



ANC TODAY

VOICE OF THE AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS

16 – 22 September 2022

Conversations with the
President



THE STRUGGLE TO GIVE SOUTH AFRICA A HUMAN FACE

■ By **President Cyril Ramaphosa**



On 12 September 1977, 45 years ago, Stephen Bantu Biko died in police custody in Pretoria Central Prison.

Human dignity, the principle at the heart of his black consciousness activism, was denied him. In the words of the family lawyer Sir Sydney Kentridge, his was “*a miserable and lonely death on a mat on a stone floor in a prison cell*”.

It remains a source of great sorrow all these years later to recall that Steve Biko was just 30 years old when he died. He was cut down in his prime by those who feared the power and resonance of his ideas of self-liberation and his efforts to infuse black men and women with pride and dignity.

He never got to see in his lifetime what he called ‘the glittering prize’, the realisation of a true

humanity. Writing about this ideal, he famously said: “*In time we shall be in a position to bestow upon South Africa the greatest gift possible – a more human face.*”

When we won our freedom in 1994, we understood that the right to vote was just one part of our struggle for human dignity.

Twenty-eight years into our de-

Dear Mr President
**Giving pride of place to
Pride: Abolishing Stereotypes**

3

**Towards Front Politics:
A Crescent Turn to the
Renewal of the ANC**

8

mocracy, we are confronted with many challenges, such as poverty, unemployment and inequality. As a result, we often lose sight of how far we have come in giving effect to the principles on which our Constitution is founded and that anchored Steve Biko's thought and teachings.

In 1977 a heartless regime killed one of our country's most promising leaders by depriving him of the food, water and medical treatment he urgently needed as a result of brutal beatings by the apartheid police.

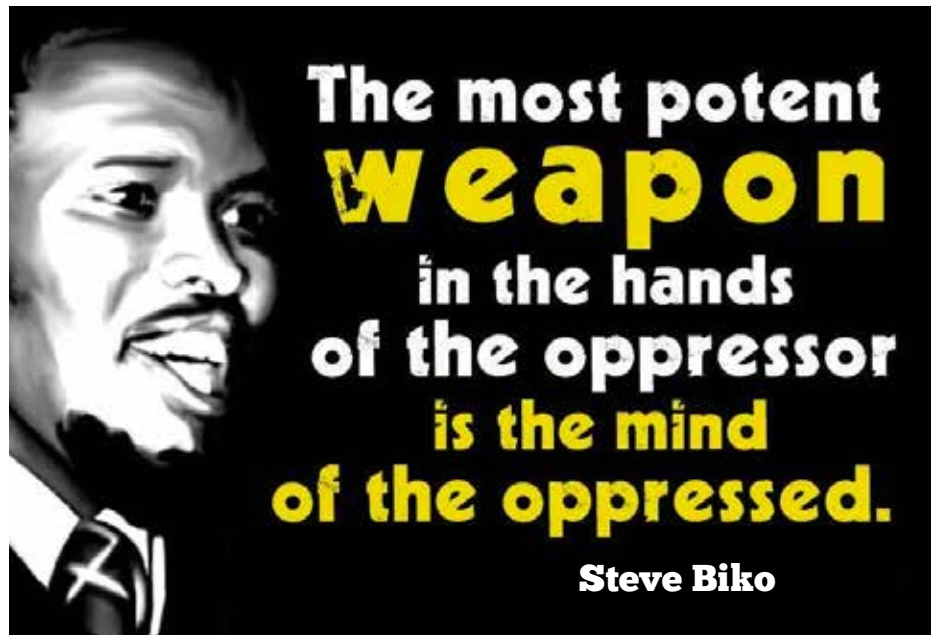
Twenty years later, in a 1997 judgment, the Constitutional Court said that fulfilling the fundamental rights of every citizen and striving to achieve their socio-economic rights is the hallmark of a democratic society aiming to salvage lost dignity.

In South Africa today, we continue to work to fulfil the basic rights of every South African so that they may lead quality lives free of disease, hunger and deprivation.

Successive democratic administrations have implemented policies to salvage the lost dignity of this country's majority by providing education, health care, housing and basic services.

In South Africa today, a decent education is a fundamental right. The state invests in early childhood development, in supporting learning outcomes for our youngest citizens, and provides social relief through school feeding programmes to ensure young learners achieve the best outcomes possible.

Through the National Student Financial Aid Scheme and various other forms of state sup-



port, thousands of young South Africans from poor backgrounds have been able to become doctors, lawyers, teachers, scientists, artisans and entrepreneurs.

The government supports poor and vulnerable citizens through an extensive social safety net and provides work opportunities through mass public employment programmes.

In the repressive South Africa in which Steve Biko died, freedom of speech was curtailed and political activism attracted detention or worse.

In South Africa today, young people of the same age as Steve Biko was and even younger are at the forefront of activism for causes closest to them, and they are able to organise free of harassment or banishment. Freedom of speech and association, the right to protest and the right to equality before the law is upheld for all.

As a country, we have come a long way towards the fulfilment of human dignity, the principle that Steve Biko so cherished. Yet, we still have so much further to go.

Without a job, without a house, electricity or running water, without land, without skills or opportunities, millions of South Africans are still deprived of the lives they seek and deserve. That is why government is working with social partners to build an inclusive economy, create employment, enable businesses to thrive and tackle poverty and hunger.

In considering the relevance of Steve Biko's life and legacy, we recall his powerful call to the people to be architects of their own liberation. This call is as important now as it was back then.

We must be focused on addressing our challenges to achieve a truly free and equal society.

We each need to play our part by using the foundational rights in our Constitution to build a South Africa free of poverty and hunger, underdevelopment, crime and violence.

As Steve Biko urged, **let us march forth with courage and determination on our common quest for true humanity.**

Giving pride of place to Pride: Abolishing Stereotypes

Dear Mr President

SPRING has sprung after a long winter season. September heralds good tidings and in our country we dedicate it to tourism and heritage.

Tourism took a beating from a pandemic when we could not receive visitors when movement of people was halted to stem the spread of the coronavirus. Considering that tourism is critical to the economy as a foreign currency earner and contributes generously to our GDP, the industry suffered immensely when it was brought to a halt.

Be that as it may, Mr President, the worst is now behind us, even as COVID-19 still bubbles below the surface and we still need to be cautious and heed the hygienic lessons learnt during the pandemic.

We all learnt critical lessons of how to deal with inequalities and inequities inherent in our social strata.

As the tourism industry rises from the ashes, we are confident that we are on the road to economic recovery even as other myriad challenges stand in the way.

Mr President, with regard to September as Heritage Month, this gives us the opportunity to celebrate our Proudly South African diversity, which unites us.



Comrade Pule Mabe

We will celebrate our languages, official and not, our music and legends, our indigenous knowledge systems.

Languages play a critical role enhancing family values and cultural heritage, something we desperately need in these uncertain times.

However, Mr President, there is one aspect that we have neglected as an organisation and the rest of society which is pivotal to enhancing social cohesion. Pride as a people and a nation that seeks to rise from the phoenix.

The ride since the triumph over

the oppressive and divisive apartheid system has defocused us from the social agenda that instills and installs pride in our common love for our beloved country.

Mr President, as we resuscitate pride in our country as a nation, it is pivotal that we combat and demolish stereotypes that bubble below the surface and occasionally burst to remind us of our differences.

Stereotypes are a harmful concoction that hobbles our development and divides people.

For instance, gender stereotyping is wrong and often results in a violation or violations of human rights and fundamental freedoms. A gender stereotype is, at its core, a belief and that belief may cause its holder to make assumptions about members of the opposite sex.

Women and men alike deal with gender stereotypes at work, in their communities and even at home.

However, there is much we can do to address and abolish those stereotypes. Research suggests that, as more people learn about stereotypes and how stereotyping is dangerous, the more likely equal treatment between the genders will develop and gender stereotyping will decrease. The more we learn about these

issues and openly discuss them, the more aware others will likely become and, hopefully, harmful stereotypes and prejudices will lessen and dissipate in time.

Conventionally, the medical community announces our sex to the world the minute we are born, if not before.

Our genitals showed whether we are male or female and if someone were to do a DNA test when we are born, our genetic code would also have revealed whether we are biologically male or female. Biologically speaking, there are also many people who are born with reproductive or sexual anatomy that does not fit the typical definitions of male or female.

Gender is something different, though. It refers to ways of being male or female within a culture or society. The larger group promotes a certain type of gender roles, including responsibilities and relationships for a male or female.

Mr President, while our democratic government and the new dispensation as codified under the 1996 constitution has made much strides to demolish stereotypes and promote a culture of human rights irrespective of gender, age, religion, race and ethnicity, the reality is complex.

Our liberal constitution is herald-

ed across the world for fostering a humane culture and protecting the rights of minorities and majorities.

Gender equality means that men and women have equal access to human rights and equal opportunities as well as the same resources and protection. Gender is not a factor in whether you have these basic human rights or opportunities.

Gender equality is closer at hand now than it was in the past. However, it still has not happened and gender discrimination still exists largely regardless of age.

If gender equality ruled the world, there would be equal chances for men and women in any given career field. Men and women would have the same access to assistance from the community and government. Both men and women would be equally protected under the law.

Then Mr President, there is another type of stereotype in the form of ethnicity. Our late deputy secretary general of the ANC, Comrade Jessie Duarte once decried the treatment of the coloured population as well as the emancipation of women even within our ranks.

That poser is the one we need to heed as we seek to abolish stereotypes that are harmful to our

progression as an organisation and society.

Our common heritage places a huge responsibility to jealously guard our diversity and recognise that our destiny is intertwined and cannot be separated.

The ANC has championed equality since its founding over a century ago and has sought to unite our people across the board and this process must continue until we achieve the goal of ensuring that we are one people, irrespective of our backgrounds.

As we trudge a new path towards the renewal and unity of our movement, we must not leave society behind. The challenges that confront us as an organisation are the challenges that affect and impact upon society.

Therefore Mr President, even as we welcome foreign visitors on our shores to celebrate Tourism Month and our common heritage, we must remain vigilant and protect our identity as a people and nation.

The ANC Lives! The ANC Leads!

Yours sincerely

Pule Mabe

National Spokesperson and Head of the Department of Information and Publicity



**CELEBRATING THE LEGACY OF
SOLOMON LINDA AND SOUTH
AFRICA'S INDIGENOUS MUSIC**

#LegacyofSolomonLinda
#OurIndigenousMusic



**Heritage
MONTH 2022**

#HeritageMonth2022

 @GovernmentZA  @GovernmentZA  @GovernmentZA

Shining the light on the Step-Aside Policy

Part Two

■ By **Dr. Zamani Saul**

ONE of the controversies and a potential backlash in the Step-aside Guidelines is the restrictive interpretation and application of the step-aside resolution. The conference resolution is very broad and requires anyone who is involved with “disciplinary, investigative or prosecutorial procedures” to step-aside.

In the process to finalise the Step-aside Guidelines in November 2020, the National Prosecuting Authority (NPA) served the Secretary General with criminal charges of fraud, corruption, and money laundering relating to his

tenure as former Premier. This criminal indictment of the Secretary General confounded the process of developing and finalising the Step-aside Guideline as the different factional sentiments in the NEC were thereby triggered into full-blown action.

Extensive discussions took place before the NEC finally adopted

the draft Step-aside Guidelines and the Secretary General, including other NEC members who were affected by the Guidelines, had to step-aside.

Because of the scale of controversy on the step-aside policy and the nullifying views that accompanied the discussions, the NEC resolved to adopt the Step-

This is the second part of the article by Comrade Zamani Saul, focusing on the controversy around the step-aside policy.



aside Guidelines as a working document which will be improved with each lesson learnt. The attitude of the NEC was to “cross the river by touching the stones”, which means taking one step at a time and looking around before taking another.

The implementation of the step-aside policy has not been without controversy and pain. An extremely difficult situation ensued when in the following NEC meeting the Secretary General was informed that he could not participate in the meeting as a consequence of being charged and was expected to step-aside, and where his access to the meeting was prevented. What saved the occasion to some extent was the fact that the meeting was on a virtual platform, which served to mitigate the tensions that would inevitably have emerged from a normal in-person meeting.

The reason for sharing such detailed information is to make South Africans aware of the extent of the ANC’s commitment to renew itself and enhance its integrity, even where this comes with the very real risk of compro-

mising its own internal cohesion. What Indira Ghandi said about renewal in 1978 after the Indian Congress lost elections for the first time after 30 years in power is striking:

“Renewal is not free, there is a price attached to it, as those who are used to old wrong habits will oppose it. The price to pay is courage to endure the pain and utter chaos that come with renewal”.

Following the NEC meeting, the Secretary General took his suspension to the South Gauteng High Court to challenge the constitutionality of the step-aside policy and Rule 25.70 of the ANC Constitution. His contention was that his suspension as the Secretary General in terms of Rule 25.70 was unlawful and unconstitutional in terms of both the ANC Constitution and the Constitution of South Africa. The Secretary General argued that step-aside and Rule 25.70 are not in accord with the principles of natural justice and that the ANC constitution enshrines the principles of natural justice. His argument in court laid bare the controversies on the step-aside policy. This

same argument was advanced by the delegates agitating for the “scrapping” of step-aside policy during the last National Policy Conference.

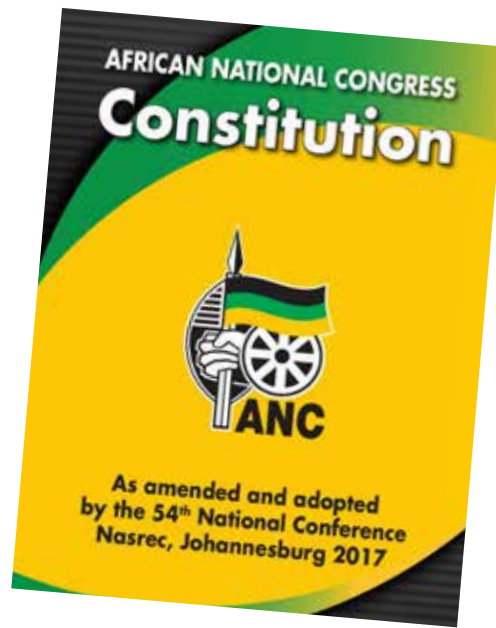
The step-aside policy derives its controversial character from the fact that at face value it appears unconstitutional as it requires a person to step-aside on mere allegations that still have to be tested. This gives rise to the spirited argument that step-aside violates the principle of presumption of innocence. The many legal questions on step-aside have been succinctly and adequately responded to by the South Gauteng High Court and most recently by the Supreme Court of Appeal and the Constitutional Court. Both the Supreme Court of Appeal and the Constitutional Court upheld the ruling of the South Gauteng High Court that step-aside is not unconstitutional. Most profoundly, the courts inferred that the ANC as an organisation has a right to defend its image from the negative conduct of its individual members. By these multiple court rulings the debate on the constitutionality of the step-aside policy has been exhaustively resolved.



A critical question is whether there is any other alternative measure that the ANC can use to demonstrate “*decisive action*” to fight corruption by party members. Over the years, the party relied on the conscience of its members to protect its image and integrity. The collective political conscience called on members facing damning accusations of wrong-doing to seriously consider the implications of their predicament on the image of the organisation. If there was a slight possibility of there being an adverse impact on the image of the ANC, the member would voluntarily step aside as a way of protecting the organisation.

Before the step-aside policy, there were some instances where members who were alleged to have committed, or been accused of, serious wrong-doing would resign their positions in both the state structures and the organisation. In 2002, for example, John Block resigned as MEC of Roads and Public Works and Deputy Provincial Chairperson of the ANC when he was charged with corruption. Having been found not guilty of the accusations, he staged a come-back and was elected as the Provincial Chairperson in 2004. Enoch Godongwana, on mere allegations of misappropriation of union investments funds, resigned as the Deputy Minister of Finance in order to clear his name and is now serving as the Minister of Finance. There are many such cases of conscience-driven action to protect the image of the ANC.

Pallo Jordaan provides a more recent example, where, on being exposed to an embarrassing situation, he immediately resigned all his positions in the ANC, including his membership. All of



this was done to mitigate the impact of an embarrassing situation on the ANC.

We are now at a point where there is extensive agreement that the political conscience of members and leaders in the ANC is dissipating and is at an all-time low. The question that inevitably follows is what the ANC will draw on to protect its self-interest which is much bigger than that of any individual member or leader. If the self-interest of the ANC is threatened by the negative conduct of a member and the member fails to do the right thing to protect the ANC's image, then it is appropriate to expect that the member be forced to step-aside.

There are many valid concerns in relation to the step-aside policy, a key concern being the prolonged delays in the criminal justice system to dispense and conclude criminal matters. In response to this concern, the Step-aside Guidelines provide the option for members who have been criminally charged and have voluntarily stepped aside whereby, after six months of stepping aside, these members may approach the Integrity Commission to review their decision to step-aside.

This option has not been tested since the adoption of the Step-aside Guidelines. What this actually means is that, if a member that stepped aside is of the view that there are undue delays in the processing of her or his case by the prosecuting authority, the Integrity Commission may be approached to review the decision to step-aside. This indicates the consideration that the NEC has applied in formulating the Step-aside Guidelines.

In the political space in which the ANC finds itself, I see no alternative to the step-aside policy and conference resolution for “*decisive action*” to be taken against corruption. There is a strong national mood against corruption and the ANC posture, as leader of society, must be in alignment with that mood. I am therefore of the firm view that many South Africans are in support of such “*decisive action*” by the ANC, but the poor management of debates on step-aside robs it of its political currency.

The danger here is that if the ANC misaligns itself with the prevailing national mood, its electoral challenges, which are proving to be hard to reverse, will exacerbate. As the Mpumalanga Chairperson, Mandla Ndlovu, brilliantly articulated, scrapping step-aside is tantamount to scrapping the ANC out of power in 2024. Thus, the only option that we are left with towards the 55th National Conference is not to scrap the controversial but necessary step-aside policy but instead to consider possible amendments to the Step-aside Guidelines to address some of the concerns and fears that the policy give rise to.

Zamani Saul is ANC Northern Cape Provincial Chairperson

Towards Front Politics: A Crescent Turn to the Renewal of the ANC

Part Two

■ By **Eddy Maloka, Cameron Dugmore & Mandla Nkomfe**

AS a passing shot, and for the purpose of clarifying concepts, it is important to make a distinction between front and coalition politics. The former is not the same as coalition formations that are in office in some of our metros and provinces. The united front approach enabled us to build coalitions of a popular nature against apartheid. The electoral loss by the ANC has forced us to look at government-type coalitions. The two are not the same, and should not be confused.

Government-type coalitions are tactical agreements among political parties to garner the legal majority that is necessary to govern. They are elite arrangements and tactical in their nature, but they can also hamper the proper functioning of the state and become a source of political instability. They fair better in countries with an entrenched national consensus and state institutions that are mature.

Such a consensus doesn't exist



in South Africa, and our state institutions are still in their infancy, hence, for us, coalitions of this type have proven to be a flop. The basis of a consensus/social contract in South Africa is its constitution. Has it run its course?

South African politics are highly polarised, constituted by two diametrically opposed agendas – one representing forces

of National Liberation, and the other, aimed at protecting white minority interests. The defeat or collapse of the ANC will result in a strategic setback for the agenda of National Liberation. The forces of reaction don't mind government coalitions because they have largely become an unholy alliance of anti-ANC elements, and a mechanism for defeating the Liberation agenda.

Current Trends to Note

- Recent opinion polls suggest that even at its worst moment, ANC support hovers around 40%. This is one proof of the resilience of the ANC's popular base because of the Liberation agenda that the Movement historically represents.
- Outcomes of recent ANC elective conferences suggest that the church character of our Movement is on the retreat. Leadership collectives that emerged from these conferences are almost exclusively male and African, and this is happening at a time when the ANC should be more diverse and inclusive. Rightly so, many of us are calling for a generational mix, but we don't hear the same noise about gender and the national question. Some proponents of gender confuse their good cause with the personal ambitions of specific individuals.
- As argued earlier, the end of the era of pure activists in the ANC has arrived and given way to political careerism. Unlike in the past when most members of the ANC joined the Movement only for what it stood for, today this category of cadres has become almost extinct. Nowadays, personal gain is a principal motive for many of us who join the ANC.

Lessons from the Western Cape

It can be argued that part of the success in building broader support for the Liberation Movement in the Western Cape was the deliberate focus on building alliances with organisations and leaders that are not historically part of Congress. In some instances, we

even initiated such organisations and unions where they did not exist, this work being done by ANC cadres. Strikes, bus boycotts, and housing campaigns were all led by civic associations such as Western Cape Civic Association, CAHAC, Western Cape Hostel Dwellers, and the Western Cape United squatter's association.

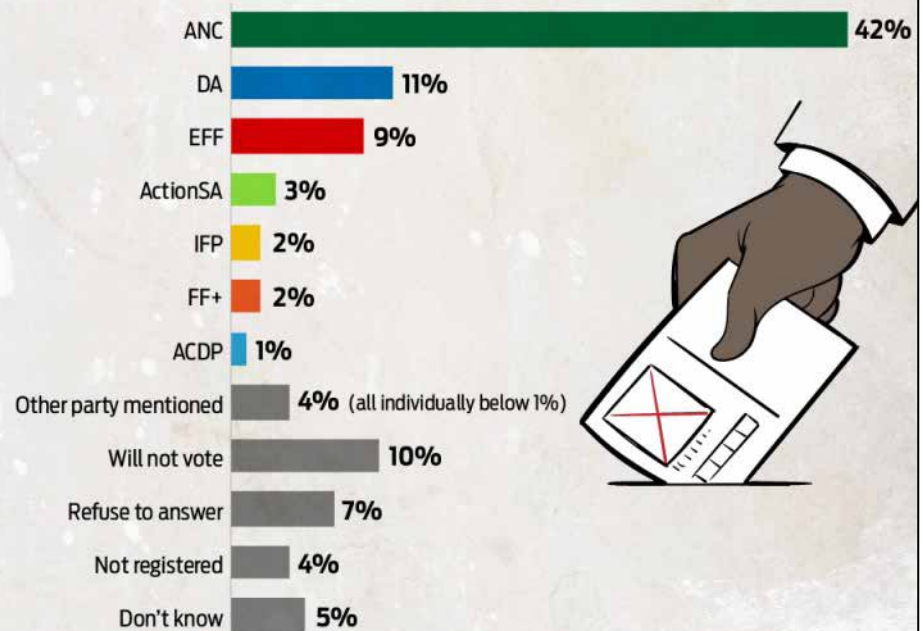
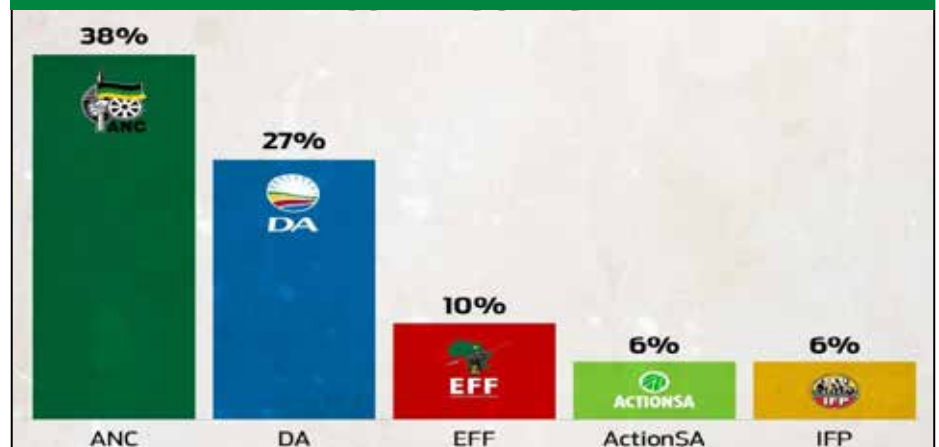
The non-racial student movement of AZASO/COSAS and NUSAS were UDF affiliates while

many other high school movements such as ASAC, MIPSCO, and eventually WECSO, took the struggle into the schools on the Cape Flats. Those structures also became part of the UDF. Success was also achieved in setting up PAAG in the former white schools and drawing them into campaigns like the Education Charter.

Unity in action was built. While these structures were in the main

Results of poll done by IPSOS

If there were national elections tomorrow, which political party would you vote for?

**Results of poll done by RAPPORT**

led by Congress activists, they were often inclusive of activists from other political traditions. Those who joined and were part of these struggles were mobilised on the basis of local issues.

It is often argued that the strength of the UDF and broad front politics did not translate into political support for the ANC at the polls in the Western Cape in 1994. This is true. But the establishment of a tradition of Liberation Movement ideals and principles, with our non-racialism and the politics of unity in action, laid important seeds. Communities were mobilised on the basis of issues and learned lessons of organisation, accountable leadership, mandate, and democratic practice.

Given the massive challenges of crime, extortion, substance abuse, and public transport in the province, working hard to build broad fronts and campaigns around these issues, given the lack of political will by the provincial and city government, provide some hope to actually resolve the crisis facing our people.

The building of unity around issue-based campaigns through setting up of local and regional fronts must be seriously considered. This could lead to the establishment of a situation of dual power where the “people’s camp” commands support and credibility, while those holding formal power represent the preservation of minority privilege.

There were attempts by progressive forces in SAPS to start building street committees with anti-crime activists, but these could not be sustained. Structures like street committees must be non-partisan and those best equipped to lead these structures

must be chosen to lead.

We have also seen the emergence of the initial RDP for the Khayelitsha Development Forum (KDF) which has managed with some success to remain progressive and inclusive within its leadership ranks. They are leading an initiative to establish a broader development forum for the City as a whole, drawing in development fora across the historical apartheid divides.

In short, alliances around food security, urban agriculture, land release, and public transport, all have the potential to unite a broad progressive front.

Towards the 2024 elections

The 2024 elections will test the ANC on two issues. First, whether the ANC will emerge victorious. Second, whether the ANC can win back the confidence of South Africans and regain its place as a leader of society.

The front can help the ANC regain its lost ground and mitigate against challenges that had led to public disillusionment with the party. One thing for sure is that



at least in the Western Cape, the ANC stands to gain by approaching the 2024 election as a front.

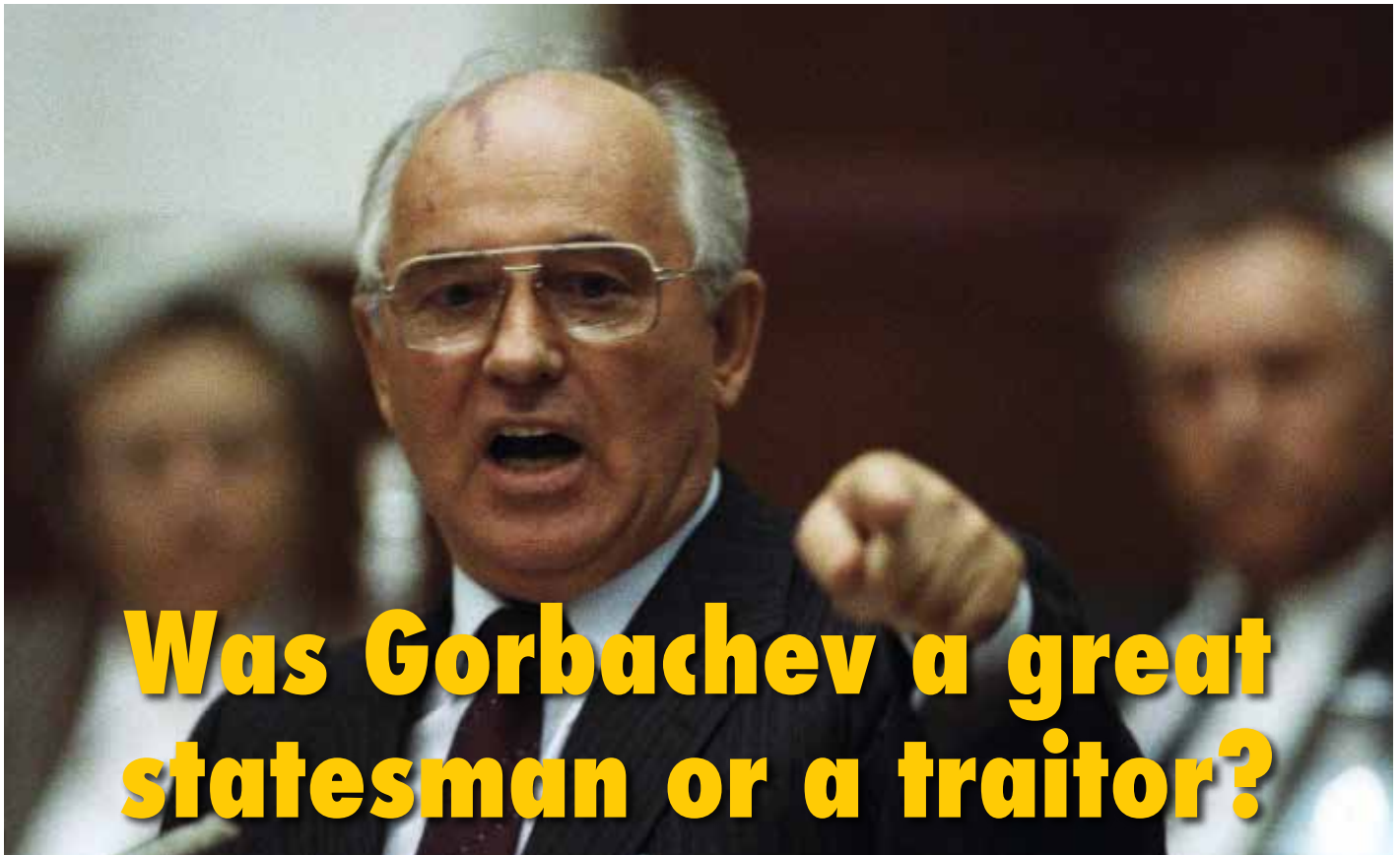
The broad front should be informed by the agenda of National Liberation as espoused in the Freedom Charter. Its leadership should be diverse, representative, and inclusive. It will have to be organized around a political programme, which may include the following:

- Reconstitution of the post-apartheid dispensation that will give meaning to accountability and therefore enrich our democratic lives. This will create the material basis for what can be our Second Republic. This should include revisiting our country's electoral system.
- Establishing street committees and service delivery co-operatives, nation-wide
- Basic income grant
- Declare a state of national disaster on youth unemployment

Conclusion

In this article, we attempt to make a case for the ANC to return to our Congress, front politics, so that we regain the ground we have lost as a leader of society. It is not too late for the ANC to renew itself and regain the trust of our people, because our Liberation ideas remain hegemonic and unchallenged in our country.

Our problem is the subjective factor, ourselves; not what the ANC stands for. This is the basis on which we can build a powerful front as we approach the 2024 elections, and beyond. South Africa should not fail under our watch. The solution is around the crescent. Only a renewed ANC can get us around the crescent.



■ By **Dr Vyacheslav Tetekin**



ON August 30, Mikhail Gorbachev, the former Soviet president and Communist Party leader passed away. The world and Russia reacted to this event in different ways.

Western leaders sent condolences praising his “exploits” for the glory of “democracy”. All Western ambassadors in Moscow turned up at the official farewell ceremony.

While President Putin did not come, nor did Russian government members. Putin only sent a very laconic message of condolences.

In the Russian society, the reaction to Gorbachev’s death ranged from indifference among young

people to hatred from older generations. One of the Internet resources published his photo with the caption *“Enemy of the People”*. A lot of people said with annoyance: *“It’s a pity that he didn’t live to see the court trial.”*

In fact, hatred of Gorbachev in Russia has long given way to cold contempt. Only a small handful of intellectuals, reflecting the moods of the rapidly shrinking layer of the pro-Western elite in Moscow, were really sad.

President Yeltsin did much more harm to our country, contributing in his power struggle with Gorbachev to the destruction of the USSR and then destroying in “new Russia” the economic and social gains of Socialism. But it

was Gorbachev who pushed that stone at the top of the USSR history, which, rolling down, swept a great power away from the face of the planet.

In world history there were, perhaps, no other rulers who, having received huge powers and universal popular support would lose, without a struggle and guided by false ideas, both territories and control over the state, then meekly resigning to its destruction. In the end, all the defeated or deposed rulers fought. But not Gorbachev.

After his six years in power, the second world power, without the slightest resistance, and even without any trade, “surrendered” all political positions in Eastern



Europe. And then the seemingly invincible and incredibly stable country cracked at the seams and collapsed.

It is customary to explain the destruction of the USSR by the inefficiency of its economy, the US sanctions and their actions to collapse oil prices, the inefficiency of the Soviet bureaucracy. But all this seems to be a post factum explanation, fitting to the schemes. Disasters occur due to the accumulation of many factors. But there are always options to avoid them.

The Soviet Union needed reforms. Soviet society, including this author, in 1985 welcomed the rise of Gorbachev as the Party and State leader. Young, energetic, eloquent, accessible. We all wanted a change then. Not the rejection of Socialism, but its re-configuration in new conditions. After all, the Soviet model of Socialism emerged after the 1917 revolution in conditions of acute confrontation with the capitalist West, which wanted to strangle the USSR with sanctions.

The hostile environment, the impending aggression of Nazi Germany required the strongest concentration of all the material and spiritual resources to fight back.

Thus, a concrete Soviet model of Socialism emerged with a highly centralized, mobilization character.

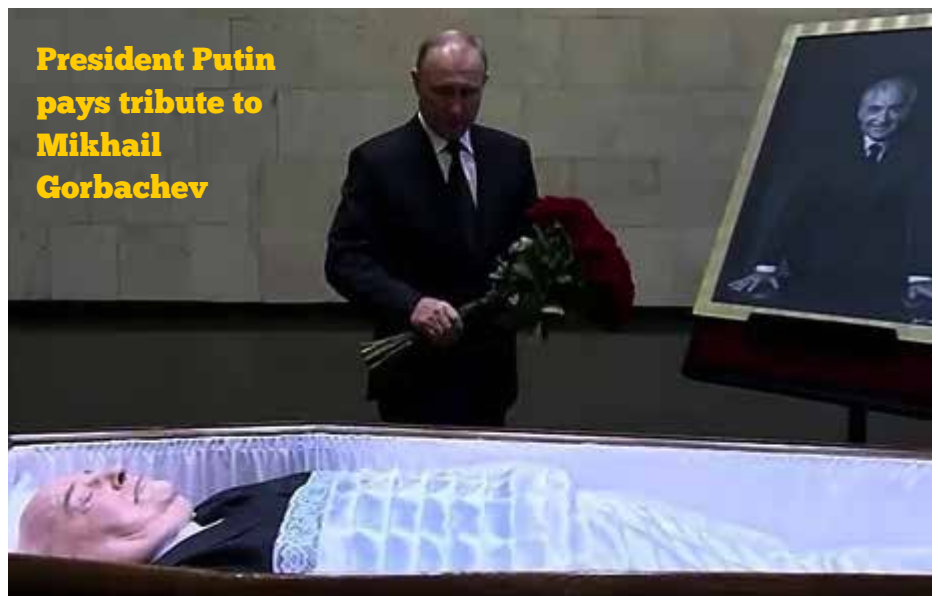
By the time Gorbachev came to power, military parity with the West had been achieved. The external danger had weakened. The people now wanted the economy to be directed to improvement of their lives. But the need for reforms did not mean the rejection of Socialism. On the contrary, the people wanted more Socialism. By this time, the success of the Chinese reforms combining firm state control over the economy with the encouragement of entrepreneurial activity has become clear.

A group of Soviet leaders proposed a similar approach. However, Gorbachev rejected an alternative model. Instead of reshaping the economic system, Gorbachev, in the course of chaotic reforms, led to its destruction. This caused a rapid drop in the living standard and people's discontent. But having mismanaged the transformation, Gorbachev decided to shift responsibility to Socialism itself, saying that it allegedly could not be reformed.

There were no objective reasons for the collapse of the USSR. What was then called the "crisis" was actually a slowdown of the Soviet economy. Its growth was 1% in 1990. Of course, it was below the usual 3-4%. But this was not a fall to minus 5-6%, as happened several times in post-Soviet Russia. It was not a collapse. It was the destruction of the Soviet Union by Gorbachev-led group of its top leaders.

By 1987, most Communists had already realized the danger of Gorbachev's reforms. But by this time he had dramatically weakened the Communist Party, having maneuvered out of the Central Committee a large group of

**President Putin
pays tribute to
Mikhail
Gorbachev**



the most professional leaders who disagreed with his course.

At the same time, he handed over control of the state media to his supporters, who used “democratization” as a weapon to unleash anti-communist propaganda. It was Gorbachev who created the economic and political conditions under which the anti-communist coup d’etat in August 1991 became possible.

The Western leaders quickly realized what Gorbachev “reforms” could lead to and began to diligently support his “democratization”. In their understanding it meant weakening the USSR and discrediting Socialism. Gorbachev enjoyed outright flattery of Western leaders and mass media. Since 1988, his main aim was getting the applause of his Western partners. He desperately wanted to be popular in the West and completely rejected warnings that his course was disastrous for the Party and for the country.

At the same time, he made a sharp turn in the USSR foreign policy. Our former enemies instantly turned into partners or even allies. Communist parties suddenly became undesirable elements. And the national liberation movements became obstacles to the “*settlement of regional conflicts*,” which included the struggle against the apartheid regime.

Gorbachev’s team started talking about a “*political settlement*” in South Africa, which implied the unilateral refusal of the ANC from the armed struggle. Nelson Mandela wanted to make his first visit outside Africa after his release from prison to the Soviet Union. Gorbachev avoided meeting the



world-famous ANC leader. Mandela came to Moscow only in 1997, on the eve of leaving the post of President of South Africa.

It is believed that the collapse of the USSR occurred almost bloodlessly. In fact, it gave rise to bloody civil wars leading to deaths of tens of thousands of people in the former USSR republics of Azerbaijan, Armenia, Georgia, Tajikistan, and Moldova. The current bloodshed in Ukraine is a direct result of Gorbachev’s policy.

The name of Mikhail Gorbachev will forever be associated not with the democratization, but with the destruction of the USSR, which, in fact, was historical Russia. The consequences of Gorbachev’s mistakes (some believe – crimes) have a severe impact to this day.

None of the former USSR republics has now, 30 years after the 1991 anticommunist coup in Moscow, recovered the level of development they had enjoyed as part of the Soviet Union (except Byelorussia, where President

Lukashenko managed to preserve the basic principles of the Soviet economic and social model). Almost all of them have lost modern industry, face collapsing education, science, culture and healthcare. But unemployment, crime and corruption have sharply increased. Until 1990, Ukraine was among the 10 most economically powerful countries in Europe. By 2021 it was the poorest on the continent.

The Soviet Union in the 1980s was fantastically unlucky with Mikhail Gorbachev. A pronounced tendency to demagoguery was combined with his complete lack of strong-willed qualities and abilities for strategic planning. Gorbachev played one of the most important roles in world history – but not because of his outstanding qualities, but because of their complete absence. If there is one word that defines the essence of this man, it is, in my view, the word “traitor”.

Dr. Vyacheslav (Slava) Tetekin is a Member of CC, Communist Party of the Russian Federation

Overcoming South Africa's Unemployment Crisis

■ By **Dr Kenneth Creamer**

SINCE the dawning of democracy in South Africa in 1994, the data shows a positive relationship between economic growth and employment growth. Generally, if the economy grows then jobs are created, if the economy experiences negative growth then the number of people in employment falls.

But, another important fact about the South African economy is that even as the number of people in employment rises, the unemployment rate usually also rises at the same time. How is this possible?

It is due to the fact that the number of people entering the labour market each year far exceeds the number of new jobs that are created. So, the net number of

jobs might increase by say 200 000 in a particular year, but the size of the labour market may increase by say 500 000 people in that year. The labour market expands as many young people enter the labour market each year, or fewer older people leave the labour market or some discouraged long-term unemployed people try again to re-enter the labour market to find work.

As a result, the South African data usually shows employment numbers and unemployment rising at the same time.

Obviously, during periods of crisis such as during the recent COVID pandemic, the number of people in employment fell sharply and unemployment also rose sharply.

But, even in times of economic growth, there have been many years in which South Africa has generally not been able to create enough jobs to keep up with the growth in the labour market. South Africa has a problem not so much of 'jobless growth', as we have a problem of 'not enough growth', and 'not enough jobs'.

The reasons for South Africa's high unemployment problem (and related high levels of income inequality) are many. Some are historical, some are current, some are local, and some are global.

History is the key factor in damaging our growth potential. Colonialism and apartheid distorted the process of capital and infrastructure formation. Capital has been highly concentrated and owned by a few, during the apartheid era, black ownership of capital and property was highly regulated and mostly outlawed. Capital was focused on mining and related sectors and the diversification of our industrial base has been limited. Land dispossession of the black population, as well as racist policies which limited fair access to public infrastructure and services have led to serious inequalities in our education and health services and





have damaged our human potential and our growth potential.

But we cannot only blame our history, many government programmes tend to reinforce and entrench the existing structure of the economy – for example vested interests have delayed and at times derailed our transition to low carbon energy and have trapped us in a prolonged period of electricity shortages and loadshedding. Hopefully recently announced reforms in the electricity sector have finally broken the deadlock in this area. In the past decade or so, the crisis of corruption and state capture has weakened the capacity of the state to lead a process of inclusive growth and transformation.

To overcome the constraints of our history and our present, and to begin to create enough jobs to reduce unemployment, we need to make tough and clear-eyed decision which will unequivocally prioritise an acceleration of capital formation and infrastructure investment – such as investment in electricity, roads, rail, ports and social infrastructure.

This will mean that in our national

budget we will need to prioritise infrastructure spending over consumption and welfare spending. We will need to create the kind of policy certainty regarding our energy transition and other programmes that stimulates higher levels of private sector investment. We will need to attract foreign capital as our domestic savings are not sufficient to fund the capital and infrastructure that is required for employment creation.

If we understand economics, we understand economic causation and how one thing leads to another. To solve unemployment, we need capital formation. To have capital formation we need to prioritise the mobilisation of public and private funds for such capital formation. This is the only way out of our unemployment crisis – and it can be done. Other countries have done it – in the early 1960's South Korea's GDP per capita was lower than that of Ghana, now it is more than 10 times greater.

To achieve a leap towards sustained growth and job creation we need to keep a close eye on investment levels. Since

COVID-19, investment in South Africa has declined to an historically low level of 13% of GDP in 2001; it needs to be almost double that at 25% of GDP if we are to begin to create enough jobs and have enough growth to begin to overcome our unemployment crisis. The doubling of fixed investment levels by private firms, by state owned companies and by government is our most important goal if we wish to defeat unemployment.

Question: *At the recent ANC policy conference, the chairperson of the Economic Transformation Committee, Mmamoloko Kubayi, reported that delegates had deliberated over calling the unemployment situation a “national crisis”. Why are ANC delegates thinking along these lines and what do you consider might be some of the concrete advantages of treating South African unemployment as a “national crisis”?*

Many of our people are suffering – they have no hope of finding work. Hunger and poverty are persistently on the rise for the first time since 1994. There can be no doubt that unemployment in South Africa is, in fact, a “na-

tion crisis", whether we declare it as such, or not.

The latest unemployment figures show the official unemployment rate at over 33%, if you include those who are unemployed, but have become discouraged and are not actively seeking work, the unemployment rate rises to around 44%. Behind these overall figures, we must remember that South Africa's labour market is highly segmented and that the unemployment rate is higher for black South Africans, for women and for young people.

The intention would be that by calling unemployment a "*national crisis*", we would be better able to mobilise an 'all of society' approach in response to the problem. We saw how in response to the Covid pandemic things had to be done differently, out of necessity – resources were temporarily mobilised to support wage payments and firms, as well as to assist individuals most at risk; the central bank intervened in the bond market to ensure liquidity when there were warning signs that demand for South African bonds might be drying up, and

firms were given support by being allowed to defer tax payments to a later date.

Even though the unemployment crisis is distinct, and will be harder to deal with than the Covid crisis – it is the same spirit of united and concerted action that is required. We should come together and do things differently to begin to create more jobs.

For example, through social dialogue we have announced major reforms of the electricity sector which when implemented will help us to overcome the binding constraint of load shedding.

We need similar concerted action to better protect and secure our economic infrastructure. Tax leakages must be stopped, corruption and wastage must be brought under control, and pro-growth economic planning must be undertaken so that fiscal space can be created to invest in basic infrastructure and improve service delivery.

As part of our crisis response, we will also have to develop specific interventions to include those for

whom no place can be found in the formal sector, as formal employment simply cannot grow fast enough to include them. Targeted interventions will be required, like large-scale public employment programmes, and labour-intensive work on infrastructure building, repairs and maintenance. Similarly, programmes are needed to give young people access to technical skills and work experience, such as, by working as education assistants in our schools.

In summary, economic growth is totally necessary, but it will not be sufficient to overcome our unemployment crisis. To create more jobs in South Africa we need more investment, more infrastructure and better service delivery, but given the scale of the problem, for some time, we will also need well managed, targeted public employment programmes at a scale which are large enough to have an impact, but which are also fiscally affordable.

Dr Kenneth Creamer is a Wits Economics Lecturer and Member of the Jeanette Schoon ANC Branch (Ward 87, Johannesburg)



One last Coffee Session

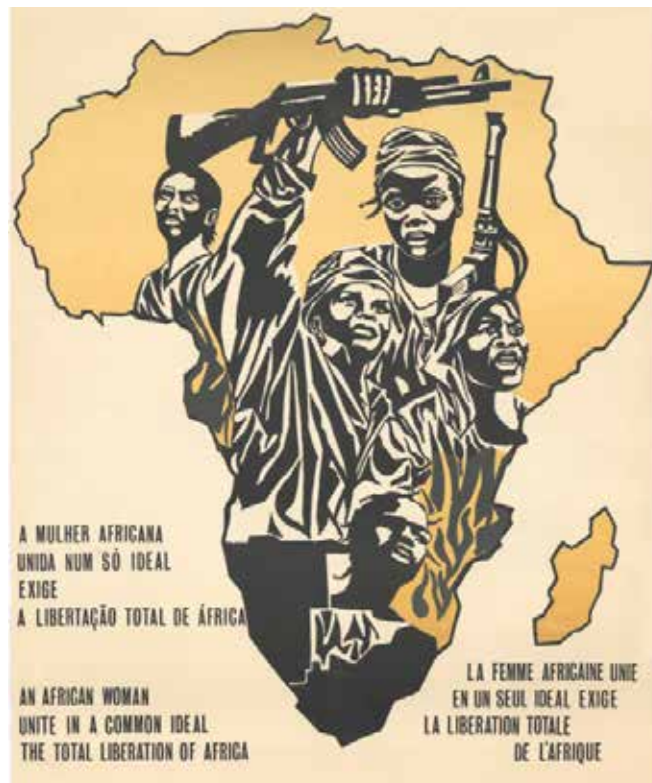
– A view from the Plantation

■ By **Sikhumbuzo Thomo**

It is important to understand that our struggle developed unevenly and at times in a contradictory way. In terms of armed struggle for instance, it was not possible to maintain the same level of intensity for years at a time. Our main task was to ensure that we do not mark time in the same place. Each wave of struggle carried us forward and in each period of relative slow-down we ensured that our gains were not lost.

There were times when a period of unsteady equilibrium might set in. In each situation it was crucial to maintain as much pressure against the enemy as possible. There were times when it appeared as though there were no prospects of immediate resolution. Relaxing or lowering the guard would have allowed the enemy to increase pressure on another more threatening front.

At different times, the weakest link in the enemy's defenses would occur at different points, or, to put another way, the sharpest cutting edge of our struggle may shift to a different front. In



1989, the most significant features had been the breakthrough in the balance of military power in southern Angola largely as a result of the Battle of Cuito Cuanavale, and the rapid developments of mass democratic organisation within Namibia and South Africa.

It would be quite wrong to imagine that these positive shifts occurred independently of one another, or in the absence of substantial and continued politico-military activity on other fronts. It is clear that the future of our history cannot be

written without some reference to Angola. President Mandela once said that important events of history should not be shrouded in myths, even though myths are inevitably part of the spice of life. There are a number of myths about the Battle of Cuito Cuanavale in 1987-88 and our offensive towards the Namibian border in 1988, which, from an MK perspective, need to be laid to rest. The only description one can give to the authors of the Bush War Publications would label pure garbage.

The abortive SADF raid on Angolan oil installations in the late 1980s and the defeat of the regimes' total strategy in the "*constellation of states*" are noteworthy. In summary:

- To refuse to permit liberation movements to operate from their territories and to take steps to prevent them from operating clandestinely;
- To refrain from developing strong economic and particularly military ties with socialist countries;
- To maintain and deepen their economic links with South Africa and to refrain from sup-

porting calls for sanctions;

- To moderate their criticism of apartheid.

The failure of its strategy of crushing the liberation struggle led Pretoria to revert back to overt, naked destabilization.

It is a verifiable fact that the then SADF could not seize Cuito Cuanavale in fear of loss to white soldiers and officers. Instead, the South African army simply used UNITA and black South African troops as *'the first wave'* of its offensive. As a result they collectively lost at least 3000 combatants in the battle of Cuito Cuanavale.

In July 1987, the Angolan army began an operation against armed units of UNITA near Cuito Cuanavale in the province of Cuando-Cubango. Its goals were the total defeat of the enemy in the south-east of the country; the destruction of the enemy's established supply routes from Namibia into central Angola; the seizure of UNITA's advance base, the town of Mavinga; and the capture of Jamba, situated on the border with Namibia, where Jonas Savimbi's headquarters was located.

At the initiative of the then Soviet Union, the UN Security Council adopted a resolution calling for the immediate withdrawal of South African troops from Angolan territory. But the USA used its right to 'veto' and blocked this resolution. As a result of the 1987-88 battles, the MPLA/FAPLA forces suffered major losses in personnel and military equipment and were forced to withdraw. Late 1987, the SADF, together with UNITA tried to seize the key base of the Angolan government forces: the town of Cuito Cuanavale. The Angolan government ap-

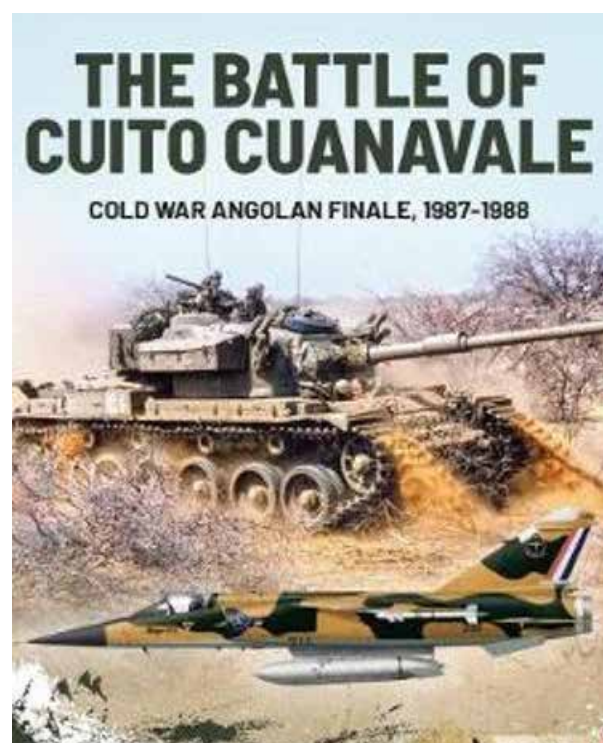
pealed to allies for help in dealing with that situation which would have been a blow not only for themselves but to both the ANC and SWAPO.

The ANC took a decision to offer immediate help to Angola, to send supplementary armed MK units and military equipment, and launch a decisive blow on the SADF/UNITA army. As a result, the SADF was stopped a few kilometers from Cuito. Thereupon, progressive forces, reinforced by Cubans as the garrison in Cuito found itself practically surrounded and the siege began. The SADF regrouped and launched their assault using tanks; they stormed the defenses of Cuito methodically and from various directions at regular intervals. The siege lasted five months. And our forces created an in-depth defense around Cuito.

All in all, the SADF forces on the Angolan territory and in adjoining Namibia included, not counting UNITA units, lost more than 20,000 soldiers and officers, employing about 150 tanks and armored troop carriers, approximately 400 artillery pieces, mortars and multiple rocket launchers. Interestingly, right wing historians practically ignore some of these facts in their reflections. There is no mention of FAPLA, SWAPO and MK in their writings, memoirs and reflections of war in Angola. In reality it was our forces that took the offensive against the South African army in southern Angola and won not the other way around.

It would have been interesting for the naysayers to see the town of Cuito Cuanavale again, to see the local population, hungry children with distended tummies, who asked for bread: *'Camarada, pao!'*. If only some in the opposition benches could have seen a child suffering from malarial diarrhea. They have not seen that. What they read in those books is different and a distortion of facts. If only they could see the eyes of those children, maybe it would have caused them to think more.

Until one can see women coming back from captivity with UNITA – just skin and bones, one's conscience could have been pricked. Savimbi behaved in a very interesting manner. He welcomed the assistance of MK to FAPLA, his adversaries: *"Let the ANC help them, I have nothing against it, but if they are taken captive they will experience all the severities of the forest life, let them help because many weapons and military equipment from this assistance will come to us"* – in other words UNITA.





ADVANCING ACCESS TO MAINTENANCE FOR WOMEN IN PERMANENT LIFE PARTNERSHIPS

■ By **Charlene May and Mandi Mudarikwa**

“SHOULD a person who shared her home and life with her deceased partner, born and raised children with him, cared for him in health and sickness, and dedicated her life to support the family they created together, be treated as a legal stranger to his estate, with no claim for subsistence because they were never married.” – Sachs J.

Addressing the errors of the past

Sachs J wrote the quote above in his dissent in the Constitutional Court decision of *Volks NO v Robinson*, which was the first case in which the Constitutional Court had to grapple with the recognition of domestic partnerships in respect of the Maintenance of Surviving Spouses Act (MSSA).

The majority of judges of the Constitutional Court upheld that the law provided that only a spouse, defined as a person married in



terms of South African marriage law, could lay claim to maintenance following the death of the other spouse.

In 2016, Statistics South Africa (Stats SA) recorded an estimated 3.2 million South Africans in co-habiting relationships outside of marriage. By all indications, this number was set to increase, as has been the trend not only

here, but also internationally. Our society has never been stagnant, on the contrary, it is continuously evolving and progressing.

Under apartheid, our family law legislation was designed and implemented to advance the interests of a very particular group of people, and through targeted legislation, some South Africans who fell outside of the “preferred”

PERSPECTIVE

families and race experienced devastating exclusion and marginalisation.

Through legislation and regulation, the state effectively tried to entrench a normative acceptable family, and anyone outside of this normative acceptable family found themselves ostracised, without rights and often on the wrong side of the law. The Constitutional Court has now corrected this position in a judgement penned by Madlanga J and handed down on 31 December 2021 in the *Bwanya v The Master of the High Court* matter. The judgement draws from intersectional analysis presented to the Court by the Women's Legal Centre (WLC).

Unpacking the Bwanya Judgement

In the *Bwanya* judgement, the Constitutional Court recognised that family structures and related social practices change over time. The Court cautioned against seeking to define or entrench only one form of family at the expense of the many diverse forms that families can and do take.

The Court emphasised that in recognising the diversity of families, it is not seeking to diminish the important role that marriage plays in our society, because, as Madlanga J notes, "*marriage is not that fickle*". Accordingly, any recognition or protection given to domestic life partnerships does not detract from the position of marriage in our society.

What it does, however, is affirm our diversity as a people, and the rights of all people to enjoy the protection of the Constitution. The Court accepted that in

our patriarchal society women often lack the bargaining power in relationships to negotiate a marriage. The Court referenced the evidence that was placed before it by the WLC, which provided many varying reasons why the choice to marry is not always available to women and affirmed that not everyone has the option or choice to enter a marriage.

As the WLC, our evidence highlighted that women and their children are often dependent on their partner in life partnerships, and will agree to live their lives around the desires of the individual who provides for them financially. As the Court says, it is not whether absolutely there is a choice, but instead whether realistically, the choice may be exercised given all the factors that surround and impact on the individual's life.

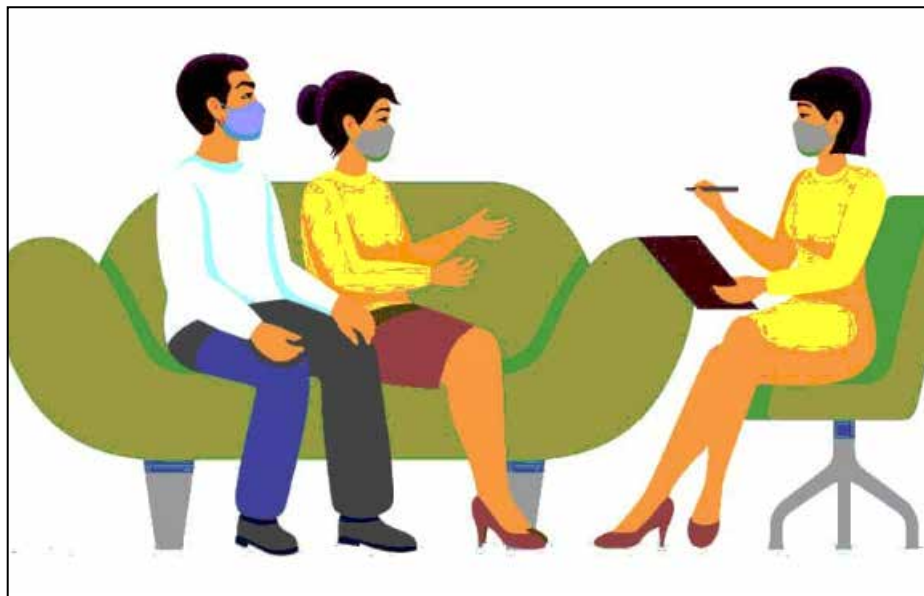
This is a powerful acknowledgment of the impact of intersecting forms of discrimination on the lives of women, and how intersectionality needs to be considered when laws and policies are developed and implemented. The Court noted that in respect of domestic partnerships, often the choice is also not exercised

because of the mistaken belief that where couples live in a life partnership, this relationship amounts to a legally recognised Common Law marriage.

The Maintenance of Surviving Spouses Act 27 of 1990 (MSSA) was enacted with the objective to provide for the reasonable maintenance needs of parties to a marriage that is terminated through the death of one of them. The consequences of their marriage – the duty of support that was provided during life extends beyond death.

Not everyone makes a will before they die with clear instructions on how their assets should be divided, or how their loved ones should be cared for. In other instances, there may be a will, but adequate provision is not made for various reasons.

The law fills this void through the MSSA for couples who are married. The Court found that there is no reasonable justification why those living in permanent life partnerships, where they have shown a reciprocal duty of support, should not enjoy the benefits of the MSSA.





As the Court affirms, the MSSA's objective is to ensure that the surviving partner/spouse is not left destitute. If those living in a permanent life partnership give expression of their love and lived realistically in the same manner as those in a marriage, there can be no reason to deny them the same rights and same protection.

Concerns have been expressed that the judgement will be abused. The Court anticipated these concerns and suggested factors to be considered to determine whether a relationship amounted to a permanent life partnership. These factors were drawn from the case of *National Coalition for Gay and Lesbian Equality v Minister of Home Affairs*.

These factors include, but are not limited to:

- The age of the partners;
- The duration of the partnership;
- Whether the partners took part in a ceremony manifesting their intention to enter into a permanent partnership.

In our view, these factors need to be considered through an in-

tersectional lens or the substantive equality which the judgement seeks will be lost.

The Court did not limit its finding only to opposite-sex partners. The Court explained that there should be no reason why it should not simply address the issue of same-sex couples' rights to benefit equally under the MSSA.

The order of invalidity of the MSSA has been suspended for a period of 18 months to allow Parliament to grapple with how it wants to give recognition and protection to those in permanent life partnerships.

The Court has provided language to replace that which is contained in the MSSA to remedy the discrimination:

Section 1 of the MSSA after the words "*dissolved by death*", adds "*and includes the surviving partner of a permanent life partnership terminated by the death of one partner in which the partners undertook reciprocal duties of support and in circumstances where the surviving partner has not received an equitable share in the deceased partner's estate*".

Section 1 of the MSSA to be read as if it includes the following at the end of the existing definition:

- "(a) 'Spouse' for the purposes of this Act shall include a person in a permanent life partnership in which the partners undertook reciprocal duties of support;
- (b) 'Marriage' for the purposes of this Act shall include a permanent life partnership in which the partners undertook reciprocal duties of support."

Should Parliament fail to enact the necessary amendments to the MSSA, the above language will automatically become part of the legislation.

Substantive equality for women in South Africa

The judgement is an example of how intersectional feminism can be used to advance the rights of women before our Courts. It also highlights the importance of our Courts taking into account the lived reality and experiences of the very people that our constitutional right is intended to bring about substantive equality for.

THIS WEEK IN HISTORY

THIS WEEK IN HISTORY

17 – 23 September 2022

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

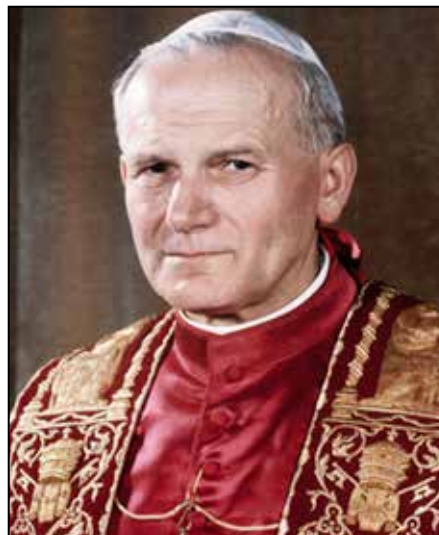
17 September 1919
German South West Africa becomes SA protectorate

At the World War I Treaty of Versailles, German South West Africa was declared a mandate of the new international peace-keeping body, the League of Nations, and put under South African administration. Since the late 1940s, the South West Africa (SWA) issue was debated year after year with increasing animosity at the United Nations (UN), successor to the League of Nations. On 18 July 1966, the judges in the International Court of Justice gave verdict in favour of South Africa in a case brought before them by Ethiopia and Liberia. In 1960, the South West African People's Organisation (SWAPO) was formed to fight for the independence of the country from South African apartheid rule, and in 1990, Namibia gained independence.

17 September 1983
Methane gas explosion in Vryheid mine

Sixty-eight mine workers were killed after an underground methane gas explosion at the Hlobane coal mine near Vryheid in KZN. The gas explosion was caused by poor safety standards. A week before the explosion a miner who also died in the explosion discovered methane underground. The mine captain scratched out his report about underground methane to give the mine a good safety re-

cord. The mine owners were fined R400 for contravening the Mines and Works Act.

17 September 1995
Pope John Paul II
Papal mass in SA


On 17 September 1995, the Roman Catholic's Pope John Paul II celebrated a papal mass in South Africa as he began his six day tour of Africa. His visit to the country came seven years after the cleric angered the apartheid government when he refused to kiss the ground in 1988 when the papal plane he was travelling in was forced to land in the country because of bad weather conditions. During his visit in 1995, the Pope said: *"Today my journey brings me to a new South Africa, a 'rainbow nation,' indicating the diversity of races, ethnic groups, languages and culture which characterize it."*

18 September 1961
Dag Hammarskjöld, UNSG
killed in plane crash


United Nations (UN) Secretary General Dag Hammarskjöld was killed with twelve other people when their plane crashed at Ndola airport, Northern Rhodesia (now Zambia). Hammarskjöld was on his way to meet with President Moïse Tshombe of Katanga Province in Congo in an attempt to end the fighting in Katanga. UN officials in Elisabethville were stunned when they received reports that Hammarskjöld had not arrived in Ndola. Associated Press reported that the lone survivor, Harold M. Julian, a United Nations security guard, said that a series of explosions had preceded the crash. He also said that the plane had turned away from a landing, apparently on Mr Hammarskjöld's orders. His death was a terrible blow to hopes for peace in Katanga.

THIS WEEK IN HISTORY

18 September 1971

World Council of Churches barred from South Africa

During a meeting with representatives of the World Council of Churches (WCC) in South Africa, Prime Minister John Vorster reaffirmed that he would not consider allowing a WCC delegation to come to South Africa under any conditions. Nor would he allow any funds to be sent from South Africa to the World Council.

19-28 September 2004

South African Paralympic team excels in Athens



The South African Paralympic team to the 2004 Paralympics games in Athens, Greece did very well, winning a number of medals. They were then called, rather unfortunately, Amakrokokroko. George Teboho Mokgalagadi, with his hair dyed golden, won a Paralympic world record gold medal 100m sprint in his first international competition on 22 September 2004. Mokgalagadi, a cerebral palsy athlete from Jagersfontein in the Free State, capped his performance at the games by also winning the 200m in 26,80sec on 26 September, another Paralympic record. On 20 September, 17 year old sprinter of Pretoria Boys' High, Oscar Pistorius, fell coming out of the start of his 200m heat for leg amputees, then showed mind-blowing speed and tenacity to surge from



last to victory in a world record 23.42sec for double-amputees at the Athens Paralympic Games, securing him a place in the finals. A 23-year-old Pretoria girl, Beverly Mashinini, who competed in discus and javelin, won a bronze medal in javelin. By the closing of the Athens Paralympics 2004 games, South Africa's Paralympic Team ended in thirteenth place with 15 gold medals, 13 silver and 7 bronze.

19 September 1983

Yusuf Dadoo passed away



ANC and SA Indian Congress activist, Chairperson of the South African Communist Party died on this day. ANC President Oliver R Tambo spoke at his funeral, as did the SACP, after which Dadoo was laid to rest according to Muslim rights at Highgate Cemetery, a few metres away from the grave of Karl Marx. Dadoo was born on 5 September 1909 in Krugersdorp,

Gauteng and played an active role throughout his life in the struggle against oppression. In June 1955, at the historic Congress of the People, Yusuf Dadoo, Chief Albert Luthuli and Father Trevor Huddleston, were awarded Isithwalandwe/Seaparankoe. As a result of their banning orders only Huddleston was able to attend and receive the award in person. After detention and bannings, he left for exile, where he continued to lead and participated actively in the ANC and SACP, until his passing in 1983.

19 September 1985

Rapists sentenced to death

Two White men, Schalk Burger and George Scheepers, were sentenced in Klerksdorp to be hanged to death for the rape of a Black woman, Ginny Goitsione in February 1985. Two other White men in the same case were found guilty of rape. All four pleaded not guilty, even though there was DNA evidence that proved beyond any reasonable doubt that they did it. Most importantly, witnesses caught these four rapists and murderers in the act. This case led to an outcry throughout the country. Since 1984, 115 people were hanged, and only two of these were Whites. The death penalty was abolished in 1995.

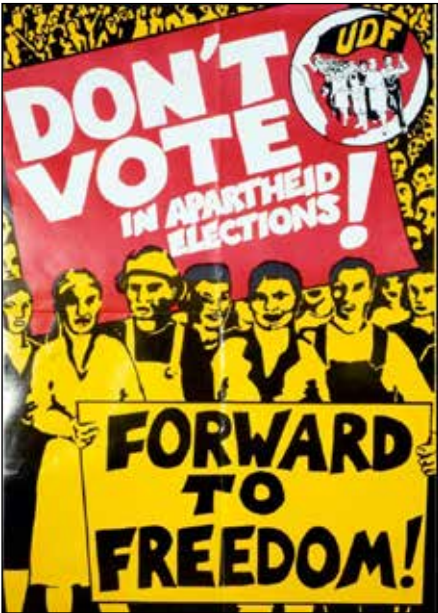
20 September 2019

Rocklands declared a Heritage Site

On 20 August 2019, the 36th anniversary of the founding of the UDF the Rocklands Community Hall, located in Mitchell's Plain, Cape Town, was declared a provincial heritage site. The newly instated heritage site, legally known as Erf 11553, also encompasses the Memorial Square, the library and the Community Healthcare

Centre. The Rocklands Community Hall is significant as the birthplace of the UDF. On 20 August 1983, over 4000 people gathered inside the hall where various speakers took to the stage

21 September 1989 Thousands join second Defiance campaign



On 6 September 1989, we witnessed the election of the last all-white election in South Africa. This election took place under a State of Emergency which had been in force for over 3 years; which prohibited freedom of speech, assembly and association and with arbitrary detention; and a covert culture of assassinations and disappearances. In a move to put forward the real issues concerning the majority, the Mass Democratic Movement embarked on a defiance campaign launched at the beginning of August 1989. The campaign gathered momentum and spread across the country embracing a wide range of issues. On 21 September 1989, a protest of almost 2000 students was held by the End Conscription Campaign (ECC). On the same day, a consumer boycott and overtime ban

was launched, some 10 000 protesters marched in Durban and more than 5 000 in Oudtshoorn in the Cape.

21 September 1994 RDP White Paper

Government releases its White Paper on the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP).

22 September 1828 King Shaka Zulu killed

Shaka kaSenzangakhona (1787-1828), Zulu monarch and founder of the Zulu empire, was murdered by his bodyguard, Mbopha, and his two half-brothers Dingane and Mhlangana after a relatively brief period as king of the Zulu people, from 1816. His death came a year after his mother's death.

22 September 2008 Parliament convenes on resignation of President Thabo Mbeki



President Thabo Mbeki resigned as president of the Republic South Africa on Sunday 21 September 2008. Parliament convened on Monday 22 September and accepted his resignation. The African National Congress also tabled a motion notifying the National Assembly on the resignation of Mbeki, and 25 September 2008 was put forward as the date on which the resignation of presi-

dent would become effective.

23 September 1941 Judge Navi Pillay is born



Navanethem (Navi) Pillay, served as United Nations (UN) High Commissioner for Human Rights, and was born on 23 September 1941 in Clairwood, Durban. She went to the University of Natal where she graduated with a BA in 1963 and with an LLB in 1965. It was at the University that she joined the Unity Movement. After completing her degree she commenced her legal career by doing her articles in Durban. In 1967, Pillay became the first woman to open her own law practice in Natal (now KwaZulu Natal). She provided legal defense for political activists, representing amongst others Phyllis Naidoo in her first case. In 1971, she represented 10 members of the Unity Movement who were charged under the Terrorism Act. Pillay also represented her husband Gaby Pillay who was detained by the Security Police under Terrorism Act. In 1973, she fought and won the right for political prisoners to have access to legal counsel. In the mid 1970's, Pillay defended detained BCM members such as Saths Cooper and Strini Moodley. In 1982, she obtained a Master of Law and in 1988 a Doctorate of Juridical Science from Harvard University. In 1995, Pillay joined

THIS WEEK IN HISTORY

the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda, and in 1999 she was elected as its Judge President for which she served two four-year terms. Since 2003, she has served as judge on the International Criminal Court. Pillay is co-founder of the South African Advice Desk for Abused Women and was appointed the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights on 28 July 2008.

23 September 2019

Jazz veteran Dorothy Masuka passed on

Dorothy Masuka (also known as Masuku) was born on 23 September 1935 in Zimbabwe, to a Zambian father and a mother from KZN. Masuka is known for her contribution to jazz in South Afri-



ca and the entire world. Masuka's talent was discovered when she was singing at a school concert at St. Thomas Catholic Boarding School in Johannesburg. At the age of sixteen she signed up at Troubadour Records. During her teenage years, she released about 30 singles and most of them achieved hit status. This is

when she started to be a top recording star. One of her famous song was 'Hamba Nontsokolo' which created fame and introduced her to professional music. In 1961 Masuka wrote a song to pay tribute to Patrice Lumumba, the first democratically elected president of the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC). She continued to release more songs until one of her songs about apartheid laws was banned. She then went into exile where she spent time in Malawi and Tanzania. While in exile, she campaigned for the liberation of people through music. At the time of her death, Dorothy Masuka was based in Yeoville, Johannesburg. She died at her home, surrounded by her children and grandchildren, after suffering from hypertension.

No one is born hating another person because of the colour of his skin, or his background, or his religion.

People must learn to hate, and if they can learn to hate, they can be taught to love, for love comes naturally to the human heart than its opposite.

Nelson Mandela



THIS WEEK IN HISTORY

INTERNATIONAL AND NATIONAL DAYS

17 – 23 September 2022

Source: www.un.org, www.au.int and *The Africa Fact Book* (2020)

16 September

International Day for the Preservation of the Ozone Layer



The ozone layer, a fragile shield of gas, protects the Earth from the harmful portion of the rays of the sun, thus helping preserve life on the planet. In the late 1970s, scientists discovered that humanity was creating a hole in this protective shield and so, they raised the alarm. The hole – caused by ozone-depleting gases (ODSs) used in aerosols and cooling, such as refrigerators and air-conditioners – was threatening to increase cases of skin cancer and cataracts, and damage plants, crops, and ecosystems. The global response was decisive. In 1985, the world's governments adopted the Vienna Convention for the Protection of the Ozone Layer, to cut out 99 per cent of all ozone-depleting substances. This is an example of impactful global action. The ozone layer is healing and expected to return to pre-1980 values by mid-century. The Kigali Amendment (2019), will work towards reducing hydrofluorocarbon (HFCs), greenhouse gases with powerful climate warming potential and damaging to the environment. The theme announced by the UN Environment Programme for International Day for the Preservation of the Ozone Layer 2022 is **'Global Cooperation Protecting Life on Earth'**.

17 September

International Coastal Clean-up Day

Every year thousands of tons of garbage winds up in the oceans, with at least 60% of that being composed of plastic material. Plastics, especially, last a very long time in the ocean and are in such abundance that there are 46,000 individual pieces of plastic litter for every square mile of ocean! This is a dire situation for the health of the earth's oceans, which directly impacts the health of its people.

17 September

World Patient Safety Day

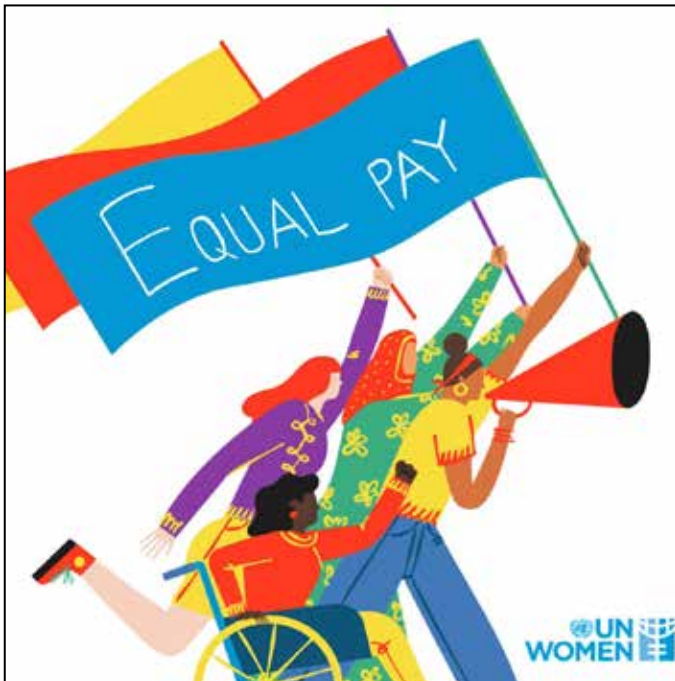


The COVID-19 pandemic has unveiled the huge challenges and risks health workers are facing globally, including health care associated infections, violence, stigma, psychological and emotional disturbances, illness and even death. Furthermore, working in stressful environments makes health workers more prone to errors which can lead to patient harm.

THIS WEEK IN HISTORY

18 September

International Equal Pay Day



International Equal Pay Day, celebrated for the first time this 18 September, represents the longstanding efforts towards equal pay for work of equal value. Across all regions, women are paid less than men, with the gender pay gap estimated at 23 per cent globally. This is but one way in which patriarchy disadvantages women, along with unpaid labour and other forms of discriminatory practices that continue to undermine women's economic emancipation.

21 September

World Alzheimer Day



Alzheimer's is the most common form of dementia, a general term for memory loss and other intellectual abilities serious enough to interfere with daily life. It accounts for 50 to 80 percent of dementia cases. It is not a normal part of ageing. Up to 5 per cent of people with the disease have early-onset Alzheimer's (also known as younger-onset), which often appears when someone is in their 40s or 50s.

Alzheimer's is a progressive disease, where dementia worsens over time. Alzheimer's has no current cure, but treatments for symptoms are available and research continues.

21 September

Bibliodiversity Day

Bibliodiversity refers to diversity and inclusion of all voices in writing and publishing, looking at who tells what stories, and who and what gets published. There is the famous reference to this issue, when Toni Morrison left Random House publishers in 1983, "*their Black authorship decreased by 99.2%*".

22 September

World Car Free Day

As populations grow, urbanization increases and with cities without proper public transport, pollution and our carbon footprint loom large. World Car Free day encourages us to just for one day, use public transport, cycle, walk, run to get to work or go to the shops. Just for one day.

23 September

International Sign Languages Day



The day promotes the linguistic identity and cultural diversity of all deaf people and other sign language users. According to the World Federation of the Deaf, there are more than 70 million deaf people worldwide. More than 80% of them live in developing countries. Collectively, they use more than 300 different sign languages. Sign languages are fully fledged natural languages, structurally distinct from the spoken languages. There is also an international sign language, which is used by deaf people in international meetings and informally when travelling and socializing. It is considered a pidgin form of sign language that is not as complex as natural sign languages and has a limited lexicon.

MUSIC HERITAGE



ACROSS

2. Hugh Masekela song about migrant labour.
4. One of Sibongile Khumalo's many hits.
7. Blues For Afrika.
12. Mother Africa.
13. Afropop music duo.
15. Jika.
16. Jazz club in Joburg.
17. Jerusalem.
18. Abdullah Ibrahim song about township in Cape Town.

DOWN

1. Lebo Mathosa classic.
3. Jonas Gwangwa, ... of the nation.
5. Jazz sextet
6. Music craze featuring piano and log drum.
8. Music genre made famous by Ladysmith Black Mambas.
9. Queen of Afropop.
10. Afrikaans singer known for his veldskoene and guitar.
11. Musical by Mbongeni Ngema.
14. Arthur Mafokate, the King of ...

WORD BANK

isicathamiya
David Kramer
The Blue Notes
Ntozabantu
Mafikizolo

Brenda Fassie
Kippies
Amapiano
Mi Casa
Master KG

Miriam Makeba
Mannenburg
Kwaito
Bheki Mseleku

Stimela
Mayihlome
flowers
Sarafina