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The Thinker

FOR THOUGHT LEADERS

SMASH THE GLASS CEILING

ALL POWER TO WOMEN

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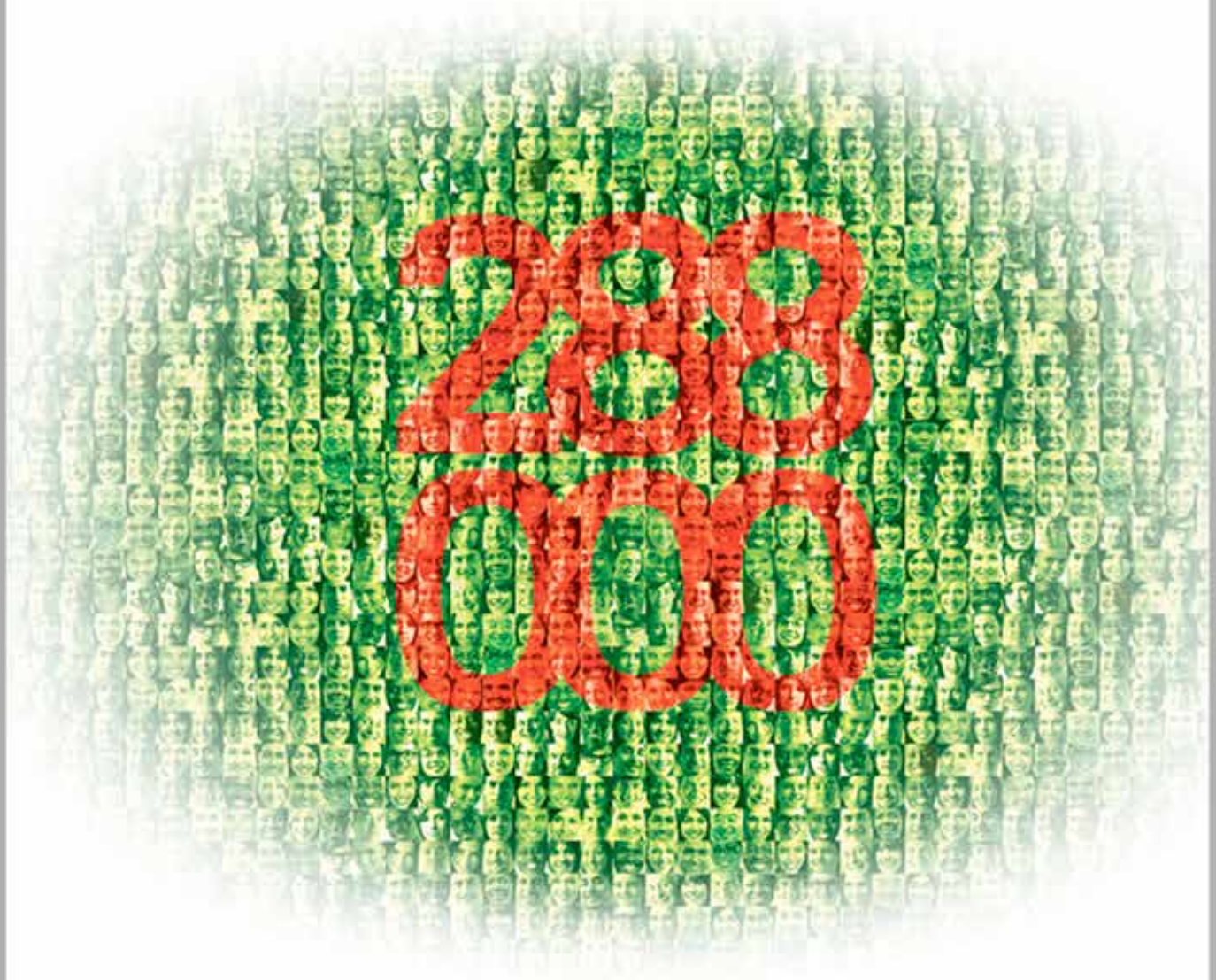
NEW JOBS OVER THE NEXT 7 YEARS



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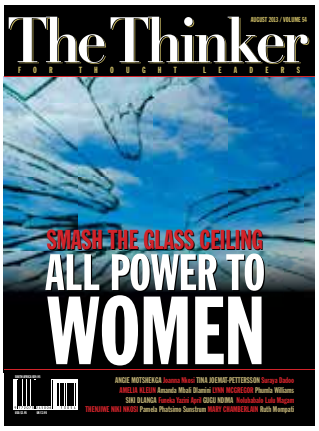


On the Cover:

The Struggle continues
Aluta continua.

GENDER EQUITY

Challenge the Stereotype

In this women's month edition, our lead article is by Angie Motshekga, the Minister of Basic Education and President of the ANC Women's League. She highlights some of the information recently provided by Pali Lehohla, Statistician General in the *Gender Index* which was released on 4 July 2013, based on an analysis of data collected in the 2011 census. She notes some of our strengths and improvements in relation to gender equity in South African, but also points to areas where progress is very disappointing. She sees the need to deconstruct the power structures, value-systems and ideologies of patriarchy and oppressive cultures, rear our children differently and provide better gender equity role models. Minister Motshekga also calls on us to celebrate the lives of the heroines of our struggle, and learn from them.

This editorial expands on some of the issues emerging from the *Gender Index*. In terms of employment, 24.9% of South African women are unemployed. Here race is an even greater factor than gender, as employment rates are 72.6% for white men, 56.1% for white women, 42.8% for black men and a shocking 30.8% for black women. This is a statistic that cannot be ignored.

In relation to the 'glass ceiling' which affects women's career paths, we must face the fact that SA men of all races get paid more than women for the same work, even when less qualified. Women only get, on average, 82% of the pay of their male counterparts. This degree of inequality is startling.

Although gender equity in employment opportunities has improved significantly in the public sector, change is very slow in the private sector. Research conducted by Debbie Goodman-Bhyat, MD of Jack Hammer Executive Headhunters (*Financial Mail*, 5-10 July 2013) revealed that in the top 40 JSE companies only 15% of CEOs are black and only 5% are female. Taking a more inclusive selection of their clients, including mid-sized firms and multinationals, the figures were 13% black and 10% female.

Women in rural areas tend to suffer most in terms of their economic, educational, health and general human rights. Hlengiwe Mkhize, national convenor of the Progressive Women's Movement of South Africa – and Deputy Minister of Economic Development – presented a memo to the Minister of Rural Development and Land Reform appealing for the monitoring of its programmes to guarantee that women become beneficiaries and official land-owners. It is vital for women to participate and share equally in the agriculture projects and other income generating activities to address food security issues (*The New Age* 3 July, 'Women must be included in all sectors of the economy'). The 2011 report of the Commission on Gender Equality found that the land restitution programmes benefitted about 91% males and only 9% females between 2005 and 2009 (Women, Land and Customary Law, 2011). Tina Joemat-Pettersson, our Minister of Agriculture, Forestry and Fisheries, makes an interesting contribution in this issue on the importance of food security. And Joanna Nkosi addresses the issues around the proper management of our water resources, which has a very direct impact on the lives of the poorest of our people.

> "She sees the need to deconstruct the power structures, value-systems and ideologies of patriarchy and oppressive cultures, rear our children differently and provide better gender equity role models."

Maternal mortality is up by 20% between 1990 and 2010. This dramatic reversal is attributed to the effects of HIV-AIDS. Only 33% children grow up with both parents. 39% children live with single mothers. 27.2% of African children and 11.2% coloured children grow up with neither parent in the household (Quinton Mtyala *Times*, 5 July 2013 'SA Women carry too heavy a load').

This results in further strains on poor communities in particular, with 11 314 128 child support grants registered in June 2013, and an estimated 2 million other children who are eligible but not managing to access the grant. R113 billion has been allocated for 2013-2014 (*Mail & Guardian* 12 July 2013).

South Africa has not yet adequately addressed the issue of violence against women and children, including the unspeakably vicious attacks on lesbians, so-called 'witches' in the north of our country and the rape of babies, young children and the elderly. Clearly these have nothing to do with sexual desire or provocative behaviour, but are simply brutish displays of the perpetrators' need to feel the power of dominating and humiliating someone physically weaker than themselves.

A study by NGO Gender Links conducted between 2010 and 2012 suggests that patriarchal norms and

attitudes drive high rates of gender violence. And conservative attitudes in this respect still prevail to a great extent across all communities in this country. Many men as well as some women believe that wives should obey their husbands… even if the husbands' actions are cruel and irrational.

Reactionary attitudes are also displayed by many School Governing Bodies. In 2011, 51 000 pregnant school pupils gave birth (DBE: General Household Survey, 2011). Instead of trying to understand and address the reasons for this, deal with sexual harassment and rape in our societies and at school, and provide the pregnant girls with the education to which they are entitled, the best answer given by some SGBs is to exclude the girls from school!

Amanda Kleijn argues that the use of harsh corporal punishment by parents, teachers and other authority figures, and the frequent resort to violence instead of reason as a mechanism for solving problems, has been linked by many researchers to the history of perpetrators of extreme forms of gender violence. The SA Human Rights Commission states that there were 2 103 677 *reported* incidents of corporal punishment at schools in our country in 2011 ('Corporal punishment on the increase', *The New Age* 15 July 2013). The HRC spokesperson explained that 'these include instances where children are severely humiliated, grievously injured, left disabled or did not survive their injuries'. If we combine this information with recent high profile reports of violence by police officers, we may understand the degree to which South Africa provides a very disturbing environment for the nurture of young people.

However, in spite of all these challenges, we have South Africans, female and male, across racial, ethnic, cultural and income groups, who know what needs to be done and are determined to show leadership and provide support in order to achieve the changes we need. Amanda Dlamini and Siki Dlanga, for example, both take positive positions and look for solutions. Amanda provides some inspirational examples of black South African women who say 'I am *not* a victim because…'.

And our women also support the human rights struggles of other oppressed women (and men) throughout the world. Just as the international community supported us in our struggle against apartheid, (see Mary Chamberlain's historical piece), Suraya Dadoo's insightful article on Israel as an Apatheid state illustrates the commitment of South African women offer international solidarity.

South Africa is part of a larger international fight against violence against women. Lakshmi Puri, Acting head of UN Women and UN assistant Secretary-General, spoke of measures taken by the UN to 'turn violence against women from a pandemic to an aberration' (*The New Age* 5 July 2013). She reported that the Commission on the Status of Women agreed on a declaration which commits member states to very specific actions to address violence against women, including in conflict and post-conflict situations. This was one of four key moves taken this year at an international level, including a decision by the G8 to implement six steps to end sexual violence in conflict, backed by a R350 million funding pledge.

> "This represents a consistently disturbing increase worldwide in the abuse of physical power by men in an attempt to terrorise women into silence and compliance."

Recently we have witnessed an upsurge of what she refers to as this 'pandemic', but also a powerful reaction against it. To mention a few examples of the crimes against women, in the Northern Mali towns captured by rebels, many women and girls were kidnapped and gang-raped for days in military camps; unmarried mothers were 'punished, tortured and flogged'. Horrendous sexual violence is used as 'punishment' against lesbians in SA, girls who want an education in Afghanistan and Pakistan, women who demonstrate and express their political views in Egypt. This represents a consistently disturbing increase worldwide in the abuse of physical power by men in an attempt to terrorise women into silence and compliance.

Worldwide it is estimated that more than one third of women currently experience violence in their lifetime. Statistics are usually compiled in relation to reported rapes, but many factors impact on the level of reporting, and different countries have different definitions of 'rape'. Aware of the unreliability of data, it is still worth mentioning that existing data indicates that South Africa and Botswana have the highest number of reported rapes per year, followed by Sweden, many of the Caribbean states, the UK, the USA and Bolivia. This phenomenon is not confined to any particular part of the globe.

(www.unodc.org/documents/data-and-analysis/statistics/crime/CTS12_Sexual_violence.xls)

However, these horrors no longer go unreported and ignored. We do not know what crimes were previously endured in silence. Now there has been massive international public reaction to the brutal gang rape of a female physiotherapy intern in Delhi in December 2013, and similar incidents in other parts of India. Fifteen year old Malala Yousafzai also received massive international support after she was shot by the Taliban in October 2012 in an attempt to end her campaign for girls' education in Pakistan. Together with many other survivors of violent oppression, she, with her courage and persistence, has inspired people worldwide to fight for their rights.

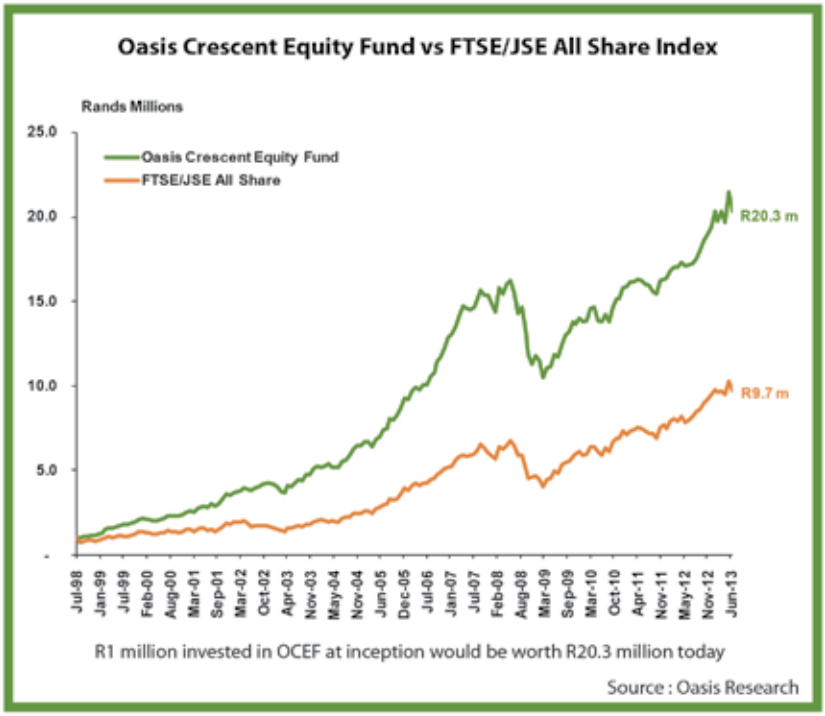
After all, what can change the status quo if we do not provide basic human rights, including loving care, education, food and a decent, non-violent environment for our children? Boys as well as girls need to be nurtured as 'new South Africans', with a clear vision of what that means. As Ashley-Cooper and van Niekerk explain, a good place to start, for both genders, is to provide adequate nutrition and a secure and quality learning environment for our children to promote healthy early childhood development. ■

Actively enhancing investment returns

Every so often, the public debate concerning active versus passive investment management resurfaces.

A somewhat popular argument, especially following periods of relative market turmoil, is that the cost of active management fees do not justify the excess returns generated by these funds on aggregate, and that investors would be as well off by buying into passive or index-linked funds such as ETFs. This view, at times espoused by financial advisors or even regulators, is in our view fundamentally flawed.

In theory, an equity index-tracking fund will hold stocks in direct proportion to their market value. As such, those stocks which are most undervalued by the market will, by definition, be given relatively low portfolio weights, while those stocks which are the most expensive will be given relatively high weights. In other words, the assets with the lowest potential for generating real returns are favoured by index-linked passive funds over those which provide investors with the greatest potential for wealth creation. We at Oasis view this method of allocating capital as inherently inefficient. Indeed, as a value seeking investor, one should be taking the opposite approach, buying assets that are fundamentally cheap while selling out of assets which are priced too dearly.



R1 million invested in OCEF at inception would be worth R20.3 million today

Source : Oasis Research

Delivering superior returns at lower than market risk

	Sharpe Ratio	Sortino Ratio
Oasis Crescent Equity Fund	0.9	1.4
Average Domestic Equity Peer Group	0.3	0.4

Source : Oasis Research

Beyond this theoretical point, we believe that there is sufficient evidence to conclude that active managers can provide clients with superior risk-adjusted returns over long periods of time. Although some studies of the aggregate performance of active managers do not find significant excess returns from actively managed investments[1], recent studies show that there is a considerable and important degree of heterogeneity within the group of managers classified as "active". For example, a 2011 National Bureau of Economic Research study[2] showed that active fund managers which engage directly with clients consistently outperform those managers who receive a greater proportion of their revenue through intermediate brokers.

Perhaps the more important roles for active fund managers involve driving markets towards price efficiency, while relentlessly holding the management of companies accountable for investor wealth. Regarding the former role, there is compelling evidence that active fund managers are crucial to more efficient allocation of capital[3] – a fact that underlines the social and economic importance of the industry. With respect to the latter role, client interests are best protected by fund managers who actively engage with the investments made, and whose incentives are aligned with that of the ultimate investor. Oasis' track record speaks for itself in this regard. In 2008,

we successfully led the defence of an offer of R24 a share for AVI, whose share price has since increased by 138% to R57. In the same year we also fended off a share-swap offer for Nampak, which has since seen its share price climb 120% to R33. This year, we have defended against an initial share-swap offer for Adcock Ingram by Chilean company CFR, on the grounds that it will not be in the best interest of our clients.

Active research and interaction with investments is thus clearly crucial to squeezing out maximum value for clients over the long term. At Oasis we strive always to remain client centric, focusing on maximizing long term risk-adjusted returns for our clients at all times. We do this through constant and in-depth analysis of our investments, and the consistent identification of real value on the markets.■

[1] French, K., 1998. Presidential address: The cost of active Investing. Journal of Finance.
[2] Guercio, D.D. and Reuter, J., 2011. Mutual fund performance and the incentive to generate alpha. NBER Working Paper Series.
[3] Jones, R. and Werners, R., 2011. Active Management in Mostly Efficient Markets. Financial Analysts Journal.

All contributing analysts write in their personal capacity

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Professor Mary Chamberlain is Emeritus Professor of Caribbean History at Oxford Brookes University. Since 1975 she has worked with oral history and life story methods, and has published widely on these, on women's history and since 1991, on Caribbean history, notably on Caribbean migration and diasporic Caribbean families. She is the author of several books, including *Fenwomen* (1975, 1983, 2011); *Narratives of Exile and Return (1997; 2004);* and *Empire and Nation-building in the Caribbean: Barbados 1937-1966* (2010). She has edited a further five books, has served on a number of advisory panels and was a former editor of *Memory and Narrative*.

Michaela Ashley-Cooper is a Programme Manager at the Centre for Early Childhood Development, an NPO based in Cape Town, where she works on Research and Advocacy. Michaela completed her Master's Degree in Research in Psychology at the University of Cape Town, looking particularly at the neuropsychological effects of childhood trauma on adolescents. Her current research focus is on ECD programmes which produce a significant change in children's lives.

Suraya Dadoo is a researcher for Media Review Network (www.mediareviewnet.com) a Johannesburg-based advocacy group. She focuses on the impact of the Israeli occupation on Palestinian media, education, healthcare, and family life. Her articles have appeared in local and international publications. She is the co-author, with Firoz Osman, of *Why Israel? The Anatomy of Zionist Apartheid – A South African Perspective* (Porcupine Press, 2013). She holds a Master's degree in Sociology from Rhodes University.

Amanda Mbali Dlamini is currently a Marketing Director for the Moses Mabhida Foundation. She holds a B. Com Degree specialising in Marketing Management and has worked for a number of multinationals including South African Breweries and Nampak. The founder of *The African Pioneer*, an online platform for young Africans with over 2000 members. Amanda's passions are writing, branding and Africa. Having recently backpacked through East Africa (Ethiopia, Kenya, Uganda, Rwanda and Tanzania) Amanda has a love for mother Africa and is interested in the unity and renewal of Africa.

Siki Dlanga is a poet and writer. She lives in the Eastern Cape. In the past she has worked for Scripture Union South Africa which is a children and youth ministry. She is the youth representative for the South African Christian Leaders Indaba (SACLI) steering committee which seeks to unite Christians to work together for a better South Africa. Her poem *The day of the African Prophet* was included in *Bozza Hits 3* found in Nokia Music Store. It was the first poem to be ever included in a Bozza Hits volume. Siki is on her way to finally completing her BA Communications degree. She is currently running an exciting campaign for her poetry book on www.thundafund.com.

Tina Joemat-Pettersson holds a Degree in Executive Management in Education from the University of Cape Town; a BA in English and History, as well as an H Dip Ed from the University of Western Cape. She became a member of the Northern Cape Provincial Legislature in 1994; Chairperson of the ANC Women's League in the Northern Cape in 1998; member of the SACP Central Committee in 1998; member of the ANC Women's League NEC from 1998 to 2003; Chairperson of the SACP in the Northern Cape in 1998; and Treasurer of the ANC PEC for the Northern Cape in 2003. Joemat-Pettersson has been the Minister of Agriculture, Forestry and Fisheries since 11 May 2009 and a member of the ANC National Executive Committee since December 2007.

Dr Amelia Kleijn received her BA in social work, with distinction, from the University of Witwatersrand at the age of 38. She completed her PhD, based on research into perpetrators of baby rape in August 2010. Amelia is currently in private practice. She has undertaken consultancy assignments for the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime, the National Department of Social Development, and Khulisa Management Services. Her research has been featured on national and international media. Amelia is a regular conference speaker and workshop facilitator.

Nolubabalo Lulu Magam is a recent Master's graduate in International Relations from the North West University. Her research interest is geared towards exploring the link between the development of alternative energy, its usage and the effect on the standard of living and the climate, as well as the promotion of gender equality and human rights. She fervently believes that the development of sustainable alternative energy sources, gender equality and human rights will lead to a healthier environment and a longer life expectancy. She currently works as an intern for the Department of Health.

Lynn McGregor is an internationally known corporate governance advisor and has worked with major companies in the UK, Europe, USA and India for over twenty years. She has served as a non-executive Director, and Chairperson of a number of boards, and as a board

advisor. Her well-known book, *The Human Face of Corporate Governance* was first published in 2000. As Senior Fellow at the University of Stellenbosch, she led a colloquium on strategic thinking about Corporate Governance with S.A. business leaders. She has a chapter in the *Handbook on International Corporate Governance, Country Analyses*, which was published earlier this year.

Matsie Angelina Motshekga has been President of the ANC Women's League since 2007 and she was appointed as the Minister of Basic Education in 2009. She is a member of the National Executive Committee of the ANC. She was previously a Member of the Gauteng Provincial Legislature. She was a teacher and then a lecturer at Soweto College of Education and at the University of Witwatersrand. Angie has an H. Dip Ed, and a B. Ed and a Master's Degree from the University of Witwatersrand.

Gugu Ndima has written articles on a number of issues pertaining to various socio-economic matters in publications such as *The Times, Sunday Independent* and the *Mail and Guardian*. She has worked in the Young Communist League of South Africa as a National Spokesperson and served in the ANCYL structures. She was nominated in the 200 Young South Africans Mail and Guardian newspaper feature in 2010 and received from the *CEO* magazine the meritorious award as a leader of tomorrow in the Business and Professional sector in the SA's most influential women in Business and Government. She now serves as a Spokesperson in the Office of the Speaker in the Gauteng Legislature.

Dr. Joanna Nkosi has been involved in economic and business research and consulting for two decades. She is a historian and social scientist who lectured at the City University of New York until 1989. As Director of Research Capacity Building in the 1990s, she led a path-breaking knowledge development initiative at the HSRC and later in the NGO sector that aimed for equitable access to knowledge resources in the country. She is currently a partner in Africa Trade and Investment Platforms, a strategic business promotion company aimed at growing Pan-African businesses while adding value to the development paradigms of the countries on the Continent.

Lauren van Niekerk is a Programme Manager at the Centre for Early Childhood Development, a leading early childhood development (ECD) non-profit organisation working across South Africa, where she works on Fundraising and Advancement. Lauren recently completed her Master's Degree in Social Policy and Administration at the University of Cape Town, looking particularly at the role of corporate social investment in early childhood development in South Africa. ■

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SMASH THE GLASS CEILING

Remember the Heroines

National Conference of Women, April 1954

In spite of current challenges, the persistence of historical gender injustice and the scourge of cultural and patriarchal domination, in South Africa indeed much has changed since the advent of democracy in 1994.

By Angie Motshekga

The release in July 2013 of the recent gender statistics by Stats SA could not have come at a better time.

The report came out a month before patriots of the beloved republic could put all else aside to focus on the position and condition of women during Women's Month – August – which we have dedicated without fail to the women's agenda for qualitative transformation since the dawn of democracy.

As such Stats SA's report on gender dynamics was a wakeup call that allowed for critical appraisal of progress on gender equality and women's emancipation. It had enriched our planning and programmes ahead of this important month and will like other valuable discursive interventions in support of the cause of women, such as *The Thinker*, inform and influence our strategies and

tactics beyond Women's Day.

The Statistician General Pali Lehohla says in the report's Foreword that South Africa is the highest ranked country in Africa in the 2012 Social Institutions and Gender Index of the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development – a high ranking reflective of *"the country's strong legal framework in respect of gender equality and women's rights"* (2013: vi).

As if to make sure we do not become complacent, he notes further that *"on the ground discriminatory practices, social norms and persistent stereotypes often shape inequitable access to opportunities, resources and power for women and girls"* (2013: vi).

It can be argued therefore that there is a strong case to intensify women's struggles if we are to create a truly non-sexist, non-racist, united, democratic and prosperous society. It is of paramount importance to do so while remaining ever conscious of the gains of democracy.

Celebrating heroines

From 1994, we have used the Women's Month to encourage strategic reflection on gender relations and to celebrate women's triumphs. This year is very special.

The report on gender statistics was released in a historical year in the life and work of the African National Congress Women's League. It has made a clarion call for its members and broader society this year to celebrate the Centenary of the women's struggle, under the theme, "Inspiring young women by remembering our heroines."

It was against this backdrop that since the beginning of the year a series of lectures and several campaigns were undertaken to highlight the role of women in the liberation struggle and to celebrate exemplary lives of the heroines of the struggle.

The first stop in this regard was the national Charlotte Maxeke Memorial Lecture that the ANC WL had organised at Wits University on 19 April 2013 in honour of the founder of the Bantu Women's League, the forerunner of the WL – Cde Maxeke.

This was followed by provincial lectures, including at the North-West University in Potchefstroom on 31 May, and in Limpopo on 2 June, also celebrating Maxeke.

These were followed by a lecture in Mpumalanga on 29 June and another in KwaZulu-Natal on 6 July both celebrating the life of the dynamic President of the ANC WL in the 1950s, co-leader of the historical Women's March of 9 August 1956 to the Union Buildings against racist and unjust laws and co-founder of the Federation of South African Women – Lilian Ngoyi.

On 28 May 2013 we converged in Mangaung where we retraced the 1913 women's march from Waaihoek to the Mangaung Municipal Offices. Other lectures and campaigns of women to be led by the ANC WL are yet to follow.

Across provinces the ANC WL programme for 2013 is warmly received. Through it women are finding other outlets through which to build solidarity and confront socio-economic challenges and lack of opportunities, some of which are listed below.

> "This I see to be a long-term and sustainable solution – from the cradle, deconstructing the power structures, value-systems and ideologies of patriarchy and oppressive cultures."

These are some of the creative ways we can use to intensify the women's struggle against discriminatory practices, social norms and persistent stereotypes that often shape inequitable access to opportunities, resources and power for women and girls.

Challenges

A few examples should suffice. According to the Gender Statistics in SA report, men are more likely to be in paid employment than women regardless of race. Women are more likely than men to be doing unpaid economic work and unemployment remains higher among women than among men (2013: iv). Whereas inequality, poverty and unemployment are formidable challenges for the nation, the woman is still the face of poverty as the Stats SA's gender statistics report implicitly shows.

The murder of young Anene Booysen early this year will always be a constant reminder of the evil and cruelty of violence against women and children. Reproductive health remains a big issue. Women still do not have control over their bodies. As the UN Women Executive Director-elect Phumzile Mlambo-Ngcuka has said following her appointment, *"the world is still faced with unsafe motherhood"* and the lack of contraceptives for women in the world should be high on the agenda of change.

South Africa's first woman Deputy President, Mlambo-Ngcuka is also the first woman from our continent to head that important international body.

Not only does this appointment afford hope to the women of Africa. It also shows the commitment of the UN to the conventions and protocols for the protection and promotion of the rights of women, including the *Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women* which sets out the agenda for ending discrimination against women.

Progress

In spite of current challenges, the persistence of historical gender injustice and the scourge of cultural and patriarchal domination, in South Africa indeed much has changed since the advent of democracy in 1994. Our Constitution contains the rights and demands of the 1943 *African Claims*, the 1954 *Women's Charter*, the 1955 *Freedom Charter* and the 1994 *Women's Charter for Effective Equality*.

Democratic South Africa has had two women Deputy Presidents, Phumzile Mlambo-Ngcuka and Baleka Mbete. Before 1994, women constituted only 2.7% of members of parliament. In democratic South Africa women have

45% representation in parliament; in Africa this is second only to Rwanda. It is a massive increase from the 1994 elections wherein women held 111 seats. That was 27%. South African women also play a prominent role in the cabinet as well as in the diplomatic service.

Clearly these changes testify to the correctness of the decision on the part of the ANC to adopt the 50/50 gender parity. The establishment of a dedicated Ministry for Women, Children and People with Disabilities was a milestone for women.

South Africa performs well against indicators specified for Goal 3 of the Millennium Development Goals which focuses on gender equality and women's empowerment (Stats SA, *Gender Statistics*, 2013: vi).

As primary caregivers clearly women stand to benefit from government's pro-poor policies including the national school nutrition programme that ensures learning on a full stomach. Stats SA household data has confirmed that virtually all learners from poor households enjoy the benefits of a government-funded school lunch. Research has shown that in the democratic era grants and pensions are targeted at black women mostly in rural communities in a conscious drive on the part of government to alleviate poverty and suffering.

The health of women is now a national priority. South Africa has also made serious inroads in improving basic health care delivery. Among other things, there is marked improvement in antenatal care and acute childhood illnesses. The country is benefiting greatly from the partnerships forged by government with civil society.

I think more work will emerge in this respect in keeping with the emphasis of the National Development Plan on using collaborations and partnerships as effective mechanisms for accelerating socio-economic transformation and development.

Globally, there are twelve women Heads of State. Not enough. But a good start. These are some of the positives that we celebrate during Women's Month.

> "Families at home may need to change the roles cut out for boys and the girl-child, the types of toys we select, patterns of play, the relations of mother and father in the house, and the career paths that we often shape and influence."

100 Years of Struggle

I have said earlier that the 2013 Women's Month is different. It falls in the historical year, 2013, in which under the leadership of the ANC WL women are celebrating 100 years of the women's struggle.

This in part entails honouring heroines of the struggle for their lives of sacrifice while recognising, chronicling and preserving their legacy.

Last year we celebrated 100 Years of the ANC. This year the WL has highlighted the need for South Africans to celebrate 100 years of the women's struggle, mainly to inspire young women in particular to emulate great women cadres and leaders like Charlotte Maxeke, Rahima Moosa, Helen Joseph, Lilian Ngoyi, Ray Simons, Aida Mtwana, Josie Mpama and Sophia du Bruyn.

To contextualise, the January 2013 meeting of the ANC WL National Executive Committee, at Saint George Hotel in Pretoria, took stock of the century of the women's fight for total emancipation for themselves and their communities.

> "This year the WL has highlighted the need for South Africans to celebrate 100 years of the women's struggle, mainly to inspire young women in particular to emulate great women cadres and leaders."

We felt it important to highlight the historical fact that women have always been in the forefront of the struggle and that the struggle for gender equality and real women's emancipation has always been integral to the national democratic revolution whose content it is to lay the foundation for the creation of a united, democratic, non-racial, non-sexist and prosperous society.

We wanted it noted that 2013 marked the 100th Anniversary of the organised march of women against the draconian 1913 Land Act that did much to rob the African people of their birthright to land about which Sol Plaatje was to write in 1916, in the opening paragraph of *Native life in South Africa*, stating that: *"Awakening on Friday morning, June 20, 1913, the South African native found himself, not actually a slave, but a pariah in the land of his birth"*.

2013 is also the 100th year since the 1913 women's march against the carrying of passes and other unjust laws of the old country.

Way forward

"We shall not rest until we have won for our children their fundamental right to freedom, justice and security."

This was the resolve of the 20 000 heroic women who marched side by side to the Union Buildings on 9 August 1956 in protest against apartheid laws. Their declaration I think should challenge us as women to ask whether or not *we have won for our children their fundamental right to freedom, justice and security?*

This question we should interrogate particularly in respect of the girl-child in democratic South Africa and post-colonial Africa. In this context dismantling the patriarchal and cultural *master's house* is still a daunting task. When we have satisfied ourselves fully that innocent souls like Anene Booysen have found justice, then we can begin to say that indeed ours was a good fight.

To help Phumzile Mlambo-Ngcuka in her mammoth task, perhaps we should take the initiative ourselves to review what has been done during the era of the former Executive Director, former president of Chile, Michelle Bachelet, and say what it is that we probably should have done differently as UN member states. Following on the footsteps of Lilian Ngoyi surely we cannot rest until we have won for the girl-child the fundamental rights to true equality, socio-economic freedom, justice and security.

If the agenda is to defend our gains, then we must confront, everywhere we see them, *"discriminatory practices, social norms and persistent stereotypes [that] often shape inequitable access to opportunities, resources and power for women and girls."* We must develop our human resources, educate the young, train people better, impart skills and promote innovation.

With education we can open the doors to a better life for all and roll back the tide of poverty, unemployment and inequality. As the first President of democratic South Africa, Nelson Rolihlahla Mandela, has rightly said, *"Education is the most powerful weapon which you can use to change the world"*.

In fact, when we look back at the rich history of the ANC WL, we see that our movement benefited from young, active, energetic women with the intellectual capacity to analyse critically the social and economic conditions that they found themselves in.

Above formal education, our systems of socialisation and conscientisation need to change from the family, the basic unit of society, upwards.

We may need to orientate boys differently, to be their sister's keeper, to know and understand that every female is a sister regardless of familial ties and therefore deserving of treatment with full dignity and respect, just as one would have understood the concept of sisterhood in the African sense, transcending boundaries.

Families at home may need to change the roles cut out for boys and the girl-child, the types of toys we select, patterns of play, the relations of mother and father in the house, and the career paths that we often shape and influence.

> "When we have satisfied ourselves fully that innocent souls like Anene Booysen have found justice, then we can begin to say that indeed ours was a good fight."

We will create a non-sexist society that respects women and the elderly to the extent that we teach every child that it is not enough to be your brother's keeper; and importantly that women's rights are human rights. This I see to be a long-term and sustainable solution – from the cradle, deconstructing the power structures, value-systems and ideologies of patriarchy and oppressive cultures.

It is a good start to have male-led non-profit organisations that champion the cause of women, speaking out against gender-based violence, rape and child abuse.

We need also to ensure that the progressive laws we have made are fully enforced sufficiently enough to protect women from violence, rape, horrendous abuse, health risks and discrimination at home, in the farms, in the villages and in the workplace.

We must worry about women in war situations in various parts of the world, our continent included. We should be concerned about human trafficking. Beyond condemnation of all these acts and crimes against women and children, we need concerted effort practically to change behaviour and transform societies.

> "Working together we can do more to deliver socio-economic freedom for women. To keep quiet when you see a woman suffer is to side with the perpetrator. It is to share passively in the crime."

Last word

To round off, in spite of what we have done collectively to transform the lives of women, much is required to move the centre by positioning the empowerment and emancipation of women high on the agenda of transformation and inclusive, sustainable development.

What we need from women is action over and above the focus period of the Women's Month – August. The *Census 2011* report did confirm that we are a country of 27 million women, and only 25 million men. Beyond power in numbers, women command also ceaseless strength and agility. This resilience and high intellect you see in Charlotte Maxeke, MaNgoyi and many women activists and leaders.

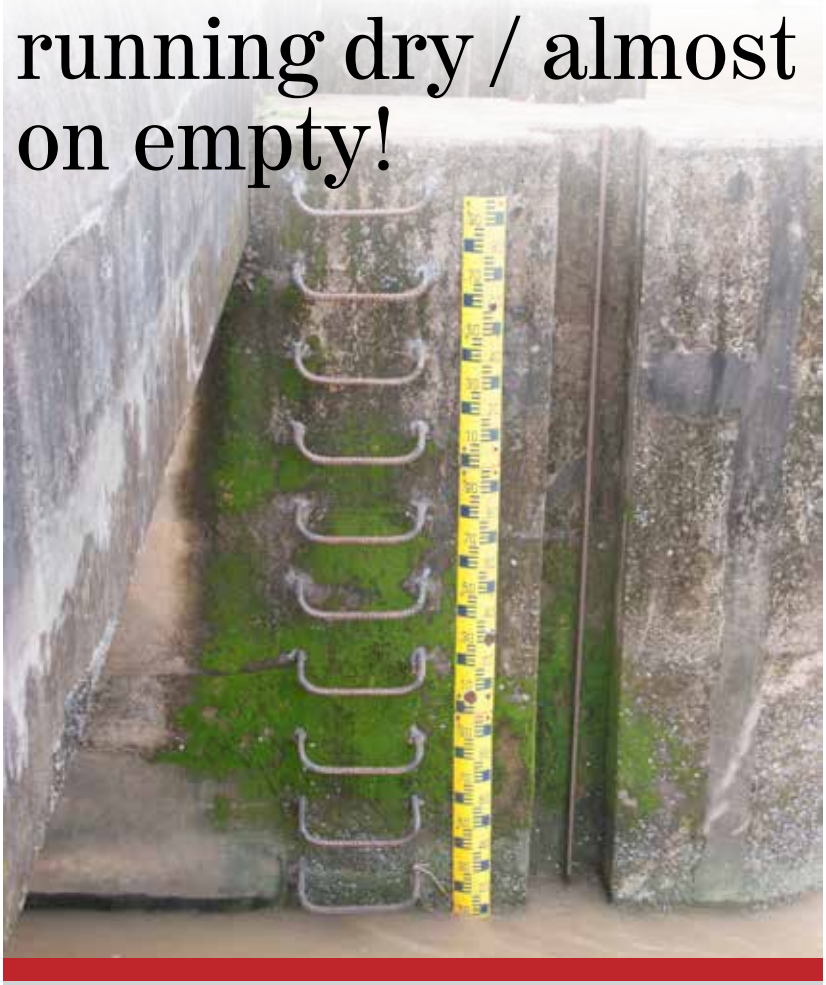
Working together we can do more to deliver socio-economic freedom for women. To keep quiet when you see a woman suffer is to side with the perpetrator. It is to share passively in the crime.

The Women's Month should always serve as an invitation to all patriots and progressives to join this inspirational journey, the end of which is to afford better quality lives to all women. We should use this period always to set in motion an historical process the end of which should be a guarantee that never again shall women's lives suffer the inequity of the glass ceiling and relegation to the margins of society when they continue to play such an incredible role in the educational, cultural and economic life of every nation.

The historical task of every progressive woman is clearly cut out. We cannot rest until the last woman is happy and free. As Charlotte Maxeke said in *Social Conditions of African Women and Girls* (1930), we will know that we have succeeded to lift women and children up in the social life of the African when even men benefit, and thus the whole community, both White and Black.

Wathint'abafazi!
Wathint'imbokodo!■

South Africa is running dry / almost on empty!



We Face a Water Crisis. How Did This Happen? And What is to be done?

By Joanna Nkosi

The availability of water is a major economic and social challenge for South Africa as it is for much of the rest of the world. The contours of a looming global crisis have been reviewed in an earlier article in *The Thinker* (March 2013). Water scarcity arises in part from the sheer impact of global population growth – we are just over 7 billion today and are projected to reach more than 9 billion by 2050. But more importantly the ways in which water is used and abused in the global economy, especially in mining, industry, agriculture and energy/power generation, determine the quantity and quality of water available for sustainable growth and development.

How raw materials are extracted from the earth (e.g., shale oil and gas), whether production of industrial goods and materials is monitored, the continued reliance on and production of fossil fuels for energy, as well as cultures of compulsive consumerism all threaten water supplies for the future. The related phenomenon of climate change, arising mainly from the dominance of a carbon-based world economy and the emissions of other noxious greenhouse gases into the atmosphere, exacerbates the scarcity of fresh water while sea levels rise and flooding occurs in many regions of the earth leaving others parched. Consequently, pollution, waste and increasing demand of a free market/profit driven global economy threaten shortages and scarcity of fresh water.

For some places in the world, the crisis seems remote but in South Africa the challenges are actually imminent, if not already upon us. The National Development Plan (NDP) has emphasised that "water availability is now a national development constraint." Choices that will be made today in South Africa, and of course elsewhere in the world, will determine what and how much our grandchildren will be able to consume by the middle of this century.

Water Crisis in South Africa is Not New

The crisis of water is not new to South Africa. The country has always been arid to semi-arid in most of its regions by virtue of its geography and topography. (Figure 1) During the colonial period, the settlement patterns of European immigrants were partly determined by the location of fresh water[1]. Both the colonial and apartheid governments could ignore the scarcity of water so long as they were able to ensure its availability for their constituencies, mostly by denying or severely restricting access to it for the masses of African and other Black peoples. Large numbers of our people were increasingly pushed into the water stressed and barren areas of the country. So for the majority of South Africa's population, water scarcity was, and unfortunately often still is, a way of life.

Over the course of the twentieth century, the various minority governments were eventually able to "fabricate" relative abundance of water to feed the growth of the mining, agricultural and industrial expansion of the twentieth century by developing a massive water transfer and storage system. This infrastructure, among the most highly engineered in the

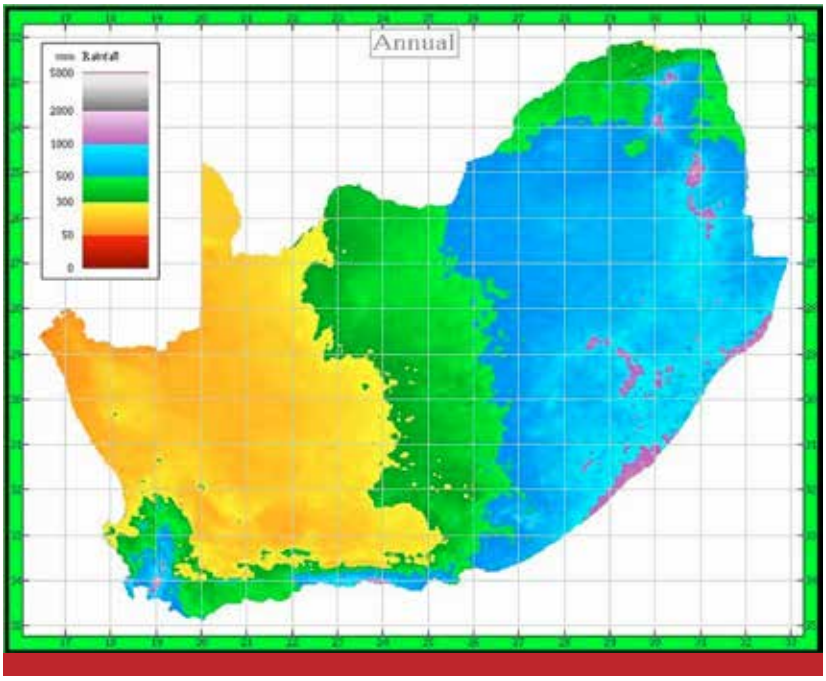


Figure 1: Mean Annual Rainfall in South Africa. The mean annual rainfall in SA was 464 millimeters (mm) per annum as of 2008 compared with a world average of 860 mm. About 65% of the country receives less than 500 mm per year, which amount is generally accepted as the minimum amount required for successful dry-land farming. About 21% of the country, mainly the arid west, receives less than 200 mm per year. South Africa's rainfall is unreliable and unpredictable. Large fluctuations are the rule rather than the exception in most areas of the country. Drastic and prolonged droughts periodically afflict South Africa, often ending in severe floods.
Source: South Africa Government Information. "Geography and Climate"

world, moved water to all the places deemed necessary by the state – farmland, mining areas, power plants, manufacturing centres and, of course towns and cities where its privileged supporters lived. In essence, water from the Orange River ended up in the Vaal and Gariep Dams (Figures 2 & 3) and even the Limpopo River. The Lesotho Highlands Water Project (LHWP) was undertaken in the 1980s to bring water from the remote and pristine highlands of Lesotho to the Vaal River and Dam system to meet the needs of South Africa's mining and industrial heartland in what is now called Gauteng.

What is new about today's water crisis is that our population has grown by roughly 25% since the early 1990s, our economy has expanded markedly, and concern has grown about the legacy of pollution, which used to be ignored in the main. But most importantly, the South African Constitution has enshrined the rights to sufficient water and a healthy and protected environment in Articles 24, 25 and 27. Water was declared a national resource to benefit *all* the people who live in the country. Now, instead of water resources serving the needs and interests of just some four million people, they must serve the social, cultural and economic needs and interests of fifty-one million as of 2013, a growing population into the future as well as goals of sustainable development for the country.

Left – Figure 2: The Vaal Dam, Vaal River. Department of Water Affairs. Hydrological Services. *Information on Dams*.
Right – Figure 3: The Gariep Dam. Department of Water Affairs. Hydrological Services. *Information on Dams*. [The Gariep, in the Free State, is the largest dam by storage capacity and surface area. It holds 5 674 million m^3 used mainly for agriculture.]

Water Resources and Infrastructure Inherited by the New Democracy in 1994

By 1994, when the first democratic government assumed power, it inherited a resource and supply system that draws fresh water primarily from surface sources through an inter-connected network of 22 mostly non-navigable (Figure 4) and non-perennial rivers and their tributaries. These are supplemented by 4397 dams of which 2528 are part of the national water storage and supply system, and hundreds of kilometres of tunnels and pipelines moving water around the country, including from Lesotho. In total, there are some 28 major inter-basin water transfer schemes in South Africa (Figure 5). The total capacity of all the dams in South Africa registered with the Department of Water Affairs[2] (DWA) amounts to some 37 489 million m^3 or up to 76% of the mean annual runoff (MAR) that flows into rivers[3].

While the total annual surface run-off is estimated to be 49 000 million m3, only 14 200 million m^3 per year or 29 per cent of the total surface run-off is available as a reliable yield. Surface water is supplemented by other water resources, namely groundwater, waste water and underground lakes of mine water. While not all of these are currently processed and used, there is potential for them to supplement surface water in the future. South Africa's water resources are comprised of 77 per cent surface water, 9 per

Figure 4: Major Rivers of South Africa. Most of these rivers cannot be navigated and are not perennial. For example, parts of the Limpopo are often dry during the hottest months of the year. Figure 4 shows 23 rivers though the Senqu located in Lesotho flows into the Orange River, South Africa's longest river. Aside from the Senqu, the Limpopo, Olifants/ Letaba, Molopo and Orange rivers are trans-boundary river basins shared with Zimbabwe, Mozambique, Namibia, Botswana and Swaziland. Department of Environmental Affairs and Tourism.
State of the Environment Report for South Africa.1999

cent groundwater, and 14 per cent re-use of return flows. Groundwater comes from underground aquifers that mainly supply remote and small rural communities, agriculture and mining in the driest regions (See Figure 6). It has been estimated that only about 20% of available groundwater is currently utilised, though a few years ago the Water Research Commission[4] estimated that the aggregate "utilizable groundwater exploitation potential" for the country to be 10 343 million m3/annum. This amount is nearly equivalent to the current total abstraction of water per annum from both surface and groundwater in South Africa.

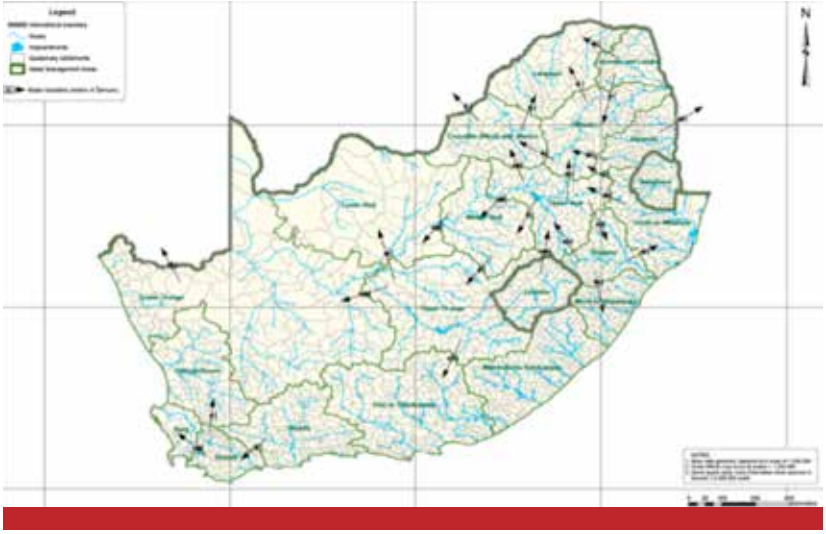


Figure 5: Map of Inter-basin Water Transfers. South Africa 2005. Today, the Trans-Caledonian Tunnel Authority oversees eight major water transfer systems for the country and the development of nine new projects. The most recently built is the Vaal River Eastern Subsystem Augmentation Project which was commissioned in 2009 specifically to transfer 160 million m3 of water between the Vaal Dam and Knoppiesfontein every year for use by Eskom and Sasol in Mpumalanga.
Water Research Commission. Water Resources of South Africa, 2005 Study

With the establishment of democracy, the main priority of the new state, as expressed in the Water Services Act of 1997 and the Water Act of 1998, was to extend access to water and sanitation services to the majority population. This entailed expanding the distribution system of the existing piped water supply to include communities that had lived without direct access for years. Just prior to the first democratic elections in South Africa, the World Bank commissioned a baseline study[5] on access to "piped water" in South Africa. The findings were astounding for a country with the degree of economic development and extent of infrastructure that South Africa had. In a population at the time of approximately 40 million people, the study found that some 17 million African people had no access to 'piped water.' For another 13 million Africans with access, most of their water services were found outside their houses. According to the National Census of 2011[6], 91.2% of households had some degree of access to piped water either inside their homes or yards or from communal taps. 8.8% or about 4.5 million people, had absolutely no access to piped water and relied on drawing water from streams, dams and other open sources. The picture is more dismal with regard to sanitation services wherein only 79% of households had access to proper facilities. There is clearly still more work to be done to reach universal access to water and sanitation services in the country.

It should be noted that in the past 20 years bulk water resource infrastructure has been augmented with additional water transfer schemes and work on dams[7]. In May 2013, the governments of South Africa and Lesotho resolved certain challenges and agreed in principle to proceed with the second phase of the Lesotho Highlands Water Project (LHWP). The R 12 billion project, targeted for completion by 2020, will deliver an additional 45.5 m3 of water per second to South Africa. This is in addition to the 24.6 m3 of water per second from the first phase of the LHWP project, equivalent to some 10% of South Africa's water supply. Together these projects will

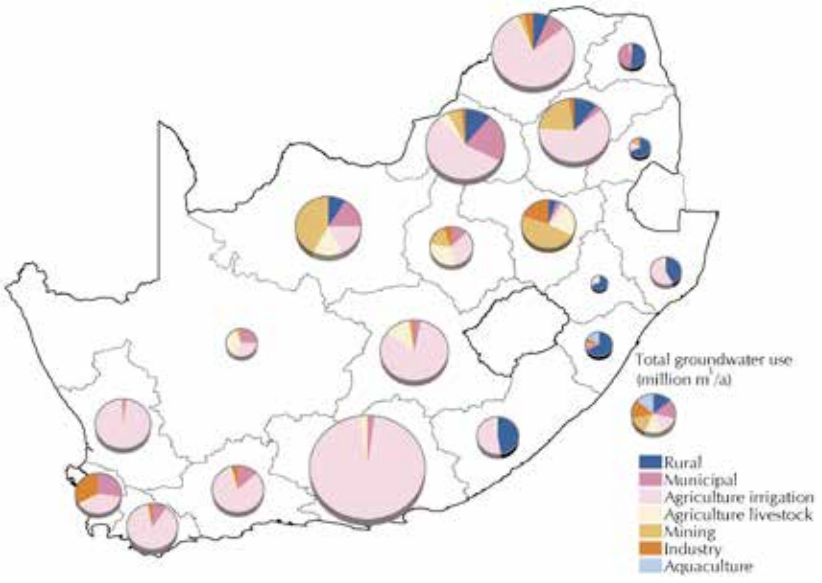


Figure 6. Ground Water Use in South Africa. As Figure 6 indicates, most ground water is used for food production via, irrigation agriculture (64%) and livestock watering. Municipal systems also draw on this resource but to a much smaller extent. (The size of the circle in the figure reflects the extent of reliance on groundwater.)
Department of Environmental Affairs. *State of the Environment*. 2006

bolster economic growth in South Africa and provide 1000 megawatts of electricity to Lesotho.

Where infrastructure has been neglected is at the local services level where local governments hold responsibility. Some metro councils and all too many municipalities have allowed their reticulation systems to crumble, their waste water works to deteriorate and to be overwhelmed by population growth and greater economic activity. This is no secret. For example, the DWA's Blue and Green Dot monitoring programmes[8] publish the information on the department's website. Local governments that do not meet the standards are named and ranked in terms of levels of deficiency.

Why a Looming Water Crisis in South Africa?

Simply put, we have either used up all our available fresh water resources and/or fouled them! 98% of our available fresh water and 'return flow'[9] resources have been allocated already by the DWA which constitutionally and legally manages all the water resources belonging to the nation. The remaining 2% is a reserve margin which remains in the distribution system – though often only unallocated in theory.

Some sobering challenges to consider about South Africa's water resources:

- South Africa is the 30th driest country in the world.
- The country is classified as water stressed generally and water scarce in regions. At levels between 1700 and 1000 m^3/person/year, periodic or limited water shortages can be expected. When water supplies drop below 1 000 m^3/person/year, the country faces "water scarcity." With a water availability of only 1100 m^3/person/year, South Africa is bordering on water scarcity.
- South Africa uses 31% of its available water resources annually, among the highest by world standards where most countries use only about 10%.
- Parts of South Africa are at risk of water shortages by 2020 or sooner.
- As noted earlier, the average rainfall per annum (460mm) is far below the world average (800mm) and rainfall is distributed unevenly across the country.
- There are high levels of evaporation of precipitation and from large dam surfaces across much of the country due to our very dry climate with high temperatures.
- There is long history of *inefficient use and abuse* of water resources.
- There was an *absence of water and environmental protection* regimen, laws and monitoring mechanisms, in South Africa until post 1994.
- Up to 40% of processed and distributed water is *non-revenue water*, lost through leakages in the reticulation systems and to illegal withdrawals.
- *Water-intensive economic activities* persist alongside water stress and scarcity.
- *Engineering and management skills* are being eroded or dissipated in water infrastructure and services from municipal to national levels of institutions and agencies.
- There is *lethargy in the implementation* and operationalisation of excellent national legislation, policies and programmes accompanied by loss of institutional memory.
- There is substantial reliance currently and in the near-to-medium term on *trans-boundary water basins and rivers as well as on 'imported water'*, whether from Lesotho or possibly from the Zambezi as has been mooted from time to time. This highlights a serious vulnerability and potentially threatens water security. Water conflicts have already emerged in various places including the recent tensions between Egypt and Ethiopia over rights to the Nile.
- DWA's *allocation of water* favours agriculture which uses up to 63% for irrigation. The next biggest allocation is for urban usage totalling 23% and divided among domestic, commercial and light industrial users. Figure 7 details other uses. Note that dry land agriculture and afforestation are not reflected below as they draw up to 56 billion m^3 of water directly from the rain and soil.
- There is a *significant decline in the quality of water* in the country especially in certain rivers and waterways as well as in piped water in rural areas, small towns and municipalities. This is caused by runoff from agricultural pesticides and fertilisers, acid mine drainage, effluent carrying heavy metals and other pollution from the mining industry.

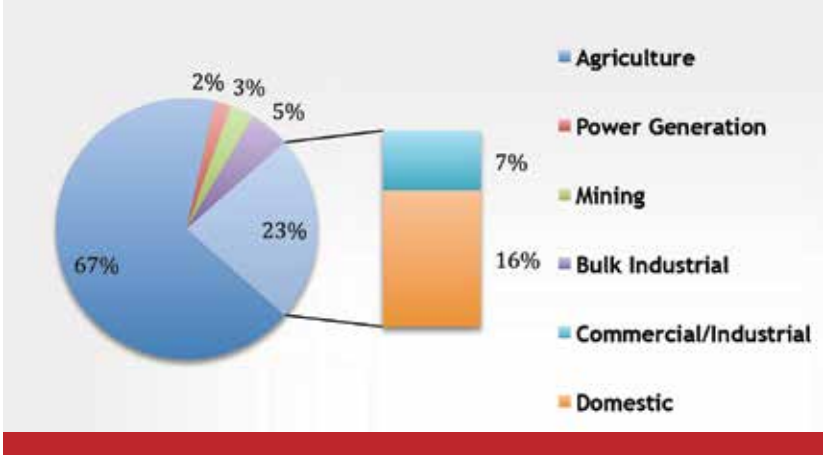


Figure 7: Allocations by DWA of Water by Economic Sector. National Water Accounts 2000 (with 2006 and 2009 Updates)
National Water Accounts 2000 (with 2006 and 2009 Updates)

- By 2030 the backbone of the economy will be challenged by serious gaps in water unless definitive changes are made in the management of the resource (Figure 8). It is expected that already by 2025, there could be a 1.7% gap between demand and supply.

Mitigating the Water Crisis for the Foreseeable Future

Considering the challenges outlined above, to use a somewhat tired cliché, one can view the future of water resources and services in South Africa as a glass either half empty or half full. If it is half empty, then an alarmist view will predict gloom and suffering while sitting back in paralysis awaiting a crisis of the magnitude and depth of the droughts in the Sahel region of Africa or the struggles over water in the Middle East and North Africa. No doubt those who consider water the new oil, will expect scarcity and conflict.

The DWA and government generally have initiated strategies and programmes to respond at the immediate level to water challenges by significantly increasing the annual budget allocations to meet projected expenditures of R670 billion over the next 10 years. The National Water Resource Strategy 2 (NWRS2) was gazetted in July 2013 for public review. The document is available through the DWA website (www.dwa.gov.za/nwrs) and the Public and Water sector consultation process will follow. The NWRS2 will provide a platform for engagement amongst all the players towards shaping the way forward.

Here are some options for each of the players individually or in cooperation:

- Historically, investment by the government in securing surface water supplies took the form of dams, reservoirs and accompanying infrastructure. But most of the best dam sites have been developed and there is currently very little potential in this regard. The DWA envisages a *future water mix* for South Africa that moves away from heavy reliance on surface water to a new matrix that includes more groundwater use, greater use of return flows from agriculture, effluent and mining, desalinisation and inter-basin transfers. Demand-supply options that include water loss control and water use efficiency are very cost effective. The relative costs (as of 2009) of each of these interventions appear in Figure 9.
- Clearly *delineated programmes of enhancement of management and technical capacity* in water management authorities, institutions and governing structures at all levels of government and of its related agencies must be a priority. This requires appointment and retention of the right people for the right positions, training and development initiatives, funding support and partnerships for water management, engineering, science and technology programmes in tertiary institutions, and incentives for and recruitment of young people to enter some career aspect of the water sector.
- The *continuous clearing of invasive and alien plants* from water resources, the control of water losses and water use efficiency are all strategic measures for increasing the available supply of water for growth and development.
- *Water recycling* is an important option for consideration. Return flows from domestic, commercial, industrial, agricultural and mining activities and operations are already being used to augment South Africa's water supply. Treated wastewater is routinely returned to waterways. The opportunity is ripe to identify new ways of reusing water and adding back into the resource base.
- *Businesses have a responsibility* to review their practices concerning

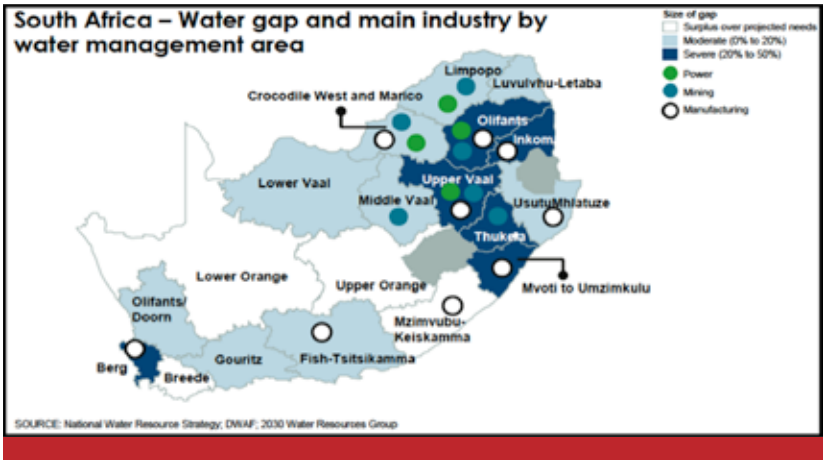


Figure 8: Future scenarios – towards 2030.
DWA. Water Resource Group. National Water Resource Strategy.

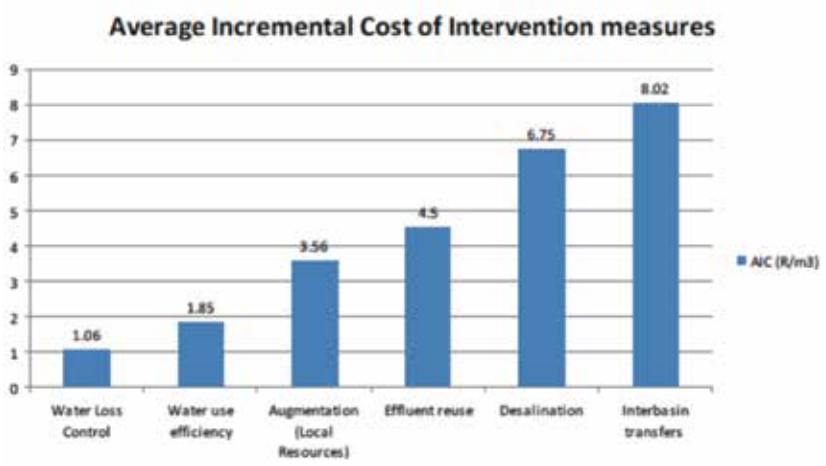


Figure 9: Costs per intervention. Average Cost: Rand/m^3.
DWA. Water for Growth & Development Framework. Version 6. 2009

water. Reporting on the use of water and the discharge of effluents is becoming standard practice within the sustainability sections of the annual reports of companies listed on the stock exchange. The World Wildlife Fund has invited South African companies to join its "Water Balance Programme" in order to take ownership of the country's common water challenge by going beyond reducing their own water demand and investing back in the water provisioning ecosystems in relation to the size of the water user.

- *'Water footprinting,'* meant to "...inform efficiency and raise awareness and create dialogue..." among players engaged in or using water in production processes is a critical tool for better water management. The methodology is fairly new though it has already provided some South African businesses with a mechanism to examine the quantities and inefficiencies of their water footprint so as to identify and understand where changes can be made that benefit the environment, society and the bottom line. SABMiller, in cooperation with the World Wildlife Fund, has undertaken Water Footprinting studies for South Africa and other countries where it operates to determine the amount of water that actually goes into making a glass of beer.
- Of course, a water stressed/water scarce country must *conserve its water and manage demand for it*. The DWA considers these as critical tools for enhancing the availability of water resources. In urban sectors, the aim is to repair, maintain and upgrade reticulation systems to eliminate leaking pipes and equipment while also developing and enforcing demand management regimens. Very often, adjusting tariffs upwards and drawing attention to the economic value of water is one mechanism to encourage water savings. Other measures include non-potable use of partially treated effluent within mining processes; improved efficiency of mining effluent treatment plants (reverse osmosis); new technology/retrofitting; and the recycling of processed and decant water through treatment for supply to other mines/ industrial users as well as municipalities.
- Other technologies are always being considered given the depth of the problem in South Africa. One is not a complicated technology: *rainwater harvesting* for watering gardens, parks, golf courses, etc. More sophisticated technologies, nanotechnologies, are being worked on to bring down the cost of desalinisation, to possibly allow for the reuse of mine effluent and other wastewater. The University of Johannesburg and the CSIR are two institutions in South Africa where such technologies are being developed.

> "The constructive approach to water scarcity sees the glass half full and will try to construct alternatives and solutions based on the possibilities of what is there now."

These options are either already in process or can certainly be designed and implemented in South Africa. The constructive approach to water scarcity sees the glass half full and will try to construct alternatives and solutions based on the possibilities of what is there now. Such an approach will require the creativity, cooperation and resources of various role players in South Africa: the State, the scientific and technology establishment, the private sector, civil society organisations and the public. This is not just an idealistic proposal but a challenge and reality to avoid emptying the glass completely! ■

References

[1] The Water Institute of Southern Africa (WISA) has a portal, eWISA, with educational and knowledge-based materials including *Water History of South Africa*. http://www.ewisa.co.za/misc/WaterHistory/default.htm

[2] Water Affairs shares its portfolio with Environmental Affairs.

[3] Department of Water Affairs. *List of Registered Dams, September 2009* http://www.dwaf.gov.za/DSO/publications.asp

[4] The Water Research Commission, a national research agency, has commissioned a four-year integrated 'Water Resources of South Africa 2012' study (also known as WR2012 Study). Its main purpose is to update the WR2005 System by including groundwater and certain aspects of water quality into the assessment. It also aims to create a web-based and interactive reporting system to continually quantify both surface and groundwater resources of South Africa. http://www.wrc.org.za

[5] Southern African Labour Development Research Unit (SALDRU) *Baseline Household Statistics*. World Bank Poverty Study

[6] Statistics South Africa. http://www.statssa.gov.za

[7] The latest available DWA *Annual Report* for 2011 to 2012 details various projects.

[8] http://www.dwaf.gov.za/dir_ws/DWQR/ and http://www.dwaf.gov.za/dir_ws/GDS/

[9] Return flow water refers to recycled and processed wastewater, agricultural, domestic, industrial and mining effluent that re-enters the system.

The status of food security in South Africa

Food insecurity exists when people are undernourished as a result of physical unavailability of food, their lack of social or economic access to adequate food, and/or inappropriate food utilisation.

By Tina Joemat-Pettersson

On the eve of Nelson Mandela's birthday, the Minister of Agriculture, Forestry and Fisheries, Ms Tina Joemat-Pettersson hosted the South African President, Jacob Zuma, in Dutywa in the Eastern Cape for the 1 million hectare project. The event was the harvesting of 36000 tons of maize as an intervention to food insecurity in rural households. Maize and beans have been planted in seven provinces across the country.

A recent report that 12 million South Africans (22.7 per cent) have insufficient access to food shocked our nation. The greater number of South Africans who are gainfully employed could not believe that such huge

numbers of citizens were going to bed hungry. According to the Quarterly Labour Force Survey (QLFS) the number of unemployed increased by 100 000 people to 4.6 million between the fourth quarter of 2012 and the first quarter of 2013. This took the country's official unemployment to 25.2 per cent from 24.9 per cent in the fourth quarter of 2012 (May 2013, Statistics-SA). The fact is that while South Africa is a food secure country, an alarming number of people are not getting sufficient food.

Food Security: a Human Right

Food Security in South Africa is a Constitutional mandate. The Bill of Rights states that *"every citizen has a right to access to sufficient food and water"* and that *"the State must take reasonable legislative and other measures, within its available resources, to achieve the realisation of this right."* Section 28 1(c) states that *"every child has the right to basic nutrition, shelter, basic health care services and social services",* and Section 35 2(e) further provides that *"every detained person and sentenced prisoner has the right to adequate nutrition"*. Section 7(2) of the Constitution requires that the *"State must respect, protect, promote and fulfil the rights in the Bill of Rights"*.

Cabinet approved a national strategy in 2002 to streamline, harmonise and integrate the diverse food security programmes into the Integrated Food Security Strategy (IFSS). The Strategy was implemented as from 2002 and there have been significant achievements in many of the strategic priority areas of the IFSS. Thus currently, the country is able to attain national food security through a combination of own production and importation, but access by all is not guaranteed.

Food security exists when all people at all times have physical or economic access to sufficient safe and nutritious food to meet their dietary needs and food preferences for an active and healthy life. Food insecurity exists when people are undernourished as a result of physical unavailability of food, their lack of social or economic access to adequate food, and/or inappropriate food utilisation. Food security (for individual, household, community and nation) comprises of two key components: availability and access.

"Unavailability and unaffordability of food are the two main contributors to food vulnerability. While government has introduced a number of job creation programmes to address the latter, there are still many families that fall between the cracks and cannot afford to buy their food requirements."

Problem Statement

South Africa's food security status is threatened by various factors, particularly climate variability and increasing global market prices. While the country is food secure at national level, the same cannot be said at household level. As a result, more than 20% of our population is vulnerable to food insecurity, experiencing inadequate access to food, and many more do not benefit from proper nutrition.

"The NDP makes reference to a number of steps that will improve food security, including the expanded use of irrigation, security of land tenure, especially for women, and the promotion of nutrition education."

Unavailability and unaffordability of food are the two main contributors to food vulnerability. While government has introduced a number of job creation programmes to address the latter, there are still many families that fall between the cracks and cannot afford to buy their food requirements. It would thus seem that food affordability has a greater impact on food security than food availability.

South Africa finds itself in something of a dichotomy, whereby on the one hand there is food security, but on the other hand, disaggregating the national statistics reveals that access to food by all is not guaranteed. There are pockets of food insecure communities in various parts of the country. The overall national figures reflect the sharpness of the gap between the 'haves' and the 'have-nots', in a manner similar to the picture on inequality. There are growing pockets of vulnerability to food insecurity in the urban and peri-urban informal settlements and in isolated and declining rural towns. Contributory factors are likely to include increased rural-urban migration, unavailability of suitable land, climate variability, economic slowdown and unemployment.

As a country we are faced with serious food security challenges, which can be summarised as follows:

- There are inadequate safety nets and food emergency management systems to provide for all those who are unable to meet their immediate food needs or to mitigate the impact of natural and non-natural disasters on the population.
- Some of our citizens lack the knowledge and resources to make optimal choices for nutritious and safe diets.
- In cases where land is available, it is not always optimally utilised for food production, often for want of inputs (including finance, equipment and water), or skills.
- There is limited access to processing facilities or markets for small-scale primary producers, including farmers, fishers and foresters.
- Climate variability and its associated impacts, including seasonal patterns, land use change and rainfall will

eventually lead to altered patterns of land use and pose a threat to domestic production and food consumption.
- Lack of sustainability in food production is a key threat to resilience and needs to be addressed by changes in the way we produce food, by moderating demand for environmentally harmful food types and in the design of national food system governance.
- There is no adequate, timely and relevant information on food security, hence the minimal impact of food security programmes.

Government's Response

Government has to ensure national food security in terms of both availability and access. This implies production and productivity, as well as job creation and economic growth, particularly in rural areas, in order to ensure that both food availability and accessibility are realised.

As a result of food security being prioritised by all government agencies various programmes have been initiated at national, provincial and local levels. For example, Mechanisation support, Ilima/Letsema, Integrated Food Security and Nutrition (strategy and programme), Public Private Partnerships (Masibambisane) Initiative, Co-operatives, FoodBank Model, etc. are national programmes to mobilise people for food production and distribution; while One-Home-One-Garden, Siyazondla, Mohoma-mobung, Masibuyele Emasimini, etc are provincial programmes implemented in KwaZulu Natal, Eastern Cape, Gauteng, Free State and Mpumalanga, respectively.

Given the current food price hikes worldwide and in South Africa in particular, the ANC-led government is paying particular attention to what needs to be done to address the immediate needs of the people while also responding to medium and long term imperatives

Food Security: Going Forward

The National Development Plan (NDP), Vision 2030, provides a plan for the reduction of poverty and inequality in 20 years. According to the NDP food insecurity is both a consequence of poverty and inequality as well as a cause. The NDP views food security as a key element of and solution to both poverty and inequality. As a result the NDP makes reference to a number of steps that will improve food security, including the expanded use of irrigation, security of land tenure, especially for women, and the promotion of nutrition education.

Long-term food security will require an investment in agriculture as one of the most effective strategies for reducing poverty and hunger and promoting sustainability. The regions where agricultural capital per worker and public agricultural spending per worker have stagnated or fallen during the past three decades are also the epicentres of poverty and hunger in the world today. Demand growth for agricultural products over the coming decades will put increasing pressure on the natural resource base, which in many developing regions is already severely degraded. Investment is needed for conservation of natural resources and the transition to sustainable production. Eradicating hunger sustainably will require a significant increase in agricultural investment and, more importantly, it will require improving the quality of investment.

> "There are growing pockets of vulnerability to food insecurity in the urban and peri-urban informal settlements and in isolated and declining rural towns."

The Government has initiated the intervention called Integrated Food Security Production Intervention (IFSPI) which seeks to afford smallholder farmers, communities and households an ability to increase production of basic food and thus increase access and availability of such to attain basic food security at household and local levels. Furthermore the intervention is driven by full participation of communities affected, as guided by the Bill of Rights. The IFSPI is contributing towards the realisation of the National Development Plan. Though commercialisation will incrementally be included in the programme, the first four years will focus on the stabilisation of production and productivity of maize and beans. This will be attained through the continuous provision of mechanisation support, provision of production inputs and improved advisory services.

Seven provinces have participated in the IFSPI. These are Eastern Cape, KwaZulu Natal, Mpumalanga, Limpopo, Northern Cape, Free State and the North West. These provinces cultivated additional lands within specific identified communities where maize and beans were planted during 2012/13 production season, bringing about food security in the short-term.

An additional 35 000 hectares were cultivated. Provinces identified both the communities and the contractors who were involved in the project. The involvement of contractors in the operations was beneficial in many ways. Firstly, contractors complemented government effort in supporting poor communities to utilise the land, particularly under-utilised high potential cropping lands in communal areas. Secondly, contractors brought about efficiency in the implementation which is always difficult if government provides mechanisation services directly. Thirdly, the use of contractors also assisted in the creation and support to Small, Micro and Medium Enterprises (SMMEs), which is one of the fundamental goals of government.

The harvesting of both maize and beans took place between the months of April and July 2013. While some of the crop will be consumed within households, surpluses will be sold to the government and private buyers, some of whom have already been identified by subsistence and smallholder farmers. ■

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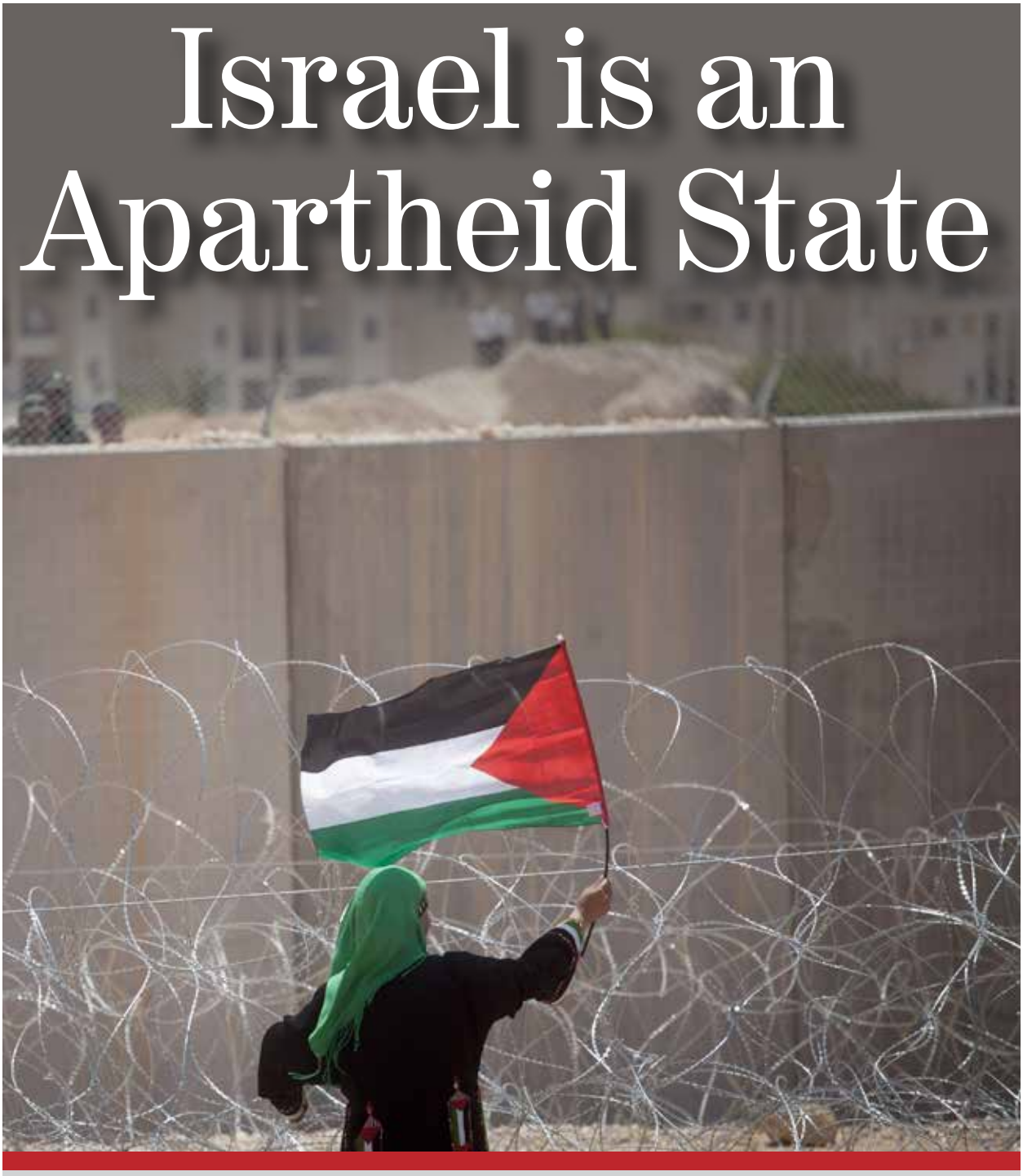
Israel is an Apartheid State



According to the Convention, Apartheid was understood as "inhuman acts" that were practiced "for the purpose of establishing and maintaining domination by one racial group of persons over any other racial group of persons and systematically oppressing them."

By Suraya Dadoo

As we celebrate the legacy of those brave South African women who helped conquer Apartheid in South Africa, the struggle continues against Israeli Apartheid.

"I am an Arab woman of colour and we come in all shades of anger.
So let me just tell you this womb inside me will only bring you your next rebel
She will have a rock in one hand and a Palestinian flag in the other
I am an Arab woman of colour
Beware! Beware my anger…"
Palestinian poet, Rafeef Ziadah

In August 1969, less than four months after the African National Congress Morogoro Conference presented and adopted the 'Strategy and Tactics' document that underlined the need for the armed struggle, Leila Khaled was part of an armed resistance team that captured TWA Flight 840 on its way from Rome to Athens, diverting the Boeing 707 to Damascus. She ordered the pilot to fly over Haifa, so that she could see her birthplace from which she and her family were forcibly removed and barred by the Israeli government. No-one was injured in the operation.

Like Winnie Mandela before her, Fadwa Barghouti is also campaigning globally for the release of her husband, Marwan, from prison. Marwan Barghouti, often referred to as the "Palestinian Mandela", is a unifying figure among Palestinians, even though he is a senior Fatah leader. In prisoner exchange talks with Israel, Hamas insisted on Barghouti's release.

The Israeli government regards Barghouti as a "terrorist", accusing him of directing numerous operations against civilian and military targets. He was arrested in 2002 in Ramallah, but was only tried and convicted two years later on charges of murder. Barghouti is currently serving five life sentences. The Israeli government has refused to release him.

Barghouti continues to mobilise Palestinian resistance and worldwide solidarity from within the confines of cell number 28 at the Hadarim Prison, mainly through Fadwa. In March 2013, Fadwa delivered a defiant message from her husband to Ronnie Kasrils and the rest of the Russell Tribunal on Palestine jury in Brussels:

"...being in jail is one more testimony of the deprivation of our people's rights, notably freedom. ...Detention is an instrument of oppression and repression and submission...our struggle is the prolongation of the fights against discriminations in the US, of the Indian peaceful march for freedom, of the fights for independence of the '50s, '60s and '70s, and naturally of the heroic fight against [South African] Apartheid. Israel's actions towards Palestinians have combined occupation, discriminations and Apartheid. We are therefore asking the world to stand up for justice and not to render aid and assistance to these violations. We are asking the world to help us end this oppression and to preserve the values of freedom, equality and justice…"

> "While the 1913 Land Act restricted black ownership to 13% of the land, Palestinians inside Israel have access to less than 3% of the land."

Two years earlier, parliamentarian Haneen Zoabi risked treason charges and the withdrawal of her Israeli citizenship, to testify at the Cape Town session of the Russell Tribunal. Zoabi described how Palestinian parliamentarians within Israel were targeted, arrested, imprisoned, and had travel bans imposed on them. National political leaders and human rights defenders were detained, and related organisations shut down.

From former hunger-striking political prisoner Hana al-Shalabi to poet Rafeef Ziadah, Palestinian women are leading the charge against Israeli Apartheid.

"This is not South Africa"

Of course, the very mention of the term "Israeli Apartheid" infuriates apologists of the Israeli state. "There is no racial segregation. This is not South Africa" is the hackneyed line you will hear from the Israel lobby.

Indeed, Israel is not South Africa. South Africa did not have an eight metre high, 360km long wall imprisoning its black population. While the Apartheid government practiced the abhorrent "pass system", it did not have 98 fixed checkpoints within its Bantustans, in addition to hundreds of surprise flying checkpoints. Hundreds of kilometres of roads and highways were never reserved exclusively for whites only.

While the 1913 Land Act restricted black ownership to 13% of the land, Palestinians inside Israel have access to less than 3% of the land. The Palestinian minority, which constitutes 20% of the population, has been prevented from establishing even one new town since the founding of the State of Israel. The almost 100 000 Palestinians who refused to leave their homes and remained within the borders of Israel after 1948 inhabit only 3% of the land, and are only allowed to build on 2%. Today, there are over a million Palestinians living on the same amount of land. The Bantustan of the West Bank has been carved up by hundreds of illegal settlements housing half a million settlers – sponsored entirely by the Israeli government. The Gaza Strip Bantustan is completely sealed off and under Israeli siege. The resulting humanitarian crisis remains hidden from the world's media, activists and NGOs.

The South African Apartheid state, in an attempt to create a pretence of equal treatment, threw money at its Bantustans and built inferior houses, schools, universities, businesses, and provided limited water to the black population. It provided very restricted material welfare to blacks while denying them political rights. Israel, on the other hand, denies political rights to Palestinians, and at the same time undermines their material welfare through the destruction of houses, agriculture and businesses, schools, universities, hospitals and clinics through repeated military attacks. Electricity plants are damaged, and water supplies and other amenities are constantly disrupted.

"But the Arabs can vote!"

"Israel is not an Apartheid state

because Arabs inside Israel can vote." Israel's propagandists have often countered allegations of Apartheid by pointing to the existence of the significant Palestinian population living within its borders who can vote and form political parties - unlike in Apartheid South Africa where the franchise was denied to blacks.

What Zionist lobbyists fail to mention in discussions on Apartheid is that it is not necessary to show that South Africa's version of Apartheid is being replicated elsewhere. The 1973 United Nations Apartheid Convention is a universal instrument, applicable to Apartheid systems anywhere in the world. According to the Convention, Apartheid was understood as "inhuman acts" that were practiced "for the purpose of establishing and maintaining domination by one racial group of persons over any other racial group of persons and systematically oppressing them." The Convention offers examples of these acts, noting that they might be "similar" to acts in South Africa but not necessarily identical. If any state does similar things, for the same purpose, it is guilty of Apartheid.

The Apartheid Convention does not even include denial of the right to vote in the list of examples of Apartheid that are explicitly mentioned. Those who point to the Palestinian right to vote are ignoring Israel's discriminatory practices towards its Palestinian citizens in many other spheres of public life, such as restricting their access to residency rights; land ownership; urban planning; social services; and social, economic, and cultural rights. While Palestinians in Israel can vote and form political parties, their activities are constrained. If Palestinians challenge the declaration that Israel is a Jewish, democratic state, they are liable for prosecution.

Déjà vu

There are other areas where the Israeli government is also copying South Africa's version of Apartheid. Depo Provera was prescribed almost exclusively to black women in Apartheid South Africa to limit their fertility, and slow the growth of the black population. Fifty-seven per cent of those prescribed Depo Provera in Israel are Ethiopian women, despite the fact that they represent only two per cent of the entire Israeli population. The Association for Civil Rights in Israel (ACRI) believes that this is a deliberate policy to curb the birth-rate of Israel's black Jewish community.

> "Fifty-seven per cent of those prescribed Depo Provera in Israel are Ethiopian women, despite the fact that they represent only two per cent of the entire Israeli population."

In a spectacular sense of *déjà vu*, the Israeli government - like the Nationalist government - also uses natural beauty, a wealth of resources, and technological know-how to justify Apartheid laws. Just as the Apartheid government assured the world that blacks in South Africa allegedly enjoyed a higher standard of living than those living in other African countries, the Israeli government claims that Palestinians inside Israel supposedly enjoy a higher standard of living in the Israeli Apartheid state than their Arab counterparts in the Middle East. Israeli *hasbara* (propaganda) is a replication of South African Apartheid propaganda.

In an attempt to deflect attention away from Israeli Apartheid, Israel's defenders use despotic Arab regimes to justify the existence of Israel's racist laws on land ownership and marriage. For Israel and many of its supporters, repression and other injustices in the Middle East is sufficient justification for Apartheid and ethnic cleansing. It is a means of steering attention away from Israel's behaviour. Until every other problem in the world is solved, Israel's defenders seem to be suggesting, no-one should criticise Israel.

> "In an attempt to deflect attention away from Israeli Apartheid, Israel's defenders use despotic Arab regimes to justify the existence of Israel's racist laws on land ownership and marriage."

Apartheid: wrong for South Africans, wrong for Palestinians

As South Africans, it is our duty to "Never Forget" our own Apartheid. As beneficiaries of a massive outpouring of global solidarity, it is also our duty to expose Israeli Apartheid and support the struggle against it. Several prominent South Africans have already done this.

During a visit to Jerusalem in 1989 when South Africa was still an Apartheid state, Archbishop Desmond Tutu equated Israel's treatment of Palestinians to the treatment of black South Africans in South Africa at the time. He said: "I am a black South African, and if I were to change the names, a description of what is happening in Gaza and the West Bank could describe events in South Africa."

In 2007, John Dugard, a South African law professor and then UN Special Rapporteur for Human Rights in the Occupied Palestinian Territories (OPT), issued a critical report on Israel's human rights record with regards to its treatment of Palestinians. "The international community, speaking through the United Nations, has identified three regimes as inimical to human rights - colonialism, Apartheid and foreign occupation. Numerous resolutions of the General Assembly of the UN testify to this. Israel's occupation of the West Bank and East Jerusalem contains elements of all three of these regimes, which is what makes the OPT of special concern to the international community."

Justice Richard Goldstone, a Jewish South African judge, headed a UN Human Rights Council enquiry into war crimes by the Israeli government in the wake of Operation Cast Lead in 2009. The Goldstone

Report, as it came to be known, found that in seeking to "punish, humiliate and terrorise" the Gazan civilian population, Israel committed numerous violations of customary and conventional international law. It also listed a lengthy list of war crimes that Israel committed, including "wilful killing, torture or inhuman treatment."

The personal fallout for Goldstone was serious. He was ostracised and shunned by the local Jewish community. Goldstone's family has borne the brunt of the condemnation and consequences of his co-operation with the UN Human Rights Council. In April 2010, the South African Zionist Federation (SAZF) and other Jewish communal organisations threatened protest action at the *bar mitzvah* of Goldstone's grandson if the judge attended. The threat caused outrage in the Jewish community, and amid much controversy, Goldstone eventually attended the *bar mitzvah* with a bodyguard. According to SAZF chairman Avrom Krengel, "it was the 72 hours of his [Goldstone's] life he regrets the most," referring to the weekend of the *bar mitzvah*.

The *bar mitzvah* saga was part of a sustained 18-month campaign of family and personal pressure and intimidation exerted by the South African Zionist lobby on the judge to reconsider the findings of the Goldstone Report. Asked if he would head the UN investigation again, Goldstone is reported to have said: "If I did not have a family."

Not surprisingly, in April 2011, Goldstone expressed "misgivings" about a finding of the Goldstone Report that Israel's indiscriminate attacks on civilians were intentional. The other members of Goldstone's fact-finding team stand by the Report's findings.

In November 2011, the Russell Tribunal on Palestine concluded, after listening to testimony from South African anti-Apartheid veterans and Palestinians at the District Six Museum, that Israel subjects the Palestinian people, whether they live in the OPT or within Israel, to an institutionalised regime of domination amounting to Apartheid as defined under international law.

In April 2013, after visiting the OPT and Israel, Ahmed Kathrada, a former Robben Island prisoner declared: "I have seen and heard enough to conclude that Apartheid has been reborn here. In its reborn form it is, however, worse than its predecessor."

> "While Apartheid in South Africa was openly discussed around the world, Israel's Apartheid practices are studiously avoided. Very few politicians or journalists dare to voice opposition against Israel's policies towards the Palestinians for fear of being labelled anti-Semitic."

South Africans who have lived and fought Apartheid are unequivocal: Israel is an Apartheid state.

Despite this mountain of emphatic evidence, apologists for the Israeli state (both in South Africa and abroad) are outraged that the Israeli state is being compared to the regime of pre-1994 South Africa. Just as Apartheid South Africa faced an international backlash for its Apartheid policies and was internationally isolated, there are calls for similar measures to be employed against the Zionist state. In response, Israel's propagandists ask "Why Israel?"

Why Israel?

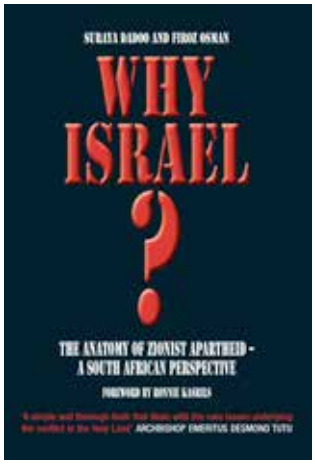
Tired of Israeli propaganda and this rhetorical question, I embarked, together with my colleague Firoz Osman, on a literary project to answer this question. Our aim was to expose Israeli Apartheid to South Africans. To achieve this, we have made widely accessible the work and analyses of experts: academics who have analysed and dissected the issues, journalists and activists who have witnessed first-hand the brutality and effects of Israeli Apartheid, and Israeli and Palestinian NGO researchers and human rights advocates with extensive, current, on-the-ground experience.

The result is a comprehensive, easy-to-understand investigation of Israel's colonisation of Palestine, covering almost every facet of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, the brutality of Israeli Apartheid, and various means of resistance. Fully-footnoted, with a full-colour photo essay, powerful quotes in side-bars, a detailed bibliography, index, and a list of useful websites and resources, we hope the book will be an indispensable guide for anyone wanting to fully understand the harsh contemporary realities of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict.

Israel lobby groups around the world - including in South Africa - have ensured that a candid discussion of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict and Israeli Apartheid is simply not possible. While Apartheid in South Africa was openly discussed around the world, Israel's Apartheid practices are studiously avoided. Very few politicians or journalists dare to voice opposition against Israel's policies towards the Palestinians for fear of being labelled anti-Semitic.

The main aim of the book is to stimulate discussion, debate, and understanding of Israeli Apartheid, and the multitude of issues associated with it. I hope that this book goes some way towards achieving this understanding.

The struggle against Apartheid continues.



Why Israel? The Anatomy of Zionist Apartheid – A South African Perspective (Porcupine Press, 2013) is available at all bookstores. Also available as an e-book and on Kindle. ■

MEN RAPING BABIES

Why?

"Women don't have the power to say to you, 'What are you doing?' when we beat them. I know she can't beat me. That's what makes us men. To be like that".

By Amelia Kleijn

Social work was not my first career. I was a chef and ran my own outside catering business. I was asked to cater at a children's home that works with abused children. It was an event that changed my life as reading about child abuse statistics is one thing but meeting children who have experienced abuse is another. So, at the age of 36, I hung up my professional apron for the last time and enrolled for a full-time social work degree.

In October 2001, I was in the third year of my undergraduate studies. I, like many others, heard the widely publicised news about the rape of a nine-month-old infant, dubbed Baby Tshepang, in Upington. There was a local and international media furore, with some reports intimating that so-called "baby rape" only occurred in South Africa, started after the country's first democratic elections in 1994, and was a response to the "virgin-cleansing" myth, whereby sex with a virgin protected against - even cured - HIV/AIDS.

Like many, I was outraged at this atrocity against an infant. Later, I was to discover that some ten percent of all reported rapes in South Africa are committed against children under the age of three years (Richter, 2003:359).

Like many, I wondered why some men committed such acts, and what had gone so wrong in their lives that compelled them to behave so violently towards particularly young children. And so, I made it my task to try and understand the "why" with the belief that it is through understanding that we can take action, more so as to the best of my knowledge, no one had ever conducted in-depth research with convicted rapists of children under the age of three.

In short, my post graduate research

entailed a series of in-depth interviews with ten South African convicted adult males, all of whom were serving prison sentences for the rape of children under the age of three years. The aim of my research was to develop an understanding of the factors in these men's psychosocial histories which might have influenced them to commit such acts. Here, I would like to stress that the aetiology of sexual offending is complex and there are many pathways to sexual offending. Conducting research with convicted sexual offenders raises the ire and revulsion of many. I would also like to stress that showing empathy towards sexual offenders never negates their responsibility for their abusive actions against others.

Findings

These ten men (the respondents) had childhoods associated with maltreatment, and in most instances, failure to have their basic needs met for physical sustenance and protection, and emotional security and social interaction. Their childhoods were characterised by (a) Poverty and deprivation, (b) Parental absences, (c) Frequent and severe corporal punishment, (d) Absence of positive adult role models, and (e) Deprivation of school education.

Poverty and deprivation

As children, the respondents lived in very poor and over-crowded conditions. These conditions were seen as normal by the respondents. One respondent said that, "It was common practice. It was the way of life in our community". However, over-crowded living conditions left little privacy and resulted in the respondents, as children, witnessing adult sexual activity. As children, the respondents and their families also experienced hunger and the unavailability and uncertainty of food supply. This had a particular impact for adult males as their hunger often led to fights and domestic violence: "My father was another man if he was hungry" and "There was no money for meat. My father would beat my mother if she didn't cook him meat".

One research study found that sexual offenders were exposed to violent media and pornography before the age of ten (Simons, Wurtele and Durham, 2008:557). These findings are similarly reflected in the current study with the respondents' exposure, during childhood, to violence and adult sexual activity. Further research (Abrahams, Jewkes and Laubsher, 1999:16) highlights the association between boy children who witness their mothers' abuse during childhood and their own adult abusive behaviours towards their intimate partners. This was similarly noted in the current study: "I never realised that the bad things that my father used to do to my mother, I would ever do that as well to somebody else".

Parental absences

The respondents had very poor relationships with their parents, noted in physical and emotional absences. Some of the respondents were reportedly abandoned by their fathers. "My father just left when I was seven. He didn't come back no more". Others respondents have never met their biological fathers. "I don't know my father. I don't know whether my brothers and I have the same father". For the respondents who did have contact with their fathers, their comments suggest that their emotional needs were often ignored. Severe strain was placed on respondents' mothers, sometimes sole breadwinners and sole parents, earning meagre wages for long hours and physically exhausting, tenuous employment. Respondents' mothers were either too exhausted, or in some cases, too intoxicated, to respond to their children's physical and emotional needs.

> "Research highlights the association between boy children who witness their mothers' abuse during childhood and their own adult abusive behaviours towards their intimate partners."

These parental absences were encapsulated in the following way: "You need that love from your parents. I see other people, other mothers, and fathers, who are giving love to a child. I remember my father didn't give me that love, same with my mother. I remember she didn't give me that love".

The respondents' childhoods were also associated with their witness of frequent family violence and alcohol abuse. "Both my mother and father drank alcohol. At times, it would be my father who was drunk. And at other times, my father would just be sober and it was my mother who was drunk and that would be the cause of the quarrel".

Such violence can affect children's ability to develop healthy attachments with their caregivers. Attachment is defined as "the dyadic regulation of emotion"(Howe, 2005:27). When children experience maltreatment, attachment difficulties are compounded (Bolger and Patterson, 2003:157). This was also noted in the current research, and that early interpersonal experiences for rapists are characteristically most negative with their fathers (McCormack, Hudson and Ward, 2002:91).

Frequent and severe corporal punishment

The respondents' childhoods were associated with severe and frequent corporal punishment. Their comments suggest that their parents equated punishment with discipline, expressed in "At that time, discipline was by beating, not by telling you". As children, these men were subjected to daily "hits and smacks" and beatings from their mothers, older relatives, teachers and members of their communities. Items used to administer physical punishment on respondents' hands, faces, buttocks, backs, and in some instances all over their bodies that left "blue marks", included "a piece of broomstick", a blackboard duster, shoes, a sjambok, a car fan belt, a cane, a metal-edged ruler and an animal fly swatter.

Some comments from respondents about their punishment such as, "My mother had many frustrations. She was short-tempered. If she hit you, she hit you" and "My mother, she's a very harsh person for her child" suggest that punishment enabled venting of adult frustrations and anger, more so when intoxicated.

Childhood punishment was also administered by school principals and teachers. This took the form of the respondents, as children, to stand in their underpants, in front of their class mates. The respondents had to bend over and hold onto a chair whilst their buttocks were beaten "eight or ten times". One respondent had to remove his underpants and recalled how, "That teacher beat me, beat me, beat me ... I was naked" suggesting extreme humiliation and indignity. Some of the respondents were also told, by a teacher, to assume a position called "a chair on air", whereby respondents' positioned their bodies like chairs whilst other children held their wrists and ankles during the beatings.

In response, the respondents coped with beatings by suppressing their feelings of anger, sadness and fear, and withholding their need to cry. "That teacher beat me. I didn't cry and they say I've got cheek 'cause I don't cry. 'Cause I can't cry when people hurt me. When I am alone is when my tears come. I cry on my own".

Whilst corporal punishment may stop problematic behaviours in the short term, it is the long term consequences that are far more serious and can include underachievement, depression and violence, similarly noted in the current study (Pritchard, 2004:13).

Absence of positive adult role models

Older proximal role models in the respondents' lives used alcohol heavily: "Three of my uncles used alcohol heavily and they all died in their early fifties". Older adult role models were also abusive when intoxicated: "When my mother's boyfriend was drunk, he beat me and my mother". Furthermore, the respondents witnessed alcohol abuse and violence in older distal role models. "I saw this guy kill my relative with an iron rod after my relative tried to stab him. My relative had been drinking in a shebeen" and "The social life of the area I lived in was beatings. They were part of the life there because beatings happened all the time".

The use of violence and aggression became a solution to "solving" problems, and became an aspect of the respondents' manhood, reflected in, "Women don't have the power to say to you, 'What are you doing?' when we beat them. I know she can't beat me. That's what makes us men. To be like that".

Deprivation of school education

None of the respondents in the study completed high school and most did not complete primary school education. School attendance was erratic, the result of poverty and the concomitant inability of families to pay for school fees, and food. One respondent commented that, "School was terrible. I was hungry. I went to school with an empty stomach. I can look to the teacher but my mind is not there". School attendance was also hampered by inappropriate school clothes and shoes, availability of schools and their distance, "late starters" and respondents' ages relative to those of other children in the class, and for some respondents, school boycotts associated with the political turmoil most particularly during the 1980s.

> "As children, these men were subjected to daily "hits and smacks" and beatings from their mothers, older relatives, teachers and members of their communities."

Despite the difficulties faced by respondents and their families, their mothers – many of whom were illiterate - tried to keep the respondents at school. "My mother used to say, go to school, go to school". Mothers' tactics included withholding food or hitting the respondents. "My mother was always giving me a hiding in the morning if I didn't want to go to school".

Poor school education greatly reduced the respondents' employment opportunities. All the respondents experienced unemployment but spoke of the importance of work: "It's really hurting or not good for you when as a man you don't get a job" and "If people are working, they are not making problems. If they are not working, they are making problems".

Consequences of maltreatment

When respondents received corporal punishment, or were physically abused, it is highly unlikely that such acts occurred in silence: it was usually accompanied by verbal abuse. Beatings also left the respondents with very ambivalent feelings, and emotional conflict, about their parents: "I felt that my mother did not like or love me when she hit me" and "It wasn't a nice thing to be beaten".

The respondents also reported various forms of neglect, including insufficient food and clothing, and that some mothers and other care givers, deliberately withheld food as a form of punishment. Such acts are physical neglect. Research (Ney, Fung and Wickett, 1994:705) identified "the worst combinations of child abuse and neglect" as physical abuse, physical neglect, and verbal abuse. These are the childhood experiences of the respondents who participated in this research, most often received from their mothers.

When children are deprived and maltreated, the odds are even greater that they will not develop sufficient resilience to cope with adversity, more so when adversities are experienced simultaneously.

Respondents' explanations for their rape of very young children

During the interviews, the respondents recalled their anger, directed towards men and women, on the day that they raped children under the age of three. Some of the children were related to these men and women. Anger is an emotion frequently recalled

by rapists before and during their sexual crimes (Marshall, Marshall, Serran and Fernandez, 2006:88). This anger was the culmination of years of maltreatment and deprivation, the inability to develop sufficient resilience to cope with adversity, and the use of violence as "normal".

The respondents' rapes are termed "spontaneous violent action" (Van Deventer and Jordaan, 1998:768). They were without premeditation or "grooming" (a process whereby sexual abusers slowly gain the trust of children and are increasingly invasive in their sexual actions). Whilst the rapes were spontaneous, they were an outcome of years of deprivation. This was noted in the respondents' experience of maltreatment that resulted in hostility and aggression that they initially directed towards themselves. It was also noted in the respondents' suppression of their feelings whilst experiencing physical punishment. Moreover, the respondents ultimately lost all hope and optimism about improving their lives. Their complete helplessness and abysmal prospects were experienced as powerlessness.

The respondents reported various provocations before they committed their sexual crimes, such as the theft of cattle, or drunken men in a shebeen using crude expressions to describe a respondent's mother, or rebuttals from desired or actual sexual partners. This resulted in senseless violent action and was a way of reacting to what the respondents experienced as a desperate situation, and re-gaining a sense of control, despite the result of the action (Van Deventer and Jordaan, 1998:768). The respondents' comments concerning their rape of very young children suggest that their motive for their acts was revenge. "I was cross with the mother. Her face said she wanted sex and then I thought I will take it out on the child because of the mother" and "I was angry. I was hurting [the toddler] when I didn't get my cattle".

The respondents' descriptions of their rapes highlighted their level of objectification, and lack of empathy, towards their young victims. This is similarly noted in other research that demonstrates rapists have greater deficits in empathy compared to child molesters and paedophiles (Delport and Vermeulen, 2004:41-7). Furthermore, the rape of any individual is a profound violation of their rights. At the time of the study, a lack of empathy and disregard for the rights of others are some of the features of Antisocial Personality Disorder, that begins in childhood, or early adolescence (termed Conduct Disorder until age 18), and continues into adulthood (American Psychiatric Association, 2004:791). Factors that predispose an individual to the development of Conduct Disorder include a childhood associated with harsh discipline and physical abuse (American Psychiatric Association, 2004: 96).

> "Some of the respondents were also told, by a teacher, to assume a position called "a chair on air", whereby respondents' positioned their bodies like chairs whilst other children held their wrists and ankles during the beatings."

Some conclusions

Some of the key issues that emerged from the research include:

- The respondents' childhoods were associated with harsh physical and emotional punishment.
- A lack of opportunities to form secure attachments as a result of disruptions to care-giving relationships.
- The respondents' childhood witness of violence, alcohol abuse, and adult sexual activity.
- Factors that facilitate the development of resilience, such as positive adult male role models and completed school education, were absent.
- The respondents lived their lives with poor community and social cohesion that many believe is at the root of violence against children most particularly (World Report on Violence Against Children, 2006:11-12).
- The respondents' rape of very young children was motivated by revenge.

Implications

Data relative to the respondents' childhood psychosocial histories described here are not uncommon to many men. The question can be posed, therefore, why do most men, with similar psychosocial histories, not rape? It is possible that men with similar histories, have developed resilience and have "a relatively good outcome" (Rutter, 2007:205) despite their childhood experiences associated with potentially serious outcomes. It is also possible that men with similar psychosocial histories to the respondents, who have not raped very young children, had caring and positive role models in their lives, such as teachers and older mentors, to help them rise above their circumstances. ■

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A NEW ERA

We are not victims

That is the message I'd like to leave with all women of South Africa this Women's month: you are not a victim, and you are powerful beyond measure!

By Amanda Mbali Dlamini

In a recent radio interview on Power FM, former president Thabo Mbeki mentioned a youth retreat recently held by the Thabo Mbeki Foundation. At the retreat, the high-school students in attendance posed a very profound and compelling question: When have South Africans ever not been victims?

At first they were victims of colonialists, then more recently they were victims of apartheid and at the moment, victims of poverty and unemployment. The radio interview took place on an evening where a couple of us from the African Youth Coalition leadership were attending a Young Business Professionals event with the premier of Gauteng. It was a very inspiring session where our peers posed important questions about the current state of the nation and what role we can play.

Premier Nomvula Mokonyane was very frank about the realities of South Africa, but also made it very clear that amongst the youth leadership quite often there is a lack of a spirit of service, and an obsession with material wealth. Nation building is not about a president running a country, but about 50 million South Africans working together to build the South Africa they would like to be a part of. Young Business Professionals have a role to play, critically that of eradicating the cancer of corruption, offering quality service delivery and empowering other people, not just buying German cars.

After the premier had finished speaking, we decided we would leave early because we HAD to tune in to the former president's interview. The main reason being that his (albeit infrequent) voice can always be equated to a much needed glass of water to a nation of parched desert children. As young people, we always look forward to the wisdom he shares, yet my admiration for the president is not so much in his high level of education, but rather his willingness to engage and have US ask questions about what we're dealing with. As usual, he did not disappoint.

Back to the subject of not being victims, women are almost always portrayed as victims. Someone once said: 'Oh God, if you love me, in my next life make me white. If not white, at least rich. If not rich, at least a man!' Being a woman is always considered a disability. Even more so when you are young. When you are young, black and a female it takes a great deal to change the mind-set of people about your capabilities.

In the Women's month article I wrote last year (*The Thinker*, Volume 42/ August 2012), we delved deep into the idea of the 21st century being declared the century of the woman. Our society is in desperate need for a woman's touch in its leadership. A recent article by Human Capital Review states that: *"There is no end to the number of published research papers and statistics that strongly support the business need for balanced leadership; companies with strong female representation at top management level perform better than those without. Gender-diverse boards have a positive impact on performance, including a higher return on equity, and stronger stock market growth."* This is not only true of the business environment, but our entire society. The perception of women as inadequate, and as victims, needs to change, and this paradigm shift will benefit society at large.

"For our society to thrive, women ought not to see the idea of being free from oppression as one that is an act against men, but one that will see a more inclusive society in which both men and women receive the same amount of respect, driving unity."

The problem with victimhood is that when people get treated like weaklings, they never get an opportunity to reach their true potential. Even worse, they get absolved from taking responsibility for their mistakes because society is too busy shedding a tear for their weakness. Yet, one segment of society cannot be entirely to blame for all its woes. So there comes a need to explore why women must denounce the 'victim' title. In his book, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, Paulo Freire states: *"The great humanistic and historical task of the oppressed: to liberate themselves and their oppressors as well. The oppressors, who oppress, exploit, and rape by virtue of their power, cannot find in this power the strength to liberate either the oppressed or themselves. Only power that springs from the weakness of the oppressed will be sufficiently strong to free both."*

The above quote might lend itself to controversial interpretation, yet for our society to thrive, women ought not to see the idea of being free from oppression as one that is an act against men, but one that will see a more inclusive society in which both men and women receive the same amount of respect, driving unity.

A close friend often says 'Ungangibheki ujahile.' This is Zulu for: 'Give yourself time to reflect before you conclude on your opinion of who I am'. I was quite intrigued the first time I heard this line, mainly because it spoke to a deep need within me to be seen as anything but a victim. At the tender age of 28, I have travelled to 16 African countries voluntarily, mostly on holiday and have often stayed with friends and families, not hotels. I have also been in the audience of over 6 African heads of state, have written 5 books, am the protégée of 3 CEOs of blue chip companies and am the founder and president of an African Youth organisation with over 7000 members from the African continent. My net asset value is over R1 million and I am in the process of acquiring my fourth property before the end of 2013. This is outside of my qualifications from the University of Pretoria, the Gordon Institute of Business Science, University of South Africa, University of Edinburgh and Harvard Business School. My role as the interim president of African Youth Coalition is not one that I list on my accomplishments as it was not elected, but rather assumed because of necessity.

So, when we talk about victims, I happen to be all those things that victims are made of, yet nothing about me is a victim. Born and raised in South Africa, having experienced the realities

of being a black, young, South African woman such as being in an abusive and violent relationship, going to bed hungry, coming from a broken home and like most, know the reality of rape. But a victim I've never been.

Quite often people will hear what I've listed above and call me an exception. Having battled for years with Mandela exceptionalism, the idea that Nelson Mandela wasn't a product of South Africa, but one in a million, I often find myself rejecting such ideas because if a small village like Qunu could produce a man of Mandela's calibre, as a country we are more than capable of producing the same, if not better.

When writing this article I started to reflect on whether as most would believe, young black women are victims. Naturally the first place I looked was in my immediate circle of friends, colleagues and acquaintances. So I decided to engage with a couple of women that are part of my life, having known them for years, seen their difficult journeys but often marvelled at their incredible tenacity which resulted in what the world will now call success. I then went on to ask them to finish this sentence: **I know I'm not a victim because…**

These are the powerful lines they shared:

31 year old Advocate Munene Mahlaule said: In the advocates' profession, there are just 4 senior black female advocates in South Africa. Junior black female advocates make up 4% of the profession compared to the 57% of white males (89 and 1367 out of a total of 2,384 advocates respectively) in the entire country. Having been through hell and back, resigning and being unemployed for a full year, *I am not a victim because despite that I took it upon myself to obtain an LLB degree with the University of Witwatersrand, enrol for pupillage and train to become an advocate*. I completed my training at the age of 28 and started practising in July of 2011 when I was just 28. I have been running my own practice since then and I must say it was the best decision of my life. I am a mother, devoted to my loving partner of over 4 years and I am a proud home-maker. Nothing about me is a victim.

27 year old Vumile Msweli's response was: Having lost my employment, my peace and the only father I have ever known *I am not a victim because I chose to conquer*. And conquer my circumstances I did. I have spear-headed operations at national level reporting to global directors in some of South Africa's leading financial institutions. I have qualifications from global academic institutions including GIBS, New York University, Harvard as well as the University of London where I am about to complete my MBA. I am in the process of seeing my property portfolio reach 10 investment properties before the end of 2013. I chose to love, to live, to succeed and as St. Paul said to forget what was behind me and to press forward. I am now heading the commercial account services in a company whose values align with mine.

> "Young Business Professionals have a role to play, critically that of eradicating the cancer of corruption, offering quality service delivery and empowering other people, not just buying German cars."

Zinhle Zulu, the founder of Blaq Diamonds stokvel had this to share: Relocating from KZN to Johannesburg in 2007 in search of "gold", I was underprepared for the challenges that I encountered along the journey to success. Joining and becoming an executive of a communications and events company (Black Pepper) in a new province, at a tender age of 26 meant daily challenges that required difficult decisions, whether it was to take bribes to get work or sleep my way to "gold". I am not a victim because after evaluating and doing introspection on my ultimate goal in life, I discovered that yes being career driven is crucial for the day-to-day living but it's not my ultimate higher order goal. This led to the discovery that my true purpose in life lies in social outreach initiatives, which saw the birth of Alex Umusa initiative (Alex Aids Orphans) and a social women empowerment forum (Blaq Diamonds). I have all the materialistic items but my authentic fulfilment lies in seeing the little difference that the initiative makes in the lives of those less privileged. Get out of victim-mode and find your purpose in life, focus on your race, run with intention and never give up, but most importantly aim to finish strong with your integrity intact.

> "As I look at the young women within the African Youth Coalition (AYC) I'm always enthralled by their fire."

Lindani Mnyandu shared her personal profile which includes the following accolades: A Marketing professional and an Accidental Entrepreneur – 32 year old Ms. Lindani Mnyandu graduated from the UKZN with a Bachelor's in Social Science (Psychology). In addition to leadership at a corporate level, her strong leadership qualities led Lindani to being selected for The Imbokodo Leadership Programme at the Gordon Institute of Business Science (GIBS). She was also selected by specialist Word of Mouth agency "Have you heard" to be a Sanlam Young Achiever Ambassador and Woolworths Essentials Ambassador in 2010. She is and has been part of a number of networks aimed at empowering women (e.g. Young Leaders Connect an affiliate of the International Women's Forum, Beyond Women's Network - KZN) and has been profiled in several publications (e.g. Destiny Magazine, Companies of the Future). Her response to the victim question was: *'I am not a victim because I've always valued myself beyond my current circumstances, and I get up every day to follow a passion, not a duty or job. It's of my own choosing.'*

Millicent Maroga states: *'I am not a victim because I believe in redefining the impossible.'* At the age of 19, Millicent was awarded the coveted Nelson Mandela Scholarship to study towards her postgraduate studies in the United Kingdom making her the youngest

recipient in the history of the scholarship. At the time, Millicent was an alumni of the Brightest Young Minds and the Golden Key International Society, a youth development activist and served as a Commissioner on the Gauteng Youth Commission, an advisory body reporting to the then Premier of Gauteng Mr Mbhazima Shilowa. Today, Millicent is still involved in youth development currently serving on the Board of the South African Association on Youth Clubs and has previously volunteered as a facilitator for the GIBS Spirit of the Youth Programme, a passion she hopes to go back to once she has completed her current studies with GIBS. Millicent works as a regional Corporate Affairs Manager for South African Breweries. She also has a penchant for writing, with two academic articles published. Millicent is a passionate hiker and will be summiting Mt Kilimanjaro in Tanzania this July.

One other lady who has truly inspired and entrenched my belief in the young women of South Africa is Mandisa Khumalo. Mandisa is a business woman with an accountant background, yet she's decided to become a full-time teacher at an underprivileged school in Cosmo City. This comes from her great passion to see young students receive a quality education that will give them a better chance in life. She recently invited some of us to the school for a Career Day as she believed in broadening the minds of her students when it comes to career choices. The career day included doctors, lawyers, accountants, marketers and even a pilot! I was in complete awe of the students who were so excited and inspired to hear about our careers and passions, even more so by her for the immense love she has for these young people.

It was a generation after mine that posed the question: When have South Africans not been victims? My response: Now! Now is the time to start living up to our true potential. The youth of today are more than Izikhothane. As I look at the young women within the African Youth Coalition (AYC) I'm always enthralled by their fire. Two such incredible women are Malaika Wa Azania and Valesca Erlank. Both are in their early 20s, with an incredible and deep passion to see Africa prosper. Both women are currently representing the AYC as observers at the upcoming Zimbabwe elections.

The African Youth Coalition was born out of a youth retreat of leaders from continental youth organisations. The AYC is dedicated to advancing the African Youth Charter and building unity amongst African Youth. As an organisation we fully acknowledge and appreciate the legacy of our continent, but as the youth, aim to write a new chapter, one where Africans are not victims. This country, this continent has a new and strong breed of young people who are committed to telling a new story, writing a different history for our people. AYC is currently affiliated to PYU (Pan-Africanist Youth Union), the only youth body that is part of the African Union.

> "In her I've truly seen the type of leader I want to become, one who is strong in her resolution, yet gentle in her approach. The role of mentorship is one that cannot be emphasised enough. We need guidance and we also need to be guides to those coming after us."

On a recent trip to Sudan I met with the continental president of PYU, Andile Lungisa. We had a stop-over in Ethiopia and amongst the leaders present was also Imagwe Jude, the youth president of Nigeria. As we were conversing whilst in Addis Ababa, Andile said something I've never been able to forget: I would like to hear young people come up with their own ideas; most young people quote people from the past, but are not able to generate their own ideas; we need to encourage the youth to believe in their own intellect and ability to find solutions to problems.' I fully agreed with his train of thought.

More than fifty two per cent of Africans are under the age of twenty five. We are a young continent, yet our leadership fails to reflect this. It fails even more to offer the adequate gender representation. But as one who has never believed in wearing the label of 'victim' it was evident that we not only have to change how young people view their role, but also acknowledge those who have not waited for the times to change before assuming roles they deemed necessary.

The aforementioned women are not exceptions, quite the opposite. They are entrepreneurs, philanthropists, wives, mothers, sisters and ordinary hard working South Africans. That is the fabric that stiches this country together. Ordinary people who are doing extraordinary things.

One important need often identified by young women, to guide them on the right path, is that of mentors. Women who have a heart for service and the life experience to give guidance. One such example in my own life is Miranda Strydom. Miranda is the head of Communications for TMF, yet you will never come across a more humble and down-to-earth soul. She has travelled the globe, is renowned on the continent for her journalistic abilities and chutzpah, yet on any given day she will sit with us young people and make our tiny voices and grand ambitions for a better Africa seem as important as those of continental heads of state. In her I've truly seen the type of leader I want to become, one who is strong in her resolution, yet gentle in her approach. The role of mentorship is one that cannot be emphasised enough. We need guidance and we also need to be guides to those coming after us.

It was a woman, Marianne Williamson who wrote: 'Our greatest fear is not that we are inadequate, our greatest fear is that we are powerful beyond measure. It is our light and not our darkness that most frightens us. We ask ourselves, who am I to be brilliant, gorgeous, talented and fabulous? Actually, who are you not to be?'

That is the message I'd like to leave with all women of South Africa this Women's month: you are not a victim, and you are powerful beyond measure! ■

Corporate Governance and State Owned Enterprises

By Lynn McGregor

Is it possible for South Africa's State Owned Enterprises (SOEs) to be evaluated as belonging amongst those in countries practicing world-wide best practice? Do we have the will or are we immersed in self-interest? Are the different aspects of Government and the Boards and executives capable of collaborating and if so, how quickly can this happen? The situation is urgent. For our economy to develop in a sound way we have to have an infrastructure that works and can compete successfully with the rest of the world. While there is considerable improvement, much more needs to be done both in Government and with SOEs.

This is a highly personal view about the performance of SOEs as mainly financial organisations based on over twenty years of evaluating and developing successful board and top executive performance. This includes working with Chairs, CEOs and Directors individually and collectively in a number of countries. Over the years a body of knowledge about what works well and does not work has been built up and methodologies have been created to optimise best performance. Our democratic institution is admired throughout the world, as are our corporate governance Acts such as the Public Services Financial Management Act, the updated Companies Act and guidelines for good practice as outlined by the King Reports, 1, 2 and 3. If we read any of these excellent documents, we should have a clear idea of what we should do. The challenge is implementation and how to improve the performance of SOEs so that we attract the right kinds of investment to enable the economy to grow in the way that benefits most of the population.

What is the state of State Owned Entities?

The public perception of State Owned Enterprises in South Africa has not been good. Too much money lost, too few clear audits, poor financial performance, planning and reporting, too many bail-outs, high turnover rates and numerous resignations amongst board members and CEOs have undermined sustainable corporate governance. Frequent court cases and scandals reflect self-interest rather

than commitment to the wellbeing of the entity or the country. Ineffective corporate governance is costing us, the public, a huge amount of money and posing the danger of increasingly poor service.

Luckily public perception is not entirely accurate. Within the Government, excellent Acts and regulations relating to Corporate Governance have been passed, some Presidential Reviews reveal high standards of consultation and analysis leading to better policies. The summary of the comprehensive Presidential Review on State Owned Entities given by Minister Collins Chabane indicates that the Cabinet fully understands the overall situation, problems and key challenges that need to be met. Some government departments have displayed outstanding performance we can be proud of. Examples of these include SARS, the Auditor General, the turnaround of Public Services and Health. In terms of SOEs there have been examples of improvements. For example, the provision of electricity with fewer blackouts has made a huge difference. Our TV broadcasting standards, in spite of adverse publicity, have been consistent. More investment in local and regional transport companies is starting to improve transport services.

Unfortunately, because of uneven information, often difficult to obtain, it is not easy to know what is really going on, particularly if we are not often given explanations for major changes concerning SOEs. An example of this is the announcement by President Zuma on 9 July of a fourth cabinet reshuffle in his first term, changing three Ministers responsible for a number of SOEs. It would be interesting to know what he expects new Ministers to achieve during nine or ten months before a general election and whether he is positioning key Ministers for the significant restructuring of SOEs in the light of the Presidential Review on SOEs. Ministers such as Minister Gigaba, Ben Martins and Rob Davies are all accomplished Ministers, who in spite of difficulties with certain SOEs have achieved a significant amount in different ways. (See their statements for each Budget Vote Debate, 28 May 2013)

The Presidential Review on State Owned Entities

The final report of the Presidential Review was accepted by Cabinet on 30 April 2013 and was summarised by Minister Collins Chabane on 28 May. A comprehensive macro review of all state owned entities chaired by Ms Mangwashi Victoria Phiyega was conducted over 24 months and described a highly complex and chaotic situation. The PRC found that there were 715 commercial and non-commercial entities at different spheres of Government. Many of these are regulated by different Acts. "There is room to consolidate and rationalise" this huge number of SOEs and in some cases, disestablish certain enterprises and subsume them under Government Departments. Minister Chabane stated that many SOEs "are faced with significant weaknesses and threats that might become grave impediments to their optimum contribution."

> "One of the major challenges will be to ensure that the time taken by this committee is not too long drawn-out and that agreement is reached concerning national priorities rather than a power struggle to cut up pieces of the cake."

The Review recommends that the State should:

- Clearly define and communicate a consistent strategy of SOEs.
- Ensure policies and practices are in place.
- Ensure that effective contact between regulators, agencies, Government and SOEs is maintained.
- Define the purposes of SOEs.
- Adopt standardised monitoring and evaluation criteria modelled on best practice.
- Enable high operational cost effective performance of SOEs.
- Adopt a consolidated funding model for commercial SOEs and Developmental Finance Institutions. (DFIs).

An Inter-Ministerial Committee has been established to guide the implementation of the recommendations of the PRC. It is seen as a phased reform programme over time so that all the reforms can be implemented in the long term.

These reforms are sensible and, if implemented, will make a radical improvement to the ways in which SOEs are governed by Government and their Boards in the future. One of the major challenges will be to ensure that the time taken by this committee is not too long drawn-out and that agreement is reached concerning national priorities rather than a power struggle to cut up pieces of the cake.

Many of the findings of the Review were reflected in our own research. One of the key concerns is the lack of numbers of competent directors with skills, expertise and experience. The University of Stellenbosch Ratings exercise was an attempt to encourage SOEs to upgrade their levels of corporate governance.

The USB Corporate Governance Ratings Matrix

In 2012 in my capacity as Senior Fellow at the Centre for Corporate Governance in Africa at the University of Stellenbosch, I was asked to modify a Ratings Matrix for rating Schedule One and Two State Owned Enterprises based on publically available information. It was modified from a PIC/ Stellenbosch University Ratings Matrix for the Private Sector and was sponsored by the Hans Seidel Foundation. As the interface between Government and State Owned Enterprises was crucial, I asked Nozizwe Madlala Routledge, a former Deputy Government Minister, to work with me. We combined my experience as researcher and corporate governance advisor and consultant and her knowledge of government.

Our attempt to find out more

about the interface between SOEs and Government led us on a journey of discovery including meetings with Deputy President Kgalema Mothlanthe, Minister Collins Chabane, Minister Malusi Gigaba and his team, phone conversations with Minister Ben Martins and other Government Officials. We also attended a Government Roundtable to discuss the findings before the report was completed. They were extremely helpful and brought us up to date with how Government was working in relation to SOEs.

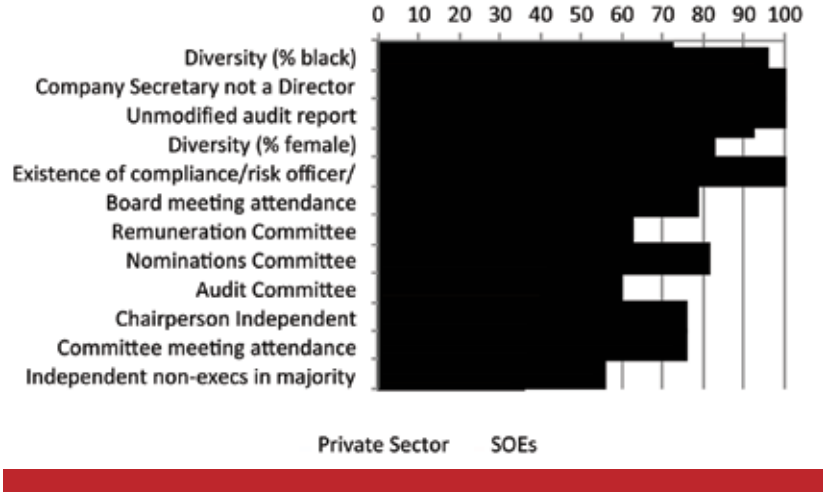
After a first draft of the Ratings Matrix, we held a workshop to invite SOE representatives and chairs of government committees to check the relevance of our draft to SOEs. What was significant was that although the workshop was attended by 26 people, there was a significant lack of Chairpeople attending even though they were responsible for the quality of the corporate governance of their boards. However, we were able to provide a final matrix to the satisfaction of those in the workshop. The matrix was based on basic governance principles and good practice in line with the King Three Report, the new Companies Act and the Financial Services Management Act. It provides an excellent set of indicators for SOEs who wish to check how well they are doing and in what areas they would like to improve.

The results of the 2012 ratings exercise were disappointing. Contrary to basic corporate governance principles such as transparency and accountability, there was a serious lack of public disclosure. In terms of Schedule One State Owned Entities, there was not enough data to make meaningful conclusions.

One key result was that State Owned Entities Performances were inferior to those of the Private Sector. Out of the following indicators for evidence of good governance in normal companies, SOEs rated better only in terms of diversity.

> “What is missing is consideration for the human factors necessary for effective implementation, including improving working relationships and communication between Ministers, Departments, Boards and Executives.”

The ratings exercise would have been more useful if it had measured a healthy set of companies all following good corporate governance practice. What was not taken into account were the scandals, the numbers of unclean audits, resignations from the board and quarrels between some SOEs and Government Departments, the resignation of the board of SAA being one example. Denel, who rated first in terms of publically available information, at the time was facing a corruption charge in India and had been accused of including a Government bail-out as part of its profits. The next ratings exercise would need to be further modified to take factors like these into account.



Comparative Chart between the Private Sector and SOEs in the Report, 2012

It is not surprising that some of the media respond with outrage. However, many reports are subjective and not always backed up by substantive information even though the figures are shocking. Neither is due regard paid to those government officials who are honest, extremely hard working and are doing their best to improve the situation. The time wasted because of lack of transparency from the SOEs and Government and misinformation from the media could have been better spent problem solving.

The outcome of the Presidential Review and our meetings with the Deputy President and Government Ministers has led me to believe that many of the problems are not only familiar, but are also being addressed, even if slowly.

While the Presidential Review Committee Report on SOEs has gone a long way to address major limitations to improving performance, even if all these measures are implemented, more needs to be done to ensure genuine and sustained change. What is missing is consideration for the human factors necessary for effective implementation, including improving working relationships and communication between Ministers, Departments, Boards and Executives.

With implementation in mind, I would like to offer a working definition of some of the human qualities and skills necessary for the practice of good corporate governance. Although I have focussed on the Boards of SOEs, some of these qualities are also relevant to Government officials involved with SOEs.

The practice of good corporate governance

For the Board of an organisation, this includes providing perspective, strategic direction and ensuring that agreed financial and non-financial targets and

goals are met in conformance with national and international regulations. Good corporate governance is based on basic corporate governance principles such as accountability, transparency, good business judgement and ethical behaviour. The concept of sustainability as described in King Three also includes social and environmental responsibilities. This is particularly relevant for SOEs as they have a clear mandate not only to perform effectively, but also to act as a vehicle for social development and employment.

Directors need to have the relevant balance of knowledge, understanding and expertise for governing that particular organisation. Board members are responsible for acting in the interests of the shareholder, the organisation and the greater good and not for their self-interest. The board as a whole, under the leadership of the Chair, is required to make timely high level informed decisions about key issues. The quality of decision making is dependent on the ability of the Chair to get the best from directors and the capacity of the board to arrive at a collective decision after rigorous discussion.

The board governs and provides overall direction and should not be responsible for the day to day micro-management. It is the board's job to ensure that the CEO and his or her team are capable of delivering and to take corrective measures if they are not. Whether companies are nationalised, privatised, or somewhere in between is a political decision. What is not contentious is that the infrastructure of the country has to be sound if economic development is to have a chance. This means that whatever the structure, the entity has to be well run and able to deliver successfully.

Practical implications for the key recommendations of the Presidential Review

- *Clearly define and communicate a consistent strategy of SOEs*
  Government language is often couched in a highly complicated legalistic style – necessary for formulation of Acts but difficult for others to understand. In terms of implementation, simpler, easy to understand communication is better. Government, some investors and SOEs all talk different languages and have different agendas. Different versions appropriate to each party followed by briefing and interaction to establish that they are really understood would help develop a common understanding and sense of purpose.
- *Ensure policies and practices are in place*
  If the principles behind the policies are clearly explained and understood, it is easier for people to take them on board, e.g. for boards - creating the right balance between profit generation and social development. If they are consulted about what these policies mean in terms how to reach particular goals, they are more likely to work.
- *Ensure that effective contact between regulators, agencies, Government and SOEs is maintained*
  The simpler the better - according to strict co-ordinated schedules and clear expectations about what is expected and needed from each party.
- *The purpose of SOEs should be defined*
  Also define the reasons behind the purpose. Board members who fundamentally disagree should resign.
- *Standardised monitoring and evaluation criteria modelled on best practice should be adopted*
  Monitoring and evaluation criteria indicate what is expected in terms of performance and are essential. This has already been highly developed by Minister Chabane and his department. However, if a simple and inspiring description of what good practice means and looks like is provided upfront, before giving a detailed breakdown of criteria, that encourages and inspires, people are more likely to do their best. Overcomplicated material tends to be put in a drawer and forgotten. What is essential for successful implementation is inspired and consistent leadership that communicates, provides direction, educates and keeps people on track by following up plans and intentions, celebrating improved standards and achievements and helping people to learn from mistakes. Part of this is enabling people to learn to think and work as democratically as possible while at the same time being efficient and effective.
- *Enable high operational cost effective performance of SOEs*
  For this to work effectively in addition to implementing the Committee's recommendations, where relevant, two major initiatives are necessary. One is remedial and the other is to take active steps to put into place what is necessary for effective performance to take place.
- *Adopt a consolidated funding model for commercial SOEs and Developmental Finance Institutions*
  It is helpful to produce guidelines and briefings for less experienced SOEs in terms of what is expected and why. The Department could also provide support and help until a SOE has established good practice.

> "Whether companies are nationalised, privatised, or somewhere in between is a political decision. What is not contentious is that the infrastructure of the country has to be sound if economic development is to have a chance."

Remedial action for cost-effective high level performance

Remedial action has to be taken to deal with the antagonism between some SOEs and Government and to establish trusting and co-operative working relationships. This includes discussing and resolving some philosophical conflicts between business and government and finding new solutions to maintaining the balance between profit generation and social development mandates. What is

the funding model in relation to this?

It is also necessary that misunderstandings and mistrust around the appointment and sacking of Chairs, directors and CEOs is sorted out to the mutual satisfaction of both parties. Clear roles and lines of authority need to be established and understood. Resignations often result from board members believing that their ability to do a proper job as a board is severely undermined.

Active steps that need to be put into place

Firstly, there needs to be a mutual understanding and agreement about values, purpose and commitment to Corporate Governance principles and guidelines by everyone. This needs to be followed up by consistent behaviour all round and zero tolerance of corruption, cronyism or any other corrupt practices.

Secondly, levels of competence need to be evaluated and developed. Coaching and training Ministers, DGs, Board Chairs, directors and CEOs to acquire necessary knowledge, expertise and skills should be obligatory and part of their appraisals. Unless they take time to do this, performance is likely to remain mediocre or poor. Learning should be part of the culture. As share-holder activists, Ministers and DGs have a right to specify the levels of performance they expect. It is also important that the Chair understands it is his or her duty to establish and improve standards of board performance.

Thirdly, CEOs should not be allowed to get away with incompetence, particularly in terms of planning. Last minute tame excuses about rising costs or strikes are unacceptable.

And finally, Integrated Annual Reports should be transparent, honest and mention any problems, pending court cases and what is being done about shortfalls. All SOEs should be rated along the lines formulated by USB and the top Entities recognised for good performance.

What not to do

- assume that people will understand what you are trying to communicate;
- behaviour that display arrogance, complacency, bullying or hostility;
- allow conflict and resentments to fester;
- accept any form of corruption or corrupt behaviour;
- continue to use ineffective advisors; or
- waste time and energy and lose productivity through burn-out.

> “The quality of decision making is dependent on the ability of the Chair to get the best from directors and the capacity of the board to arrive at a collective decision after rigorous discussion.”

Key ingredients for good corporate governance

- good leadership;
- professional capacity to select and develop honest and competent people;
- shared values and genuine consistent practice of key principles;
- continuous learning, improved expertise and moving on from mistakes;
- effective working relationships;
- good communication – verbal, written and e-communication;
- quality, timeliness and wisdom of collective high level decision-making;
- avoidance of practices and behaviours that hinder effective implementation; and
- structures, systems, processes and regulations that only support good practice.

> “Firstly, there needs to be a mutual understanding and agreement about values, purpose and commitment to Corporate Governance principles and guidelines by everyone. This needs to be followed up by consistent behaviour all round and zero tolerance of corruption, cronyism or any other corrupt practices.”

Summary and conclusions

Although I am extremely worried about the short-comings of SOEs in terms of their current and past performance, there is evidence that many of the difficulties are going to be addressed. What I am most concerned about is that, owing to the time taken for decision-making and the general elections all this hard work is in danger of being overtaken by events and then forgotten. This would be good news for ruthless people who want to milk our national resources.

My experience indicates that if the practical human aspects are seriously taken into account, chances of success will be greater.

Finally, it is true that the state of SOEs until now has been like a roller-coaster – sometimes good and sometimes terrifying. Much work has to be done if performance is to be radically improved. Even more investment will have to be made to bring our most important SOEs up to best international practice. With willingness and enthusiasm across the board, it is possible that South Africa could rank amongst the best. For that we need exceptional leaders, which I believe we have in this country. Those that are already good should be allowed to provide continuity and those with potential or established track records need to come forward. At present there is some reason to remain cautiously optimistic. ■

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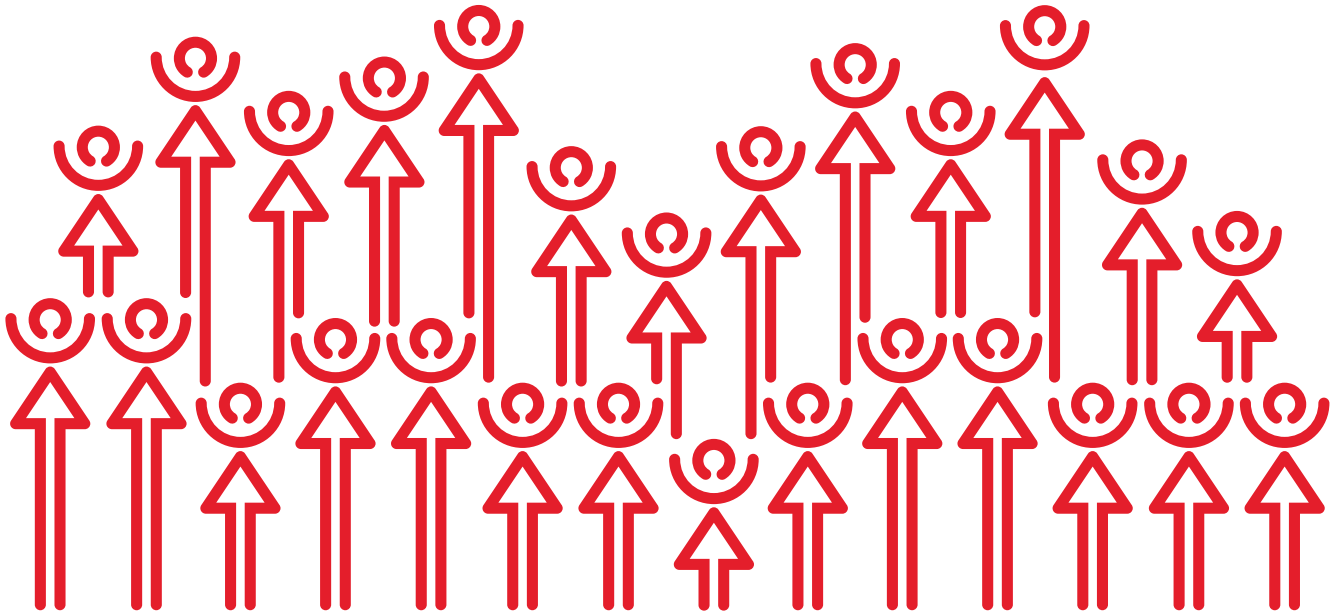

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Promoting the Status of Women in South Africa

By Phumla Williams

Since 1994 every facet of South African society has been transformed and now bears little resemblance to the grim legacy we inherited from the apartheid government. Before 1994 women were largely relegated to the fringes of society, and were generally not represented at the highest levels in government and the private sector.

As we prepare to celebrate Women's Month this August we should look back at the path we have travelled in ensuring that women are empowered at all levels of society. The month of August is dedicated to the memory and legacy of the brave women who defied the apartheid state in 1956 by marching to the Union Buildings in protest against the brutal apartheid pass laws.

By celebrating Women's Month we remember the sacrifices of untold women who paved the way to our all-inclusive democracy. However, we must also take stock of how far we have come and be forever cognisant of the need to do more to ensure that the voice of women is firmly entrenched in every sphere.

Since the dawn of democracy, South Africa has taken bold steps to institutionalise gender equality and women empowerment. However, many women, especially those who are poor, continue to be marginalised and suffer exploitation both at home and in the workplace.

Speaking at the National Women's Month commemorations in 2012 President Jacob Zuma reminded us of the words of former President Mandela: "Freedom cannot be achieved unless women have been emancipated from all forms of oppression."

Addressing this historic legacy has been one of the central pillars of government and significant progress has been made in empowering women in the political and public spheres.

Today many of the rights and freedoms that women fought for are entrenched in our Constitution. Gender equality is a constitutional imperative in South Africa and far reaching legislation has been implemented to ensure protections for women, namely: The Promotion

"Since the dawn of democracy, South Africa has taken bold steps to institutionalise gender equality and women empowerment. However, many women, especially those who are poor, continue to be marginalised and suffer exploitation both at home and in the workplace."

of Equality and Prevention of Unfair Discrimination Act, the Employment Equity Act, the Domestic Violence Act, Maintenance Act, the Sexual Offences Act and the Civil Union Act.

Our commitment to equality is further entrenched internationally where we are party to various instruments, such as the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women, the Beijing Platform for Action, the Protocol to the African Charter on Human and People's Rights on the Rights of Women in Africa, the SADC Protocol on Gender and Development, as well as the AU Gender Policy, among others.

The rights and freedoms of women are further protected and cultivated by the Commission for Gender Equality and the Department of Women, Children and People with Disabilities.

"We are particularly proud that women are making their mark in what were previously thought of as male only domains."

We, however, know that our commitment to empowering women does not only reside in policies and protocols. As the saying goes; the proof of the pudding is in the eating. In the national executive there are 14 female Cabinet Ministers and 16 female Deputy Ministers. At provincial level, five out of nine premiers are women, and female representation both in Parliament and at the Provincial Legislatures stands at over 40 per cent. We have also made significant strides in the public sector, the 2012 Women in Leadership Census shows that 40.7 per cent of senior managers in government service are women.

The above figures show a rapidly changing society that has embraced women at every level. We are particularly proud that women are making their mark in what were previously thought of as male only domains.

In 2012, Riyah Phiyega was appointed as the first female National Police Commissioner. Our female Ministers in Cabinet occupy non-stereotypical positions, including Defence and Military Veterans, International Relations and Cooperation, Transport, Labour, and Mineral Resources.

Women are an integral part of the military; they are represented at the highest level and can be found in such diverse fields as fighter pilots, combat officers on our naval ships, and in the army. Wherever women are deployed, be it at home or on the continent they are in the frontline.

In 2005 history was made when Phumzile Mlambo-Ngcuka was appointed as South Africa's first female Deputy President, she held office from 2005 to 2008. She was recently appointed to head the United Nations gender equality body UN Women.

Her appointment has been widely welcomed by various parties. The South African NGO Gender Links said in a statement: "Mlambo-Ngcuka is a woman of substance, who has taken gender equality concerns to every portfolio she has ever led, with grace, humility and commitment."

"We should rightfully be proud of the achievements of women in our society; they represent the best of us and prove that with hard work and dedication anything is possible. But we should also never lose sight of the fact that many women continue to be marginalised and do not enjoy the fruits of our hard won democracy."

Baleka Mbete-Kgositsile was South Africa's second female Deputy President and held office from 2008 to 2009; she also served as the speaker of the National Assembly from 2004 to 2008, replacing Dr Frene Ginwala who served as the first speaker of the National Assembly from 1994 to 2004.

The election of Dr Nkosazana Dlamini Zuma as the first female Chairperson of the African Union Commission is another major milestone in our efforts to break the proverbial glass ceiling for women.

President Jacob Zuma highlighted the importance of her achievement during the 2012 Women's Day celebrations: "In this vein, we celebrate far and wide, the recent election of the first woman chairperson of the African Union Commission, Dr Nkosazana Dlamini-Zuma. Under her leadership, we are confident that the status of women and children in the continent will be further entrenched."

Despite these successes there is still a long road to travel to ensure that women are fully represented at every level. The 2012 Women in Leadership Census undertaken by the Businesswomen's Association of South Africa (BWA) shows that women make up 52 per cent of the South African population in 2012 but they account for just 3.6 per cent of CEO positions, 5.5 per cent of chairperson positions, 17.1 per cent of directorships and 21.4 per cent of executive management positions.

The study further shows that while the proportion of women in executive management positions has increased marginally, it is still too low at directorship level, requiring a comprehensive societal shift to achieve more balance between men and women in leadership roles in the public and private sectors.

Other findings from the survey point to a need for the current status quo to be changed, for more women to pursue higher levels of education; for more opportunities to be created for women; and for societal structures regarding the roles of men and women to be changed.

These sobering findings show that we must do more. To address the slow pace of gender transformation, government's programme of action includes the promotion of gender equality and the advancement of women in all sectors.

One of the tools we will call on is the Gender Equality Bill, which provides the Minister of Women, Children and People with Disabilities with the necessary authority to monitor, review and promote gender equality in all programmes of government and other sectors.

"These sobering findings show that we must do more. To address the slow pace of gender transformation, government's programme of action includes the promotion of gender equality and the advancement of women in all sectors."

Government also continues to support women-owned enterprises to overcome barriers such as lack of access to finance and technology. Programmes such as Isivande Women's Fund, Bavumile Skills Development Initiative and Technology for Women in Business are tailor-made to address the common challenges that women-owned enterprises encounter.

However, government alone cannot achieve gender equity in South Africa. Business, political parties, trade unions, civil society, teachers and higher education institutions must work with the government if we are to succeed.

We should rightfully be proud of the achievements of women in our society; they represent the best of us and prove that with hard work and dedication anything is possible. But we should also never lose sight of the fact that many women continue to be marginalised and do not enjoy the fruits of our hard won democracy. We should not rest until all women are free from the scourge of abuse and rape. We must not rest until every woman is afforded the same opportunities as their male counterparts. The legacy that the brave women of 1956 began by heroically defying the apartheid state lives on in the hopes and dreams of today's generation of women. It is our shared duty to promote a just and equal society for all. We dare not fail! ■

Phumla Williams is the Acting CEO of the GCIS

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South Africa

The vision and women in the context of South Africa

The sooner we realise that South Africa needs a vision larger than service delivery, something that captivates the human soul and inspires South Africans, male or female, to overcome and achieve, the sooner we will restore our nation.

By Siki Dlanga

Branding is possibly the word of the 21st century. Switch on your television and you will hear some celebrity telling us that their image or career is a brand which they are managing. Branding is the new cliché. We are all busy trying to carve our own identity, trying to out-do the next person; but what is it that we are after? What are we trying to achieve and for whom and why? One of the biggest frustrations often expressed by writers on social media or criticism on our current South African president has been that there is a lack of vision. Our president Jacob Zuma was once asked by a journalist on a press conference what he wanted his legacy to be. How does he want to be remembered? The president seemed to detest this question and said that he was being asked to write his own obituary while he was still alive.

In so doing, he refused to articulate what he desired his legacy to look like; instead he said that he could not dictate how to be remembered or what people should or will think of him. The president is one of the few people who seemed to have missed the age of branding. More importantly he misunderstood the question because the question was simply: *"Good sir, please tell us, where are you taking us? Give us a picture, we want to see it because then we can start walking on that road with you. If we do not see where we are going we will be people without direction. We will ultimately destroy ourselves including whatever it is you are trying to build since we do not know why we are alive in this country at this time in our history. Where are you leading us to? We do not know how to fit in the great scheme of the picture because we do not know what the bigger picture is. Instead, we will most likely create our own images and you might not like what we create."*

In a visionless land and blurry age the young women of South Africa try to forge their own way through life. In one sense there is definition for women since our legislation is empowering towards women on paper.

The 2013 reports from Stats SA on *Gender Statistics in South Africa* suggest

that women are still at the bottom of the food chain regardless of what is currently possible for women. Men on the other hand assume that they are the losers in the process because women have rights. This misconception of winners and losers in a largely undereducated society creates dangerous tensions. We are left with a society lost in a violent gender war where the women are the losers, unjustly and cruelly.

Every day when the South African woman rises, she picks up her pieces as some kind of survivor in an invisible yet very real war against her very existence and well-being. Is it a crime to be a woman in this country? What is it that has our woman raped and murdered at such a rate that we have been called the rape capital of the world? What could be positive about that?

We are still fresh from overcoming the adversity of apartheid. We are the same nation that was once divided and whose majority were oppressed for centuries and overcame. It was a crime to be black and a blessing to be white. Now the new black is being a woman. Unlike apartheid or colonisation, the laws of the land on paper are not anti-women, while many argue that more laws are needed to protect women. It is the laws that seem to operate in the hearts of those men who are gender violence offenders that need to change. How then do you change invisible laws?

In this sadly murky situation the young woman must still create her identity. There is the general striving for individualism in our democracy. Authentic and secure individuality can only be forged and created out of an already existing national identity. Otherwise who do you follow if there is no secure identity? According to the constitution women in South Africa are free to get an education and free to achieve anything. There are no limits. Still, our country is full of limited women: limited by resources, knowledge and gender abuse.

In many townships and rural areas young women do not seem to have direction, particularly unemployed young women. In our society that has drastically changed from what it was; it appears as if the cultures that were privileged during apartheid are doing even better for themselves. The ones who suffered during apartheid seem to be suffering more – apart from the lucky few, that is – in comparison to the large unemployed population. The aim is not to destabilise those who are stable in order to strengthen the weak. It is as important to protect and strengthen the weak as it is to recognise that rape is unacceptable.

There needs to be massive action to ensure that life for all women in twenty years' time in South Africa will be radically improved compared to the current situation. The weak are not only getting weaker, but where there is no intervention, many of them are falling apart. There are cases where there is successful intervention, or where someone has an incredible will to rise above their difficult circumstances. But why should these be the exceptions? Why should it be the ones who rise from their difficult circumstances that get to survive? Why can we not create an environment in this country that makes it difficult to fail? This will not be achieved by giving hand-outs, but through establishing systems that empower human minds and spirits from birth.

"I believe that we can have a society where men and women can have healthy relationships, free from violence, rape and oppression and participate in all spheres of nation building."

It is impossible to ensure that women are safe and can thrive in South Africa if young men are not given the same amount of attention. We cannot address women without addressing men because it is men who affect the lives of women. We may pretend as if there are no men in the world when we speak of the well-being of women but men are as large a part of women's lives as the word 'women' suggests. In Egypt during their 'liberation' protest which resulted in a coup against their government, more than one hundred and sixty cases of sexual assault on women and nine cases of gang rape at the time of writing this article were reported in a space of days. How is freedom translated to the right to violate and oppress women? Is that liberation?

Egypt is in the north of Africa while South Africa sits at the tip of Africa. If women are treated this way in Africa's most developed nations what does it say about the state of women's rights in the rest of the continent? This reiterates the fact that freedom needs definition and a clearly articulated vision. Without proper education, common understanding of the constitution, human rights and a vision for the nation there can be no real freedom.

Every human being has to believe that they are living for something larger than themselves. In our case we cannot continue to drop our standards in the hope of making them more accessible to those who are missing the mark. The sooner we realise that South Africa needs a vision larger than service delivery, something that captivates the human soul and inspires South Africans, male or female, to overcome and achieve, the sooner we will restore our nation. The current philosophy is crippling those who cannot afford to be disabled any further.

Nelson Mandela began the new South African with a vision so big it dared you to be great. It gave South Africans little excuse to have a defeatist mentality. If South Africa ever needed a dream again it is now. If South Africa needed to see something bigger than what appears possible it is now. It is the only way we can cross over from this current state where women live a life of fear on a daily basis. I believe that we can have a society where men and women can have healthy relationships, free from violence, rape and oppression and participate in all spheres of nation building. In order to attain it, together we have to envision the South Africa we want to live in. Let us see beyond our own generation and see the country we wish to hand over to our great grandchildren, even though we may not have our own children yet. ■

South Africa-China Diplomatic Relations and their Impact on the Global Platform

The two countries agreed to improve the current structure of trade between them, in particular by working towards more balanced trade profiles and encouraging trade in manufactured value-added products.

By Funeka Yazini April

South Africa's relationship with China rests on four pillars: China's contribution to the defeat of colonialism in Africa, and particularly apartheid in South Africa; China and South Africa's shared strategic approach to global issues and international relations; and China's support of Africa's development efforts coinciding with South Africa's foreign policy commitment towards the African agenda, and the Brazil, Russia, India, China, South Africa alliance (BRICS). Indeed the celebration of South Africa and China's 15 year relationship provides an opportunity for reflection on the past and the future.

Following the assumption of power by the Communist Party of China in 1949 relations between the two countries were officially antagonistic. The South African Air Force fought on the side of the United Nations against the Chinese People's Liberation Army in the Korean War and enjoyed a strong relationship with Taiwan. China on the other hand, supported and was closely allied with anti-apartheid resistance groups. Official relations between South Africa and China were established in 1994 after the dismantling of the apartheid regime in South Africa. What makes the relationship between South Africa and China so special is not only the collaboration during the anti-colonial struggle, but also the fact that the two countries share a common perspective on global issues.

In 2011, President Jacob Zuma outlined the foreign policy tenets of South Africa at the University of Pretoria. Firstly, priority is accorded to SADC and Africa to address shared challenges of underdevelopment. Secondly, South Africa seeks to promote global equity and social justice. Thirdly, South Africa recognises the significance of the "developed North" in forging ahead. The last tenet of South Africa's foreign policy stresses a desire to revise the balance of power on the international stage by transforming the multilateral system to reflect the diversity of nations, and ensure its centrality in global governance.

South Africa is already one of the greatest providers of development aid in Africa. According to the Department of International Relations and Cooperation, (DIRCO) South Africa's African Renaissance and International Cooperation Fund provided R268 million in aid to 19 countries in 2011/12. The bulk of the allocations went to the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) and to Cuba. In all, R126 million went to assist the DRC undertake elections in November last year, while R100 million went to Cuba to help support the country's economic recovery following the 2008 hurricanes. South Africa's assistance also included R15 million allocated to the International Atomic Energy Agency for the improvement of veterinary laboratory capacities in Ivory Coast, Burkina Faso, Mali, Ethiopia, Kenya, Tanzania, DRC and Senegal. A further R13 million was granted to an international diplomatic training programme at the department's diplomatic academy, which benefited diplomats from South Sudan, Sudan, Eritrea, Ethiopia, Burundi, Rwanda, Mauritius and Comoros. Funds have also been allocated to Sierra Leone (R24 million) to fund 20 Cuban doctors offering medical services, and to the African Research Centre (R3 million), which serves as a focal point for ombudsman offices in Africa.

Economically, South Africa was the largest "developing country" foreign direct investor (FDI) in Africa between 2006 and 2008, with South African companies having invested an average of $2.61 billion a year over the period. South Africa is currently at the forefront of driving Africa's regional integration efforts as it has already initiated meetings with leaders of at least 26 African countries, where they agreed to create the continent's biggest free trade bloc estimated to be worth $1 trillion by 2013. By June 2014, nearly 60% of the economy of Africa will be a single free trade area covering Southern, Eastern and Central Africa, and will

enable an easier and more efficient flow of goods, people and investments. The countries involved have an aggregate GDP of US$860 billion and a combined population of 590 million. President Zuma is also engaged in the Programme for Infrastructure Development in Africa (PIDA). PIDA identifies energy, water, ICT and transport as key to implementation of economic and social development policies. Zuma's engagement in the PIDA process is through his leadership of the North-South Corridor, which focuses on infrastructure development from South Africa to Tanzania.

China's commitment towards Africa has also been on par with South Africa's, by promoting Africa's political and economic freedom. Premier Zhou Enlai during his African tour outlined the five principles guiding China's Africa policy which entailed recognition of the importance of the "struggle to oppose imperialism and old and new colonialism and to win and safeguard national independence; support for the policy of peace, neutrality and non-alignment; unity and solidarity; peaceful settlement of disputes; and respect for the sovereignty of African countries". Then in December 1982, Premier Zhao Ziyang put forward four new principles: equality and mutual benefit; stress on practical results; diversified forms; and development side by side. This China-Africa relationship culminated in the establishment of the Forum for Cooperation between China and Africa (FOCAC).

Under the FOCAC umbrella, Sino-African trade has experienced unprecedented growth. From a mere US$ 2 billion in 1999, Sino-African trade in 2011 reached US$ 160 billion, making China a leading trade partner for Africa. In South Africa, bilateral trade between the two countries has surged from $1.6 billion to $25.7 billion. South Africa's major exports to China have traditionally been mining products, especially iron and steel, heavy chemicals and nonferrous metals exports to the value of $5.5 billion a year. In contrast SA imports Chinese clothing, machinery, televisions, communication equipment, furniture and footwear. Apart from increased trade volumes, co-operation has continually increased in terms of investments in a range of sectors, cultural exchanges, capacity building and of course, political consultation.

The China-Africa relationship has remained dynamic on many fronts. China's focus on infrastructural development with the construction of roads, bridges, hydroelectric and irrigation schemes, schools, hospitals, health centres and an array of government buildings have made a clear and definite contribution to improving the lives of people across Africa. As Adams Bodomo, African Studies director at Hong Kong University, states, "In 10 years, China has built a lot more infrastructure than, for example, Britain did in my own country - Ghana - for 100 years." In fact, China has been identified by Africa as a strategic source of infrastructure growth. In the 2012 Beijing Declaration, a six-point plan was presented to increase cooperation between the two sides in respect to effecting the African Union's (AU) Africa's Peace and Security Architecture (APSA) which in turn would promote peace and stability on the continent.

Both South Africa and China have aspirations and a commitment to adopting innovative ways to boost trade, investment, poverty reduction, infrastructure building, capacity building, human resource development, food security and hi-tech industries on the continent. Both countries have also invested significantly in their own right on the continent. In the New Comprehensive Strategic Partnership which is set out in the Beijing Declaration that was signed in 2010, the two countries expressed the desire to further strengthen and deepen cooperation in both political and regional affairs by establishing a comprehensive strategic partnership based on equality, mutual benefit and common development. The agreements range from political dialogue, trade, investment, mineral exploration and agriculture to joint efforts in the global arena, such as in the United Nations and the Forum on China-Africa Cooperation.

With respect to the trade imbalance that South Africa and the continent are experiencing with China, particularly from the mineral resource sector, the two countries agreed to improve the current structure of trade between them, in particular by working towards more balanced trade profiles and encouraging trade in manufactured value-added products. South Africa already has a mineral beneficiation strategy which should provide various added benefits to the economy, such as policy interventions in the supply-chain industries, the creation of more semiskilled and skilled jobs, and lessening the export of minerals from South Africa in raw form. China has agreed to collaborate with South Africa in promoting its mineral beneficiation strategy which should in turn address the current international trade pattern. It is also critical to note that China long declared its intent to promote South Africa's mineral resource objectives when it signed a mineral beneficiation plan upon its purchase and 60% ownership of ASA metals chromium mine in Limpopo.

Continued economic and political growth would be a major foreign policy advance for both countries. Economic growth is bound to have a positive spill over into the socio-political arena. The fact is, in today's current political climate, economic strength has become a key measurement of state power on the global arena. From a South African perspective, China is a dream market given its population of over one billion citizens. From a political perspective, China is a staunch political ally which has demonstrated strong commitment in addressing Africa's developmental impasse. From a Chinese economic perspective, South Africa is currently China's largest trading partner on the continent. South Africa is also at the forefront of driving Africa's regional integration through the Free Trade Agreements and infrastructure plans. Politically, South Africa is a key player in Africa and actively involved in shaping the political terrain. With the new BRICS grouping, the relations between South Africa and China have entered a new era where they have an opportunity to strategically shape economic and political benefits for the continent and the for the global platform. ■

Fixation with re-writing the past will blur foresight for the DA

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The essence of the campaign seemingly is for the people of South Africa to know that the DA played its part in the struggle against apartheid.

By Gugu Ndima

One must admit that South African politics is intriguing, given the contradictions and ability to entice politicians from all disciplines and walks of life. The letter penned by Mbali Ntuli (*IOL News* 26 May 2013) demonstrates the maturity of our democracy, that anyone in South Africa despite their intellect, creed, race, or class has a platform to air their views about this country. It made me realise that the winds of democracy have taken an imperative turn in our politics; each political organisation enjoys the freedom to participate and give their interpretation of facts.

I've been observing the "Know your DA" campaign in the media and I must admit it's been rather an amusing production: just short of a theatrical show. The essence of the campaign seemingly is for the people of South Africa to know that the DA played its part in the struggle against apartheid. One of the faces of this campaign is Patricia De Lille who at that time of the struggle was a leader of a party which had the slogan "one settler, one bullet". I assume that this wouldn't of course be a slogan used in the DA. I cite this purely because the DA fails to appreciate that most leaders mentioned were part of other organisations with vastly different ideological positions and orientation to the ones of the DA and its conservative founders. The DA is quite correct, it's important that any South African should understand and appreciate the history of this country and the various players in the architecture of our democracy; lest we lose our roots as a nation.

The DA campaign asserts that history plays a pivotal role in shaping a future, that history to a large extent determines direction and purpose; and that hindsight guides foresight. Every party in South Africa has some history attached to it, especially those that existed prior to 1994. Their history has informed their ideological and institutional memorabilia and their vision moving forward. However there is one thing that each political organisation in SA and around the world prides itself in, and that is their leaders, even if their leaders were most controversial to some. You will never mention the ANC without the late OR Tambo, Tata Mandela, Govan Mbeki, Walter Sisulu, Mama Winnie, Charlotte Maxeke, etc. You can never mention the PAC without mentioning Robert Sobukwe, the BCM without Bantu Steve Biko, the IFP without mentioning Mangosuthu Buthelezi, or the NP without FW De Klerk or PW Botha. The point I am driving home is that there are always men and women that are known, either as being founders of an organisation, or for leading it at a critical time in history.

I was baffled that in the "Know your DA campaign" the DA had a hard time scrambling for historical faces, when a well-known figure who has been instrumental in building and shaping the DA to be what it is today has fast been placed on the back bench of history. This is none other than Tony Leon. The man remains synonymous with the DA in South African politics; he has diligently and loyally served the DA through parliament as a leader of the opposition and evidently devoted time, energy and his life to the politics of the DA.

The DA under his leadership saw an improvement in the DA's performance in the 1999 elections making it the official opposition by winning 38

seats in parliament, receiving 9.6% of the vote. He became the voice for conservatives and liberals in the democratic dispensation and protected the conservative status quo of the DA. He unapologetically led campaigns which sought to undermine the ANC-led government; a dismal example being the "Fight back" campaign; painting distorted perceptions that the government was failing when he had actually been a benefactor of participatory democracy.

The DA's blatant attempt to belittle his historical role in its formation is tantamount to the AWB coming out and shunning Eugene Terreblanche - in the absence of a better illustration. This sudden convenient slip in memory can simply mean that the DA is mortified by its history and is frantically attempting to keep it in the closet, or that it has consciously taken the decision to spin it. Now the beauty of SA history is that there are facts no one can tamper with. Tata Madiba, whom they speak so fondly of for obvious reasons, was an unashamed member, representative and leader of the ANC and attempts to isolate him from his roots and the movement he served are absurd. What's ironically comforting to any member of the ANC though is that the DA is exposing to the public its severe vacuum in leadership, to a degree that it has to frantically seek political imports developed, schooled and polished from other parties, like Patricia De Lille, in order to justify its existence.

Now history on social networks and online will never do justice to the rich history we have. I would advise that if Ntuli is in dire need of an authentic narration of the history of SA or the DA for that matter, she should speak to people that have been involved. Ask the ordinary South African who experienced violence in the '70s; ask the ordinary South African who was on the streets when Louis le Grange declared a state of emergency in 1986; ask the conservatives and liberals who worked tirelessly behind the scenes in forming the DA (I would assume they have been enlightened and know that the DP and NNP were instrumental political forces in forming the DA).

Mbali Ntuli emotively claims that the ANC is still fixated in the past, yet it's the DA that's attempting to re-write history. The country has moved forward and this is evidenced in the work government has done thus far. South Africans should know the history of our struggle for freedom and democracy. They don't need another distorted version of how apartheid unfolded when the truth is embedded in their memoirs, history books and, for some, permanent physical and emotional scars. That part of our history is a painful, yet significant part of South Africa and any attempts to distort or undermine it, is no different from Israelites attempting to re-write history about the Palestinians or Nazis attempting to re-write the history about the Jewish holocaust.

The most profound thing about ANC leaders is that many of them explicitly penned and documented their experiences in the struggle, which exposes the distorters of history like the DA. The ANC has never at any stage claimed that it brought freedom in isolation from other progressive formations and the international community. Hence there was even a Truth and Reconciliation Commission giving a platform to South Africans from all walks of life to share their traumatic experiences. Accolades are still bestowed on those that played and continue to play their part in harnessing our democracy. In fact it is the ANC that became the catalyst in embracing unity and cohesion when it was unacceptable for many. It embraced the independence of countries which were disregarded by the apartheid regime; it has long-standing ties with progressive formations across the continent and the world which had chosen to assist in the fight against the apartheid regime.

Ntuli's deformed elucidation of history should be of serious concern to education practitioners of this country. There is a need to reassess the severe shortcomings of our history curriculum. My worry is how many people are being fed architected fallacies about leaders of our country; how many young people actually understand and comprehend the history of this country beyond dates and names. Her ignorance is catastrophic and it pains me that someone with her potential who will possibly be a leader of her party can have such a distorted understanding of history, whilst claiming to have an "idealistic" future in mind.

As a DA youth leader, it was utterly disappointing yet expected that she spent a significant amount of time dwelling on the ANC, grasping at straws about how it doesn't appeal to young people and missing an opportune moment to educate people about the DA. She is supposedly worried about the future, but only concentrates on how disappointed she is in the ANC!

Rather than attempting to preach about the past, start talking about the now and the future. What is the DA youth doing to address the plight of young exploited workers on farms in the Western Cape? She speaks about how much she is an "idealist" but what is this ideal future she sees? Tomorrow she and I and many other young South Africans will have the task of leading this country; but not on the basis of a distorted history.

If the DA so desperately seeks validation, then its obsession should be about the future of this country and how to develop constructive patriotic leaders who don't only serve a certain privileged class stratum in SA. The DA as an organisational body can't claim to have existed prior to 1994 and if you insist that it did, let it be known that its principles are deep rooted in conservatism and liberalism. The DA has a mammoth task of building itself in the now, rather than obsessing over the ANC and how the past has been written. History won't change; however I hope it guides Ntuli moving forward. History is no different from a CV submitted for a job; don't mislead South Africans about your identity as the truth always prevails.

The ANC has led South Africa into shaping the future and hence the unveiling of the National Development Plan. Not all South Africans might agree with it, but every South African has been afforded an opportunity to partake in its formulation and share their views on where we should go. The ANC has never claimed perfection, but no government with a heterogeneous society, socio-economic contradictions and vast class contradictions can. ■

The socio-economic impact of South Africa's immigration policy on Zimbabwean refugees.

By Nolubabalo Lulu Magam

Almost every region of the world has a hegemonic power with a more advanced economy with labour and wealth creation opportunities. In Southern Africa, the Republic of South Africa represents that hegemonic power. Consequently South Africa has become an attractive destination for refugees and immigrants from politically unstable countries such as Zimbabwe and economically challenged countries such as Mozambique, Lesotho, Zambia and Swaziland. The pressure on South Africa has necessitated an evolution of South Africa's immigration policy, especially towards regulating the movement of Zimbabweans in and out of South Africa.

Immigration between South Africa and Zimbabwe is a complex issue. Zimbabweans started migrating into South Africa after the discovery of minerals (gold and diamonds), back in the 19th Century, seeking employment in the mines. Migrant labourers were never granted permits by the racist colonial government, which legislated its approach in the Aliens Control Act.

The massive immigration of

Zimbabweans into South Africa over recent years as a result of the political and economic crisis has huge socio-economic and political implications for both countries. The xenophobic attacks in the second half of 2009 were symptomatic of the pressure on poor South Africans as a result of competition for limited opportunities. The inflow (legal and illegal) brought discomfort to the South African government and the society, as Zimbabweans flocked in uncontrollably. In response to this the government reviewed its policy in 2002 (Immigration Act 13 of 2002), and recently – to accommodate Zimbabweans – the amendment Act of April 2009, granting Zimbabweans a special dispensation permit. These policy initiatives facilitate control over the influx of refugees, but also have the potential for far reaching socio-economic implications on the lives of Zimbabweans living in South Africa.

South Africa's emergence as a popular destination for African migrants is no accident in history. The mining and agriculture sectors in South Africa have been dependent on migrant labour from Southern African countries, and much of South Africa's mineral and natural wealth has been produced on the backs of migrant mine workers (Sibanda, 2008).

The discovery of diamonds in Kimberley and gold in the Witwatersrand in the 19th Century led to massive population movement and neighbouring states became labour reservoirs to feed the hungry demands of mining magnates for cheap unskilled black labour (Solomon, 1996).

The discovery of gold benefited the whole of the Southern African region. The South African employers systematically recruited foreign migrants to supplement what they deemed to be an insufficient supply of domestic labour (Chirwa, 1998). The country received skilled and semi-skilled workers from many of its neighbouring countries, including from Zimbabwe. This led to the implementation of a policy to control the entry of migrant labourers.

The central piece of immigration legislation in South Africa was the Aliens Control Act, which had deeply racist and anti-Semitic roots in the pre apartheid era, and it was used during the apartheid period to exclude as 'undesirable' groups such as Indians, Africans and coloureds. Under the apartheid regimes of migrant control, it was virtually impossible to permanently immigrate into South Africa as a non-white person, while 'desirable' whites were welcomed. 'Immigrants' were by definition white (Human Rights Watch, 1998).

The continued policy shift in relation to migration, with special reference to the Zimbabwean situation, must be understood in the context of the political and economic crisis in that country. For many years, Zimbabwe was known as the "jewel" of Africa. Rich in raw materials and productive farmland, it grew enough food to feed its people and export the rest. The farm sector supplied about 60 per cent of the inputs to the manufacturing base; agriculture was truly the backbone of the economy. Yet, unlike most other African countries, Zimbabwe had a sophisticated manufacturing base as well. That sector employed thousands of workers who made things such as textiles, cement, chemicals, wood products, and steel. Zimbabwe also had a strong banking sector, vibrant tourism, and more dams than any other Sub-Saharan country except South Africa. Significantly the country had a secure rule of law, with a modern property rights system that allowed owners to use the equity in their land to develop and build new businesses, or expand their old ones. All that led to strong real GDP growth, which averaged 4.3 per cent per year after independence in 1980 (Richardson, 2005).

> "The mining and agriculture sectors in South Africa have been dependent on migrant labour from Southern African countries, and much of South Africa's mineral and natural wealth has been produced on the backs of migrant mine workers (Sibanda, 2008)"

The sharp deterioration of the political and economic situation in Zimbabwe in 2000 forced Zimbabweans to leave their country in increasing numbers. Those with enough money, usually middle class professionals, left for industrialised countries, above all the United Kingdom. However, the majority have gone to Zimbabwe's immediate neighbours: Botswana, Mozambique, Zambia and above all South Africa (Human Rights Watch, 2008).

The land redistribution campaign in 2000 caused many white farmers to leave, damaged the economy and led to widespread shortages of basic foods and goods. Ignoring international criticism, Mugabe allegedly corrupted the 2002 presidential election to ensure his re-election. Opposition and labour groups launched general strikes in 2003 to pressure Mugabe to create the conditions for free and fair elections and retire early. The government responded with repression of its opponents - mainly the opposition party, the Movement for Democratic Change (MDC). The political environment was characterised by political violence, human rights violations, land reform, sanctions and economic collapse, leading to an increase in the number of refugees and migrants leaving Zimbabwe for neighbouring countries (Block and Heese, 2007).

In the ensuing economic and social chaos, Zimbabwe moved from being the second most important trading partner of SA to what can only be described as a dependent state. Its currency lost its value while the economy went into a free-fall. South Africa was forced to embark on a 'quiet diplomacy route' with its neighbour in order to better understand the policy motivation as well as pre-empt the inevitable outflow of refugees from Zimbabwe across her own borders. In embarking upon this containment strategy, other factors such as drought

and famine as well as acute shortages of foreign exchange have forced South Africa to underwrite loans and provide credit in a situation in which the international financial institutions, donors and investors have withdrawn from Zimbabwe (Rupiya, 2002).

Asylum seekers in Musina swell the town population by some 15,000 people at any given moment. For most, the final destination is Johannesburg and Musina is simply the first town on the road that has a functioning local hospital. As a result, Musina has become the destination for most refugees who have suffered at the hands of the GumaGuma (gang from Zimbabwe). The South African constitution guarantees free health care for all people, including asylum seekers and refugees who, according to a 2007 Department of Health Revenue Directive, should be treated for free regardless of their status. Despite this, Médicins Sans Frontières has reported stark discrepancies in the treatment of native South Africans and Zimbabwean refugees. Reports of Zimbabweans trying to seek treatment being harassed are common as are instances of exorbitant fees and early discharges (Amnesty International, 2009).

Understanding migration dynamics in South Africa also draws attention to the long-standing and elaborate system of arrests and deportations. Under the 2002 Immigration Act, police or immigration officers may remand people in custody without a warrant if they have reasonable grounds to believe they are not entitled to be in the Republic of South Africa. Immigration officers are also empowered to arrest illegal foreigners and deport them. In theory, the Immigration Act provides a range of procedural limitations on enforcement activities. These include provision of adequate opportunity for suspects to claim asylum, rights to appeal administrative actions, and time limits on detention for the purposes of deportation.

Against this backdrop Polzer (2007) argues that, in most cases, police detain and deport people without full respect for the rule of law. In some instances, this includes arresting people waiting to apply for asylum, who have recently crossed the border into South Africa from Zimbabwe, and, in at least one instance, who are seeking shelter in a police station after fleeing xenophobic violence. Consequently the past years have seen a significant increase in the number of deportations.

The question of massive human mobility from Zimbabwe into South Africa and its causes and course has been an issue of contentious debate. It is an open secret that poverty over the Zimbabwean border seems to be the major driving force for immigration into South Africa. In a Save the Children study (2007) near the Zimbabwean border, almost a quarter of those interviewed had no income, while a similar number made money by collecting items for recycling. Farm work (for boys) and domestic work (for girls) were common forms of work. Children who are living in urban centres, however, are more likely than those on the borders to be in school and have access to accommodation and limited NGO support that helps prevent them from entering this kind of work. Although there has been a response from some non-governmental organisations, there has been little effort on the part of the Department of Social Development or other government agencies to address the concerns of unaccompanied minors.

> “With the introduction of these permits for Zimbabwean migrants came the hope that this would result in a decrease in the number of asylum applications. Carried in this policy change is an assumption that some Zimbabweans apply for asylum simply because it is the only legal option available to them.”

The 2009 special dispensation permit gathered a lot of support from many organisations, as many saw this as a turning point and as a positive move towards dealing with or addressing the problem of Zimbabwean refugees in South Africa. However Fashoyin (2007) has argued that although it will resolve the problem of documentation, the major problem faced by immigrants in general in South Africa and Zimbabweans is not documentation. He further mentions some key facts about immigration that are applicable to Zimbabweans as well:

- that documentation is crucial, but not essential, to finding employment;
- that migrants generally find jobs quickly through networking;
- that there is a general trend of upward job mobility despite initial access barriers and high unemployment in South Africa;
- that any job represents a financial gain, even when such jobs are of poor quality; and
- that there is a high percentage of contractual violations.

The major challenge against the backdrop of the special dispensation permit to Zimbabwean immigrants is the flooding of a very precarious labour market. The 2008 attack on immigrants was an outcome of pressure on the competitive labour market.

The Special Dispensation Permit for Zimbabweans

On 3 April 2009, the Department of Home Affairs announced its intention to grant Zimbabweans in South Africa a twelve-month ‘special dispensation permit’ on the basis of the 2002 Immigration Act, section 31 (2)(b). This permit grants the right to legally live and work in the country. As complementary measures, a moratorium on deportations and a 90-day free visa for Zimbabweans entering South Africa was implemented from May 2009 (CORMSA, 2009).

According to Lawyers for Human Rights (2009) as supported by CORMSA, this set of policies represents a positive shift towards a rational, coherent and regionally beneficial migration approach.

With the introduction of these permits for Zimbabwean migrants came the hope that this would result in a decrease in the number of asylum applications. Carried in this policy change is an assumption that some Zimbabweans apply for asylum simply because it is the only legal option available to them. The state's actions are based on their assumptions about migrants' views, yet as Polzer (2004) finds in a study of Mozambican refugees in South Africa, there can be a disjuncture between the state's assumptions and perceptions and those of migrants.

For a better appreciation of the impact of the special dispensation permit it is critical to analyse the various aspects of the policy in relation to the various categories of Zimbabwean immigrants in South Africa.

The Economic Aspect

The policy empowered the department of Home Affairs to issue permits to Zimbabweans in South Africa based on passport information collected from the Zimbabwean government. It is not a requirement for Zimbabweans without passports to travel back to Zimbabwe in order to obtain it but to enquire from their Embassy in Pretoria or the Consulate in Johannesburg. Zimbabwe has also relaxed the documentation requirements for passport application, to assist in facilitating this process. The Department of Home Affairs has also waived all application fees and deployed staff in 46 regional Home Affairs offices in all nine provinces across the country to process these applications.

Another very important aspect of the policy was the issue of resources. The policy enabled the issuance of work, business and study permits free of charge and put in place a track and traces system to ensure applicants are informed via SMS of the status of their applications.

The policy grants amnesty to Zimbabweans who obtained permits on a fraudulent basis on condition that such documents are returned to the Home Affairs Department immediately.

Due to the special dispensation many Zimbabweans have been able to legalise their stay in South Africa and seek employment, which makes their economic lives better and enables them to send money (remittances) to their families back home.

The Social Aspect

The South African Department of Home Affairs Director-General Mkuseli Apleni (2009) summarises the special dispensation permit as allowing Zimbabweans crossing into South Africa the right to live, work, attend educational facilities and access basic healthcare for a period of six months. The Human Rights Watch, 2009, believed that it represented a positive move by the government and believed that the process would lessen the vulnerability of Zimbabweans to violence and exploitation both in their homeland and in South Africa.

“Due to the special dispensation many Zimbabweans have been able to legalise their stay in South Africa and seek employment, which makes their economic lives better and enables them to send money (remittances) to their families back home.”

The International Context

The new set of policies regularising movement between South Africa and Zimbabwe represents a positive shift towards a rational, coherent and regionally beneficial migration management approach. Previous approaches to managing Zimbabwean migration including the asylum system and widespread arrest and detention did not address the nature of movement and so resulted in high levels of illegal migration, rights abuses, and negative impacts for South Africa.

The introduction of special temporary permits to manage complex mixed migrations is increasingly common internationally. South Africa received significant international recognition and support for adopting this policy, given widespread interest in supporting regional stability and Zimbabwean reconstruction (Cormsa, 2009).

Regularising movement between South Africa and Zimbabwe will help the new government achieve its development goals by facilitating efforts to combat corruption, protect labour standards, up-skill the economy and fight crime. While the free visa and special dispensation permit are clearly insufficient to achieve these broader policy aims on its own, these challenges would be much more difficult to tackle without the effective implementation of the permit system.

The new policies are unlikely to increase overall volumes of migration from Zimbabwe to South Africa. In fact, they are likely to enable Zimbabweans in South Africa to return more rapidly. Out of a range of legal policy options for regularising movement between Zimbabwe and South Africa, the proposed special dispensation permit is the most appropriate to the context (Zimbabweans' need to work and to move freely between countries) and most easily implemented (Cormsa, 2009).

The National and Regional Context

The recent movement of people from Zimbabwe to South Africa is one of the largest concentrated inflows of migrants in South African history. A rapid influx of hundreds of thousands of people would be treated by most countries as a serious crisis requiring immediate intervention.

A legal and rights-based perspective adopted through the special dispensation permit looks at the international and domestic legal responsibilities of the South African government towards Zimbabwean migrants and asks what government responses *should* be and how existing responses compare with these responsibilities and obligations. The key actors are governmental departments particularly Home Affairs and the social welfare departments of Health, Education, Social Development and Labour, the South African Police Services, and local municipalities. The

role of civil society from this perspective is either to monitor government actions and press government to fulfil its obligations or to fill service gaps by providing parallel services (Polzer, 2010).

Although exact figures are not available, a range of statistical sources suggest that there are about 1.5 million Zimbabweans in South Africa (Human Science Research Council). It is unknown how many of these are undocumented. Even in the best-case scenario for Zimbabwe's stabilisation and reconstruction, movement between the two countries will continue in the foreseeable future.

There is no way to stop this movement without very high costs in terms of finance and rights abuses. The experience of the USA shows that even billions of dollars of investment and draconian measures cannot significantly reduce migration volumes. South Africa and SADC have committed to an on-going process of greater regional integration. Although the regularisation of movement between South Africa and Zimbabwe is partly a response to a current socio-economic crisis, it is also an opportunity to forge longer-term relations between the countries towards regional integration (Cormsa, 2009).

South Africa's current policy and institutional framework was not set up to deal with large-scale migration flows and it has never had to deal with such a situation before. In contrast to countries where large numbers of refugees have been housed in camps for many years, South Africa's general policy of urban self-sufficiency and self-settlement for refugees means that there are no institutions in place to provide large-scale shelter and welfare assistance. It is precisely this discrepancy between need and response infrastructure, which makes it necessary to explain South Africa's "business as usual" attitude (Samp, 2008).

This approach has been most pronounced in the migration management field, where the Department of Home Affairs (DHA) is the lead actor. South African migration frameworks have been applied to Zimbabweans in the same way as to other nationalities without any adaptation to their specific circumstances or numbers. These frameworks include visa regulations, the 2002 Immigration Act and the 1998 Refugee Act (Polzer, 2010).

The South African government's reticence to introduce policy changes in relation to Zimbabweans is exemplified by its longstanding visa policy. While visas were progressively liberalised and abolished for other neighbouring countries after 2000, as envisioned for the entire region by the SADC Protocol for the Facilitation of Movement of Persons, it was not until May 2009 that Zimbabweans were finally allowed 90-day visa-free entry. Prior to this change, Zimbabweans required a valid passport, an expensive visa from the South African Embassy in Harare, a letter of invitation, proof of sufficient hard currency for their stay in South Africa and an array of other guarantees which were impossible for all but a very few well-off Zimbabweans to meet. So onerous and costly were these preconditions that they forced the majority of Zimbabweans to cross into South Africa informally and without proper documentation.

"Zimbabweans continue to live under very difficult conditions. Many of them decide to flee their homes in search of stability, many still perceive South Africa as the preferred destination, yet on their arrival they do not find refuge."

Conclusions

Zimbabwean migration will remain the region's greatest challenge for many years. South Africa cannot prevent exposure to Zimbabwean migration, only manage its impacts.

To be effective, policies such as the special dispensation permit for Zimbabweans require implementation assistance from a range of government departments, communication campaigns to ensure public support, coherence between legal and humanitarian interventions, and integration with medium- and long-term regional migration management strategies (Forced Migration Studies Programme, 2010).

Zimbabweans continue to live under very difficult conditions. Many of them decide to flee their homes in search of stability, many still perceive South Africa as the preferred destination, yet on their arrival they do not find refuge. This does not stop or discourage the inflow of Zimbabweans (legal and illegal) into South Africa. Many organisations have criticised South Africa for its response to Zimbabweans; the policies adopted to regularise their stay have been rather disappointing and caused more harm than good. The special dispensation that was adopted in 2009 was received with great support from human rights organisations and the international community and seen as a positive move towards the regulation of Zimbabweans and respect for their rights as refugees. Until such time that South Africa's response and solutions to the uncontrollable inflow of Zimbabweans translate into tangible improvements, Zimbabweans will continue to suffer and struggle to survive in the shadows of South African society.

South Africa should start focusing more on the issues of mass immigration (especially from Zimbabwe) as it affects both the country and the immigrants.

It is the responsibility of Zimbabweans in South Africa to make use of the facilities availed to them by the government to better their stay, and they should make use of all five Refugee Reception Offices instead of exhausting the one in Pretoria.

Home Affairs should have more staff to relieve the pressure on its officials, with only five Reception Offices in the whole county. The process for documenting immigrants should be evaluated in relation to refugees, economic migrants and asylum seekers, and each of these processes should be speeded up. Three months is too long to wait for documentation, with no job, no food and no place to stay. ■

The Women of the Hellenic Italian and Portuguese Alliance (HIP) greet and salute the women of South Africa on the occasion of women's month.

From left to right: Sophia de-Bruyn, Helen Joseph, Lilian Ngoyi and Raheema Moosa at the Union Buildings in Pretoria, March 1956

We pay special tribute to Sophia Theresa Williams- de Bruyn a fearless freedom fighter who has made a remarkable contribution to the struggle for a just, democratic, non-racial and non-sexist South Africa.

At the tender age of 18 she was one of the leaders of the momentous women's march for freedom to the citadel of apartheid, the Union Buildings, in March 1956. For over sixty years this brave, courageous, humble woman has served with distinction, the ANC and people of South Africa. She remains an active cadre of the ANC and is a member of the National Executive Committee of the ANC Women's League.

HIP
HELLENIC ITALIAN PORTUGUESE
ALLIANCE

SABmiller breaks ground to mark start of Namibian brewery construction

Mr Nico Kaiyamo, representing the charitable trusts, Mr Amoni Victor Samuel, representing Onyewu Investments, the Honourable Samuel Nuuyoma, Governoe of the Otjonzonjupa Region, Mr Norman Adami, SAB Chairman and the Honourable Tjekero Tweya, Deputy Minister of Trade and Industry in the Republic of Namibia..

New brewery to create local employment and reduce emissions to improve efficiencies

South African Breweries

SABMiller has officially started construction of its 260 000 hectolitre brewery in Okahandja, Namibia. It was marked recently with a ground breaking ceremony attended by representatives of the company's leadership and Namibian government officials.

SAB Executive Chairman, Norman Adami, together with the Namibian Deputy Minister of Trade and Industry, the Honourable Tjekero Tweya, and the Governor of the Otjozondjuba Region, the Honourable Samuel Nuuyoma, officially broke ground on the 7.2 hectare plot of land where the brewery will be built.

Earlier this year, SABMiller received approval for the re-zoning of the land, which was recently transferred to the company.

Adami said at the ceremony that SAB was proud to announce the start of construction on the Namibian brewery and was deeply excited about what it meant. "We believe in Namibia, we believe that competition is good for everyone and we do believe in the long term.

"We understand that it is a privilege to be here and that our duty is to operate as a force in the progress of the country by helping to lead the creation of a vibrant manufacturing sector; helping accelerate the emergence of small and medium sized Namibian businesses; and helping to create a growing population of skilled employees by supporting education and providing training," he said.

The total investment in the brewery is estimated at N$420 million (USD$45.7 m) which will make a meaningful contribution to the Namibian economy. During the construction of the brewery, it is anticipated that several hundred largely local people will be employed and once it is operational, an estimated 100 full-time jobs will be created. The company will also seek to make use of local suppliers whose products and services meet global brewing standards.

In his address, the Honourable Tjekero Tweya, Deputy Minister of Trade and Industry in the Republic of Namibia said: "Our Government has set its priority to diversify the economy by promoting the establishment of vibrant manufacturing and value addition to locally produce goods. Therefore, the establishment of this brewery plant is a step in the right direction towards achieving our industrial development goal and the realisation of our national Vision 2030 where Namibia is expected to be an industrial nation."

> "Benefiting the local communities in which SABMiller operates is a key strategic initiative and investment in their well-being is intricately linked to the sustainability of the company."

The construction is expected to take 14 to 18 months on a space plan to accommodate future growth. In addition, the company plans to invest in a 750ml returnable bottle packaging line and warehouse facilities. Production at the brewery is expected to commence mid-2015.

While the installed capacity of the brewery is 260 000 hectolitres per annum, this is expandable to 400 000 hl.

The Namibian Brewery will be one of SABMiller's most efficient and environmentally friendly breweries of this size in the world. About 30 million non-returnable glass bottles and cardboard packaging currently used will be converted into returnable bottles and plastic crates helping to reduce landfill and CO2 emissions. Minimised transport requirements as a result of local production and distribution will further reduce CO2 emissions significantly.

> "We believe in Namibia, we believe that competition is good for everyone and we do believe in the long term."

SABMiller's history in Namibia goes back two decades when it began importing beers, including popular South African brands, Castle Lager, Carling Black Label and Castle Lite, to service the local market, of which it has an estimated 22% stake. These three brands will now be produced at the new brewery.

The construction of the brewery in Namibia is an extension of SAB's active investment in Africa. In 2010, SABMiller announced the establishment of SABMiller Namibia (Pty) Ltd to house its operations in Namibia.

Although SABMiller will fully fund the projects, SABMiller Namibia will be 60% owned by SABSA Holdings (Pty) Ltd, a wholly owned subsidiary of SABMiller, and 40% by local Namibian partners comprising 20% Onyewu Investments (Pty) Ltd and 20% by three charitable trusts for the benefit of local communities.

The formation of the new entity allowed for the allocation of a sizeable shareholding to local partners for nominal consideration, which was an important empowerment initiative.

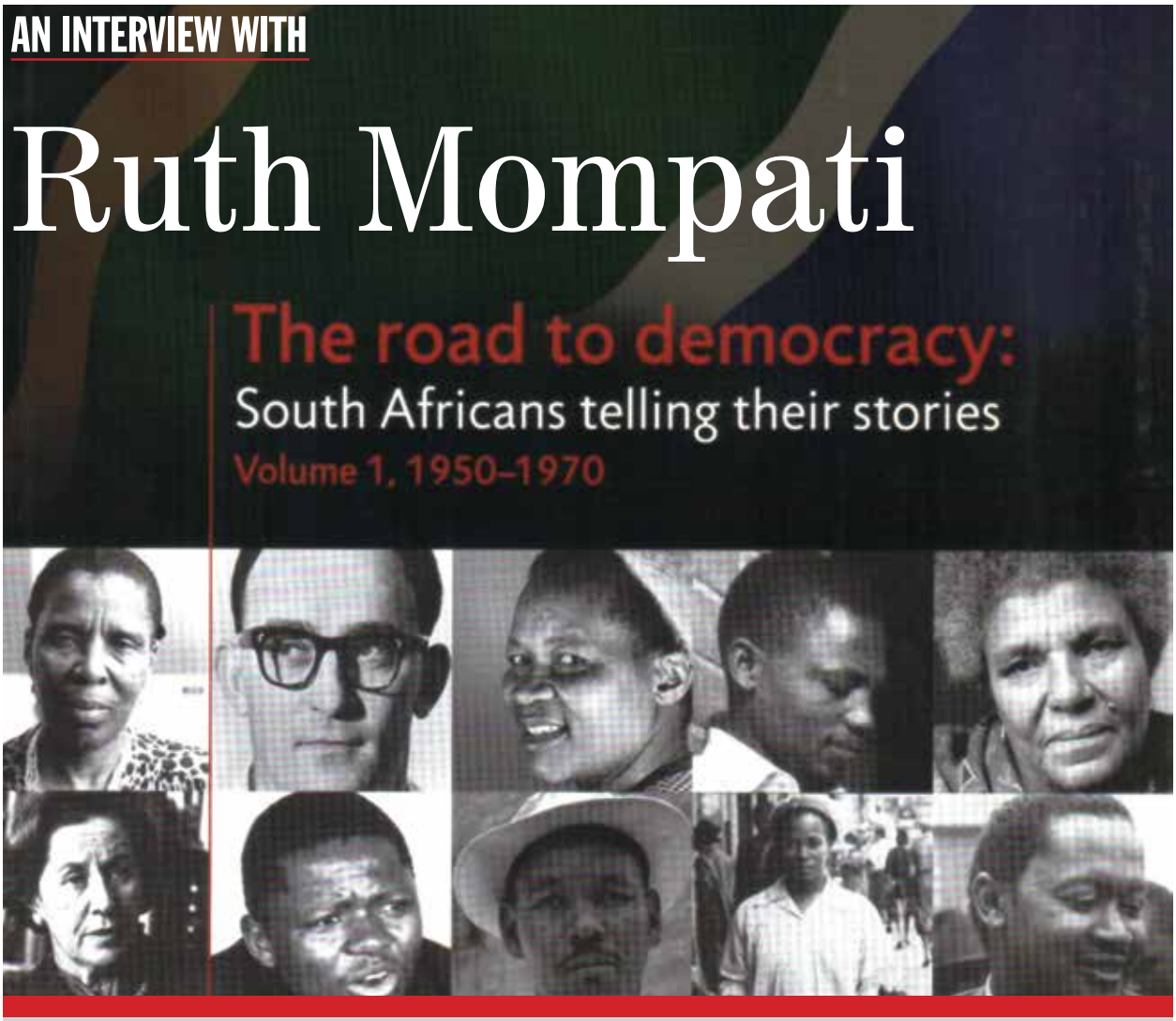
Benefiting the local communities in which SABMiller operates is a key strategic initiative and investment in their well-being is intricately linked to the sustainability of the company.

"With the brewery on the ground in Namibia, there will be social development contributions via the broad-based black economic empowerment shareholding trusts which will benefit local communities through education, community health and poverty alleviation initiatives," said Cobus Bruwer, SABMiller's representative in Namibia. ■

SAB
The South African Breweries

AN INTERVIEW WITH

Ruth Mompati



Courtesy of the South African Democratic Education Trust (SADET). Edited by Mbulelo Vizikhungo Mzamane from an interview conducted by Sifiso Ndlovu and Bernard Magubane, 15 August 2001, SADET Oral History Project.

Ruth Mompati recalls her youth and work as a teacher before she joined the ANC in 1952. Mompati then worked in the law firm of Nelson Mandela and Oliver Tambo, where she became active in the Federation of South African Women (FEDSAW), playing a leading role in the processes leading up to the women's march in 1956. After the ANC was banned she began working underground, and recalls the work members of the Women's League did at the time. Mompati went into exile in 1962, leaving her children behind, underwent military training, before working closely with Oliver Tambo in the ANC's External Mission. She became a member of the NEC, and also recalls her work during this period.

I was born in 1925 on the 14th of September. My mother's name was Seli Seichoko and my father Khaonyatse/Gaonyatse Seichoko. Both were church leaders in Vryburg in what was then the London Missionary Society Church (LSMC), which is now the United Congregational Church of South Africa. My mother was in the Mothers' Union. She became a very big leader, a very powerful speaker in the church, until the end of her life, when she died at ninety-eight. There were six of us children; three boys and three girls. We lived in Khanyesa. The people ploughed very big fields and, when the ploughing was over, my father went to work in the diamond diggings in Kimberley and later in the gold mines in Klerksdorp. Working in the mines, he taught himself to read and write; he never went to school. He

also used to knit very beautiful scarves and sell them to the farmers. He was a very enterprising person who did all sorts of things to make sure that we were comfortable. We had cattle; we had sheep; we had goats...

I left Dithakwaneng after three years; in 1948 my mother was not very well so I decided to get a post in Vryburg Higher Primary School. Those were perhaps the years that really made me realise what life was for a black child. I taught the beginners' classes. We had classes of about sixty and sometimes two such classes at the same time. How we managed to teach those children, I don't know, but we did. They passed; they managed to learn all they had to learn. The very difficult thing was that a number of them died from measles and from all these little ailments which could have been cured if they had doctors or their parents had money to take them to the doctor or hospitals. And it used to be so cold in winter and these children – some of them walked six miles every morning to come to school and six miles back – are sitting there, you are the teacher, you've got a jersey on, a child has got one garment. If it is a shirt it's the only thing he's got on. If it's a dress it's the only thing that this girl has got on. She is sitting there and she's shivering. You are supposed to teach them. They are supposed to learn like that. These are some of the things that made one realise that life is not right.

Vryburg has always been a bit of a racist town. If you went into a shop, this white person who's serving you would say: "Ja, Annie, wat wil jy he?" (Yes, Annie, what would you like to have?) We didn't like this at all. We would respond: 'Ja, Sarah, ek soek brood.' (Yes, Sarah, I want bread). They would be furious and ask: "Who is your Sarah?" You say: "Who is your Annie?" Perhaps one of the greatest trials was to see this young white harassing a person who was old enough to be your grandfather. It just didn't go down well. And when we looked at these things we decided something had to be done. Fortunately, we already had an ANC organisation in Mafikeng, and one of the Thengiwe brothers we were teaching with was a member of the ANC from Mafikeng. He's the one who really introduced the ANC to us. That was in the late 1940s.

Then in 1951 there was also one of the teachers, Thenjiwe Mathimba, whose father worked in Johannesburg and used to send him newspapers such as the Guardian, that ultimately became New Age. It used to be very interesting to read this because it was a newspaper that was not like the newspapers in Vryburg. It was outspoken, saying what black people should do for themselves. …In 1952, during the Defiance Campaign, the ANC was selling stamps all over the country. Thenjiwe brought them to Vryburg, so we sold them to raise funds for the ANC in Mafikeng.

That was the year I got married, in April 1952. My husband, the nephew of the Reverend Mogorosi who was the minister of the LMSC, was resident in Khanyesa. Whenever he came to Vryburg he came to our home. That's how I met him. He was at Merebank, working in Durban as a health assistant. After we got married, I remained at home until December 1952. I joined him in June during the holidays and then I had to move permanently to Soweto to Orlando West, where his parents were staying. I stayed with my mother-in-law and she was an elderly person. We lived just opposite the Nokwes, although they came later actually, and we had Dr Mji behind us. My husband was a member of the ANC. I also became a member of the ANC…

"Perhaps one of the greatest trials was to see this young white harassing a person who was old enough to be your grandfather. It just didn't go down well. And when we looked at these things we decided something had to be done."

When I left Vryburg I didn't want to go and teach. I didn't find work immediately. I went to a private school to study shorthand and typing. Then my neighbour Mrs Njiwa, who was working at Mandela and Tambo, wanted to go and study medicine. When she left I applied and I got the job. In the beginning it was a little traumatic for me. I was a village girl. And I get to Johannesburg; there are all these stories about tsotsis. I used to go to town once a month because that was when I had to go to the bank to get money and buy whatever I needed and come back fast. I only started moving around when I became active in the ANC. For me it was a very big change. At first I didn't think I would ever get used to it. But you know, when you are busy in an area, you begin to get used to it. And also working at Mandela and Tambo also meant working with all sorts of people – with tsotsis who had been arrested, with people from the church, and with ANC people. They come in all the time. So you get to know people across the divide. And, therefore, even as you go home from work, you meet people you know, whom you would not necessarily have met. Working at Mandela and Tambo became one way of getting to know people. And, of course, in joining the ANC I became part of the struggle. I got to know that I had brothers and sisters and I had friends.

I got so involved in the ANC that in no time I was in the Women's League. I don't even know when. The speed at which everything happened! In 1954, we launched the Federation of South African Women. The Freedom Charter was in 1955. Before the conference in Kliptown, the ANC decided that there would be street committees. We went round organising people around their demands and issues they wanted to be resolved. We were not saying: "Join the ANC." We were saying: "We want to call up a very big conference. We want this government to know that we, as the black people of South Africa, demand our right." We were bringing in more people, more women, we were concentrating more on women. Kliptown was a success despite the police.

The women had also taken up the anti-pass campaign. It was already quite clear that passes were going

to be extended to the women. The Federation of South African Women, the ANC Women's League, the Coloured People's Organisation, the Indian Women's Organisation, Women of the Congress of Democrats, all came together. We invited other women's organisations under the banner of the Federation of South African Women, which didn't recognise colour. At the beginning, some white women's organisations used to come. The Black Sash used to come. I can't remember the others. We decided that we would have in 1956 the anti-pass march to Pretoria. The ANC was not very supportive at first. Actually, they felt that as women we would just mess things up. They didn't think women would be able to organise a meaningful crowd. It was not that they didn't want us to go, but I don't think they had confidence that we would be able to organise enough women who would really make a difference. We were later informed that it was through Walter Sisulu that the ANC National Executive eventually agreed. We went everywhere, organising women for this march to Pretoria. We used to get into trains, go to places like Zeerust. You get a train in the evening from Johannesburg and you arrive at midnight in Zeerust. You do about three meetings with women, and then in the afternoon you catch a train back to Johannesburg. It's your money that you use. Women used to do that. And then on the 9th of August in 1956 we marched to Pretoria. I was in the National Executive of the Women's League then.

When I first got to Johannesburg, Nelson Mandela was already banned. He couldn't go outside Johannesburg to appear for people. Oliver Tambo dealt with outside cases and Mandela dealt with cases in Johannesburg. When the 1956 Treason Trial came, they ran the practice and they also had to appear in the Treason Trial. At that time, we already had two articled clerks, Mendi Msimang and Godfrey Pitje. And then they took on Douglas Lukhele. I used to go to work at 6am. I was typist and receptionist and secretary, all in one. Then the ANC was banned and a State of Emergency declared. So, Oliver Tambo left the country. Nelson Mandela was arrested for having left the country illegally. He used to come to the office under escort because they had decided that we couldn't go on and they must close the practice. Msimang had left; Pitje had finished his studies and opened his own practice. Lukhele had left because there was no longer a practice really.

During the State of Emergency, when most of the leaders were arrested, we worked under Moses Kotane and J. B. Marks, who were in contact with the leaders in prison. They went into hiding. I was chosen by those leaders who remained that I should report to Moses Kotane and hear what the instructions of the leaders were. We had to keep the ANC alive. We decided that Dr Kazi had to find money because we had to pay for the pamphlets that we were going to print, etc. They were ANC pamphlets, calling on people to organise and also telling them what was happening, what the leaders were saying from prison. Most of the people who read them were our members. That was a way of communicating with them. Our people had to know.

"We decided that we would have in 1956 the anti-pass march to Pretoria. The ANC was not very supportive at first. Actually, they felt that as women we would just mess things up. They didn't think women would be able to organise a meaningful crowd."

I was in charge of the printing and distribution. I worked with people like Henry Makgothi and John Mavuso, who all joined other organisations. We also worked with this man who became a traitor, Tlhapane. It was very difficult to distribute these pamphlets because they were illegal documents that I had to carry to Soweto. I had to go to a taxi and say: "Can your taxi move? Let's go." The driver would ask: "Where to?" I would say: "Just drive." You get to the place and say: "Stop here." You get out, you go round the corner, you bring a box, you open the boot, put it in and you say: "You know, if the police find that, it's your problem, not mine." If I was bringing the pamphlets in the taxi, I would stop the taxi about two houses away from where I'm going, take the box, pay the taxi and say: "Baba, you better move on. You'll get into trouble."

The other interesting thing was that, when the ANC was banned, in the Women's League we decided that we were going to form women's clubs; that we are not going to go down; and that our branches would remain. They would just be called women's clubs and they would do different things. Sometimes we called meetings camouflaged as some tea party or something. That's how we got the Women's League going even during the State of Emergency. In the end the police came for me but I ran away. I then had to work underground. I still held meetings with the committee. I still also held regular meetings with Uncle Moses Kotane, who held our group together and was the most important link when the leadership was in jail.

Before the State of Emergency, I knew Moses Kotane but not very well. I knew him as a very serious ANC leader whom I feared in a way. And then I worked with him during the State of Emergency and got to know him well. He was a very strict and cautious man, a disciplinarian. He kept time. I had to arrive at a certain spot, at a certain time, not wait there. If I'm waiting, he would drive away because, he would say, the police have been observing me, standing there. "I don't want to get arrested," he would explain. "The men in jail will kill me if I get arrested." When I arrived, if I saw that I've got time, I would get into a shop, buy something then I go out and walk. When I get to this spot, his car would stop there, at the appointed time and then I get in. As I said, he was a very strict man, but a very fair man. Very open. Sometimes brutally frank. But always fair. Most people loved Kotane

because even if he tore you to pieces, you could see why. And after doing that he will correct you. You learnt a lot from him.

When the State Emergency was declared, I was asked by Walter Sisulu to go underground. I was very unhappy because other women were going to prison. Why should I go underground? I'd never really been sentenced. I'd been going in and coming out of jail, spending a weekend coming out, and my case would be withdrawn. I just felt this is unfair; I should also get the experience of going to jail with other people. But those were the instructions. It meant that I had to work secretly but nobody had to know what I'm doing. In the beginning that's what it was. I had a special car to use and go deliver whatever or receive whatever and also meet with Uncle Kotane. At the beginning we had Uncle J. B. Marks, John Motshabi, Dan Tloome and a number of leaders they kept arresting one by one. In the end, Uncle J. B. also went to exile. Then when Uncle J. B. went, I was instructed not to get arrested. So I had to go underground.

After I went underground, the police came to my house several times. And then somebody told them that I live at my friend's place. Duma Nokwe's niece, who knew where I was staying, ran across to my friend's house and said: "Aunt Ruth, the police are coming for you." My friend at whose place I was hiding said: "Move." It was in the morning and I had been cleaning and washing. I was not even dressed so I just put on clothes – I even had funny shoes on – went out through the back door and ran. By the time they came to this house, I was gone.

My husband, Peter Matsawane, was still working in Durban. Just before the State of Emergency – I suppose it's also because of politics – my marriage broke down. Actually, it was because he lived too far away. I lived in Johannesburg and he lived in Durban. That didn't help things. He was not there. It was just me and members of his family, who were not very keen on the ANC and politics in general. During the State of Emergency I had moved to friends and was looking for a house of my own. I have never spoken about this part of my life. Those are the tribulations of my life.

I was arrested after the State of Emergency was lifted. I took my son to town, my second baby who was born in 1958 – my first son was born in 1955, the year of the Freedom Charter. It was the first Saturday after the State of Emergency. He was about two or three then. He didn't have shoes so I took him to town early in the morning by taxi. I had already found a house in White City Jabavu. I went to the ANC office for a meeting. When I came out, the Special Branch police were on my trail. I walked towards a shoe shop in Commissioner Street, not far from the office of Mandela and Tambo and the ANC. Just as I passed Orient House, a Coloured policeman, Sharpe, came up to me and said: "Ruth Mompati, you are under arrest." I said: "Where is your warrant of arrest?" I just walked on to the shoe shop because I realised that they might grab me and I didn't want the child to go to prison. At the shoe shop I asked for a phone and called Pitje's office. He was not there. I called somebody else and told them: "I think I'm going to be arrested and I've a child with me. Could you come and collect him?" Then I decided: "This is not it; I must get out of here and go back home. These people will really arrest me with the child." As we came out of the store, however, Sharpe and other policemen immediately grabbed me. I was holding the child's hand. They just threw me in the back of the car. The child sort of followed me because I held on to him.

"When the State Emergency was declared, I was asked by Walter Sisulu to go underground. I was very unhappy because other women were going to prison. Why should I go underground?"

Then they took me to Marshall Square. They didn't want to take responsibility for the child. They took me home, where I left the child. On the way they asked me whether I wanted them to take me to Orlando East Police Station or to Meadowlands. You know, Meadowlands had flush toilets, while Orlando East used buckets. I didn't want them to know my preference, because they might just take me where I didn't want to go. So I said: "I don't care where you take me. You didn't ask for my permission when you arrested me. Why do you ask me now?" So they took me to Meadowlands, where I spent the whole weekend. It was cold. Nobody knew where I was. They looked for me all over but they couldn't find me. On Monday I appeared in court. They opposed bail because they said it was a very serious charge. I didn't know what I was supposed to have done. Three days later they withdrew the charge because they had nothing against me. They had never caught me doing anything wrong during the State of Emergency.

I got a job with Andrew Lukhele, after Mandela and Tambo closed down. Clients of Mandela and Tambo showed up everyday, wanting to know about their cases. I had to inform them, but it meant I had no time to do Lukhele's work. I had to leave. I got a job with the Defence and Aid Fund before it was banned in South Africa. But then the ANC, through Walter Sisulu and Moses Kotane, asked me to leave the country. I didn't know how I was going to leave. I was now divorced since the end of 1959. I had two children. I didn't know how I was going to do it. I came home to see my mother. I told her that I'm going to school abroad and asked her to remain with the children. She asked: "How long are you going to be away for?" My parents loved education. If you spoke about education they listened. I said: "Only one year." Actually, I was supposed to be away for a year. I was supposed to go train and then come back to train our guerrillas. That was the idea. She didn't realise that I might never come back to the country in her lifetime.

I left the country with two other people, Flag Boshielo and Alfred 'Kgokong' Mqotha. We left through Botswana and went to Tanzania.

Tennyson Makiwane was the chief representative there when we arrived in September 1962. In Dar-es-Salaam I was confined to the house. I couldn't go out and talk to people. I was not supposed to be seen because I was leaving for training. We were the second group of people after Andrew Mlangeni, Joe Gqabi, Wilton Mkwayi and Raymond Mhlaba. They had already been trained and were coming back when we were going to the Soviet Union. This was one of the most interesting parts of my life. I could not even speak the language. We started classes immediately, learning about the history of the working class, political economy, socialist philosophy, surveillance, topography, sabotage, etc. After our year's training they decided that they would take us for a holiday to the Black Sea. We travelled from centre to centre after the holiday. One day we picked up a British Communist Party newspaper. Rivonia had been raided and the leaders arrested. Do you know how I felt? That was the worst thing ever to befall me. What was I going to say to my mother? How was I going to get to the children? It was a tragedy for me.

Boshielo and I were supposed to go back to Tanzania and then back to South Africa. We were experts now. But I couldn't come back. They sent me to meet the leaders in Prague. One of the things that our leaders were able to do especially abroad was to move without the Boers knowing where they were. The conference in Prague was attended by people like Joe Matthews, Joe Slovo, Malume Kotane, Ruth First. I can't remember the other people. They were reviewing what should be done about people like us. They had contact with the leaders inside who said: "If you send them in they go straight to prison. It would be a waste." So I told them: "No, I'm ready to go home." They said: "The people at home say it would be a waste for you to go." I said: "What about my children?" They said: "Your children are better off without you; if you get there, you are all going to be harassed by the police." I said: "Are they not being harassed now, by my absence?" That's what they wanted to tell me. In the meantime, I didn't realise that the documents for travel that I was using had expired and, therefore, the only place I could go back to was the Soviet Union. I went back for a second year, training again, and in the end I was in exile for twenty-seven years.

I went back to Tanzania with Flag Boshielo in September 1964. In fact, all three of us came back because even Mqotha who was supposed to be there for two years had now finished. I started working in the ANC office with Malume Kotane, O. R. Tambo (he moved around, he was in London), Uncle J. B. Marks, James Radebe (he was the chief rep there) and the growing community of exiles now flocking into Tanzania. I was everybody's secretary and, because I was from the Women's League, I organised the Women's League. We were a very active Women's League in Tanzania. Some of the people who were there were Mrs Matlou, Mrs Ngalo, Agnes Msimang, etc. And then, of course, we had camps in Tanzania, in Kongwa. I travelled very often to Kongwa. I dealt a lot with MK cadres because I was trained. So I could be involved. I used to go to Kongwa, sometimes just to address them and to be there because it was good for them to know that people cared. And then also, of course, we spoke to the very few women actually at the camp. In fact, in the beginning there were hardly any women. I remember four that came together: Daphne (her MK name), Jacqueline (also her MK name), and then there was Nomsa (also an MK name), etc. I don't remember how many men there were, 200 or so, and only about four women! Afterwards more women came so it became even more necessary to visit the camp. The men all thought they had to be related to these women. This was the greatest problem right through, even later on when we were no longer in Kongwa, when we were in Angola. You had to be there to talk to the women; they also had to know that they could talk to us. We definitely had problems. Men were the problem. Not that all our men were really problematic. But this was life and everybody wanted a girlfriend and there were only so many women.

> "The other thing was, of course, political work with the heads of state of the countries in which we lived and countries of the world. O. R. was a respected man, very able, along with Moses Kotane and J. B. Marks. The three of them also kept the peace at the camps all the time we were in Tanzania."

One other thing that I did was to attend women's conferences. We were invited by women all over the world. I attended conferences in Sudan, Nigeria, Ghana, Mali, Guinea Bissau, etc. Later on I went to Europe. It was very difficult sometimes to travel in Africa. We had no passports. We used these papers we got from Zambia and Tanzania, the only two countries really prepared to give us those things that we used to call Freedom Charters. In some African countries they were unacceptable. Many times we had to sleep at airports because we couldn't get into those countries. We had to go to Addis Ababa for a conference and were detained at the airport. Some white South Africans passed and we saw their passports. We said to the Ethiopian immigration officials: "We're here as a liberation movement. You are the head of the liberation organisation. White South Africans can pass through and you can't let us in. What kind of support are you giving to this struggle that you boast about?" Then one of them, the head, told us to follow him. That is how we got in. Kenya was always the most difficult. If there was a conference in Kenya we would spend about three nights unnecessarily at the airport before we were allowed in. And yet there were members of their government who, when we interacted with them, were very good. We didn't know where the

problem was. But there was definitely a problem about us somewhere in their government.

Meanwhile in Tanzania, the cadres were starting to feel restless. That is how the Wankie operation came about. They demanded to go inside South Africa. They couldn't wait any longer. They felt that they had to find a way into the country. And then very serious training started in Tanzania before they went to Zambia. I knew them all because I dealt with them. I had to check what they were carrying and see to it that they leave anything that would incriminate them if caught in South Africa – like a Russian watch or a shirt with a Soviet label. That is where we got a lot of our clothing from and a lot of the things we used. I had to go through everybody's luggage and personal belongings.

All this led us to convene a consultative conference in 1969 in the Tanzanian town of Morogoro, the first conference ever that called people from everywhere in exile to discuss our strategy and programmes, including taking care of our supporters and then education and training. Apart from that, we had a grave problem with some of the people, especially from the leadership, influencing young people to break away and go their own way – people like Ambrose Makiwane and Alfred Mqotha. They were confronted during the conference and suspended after that. There was no way the ANC was going to have people like those in the leadership. Those were the main issues that were discussed.

By that time I was part of the National Executive. I had the experience of working closely with O. R., a very dedicated member of the African National Congress who felt very strongly that those people who were in prison had to remain happy in the knowledge that the work was being done. Not only that, there were countries that were pouring money into the struggle and we had to work hard to make sure that the money was not wasted. In the beginning it was very difficult. Communication was not what it is today, although maybe it was better then because afterwards people used computers to communicate, not knowing that some of these things can be picked up, so that it can be passed on to somebody going to London to be sent home. This was very complicated work and very hard work because it also had to be very accurate work. I did the actual work, but under the supervision of O. R. He checked everything.

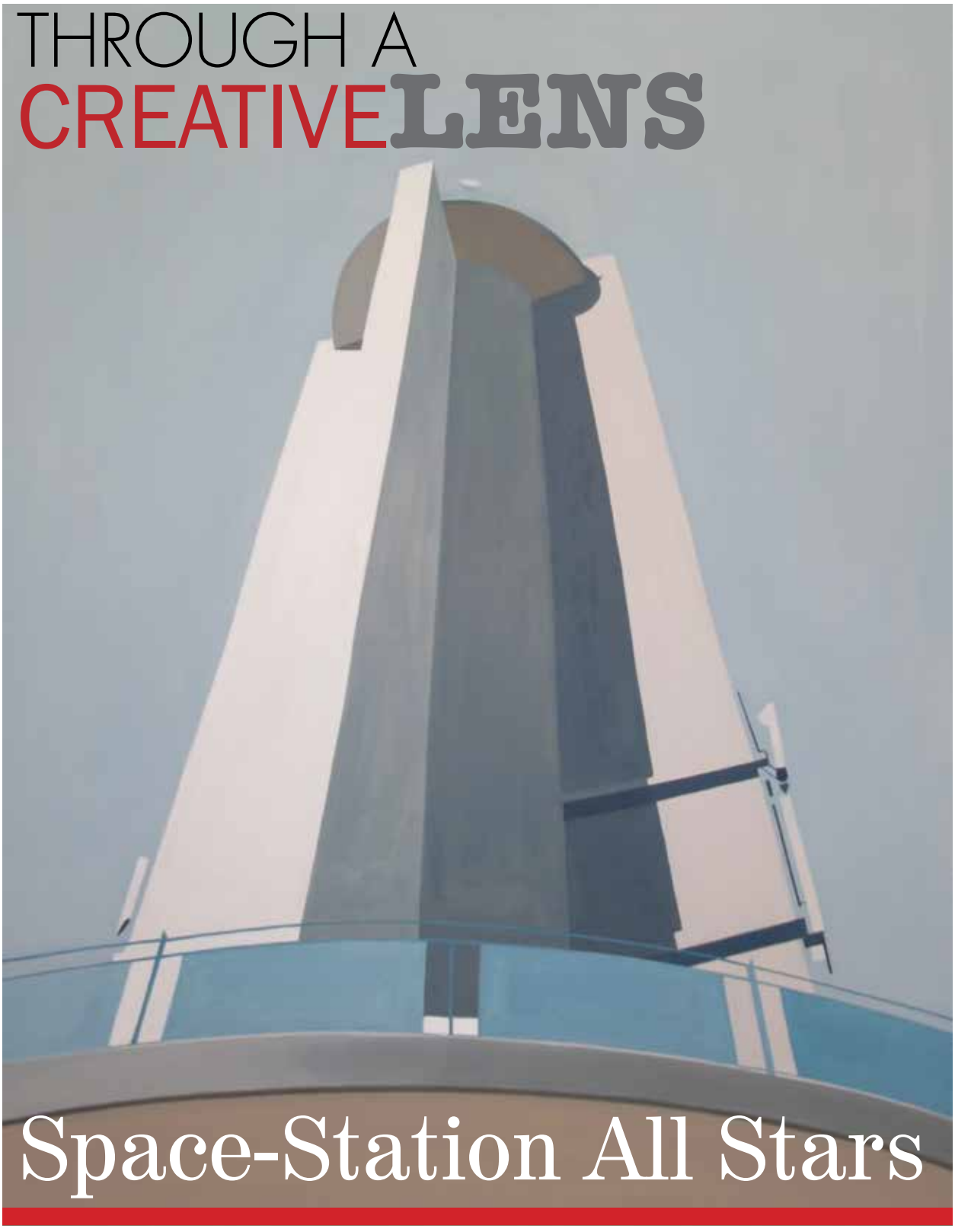
The other thing was, of course, political work with the heads of state of the countries in which we lived and countries of the world. O. R. was a respected man, very able, along with Moses Kotane and J. B. Marks. The three of them also kept the peace at the camps all the time we were in Tanzania. It didn't matter how serious the problem was, they had a way of addressing these cadres to make them realise that, as cadres, they were a very important part of the struggle whose success was really in their hands. And then Malume Kotane got a stroke, as did Uncle J. B. before him. They were taken to the Soviet Union, where they were in hospital for years.

O. R. remained. He really was the political strength behind the ANC. He was so selfless and hard working, always in the centre of whatever was being done. He was an amazing man, a very honest man. You know, things like money didn't mean much to him. He would say: "Come, let's go and have a drink." O. R. would order drinks and when he has to pay he puts his hand in his pocket and comes out only with papers he uses for mostly writing. He realises for the first time that he hasn't got money. He was that type of person. He had no interest in money. He's one of the people who encouraged me to carry on. And for many years I had a lot of problems because my children were in the country and I agonised over whether I would ever be able to choose between my children and the struggle. It was an agonising thought. He was one of the people who really made us feel we were not alone. We were part of a collective that was going through similar suffering.

One time I was in a delegation to Australia and I came back via London. His wife had had an accident; she had fallen and had about three fractures on the leg. But he had to go to the UN. Thomas Nkobi was passing through London at the same time I was there. He said: "You go and help Mrs Tambo; we cannot as the ANC send O. R. to the UN and then leave his wife unattended." He never really had time from the struggle for his family. One other thing that was amazing about him was his strength. He was asthmatic; he used to have such terrible attacks. That's when you would see the old man, Kotane, nurse him like a woman, because for him if anything happened to O. R., the movement would go. As soon as O. R. got a little better, he was up and about again and working. If he had to go to Kongwa, he would be on the way to Kongwa. It just never stopped him from working. I think he was the best thing that ever happened to the ANC in exile.

I tried to keep contact with my people. Sometimes I would get a letter from my mother. I don't know how her letters managed to reach me. Then one cousin of mine died in Botswana. I decided to go to the funeral. I applied for a visa. I spoke to the Botswana Minister of Foreign Affairs, Archibald Mokgoe. He said: "Ruth, when you passed here, you were made persona non grata." I said: "No, I was not because I was in transit." He looked at the records and found that I was right. So I got a visa to come to Botswana. By the time I arrived in Botswana the funeral was over. It was the day after, but my sister was still there and a whole lot of relatives from South Africa were still in Molepolole. Then I wrote a letter to the boys. One of them was doing From III, the other one in Standard 5. I told them: "I am in Botswana. If you want to come to me, I will wait for you for the whole week." I had to know whether the children wanted to come or not. I hadn't seen them since they were young. I told my sister I wanted the children to come to me. She says: "Don't put me in trouble." But she went and gave them the letter. They decided that they were coming. They said to my brother-in-law that they were coming home to Vryburg but instead they came to Gaborone, where I met them and took them to Zambia. We lived at Ray Simons's place, who had a cottage at the back where she said I could live. That was at the beginning of the 1970s. They went to school in Zambia. ■

THROUGH A CREATIVE LENS



Space-Station All Stars

Thenjiwe N Nkosi, *Tower* 120x89, Oil on canvas, 2013

By Thenjiwe Niki Nkosi and Pamela Phatsimo Sunstrum

"Space Station All-Stars" is the second in a two-part series of solo exhibitions featuring Johannesburg-based artists, Thenjiwe Niki Nkosi and Pamela Phatsimo Sunstrum. In this multi-media exhibition, Nkosi and Sunstrum have used the Ithuba Arts Gallery in Braamfontein to explore several interpretations of the idea of 'space': architectural space, political space, physical space, outer space, and mythological space. Nkosi and Sunstrum each present works that treat the component sections of the gallery as self-contained spaces, or 'stations.' Each occupied space presents a discrete and distinct statement. However, the artists allude to subtle connections – much like bridges or portals – between one space station and another, as between one artist's work and the other's. Here the artists give some context to the exhibition, describe their individual studio practices, and discuss the intentions behind their collaboration.

Thenjiwe Niki Nkosi on her paintings, painting installation, and video:

My works in *Space Station All-Stars* form part of a larger body of work investigating power and its structures. Implicit in my examination of these structures – political, social, architectural – is an interrogation of the invisible forces that create them, and also an imagining of alternatives.

In the paintings I have identified strange, singular architectural structures in the urban landscapes of Johannesburg and Pretoria – and, by grouping them, I ask viewers to reassess the familiar, and reinterpret what is often taken for granted in the visual field. Many of my sources are apartheid-era constructions, and I am interested in how their designs reflect the dominant ideologies of that time. Buildings say a lot about who we are as a society, tending as they do to represent a society's dominant voices. We build, and in doing so project a vision / version of ourselves into the world. Our architecture – how, where, and what we build – speaks directly to our desires, our aspirations, our histories and our future. These are portraits of buildings, in much the same way as one would make portraits of people. By the choices I make in term of their representation – angle, perspective, colour, lighting and so forth – I aim to communicate something about them, that will hopefully engage, provoke and even implicate the viewer.

Thenjiwe N Nkosi, *University*, 120x80, Oil on canvas, 2013

The painting installation and film continue to explore the concepts of strangeness and familiarity, crossing back and forth on the line that separates them.

In the installation, I have moved off of the canvas and directly onto the wall of the Ithuba Arts Gallery. "SAPS (Norwood)" is painted using acrylic paint, and is a rendering of an iconic apartheid-era building in a highly simplified and flat and style, using an exaggerated perspective. This is the least detailed of all the works, using only three colours and a few basic shapes, and yet I hope I have created something aptly ominous in its silence and simplicity.

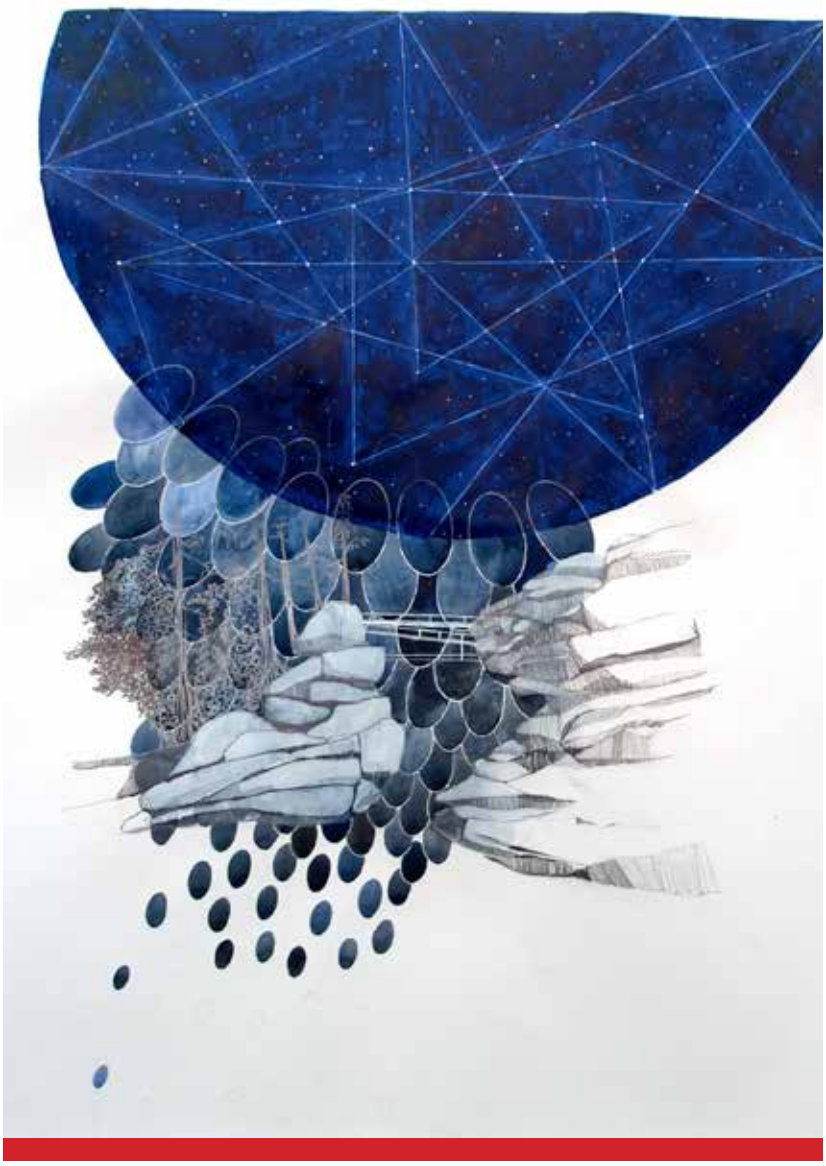
The size of the work is crucial. The painted edifice is only slightly bigger than the viewer – a scale that allows this

institutional structure to be powerfully monumental, yet at the same time small enough to be related to the viewer's body. The relationship of the size of the installation to the body is important. Since it is only just bigger than the viewer, a dialogue between it and the viewer's body is ignited in a space of unsettling intimacy. Also, the size, which allows the viewer to "take it in" at one time, creates the possibility for play and optical illusion. As the viewer moves through the room, the appearance of the building changes. Here, a kind of game is involved for me – one of asking people to reassess their position and perspective. I'm interested in the power of standpoints: Where are you are looking from, and how does that inform what you see?

The short film "Le Tchad: True Heart" was filmed during a research trip to Chad in 2008. At the time, I was there to film the testimonies of Darfurian people living in refugee camps in Eastern Chad, as part of a survey. We were asking people for their opinions on peace, justice and reconciliation in Darfur. I used the moments in between filming the testimonies to capture my own footage, and this short film, which I have made from that footage, is about that "in-betweenness". The in-betweenness of my experience in Chad, and of the state of the region itself, which is somewhere between rest and unrest. The film explores the ambiguities and complexities of my own presence there, as someone who identifies as African (having also American and Greek identities), but working in Chad with an American crew. I was simultaneously working and thinking constantly about the implications of my work (and presence) there. I see parallels between this film and the paintings: there is a peculiar quality of the shots that echoes the otherworldly shapes of the building paintings. I feel it also plays on the idea of 'perspectives': that how and what we see depends a lot on where we are looking from.

Pamela Phatsimo Sunstrum on her drawings, and drawing/animation installation:

In much of my work, I am making up stories, or little mythologies, out of my everyday experiences. In my earlier work, these narratives revolved around characters or heroes or an alter ego. However, the work at Ithuba represents a bit of a departure for me in that here I am relying on the landscape alone to carry the narrative. I am interested in creating mythologies that appear to be both ancient and futuristic. The landscapes contain references to both primordial earth formations and prehistoric geologies as well as to space-age architecture, astronomical maps and science fiction. Since I am relying on landscape alone to tell a story, I have tried make them seem only temporarily vacant – as if we are encountering these spaces *ab initio*: at the cinematic 'fade-in' scene just before the onset of action in an epic chronicle. For instance, in the drawing titled, *"prismer,"* much of the foreground is occupied by heavy rocky cliffs rendered in layers of watercolour and pencil. At the top of this rocky bluff stands a single signal flag. As your eye 'travels' into the landscape, passing through several glassy planar surfaces you eventually discover a second signal flag deep in the distance. I like the



Pamela Phatsimo Sunstrum, *look out*, Watercolour and pencil on paper / 72cm x 48cm / 2013

Pamela Phatsimo Sunstrum, *you who are little* (detail), Gouache, watercolour and pencil on paper / 100cm x 62cm / 2013

visual tension between these two signal flags, and I also enjoy how discovering one flag and later discovering another implies a relationship, or a conversation between two characters we have yet to meet.

When making my drawings I like to start with heavy, smooth, good-quality paper. Lately I have been working with quite traditional materials such as sumi and walnut inks, gouache and watercolour and I find that mediums really only work best on the right kind of paper. In this body of work I have also developed a technique of employing a lot of very delicate and intricate pencil-work, which I'll build up and then erase down several times in order to create a sense of depth and movement. This is the technique I used to create the 'swarm' in the drawing titled, *"you who are little."*

"Spin" is a site-specific installation of drawing and animation that I created for the show in what used to be a vault in the original bank that is now the Ithuba Arts Gallery. In this work I am borrowing from both scientific theories and mythological archetypes to offer imaginative proposals to the phrase, "In the beginning…" I started making the installation by painting the walls the darkest blue I could find and filling the 'sky' of the room with tiny shards of mirror. The installation features an almost life-sized chalk drawing of a North American buffalo ('bison') and an enamel bowl ('skottel') encrusted with mirror. The installation centres on an animation I constructed by appropriating landscapes and motion sequences from 19th century English photography pioneer, Eadweard Muybridge.

A solo-collaborative effort?

In January 2012, we decided to share a studio at the Bag Factory Artists' Studios in Fordsburg. What began as a sharing of creative space soon grew into what we call a 'collaboration of ideologies.' Our first collaborative move was to propose a series of 'two-person collaborative solo exhibitions.' The first collaborative solo exhibition was titled *"Before Being Asked by the Machine"* and opened at ROOM Gallery in May 2013. *"Space Station All-Stars"* is the second and last show in the series. The conventional understanding of an artist collaboration is that within a group an artist may offer her contributions to a larger group project. In our case, however, the work itself is not collaborative. We each make our work individually. It is in the exhibition of our work and the promotion of our professional identities in which we are collaborating. Our collaboration reflects a sharing of platforms and makes a statement about the possibility of working together while retaining an individual creative identity. We have found that this kind of collaboration is very empowering in terms of generating ideas and momentum. We like to visualise this collaboration as us holding hands as we forge our way in the art world, navigating the obstacles and challenges together.

What's next?

Space Station All-Stars will be on view at the Ithuba Arts Gallery until 4 August, 2013. After this, Nkosi is off to Sao Paolo, Brazil to participate in the VAIVEM artists' residency and Sunstrum has been invited to show her work at Davidson College in North Carolina, USA. The two will meet up in Carquefou, France, as part of the South Africa in France season where they will participate in an Artist Residency at FRAC. ■

www.thenjiwenkosi.com;
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Braamfontein (entrance on Biccard)
www.artsithuba.co.z

The ANC's London Recruits

While the Anti-Apartheid Movement pressured the UK government and focused world attention on the South African regime, the ANC-SACP was faced with a different issue: how to destroy the apartheid regime from within.

By Mary Chamberlain

This article is an abridged version of *The ANC's London Recruits: a Personal Story*
Mary Chamberlain, History Workshop Journal 2013; doi: 10.1093/hwj/dbs050

Let me start with the context. By 1966, the apartheid regime in South Africa had all but annihilated the African National Congress (ANC). They had wrecked its presses and rendered its organisation inoperable. Its leaders had been executed or imprisoned, or were in exile. Some leaders, along with some supporters, had fled to Tanzania or Zambia. But a great many of them, including Joe Slovo, Yusuf Dadoo and Ronnie Kasrils, ended up in London, the metropolitan heart of the rapidly disintegrating Empire. They set up shop in Fitzrovia as the ANC in exile, in alliance with the South African Communist Party (SACP), not far from the offices of the Anti-Apartheid Movement in Charlotte Street.

While the Anti-Apartheid Movement pressured the UK government and focused world attention on the South African regime, the ANC-SACP was faced with a different issue: how to destroy the apartheid regime from within. It needed to maintain the

struggle inside South Africa when the ANC's infrastructure was all but destroyed, to continue to raise the consciousness of South Africans against the evils of apartheid, to maintain morale in the opposition, to encourage resistance and to demonstrate that the ANC was active. A four-pronged strategy ('the four pillars of struggle') was put in place, one aspect of which was to release ANC and SACP literature into South Africa. With no presses and the networks devastated, literature had to be brought in from outside. Ronnie Kasrils was deputed to recruit volunteers from the vast numbers of anti-apartheid supporters in London, and send them out to South Africa as couriers. Ronnie, at twenty-six, was the youngest of the exiled leaders. Charismatic and good-looking, articulate and intelligent, Ronnie enrolled at the London School of Economics. Though a member of the SACP, he rode over and through the sectarian divisions of the left and recruited both students and (through contacts with the Young Communist League) workers: young people, with clean passports and white skin, who could pose as tourists or businessmen and would pass unsuspected within the apartheid regime.

I was twenty-three years old and in love with the man who was to become my first husband, Carey Harrison. An old Cambridge friend of his, Katherine Levine, introduced us to Ronnie, who sounded us out about becoming couriers. Through Ronnie we met Joe Slovo, although, at the time, for security reasons, we did not know his name. Ronnie and Joe vetted us, and suggested that our cover would be more convincing if we were married. I don't know whether we would have wed without the impetus from the ANC, whether the love affair would have burned its course and we would have parted, more or less friends. Probably. We had only known each other for eight months. But I have the ANC to thank for our lovely daughter, Rosie.

I had not been brought up in a political home, but my generation, born during or just after the Second World War, could not escape the shadow of the wars, nor the Cold War, nor the urgency for peace.

I came of age in 1968. Paris erupted in May, Ireland in October. The anti-Vietnam protests were at their height. The LSE was occupied in October, Essex University earlier. Sit-ins were everywhere. I was a third-year undergraduate, reading Politics at Edinburgh University. We boycotted Spain, held teach-ins over Rhodesia, signed up to anti-apartheid, rooted for Bernadette Devlin. We were part of a transnational movement for change, exciting and empowering, lived in the shadow of the Cold War and nuclear annihilation. We were a generation of internationalists. In 1969, I went to the LSE, although I was not one of Ronnie's student recruits. In 1971 I met Carey. We joined the Communist Party, on my part because, despite the Soviet invasions of Hungary and Czechoslovakia, it offered the best hope and the purest doctrine for international solidarity, collaboration and peace.

"From memory, we had over twenty packing cases containing 2,000 SACP histories and 5,000 comic books, all printed in super-fine paper."

In the spring of 1972 Carey and I were given our brief: to sail to South Africa as immigrants, our household belongings in old-fashioned wooden tea chests, which would each have a false bottom containing brief histories of the SACP and copies of a comic book, *Simon and Jane*, which told the simple love story of a young couple torn apart by apartheid, and driven to take up arms and fight for justice. Its centre-fold gave instructions for making a Molotov cocktail. We were given a budget to fill the packing cases with lightweight household goods to give them an aura of authenticity should we be asked to open them. From memory, we had over twenty packing cases containing 2,000 SACP histories and 5,000 comic books, all printed in super-fine paper (in retrospect that seems an enormous number). We filled the cases with duvets and pillows, plastic colanders and egg-whisks, anything that looked plausible but weighed nothing. Six months after we were married, we set sail on the SS Vaal. I cannot remember what story we told our respective families.

Ronnie had briefed us. If rumbled, we were to head north, across the border to Botswana. Dye our hair, cut it, grow a beard, shave it. Disguise was the essence of survival. If caught, we were on our own. And, Ronnie assured us, we *would* be on our own in the event of capture. Inciting resistance, if necessary by force, would carry a hefty sentence, preceded, undoubtedly, by torture. What could we tell? Apart from Ronnie, whose name was already known to the South African authorities, we knew no one else involved, had no names to divulge, nor the networks behind us. We could tell them nothing.

Did I think about what I was doing? No. Was I frightened? No. I had been brought up on the stories of Christian, and Catholic, martyrs; had spent my childhood dreaming of holding the faith. I would survive. Was I brave? No. The dangers we were embracing, and the implications for our own lives, did not figure. A failure of the imagination, perhaps, but the personal risks were low (Ronnie said) and the political gains incalculable.

The *SS Vaal* sailed from Southampton. We and the other passengers, young newly-weds like ourselves, were hoping for a new and better life in South Africa where we could raise a family in a wholesome environment, free of the stresses of unbridled immigration and interfering socialists. The *Vaal* took two weeks to reach South Africa, off-loading at Cape Town, travelling on to Port Elizabeth and returning two days later, to pick up a new cargo and head back. Our household effects would be put into a bonded warehouse, from which we could collect them once we had found a flat to rent and could settle in.

Three days later, tenants of an apartment in a whites-only sea-front suburb of Cape Town, we presented ourselves at the bonded warehouse.

The customs official was overweight with a florid face and fish-bowl glasses. Behind him, stacked on shelves, were our household effects. Over twenty tea chests, all with a clear line of nails four inches from the base which marked the line of the false bottoms. Only a blind man could fail to spot it.

'What's in the cases?' he said. Convinced we had been rumbled, it took a moment to gather our senses. 'Duvets, colanders, pillows, whisks.' 'What else?' There was nothing else, and neither of us could think of other household items which should have been included. 'Duvets, pillows, colanders, whisks', I said. 'Our home. We're immigrating.' 'You're immigrating?' he said. 'Why didn't you say?' The customs official had poor eyesight, and we were white. He stamped the paperwork, and the cases were loaded on to the back of a lorry and delivered to our flat.

We had to buy the envelopes and the stamps. Ronnie had assured us that they would be a common size, and common weight. Given the amount of stationery and stamps required, we were instructed to buy small quantities at a time from as many outlets as possible, so that suspicion would not be aroused. And, he said, wear gloves. Neither the size nor weight of the booklets turned out to be standard but we eventually purchased enough to distribute the contents of the cases without, we hoped, arousing suspicion. Address lists had been included in the false bottoms, typed up on sticky labels. We opened the cases, packed the envelopes, and over days of licking and spitting wore through several pairs of cheap cotton gloves, slapping the sticky address labels on the front. Big names: Nelson and Winnie Mandela. Small names: Joseph, bed 17, hut 34. Heart-rending vignettes of forced migration, arbitrary loneliness, imprisonment. These packages were meant as much for Joseph as for B.O.S.S. (the South African Bureau of State Security). The ANC was alive and kicking.

Mailing the envelopes required the same care as buying them. A few at a time, in post boxes all over town, over days. No suspicion. We filled a suitcase at a time, took them down to our hired car, and dribbled them out across Cape Town. Carey drove, I posted. On one occasion I had left the flat before him, and stepped into the lift with my suitcase. Two policemen got in on the floor below. For the second time, I was convinced I had been caught. Imagined martyrdom gave way to blind terror.

'Going away?', one of them said. I did manage to smile, and nod. I think I probably said I was an English visitor, and we were exploring their wonderful country. The lift stopped at the ground floor. 'Allow me', the policeman said, picking up my suitcase. 'It's heavy. Where is your car?' I walked alongside him, praying (old habits die hard) that the locks wouldn't snap. He lifted it into the boot for me. 'I don't know what you women carry in your cases', he said. 'Have a nice weekend.'

“The customs official was overweight with a florid face and fish-bowl glasses. Behind him, stacked on shelves, were our household effects. Over twenty tea chests, all with a clear line of nails four inches from the base which marked the line of the false bottoms. Only a blind man could fail to spot it.”

I have very little memory of Cape Town, although recollections of apartheid are seared into my consciousness. A parallel existence propping up a white supremacist fantasy, backed up by unspeakable violence and repression. The horrors of fascism and the anti-Semitic and racist holocaust it had released in Europe were still fresh in mind. To be silent faced with the crude inhumanity of apartheid was hard to bear: 'boys', who helped us load and off load our packing cases, stripped of the dignity of their manhood; 'whites-only' privileges, from buses to benches to public lavatories (always superior and more numerous); the everyday humiliations of black people whose poverty, as they queued while the whites sailed to the fore in separate lines, was all too apparent in their cheap clothes and inadequate shoes. Of course we knew about the iniquitous legislation of the regime, but to see it in action, and be powerless to say anything in case our cover was broken, was hard.

I don't recall how long we were in South Africa. One week. Two. Perhaps three. We had to dispose of our tea chests, and their contents, but the remote dump we were told to visit proved to be inhabited, wrecks of cars or rough cardboard shacks housing workers and scavengers. It was not a place visited by whites, and we panicked in case we were caught. We returned, repackaged the chests, rang up the Union Castle line, shipped them back home. The next day we were on a flight from Cape Town to Johannesburg, where we would change planes, and head back to England (in those days it was not possible to fly direct).

As our plane touched down in Johannesburg, it was surrounded by police cars. This time, our luck had run out. We made the decision to leave the plane separately, convinced they were looking for a couple, us. Individually, we smiled at the hostesses (as they were then called), nodded (but no eye contact) at the policemen waiting to come on board, and walked through into the concourse of the airport. Whoever, or whatever, had alerted the police, we seemed to have got away with it. Looking back, the police would have had passenger lists or would have boarded the plane before disembarkation if they had suspected subversives were on board. But at the time, we were paranoid and terrified. We didn't start breathing until the London-bound plane was well out of South African airspace.

We had been sworn to secrecy. Lives were at risk if we spoke about our mission. This experience had to be buried and forgotten. We told no one. If asked whether I'd been to Africa, I would talk about a short holiday Carey and I had taken in Morocco. It was a useful evasion.

Mary Chamberlain and Carey Harrison

Eighteen years after my visit, I was living in Barbados, waiting to watch Nelson Mandela walk free. His release was delayed, I had to pick up my children from school, ferry them to ballet or piano or gym or whatever after-school activity. In the evening, I caught up with the news. The children were in bed and I was alone in the house, apart from sunken memories and an overpowering emotion which I wanted to share, but couldn't. I was so used to bottling up this experience, once more could make no difference. Besides, Mandela walking free was a world away from the mission I had undertaken. Had I helped? I didn't know. Buried deep, it was a puny effort compared with the sacrifices that others had made with their liberty and their lives. I liked to think I had made a small difference, but there was no one to ask. As Nelson Mandela walked from prison, I couldn't say, 'oh, by the way, did I tell you about … ?' It was vainglorious, and inappropriate.

I tried to explain to my children what apartheid had been, and what a unique person Nelson Mandela was. Barbados had been independent for twenty years, and the ingrained racism there, a more informal apartheid, but no less

> "To be silent faced with the crude inhumanity of apartheid was hard to bear: 'boys', who helped us load and off load our packing cases, stripped of the dignity of their manhood; 'whites-only' privileges, from buses to benches to public lavatories; the everyday humiliations of black people"

powerful, was taking time to wash out. Young though they were, my children had become aware of race, had asked on more than one occasion why some of their black Bajan school friends never went to white Bajan friends' houses. Yet they were surrounded by black children, black people and black authority figures. My youngest daughter was asked to draw her family, and she did, Mummy, Daddy, sisters, grandparents, all in a line, yellow, spiky hair, brown faces. They were aware, but they couldn't understand racism, or apartheid. 'But *why?'* My nine year old was incredulous.

In 2005 Ken Keable, one of the recruits, decided to track down others and persuade them to write their stories. With help from Ronnie Kasrils and the old networks of the left, a surprising number were located and many of them agreed to contribute to the book.

Sworn to secrecy, our work remained silent for forty years until the publication in 2012 of *The London Recruits: The Secret War Against*

Mary Chamberlain

Apartheid, edited by Ken Keable. Thirty-one recruits (three of whom were captured and imprisoned) recalled their experiences, including myself: reluctant witnesses to Apartheid, but also to the forces of international collaboration and co-operation.

These stories were not easy to compose. Everyone was reluctant to appear to aggrandise themselves, acutely aware of the far greater sacrifices that others had made for the cause. For this reason, some chose to remain silent. Resuscitating a buried secret is never easy, and to construct a narrative of youth from the perspective of middle age is complex, particularly one from the left where dreams and ambitions had floundered across time and needed to be reconciled. In this case, however, the anti-apartheid cause had been successful and one contributory factor for this was the level of collaboration, national and international – a message that comes through with vivid force in the book and which was the reason why, I suspect, many chose to talk. The recruits were recruited through London, but they were by no means all Londoners nor even British. Our brigade was small and multinational.

Many of the recruits made repeated visits. Only three – Sean Hosey, and Alex and Marie-José Moumbaris – were captured, tortured and imprisoned. They were true heroes. Most of us were never caught.

Neither I nor Carey, nor any of those in the book (and it is by no means comprehensive – more recruits have been coming forward since its publication) had any idea about the others at the time, apart from those with whom we went as partners. We had all suppressed our memories, kept the secret buried deep, had no knowledge that we had been part of a wider recruitment. But over the years when the machinery of the ANC and its presses had been destroyed, from the mid-1960s until the mid-1970s, we had helped to keep the message alive through regular and repeated propaganda efforts, using a variety of ruses and devices – exploding leaflet 'bombs', banners unfurled, loudspeaker broadcasts. The mechanisms were simple but effective, part of co-ordinated campaigns in which thousands of leaflets were released simultaneously across the major cities of South Africa. Some of the recruits later acted as couriers, ferrying messages, money and arms – providing critical supplies to the ANC and its military wing.

"These stories were not easy to compose. Everyone was reluctant to appear to aggrandise themselves, acutely aware of the far greater sacrifices that others had made for the cause. For this reason, some chose to remain silent."

Of the thirty-one recruits with entries in the book, seven were women. A further sixteen are mentioned in the appendix, five of them women. The recruitment profile reflected the time, but women *were* involved as London Recruits, and also as resisters to, and survivors of, the regime, as activists, as mothers and grandmothers, wives, lovers and daughters, sisters and aunts.

There is a small postscript. From 1977 to 1987 I worked at the London College of Printing (now the London College of Communications, part of the University of the Arts). For those ten years I co-taught a course and at some point shared an office with, and then occupied an adjacent office to, Joy Leman. When I left, to go to Barbados, she gave me C.L.R. James's *The Black Jacobins*, and Caribbean Cookery by Elizabeth Lambert Ortiz, gifts which I have made much use of over the years, and which remind me of her every time I make buljol or pumpkin soup.

Joy is not in the book, but it turns out she was a London Recruit, too. For ten years we worked as close colleagues. Neither of us knew what the other had done, that we shared a rare and special link. We met up before a meeting of the London recruits in the House of Commons, hosted by Peter Hain, for the first time in twenty-five years. We had a cup of tea and a custard cake, two women in their sixties. What did we talk about? Children, and grandchildren; and no one, to look at us, would ever have guessed.

Since the first version of this article was written, three recruits, Sean Hosey, Alex Moumbaris and Marie-José Moumbaris have been honoured by the South African government, and a room in the Apartheid Museum is to be dedicated to the London Recruits. ■

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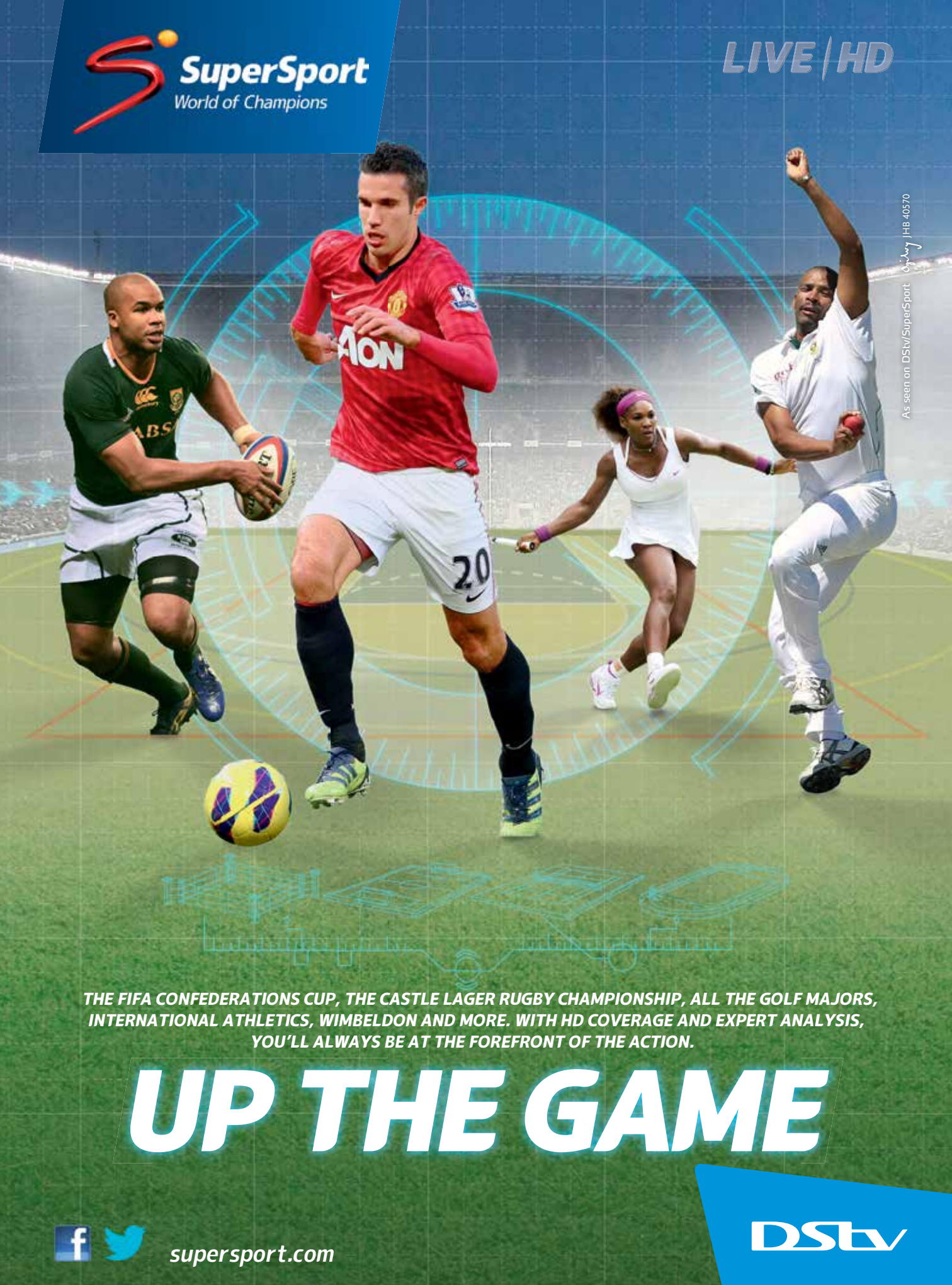
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