

The Thinker

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A PAN - AFRICAN QUARTERLY FOR THOUGHT LEADERS

AHMED TIMOL

AN HISTORIC JUDGEMENT

MICHAEL PRIOR ON NUCLEAR WEAPONS

ARE WE FACING ARMAGEDDON?

Ronald Suresh Roberts Lin Songtian Slava Tetekin Anne Oberholzer Martin Rupiya
David Monyae Thando Ntlemenza Mohau Bosiu Letlhogonolo Nomadolo Craig Bailie
Mohammed Haffejee Lucky Mathebula Tshepiso Mphelo Lebogang Charter Modise
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In This Issue

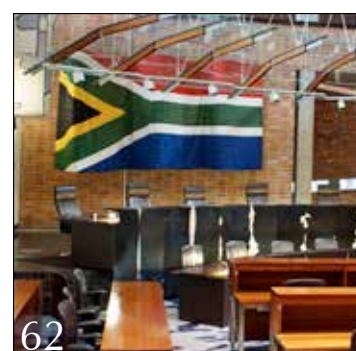
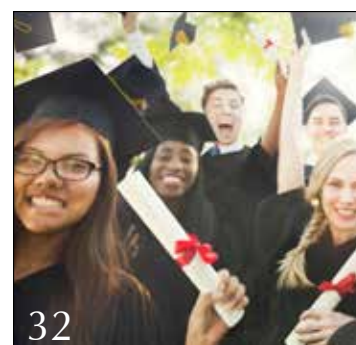
- 2 Letter from the Editor
- 8 Contributors to this Edition
- 10 Nuclear weapons: Are we facing Armageddon?
Michael Prior
- 18 The New Sociology of Public Discourse: White Lies
Ronald Suresh Roberts
- 24 The 19th National Congress of the CPC Ushers in a New Era for
China-South Africa and China-Africa Cooperation
Lin Songtian
- 28 Russia: A potentially explosive situation
Vyacheslav (Slava) Tetekin
- 32 Our South African Senior Certificate Undermined
Anne Oberholzer
- 38 Morocco: the BRICS alternative to South Africa in the Maghreb
– Exercising growing influence in Sub-Saharan Africa, top of the
Equator?
Martin R Rupiya
- 42 The South Africa-China Relationship at Twenty: Lessons for the
Future
David Monyae
- 50 Oliver Tambo: A True Cadre Who Led The Liberation Struggle
With Distinction
Thando Ntlemeza
- 57 The South Africa I Know, the Home I Understand
Mohau Bosiu
- 62 The Impact of the Judiciary within the Doctrine of Separation of
Powers
Letlhogonolo Nomadolo
- 66 Leadership in Africa: The Heart of the Matter
Craig Bailie
- 70 December 2017: An opportunity to embrace leadership
Mohammed Haffejee
- 72 The 2016 Local Government Elections Narrative South Africa, a
maturing Democracy
Lucky Mathebula
- 75 South Africa needs a new cultural revolution to change the
mind-set of its people
Tshepiso Mphahlo and Charter Lebogang Modise
- 76 Africa must participate in the Fourth Industrial Revolution
Department of Science and Technology
- 78 Through a Creative Lens
Poetry by Ronnie Kasrils, Don Materra and Mongane Serote
- 80 Readers' Forum
Dear African written by Thokozani Dladla



On the Cover:

As Judge Mothele said "They, like all families whose relatives died in detention, need healing. They need closure.

© Timol Family



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An Historic Judgement

Ahmed Timol, like the many thousands of South Africans who were murdered, assassinated, tortured to death and hanged by the evil apartheid regime has been frequently described as an ‘anti-apartheid activist’. This terminology is misleading and inappropriate. They were not anti-apartheid activists but fearless freedom fighters. These freedom fighters paid the supreme price so that South Africans could live in a free, democratic country which respects the human rights of all its citizens.

The term anti-apartheid activist should be reserved for those wonderful people, throughout the world, who gave their, time, energy, drive, and resources to support our revolutionary struggle and to isolate a system described by the UN as a crime against humanity. These activists from the Anti-Apartheid Movement contributed their strength to our international solidarity support, one of the four pillars of our struggle.

On 12 October 2017, Judge Billy Mothle delivered the historic judgement that Ahmed Timol was brutally tortured and murdered on 27 October 1971. He was only 29 years old. Timol was one of more than 70 detainees who were tortured to death. The racist apartheid regime and its security forces as well as its courts concocted lies to cover up their crimes. They made ridiculous and unbelievable claims; for example, that detainees jumped from windows, slipped on a bar of soap, slipped while in the shower or hanged themselves.

A number of people need to be commended for taking up the cudgels, 46 years later, to prove beyond any reasonable doubt that Ahmed Timol did not commit suicide but was murdered in cold blood. To mention a few, Imtiaz Cajee, Timol’s nephew who for 15 years doggedly investigated the

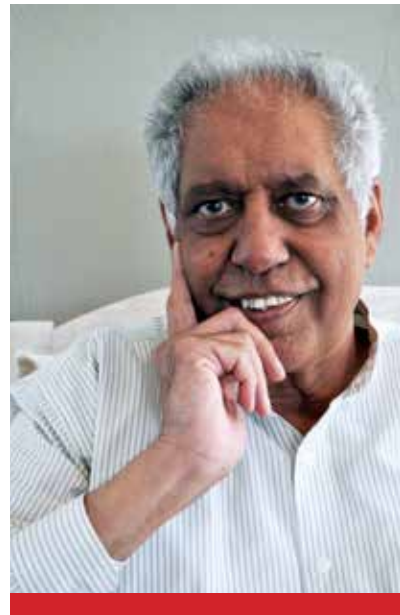
case, his brother Mohammad Timol, himself a freedom fighter and former tortured detainee, the brave Salim Essop who was detained with Timol who came from England and gave evidence of the horrendous torture inflicted on him. They were supported by Advocate Howard Varney and Frank Dutton, a celebrated investigator, the attorneys from Webber Wentzel who worked pro bono, and also the Human Rights Foundation.

Judge Mothle spared no effort in his detailed and meticulous judgement, overturning one by one the conclusions drawn in the original inquest. Below we publish some excerpts from that historic judgement which is going to have far reaching consequences in the future.

Jude Mothle said:

The evidence of assault and other

“Timol was one of more than 70 detainees who were tortured to death. The racist apartheid regime and its security forces as well as its courts concocted lies to cover up their crimes. They made ridiculous and unbelievable claims; for example, that detainees jumped from windows, slipped on a bar of soap, slipped while in the shower or hanged themselves.”



forms of torture of detainees presented in the 2017 re-opened inquest is so overwhelming, that the denial and lack of knowledge thereof by the three former Security Branch police officers who testified is disingenuous. Further, the fact that each one of them testified during the 2017 re-opened inquest that they knew nothing about assault apart from what they read in the media, is a demonstration that they were regurgitating a standard response, seemingly prescribed to all members of the Security Branch. Else, Sons and Rodrigues’s conduct calls for censure. Their conduct must be investigated further with a view to raise appropriate charges.

It is improbable that the Security Branch would subject the detainees arrested with or linked to Timol to various forms of torture, but treat him differently. There is sufficient evidence before this Court to hold that the Security Branch have tortured the detainees arrested within or a day after Timol. This torture continued over the same weekend and in the same building. It has been consistent and sustained. This evidence establishes similar facts in regard to the case of Timol.

On the basis of the overwhelming similar patterns of torture on the other detainees, this Court accepts that Timol was tortured, which torture included physical assault...

This Court therefore accepts that there is incontrovertible evidence that Timol sustained the ante mortem injuries in detention while being interrogated.

The evidence of the 2017 re-opened inquest, unmasked the cover up, but due to the absence of the interrogators who have all passed on, the real events leading to the push could not be established. However, the evidence prima facie and logically points out that at the time Timol was pushed either out of the window of room 1026 or at the roof top, he was in the company of members of the Security Branch in charge of his interrogation on duty. He could obviously not have been in a cell. These members were at least Gloy and Van Niekerk, as their police file records show and the evidence of Boucher and Louw confirms. They were on duty at that time. The Court is unable to establish on the evidence whether there was anyone else with them...

There are four reasons from the evidence why the Court is of the view that the members of the Security Branch interrogating Timol had the requisite intent in the form of *dolus eventualis* to commit murder. Firstly, the methods of torture they applied on Timol's co-detainees were so brutal that there was an element of recklessness with the manner in which they occurred. Secondly, the injuries on Timol sustained ante mortem, 35 in all, with various degrees of severity, demonstrate that there were no boundaries of respect for human life. Thirdly, the police on their own version removed the injured Timol from where he landed immediately after the fall, without summoning medical assistance, clearly in order to conceal the crime. The very act of his removal from the scene as he was alive, may have accelerated his demise due to the police's reckless conduct at the scene. Fourthly, there was a history of detainees having died in detention, which seemed not to have any deterrence on their conduct. Van Niekerk, one of Timol's interrogators on the day he died, already had a record of brutality at that time, which included convictions of two counts of assault (in which the victim died) and

“They, like all families whose relatives died in detention, need healing. They need closure.”

multiple complaints of serious assault and torture, in which he and Gloy were accused of. These referred to the assault on detainees with iron rods and electric shocks, some which occurred months before their interrogation of Timol. One such incident was in February of 1971. It is thus probable, on the evidence, that the Security Branch foresaw that their methods of interrogation carries the risk of death occurring, but nevertheless persisted unrestrained with the torture, appreciating that death might well occur...

The inquest also revealed that there are many more families¹ who are

seeking closure on the unanswered questions concerning the death of their relative in detention. They, like all families whose relatives died in detention, need healing. They need closure.

It is thus the view of this Court that the families whose relatives died in detention, particularly those where the inquest returned a finding of death by suicide, should be assisted, at their initiative, to obtain the records and gather further information with a view to have the initial inquest re-opened. The Human Rights Commission, working in consultation with the law enforcement agencies, should be sufficiently resourced to take on this task? ■

References:

- ¹ The Judge's Registrar, Mr Lesibana Makwela received a number of inquiries from persons who needed assistance to find closure in cases of their relative having died in detention.
- ² Without being prescriptive, it would assist if the Human Rights Commission and IPID are sufficiently resourced to undertake the task of preparatory work, in consultation with the NPA, for the re-opening of such inquest at the request of the families concerned.



Imtiaz Cajee and Mohammad Timol

ZIMBABWE

Is it more of the same?



It is of great concern that ZANU PF did not seize the opportunity to form a government of national unity with the major opposition parties.

In November, 2017, following an unprecedented military intervention, Robert Mugabe was compelled to resign as head of state and the pre-eminent leader of ZANU PF. He has served as president of Zimbabwe for 37 years and for an even longer period as leader of ZANU PF.

Mugabe's stubborn attempts to prolong his rule of state and party was brought to an ignoble end by a parliament, dominated by ZANU PF, initiating a process to impeach him. If he had been impeached he would have lost his state pension and perks due to him as a former head of state. Furthermore, it would have encouraged the new administration to take steps to confiscate the wealth accumulated by Mugabe, his wife and family over the years. It is reliably reported that the Mugabe family have extensive properties and wealth, ill-gotten or otherwise, in Zimbabwe, South Africa, Asia and the Middle East. It is also

reported, not denied by the Mugabe family, that he received an ex-gratia payment of \$US 10 million as a parting gift and assurance that his accumulated wealth would remain safe.

Whether it was a soft coup or a negotiated post-Mugabe transition initiated and carried out by ZANU PF is a debate that will continue for a long time. It is, however, indisputable that the military has played a decisive role in the politics of Zimbabwe since independence.

After 37 years of Mugabe dominance, Emmerson Manangagwa is now the new head of state and leader of a deeply fractured ZANU PF. Manangagwa has appointed a new cabinet that includes two senior military officers and many of the old guard. More of the same?

The events of November raise a number of serious questions that need to be answered over the coming months.

1. Will the new administration pursue neo-liberal, structural adjustment policies and programmes or will it take a progressive socio-economic developmental path to overcome the serious economic and political crisis facing the people of Zimbabwe?
2. Will the political and government leaders take a decisive step to empower the people to be active participants in the economic, political, social and cultural life of the country?
3. Will ZANU PF be able to deal with the rot of factionalism that has characterised it for so long?
4. Will the new government promote, defend and secure the fundamental human rights of all Zimbabweans, as well as the rule of law, institutions of good and accountable governance, peace and stability?

These are some of the issues, questions and challenges that have to be addressed as a matter of urgency.

It is of great concern that ZANU PF did not seize the opportunity to form a government of national unity with the major opposition parties. Such a government would have given confidence to the people of Zimbabwe that the prospect of stabilising the country and taking steps to solve the deep socio-economic crises are more real than apparent. Such a courageous move could have created the climate and mood to collectively agree to postpone elections set for next year.

Without a doubt it will not be possible to hold credible, free and fair elections without the formation of a genuinely independent electoral commission. Such a commission would have the endorsement and support of all the role players in Zimbabwe, the region, the continent and the world.

If the elections are held in a hostile and fractious political environment the prospects of a stable, secure and progressive outcome of the historical political changes will be seriously compromised.

Zimbabweans have suffered for far too long. They, together with the people of South Africa, the region and our continent want a stable, secure, democratic, peaceful, just, prosperous and progressive Zimbabwe. They do not want more of the same. ■



Anti-Mugabe demonstrators showing placards while marching to Mugabe's official residence in solidarity with the military intervention

STATEMENT OF THE CONCERNED AFRICANS' FORUM ON THE RECENT POLITICAL DEVELOPMENTS IN ZIMBABWE

We members of the Concerned African Forum (CAF) have been following very closely and with great interest the recent political developments in the Republic of Zimbabwe which led to the resignation of the ZANU PF liberation struggle veteran, President Robert Mugabe.

In this context we have taken note of the explanation of these recent developments as provided by *The (Zimbabwe) Herald* in its 2 December, 2017 edition in an Opinion piece

entitled "Jonso can pee all he wants – from outside", which said:

the whole thing was Zanu-PF – which has always had military and political leadership co-existing and not exactly sharing leadership spoils equally – (it) was the party self-correcting and renewing its leadership by way of recalling an errant cadre and a cabal and replacing them with newer and more focused faces.

It was not a revolution.

Nor was it a subversion of a

constitutional order, which is why our unique-coup-that-was-no-coup has become a global marvel.

We note with encouragement that President Mugabe's resignation and the decisions to designate His Excellency Emmerson Mnangagwa as the new leader of ZANU PF and President of the Republic of Zimbabwe took place within a context of limited violence and relative adherence to frameworks of constitutionalism, democracy, and good governance.

Former President Mugabe and President Emmerson Mnangagwa deserve tribute for the level of political maturity and commitment that allowed for a relatively peaceful transition to a new leadership in ZANU-PF and Zimbabwe. We also recognise the Zimbabwe Defence Forces' strategic role in ensuring that the leadership transition was conducted with a minimum of force. We pay special and deserved praise to the people of Zimbabwe for their restraint and poise during these challenging times. We trust that the parties to the leadership transition will continue to retain the involvement of Parliament and other democratic institutions in the governance of Zimbabwe.

We thus call on the ZANU-PF and government leadership to promote unity among all Zimbabweans on the basis of respect for human rights and the rule of law. It is necessary in this respect to initiate a process of historical recovery and reconciliation regarding the Gukurahundi dark shadow over the nation. We trust that this leadership will continue to strengthen the country's institutions of democracy, good governance, peace, and security as the necessary conditions for social and economic transformation inherent in the construction of a developmental state.

Finally, along with the centrality of the Zimbabwean people in their country's recovery and progress towards equitable and sustainable development, we encourage all regional, continental, and global powers to support the decisions the Government and people of Zimbabwe will take to respond to the country's multi-dimensional humanitarian and socio-economic challenges. ■

– Johannesburg, December 6, 2017

TECTONIC SHIFT IN THE GEOPOLITICAL LANDSCAPE

The global geopolitical landscape has undergone a major tectonic shift over the past 24 months, in which the prevailing consensus regarding international trade, finance and immigration has been turned on its head by the rise of markedly nationalist movements across the US and Europe.

The rise of anti-global populism suggests that something about the model of globalisation needs to change if we are to improve its sustainability. For example, governments across the world may require a more coordinated effort to ensure that the social costs of international competition are mitigated by providing safety nets during periods of unemployment and economic evolution.



Sources: UNCTAD, IMF, Oasis Research, August 2017

Investors would thus be wise to pay close attention to recent developments in the area of anti-globalisation in general and trade flows more particularly. As some of the world's largest economies threaten to pull out from existing trade agreements, the cutting edge of global influence and dynamism may accelerate in its shift eastwards. The Silk Road initiative, which could link China much more closely to its neighbours through a vast network of transport infrastructure, is one such area of change. The mega project may involve the financing of \$900 billion in investment expenditure across countries to the south and west of China, into Eurasia and Europe's mainland, while spanning north and east Africa as well, along the old 'Silk Road' trade routes.

However if globalisation and trade integration are to be properly revitalised by initiatives such as the Silk Road, they will require alternative financing models which enhance socially responsible economic outcomes, rather than undermine them. While domestic participation in infrastructure funding may go some way to retaining the economic benefits of development, global investors should likewise be strongly incentivised to remain committed to sustainable development over the long term.

In this respect, the Islamic finance sector is particularly well positioned to become a driving force behind the Silk Road initiative, as its prohibition of speculative activities and its asset-based financing structures are perfectly suited to long term tangible infrastructure development. The proximity of the Middle Eastern, European, Malaysian, Indonesian and African centres of Islamic finance to the planned regions of development can also serve as a strong underpin which ties global financiers and local populations to the same fate, reducing the propensity for predatory

modes of investment. Ultimately, the process of globalisation and integration can enhance worldwide productivity growth massively, as the profitable pre-crisis period of booming international trade has showed us. However, true sustainability will need more imaginative modes of international investment, so that the benefits of this growth are shared fairly, and we do not find ourselves in another cycle of growth-destructive political nationalism down the road.



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Tel: +27 (0) 21 413 7860 | Fax: +27 (0) 21 413 7920

JOHANNESBURG

Suite 408 • 4th Floor West Office Tower
Nelson Mandela Square • Sandton • Gauteng
South Africa
Tel: +27 (0) 11 263 7860 | Fax: +27 (0) 11 263 7861

DURBAN

Shop 49 • The Ridge@Shallcross
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GLITTERS AT THE 2017 GLOBAL ISLAMIC FUND AWARDS



Astana, Kazakhstan was host to the Global Islamic Finance Awards on the 6th of September 2017 as the world's best performing Islamic investment funds and their associated fund managers were recognised. In an opulent ceremony held in the capital city and attended by Kazakhstan's President Nursultan Nazarbayev, the Oasis Crescent Global Equity Fund received the award for the Best Global Shari'ah Compliant Equity Fund in 2017.

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All contributing analysts write in their personal capacity

Craig Bailie has a Master's degree in International Studies from Rhodes University; a certificate in Thought Leadership for Africa's Renewal from the Thabo Mbeki African Leadership Institute and is an alumnus of the Young African Leaders Initiative (YALI) Regional Leadership Centre, Southern Africa. He lectures on International Relations, Civil-Military Relations and African Political Thought in the Stellenbosch University Faculty of Military Science, School for Security and Africa Studies, and is Chair of Faculty's Social Impact Committee.

Mohau Bosiu is multi-idiomatic in language and literary culture. He is an alumnus of the Tshwane University of Technology. He uses his skills in corporate and cultural communication to serve brands that improve the socio-economic conditions of South Africa and Africa. Mohau is also a volunteer at the National Foundations Dialogue Initiative (NFDI).

Thokozani (Thothy) Dladla, is a Rhodes University student doing his BA in Journalism and Media Studies, and Law. He is also a presenter and producer of a current affairs show at Rhodes Music Radio. Dladla has recently started a clothing brand called AFRICA 1ST which aims to promote the African agenda through clothing. The brand t-shirts and hoodies have different themes written in different languages.

Mohammed Haffejee is a Political Science graduate. He completed his MA in Political Science from the University of KwaZulu-Natal in 2002, focusing on the transformation process of the South African Intelligence Services on the advent of democracy. He is currently a PhD candidate in the School of Leadership at the University of Johannesburg. His study focusses on the leadership role played by state security entities in the foreign policy development process.

Dr FM Lucky Mathebula is a Harvard Business School Alumni holding a Doctor of Administration degree from

Pretoria University. He specialised in Intergovernmental relations. He has been a strategic adviser to the Speaker of Parliament, Former Deputy Minister of Economic Development, the Mayor of Mogalakwena Municipality and a speech writer for various ministers and premiers; he is a special adviser to the Minister of Public Service and Administration. He is an analyst, group think facilitator and strategist.

Lebogang Charter Modise is the former ANC Regional secretary of the Ngaka Modiri Molema Region. He has a LLB degree from the North West University. Presently he is ANC caucus Senior Researcher North West Provincial Legislature.

Dr David Monyae is Co-Director of the University of Johannesburg Confucius Institute. He holds a PhD in International Relations from the University of Witwatersrand, where he lectured on South African foreign policy and African international relations for nine years. He previously worked at the South African Parliament and at the Development Bank Southern Africa. He has published widely in the national and international media and was part of the South African academic delegation to IBSA in 2010 as well as the BRICS summits in 2011, 2012 and 2013.

Tshepiso Mphello is the Former Deputy Chairperson, Regional Deputy Chairperson and Provincial Executive Committee member of SASCO, and currently the Deputy Chairperson of the ANC in Mahikeng ward 21. He has a Master's degree in International Relations from the University of the North West. He works as Researcher in the office of the Chief Whip in the North West Provincial Legislature.

Letlhogonolo Ernest Nomadolo completed his matric at RA Kobue High School in 2010. He is an active member in his community. In 2011, he enrolled for a one year certificate in IT and in 2012 for an LLB degree at the University of the North West. At university he was a member of the

Law Student Council 2014/15. He is currently a Candidate Attorney at Legal Aid South Africa, Rustenburg Justice Centre.

Thando Ntlemeza holds BA and LLB degrees obtained from the University of Cape Town. He was active in student politics and was deputy speaker of the Student Parliament. He was the ANC's Senior Researcher in Parliament, and then joined the Public Service through the Ministry of Justice and Constitutional Development. He currently works at the Ministry of Cooperative Governance and Traditional Affairs. He has contributed articles to the ANC's *Umrabulo* and the AWCYL *Hlomelang* publications.

Anne Oberholzer qualified as a teacher of Latin, Mathematics and History at the University of Natal, Durban, where she later completed a Master's in Education. She taught at Durban High School before joining the Natal Education Department where she focussed on examinations analysis and assessment research. She was appointed as a founding member of the SAQA Board in 1996. She joined the staff as the Director: Strategic Support and later became Deputy Executive Officer. She joined the IEB in 2005 as the Manager: Design and Development. She currently holds the position of Chief Executive Officer.

Michael Prior is a British economist who has worked for over thirty years as an international consultant specialising in energy and environment projects and policy development. He has worked in several African countries including Angola, Ethiopia, Uganda and Sudan. He originally trained as a physicist before obtaining an economics degree and was previously Director of the Stockholm Environment Institute at York University where he initiated continuing work in South Africa on environmental issues.

Ronald Suresh Roberts, together with Kader and Louise Asmal, co-wrote *Reconciliation Through Truth: A Reckoning of Apartheid's Criminal*

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Governance (1996, with a Preface by Nelson Mandela), *No Cold Kitchen: A Biography of Nadine Gordimer* (2005) which now features on the *New Statesman's* list of all-time best creative narrative works. His book, *Fit to Govern: The Native Intelligence of Thabo Mbeki* (2007) foregrounded the African National Congress's decolonisation of knowledge and practice under its then President. He recently established Balliol Knowledge Networks, an Oxford alumni organisation for engagement and impact, and was its inaugural convenor in 2016-2017.

Dr Martin R Rupiya is an academic with the Institute for African Renaissance Studies (IARS), UNISA and Executive Director of *The African Public Policy & Research Institute* based in Pretoria. APPRI is a think-tank whose focus is on Africa's post 2000 challenges, aimed at consolidating the African state. He has worked at various institutions including: the Centre for Security Sector Management, University of Cranfield UK (2008-09); Institute for Security Studies, Pretoria, (2003-08); the Institute for Peace & Security Studies, Addis Ababa University (2010-16); the International Relations Department, Witwatersrand (2002-3); as well as the Centre for Defence Studies, University of Zimbabwe (1990-2002).

Ambassador Lin Songtian is the Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the People's Republic of China to the Republic of South Africa. He was the Director General of the Department of Foreign Affairs from 2010 to 2014, when he became DG of African Affairs until his assignment to South Africa in 2017. He has previously served as Ambassador in Malawi (2008-10) and Liberia (2003-7). Lin Songtian was the Counselor at the Chinese Embassy in Zambia from 1999-2002 and served in the Chinese Embassy in Saudi Arabia from 1989-90. In between work abroad he held increasingly important appointments at home, with commercial, management and personnel responsibilities leading to his appointments as Director General. He is married and has a son.

Dr Viacheslav (Slava) Tetekin studied languages at Minsk University in Byelorussia and was an interpreter at an agricultural college in Uganda. He served for a year in the Soviet Army and worked for the USSR State Committee for TVET and also at the Africa desk of the 1980 Moscow Olympics Organising Committee. From 1981 to 1996 he was a member of the Soviet Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee in charge of support for the ANC and SWAPO. His PhD thesis at Moscow State University was entitled "the UDF against Apartheid". In 2004 he was elected member of the Communist Party of the Russian Federation (CPRF) Central Committee, and in 2008 Secretary and Member of the Presidium. He is on the Editorial Board of *Sovetskaya Rossia*, a leading national newspaper, and is a staff member of the Communist Party in the Russian Parliament. ■

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Publisher
Vusizwe Media

Editor
Dr Essop Pahad
egp@thethinker.co.za

Managing Editor
Meg Pahad
megpahad@mweb.co.za

**Editorial Assistant &
PA to Dr Pahad**
Neo Sithole

**Advertising, Distribution &
Subscriptions**
Neo Sithole
neo@thethinker.co.za
Tel: +27 71 481 5750

All Correspondence To
Vusizwe Media
3 Kruger Drive
Craighall Park
2196

Tel: +27 11 325 4305
Fax: +27 86 608 4799
egp@thethinker.co.za

Design & Art Direction
Liesel van der Schyf
liesel@vdsdesign.co.za
Tel: +27 82 336 7537

Accountants
Karolia Jeena inc.
+27 11 482 4143
karjeena@iafrica.com

Advisory Council

Dr Ademola Araoye (Nigeria), Professor Puleng Lenka Bula (South Africa), Dr Faisal Devji (Tanzania), Professor Chris Landsberg (South Africa), Professor Tshilidzi Marwala (South Africa), Professor Sabelo J Ndlovu-Gatsheni (Zimbabwe), Dr Morley Nkosi (South Africa), Dr Francis Onditi (Kenya), Professor Eghosa E Osaghae (Nigeria), Dr Mzulcisi Qobo (South Africa), Dr Garth le Pere (South Africa), Professor Alioune Sall (Senegal), Addai Sebo (Ghana), Dr Mongane Serote (South Africa), Professor Mammo Muchie (Ethiopia).



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NUCLEAR WEAPONS

Are we facing Armageddon?



The central issue in both of the danger-zones described is US militarism and what form it might take coming from a commander-in-chief of US forces who is increasingly regarded by many as literally deranged.

By Michael Prior

Now, at time of writing, it is 72 years and 2 months since the world first saw its possible end as Hiroshima then Nagasaki were reduced to rubble by nuclear bombs. A select group of American scientists and soldiers had been privileged to attend a rehearsal at Alamogordo, New Mexico, a few weeks previously in July, 1945. This device contained plutonium as its central ingredient and was similar to the bomb dropped on Nagasaki less than a month later. The first bomb dropped on Hiroshima was based on uranium and it is sometimes suggested that it was used essentially as a test to ensure that it actually worked. Within the first two to four months following the bombings, the acute effects of the atomic bombings had killed 90,000-146,000 people in Hiroshima and 39,000-80,000 in Nagasaki; roughly half of the deaths in each city occurring on the first day. Many more would die from radiation effects in the years to come.

The next twenty years saw the four other 'great powers' as defined by the permanent membership of the UN Security Council, the Soviet Union, the UK, France and China, each build their own nuclear capability. The USSR had begun its own programme in the early 1940s, greatly aided by intelligence about the American

bomb; whilst the UK was intimately involved in the American work. The French and Chinese worked essentially independently so that it took them much longer to achieve nuclear status. The Israeli bomb, probably first made by 1966, is the interloper in this great power procession. It was developed initially with close support from the French and also benefited from the supply of sensitive materials from the UK and the USA.

In 1951 whilst this nuclear build-up went on, one significant event occurred relevant to future events. In 1951, President Truman dismissed the head of the US army fighting in Korea, General MacArthur, for exceeding Presidential instructions. There remains

“This balance gave rise to this doctrine of ‘mutual assured destruction’ whereby no nuclear power would initiate a nuclear strike given the certainty of complete annihilation in return.”

some controversy over the precise basis for this action but it is widely accepted that MacArthur wished to use nuclear weapons to destroy the Chinese armies which had intervened on the side of North Korean forces. One version of his intent is that he wanted to use several bombs to create an impassable radioactive belt along the north/south border.

This dismissal is well-known. Less publicised is the fact that in the years of this war, 1950-53, the US air-force conducted a massive bombing campaign in the North. Air Force General Curtis LeMay, head of the Strategic Air Command during the Korean War asserted in 1984 that “Over a period of three years or so, we killed off – what – 20 percent of the population,” whilst Dean Rusk, a supporter of the war and later secretary of state, said the United States bombed “everything that moved in North Korea, every brick standing on top of another.” After running low on urban targets, US bombers destroyed hydroelectric and irrigation dams in the later stages of the war, flooding farmland and destroying crops.

This campaign received very little publicity in the outside world but its memory has remained very strong in North Korea, sustained by a massive publicity campaign in the form of museums and memorials.

The principles behind the construction of nuclear weapons are relatively simple and widely known. You take two pieces of either the U-235 isotope of uranium or the Pu-239 isotope of plutonium which together exceed the so-called ‘critical mass’ of either and bring them together. Under the right circumstances, they will then explode. Or possibly they will just fizzle and blow apart. (This essay has no intention of going more deeply into the physics of this. A good place to understand more is the website <http://blog.nuclearsecrecy.com/2015/04/10/critical-mass/>). The size of the piece of metallic plutonium required is under 10 cm and weighs less than 11kg, usually much less. The Fat Boy plutonium bomb dropped on Nagasaki contained just 6.2kg of plutonium. The triggering mechanism which puts the pieces together, usually an explosive device,



Fig. 1: Davy Crockett nuclear recoilless gun

increases the size and weight and is the most complex part of the bomb and, of course, there is a need for shielding to protect operators. However, nuclear weapons can be quite small. Probably the smallest was the Davy Crockett recoilless gun developed by the USA (who else?) and deployed in Germany in the 1960s. It had a maximum range of about 2km and a yield of around 20 tonnes of high-explosive. As the 'kill zone' for the weapon was about 1km, its operators may have been rather glad that it was never used.

Most modern nuclear weapons other than these low-yield devices are usually second-generation thermonuclear fusion or hydrogen bombs which essentially use an initial fission explosion to compress the hydrogen isotopes deuterium or tritium causing a fusion explosion.

This concept was developed in the USA in the early 1950s with the first test of an H-bomb in 1952. The Soviet Union followed rapidly with a first test in 1953 followed with some delay by the other 'great powers'. It is believed that Israel, India and Pakistan also possess H-bombs. The claims by North Korea to have exploded a fusion bomb are still debated.

These fusion weapons vary enormously in size from about 50 kilotons¹ to the largest bomb ever tested, the so-called Tsar Bomba, built by the Soviet Union which had a yield of around 50 megatons though

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apparently it was capable of 100 megatons. 50 megatons is about ten times the power of all the explosives used in WWII. (Fig. 2).

The problem countries face in developing nuclear weapons, both fission and fusion, is not so much one of understanding their design or even of manufacturing them. It is obtaining the fissile materials which are at the heart of nuclear weapons, that is either Pu-239 or U-235 together with the deuterium required for an H-bomb.

The beginning point is uranium obtained simply enough from some form of uranium ore, various types of which are found throughout the world though high-grade ore is found only in Canada and Kazakhstan. This century at least 19 countries have engaged in the mining of uranium, invariably processed as U₃O₈ or 'yellowcake' though over 60% is produced by these two countries. In 2016, three African countries, Niger, Namibia and South Africa, mined uranium. South Africa produced 490 tonnes of uranium² far

outstripped by Niger, 3479 tonnes, and Namibia, 3654 tonnes. Uranium metal currently costs around \$220/kg.

Naturally occurring uranium contains about 99.3% of the isotope U-238 with the remainder being the desired isotope U-235, desired because this is the basis for both weapons and fuel for nuclear power plants. The first problem for the weapons maker is, therefore, to increase the amount of U-235 in the mined uranium. The proportion of U-235 required in most nuclear power-reactors is 3.5-5%, though one type, the Canadian CANDU system, functions using natural uranium. The desired proportion in weapons is more than 85% though crude devices can be made with less.

Modern enrichment processes use the 1% mass difference between the two isotopic forms. The most common technology, gas centrifuges, involves spinning a gaseous uranium chemical, hexafluoride, in centrifuges so that the gas separates into lighter and heavier fractions, then bleeding off the lighter, enriched fraction, passing this to another centrifuge and so on until the desired degree of enrichment is achieved and the gas can be converted back to the metallic form. The process requires thousands of centrifuges to produce the highly-enriched uranium for weapons though smaller facilities are required for power-reactors.

All the nuclear weapon states have enrichment facilities though both Israel and India appear to rely upon plutonium for weapons production and only have experimental plants. Several other countries have or had commercial or experimental enrichment plants including Argentina, Australia, Brazil, Germany, Iran, Japan, Netherlands, South Africa and South Korea whilst North Korea is believed to have some enrichment capability. The South African capability was decommissioned when the country abandoned its nuclear weapons programme in 1989 though it has some ambition to develop facilities to complete a full civil fuel-cycle. Libya, which pursued a nuclear weapons programme for some years, though it was abandoned in 2003, also probably acquired some form of enrichment plant. The Iranian enrichment plant



Fig 2: The Tsar Bomba mushroom cloud seen from about 160 km

at Fordow has been much reduced following the nuclear agreement signed in 2016.

Enrichment plants are hard to hide as they are large and require huge amounts of electricity. The manufacture of plutonium, in contrast, is done by irradiating natural uranium with neutrons in a nuclear reactor which produces Pu-239 by the transmutation of U-238 into U-239 which quickly decays into Np-239 which then decays into Pu-239. This is normally done inside a specially-prepared reactor, which can be quite small, and allows the withdrawal of uranium rods without shutting the reactor down. In principle, it can be done inside a civil power-reactor using irradiated fuel when the reactor is shut down, one reason why these are regularly inspected by the International Atomic Energy Agency, the guardian of the Non-Proliferation Treaty signed in 1968. The plutonium has to be then chemically separated from the remaining uranium. This process is much cheaper than enrichment and requires less elaborate equipment, one reason why, in addition to its superior fissile properties, plutonium is the preferred material for nuclear weapons.

Thermonuclear weapons require a third ingredient containing the heavy isotopes of hydrogen, deuterium and tritium, the latter in the form of an isotope of lithium, Li-6, which forms tritium in a fission explosion. The key compound is lithium deuterium which, perhaps surprisingly, is not hard to obtain. The trick is putting it together. The precise configuration of a thermonuclear device is complex and secret unlike fission weapons. High yield devices, that is those in the megaton range, involve a third fusion stage.

As noted, thermonuclear devices are the weapon of choice, except at the smallest sizes, for nuclear powers and all except Pakistan claim to possess them. Israel certainly has them though it refuses to comment and India may have a fully effective device. North Korea claims to have exploded a thermonuclear device, though this is debatable.

So, where is the world now in terms

of possession of nuclear warheads?

Ploughshares, a US organisation devoted to eliminating nuclear weapons provides the following estimates:³

	No. of warheads
Russia	7000
U.S.A.	6800
France	300
China	260
U.K.	215
Pakistan	130
India	120
Israel	80
North Korea	<15

Ploughshares also reports on the delivery capability of these countries, showing that all, with the exception of the UK, possess a full range of capability including aircraft, cruise-missiles and ballistic missiles. The UK relies solely upon its Trident submarines and their missiles, one of which is always cruising the world. Increasingly the UK resembles a drunk in a bar, threatening everyone and no-one with nuclear destruction whilst onlookers look away, embarrassed, similar in some respects to its Brexit policy. No one, including

its military leaders, has any coherent idea as to why Britain still spends vast sums on its nuclear weapons. The other countries are a different matter as they all, except North Korea, possess sophisticated delivery systems over both tactical and strategic distances. All could bring down the world.

In the fifty years after the Hiroshima bomb, the main concern over nuclear war came from a potential conflict between the USA and the Soviet Union and, to a lesser extent, between the latter and China. The huge number of nuclear weapons systems still possessed by both epitomises this fear. It was widely feared that nuclear havoc could stem from a relatively small incident which would spark escalation. It was also feared that some kind of accident could trigger mass destruction given that both parties had sophisticated early warning systems designed to provide sufficient time for either to launch their missiles in response to a first-strike by the other. This balance gave rise to this doctrine of 'mutual assured destruction' whereby no nuclear power would initiate a nuclear strike given the certainty of complete annihilation in return. This doctrine may have given military strategists some sleep at night but was flawed by various problems, notably unauthorised actions by overseas nuclear carriers and failure of the early-warning systems.

The first was illustrated on 27 October 1962 during the Cuban missile crisis which involved efforts by the Soviet Union to install medium-range missiles in Cuba. The US navy detected a Soviet submarine and, despite its being in international waters, began to drop depth-charges onto it. The captain of the submarine, a diesel-powered, nuclear-armed Foxtrot-class submarine, B-59, which had had no contact with home for some days, believed that this attack suggested that war had broken out between the two countries and wanted to fire a nuclear torpedo at the attackers. This decision required the agreement of two other senior officers on board, and one, Vasili Arkhipov, refused. The submarine surfaced and proceeded back to Russia.

An example of the second occurred on 26 September 1983, just three

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weeks after the Soviet military had shot down Korean Air Lines Flight 007, creating a major international incident. Stanislav Petrov was the duty officer at the command centre for the Soviet nuclear early-warning system when the system reported that a missile had been launched from the United States followed by up to five more. Petrov judged the reports to be a false alarm and failed to pass on the warning. His decision is credited with having prevented an erroneous retaliatory nuclear attack on the United States and its NATO allies that would have resulted in large-scale nuclear war as the recipients would only have had a couple of minutes in which to decide whether or not to launch retaliatory missiles. Investigation later confirmed that the Soviet satellite warning system had indeed malfunctioned because of sunshine on clouds. Petrov was never rewarded for his actions and was later reprimanded for filing incomplete documentation.

Arkhipov died in 1998 and Petrov died in May, 2017. Let us hope that they both rest in peace having both saved the world.

One episode in the course of this long cold-war promised an end to the nuclear arms-race; the signing of the Non-Proliferation Treaty which entered into force in 1970. Opinion is divided

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as to whether this Treaty achieved one of its main components, the further proliferation of nuclear weapon states. Dire forecasts at the time that anything up to forty more countries could go nuclear have been dispelled. But four more countries have acquired such weapons whilst one other, Israel, has refused to sign the Treaty and abide by its conditions. These four countries, India, Pakistan, Israel and North Korea, have either not signed the treaty or have withdrawn. Oddly, one other UN country, South Sudan, has also not signed, presumably an oversight.

There is no such doubt over the failure of the second key component of the Treaty, Article VI which states:

Each of the Parties to the Treaty undertakes to pursue negotiations in good faith on effective measures relating to cessation of the nuclear arms race at an early date and to

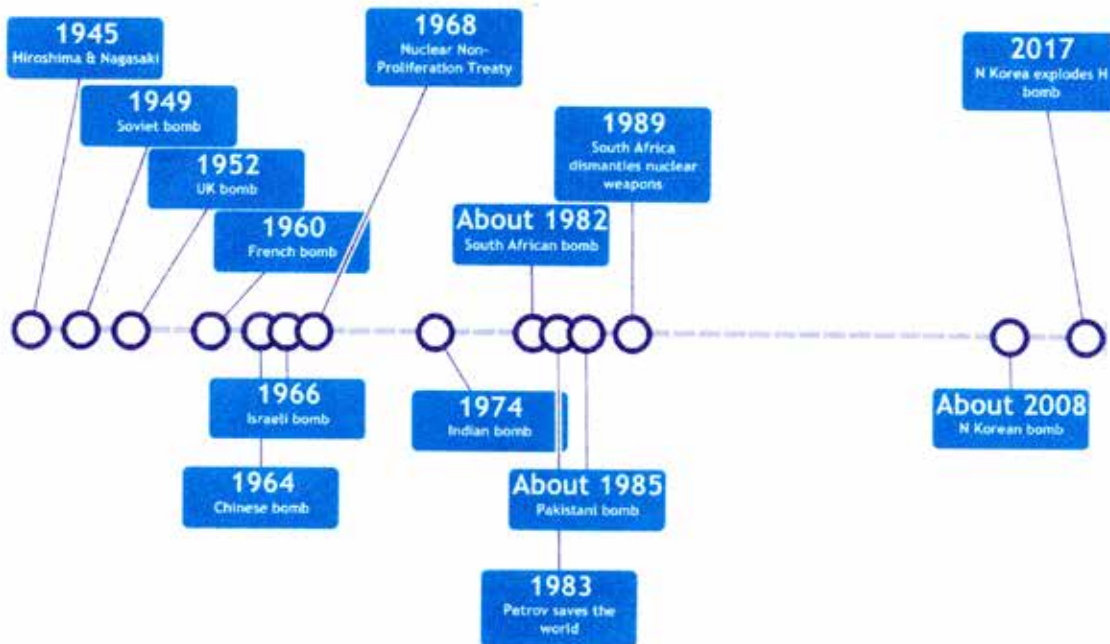
nuclear disarmament, and on a treaty on general and complete disarmament under strict and effective international control.

A glance at the table above suggests that after 47 years, movement towards nuclear disarmament has been at best glacial whilst ‘good faith’ negotiations have effectively dried up.

One further aspect of this Treaty is important. Article IV states that:

1. Nothing in this Treaty shall be interpreted as affecting the inalienable right of all the Parties to the Treaty to develop research, production and use of nuclear energy for peaceful purposes without discrimination and in conformity with Articles I and II of this Treaty.

2. All the Parties to the Treaty undertake to facilitate, and have the right to participate in, the fullest possible exchange of equipment, materials and scientific and technological information for the peaceful uses of nuclear energy. Parties to the Treaty in a position to do so shall also co-operate in contributing alone or together with other States or international organizations to the further development of the applications of nuclear energy for peaceful purposes, especially in the territories of non-nuclear-weapon States Party



to the Treaty, with due consideration for the needs of the developing areas of the world.

Disputes over Iranian nuclear development have always centred around just what this Article implies, with Iran arguing that it has complete authority to develop facilities for the full uranium fuel-cycle required for an independent nuclear power programme, whilst its opponents, effectively the U.S.A. and Israel, argue that such a fuel-cycle will inevitably contain the potential for weapons-grade uranium enrichment and thus has to be curtailed in countries it regards as, potentially, engaged in weapons production. Similar arguments, though with less force, can be used with regards to the reactors used for plutonium productions as these may also be used for the manufacture of radioactive isotopes used in medical and scientific research.

The period when nuclear confrontation was almost wholly concerned with the US/Soviet engagement passed in the early 1990s with the collapse of communism and of the Soviet Union. Presumably, the grim US missile-silo sites and their counterparts in Russia are still maintained in some state of readiness, though some have been decommissioned, and both countries still have patrolling nuclear missile submarines. However, the danger posed by these is largely that they will collide with the British Trident lone nuclear-missile submarine as it drunkenly roams around threatening anyone and no-one.

In recent months, however, the spectre of nuclear war has appeared in two parts of the world.

The most obvious of these concerns North Korea and the belligerent actions threatened by President Trump as a consequence of the Korean apparent acquisition of nuclear weapons. On 17 October, North Korea's deputy UN ambassador warned the UN disarmament committee that the situation on the Korean peninsula "has reached the touch-and-go point and a nuclear war may break out any moment". He went on to claim that all nuclear states were accelerating the modernisation of their weapons

and "reviving a nuclear arms race reminiscent of [the] cold war era". He noted that the nuclear weapon states, including the United States, boycotted negotiations for the Treaty on the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons that was approved in July by 122 countries at the United Nations.

Dates are important given that events may have overtaken even these comments by the time this article is published, perhaps catastrophically.

It is often taken for granted, certainly by the major nuclear states, that North Korea has no right to develop nuclear weapons and certainly there seems little real reason for it to do so. On the other hand, the question seldom asked is by what right the USA maintains an enormous military presence so far away from its home territory. The most important of these

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is Guam, an island acquired by the US after victory in 1898 after the Spanish/American war. Legally in US law, it is an 'unincorporated and organized territory' of the United States situated in Micronesia in the western Pacific Ocean. In short, it is a colony, one of the 17 currently listed by the UN. It is over 9,600 km from California and has some 160,000 indigenous inhabitants.

According to Wikipedia, US bases in the territory cover approximately 16,000 ha. or 29% of the island's total land area of 540 km². The military bases on Guam include a major base for the US 7th Fleet, the largest of the forward-deployed US fleets, with 60 to 70 ships, 300 aircraft and 40,000 Navy and Marine Corps personnel. It also houses the Anderson Air Base, which is

the most important US air base west of Hawaii. Andersen is the only one in the Western Pacific that can permanently base US heavy strategic bombers. The number based there is unknown but, as Fig. 5 shows, they are there.

The US Marine Corps has several thousand personnel permanently based in Guam and there other army soldiers present. The US also maintains a large military presence in Japan, specifically Okinawa, probably as high as 50,000 personnel and has some 37,000 soldiers in South Korea. The 7th Fleet certainly has nuclear weapons as does Anderson Air Base. The presence of US nuclear weapons in Japan and South Korea is uncertain. Guam was an active base for the near-obliteration of North Korea in the early-50s and, presumably, together with its ability to threaten China, that remains as one of the reasons why it is still maintained at huge cost. Threats breed counter-threats and counter-counter-threats. However, the initial reason why North Korea fears America is fairly clear.

The second flashpoint for nuclear war is the Middle East, specifically the bellicose position of President Trump towards Iran and his allegations that, despite all evidence to the contrary, it is using its enrichment facilities to produce highly-enriched uranium, breaking the deal struck in 2015 between Iran and six world powers – the US, UK, Russia, France, China, and Germany – to curtail its enrichment. All other signatories refuse to accept that Iran is in breach of the agreement but Trump seems adamant. His argument appears to be based upon allegations about Iranian non-nuclear military involvement in the Middle East and this appears to be the key to the threats of fire-and-brimstone, though in an indirect way.

The main American allies in the region are Israel and Saudi Arabia, both of which have their fears about Iran. As Assad appears to be winning the civil-war in Syria and Iraq acquires a largely Shia government, Israel fears a corridor of support for Hezbollah, the main organisation representing Shia Muslims in Lebanon. As a political party, Hezbollah holds two seats in the Lebanese cabinet and conducts important social security measures in

the areas of Lebanon where it is strong. Its military wing has been engaged in numerous armed conflicts with Israel which have often resulted in, at best for Israel, rough equality. Hezbollah has been an important ally of Assad in the current civil war providing crucial military support. There is no doubt that its position in Lebanon will be greatly strengthened if Assad is victorious and it has an important ally in Iran

Israel has in the past never hesitated to attack facilities in other countries which it regards as inimical to its security particularly those connected with nuclear power. It has conducted numerous air-strikes against Syria in recent months whilst in 2007 it destroyed suspected nuclear facilities there. In 1981, it destroyed the partially-constructed Iraqi reactor at Osirak.

Meanwhile, Saudi Arabia is conducting its own war of extermination in Yemen against Shia rebels. Over 3 million civilians have been displaced in this war and there are reports of mass cholera outbreaks. A blockade of Yemeni ports has resulted in widespread starvation as Yemen imports 90% of its food. The U.S.A. is involved in the war, making airstrikes on what are claimed to be extremist Islamic targets; and it has admitted to having a small number of troops on the ground.

Naturally, the U.S.A. maintains a large military capability in the region, notably the 5th fleet based at Bahrain handily over the Gulf from Iran. It contains two carrier battle-groups, presumably nuclear-armed, as well as large marine forces. As with the 7th fleet, American eyes would probably glaze over if asked just why they maintain such a large military force in the area. Well, 'because... we're America' would no doubt be the answer. It also maintains a large airbase at Incirlik in Turkey which functions as part of NATO as well as other airbases in Kuwait, Bahrain and Saudi Arabia. Although unreported, at least some of these will support nuclear weapons in various forms.

It remains unclear just what military action Donald Trump proposes against Iran. It seems unlikely that it would initially involve nuclear weapons.

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However, Israel's propensity to destroy another country's nuclear facilities even if only led for civilian activity might encourage it to break cover with its own nuclear armoury given that Iranian sites are believed to be well-protected by ground-to-air defences. It is also possible that non-nuclear US attacks could provoke counter-attacks by the Iranian navy on the 7th Fleet. Although small in comparison with the mighty carrier-groups, it includes modern submarines, missile boats and a fleet of fast attack-boats carrying torpedoes which could inflict significant damage. What this might result in is hard to predict as is anything inside the head of Trump.

The other potential nuclear

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hotspot remains Kashmir where India and Pakistan are still locked in an apparently irreconcilable dispute. As both countries' governments edge towards different forms of religious extremism this could become another nuclear confrontation; but not yet, not yet.

The central issue in both of the danger-zones described is US militarism and what form it might take coming from a commander-in-chief of US forces who is increasingly regarded by many as literally deranged. Would any US officer follow Arkhipov and refuse to obey an instruction to drop a nuclear missile on North Korea? Or Iran? How far will America go in reacting to Israeli and Saudi prodding over Iran? How will Trump react if Iran manages to drop a missile on to the USS George Washington? The answers to some or none of these many be clear before this piece is printed.

Meanwhile, my choir tries to find some hope in song. It is currently singing Hamish Henderson's Freedom Come All Ye, written in 1960 for the British Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament, a body which still functions, still campaigns. Henderson was a Scottish poet, socialist and soldier who fought with the Highland Division in North Africa and Sicily and became a passionate anti-war campaigner. It is set to a pipe-tune *The Bloody Fields of Flanders* which Henderson first heard played on the beachhead at Anzio.

It is written in Lallans, a British language of the Scottish lowlands and rejoices in a day when Britain will no longer send its army to kill overseas. Instead:

*In yer hoos aa the bairns o Adam
Will find breid, barley-bree an paintit
rooms*

and

*An the black lad frae yont Nyanga
Dings the fell gallows o the burghers
doun.*

We're still waiting for the black lad from Nyanga to come to our rescue. Just hoping. ■

References

- ¹ 1 kiloton equals the power of thousand tonnes of TNT. A megaton is a million tonnes
- ² Data obtained from the World Nuclear Association Website at <http://www.world-nuclear.org>
- ³ <https://www.ploughshares.org/world-nuclear-stockpile-report>

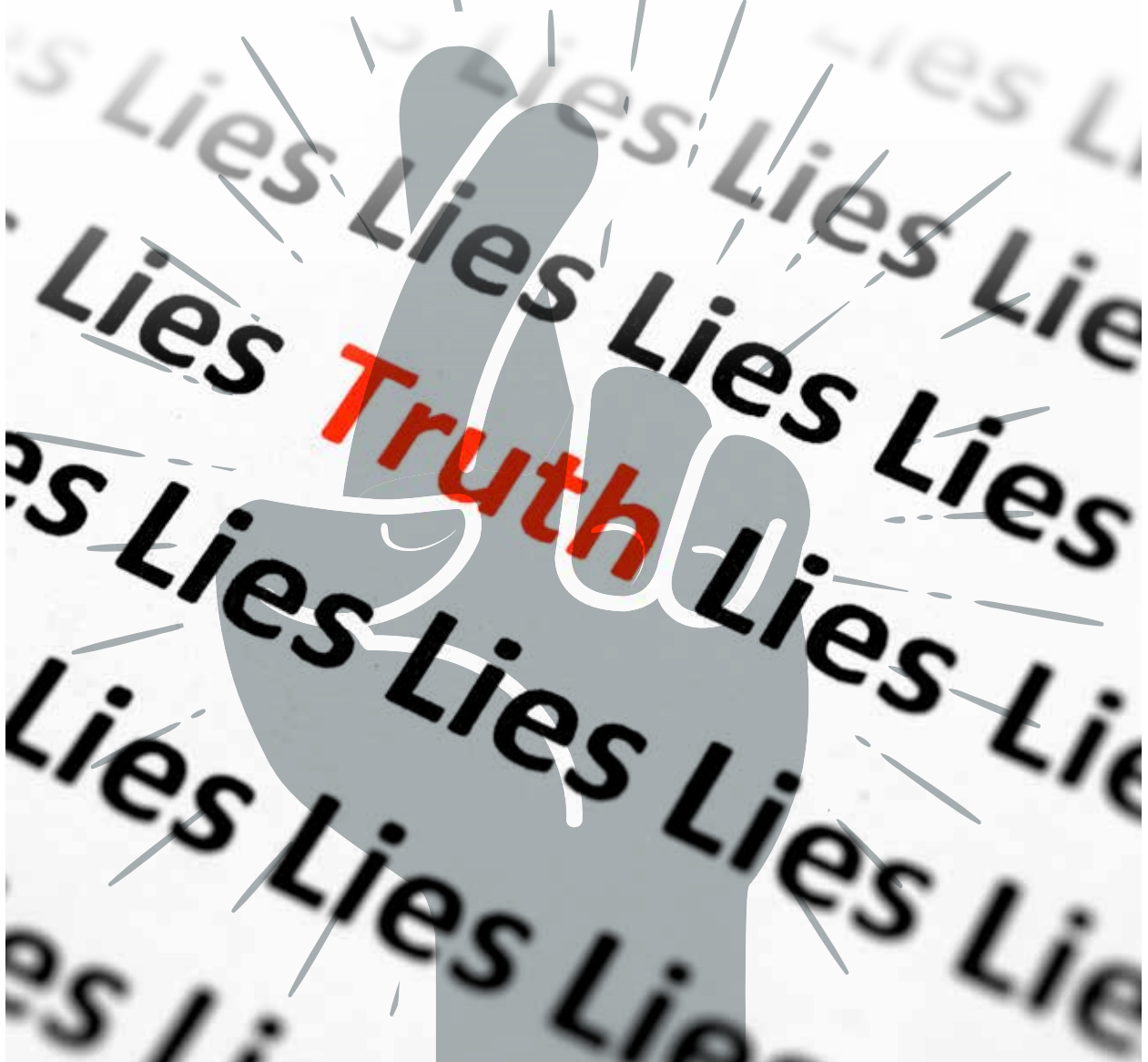
THIS IS OUR SEASON

Best leagues and cup competitions. Every game that matters.



THE NEW SOCIOLOGY OF PUBLIC DISCOURSE

White Lies



Leon's fake-letter-writing club filled the *Financial Mail* with fake facts, sent from invented email addresses, associated with non-existent human beings. And, worse, they used this anonymity to spew messages of xenophobic poison.

By Ronald Suresh Roberts

First question for the new sociologists of knowledge: How did South Africa come to pass from apartheid's *The Lying Days* (Nadine Gordimer's critique, 1953), through post-apartheid truth and reconciliation (TRC, 1996-1998), only now to become mired in a Breitbartian regime of 'post-truth', caught between the snarling public relations machines of the illiberals (e.g., Tony Leon's Resolve Communications and its self-described 'Agitator model') and the kleptocrats (e.g. Gupta-Bell Pottinger)? "We often can be market lackeys and that's because corporations are so wealthy and so powerful and have so many spin doctors that we don't question the fundamentals of them very much", Ferial Haffajee said recently (Eusebius McKaiser Show, 2 August 2017). Why did attempts to foster organic democratic discourse after 1994 die in the cradle?

Even as the 'new South Africa' (the phrase itself strikes a weary old note today) established the TRC, a renewed era of cynicism, fake news and historical fraud was immediately in the making.

The Illiberal Factory of Lies

Tony Leon, leader of the Democratic Party (predecessor of today's DA), told the *Boston Globe's* Ben Bradlee, Jr in 1998 that: "99 percent of whites in South Africa have 'truth fatigue,' and would like to just get on with it." In retrospect this interview was a telling encounter between the best of the old globalist journalism and the worst of contemporary propaganda. Just watch what each man did next.

After this TRC interview, Leon swiftly set about building a renewed regime of lies (described below), while Bradlee returned to Boston where, as Assistant Managing Editor responsible for investigations and projects, he soon launched an indefatigable search for truths concerning the systematic cover-up of sexual abuse in the Catholic Church. Bradlee's effort garnered a Pulitzer Prize (2003) and incubated an Academy Award for *Spotlight* (2015), the film that dramatised the investigation. By contrast, under the infamous 'Fight B[l]ack' slogan, Leon united the white right, Trump-style, to

become Leader of the Opposition in the 1999 election. And immediately upon re-entering parliament he established a covert 'special project' headed by parliamentary researcher James Myburgh and DA Parliamentary Counsellor, Nick Clelland, his business partner at Resolve Communications today.

The purpose of this 'special project' (the DA's own name for it), which was exposed in 2005-2006, was to capture the mainstream media 'as a vehicle' (*Business Day* editor Peter Bruce's own phrase), systematically to flood media letter-pages with fake letters from fake people bearing fake facts, and so to abuse and contain the pre-Polokwane ANC. In my memorandum to Bruce (a copy of which I still have), I summed up: "It is a fact that taxpayer-

“Under the infamous ‘Fight B[l]ack’ slogan, Leon united the white right, Trump-style, to become Leader of the Opposition in the 1999 election.”

funded DA researchers fraudulently masqueraded as the public itself in the pages of a magazine then edited by you. This was a fraudulent abuse of parliamentary funds. Parliament is after all meant to represent the public, not impersonate it. It was further a fraud upon your readers as your letters page is meant to facilitate their comments as spectators to the debate in your pages. It is wrong for gladiators to step from the ring into the audience to applaud themselves and insult their opponents in the supposed name of the public.”

After many months of hesitation, Bruce himself outlined these facts in his column, upon which I'll expand in a moment. Bruce outed and condemned what he himself termed "the DA's Department of Lies": "What kind of people would so need to abuse the existence of a free press as to have to lie to editors and readers?" Bruce asked.

It is important at the outset to note the utter lack of consequences and accountability that ensued, despite Bruce's fine rhetoric at the time. In 2017 Leon and Clelland explicitly trade media influence for profit, while Leon enjoys writing columns for Tiso Blackstar papers: *Business Day*, *The Times* and the *Sunday Times*. The website of Resolve Communications, where Clelland is today Chief Executive Officer while Leon is Executive Chairperson, openly claims to "influence government policy at all levels to align with your business needs." Under their self-described 'Agitator Model' the duo offer their "proprietary communications model for your business". The 'Agitator Model' places paying clients "at the center [Leon's own American spelling] of campaigns designed to demonstrate . . . credibility and market leadership and – importantly – we take those campaigns to the objective news sections of the mainstream media – where their competitors couldn't even dream of appearing". (Italics and ellipses added). Here, then, is an open boastful confession that what deluded readers take for 'objective news' in the 'mainstream media' is curated by Leon and Clelland, for their clients, in ways that "competitors couldn't even dream of." This goes, if anything, further than the kinds of claims that Leon's nefarious business rival in the PR trade, Bell Pottinger, dares to make for itself, at least openly and on its own website. Despite his pained rant in 2006, neither Bruce nor *Business Day* has since dealt credibly with Leon's brazen, and now doubled, impropriety.

Important chapters of the recent and global "Breitbartization of public discourse" (See Lee Fang, *The Intercept*, 9 August 2017) demonstrably began as a proudly South African 'special project' in Cape Town, concocted by Tony Leon's Democratic Alliance between 2000 and 2008. Associates and defenders of this special project included a future editor-in-chief of Breitbart itself, Joel Pollack. Fully a decade before the special project kicked off, mere months after Nelson Mandela's release from prison in 1990, Leon and his then advisor, advocate David Unterhalter, predicted that their

own white support base “will carry a disproportionately large weight” in the new South Africa because it was “well educated, skilled and relatively well off” and so could “press the interests of a liberal [sic] order” upon the ANC (*Business Day*, 27 June 1990). But then the pre-Polokwane ANC powerfully resisted these pressures through superior intellectual counter-mobilisation, including the world’s first Presidential blog, initiated by President Mbeki in 2000. Desperate measures became necessary. Failed illiberal claims of meritocratic intellectual prowess now needed a helping hand. They needed (in Bruce’s own word) to “cheat.” They developed a pioneering technology of lies.

Consider Leon’s correct and justified indictment of the Gupta-Bell Pottinger combination: “It used, apparently, fake news, invented Twitter handles and worse, to spew a message of racial poison”. (*The Times*, 12 July 2017). Unfortunately for Leon, this litany of abuse is precisely the methodology that Leon and his parliamentary office themselves pioneered in the pre-twitter era, and with additional impropriety: they misdirected parliamentary research funds, parliamentary purpose, and the public service idealism of young graduates who had taken jobs with the DA.

The DA “Special Project” (2000-2008): A Case Study in Information Warfare

In November 2000 the *Financial Mail* published an article by Ferial Haffajee, in which Leon – fresh from the infamous 1999 “Fight B(l)ack” election campaign – announced his personal determination to return to his “transformative roots.” In the spirit of genuinely liberal exchange, I naturally asked: “What Transformative Roots, Tony?” (FM, 24 November 2000). I summarised what I had unearthed of Leon’s 1970s writings in *Paratus*, the official journal of the apartheid South African Defence Force. For example, writing of the SADF torture barracks at Voortrekkerhoogte, where chemical castration of gay servicemen was undertaken, plus “ordinary” forms of torture, Leon questioned: “Are these Detention barracks such an awesome

place?” He highlighted “pleasant gardens, “well-stocked library” and “innovations” such as weekly soccer, volleyball and baseball. In other articles, Leon glorified the SADF airships that had engaged in Angola and Namibia. He celebrated the fake 1976 “independence” of Transkei, and so on. Drawing upon this archive of Leon’s true past, I wrote a further piece, “It’s all lies not history” in the *Sowetan* for 28 November 2000.

In what amounts to a case study of the more general practice that was later exposed, Leon’s fake-letter-writing club filled the *Financial Mail* with fake facts, sent from invented email addresses, associated with non-existent human beings. And, worse, they used this anonymity to spew messages of xenophobic poison.

Leon’s parliamentary counsellor, Nick Clelland, drew on the racist

“What deluded readers take for ‘objective news’ in the ‘mainstream media’ is curated by Leon and Clelland, for their clients, in ways that “competitors couldn’t even dream of.”

repertoire of the pro-slavery Americans and now Charlottesville Nazis for the headline “A Carpetbagger with an Agenda” (for the unambiguously racist backstory of the term “Carpetbagger” see *Fit to Govern*, p.294-97). Among other “alternative facts”, Clelland graced me with a “mail order Oxford degree”. Both Balliol College, Oxford and local Minister of Education, Kader Asmal, corrected this defamation. Fake assessments of the integrity and academic credentials of opponents are standard operating procedure among illiberals, both before and after my own case (See, “Top Black At Wits Resigns”, 29 March 1996 *Times Higher Education*, on the defenestration of William Makgoba by an illiberal posse that smeared him with credentials-

fraud).

Six years later, these and other DA abuses having passed entirely undetected, I was approached by an ex-employee of the Democratic Alliance who had since moved to IDASA, and had there developed pangings of conscience concerning his own past (in 2017 he is a policy analyst in Washington DC). He confessed that I had been targeted as part of a broad-ranging “special operation” run from Tony Leon’s parliamentary office by Clelland, Ryan Coetzee and James Myburgh (Myburgh ghost-wrote Clelland’s “Carpetbagger” piece).

My informant disclosed that he personally authored a letter under the fake name ‘Sheila Woods’ sent from the phony email address sheilawoods@iafricana.com (Here was a white man impersonating a white woman and xenopobically attacking a black man, seventeen years before Marius Roodt impersonated Shelly Garland in order to hoax a black editor, Verashni Pillay, who then resigned). My white male informant, writing as ‘Sheila’ found it “shocking your magazine sees fit to print such bile under the pretence of political commentary” and added that “Roberts would do well to take his rabid ranting back to Trinidad and Tobago.” This echoed Ryan Coetzee’s xenophobic comment made personally to me, in the public gallery of Parliament, as documented in Khalo Matabane’s film, *Conversations on a Sunday Afternoon* (2005) “Go back to Jamaica [sic: Trinidad].” Additionally, my informant, cross-dressed as ‘Sheila’, maligned Thabo Mbeki, “who blooded his political mind during the torture and imprisonment of ANC dissidents at the notorious ANC prison camp, Quatro”.

In my two-page memo to Peter Bruce, of which I still have a copy, I added: “[my informant] explains, in a spirit of truth and reconciliation, that he was a young and impressionable recent UCT graduate. The parliamentary job was, I think, his first. He entered it idealistically. He recalls, however, that Ryan Coetzee told him early in his initiation that in order to be a competent DA researcher he had to ‘learn to think like a Nazi’. [My informant] swears Coetzee really said

that." And because the DA researchers sat open plan, my informant could explain, in meticulous detail, which of the other fake email addresses and letters lined up with each of the then DA researchers.

After many months of silence, and only after I had had circulated this memorandum to another newspaper while Bruce had seemed to ignore it, Bruce erupted. In his weekly column (29 May 2006), Bruce stated the facts and then commented:

OK, so I was duped. But you have to ask what profit a political party would hope to gain by actively setting out to deceive the country's leading business and political magazine and its editor who, a few weeks later, was due to become editor of its most prestigious daily newspaper [Business Day]. You have to ask what childish prep-school mind must lie behind the deceitful point scoring against Roberts, using me as the vehicle. . . . You have to ask whether the DA leadership (Leon particularly; he is obsessed with Roberts) really ever thought it would not get found out. Or, if it did, that it would not matter. That, somehow, I could be counted on. Well, I am naive, I know. But I can't be counted on. I am angry. For all I know the DA's Department of Lies still exists. I cannot see myself trusting a pro-DA letter (or even an anti-ANC one) again. Anyone who writes me one of those from today, I'll have it well checked. It's a quite a thing when you can't trust the opposition.

Black Huffington Post editor Verashni Pillay resigned for letting slip a single phony blog-post that involved neither taxpayer funds nor tampering with parliamentary integrity and media democracy. By contrast, Bruce kept his job with the media group and, bizarrely, Leon eventually initiated a column in *Business Day* (!). Bruce could be counted on, after all. This column Leon abused, as recently as 1 February 2016, when, under the headline "Mbeki's Race Rage" Leon insulted the entirety of "SA's intelligentsia" who "in the apt words of *Politicsweb* editor James Myburgh [have] 'descended into what can only be described as an era of racial madness'". Myburgh,

who had personally headed what Bruce himself had condemned as "The DA's Department of Lies" during the information war against Thabo Mbeki, is thus cited by Leon in *Business Day* in 2017 as an ostensibly objective 'editor' at arms-length from Leon, with no disclosure of the direct conflict of interest, prior lies, and past abuse of free speech, parliamentary monies and journalistic ethics. Here was the proprietary 'Agitator' model that Leon openly touts to clients, but now turned to Leon's personal legacy-protection purposes.

The next step *Netflix* could not script better: the DA's immediate response to Bruce's indictment, published the very next day (30 May 2006), was from Leon's speech-writer, Joel Pollack, who is today a Senior Editor at *Breitbart*, having previously served as *Breitbart's* Editor-in-Chief and also as its in-house lawyer. Pollack was also a failed anti-Obama "tea-party" candidate in the 2010 US Congressional elections. Pollack personally turned *Breitbart* Trump-wards. During the defining incident of the 2016 US election campaign, where *Breitbart* reporter Michelle Fields was allegedly physically assaulted by Trump's campaign manager, Corey Lewandowski, it was Pollack who personally ordered *Breitbart* reporters to stop defending Fields: "In war, we wait for orders that are based on a careful plan. So wait." (*Buzzfeed*, 12 March 2016).

An ardent champion of Israeli aggression, Pollack is the author of *The Kasrils Affair: Jews and Minority Politics in the New South Africa* (2009). There is an outright parable in Pollack's abuse of Michelle Fields and the *Breitbart*-fuelled emergence, afterwards, of her uncanny opposite, James Fields, who has now ploughed a car into what they regard as anti-fascist carpetbaggers and scalawags in Charlottesville.

But back in 2006, all of this remained in the future. The "Breitbartization of public discourse" globally, which did not yet have that name, was still a local South African pilot project. Pollack, defending Leon's DA and not yet Trump's America, offered *Business Day* readers the further lie that I had written speeches for President Mbeki. And his entire letter was an explicit

manifesto for the Shelly Garland fraud to come: "In a political climate such as ours, where expressing a dissenting opinion earns you a label like 'coconut' or 'racist' from the ruling party, pseudonyms may even become a necessary part of the open contestation of ideas."

Bruce himself appended the following comment at the foot of Pollack's published reply: "It is very simple: people should take responsibility for what they say and not hide behind false identities. It is all very well someone writing a speech for a minister or politician provided that minister or politician's name is on the letter. That is not a cheat. The letters I referred to in my column yesterday were deceitful and, much worse, cowardly. If you're scared of being called a racist or a coconut then be quiet."

The flurry of further correspondence underlined my informant's earlier point: that this cheating was no isolated incident, but rather what Herman Lategan described as "a dastardly *modus operandi*" of Leon's DA. James Sanders told of abuse encountered directly from Myburgh:

When Noseweek, under my temporary editorship, originally exposed the secret [DA] letter-writing club (April 2005), I was subjected to a torrent of malevolence from former DA researcher and 'special operations' man James Myburgh. It was certainly bizarre. . . . In the article I detailed Leon's 'petty, undignified and downright weird' obsession with author Ronald Suresh Roberts. Myburgh, who is believed to be preparing a doctoral thesis on Thabo Mbeki's ANC, responded with a vicious e-mail that defamed Roberts, while urging: 'Please do not forward this to Roberts.' As the letter was not marked private and confidential, I published it with a reply in Noseweek (May 2005). Even though I was editing the magazine, I had to overcome substantial resistance to get it into print. When Myburgh realised that I was going to publish his letter, he wrote to "editor-in-chief" Martin Welz and a second member of the Noseweek staff declaring that Roberts wrote my

copy. Myburgh also wrote to a third party that Roberts and I were lovers. I have copies of the three e-mails.

During 2016 *Business Day* subsequently allowed this man to masquerade as the impartial “editor of Politics web” so that Leon might characterise Mbeki as enraged and ineffectual, and the entire “SA intelligentsia” as insane?

Leon was almost speaking of himself, as well as of the Gupta-Bell Pottinger clan, when he launched this broadside: “The Guptas and their agents, at home and abroad, have used some of the darkest arts to advance their dubious cause and disparage all who stand in their way. But the exposé of their disinformation campaign and the public shaming of those responsible has illuminated the massive roadblock that stands in their way.”

I say “almost” purely because there is no corresponding “roadblock” in the case of Leon and friends. In a reflection of the impunity that whiteness conveys within our still-racialised sociology of Public Discourse, Myburgh has actually published posts defending the Shelly Garland impostor (*Politicsweb* 20 April, 2017) and Pollack himself (“In Defense of Joel Pollack”, 23 February 2017) and has characterised allegations of anti-Semitism and white nationalism against Steve Bannon as “thinly sourced”, while congratulating himself and Pollack for imagined “values of liberal non-racialism.”

The Persistent Whiteness of Public Discourse

To grasp this resilience of whiteness, trace its hinterland beyond DA zealots and into pseudo-respectable South Africa, among those the pre-Polokwane ANC called (citing Ngugi wa Thiong’o) the “laureates of the neocolonial establishment”.

Prominent among these is Edwin Cameron, central to the anti-Mbeki information war that weaponised the HIV/AIDS issue. Cameron has now explicitly let slip the white pride ideology that was always implicit in his propaganda. Speaking at Wits University on “PEN and Freedom of Expression and LGBT and Rights” in December 2014, Cameron correctly advanced the cause of gay rights, which

incidentally Mbeki openly championed since the mid-Eighties, while Cameron was, by his own concession, still a closeted and self-hating gay man. At Wits, Cameron deployed this brutal mis-analogy between gay pride and white pride:

“I’m a proudly gay man. . . . It’s part of my constitutive humanity. It’s part of what makes me human. My gayness is as much part of me as being white is. And why am I proud? It’s ‘cause I’m proud to be white. Not because it’s better than being black, but just because that’s me. I think that’s fine. And so with my gayness. It’s perfectly fine to be gay.” (YouTube@1:10: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=0dZTyWD6P1Q>)

This is moral and political idiocy. The refusal to apologise for being gay is necessary and appropriate, given the subordination and stigma that have victimised LGBT identity through hetero-normative histories. Any

“By contrast with the microwaved junk food of twitter and the radio shows, Mbeki in 2004 had already asserted that “The African university should make the real fire that cooks.””

similar unapologetic pride regarding apartheid and global whiteness, which by definition victimise blacks and blackness, is grotesquely misplaced. Cameron still cannot see what gay icon James Baldwin meant when said in *The Price of the Ticket*: “As long as you think you’re white, there is no hope for you. As long as you think you’re white, I’m going to be forced to think I’m black”. Nor does Cameron know what lesbian icon Susan Sontag meant when she said “the white race is the cancer of human history”. Cameron’s tired dis-analogy between gayness and whiteness illustrates that Leon knew whereof he spoke when he said in 1998 that most whites have “truth fatigue.” Against this ideological

backdrop, “white lies” are inherently the trivial ones. Hence accountability and financial penalty for the black Ms Pillay; impunity for white Myburgh; impunity plus PR profiteering for Clelland and Leon.

And so: every day still brings obvious lies told casually and without consequence in the HIV/AIDS debate, even as the critique of Mbeki’s AIDS policy formulation process between 1996 and 2007 has factually unravelled over the last decade, even more drastically than it already had when I published *Fit to Govern* (2007). The full update on the state of the AIDS policy debate is grist for a separate essay. For now, merely contrast the self-congratulatory headline that the former AIDS-drug lobbyist, Mark Heywood, offered in the *Daily Maverick* for 15 August 2017 (“Fighting for truth, fighting against lies: civil society, media and public activism”) against the casual lie that Heywood’s own Treatment Action Campaign comrade, Nathan Geffen, told in the *Daily Maverick* itself, mere weeks earlier (18 July 2017).

Geffen wrote: “During the Mbeki era [Andile] Mngxitama attacked HIV scientists, which suited Mbeki’s Aids denialist agenda.” As evidence Geffen linked to a *Sowetan* piece where Mngxitama indeed critiques research-safety – but Mngxitama’s piece is dated 27 July 2010! (Geffen’s piece, with *Sowetan* link, is here: <https://www.dailymaverick.co.za/article/2017-07-18-groundup-op-ed-taken-of-black-opinion-website-exposes-poor-sa-internet-law/#.WZWmlq2ZNE4>)

In fact, Mngxitama has always been a vociferous critic of Mbeki, is a present-day mimic of the disruptive “direct action” tactics of the TAC itself and, indeed, began as the TAC’s stable-mate within the Western-funded NGO sector (Mngxitama made his public debut in 2005 as an EU-funded land rights researcher). Mngxitama featured on the *Mail & Guardian*’s post-Polokwane list of “Young South Africans from Civil Society whom you must take to lunch” (28 June 2008), in company with IDASA’s Judith February; Nicole Fritz, whose Southern African Litigation Project, funded by the United States government, subsequently sought the arrest of the

Sudanese President Omar al Bashir; and Prince Mashele, another foreign-funded Mbeki-bashing think-tank fish. Mngxitama even managed to insinuate the “denialism” narrative into Mbeki’s celebration of South Africa’s 2007 Rugby World Cup win: “Who would have thought rugby would unite a sad, crime-ridden country, ravaged by HIV/AIDS, and battered by poverty?” (*The Weekender*, 17 May 2008). But the TAC in 2017 effortlessly lies in order not only to disavow its own anti-Mbeki ally, but audaciously to taint the Mbeki legacy by this non-existent association!

The New Sociology of Public Discourse

And yet: these desperate measures signal that the pre-Polokwane ANC is actually winning the hegemonic “war of position”, even if the actually existing ANC administration is too distracted and corrupted to press these normative and discursive gains into practice. It is impossible, for instance, to imagine the native assistant, Xolela Mangcu, repeating at all what he wrote with such self-assurance in the Peter Bruce-Tim Cohen illiberal press a decade ago: “[in *Fit to Govern*] Roberts takes us into Fanon’s definition of the native, which is essentially that natives are the colonised within the resistance tradition all over the world. But which country’s colony are we still?” (*Weekender*, 30 June 2007). These days, by contrast, pre-Polokwane ANC ideology impinges even upon Leon’s odious *Business Day* column, where Leon pronounces Fanon “eerily prophetic” when warning of black middle class corruption (18 August 2017). Presumably Leon belatedly detects similar prophetic qualities in Mbeki’s 2000 NIEP Oliver Tambo Lecture (11 August 2000), which so agitated illiberal native assistants with its indictment of “the Caliban native petit bourgeoisie, with the native intelligentsia in its midst, that, in pursuit of well-being that has no object beyond itself, commits itself to be the footlickers of those that will secure the personal well-being of its members.” Of course, Leon’s problem is not with self-serving native assistants as such, only with those aligned

elsewhere (Bell Pottinger, not Resolve Communications; Gupta handouts, not U.S. State Department ones).

Hence: The self-styled best, these days, are also simultaneously the worst and they are, in both guises, passionately confused about “Mbeki nostalgia”, while also lacking all conviction, even upon that very same subject: “Nostalgia for Thabo Mbeki on twitter is disturbing: amnesia, I thought, afflicts only older non-twitter generations . . . not so” (Eusebius McKaiser, 2012); “I miss Thabo Mbeki and Ronald Suresh Roberts. Unless you save a screen grab . . . I will deny this tomorrow” (McKaiser again, 2015); “Frankly, those who romanticise Mbeki do so ONLY because Zuma is their yardstick. If Zuma were not as ruinous, you wouldn’t misremember Mbeki” (McKaiser again, 2017). McKaiser misremembers his very self.

In the last reporting period alone, *City Press* circulation has slid from 92,193 to 68,645. Compared to their relative importance a decade ago, political illiberals, mainstream media, and their embedded native assistants, symptomise what Moses Naim analyses in his book, *The End of Power: From Boardrooms to Battlefields and Churches to States – Why Being in Charge Isn’t What It Used to Be*. For Naim, power everywhere has become easier to get, harder to use, and easier to lose than ever before. This includes state, media and corporate power. The old gatekeepers remain in their posts but meanwhile, to either side of them, the walls have fallen, so that truths re-enter.

And yet there are still no easy victories: Obama’s buoyant 2008 mantra that “elections have consequences” is as true of the dystopian outcome of the 2016 US Presidential elections as of the intra-party ANC contest at Polokwane. Stuff happened. And those illiberals who habitually misquote Lord Acton’s dictum that power “tends to corrupt” ought rather to look to George Bernard Shaw: “Power does not corrupt men; fools, however, if they get into power, corrupt power.”

And so the centre does not hold. The illiberal Western Cape government offers “repurposed colonialism”.

Johannesburg’s illiberals offer violent “shock and awe” against immigrants, promising “overwhelming power and spectacular display of force to paralyse the enemy’s perception of the battlefield and destroy its will to fight” (*Citizen*, 16 August, 2017). Meanwhile, the intra-party magic alternative to ANC’s presiding kleptocratic faction is a platitudinous “National Development Plan” that, as has been widely noted, remains more vision than detail. The stuff that happened is going to stay happened, if I may dispense with syntactical niceties.

So: what is to be done? In the truth and reconciliation moment of the 1990s everybody quoted Milan Kundera’s 1979 novel, *The Book of Laughter and Forgetting*: “the struggle of man against power is the struggle of memory against forgetting”. But Kundera’s *Slowness* (1995) better speaks for the stamina that memory needs during the new Now: “The degree of slowness is directly proportional to the intensity of memory; the degree of speed is directly proportional to the intensity of forgetting.” By contrast with the microwaved junk food of twitter and the radio shows, Mbeki in 2004 had already asserted that “The African university should make the real fire that cooks.”

The substantial agenda of this war of position remains visible in “Mbeki’s essential legacy” (BBC website, 11 December 2007), which references the pre-Polokwane policy document: the ANC cannot, this document urged, “behave like a shapeless jellyfish with a political form that is fashioned hither and thither by the multiple contradictory forces of sea waves.” But that was a prior ANC, an ANC whose best energies are today fundamentally archival. And this tireless archival activism will, in the spirit of Ahmed Timol, outrun those who, twenty years ago, already confessed their “truth fatigue” – and who have since then, very logically, build giddy twitter feeds and fast-food factories of lies.

At this conjuncture we do well to remember the words of the late Stuart Hall: “An archive may be largely about the past, but it is always re-read in the light of the present and the future...”. ■

The 19th National Congress of the CPC Ushers in a New Era for China-South Africa and China-Africa Cooperation



Xi Jinping at the 19th National Congress of the CPC

We believe that there will be no political independence without economic independence. Only by realising industrialisation and agricultural modernisation can Africa create more jobs, tax revenues and foreign exchange and achieve self-sustainable development.

By Lin Songtian

On 18-24 October, the Communist Party of China (CPC) successfully convened its 19th National Congress in Beijing. People throughout China and the world paid very high attention to this meeting. It represents a historic milestone for China during the decisive stage in building a moderately

prosperous society in all respects and at a critical moment as socialism with Chinese characteristics has entered a new era.

A New Blueprint for China's future development

The Congress has made two major political judgments concerning the

overall situation.

The first judgment is that the principal contradiction facing Chinese society has evolved into the one between unbalanced and inadequate development and the people's ever-growing needs for a better life, instead of the previous one between the ever-growing material and cultural needs of the people and the backwardness of social production. Today, the needs to be met for the people to live a better life are increasingly broad. Not only have their material and cultural needs grown; their demands for democracy, rule of law, fairness and justice, security, a better eco-environment, balanced urban and rural development, and equitable income distribution are increasing.

The second judgment is that socialism with Chinese characteristics has entered a new era. The new era means that the Chinese nation, which since modern times began had endured so much for so long, has achieved a tremendous transformation: it has stood up, grown rich, and is becoming strong; it has come to embrace the brilliant prospects of rejuvenation. And now it is entering a new era of securing a decisive victory in building a moderately prosperous society in all respects, a new era of realising common prosperity for all the Chinese, and a new era of fully building a modern socialist China. This new era means that China will focus more on addressing unbalanced and inadequate development, on improving the quality and effect of development, so as to better meet the ever-growing economic, political, cultural, social, and ecological needs of our people, and to promote all-round human development and social progress. This new era means that socialism with Chinese characteristics has achieved huge successes, blazing a new trail for other developing countries to achieve modernisation and make greater contributions to humankind.

Based on the fundamental judgments of the changes in China's national conditions, the Congress elaborated on the CPC's historic mission in the new era, and drew up a new blueprint for securing a decisive victory in building a moderately prosperous society in all respects, and

then embarking on a journey to fully build a modern socialist China.

By 2020, we will secure a decisive success in building a moderately prosperous society in all respects, meaning as the world's most populous country, China, will completely eradicate poverty out of its entire 1.4 billion population, leaving no one behind. It is estimated that by 2020, per capita GDP in China will reach 10,000 US dollars.

For the period from 2021 to the middle of this century, the congress has drawn up a two stage overall development plan. From 2021-2035, we will basically realise socialist modernisation, with estimated per capita GDP at 30,000 US dollars, reaching the level of a moderately developed country. From 2036 to the mid 21st century, we will develop China into a modern socialist country that is prosperous, strong, democratic, culturally advanced, harmonious, and beautiful.

The Congress sets forth the basic policy for upholding and developing socialism with Chinese characteristics in the new era. It has elected a new generation of CPC central leadership with General Secretary Xi Jinping at its core, and established the historical position of Xi Jinping Thought on Socialism with Chinese Characteristics for a New Era as the guiding thought to unite and lead the CPC and the Chinese people going forward. The Xi Jinping Thought has been written into the CPC Constitution.

The 19th CPC National Congress has set out comprehensive planning and deployment for developing socialism with Chinese characteristics in the new era and for the CPC party building. This Congress has charted the course of both the CPC and China, and has far-reaching significance for the future of both China and the world.

A people-centered approach

As General Secretary Xi Jinping of the CPC pointed out, the original aspiration and the mission of Chinese Communists is to seek happiness for the Chinese people and rejuvenation for the Chinese nation. This is what inspires Chinese Communists to keep advancing. Since its foundation, the

CPC has maintained its fundamental purpose of serving people wholeheartedly. Upholding the firm belief that the CPC is the party of the people, for the people inspired by the people, the CPC is always committed to a people-centered approach, always puts the interest of the people first, and always strives to ensure the achievements of social and economic progress should be and must be shared by the entire population so as to achieve common prosperity for all.

As General Secretary Xi Jinping stressed, the CPC comes from the people. Its roots are based among the people. Its purpose is to serve the people. Without the people, the Party will lose its lifeline. With the deep conviction that the people are makers of history, the Party must serve the people wholeheartedly, exercise power for the people and continue to focus efforts on the aspiration of the people to live a better life.

For this utmost purpose, the 19th

“We are fully committed to fight against poverty for common prosperity”

National Congress of CPC has made clear a number of important principles. Firstly, development is the absolute principle and the top priority of the Party in governing and rejuvenating the country to realise the ambitious goal of securing a decisive victory in building a moderately prosperous society in all respect and a modern socialist country with Chinese characteristics. Secondly, we uphold the new development approach that makes quality and effective, green and sustainable development a top priority. Thirdly, we are committed to open and innovation-driven development, letting the market play the decisive role in the allocation of resources, and making constant efforts to liberate and develop productivity. Fourthly, we are fully committed to fight against poverty for common prosperity. Our solemn promise is taking every one of the 1.3 billion Chinese people into a moderately prosperous society in all

respects, and leaving no one behind on the path towards common prosperity. We will work to ensure utmost fairness and justice, and ensure that every Chinese person benefits from the development of the country, which speaks volumes for the fundamental difference between socialism and capitalism.

A new opportunity for the world

The 19th CPC National Congress set out the guiding principles for China's major country diplomacy with Chinese characteristics at the top level. The Congress decided that China will pursue a new type of international relations featuring mutual respect, fairness, justice, and win-win cooperation, building a community with shared future for humankind, which is an open, inclusive, clean and beautiful world that enjoys lasting peace, universal security, and common prosperity. This goal not only encapsulates the overall objective of China's diplomacy in the new era, but also declares to the world the general direction of our joint efforts with countries around the world.

General Secretary Xi Jinping stressed that it is impossible for China to enjoy peace and development without the peace and development of the rest of the world. That is why China advocates for a new security concept of common, comprehensive, cooperative, and sustainable security. China is committed to jointly building a world of lasting peace and universal security. To achieve this goal, countries should abandon the traditional international politics of zero-sum game and the law of the jungle, and resolutely reject any country claiming to pursue “absolute security”.

This approach is in stark contrast to the foreign policy of some other countries that only seek absolute security for themselves. For that purpose, they even incite colour revolutions and try to topple the regime of another country. China will not only focus on building a beautiful and better China, but will also contribute to a beautiful world.

China is willing to work with the international community to promote the cause of the environment, address

climate change, and protect the earth as our shared homeland. To build a clean and beautiful and better world is the solemn promise of the CPC as well as the stated mission of China's diplomacy.

Looking forward, under the guidance of the Xi Jinping Thought on Socialism with Chinese Characteristics for a New Era, China will continue to hold high the banner of peace, development, cooperation and mutual benefit, and uphold its fundamental foreign policy goal of preserving world peace and promoting common development. China remains firm in its commitment to strengthening friendship and cooperation with other countries on the basis of the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence. China will always be a staunch force of world peace, development and order.

New Dynamics for China-South Africa and China-Africa Cooperation

China and Africa always share a common future. We have always understood and supported each other on issues concerning our core interests and major concerns, and we have always stood together to protect our common interest. Since the entry of the new century, major changes have taken place to both China and Africa who share the common mission for economic development, better life for people and eradication of poverty. Africa is endowed with rich natural resources, human dividend, and a potential market while China has the comparative advantage of capital, technology, market, enterprises, talents and experience of successful development. China and Africa share mutual needs and complementarities and face a rare historic opportunity to synergise their development strategies.

In view of new developments in China-Africa relations, President Xi Jinping instructed us that in conducting our relations with Africa, we should always follow the principles of sincerity, practical results, affinity and good faith, and uphold the values of friendship, justice and shared interests. The essence of the instruction is to closely combine China's development with the independent sustainable development of African countries, so

as to achieve win-win cooperation for common development.

In December 2015, President Xi Jinping and President Jacob Zuma co-chaired the Forum on China-Africa Cooperation (FOCAC) Johannesburg Summit. Our two Presidents jointly opened with other African leaders a new era of China-Africa win-win cooperation for common development. During the Summit, President Xi Jinping announced the China-Africa Ten Major Cooperation Plans, which is spearheaded by efforts to accelerate Africa's industrialisation and agricultural modernisation. With a commitment of 60 billion US dollars of funding support, China aims to support Africa to break through three development bottlenecks, namely inadequate infrastructure, lack of professional and skilled personnel, and short of financial resources so as to achieve lasting peace

“General Secretary Xi Jinping stressed that it is impossible for China to enjoy peace and development without the peace and development of the rest of the world.”

and self-sustainable development. We believe that there will be no political independence without economic independence. Only by realising industrialisation and agricultural modernisation can Africa create more jobs, tax revenue and foreign exchange and achieve self-sustainable development.

The new FOCAC meeting will be held in China next year. Under the guidance of the 19th National Congress of the CPC, and upholding the values of friendship, justice and shared interests, and the new approach of common, intensive, green, peaceful, and open development. China will work together with Africa to jointly build the Belt and Road and promote comprehensive cooperation in the five pillar areas of politics, economy, culture, security and international affairs, and bring

China-Africa relations into the new era of win-win cooperation for common development.

Currently, the China-South Africa comprehensive strategic partnership maintains robust momentum. China-South Africa relations are at a key historic moment and are faced with new historical opportunities. Over the years, a multi-layered, wide-ranging and all-dimensional cooperation framework has taken shape. Driven by three engines of mutual political trust, economic and trade cooperation and people-to-people exchanges, China-SA relations have delivered tangible results to both peoples and become a model for China's cooperation with African countries and all developing countries.

Situated in a prime location, and boasting rich resources, sound infrastructure, a well-regulated market, and a sound legal system, South Africa is the leading African country that is in the best position for deeper China-Africa mutually beneficial cooperation. China and South Africa have not only the comparative advantages, but more importantly a strong political commitment to their common development. A new miracle for development will be created by China and South Africa complementing their respective strengths for win-win cooperation.

Next year will mark the 20th anniversary of China-South Africa diplomatic ties. China and South Africa will take this important opportunity, fully leverage our strengths of political mutual trust, economic complementarity, and the friendship between our two peoples, and work together to promote cooperation in ten priority areas including infrastructure, human resources, manufacturing and processing, agriculture, tourism, marine economy, finance, security, people-to-people exchange and international cooperation.

China is ready to support South Africa as a leading and pioneering country in Africa and a locomotive to drive Africa's industrialisation and modernisation, making China-South Africa relations more productive and more beneficial to the peoples of both our countries. ■

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RUSSIA

A potentially explosive situation



Given the fact that corruption penetrated all levels of State institutions and also the growing level of social inequality, people will hardly be ready to defend the regime that deprives them not only of basic necessities but of the future.

By Vyacheslav (Slava) Tetekin

The global agenda is dominated to a very considerable degree by the growing Russia-US confrontation. The sharp verbal exchanges between Moscow and Washington, mutual expulsion of diplomats, economic sanctions, military manoeuvres on the border of Russia and NATO states increases tensions between these

two world powers. The “Countering the American Adversaries Through Sanctions Bill” signed by President Trump on August, 2, 2017 brings the confrontation to a new level. In my view the US has adopted a strategy of regime change in Russia.

To understand the new developments let's look at the

background to the events. The tension between Russia and the West has grown since 2007 when President Putin for the first time publicly disclosed major differences between Russia and NATO. It was a shock as at this time the West conveniently considered Moscow as a junior ally prepared to ‘follow the line’ whatever the line, and whatever

damage it might do to Russia.

The storm of confrontation burst open and strong in 2014 after the coup d'état in the Ukraine backed by the US and their allies. The unexpected side effect of the return of Crimea (historically a Russian territory) back to Russia provoked a particularly angry reaction from the West. The storm turned into typhoon when Russia started to support self-determination of highly industrialised Donetsk and Lugansk regions (also former Russian regions included into the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic after the 1917 Revolution to increase the industrial capacity of agrarian 'traditional' Ukraine).

The irritation of the 'masters of the world' reached a peak when Russia started giving effective military assistance to the legitimate government of Syria (our decades-long and most reliable ally in the Middle East), fighting hoards of terrorists covertly supported by the West. It looked like a real mutiny against the established global order, whereby the West, after the destruction of the USSR, has unilaterally assumed the role of a judge who decides on what is right and what is wrong anywhere in the world.

These developments provoked mass expectations from both governments and ordinary people in many countries, suggesting that Russia was back as a powerful counterbalance to US imperialism, replacing in a sense the Soviet Union. Of course if somebody bloodies the nose of an arrogant bully (as is the case in Syria) it raises hopes all over the world that there is a force that can challenge the dominance of the US-based global oligarchy.

But we should not allow ourselves to be carried away by sweet dreams that the USSR is back. (It will be back! But somewhat later.) The row between the US and Russian ruling groups is better characterised as 'inter-imperialist rivalry'. The gist of the matter is that the Russia-based oligarchic group is increasingly determined to fight for its unholy right to plunder Russia's natural resources while their 'class brothers' in the West are challenging this right. The big sharks tried to swallow what until recently was a smaller fish but failed as it gradually developed into something

equally big. Hence it was particularly painful for the Western establishment to realise that Russia is falling out of its control.

It is not! At least not quite. In fact the class composition of the ruling group in Moscow is similar to that in the West: the government is dominated by comprador monopoly capital and the top state bureaucracy closely connected with big business. (Their symbiotic connection makes corruption an indispensable part of the Russian social, economic and political system). The reigns of economic power (the posts of the Head of the Government and his two First Deputies, the Central Bank, the Finance Ministry

“The irritation of the ‘masters of the world’ reached a peak when Russia started giving effective military assistance to the legitimate government of Syria (our decades-long and most reliable ally in the Middle East), fighting hoards of terrorists covertly supported by the West.”

and other major economic bodies) are strongly in the hands of pro-Western liberals who pursue financial and economic policies destructive to the development of Russia. It is sufficient to mention that Russia keeps over 100 billion US dollars in American banks while incessantly crying about the need to attract foreign investment.

Therefore the changes in Russia's foreign policy, no matter how significant they look, can hardly be perceived as a mutiny. After the admission of Crimea back into Russia the Kremlin has avoided doing the same thing in relation to the Lugansk and Donetsk regions, whose population at the

referendums also decided on self-determination just like the population of Crimea did several months earlier.

There is of course a strong element of historic, centuries-old rivalry between the East and the West which both sides tried to camouflage in the 'romantic' years after the destruction of the Soviet Union. Then the West, not yet sure of its success, portrayed itself as a charity organisation keen to facilitate the return of Russia to the family of 'civilised' nations.

The problem of the West is the existence of the informal 'power group' in the Government opposed to the 'economic bloc' representing the views of the Army, Security Services, Foreign and Interior Ministries, Intelligence community, Attorney General's Office, National Guard and some other agencies. These bodies by definition must take a more patriotic stand as their raison d'être is the defence of the country from the increasingly hostile West. Hence there is a covert struggle between the "pro-Western" and "patriotic" groups in the Russian leadership.

The 'power' group exerts considerable influence on President Putin's foreign policy in favour of protection of Russia's national interests, despite the attempts of the pro-Western 'liberal' group to keep Russia as a junior ally of the West. Thus the US has to increase coercion to get the Russian leadership back into line. The first sanctions introduced after Crimea joined Russia in 2014 did not do much harm to Russia. More than that they had a very positive effect, provoking a badly needed trend for import substitution particularly in hi-tech industries which had been suffocated by imports.

Therefore the US started to tighten the grip. The "Countering the American Adversaries Through Sanctions Bill" hits the most vital areas of the Russian economy – the oil and gas industries, the revenues of which form more than 50% of the State Budget. The Americans cannot stop the production of oil and gas (although they can make it more difficult by banning transfers of vital technologies). But they can block the exports of gas to consumers by imposing severe restrictions on foreign credits for the new pipeline projects

'Northern Stream-2' and 'Southern Stream', thus limiting the capacity of Gazprom to sell energy to Europe and make profits. This in its turn will cut the flow of gas money to the State Budget with inevitable economic, social and then grave political consequences.

But what is more, the new sanctions for the first time hit not only the closest friends of President Putin but all the top businessmen connected to the ruling group in the Kremlin. Section 241 of the Bill demands among other things that:

Not later than 180 days after the date of the enactment of this Act, the Secretary of the Treasury, in consultation with the Director of National Intelligence and the Secretary of State, shall submit to the appropriate congressional committees a detailed report on the following:

(1) Senior foreign political figures and oligarchs in the Russian Federation, including the following:

- a) An identification of the most significant senior foreign political figures and oligarchs in the Russian Federation, as determined by their closeness to the Russian regime and their net worth.*
- b) An assessment of the relationship between individuals identified under subparagraph (A) and President Vladimir Putin or other members of the Russian ruling elite.*
- c) An identification of any indices of corruption with respect to those individuals.*
- d) The estimated net worth and known sources of income of those individuals and their family members (including spouses, children, parents, and siblings), including assets, investments, other business interests, and relevant beneficial ownership information.*
- e) An identification of the non-Russian business affiliations of those individuals.*

(2) Russian parastatal entities, including an assessment of the following:

- a) The emergence of Russian parastatal entities and their role in the economy of the Russian*

“The US elite has taken a final decision to put Russia into a category of enemies alongside North Korea and Iran.”

Federation.

- b) The leadership structures and beneficial ownership of those entities.*
- c) The scope of the non-Russian business affiliations of those entities.*
- (3) The exposure of key economic sectors of the United States to Russian politically exposed persons and parastatal entities, including, at a minimum, the banking, securities, insurance, and real estate sectors.*

This is a hardly hidden ultimatum to the Russian business elite – either you comply with the US political line or you have a strong chance of losing your wealth. Given the fact that practically all oligarchs with Russian passports acquired their wealth by illegal means and that corruption is an indispensable part of the economic and political mechanism in our country it would not be too difficult for the Americans to get evidence of the criminal nature of the Russian oligarchs' property. And they are being told in no uncertain terms that their continued support of President Putin and his team might lead to very dire consequences – including the confiscation of wealth.

The same concerns the top management of major parastatals including giant oil and gas companies

“Russians are genetically people with a high level of tolerance. It is difficult to get them moving. But once the nation starts to move, it is impossible to stop.”

Rosneft and Gazprom. It is hardly a secret that while these companies are formally state-owned in fact they are totally controlled by their management in the interests of the management! So the US sanctions will hit hard on the people who have informally privatised the parastatals.

One of the American government agencies has recently reported that Russian nationals keep in various offshore institutions over one trillion US dollars. This is more than four times the State Budget for this year. (The country can do nothing for four years and still retain its current level of spending). So the Russian business elite really has something to lose as a result of the new US sanctions.

And there is no return to business as usual. Paul Craig Roberts – a former deputy finance minister in President Reagan's Administration – has recently written a sharp article stressing that the US elite has taken a final decision to put Russia into a category of enemies alongside North Korea and Iran. In Robert's view any attempt of the Russian ruling class to restore relations with the USA is doomed to failure.

In the meantime the cohesion of the ruling group is getting weaker. Rivalry between various factions hidden until recently from the public eye is rapidly coming to the fore. The court trial against the former Minister of Economic Development, Ulyukaev, accused of extracting a bribe from Sechin, – the powerful head of the Rosneft state oil corporation – is revealing. Think of that! One of the highest state officials demanding a bribe from another very high official. And Sechin reported this 'incident' to the police! Unbelievable. Yet it illustrates the nature of relations inside the ruling group.

While the worsening relations with America might look like the biggest headache for the ruling group, in fact the greatest threat to it comes from within the country.

In the power play of the various "Kremlin towers" (rival groups in the Russian leadership) one important, in fact decisive factor is left out – the people of Russia. And this factor is gradually preparing to move into action. Of course on the surface there is complete stability. Russians are

people with a high level of tolerance. It is difficult to get them moving. But once the nation starts to move, it is impossible to stop.

The fact is that the model of proxy Capitalism is dismally failing in Russia. The growing social tension might have very unpleasant consequences for the ruling group.

And the indices are there. The national economy is in the state of permanent crisis. It depends on oil and gas exports and the holes in the state budget are patched by the increase of exports. In the export structure the products of machine-building industries constitute only 6% which gives our national economy a semi-colonial nature. What development can one talk about if the budget expenditures for education and medical care for 2017 are targeted at 6%, while the expenditures for defence and law enforcement stand at 29.4%. The size of the budget cake for the "national economy" is 12.7% though the level of depreciation of fixed assets in manufacturing stands at 60-70%. In fact the economy is being moved by Soviet-made machinery.

This state of affairs is not accidental. The banks into which the oligarchic government enthusiastically pumps hundreds of billions of US dollars prefer to speculate with the exchange rates rather than to invest into the real sectors of the economy. The banks reluctantly give credits at an 18-20% interest rate while the average level of profitability stands below 10%. Such "wise" financial policy of the Government can only result in the destruction of manufacturing.

As a result the middle class which is a critical social base of any bourgeois regime constitutes an insignificant 20% of the population and is rapidly dwindling. Small and medium businesses are suffering from a combination of the terrible pressure of big monopolies, fiscal agencies and criminal elements. The level of social inequality is staggering with 1% of the population possessing nearly 75% of the national wealth. On the other side the poverty level even by official statistics has reached an unprecedented 13% – over 22 million people. Unofficial estimates are much higher – up to well

over 50%.

The social opportunities that should propel able young people to the top are not working. The recent mass demonstrations in Moscow and other Russian cities were dominated by the young and well-educated, with a very considerable involvement of senior school pupils. This is a very significant development indicating that the post-Soviet generation with no experience of living under Socialism is beginning to reject Capitalism as a system that offers them no future.

As the years after the destruction of the USSR go by, people increasingly compare what was there before with what they have now. Free education and medical care, free housing and very cheap communal services, zero unemployment, low crime and

“This is a very significant development indicating that the post-Soviet generation with no experience of living under Socialism is beginning to reject Capitalism as a system that offers them no future.”

excellent free facilities for holidays – all this is perceived like a dream for tens of millions of young Russians. A recent opinion poll has shown that the view that the Soviet Union should be recreated is supported by 68% of the people. The considerable growth of sympathy towards Lenin and Stalin is another indication of the dissatisfaction in the society with the current state of affairs.

Thus two major factors (external pressure and internal discontent) are merging to create a potentially explosive situation. So the feeling in the ruling group of Russia is increasingly that of a besieged fortress. It is natural in such cases for state leaders to turn to the nation with an appeal to rally behind them to combat an external threat. It

works to a degree furthermore that NATO conducts military manoeuvres on the borders of Russia. But essentially the hatred of the 'mafuta mingi' is so strong and social inequality is so great that people are likely to applaud rather than condemn the confiscation of Russian oligarch's assets in the West.

Given the fact that corruption penetrates all levels of State institutions and also the growing level of social inequality, people will hardly be ready to defend the regime that deprives them not only of basic necessities but of the future. Unlike in 1941 when Nazi Germany invaded the USSR and met the powerful resistance of the Soviet people, the forces inside the besieged fortress are unlikely to be ready to sacrifice their lives for the current ruling class of Russia, composed of a tiny group of oligarchs and top bureaucrats.

So the main threat to President Putin's ruling group comes not from outside but from inside Russia. We are coming closer and closer to the situation described by Vladimir Lenin: "when it is impossible for the ruling class to maintain their rule without any change; when there is a crisis, in one form or another among the 'upper classes'... leading to a fissure through which the discontent and indignation of the oppressed classes burst forth. For a revolution to take place, it is usually insufficient for 'the lower classes not to want' to live in the old way; it is also necessary that 'the upper classes should be unable' to live in the old way." (Lenin Collected Works, Vol 21, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1964, pp 213-214)

Vladimir Putin is going to win the presidential elections next March. The real test of his support however will come later when internal and external forces increasingly at work will exert pressure on his regime. He has been in power longer than even CPSU General Secretary Cde Leonid Brezhnev (18 years). Cde Brezhnev's time is recalled with warmth. Putin can hardly expect history to make a similar assessment of his rule.

Two prominent Russian academics have recently (and independently from one another) published well researched studies predicting a revolution in Russia around 2020. ■

Our South African Senior Certificate Undermined



We in this country actually undermine our own qualification by allowing a less regulated environment for providers of foreign qualifications to operate in the country, and by giving greater credit to their successful students.

By Anne Oberholzer

Compulsory education for learners of school-going age has a purpose beyond the acquisition of knowledge in order to attain a qualification. The school curriculum is designed to develop skills for learning, exposure to a range of disciplinary thinking, as well as the development of skills to participate constructively in society and the economy.

The curriculum for schooling and for the National Senior Certificate includes subjects such as Life Orientation and a 2nd official language for compulsory study in order for learners to understand the country in which they live and to value its diversity. In South Africa, we value mixing with peers to develop an understanding of how to live in one's community, to learn skills of co-operation, to accept and embrace "other" as a strength in our society and develop a deep sense of humanity. Besides the social intentions of the curriculum and the actual benefits of a schooling career, there is the question of developing the real life skills that are crucial for success within and beyond academic study. For example, it is through constant practice and exposure to challenges that children develop the skills of how to think clearly, how to prioritise, how to persevere, how to tackle a difficult problem – in other words, fulltime study under the guidance of a caring educator within the protected environment of a classroom is where these skills are nurtured.

In most countries, citizens access public university education through offering the local school-leaving and university entrance qualification. In other words, the citizenry of a country are selected for access to state-subsidised university education through and after the study of the local curriculum. Most countries make provision for foreign nationals i.e. students who are citizens of other countries, to study at their universities through a process of "foreign conditional exemption". This process is also used to accommodate South African citizens who may have been living in other countries and hence have studied a foreign qualification.

A new phenomenon however has emerged in South Africa. Currently

there are more and more South African citizens, resident in South Africa, offering foreign qualifications. There are a range of these e.g. Cambridge International Examinations (CIE) A and AS levels, International Baccalaureate (IB) and the SAT and the GED (General Education Diploma) from the United States.

It would be remiss of us in education not to question why this phenomenon is occurring. Is it that our own National Senior Certificate (NSC) qualification is not good enough? Is our educational environment "learner un-friendly"? Are our public universities favouring foreign students? Are there organisations making money out of the challenges

“A new phenomenon however has emerged in South Africa. Currently there are more and more South African citizens, resident in South Africa, offering foreign qualifications... It would be remiss of us in education not to question why this phenomenon is occurring.”

that face our country in education? Is this trend not also completely counter-productive in a situation where we are attempting to decolonise education?

The Status of the NSC

Firstly the NSC remains the primary qualification for entry into South African universities. All examination boards offering the NSC in South Africa have to be quality assured by Umalusi. Hence there is no need for South African citizens wanting to study at a local university to offer a foreign qualification to gain entry to university.

For students who wish to study at an overseas institution, the NSC has been bench-marked internationally

and is considered equivalent to the AS level in Britain. Many successful NSC students have been accepted into prestigious international universities on the basis of their NSC results. Hence there is no need to offer a foreign qualification to attain entry to many international universities. In systems that require an A-level equivalent, NSC learners who complement their NSC qualification with the IEB (Independent Examinations Board) Advanced Programme courses, have successfully entered universities in these countries even in high-demand courses.

The "learner un-friendly" educational environment in South Africa

It is my opinion that the various education authorities in South Africa system do not actively support and promote the NSC to be the "qualification of choice" in instances where learners do have the choice. In fact, I would go as far as to say, we in this country actually undermine our own qualification by allowing a less regulated environment for providers of foreign qualifications to operate in the country, and by giving greater credit to their successful students. This conclusion is reached by considering whether our South African educational environment is "learner un-friendly"; if it is, it undermines the NSC by encouraging those who can, to look for alternative qualifications.

So, what is it that makes our educational environment un-friendly?

The Structure of the NSC – Workload

SA students holding foreign qualifications but wanting to attend SA universities do not follow the South African curriculum that leads up to the NSC qualification.

In a number of instances their workload for the attainment of the qualification is less. For example, to attain acceptance at South African universities through Cambridge International Examinations, learners have to offer, at most, 5 subjects and in some cases only 4. In many of the combination of subject packages recognised for university entrance, a subject offered at the equivalent of Grade 10 is accepted.

Learners offering only AS-level subjects, the level at which NSC subjects are placed in the benchmark exercises, have to do 5 subjects. In comparison with the NSC where 7 subjects are offered, the Cambridge learners have a reduced workload.

In the case of the GED certificate, it is a “test only” model i.e. learners do not have to complete a portfolio of school-based assessment tasks for each subject. Furthermore these learners write examinations in only 4 subjects.

Structure of the NSC – Time

In some systems, particularly talented learners have the opportunity for acceleration so that they can embark on further study within a discipline. The NSC is gazetted as a 3-year qualification starting in Grade 10 and ending in Grade 12 and the NSC regulations prohibit moving through the system at a speed that is linked to the academic ability of the learner.

While we accommodate multiple opportunities for learners to write the NSC examinations, academically talented children who learn more quickly and hence can move through the curriculum at a quicker pace are not given an opportunity to cover the requirements of a 3-year curriculum in 2 years, despite the fact that they are able to do this quite comfortably.

This is in stark contrast to the Cambridge system whereby a learner at the end of the equivalent of a South African Grade 11 may write AS subjects which are the equivalent of our NSC subjects; at the end of Grade 12, they may write A-levels.

As an advertisement by a school offering the Cambridge International Examinations has said:

A Levels are recognised worldwide as the premier university entrance qualification and your son/daughter would exit the South African school system with this international qualification in the same time as it would take to complete a matriculation qualification.

In addition there is no prescription or specification for time spent on task, as is the case in traditional qualifications – learners may take as short or as long a time period to study in preparation for

the GED examinations.

In fact the following is advertised on the website of a GED provider in South Africa:

This means that, unlike students who choose to write the South African National Senior Certificate for matric or other international school examinations, they do not have to take prescribed courses of study for the three years that it takes to complete grades 10-12!¹

The problem being highlighted is the lack of comparability of the demands in workload and time spent in the NSC as a qualification for entry to university and that spent on some of the foreign qualifications offered by South African citizens, seeking entry to our local universities.

The Curriculum as a Nation-builder

The two subjects that South African learners do in addition are Life

“For students who wish to study at an overseas institution, the NSC has been bench-marked internationally and is considered equivalent to the AS level in Britain.”

Orientation and the study of a 2nd official language. These two subjects have been included in the curriculum not only for their educative value but also because they contribute directly to social development, understanding and cohesion and are crucial for the well-being of our diverse society and young democracy. However, South African citizens offering a foreign qualification are exempt from studying them. Are these citizens not part of our country with the responsibility to commit to its well-being and play their part in building a constructive future for us all?

The following description of the Social Studies topics assessed by the GED illustrates the point:

Topics covered will include

Civics, Government, US History, Economics, and Geography. To prepare for your test, be sure to work through as many GED Social Studies practice questions as possible. Our free online test is designed to be very similar to the actual social studies test.

The context of study is **not** South African. Furthermore, as an aside, I must point out that it suggests that the drill and practice of past test papers is a valid process for attaining an education – not a position I as an educator would support.

The problem being highlighted is that these foreign qualifications do not include any of our local nation-building subjects.

The Range of Offerings in Key Subject Areas in the NSC

Most curricula across the world recognise the educational argument to have a range of offerings within the same discipline to provide the opportunity to learners to study the disciplines up to the level at which they need them for their career or academic choices when they leave school. Three disciplines that lend themselves to this distinction in levels of study are language, mathematics and science.

The NSC provides for different levels at which a learner can study a language i.e. Home language, First Additional and Second Additional level and the choice depends on the competence needs of the learner in the specific language.

In Mathematics, the NSC makes provision for Mathematical Literacy and Mathematics. The technical school movement has long argued for an ‘in between’ mathematics – a subset of the Mathematics curriculum – which would provide sufficient grounding in mathematical concepts for a learner whose aim is a technical career i.e. not as an academic or student of Mathematics at the university level but different from the quantitative literacy offered in Mathematical Literacy. While a curriculum for Technical Mathematics has been developed, it is only available to learners in the technical stream i.e. the mainstream learner is excluded from offering the subject. Similarly in Physical Sciences, there is a Technical Science

curriculum to provide learners with a sufficient grounding in key scientific principles to be able to master a technical career. However mainstream learners are again excluded.

By the same token, most school curricula and school-leaving qualifications make allowance for the very talented student by permitting acceleration and providing courses of higher demand. In such cases learners may qualify for Advanced Placement (USA) where students are either exempted from a first year course at college or university or are given credits towards their tertiary qualification. In most countries however learners have the option to offer a pre-university qualification, aimed specifically at the development of skills and knowledge required for success in high-demand university courses. These courses challenge academically talented learners to more in-depth study and the development of higher-order thinking skills within a subject or discipline.

The IEB has run the Advanced Programme courses since 2008 because we are of the opinion that boredom resulting from having no additional challenge is the enemy of a good brain. These courses, while bench-marked as equivalent to A-level, are not recognised formally for admission points scores by universities in South Africa. Their international equivalents in Cambridge and International Baccalaureate are however, handsomely rewarded in respect of admission points scores.

While some universities consider

“In systems that require an A-level equivalent, NSC learners who complement their NSC qualification with the IEB (Independent Examinations Board) Advanced Programme courses, have successfully entered universities in these countries even in high-demand courses.”

learners holding a specific foreign qualification together in one pot, and allocate a quota for acceptance of students holding the qualification, others place all students regardless of the qualification they offer in the same pot for selection purposes. It is in these situations where the academically talented South African learner is disadvantaged.

Ironically the IEB Advanced Programme courses are recognised by universities overseas for entry into high-demand programmes while our South African curriculum and qualifications environment actively discourages strong academic learners – our local universities do not recognise and give credit for performance in a local course

of study which is pitched at a higher academic demand level than the NSC.

The reason given is that these courses are not available to the majority of learners in the country and hence recognition of performance in these subjects would be discriminatory. It should be noted that entry to the Advanced Programme examinations is available to any learner in South Africa who wishes to offer the subject. In fact approximately 50% of the Advanced Programme Mathematics learners come from schools who are not registered to write the NSC through the IEB. By contrast, neither A-level nor IB HL courses are available to the majority of learners in the country as they are offered in independent schools that choose to offer these qualifications. Furthermore their curricula are developed in a foreign country while the Advanced Programme curricula are developed locally by South African teachers.

It has been noted above that in South Africa, we have no provision for accelerated learning in the NSC. Hence South African learners wanting to do these Advanced Programmes must do them in addition to the already substantial workload of the NSC. Despite this, learners see their value and participation in Advanced Programme Mathematics is consistently around 2500 learners.

No Local Qualification Equivalent to the NSC Available for Adult Learners

The NASCA (National Certificate for Adults) is a South African qualification that has been registered on the National Qualifications Framework (NQF) at Level 4 since 2014. It is designed to cater for the needs of adult learners i.e. it is designed on a “test only” model. It was conceptualised along the lines of the American GED. However this option has not been introduced into the system to assist adults who are over the age to enter for the NSC to study for an NSC equivalent qualification.

Currently we have the Amended Senior Certificate to cater for these learners. However its appropriateness has been questioned on a number of fronts. A key issue is that from a structural point of view, it is housed

The following table is on the website of the University of Pretoria.

Admission Point Score (APS) Conversion Table (only for Cambridge Advanced Level and IB Higher Level)

Required level for	Required level for overall APS	A-Level	IB HL
7	10	A	7
6	8	B	6
5	7	C	5
4	6	D	4
3	5	E	
2	4		
1	3		

within the DBE who logically should only be concerned with the qualifications for schooling e.g. the NSC. The NASCA should be housed within DHET where post-school qualifications e.g. AET, TVET, university, are accommodated.

The Amended Senior Certificate is due to be phased out by 2020 and its budget should ideally be shifted from the DBE to DHET to allow for the introduction of the NASCA. The age at which learners may register for the NASCA is 18 years or older, in keeping with the provision of a qualification geared to adult learners.

Response of Universities

I have already discussed the difference in workload and time spent in the NSC when compared to GED and Cambridge International Examinations. A review of the USAf website indicates some important omissions in their information which seemingly provide loopholes for providers of foreign qualifications.

In its discussion on its website about minimum requirements for recognition of foreign qualifications, USAf does not state specifically that “foreign conditional exemption” from USAf is intended to address the needs of learners who are resident in other countries and wish to study at South African universities or South Africans who have been schooled abroad and are returning to South Africa to study at a South African university i.e. this provision is not intended for South African citizens who are resident in South Africa and have been schooled in South Africa. This is the primary loophole that providers of foreign qualifications within our country use to make their qualifications a viable if not more attractive option than the NSC.

Furthermore the USAf website indicates the following in respect of admission requirements for South African universities via the GED:

- *General Education Diploma (GED) accompanied by letter of admission from an appropriately accredited US university or alternatively the required SAT score as indicated below.*

This statement does not indicate that the GED in its own country is a qualification aimed at adult learners.

A review of the GED as it is applied in the United States, its country of origin, shows that it is not intended for learners of school-going age:

- *For students who no longer meet the age requirement to complete high school, pursuing a GED credential is a great path.²*
- *The minimum age for testing ranges between 16-19 years old, but most states (43 to be exact) require candidates to be at least 18 years old before taking the GED exam.³*

Providers of the GED in South Africa accept learners from 16 years of age i.e. they operate within the school-going age of learners offering the NSC, where most candidates are older than 16. The USAf website has no accompanying age limit for applicants with a GED to accommodate the reality that this qualification in its own country of origin is not a qualification aimed at school-aged learners.

“The NSC regulations prohibit moving through the system at a speed that is linked to the academic ability of the learner.”

In the case of Cambridge International Examinations (CIE), the admission points scores for the different levels of achievement at the Advanced Subsidiary (AS) level is equal to the NSC admission points scores. However a student may write the AS level examinations at the end of Grade 11 i.e. a year earlier than NSC candidates.

The admission points scores for the different levels of achievement at the A-level is above the NSC admission points score by some 2-3 points as each level.

Taking the fact that learners may complete the AS-level in 2 years (Grade 10 and 11) and A-levels in a 3-year period (Grade 10, 11 and 12) while NSC students are obliged by law to take 3 years to achieve the equivalent of AS-level, there is no logical reason, either educational or financial, for a

talented learner who has the option, not to take this route. This has the net effect of encouraging talented South African learners to offer a foreign qualification rather than the NSC.

This is surely not a situation we as South Africans believe is correct.

Traditionally the number of students in this category has been quite small. Furthermore they have normally been accommodated as “international” students as they require study visas etc. and hence are likely to pay higher fees in accordance with this status. In contrast South African citizens holding these foreign qualifications are generally accommodated as South African students. As places at public university become more and more scarce, students will exploit whatever means are available to gain entry. They will also look for the most cost effective route – one or two years less at school is an incentive in itself (the fees for the GED Academy, which offers the GED in South Africa, are just R 2 500 per year (GED Academy website)).

Providers of these qualifications are exploiting the lack of clarity from USAf in respect of the rules for acceptance of these foreign qualifications as well as the lack of opportunity in the South African education framework for accommodating academically talented school learners.

The Changing Nature of Schooling

The traditional pathway of education i.e. attending 12 years of formal schooling, completing a school-leaving/university entrance qualification and then entering tertiary study or the world of work is changing.

The improvements in technology are making access to learning material and tutoring much simpler and hence the introduction of blended learning and distance education as options are becoming much more common. Also, the philosophy of home-schooling is gaining more traction as people become disillusioned with formal education and the public schooling system. The cost of education at a reputable school, whether state or independent, is also cited by some as a reason for home-schooling.

This move to distance education and home schooling is an international

phenomenon and not just evident in South Africa. It would be appropriate however for South African education authorities to investigate thoroughly the notion of home-schooling in South Africa – who is choosing this “opt-out” model, who is actually doing the teaching and what is the rationale to choose such a model. This is especially pertinent when the home-schooling model does not follow traditional understanding of home-schooling where the parent is the primary “teacher-figure” and alternate unregulated provisioning is employed.

Whatever the reason for parents to choose an opt-out model for the education of their children, we must accept that distance education has become an international reality. However our South African education environment has not adopted an appropriate regulatory framework to accommodate such models of education and in particular, an appropriate framework for offering the NSC through distance education. In the absence of this, these providers are constantly tempted to offer foreign qualifications.

Hence it is understandable that people are looking for ways around the restrictions that create the currently unhelpful environment for operation.

Foreign qualifications – some implications

The increase in the number of organisations offering foreign qualifications that are operating in South Africa signals that there is a genuine need for these qualifications and hence there is money to be made. It is then no surprise to find that these organisations operate primarily in the independent school sector. While they may be bona fides operators, it must be accepted that the main reason for their operation is that this is the sector where they are able to be paid for their services. It should be noted that at least two of the affluent ex-Model C state schools are offering Cambridge International Examinations.

Furthermore it is not unheard of that they exploit problems in the local system in order to sell their services. In some cases, these so-called problems are in fact manufactured in an attempt

to make their services more attractive e.g. the rumour is created that a learner with the NSC cannot enter an overseas university and hence should study an international qualification. In other cases, there is the stimulation of the “fear factor” e.g. the university sector in South Africa is collapsing and so to ensure that your child can study at an overseas university or to make it easier for your child to get into a university overseas, he or she should study for international qualification.

In addition in some instances entrepreneurs explore loopholes or deficiencies in the local system to

“These courses, while bench-marked as equivalent to A-level, are not recognised formally for admission points scores by universities in South Africa. Their international equivalents in Cambridge and International Baccalaureate are however, handsomely rewarded in respect of admission points scores.”

establish a niche for operation – while they operate seemingly within the word of the law, it could be argued they are not operating within the spirit of the law. Two specific providers have been brought to my attention because of this.

The answer to the question “Are there organisations making money that feeds into a foreign economy out of the challenges that face our country in education?” is definitely “yes”. Would it not be so much better if South Africans were given the chance to provide these services locally? Besides providing employment locally and not directly supporting a foreign economy,

we would also stop the undermining of our own NSC that is currently becoming more and more of a problem.

Conclusion

In many instances however it is our own system and its modus operandi, the lack of coherence in policy and the absence of a spirit of working together across different authoritative bodies that enable this less than desirable status not only to exist but to thrive.

We must accept that the South African education environment does make the promotion of the NSC above other qualifications more challenging than it needs to be. The key issues are:

- The lack of recognition for the high-demand Advanced Programme courses at South African universities and tied to this, the higher admission points scores allocated by some universities for subjects in international qualifications;
- The lack of clarity from USAf in respect of the conditions that apply in order to gain foreign conditional exemption e.g. a minimum age indication for acceptance;
- The absence of the NASCA qualification for adult learners who require certification for an NSC equivalent;
- The lack of adequate choice in the NSC in respect of the levels of demand in key areas of science and mathematics; and
- The rigid application of a 3-year NSC qualification thereby restricting talented learners from acceleration in order to study courses with greater challenge.

There are areas in our system that would benefit from clarification of policy, policy changes, better local co-operation and working together to promote South African education. As an organisation committed to enhancing the reputation of the South African education system and the NSC qualification in particular, the IEB would appreciate an opportunity to engage with relevant authorities to see how we can mutually address some of these issues. ■

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MOROCCO: THE BRICS ALTERNATIVE TO SOUTH AFRICA IN THE MAGHREB

Exercising growing influence in Sub-Saharan Africa, top of the Equator?



What remains elusive is a rapprochement between Pretoria and Rabat, searching for common ground that brings Africa together rather than creating hard divisions

By Martin Revayi Rupiya

Post 9/11, the 'Arab Spring' was soon followed by the emergence of the radical jihadist group advocating for the "Islamic State in Iraq and the Levant". By April 2014, Morocco, in the eyes of the West, select countries in the Maghreb and the Middle East, emerged as an important player in the fight against perceived extremism. This also found traction through King Mohammed VI, constitutionally also the Amir al-Mu'minin, or Commander of the Faithful, combining both religious and political authority¹.

Morocco's reaction to fundamentalists to preserve the status quo in addition to well thought out aggressive counter-measures have appealed to Western and Arab states threatened by Islamic extremism. Morocco's responses emerged from leveraging inherent advantages drawn from its leadership, supervision and participation in the teachings located within the Tijaniyah Brotherhood Islamic Sufism offered through the various lodges of the Imam Academies². As Ben Yaiche points out, "Moroccan Islam, 'couched in Sufism' is the most powerful weapon against extremism."³ Amongst the adherents are middle class groups, intellectuals, government officials and public servants, rebel groups and communities drawn from the most impoverished.

While neighbouring North African states Egypt, Tunisia, Algeria and Libya are faced with severe internal political crises, an apparently stable Morocco has continued to enjoy trade and investment relations with the Eurozone and beyond, even though growth has continued to decline. In search of an alternative, Rabat decided to move south, given the benefits accruing to external players dominant in the Africa policy matrix. To this end, Africa remains subject to complex, sophisticated but aggressive foreign policy initiatives from a variety of countries both from outside the continent and within. It is commonplace for example to acknowledge that every major global power has a publicly stated 'Africa Policy.' This is true of the United States, although recently muted with the assumption of the Donald Trump administration; that of India, Japan,

China, the European Union (EU) amongst whom, the United Kingdom, France and Germany for example have evolved parallel and bilateral initiatives.⁴

The main thesis of each Africa Policy by these countries is to regulate the framework of engagement on political, socioeconomic, cultural and security relations with the continent. Furthermore, in practice, the common denominator in the relationships is the expression of power relations mediated through policies that represent the continent as the subject, recipient and junior partner.

Appreciating Rabat's trade deficits from her traditional partners, the inherent advantages of spiritual, cultural and political leadership as well as supervision of training colleges of

“The response to Islamic radicalism and extremism was to seek partners that would propagate moderation and Rabat appeared to already have the attributes located in its strand of the Tijanniya Brotherhood sect.”

imams on the moderate Islamic Sufism, the country embarked upon its own 'Sub-Saharan Africa Policy, north of the equator.'

However, even as a country based on the African continent, Morocco's perceived preference for casting herself either as an Arab country or part of the European Mediterranean needed to be re-shaped in order to obtain legitimacy in its association with the African continent. This explains why Morocco, in parallel with the religious and economic forays, needed to abandon its 'empty chair diplomacy' with the African Union that had been in place since 1984 when she left the then OAU, frustrated when the latter recognised the Polisario Front as the representative of the Sahrawi Arab

Democratic Republic.⁵

This article seeks to provide yet another angle on why and how Morocco finally submitted itself to 'unconditionally' return to the AU after a 34 year absence.⁶

While identifying the competitive nature of the BRICS model the article will also isolate key areas of disagreement and possible rapprochement between Rabat and Pretoria before making recommendations.

The main argument advanced in this article is that, compared to South Africa and its role within BRICS on the continent, Morocco, under King Mohammed VI, and its perceived moderate Tijaniyah Sufism wields greater and more enduring influence in its relationship with those propagating the agenda of *War on Terror* and the *zawiya* centres able to 'control' some of the origins and immigration of potential jihadists. Secondly, Morocco has a different investment decision-making and control model from that of South Africa. All the significant investments made are state owned and controlled directly by the Monarchy. Finally, Morocco and South Africa continue to endure a troubled diplomatic relationship due to the latter's recognition of Polisario and the Sahrawi Arab Democratic Republic. This has been reflected in the withdrawal of Ambassadors and reduction in the status of Embassies. Going forward, serious attention must be paid on how these relations can be better managed.

Political and Spiritual Leadership

The first manifestation of the return to Africa policy adopted by Morocco after decades of what it now admits was a 'strategic mistake' (to leave the OAU in 1984) occurred against the speed of international security system challenges of 9/11 later followed by the Arab Spring culminating in the emergence of the Islamic State in Iraq and Syria during 2013-14. The response to Islamic radicalism and extremism was to seek partners that would propagate moderation and Rabat appeared to already have the attributes located in its strand of the Tijanniya Brotherhood sect.

The influence and engagement of

Moroccan King Mohammed VI was wide-spread. Amongst its followers were government and public officials, intellectual, middle classes, youths and even rebel groups in far flung places such as Wolof in Senegal, Mauritania, Niger, Gambia, Ghana, Malian Berbers, the Tuaregs and actors in Nigeria's Borno, Sokoto, Fulani and Jalon states. In most of the Sub-Saharan Africa states on the edges of the Sahara, we find insecure, weak and fragile African states, barely hanging onto power and threatened by rebel groups. In demonstrating this ability, King Mohammed VI recently hosted at the Royal Palace in Marrakech, Malian rebel leader Bilal AG Cheriff of the National Movement for the Liberation of Azawad (MNLA) accompanied by Moussa AG Attaher, Secretary General and spokesperson of the movement.⁷ During prayers, Bilal dutifully took a position behind the King, demonstrating the established hierarchy and deference.⁸ The MNLA, in calling for the establishment of the new state of AZAWAD, affects several countries, including Niger, Mauritania and Chad, making King Mohammed's intervention of interest to the whole Sahelian region.

In the discussions that followed, the King advised the MNLA to adopt peaceful means for the stability of Mali and the sub-region. In response, Bilal AG Cheriff also briefed the King on the causes of the conflict in an engagement where he appeared anxious to take advice. Afterwards, the King recommended that they take seriously the United Nations peace initiatives. The Sahel and Economic Community of Central African States (ECCAS) is the second underbelly challenging the structure of the African Peace and Security Architecture (APSA), given the lack of a north African regional security structure and inability to set up a component of the African Standby Force. This is a region that has now broken ranks, with G5 competing with a security entity comprising Burkina Faso, Mauritania, Niger, Mali and Chad, cooperating with Paris. King Mohammed's intervention, as an African-based intermediary makes his position particularly significant while he can also, later, extrapolate this home grown model to other groups

“ In most of the Sub-Saharan Africa states on the edges of the Sahara, we find insecure, weak and fragile African states, barely hanging onto power and threatened by rebel groups.”

that have ignored the AU and its peace and security structures.

In a development that cannot be isolated from King Mohammed's growing influence, more recently, his entourage landed in Juba, South Sudan immediately after his diplomatic success at the AU when 39 of the 54 member states had voted in favour of Morocco's re-admission much to the chagrin of Algeria, South Africa and Zimbabwe amongst others.⁹

Whilst in Juba, King Mohammed VI signed at least nine agreements, one of which included Morocco supporting the intention to relocate the capital of Juba by President Silva Kiri to approximately 250 kilometers into the Lakes County and new city of Rumiciel. In August this year, Rabat committed USD\$5 million towards the risk assessment and investigation in relation to the relocation of the capital Juba to Rumiciel. This is a highly politicised project, suggested at the height of the civil war currently raging in South Sudan. The lesson to take from this development however is that Pretoria and Rabat, each drawn

“ This is a region that has now broken ranks, with G5 competing with a security entity comprising Burkina Faso, Mauritania, Niger, Mali and Chad, cooperating with Paris.”

towards Dr Riek Machar and President Silva Kiri may need to engage on a possible conflict resolution process based on strategic re-orientation. At the end of the day, the time appears to have arrived when Africa has two competing platforms of Pretoria and Rabat, modeled under Goldman and Sachs' Tim O'Neill's suggestion in 2001 towards establishing BRICS.¹⁰

Economy

Once Morocco decided to change course and focus on its new 'Sub-Saharan Africa' policy, in the area of commitment, investment and infrastructure, the track record so far has been staggering and impressive. Further facilitated by its close relationship with Paris, language, religious culture and proximity, Rabat has poured resources in West Africa and the Sahel, accounting for 66% of all Foreign Development Investment (FDI) between 2008 and 2013 rising to 85%, represented in 13 major Infrastructure projects according to the African Development Bank targeting Banking, Telecoms, Energy, Chemicals and Insurance.

Most of these investments went to five countries: Mali, Ivory Coast, Burkina Faso, Senegal and Gabon. The investments housed under the state owned Societal Nationale d'Investment (SNI) include: AttijariWafa Banking Group with 7.4 million customers and 16 000 employees operating in 10 Sub-Saharan countries; the Banque Marocaine du Commerce Extérieur (BMCE) with a network of 18 country operations in West, Central and East Africa; the Maroc Telecom – leading national telephone company with a presence in 11 African countries; and the Saham Insurance Group with offices in 10 African countries by 2010 and recently acquired a stake in Nigeria's Continental Reinsurance in 2015 amongst others.¹¹

Finally at least two other major projects are worth citing in order to demonstrate the full thrust of the newly minted Moroccan strategy on investment north of the Equator. To this end, the first major project launched is a USD\$3.7 billion fertiliser factory to provide for all Ethiopia's agricultural needs. The construction is to be

supervised by the Moroccan Phosphate Office working with Guinea. This is an ambitious project if it comes to fruition. Next, Morocco has launched a 15 Year infrastructure and tourism Marchica Lagoon redevelopment project in Ivory Coast that will result in several tourist and complimentary urban centres. Meanwhile, Royal Air Maroc has embarked on an aggressive expansionist programme rising from 14 flights in 2007 to 32 by 2016, largely to West Africa.

Analysis

Africa now has two countries acting as surrogates for political and socio economic platforms to the markets, its resources and population groups emerging from different push and pull drivers. For South Africa, its application and later invitation to BRICS was partly in recognition of its existing and fully developed services, infrastructure and penetration into the rest of Africa.¹² Under the cover of Morocco's leading think-tanks during mid-2000 publicly acknowledging that breaking away from the OAU (now AU) "was a strategic mistake" a much more comprehensive and far-reaching spiritual, cultural, political, socioeconomic, security policy that is riding on the back of War on Terror was put into place.¹³

In responding to the slow growth in the Eurozone, the vicissitudes around 9/11, the 2011 Arab Uprisings and the late 2013 to April 2014 emergence and merger of the Islamic State functionaries in Iraq and the Levant, Morocco repositioned the utility of Moroccan Islamic tenets of Tijaniyah Sufism; thereby offering spiritual and political leadership to a significant number of communities spread across several countries on the continent. However, even with all these advantages, Moroccan legitimacy in the eyes of African Member States had to be restored, distanced from the dismissive 'empty chair' diplomacy and perceptions of emphasising Arabism and Eurocentricism.

This quest for legitimacy in African eyes propelled Rabat to undertake one of the most successful economic and diplomatic forays into Sub-Saharan Africa north of the Equator before the formality of re-admittance in January

2017. Furthermore, Morocco appears to continue consolidating the AU Addis Ababa continental relationship by acceding to membership of ECOWAS. The presence of Morocco in the Sahel, West and Central Africa against the background of weak and fragile states and sometimes heavily armed groups, demands that the AU begins to use Rabat's good offices to influence conflict resolution mechanisms that have so far failed to work adequately. The current posture makes Rabat the platform and go-to country for Eurozone and other Middle Eastern players developing future relationships with Sub-Saharan Africa north of the Equator.

“Further facilitated by its close relationship with Paris, language, religious culture and proximity, Rabat has poured resources in West Africa and the Sahel”

Conclusion

Based on the new foreign policy thrust of political, socio-economic, religious and security relationships, Morocco is now dominant in the investment, banking, telecoms and insurance spheres in the Sahelian region, West, Central and the Horn of Africa. The manifestations of Rabat's presence were also witnessed during the ebola crisis when Air Maroc remained the airline of choice after other international operators abandoned flying into the affected area, especially Liberia, Guinea and Sierra Leone. There is also growing influence with religious groups of the tijaniyah order of sufism especially in the Sahel, West Africa and Central Africa. At the last count, Morocco had some sort of presence in Burkina Faso, Cameroon, Cote d'Ivoire, Ethiopia, Gabon, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Kenya, Niger, Nigeria, Mali, Mauritania, Republic of Congo, Rwanda, Tanzania,

Togo and South Sudan. Preliminary evidence suggests South Africa's four major banks have experienced significant competition from Moroccan companies.¹⁴

What remains elusive is a rapprochement between Pretoria and Rabat, searching for common ground that brings Africa together rather than creating hard divisions between Africa north of the Equator and African south of the same imaginary dividing line. The approach to the Polisario Front and the Sahrawi Arab Democratic Republic (SADR) continues to inform diplomacy and international relations and the evidence may in fact begin to suggest that Morocco may now have decided to further polarise, isolate and deepen the divisions, operating from inside the AU structures. If this turns out to be true, then it is going to be inevitable that relations between Morocco and its backers on the one side and South Africa and BRICS, on the other may continue to travel separate ways that do not complement each other. Caught and isolated in the middle will remain the issue of the independence of SADR. And the current impasse in South Sudan may then also begin to show similar characteristics. ■

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THE SOUTH AFRICA-CHINA RELATIONSHIP AT TWENTY

Lessons for the Future



The most fundamental difference between China now and in the first three industrial revolutions is the indomitable entrepreneurial spirit that has emerged over four decades of full-tilt development.

By David Monyae

According to a report produced by the Centre for Chinese Studies, “Sino-South Africa relations are developing at a steady pace, from the onset of formal diplomatic ties in 1998 to the multi-faceted partnership we see today.”¹ The fundamental features of this relationship include historical links, multilateral co-operation, diplomatic relations, public media engagements, trade and investment.

The expanding trade and cultural relationship between the two countries is for some in academia, in the government and the business community, a chance for South Africa to achieve its strategic development goals; and for China, South Africa as a fast-paced developing market forms part of its growing interest in Africa for resources acquisition, markets expansion and diplomatic support.

These sentiments by China regarding the position of South Africa in their agenda have also been reiterated

by Wasserman (2011), who contends that South Africa has come to be regarded by Beijing as “the continent’s mineralogical ‘treasure house’, the world’s largest producer of platinum and substantial reserves of important industrial minerals.”² The relationship between South Africa and China mainly rests on overt but also concealed vested interests. South Africa alongside Angola has in the past been one of the two leading African countries with whom China has conducted extensive business. While the dynamics of this Chinese engagement on the continent are slowly changing with China steadily building direct and indirect businesses in other more stable African countries, South Africa strategically remains its biggest partner not only in terms of trade but also in respect to cultural exchanges.

This article aims to carry out a clear assessment of South Africa’s relationship with China and gauge

both the benefits and costs of the relationship. Having switched recognition from Taipei to mainland China in 1998, what benefits has South Africa obtained from its partnership with China? In many aspects, we could argue that the relationship has brought about some substantial benefits to both South Africa and China, but in the twenty years of bilateral relations, there are concerns in some areas which need attention.

Background of South Africa-China Relations, 1998-2017

South Africa has, according to many scholars, “emerged as an important strategic partner in China’s Africa policy” (Le Pere and Shelton, 2007).³ However, how has this relationship unfolded over the years? South Africa’s relations with China have roots that date back to the late 19th century when Chinese labourers were brought to work on the gold mines (thus

sowing the seeds for a future Chinese community numbering about 350,000 – the largest in Africa). The two countries then cooperated in World War II as part of the Allied effort against the Axis powers. A mere three years after the end of the war two major developments took place which resulted in frosty relations between the two countries. Firstly, in 1948, Apartheid rule was imposed on the country. Secondly, the People's Liberation Army defeated the Kuomintang which gave birth to the People's Republic of China (PRC) under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party. As a result prior to the demise of the apartheid regime, formal relations between South Africa and China have been cited as having been hostile and more or less non-existent.⁴

For instance, while the South African forces fought in support of South Korea in the Korean War as requested by its allies from the western world, the Chinese Peoples' Liberation Army fought for North Korea. The apartheid government also enjoyed a strong economic relationship with the Republic of China (ROC) in Taiwan as compared to the People's Republic of China.⁵ Diplomatic relations between South Africa and Taiwan were primarily established at consular level in the year 1962 before eventually being upgraded to ambassadorial level in 1976.⁶ In line with these strengthened ties, trade and investment as well as defence contracts demonstrated a steady increase. In addition, a large number of South African military personnel were given special training in the ROC. Taiwanese firms invested heavily in South Africa by establishing factories which in the process led to the strengthening of the economic foundation for diplomatic links.

During the same time, apartheid South Africa faced sanctions by the international community due to its oppressive racist policies that favoured whites at the expense of the black majority. Nevertheless, Taiwan overlooked the international sanctions and instead intensified its interactions with South Africa in areas of trade as well as politics. Despite this support and fertile relationship, South Africa nonetheless deliberated

on the idea of switching to 'a greater China', which in principle required South Africa to diplomatically recognise the People's Republic of China (i.e., Mainland China) while upholding relations with the Republic of China (i.e., Taipei).⁷ The then newly formed relations with the PRC were established in the year 1989 at the request of the South African government through the president of the Chinese Association of South Africa. Thus, going by the outcomes of the meetings that followed the request, both South Africa and China made steadfast commitments towards establishing formal relations. As an illustration of this commitment, after a secret visit to China by the South African foreign minister in 1991, China established a Centre for South African Studies in Pretoria and similarly South Africa established a Centre for Chinese Studies in the Chinese capital Beijing.⁸ Beijing, however, required that South Africa cease its diplomatic relations with Taiwan and also end apartheid as one of the conditions for official relations.

Following the establishment of the Centre for Chinese studies, several state visits between South Africa and China ensued with the most significant happening in the year 1992 when Qian Qichen, the Chinese foreign minister and the South African foreign minister along with top ANC officials, met for discussions in South Africa. It was at this meeting that the foundation for the current formal diplomatic links between China and the Republic of South Africa was laid. Prior to elections in 1994, Taipei made huge contributions totalling up to US\$25-million to the ANC electoral campaign. Some scholars have argued that this contribution was motivated by fears of a possible recognition switch after 1994. Taipei did not end its economic support to the ANC following the elections. Rather it continued providing South Africa with more investments such as the US\$1,5-billion which helped create about 40,000 jobs and a dozen other joint projects. All this reassured Taipei of its continued diplomatic relations with South Africa. And indeed, for quite some time the newly-formed ANC government

delayed its diplomatic recognition switch.

South Africa however, maintained its close contact with Beijing, especially considering China's continued support for liberation movements in South Africa and the continent in general. During the same time, the ANC-aligned South African Communist Party (SACP) members also sustained their close ties with the Chinese Communist Party (CCP), despite the CCP having had closer relations with the Pan African Congress (PAC) due to the Soviet Union's support for the ANC.⁹ Officially, the newly formed South African government switched its recognition from Taiwan to Mainland China in the year 1996.

The decision took effect in the last quarter of 1997 and incoming President Thabo Mbeki forged a new relationship with China "unencumbered by the legacies of the recent past."¹⁰ In April 2000, President Jiang Zemin also conducted a successful official state visit to South Africa, which resulted in the signing of the 'Pretoria Declaration' alongside his counterpart President Mbeki. Amongst a number of other agreements, the 'Pretoria Declaration' paved the way for the intensification of South Africa-China economic ties and correspondingly set a path for a spirit of partnership and constructive dialogue between the two countries.¹¹ Furthermore, the declaration also committed South Africa and China to joint initiatives to advance peace, security and development on the African continent. Officially, South Africa-China relations evolved and broadened into a strategic partnership in 2004 and were further complemented by a state visit by (the then deputy president) President Zuma to China. He was accompanied by 370 business representatives and signed twelve agreements in railway, power transmission construction, mining, insurance, telecoms and nuclear power. This resulted in a more enhanced China-South Africa cooperative partnership that later transformed into a comprehensive strategic partnership. The trip also cemented South African entry into the nascent BRIC association, resulting in its renaming as BRICS.

South Africa-China Relations

Sino-African relations are not a new phenomenon established under China's economic and national interests; rather they are a renewed continuation of old relations prescribed by the Beijing Consensus and also the Bandung Conference of Non-Aligned Nations.¹² Sino-South African relations have evolved from minimal contact to deep economic engagement. Since China and South Africa formally established diplomatic relations in 1998, relations between the two countries have passed through three stages; from a mere partnership then to strategic partnership and ultimately to comprehensive strategic partnership.

Within the comprehensive partnership, both China and South Africa are committed to deepening cooperation in the areas of trade and investment, energy, culture, education, academia and research, health, tourism as well as global cooperation on shared international interests. This partnership, in addition to the bilateral agreement, is also operational at the continental and multilateral levels. Moreover, South Africa just like China is a member of the G20 and BRICS group of emerging economies. They both have many reasons to work together for their own benefit as they promote development in Africa. Furthermore, the two-way trade between the two countries has grown enormously. China is now South Africa's largest trade partner. Even outside the BRICS arrangement, the two-way trade between South Africa and China has improved from R121-billion in 2008 to R270-billion in 2013.¹³ Encouragingly, South African firms such as SAB Miller, Naspers and Investec have made investments in China demonstrating that South Africa is not a mere recipient of foreign aid from the relationship but also an active investor/participant.

We can to an extent agree with the assertion that the relationship between South Africa and China is far from that which China has with most African countries, a kind that is characterised by China's importation of minerals whilst benefiting from the expanding middle income consumers from African countries. Taking a look at the past few years, for instance, South

Africa has played a significant role in Africa, especially with infrastructural projects not only in Southern Africa but also in East Africa and other regions on the continent. However, the relationship with China affords South Africa enormous economic and political benefits on the international stage, especially given China's international status and veto powers at the UN Security Council.

Trade and Investment

Sino-South African trade relations made significant achievements under the Zuma administration. This progress can partly be attributed to the contraction of global trade following

“It needs to be acknowledged that South Africa has certain points of divergence with China when it comes to trade. Apart from the asymmetrical tariffs imposed on South African agricultural produce by China, the two countries are in competition for the African market.”

the financial global crisis that occurred in the year 2008. During the first half of 2009, it was estimated that there was a 32.8% average drop in imports from major import markets, among others the European Union (EU) and the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) member countries in general. In light of this China took advantage of the situation by grabbing the opportunity which enabled it to become South Africa and Africa's largest trading partner.¹⁴

Furthermore, according to data released by the South African Reserve Bank, China had been a relatively meagre source of FDI for South Africa

from 1997 to 2010 when compared to the UK, US and even Germany, with the year 2008 being an exception as China was at the time South Africa's most important FDI source. In particular Chinese FDI as of 2010 rates amounted to \$5.6-million of all FDI stocks in South Africa, while the EU had \$116.7-million at 2010 rates and respectively the US had about \$8.68-million at 2010 rates too. In contrast, it was postulated that South Africa's FDI in China was estimated at \$800-million at rates for the same year. This, coupled with the fact that Chinese businesses operating in South Africa only accounts just over 1% (80) of estimated 4,100 officially registered foreign companies in South Africa, only goes to highlight that China has a long way to go to match the investment figures showed by other countries.¹⁵

Nevertheless, for relations as young as between the two countries, the figures are impressive and there are still more areas of cooperation on the horizon. South Africa, through its shared agenda with China of reordering the global economic and governance architecture, has managed to open its markets to the rest of the world and also successfully diversified its economy from operating mainly in Africa and the western world to include Asian countries and countries in which its firms previously experienced challenges. And China has been assisting not only South Africa but many African countries in general on several infrastructural and military projects.¹⁶ Moreover, the country has proved very generous with its provision of soft loans to South Africa and the rest of Africa.

Ideally states are intrinsically rational by nature. They generally enter into partnerships with other states to maximise their mutual benefits and absolute gains, which they would otherwise not get in the absence of cooperative endeavours. South Africa and China provide an example of such cooperative partnership endeavours, through their rapid and extensive bilateral trade relations. As it stands, South Africa and Africa as a whole present Beijing with a host of extensive business opportunities, which are complemented by extensive

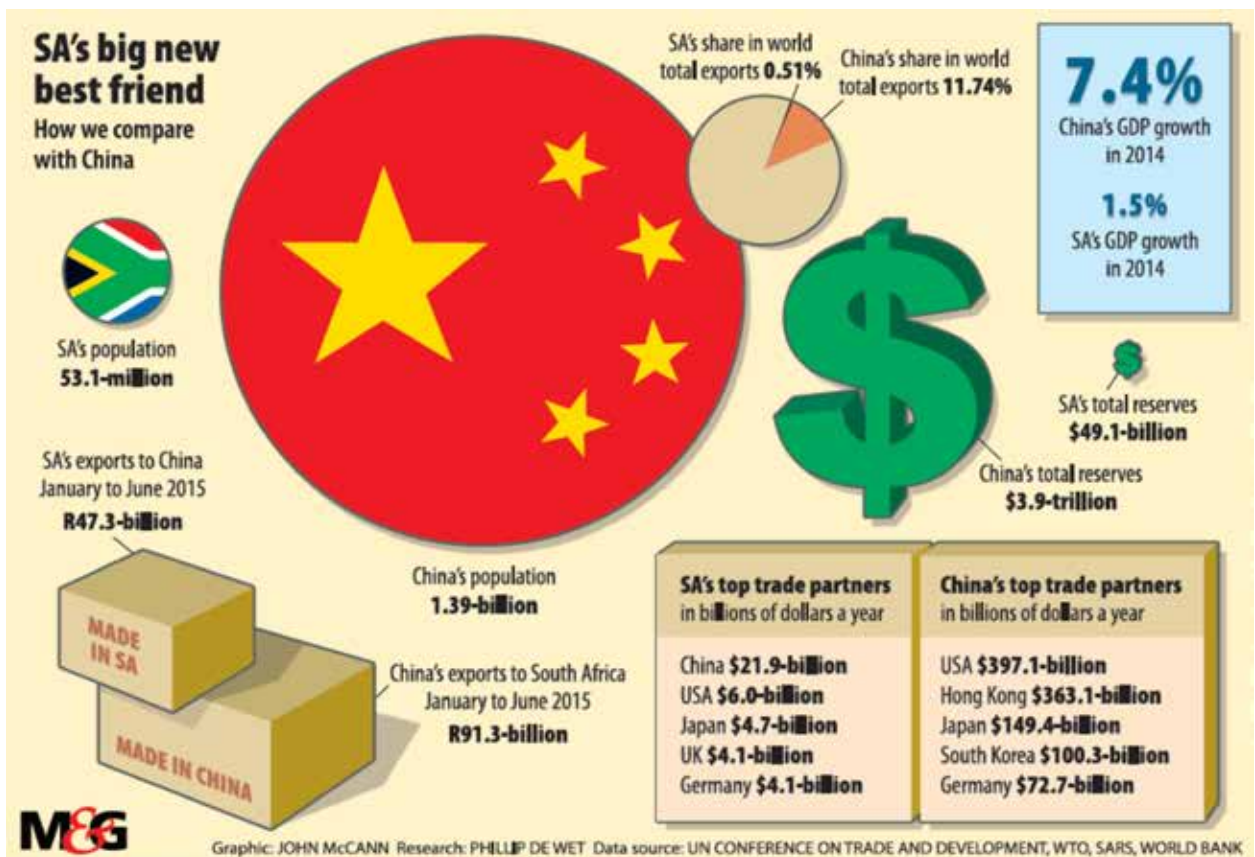


Figure 1. Graphic representation of the RSA-China economic relationship. Source: The Mail & Guardian, by John McCann. Reproduced with kind permission from the artist.

emerging economies with fast-growing populations. In fact, over the last ten years, only four of the world's 10-fastest growing economies are non-African countries. According to an article by Mao (2017), the population growth of China is constantly showing a decline with an aging population due to the implementation of the one-child, one-family policy by the Chinese government.¹⁷

Furthermore, being a technologically advanced nation, China not only benefits from South Africa in terms of natural resources but also from the rising middle income consumer market for its manufactured goods. Conglomerates such as Xiaomi, Hisense, Huawei and FAW Group Corporation, which are all heavily involved in South Africa through their provision of goods and services to consumers, will all stand to benefit from China's strategic partnership with South Africa. China also has access to South Africa's diverse and concentrated range of natural resources. Similarly, South

African companies benefit from a highly accessible but rapidly increasing middle class consumer market in China.¹⁸

According to a Global Edge (2014) report,¹⁹ South Africa disbursed more money on imports than it gained from exports, with an increase in trade deficit from R36-billion in 2012 to R38-billion in the year 2013 and as

much as R73-billion in 2015 according to International Relations Minister Maite Nkoana-Mashabane.²⁰ This, nonetheless, does not imply that South Africa did not gain anything from the trade or investments relations as trade deficits are a common feature as demonstrated by the US-China trade deficit in favour of China (see Figure 2) below:

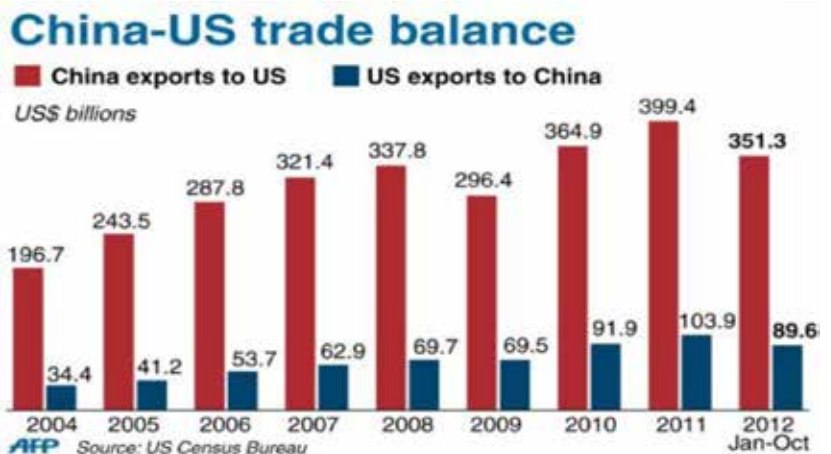


Figure 2.

In any case, the South Africa-China partnership is far from a zero-sum relationship, as both states have experienced gains. In view of a report by Business Tech (2015), “China has set up more than 80 companies in South Africa since 1998 bringing its foreign direct investment (cumulatively) to nearly US\$6-billion (R83-billion).” This figure according to the same report includes the US\$5.5-billion (R76-billion) investment by China’s ICBC bank which bought approximately 20% stake in Standard Bank in the year 2012. In the meantime, investment by South Africa in China only amounts to an approximate value of US\$700-million (R9.7-billion). While the value seems much smaller, Alden and Wu (2014) have pointed out that the number of investment projects by South African companies in China far exceeded that of their counterparts in Africa.

However true it might be that South Africa has economically been benefiting from Chinese companies such as Huawei and Hisense that are providing employment to South African nationals more needs to be done considering the stature of China as the second largest economy in the world, its current investments in South Africa are far less than would be expected, especially considering the heavy investment made by other export led economies. To illustrate, “the United States of America alone has established over 600 companies in South Africa; Germany another 600 and France more than 300.”²¹ Thembinkosi Gcoyi, who is the Managing Director and co-founder of Frontline Africa Consulting (who also served as Economic Counsellor at the South African Embassy in Beijing) argues that the above companies are found across several sectors in the South African economy. More importantly, these companies are now home brands to the South African general public and more easily identifiable than Chinese brands.

Furthermore, despite South Africa’s removing most of its import duties for Chinese goods, China maintains them for South African agricultural goods so that now there is a 7.17% duty asymmetry in favour of China.

According to Sandrey and Edinger (2006) “it is conceivable, for instance, for South Africa to have relatively concentrated trade flows in specific product categories, one reason for this being that the tariff structure outside those product lines is relatively high.” In other words, as a direct outcome of these tariffs, “trade may have been ‘chilled’.”²²

At present, China administers Tariff Rate Quotas (TRQs) on the following agricultural products: wheat, corn, rice, edible vegetable oil (bean oil, palm oil and rape seed oil), sugar, wool, wool tops and cotton. Analysis of the trade data shows that there are some TRQ products interspersed among the six categories above. These TRQ products therefore represent potential opportunities for South African trade negotiators to

“China is already offering scholarships in areas such as space science and technology, biotechnology, telecommunications and nuclear and renewable energy.”

concentrate on, with sugar probably being the priority Sandrey and Edinger (2006: 24)

In view of this, at the moment the support for China in South Africa generally revolves around the government and big business circles. In order to garner positive support beyond these circles China will need to make a serious commitment to add value in the South African economy and at the same time support economic transformation. Henceforth the Chinese government will do well to partner with or invest in South African business capable of ensuring that investments benefit the general public rather than just shareholders. Furthermore, through the use of proper channels Chinese investors will also have to find a way in which they can work with as well as support Broad-

Based Black Economic Empowerment (BBBEE), invest in technology, skills transfer, enterprise development, employ locals, source local inputs, and most of all, tailor-make Chinese business models to suite the South African economic conditions and regulations.

Important Lessons for South Africa

The lessons for South Africa through its interaction with China can be summarised into seven important points:

1. There is an urgent need to reconsider the notion of South Africa as a “gateway” into Africa. There are now multiple gateways and South Africa faces competition from countries such as Nigeria, Ethiopia, Kenya and Egypt. Further, through the One Belt One Road initiative, China is seeking to intensify direct access to Africa and this may render South Africa’s role as a gateway into the continent superfluous.
2. South Africa’s leadership role on the continent is eroding as Kenya, Nigeria and Egypt are bolstering their positions in their respective regions, and the latter two have, at some point or another, placed first and second on the continental economic rankings in the past two years. Simultaneously, South Africa needs to coordinate its activities within BRICS with other regional leaders on the continent. Noteworthy, for example, was President Jacob Zuma’s speech in the 2017 BRIIS Xiamen summit, which placed excessive focus on South Africa and not Africa as a whole.
3. China has a strategic agenda and has conducted extensive research on Africa. South Africa/Africa on the other hand are lagging behind on Afro-Sino knowledge. That said, there is a lack of a comprehensive African strategy to properly engage China. Also there is no coordinated research capacity to understand China. South Africa and other African governments in partnership with institutions of higher learning need to focus on training young African scholars dedicated to this field so as to gain a deep

understanding of Chinese culture, customs and business tactics.

4. South Africa needs to improve its manufacturing sector as well as identify areas in which it can generate a comparative advantage, so it can be competitive on the international market. Conducting studies in Chinese Special Economic Zones (SEZs) may be an especially informative process that can generate knowledge that may be turned into policy in South Africa.
5. There are untapped opportunities that China and Africa can engage in. Examples include areas such as the ocean economy, the green economy and a host of others presented by the onset of the fourth industrial revolution.
6. Furthermore, the role of the media and its influence cannot be ignored in the quest to strengthen China-South Africa/Africa relations. The media can effectively link the two regions by showcasing Chinese, South African and African news and programmes or views that will sell and market the different cultures and business prospects between the two regions. This will also help in changing the current negative stereotypes about South Africans and Chinese people. At the same time, there should be a wariness of the kind of information being devolved by the Chinese official media. And private Chinese media is no less harmful; a case in point was the controversial washing detergent advertisement which portrayed what was widely interpreted as a prejudicial and stereotyped view of black people and which for some confirmed China's so-called neo-colonial bent. Correspondingly, there are a great many South African stereotypes regarding Chinese people that could lead to diplomatic crises; most recent has been the yelling of racial slurs at a Johannesburg city official, Michael Sun, by Cosatu protestors.²³ These flashpoints are in contradiction to the spirit of non-racialism which defined the Bandung Conference.
7. Along the model of the Confucius Institutes, South Africa/Africa should push to establish African

centres in China that will promote African languages and cultures. At the same time, there should be succinct and calculated use of Confucius Institutes to intensify knowledge of China so that South Africa, and Africa in general, can better understand and appreciate Chinese histories, sensibilities and touchpoints. Clear usage of these advantages of proximity can mean more informed African consulates, delegations and negotiators vis-à-vis China.

Rethinking Barriers to Trade

An interesting report on the development of Chinese enterprises

“In reference to the trade imbalance issue, just as has been stated in the Beijing Declaration, both countries (South Africa and China) would benefit more from each other if they can work to ensure the inclusion of more value-added commodities in South Africa's exports to the People's Republic of China.”

in South Africa was released on December 8th 2015 by the SA-China Economic and Trade Association (Saceta), which tracks the progress of Chinese investment in South Africa, provides services to Chinese enterprises and assists in business management. The main challenges experienced by Chinese enterprises include public security, strained industrial relations, a shortage of technical professionals, and a cumbersome visa system. In the report, the country is also encouraged to improve the stability and transparency of its economic policies to protect and build investor confidence. In order to solve the above

challenges, China and South Africa will need to undertake joint ventures similar to those that the US and Japan have in several markets in Africa. In a similar capacity South Africa can learn from its neighbour, Botswana, with regard to how it handles the diamond production. According to Gryberg (2012), Botswana through its new initiative and in collaboration with the marketing arm of De Beers Diamond Trading Company has engaged in sorting, cutting and polishing its own diamonds in a move that will in the future see it shifting the selling function from London to Gaborone.²⁴ South Africa can engage in similar initiatives especially considering the fact that as of 2010 the country was only processing about 2% of its local diamonds internally with the rest being processed and polished externally.

In relation to the visa issue, there have been some strides. In 2016, for example, then Minister of Home Affairs, Malusi Gigaba announced a 10-year multiple entry visa for BRICS partners. Similarly, earlier that year, the South African government approved the granting of 10-year multiple entry visas to business and academics from Africa. As an indicator of the international community's response to this, the World Travel and Tourism Council estimates that tourism earned R120- billion rand in export earnings, and contributed more than \$25-billion to the South African economy that year.

In reference to the trade imbalance issue, just as has been stated in the Beijing Declaration, both countries (South Africa and China) would benefit more from each other if they can work to ensure the inclusion of more value-added commodities in South Africa's exports to the People's Republic of China. In the same vein, South Africa should identify specific value-added products from whose trade it can benefit greatly.

As it stands, it can be argued that the base for the inclusion of value added products in South Africa's exports has already been set up following President Xi Jinping's state visit to South Africa in the year 2013 in which he signed the terms of reference for the joint inter-ministerial working group

which essentially is for the purpose of supplementing and implementing major projects and bilateral agreements. Among the proposed mechanisms were the following aims:

- To co-ordinate and promote major projects in trade, investment, infrastructure, energy, communication, agriculture, regional co-operation and human development.
- To exchange information on the above and to explore opportunities.
- To conduct in-depth analysis on the challenges to finding solutions.

It is undeniable that South Africa's interest in expanding commercial ties with China remains firm. This was demonstrated by the 17th annual China International Fair for Investments and Trade in 2013 in Xiamen. The fair for instance included about 62 South African companies that were chosen from the top 10 export and investment sectors that had effectively showcased their projects.²⁵ There were also discussions on skills development in textiles and also the creation of Special Economic Zones in South Africa as these would drive growth.

At the same time, it needs to be acknowledged that South Africa has certain points of divergence with China when it comes to trade. Apart from the asymmetrical tariffs imposed on South African agricultural produce by China, the two countries are in competition for the African market. The Chinese presence on the continent means great competition for South Africa including in, most infamously, steel – something which led to tens of hundreds of thousands of job losses in South Africa; leading to trade unions in the country to seek protectionist measures against state-subsidised Chinese manufacturers which have gained notoriety for “dumping” their steel at slashed prices that crowd out domestic producers. Instead of ad hoc measures, there needs to be a greater understanding of Chinese global aspirations and where South Africa fits in.

A starting point would be an in depth analysis of the implications of the One Belt One Road initiative which has meant that China is gaining direct access to African markets and might thereby render South Africa

superfluous in the African market but at the same time might offer greater opportunities for South Africa as it will contribute to inter-African infrastructure and therefore intra-African trade.

And at the same time, in relation to the seventh lesson listed above, South Africa should intensify its research into China. Most of the literature is nominally of no particular relevance to South Africa; it is largely outdated, overly pessimistic. China is not blameless as it actively seeks to be secretive about its plans and financial figures for the first issue; and the second is perhaps explained by the fact that most of it comes from US conservative think tanks such as the Heritage Foundation, Cato Institute, the RAND

“South Africa and China can strengthen cooperation in the UN, G20, BRICS, Forum on China-Africa Cooperation and other multilateral frameworks as well as ensure a strong BRICS bank predicated on non-interference unlike the World Bank and IMF”

Corporation and the National Interest who espouse the so-called China threat theory which is afraid of China rising to usurp US military dominance. At the same time, there is a clear funding issue that has led to a relative dearth in the knowledge areas and has ultimately prevented an organic and original South African literature on China to the extent that it is needed.

Towards Global Reform

South Africa and China can strengthen cooperation in the UN, G20, BRICS, Forum on China-Africa Cooperation and other multilateral frameworks as well as ensure a strong BRICS bank predicated on non-

interference unlike the World Bank and IMF. This is particularly pressing as some research has shown that China, despite its vocal shunning of interference actually waits for Bretton Woods institutions to enact structural adjustment programmes and then sweep into those markets and gain the additional mantle of not having interfered. China, as an African ally, should also explore the prospect of using its market size and manufacturing leverage to ensure that the EU lowers or removes its common tariff vis-à-vis African agricultural goods, which they have consistently averted.

Heading into the 4th Industrial Revolution

The most fundamental difference between China now and in the first three industrial revolutions is the indomitable entrepreneurial spirit that has emerged over four decades of full-tilt development. Unlike in the imperial system of the Qing Dynasty when the first two industrialisations hit China, and under the Soviet-type economy, in which private ownership was banned until the time of the third industrial revolution, China's leaders today encourage people to start companies and become their own bosses and as a result in 2016, over 15,000 new enterprises were registered per day (and despite the popular image of China as a copycat, in the same year China ranked third after the US and Japan in international patent applications; and the Chinese corporation, Huawei won an IP lawsuit against South Korean giant Samsung). China is also preparing to participate actively in the 4th industrial revolution and is armed with a number of advantages that give it a decided edge over other major economies.

South Africa can take advantage of this; the latest statistics indicate that 48% of South African youth are unemployed. The South African National Development Plan document states that “South Africa must find ways to urgently reduce alarming levels of youth unemployment and to provide young people with broader opportunities,” and further, “to

address high levels of unemployment, particularly among youth, extraordinary measures will be required.²⁶ Indeed, and this cannot be overstated. Future projections indicate that an estimated 65% of children entering primary school today will most likely work in roles that do not yet exist. Thus among these extraordinary measures should be the formation of apprenticeship or mentorship programmes between young South Africans and Chinese businessmen and entrepreneurs. Furthermore, there needs to be a revising and repositioning of South African scholarships to China so that the youth, and South Africa at large, may better take advantage of China's technological edge. Encouragingly, in this area China is already offering scholarships in areas such as space science and technology, biotechnology, telecommunications and nuclear and renewable energy.

Enhancing and Harnessing People-to-People Relations

Better use should be made through the 'downstairs dimension' of South Africa-China relations in countering negative views of China in the country that could be an Achilles heel in the relations in the coming two decades. It could as well create a China-South Africa community with shared experiences and futures. Already, in this regard, South Africa has recently launched Mandarin training courses in schools to help and bolster the bilateral relationship. The relaxation of visa laws could also be a great boost to this as South Africans and Chinese will see each other's countries, cultures and lifestyles and in that regard mitigate the roots of negative perceptions. It could also boost tourism from China to South Africa.

During the FOCAC Johannesburg summit, both African and Chinese leaders agreed on the need to upgrade Africa-China relations to a comprehensive strategic and cooperative partnership and identified "mutually enriching cultural exchanges" as one of the five major pillars supporting Africa-China relations and "cultural and people-to-people plan", as one of the ten Africa-China cooperative plans.

“The relaxation of visa laws could also be a great boost to this as South Africans and Chinese will see each other's countries, cultures and lifestyles and in that regard mitigate the roots of negative perceptions.”

Already this has been approached rapidly by the various governments and there has been massive building on already established people-to-people exchanges. As Liu Yandong, Vice-Premier of the State Council of the People's Republic of China, detailed in *The Thinker*, relations between South Africa and China stretch as far back as 1,000 years ago; Chinese ceramics were discovered on the site of the ancient Mapungubwe Kingdom. As also shown there is a major Chinese diaspora (the largest in Africa), a long-standing history of cooperation against colonialism, and South Africa hosts more Chinese students, Confucius Institutes and classrooms, and has more sister provinces and cities with China than any other country in Africa. Further, South Africa is a popular destination for Chinese tourists and the first country to include Chinese teaching in its national education curriculum. The Year of South Africa was held in China in 2014, and in 2015 the Year of China in South Africa was held. The Year of China in South Africa "set a record of over 200 events and the participation of about 100,000 people."²⁸

People-to-people relations should be the bedrock of the relationship between the two countries and act as an assurance that the relationship has a legitimacy that transcends mere economics. Moreover it connects in a way that enhances commitments and gives them a gravitas. To that end, as the relations between South Africa and China complete their second decade, this is a moment which merits strategic

reflection and dialogue at whose core is situated the importance of the role to be played by the two peoples in each other's future. ■

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OLIVER TAMBO

A True Cadre Who Led The Liberation Struggle With Distinction



He fully understood that ours is a people's movement that exists to serve the people, and not the narrow interests of its own leaders and members.

By Thando Ntlemeza

Veterans of the liberation struggle who worked with President Oliver Tambo emphasise that he was an intellectual giant who made an indelible contribution to our people's struggle for liberation; and that his significant and enduring heritage has enhanced our constitutional democracy.

The renowned veteran of the liberation struggle, a pioneer of our constitutional discourse and a jurist of note Justice Albie Sachs believes that if we were to conduct a DNA test on the Constitution of our republic, Oliver Tambo's DNA would come up. "From concept to conception, the trajectory from the ideas of Oliver Tambo in the 1980s in Lusaka to the final text of our constitution in 1996 is clear and indisputable."

In this extract from her fitting poem, LEAD US, SON OF TAMBO, Gcina Mhlophe praises him:

Ah! Tambo, the bone whose marrow never runs dry

*Sharing wisdom, integrity and love
Yes indeed, many who knew you say it repeatedly*

You were a cyclone!

One whose massive influence was for building future leaders,

Young men and women who so needed your wisdom

Yes indeed, Cyclone of unity they call you!

You united opposing forces...

With this poem, the poet projects Oliver Tambo as a man of wisdom, integrity, love and unity; values he embodied because he believed that these values are the fundamental tenets of leadership. Not only did he embody these values, but also transmitted them to those around him. These are the values which made him a true cadre, servant of the people, a giant of the struggle and an internationally acclaimed democrat.

Where did it all begin?

Oliver Tambo was born on 27 October 1917 in Kantolo village, Mbizana, Eastern Cape. He came from a traditional family that saw value in western education. In line with this collective resolve of the family, Tambo was registered at Holy Cross Missionary School in Flagstaff.

Tambo went on to complete his schooling at St Peter's School in Johannesburg where he completed his matric with top marks and received a bursary to study at the University of Fort Hare, where he graduated with a BSc degree majoring in mathematics and physics, and thereafter went on to enroll for a Higher Diploma in Education.

When studying at Fort Hare, he was active in student politics and impressed his peers who elected him into leadership positions in the students' organisations, including Student Representative Council in his residence.

Agreeing with the description of Oliver Tambo as a student with a leadership potential, Nelson Mandela confidently remarked ... *I saw that Oliver's intelligence was diamond-*

“Women in the ANC ... have a duty to liberate us men from antique concepts and attitudes about the place and role of women in society.”

edged and it was easy to see that he was destined for great things.

Before completing his diploma studies, Oliver Tambo was expelled from Fort Hare University for instigating and leading a student strike. At that point, St Peter's School in Johannesburg offered him a post to teach mathematics and science. It was at this school where Tambo made an enduring impact on his students and thus became "an immensely popular teacher."

Whilst teaching at St Peter's, Tambo attracted attention in the black community, with the result that Walter Sisulu (an influential ANC leader) wanted to meet with him at his office in downtown Johannesburg which was a point of convergence for many educated young blacks. It was at Walter Sisulu's office where Tambo once again met with Nelson Mandela who he had met for the first time when he was studying at the University of

Fort Hare. He also met other young intellectuals such as Anton Lembebe and AP Mda. It was these interactions at Walter Sisulu's office which activated Tambo's skills to organise the youth and promote consciousness about the struggle.

With his notable ability to conscientise young people around him, Tambo demonstrated his capacity to make an impact on others. In particular, Tambo used his invaluable time after school introducing the concept of the Youth League to the senior students of his school, some of whom went on to join the liberation struggle. Among them were Isithwalandwe Andrew Mlangeni, Henry Makothi, Duma Nokwe and Joe Matthews.

Tambo occupied leadership positions in the ANCYL and the ANC

Oliver Tambo belonged to the youth generation that initiated the formation of the ANCYL. At the founding Congress of the ANCYL in 1944, Tambo was elected as National Secretary. In the late 1940s, Tambo became the ANCYL's Vice President and was among those who were central in conceptualising and developing the Programme of Action aimed at locating the ANC among the masses, which was later adopted at the ANC's National Conference in 1949. It was at this National Conference where Tambo was elected into the NEC of the ANC, together with other young revolutionary leaders such as Walter Sisulu and Nelson Mandela. This provided them with an ideal opportunity to revolutionise the politics of the ANC by taking its revolutionary and uniting message of national unity to the communities.

Most importantly, Tambo was part of a generation of young and visionary leaders who intervened when they realised that a new approach and trajectory was needed to transform the ANC into a mass movement to make it more relevant and effective at the time. They did this despite the wrath of an older generation, which still pursued old methods; whereas the new conditions on the ground required the ANC to change and adapt. For those who understand Marxist theory, the wrath and resistance of the older

generation of leaders in the ANC at the time may not be surprising. This is so because they know that in times of fundamental change, many aspects of society, including the political formations, will experience conflict between the old and the new. The old will resist giving way to the new, as the new will seek to dislodge the old and break down the old order to create favourable conditions for a further advance.

Tambo gradually rose to senior positions of power in the ANC. He became the Secretary General in 1953, Deputy President in 1957, Acting President in 1960 and President in 1969. He led the ANC until the National Conference of the ANC in 1991 where he handed over the leadership to Nelson Mandela. Even at this conference, Tambo was not left out of the national leadership collective, as he was elected as the National Chairperson. At the time, signs were clear that his poor health was making

it difficult for him to perform his organisational tasks. Indeed, he passed away on 5 May, 2003.

Those who were privileged to work under Oliver Tambo's tutelage and guidance have stated that Oliver Tambo was elevated to leadership positions because he was very

“It challenges the organisation to strive to be its own harshest critic, to boldly admit mistakes and to correct any deviations and failures.”

deserving. President Thabo Mbeki and Joel Netshitenzhe are two of these.

Netshitenzhe tells us that Oliver Tambo “occupied positions of responsibility because ...he was of

that crop of the best in the movement and in society” and “represents the best example of how good leaders can contribute to forging excellence in the collectives they lead, and to raising the movement's performance to a high pedestal.”

Delivering the Oliver Tambo Lecture in Georgetown University, on May 23, 2000, President Thabo Mbeki said *He was elected to the position [of the ANC President] because his colleagues recognised the priceless contribution he brought to our struggle [for liberation]...*

Others who appreciate his leadership of the ANC and the revolution have hailed him for providing leadership that evokes great motivation and drives nations or individuals to extraordinary lengths for the greater good.

Tambo was the embodiment of comradeship and comradeship

“Incisive mind, integrity and calm reasoning”, as observed by his fellow

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students at the University of Fort Hare, have been hailed as the defining features of President Oliver Tambo's character and approach when he was a leader of the ANC and struggle for freedom and liberation – something Joel Netshitenzhe confirms when he says “His incisive mind encouraged all of us to learn and to seek to understand connections among various factors in the dynamics of the struggle.”

Oliver Tambo was calm even in the face of provocation, something he demonstrated when Chris Hani's fierce criticism of the conduct of the movement in the late 1960s irritated some ANC leaders, hence they wanted to discipline him. We are told that, “It was [Tambo] who was able to overlook the provocation, and really listen to the points Hani was making.” These are some of Tambo's value-laden attributes, which became ingrained in the culture of the movement. They found their way into the notion of the cadre, because with these values an organisation can be led with distinction.

From theory and practice Tambo understood revolution needs members of a particular kind – cadres versed in revolutionary theory, politically far sighted, competent in work, full of the spirit of self-sacrifice, capable of tackling problems on their own, steadfast in times of difficulty and loyal to the party and the country. He remained a genuine cadre of the ANC and the revolution. He never disappointed his comrades and organisation when it came to an important aspect of upholding and defending the values underpinning ANC's cadreship such as humility, humbleness, honesty, respect, selflessness, sacrifice and unity. At all times, he proved himself as that kind of a cadre described by Ho Chi Minh as deeply imbued with revolutionary morality and who forever demonstrated industry, thrift, integrity, uprightness, total dedication to the public's interest and complete selflessness in the course of the struggle to liberate the people.

Tambo was an advocate of non-racialism and non-sexism

Without fear of contradiction, we can confidently say the ANC's



gradual assumption of a non-racial and non-sexist character can partly be attributed to Oliver Tambo because of the balancing role he intelligently and tactically played with a view to appeasing and accommodating all perspectives during debates on the issue, which resulted in the collective embracement of the principles of non-racialism and non-sexism.

Whereas he noted concerns of radical African nationalists who were dismissive of the idea aimed at accommodating in the ANC and its leadership structures people that were not of African origin because of their fears related to a possible dilution of the character of the ANC; Tambo saw the intrinsic value in non-racialism as one of the inclusive political principles. Hence, he managed to persuade the ANC leaders and members to embrace non-racialism as a guiding principle in the composition of the ANC and its leadership structures during the

struggle and in the democratic society envisaged in the Freedom Charter.

In a similar vein, he opposed entrenched patriarchal attitudes and tendencies in society, and understood the link between gender oppression and national oppression, and the liberating role of women. In this regard, he challenged ANC women to play their rightful roles. Addressing the Women's Section of the ANC in Luanda, Angola, back in 1981, he said “Women in the ANC ... have a duty to liberate us men from antique concepts and attitudes about the place and role of women in society.”

Tambo was a leading light on organisational challenges

When there were challenges facing the organisation and the revolution, Tambo did not hide difficulties from the motive forces of the revolution. He must have been inspired by Amilcar Cabral's advice to “Hide nothing from the masses of our people. Tell no lies.



Oliver and Adelaide Tambo at their wedding reception

Expose lies whenever they are told. Mask no difficulties, mistakes, failures. Claim no easy victories." If he was still alive, he would advise us never to hide the challenges facing the organisation such as:

- triumphalism, pompousness and complacency;
- the implication of the leaders and members in state corruption and blunders in dealing with the related political and personal challenges;
- factionalism, gatekeeping and disunity in the organisation;
- manipulation and corruption of the ANC systems and processes; and
- the indecisiveness of the leaders about correcting the accumulated negative tendencies.

He would emphasise the importance of both criticism and self-criticism. He would say, without any equivocation, we must create space for criticism and self-criticism because these effectively bring to the fore challenges and the corrective measures needed to address such challenges.

Even the ANC's document on organisation building and renewal, which was prepared for the 2010 NGC, warns the ANC against lowering its guard on criticism and self-criticism, claiming easy victories and hiding

weaknesses and shortcomings in the interest of winning elections. It challenges the organisation to strive to be its own harshest critic, to boldly admit mistakes and to correct any deviations and failures. Therefore,

“Oliver Tambo would also not hesitate to take responsibility as he did in Morogoro, in 1969, because he would never allow himself to be a stumbling block to genuine efforts aimed at assisting the ANC and the revolution.”

Tambo would discourage us from being overly dismissive and defensive when criticised and would encourage us to admit and correct the mistakes we make.

With the current challenges which

threaten to paralyse the movement and disrupt the revolution, we cannot help but ask: *Angathin' uTambo xa esibona sinjena?* Indeed, with his own beloved organisation bleeding to death, Tambo would cry, like anyone seeing something he built and nurtured with passion, dying. But, Oliver Tambo would also not hesitate to take responsibility as he did in Morogoro, in 1969, because he would never allow himself to be a stumbling block to genuine efforts aimed at assisting the ANC and the revolution.

In the light of the decline of the intellectual and moral standing of the ANC in society, the movement needs leadership collectives populated by men and women of integrity who, like Oliver Tambo, will not sacrifice the organisation, the country and the revolution on the altar of personal gratification. What made Oliver Tambo so special in politics?

Tambo was not an ordinary politician

Unlike many politicians in our country, the African continent and the world, Oliver Tambo was a scientist, a lawyer, a teacher and a politician. Embodied in him were scientific, legal and political knowledge and skills to

resolve problems. Tambo's approaches to political and organisational challenges were pedagogically, scientifically and legally inspired.

Tambo understood the political dimension of mathematics and that mathematics can be applied in social circumstances. President Oliver Tambo deliberately sought to use mathematics to resolve political and socio-economic problems in the country; thus introduced the idea of mathematicisation of our politics. O R Tambo's understanding of Galileo's method of developing theories "by isolating things and stripping them down from various variables...." introduced another dimension to our revolutionary politics. It did not merely introduce abstract mathematical formula, but a useful method that guarantees "the highest degree of certainty and objectivity".

As a former student and teacher of physical science, Tambo fully understood material science. But, unlike other material scientists, he had a clear understanding of the profound influence of material science on theories concerning the development of human societies. With his understanding of this influence and of the atomic nature of society, he was able to observe contradictions and struggles as defining features of human society and to develop the appropriate solutions.

Conclusion

In the words of the renowned historian, Luli Callinicos:

For those who expected a leader to be autocratic, or at least authoritative, Tambo disappointed. They could not see that Tambo's priority was to hold the movement together. ... Tambo's task in preventing the fragmentation of the movement taught him to become a skillful balancer of tendencies.

Oliver Tambo's life and contribution to the liberation struggle introduce to us values that must guide the members, leaders and processes of the organisation, including those that are related to the selection of leaders. In particular, they show that leaders are not elevated into positions of leadership to serve the interests of themselves



Two struggle stalwarts, the late Ahmed Kathrada and late Laloo Chiba. Chiba passed away on 8 December 2017

or of factions, which have nothing to do with the people's interests. Like Oliver Tambo, leaders are supposed to be elected into positions of power because of their ethical values, intellectual prowess, political clarity, strong work ethic and quest to advance the revolution.

When we are in positions of leadership, we must emulate Oliver Tambo who was forever "inspired solely and exclusively by the noble objective to serve the people of South Africa, expecting no reward for [himself] except liberation and upliftment of the masses of our people." He did this – because he fully understood that ours is a people's movement that exists to serve the people, and not the narrow interests of its own leaders and members.

With all the words, phrases and other creative ways used within the movement and beyond to describe Oliver Tambo, we can say with utmost confidence and without any fear of contradiction that President Oliver Tambo was a true cadre of the movement and a servant of the people who embodied ANC values, principles and policies which he used to lead people's struggles with distinction. He understood

dynamics of the changing society and introduced practical steps needed to deepen and advance the revolution. He fully understood dynamics of the international situation and correctly interpreted unfolding events throughout the world.

So, the judgment Nelson Mandela made that, when they were at Fort Hare University one could see that Oliver Tambo was destined for great things was correct, as Oliver Tambo developed into what Nelson Mandela later described at the funeral of Oliver Tambo as "a great giant who strode the globe like a colossus... whose thoughts ... opened the doors to our liberty [and] whose dreams gave hope to the despised..." ■

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The South Africa I Know, the Home I Understand



What has made it viable to easily undermine the progress of the National Democratic Revolution?

By Mohau Bosiu

A lot is said in the mainstream media that is sometimes untruthful, cunning, defamatory, and at other times accurate, informative and valuable. It is therefore a balancing act between what one consumes and what one discards – the sequencing thereof impacts on our lives.

Currently the status quo dictates:

demonise the Gupta family and President Zuma, the leadership of the African National Congress (ANC), and the Movement as a whole. As a consequence the majority shall live in a state of despair.

The objective therefore, is to mobilise the mass majority against the governing party. The goal: remove the

ANC from running the State.

This is a clear, prevailing plot in our country manifest in the opinions and analyses of those in both the political left and political right.

The strategy devised: use news media as the instrument to paint a vicious and self-destructing ANC – across all its organisational levels, thus

to render it inflicted by a plague of lawlessness and unable to govern.

As the plot thickens, in their various forms, news media incessantly hammer the words in ears of the majority 'Guptas are Zuma's friends and his 'ANC cronies' – don't vote for them'.

Precursor and consequently catalyst to all this development is the nature of the embrace, seemingly too tight, between President Zuma and the Gupta family.

The infamous Gupta family is hemorrhaging in the court of public opinion; accused of undue influence and corrupt gains from the National Fiscus, enabled by their proximity to the President and some of our government officials.

Fearing their demise, the Gupta family and some elements within the ANC who are sympathetic with the family, have exhumed from history a characterisation 'White Monopoly Capital' as an offensive towards operatives and beneficiaries of the status quo, propagating and attaching the phenomenon of 'State Capture' to the Gupta family.

This scheme of events in the news media has gripped the attention of the general South African public, as well as the international world. Mindful that the choice for what to consume and discard in the news media impacts how life unfolds, we gather that the distinction between defamatory news and informative news is blurry by observing how some people and/or organisations have responded to these developments.

The country's economy is in a crisis mode, the contest in political parties seems to be mainly influenced by mudslinging and not so much by issues of national unity and economic growth. For instance, the collective opposition parties have constantly accused the ANC as a whole for being corrupt, while on the other hand the ANC launched its own offensive.

Given that state power is an alluring prospect, it is unsurprising that political parties, sensitive to the imminent 2019 national elections, would behave this way. Nonetheless, significant in this moment, are the implications and effects of the earlier described

prevailing plot – which are dire for all of us as a country and those with an interest in us.

The Receding Vanguard

To understand the implications of this development – moguls and dynasties fighting for state influence – in relation to the governance and organisation of society in our country, we need to consider the progress of the National Democratic Revolution (NDR) towards a national democratic society.

Since the first democratic elections of '94, major strides have been taken to develop the lives of ordinary South Africans who are still reeling from the devastating residual effects of colonialism and apartheid atrocities.

The Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) was adopted and carried out to

“The operatives of the status quo didn't relent in 1994. They've been in our midst, consistent in their pursuit, to render the black-led government a failed State.”

provide houses, access to electricity, telecommunication services, dignified sanitation and the like. Black Economic Empowerment (BEE) and Employment Equity policies were also adopted to secure jobs and boost small businesses for the black majority.

The prevalent challenge, inevitably, has been rebalancing the economic levers of power and thus the demographic composition of active economic participants between the white minority and the black majority. According to the Gini Index (2008/9), we're one of the most unequal societies in the world.

All this, inequality and manifestations of grievous corruption of some elements of the governing party, presents a dangerous threat to the Mass Democratic Movement (MDM) and the vision and progress of

a National Democratic Revolution.

Thus do we ask ourselves today whether the ANC has the capacity to lead the transition to a second phase of a National Democratic Revolution towards a national democratic society – has the vanguard lost its capacity to lead?

Given the allegations of 'State Capture', the sloppy actions of some deployees of the ANC in government, failure to influence and unite members of the National Assembly around common interests, what we gather is that the vanguard is no longer the strategic centre of power.

Emanating from this troubling occurrence is the question, naturally, to whose benefit is this development? What has made it viable to easily undermine the progress of the National Democratic Revolution?

The operatives of the status quo didn't relent in 1994. They've been in our midst, consistent in their pursuit, to render the black-led government a failed State.

This was evident even before the '94 elections could be agreed to. Equipped with this understanding, what then, in recent times, has accelerated the conditions that made it possible for the waning of the ANC – leader of the NDR?

In 2007, at its elective conference, we experienced the emergence of an unruly and outright ill-disciplined cadreship. Slates. Factions. Parochial, partisan interests.

Though this was an underlying issue prior to the 2007 elective conference, it didn't go unnoticed, but ironically endured, unpunished.

To address this festering issue, with foresight, some of the ANC members tabled a discussion document in 2005 regarding its organisational design, positing 'A Case for Internal Renewal'.

With reference to election processes of its leadership as a challenge of the post '94 period, the document made the observation that 'since the unbanning of the ANC' the organisation hadn't as yet 'discussed the critical processes of selecting and electing public representatives and party leadership, primarily with the view to ensuring that the current practices are in keeping with the values and traditions of the ANC.'

More so, the report went on to say 'because the commotion within the ranks as a result of personal agendas is aided by the way the current processes are designed, which [are] open to abuse.'

With much prescience on this critical matter of selecting and electing public representatives and party leadership capable of keeping with the values of the ANC, the discussion document warned that 'this matter is so vital that it can determine the future fortunes of the organisation.'

Failure to decisively attend to the observations of this timely document, therefore opened up the ANC to an orgy of unscrupulousness as observed in its 2007 elective conference.

These were supporters of the 'Zuma Tsunami'. Since then, support for the ANC has been on a downward spiral. Corruption scandals swelling. The image of Zuma, knocked down, over and over.

The friends of Zuma are now his detractors. Ranjeny Munusamy paints a different picture of Zuma from that which she did almost a decade ago. Julius Malema, once his defender to death, is now his worst nightmare in

“ On this critical matter of selecting and electing public representatives and party leadership capable of keeping with the values of the ANC, the discussion document warned that ‘this matter is so vital that it can determine the future fortunes of the organisation.’ ”

Parliament. Zwelinzima Vavi, Blade Nzimande, Siphon Pityana and others – all are no longer in favour of the incumbent.

The dramatic change of posture displayed by those who once earnestly supported Zuma's presidency is telling. It is a warning to us about personality cult, cheap political rhetoric, nearsightedness.

The election of Zuma as ANC

President was not a well calculated move. It was a desperate, nearsighted launch making it possible for outside forces to penetrate the state, using unscrupulous elements of the ANC cadreship deployed in government as a step ladder.

This has broadened the opportunity for the operatives of the status quo to mobilise against the Movement with relative ease.

As they apply pressure, the ANC is backed into a corner, suffering allegations one after the other. To the extent that at its 2017 June/July Policy Conference, the lead issues, in the mainstream media, are those of 'State Capture', 'Guptas', succession and less about the National Development Plan (NDP), strategy and tactics to resuscitate lacking economic growth levels, and ultimately guarantee the party a majority win in the upcoming 2019 elections.

Essentially, the eerie occurrence is that the governing party doesn't set the national agenda in public discourse. The operatives of the status quo are doing so, using a potent instrument – news media, fuelled by allegations of corruption in government and the seemingly very tight embrace between the Gupta family and President Zuma.

What is also troubling is that one doesn't get a sense that the vanguard could have developed a countervailing plan to crush the offensive launched against it in the widely attended arena for the battle of ideas – the news media.

Towards a Transition

In the race toward the 2019 government elections, we therefore wonder how the ANC will position itself as a leading force to advance the peoples of South Africa to a national democratic society. To change the demographic complexion of active and vibrant economic participants will be the true test for collapsing the unyielding legacy of a racially disparate socio-economic landscape.

BEE and Employment Equity are necessary, at least on paper, but not enough. The business society needs to hold its end of the bargain, in practice, but it is not sufficiently doing so. Thus do some attribute white dominated monopoly capital as an enemy of



progressive change.

Young black professionals are experiencing a glass ceiling and alien, antagonist culture of superiority that undermines their being in the corporate sector. Big corporates also practice unfair competition tactics, illicit financial outflows are rife and pricing of financial assets is developed with a slant towards the highest earning income grouping – distorting the underlying fundamentals of general socio-economic conditions in the country.

There is an emerging groundswell of disaffection with the corporate sector among young black professionals, and interlinks can be drawn with the upsurge of Fees Must Fall as a movement. For Fees Must Fall encompasses the accumulated costs in the spending basket of a student's academic year – accommodation, tuition, coursework material, catering fees – and most of its participants are born of workers in the rural and urban areas, pensioners and the unemployed.

This entails a struggle. And some have already propagated that these are alarm bells of a quiet revolution or, the so called transition to the second phase of a National Democratic Revolution, seeking to address the social systemic challenges that face the nation.

Much has been asked of the political parties, especially the governing party, regarding their response to these challenges. It seems we haven't as yet awakened to ponder what should be the input of the business world, except the simple, standard counter practices of withdrawing investment and applying pressure to the state.

One of our country's notable marketing strategy consultancies, Yellowwood, in its October 2016 white paper entitled 'Social Innovation: Gearing business to address social systemic challenges', makes the correct observation that 'to begin with, all South Africans need to get involved' in responding to these challenges.

It charges that 'businesses can't sit back and wait for governments or anyone else to solve social problems for them. Marketers, most specifically, must be proactive in designing solutions that adequately address [social] systemic needs, rather than just business needs.'

The relationship between government

and business should be of mutual benefit. With reference to the current discourse on 'White Monopoly Capital', through its organisational renewal report back, during the 2017 June/July National Policy Conference, the ANC has affirmed that monopoly capital is a global phenomenon, regardless of the form expressed in racial terms.

The ANC has also made the assertion and concession that government's relationship with monopoly capital is two pronged; in that it is of cooperation and contestation. In so far as arrears of mutual interests can be pursued, both parties shall cooperate. Whereas there are maleficent practices by business, disciplinary measures shall be taken.

Due to South Africa's painful history and the envisioned progress for a non-racial, non-sexist, prosperous

“The dramatic change of posture displayed by those who once earnestly supported Zuma's presidency is telling. A warning to us about personality cult, cheap political rhetoric, nearsightedness.”

and democratic society since the first democratic elections of '94, it would not serve our purposes as a collective community to define monopoly capital in racial terms.

Cognisant of the hardened cynics in our midst, this could easily be misconstrued as coddling white dominated monopoly capital. However, with some optimism we can be encouraged to view this as an effort to stay focused on the strategic goals of a non-racial, non-sexist, prosperous and democratic society.

Having made these observations, necessarily the question must be posed – who will drive the nation towards the transition for a national democratic society that will be determined through a balanced demographic composition of active economic participants?

Such a nation should espouse and exhibit: gender equality, equitable economic growth redistribution, democratic governance, social cohesion, youth empowerment and skills transference, and other such goals for a progressive society that will be at peace with itself and other members of the globe.

Given that these are matters about the material conditions of the people, those of who, a majority, don't have a voice. How then do we ensure that the people as a whole become part of the collective that contests in the terrain of ideas, to make certain that solutions put forward are agreed to by the people as a whole?

However life unfolds for all of us, based on the decisions we take informed by what we choose to consume or discard from the news media, equipped with the knowledge that no human action takes place outside objective reality – we all bear the responsibility to capacitate the state with industrious leadership, that will make immense contributions towards the improvement of the standard of lives of all South Africans.

In marking the beginning of a new South Africa, during his inauguration address of May 1994, the iconic face of our struggle, esteemed member of the Order of Mapungubwe, President Nelson Mandela, made a profound declaration that 'the sun shall never set on so glorious a human achievement'.

Concurrent with this declaration, and the assertion made by Yellowwood: all South Africans, and most specifically, the business sector must get involved in adequately addressing the country's social systemic challenges to ensure that in time, we can create conditions that will allow us, as President Mbeki made bold to state in his 2006 State of the Nation Address, to appropriate God's blessing to the prophet Isaiah:

For you shall go out with joy,

And be led out in peace;

The mountains and the hills

Shall break forth into singing before you,

And all the trees of the field shall clap their hands.

Thus each one of us shall proudly claim 'the South Africa I know, the home I understand. ■

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The Impact of the Judiciary within the Doctrine of Separation of Powers



The courts are the ultimate guardians of our Constitution, they are duty bound to protect it whenever it is violated

By Letlhogonolo Nomadolo

The Republic of South Africa is a democratic state governed by the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, 1996. The Constitution is the supreme law and any law inconsistent with it is invalid. The Constitution provides the manner and organs of state which are essential to the state and certain duties are given

to such organs of state. Further, the Constitution recognises the doctrine of separation of powers as an important system in our democratic state.

This system fundamentally means that our republic has three organs of state and these are given respective duties and functions and may not interfere in the duties and functions

of other organs of state. However, these organs of state are encouraged to protect and endorse one another in the notion of cooperative governance. In contrast, the judiciary from time to time appears to impinge on the duties and functions of other organs of state, especially the executive.

This article seeks to point out that

the judiciary is the ultimate guardian of the Constitution, which means that where a particular organ of state fails to perform a particular duty, then the judiciary must jump in the arena and attempt to assist in the performance of such duty. This implies that there will often be impingement by the judiciary on the duties and functions of the organs of state which failed to perform a duty especially if it is in the interest of justice for such duty to be fulfilled.

The Doctrine of Separation of Powers

The doctrine of separation of powers was explained by Judge Mojapelo as follows: (Phineas M Mojapelo "The doctrine of separation of powers, a South African Perspective" April 2013).

Specific functions and duties and responsibilities are allocated to distinctive institutions with a defined means of competence and jurisdiction

In addition, Judge Mojapelo says that this doctrine means that one organ of state should be given mandates to fulfil certain functions which ought to be fulfilled only by that organ of state. In *R v Home Secretary Ex Fire Brigades Union [1995]*, the doctrine of separation of powers in England was explained as follows:

It is a feature of the peculiar British conception of the separation of powers that Parliament, the executive and the courts have each their distinct and largely exclusive domain. Parliament has a legally unchallengeable right to make whatever laws it thinks right ... that they are obeyed

The judge further makes a very important point as he suggests that complete separation of powers is not possible either in theory and practice. I think this view is correct in the sense that if one organ of state does not perform what it is required to do, then another organ of state will indirectly perform such duty. The aim of the doctrine of separation of powers is to circumvent and avert the abuse of power by organs of state. Moreover, the judge meaningfully and correctly states that:

The courts are the ultimate guardians of our Constitution,

they are duty bound to protect it whenever it is violated

This argument implies that total separation of powers is impossible and secondly that upon the appearance of lack of performance from a particular organ of state, then the courts are duty bound to interfere. In other words, the judiciary cannot by necessity be said to have encroached on the functions and duties of other organs of state because it is the "ultimate guardian" of the Constitution and by implication, the republic of South Africa.

Overview of the Judicial Organ of State

The judiciary is subject only to the rule of law and the Constitution. As a result, the Constitution provides the judiciary with specific duties and functions. The Constitution, in terms of section 165, states that the judicial authority of the republic is vested with the courts. Further, the Constitution stipulates that the three organs of state ought to work together in the notion of cooperative governance in terms of Chapter 3. This chapter implies that these organs of state ought to protect, promote and develop one another to the best of their abilities because this will not only assist each organ but will also advance and promote good governance and consequently an effective government.

The Judiciary must always be impartial in the execution of its duties and functions. Furthermore, the judiciary ought to display a high level of accessibility and independence. The independence of the judiciary appears to be questionable and a subject for debate in the sense that the Chief Justice is appointed by the President which may suggest that the President may possibly have influence or will prospectively have influence on the appointee. This is a probable situation with the appointment of both the Public Protector and the National Director of Public Prosecutions. With that said, it must be noted that the judiciary is in theory independent and decorously ought to be. Moreover, the judiciary shall perform its functions and duties without fear, favour and prejudice.

The Nature of the Executive Organ of State

In theory, the main function of the executive is to execute and enforce the laws. This organ of state comprises among others the police officials, the President and other enforcement institutions such as the Department of Home Affairs. The duty of these is to ensure enforcement and execution at all times.

Judiciary as a Last Resort in Dispute Resolution

The powers to resolve disputes are vested solely with the judiciary. Though there are other methods in which disputes may be resolved such as through negotiations and other alternative dispute resolution methods, the judiciary is the ultimate dispute solving institution that may be utilised.

That being said, if the executive does not comply with the law or fails to adhere to expected standards, the courts will be required to declare such failure and in certain cases to impose certain measures on the executive to adhere to a particular regular standard. Latterly, the Constitutional Court declared that the President had among others failed to uphold, defend and respect the Constitution. The Constitutional Court then left the matter to the National Assembly as the organ of state that has the capacity and powers to hold the President accountable. Actually, the National Assembly may decide not to hold the President accountable and this would mean that the doctrine of effectiveness would be defeated; then the verdict of the court declaring that the President has violated the Constitution would be tantamount to being meaningless and futile, especially to the people of the Republic of South Africa who have intense and immense confidence, trust and belief in not only the judiciary but also the executive. This is however done bona fide and in the interest of the doctrine of separation of powers. Whichever way it may appear, this is the contemporary law of the Republic of South Africa and the demonstration of a democratic state. In addition, the recent case of *Black Sash Trust v Minister of Social Development and Others*, where the Minister was brought

to court to respond to the continuance of a contract the court had declared invalid. The court then made among others, the following order:

7. *The Minister and SASSA must file reports on affidavit with this Court every three months, commencing on the date of this order, setting out how they plan to ensure the payment of social grants after the expiry of the 12-month period, what steps they have taken in that regard, what further steps they will take, and when they will take each future step, so as to ensure that the payment of all social grants is made when they fall due after the expiry of the 12-month period.*

This is clearly a direct order on the Minister to act in a certain manner. Contrary to this, the Constitution in terms of section 91 (2) gives the President the following authority:

The President appoints the Deputy President and Ministers, assigns their powers and functions and may dismiss them.

The constitutional privilege of the President implies that the Deputy President and Ministers should account to the President on their respective portfolios. In addition, the Constitution states that the Cabinet Members are accountable to the National Assembly. This implies that a Minister may not account or write a report to another organ of state on the progress of his/her duties and functions. However, the nature of the judiciary at times warrants the usurping of certain functions to preserve the interest of justice.

The Significance of the Judiciary within Separation of Powers

The doctrine of separation of powers is a very crucial system in any democratic country because it eliminates the possession of absolute and centralised power and rather promotes decentralisation of power to different organs of state. This creates accountability and effectiveness in government. The Constitution as the supreme law of the country promotes the doctrine of separation of powers with utmost importance. However, we must bear in mind that it is not possible to attain complete separation of power because all these organs of state ought

to protect, promote and develop the state and these organs of state are likely to “unconsciously” encroach on the duties and functions of other organs. In addition, the judiciary as the ultimate guardian of the Constitution will most likely encroach directly and indirectly on the duties and functions of the other organs of government. This is the inherent privilege of the judiciary.

However there is a limit to the extent to which the judiciary should interfere with the duties and functions of other organs of government, and also a question of when this becomes necessary. Consequently, this creates a two leg test for determining whether the judiciary has encroached

“ The doctrine of separation of powers is a very crucial system in any democratic country because it eliminates the possession of absolute and centralised power and rather promotes decentralisation of power to different organs of state. ”

on the functions and duties of other organs of government. The first leg of the test is the extent within which the judiciary has overlapped its scope of performance of its duties and functions. This leg can be explained by the following illustration: If the judiciary holds the President or Ministers liable and impose a penalty on them, then it can be said that the extent to which the judiciary has interfered is excessive and that may possibly be against the doctrine of separation of powers.

This is only an example and perhaps it does not sufficiently explain this leg of the test. However I am of the view that it is like Ubuntu, it can only be seen when it is done. In the interest of thorough understanding of this leg of the test,

a case of *Economic Freedom Fighters v Speaker of the National Assembly and Others; Democratic Alliance v Speaker of the National Assembly and Others* will be used. In this case, the Constitutional Court declared that the President has violated the Constitution by failing to uphold, defend, and respect it. However, the court did not remove the President from office, but rather referred the matter back to the National Assembly as the organ of state which has the power to hold the President accountable. Now if the Constitutional Court actually removed the President, then it would be quite clear that the Constitutional Court has acted ultra vires and consequently defeated the doctrine of separation of powers. As a result, the extent to which it has overlapped would evidently be excessive.

The second leg of the test is whether there is a necessity or need for the judiciary to interfere with the functions of a particular organ of state. A necessity or need should be understood as to mean, would the judiciary, people of the country or any other institution be negatively affected if the judiciary does not interfere. This is an objective test and it depends on the circumstances of a particular case.

Conclusion

The inherent role of the judiciary makes it almost impossible for the judiciary to avoid encroaching on the duties and functions of the executive and the legislative. This is mainly because the judiciary is the ultimate guardian of the Constitution and is usually the last resort for dispute resolutions.

Now, what is crucial is to ensure that we guard against "gross" encroachment by the judiciary on other organs of state. The article suggests a two leg test which may be of significant impact. This test basically vows for two important observations. Firstly, that we need to allow or accept the inherent nature of the judiciary and its possibility to encroach on other organs of state. Secondly, to ensure that the nature of the judiciary does not render other organs of state useless and that the judiciary does not abuse its power. ■

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LEADERSHIP IN AFRICA

The Heart of the Matter



Given the interdependent world that has resulted from these interweaving relations, Africa's developmental challenges are also of global concern.

By Craig Bailie

Maxwell's adage, "Everything rises and falls on leadership", highlights the universal importance of leadership. "Everything" implies just that – everything! The birth and development; the demise and end; or the success and failure of anything depend on leadership. The importance of leadership, therefore, cuts across geographical, cultural, religious, ethnic and ideological lines. An address by Marxist and former member of

the ANC NEC and SACP central committee, Ronnie Kasrils, before an audience at Stellenbosch University in 2016 was telling in this regard. Kasrils proclaimed that he would rather live under the leadership of 'the Mbekis', 'the Mbowenis' and 'the Manuels' than under the leadership of the current South African president, Jacob Zuma.

A well-known proverb reads, "Where there is no vision, the people perish."² Since people constitute

every distinctive human social group, vision – of fundamental importance to leadership – becomes universally indispensable. No one with historical insight and an understanding of contemporary societal realities can deny the fundamental role played by leadership in the human experience. This is particularly true of the African context, where political institutions, for reasons which scholars have already explored, are generally less developed

than elsewhere in the world.

Numerous works – books, journal articles and opinion pieces – have been published on leadership, including leadership in Africa. Amongst the many challenges facing the African continent, one of the most important is the continuing leadership deficit. This area needs further and deeper research. The many challenges facing Africa have a negative impact on development and, in turn, on the well-being of its most valuable resource – its people.

The following challenges – some of which are related and serve to reinforce one another – face us: climate change; large-scale involuntary migration; energy shortage; poverty and inequality; food insecurity; ill-health; underemployment and unemployment; youth bulge; corruption; violent conflict; ethnicism and racism; poor education or lack of education; and economic volatility that results from, among the challenges already cited, captured capital, low commodity prices, slow economic growth rates and low rates of industrial development.

By no means can it be successfully argued that these challenges are of an exclusively African heritage or nature. Additionally, coming to terms with these challenges will require an inclusive approach – that is, to move beyond ‘African solutions to African problems’. These qualifications are necessary because, ultimately, the challenges cited above are human, rather than African, in nature. They also have origins that stretch beyond the local and they have consequences that impact the global. To the degree that they result from the interweaving of human and state relations that stretch across history and political geographies, they are simultaneously domestic and international in origin. Given the interdependent world that has resulted from these interweaving relations, Africa’s developmental challenges are also of global concern.

Each of the challenges noted above ultimately ‘rose on the shoulders’ of poor leadership, exercised not only from within, but also from without, the continent. As such, only the positive power that resides in, and the beneficial impact that results

from, good leadership can positively confront each challenge. But what is leadership and how does one differentiate between ‘good’ and ‘bad’ leadership? Maxwell and other authors have defined leadership as influence, “nothing more, nothing less.”³ If influence is the measure of leadership, then the distinction between ‘good’ and ‘bad’ leadership depends on the nature of that which results from the influence. If “everything rises and falls on leadership”, it follows that leadership is assessed on its impact and outcomes. Therefore, Africa’s existing challenges lend support to the claim that the people of Africa have been suffering for some time now from what Makinda refers to as “Leadership Malaise and...Crisis of Governance.”⁴

Africa’s leadership illness and deficit is not unique to the continent,

“It is here, under the tutelage of caring fathers and mothers, that Africa’s youth and future leaders have the first opportunity to learn what it means to be loving, honorable, self-sacrificial, visionary, accountable, humble and responsible.”

however. A few recent examples are worth mentioning in support of such an argument. Over the last few years, Brazil has experienced a corruption scandal, “involving millions of dollars in kickbacks and more than 80 politicians and members of the business elite”.⁵ To Brazil’s north, Venezuelan President, Nicolás Maduro has stripped his country’s national parliament of power.⁶ In Myanmar, “(f)ormer loyalists lose faith in...democracy icon Aung San Suu Kyi”, who is now seen to be manifesting an authoritarian streak following her taking power.⁷ Russia’s incumbent, Vladimir Putin, is given the title, “one of the most feared leaders in the world”⁸ and United States

President, Donald Trump, is described as having, “no grasp of what it means to be president.”⁹ Fear, corruption, power seeking, authoritarianism and incompetence are not traits ordinarily associated with notions of good leadership.

A 2015 survey by the World Economic Forum (WEF) found that 86 percent of respondents “agree that we have a leadership crisis in the world today.”¹⁰ Transparency International’s Corruption Perceptions Index 2016 reinforces the WEF’s finding: last year’s global average score was 43, “indicating endemic corruption in a country’s public sector.”¹¹ Without relishing the leadership challenges faced elsewhere in the world, Africans may draw hope from what these challenges reveal: the experience of poor leadership is not unique to the African continent. As a whole, these non-African experiences serve as a reminder of the common challenges that confront humanity.

The African Development Bank argues that, “(r)eliable data constitutes the single most convincing way of getting the people involved in what their leaders and institutions are doing.”¹² This supports the idea that a correlation exists between the nature or quality of leadership and the lived reality of those living under that leadership. Indeed a number of indicators suggest that, in comparative terms, Africa’s struggle with poor leadership has been and remains more extreme than in other parts of the world. In 2017, an analysis by Global Finance Magazine revealed that, of the world’s thirty poorest countries, twenty-four are African.¹³ Of the 105 countries that scored below the global average on Transparency International’s Corruption Perceptions Index 2016, 42 (40%) are African.¹⁴ Freedom House (2017) determines that only 12% of Sub-Saharan Africa’s population and 18% of the region’s countries are “free”.¹⁵ As of June 2017, the United Nations Committee for Development Policy includes 32 African countries in its list of 47 of the world’s least developed countries.¹⁶ Finally, and in addition to the rise in violent extremism over recent years, Africa hosts the majority of UN peace missions deployed across the world.¹⁷

Leadership in Africa becomes even

more questionable when taking into account that the realities reflected above exist alongside Africa's diverse wealth, both in natural and human resources. "The region is full of promise and untapped riches – from oil and minerals and land to vast amounts of people capital – yet, it has struggled since colonial times to truly realise its potential."¹⁸ In sum, Africa's developmental woes are a consequence of poor leadership.¹⁹

Together, the indicators cited above serve as an indictment of Africa's political leaders and their lack of will to 'do the right thing'. In South Africa, President Jacob Zuma defies the Constitution by repeatedly placing his interests, the interests of his chosen elite within the ruling African National Congress and the interests of foreign entities above the interests of the South African nation. In Zimbabwe, the nightmare that began with the land grabs in 1999 continues unabated, with former President Mugabe recently having called for a renewal of land invasions.²⁰ The Zimbabwean president's lavish birthday celebrations, hosted in an environment marked by drought, hunger and daily struggle, tell the story of a leader that has lost touch with the reality that his people live with.²¹ Despite this, Namibian President, Hage Geingob, hails Mugabe as his mentor.²² In Lesotho the experience is, "recurring political instability since 2012, including an alleged coup in 2014, and...three national elections within five years."²³ In Swaziland, King Mswati III presides over a political system that "fails to meet any standard of democracy."²⁴

After 38 years in power and upon retirement, Angolan President, José Eduardo dos Santos, will receive the title 'President of the Republic Emeritus Honorary'.²⁵ The title comes with benefits that include "a special legal status to protect him from prosecution for alleged corruption"²⁶ and "a pension equivalent to 90% of his current monthly salary."²⁷ In Zambia, President Edgar Lungu has suspended 48 members of parliament for exercising their right and freedom to boycott his state of the nation address.²⁸ In 2010, the Zambian leader was barred from practicing law because

of professional misconduct. He went on to become the country's Minister of Justice.²⁹ Despite having taken commendable actions on a number of fronts since his inauguration in 2015, Freedom House warns of the Tanzanian President John Magufuli's restrictions on media freedoms.³⁰ Burundi's Pierre Nkurunziza, the 'Democratic Republic' of Congo's Joseph Kabila, and Rwanda's Paul Kagame, are three African presidents who have recently either succeeded in or are contesting for amendments to their respective national constitutions. This is to allow presidential terms to extend beyond two. This is happening in the midst of 13 African heads of state that have already extended term limits.³¹ Among these is the Ugandan President, Yoweri Museveni who succeeded in scrapping presidential term limits in

“If “everything rises and falls on leadership”, it follows that leadership is assessed on its impact and outcomes.”

2005 and now wants to remove the presidential age limit of 75.³² Uganda holds a prominent position in the sights of Human Rights Watch for all the wrong reasons.³³ In Egypt, President Abdel Fatah al-Sisi sanctions the use of torture, with impunity, by his security forces.³⁴ This serves only as an abridged list of incumbent African presidents who have acted against the interests or wishes of their people, to one degree or another.

I have not yet answered the question as to what constitutes good leadership. If, contrary to the worldview held by Africa's colonisers, we can agree that human beings of different physical attributes have in common the possession of an inherent value and of common needs, it follows that leaders should respect and treat their fellow humans according to universal leadership principles. Subsequently, a common and universal understanding of good leadership must prevail. Every human being desires to be cared

for, valued and appreciated. Only a universal set of leadership attributes can fulfill universal desires and needs. Therefore, fundamental attributes ought to be contained in a definition of good leadership. In addition to the challenges facing Africa and the brief notes on some of Africa's political leaders provided above, a reading of the continent's current affairs and scholarly work on leadership in Africa would suggest a number of fundamental and related leadership attributes are in short supply and in need of cultivation. These include a love for people, honour, self-sacrifice, self-discipline, vision, accountability, humility, responsibility, ethics and knowledge.

The necessity of these attributes for the well-being of humankind, irrespective of the society or geographical location in question, does not imply that leadership practice in Africa should follow the same approach taken elsewhere in the world. Despite similarities between human beings, cultures and their associated geographies will provide contexts that lend themselves to different styles of leadership. The intention of calling for a universally applicable and relevant understanding of good leadership is not to sweep aside the leadership praxes that remain relevant to particular geographical and cultural spaces.

The public platform held by presidents, and politicians more generally, and the resources for affecting change that accompany such a platform, underline the significant negative impact that public officials in Africa can and often do have on their fellow citizens. However, it would be unfair to lay the blame for Africa's current challenges entirely at the feet of political leaders. As much as political leaders have a pivotal role to play, leadership remains an all-inclusive concept: it is an effort that every level of society must embody. Maxwell's definition of leadership, noted earlier, contradicts the idea that leadership is 'a gift given to the chosen few' or an activity reserved for 'those at the top'. In reference to the fight against colonialism, Salim writes that, "Africa's leaders were not only those who sat atop governments, but the thousands upon thousands more

who stirred conversations in the town halls, in the communal homesteads, in university lecture rooms, in markets, in neighbourhood bazaars, and in taverns. Leadership knows no singular shape or size, colour or creed.”³⁵

For Africans to think differently from the sentiments expressed in the paragraph above is to risk the encouragement of Africa’s existing ‘Big Men’ and the creation of a new generation of ‘Big Men’ to take their place when their respective regimes have finally come to an end. These are individuals who, because ‘little people’ have failed to see the important leadership roles they themselves are required to play, come to be seen as the saviours and redeemers of entire nations. Because no leader is perfectly good or perfectly able, perceptions such as these are naïve at best. At worst, they are detrimental to countries where ‘Big Men’ have taken hold without the accountability that necessarily accompanies good leadership.

If Africa is to turn the tide against the challenges with which it is saddled, the general nature of leadership in Africa will have to change – certainly in political and economic circles, at both the national and regional level. For this to happen the notion of leadership and, more importantly, an understanding of good leadership will have to be adopted and exercised at all levels of society. Such a process must include the space occupied by the family. It is here, under the tutelage of caring fathers and mothers, that Africa’s youth and future leaders have the first opportunity to learn what it means to be loving, honorable, self-sacrificial, visionary, accountable, humble and responsible. It is here that I first received lessons in distinguishing between right and wrong and it is here that my mother taught me the value of understanding history so that I could properly navigate the present and the future. Slavery, colonialism and apartheid each disrupted, challenged and, in many cases, broke the family unit with consequences that have marred Africa – consequences that can be felt for generations to come.

Where families are unable to reflect and shape good leadership to its fullest degree, the need for the recognition

of leadership as all encompassing is, once again, impressed upon us. Put differently, Africa’s youth cannot be expected to learn leadership lessons only from their biological fathers, mothers and older siblings. As the African proverb goes, ‘It takes a village to raise a child.’ This makes the work of Africa’s civil society organisations that focus on leadership development, and the increasing profusion of residential and online leadership programmes offered by tertiary education institutions – both within and beyond Africa’s borders – encouraging indeed. Africans must support and exploit these endeavours

“Movements and institutions that emphasise a common humanity, where each individual person carries an inherent value and, therefore, has the right to inherent freedoms, and who do so without negating the need for responsibility and justice, must be given the necessary encouragement and support.”

to the benefit of a common good. This being said, and in the words of Aristotle, “Educating the mind without educating the heart is no education at all.”³⁶ Movements and institutions that emphasise a common humanity, where each individual person carries an inherent value and, therefore, has the right to inherent freedoms, and who do so without negating the need for responsibility and justice, must be given the necessary encouragement and support. For leadership in Africa to adopt a benevolent character, both formal and informal instruction on leadership must emphasise the

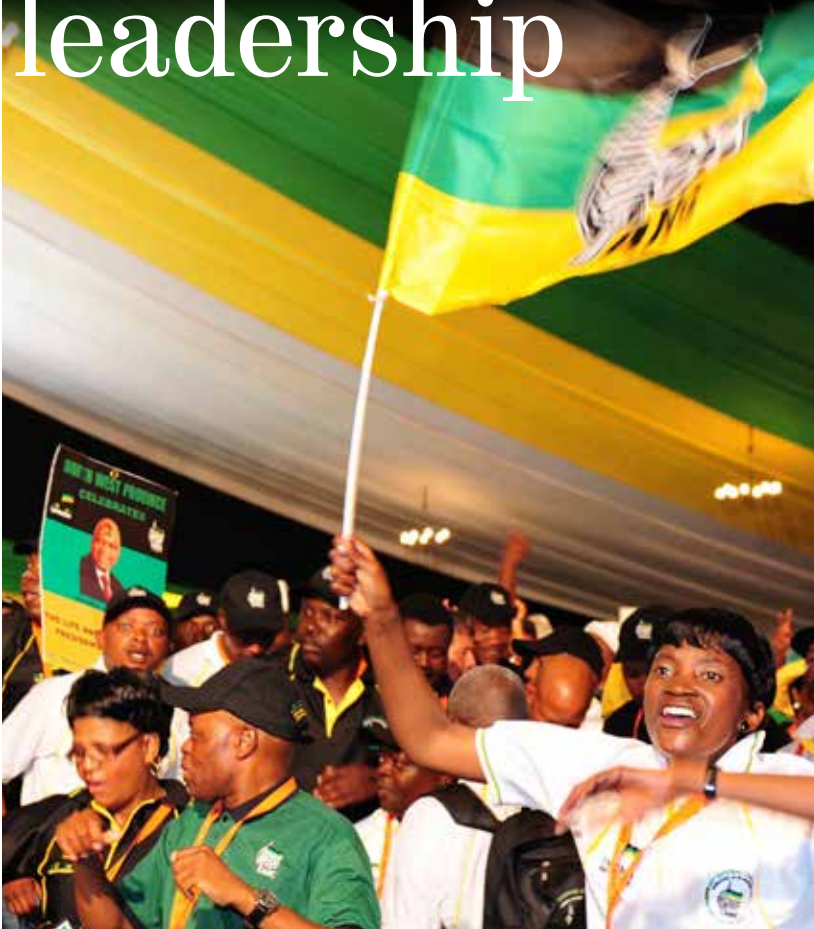
common and valuable humanity that underpins the need for love, honour and ethics to drive the actions of all Africa’s leaders – no matter their position or status in society. ■

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DECEMBER 2017

An opportunity to embrace leadership



The leadership style displayed by the current president is nothing short of inadequate, obtuse and fractured.

By Mohammed Haffejee

The African National Congress elective conference of 2017 has been earmarked by many as one of the most important events in the South African narrative since

the dawn of democracy in 1994. Depending on who you choose to believe, it will either deliver the South African vision of freedom and justice or catapult South Africa into

the abyss of international political nowhere-ness.

As attention remains fixed on the ultimate prize offered by the conference, many contenders to the throne have stepped up and are locked in a bitter electioneering campaign, reminiscent of the 2007 Polokwane conference.

It is clear that, whoever wins, this battle will be of vital significance in the history of the South African story. However, is there, and just as pertinent, should there be a blueprint that exists that can advise the relevant electorate of the leader that the country yearns for?

Leadership, in any sphere, represents the gearing or influencing of others in a group to achieve a specific objective. There are many other appropriate definitions of leadership. However, for this article, the concept of leadership is contextualised in the arena of politics. So, one can refer to leadership as it exists in the tussle for power and the need to be master of societal resources.

The last three political administrations of South Africa have seen varying styles of management when it comes to political leadership. The Mandela approach was one of an all-inclusive management style. Advisors were respected for their inputs while subordinates far lower down the food chain were also given a platform to voice opinions. Further to this, the leadership of Mandela was that of a collective transformational leadership model.

The charismatic figure who could convince his audience to embrace his ideals was the hallmark of the man known as Mandela. That particular charm and charisma ensured the positive outcome of many a dilemma, none more so than the transition from an authoritarian regime to a unified democratic state.

The perception of Mbeki being aloof was the result of his formal approach to management. In this way, a strong chain of command structure was followed, where immediate advisors were consulted by the leader and subordinates lower down reported to their immediate line managers. Coupled with this management style,

Mbeki presented himself as a visionary leader. His African Renaissance model portrayed an individual who had a vision, which some say South Africa was not ready for.

However, Mbeki's strong confidence in his immediate subordinates opened the doors to his decision-making being not as well informed as it should have been. Had he adopted a leadership style that welcomed lower level input, he might have avoided issues such as the embarrassing AIDS debacle which marred his presidency, and the shocking eventuality which was Polokwane in 2007.

The Zuma management style is more extreme at best, and represents a leader hell-bent on maintaining power and control at all costs. The competitive management style of Zuma provides a platform for struggles and in-fighting between direct subordinates who all see themselves as having the leader's ear. However, in fact, none of them actually do.

Zuma's constant changing of his cabinet is an example of his management style, encouraging competition between subordinates. Another example of this is the constant tussle between various government departments. The National Prosecution Authority (NPA), the Directorate for Priority Crimes Investigation (DPCI) or the Hawks, and Independent Policing Investigative Directorate (IPID) are just a couple of examples of organisations who are competing and battling each other. This competition even permeates each department, as we see constant change in executive leadership within these institutions.

The excessive current in-fighting at various levels of government and even state owned enterprises, be it the South African Broadcasting Corporation (SABC), South African Airways (SAA), or Eskom are a direct impact of the style of leadership adopted by the President of the Republic. His meandering actions trickle down to almost all levels of the government fraternity, creating a gridlock when it comes to service delivery, which is the core function of the South African government structure. Many are of the perception that the leadership style displayed by

the current president is nothing short of inadequate, obtuse and fractured.

Poor political leadership at the highest level is contributing to the dysfunctionality of many state and state-allied organs. The quest for power and the maintenance of the status-quo has allowed political interference to permeate these different organs. The infatuation with power and dominance has turned the moral compass of a once idolised freedom movement into one where members who critique the current regime are either branded, labelled, ostracised and some even ultimately forced to altogether exit the party.

So the question arises as to what type of leader the South African people require to reignite the confidence, belief and hope that was once flowing through the figurative veins of the country. The current crop of potential suitors to the South African helm are

“Zuma's constant changing of his cabinet is an example of his management style, encouraging competition between subordinates.”

caught up in a fierce battle, probably the most fierce ever seen in democratic South Africa. Allegations of infidelity, impropriety, incompetence and even criminality are hurled at the various candidates in the run up to the ANC elective conference in December 2017. We also have the quintessential macro-issues of state capture, white monopoly capital and radical economic transformation being the themes that some of the campaigns are run on. These phrases are hot topics in the media and are used at will by those on the campaign trail to lobby support.

South Africa has reached a plain where dynamic leadership is required at many avenues of government. As mentioned earlier in-fighting and intra-conflicts are synonymous and characteristic of the South African political landscape. This instability is

the biggest threat facing contemporary South Africa. This instability has not only been at government level, but more relevant for the December elective conference, it is the instability that exists in the ruling party.

To address this instability that has been created by a competitive management style model, leadership that will change the hearts of minds of the people is essential in returning South Africa as the flagship of modern democracy and the alpha example of conflict resolution, a credit obtained with the advent of democratic South Africa in 1994. The current state of affairs in South Africa makes 1994 seem like centuries ago, owing to the different styles of leadership and the different perceptions of that leadership in the two time periods.

The aspect of dynamic leadership where competence is key and loyalty to the republic is placed above anything else will provide the platform for organisations such as the National Prosecution Authority to reassert itself as an institute of not only guardian of justice in South Africa, but also re-establishing its self-respect. This leadership aspect is necessary at all spheres of government. However, this type of leadership at organisational level rests in the character and behaviour as depicted by the highest political leader of the state.

The political leadership of the highest office of the ruling party and probably the country needs to be a voice of agency. This agency is required to reflect the needs, interests and objectives of the people. It has to be one that is transformational, visionary and democratic in its actions and application. All aspirant candidates to the position of leader of the ANC claim to follow this leadership dynamic. They may all be correct, but the one thing remains firm is that they will be replacing a leader who seems to have abandoned that aspect of leadership agency.

Millions of South Africans hope that the December 2017 conference will deliver a new, creative, inclusive leadership that will transform the political landscape; and one with a clear vision of where they and the country need to be. ■

THE 2016 LOCAL GOVERNMENT ELECTIONS NARRATIVE

South Africa, a maturing Democracy



The shift from race-identity politics to ideological voting as well as service delivery excellence voting will force the introduction of efficiencies in the public service and public sector.

By Lucky Mathebula

The 2016 local government elections have come and gone. The results have been released by one of the most efficient elections management agency in the developing world, the IEC. Political analysts and statisticians are now grappling with the implications of the numbers and how these are reflective of the continuing South African story. In this forest of opinions, consensus on the fact that the country's democracy is maturing has emerged. Critical in understanding this consensus will be what areas are being consolidated for the current growth path.

The South African Constitution provides that the country is one, sovereign, and democratic state founded on inter alia the values of universal adult suffrage, a national common voter's roll and a multi-party system of democratic governance. These values are constitutionally entrenched in order to ensure accountability, responsiveness and openness. Implicit in these values is a truism that South Africans have the unconditional right to full citizenship, accessed through possession of a valid identity document that does not only guarantee participation in economic activities and related property ownership rights, but also registration on the common voter's roll. The Constitution further entrenches the right to make political choices that include choice of a political home and/or political persuasion.

In its preamble the constitution declares that 'South Africa belongs to all who live in it, united by our diversity'. This declaration undergirds the 1955 vision of the Congress of the People as encapsulated in the Freedom Charter, an ancestral policy document informing the ideational basis of being South African post 1994. The 1955 generation, amongst whom South Africa's great luminaries such as Nelson Mandela, created a vision which would be bequeathed to South Africans of all political persuasions and ideological shades. It is for the same reason that the constitution calls upon all South Africans, acting through their representatives at the time of its adoption, to heal the

divisions of the past and establish a society based on democratic values, social justice and fundamental rights. A foundation for democracy was thus established.

In the South African scheme of things it was very heartening to observe, during these elections, the inner circle of the national official opposition party, the DA, which is still perceived to be inherently a continuation of the erstwhile whites only United-Party-Progressive-Federal-Party-Democratic-Party political complex, embracing in an annexing sub-context the monuments and icons of the struggle against Apartheid colonialism as their own. The claim to the Mandela legacy as a continuation of the 2011 launch of the DA's manifesto at Kliptown, the ANC's ancestral policy mecca became

“The elevation of individuals, through the ‘involvement’ of the community, in municipal ward contests may have reintroduced the need to have Parliament being directly elected on the basis of constituencies”

yet another positive in this maturity path. The embrace of Mandelalism, like the 2011 launch, represented a tacit adoption of the Freedom Charter dictums as the context of all political contexts in South Africa. This embrace makes The Freedom Charter a representative embodiment of freedom demands to be inscribed as the template upon which political parties may have to be judged in future. The extent to which a party can convince South Africans of its ability to achieve the demands set at Kliptown in 1955 will in the near future be its main appeal to the electorate.

The pre-occupation with political power and a slow movement in redefining the economic power

landscape created a lag in the realisation of economic dividends associated with political mandates given to the ruling ANC. Unlike in other liberation movement governed African states, the South African democratic experiment was preceded by a Mandela-De Klerk led political accord that adopted constitutional principles which an independent judiciary will use as a reference point to adjudicate the constitutionality of policy trajectories as codified in legislation. The 2016 local elections seems to have sharpened the spirit and letter of the political accord as well as the opening demand of the Freedom Charter; 'the people shall govern'.

Whilst some of those who voted DA celebrated the declaration of Robert McBride as 'murderer' by a 'case law' dependent "independent" judiciary, it was consoling to see the DA celebrating another 'murderer' in Mamelodi in the name of Solomon Mahlangu. The extent to which the strategy was a collective emotion of the historical voting base of the DA is what South Africa still needs to decode as we progress. The in-country potential of the visit to these monuments as well as the salient educative impact by the history of these heroes is what the tourism ministry should exploit. In this reawakening, South Africa should be opportunistic in weaving into this embrace of struggle heroes, a strategy to resuscitate the anti-British imperialism heroics of the Afrikaner anti-colonial struggle that incidentally created for South Africa a detachment of the colony from the pre-1960 coloniser. It is our collective responsibility to recognise and celebrate the fact that South Africa was 'decolonised' from imperialist and extractive British colonialism by a narrowly defined nationalist movement that ultimately realised the limitations of a race-based nationalist path.

The embrace of struggle icons still needs to be followed-up by visible presence of the 'new members' of the anti-Apartheid or 'pro-Mandela-type-freedom' nation. The previous celebration of national holidays has clearly divided South Africa in terms of those that see these holidays

representing their defeat and those that display triumph against Apartheid and by default 'whiteness'; and invariably creating a never-will-embrace-Apartheid nation drawn mostly from Apartheid victims, natural democrats and repenting neo-racists. The shepherding of the DA's historic constituency to recognise other non-Mandela heroes that are McBride-like is one of the greatest dividends of our maturation process should be yielding; a spirit that should find its path into the emotional fundamental of 'some' in the country's judiciary, given their serial liberation struggle context denouncing judgements to date.

The importance of decentralisation that is anchored by a capacity to generate own revenue is now cast in stone as the best aspect of South African democratic life. The competition for the 6 Metropolitan municipalities as key jurisdictions with which political parties can demonstrate their ready to govern capability has entrenched the multi-jurisdictional nature of political mandate sourcing. The elevation of individuals, through the 'involvement' of the community, in municipal ward contests may have reintroduced the need to have Parliament being directly elected on the basis of constituencies; this seed has found resonance within the ANC, this is despite the failed Tshwane last minute candidate parachuting experiment. The integration of society into non-race based communities seems to be the only obstacle for such a system to be embraced by predominantly black political formations, if the voting demographics are used as evidence.

The reality of the political ignorant or naive 'born frees' becoming a new voting factor as a result of the opportunity dividends of the 1994 democratic breakthrough is a positive that will redefine the 'broad church' fallacy within a profoundly pro-left ruling ANC. The shift from race-identity politics to ideological voting as well as service delivery excellence voting will force the introduction of efficiencies in the public service and public sector. The policy making machinery requisite to stem the tide of voter takeover

by a growing opposition creates a bonded investment to be cashed in at a historical epoch by either of the emerging ideological poles. This presents new theoretical insights on the political science domain for South Africa; a feast for social and political scientists.

Given the above, it should henceforth be unacceptable for South Africans to accept the narrative which suggests that liberation struggle context is the context of all non-white politics. Similarly it must be unacceptable to lump all-for-ANC supporters to be pro-left thus discounting the preponderance of right-wing economic lieutenants, neo-liberals, liberals and libertarians in the ANC. In fact, the ANC's formation in 1912 was a liberal construct with a profoundly American

“The extent to which a party can convince South Africans of its ability to achieve the demands set at Kliptown in 1955 will in the near future be its main appeal to the electorate.”

Congress influence and a predominating Garveyist and Wilberforcean liberalism. The founding constitution of the ANC drew an ideological fault line which defines most in-ANC factional tensions, conflicts and splits to date. In fact the simmering and somewhat in the open tensions between the left-in-the-ANC supported by the left-organised-in-the-SACP and the right-in-the-ANC supported by the right-within-the-opposition-center-right is a manifestation of some ideological rapture occurring in the ANC.

The right to vote and make political choices opened the historically non-voting black constituency as a new ideational market for political formations. Parties that have a standing ideology and a heritage of sustaining

a discourse changing or dominating machinery within the procedural dictates of a regularised electoral system. To these parties, formal power contestation is a maintenance matter and the potential of being 'arrogant' is progressively diminished by a concomitant rise of arrogance by the 'new-in-power' entrants. The grammar of power is in these conditions always in conflict with the new concepts introduced by the new-in-power thus making procedural practice look like a capitulation to past power and invariably lending post-liberation leadership in perpetual conflict with institutions designed to protect democracy. The historical adversarial relationship with political power in South Africa has mutated into a breed of solidarity that defends corruption, state-capture and other ills often associated with power aggrandisement.

The outcome of the 2016 Local Government Elections which stripped the ANC of the ultimate prize of politics, government, has in fact placed into the hands of parties opposed to continued ANC rule resources in excess of R100bn in direct terms, and potentially far much more in influence multiplier terms. These resources represent to the opposition a capacity to translate their political manifesto into tangible and sub-national government endorsed delivery programmes that will demonstrate to the electorate the state of readiness by the opposition to ascend to national government management.

The dictum emerging from within the stalwart cohort of the ANC that 'we fought against Apartheid to afford ourselves and future generations a right to self-determine the socio-political and 'somewhat' economic future of South Africa has, and through the 2016 local government elections outcome, brought the future forward at a speed commensurate to what obtains in the technological advance environment. In respect of what the future holds in electoral terms, the 2016 outcome can never be viewed as an absolute indicator; it should rather be subjected to a Zulu proverb "never cast your spear before making sure of your foothold". ■

South Africa needs a new cultural revolution to change the mind-set of its people

Change is the law of life and modernity is about breaking stereotypes that govern individual and institutional habits.

By Tshepiso Mphahlo and Lebogang Charter Modise

Post-apartheid South Africa presented us with challenges which require our collective wisdom in order to overcome some of the pressing needs our people face on a day to day basis. The democratic government is charged with the task of delivering basic services to the people such as clean water, proper sanitation, basic healthcare, decent housing, proper infrastructure to support the ever-burgeoning economy; and a clean environment.

All of this can be done with the help of committed public servants guided by Batho Pele principles, public law interest groups, intellectuals and the working class (as motive forces of change); as well as civil society movements, the student movement and both the urban and rural unemployed youth.

South Africa has a history of discrimination which manifested itself in centuries of colonial and apartheid misrule against black people. In order to dismantle centuries-old discriminatory practices the governing party needs to usher in a change in the mind-set of our people to instil a new ethos in the way we conduct our business. Change is the law of life and modernity is about breaking stereotypes that govern individual and institutional habits.

Successive ANC governments have always maintained in the yearly State of the Nation Address that we should do things differently: all hands on deck to accelerate the pace of transforming our society for the betterment of our people. This is part of the grand cultural revolution that the democratic government has been working towards, anchored on ushering in a behavioural change at all levels of society.

The indolence on the part of state apparatchiks needs to be discouraged at all cost. This entrenched order needs to make way for a new normal. It ranges from attending office on time, keeping working and living environments clean, accountability, transparency and creativity in their work, being technological savvy and adopting innovative means and methods. All of this will assist the democratic government in executing its constitutional mandate derived from electoral manifesto which is a compact between the people and government.

The other inhibiting aspect in the overall context of our institutional culture that has evolved since the installation of democratic order is the decadent culture of corruption which robs our people of service delivery. There may not be dissenting voices if we say that the prime contours of the existing decadent culture is corruption,

opportunism, nepotism, greed, exploitation of power and resources, crony capital, sycophancy and self-seeking behaviour, especially amongst people who occupy high office both in the public and private sector. This deviant behaviour needs to be confronted and defeated.

It is our considered view that the clarion call for a new cultural revolution against the old decadent culture, whose contours have been outlined above, is aimed at behavioural changes that are necessary for building a new and resurgent South Africa based on cleanliness of thought and action.

It is time that all and sundry, from public servants, civil society movements to politicians, stand by the change people want and vent the cry of the wounded against the status quo instead of seeking to block change with photo opportunities.

South Africans should be concerned about the high moral decay which attacks the moral fibre of our society daily. Self respect and respect for the rule of law must be demanded; and drug and substance abuse must be combated. The glorious 1994 democratic dispensation should inspire us to safeguard and serve our country with all the energies and expertise we have.

It is worth noting the successes we managed to achieve as a nation with respect to the good path for a better life for all. A responsible and patriotic citizenry are the most significant factors that could awaken the consciousness in the various communities in order to place South Africa on the map as a model of success and unity amongst the nations of the world. To improve the living conditions of our people and restore their dignity, both the government and the private sector must work in conjunction to create employment opportunities, build a strong and global competitive education system and promote international economic development. An awakened citizenry should be charged with the responsibility of investing in educating others for the benefit of all and the nation and be inspired by Mao's words "let hundred flowers bloom and let hundred schools of thought contend". ■

Africa must participate in the Fourth Industrial Revolution



By Department of Science and Technology

The next industrial revolution must be inclusive and the science community must ensure that young people are empowered to participate, said Deputy President Cyril Ramaphosa.

The Deputy President addressed thousands of people who packed the CSIR for the first day of the Science Forum South Africa (SFSa). The Deputy President joined Department of Science and Technology Naledi Pandor for the opening ceremony in

Pretoria on Thursday (7 December).

The Deputy President said the SFSa is working to advance Pan-African cooperation in science and technology to advance regional integration, peace, social cohesion, inclusive development and global partnerships.

He said, it provides a platform to sharpen public debate on the role of science in the lives of people and how, through cooperation and partnerships, we can collectively advance the practice of science.

“By breaking down barriers and challenging hierarchies in the science community, it has come to represent collegiality, collaboration and inclusivity among participants and contributors,” said Ramaphosa.

He added that, “SFSa must rekindle hope in a world of unending possibilities, a world where imagination, innovation and scientific discovery allow us to dream of a better, more secure and equitable future.”

He explained the need to develop

a community of young people that believe there is a future for science in South Africa and on the continent.

“We must ensure that the youth see themselves as agents of development, working to redesign the urban environment, expanding transport networks and building new, more sustainable human settlements.”

The Deputy President called on the science community to partner partner with young entrepreneurs to support the development and sustainability of innovative businesses.

The Fourth Industrial Revolution is here with us and we need to take action to enable young people to participate.

“In a rapidly changing global economy, our continent must invest in the development of young scientists to reap the economic and social benefits of the fourth industrial revolution. The next industrial revolution must be inclusive,” he said.

“It is up to us to ensure that Africans are not treated only as consumers of technology, but also as developers and managers of innovation.”

The Deputy President stressed the need to make science work for the benefit of society. He said that in a world challenged by dwindling resources and rising inequality between individuals and among nations, the scientific enterprise cannot be indifferent to the needs of humanity.

“The many challenges we face – from pandemics and food insecurity to poverty and climate change – require a concerted response from the global science community.”

He added that no country or research group can work or succeed alone. Resources need to be pooled and expertise shared.

In her address, Minister Pandor said that South Africa has tried to put in place the best science and technology policies. “We focus on promoting specific areas for R&D – astronomy, energy, bio economy – in which we are becoming world leaders. We invest in knowledge-based activities that are driven by the quality of the scientists we train, the quality of our research and development infrastructure, and the enablers we have put in place to turn scientific research into technology.”



The African Union Commissioner for Human Resources, Science and Technology and the CEO of the NEPAD Planning and Coordinating Agency, as well as Ministers from Angola, Botswana, the Democratic Republic of Congo, Jamaica, Namibia, Uganda and Swaziland, attended the Forum. The Minister said that the Science Forum South Africa is already regarded as one of Africa’s premier platforms for public debate on science.

She outlined the objectives of SFSA as follows: First, to put science at the service of African society. It is through science that many of the challenges faced by our communities can be addressed.

Second, to promote international collaboration. It is through collaboration that ties are strengthened, that science not only becomes stronger in Africa, but internationally, and that

groundbreaking research is enabled.

Third, to showcase African science and technology to the world. Too little is known about the tremendous contributions African scientists make towards global science. We have a rich and diverse portfolio of international collaboration but in our fast-changing world, we need to work with even more energy to profile African countries as reliable partners of choice for global scientific cooperation.

Minister Pandor said that science is an integral part of Africa’s growth and development agenda and South Africa is committed to playing its part in contributing to developing Africa’s capacities for science and technology. “I’m confident that our Forum will help to foster a continental consensus on the critical role of science in African society.”

Over the next two days several panel discussions will be held on a variety of science, technology and innovation topics, as well as interesting science talks. Science councils, embassies and several other organisations are also exhibiting locally developed technologies. For more information visit. www.sfsa.co.za. ■

“It is up to us to ensure that Africans are not treated only as consumers of technology, but also as developers and managers of innovation”

The Editor welcomes contributions that take into account The Thinker's vision of a democratic, non-racial, non-sexist and caring South Africa. Submissions of poetry and the written word should be brief. For visual material, a high-resolution document is required (300dpi Jpeg). Please send your work electronically to editor@thethinker.co.za for consideration.

THROUGH A CREATIVE LENS

Below we honour and remember all those who died in the struggle for freedom. The poets need no introduction.

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Before Interrogation

(An Epitaph to Ahmed Timol and Others)
by Ronnie Kasrils

Their triumph when landing him
was like hooking a fish.
Four days later they told his father
go pray in the mosque
your son is dead
he has fallen from a window
we have lain him out on a slab.
Saloojee plunged from this spot
in 1964, they grinned at Timol
showing him the seven storey drop
like you he would not talk.
Smirking and winking
enjoying the sport
they led him three flights up;
do you like the view
are you ready to talk?
you're a prize catch
do you prefer the honour
of a bigger splash?
Playing him out
at the end of a line
he refused to break
under the striking rod;
patience ran out
in a sjambok rage
they flung him to ground
with a head-wheeling crash

that covered the marks of the gaff.
They spoke of the leap
like an Olympic feat;
we never use force
it was a matter of course
some hang themselves
some slip on soap
this one chose to jump.
The police mouthpiece
addressed the press
the seventeenth account of sudden death:
'We threaten no one
We assault no one
We assume that no one
would want to escape
no one
no one
no one.'
And flicking his tongue
he wrote an epitaph for all the dead:
'We know Communists
when violence is planned
commit suicide
rather than mention
their comrades names.
They are taught to jump out
before interrogation.'

Weep for Justice. R.I.P.

by Don Mattera

To Mrs Hawa Timol:
Weep mother
For the fruit of your love
Fallen from the tree of stone.
(November 1, 1971, *Rand Daily Mail*)

From Freedom Lament and Song

by Mongane Serote

here i stand at the foot of the continent
i remember those who died hooded
those who died with their hands bound
those whose stripped bodies, whistle pain into the sky
and those whose sorrows were drowned in the sea
their souls rumble with the turbulent wave

i
i think of the dead for maybe now i am free
they
they freed me in blood
their genitals cut and hung
their bodies hang and swing from helicopters
i think of them
of their death
every time I hear the word freedom

Dear African



By Thokozani Dladla

It is out of pain that I write this letter to you. Black dark skin women are belittled, marginalised and labelled as 'less beautiful' than light skin black women. This has nothing to do with race. Black and white women. It is about the way in which the black community treats one another and how the media production of perpetuates the negative narrative about dark skin black women.

The dark skinned black women are less used in advertisements, music videos and movies, and where they are used they are portrayed as this lonely, unwanted woman. I blame this on the media producers that are pushing this narrative that light skin is a symbol of beauty. As Africans, we can do better than this. We fought racism in the name of unity. Why can't we appreciate diversity within black women and be united to push a simple agenda that black women are beautiful.

The young black girls that are still growing are looking and taking note of

what is happening both in the media and their respective communities. They see the media referring Bonang Matheba 'Queen' of African beauty, and they see that she is light skinned. They are also aware of other light skin black women said to be beautiful as evidence from the fact that they are also faces of big brands, for example Minihle Dlamini, Boitumelo Thulo, the rest of the list is inexhaustible.

The African community has coined the term 'Yellow borne' to refer to black light skin women also used as an equivalent to a beautiful black woman. This term started being used in the few previous years and it is still used in the black community. This is happening in front of young black dark skin black girls who are genuinely beautiful but the society is constructing a narrative that they are not as beautiful as light skin women. I say nothing much about Miss World who is white and seems to substantiate the idea that beauty has to do with light skin.

I am not saying black light skin women are not beautiful. And, I am not saying make dark skin black women a favour and refer them as beautiful. I am expressing my condemnation of the unhealthy social construct that seems to define beauty with how light skin a woman is. There are of course other factors that the society uses to measure beauty, namely weight and height. But these two factors, weight and height are used across communities, black and white, Western and African. They are also to be condemned but not as much as the 'yellow borne' narrative that is within the black community.

Oh! Black dark women you are beautiful, attractive and hot. I plead you to reject the idea that light skin is what defines beauty. Make me a favour do not bleach your skin just to be called a 'yellow borne'. Feel good in your natural skin. Please help in any way you can to spread the message that black and dark is beautiful. ■



POLO
—SINCE 1976—

SPRING/SUMMER '17

FRESH drinking *water* FROM FRESH thinking

Using nanotechnology, we are helping rural schools create safe drinking water from unsafe water sources.

