

ANG TODAY

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Conversations with the **President**



FIGHT CRIME, NOT MIGRANTS

■ By Cyril Ramaphosa

WENTY-FIVE years ago, our new democratic Constitution came into effect. In adopting this Constitution, we affirmed our commitment to a society based on democratic values, social justice and human rights.

We were also making a complete break with our past. This was a past of race-based social engineering that manifested itself through influx control, job reservation, group areas and the dreaded dompas. When our forebears drafted the Freedom Charter in 1955, whose principles have been incorporated in

our constitution, and declared that South Africa belongs to all who live in it, they were seeking a society free from ethnic chauvinism, tribalism, racism and sexism.

It is therefore deeply disturbing how the recent incidents of anti-foreigner sentiment in parts of the country echo our apartheid past.

We have seen people being stopped on the street by private citizens and being forced to produce identification to verify their immigration status. We have seen some political leaders making unscientific statements about immigrants to exploit people's grievances for political gain.

We have seen marches being led on people's homes and their dwellings raided for evidence of criminal activity. We have seen people being attacked, hurt and even killed because of how they looked or because they have a particular accent.

This was how the apartheid oppressors operated.

They said some people could only live in certain areas, operate certain businesses or take

Dear Mr President

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certain jobs. Under apartheid, black people were deemed suspects by default and stopped by police when found in so-called white areas. Black people were forced to produce a dompas and if they could not do so, they were iailed.

We cannot allow such injustices to happen again.

The events in the Gauteng township of Diepsloot last week were a tragedy. In the course of a single weekend, seven people were killed, sparking protests. This loss of life is deplorable, as is the killing of a fellow African from Zimbabwe allegedly at the hands of vigilantes.

Crime is a serious problem in this country. It affects all communities and people are justifiably tired of living in fear of criminals. Contrary to what is claimed by some anti-immigration groupings and individuals, the perpetrators of crime are both black and white, male and female, foreigner and citizen.

Crime, not migrants, is the common enemy we must work together to defeat.

We cannot defeat crime through incitement, violence, intimidation and vigilantism aimed at foreign nationals, and specifically nationals from other African countries.

We acknowledge many communities are frustrated by the apparent inability of the police to deal with criminals. Among the measures we are taking to capacitate the police is the recruitment of an additional 12,000 additional police officers.

We are also re-establishing community policing forums (CPFs) across the country. These forums bring communities and police representatives together to improve local safety and hold police accountable. Communities need to work with the police by actively participating in CPFs

and reporting suspected acts of criminality.

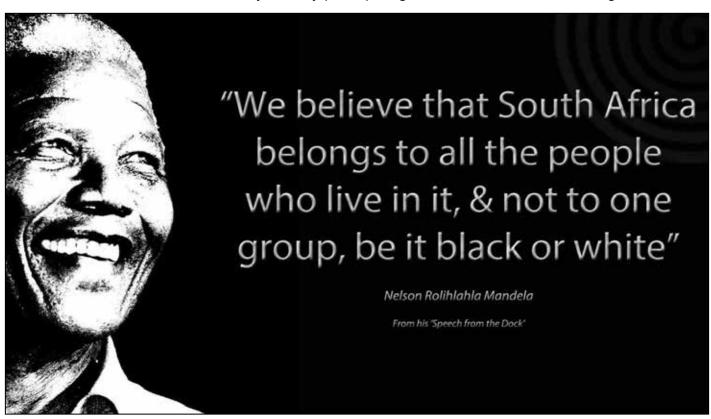
Even as we intensify our fight against crime, there is no justification for people taking the law into their own hands.

At the same time, we recognise that illegal migration poses a risk to South Africa's security, stability and economic progress. Illegal migration affects service delivery and places additional burdens on essential services such as health care and education.

Like any sovereign nation, we have the right to implement policies and measures that guarantee the integrity of our borders, protect the rights of South Africans and provide that all who reside in our borders have a legal right to be here.

Controlling migration is the responsibility of government.

No private citizen may assume the role of immigration or law



CONVERSATIONS WITH THE PRESIDENT



enforcement authorities by demanding that foreign nationals produce identification. Under Section 41 of the Immigration Act, only a police member or immigration officer can ask someone to identify themselves as a citizen, permanent resident or foreign national. If these officers believe, on reasonable grounds, that the person is in the country unlawfully, they may be detained while an investigation into their status is conducted. When doing so, law enforcement authorities must respect that person's rights and dignity. They may not do so in a manner that is degrading or humiliating.

Enforcement of migration legislation is a priority for government. We are working to ensure that syndicates perpetrating immigration fraud in collusion with corrupt officials are brought to book. This year alone, several people implicated in passport fraud have been arrested.

No private citizen or group has the right to enter businesses and demand its owners produce proof that their businesses are registered or legal. This is the competence of municipal, provincial or national authorities. including inspectors from the Department of Employment and Labour and the South African Revenue Service.

Like all other businesses, foreign-owned businesses must obey the relevant laws, including health and safety regulations, have all the required permits and licences, and pay the necessary taxes.

We are a democracy founded on the rule of law. Acts of lawlessness directed at foreign nationals, whether they are documented or undocumented, cannot be



tolerated.

Attacking those we suspect of wrongdoing merely because they are a foreign national is not an act of patriotism. It is immoral, racist and criminal. In the end, it will lead to xenophobia, whose consequences we have lived through in previous years. We do not want to go back there because in the main the people of South Africa are not xenophobic.

I want to appeal to all South Africans, but particularly to younger South Africans who thankfully never experienced the true brutality and dehumanisation of apartheid. Let us not become like the ones who oppressed us, no matter how legitimate the grievance.

Let us work together to resolve our country's challenges without resorting to violence or vigilantism. Let us resist those who want to exploit the problems of crime and unemployment for political gain.

Today, our anger may be directed at nationals from Zimbabwe, Mozambique, Nigeria or Pakistan. Tomorrow, our anger may be directed at each other.

Let us heed the words of Martin Niemöller's famous poem about the Nazis in Germany:

"First they came for the Socialists, and I did not speak out -Because I was not a Socialist.

Then they came for the trade unionists, and I did not speak out - because I was not a trade unionist.

Then they came for the Jews, and I did not speak out -Because I was not a Jew.

Then they came for me - and there was no one left to speak for me."

Let us focus on defeating crime, no matter who commits it.

EDITORIAL



#PrayForKZN

Statement of the African National Congress on the floods in KwaZulu-Natal

HE African National Congress (ANC) extends its heartfelt condolences to the families who lost their loved ones following the devastatingly heavy downpours in the province of KwaZulu Natal. The magnitude of severe weather conditions has resulted in enormous damage to infrastructure across the province and also left dozens of people destitute.

While disaster management teams work around the clock to assist residents that have been affected by the inclement weather conditions which led to localised flooding of human settlements and roads across the province, ANC issued an instruction to all its deployees to roll up their sleeves and fast-track interventions. We believe that the government should join forces with the private sector to help the victims of floods.

Reports indicate that the number of fatalities as a result of the heavy rains could possibly increase as some people still reported missing.

The ANC is pleased with a number of interventions being rolled out by the government. During this time of need, more help is required for our people.

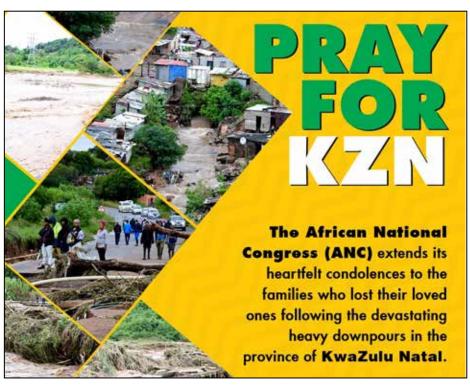
It is against this backdrop that the ANC urges all its members, volunteers, supporters and members of the public to join disaster management teams in a rescue mission of victims of floods in KwaZulu-Natal.

All relief efforts should be properly coordinated to ensure that all people affected by the floods get help. These conditions have a potential to further exacerbate the socio-economic conditions of our people who are still recovering from the rippling effects of the COVID-19 pandemic. The ANC has urged the national

government to declare a state of disaster in KwaZulu-Natal following the floods.

We have to work together with social partners to provide relief to affected communities. We are further pleased that services of the South African National Defence Force (SANDF) and other stakeholders have been utilised to evacuate those that are still trapped.

During this difficult time, the ANC calls upon residents living in low lying areas to seek shelter on higher ground.





Let Us Pray: Ubuntu towards all life forms

Dear Mr President

WO years ago, our country was brought to a standstill on the eve of the Easter weekend when the deadly Coronavirus arrived in our midst.

The unprecedented lockdown halted the annual commemoration of the resurrection of Jesus Christ and the most important and oldest festival of the Christian Church.

Despite our country being a secular state, wherein all its people are free to pursue their own religious beliefs, many of our people were raised in Christianity and subscribe to it. During the Easter weekend, pilgrims travel to gather in numbers in honour of this epochal event.

In 2020 however, the country went into lockdown which restricted large gatherings and necessitated the halt to traditional gatherings in order to save human lives.

Two years later, South Africans will be pleased that the storm of the pandemic has abated even as we are still required to take care as COVID-19 continues to wreak havoc elsewhere.

Mr President, this weekend our people will criss-cross the country as they take respite to see family members and congregate



Comrade Pule Mabe

en masse to pray to God.

Prayer is one commodity that has sustained our country as we navigated the excesses of COVID-19 and lost our loved ones and colleagues. The religious community stood the country in good stead during these difficult times and their presence in our midst has been incalculable.

At the time of writing, it is prayer that we need as a country following the catastrophic floods that have devastated the KwaZulu-Natal province this week.

Many of our people in that province face a bleak Easter weekend as a result of the devastation that befell them when the raging downpours swept away their houses and vehicles and drowned their family members. Over 300 people lost their lives this week and scores are still missing as the natural disaster rears its ugly head.

The scenes unfolding on our TV screens elicit unparalleled tragedy with roads and bridges being swept away by the torrents.

The province was declared a national disaster in order to marshal all the resources towards mopping up and ensuring a semblance of normality.

The road ahead will be long. However, South Africans have proven resilient in the face of calamity. The government will play its part and once again we expect the fortunate to rally behind their sense of ubuntu and share resources with their neighbours and community members.

That spirit came to the fore when the coronavirus impacted on lives and livelihoods and we were forced to break bread and share our living spaces with the less fortunate.

Mr President, lest it be forgotten, some of our stalwarts were steeped in Christian upbringing and fortitude. We remember Mama Charlotte Maxeke, a pillar of the African Episcopal Methodist Church who employed religion

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in her guest to emancipate black South Africans from bondage and oppression.

One of our former presidents, Chief Albert Luthuli was an ordained reverend who found no contradiction to use scripture alongside the ideology to free his people from apartheid.

We invoke the spirits of our stalwarts during this time when our country faces and deals with myriad challenges that threaten to reverse our gains.

The Easter weekend is also the time to connect with our ancestral roots in prayer and kindness. We reach out to those who will be in church over this weekend to not forget the victims of the KZN floods in their prayers.

Prayer has shown countless times that it is not merely an academic exercise but a channel to connect with our Maker and seek penance during these times.

Prayer is described as a solemn request for help or expression of thanks addressed to God or other deity.

Prayer offers solace when all else seems to be lost, particularly when human beings do not have a handle over the events surrounding their lives.

The natural disaster that enfolded in KZN this week was unanticipated and it will take years to pick up the pieces. The same must be said for the virus that has changed the way we live and pray.

The believers will take solace in the fact that they will finally be allowed to congregate and praise His name this year even as they



need to continue to adhere to the non-pharmaceutical protocols that saw us over the coronavirus hurdle.

Anything less will be a reckless affront to our fellow human beings.

Mr President, as the country's response was based on science during the pandemic, it is important to point out that the effects of climate change cannot be ruled out as one of the causes of the floods that pelted one of our provinces.

Scientists have warned over decades that we need to preserve the planet and minimize our footprint on it as research has shown that our pollution has dire consequences on our climate. The floods cannot solely be ascribed to nature without the consequences as a result of gluttonous human consumption of fossil fuels and rampant pollution of our land, atmosphere and water resources.

As the people of KZN pick up the pieces, we should be mindful that events like this one will reoccur in the future and shape our relationship with Planet Earth.

As a matter of fact, this was not the first time the South Africa had been hit by rampant flooding. The provinces of Limpopo and Mpumalanga emerged from near similar devastation a mere three years ago as a result of the El Nino phenomenon.

The virus has elucidated the role that science plays in our daily lives and the natural disaster also gives us the opportunity to learn and mitigate our actions in the planet we share with other flora and fauna.

Prayer will carry us through the choppy waters. However, the milk of kindness shown to other life forms we share the Planet with, might help us to reach solid and dry ground needed at this time.

Happy Easter to all South Africans and travel mercies to those who will be on the roads.

Yours sincerely

Pule Mabe

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





We should not forget the legacy of Nelson Rolihlahla Mandela

PART 1

■ By Ambassador Vusi Mavimbela

N the 10th day of November in 1910, a buildina constructor and his band of workers climbed up a hillock in the place that today we call Pretoria. On top of this hillock was a disused quarry whose open pit provided a very good setting for the construction of a majestic building and a grand amphitheatre. The granite stones from the disused quarry provided almost readymade building blocks for the construction of both the building and its amphitheatre.

It is this majestic building and its amphitheatre that came to be known as The Union Buildings. Since the beginning of the last century, this structure has served as the seat of government of South Africa.

These buildings were commissioned in 1910 to celebrate the end of the war between the English and the Afrikaners. It was also to celebrate the founding of the new constitution, a constitution that cemented the unity of these two white racial groups, a unity set against the black natives. The building has two outstretched wings, one in the East and the other in the West, a deliberate architectural dramatisation of the unity of the two united racial groups. It was the celebration of the colour bar, the colour bar that denied the black natives the birthright to exercise a vote in the land of their forebears. So, the construction of the Union Buildings provided a setting that, at that time in history, was inspired by a human spirit that sought to separate rather than to unite, to

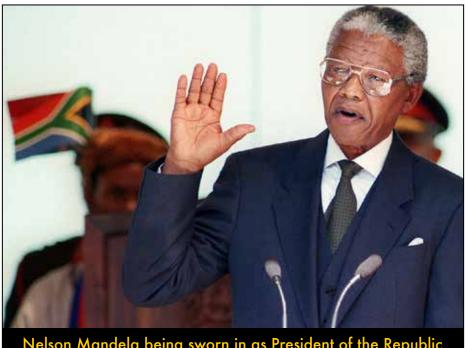
subjugate rather than to liberate.

This little piece of history has a happy but twisted irony of colossal proportions. In this setting, the frame of Nelson Mandela lay solemnly in state on those very beautiful granite stones, in that very grand amphitheatre and under that very majestic gaze of The Union Buildings. His peaceful frame was there for three days. In that very setting that excluded and subjugated Nelson Mandela for a whole century, the royalty, the exalted leaders of spirituality, the heads of state, the heads of government, the captains of industry and commerce, the revered leaders of world multilateral institutions, the world-renowned personalities in the entertainment industry, and yes, the ordinary people of all races, religions and creed from every corner of the globe, filed past the body of Mandela in deep reverence.

That was a happy and twisted irony that not only defined the road Mandela had traversed, but also tells of the heights of accomplishments that he achieved.

This happy and twisted irony gets even more significant if we remind ourselves that it was in the same grand amphitheatre and under the gaze of the same majestic Union Buildings that, on the 10th of May 1994, Mandela raised his right hand in his inauguration ceremony and said, "So Help Me God!" as he took the oath of service to the people of South Africa and pledged to play his utmost role as the responsible son of the African continent and the citizen of the world.

I call this happy twist of irony the triumph of the human spirit. After a long century, history had come full circle. The Union Buildings,



Nelson Mandela being sworn in as President of the Republic of South Africa on 10 May 1994

in our modern era, has come to serve as a majestic platform for both Mandela's grand entrance into the hallowed chambers of governance as well as the exalted exit into the hall of the first hero among heroes.

When Mandela raised his right hand that day in May 1994, it was the first time in our history that the people of South Africa truly and happily joined the world community of nations. That was the first fulsome affirmation that South Africa was about to join the community of nations that had long enjoyed a vibrant and flourishing festival of democracy in the world.

Under the stewardship of Mandela. South Africa was not content simply to join this world carnival of democracy; it actually became one of the most formidable politically and morally influential players in the world.

It is for that reason that by the time Mandela left The Union Buildings in 1999, Pretoria had become host to the biggest number of foreign and international diplomatic missions than any other capital in the world except for Washington. That is a formidable feat by any standard especially if we take into consideration the short time within which it was achieved. That was not simply the achievement of South Africa as a country. It was the achievement of a South Africa where Mandela had become the leader, the teacher, the moral standard bearer, the political lodestar, the master to whom all South Africans owed a debt that is so hard to repay. Without the overall suasion of a Mandela at the helm, such heights of achievements would have been unthinkable.

In that Mandela moment, South Africans would have been forgiven for bursting into tears, hot tears of both joy and sadness, for succumbing to grief and exploding into celebration, for breaking into spontaneous song or leaping into choreographed dance. They would have been forgiven for questioning their ancestral

gods in silence. They might have asked of Mandela:

What colour of soil gave birth to your pigmentation!

What tradition fashioned your valour!

What culture natured your humanity!

What ancestral history gives meaning to your patriotism!

What family taught you selflessness and humility!

What heroism told you never to forsake the course of freedom!

I should imagine that the entire world that assembled in South Africa that week of his burial also asked itself its own questions. It did not necessarily question its ancestral gods in silence as we did. But clearly the world decided to capture that Mandela moment.

The famous Jamaican-American poet Gill Scott-Heron might have



written and recited his famous poem:

"The revolution will not be televised Brother

The revolution will not be televised...

The revolution will not be brought to you by Xerox

In four parts without commercial interruptions

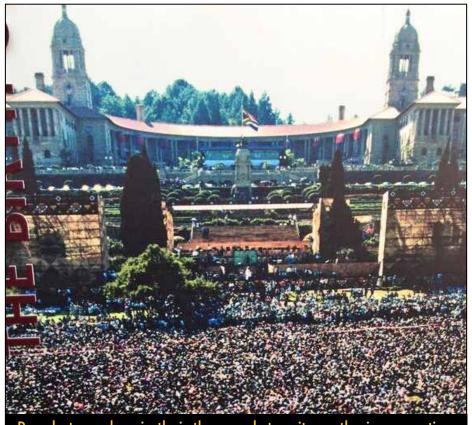
The revolution will not be televised, will not be televised The revolution will be no re-run brothers

The revolution will be live".

But clearly the Mandela moment was live, televised and digitized. It was really a humbling experience for any South African to see how the Mandela moment had eclipsed every major news item in television screens, in social media and print media around the world.

One cannot help but think that the world found it of immense benefit to employ that Mandela moment as a mirror, as a reflection of what is good and virtuous in human nature. That week, Mandela had become the subject of global scrutiny by the world that is in search of an assuring and elevated human enterprise.

This is the world that is facing huge challenges in upholding democracy and good governance, a world infected by greed and corruption and political dishonesty, a world torn apart by terrorism and civil wars, a world populated by millions of refugees and decimated by famine and a world that is hamstrung by the paucity and mediocrity of leadership.



People turned up in their thousands to witness the inauguration of Nelson Mandela as President



A Clarion Call for the Resurrection of the Soul

■ By Prof. Mathole Motshekga

HE Mass killings and gender-based violence pandemic and, in particular, the xenophobic attacks in Diepsloot have reawakened us to the fact that a people who do not know their history and heritage are a nation without a soul.

Sir Seretse Khama, the founding President of the Republic of Botswana, urged Africans to write their history because a people without a history and heritage are a nation without a soul. Sir Seretse Khama found support in Nelson Mandela, the founding President of the Republic of South Africa.

When the governing party, the African National Congress (ANC) and its allies presented him with the Reconstruction and Development Program (RDP) plan, Mandela pointedly observed that the

plan focused on political and economic issues and neglected the African arts, culture and heritage which are the mainstay of the African social (or soft) power and soul and its inherent ethical and moral values including:

- Self-Knowledge
- Self-worth and self esteem
- Self-respect and respect of others and their property
- Culture of self-help and self-reliance
- Culture of learning and teaching
- The will for development and progress.

These values were eroded by apartheid colonialism. As President Jing Xingping also pointed out, a nation must have a soul. Our icon, Nelson Mandela recognised this and therefore made

a clarion call for the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) of the Soul.

The Cultural and Religious Affairs (CRA) Committee and the Southern African Interfaith Council (SAIC) are making a clarion call for the **Resurrection of the African Soul** that President Mandela recognised as a prerequisite for building a socially cohesive and prosperous Nation. Mandela made his clarion call for the **RDP of the Soul** because he knew that spiritual transformation is a prerequisite for social and economic transformation.

The Quest of some sections of our society to achieve Radical Economic Transformation without spiritual and social transformation reduces us to beasts that devour one another for the crumbs that fall from the table of







ubuntu

(n.) "I am what I am because of who we all are"; compassion, kindness and humanity that connect us together by sharing ourselves with others and caring for those around us

the slave and colonial masters who violently dispossessed Africans of their land and its natural resources.

The rising crime rate taking place in our society is a war of all against all which is the legacy of the apartheid past. This war is the product of the erosion of our fundamental human values. The erosion of these values led to the deepening moral degeneration and social ills including:

- **Racism**
- **Tribalism**
- **Ethnic Nationalism**
- **Gender Based Violence and Femicide**
- Teenage pregnancy
- Women and child abuse
- Drug and alcohol abuse
- Crime and corruption.

It is a fallacy to think that Radical Economic Transformation (RET) alone will eradicate these social ills. South Africa needs a resurrection of the divine spark or spirit which dwells in and animates the human soul. The Gnostic Christians defined this Divine Spark as the Christ within. Our call is that on the coming Easter Sunday, all houses of worship should base their sermons on the resurrection of the soul and its inherent ethical and moral values which are prerequisites for nation building and social cohesion.

The resurrected soul empowers one to see oneself in others and others in oneself. Such a resurrected soul therefore respects and protects itself and others and their property.

The Resurrection of the Soul

Every human being comprises a spirit (Muntu) and matter (maat). The spiritual body comprises three constitutive principles of being – namely:

- M+U+NDU = MUNDU (Ndebele)
- M+U+NTHU = MUNTHU (Chewa)
- M+U+NTU = MUNTU (Nguni)
- M+U+TU = MTU (KiSwahili)
- M+O+TO = MOTO (Lingala)
- M+U+THU = MUTHU (Khilovedu)
- M+O+THO = MOTHO (Sotho/Pedi/Tswana)

- M+U+NHU = MUNHU (Tsonga)
- H+U+NHU = HUNHU (Shona)
- Intellect + Thought + Word = **Higher Self**
- Mind + Thought + Word = Higher Self
- Mind + Soul + Body = **Higher Self**
- Spirit + Soul + Body = Spiritual Body.

These constitutive principles of the Higher Self or Spiritual body are popularly known as Mind, body and soul.

The inherent values of the Higher Self or Spiritual Body (Mundu/ Motho) found expression in the concepts of:

- **Ubundu** (Ndebele)
- **Ubunthu** (Chewa)
- Ubuntu (Nguni)
- Utu (KiSwahili)
- Vhuthu (Venda)
- Vuthu (Khilovedu)
- Botho (Sotho/Pedi/Tswana)
- Vunhu (Tsonga)
- Hunhu (Shona).

These concepts give expression to African humanism and its inherent values of equality, freedom and justice for all, irrespective of race, tribe, gender, class or creed and country of origin.

The rampant materialism that governs us today has killed the human spirit or soul in us and focused our attention to our material needs. Thus we seek to amass and enjoy material wealth at all costs.

This materialist culture is the cause of the war of all against all



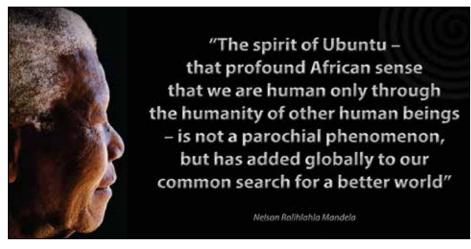
which is engulfing our country. Materialism has killed and buried our souls in matter (maat) which comprises: fire, water, earth and air. This means that materialism has killed and buried our Higher Self in the Lower Self which is matter.

We need a resurrection of the Higher Self or Soul in us in order to recover our full humanity. The Radical Economic Transformation (RET) alone will not help us to recover our full humanity. We require spiritual transformation for social and economic development. It is therefore a fallacy to think that radical economic freedom is a panacea for our Moral degeneration and social ills.

Institutions for the Resurrection of the Soul

On the 11th April 2022, the Cultural and Religious Affairs (CRA) committee and the Southern African Interfaith Council (SAIC) launched a National Interfaith Forum for Dialogue and Development at the Central Methodist Church in Johannesburg. The principal objects of this Interfaith Forum are:

- To provide a forum for all religious bodies to interact and collaborate with one another
- To develop a social gospel rooted in African humanism
- To provide a platform for



South Africans and African Diaspora to know one another and work together for a common good.

- To afford South Africans and the African Diaspora a platform to develop common strategies and plans to combat crime and corruption.
- To promote civic and democracy education
- To promote and teach KiSwahili as one of the official languages of the African Union.
- To Harness the African arts, culture and heritage for building an alternative African economy.
- To Equip the African Youth and children with skills to shape the future with their own hands.

The National Interfaith Forum for Dialogue and Development will be devolved to the provincial, district (or regional) and local levels to ensure that the interfaith dialoque is taken to the grassroots.

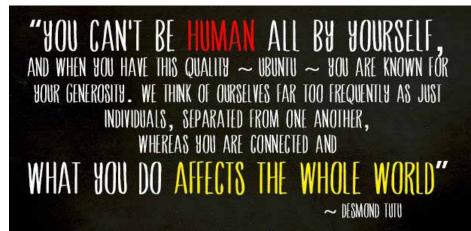
The District Interfaith Committees will be particularly important because they will provide a platform for faith-based organisations to participate in and to make contributions to local economic development through the District Development Model.

This economic participation model will empower South Africans and their African brothers and sisters to build together and benefit from the economy together rather than fight for the crumbs from the table of others.

We are therefore calling on all spiritual and religious leaders to base their Easter Sunday Sermons on the resurrection of the Soul and the Need for the establishment of National, provincial, district and local interfaith forums for dialogue and development.

We also call on the private and public sectors to resource these interfaith institutions to empower them to do the work that the government and its army and police are not cut out to do.

Prof. Mathole Motshekga is an ANC NEC Member and Chairperson of the Cultural and Religious Affairs (CRA) sub-committee.





South Africa must protect her Citizens

■ By Sigqibi Biggz

ECTION 224 of the South African Constitution states that the South African Reserve Bank (SARB), in pursuit of its primary objective, must perform its functions independently and without fear, favour or prejudice, but there must be regular consultation between the Bank and the Cabinet member responsible for national financial matters. The fundamental goal of the South African Reserve Bank is to maintain the currency's value in the interest of a balanced and long-term economic growth in the country.

Granted, the SARB alone cannot be the panacea to all the socio-economic problems bedevilling our local economy, as there is equally more that the fiscal side of things have to perform while also counting on the global machinations. The latter being exemplified by the infamous invasion of Ukraine by Russia. Be that as it may, the recent decision by the SARB, Monetary Policy Committee to hike interest rates by 25bp to 4.25% has pushed the already burdened consumers into an uncomfortable territory.

Although the month of March 2022 has seen 23 Central Banks globally raising interest rates, with Brazil raising their interest rates by 150 basis points, a huge number of households criticised such a move. These interest hikes coming as they do, in these inauspicious, nay fraught times for many households, have left hordes questioning whether this move was carefully weighed, in light of the other competing economic challenges and the ability of such a move to bring the economy to any better economic position.

In extreme cases, some have questioned the "public interest" stance of the SARB. While those in the financial lending business would welcome the latest interest hike, the foremost criticism stems from the anaemic recovery, rise in consumer price index, sustained growth in unemployment rate, widening inequality gap, rising poverty levels, dwindling revenue base, low business investment rates amongst other ills. Surely, some of the criticism is deserved and at best, SARB has to listen, take unusual steps and implement bold decision that are centred in the interest on the "public" it claims to protect.

While a close to stability position can only be achieved when monetary policy, fiscal policy and global conditions are in sync, a feat which has not been easy to strike in practice globally and South Africa is no exception, it





does not stop the SARB doing their part. Arguably, SARB should mitigate some of the socio-economic problems faced by household by reducing the cost of credit in light of the current pressures. Some may argue that the impact of such would be minimal, given the already record low repo rate. However, any action, minimal as it may seem, is welcome in the current economic space. example, any action that would have left interest rate unchanged would not have significantly discouraged any investment. It would perhaps nonetheless have saved household thousands of rands, savings that may not have been created in the absence of the action, ceteris paribus (all other things being equal).

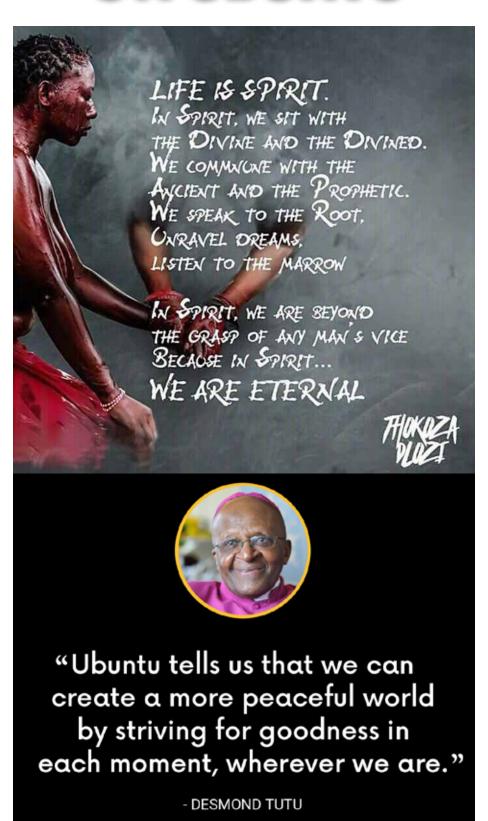
If anything, households have been left to wonder if all SARB cares about is growing their balance sheets and serve the interest of those already "loaded"? It is a no brainer that inflation must be kept in check for obvious reasons, but a one-sided obsession of it is to the general harm of the majority and South Africans and so, there's clearly a need for them to be protected against such.

SARB has to be conscious that addressing the socio-economic challenges of the present cannot be done without responding to the legacy of the sad past. SARB must lean back to that reality in its chase for a globally sound and locally efficient financial system. Or else, its stance may leave the majority of the disenfranchised with nothing else to lose and we all know what a precarious position that could be for all.

Pula!!!!!!

Sigqibo Biggz Mfuywa is a PhD fellow at Unisa but writes on his personal capacity.

EFLECTION







Financial implications for selling immovable property

■ By Lulama Lobola

HETHER a receipt or an accrual is 'capital' or 'revenue' in nature, in calculating a taxpayer's taxable income, is probably the most common issue that arises in income tax litigation. With the current financial climate prompting many people to restructure their financial arrangements, for some this has meant contemplating the sale of their immovable property.

Due consideration must be given to the tax implications of such a transaction and whether the resulting profits would be subjected to tax by the South African Revenue Service (Sars) as part of the taxpayer's gross income or capital gains tax calculation. Such a finding can have different financial implications for the taxpayer and their cash flow.

The purpose of this article is to provide insight into some of the considerations one should bear in mind when contemplating such a transaction by outlining the test of when such profits will be revenue in nature and form part of the taxpayer's gross income calculation.



'Gross income' definition

The starting point in determining a taxpayer's taxable income is the definition of 'gross income'. Section 1 of the Income Tax Act 58 of 1962 (the Act) defines gross income 'in relation to any year or period of assessment, ...

- in the case of any resident, the total amount, in cash or otherwise, received by or accrued to or in favour of such resident; or
- (ii) in the case of any person other than a resident, the total amount, in cash or otherwise, received by or accrued to or

in favour of such person from a source within the Republic, during such year or period of assessment, excluding receipts or accruals of a capital nature'.

The question that often arises from the sale of immovable property is whether the resultant profits received or accrued to a taxpayer are receipts or accruals of a capital or revenue nature. The taxpayer bears the onus to prove that the amounts in question are capital and not revenue in nature in terms of s102 of the Tax Administration Act 28 of 2011.



The capital and revenue divide

As noted, gross income excludes receipts and accruals of a capital nature, as such, capital receipts cannot be included under the taxpayer's gross income calculation, but could be included under a separate capital gains tax calculation in calculating the taxpayer's income. The phrase 'of a capital nature' is undefined in the Act and one must look to case law for its interpretation.

Proceeds from the sale of an asset

One of the leading authorities in determining whether an amount is of a capital or revenue nature is Commissioner for Inland Revenue v Pick 'n Pay Employee Share Purchase Trust 1992 (4) SA 39 (A).

In this case, the then Appellate Division noted that there are a variety of tests to determine whether a receipt is of a capital or a revenue nature. These, however, are only guidelines and there is

no single infallible test to apply. Ultimately, whatever guideline is used, the classification of capital or revenue must make sound commercial and good sense. With that said, the court held that the most appropriate test is whether the proceeds were the result of the realisation of a capital asset or whether it was a result of a gain made by the operation of business in carrying out a scheme of profit-making. This is the test regardless of the number of transactions carried out by the taxpayer.

As to the meaning of 'a scheme of profit-making', the court explained that this means that the profit was designedly sought and worked for by the taxpayer and was not fortuitous. This will be assessed by considering the objectives of the taxpayer and what its purpose was or if there was more than one purpose, what its dominant purpose was. Consequently, the taxpayer must have the intention to trade, in order for a scheme of profit-making to be evident. A scheme of profit-making

will be evident when the taxpayer buys an asset intending to sell it at a profit and with the intention to trade in that asset.

The case of Commissioner for the SA Revenue Service v Wyner [2003] 4 All SA 541 (SCA) illustrated the application of the test 'a scheme of profit-making'. The court applying the Pick 'n Pay tests evaluated the taxpayer's stated intention, her ipse dixit that she was obliged to realise the property in order to salvage what she had invested, against the objective factors to determine whether they supported or disproved the taxpayers stated intention. On the facts, the court found that the profits were not of a capital nature and the taxpayers conduct to be a scheme of profit-making.

The court found that the taxpayer had devised a scheme whereby she could make a very large profit, and this was supported by the objective facts that revealed the taxpayer's intention.

> The Appellate Division in Commissioner for Inland Revenue v Stott 1928 AD 252, shed clarity on the determination of intention and the possibility of a change in intention. In this case. the court had to determine whether the taxpayer had been carrying on a business as a person who trades in land and so treats the land as their trading stock.

> This would make the proceeds revenue in nature. In applying the test, the court noted that when it comes to individuals, a certain level of continuity is required for a scheme of profit-making to be evident. Furthermore,





everyone is entitled to realise their investment asset to their best advantage, consequently, the mere sale of an asset at a profit is not enough to indicate a scheme of profit-making; one would need a special act to convert an asset from capital to revenue.

When the court examined intention in more detail, it held that intention at the time of purchase is conclusive unless some other intervening factors show that the asset was sold in a scheme of profit-making.

In Natal Estates Ltd v Secretary for Inland Revenue 1975 (4) SA 177 (A) the Appellate Division was once again faced with the issue of whether proceeds from the sale of immovable property were capital or revenue in nature and whether there was a change in intention. The court held that the original intention of the taxpayer is important but not conclusive and the court will look at the totality of facts in considering whether the taxpayer was involved in a scheme of profitmaking. This would take into account:

- the intention of the taxpayer at the time of purchase and sale of the asset;
- the objects of the taxpayer as a company;
- the activities of the taxpayer in respect of the land up to the time of sale either in whole or in part; and
- where land was subdivided; the planning, extent, duration, nature, degree, organisation and marketing operations of the enterprise.

On the facts before it, the court found that the taxpayer had done more than merely realising an asset as the best advantage. The



taxpayer had crossed the Rubicon and had gone into the business of township development, construction and sale.

The court further held that generally, whether the taxpayer had crossed the Rubicon was a question of degree and a taxpayer's property dealing with one property cannot automatically extend to every transaction of the taxpayer, as every transaction must be considered on its own merits.

In African Life Investment Corporation (Pty) Ltd v Secretary for Inland Revenue 1969 (4) SA 259 (A) and Commissioner for Inland Revenue v Nussbaum 1996 (4) SA 1156 (A), the court made it clear that where a taxpayer has a main and secondary purpose, equal weight will be given to both purposes. These purposes will be evaluated considering the totality of circumstances to determine their capital or revenue nature.

A secondary purpose does not mean a subordinate purpose.

Final remarks

A finding of whether a receipt or an accrual from the sale of immovable property is capital or revenue in nature in calculating a taxpayer's gross income can have different financial implications for the taxpayer and its cash flow. This can often be the determining factor of whether the taxpayer can weather the current financial climate, especially for those taxpayers struggling to get by.

Consequently, it is imperative that before any decision to sell immovable property is taken, due consideration must be had to the tax implications of such a transaction. One such consideration being whether the resulting profits would be subjected to tax by Sars as part of the taxpayer's gross income or capital gains tax calculation in determining the taxpayer's taxable income.

First published in Business Update, Issue 22



THIS WEEK IN HISTORY

16 - 22 April 2022

Source: SA History Online, O'Malley Archives and The Africa Factbook (2020)

16 April 1867 **Eureka Diamond** discovered by children in Hopetown



Eureka diamond, which weighed over 21 carats, discovered by two children in Hopetown, Northern Cape. This started the diamond rush of Kimberley, and the beginning of the current minerals complex in South Africa. The then governor of the Cape bought it and took it to London, where it remained for 100 years. In 1967, De Beers bought the Eureka diamond back and it is still on display at the Kimberley Museum.

16 April 1946

Eureka Diamond is sold in **London for 500 Pounds**

The 21.19 carat diamond that would come to be known as the Eureka Diamond was discovered by a young boy and his little sister as they played in their family farm along the Vaal River. The children often picked up rocks from the river to play with. A man named Schalk van Niekerk visited the farm and, suspecting the rock might be a diamond, offered to buy it from the children. Their mother decided to give it to him instead. Van Niekerk got the diamond verified and sold it for £ 500. The diamond made its way to Britain where it was displayed until 1967. The Eureka diamond is now displayed at the Kimberly Museum after mining company De Beers bought it and brought it back to South Africa.

16 April 1988

Home Affairs Minister warns Community newspapers



Community newspapers formed by anti-apartheid activists and journalists, Grassroots, Saamstaan and Out of Step were officially warned, by Minister of Home Affairs Mr Stoffel Botha, that the contents of their publications were "causing a delay in the termination of the state of emergency."

16 April 2004

Early Stone age Jewellery found

Jewellery dating back 75,000 years ago was found in the Blombos cave, overlooking the Indian Ocean. It is believed to be the oldest known jewelry found. The Stone Age jewellery is a set of beads with holes drilled into it, as part of a necklace. The discovery is believed to be the oldest known jewellery, as the beads are more than 30,000 years older than any other known human jewellery.

17 April 1658

School for slaves open in the Cape

Jan van Riebeeck, commander at the Cape, wrote in his diary that a school for slaves has been started, with Pieter van der Stael as the first teacher. To reward pupils (mainly adults) for their presence, they received a glass of brandy and two inches of tobacco each day. The aim of the school was to increase the usefulness of the slaves to their owners. A second school, attended by 12 White children, four slaves and one Khoi-Khoi, was opened in 1661.

17 April 1954

FEDSAW launched and first Women's Charter adopted

The Federation of South African Women (FEDSAW) was formed as the first non-racial women's movement. The brainchild of trade unionist Ray Alexander, working together with women such as Lilian Ngoyi, Amina Cachalia, Hilda Bernstein, Dora Tamana, Ruth Mompati and Helen Josephs to bring together women's organisations. The





FEDSAW launching conference adopted the first Women's Charter as a common platform against apartheid, for women's equality, education, equal work for equal pay and a better life for all children. FEDSAW organised the historic march to the Union building of 9 August 1956.

17 April 1963

United Arab Republic declared by Syria, Iraq and Egypt

Many attempts were made by the Arab countries to form a United Arab Republic. The first countries to engage in this initiative were Syria and Egypt on 22 February 1958, with the agreement signed by presidents Quwwatli of Syria and Nasser of Egypt, after a public referendum in both countries. After four years the Republic came to an end when Syria withdrew its membership. In spite of this development, Egypt continued to use the name of United Arab Republic (UAR) and the flag until 1 January 1972. On 17 April 1963, ambitions to constitute a new Union were revived by Egypt, Syria and Iraq. The proposed flag for the new union would have been the same as the first UAR flag, three horizontal

red-white-and-black stripes, with three stars symbolising the three states constituting the union. These ambitions for a union were never realised. Iraq retained the proposed flag as its national flag. to remind Iragis of attempts to unify Arab countries.

17 April 1986 **Author Bessie Head** pass away



Bessie Emery Head, author of A Question of Power, Maru, The Cardinal and a book of short stories about her adopted country, Botswana, The Collector of Treasurers passed away in Serowe. Head was born in 1937 in a mental institution in Pietermaritzburg. to a white mother and a black father. Bessie landed up in the foster care system, trained as a teacher and married very early. She gave up teaching, and started working as a journalist, writing for the Golden City Post and Drum. Head left South Africa for Botswana with her son in 1964. Here she worked as a lecturer, eventually gaining Botswana citizenship in 1979, living in Serowe, and writing until her passing on this day.

18 April 1905

Composer Enoch Sontonga passed on

Enoch Sontonga, the composer of Nkosi Sikilel'iAfrica died a



young 32. When he composed this African classic, that became part of South Africa and other national anthems, Sontonga was only 24 years old. Enoch Sontonga was born in Uitenhage in the Eastern Cape, attended Loveday College and taught at the Methodist Mission School. He performed Nkosi Sikilel'iAfrica in his choir, which toured the country. Samuel Mghayi later added several verses to the hymn.

18 April 1964

Neville Alexander and others guilty of sabotage

Dr. Neville Alexander and four others were found guilty of sabotage and sentenced to ten years imprisonment. The judge found that the accused participated in the activities of the National Liberation Front (NLF), an offshoot of the Yu Chi Chan Club (YCCC), whose aims was to advance the revolution through violence. In 1974, Alexander was released from Robben Island, but banned and placed under house arrest for five years.

18 April 1994

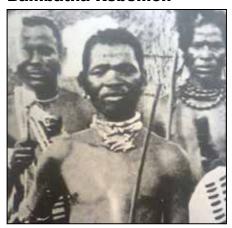
Photographer killed in violence ahead of 1994 **elections**

On the eve of the first democratic elections, photographer Ken Oosterbroek covered the politi-



cal violence in townships of the now Gauteng province and KZN. Oosterbroek got into photography whilst doing his SADF military service in Angola, and won a number of Photographer of the Year awards, working at The Star newspaper. He was shot on duty in Thokoza. A judicial inquest could not uncover the truth and it was later found he was killed by the then National Peacekeeping Force.

19 April 1906 **Bambatha Rebellion**



In one of the last stance in centuries of wars of resistance against colonial occupation of South Africa, the Bambatha Rebellion took place near Greytown in KwaZulu-Natal, prompted by the introduction of a new £1 poll tax on top of existing hut and dog taxes. Mining companies needed cheap labour, but most African people lived off the land as farmers, tenants on White farms or in reserves created by the colonial government. The tax was instituted to force Blacks from rural areas to the cities to fulfil the labour needs of mines. In 1906 Chief Bambatha and his people refused to pay the tax, and led an uprising against white rule. After the killing of two policemen, martial law was declared and soldiers sent in. Huts of suspected rebels were burned, their possessions taken and a violent rebellion started. Over 7,000 British troops were called out to suppress the Zulu uprising and 4 000 rebels lost their lives in the battle. The number of Zulu males working on the Witwatersrand mines increased to 60% and by 1909, 80% of all males in Zululand were migrant labourers working away from home.

19 April 1960 Formation of SWAPO



The South West African Peoples Organisation (SWAPO) is formed in Windhoek, to fight against apartheid occupation. After a long liberation struggle led by SWAPO, often fighting and campaigning together with the ANC and other Southern African liberation movements. Namibia gained independence on 21 March 1990. Sam Nujoma was elected president of SWAPO on this day, and became the first President of a free Namibia.

19 April 1986

Another death in detention Johannes Mashego (26) died in police custody in Parys (Free State). His relatives reported extensive bruising and swollen face upon identifying the victim's body. The police claimed that he died during interrogation.

19 April 2001

Big Pharma drops lawsuit against cheaper Aids druas

After a prolonged battle to produce and buy cheaper, generic AIDs drugs, global pharmaceutical companies which banded together, dropped a lawsuit against South Africa, ending an international battle over patent rights and profit. This allowed the country to get millions of people onto anti-retroviral treatment.

20 April 1959 **Cheryl Carolus born**



Cheryl Carolus was born on this day in Silvertown on the Cape Flats. A SASO activist from the 1970s, she went on to play a leading role in the United Women's Organisation and the UDF during the 1980s. After the unbanning in 1990, she formed part of the ANC's negotiations team and was elected as the ANC Deputy Secretary General in 1994, the first woman to serve as an ANC official. After completing her term in 1997, she served as High Commissioner in the UK, headed SA Tourism and went into business, co-founding wholly women-owned company Peotania.

20 April 1999

Judge declares HIV status One of South Africa's first Con-



stitutional Court Judges, Edwin Cameron made public that he had been living with HIV for twelve years. Judge Cameron was inspired by Gugu Dlamini, a woman who was killed after disclosing on a local radio show that she had HIV.

20 April 2006 Mam Epainette Mbeki honoured



Mam Epainette Mbeki, at the age of 90 received the Order of the Baobab in Gold for her work as community worker, anti-apartheid activist and business woman in Idutya, Eastern Cape. A teacher, she was recruited to join the Communist Party of South African in 1938 by Bettie du Toit, the second black woman to become a CPSA member after Josie Palm-MaMbeki volunteered for the Child Welfare Organisation in Durban, helped to organise a rent boycott, worked as an agent for Inkululeko (the CPSA's newspaper), and ran the Party's night school, before moving back to the E. Cape after getting married.

20 April 2018 Missing Persons Task Team to investigate apartheid disappearances The Missing Persons Task's

Team (MPTT) emerged as a recommendation after the conclusion of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) in 1996 in its Final Report. The TRC was committed to correcting the injustices of apartheid; one way was through locating the graves of those who went missing between March 1, 1960 and May 10, 1994. Due to the large number of people who were still missing (estimated around 477), at the end of the TRC, the MPTT was entrusted with this task. As part of the National Prosecuting Authority (NPA), the MPTT was established in 2005, and was responsible for locating the graves of the deceased under apartheid, exhuming their remains, and identifying the remains for reburial to take place. They have uncovered the remains of 138 missing persons as of 20 April 2018, but this number increases every month. The task team worked alongside the Equipo Argentino de Anthropologia Forense (EAAF) better known as the Argentine Forensic Anthropology Team which was established in 1984 and who examined 9000 cases of disappeared persons in Argentina.

21 April 1937 Artist Benjamin Macala born



la was born in Bloemfontein. As a young boy he tended cattle on a farm in the Free State and drew on rocks with stones. He was largely self-taught, although he studied for a few months under Cecil Skotnes at Jubilee Art Centre in 1964. He was also guided by Ephraim Ngatane in the mid 1960s, and was a pupil of Bill Ainslie for a short time. He held thirteen exhibitions from 1967-1985 in South Africa, Europe and the US. Macala's chosen technique was pastel on paper, and his work has come to be recognised by this medium. He has used other media from time to time. His subject matter of Picasso-like portraits with huge black eyes is easily identifiable in almost all his works. Macala was also a practicing Sangoma. He died in 1997.

21 April 1982 Labour Bulletin editor released from prison



Merle Favis, editor of the Labour Bulletin, who was arrested with about 16 other trade union leaders, labour experts and student leaders, was released from detention without being charged.

22 April 1834

Island colonized by British

The small Atlantic Ocean island of St Helena, which used to be part of South Africa, became a British colony. It hosted prisoners such as Napoleon in 1815, Dinizulu, son of the Zulu King Cetshwayo in 1802, and 6 000 Boer prisoners from 1900-1902.

ANC 110

22 April 1960

Over 1500 people detained under state of emergency

Following mass protests throughout South Africa after the Sharpeville massacre on 21 March 1960, a state of emergency was declared and over 1500 people detained without trial on the day of its declaration. It is estimated by the time the emergency was lifted in August of that year, over 23 000 people were detained.

22 April 1990 Mandela in Umtata

Following his release from prison after 27 years, Nelson Mandela visits his family home at Qunu, and addresses a rally of 50 000 people in Umtata, with Gen. Bantu Holomisa, then leader of Transkei.



INTERNATIONAL AND NATIONAL DAYS

16 - 22 April 2022

Source: www.un.org and African Factbook (www.au.int)

16 AprilWorld Voice Day



Our voices – whether speaking, singing, oratory – form an important part of how we communicate and this day celebrates what makes our voices possible. The theme for 2022 is "Lift your voice".

18 April

International Day of Monuments and Sites



Monuments remind us of the past, as they commemorate events or persons, and what they meant. Monuments depend on how history is regarded and who decides what important history is to be celebrated. It is therefore highly contested, as we've seen with the #RhodesMustFall movement in our country. After 1994, we have tried to ensure that the history of the majority, including the history of the liberation struggle, is commemorated, but over the last while we've seen an increasing decay of these important heritage sites or monuments. The 2022 theme for International Day of Monuments and Sites is "Heritage and Climate".

19 April

World Hemophilia Day

Hemophilia is a very rare disease where a person's blood does not clot due to the absence of the necessary blood-clotting proteins. They therefore bleed for a long time and this can become uncontrollable if it's a large injury. It is particularly a concern if the bleeding happens internally, because it can damage organs and become life-threatening. The disease is a genetic disease and is treatable.

20 April

World Chinese Language Day

The United Nations has 6 official languages - Ara-



bic, Chinese, English, French, Russian and Spanish. Since 2010, each of them had their own days when the UN and its affiliates would promote multiculturalism and cross cultural understanding by showcasing the rich history and literary culture of each language. Chinese Language Day is celebrated on 20 April each year, in honour of Cangjie, an ancient legend credited for inventing Chinese script. Mandarin and Cantonese are spoken Chinese dialects, with over 1 billion Chinese speakers in the world. It is one of the oldest written languages in the world with around 49,000 characters in the alphabet. To read a newspaper, you only need to know 2-3000!

21 April World Creativity and Innovation Day



Creativity and innovation, at both the individual and group levels, have become the true wealth of nations in the 21st century, according to the findings of the special edition of the Creative Economy Report "Widening local development pathways". The day celebrates the importance of the Creative industries — which includes audiovisual products, design, new media, performing arts, publishing and visual arts — and its role in job creation and development. According to UNESCO, the sector accounts for close to 29.5 million jobs worldwide.

22 April

Mother Earth Day

The Earth and its ecosystems are our home. In order to achieve a just balance among the economic, social, and environmental needs of present and future generations, it is necessary to promote harmony with nature and the Earth. International Mother Earth Day is celebrated to remind each of us that the Earth and its ecosystems provide us with life and sustenance. According to UNEP, "Mother Earth is clearly urging a call to action. Nature is suffer-



ing. Australian fires, heat records and the worst locust invasion in Kenya. Now we face COVID-19, a worldwide health pandemic link to the health of our ecosystem." The theme for 2022 is therefore "Invest in Our Planet."

22 April

International Girls in ICT Day

Across the world, according to the ITU, although "girls across the world tend to outperform boys in reading and writing skills, they continue to be under-represented in science, technology, engineering and mathematics (STEM)...International Girls in ICT Day, we build awareness about the gender digital divide, support technology education and skills training, and encourage more girls and young women to actively pursue careers in STEM." According to UN Women "With technology playing a role in all kinds of careers, from art and history to law, primary teaching and graphic design, learning tech skills at a young age will set girls up for economic independence. And, the ICT sector needs more girls and women."

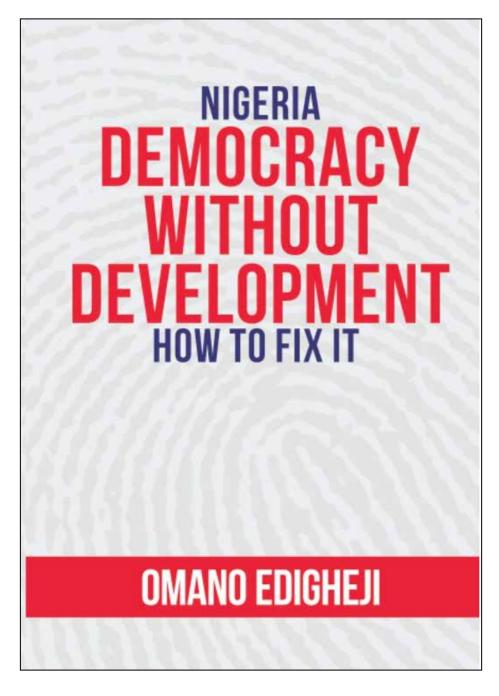




Nigeria. Democracy without Development. How to Fix it

by Omano Edigheji

(2020, A'limema Media Limited and Zeezi Oasis)



HE developmental state in Africa has been one of the key research areas of Dr Omano Edigheji, a former senior researcher at the Centre for Policy Studies and the Human Sciences Research Council in South Africa, at CODESRIA and, for the last few years, as special advisor to the Governor of the Kaduna state in Nigeria.

His earlier works tended to focus on South Africa, such as The Discourse of the Developmental State and a "People's Contract" in South Africa (2006). but his latest book is a welcome addition to understanding Nigeria, one of the powerhouses of the continent.

For many years plagued by military rule, the book traces the history of the democratic movement in Nigeria, and in particular the current 'democratic journey' which started in 1999. The author here focuses on the impact of this period of democratic rule on the lives of ordinary Nigerian citizens, focusing on human development indicators such as child and maternal mortality, poverty, and gender equality.

Edigheji argues for democracy and development as equally im-

BOOK REVIEW





Taxis ferrying passengers to the marketplace in Lagos, Nigeria

portant and mutually reinforcing, but at the same time postulates that "there is a general assumption that democracy leads to inclusive sustainable social and economic development. Whether this is the reality is debatable, given the fact that the world has witnessed undemocratic regimes that have achieved remarkable social and economic development. In the same vein, some democratic governments have recorded poor development outcomes."

As before, he advocates for a democratic developmental state as key to resolving this dichotomy. The democratic development state, he argues, depends on a "national elite" characterized with three critical components: (a) an ideology of development nationalism that will prioritise investment in people; (b) that transforms the structure of the economy by promoting industrialisation; and (c) that builds inclusive political and economic institutions, including building the capacities of the state.

Edigheji then went on to tabulate the failure of the national elite in Nigeria to achieve these three critical components, and concluding that in fact, "the majority of Nigerians have been excluded from the benefits of democracy."

In Chapter 3, he explains this failure, decrying the "lack of ideology of developmental nationalism and valueless politics", and the god of money, godfatherism, lack of internal democracy and commercialisation of party tickets, looting and corruption, neglect of the health sector, the problem of abandoned projects, and conflict entrepreneurs.

Chapter 4 focuses on institutions, which includes a critique of the good governance paradigm. the marginalisation of women in Nigerian Politics, and the weak and dysfunctional Nigerian bureaucracy and the need for greater autonomy.

On how to fix it, in his concluding chapter, Edigheji repeats his thesis on the importance of government and the national elites embracing developmentalism as part of an overarching national agenda.

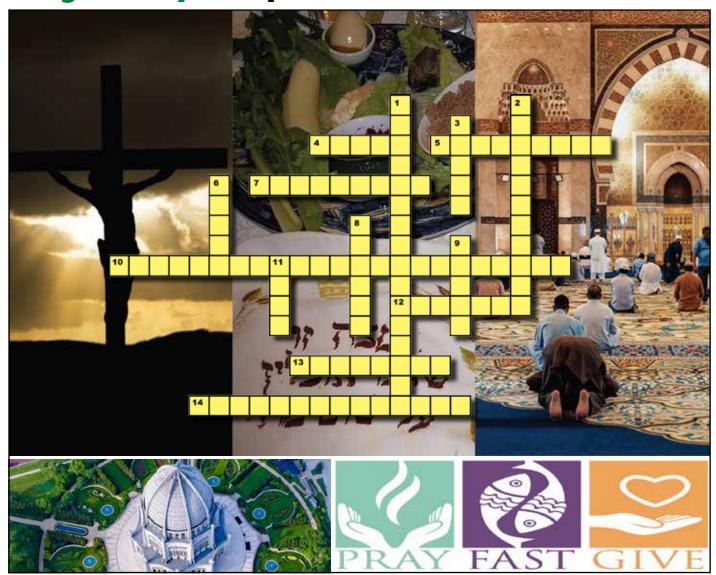
This book is a must read for those interested in understanding the challenges of development, democracy and governance in Africa today, and certainly many of examples ring very true to the South African situation as well. It is a very useful primer on understanding politics and governance in Nigeria.



X-WORD



Religious Days in April 2022



ACROSS

- 4. Ritual meal to start Jewish festival of Passover.
- 5. Founder of the Bahai'i faith.
- 7. End of Ramadan
- 10. Bahai'i faith governing body since 1963.
- 12. Holy month for Muslims.
- 13. Commemoration of liberation of Israelites from slavery.
- 14. Bahai'i believes all major world religions.

WORD BANK

Ramadan Quran Iftar Eid Al-fitr Passover Matzo seder First Day of Ridván

Baháulláh essential unity crucifixion

Easter Lent Universal House of Justice

DOWN

- 1. Most important Bahai'i holy day in April.
- 2. Jesus Christ's resurrection happens three days after...
- 3. During Passover only unleavened bread may be eaten.
- 6. Meal to break fast during Ramadan.
- 8. Christian holy day that marks the Resurrection of Jesus Christ.
- 9. Holy book revealed to Prophet Muhammed during holy month.
- 11. Forty days of fasting before Easter.