



ANC TODAY

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Conversations with the
President



LET US HARNESS IMPROVED CONFIDENCE TO DRIVE INCLUSIVE GROWTH

■ By **PRESIDENT CYRIL RAMAPHOSA**

OVER the last few months, we have seen a growing confidence among investors, businesses and citizens about the prospects for our economy.

The latest Business Confidence Index published by the South African Chamber of Commerce and Industry (SACCI) points to an increase in business confidence since the elections in May. This sentiment is evident in the Johannesburg Stock Exchange's All-Share Price Index, which increased by about 8% from the end of May to the end of July 2024.

This is welcome news, particularly in light of the most recent employment figures released

by Statistics South Africa, which show that unemployment remains extremely high at 33.5%.

Business confidence is so important to our efforts to create jobs because it signals an improved business environment and encourages new investment. Greater investment in the economy enables faster growth and more job opportunities.

For several years, the country has experienced low levels of business confidence. Business confidence was negatively affected by the prolonged electricity crisis, state capture, concerns about corruption, the decline of state-owned enterprises and the manner in which law enforcement agencies had been com-

promised.

Investors have also been concerned about obstacles to growth, such as delays in the release of broadband spectrum, inefficiencies in ports and rail operations, and regulations that have slowed down licencing processes.

The successful holding of our national and provincial elections in May and the formation of the Government of National Unity have had a positive effect on business confidence. The progress we have recorded in our reform process thus far has also contributed to the improved sentiment.

We have shown our determination to tackle corruption. Bodies

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like the National Prosecuting Authority (NPA), Special Investigating Unit (SIU) and the Hawks are reinvigorated and have brought several high-profile cases to trial. The permanent establishment of the NPA's Investigating Directorate has given further impetus to the fight against corruption.

Crime is being tackled. Across the country initiatives such as Operation Shanela have upped the war on crime. We are clamping down on illicit mining operations. Criminal syndicates involved in cable theft and extortion at construction sites are being dealt with.

Through a concerted effort from all stakeholders, we have confronted the electricity crisis. We have now had more than 140 consecutive days without load shedding. There has been a huge increase in new power generation capacity.

Investors have seen the growth opportunities in the far-reaching energy reforms we are undertaking. Just last week, I signed into law the Electricity Regulation Amendment Act, which will enable the establishment of a competitive electricity market.

The progress we have made in electricity gives us confidence that we can overcome the problems on our freight rail lines and in our ports. Transnet's recovery plan is showing progress. The private sector is providing significant technical support and resources to Transnet Freight Rail and Port Terminals.

In Gauteng, the Western Cape and KwaZulu-Natal, new state-of-the-art passenger trains are ferrying commuters along refurbished and newly reopened rail corridors. This saves users considerably in terms of commuting time and transportation costs.

We have made changes to immigration regulations that make it easier to attract skills, investment and tourists into the country. We have also significantly speeded up approval processes for water use licences and energy projects, and released broadband spectrum to unleash the potential of our telecommunications industry.

We are also making progress on infrastructure investment. According to Nedbank's Capital Expenditure Project Listing, the value of fixed investment project

announcements in the first half of this year rose to approximately R800 billion. This was up sharply from just over R190 billion in 2023. The public sector accounts for most of these projects, in areas such as energy, transportation, health facility upgrades, roads and housing.

As Government, we held a meeting with business leaders last week. Business expressed optimism about the recovery and growth of our economy. They committed themselves to a new era of partnership with government. We agreed on key actions we must now take to build on the progress that has already been made.

We cannot rebuild our country unless all South Africans work together. We will continue to work with business, labour and other social partners to drive the structural reform process that will boost inclusive economic growth and jobs.

There is indeed an air of optimism in our country. Let us harness this confidence and goodwill to increase the momentum of our shared efforts to build and strengthen our economy.

Outcome of the National Executive Committee Meeting of the ANC Veterans' League

Issued on behalf of the National Executive Committee of the ANC Veterans' League
by **DR SNUKI ZIKALALA**, President of the ANC Veteran's League

THE ANC National Veterans' League (VL) held a National Executive Committee meeting on 17 – 18 August in the aftermath of the national and provincial elections outcomes and the formation of the Government of National Unity. Our objective was to develop a programme of work for the year ahead driven by the cross-cutting imperative of renewal of the ANC and aligned to the outcomes of the ANC NEC and NEC Lekgotla.

At the centre of the deliberations was the need for the ANC to be at the forefront of delivering services to our people so as to rebuild the confidence of the people of South Africa.

The VL is intent upon strengthening its structures throughout the country. We continue to call upon all members of the ANC who qualify as members of the VL to come forward, continuing their lifelong work in realising the vision of the National Democratic Revolution. Only a strong VL will be capable of implementing a programme of organisational and political work to rebuild and renew the ANC. This is how we will make our influence felt in the ANC, in our communities and in the public discourse.

We were joined in our meeting by

comrade President Thabo Mbeki and ANC NEC member comrade David Makhura, the head of political education. The VL has been working with ANC political education committee, a central pillar to revival and renewal of the ANC. The foundation course for all ANC members has already been approved by the ANC NEC and will be rolled out from 1 September 2024.

The VL discussed the National Dialogue publicly announced by both President Ramaphosa and President Mbeki. We concur with the messages delivered by President Mbeki on the occasion of 30 years of democracy. Firstly, it is false that the last 30 years of our democracy have been disastrous. Secondly, it is imperative that the quality of leadership in the next three decades take our country forward based on principles and practices of good governance. Thirdly, we must collectively act against those forces that have caused so much damage to our country, counter-revolutionaries with no regard for the future of our country and our people.

The forthcoming, inclusive National Dialogue led by President Ramaphosa, as Head of State and in conjunction with key stakeholders that have expressed sup-

port for the dialogue, will be a significant milestone in mapping out what kind of South Africa its people want.

We concluded our meeting, committed to the rebuilding and renewing of the ANC and the Leagues at every level. To take forward renewal, the VL will be taking proposals to the forthcoming special ANC NEC on integrity and membership issues.

We have a deep understanding that we need to do things differently. We will renew or perish. To achieve this requires:

- Enforcing discipline and integrity;
- Strengthening ideological work and political education;
- Tighten membership and recruitment; and
- Dialogue and discourse.

We are determined to be results oriented. We will immediately commence with the establishment of a renewal committee in every province with representation from the ANC, MKLWV and the leagues.

We will work collectively to rebuild the trust of society in the ANC.

We are confident that we will succeed.

WOMEN'S MONTH

FLOWERS OF THE REVOLUTION

■ By **AYANDA DLODLO**

THIS is the one month that all the women of the liberation military wing of the African National Congress – Umkhonto weSizwe – would look forward to every year.

August 9 was the day to celebrate our being, to recognise our selflessness, to emulate the bravery of South African female revolutionaries, the Sandinista women combatants, the Zipra women in the liberation trenches of the Zimbabwean people, the Fapla female combatants of the Angolan liberation war, Rosa Luxemburg of the German Socialist Movement, Nadezhda Krupskaya – Vladimir Lenin's wife, a revolutionary in her own right – and many others of the world that were luminaries in the struggle for the emancipation of the struggling masses of the world and women.

During this time, chances of a visit to the camp by the president of the ANC Comrade Oliver Tambo were great. Even greater were the visits by the MK high command, commander, chief of staff, national commissar or the head of the ANC women's section.

This was the day when we were sure of a wholesome meal with lots of meat and two bottles of the local Angolan beer, Cuca or Nocal.

Those of us who were teetotalers bartered with our booze for that prized ration of baked bread,

some meat, the shining of your boots and your belt – whatever you could barter for.

This was the day that the male soldiers of our revolution treated us to some cultural activity.

No guard duty for the flowers of the revolution, it was a day of sheer bliss under the scorching heat amid the forest and the dense vegetation of the Angolan

landscape.

As we approach the 63rd anniversary of Umkhonto weSizwe, I would like to observe this month on the factory floor, in the classroom, in our lounges and boardrooms, sharing the beautiful stories of those who have been edited out of history, the unsung heroines of our liberation.

These are the women who are



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footnotes of footnotes, as Sandra Cisneros puts it in her quest to unearth Latino heroines.

This is the story of Caroline who was the first female casualty on the eastern front in Angola, in the province of Malanje.

This is the story of the three flowers of our revolution who were ambushed and killed in the Piet Retief massacre (Makhosi Nyoka, Lindiwe Mthembu and Nontsikelelo Cotoza).

The story of Zandi (Phila Ndwandwe) and Priscilla (Sheila Nyanda) who were kidnapped by the enemy in Swaziland; with Zandi subsequently assassinated at Vlakplaas.

The story of Minah (Dipuo Mvelase) and Refiloe (Susana Tshabalala), arrested in Operation Vula.

The story of Florence (Pumla Williams) and Lillan (Eva Gabashane) who were captured while on assignment inside the country; the story of Dr Nomava Shangase who died in an accident in Angola; and Mary (Nomkhosi Mini) who was killed in the Maseru massacre.

This story captures the life of Thandi Modise, Marion Sparg, Helen Pastors, Mpumi Mpopu and a few others I have not mentioned.

JJ died in her teens, Caroline had barely graduated from her teens, and Dr Shangase would have been a treasure to the health sector in a liberated South Africa.

Sadly, I never got to know the real names of both JJ and Caroline. Zandi left her few-months-old baby boy in a car with some-



one when she was kidnapped and killed. Priscilla lived to tell the story of this horrific ordeal. Minah and Refiloe were principled revolutionaries who would fight for the liberation of their people if they had to do it all again.

Tholi (Makhosi Nyoka), who died in the Piet Retief massacre, would still do reconnaissance even if she were sick, just to ensure other units had a safe passage into South Africa from Swaziland.

Pumla would not have refused a command to infiltrate the country for mass political work.

Lillian had all her nails torn from her fingers and toes and the story is not about whether she broke at the hands of the enemy or not; she experienced barbarism second to none.

Our MK, our ANC, our fellow fighters were proud of us. We were few but mighty.

Barely adults and in the spring of our adolescence, these were but some of the many girls from

Soweto, Tumahole, Mdantsane, Sobantu village, Gugulethu, Potchefstroom and other townships who would not and did not spare limb or life for the liberation of our people.

These were the teenagers of yesteryear who responded proudly when the leadership asked, *“who do you serve, comrades”*, and in their shrill military voices answered, *“we serve the people of South Africa”*.

This is the military generation of our armed struggle that carried 25kg base plates on their backs for kilometres on end in a tactics or artillery class.

This is the breed of women who sang *“Dubula ibhunu”* and other liberation songs with commitment and aplomb – as if their world depended on it.

These are the women who traversed the gorges and swamps and springs in the bush of Angola, learning the art of war with bazookas, PKMs, AK 47s, maps and compasses to hone their

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skills for use in their fight against a brutal system of criminality perpetuated against black people.

These are the women who read Marxism, Leninism, the history of other liberation movements, the Volokolomsk Highway and other politically motivating pieces of literature.

“Flowers of the revolution” was a term coined by one of the best leaders this world has ever produced. This was a term of endearment given to the women of MK by the commander-in-chief of MK – Comrade President Oliver Reginald Tambo.

As we celebrate Women’s Day let us bow our heads for the young girls of the 60s, 70s and 80s who sacrificed their childhood and youth for the liberation of all South Africans.

Let us recognise these heroes and heroines whose names are not etched on any monument or heritage infrastructure.

These are women whose names do not appear in history books, who nobody sings about or shouts slogans about or even



mentions in salutation.

This month, as we unburden these sacred and gallant memories, let us do so with humility and grandeur.

This is to all flowers of the revolution – tell your beautiful story to your children. You at least owe it to them.

Long live the memory of our fallen heroines!

***Ayanda Dlodlo** was a member of Umkhonto we Sizwe and a general secretary of the MK Military Veterans Association. She was elected an ANC MP from 2009-2022, served as minister of public service, communications, home affairs and state security. Since 2022, she works at the World Bank.*

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Freedom cannot be achieved unless women have been emancipated from all forms of oppression.”

Nelson Mandela



Women are the future of the ANC

■ By **MZWANDILE MASINA**

THE MONTH of August holds significant meaning in South Africa's history and national calendar. It is a month during which the country commemorates the 1956 women's march to the Union Buildings – a march that was a culmination of many years of women mobilising and organising against the apartheid regime that sought to dehumanise those it had systematically reduced to sub-humans.

Africans in general and Black people in particular, women, queer people and persons with disabilities were particularly dehumanised by the apartheid regime. Women, in particular, were hurled at the margins not only economically and politically, but were also burdened with a history of cultural practices that had colonial logic. This was particularly evident in practices pertaining to land and property access. While this affected all women, Black women in particular, with their history of targeted disenfranchisement, bore the brunt of political and economic exclusion, the vestiges of which can still be gleaned today.

Thus, in commemorating Women's Month, we must reflect on how far we are in redressing gendered injustices of the past in relation to Black women. For us as members of the African National Congress (ANC) it is especially important that in our reflection, we engage in self-introspection.

In the latter years of her life, the Mother of the Nation and former president of the ANC Women's League, Mama Winnie Madikizela-Mandela, was deeply concerned about the state of the ANC and the trajectory of South Africa's democratic project. While she had always been very critical within and outside the ANC, challenging its decisions whenever she believed that they were not in alignment with the aspirations of oppressed people in general and Black people in particular, her criticism of the ANC post-apartheid was particularly poignant.

One of the things that Mama Winnie was especially critical of is the embeddedness of patriarchy within the organisation. There is no question that the ANC fares better than most former national liberation movements when it comes to the

question of gender representation. According to a report published by the Commission for Gender Equality titled *"Balancing the scales: Reviewing developments in women's representation in politics and government between the 2014 and 2019 elections"*, the ANC has historically had the highest representation of women legislators in the provincial legislatures and the National Assembly. Currently, in the 7th parliament, the party also has more women chairpersons than ever before. In addition to this, it has consistently maintained gender representation when it comes to its national, provincial, regional and branch structures. This is reasonable given that women comprise the majority of ANC members and supporters.

But while women do enjoy fair rep-



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representation numerically, an argument can be made that this has not translated in fair representation at the highest level of the organisation, particularly as it relates to the Top 7 national leadership. The ANC, like most former national liberation movements on the African continent, has never had a woman as president. In fact, the organisation has never even elected a woman as deputy president. And though it came dangerously close with having a woman president in former African Union Commission (AUC) chairperson, Dr Nkosazana Dlamini-Zuma, whose presidential campaign enjoyed wide support within the Mass Democratic Movement (MDM) broadly, she ultimately failed to rewrite the organisation's history of male dominance in the presidency.

Many factors contribute to this situation, one of which was characterised by Mama Winnie as a tendency by women themselves to be conveyors of patriarchy. But the bigger issue is that the ANC has not done enough to ingrain it in the

consciousness of its membership that not only are women capable of leading the organisation, but that the very future of the organisation may depend on this advancement and support of women in the highest office.

The common argument that South Africa is not ready to be led by a woman is in stark contrast to the reality that women are already leading critical institutions in the country – and excelling at it. From the private sector to civil society, the labour movement and academia, as well as government, women's leadership has distinguished itself as both capable and progressive. The country currently has a woman Chief Justice, a woman with an unmatched track-record in the judiciary. In comrade Thoko Didiza, the country also has a capable Speaker of the National Assembly with a demonstrated record of competency and hard work.

Women leading in structures of the ANC are also doing exceptional work, combining intellectual

vigour with activism and nurturing traits that women are dominant in women's socialisation. The ANC has highly capable women across generations who have what it takes to strengthen the organisation, especially in this moment where it's facing an existential crisis that has translated in its massive loss of electoral support.

As members of the ANC, it's incumbent upon us to challenge the culture of reserving certain positions within the organisation for men, to the exclusion of women and queer people. It is a disservice to the legacy of an organisation that prides itself on being progressive and non-sexist. Intersectionality cannot continue to end at analysis, but must extend to the efforts that we make in righting the historical wrong of hurling women and queer people at the margins. This is the true test of our commitment to gender parity, epistemic justice and redress.

Mzwandile Masina is a member of the National Executive Committee of the ANC.

A UNITED FRONT AGAINST CORRUPTION IN MEMORY OF ALBERTINA SISULU

■ By **CHINA DODOVU**

NOTING the state of our nation today, it will not only be a travesty of justice but also a remiss of massive proportions if we forget that this week on the 20th of August in 1983, we marked the 41st anniversary since the formation of the mighty United Democratic Front (UDF), an organisation which stood the test of time to resist the apartheid system and propelled our struggles to the majestic heights of glory and success.

Undoubtedly, since then, the day has been properly recorded in our annals of history. In order to avoid that its heritage be hijacked by some political opportunists like they did with our glorious people's army Umkhonto we Sizwe, the day must be celebrated annually.

As we celebrate the Women's Month this year, it is befitting to singularly pay homage to Nontsikelelo Albertina Sisulu – a nurse, a political activist, a prominent anti-apartheid leader, the founding President of UDF and the mother of our nation.

As a young political activist of the Jouberton Youth Congress (JOYCO) in Klerksdorp during the height of the resistance struggle against apartheid rule in the 1980s, I was taught that in September 1918 the Spanish flu, a strain of the influenza virus killed 40 million people worldwide and in South Africa, it killed over 30 000 people in the Transkei (Eastern Cape province).



During the same year of the Spanish flu, Monica Thethiwe (née, Mnyila), caught the virus and was seriously ill whilst pregnant with her daughter Nontsikelelo. “*Umbathalala*”, as the Spanish flu was called in isiXhosa, was lethal to pregnant women and small babies. However, baby Nontsikelelo was born perfectly healthy on 21 October 1918. She would later become a nurse, the President of the UDF and married to Walter Sisulu, a doyen of our liberation struggle.

Albertina Sisulu, who together with many other notable leaders like Archie Gumede, Frank Chikane, Victoria Mxenge, Rev Makhenkhe-

si Stofile, Dr Allan Boesak, James Issel, Trevor Manuel, Popo Molefe, Terror Lekota, Valli Moosa, Bushy Maape, Darkey Afrika and Jomo Khasu steered UDF through very difficult moments of our liberation struggle.

With the slogan “UDF Unites, Apartheid Divide”, UDF was a major front for the ANC in the 1980s. It was a non-racial coalition of about 500 civic, church, students’, workers’ and other organisations initially to fight the new Tricameral Parliament. Also, UDF continued to fight for the establishment of a non-racial, democratic and united South Africa in which segregation is abolished and

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South African society is freed from institutional and systematic racism.

The 20th of August brings the good memories of UDF especially its charismatic leader, Nontsikelelo Albertina Sisulu. When the hit was hot, during the most difficult moments of our struggle, Albertina Sisulu rose to the occasion and led the people of South Africa.

We should forever be indebted to her and many other leaders of the time for militantly confronting the apartheid's ruthless machinery and to articulate the views and aspirations of the black majority in the absence of the banned ANC.

As we remember Albertina Sisulu, we note that the ANC, the movement that she sacrificed all her life for, is at a tipping point after it lost elections for the first time after 1994. Today, the ANC is riddled with all the wrong and alien tendencies of institutionalized factionalism, crippling divisions, spiraling ill-discipline, despicable arrogance and inexplicable denialism.

Unfortunately, her movement has steered off-course and is like a sinking ship in stormy waters and in is deep trouble. Unless the ANC changes course, it is inevitably headed for a calamity of unprecedented proportions.

Albertina Sisulu taught us that in times such as these we must refuse to comment from the safety of our sidelines and never be driven by fears of reprisals and victimization for speaking against corruption. In fact, she taught us that we must expose and deal with the issues which trouble our society irrespective of who is involved.

I therefore rise to express my umbrage at the pervasive silence, prevarication and lack of urgent and

serious practical concomitant action to deal with corruption. In fact, it is absurd and preposterous to bury our heads in the sand in the midst of this scandalous cancer.

The ubiquity of corruption today especially within the ranks of our movement as exposed in the Zondo Commission of Inquiry inescapably invites social scrutiny and commentary because it goes contrary to the moral rectitude of the society that Albertina Sisulu envisaged.

Corruption cannot be a no-go area because its perpetrators are powerful, politically connected and are feared for their savagery and cruelty. The fear of speaking out against corruption is detrimental and injurious to the society as a whole. If corruption remains unattended, it will be a virus that mutates and ultimately destroys the very social fabric of the society that Albertina Sisulu embraced.

While South Africa is not yet suffering from terminal illness of corruption, a sort of creeping paralysis afflicting it could soon become terminal unless it is treated with utmost urgency.

The country suffers from a serious infection and something has ruptured and is leaking infected fluid throughout its anatomy. This infection of corruption and greed, worsened by a predatory elitism which has a wrong conception of morality and accountability must be addressed otherwise it will degenerate further and destroy our country.

I have no doubt that if Albertina Sisulu was around, she would equate the monstrosity of corruption to the betrayal of the strategic objectives of our revolution. Because corruption is a scourge that wreaks havoc and destroys the very fabric of society, it should be frowned upon

by genuine patriots who love their country as Albertina Sisulu would have.

Unlike the staff-riders who climb the step-ladder at the expense of those who paid the supreme price to liberate us, Albertina Sisulu remains our true liberator. When she chose to fight and raise her opposition to the apartheid system, she understood she was choosing the inconvenience of venturing out without a shield and stepping into a minefield. But she did it with distinction.

By fighting the apartheid system like she did, she became part of a generation which acquired an almost mythic status because its struggles were too risky. Her comrades knew that they were soldiers involved in a "just war" to liberate South Africa from the minority apartheid government, an ideal for which they were prepared to die.

Let us honour Albertina Sisulu and her generation because many of them lived a modest life, preferring to avoid the ostentation of material acquisitions and related luxuries of life. Unlike the current generation, they put little store in the importance of position and power, preferring to focus on the values and worth of the individual.

At this hour of destiny, the trumpets are summoning us to put our hands on deck to emulate the exemplary leadership of Albertina Sisulu. The words she uttered must reverberate and echo nothing but wisdom and everlasting knowledge that call us to action.

I say Long Live Nontsikelelo Albertina Sisulu! Mama, you continue to serve as a role model and inspiration which many should strive to emulate especially your virtues, your character and your exemplary leadership.



A STRATEGIC RETREAT BY THE ANC TO ADVANCE ITS CAUSE

■ By **MMAMOLOKO NKHENSANI KUBAYI**

SINCE the formation of the government of national unity (GNU) the question frequently asked within the broader liberation movement is whether, by cooperating with the DA, the ANC has abandoned its historical mission. Though the GNU has been undergirded by an agreed-upon minimum programme of action that has put South Africans at the centre, the genesis of this question lies in the distrust that characterises how the liberation movement has historically perceived and experienced the DA. That the DA has organised and positioned itself historically as a champion of the interests of the white minority, especially capital, is an inescapable truism. That is to say, the distrust that still permeates within the ranks of the liberation movement about the intentions of the DA is not unfounded.

A cursory look at the history of liberation movements reveals that the ANC is not the first liberation movement that has suffered the misfortune of implementing a strategic retreat to advance its cause. In our case, forming the GNU with the inclusion of the DA can be characterised as a strategic retreat. To contextualise this phase of the revolution, we can draw lessons from the communist parties of the Soviet Union and China, who, at different times, were forced to form alliances with their opponents.

When the communists in China decided that Japanese imperialism was a more significant threat to Chinese society than the reactionary nationalists, they allied with their political opponents, the Kuomintang, to resist Japanese imperialism. In his famous pamphlet titled **“On Contradiction”**,

Mao Zedong had the following to say about the alliance with the Kuomintang:

“As for the Communist Party, it has always, in every period, stood with the great masses of the people against imperialism and feudalism, but in the present period of the anti-Japanese war, it has adopted a moderate policy towards the Kuomintang and the domestic feudal forces because the Kuomintang has pressed itself in favour of resisting Japan. The above circumstances have resulted now in alliance between the two parties and now in struggle between them, and even during the periods of alliance there has been a complicated state of simultaneous alliance and struggle. If we do not study the particular features of both aspects of the contradiction, we shall fail to understand not only the relations of each party with

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the other forces, but also the relations between the two parties.”

In the same pamphlet, Mao explains the importance of distinguishing between the principal and secondary contradictions. This distinction is necessary to determine the alliances required to resolve the primary contradiction.

Before Mao, Vladimir Lenin, in 1921, had to wrestle with the same question. The communists in the newly formed Soviet Union had suffered a severe defeat on the economic front, which compelled them to concede working with their strategic enemy, the capitalists, to rebuild the Soviet Union's economy, thus adopting the New Economic Policy (NEP). About the NEP, which was regarded as a strategic retreat, Lenin had this to say:

“If Communists deliberately examine the question of the New Economic Policy there cannot be the slightest doubt in their minds that we have sustained a very severe defeat on the economic front. In the circumstances it is inevitable, of course, for some people to become very despondent, almost panic-stricken, and because of the retreat, these people will begin to give way to panic. That is inevitable.”

Similarly, suppose comrades within the broad liberation movement deliberately examine the question from an electoral outcome perspective. In that case, there cannot be the slightest doubt in their minds that we, the ANC, have sustained a severe political defeat. This has given way to despondency and panic within the liberation ranks.

Lenin understood the retreat as an opportunity for the commu-



THE ANC WELCOMES THE GNU CABINET

Let's work together and unite our country towards a future of integrity, transformation, growth and prosperity. Together, we build a brighter tomorrow.



LET'S DO MORE, TOGETHER.



Issued by the ANC Chief Albert Luthuli House, HQ

nists to reorganise and strengthen their capacity to advance the revolution further.

The communist parties in the Soviet Union and China formed alliances with their ideological opponents to tackle a primary challenge they both agreed needed their opponents to defeat. These examples demonstrate that entering a coalition with political opponents for a specific purpose is not anathema to carrying out a revolution. What Lenin teaches us is that our electoral loss must not cause us to give way to panic and despondency, because that will accelerate our demise.

Responding to the electoral decline, the ANC led the initiative to design the GNU, which required parties that wanted to participate to agree on a minimum programme of action, which was codified in the GNU's statement of intent.

It is incontestable that, in our case, in this phase of our revolution, the primary contradiction facing our movement and the masses of our people is the resolution of the triple challenges of poverty, unemployment and inequality. For this reason, the minimum programme of action places inclusive economic growth at the apex of its agenda. By pressing itself in favour of resolving these challenges facing our country, the DA joined the GNU led by the ANC. The ANC is under no illusion that by agreeing to be part of the GNU, the DA has ceased to be its political and ideological opponent.

The most pertinent question about the GNU is: who will emerge victorious? Does the ANC have the political capital to exercise hegemony over its opponents within the GNU?

Some among us have already reached a far reaching conclu-

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sion that the ANC does not have the political capital to hold its own within the GNU; therefore, they think the DA will dominate it. This is despite the fact that the ANC led the process of structuring the GNU and no demonstrable evidence can be adduced, except through hyperbole, to support the assertion that, by virtue of including the DA in the GNU, progressive positions the ANC adopted over many years have been abandoned.

The foremost issue in approaching the formation of the GNU for the ANC leadership was to design a political mechanism that would produce the desired political, economic and social outcomes. More specifically, resolving the primary contradiction took precedence in the design of the form and content of the GNU. Admittedly, decisions of this nature are made under limited or incomplete information conditions. Therefore, to use the important work of the economic Nobel prize winner Herbert Simon, the participants' unknown intentions and the limited computational capacity to calculate the consequences of each political permutation leads to bounded or limited rationality, which requires us to exercise disciplined political readiness. Disciplined political readiness, however, is even more necessary because the GNU was made with the benefit of hindsight and available information about coalitions at the local government level, which have been riddled with instability and dysfunction.

Both Lenin and Mao emphasised the importance of sharpening the tools of analysis to examine objective reality at every stage of the revolution. Emerging as a victor and shifting the balance of forces in favour of the progres-

sive movement depends on correctly analysing the nature of the strategic retreat and developing the correct strategy and tactics to advance the revolution further.

The ANC is not deluded into thinking that cooperation with the DA will not have its struggles and setbacks. The co-operation with the DA can be characterised by what Mao calls “*simultaneous alliance and struggle*”. This means that though there will be co-operation with the DA in the implementation of the GNU's agreed programme, the struggles emanating from sharp ideological differences between the ANC and DA will continue.

By adopting the renewal programme, the ANC admitted that it needs to reorganise itself in terms of both its systems and its cadres to strengthen its capacity to discharge its responsibilities. The success of the renewal programme will be a significant de-

terminant factor on whether the ANC emerges victorious from the GNU arrangement.

Vigilance, agility and unity of purpose are the necessary traits, among others, without which the ANC will not emerge a victor in the GNU.

A weakened and disunited ANC is in danger of accelerating its own demise. Without renewal, the ANC cannot resist its opponents' attempts to precipitate a rupture within it.

By entering into a GNU arrangement, the ANC has not forgotten its political tasks to renew, strengthen itself and unite all progressive forces within the broad liberation movement to continue advancing the national democratic revolution.

Mmamoloko Nkhensani Kubayi is an ANC NEC and NWC member.

RESULTS
2024 National and Provincial Elections

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YOUR DEMOCRACY OWN IT IEG

CAN THE ANC AVOID THE INDIAN CONGRESS PATH TO DEFEAT?

■ By **EBRAHIM RASOOL**

AFTER the African National Congress (ANC) in 2021 essentially lost much of its urban base, I addressed a Khayelitsha Cadres Forum to answer the essential question: Is the ANC in an existential crisis? Is the decline permanent and terminal? Can it be turned around?

I thought it may be useful to share a summary of my input then, given the ANC's further erosion to 40% of the vote, forced into a Government of National Unity with unlikely partners, and now needing to make sense of those same questions, albeit 3 to 7 years too late.

In sharing this, I believe it can infuse our ongoing discourse on Strategy and Statecraft. The ANC confronts a series of crises, potentially amounting to an existential crisis that threatens its very relevance and even existence. It may be stuck in its own bubble at the expense of the strategic responsibility to understand the verdict of the electorate so as to arrest its downward trajectory and plan strategically for recovery.

History presents a liberation movement comparable to the ANC in history and trajectory, old-



er than the ANC, and one that inspired us with leaders and strategies but eventually is suffering death by suicide.

The Indian National Congress (INC), founded in 1885, was the first modern, anti-colonial, nationalist movement to unite Indians across class (caste), religion and geography to confront the British Empire.

Its relationship with South Africa is legendary, and despite critical differences with the ANC, tracing the shifts in the INC trajectory

over 140 years may hold important lessons for the ANC in SA.

I have identified five phases over this time and highlighted them so that ANC cadres themselves can learn lessons from the INC.

Like the ANC's history, The Anti-Colonial Phase 1 (1885–1947) is characterised by an imaginative and heroic struggle for independence, with unity across historical fault lines, and held together by the Indian Congress as the “*Party of Consensus*” (like the ANC's ‘*Broad Church*’).

ANC President Cyril Ramaphosa addressing community members during the 2024 elections campaign



While having ups and downs, it ultimately prevailed and gained independence in 1947, with the difficult birth pangs of a colonial scorched earth and subsequent devastating partitions.

Despite the scorched earth it inherited, Phase 2 (1947–1984) was one of post-independence Congress Dominance characterised by its electoral victories and, as a “*Network of Factions*”, the Indian Congress was able to prevail at National and Regional levels, with the period 1950–1967 described as one of “*dominance, co-existing with competition, without a trace of alternation*”. “*Alternation*” could easily be substituted with “*Alternative*”, since there was no alternative, even if governance was inefficient, poverty and hunger were persistent, and services unequal. This may be akin to the ANC’s initial period of dominance.

Phase 3 (1977–1980) is seen as An Interruption with a Warning emerging out of the severe socio-economic challenges which

became political-security ones. An unresponsive and tone-deaf INC had Indira Gandhi institute a State of Emergency in 1975, that enraged the populace and energised organised India into a unified coalition to save democracy.

This Coalition, in 1977, defeated the INC in an election and replaced it as government, until the Coalition collapsed under its own weakness. Congress’ response to this electoral warning of 1977 was to undertake to fight corruption, improve governance, heal the party, and return to the original values of Congress. On this basis, Congress was given a second chance in 1980, seemingly chastened by the 1977 message from voters.

The ANC could well reflect whether the warnings of the 2015 corruption exposés, the 2016 loss of crucial metros, the decline in the 2019 general election, or the insurrection in July 2021 have been met with the same squandering of a second chance despite its platitudes – as well as its

current relegation to 40%.

Phase 4 is The Decade of Decline (1984–1996) because the electoral trajectory showed a consistent decline in popular support for Congress: 1984 – 49%; 1989 – 40%; 1991 – 36% and 1996 – 29%.

While it remained the leader in government, it did so as a majority of minorities as the biggest minority. Its decline coincided with the rise of regional ‘*strong-men*’ and interests who increasingly dictated terms and undermined core values. The INC benefitted from the absence of a credible, strong alternative to challenge it, and therefore, its voters increasingly went into transition: it stayed away from voting, waiting either for the moral-political revival of Congress or for a credible alternative – whichever would come first.

Since 1996 the Final Phase 5 saw The Rise of the Rest and the Eclipse of Congress, as the opposition to Congress increasingly

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cohered, starting at regional level, and then mounting a serious national challenge.

Increasingly, the BJP (now led by Modi) became increasingly dominant, with an electoral and political formula based on populism, identity politics, and a rightward economic shift punctuated by conflicts. Again, the ANC can reflect on whether its alternatives remain incoherent, whether our politics is immune to corruption (RET inside and MKP outside the ANC), the allure of populism (the EFF) and identity politics (the PA), and whether a rightward shift (to the DA) will gain the plaudits for economic recovery.

These phases in the trajectory of the Indian Congress can have crucial lessons for the ANC, especially the reasons for Congress' decline, as stated in surveys conducted in India:

- **Out of Step with New Age Politics of Performance** – over-reliance on loyalty OF the base rather than performance FOR the base;
- **Preference of Seniority and Dynasty over Talent** – the politics of names, generations and rewards for donations;
- **Arrogance Towards Allies and Party Workers** – a utilitarian approach to civil and social partners;
- **Missing Connect with Youth** – with a predominantly young electorate, there was an imbalance in the politics of representation OF youth (Congress) and delivery FOR youth (Modi); and
- **Commissions Collected for Mega Contracts** – a long name for State Capture and Corruption.

The uncanny resemblance to the ANC certainly points to an

existential crisis. The ANC has, through its history, faced many single crises, but not 5 mutually reinforcing crises that threaten the relevance and existence of the ANC, if not arrested. The current ELECTORAL crisis could reduce the ANC to a rural party. The ANC's ORGANIZATIONAL crisis sees it riddled with factional interests and gatekeepers skilled in membership manipulation.

The ANC has a POLITICAL crisis and is no longer the sole master of strategy over the NDR, and the debate is mostly about right and wrong, not right and left. The ANC has an IDEOLOGICAL crisis, no longer about socialism and the mixed economy, because those debates have been instrumentalised for populist and corrupt agendas; and now the ANC is in a MORAL crisis because it is seen as harbouring the corrupt, the captured, the greedy, the incompetent and the unscrupulous.

These crises are aggregating into an existential one because the ANC cannot win with coalitions

what is lost on the ground, in the hearts of people, and in the trust of the nation. Coalitions merely, but necessarily, provide sufficient traction from which to claw back to rectitude if the ANC can embrace PRINCIPLED – STRATEGIC leadership in a time of crisis.

The overarching question is how to think and act out of the crises and prevent the existential crisis where the objectives must be to purify the ANC of greed and excessive ambition; to renew the organisation through a purifying combination of “re-peopling” membership and leadership (redeem the redeemable, remove the incorrigible, and reinforce the ethical people) and re-orienting away from the politics of *u-Mona* (jealousy, rivalry, envy).

Otherwise, it will walk the suicidal path of the INC in India, oblivious to the warnings, squandering second chances, prioritising party unity over national well-being, tone deaf and unresponsive, trapped in its own WhatsApp Group.

ANC PRESIDENT CDE CYRIL RAMAPHOSA

“We will emerge from this setback, if we are united, and not cynical or defeatist.”



OUR DEMOCRACY AND NATION BUILDING

The Philosophical and Ideological Fabric of the Government of National Unity, its Contribution to the Struggles for the Freedom of All Humanity

■ By **AMBASSADOR PHATSE JUSTICE PIITSO**

THE intellectual scope on the formulation of the theoretical thesis, about the formation of the Government of National Unity, spawned a nightmare of intense debate across the political and socio economic spectrum in South Africa. The fiercest polemics of predilection on the form and content of the Government of National Unity symbolized the Berlin Wall which came to represent the ideological divisions of the Cold War era.

The political conundrum brings to the fore the fundamental historic question of the necessity of a revolutionary change of society, from one social order to the other. The dilemma is that most of the writings and manuscripts of renowned scholars and historians elucidate the tales of bourgeois democratic revolutions such as the Dutch revolt, English Civil war, French Revolution, Meiji restoration of Japan, and less about epochal working class revolutions such as the slave revolts of the Palmares of Brazil, Haitian revolution, Bambata rebellion, Great October revolution, the Vietnam war and the battle of Cuito Cuanavale.

The difficulty is that they transliterate history, cognisant of the fact



that the struggles for the development of human society was never about the chapters of history as they overlap, but about the complex material conditions of the universe; the diverse phenomenon of nature and its relationship with mankind. The fundamental question was never about bourgeois revolution or the working class revolution, but the universal progress and greater freedom for humanity.

In his authoritative thesis of the German Ideology and the Poverty and Philosophy, Karl Marx gives a fascinating erudition on the philosophical and ideological question of the necessity of our struggles for the freedom of all humanity. He argues that “*the English revolution of 1648 and the French revolution of 1789,*

were not just English or French revolutions, they did not represent the victory of a particular class, or section of society, but they proclaimed a political order of a new European society.”

The fundamental question of the freedom of all humanity, the freedom of society, was never homogeneous, but a complex contested ideological terrain by intellectual forces of bourgeoisie and working class revolutions. This requires of us a deeper analysis and understanding of the history of the evolution of human society, from the ages of the hunters, the shepherds, agriculture and commerce.

I am breeding the theoretical exposition, for simple reasoning, that it is never enough to throw

stones and call it by its name, but to understand the pro's and cons of the phenomenon, its strength and weakness, its mould, analysing concrete material conditions of the time, strategy and tactics, how to crystallize the intellectual milieu of the epoch. Revolutionaries are the first to appreciate that our theory is not a horoscope of the history of the development of human society.

Even during his first years in exile, the leader of the Great October Socialist revolution, Vladimir Lenin, was fascinated by the shining lights of the cities of Finland and Switzerland. From conditions of backwardness of the feudal Russia, he was impressed by the development of capitalism in Europe. This is the antithesis of the falsehood that revisionists hold, as if the bourgeois revolutions did not shape the political and socio economic architecture of the contemporary world.

During his address to the plenary of the special National Congress of the Congolese Party of Labour held in Brazzaville, Marien N'Gouabi said the following profound words:

"Now the confusion was resolved, revolution means one class overthrowing another and assuming power, but it also means that revolutionary change is a long process. In the People's Republic of Congo we shall have to resolve the main contradiction between the people and imperialism, before we can advance to the next stage, socialism.

The revolution is democratic because it replaces minority rule and because it draws its support from the masses. It is a People's revolution because it is attempting to create the foundations for



the next stage, the socialist revolution, and is preparing all the prerequisites for this by mobilising the masses under the banner of the proletariat and its vanguard the Congolese Party of Labour".

The raging debate on the theoretical foundations of the Government of National Unity takes the centre stage thirty years after the triumph of our democratic breakthrough, built on a firm foundation of the spirit of reconciliation, reaching a consensus, to form a government of National Unity. This was an unprecedented outcome, resultant from the overwhelming support our national liberation movement enjoyed during our first national general elections.

For the past thirty years of our democratic dispensation, our national liberation movement has been at the forefront of leading the project of national democratic revolution, of the reconstruction and development of our country,

with the objectives of building a non-racial, non-sexist, democratic and prosperous society. Out revolution is in essence a national, democratic, bourgeois revolution in character.

It is national because its strategic objectives is to build a non racial, non sexist, democratic and prosperous society. It is democratic because it seeks to build a new democratic society based on the will of the majority of our people. It is bourgeois because the system wherein it exists fosters the capitalist mode of production and property relations. It is revolutionary because it seeks to transform the socio economic commanding heights, in favour of the majority of the people of our country.

The fundamental question is not to ask ourselves why the ANC entered into a Government of National Unity with parties like the Democratic Alliance and the Freedom Front or Inkatha Freedom Party and ActionSA and

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other parties at the National, Provincial and Regional levels, but the overarching compelling factors which led to our dismal performance during the recent national general elections. This is the pertinent question we have to ask ourselves in a more robust, honest and frank manner, without fear of contradiction. The issue is the overarching compelling factors which led to our dismal performance during the recent national general elections. This is the pertinent question we have to ask ourselves in a more robust, honest and frank manner, without any fear of contradiction.

We have to ask ourselves this hard question, in order to give a critical appraisal of our strength and weaknesses, to find ways and means of improving on the weakness of the state of the affairs of our movement, its leadership and organisational structures. Taking stock of both the subjective and the objective factors of the time, the ANC is presently at its weakest stage.

We need to restore the confidence of our people that the ANC remains to be the only political party with the capacity to carry their wishes and aspirations of a better life, by ensuring that we accelerate socio economic transformation, fighting crime and abuse of women and children and confronting the high level perceptions of corruption, including the inability of our public representatives to serve in the best interest of our people.

We must ask ourselves difficult questions why the Communist Party has lost its strategic thrust as the vanguard party of the struggles of the working class and the poor, what has debauched its revolutionary discipline, theory

and leadership. The unity and the renewal of the SACP as the glue that holds the revolution together and a vanguard led by the most advanced elements in society is of historic importance.

The political fragmentation and disintegration of the largest Trade Union movement COSATU is a sad story in the history of the struggles of our people. We need to find ways of rejuvenating the giant organisation of the working class, building on the momentum of the unity of all the organised working class formations in the country. The unity of the working class is the unity of our national democratic revolution.

How do we strengthen the South African National Civic Organisation and other progressive civil society formations, youth and women organisations? How do we recommit ourselves to the moral regeneration of society; how do we foster nation building and formation, accelerating socio economic transformation and therefore, the solid foundation of

our democratic society.

My view is that based on the analysis of the balance of forces in our country, the continent and the world, the Government of National Unity is not out of our own making, but the product of the struggles of our people for a better life, for a better future, the future of our ideal democratic and prosperous society. It is a product imposed by the realities of the South African situation, and a new stage of our struggle for the declaration of our fourth republic.

We contribute to this debate highly inspired by the revolutionary notion that ideas, thoughts, concepts produced, determine and dominate women and men, their material conditions and real life. The task before all of us is the unity and renewal of our movement and the revolution.

Ambassador Phatse Justice Piitso is a member of the African National Congress. He writes in his personal capacity

“

Many are the difficulties I foresee in our way – enemies without, fierce and frank; dangers within, undersigned perhaps, but still more harmful. It will be an uphill fight, but our watchword shall be ‘Excelsior!’ – onward, higher; cautiously, ploddingly!”

—
**Rev. John Dube, President of SANNC,
 February 1912**

Analysis of South Africa's AI Strategy Compared to International AI Strategies

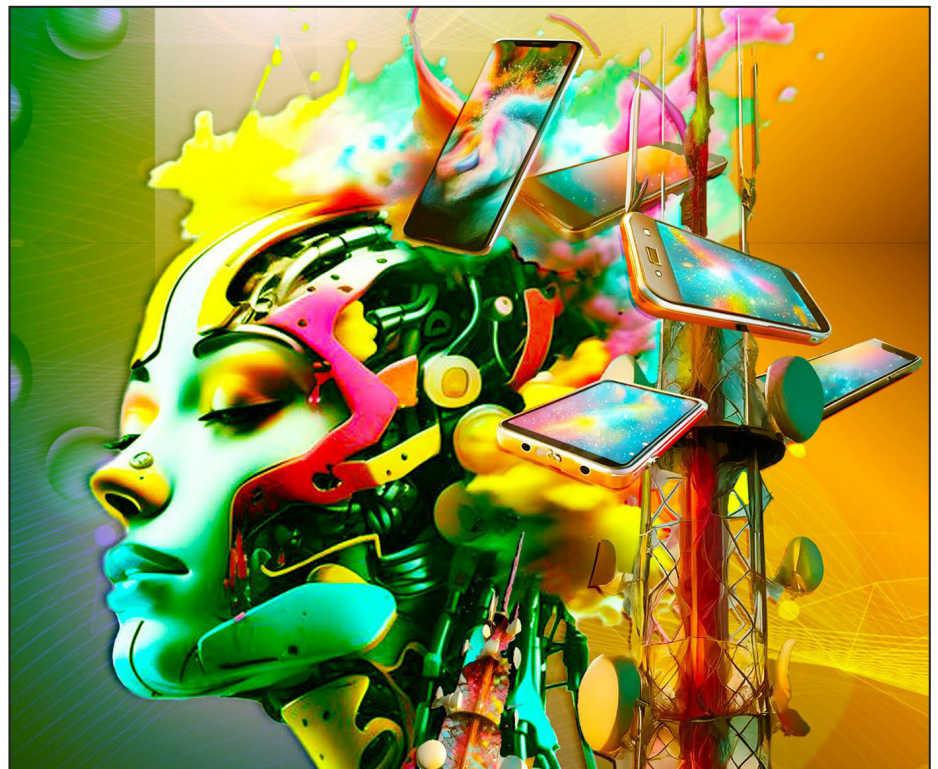
■ By **FAIEZ JACOBS**

SOUTH Africa's AI strategy, detailed in the National AI Government Summit Discussion Document* prepared by Department of Communications and Digital Technologies in October 2023 aims to harness AI for social and economic development. This analysis compares South Africa's approach with those of the European Union (EU), the United States (USA), and China, offering insights into how South Africa can align with global best practices.

Core Strengths of South Africa's AI Strategy

Inclusivity and Socio-economic Focus: South Africa's AI strategy is designed to address socio-economic disparities, in line with the National Development Plan (NDP) 2030. It aims to mitigate AI's potential negative impacts on employment while enhancing productivity in critical sectors like mining, manufacturing, and healthcare.

Ethical Considerations: The strategy emphasizes ethical AI adoption, focusing on transparency, accountability, and fairness.



This mirrors the EU's approach to ethical AI, aiming to protect human rights and prevent harm.

Localization and Capacity Building: The strategy emphasizes localized AI applications through AI sandboxes and the establishment of AI Institutes and Hubs. This approach seeks to develop local talent and create an AI-skilled workforce, aligning with global capacity-building ef-

orts but with a stronger focus on addressing local needs.

Comparison with EU, USA, and China AI Strategies

European Union: Ethics and Regulation: The EU is a leader in AI regulation, with initiatives like the EU AI Act that focus on ethical AI deployment, data protection, and governance. South

* To access it https://www.dcdt.gov.za/images/phocadownload/AI_Government_Summit/National_AI_Government_Summit_Discussion_Document.pdf



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Africa’s strategy reflects these concerns but would benefit from a more detailed regulatory framework similar to the EU’s.

Investment and Innovation: The EU invests heavily in AI research and innovation through frameworks like Horizon Europe. South Africa could strengthen its AI impact by establishing similar investment channels and R&D support mechanisms.

United States: Private Sector-Led Innovation: The USA’s AI strategy emphasizes innovation led by the private sector, supported by government investment in fundamental research. South Africa could further empower private sector-led AI initiatives to stimulate innovation and economic growth.

Military and National Security: AI in the USA is also a strategic tool for national security. South Africa’s strategy mentions the global militarization of AI but does not emphasize this aspect. South Africa might consider how AI can support its national security interests more explicitly.

China – State-Led AI Development: China’s AI strategy is characterized by strong state-led initiatives, significant investments, and a focus on becoming a global leader in AI by 2030. South Africa could learn from China’s aggressive investment in AI infrastructure and talent development.

Global AI Leadership: China uses AI as a tool for global influence. South Africa’s strategy, while focused on national interests, could benefit from a more assertive stance on AI leadership within Africa, promoting continental collaboration.

Broad Recommendations for South Africa:

Regulatory Framework: Adopt a more detailed AI regulatory framework similar to the EU’s AI Act. This should include AI-specific laws covering transparency, accountability, ethical use, and clear penalties for non-compliance.

Investment in R&D: Enhance investment in AI research and development by creating dedicated AI funds or incentivizing private-sector R&D through tax breaks or grants, as seen in the USA and EU.

Continental Leadership: Position South Africa as a leader in AI within Africa by fostering collabora-

tions with other African nations and international partners, similar to China’s approach.

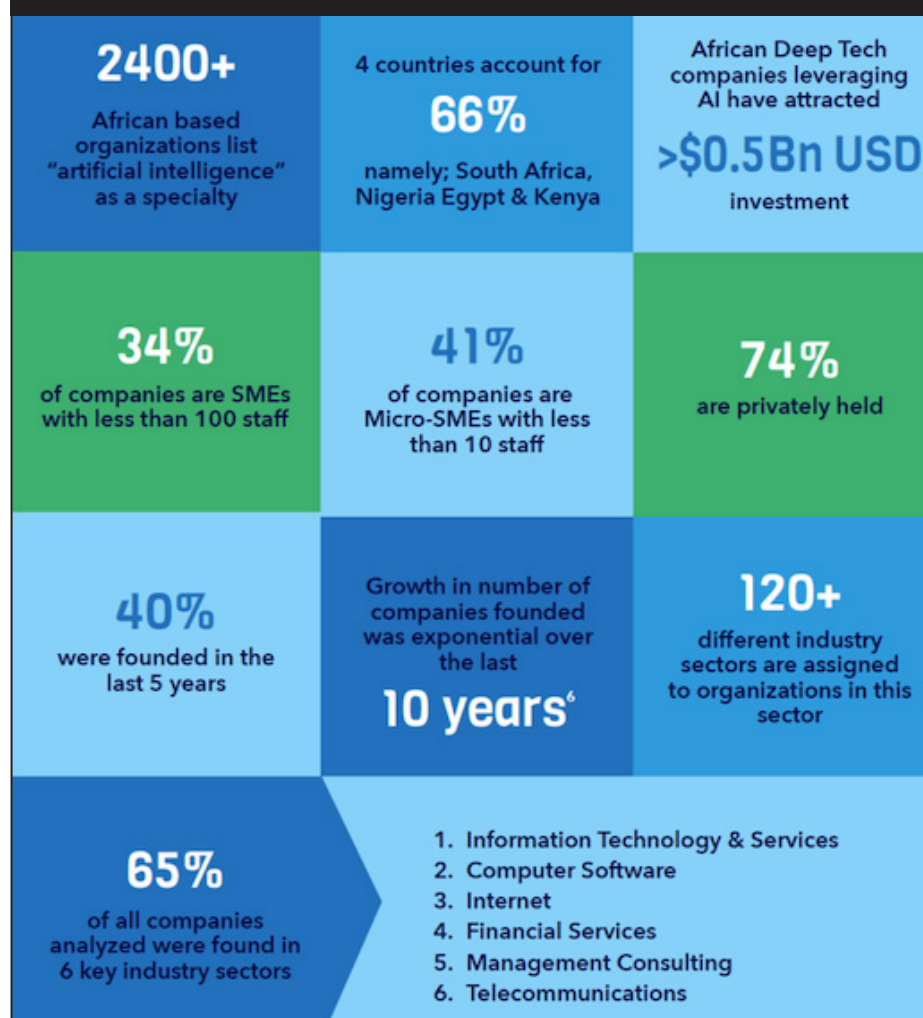
Focus on Strategic Sectors: Emphasize emerging sectors such as AI in agriculture and fintech, where South Africa could lead in the Global South.

Next Steps for South Africa’s AI Strategy:

Develop and Implement a Robust Regulatory Framework: Draft and implement AI-specific legislation focusing on transparency, accountability, ethical use, and data protection.

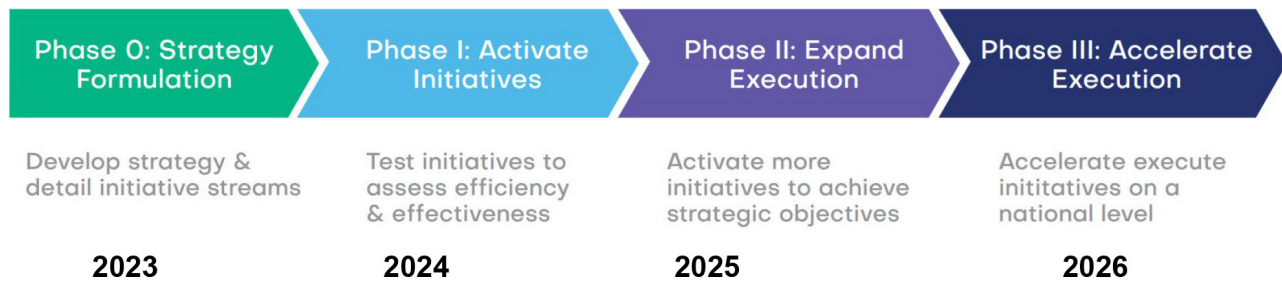
Establish a national AI ethics board to oversee implementa-

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A national AI Plan Mapping Steps



tion and ensure compliance with international standards.

Enhance Investment in AI Research and Development: Create a national AI investment fund to support start-ups, research institutions, and public-private partnerships. Foster public-private partnerships to drive innovation in sectors where South Africa has competitive advantages.

Build AI Infrastructure and Capacity: Invest in AI infrastructure, including high-performance computing, data centres, and 5G networks.

Launch large-scale AI education and training programmes: To build a skilled workforce, focusing on STEM subjects (Science, Technology, Engineering and Mathematics).

Promote AI Adoption Across Key Sectors: Develop sector-specific AI adoption strategies, particularly in agriculture, manufacturing, healthcare, and education.

Implement AI-driven solutions within government operations: To improve efficiency and service delivery.

Foster Regional and Continental AI Collaboration: Position South Africa as a leader in AI within Africa by spearheading initiatives like the African AI Insti-

tute. Work with the African Union and other regional bodies to develop a continental AI framework.

Establish AI Innovation Hubs and Sandboxes: Expand AI innovation hubs across the country, particularly in underserved regions, to support local innovation. Create regulatory sandboxes for testing AI technologies in a controlled environment.

Monitor and Evaluate AI Strategy Implementation: Develop key performance indicators (KPIs) to measure the success of the AI strategy. Conduct regular reviews to ensure the strategy remains relevant and effective.

Public Awareness and Engagement: Launch AI literacy campaigns to raise public awareness of AI's benefits and risks. Engage with a broad range of stakeholders to build consensus on AI policy and implementation.

Focus on Sustainable and Inclusive AI: Ensure AI initiatives contribute to sustainability goals, such as reducing carbon emissions and promoting clean energy.

Prioritize AI projects that address social and economic inequalities.

International Cooperation and Benchmarking: Strengthen international partnerships with leading AI nations and institutions.

Continuously benchmark South Africa's AI strategy against those of leading countries.

AI Investment Strategies for Catalytic Growth

Public-Private Partnership Investment Funds: Establish government-backed AI investment funds to provide seed funding for startups and emerging companies. Create matching fund programmes where the government matches private investments in AI ventures.

AI-Specific Venture Capital and Private Equity: Encourage the establishment of venture capital funds dedicated to AI technologies. Promote private equity investments in scaling AI companies.

Tax and Financial Incentives: Offer R&D tax credits and accelerated depreciation on AI-related capital investments. Provide financial incentives to encourage AI innovation.

Investment in AI Infrastructure: Invest in national AI infrastructure, including high-performance computing, cloud storage, and 5G networks.

AI Innovation Hubs and Clusters: Develop regional AI innovation hubs and technology parks. Encourage the formation of AI

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clusters to promote collaboration and innovation.

Investment in AI Talent Development: Fund scholarships and fellowships for students and researchers specializing in AI. Support corporate training programmes to upskill the existing workforce.

Support for AI Startups: Establish AI incubators and accelerators. Provide non-dilutive grant funding for AI startups.

Incentivizing AI Adoption Across Industries: Offer grants or subsidies for companies in traditional industries to adopt AI technologies. Fund pilot projects to demonstrate the value of AI.

International Collaboration and Investment: Encourage international AI firms to establish a presence in South Africa through tax incentives and grants. Invest



in collaborative research initiatives with leading global AI institutions.

Creation of a National AI Development Fund: Establish a national AI development fund focused on strategic areas like healthcare and smart cities.

Promotion of AI-Driven Startups through Public Procurement: Use government procurement to support AI startups.

Crowdfunding and Public Investment Platforms: Develop AI crowdfunding platforms. Encourage equity crowdfunding for AI ventures.

Sustainable and Impact Investing in AI: Promote investments in AI projects that contribute to sustainability and social impact goals.

Monitoring and Evaluation of AI Investments: Establish regular assessment mechanisms to monitor AI investments. Adapt investment strategies based on performance outcomes.

Conclusion

By including and implementing these strategies, South Africa can ensure its AI sector becomes a catalyst for economic transformation and global competitiveness.

AI STRATEGY



Provide
government cloud services



Integrate
government data



Foresight
national priorities



Develop and Operate
national platforms



Orchestrate
AI research



Foster
AI entrepreneurship



Develop
AI solutions



Build
AI expertise

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A LEAF OUT OF SOUTH AFRICA'S HISTORY



■ By **CASTRO KHWELA**

THIRTY-FIVE years ago, on 21 August 1989, the Ad-Hoc Committee on Southern Africa of the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) held its meeting in Harare, Zimbabwe, chaired by the Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak.

During the meeting, the Zambian President, Kenneth Kaunda, submitted a twenty-four point document, which had been drafted by the African National Congress (ANC). The ANC vowed in the document “to do everything in our power to help intensify the liberation struggle and international pressure against the system of apartheid until this system is ended.”

Within the document, it was noted, however, that “a conjuncture of circumstances exists which, if there is a demonstrable readiness on the part of the Pretoria regime to engage in negotiations genuinely and seriously, could

create the possibility to end apartheid through negotiations. Such an eventuality would be an expression of the long-standing preference of the majority of the people of South Africa to arrive at a political settlement.”

In Section III of the document, titled “*Climate for Negotiations*”, the ANC set out terms that “at the very least” the apartheid government must comply with, which included: the release of all political prisoners and detainees unconditionally and refrain from imposing any restrictions on them; lifting all bans and restrictions on all proscribed and restricted organisations and persons; removing all troops from the townships; ending the state of emergency and repealing all legislation, such as, and including the Internal Security Act, designed to circumscribe political activity; and ceasing all political trials and political executions.

The document further averred that upon the “creation of this climate, the process of negotiations should commence along the following lines: Discussions should take place between the liberation movement and the South African apartheid regime to achieve the suspension of hostilities by both sides by agreeing to a mutually binding ceasefire; Negotiations should then proceed to establish the basis for the adoption of a new Constitution by agreeing on, among others, the Principles enunciated above; Having agreed on these principles, the parties should then negotiate the necessary mechanism for drawing up the new Constitution.”

The document continued: “The parties shall define and agree on the role to be played by the international community in ensuring a successful transition to a democratic order; The parties should agree on the formation of an interim government to super-

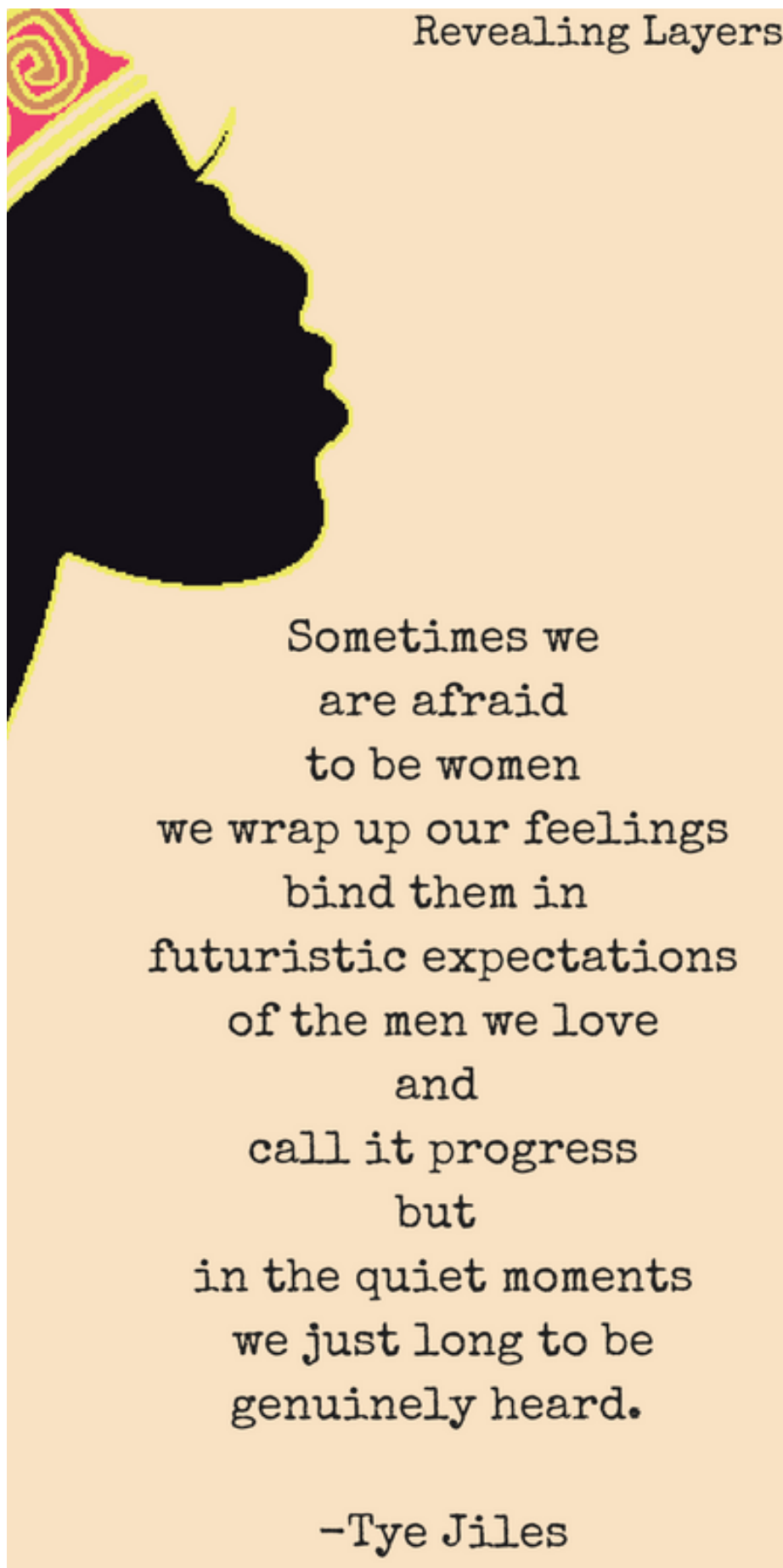
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...vise the process of the drawing up and adoption of a new constitution, govern and administer the country, as well as effect the transition to a democratic order including the holding of elections; After adoption of the new Constitution, all armed hostilities would then be deemed to have formally terminated; and For its part, the international community would lift sanctions that had been imposed against apartheid South Africa.”

The document was ultimately adopted by the AOU as the “Declaration of the Ad-Hoc Committee on Southern Africa on the Question of Southern Africa”. Due to the fact that the document was adopted in the capital city of Zimbabwe, Harare, it later became known as the “Harare Declaration”, and its adoption marked the realisation of ANC President Oliver Tambo’s call earlier in the year for a Resolution 435 for South Africa.

The evolution of the document started as a document that put conditions for negotiations by the ANC. The Frontline States were consulted on it and an OAU Sub-Committee on Southern Africa adopted it at its summit in Harare, Zimbabwe. Later on, an OAU Heads of State Summit adopted it in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, and later by the General Assembly of the United Nations as a blueprint for a negotiated settlement in South Africa.

With every adoption, at every stage, with every step, pressure on the apartheid regime mounted for real negotiations with the true representatives of the people of South Africa.



PART TWO

Why African Liberation Movements Collapse

REFLECTIONS ON AFRICAN LIBERATION MOVEMENTS

■ By **THATOYAONE MOEPETSANE**

LIBERATION movements that have achieved success or significant success are usually those which have taken seriously the tasks of defining and laying out their short-term and long-term objectives and how to pursue and achieve them.

The term '*liberation movement*' has been part of the politics in Africa since the emergence of organised groups, usually armed, to free African countries or societies from the colonial rule. Interestingly, those those who are willing to achieve independence through peaceful means never qualified for the label. Instead, they became 'independence movements.'

Liberation movements usually sprang up in countries where the colonial powers were so determined to frustrate calls for independence that they could kill to preserve the status quo. In the end, they lost, which was inevitable. Those fighting for freedom were always destined to win.

These first-generation independence warriors or liberators made promises that in the end, to end war in their respective countries,



they were generally eventually unable to deliver.

In some instances, they turned out to be just as oppressive and, in some instances, more detached from the lives of ordinary people than their colonial-era predecessors had been. They had inherited systems which they had fought hard to topple and change, only for them to now find them useful as tools of repression and oppression. With time other groups emerged, whose declared objectives were the liberation of fellow citizens from the new oppressors.

They promised democracy and respect for civil liberties. These second generation movements made promises that mirrored those made previously by the very leaders whom they had emerged to fight and remove from power. Promises of democracy and freedom earned the new groups the support of fellow citizens for whom oppression had become the normal order of things under the leaders who had liberated them from colonial domination.

Liberation movements have tended to fall short of achieving the ambitious objectives that they

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set for themselves. The goals have included democracy of politics and respect for civil liberties, fighting disease, poverty, and ignorance, which meant building functioning health and education systems and promoting prosperity, promoting national unity and ending all forms of marginalisation, and recalibrating relations with external actors, particularly former colonial rulers.

Failure to achieve many or all of these objectives has usually stemmed from liberation movements having not dedicated ample time or any time at all to setting out how these were going to be pursued and achieved. Those that have achieved success or significant success are usually those which have taken seriously the tasks of defining and laying out their short-term and long-term objectives and how to pursue and achieve them.

Two salutary examples of liberation movements that failed to define and lay out their historical missions and build consensus around them, and then pursue them with consistency and commitment, include the Sudan Peoples Liberation Movement (SPLM), and the Alliance of Democratic Forces for the Liberation of Congo-Zaire (ADFL), which ousted Mobutu Sese Seko from power in the then Zaire.

Another key failure of liberation movements has been to not work out post-war reconstruction strategies that included as many of their key potential adversaries as possible in decision making. Deciding what is important and what therefore should be pursued with a sense of urgency, and also what is not important, which could be pursued later, is critical. This ensures that the new elites

in charge of the state remain focused on working together in pursuit of shared goals and that they are not distracted by short-term, unprincipled, and narrowly-focused contestations for power by competing factions.

Three examples of liberation movements that have been rather successful in these respects, admittedly to varying degrees, are the usually maligned Rwandan Patriotic Front (RPF), the Eritrean Peoples Liberation Front (EPLF, now PFDJ), and the now beleaguered Tigrayan Peoples Liberation Front (TPLF). Post-war, and again to varying degrees of consistency and success, all three movements set out to focus on the plight of the ordinary person plagued by poverty, disease, and ignorance and do what was necessary to address these triple challenges. Tufts University scholar Alex de Waal has written compellingly about the amount of time the TPLF/EPRDF spent, during the war of liberation, on discussing the issue of how to tackle poverty among the peasantry in Ethiopia. There is also some evidence that both the EPLF and the RPF spent time ex-

amining what needed to be done to achieve prosperity and social justice for all. They have not achieved roaring success by way of eliminating poverty. However, in terms of remaining focused on the issue and lifting large numbers of people out of poverty, all three movements have been successful.

Clearly, on the issue of national unity, there are strong indications now, that the TPLF/EPRDF's solution of choice, ethnic federalism, could have been a mistake. For the RPF and the EPLF/PFDJ, however, there is ample evidence that much progress has been made, with lots of room left for more. Three decades down the road for one (PFDJ) and almost 3 decades on for the other (RPF) both movements continue to hold their respective countries together amidst greater internal unity than was the case prior to their ascendance to power. For the EPLF/PFDJ, decisive military triumph over its rivals and its subsequent enjoyment of total dominance has been an important factor preventing disruptions to unity and stability which in other countries spring from the elite.



INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

The RPF has achieved remarkable success at selling its vision to political groups which, under a conventional multi-party system, would have been actively seeking to replace it at the helm. Today, thanks to a post-war political system built on a consensus about what kind of country Rwanda should become, Rwanda is more united and significantly insulated against internally-generated upheaval, thanks to inclusion, than it ever was during its first 30 years of independence.

In terms of recalibrating relationships with former colonial powers and dominant actors on the international scene, again the three movements have achieved varying degrees of successes. In Eritrea, the PFDJ has been uncompromising, some would say to the extreme, in its pursuit of self-reliance and autonomy in decision-making. EPRDF/TPLF-led Ethiopia was just as uncompromising on matters of national sovereignty and interest, asserting its right to make its own choices.

For the RPF, the pursuit of self-reliance for Rwanda is a major principle and a central plank in its ideological positioning. Like the PFDJ and the EPRDF, securing policy space from outsiders that seek to push this or that idea or agenda is a key imperative. If in power all the three movements have presided over governments that strike observers as unusually militant, uncompromising, and aggressive, it is because they have shown the unusual quality of not acting like others elsewhere that shrink before challenges, wherever they may come from.

And for this success, all three have paid a heavy price. They



have had to weather unrelenting criticism, demonisation, and harassment by media, academia, human rights groups, and Western governments, on account of failure to measure up to 'international standards' in matters of politics, governance, and human rights. Here Eritrea is something of an outlier, having not held elections or changed leadership for the entire 30-years of its independence. Many claims are made by observers in trying to explain why this is so. Internal challenges have combined with externally-generated existential threats to give the PFDJ sufficient grounds to not hold elections and risk destabilisation in a country which, for many years, has been under siege, buffeted by politically-motivated international sanctions and political and diplomatic pressures by regime-change-seeking forces. It would be easy for critics and sceptics to dismiss these arguments. What cannot be easily dismissed is that we shall never know what would have happened in the absence of external pressures and challenges.

Both Rwanda and Ethiopia have held multiple elections since the RPF and EPRDF took over power. However, they have been deemed to not measure up to

the standards set by 'the international community' in terms of how free or fair, or transparent they have been. Consequently, each country, not unlike Eritrea, has been landed with the 'dictatorship' label, and their governments or leaders 'authoritarian'. And this, usually without regard to contextual factors that may have necessitated the making of the choices they made. Meanwhile, in Ethiopia, the choices were dictated by a history of misrule, accompanied by suppression of local group identities; exclusion or marginalisation of whole groups or regions; and political instability. In Rwanda, the RPF was driven by a determination to overcome a history of the state using group identity as a tool for systematic marginalisation of whole groups and the privileging of sections of the population. This had created deep intra-societal fissures whose contribution to political instability is now well established.

In addition, the RPF sought to foster enduring political stability. In this, the party would have to be intentional in combatting poverty and striving for prosperity for all. These ambitions necessitated the avoidance of approaches to governance that carry the potential to create divisions or deepen pre-existing ones. Specifically, they necessitated the organisation of politics in ways that maximised cooperation and collaboration among potentially adversarial political groups. This would minimise or rule out potentially disruptive contestations for power, which in much of Africa find expression in adversarial multi-party competition among weak political parties with narrow agendas.

Here the RPF in Rwanda has been more successful than the

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS



EPRDF was, in the sense that it managed to sell its vision of 'politics of consensus' to potential rivals that, almost 3 decades later, remain committed to working together rather than against each other, moreover in pursuit of similar ambitions, at the core of which is building a peaceful, stable, united and prosperous Rwanda in which all Rwandans feel they have a stake.

To credit these three liberation movements with the successful pursuit of their ambitions is not to disregard the massive challenges they have continued to face, both internally from local actors who seek to change the status quo, and from external actors, some of whom are also motivated by regime change ambitions. Indeed, in Ethiopia the EPRDF is no more and, thanks to unresolved internal issues, the force behind its creation, the TPLF,

has virtually been destroyed in a recent armed conflict with the federal government. In Eritrea, the PFDJ remains firmly in control. There are some indications that the country may be moving or may soon be moving, at its own pace, towards reform. It is expected that this will eventually see the veteran fighters who have held it together amidst great adversity over the last 3 decades retire and hand over to a new generation whose instincts and ambitions may or may not be similar to theirs. For the RPF, it seems like early days to predict what will happen. However, right now there are strong indications that the political organisations to which it sold its vision and which have pursued it with as much commitment and zeal as the RPF itself, are content to remain part of the post-war ruling coalition, to continue to contribute to building a stable, peaceful, inclusive and

prosperous Rwanda.

Clearly, success for a liberation movement does not lie simply in measuring up to international standards of anything or turning the country they inherit into an instant liberal democracy or runaway economic success. Rather, it lies in consistent pursuit of its original goals; inclusion, as much as possible, of groups that might otherwise foment instability and even of ordinary citizens, in decision making; and pursuit of self-reliance. Self-reliance, as the Eritreans point out, does not mean non-cooperation or non-collaboration with other members of the international community where and when it matters. Success lies also in recalibrating relations with traditionally dominant powers and claiming much-needed space for autonomy in decision-making in both domestic and foreign policy.

THIS WEEK IN HISTORY

THIS WEEK IN HISTORY

24 – 30 August 2024

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

24 August 1928

Angie Brooks born



Liberian jurist and diplomat, the first woman to be elected President of the UN General Assembly, Angie Brooks was born on this day in Virginia, Liberia. She served as Liberia's Assistant Secretary of State, a Supreme Court Justice and Liberia's Ambassador to the United Nations.

24 August 1960

Geraldine Fraser-Moleketi born



Geraldine Fraser was born on 24 August 1960, in Lansdowne, Cape Town, the daughter of a

teacher and factory worker. She became politically active at Livingstone High School where she was elected to the SRC. A year after she enrolled for a Teachers Diploma at the University of the Western Cape (UWC), she left South Africa to join the ANC in exile, where she worked under Joe Gqabi, ANC Chief Representative in Zimbabwe. A member of Umkhonto we Sizwe, Fraser-Moleketi received her military training in Angola, the former USSR and Cuba. She also became a member of the SACP and served in the regional leadership of the SACP, based in Zimbabwe. Upon her return to South Africa, Fraser-Moleketi worked at the SACP headquarters and became a member of the Politburo and also the ANC NEC. She was an ANC MP from 1994-2008, serving as Minister for Welfare and Population Development until 1999, and as Minister of Public Service and Administration until 2008. She has since worked for the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) as well as the African Development Bank (AfDB).

24 August 1962

African countries call for Release of Nelson Mandela

African delegations requested Secretary-General U Thant to help obtain the release of Nelson Mandela. In a statement, they condemned the arrest on 5 August and noted that he was held

under the Sabotage Act, which carries a possible death penalty.

25 August 1949

Zena Bacar born



Zena Bacar, Mozambican singer, one of her country's first popular music star was born in Nampula. She recorded her first song in 1980 and toured internationally with her band Eyuphuro.

25 August 1949

Comet 48P/Johnson discovered

The 48p/Johnson is a periodic comet with a fixed orbit around the earth, which was discovered by South African astronomer Ernest Johnson and named after him. It's expected to pass close to earth again in 2025.

25 August 1949

Salif Keita born

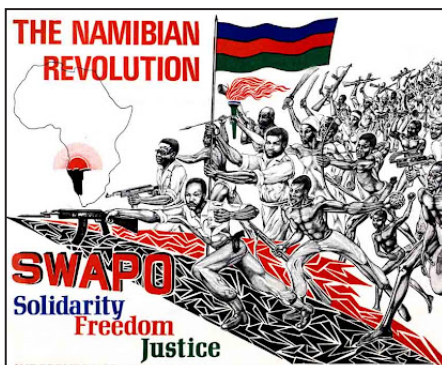
Considered Mali's greatest singer, Keita was born in Djobila on this day. The most famous entertainer who has albinism, is known as "the Golden Voice of Africa."

THIS WEEK IN HISTORY

25 August 1993 Amy Biehl killed in Cape Town

An American Fulbright post-graduate, Amy Elizabeth Biehl (26), was dragged from her car by a 100-strong mob of youths in Gugulethu, and stabbed to death. Biehl was driving three co-workers to their homes in the township, when some young men started throwing stones at her car and eventually surrounded the vehicle, shouting the Pan African Congress (PAC) militant slogan "One settler, one bullet!" Some of the perpetrators served sentences for the murder, and the US based Biehl family later reconciled with some of those responsible for their daughter's death, through the foundation named after her.

26 August 1966 PLAN launches armed struggle against South Africa



On 26 August 1966, the People's Liberation Army of Namibia (PLAN), the armed wing of SWAPO, fought in a battle against South African occupying forces at Omugulugwombashe in northern Namibia. In 1973 a resolution passed by the United Nations General Assembly declared 26 August, 'Namibia Day' to commemorate the gallant struggle of the Namibian people against South African occupation. On this date is also commemorated the anti-colonial war against Germa-

ny in the figure of Chief Samuel Maharero. This day is officially known as National Heroes Day in independent Namibia.

6 August 1975 Footballer Mercy Akide born



Pioneering African women's football player was born in Port Harcourt, Nigeria. In 2001 she became the first recipient of CAF's African Woman Footballer of the year award.

26 August 1975 Victoria Falls Conference

The Conference took place in a parked railway carriage in the middle of the Victoria Falls Bridge, on the border between Zambia and Zimbabwe. Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda and South African Prime Minister John Vorster acted as mediators, as Ian Smith, head of Rhodesia's minority government met Robert Mugabe and Joshua Nkomo, leaders of the liberation movements of Zimbabwe, to begin talks about an end to the civil war.

26 August 1978 High jump champion born

Hestrie Cloete was born in Germiston, East of Johannesburg on 26 August 1978. She began participating in sports at an early



age. Her long-time coach, Martin Marx, discovered her at the age of 13. Hestrie won a gold medal at the world championships in Paris in 2003, and two silver medals at the Olympic Games, the following year. Hestrie Cloete was famous for her mental focus ritual of spinning her index fingers around each other and leaning sideways before every jump.

26 August 1985 Zola Budd Breaks World Record



In a low key event in Crystal Palace, England, South African born athlete Zola Budd broke the 5 000 metres world record set by Ingrid Kristiansens of Norway by more than ten seconds. Budd also stunned the sporting fraternity by running bare-footed on her way to claim this magnificent achievement. Kristiansens's record stood for 15 years before Budd broke it.

THIS WEEK IN HISTORY

26 August 1996.

Eugene de Kock convicted of six murders

The Supreme Court convicted former Police Colonel Eugene de Kock (dubbed 'Prime Evil') of six murders of Black anti-apartheid activists during his service as commander of a police unit, C10 based at Vlakplaas, a farm outside Pretoria. He was also convicted of scores of lesser crimes, from conspiracy to murder to fraud. Amongst those that were killed were ANC lawyer, Bheki Mlangeni, and former Vlakplaas colleague and Askari, Brian Ngqulunga.

26 August 1996

Johnnic Empowerment deal

In South Africa's then largest empowerment deal, the National Empowerment Consortium made a deal with Anglo-American Corporation to buy 48% of shares in Johnnic Industrial Corporation (an investment holding company with interests in entertainment, media, casino, exhibitions and property).

26 August 2006

Peace accord with Lord's Resistance Army

The Ugandan government signed a peace agreement with Lord's Resistance Army of Joseph Kony, with an agreement to leave Uganda for camps in the DRC. The LRA in 2010 resumed its activities, with killings, abductions leading to over 400,000 refugees in DRC, CAR and South Sudan.

26 August 2019

Rhino eggs harvested

Kenyan scientists successfully harvest white rhino eggs from the last two remaining white rhino fe-

males. The sperm of the last male was taken before his death and is used to inseminate the eggs and create rhino embryos, in order to prevent extinction of this species.

27 August 1943

Renowned author Sindiwe Magona born



Sindiwe Magona, author of a large number of books, including children's books, was born on this day in the village of Gungulu, Transkei. A social worker and teacher as well, she writes about the experiences of women, her own experiences and tells South African stories. She has also produced plays and her internationally acclaimed books include *Beauty's Gift*; *Living, Loving, and Lying Awake at Night*; *To My Children's Children*; *Teach Yourself Xhosa*; and *Push-Push and Other Stories*. Her plays include *I Promised Myself*, *A Fabulous Middle-Age* and *Vukani!* She will be 80 this year.

27 August 1962

Johannesburg Civic Theatre opens

The modernist building was opened as a showcase for the performing arts, with more than 200,000 opera, theatre and ballet lovers attending the theatre in its first year. By law, black South Africans could not attend.

27 August 1963

WEB du Bois passed on

William Edward Burghardt Du Bois, a giant amongst Pan African activists, was a founder of the NAACP, the largest and oldest civil rights organization in the United States, and from 1910 to 1934 served it as director of publicity and research, a member of the board of directors, and editor of the *Crisis*, its magazine. During this period, NAACP advocacy was instrumental in securing anti-lynching legislation. WEB Du Bois was also active in the global Pan African movement, initiating the second and third Pan African Congresses. Du Bois published numerous important works on race. By the time of his death in 1963 he had written 17 books and edited four journals, and greatly influenced public discourse on race.

27 August 1975

Emperor Haile Selassie passed on



Haile Selassie was born Lij Tafari Makonnen, in the village of Ejersa Gor, in the Harar Province of Ethiopia. Heir to a 13th century dynasty, he ascended to the throne of Ethiopia in 1930, proclaiming himself 'Haile Selassie', which means '*Might of the Trinity*'. In 1936, Emperor Selassie led the resistance against

THIS WEEK IN HISTORY

Italy's invasion of Ethiopia and also spoke out against the use of chemical weapons at the League of Nations. Exiled in 1936, he was restored to power in 1941. However, by the 1970s, Emperor Selassie's apparent indifference to a major famine in the country resulted in the loss of popular support. In 1974, he was de-throned in a military coup by his successor, Mengistu Haile Mariam. It was reported that Emperor Selassie had died on 27 August 1975, but the cause of his death remained a mystery.

27 August 2019 Rwanda efforts to protect cranes success

The number of endangered grey-crowned cranes nearly doubled from 459 in 2017 to 748 in 2019, after concerted efforts by Rwanda to protect the birds and crack down on their illegal trade.

28 August 1878 Zulu king captured

King Cetshwayo, Zulu monarch was captured after his defeat during the British-Zulu War. When he took over from his father, King Mpande in 1873, he took a clear stance against British and Afrikaner colonial expansion. In 1875, Boers flooded across into Zululand, claiming land south of the Phongola River as well as attempting to tax Zulu homesteads in the north-west. King Cetshwayo sent several thousand warriors to the border and the Boers retreated. In December 1878, Cetshwayo rejected the British demand that he disbands his troops, and in January British forces invaded Zululand to suppress Cetshwayo. The British suffered a grave defeat at Isandlwana, where 1,300 British soldiers were killed or wounded.

But, on March 29 the tide turned in favour of the British at the Battle of Khambula. King Cetshwayo was captured on this day and sent into exile. In 1887, the British formally annexed Zululand, and in 1897 it became a part of Natal, which joined the Union of South Africa in 1910.

28 August 1923 Journalist Bloke Modisane born

Journalist, short-story writer and actor William (Bloke) Modisane was born in Sophiatown, Johannesburg on 28 August 1923. Modisane left South Africa in 1959 and, while in exile he published his only and much acclaimed book *Blame Me on History*. *Blame Me on History* was an examination of what apartheid did to the character and self-esteem of the educated Black man. The book was banned in South Africa in 1966. Modisane died in 1986 in Dortmund, West Germany and is rated as one of the finest Black writers and intellectuals of the 20th century.

28 August 1940 Joseph Shabalala, Ladysmith Black Mambazo founder born

Dr. Bhekizizwe Joseph Shabalala (28 August 1940– 11 February 2020) was founder and musical director of Ladysmith Black Mambazo, taking isicathamiya to the global stage and winning five Grammys and nominated for 17, during his lifetime.

28 August 1942 President Eduardo dos Santos born

President of Angola from 1979 to 2017 and leader of the MPLA, José Eduardo dos Santos was born in Luanda on this day.

28 August 1962 Efuru starts journey

Flora Nwapa on this day sent her first novel, *Efuru* to Chinua Achebe for advice. He encouraged her to submit her work for publication and sent her money to post the manuscript to Britain. *Efuru* became the first novel published in Britain in English by an African woman, and became a pioneering milestone for African writers.

29 August 1987 FEDSAW Western Cape region Relunched



On 29 August 1987, a new FEDSAW region of the Western Cape was launched. Leading women in the South African struggle were honoured at the launch. Breaking restrictions placed on naming and honouring various people, the launch nevertheless honoured amongst others Ray Alexander Simons, Hilda Bernstein, Lillian Ngoyi, Frances Baard, Helen Joseph, Dorothy Nyembe, Amina Cachalia and Albertina Sisulu. Organisations such as the African National Congress Women's League (ANCWL) and the women's branch of the South African Congress of Democrats (COD) were also honoured.

THIS WEEK IN HISTORY

28 August 2000

Arusha Accord signed

The Arusha Accords negotiated by former Presidents Julius Nyerere of Tanzania and Nelson Mandela of South Africa were signed, bringing an end to the Burundi civil war, which saw 300,000 killed.

29 August 2012

ANC honours Tryphina Jokweni



Tryphina Mboxela Jokweni was amongst the women who organised the 1956 Women's march to the Union building. She was a member of the ANC at the time and when Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) was formed, she joined

in 1962. She is one of the pioneers of MK. She was arrested in 1966 in her hometown, Umkhumbane, Durban and detained for six months. After her release, she moved to Umlazi, where she continued working in the underground, using her home as a safe house for MK cadres. In 1987, she was detained and tortured by the police, and gave testimony to the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC). Jokweni passed away in 2002. On 29 August 2012, the ANC commemorated Jokweni and recognized her contributions to the liberation struggle by laying a new tombstone for her at the Wentworth Cemetery, Durban.

30 August 1943

John Kani born

On this day Bonisile John Kani was born in New Brighton, in the Eastern Cape. He matriculated at Newell High School and his love for theatre led him to work with several drama groups in the New Brighton area where they performed at schools and for communities. He joined the Serpent Players drama group in 1965 where he met Athol Fugard.

In collaboration, they produced some of the most well-known plays, including *Sizwe Banzi is Dead* – which launched his career in theatre locally and abroad. The play also won numerous awards, including the Tony Award in 1975. His numerous other involvements in theatre led him to become one of the most celebrated actors and playwrights in South Africa.

30 August 1956

Zambian Speaker born

Nelly Mutti was born in Ndola, Zambia. A well-known human rights lawyer, she served as her country's chairperson of the Anti-Corruption Commission (2002-2006) and a Commissioner of the constitutional review process. She was elected unopposed as first female Speaker of Parliament of Zambia.

30 August 1990

Pineapple museum

Standing just under 56 feet tall, the 3-storey Pineapple Museum in Bathurst, Eastern Cape, and made of metal and fibre glass, this building lays claim to being the largest pineapple in the world.



The revolution and women's liberation go together.

We do not talk of women's emancipation as an act of charity or out of a surge of human compassion. It is a basic necessity for the revolution to triumph.

THOMAS SANKARA

THIS WEEK IN HISTORY

INTERNATIONAL AND NATIONAL DAYS

24 – 30 August 2024

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



24 August

Pluto Demotion Day

Pluto, the outermost “planet” in our solar system, used to be the 9th planet in our solar system. But, on 23 August 2006 it was downgraded to a ‘dwarf planet’ by the International Astronomical Union (IAU), following a redefinition of what is a planet. The furthest planet in our solar system is now Neptune. Thus, to be plutoed, means to be downgraded!

26 August

Dog Day

Dogs have been domesticated as humans’ best friend over 40 000 years. They are part of the wolf-like canids. The World Canine Organisation recognises over 340 breeds of dogs. Organisations like the SPCA and others look after the well-being of dogs and other pets, but it’s all our responsibility to care for our best friends.



28 August

International Day for Universal Access to Information



Access to information is key to democratic rights, enshrined in our Constitution and promoted and protected through laws such as the Protection of Personal Information Act (POPIA) and the Promotion of Access to Information Act (PAIA). POPIA affords the right to protection against the unlawful collection, retention, dissemination and use of personal information. It governs processing of personal information in a responsible way. PAIA provides a right of access to information held by private and public bodies.

THIS WEEK IN HISTORY

28 August

Bow Tie Day

Bow ties are seen as worn by older men, nerds and scientists; but they are versatile and stylish and not just restricted to men. The day celebrates this dashing accessory!

29 August

International Day against Nuclear Tests



The first nuclear bomb, named Trinity and part of the Manhattan project, was tested by the USA on 16 July 1945 in New Mexico. Just over a month later, the first bomb was dropped on Hiroshima, Japan on 6 August 1945, immediately killing 80 000 people and tens of thousands' others later as the effects of radiation were felt in the years and decades to come. Since 1954, eight countries collectively have carried out over 2000 nuclear tests, with damaging impact on people and the environment. France for example tested most of its nuclear weapons tests in its then colonies, Algeria and French Polynesia. The UN eventually adopted the Comprehensive Nuclear Test-Ban Treaty in 1996, although this has not stopped countries' nuclear tests.

29 August

Independent Bookstore day

Independent bookstores are not linked to a chain store, often owner operated, allowing them to stock books of choice. Some independent bookstores specialize in poetry, progressive literature, crime or science fiction with a combination of new and secondhand books. Research showed that having an independent bookstore in a neighbourhood increases the value of properties. In South Africa,

bookstores are mainly found in formerly white areas, and booksellers have looked at innovative ways of getting books into all communities; with authors self-publishing and selling out of the boot of their cars, to an initiative like the Eyethu Pop-up library which sells books at a taxi-rank stand in Kimberley and the 'Booksellers of Mzansi' initiative in Durban, that support homeless people to make a living by selling secondhand books on the streets of the city.

29 August

More Herbs, less Salt day

Most of us consume more than 1.5 teaspoons of salt every day, which is way, way too much for our bodies. Salt contains sodium, which can lead to high blood pressure, heart disease and stroke. On this day, try using herbs instead of salt in your food. You can use garlic, turmeric or ginger for anti-inflammatory benefits, or use onions, dill, cloves, nutmeg, or fresh herbs like parsley or coriander.

30 August

International Day of the Disappeared

Enforced disappearance has frequently been used as a strategy to spread terror within the society. The feeling of insecurity generated by this practice is not limited to close relatives of the disappeared, but also affects their communities and society as a whole. Disappearance has become a global problem and is not restricted to a specific region of the world. Once largely the product of military dictatorships, enforced disappearances can nowadays be perpetrated in complex situations of internal conflict, especially as a means of political repression of opponents. Of particular concern today are the ongoing harassment of human rights defenders, relatives of victims, witnesses and legal counsel dealing with cases of enforced disappearance; the use by States of counter-terrorist activities as an excuse for breaching their obligations; and the still widespread impunity for enforced disappearance. Hundreds of thousands of people have vanished during conflicts or periods of repression and conflict in at least 85 countries around the world.

30 August

Amagwinya Day

Every culture has at least one fried bread dish. For South Africa, that's the Amagwinya. Buy it from a local vendor, or try making your own at home.

SA IN NUMBERS

SOUTH AFRICA IN NUMBERS

WOMEN IN THE LABOUR MARKET

#WomensMonth2024



WOMEN IN SOUTH AFRICAN LABOUR MARKET

(StatsSA, QLFS – Q2, 2024)

According to StatsSA, “women in SA continue to shoulder a disproportionate burden of unemployment, underemployment, and lower workforce participation compared to men. This is partly because women are more likely to take on household duties, child-rearing, and other responsibilities that limit their opportunities in the labour market.”

There are 1,75 million more men in employment than women. In all economic sectors, except Private households (mainly domestic work) and Social and Community sector, more men are employed than women. As we therefore develop the national Jobs plan, and Master plans for Industries, the gender dimensions of employment must be taken into consideration.

Labour force participation rate (Q2, 2024)

55.8%
Female

65.6%
Male



40.29%

Percentage **rural women** who participate in the labour market

EMPLOYEES BY ECONOMIC SECTOR (Q2, 2024)

	Female	Male
Total employed	7,448,000	9,204,000
Agriculture	274,000	622,000
Mining	90,000	367,000
Manufacturing	605,000	1,050,000
Utilities	24,000	90,000
Construction	132,000	1,072,000
Trade	1,610,000	1,750,000
Transport	191,000	874,000
Finance	1,214,000	1,690,000
Community and social services	2,436,000	1,391,000
Private households	871,000	289,000
Other	10,000	9,000

SA IN NUMBERS



University graduates unemployment rate (Q2, 2024)

 **10.7%**
Female

 **8.3%**
Male

NOT IN EMPLOYMENT, EDUCATION OR TRAINING RATE (NEET) 15-34 YOUTH (Q2, 2024)

 **46.7%**
Female

 **41.7%**
Male

Number of Unemployed - Expanded definition (Q2, 2024)

Female
6,36 million



Male
6,01 million



Not economically active (Q2, 2024)

Female
6,9 million



Male
5,2 million



X-WORD

Gender and the Media



DOWN

1. Gendered in media.
2. Unfortunate ... relationship between gender activists and mainstream media.
3. ... features with disturbing frequency in stories on violence against women
4. Global movement against sexual harassment on social media.
6. are bombarded with media images of aggressive, violent males.

ACROSS

5. Most often shown as victims of violence and ...
7. 28% use women sources for stories about crime and ...
8. In North, West and ... Africa, 60 percent of social media users were men (2024).
9. Beijing Platform of Action (1995) ... as one of 12 critical areas for women's empowerment.
10. 50% of social media users in ... are women. (2024)
11. ... make up only 24% of persons heard, read about or seen in newspaper, television and radio news.
12. 16% used women as sources in news about ... and government.
13. Women defined in terms of their physical ..., not abilities.

WORD BANK

Media antagonistic women politics violence appearance homemakers
 young boys Love division of labour SADC East #MeToo

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