uprising that was popularly known as the Bambatha rebellion of 1906, became chief of the AmaZondi people. Bhambatha succeeded to the throne after the

death of his father and uncle, at the age of 25. He quickly established himself as a popular chief and earned the respect of the elders in the Amazondi traditional council.

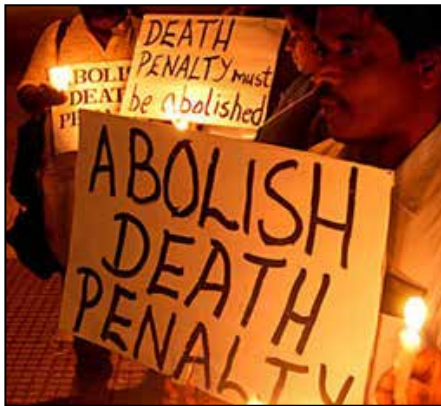
■ 6 June 1913 Women Anti-pass Campaign starts



The June 1913 anti-pass campaign was probably the first recorded incidence of protest by women against the Union government. About 700 women marched to the Bloemfontein City Council in the Orange Free State to petition the mayor. The Orange Free State was the only province in which passes were stringently enforced to control the movement of African and Coloured women residing and working in towns in large numbers. The pass had to be renewed monthly at a fee, placing financial strain on women. The Campaign gained momentum and spread to other areas in Bloemfontein. 34 women were arrested and convicted for not having passes. The direct result of this campaign was the establishment of the Bantu Women's League under the leadership of Charlotte Mannyax Maxeke.



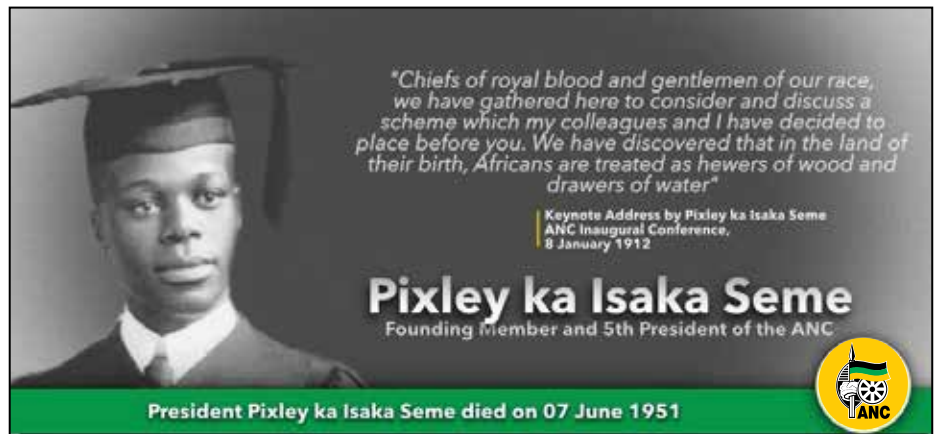
■ 6 June 1995 Constitutional Court abolished the death penalty



On 6 June 1995, a historic resolution was taken by the Constitutional Court to abolish the death penalty. The court ruled that capital punishment, as provided for under the Criminal Procedure Act, was in conflict with the country's 1994 constitution. The ruling did not apply, however, to the crime of treason committed in wartime. The Court ordered, with immediate effect, that *"the State and all its organs are forbidden to execute any person already sentenced to death under any provisions thus declared to be invalid."* The ruling followed the Constitutional Court's hearing on the death penalty which took place in February 1995. Until the use of the death penalty was suspended in February 1990, South Africa had one of the highest rates of judicial executions in the world.

■ 7 June 1951 Pixley ka Isaka Seme passed on

Pixley ka Isaka Seme died in Johannesburg on 7 June 1951. He was a political activist, journalist, lawyer and a co-founder of the African National Congress (ANC). His funeral service was conducted by the bishop of Johannesburg, Ambrose Reeves, on 17 June. Tributes were made by, among



others, Chief Albert Luthuli, A. B. Xuma, Z. K. Matthews and D. D. T. Jabavu, a representative of the Swazi monarch and the secretary of native affairs. When a tombstone was unveiled at his grave in 1984, Mangosuthu Buthelezi spoke.

■ 7 June 1953 Johnny Clegg born



Johnny Clegg, renowned South African and global music icon was born in England in 1953 to an English father and a Zimbabwean mother. He left England for Zimbabwe where he lived until the age of seven. He and his mother immigrated to South Africa following her marriage to a South African Journalist. Owing to his step father's job as a crime reporter, Clegg became exposed to township life when he would accompany him on assignments. It was at this stage that Clegg met Sipho Mchunu, the man who would later become his music partner, when they formed the band Juluka.

■ 8 June 1963 Naledi High school founded

Naledi High School, the site where historic anti-Bantu Education student uprisings were first felt, commemorated 50th anniversary on 8 June 2013. On 8 June 1976, security police arrived at Naledi High School and attempted to arrest the leader of the local branch of the South Africa Students Movement (SASM), Enos Ngutshane. In retaliation, students stoned the police and burned their car. The students were unhappy about being compelled to use Afrikaans as a medium of instruction in 50% of subjects in secondary schools. On 16 June 1976, unrest broke out at Naledi High School. Tsietsi Mashinini led the peaceful protest of learners in Soweto, in what became known as the June 16 uprising.

■ 8 June 1988 Four ANC cadres killed near Piet Retief

On 8 June 1988, Surendra Lenny Naidu, Lindiwe Mthembu, Makhozi Nyoka and Nontsikelelo Cothoza, all African National Congress (ANC) members were shot dead when their car was ambushed at Piet Retief on the eastern Transvaal (now Mpumalanga) border. Eugene de Kock appeared before the Truth and Reconciliation Commission in connection with their murder.

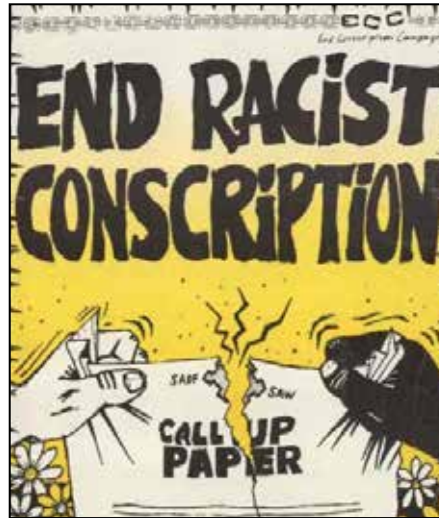


■ 8 June 1998 General Sani Abacha of Nigeria died

General Sani Abacha, the 10th President of Nigeria died at the Presidential palace in Abuja, allegedly from poison, though no autopsy was conducted. Abacha was the first soldier in Nigeria to reach this level, without skipping a single rank. He was Minister of Defense when he seized power from a transitional government in 1993. Abacha's rule saw significant growth of the Nigeria economy (ending privatization, reducing inflation rate from 54% to 8.5%, investing in road infrastructure, reforming the insurance industry to support SMMEs), but also saw political crisis such as the execution of Ken Saro-Wiwa under his leadership.

■ 9 June 1967 Military service becomes compulsory for white men

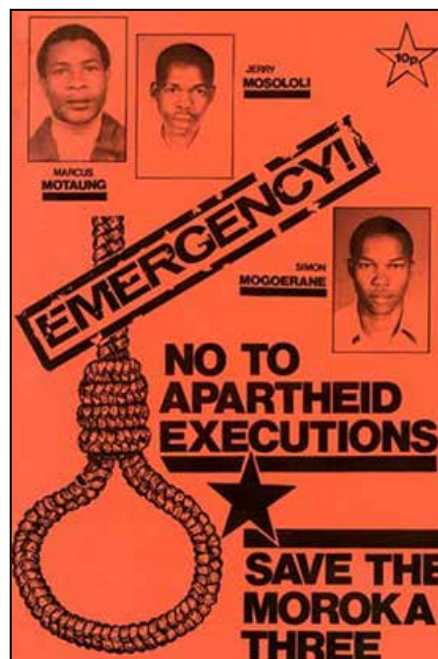
The Defense Amendment Bill, designed to make military service compulsory for White young men, was passed on 9 June 1967 – with the support of the opposition. Conscription was instituted in South Africa in the form of 9 months of service for all white males between the ages of 17 and 65 years old. Conscripts became members of the South African Defense Force (SADF), or the South African Police (SAP). They were used to enforce the government's stance against liberation movements, anti-apartheid activists and the 'communist threat'. As apartheid war in neighbouring countries and inside the country grew in the 70s, the conscription time was eventually increased to 2 years and 30 days annually for 8 years. In 1983, the End Conscription Campaign (ECC) was formed by various local conscientious objectors' groups, campaigning for



an end to conscription and to the apartheid war.

■ 9 June 1983 MK cadres executed

On 9 June 1983, uMkhonto we-Sizwe (MK) operatives, Jerry Mosolodi, Terry Mogoerane and Thabo Motaung were executed for their part in a hit on Wonderboom police station. The ANC declared the execution a crime against humanity and defended the attack on the police station as an act of liberation. It called for the MK operatives to be treated as prisoners of war under the protection of the Geneva Convention.



■ 10 June 1990 Miriam Makeba returns to South Africa



World music icon and anti-apartheid campaigner returned to South Africa after 31 years in exile.

■ 11 June 1977 Police arrest Student leader Dan Montsitsi

Almost a year after the June 16 Soweto Student Uprising, Security Police announced the arrest of Soweto Students' Representative Council (SSRC) leader Dan Sechaba Montsitsi. Four NUSAS members were also arrested for the same reason, namely plans to commemorate the Soweto uprisings.

■ 11 June 2010 Opening game of the 2010 FIFA Soccer World Cup in South Africa

The FIFA Soccer World Cup Finals opened in 2010, the first to be held in Africa, with the match between South Africa and Mexico (1:1 draw). Later in the day, France played against Uruguay in the second match of the day, also with a draw and no goals.

THIS WEEK IN HISTORY

INTERNATIONAL DAYS

5 – 11 June 2021

Source: <https://au.int/en/au-holidays> and <https://www.un.org>

■ 5 June World Environment Day



The theme for World Environment Day 2021 is **“Ecosystem Restoration”** and will see the launch of the UN Decade on Ecosystem Restoration. Ecosystem restoration can take many forms: Growing trees, greening cities, rewilding gardens, changing diets or cleaning up rivers and coasts.



■ 5 June International Day against Illegal Fishing

Fisheries provide a vital source of food, employment, recreation, trade and economic well-being for people throughout the world. In a world of growing population and persistent hunger, fish has emerged as an important commodity for the achievement of food security. However, efforts by the international commu-

nity to ensure the sustainability of fisheries are being seriously compromised by illegal, unreported and unregulated fishing activities.

■ 6 June Russian Language Day

The day was proclaimed by UNESCO, on the occasion of the birth of Russian poet Alexander Pushkin, in 2010 to celebrate language diversity and Russian as one of the six UN working languages. There are about 155 million Russian mother tongue speakers, and it is the official language of Belarus, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Russia, and Tajikistan. The Russian alphabet uses Cyrillic script and has 33 letters. Apart from being one of the UN official languages, it is also an international space language.

■ 7 June Africa Border Day

A year after the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) was formed in 1963, it adopted a resolution where countries agreed to *“the principle of the respect of borders existing on achievement of national independence”*, in order to prevent costly border wars between newly independent countries. These borders





Peka Bridge border control between South Africa and Lesotho

were of course largely based on colonial borders decided at the Berlin conference, and are therefore often arbitrary, dividing villages, communities and peoples. As a result, although there was/is OAU/AU agreement on the principle, in practice there has been a number of border dispute between countries, which had to be resolved either through mediation or settled through the International Court of Justice. In 2007, the African Union Ministers in charge of Border issues adopted the Addis Ababa Declaration on the African Union Border Programme, which became a section within the Peace and Security Department. The same declaration designated 7 June as **African Border Day**, with the aim to *'transforming African borders from barriers to bridges.'*

■ 7 June World Food Safety Day

This day was adopted by the UN in 2018, to draw awareness about food safety. It will be the first celebration on 7 June 2019, under the theme **"Food Safety. Everyone's Business."** We tend to leave decisions about what goes into our food to those who manufacture food, and because they are about profits, they do not warn consumers about what's in the food we buy and eat, for example pesticides on fruit and vegetables, or hormones in meat. Governments play a role by regulating food security and forcing food manufacturers to provide consumer information



on our products. The UN also publishes general food safety information on this day.

■ 8 June World Oceans Day

During the Rio Earth Summit, participants and activists advocated for World Oceans Day, to raise awareness about also protecting the oceans as an integral part of our planet's ecosystems. In 2008, the UN thus declared 8 June as World Oceans Day. Oceans and seas contribute to the oxygen we breathe, the food we eat especially proteins, and critical part of the biosphere. The theme for 2019 was **"Gender and Oceans"**, with a view to build ocean and gender literacy. The theme was to look at different ways to promote gender equality and women's participation in ocean-related activities such as marine scientific research, fisheries, labour at sea, migration by sea and human trafficking, policy-making and management. On the continent, the organization **Women In Maritime** (WIM Africa) brings women together to advocate around these issues.



The Pan African Parliament – A Reading List

THE Pan African Parliament (PAP), was thrust into the foreground over the last few days with its spectacle of threats and disruptions over the issue of rotation of the leadership amongst the five African Union regions. Although for the wrong reasons, this focus on the PAP is long overdue, to understand its evolution and envisaged role in the body polity of the African continent.

The reading list below focuses on both these aspects of the Pan African Parliament. The book by Dr Francis Kornegay recalls its role in the political integration of Africa, recalling the two dominant approaches to integration as the founders prepared for the launch of the Organisation of African Unity in 1963. These strands were the Casablanca group led by Kwame Nkrumah (Ghana, Mali, Guinea, Egypt and Algeria) which argued for an immediate move towards a united Africa; and the Monrovia group consisting of Nigeria, Sierra Leone, Liberia, Togo, Ivory Coast, Cameroon, Senegal, Benin, Malagasy Republic, Chad, Burkina Faso, Niger, People's Republic of Congo, Gabon, Central African Republic, Ethiopia, Somalia, and Tunisia, which was in favour of a more gradual approach. The form that the OAU eventually took since 1963 was dominated by this gradual approach.

As the Berlin wall came down and the Cold War ended, but also the devastating dead decade of structural adjustment programmes in Africa drew to a close, African countries again revived the debates about integration, leading to the adoption of the Abuja



Treaty in 1991. The Abuja Treaty rested on two pillars – the economic integration of the continent, and the African Continental Free Trade Area as a key component towards such integration. The political pillar saw the transformation of the OAU into the African Union in 2002. The Pan African Parliament was supposed to be the last institution in a process that was to take place over a number of steps. However, with the adoption of the AU Constitutive Act in 2002, the PAP became one of the nine political organs of the Abuja Treaty, as explained in the African Union Handbook, 2020.

Article 17 of the AU Constitutive Act saw this initially advisory continental legislative body “to ensure the full participation of African peoples in the development and economic integration of the continent.” At present, the PAP is constituted of members of parliaments from different national parliaments, but it is envisaged that PAP members will eventually be elected directly by all Africans, on the basis of a universal franchise.

The reading list below further examines this history, but more importantly, reflects on the role PAP can play

in the development and economic integration of the continent.

African Union Handbook. 2020 (7th Edition, AU Commission).

African Union and a Pan-African Parliament: Working Papers, by Francis A. Kornegay, Manelisi Genge, and Stephen P. Rule (2000).

State of Readiness of African Parliaments on the Eve of the Pan African Parliament, edited by Korwa Adar (2004. Africa Institute of South Africa): “a study of selected countries’ parliaments and their functions in order to extrapolate learning experiences for the planned Pan-African Parliament. The study further considers the parliaments of some of the sub-regional organisations to ascertain their effectiveness at national and sub-regional levels, and examines the implications of the Pan-African Parliament of the AU.”

The Role of the Pan African Parliament in African Regionalism (2004-2006): an Institutional Perspective, by Ogochukwu Iruoma Nzewi (2008. PhD Thesis, University of Pretoria).

X-WORD

#YouthMonth Youth In Numbers



ACROSS

- 2. A major contributor to disempowerment is ... from education.
- 9. Number of adolescents and youth in the world.
- 10. Number of youth added to African labour market each year.
- 12. Percentage of Africa workforce that are youth.

DOWN

- 1. Percentage of African population below 25 years.
- 3. Never before have there been so many.. ...
- 4. By the middle of this century, number of youth will reach ...
- 5. Young women suffer from as a result of reproductive labour.
- 6. Only country with gender parity in secondary enrollment
- 7. Sheng slang is a combination of English and ...
- 8. 15-24 year old's as portion of total African population.
- 11. Portion of 10 young people who live in developing countries

WORD BANK

- | | | |
|-----------------------------|----------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| twenty percent (20%) | thirty seven percent (37%) | sixty percent (60%) |
| eleven million (11 million) | Eswatini | time poverty |
| disengagement | kiSwahili | one point eight billion (1.8 billion) |
| young people | nine (9) | two billion |