



ANC TODAY

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40
DAYS LEFT



Conversations with the President

Solidarity with Western Sahara by Men and Women of Conscience

South Africa welcomes you to our country. We are honoured to host this historic act of solidarity with the Saharawi people.

It is fitting that this conference is taking place in a building named after Oliver Reginald Tambo, a legendary statesman and a committed internationalist who was unwavering in his support for the struggle for self-determination of the Saharawi people. It was Oliver Reginald Tambo who affirmed, as we do today, that international solidarity is an imperative for progressive peoples everywhere.

Building bridges of friendship is a natural and just course of action

for all who share the vision of a world free from subjugation, a world where the strong do not exert their dominance through force of arms.

In the many times he addressed the international community on the anti-apartheid struggle, Comrade OR, as he was known, spoke of the role of 'men and women of conscience' in giving voice to the struggles of oppressed peoples everywhere.

Gathered here today are men and women of conscience.

You stood by South Africa during the struggle for our own liberation, and today you are here to affirm your solidarity with the Saharawi people in their quest for self-determination.

We are with the people of Saharawi

As lovers of peace and freedom – as men and women of conscience – let us step up our international solidarity efforts, in both word and deed, with the people of Western Sahara, with Polisario and with the Saharawi Arab Democratic Republic.

The presence of representatives from the national liberation movements of the region, from the African Union and African Union Commission, from the Southern African Development Community and our friends in the international community sends the clearest of messages.

That message is that we are with the people of the Western Sahara.

We stand with you, we support you, and we will never forget you.

This conference reflects our commitment, as the countries of Africa, supported by our friends in the international community, to call for a just, acceptable and lasting solution to the situation in Western Sahara. It follows on a decision made at the 37th Summit *continues on page 4*

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EDITORIAL

An Effective, Accountable and Citizen-focused State and Government

The 2019 elections take place against the backdrop of significant strides in improving the lives of South Africans. Over the past 25 years, the dignity of our people has been restored. Few countries in the world have succeeded in expanding vital services such as water, sanitation, electricity, roads and housing to so many people in such a short time. We promoted nation-building, social cohesion and celebrated our diversity as a nation. This was made possible by our concerted efforts to build a capable and developmental state.

The National Development Plan (NDP) anticipates that by 2030 we will have a developmental state that is accountable, focused on citizen's priorities, and capable of delivering high-quality services consistently and sustainably through cooperative governance and participatory democracy.

The NDP equally demands of us to place South Africa on a sustainable path that effectively addresses the twin challenges of poverty and inequality. In order to realise this vision, the state needs to play a transformative and developmental role, which requires well-run and effectively coordinated state institutions with skilled public servants.

The efforts to build a sustainable and capable state have come a long way since the advent of democracy in 1994 when we had to amalgamate a number of disparate administrations from the apartheid state and homeland administrations into a single public service. The number of municipalities was rationalised from over 1 200 racially segregated, institutionally fragmented and undemocratic local government structures in the early 1990's to 257 democratically elected municipalities in 2016.

Public participation, accountability and effective oversight are essential instruments of a functioning democracy. Over the last 25 years,



By Phumulo Masualle, Chairperson:
Governance and Legislature
Sub-Committee

In our South African context, these monopolies remain in white hands, and the excessive concentration of wealth and financial power in the hands of large corporations inevitably leads to abuse and exploitation.

we have built robust systems and institutions to strengthen oversight and accountability, enhance public involvement, deepen engagement and strengthen cooperative governance as well as legislative capacity.

As part of the ever-constant evaluation of service delivery that government undertakes, a Citizen Report Card (CRC) Survey is commissioned in order to gauge levels of access to and effectiveness of government services. The survey is intended to act as an instrument with which government can adjust government service delivery with the interests of the public who use these services or facilities.



In 2000 government announced a programme of free basic services for indigent households, which would guarantee a minimum package of tariff-free essential services. The services were meant to be derived from the 'equitable share' of nationally raised revenue provided for in the Constitution. In addition, government instituted a wide variety of conditional grants for particular functions and services. In aggregate, transfers to local government have grown more than ten-fold in real terms over

the period 1998/99 to 2017/18, now totalling some R110 billion. This constitutes a substantial commitment to decentralisation.

Despite huge differences between municipalities, there has been impressive overall progress with the delivery of infrastructure services. Households with access to piped water improved from 70% (28 million people) in 1996 to 88,8% (50,9 million) in 2017. Households with access to at least basic sanitation (VIP pit latrines) improved from 48,8% (19,5 million people) in 1996 *continues on page 3*

EDITORIAL

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An Effective, Accountable and Citizen-focused State and Government

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to 82.2% of households (46 million) in 2017. 4,7 million new households have been connected to the electricity grid since 1994, and by 2017, 84.4% (or 13.7 million) households were connected to an electricity supply.

Failure to invest in operation and maintenance inevitably results in higher costs and the inability to realise revenue projections. Although most cities and some smaller municipalities have developed asset and information management systems that help them to manage existing infrastructure assets and to identify future challenges, failure to properly manage infrastructure is in large part responsible for service delivery failures.

While the annual municipal audit outcomes generate much criticism of local government performance, the long-term trend provides a more sober picture of the advances made. Evidence shows that over the period 2007/08 to 2016/17, the number of qualified, disclaimed and adverse audit opinions significantly decreased from 67% in 2007/08 to 43.6% in 2016/17, while the number of municipalities with unqualified audit reports (with or without findings) increased from 33% to 57%.

Oversight and accountability has been improved through Municipal Public Accounts Committees (MPACs), which are oversight

bodies appointed by Council and responsible for reviewing local government expenditure and performance reports in hearings that are open to the media and the public to encourage transparency. By 2012 80% of municipalities reported having established MPACs, and by 2018 this rose to 99%.

Legislature

The legislative arm of the state through Parliament and Provincial Legislatures continues to be an expression of our democratic values and an assembly of public representatives entrusted with the task of making laws that enable the realisation of a society envisaged in the Constitution where all citizens are equal before the law. In realising its mandate, Parliament presided over defining decisions, which include:

- Passing in excess of 2 000 laws as part of building a new nation from the ashes of apartheid and colonialism that had ravaged our society;
- Approving budgets involving trillions of rands which changed the lives of millions of South Africans and shifted human development outcomes. These included increased life expectancy, vastly improved

access to education, tripling enrolments at tertiary institutions with billions given in bursaries and a six-fold increase in uptake of social security benefits. Millions have benefited from housing, access to electricity, literacy programmes, water and many other amenities.

Restoring Trust and Confidence in Public Institution

We have had to deal with the effects of state capture on vital public institutions, including our law enforcement agencies, whose integrity and ability to fulfil their mandate had been eroded in recent years. We have therefore acted to stabilise and restore the credibility of institutions like the National Prosecuting Authority, the South African Revenue Service, the State Security Agency and the South African Police Service.

We have appointed a new National Director of Public Prosecutions, Advocate Shamila Batohi, to lead the revival of the NPA and to strengthen the fight against crime and corruption. We are implementing the recommendations of the report of the Nugent Commission of Inquiry into SARS and are in the process

of appointing a new Commissioner to head this essential institution.

In the last week, the President published a proclamation establishing the Investigation Directorate within the NPA. The ANC believes the establishment of this directorate is a step in the right direction and a demonstration of the ANC-led government's unwavering commitment to root out corruption and deal state capture a fatal blow.

The ANC called for the establishment of the Zondo Commission in order to lay bare all forms of state capture and ensure that all those against whom evidence of criminality is found face the full might of the law. The establishment of this Directorate is the clearest indication that our resolve to realise this goal has never been greater. The long arm of the law will reach all those who presided over the looting of the state with impunity.

We will actively promote a culture of integrity throughout the state, society and within our people's organisation, the ANC. We will not tolerate practices that harm the public interest. We will hold people accountable and those who loot public resources will face the full might of the law. ■



Conversations with the **PRESIDENT**

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Solidarity with **Western Sahara** by Men and Women of Conscience

of the SADC Heads of State and Government that took place here in Pretoria in August 2017.

It was the Palestinian poet Mahmoud Darwish, who himself had known the pain of dispossession and exile, who once wrote:

‘A person can only be born in one place. However, he may die several times elsewhere: in the exiles and prisons, and in a homeland transformed by the occupation and oppression into a nightmare.’

We cannot but be moved by the plight of the Saharawi people.

It has been 43 years since Western Sahara was annexed, and for

‘A person can only be born in one place. However, he may die several times elsewhere: in the exiles and prisons, and in a homeland transformed by the occupation and oppression into a nightmare.’

these four decades the people of Western Sahara have had to endure dispossession, displacement, conflict and the deprivation of their liberties.

The Saharawi people have lived in refugee camps in Tindouf in Algeria since the 1970s, making this one of the longest humanitarian crises the world has known.

In these camps, men, women and children live in desperate conditions, relying on international aid to survive.

The situation of the Saharawi people is a blight on the human



conscience, all the more so that it has endured for far too long.

UN Security Council Resolution 621

It has been three decades since the United Nations Security Council adopted Resolution 621 of 1998, first calling for a referendum on self-determination for the people of Western Sahara. But despite successive Security Council resolutions and decisions of the Organisation of African Unity and African Union, this critical step has not taken place.

The ultimate result has been that the people of Western Sahara have been deprived of the most fundamental right of a people – the right to determine their own destiny.

We are here to hear from the Saharawi Arab Democratic Republic and Polisario what we can do to aid them in advancing their cause.

While we are here to express our unwavering solidarity with the just cause of our brothers and sisters, any actions going forward must be decided upon by the Saharawi people and not any external entity.

We are here to deliberate on the way in which we can use our respective positions with the United Nations and African Union to advocate for the urgent implementation, without delay, of all the UN Security Council and AU decisions on Western Sahara, including the holding of a

referendum.

It is only through the implementation of these decisions that a solution to the Western Sahara question can be achieved.

This must be done in the spirit of multilateralism, based on the Charter of the United Nations and the applicable provisions of the African Union.

We continue to urge all the parties involved to negotiate, in good faith and without preconditions, to ensure that an enduring solution is found.

We once again affirm our support for the work being done by the AU and the UN, particularly the initiatives taken by the UN Secretary-General.

We support the political dialogue

We are immensely encouraged by the efforts of the Personal Envoy of the UN Secretary-General for Western Sahara, former German president Horst Koehler, who is facilitating a political dialogue between the Kingdom of Morocco and Polisario.

This is a development to be welcomed and encouraged.

As countries of the SADC region who have waged struggles in pursuit of our own liberation, we know too well the pain of being deprived of the right to be treated as full citizens in the land of one's birth.

The pain of the Saharawi people, their trauma brought about by

displacement and exile, is ours too.

So long as the aspirations of the people of Western Sahara are not met, we will fall short of realising the vision of the AU's Agenda 2063 of a continent at peace with itself.

As a collective, let us reaffirm our support for the UN process that seeks to bring these two African nations, Morocco and the SADR, back to the negotiating table.

Step up international solidarity

As lovers of peace and freedom – as men and women of conscience – let us step up our international solidarity efforts, in both word and deed, with the people of Western Sahara, with Polisario and with the Saharawi Arab Democratic Republic.

It was international solidarity that brought down the barbaric system of apartheid, and it is international solidarity that will see realised the foremost aspiration of the people of Western Sahara: to be independent and free.

I am told the deliberations held on the first day of this conference have been fruitful and that consensus has been reached on a number of key issues.

Let us continue to harness this spirit of cooperation and of multilateralism, in pursuit of a continent in which all its people are free. ■

DOMESTIC

Food Security as a Human Right

By Itumeleng Mafatshe

Human Rights Day marks an important day that compels us to take a moment and reflect on the history, the present and the future of this country, particularly as this relates to the dignity of all South Africans, as advocated for by the Freedom Charter. In celebrating 25 years of South Africa's democracy and our rights, we must think how the democratic victory of the African National Congress in 1994 translates into a significantly different lived reality for the people of this country.

Ours is a country that is embedded in a history of racial, class and gender oppression. The reality of a deeply entrenched inequality lingers so much so that it finds expression in the lived realities of South Africans, especially as this relates to bread and butter issues in households across the country. It is still appropriate to acknowledge the impact that apartheid, colonialism and patriarchy has had on Africans, women and the poor of this country.

Hunger, malnutrition and food insecurity in South Africa has a face. It is not absurd to suggest that this is the face of a Black working class woman. An ascription to the existing patriarchal gender roles renders the woman as one who must bear the brunt of responsibility for providing food for the household.

According to the United Nations, the right to food as a human right is recognized under international law. This means the right of all individuals to have access to adequate food and to resources necessary for sustainable enjoyment of food security. As a human right, the availability, accessibility and adequacy of food to individuals, places some obligation on the State to see to it that food security is a reality for all.

Threat of Climate Change

The nexus between climate change and economic inequality poses a threat to the fulfilment of the state's obligation to food security. Recent climate disasters attest to the adverse effects that climate change will have on livelihoods and access to adequate food and water. There is no doubt that climate change is already affecting output for both commercial and subsistence agriculture. The expected water and energy deficiencies in the country will minimise availability and access to adequate food.

A combination of how climate change will affect the predominantly blue-collar agriculture economy, and the supposed consequences of the Fourth Industrial Revolution seen in expected retrenchments within the financial sector, is a recipe for economic vulnerability and isolation for many. A sprinkle of the reality of a stubborn youth unemployment rate exacerbates the already entrenched inequality. The cost of food is high and the pinch of the price of bread increasingly becoming tighter for the working and middle classes, and



wounding the poorest among them.

The right to Food as Social Justice

This reality therefore compels those of us interested in justice to begin to have robust discussions and employ vigorous action in

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addressing the pending food crisis and its consequences. For this to happen, it must be prefaced by a political economy critique of agriculture policy in South Africa, specifically to challenge the assumption that the neo-liberal economic framework that underpins most economic activity is the answer to eliminating poverty and inequality and empowering small-scale farmers.

Secondly, concerted efforts must be made by the State to integrate already existing food security interventions such that they contribute to a more coherent and structured national programme that addresses food shortages, malnutrition and hunger, particularly as this relates to migration patterns and the expected increase in urbanisation between now and 2050.

Finally, in order to protect the right to food for all, it is important that the power to grow food is given back to those that need it most. In this regard, significant investment must be made to the re-establishment of community food and vegetable gardens in people's backyards, and other public and community facilities. Additionally, food education must be rolled out in schools to encourage a culture of self-sufficiency in our communities from a young age.

It is important to recognise the importance of the right to food as a critical part of eliminating poverty and inequality in our lifetime. ■

DOMESTIC

Farmworker Rights

25 Years On: A Ticking Time-Bomb

A gtergeblewenes is the Afrikaans word for previously disadvantaged people. The word means “those left behind.” In engaging with farmworker communities that is the word that resonates most. It makes one ponder how, since the advent of our democracy, in spite of the myriad of laws passed to advance farmworker rights, the fate of this community remains so dire?

Our country’s colonialization started with the establishment of what was euphemistically called by the Dutch a “refreshment station.” What this effectively meant was an agricultural plantation staffed by slave labour from a wide range of origins alongside enslaved indigenous South Africans. We often forget that South Africa’s pristine farmlands have been built on the sweat, blood and tears of our ancestors.

As commercial agriculture’s significant contribution to our GDP is acknowledged, it’s worth reminding us of this painful history. And that the majority of those who make the success of this sector possible have lived in a constant state of exploitation. For example, the notorious “dop system” was birthed in this sector leading to a lasting legacy of widespread alcoholism and fetal alcohol syndrome (FAS). Today, the Western Cape still has the highest rate of FAS globally.

Legislation to protect Farmworkers

It is against this history that the ANC-led government drove a series of progressive legislative changes aimed at advancing the rights of farmworkers, including:

- The Extension of Security of Tenure Act of 1997 (“ESTA”) which was a specific protective response to the arbitrary and rampant evictions of farm dweller families. Until the promulgation of ESTA in November 1997, farm tenants had no protection regulating their rights of residence on farms.
- The inclusion of farmworkers into the Labour Relations

Act (LRA), bolstered by the Sectoral Determination provisions, likewise set out to disrupt the tenuous labour conditions in the sector. Through this mechanism, the state for the first time regulated the minimum wages for the sector, making it illegal to pay workers below this wage level. Since its introduction, minimum wages for farmworkers has increased from R650 in 2003 to the current R3169 per month. It is worth noting that when this minimum wage was introduced in 2003, the Department of Labour found that less than 20% of farmworkers were earning the minimum wage at that time.

The Backlash

These progressive legislative changes were introduced alongside South Africa’s return to the world markets after years of apartheid isolation. This entailed a dismantling of all the historical apartheid protections as required by the World Trade Organisation. This, in turn, exerted pressure on farmers to try to recover some of the “subsidies lost” through this liberalisation process. Sadly, it is farmworkers and dwellers who have paid the highest price for this. This process of liberalisation and farmer backlash against new pro farmworker laws resulted in the following broad trends:

- Evictions from farms – at least a million workers were evicted from farms in the first post-apartheid decade as farmers struck pre-emptively to evade the new laws before it took effect;
- Casualisation of farmworkers – in yet another strategy to circumvent the new labour rights accorded under the LRA;
- Feminisation - in justification of contracting workers under more tenuous contract terms, most jobs in the sector have been feminised with lower wages; and
- Labour brokerage: a proliferation of contracting farm labour



By Ambassador Shaun Byneveldt,
A former SA Ambassador to Syria, 2009 - 2018. He writes in his personal capacity.

through labour brokerage as a strategy by farmers to evade their legal obligations as employers.

With the benefit of hindsight, it is clear that the required institutional infrastructure to effect these legislative protections were not put in place. And while some rights violations have been averted, today by and large this community remains exploited.

Farmworkers in the Western Cape – a ticking timebomb

The Western Cape is home to the highest concentration of farmworkers in our country. Politically, this province is thus significant in terms of setting the standard for the well-being of farmworker communities. The ideology of those who rule provincially and locally are key to ensuring rights realisation of farmworkers. Laws are a means to an end and not an end in itself; rather what is equally important is the political will of those who rule provincially and locally, that is, the DA to operationalize our suite of laws created to protect farmworkers in both the letter and spirit.

This means that while some aspects of the lives of this community are governed by national laws, the majority of the day to day delivery is located at the provincial and local government level. The DA with its stated allegiance to protect the historical privileges of the farmer constituency has meant

that there has been little appetite (and practically, resources) for advancing rights of farmworkers.

The DA states its unashamed bias in favour of protecting and perpetuating the historical privilege of farmers. It was, therefore, no surprise when in response to the historical 2012 De Doorns farmworker uprising, Premier Zille insulted farmworkers by proclaiming the uprising as the work of a “third force,” so illustrating her and the DA’s complete blindness and lack of empathy to the realities of farmworkers. It was the daily humiliation of workers and their families that was their real driving force behind these protests.

Regrettably, the DA did not learn from the De Doorns uprising. In an illustration of their blindness, the DA has continued to create a disjuncture between white commercial farm owners interests against farmworker interests. At the second inquiry into farmworker rights by the SA Human Rights Commission in 2018, it was concluded that while “Most farm evictions are illegal, not a single farmer had ever been convicted of an illegal eviction in South Africa.” The DA did nothing to stop evictions!

As I write, there is another evictions crisis looming in the Western Cape and we should not be surprised if we experience another farmworker uprising. To avoid this ticking time-bomb, the ANC will be required to rebuild the trust deficit between farm owners and workers. As a first step, farm owners however will need to move away from an ahistorical racial denialism and sense of entitlement. Given the DA government’s failures, the incoming ANC government will have to intervene. As the New Dawn takes shape under President Ramaphosa, permit me to make the clarion call to both farm owners and farmworkers to join us on this journey by creating a new social compact in the agricultural sector, where all can benefit from shared value, prosperity and dignity.

DOMESTIC

Reflecting on 25 Years of Parliamentary Administration

By Donovan Cloete

As veritable hubs of representation and true tribunes of the people, Parliaments around the world play a critical role in harnessing and advancing democracy and constitutionalism. Our Parliament in South Africa is not an exception in this regard. However, to fully understand the role the South African parliament has played over the years in deepening democracy in the country, one has to follow the historical trajectory of this important institution.

Throughout its many transformations from 1910 until 1994 (bicameral parliament in 1910; unicameral parliament in 1981; tricameral parliament in 1984 and; bicameral parliament in 1994), the South African Parliament was never representative before the democratic dispensation. It only existed to serve the interests of the ruling white minority.

As such, as pointed out in the 2009 Report of the Independent Panel on Assessment of Parliament, the transition to democracy in the country not only created a government that was for the first time legitimate in the eyes of South African citizens, but it also brought comprehensive change to the state machinery and to structures of the three arms of the state (executive, legislature and the judiciary). In particular, the legislature or Parliament changed not only in terms of its members, but also in terms of its structure and functioning.

Moreover, the institution had to also transform the legislative framework that had underpinned the apartheid state. Thus, the first democratic parliament (1994-1999) focused on deconstructing the country's apartheid past and constructing a democratic future through sustained focus on repealing unconstitutional historic and apartheid laws. By focusing on passing transformatory laws, the goal of this parliament was also to lay the foundations for a democratic and open society based on the new Constitution. The first democratic Parliament devised a number of mechanisms to facilitate public involvement in law-making, and these included public access to committee

meetings and plenaries, notice of new bills in parliamentary papers and newspapers and invitations for written and oral comments, all of which was aimed at broadening participation in the legislative processes.

Building on that work, the second democratic Parliament (1999-2004), focused on institutionalizing and broadening oversight. The third democratic Parliament (2004-2009) concentrated on strengthening its oversight role and passed critical legislation on the amending of money bills. It adopted the language policy which introduced the use of all official languages in Parliament. It also strengthened public participation through introduction of the People's Assemblies, taking parliament to the people campaign, the Women's Parliament and the Youth Parliament. Amongst others, the fourth democratic Parliament (2009-2014) developed public participation model and the oversight and accountability model. It also established the Parliamentary Budget Office (PBO) to provide for members with objective and independent analysis of the budget.

With the changing parliament business - the focus during the 5th democratic Parliament (2014-2019) was on institutional systems and processes, the goal being to infuse these with high level of efficiency and effectiveness. There was a realisation that, notwithstanding the critical milestones reached by the previous four parliaments, there were still a number of areas that needed strengthening.

The current Parliament's strategic priorities (of strengthening oversight and accountability; enhancing public involvement; deepening engagement in international fora; strengthening co-operative government; and strengthening legislative capacity) were informed by the changes and the realities of a changing parliamentary environment.

As the country's democracy is maturing and deepening, the parliament is increasingly becoming a multi-party environment. Closely associated with that is not only the changing composition of parties



represented in Parliament, but is also a change in the temperament make-up of members of parliament. As young and vibrant Members are joining the parliamentary fold, the character and nature of parliament is changing and the demands to and expectations of a parliamentary administration are also changing. Now, more than ever, a question arises as to whether the parliamentary administration is up to the task and well positioned to meet the demands of a changing parliament of the 21st century.

There is still a prevailing view amongst Members that despite the significant expansion of the parliamentary administration over the years, capacity and efficiency of administrative support still remain a challenge.

What is compounding the challenge is the issue of austerity measures or budget cuts. As a result, questions arise as to whether the country's democracy is well-funded? Without adequate resources, Parliament and provincial legislatures are unable to facilitate public participation to the level required by the Constitution and to ensure that their oversight over the Executive is meaningful, efficient and effective. Parliament and provincial legislatures presently face more pressures from the public; they are expected to be more accountable and responsive to people's needs. Citizens expect the legislatures to ensure that delivery of services meets their

needs.

But notwithstanding the above challenges heralded by the changes in the parliamentary business, as we ready ourselves for the new parliamentary term, the parliamentary administration remains committed in building confidence in millions of South Africans. As the Parliamentary administration, we will continue to identify new drivers of institutional change in order to provide quality support to Members of Parliament as they discharge their constitutional responsibilities. Taking stock of the successes and experiences of the last 25 years of Parliamentary Administration, we will augment our efforts of finding new ways of strategically positioning Parliament to play a more value-adding role in realising the national developmental agenda.

As we approach a new parliamentary term, we are mindful of the need for a more empowered and capacitated Parliament that serves as a platform for robust public discourse. To this end, we have also identified a number of areas in which we need to redouble our efforts to effectively turn the tide against underperformance in certain areas of parliamentary business and accelerate change over the remaining period of the term, including sharpening our monitoring and evaluation methods and periodic assessments of how citizens experience Parliament through all means of interface with its work.

DEBATE

The Festival of Purim and Israel today

By Roshan Dadoo and Ronnie Kasrils

The article by Wendy Kahn in ANC Today, 23 March, raises a number of serious concerns. Whilst not credited in the article as such, Wendy Kahn is the National Director of the South African Jewish Board of Deputies (SAJBD), an organization that unapologetically supports and advocates for the state of Israel. The SAJBD is therefore in direct opposition to the position of the ANC which rightly continues to support the just struggle of the Palestinian people against Israeli colonialism and for the right to national self-determination.

Kahn draws an analogy between the Jewish festival of Purim and South African Human Rights Day in a thinly veiled and disingenuous attempt to use the Bible to defend Israeli occupation of historic Palestine. Purim celebrates the fable of Queen Esther thwarting a genocidal plot against the Jews in ancient Persia (current day Iran) by “those driven by unreasoning hatred”. This does indeed “resonate strongly in our own troubled times” but not for the reasons Kahn suggests.

Scholars might reasonably doubt the historical veracity of the Biblical account. But even within the biblical story it is worth noting that the Jews had been accepted as refugees in Persia. Indeed, the King of Persia does not seem unduly perturbed to discover that Esther, his new wife, is in fact Jewish and he agrees to her request to stop a plot to massacre the Jews, not only executing the leader of the plot but going so far as to allow the Jewish exiles to kill anyone who threatens them and their families. 75,500 people are killed in the following two days. This might well be considered now as collective punishment and excessive use of force.

This year Purim was celebrated in the Israeli occupied West Bank town of Hebron by Jewish settlers blocking access to Palestinians from their streets - supported by the Israeli army - dressing up as stereotyped ‘Arabs’ (in the same way white racists dress up in ‘blackface’) to unashamedly mock and provoke. Is this the behavior



Human Rights Day and Purim should remind us of our freedom struggle as we celebrate our Constitution that guarantees equal rights for all who live in South Africa

of a “largely powerless Jewish nation” that Kahn equates with promoting human rights? This is in fact the very opposite. It is symptomatic of an arrogant and racist colonial state that denies equal rights to all citizens through apartheid laws, most recently and clearly stated in the Israeli Nation

State Law (2018) which says that the right to exercise national self-determination in the State of Israel is unique to the Jewish people.

Furthermore, our commemoration of Sharpeville Day on 21 March when, as Kahn states, “scores of unarmed civilians were massacred merely for protesting against the iniquitous pass laws” cannot fail to remind us of the Palestinian Great March of Return which is approaching its first anniversary. Every week, unarmed Palestinian protesters continue to demonstrate peacefully, protesting their incarceration in the Gaza strip and for their right to return to their land. Like the apartheid state in South Africa, Israel shoots at these Palestinian civilians. Amnesty International reported that over 150 Palestinians have been killed in the demonstrations. At least 10,000 others have been injured, including 1,849 children, 424 women, 115 paramedics and

115 journalists. Of those injured, 5,814 were hit by live ammunition. Furthermore, a UN Human Rights Council commission report, adopted the day after Human Rights Day this year, found that Israel’s use of lethal force against protesters warrants criminal investigation and prosecution and may amount to war crimes and crimes against humanity.

Human Rights Day and Purim should remind us of our freedom struggle as we celebrate our Constitution that guarantees equal rights for all who live in South Africa. It should be a time to recommit our solidarity with the Palestinian people resisting apartheid Israel. They, like we did, are fighting against an apartheid state, for their right to regain freedom, to return from exile to their ancestral homeland and to enjoy equal rights with all who live in Palestine. ■

INTERNATIONAL

Cyclone Idai and Natural Disaster management in SADC

Cyclone Idai has been declared by the UN to be the worst natural disaster to hit the southern hemisphere.

More than 750 people have died in Mozambique, Malawi and Zimbabwe and hundreds of thousands have been displaced or left homeless. Vast inland lakes have been created.

In the spirit of solidarity and “Thuma Mina!”, South Africa has responded with government and citizens working together.

President Cyril Ramaphosa immediately deployed the SANDF to assist and Minister of International Relations and Cooperation, Lindiwe Sisulu, called upon South African NGOs, companies and individuals to make donations towards humanitarian aid.

The SANDF has deployed aircraft and medical personnel. Organisations such as Gift of the Givers have mobilised donations and ESKOM has deployed technicians to restore power lines.

This disaster raises the urgent need for progressive forces internationally to rally behind measure to deal with climate change responsible for such disasters, in particular the implementation of the Paris Agreement on the emission of greenhouse gasses and to ensure that it is legally enforced.

The ANC has condemned the fact that failure to implement the principles of reciprocity and distributive justice that were accepted in the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC) is having a devastating impact, most clearly seen in cyclones such as Idai, and human devastation that it visits especially on the people of the more underdeveloped Southern Hemisphere.

These tragic events also bring into sharp relief our disaster management capabilities as a country and as a region.

South Africa has a well-developed legislative framework to guide and support disaster risk reduction.

For example, the Disaster Management Act (No 57 of 2002) and the National Disaster Management Framework (2005)

Crucial to this is integrated spatial planning. Development trends, such as population growth and rapid urbanisation, lead to land-use conflicts, increased vulnerabilities and disaster risks.



By Andries Nel: Deputy Minister for Cooperative Governance and Traditional Affairs.

promote a holistic response aimed at reducing the likelihood of disasters and better managing disasters that do occur.

The National Climate Change Response White Paper (2011) outlines government's vision for building resilience to climate change and promotes the mainstreaming of climate change considerations and responses into all relevant sector-planning instruments.

At a regional level, South Africa is part of the SADC Regional Disaster Risk Reduction (DRR) Framework which provides for seasonal disaster preparedness planning at national and regional level to mitigate all forms of disasters in the region which are linked to hydro meteorological factors.

However, despite progress made, several challenges continue to undermine the implementation of



the legislative frameworks:

- (1) Capacity shortages;
- (2) Inadequate institutional placement of the disaster management function in provincial departments and municipalities (where it is sometimes viewed as a line function, instead of a cross-sectoral coordinating function);
- (3) Inadequate funding for proactive risk-reduction planning and activities;
- (4) Insufficient progress in integrating disaster risk reduction into the day-to-day operations and planning of organs of state; and
- (5) Limited technical expertise and capacity to promote integration, particularly at the local government level.

Policy frameworks such as the National Development Plan and the Integrated Urban Development Framework emphasise that building urban and rural resilience and ensuring sustainable development require a close interface and integration of urban governance, climate and risk-sensitive development planning, as well as coherent systems, services and resources.

A whole-of-government and all-of-society approach need to emphasise the linkages between mitigation and adaptation, as well as the multiple economic, social and environmental co-benefits of urban climate action.

Crucial to this is integrated

spatial planning. Development trends, such as population growth and rapid urbanisation, lead to land-use conflicts, increased vulnerabilities and disaster risks.

Spatial planning is instrumental in addressing the challenges posed by natural hazards on the built environment. Through appropriate land-use allocation, exposures to natural hazards can be minimised or even prevented.

Spatial plans should be evaluated against integrated risk maps in order to have an understanding of the possible consequences of disasters on the allocation of land uses.

If the designated land use cannot withstand the risk, alternative land-use options should be sought. For example, new or continued human settlement or infrastructural developments in high-risk areas, such as floodplains, will increase exposure to hazards, with flooding likely to incur costs to government, the private sector and communities.

Investments in disaster risk reduction can largely protect both the population and national resources from such losses.

All these important matters are addressed in the ANC Election Manifesto: Let's Grow South Africa Together. ■

OPINION

A Rigorous Fight against Corruption

“This continent is not distinguished for its good governance of the peoples of Africa. But without good governance, we cannot eradicate poverty; for no corrupt government is interested in the eradication of poverty; on the contrary, and as we have seen in many parts of Africa and elsewhere, widespread corruption in high places breed poverty. The key to a government’s effectiveness and its ability to lead the nation lies in a combination of three elements. First its closeness to its people, and its responsiveness to their needs and demands; in other words, democracy. Secondly, its ability to coordinate and bring into a democratic balance the many functional and often competing sectional institutions which groups of people have created to serve their particular interests. And thirdly, the efficiency of the institutions (official and unofficial) by means of which its decisions are made known and implemented throughout the country.”- Mwalimu Julius Nyerere 13th October 1998 speech on “Good governance for Africa”.

The National Executive committee of the ANC with its weakness like any other political party in the continent, is gradually and swiftly implementing the resolution of the 54th national Congress on a fierce fight against the scourge of corruption, state capture and erosion of democracy, lack of accountability and poor service delivery in other parts of the country. We might be impatient with the current leadership of the ANC, but signs of resolve and commitment to deal with “the sins of incumbency” are there to be seen by even a blind person. That the first deployee of the ANC president Cyril Ramaphosa is leading by example, he is currently ensuring that our judicial system regains its decorum, independence and reclaims its judicial authority. This revolutionary decision and action are but greater step towards what the former President of Tanzania Julius Nyerere echoed, that good governance is a key ingredient for the eradication of poverty and its one of the facets in the fight against rampant corruption, because corruption deprives the downtrodden and the destitute masses of our people with an opportunity to receive basic service delivery.

This strategic focus on judiciary and state institutions that supports democracy would ensure that the future state capture report finds a judiciary system that is not politically interfered with, that is independent, democratic and accountable as espoused in the constitution of the republic. The beneficiaries of state capture and corruption can bear testimony to the fact that the ANC led government has taken a new trajectory in a fierce fight against this monster and cancerous disease of corruption that has engulfed the society and eroded the moral fibre that used to define and resonate with our domestic and foreign policy features.

I still maintain my personal view that corruption is a societal problem, and it has to be rigorously fought by all sections of the society in every corner of the country. The ANC by virtue of being the leader



By Orapeleng Daniel Matshediso:
Member of the ANC, Lekwa-Teemane Sub-region
Dr Ruth Mompoti Region in North West

of the society, is duty bound to be at the forefront of this battle to bury this cancer of corruption and state capture. It means sections of the society must join this battle or a fight against corruption and state capture that has nearly collapse the state, unfortunately it has wounded the decorum of our country in the international arena. I am confident that, with the current political developments in our country, the ANC led government is systematically and gradually regaining its influence and reputation internationally.

The ANC government is currently and decisively dealing with state capture. It is also correcting the mess and corruption in the state-owned enterprises. This is part of building a “capable state” that

is responsive, democratic and accountable in nature and character as enshrined in chapter 13 of the National Development Plan. The ANC is already implementing its manifesto even before the dawn of the most awaited day, the 08 May 2019. We are starting to see and experience the resurrection of hope amongst South Africans, that indeed the future under President Cyril Ramaphosa looks brighter and many people start to resonate with the message of hope as espoused in the manifesto of the ANC. The appointment of the Zondo Commission on state capture, serves as a clear response to chapter 14 of the NDP which directs the government to promote accountability and fight corruption wherever it raises its ugly head in the society. The 2019, ANC manifesto resonates with the “effective government” that was envisaged by President Nyerere, who advocated for the government system that is functional, transparent, closer to the people and implement their needs and demands “Let’s grow South Africa together, people’s plan for a better life for all”.

Views contained in this article are personal views of the author and do not represent official positions or policy of the ANC.

BOOK REVIEW

When we cannot find Ourselves.

African Gender Journals

Pre-eminent African feminist, Amina Mama, in an anniversary edition of *African Feminist* in 2017 wrote about the need for African gender and feminist journals. “What happens to us when we cannot find ourselves, our historical and present-day realities, or our ideas in research on Africa? What happens to us when what we do find is distorted by the perspectives and positionalities of others? The short answer is that we fish endlessly through oceans of indigestible texts...”

She went on to say, “we either lose sight of our conditions, or we develop an appetite for something different, something feminist that is African too.” Over the last three decades and more, African gender journals thus emerged to feed this appetite.

Speak magazine, started by the progressive women’s movement in 1982, was formed “as a platform for women to voice their opinions and concerns about the future of women’s rights in South Africa.” (SA History Online) *Speak* gave voice to women’s issues in the workplace, at home, in communities under apartheid, and made an important contribution to recording women’s struggles and movements during the 1980s. It boldly championed women’s reproductive issues, with articles about menstrual cycles, contraceptives and abortion, at a time when it was seen as rather of a taboo to mention these things. As negotiations unfolded in the early 90s, it reported on women’s rights in an unfolding new dispensation, and the campaign for the second Women’s Charter by the Women’s National Coalition.

Speak closed in 1994, and now exists as a Facebook page, sharing articles from this iconic magazine and continuing to highlight feminist themes. The full *Speak* collection of articles (1988-1994) can be accessed on SA History Online (<https://www.sahistory.org.za/collection/99609>).

Another South African feminist journal, also started in Durban is *Agenda*. It is published by Agenda Feminist Media collective, with various collaborations over the years. Started in 1997 by a group of feminists, students

and academics from the then University of Natal, it positioned itself from the onset as feminist. Unlike *Speak* with its more popular appeal, *Agenda* positioned itself as “showcasing contributions of feminists, women authors, on gender equality and issues from a feminist perspective, following stringent academic criteria.” It is therefore also accredited as a peer review journal, important for feminist and women academics, though still very accessible.

Published quarterly, each *Agenda* edition has a theme, covering local South African, Pan African and/or global issues, ranging from gender and climate change, gender diversities in Africa, gender and rurality, men and violence, to mention but a few themes. Owing to funding issues, *Agenda* took a new direction in 2008, forming a partnership with UNISA Press and Francis and Taylor online, and is now mainly available online.

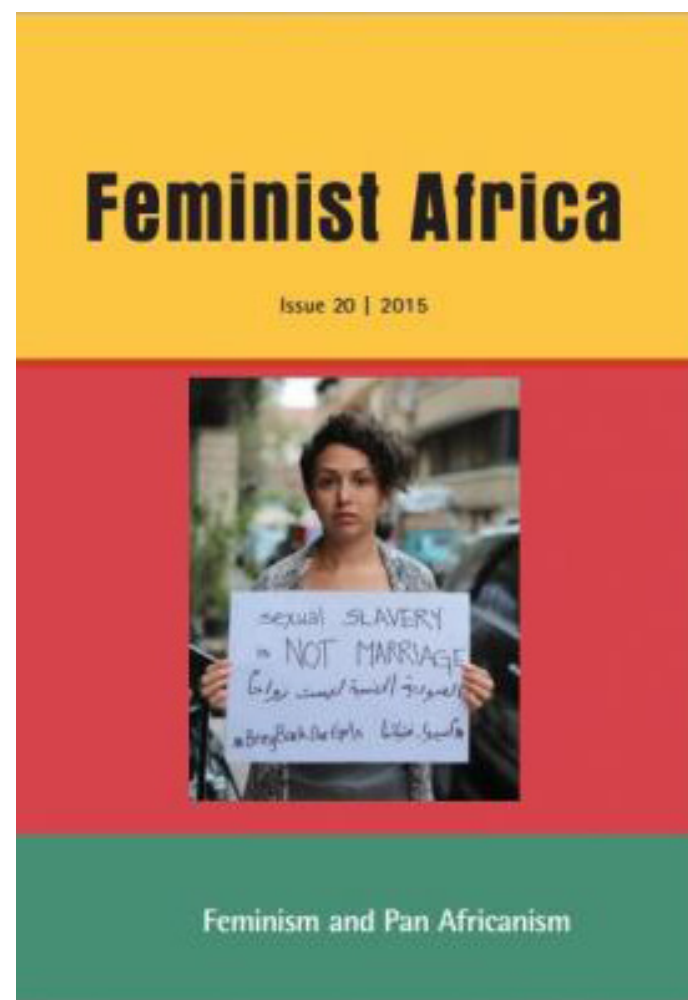
Feminist Africa, published by the African Gender Institute at the University of Cape Town had its first edition in 2002, focussing on “Intellectual Politics.” In the introductory editorial Amina Mama hails *Feminist Agenda* as coming at a critical moment in the continental history of gender politics. She contextualised it as follow: “Three decades after the development industry first began to respond to the international resurgence of women’s movements, African gender politics have become increasingly complex and contradictory. Feminism, as a movement that is both global and local, leaves little untouched. In post-colonial contexts it presents a praxis that directly opposes the hegemonic interests of multinational corporations, international financial and development agencies and nation-states, as well as the persisting male domination of disparate traditional structures, civil society formations and social movements. In African contexts, feminism has emerged out of women’s deep engagement with and commitment to national liberation, so it is hardly surprising that African women’s movements today feature in the disparate struggles and social movements characterising post-colonial life. African women are mobilising at local, regional

and international levels, and deploying various strategies and forms. Little wonder that they display gender politics ranging from the radically subversive to the unashamedly conservative. Gender politics in post-colonial Africa are deeply contested, within and beyond the minority who might name themselves as feminists.”

This first edition of *Feminist Africa* covered intellectual contributions on knowledge production and gender, as well as interviews, reportage and book reviews. Over the years, around different themes, it covered the contemporary issues of the continent, for example, on e-spaces and e-politics; sexual identities; feminist engagements with film; land, labour and gendered livelihoods; militarism, conflict and women’s activism, to mention but a few of the themes so ably covered. Back copies of the journal can be found on the African Gender Institute archives: <http://www.agi.ac.za/agi/feminist-africa/archive>.

There are other journals, increasingly and mainly online, started by feminist and women’s organisations and networks. These include the *African Women’s Journal*, published since 2015 by Femnet. Femnet describes itself as “a pan-African, membership-based feminist network based in Nairobi with over 700 members across 46 African countries.” The biannual *African Women’s Journal* is but one of the resources they provide to their network of organisations.

The *Jenda* journal, published online by the African Knowledge Project, is a US based organisation



that seeks to disseminate critical information about Africa and the African Diaspora. In its premiere edition in 2001, it positions itself as giving space to theorise experiences that are marginalised globally. There are also quite a few journals who focus on national issues, within a pan-African context, such as the Ghanaian SIGADA (studies in gender and development in Africa) which position itself as “a trans-disciplinary publication that prioritizes gender as a development issue,” and the Zimbabwean SAFERE (Southern African Feminist Review, 1995-1999). However, the African Journals Online, which lists over eight hundred and fifty African journals by country only includes three journals dedicated to gender and feminist themes, including Gender and Development journal published in Nigeria.

Though few in number, and many struggling with resources, the African gender and feminist journals provide an important space for engaging with gender issues in a transdisciplinary manner, and give voice to the diversity of experiences of African women. ■ **FPG**



CHARLOTTE
MANNYA-MAXEKE
INSTITUTE
(CMMI)



BRING-HER-UP



CHARLOTTE MAXEKE WEEK PROGRAM

03 APRIL 2019

TIME: 09:00 - 14:00

PROGRAM: SCHOOL DEBATE

VENUE: KLIPTOWN

04 APRIL 2019

TIME: 09:00 - 12:00

PROGRAM: CHARLOTTE MAXEKE'S HOUSE VISIT AND CHURCH SERVICE

VENUE: KLIPTOWN

05 APRIL 2019

TIME: 11:00 - 14:00

PROGRAM: PLANTING THE SEEDS OF HOPE

VENUE: SICEDENI

07 APRIL 2019

TIME: 13:00 - 15:00

PROGRAM 1: HANDING OVER OF BABY HAMPERS TO BABIES BORN ON
THE 7TH OF APRIL (SHARING A BIRTHDAY WITH MME MAXEKE)

VENUE: CHARLOTTE MAXEKE ACADEMIC HOSPITAL

TIME: 17:00 - 20:00

PROGRAM 2: MEMORIAL LECTURE

VENUE: UNISA, LITTLE THEATER, PRETORIA

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Pedestrian Safety RULES



More than half of all road traffic deaths are among Vulnerable road users: Pedestrians, Cyclists, and Motorcyclists.

Drinking alcohol and walking increases the risk of accidents: alcohol and drugs impair your judgement, so be careful when walking and you are drunk, ask someone sober to walk with you.

Mobile phones are a risky distraction, including with earphones, listening to loud music, you can't hear when someone warns you or hoots at you. Don't drown out your environment when listening to music with your earbuds or headphones. Keep the volume at a level where you can still hear what's going on around you.

Rapid response saves lives and reduces disability among the injured. Lives can be saved with timely care at the scene, and transport to hospital for emergency care. Bystanders can help to save lives by calling emergency care system and if trained simple first-aid until professional help arrives.

Don't chat, text and game whilst walking: chatting, texting or playing games on your cell phone while walking is as dangerous, because you are not concentrating on your environment. You are less likely to recognize traffic danger, tripping hazards, or passing joggers and bikers. Potential criminals also see you as an easy target.

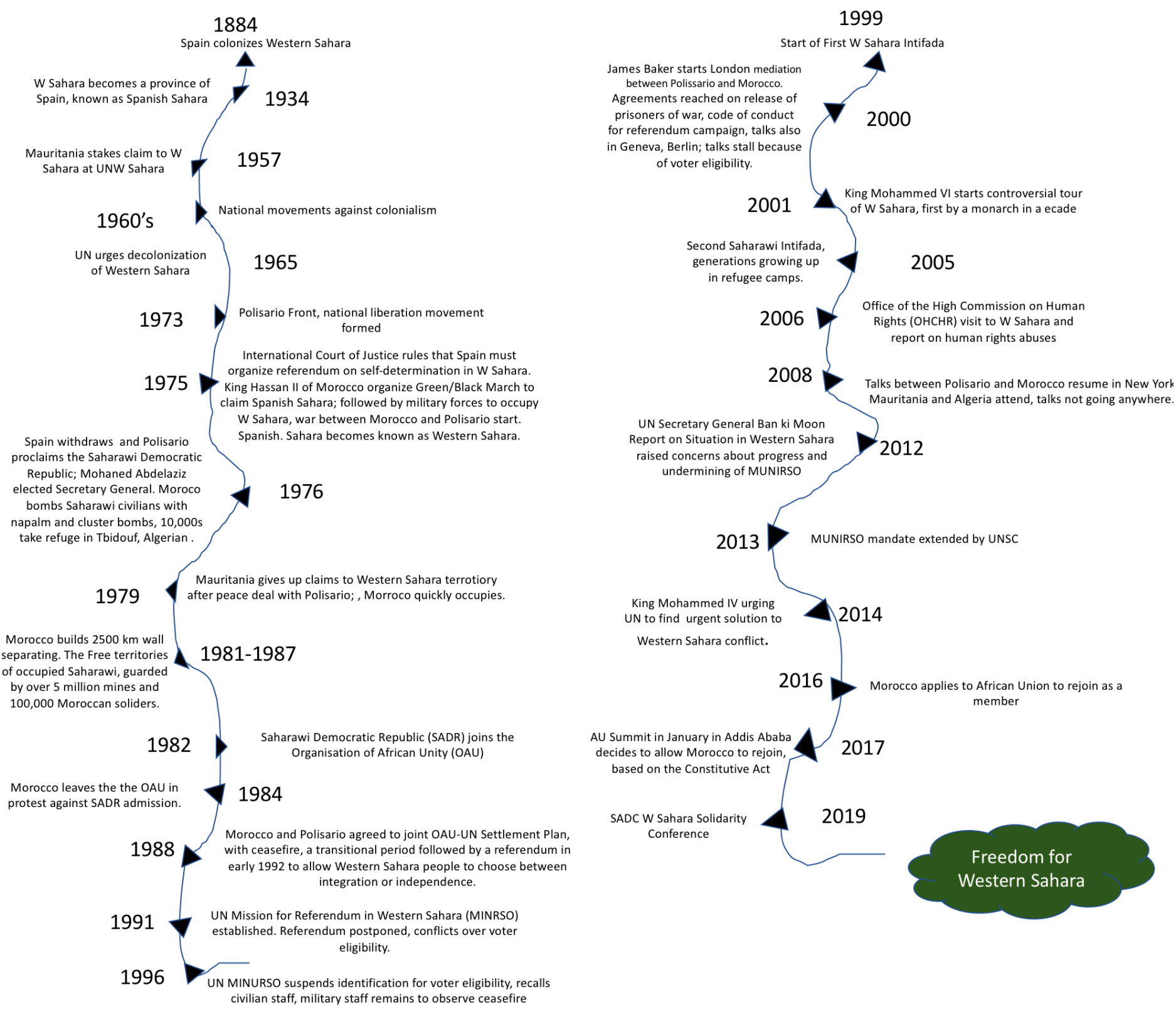
Unsafe road design increases the risk for all road users. Roads should be designed for the safety of all road users. This means ensuring adequate facilities for pedestrians, cyclists and motorcyclists. Measures such as footpaths, cycling lanes, safe crossing points and traffic calming measures are critical to reducing the risk of injury among these road users.

Be Aware of Stranger Danger: Street safety is a concern for many pedestrians. If you can choose your route where there are people, and if you see someone suspicious, be prepared to take another way, avoid dark and open spaces, or go into a store or public building to avoid them. Acting alert and aware, walk confidently can convince bad guys you are not an easy target.

Walk Facing Traffic When Walking on the Side of the Road. If there is no sidewalk and you must walk on the side of the road, choose the side where you are facing oncoming traffic. In South Africa, this is the right side of the road. This gives you the best chance to see traffic approaching closest to you and take evasive action when needed.

Cross Safely. Your mother was right—you should look both ways before crossing any street. At intersections, cross only when the pedestrian crossing light is green or there are no cars. Even then, drivers and bikers may have a green light to turn and won't be expecting you to be in the crosswalk. Make eye contact with any drivers who may be turning. Give them a wave. Make sure they see you.

Western Sahara Timeline



THIS WEEK IN HISTORY

23 - 29 March

23 MARCH 1984:



Dorothy Nyembe, a leader of the Cato Manor protests was released from prison. She went on to become one of the leaders of the Natal Organisation of Women (NOW), an affiliate of the United Democratic Front (UDF). Before her imprisonment, she was a founder of the ANC Women’s League in Cato Manor in 1954, led the Natal contingent of women to the 1956 Women’s March to the Union Buildings, became ANCWL Natal President in 1959 where she led the League in the potato boycott against poor treatment of prisoners on farms. Dorothy Nyembe was amongst the first Umkhonto we Sizwe recruits in 1961. Her release on 23 March 1984 came after sentenced to 15 years in prison for harboring Umkhonto we Sizwe members. After the first democratic elections of 1994, she was one of the pioneer Members of Parliament and one of the founding mothers and fathers of the South African democratic constitution. Mam Nyembe passed on in 1998.

23 March 1988:



End of the Battle of Cuito Guenavalle, which saw on Angolan soil, the epic battle between the South African apartheid forces, which backed UNITA, and the Angolan government forces, supported by the Cubans with over 300,000 troops. The battle is regarded as the second largest battle after the World Wars, and part of the apartheid government’s Border Wars started in 1966, for which it conscripted white South Africans. The defeat of the South African Defence Force marked a turning point, forcing the apartheid regime to sign the Angolan peace accords in 1988.

23 March 1960:



PAC president, Robert Sobukwe and national secretary, Kitchener Leballo and eleven others charged with incitement to riot, following anti-pass protests.

24 March 1855:



Olive Schreiner, author of The Story of an African Farm, a South African classic was born, growing up in Cradock, E Cape. She was an anti-war campaigner, and fought

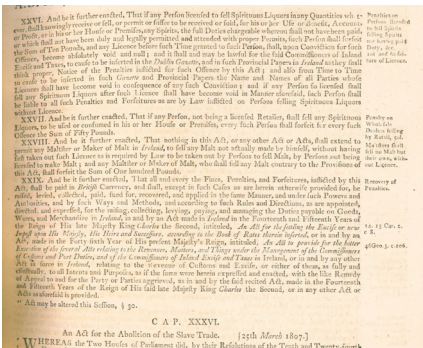
for the rights of especially Afrikaner women in British concentration camps and later for the civil and political rights of women, published in her book Women and Labour. Schreiner passed on in 1920. One of her famous quotes: “There was never a great man who had not a great mother.”

24 March 1961:



Ciskei is established as one of the bantustans, part of the apartheid government’s separate development policy, which along with the Land Acts of 1913 and 1923, and the Group Areas Act, saw black people restricted to ownership of 13% of the land. In 1972 Ciskei became a self-governing territory with Zwelitsha as capital, and granted ‘independence’ in 1982. The Bantustan sytem was met with resistance from the onset, gaining momentum after the formation of the Border region of the United Democratic Front in 1983.

25 March 1807:



The British Parliament passed the Abolition of the Slave Trade Act, which outlaws the slave trade within the British empire, but not slavery. An act abolishing slavery was only passed in Britain in 1834. According to the UK government archives, 3.1 million African slaves were transported to its various colonies in the Americas, Caribbean and other countries, of which only 2.7 arrived alive over the 300 years of the slave trade. London, Bristol and Liverpool were the most important ports for the British slave trade.

25 March 2001:



The inauguration of Pedestrian week (25-31 March) to raise awareness on pedestrian safety issues. According to the UN, each year, over 270,000 pedestrians, and in South Africa between 35-40% of road deaths are pedestrians. Contributing factors to these high figures, according to the Arrive Alive campaign, include drunk, distracted, reckless pedestrians, poor visibility and state of pavements. The Arrive Alive campaign includes educating children in school on road safety, and physical infrastructure to encourage safety such as wider pavements, traffic bumps, and pedestrian bridges.

26 March 1898:



Hunting in the area now known as the Kruger National Park banned through a proclamation by the then Zuid Afrikaanse Republic (the Boer republic of Transvaal). First named the Sabie Game Reserve, it was renamed after Paul Kruger in 1926, and opened to the public in 1927. The Kruger National Park is the largest game reserve in Africa, 19,633 km2 large. At last count, it has 93 mammal, 518 bird and 118 reptile species, including the Big Five: Buffalos, elephants, leopards, lions and rhinos and the Little Five: antlions, eastern rock elephant shrews, leopard tortoises, red-billed buffalo weavers and rhino beetles

THIS WEEK IN HISTORY

23 - 29 March

continued from page 1

26 March 1943:



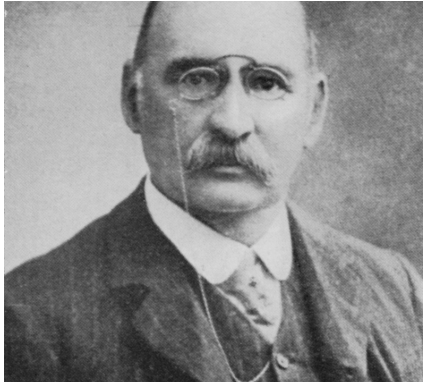
The Afrikaans newspaper, Die Burger, published the word “Apartheid” for the first time.

26 March 1956:



Sheiks Mutondi Makhado, businessman and well-known leader in the area of Black economic empowerment, is born in Johannesburg. He was executive director of NAFCOC (1989-91) and founder of the Retabile Group, with stakes in telecommunications, airlines and casinos.

26 March 1881:



Reinhold Gregorowski is appointed a judge in the Orange Free State at the age of 25, making him the youngest judge in SA history. Judge Gregorowski delivered the death penalty in the Jameson Raids, and died in 1922. In 1999, Leona Theron was appointed as judge at the age of 33, making her the second youngest judge.

27 March 1876:



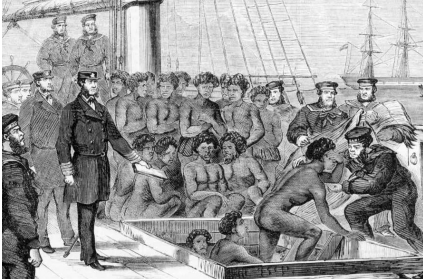
The Cape Times newspaper first day on the streets of Cape Town.

27 March 1985:



A bus with 76 learners from Vorentoe High school, Johannesburg plunged into the Westdene dam, killing 42 learners. To this day, the cause of the accident is not known.

28 March 1658:



The first 174 slaves arrived in Cape Town in the Dutch East Indian Company (VOC) ship, the Amersfoort. They were part of a contingent of 250 Angolan slaves originally destined for Brazil, but stolen by the Amersfoort from the Portugese slave traders. The rest died during the trip, before

landing in Cape Town, where they were sold. The slave trade in the Cape colony officially lasted until 1822, with slaves captured from Angola, Ghana, India, Mozambique, Madagascar, and what is now known as Indonesia and Malaysia. When slavery was finally abolished in 1834 by the British, nearly 200 years later, the Cape had a population of over 38,000 slaves.

28 March 1996:



Trevor Manuel appointed as first black Finance minister, after the resignation of Chris Liebenberg, a position he served from 1996-2009). On the same day, the Reconstruction and Development (RDP) office in the Presidency is closed.

28 March 1960.



Former ANC President Oliver Reginald Tambo leaves South Africa illegally on the instruction of the ANC to carry on work outside the country, returning only 30 years later in 1990.

29 March 1988.



Dulcie September, ANC chief representative in France, Luxembourg and Switzerland is assassinated. An activist who dedicated her life to freedom, she was born on. 20 August 1953 in Athlone, Cape Tow.

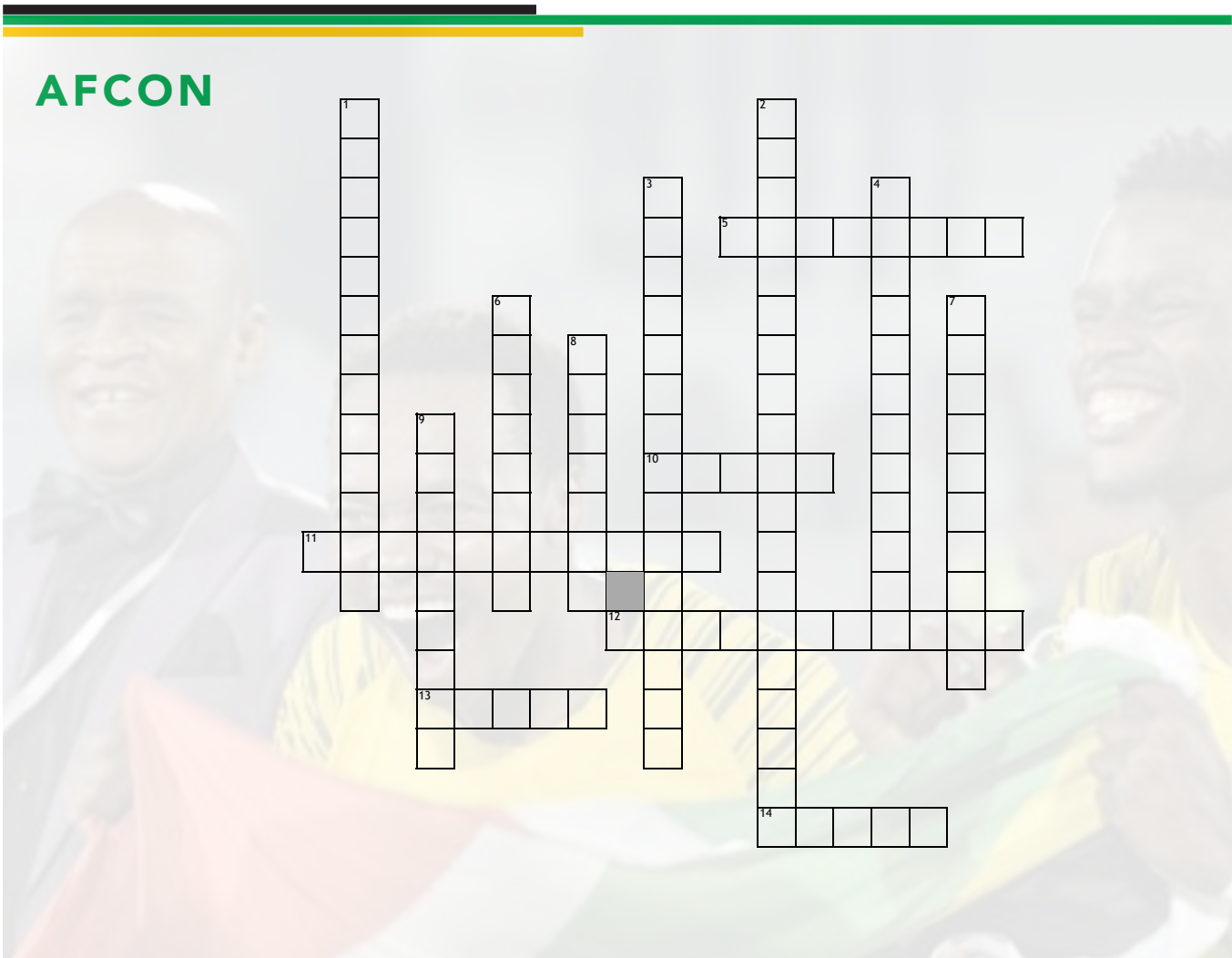
29 March 1994:



Thousands of Rwandan refugees fleeing violence in Burundi begin a two-day trek toward Tanzania. In 1994, according to the UN High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR), an estimated 1.3 million Rwandans fled genocide to eastern Zaire (now the Democratic Republic of the Congo, or DRC), and more than half a million escaped to Tanzania. Hundreds of thousands went back to Rwanda from both DRC and Tanzania in 1996.

Source - SA History Online.

CROSSWORD



Across

- 5.** How many goals scored by the top goal scorer across his AFCON career
10. Which country has emerged most often as AFCON winner
11. Which player scored the qualifying goal that took South Africa to its first World Cup in 1998
12. Youngest player in an AFCON match was 16 years old, Gabon vs SA in 2017 Finals, Gabonese
13. Country that hosted the most AFCON tournaments: 1959, 1974, 1986, 2006, 2019*
14. How many times have Egypt won the AFCON title

Down

- 1.** Top South African AFCON scorer
2. What does AFCON stands for
3. Won AFCON as both player and coach from Egypt (1959 as player, 1998 as coach)
4. Won AFCON as both player and coach from Nigeria (1994 as player, 2013 as coach)
6. Who scored the two qualifying goal that made Bafana qualify for the next AFCON
7. Top goal scorer for in AFCON tournaments
8. Which country did Bafana Bafana defeat in 1996.
9. Who was Bafana Bafana captain who lifted the AFCON trophy in 1996.

Word Bank

Benni McCarthy
seven
Samuel Eto'o

Stephen Keshi
Egypt
Mahmoud El-Gohary
Tunisia

Egypt
African Cup of
Nations
eighteen

Shiva NZigou
Phil Masinga
Percy Tau
Neil Tovey

write for us



Maximum contributions of 600 words, in accesible language, in any South African language, adequately properly referenced. We reserve the right to edit.

info@anc1912.org.za

VERBATIM

LET'S
GROW
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AFRICA
TOGETHER

VOTE ANC



2019 ANC ELECIONS
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IN YOUR HANDS
GROW SOUTH
AFRICA



VOTE ANC



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BAROMETER

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ANC Treasurer General Cde Paul Mashatile on a campaign trail GAUTENG 1



in pictures



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