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among the blue
bloods of liberalism

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optimists
... and for
pessimists

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implosion:
What do SA's
cricket men
live by?

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A year in the life of the M&G

Elections, xenophobic and vicious gender-based violence, climate collapse, state-owned entities and load-shedding — 2019 has been an insane year. The Mail & Guardian has been at the forefront of

reporting on all these problems, and on the social injustices that rob so many people of their futures. Editor-in-chief, **Khadija Patel**, writes about the year that was, what we reported and why we reported on it

There are six jars of chocolate in my office. And, despite my dedication to keeping them filled, they are often emptied within a few days. They join the morning coffee run in powering our newsroom with sugar and caffeine. With a newsroom of about 50 people it also takes no small amount of madness to tell you about the world we share. As I write this, two days before our last edition of the year is published, just one jar is left, half filled with that festive favourite; Quality Street. They had better last until this edition is sent to print.

My office is in one corner of the newsroom. The windows of our eighth floor open up to spectacular views of Johannesburg, and it's easy to get lost just staring at its green trees and grey cement buildings. The strains of Peter Gabriel's *Biko* drifts out of the television in the middle of the newsroom. No one is paying attention to it. Someone laughs. A hearty, full laugh that gets a crowd of reporters animated, pointing at phone screens and gesticulating. The newsroom manager's phone rings — someone has a tip-off. A big story, they say. Please can someone take the call? There's an audible groan. Reporters are trying to finish off their last stories. A sub-editor, quite fed up with the din, gets up from her chair and turns the television off.

It's been a long, hard year.

Just six months ago, we went to the polls. South Africa elected Cyril Ramaphosa as president. The ANC won a comfortable majority, but its dominance is being eroded — mostly by its stubborn conviction to destroy itself. The Democratic Alliance was delivered a nosebleed — notably by more conservative elements of its support base, who opted for the familiarity of the Freedom Front Plus (FF+). The Economic Freedom Fighters, meanwhile, increased its share of the vote, taking up more space in Parliament — and certainly more space in the political consciousness of the country.

Telling the strands of this larger political story strained our newsroom. It has been a tough decade for us, with a newsroom that shrinks when the economy has a shock, or when government advertising goes into the pages of politically connected publications. In this, we are lucky to have dedicated readers who keep coming back to the *Mail & Guardian*, allowing us to keep reporting.

For the elections, this meant that the M&G's centre for data journalism, headed by Athandiwe Saba, was able to predict trends before the election. It saw the growth of the FF+ and allowed us to report what this meant.



Graphic: JOHN McCANN

Data has always been integral to journalism. Now, thanks to the mix of reporters and algorithms, it is becoming ever more essential to our work. Our investigative journalists, for example, have worked closely with the data team to find stories in the numbers that underpin much of how this country works.

While Angelo Agrizzi was laying bare the cult of Bosasa at the Zondo inquiry into state capture earlier this year, the quick work of our investigations and data teams found that the state had made nearly 10 000 payments to Bosasa, resulting in R12-billion for the company. Then there was the Great Gupta Firesale. The full extent of the Gupta family's empire has not yet been set out, but as we watched bits and pieces go under the hammer to settle debts, the fact that the state would recover nothing was a sad indictment of the slow pace of state-capture arrests.

Investigations and politics are the bread-and-butter of the M&G. But this is, at its core, a publication founded to dig into the injustices of the status quo. At first, that was an apartheid system that systematically abused and disenfranchised most of the people in South Africa. For the past 25 years, it has been a form of capitalism that also abuses and disenfranchises.

Where the pressure is often to lead our newspaper and website with investigations and politics, this year we have put our other reporting beats at the fore. This is especially true for the environment, in particular our reporting on the climate crisis, the dysfunctional education system, gender-based violence, the legal system and the state of labour in South Africa. We are also the only newsroom to have dedicated resources to report on the rest of this continent.

The newspaper has consequently led with Sipho Kings' investigations into air quality, where toxic air in Johannesburg (for example) means you lose three years of your life. In education, we led with work by education reporter Bongekile Macupe, investigating

the high personal cost of a matric that means learners have no chance to have lives outside of school. That reporting was infused with work by legal reporter Franny Rabkin.

And, as I write this, large parts of the country are still crippled by drought. In Australia, massive fires are being driven by successive, record-setting temperatures. In New York, the first-ever "snow squall" warning has just been issued. Our world is changing, rapidly, and journalism has struggled to report on this climate crisis. This is something that the M&G has reported on throughout its history. Now, when you open a regular edition of the paper, the first thing you'll see is a climate column as well as a graphic showing the latest concentration of carbon in the atmosphere.

Women in particular will be hit by the climate crisis, exacerbating other abuses. This year has been another one dominated by cases of horrific rape and murder, with certain deaths grabbing the nation's attention. This is why we kept reporting on the murder of Viwe Dalingozi, ensuring that a broken justice system had to do better in holding her killer to account. This is why we went to Limpopo to look at the police station where the most rapes in the country are reported, and to the Eastern Cape to tell the story of Aviwe Wellem, who was murdered without consequence for the perpetrator(s).

All these stories have taken their toll on our newsroom. Good journalism requires that you spend time with people, talking through their trauma and trying to find out why abuses of power happened. This is taxing on reporters, who deal with the worst of our country so that they can better inform the public — you.

In part, because you have said that reporting on how bad things are can become overwhelming, we also started our Good News edition this year. Although it isn't the "sunshine journal-

ism" forced on the SABC, it is an acknowledgment that this country is still here because of the tireless work of some incredible people. From journalists and Eskom engineers to non-governmental organisation workers and the people cleaning campuses, people wake up each day to make South Africa work.

We will report more on these people. Even if we don't have power.

Ten days before this edition was published, the electricity in our building went out. A power surge during a weekend of load-shedding had left us tiptoeing around the parking garage in the dark, the light of our cellphones saving us from things going bump in the night. In an unrelated incident, the lifts servicing our building had suffered water damage some weeks before. But these lifts, in the spirit of the fourth industrial revolution, come kitted out with their own algorithms and attitude. So getting up to the newsroom on the 8th floor is sometimes a feat of fitness too great for some of us — okay, mostly me.

We've been in this building for eight months now, leaving behind Rosebank for a space that feels more comfortable to an independent news publisher; a space from which we can look out of the windows, marvel at the city beyond and breathe. Although this year has not been kind to journalists, and the news media in general, the mere fact of our survival is a feat.

Even in the best of circumstances, journalism is hard, but it is particularly hard right now. The business model of journalism is not quite fixed, the economy is moribund and newsrooms must transform practice and processes to better serve our audiences. We've had a tough year, and said goodbye to three of the longest serving employees of the newspaper, Shaun de Waal, Oupa Nkosi and Matthew du Plessis.

Despite our difficulties, the M&G is still here. And we have our readers to thank for that. Next year, the newspaper will celebrate its 35th anniversary. It's no small feat to still be around, especially as a small, independent publication. Stay with us, as we set the agenda for the next 35 years.

Mail & Guardian

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Don't miss our next edition
— "2020: What lies ahead"
— out on January 3

News

NUMBERS OF THE YEAR

365 Boris Johnson

The number of seats won by the Conservative Party in the December elections in the United Kingdom. These numbers will allow Prime Minister Boris Johnson to forge ahead with the Brexit plan to leave the European Union

\$22 000

The value of a cocaine stash hidden in an Italian forest that was reportedly destroyed by wild boars

12 000

The number of fires that were burning at the same time in August in Angola, the Democratic Republic of Congo and Brazil — countries that are the home of some of the biggest rain forests in the world

The number of young people, including climate activist Ayakha Melithafa from Khayelitsha, who submitted a groundbreaking 100-page legal complaint to the UN Committee on the Rights of the Child. They allege that UN member states' failure to tackle the climate crisis constitutes a violation of children's rights

The age at which Robert Mugabe, Zimbabwe's founding father and former president, passed away this year

95

14

Ayakha Melithafa

29.1% South Africa's unemployment rate in the third quarter of 2019. This is the highest level since 2008. The number of unemployed people rose by 78 000 to 6.73-million

12 The number of days during which 15 of the world's elite poker players were outwitted by a robot named Pluribus

The amount South African comedian Trevor Noah raked in in 2018, according to *Forbes*. This makes the host of *The Daily Show* in the United States the fourth highest-paid comedian in the world

R430m

Trevor Noah

18-million

The number of South Africans who did not vote in this year's general elections in May

20

The number of companies that pooled financial resources to add facilities such as state-of-the-art science laboratories, classrooms and a consumer studies kitchen at the Lofentse Girls School in Soweto. The companies are all focused on investing in science, technology, engineering and mathematics education for young women

159 The number of years it has taken to find the wreckage of the *Clotilda* — the last known slave ship to bring captives from Africa to the United States

Graphic: JOHN McCANN Compiled by: ATHANDIWE SABA

Fabulous Festive Reads

An intimate, candid and inspiring account of a remarkable life.

An exploration of what our interactions with strangers tell us about ourselves.

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The decade that decides our fate

This was the decade of climate negotiations, extreme heat and record-setting carbon emissions. It started with little hope of action to control global warming, flirted with hope and ended with that hope largely squashed. **Sipho Kings** writes that, by this time next

year, we'll know if we're going to do enough to keep this world vaguely habitable. If we don't do enough, in a decade's time there'll be droughts, floods, wildfires and crop failure on an apocalyptic scale, causing deaths, social unrest and mass migration

If average global temperatures increase at their current rate, the United Nations climate scientists warn of a world where ecosystems — including coral reefs, wetlands and forests — collapse. Many parts of the world will be too hot to work in. Droughts and floods destroy agricultural systems. People starve. Mass migration occurs and destabilises unprepared recipient countries.

In their report, titled "Global Warming of 1.5°C", the scientists warn what this means: "Poverty levels increase to a very large degree and incidents of starvation increase very significantly." High levels of public unrest then follow, "resulting in some countries becoming dysfunctional".

The report came late last year, in the middle of the hottest period in recorded history. Last year also set the record for the most global carbon emissions. This year will probably break that record. In South Africa, there's been unseasonal flooding, record temperatures have been set across the highveld and drought cripples large swathes of the country. Emissions here have only declined because of economic stagnation.

Globally, it has been a decade dominated by climate. Extreme weather events, a change in the language we use and mass protests have made the climate crisis a major concern of many voters around the world. The decade included, in Paris in 2015, the adoption of an international climate agreement, but it was bookended with failed negotiations.

The decade started with a low point. In late 2009, at climate negotiations in Copenhagen, the promise of an international agreement to do something about carbon emissions was choked out. Nobody was willing to compromise. Getting 200 countries to agree on something is difficult — we can't even all agree that landmines are bad.

With no one willing to compromise, a group of leaders led by Barack Obama, then the president of the United States, unilaterally signed off on a plan to reduce emissions. South Africa's president also signed it. The Copenhagen Accord noted that "strong political will to urgently combat climate change" was needed. It suggested a goal: "The increase in global temperature should be below 2°C."

At this point, the world had already warmed by 0.8°C. It has now warmed by 1.2°C. That seems like a fractional increase, but fractions of a degree normally come over the course of centuries and we're on course for a near 4°C rise in the world's temperature since the start of the industrial revolution in the late 1700s.

Copenhagen was the foundation of South Africa's climate plan, which allows emissions to grow by more than 20% until 2025, stay there for a decade and then drop from 2035 — but still not to levels that scientists say are needed. This plan is tied to Eskom's coal-fired power plants, with most of the fleet being decommissioned by 2035. But the plan has been roundly criticised. The international organisation, Climate Action



Accord: Nations agreed at the Paris Agreement (below) to limit global warming, which causes extreme climate events such as Cyclone Idai that hit Beira (above). Photos: Guillem Sartorio/AFP & Arnaud Bouissou/Anadolu Agency



Tracker (CAT) — the most authoritative group on collating the sum total of countries' plans — has labelled South Africa's "highly insufficient". If every country in the world did as little as South Africa about its carbon emissions, CAT says the world would warm by nearly 4°C.

With goodwill gone after Copenhagen, it took extraordinary negotiating skills — led by South Africans — at international climate negotiations in Durban in 2011 to rescue things. This led to the 2015 Paris Agreement, a necessarily weak plan for tackling climate: to get more countries in, you have to demand less of them. That was the strategy used to put in place the Montreal Protocol on ozone-depleting substances, signed in 1987, which started small but has done so well that it has now done more than any other international agreement to lower carbon emissions.

At the heart of the Paris Agreement are nationally determined contributions — what each country says it will do to lower emissions.

South Africa's current plan is basically the same as its 2009 one.

The Paris Agreement asks governments to hold "the increase in global average temperature to well below 2°C". That's the number scientists think would do a great deal of damage, but wouldn't collapse the world as we know it. The agreement also asks countries to "pursue efforts to limit the temperature increase to 1.5°C". That's the number African countries, and the island states that are already disappearing under the rising sea, say is the maximum threshold before things start to go seriously wrong. It's a number that will probably be exceeded in the coming decade.

In late 2018, the UN's climate agency, the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change, published the

If every country in the world did as little as South Africa about its carbon emissions, the world would warm by nearly 4°C

"Global Warming of 1.5°C" report. This looked at what happens if the world warms by more than 1.5°C. Even the best-case scenario comes with drought, flooding, hunger and mass migration. Each of these cases get worse the longer the world continues to emit high levels of carbon pollution and they all threaten the existence of human society in its current form, with the possibility of tens to hundreds of millions of people dying.

Given the stakes, the report said large-scale, "unprecedented" action needed to happen to cut global carbon emissions by 45% by 2030 and to net zero by 2050.

Countries, mostly in Western Europe, are cutting emissions in line with this scientific warning. South Africa's plan — and the new national energy plan — doesn't follow what science says is needed. Medupi and Kusile, the world's third- and fourth-biggest coal power plants, will still be operating in 2050. As could two private coal plants the government wants to build, despite a court order that government look at those plants' effect on climate change and reconsider its decision.

S spurred on by the 1.5°C report's warning, and following the withdrawal of the US from the Paris Agreement, the UN secretary general, António Guterres, has become more vocal about the need for countries to adopt more ambitious climate change actions. In September, he called a summit where he asked countries to come up with better plans. South Africa wasn't given a speaking slot because its plan wasn't ambitious enough. So, President Cyril Ramaphosa sent the speech he would have delivered. This noted that "our region is likely to become drier and drastically warmer", and pointed to Cyclone Idai and the 1000 people who died in Southern Africa as an example of extreme weather events. Local research, he said, points to "major climate change impacts occurring in the region over the next several decades". These include "multiyear droughts that compromise water security and heatwaves impacting on human health, livestock production and crop yield".

At the COP25 Madrid climate negotiations this month, South Africa promised to increase the ambition of its climate plan.

The country plans that came out of Paris come into effect next year, or in 2025, and many countries are required to submit more ambitious plans before the climate talks in Glasgow next year.

To be more ambitious, South Africa should decommission coal-fired power plants earlier than planned. The national energy plan shows that replacing coal with wind, energy and gas power plants would be cheaper than running an Eskom fleet (which in any event can provide only 70% of its capacity). Closing coal-fired plants breaking air quality laws will prevent the deaths of 333 people a year.

That national energy plan has been stalled thanks to corruption, ineptitude, political infighting and competing interests of departments, such as mineral resources and energy, environment and public enterprises. And the unions failed to be proactive and prepare for energy from wind and sun and instead hampered plans to deal with Eskom's crisis.

Despite South Africa's promise (and those of other countries) to scale things up, the Madrid talks largely failed. These were meant to iron out technical details left undecided at the Paris Agreement, including carbon trading and who pay for damage already done by the climate crisis. Countries such as the US and Brazil were instrumental in undermining the negotiations.

A decade that started with little hope has ended in gloom, despite the optimism of Paris in 2015. The science says carbon emissions have to almost halve by the end of the next decade. Nothing shows that this will happen.

But in the spirit of Christmas, South Africa could rewrite its part in this narrative. If the national energy plan is followed, the country will build a mixed grid dominated by wind and solar power. That would save lives and create a whole new economy.



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Management live it up at Fort Hare

The university has financial problems and conditions for students are 'shocking', yet senior staff get luxury cars and unlimited petrol cards

Bongekile Macupe

An assessor's report into affairs at the University of Fort Hare (UFH) has revealed that some people use the institution as a "cash cow", yet students have inadequate learning facilities and live in dilapidated residences.

"There are disturbing signs of a widespread belief that the university is a kind of cash cow which everyone is entitled to milk for personal benefit. The problem is not only that this may happen outside of rules and policies. The problem is also that some of the rules and policies are quite generous in distributing university largesse," reads the report, which was gazetted last week by Higher Education, Science and Technology Minister Blade Nzimande.

In July, Nzimande appointed professors Chris Brink and Louis Molamu as independent assessors. Their mandate was to investigate the governance issues that led to former minister Naledi Pandor appointing Loyiso Nongxa, the former vice-

chancellor of the University of the Witwatersrand, as an administrator at Fort Hare university. This was after the council had removed Sakhela Buhlungu as vice-chancellor in a meeting that did not meet the quorum. Nongxa now runs the functions of the council.

Brink and Molamu were also tasked with investigating policies and procedures pertaining to financial management, supply chain management, any specific allegations of financial irregularity and administrative issues, among other matters.

Some of the issues the report flagged as problematic, particularly for a university facing financial difficulties, included how senior staff members are supplied with serviced cars and unlimited fuel to move between the Alice and East London campuses. The report said, in principle, it made sense that senior staff were provided with cars because they would claim for kilometres travelled if they used their cars for work purposes.

But it then added: "For a university with such financial challenges



Short straw: While Fort Hare students protest for better conditions, staff are said to be milking the university. Photo: Stringer/AFP/Getty Images

as UFH, it seems very generous to allow senior staff to use university-purchased cars for private purposes, with no limit on use and all expenses paid. We were given a list of 19 vehicles assigned to senior staff in this manner, including five Mercedes Benzes and a Jaguar."

The report also said students spoke about "long-term frustrations" of poor teaching facilities and inadequate accommodation, both in East London and in Alice.

"Some of what we saw is shocking," the report noted. "In the residences we saw students living four to a room meant for two, with two of them sleeping on mattresses on the floor, in old prefab buildings. This takes place under university auspices, with the students paying full fees for accommodation."

The report found that there are more students than the university's facilities can cope with. Students have to sit on the floor and in the

aisles of a lecture room, because the chairs are broken and the lecture halls are overcrowded.

The report also said that the Alice and East London campuses are in a state of disrepair and have been neglected.

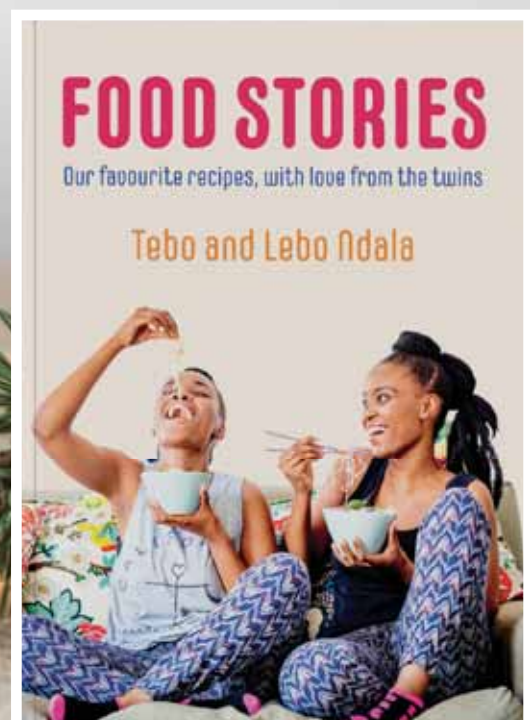
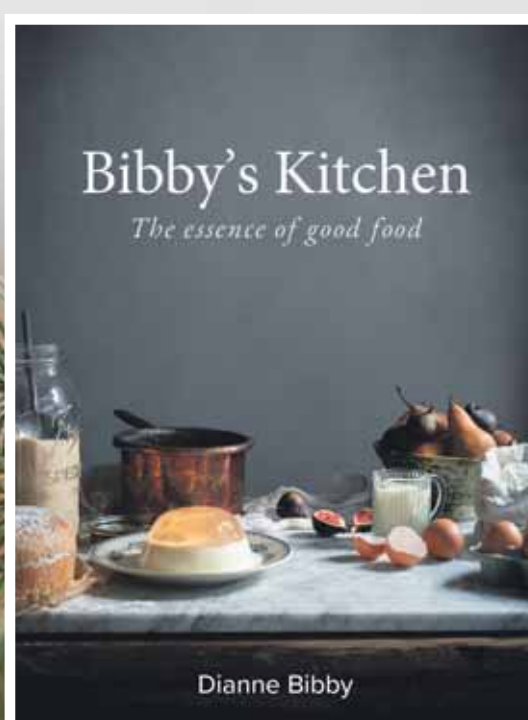
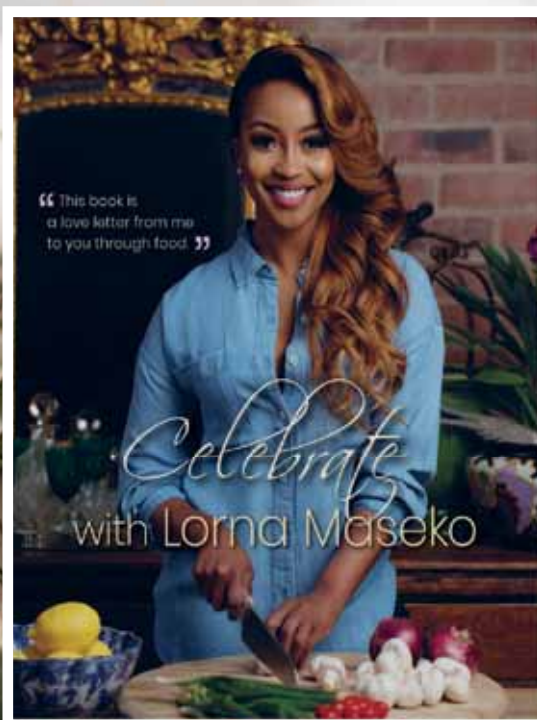
"The campus is littered with old and broken pieces of furniture (chairs, beds, mattresses), which have clearly been standing or lying around gathering dust for years. Nobody seems to care, or to do anything about it," reads the report.

"Particularly in Alice, there is litter all over campus, but no rubbish bins. In East London, where many students walk quite a long distance to lectures, there is exactly one outside tap where students can drink water; otherwise they have to source drinking water in the 15 toilets."

Some of the recommendations made in the report include that after Nongxa's term as an administrator has ended, the university must be subject to increased and regular scrutiny by the department of higher education for a further period of three years, if necessary.

It also called for Nzimande to consider recruiting and appointing a new chairperson of the university's council through the department, instead of that person being elected by council members from among themselves.

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In the headlights: Cyril Ramaphosa, who has had to deal with the fallout from the Zuma years, is likely to face ANC factions working against him in the new year. Photo: Delwyn Verasamy

A year of 'shocks and surprises'

Collapsed coalitions, a reduced ANC majority, a conflicted ruling party, a self-gutting DA, the 'same old' EFF and something new from the IFP

Paddy Harper

When Cyril Ramaphosa was propelled into the presidency, it allowed the ANC to maintain its parliamentary majority and govern South Africa alone.

An undertaking to deal with state capture, clean up the civil service, mend floundering state-owned enterprises and create jobs secured the ANC 57.5% of the vote nationally.

Ahead of the poll, Ramaphosa, who had replaced Jacob Zuma when he was recalled in February 2018, appeared to have a handle on things, promising that sparks would fly should he be elected, rather than appointed.

Ramaphosa made a lively start, with a cull of Cabinet deadwood and a big drive for investment and job creation. Fresh appointments in the criminal justice system pointed towards results in terms of cleaning up the debris of "nine wasted years" under his predecessor.

Seven months after the May elections, the head of state's promise of a New Dawn has lost some of its shine in the face of job losses, the collapse of state-owned enterprises and an apparent inability to bring those

responsible for the looting of state coffers to book. Tainted ministers have been recycled as parliamentary committee chairs, or appointed to the boards of lower profile state entities. The criminal justice system has been pitifully slow to act, despite the almost daily naming of names and revelations of malfeasance at the Zondo inquiry into state capture, the inquiry into impropriety at the Public Investment Corporation, as well as other public inquiries.

But Ramaphosa has had to try to keep the sun rising while a faction in the party is working against him.

Somehow, Ramaphosa is regularly "surprised and shocked" (or is that "shocked and surprised") at the depth of the various crises gripping the nation.

More shocks and surprises may lie in store for him next year when the governing party holds its mid-term national general council (NGC) meeting. Although the meeting is meant to be a mid-term policy review, it is an important precursor to the party's 2022 elective conference.

Forces loyal to Zuma, led by secretary general Ace Magashule, have staged a fightback in the provinces and in the party's national executive committee, effectively negating many of the advances made by Ramaphosa

and his supporters since his election at Nasrec in December 2017.

The party has been unable to hold a series of crucial elective conferences in a number of provinces and regions – including Mpumalanga and North West, where infighting has forced the ANC to place its structures under administration. As a result, elective meetings – the outcome of which are central to what lies ahead for Ramaphosa – have been put off until next year.

A realignment of forces and shifting alliances in the ANC may also provide Ramaphosa with more shocks, both at the elective conferences, the national general council meeting and, ultimately, in 2022.

Magashule's faction in the ANC, which controls the party machinery, has also reached out to some of Ramaphosa's former supporters, among them Human Settlements Minister Lindiwe Sisulu. She collapsed her 2017 presidential campaign to back Ramaphosa, but has of late moved closer to Magashule and the ANC Women's League, which had failed to endorse

her and instead backed Nkosazana Dlamini-Zuma.

Sisulu and deputy president David Mabuza are more likely to be opponents, rather than backers, come 2022. Mabuza swung the outcome of the Nasrec conference with his behind the scenes "unity" manoeuvring. Both he and Sisulu are likely use the NGC meeting as a forum to assess their potential to provide Ramaphosa with another shock.

The Democratic Alliance provided its own fair share of surprises in 2019, not least its decision to disembowel itself over the loss of just under 2% of the vote in the May election. Mmusi Maimane's attempt to sell the party as a nonracial alternative to the ANC failed among its white supporters, with the party's share of the vote dropping from 22.2% in 2014 to 20.8%, when many moved to the Freedom Front Plus.

The party's response was to blame the loss on Maimane, who resigned, and to move to the right, with former Western Cape premier Helen Zille making a comeback as DA federal chairperson.

The move sparked a backlash from Maimane's supporters and ultimately cost the DA control of the Tshwane and Johannesburg metropolitan municipalities. The resignation of Johannesburg mayor Herman Mashaba, in response to nonracial rejection and the election of Zille, gave the Economic Freedom Fighters, with which the DA had gov-

erned the two cities, reason to end the coalition agreement and field its own mayoral candidate to replace Mashaba.

One party that didn't come with any shocks and surprises in 2019 was the EFF, which continued with its electoral growth, taking 10.8% of the vote nationally and securing its place as the third biggest party in the country. Its dumping of the DA as a coalition partner in Johannesburg and Tshwane was also no surprise, given the changes in the DA leadership and the ability of EFF leadership's unerring eye for the political about-turn.

The EFF's elective national assembly in early December also provided no surprises. President Julius Malema and his deputy Floyd Shivambu cemented their control of the party while making an example of Dali Mpofu and other challengers to their authority and ensuring that they failed to make it back to the national leadership.

Perhaps the biggest political surprise of 2019 came from the Inkatha Freedom Party. The IFP not only finally held its elective general conference after 12 years, but did the unimaginable and elected Velenkosini Hlabisa to replace Mangosuthu Buthelezi as its president, a post he had held since its formation 44 years ago.

What did come as no surprise was the decision to appoint Buthelezi as president emeritus – president for life.

The DA provided its share of surprises, not least its decision to disembowel itself over the loss of just under 2% of the vote

How South Africa's minibus taxi

The industry contributes billions to our informal economy, yet the drivers who are the bedrock of the public transport system are often paid less than the sectoral determination stipulates

Magnificent Mndebele & Musawenkosi Cabe

It is 6.30am and traffic is starting to build up. A queue marshal holding a sjambok at Bree Taxi Rank, which takes its name from Bree Street in the centre of Johannesburg, directs and shouts at taxi drivers: “Woza! Ngena, woza baba! (Come, get in).”

Inside the rank, some of the traders have set up their stalls and are settling in to catch the early-bird commuters. Others are in a state of panic, trying to get set up before they start losing business.

This rank is for local trips only and is one of the busiest in Gauteng.

The taxi industry, which connects millions of residents from the periphery to the cities, operates on the margins of public transport. The millions of passengers who take taxis in pursuit of their aspirations and goals place their fate in the hands of taxi drivers.

Bhekizizwe Ncobeni* (48) is a driver of 15 years who has dedicated his life to transporting commuters. But, unlike many of us, his dreams have been delayed while transporting commuters to their destinations.

He and thousands of other taxi drivers across South Africa are among the most exploited and underpaid workers, together with domestic and farm workers.

Reaching for an unmarked brown envelope in the driver's door of a Toyota Quantum, Ncobeni poses a rhetorical question: “If you multiply R500 by four weeks, how much do I earn?”

The R2000 a month that Ncobeni earns is way below his monthly expenses. “I pay rent of R2500 and I need to buy groceries for my family back home [in Zimbabwe], which is R2000, and to transport it either via a taxi or bus costs me an extra R500. I, too, need to eat,” Ncobeni explains. “The money we earn is nothing.”

Imali yesokisi

Ntabakazikhonjwa Zungu* is 52 and has been a taxi driver for more than 20 years. He can relate to Ncobeni's struggle. Every day, he wakes up at about 2.30am to start queuing at the rank for his first trip at 4am.

The father of three says he is still working despite tough labour conditions because his last-born child is still at school. Zungu also earns R500 a week. Both drivers, as well as others, say that because taxi drivers earn so little, to survive they rely on what they call imali yesokisi, the extra money a taxi driver makes after reaching the day's target required by the taxi owner.

The owner has no knowledge of this money, which ranges from about R200 to R300 a day. “If you ... want to wait for the owner to pay you, you will get nothing,” says Ncobeni, adding that every day he has to give the taxi owner R500. This means that petrol, per diems and other costs remain his responsibility.



Driving employment: Bree Street Taxi Rank in Johannesburg (above) and National Taxi Association spokesperson Theo Malele (right), who says the industry has provided jobs to about 600 000 people, including drivers, marshals, car washers and traders. Photo: Noncedo Gxekwa

Ncobeni explains that to earn enough to survive, taxi drivers look for innovative ways to maximise imali yesokisi by swiping passengers from other taxis going to different destinations.

In Gauteng, more than 1000 taxis are said to be bought monthly, leading to a high volume of minibuses on the same routes. Because of this, Zungu says, imali yesokisi has decreased drastically, forcing drivers to live even more hand-to-mouth.

“When you see us being naughty and chaotic on the road, as if we own the road, it is because of these pressures. If you do not do these things, at the end of the day you will end up with nothing,” says Ncobeni.

Taxi drivers say one of the factors that contributes towards them breaking the rules of the road is that minibus taxis don't have a dedicated lane, making it extremely difficult to work during peak traffic hours.

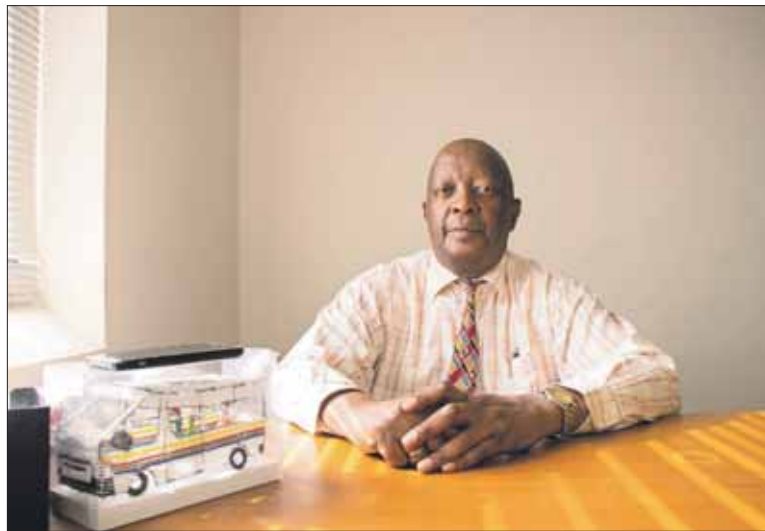
If metro police officers stop them when driving in the emergency lane or the Rea Vaya bus lanes in Johannesburg, they are fined R500. The hefty fine has to be paid from the taxi driver's pocket.

“Driving of minibus taxis in Johannesburg is very stressful,” says occupational therapist Dr Lee Randall, who has studied the taxi industry extensively.

“Research with bus and truck drivers has found that the combination of high pressure and low control — especially when drivers must adhere to a schedule and when traffic conditions are unpleasant — is associated with mental health risks, and the same is likely to apply to minibus taxi drivers,” says Randall.

The taxi industry's history

There are more than 200 000 minibuses in South Africa, transporting more than 15-million commuters each day. The industry is estimated to generate annual profits of at least R90-billion. Taxis are considered the



pillar of public transport, accounting for 65%, followed by buses at 20% and trains at 15%.

The taxi industry emerged in the aftermath of the brutal forced removal of black people from the cities by the apartheid state. At first, the industry operated under severe state regulation, when it was still struggling to be recognised as a form of public transport, says Siyabulela Fobosi, a public transport researcher.

The industry began thriving in 1987 after deregulation and is now reported to have a direct and indirect impact on the informal economy. National Taxi Alliance spokesperson Theo Malele says the industry has provided employment to about 600 000 people. Taxi drivers; queue marshals, who earn R300 a week; car washers and informal traders are some of those people employed by the industry, directly and indirectly.

Industry beneficiary

Inside the Bree rank and its dark corridors, life goes on at full blast. A couple of hundred people arrive daily to run their businesses and maintain a livelihood. Nandi Buthelezi, 53, a vendor at the rank, says she wakes up at 2.45am every day to arrive by 4am to

“I pay rent of R2 500 and I need to buy groceries for my family back home ... I, too, need to eat. The money we earn is nothing”

this rank has and the number of passengers, for a bystander to learn that we are not making profits would be a shock.”

Madijo says they'd love the government to intervene, to invest and empower them. “I did not dream of being a vendor for the rest of my life. I imagined that one day I will be owning a restaurant or working as a director of a restaurant. But now I am stuck. We want growth in this business.”

Part of the reason traders like Buthelezi and Madijo are struggling to get enough customers is because they've been allocated vending stalls that are out of sight in the rank.

“The place was built, but they never sat down with us to ask, ‘Where would you like the kitchen to be?’ They just went on to build without our involvement,” Madijo says. “This building does not accommodate our customers. We are behind the passages.”

Although they appreciate having a structure and not being exposed to torrential rain and heavy wind, if the government had consulted them during the architectural design of the stalls, things would have been better, they say.

Minimum wage

Despite consistent economic growth brought by the taxi industry over the years, it remains characterised by appalling labour relations.

Randall says that, from her experience as an occupational therapist, the working conditions of taxi drivers are among the worst she has encountered. They're subjected to “long working hours, relatively poor earnings and a widespread (or even universal) lack of very basic safety nets such as UIF [the Unemployment Insurance Fund] and Compensation Fund cover. Benefits such as medical aid, funeral insurance, pension or provident funds and even basic paid leave of any type seem to be unheard of luxuries for the average taxi driver,” says Randall.

The sectoral determinations that the department of employment and labour issued for October 1 2017 to June 30 2018 declare that taxi drivers must earn a minimum of R787.73 a week, or R16.41 an hour, which is below the R20 an hour national minimum wage.

“Not many of the taxi drivers in my study were aware that there is a sectoral determination for the taxi sector, setting out the minimum amount they must be paid and the maximum number of hours they should have to work per week — right down to stipulating night-shift allowances and overtime pay rates,” says Randall.

Malele says that as taxi operators they “want to be seen to be complying with the sectoral determination of the department of employment”, but as an industry they face challenges.

For Malele, not all routes are lucrative and the costs of operating a taxi — such as bank loan instalments, maintenance, and wages for drivers and queue marshals — are high. Beyond this, not having state subsidies makes it difficult to comply with the minimum wage and extend certain benefits to drivers.

Zungu opposes this argument. “Taxi owners don't like being taxed; they will see it as a loss. We need to register working hours. If you worked hard, you must earn a living wage, not isokisi, because we will be accused of stealing,” Zungu says.

South African National Taxi

sell porridge, Jungle Oats and cereal to commuters.

Patience Nomonde, 58, affectionately known as Madijo (the mother of food), is from Orange Farm, about 45km from Johannesburg. She became a vendor in 1992 and runs a restaurant selling pap and meat.

“This is like our company or a firm. That's why we wake up every day to come and sell at the taxi rank. You cannot afford to miss a day: if you do not wake up for work you will not benefit, ya understand? ... We have raised and educated our children, and also built homes [through this work],” says Madijo.

Business, however, has declined over the years. Initially, the City of Johannesburg moved vendors from trading on the streets to operating inside the taxi rank. Buthelezi says they were told that no trading would happen outside the rank. But over time, more and more street traders without vending permits have arrived, setting up in the busiest spots within the rank.

This has had a negative effect on traders such as Buthelezi, Madijo and others with vending permits to operate inside the rank and, as such, rental obligations to the City. Many have defaulted on their R450 monthly rent and now live in fear of being evicted.

“Yesterday we were asking ourselves, ‘How are we going to travel back to our homes?’ because we don't have money,” says Buthelezi.

Madijo weighs in: “I left for home late, around 7.10pm, as I was waiting for at least one more customer to come in so that I'd be able to get a taxi fare. Looking at the taxis that

industry exploits its drivers



Jostling for space: In Gauteng, more than 1 000 taxis are said to be bought monthly, leading to a high volume of minibuses on the same routes. This makes it even more difficult for drivers to make money. Photo: Noncedo Gxekwa

Council Gauteng spokesperson Middy Mali says: “We are trying to comply with [the Labour Relations Act] and we also want drivers to understand their rights. The biggest challenge is that most of the drivers are not happy to sign contracts; they deem them as binding too much.

“For [taxi drivers] to sign and [for us as taxi owners to] comply as an industry will help them to understand their benefits ... We are trying to make ways and means to bring our drivers closer, the Gauteng MEC of roads and transport Jacob Mamabolo is also coming to help [us learn] how we can best regulate the industry.”

Unfair working conditions

Some drivers work seven days a week. Zungu says that he can hardly watch television without falling asleep because of fatigue.

“It is important that taxi drivers get enough time to rest and not be overworked, so that they are not tired when driving taxis. The work of the taxi drivers is intrinsically linked to the travelling experiences of com-

muters,” Fobosi says. “The possible longer-term consequences when the taxi drivers are overworked is continued dissatisfaction with the work itself.

If a taxi driver needs to take a day off, that driver has the responsibility of finding a replacement driver to cover for. If the taxi owner has a lot of minibuses, a standby driver will be hired to take over. But the driver intending to take leave will do so without being paid.

Randall says the department of transport and the department of employment and labour are the ones largely implicated in relation to the poor working conditions of taxi drivers.

“The latter seems to be turning a blind eye to blatant labour law violations. During my literature search, for instance, I found no evidence that inspections or raids on taxi association offices are carried out to check that drivers are properly employed, and many of the drivers in my study noted that labour inspectors at ranks and on the roads should check on

whether the taxi owners are providing job contracts, payslips and other basic legal requirements,” says Randall.

To correct this, Fobosi says, “The department of employment and labour should have labour inspectors enforcing labour regulations in the taxi ranks and ensure compliance with the sectoral determination for the taxi sector. All taxi owners should ensure that employees have contracts of employment and that fair labour practices are enforced.”

The department did not respond to questions about its role in ensuring fair labour practices in the industry. The department of transport also did not respond to numerous requests.

Malele says there is talk in the National Taxi Alliance of transforming and improving the labour conditions of drivers.

“Modernisation of the industry [resulted in an agreement] to professionalise this business and look at the interest of labour practices. Our service levels will improve, [including] communication skills, and being able to treat taxi drivers as human beings,” he says.

But, for Randall, “Work conditions and the industry as a whole have deteriorated rather than improved over the past couple of decades. Thus, it has moved further away from professionalising even though there’s widespread acceptance that it needs to become more professional.”

No job security

Beyond the precarious working conditions, taxi drivers’ jobs are generally uncertain.

“Owners dismiss anyhow. Sometimes it depends on what you have done. For example, if you failed to reach the target because of traffic and you give the owner R300 instead of R500, he will insist that I took his money and you wouldn’t be given a chance as a driver to explain what happened. He

will say I must leave the keys and the taxi. Just like that, you’re fired,” Ncobeni says.

“Another employer will fire you for being involved in an accident. However, sometimes the car gets broken and when it comes back from the panel beaters, it’d come with a different driver. You’d only know that you’ve been fired when your colleagues ask where you [are] because they see your car in the taxi rank. Rights for taxi drivers do not exist. We are oppressed by the owners of the cars and they treat us as their slaves.”

Fobosi says the reason taxi owners are not warming up to the idea of regulation is to avoid complying with fair labour practices, a view shared by taxi drivers.

For Zungu, in the taxi industry, owning a taxi as a driver means empowerment. Malele echoes this sentiment, saying that taxi drivers with more than 10 years of experience are promoted or eligible to become taxi owners, depending on their conduct during the their time spent as drivers.

Yet the drivers lament the stringent gatekeeping of the taxi associations. In their associations, one is not allowed to own a taxi and be a driver at the same time.

Nonkoko Ndamase* (60) who has been a driver for more than 30 years, says there was a time in her association when the longest-serving drivers demanded to be promoted and acquire the right to be owners. The association allegedly said the work was reserved for the children of owners. To challenge this, the drivers organised a small protest and were all dismissed, says Ndamase.

Ndamase has had her own struggles in breaking through the industry, from being a taxi driver to becoming a legally operating taxi owner. When she tries telling her story, her eyes get glassy with tears.

After dedicating three decades of her life to being a driver, when she tried to empower herself by taking ownership of a minibus taxi, she was denied. It was an unfathomable and irreconcilable betrayal, Ndamase says.

To operate her first minibus taxi, she had to khwapha or conceal herself as the owner by operating under someone else’s name, usually a familiar taxi owner in an association. This taxi was damaged in an accident. She had to operate in a similar manner with her second minibus taxi, which was later stolen.

“If ukhwaphile,” Ndamase says, “you cannot even speak out if there is anything wrong. You need to be silent at all times.”

Dissenting voices silenced

Recently, Ndamase managed to buy a new Toyota Quantum with a loan. “I approached one of the owners in the association that I work for. He said, ‘MaNdamase, you have been with the association for years: there is no other association you need to approach other than that of ours if you want your car to operate,’” she says.

But, her taxi operated for only a month before the owners said they “cannot have a driver’s car operate in our association”. As a result, she struggled to pay off the R15000 monthly instalments because her taxi couldn’t get regular trips. This forced her to supplement the repayments with her own income.

“Owners have created a monopoly, only their cars must work. The way these men are so corrupt, I have realised in our association they don’t want a driver to be part of the association. And they are adamant about that,” Ndamase says, adding that being a woman driver and aspiring taxi owner in a male-dominated industry has added to her struggle to gain access to the industry.

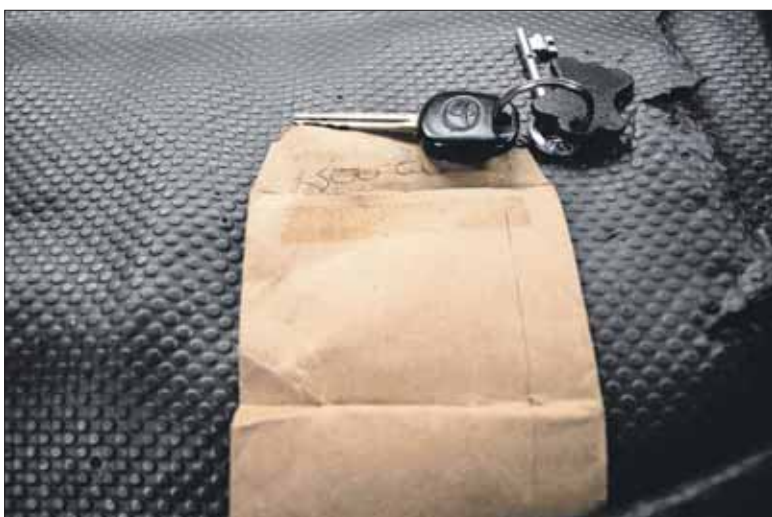
For Ndamase, collective action within the industry is impossible. “When you speak out, they will find a way to dismiss you. When the drivers hold a meeting discussing crucial issues, the owner will be calling you, telling you not to be a part of that. In the industry there are a lot of family ties — nephews of the owners and brothers, all of that. So there is nothing really that you can do because they ask, ‘Who was speaking?’ And when you speak out, you are gone. Many, I know, have died in front of me.”

Taxi drivers’ overlapping dilemmas are akin to being asked to cross a river of dirty water, with too many potential enemies and crocodiles.

It is just too delicate and dangerous to challenge the status quo or even to organise. “Joining a union is virtually impossible, both because [taxi drivers] have such informal job arrangements, being paid in cash rather than via salary transfers, and because they work in isolation and they have a realistic fear of violent repercussions if they object to their work conditions,” says Randall.

Looking at all the things that need to be fixed in the taxi industry, Ndamase says: “I doubt that this industry will ever change. The people who work in the industry are stubborn and difficult.”

* Some taxi drivers spoke on the basis of anonymity and the identity of others has been concealed to protect them from possible threats to their lives. This article was originally published by *New Frame*



Cash in hand: After submitting the owner’s target amount, which is R500 a day, taxi drivers take home R500 a week in an envelope. They do not have a salary slip system. Photo: Andiswa Mkosi

Cabinet report cards

Slow but steady: Ramaphosa is

CYRIL RAMAPHOSA

President

2018 Grade: C

2019 Grade: C

South Africa is in a state of deep crisis. As the year comes to an end, rolling blackouts returned. Eskom is nowhere near looking like it may be turned around, and the wider systemic risks it represents — the energy crisis, the country's debt, economic slow-down — get more pronounced by the day. Unemployment has worsened, and when the full numbers for 2019 are in, we may discover that the economy contracted this year.

This is the broad background against which President Cyril Ramaphosa is graded. It's a tough picture. But Ramaphosa does have one or two advantages that boost his grade somewhat.

For one thing, he is not the author of the multiple crises his government is tripping over. He is, for better or worse, the man we entrusted on May 8 to get us out of the mess he inherited. He is judged not so much on its existence but whether he is succeeding in getting us out of it.

Ramaphosa also gets a lot of leeway, considering who he inherited the mess from. In other words, he gets a good hearing merely by not being former president Jacob Zuma. In April 2009 Zuma came to power and almost immediately set about dismantling the state apparatus that had spent much of the decade pursuing him for corruption or could stop his rampage through the buffet he considered state-owned enterprises (SOEs) to be.

In nine disastrous years, he took a hammer to the National Prosecuting Authority (NPA), the Hawks investigative unit, the South African Revenue Service (Sars), the South African Police Service and the intelligence services. Then, and seemingly this was the entire point of his presidency, Zuma and his cronies set about robbing Eskom, Transnet, Denel, SAA, the SABC and any other part of the state from which a few dimes could be squeezed out. The cumulative effect of the work of his

syndicate is where we are now: staring at Ramaphosa, wondering, as the panic rises, if this man has what it takes to accomplish even half of what needs to be done.

Regarding the economy, Ramaphosa is a mixed bag. We have stood still in 2019, not getting better but also not getting much worse. That is the sort of thing that's considered good news now. There will be sub-zero percent economic growth for this year, and an overall contraction is still possible if the fourth-quarter gross domestic product numbers follow on the 0.6% decline of the third quarter. There seems to be no plan that involves extending economic opportunity to the more than 10-million people who are out of work, and so unemployment now sits at about 30%.

What's most concerning about Ramaphosa and his team's performance on the economy, though, is the apparent lack of coherence and direction. In his first State of the Nation address after the May elections, Ramaphosa said his government would pursue seven key priorities, at the top of which was "economic transformation and job creation". There was the promise of a grand plan to get South Africa working and growing. Since then, all we have seen is a demonstration of the damaging incoherence that has dogged ANC governance on the economy for 25 years.

It was Finance Minister Tito Mboweni, not the president, who released a "blueprint" for the economy earlier this year. The political management from Mboweni and Ramaphosa was amateurish.

Neither the ruling party (even its powerful economic transformation sub-committee) nor any of Mboweni's Cabinet colleagues played a part in conceptualising or drafting the document. Many had not seen it until it was

posted on the treasury's website for public comment. Unsurprisingly, this angered Cabinet members and ANC bigwigs, and alienated labour federation Cosatu and the South African Communist Party. Later news reports informed us that Ramaphosa "supports Mboweni's economic plan". That is surely not how it should be.

The document has glaring weaknesses: it makes uninformed claims about some economic sectors, misdiagnoses problems and prescribes the wrong remedies. It is also shockingly unambitious, and the plans in it will do nothing to make a dent on 30% unemployment. It reads as if it was written by treasury officials and advisers, not elected leaders who feel the burden of lifting millions out of poverty.



$$CR = \frac{(Mboweni + Pravin) \times Bheki Cele + De Lille}{Mabuza + Gwede + Mbalula + Loadshedding}$$

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Mail & Guardian
Politics. Explained.

What the grades mean

A: Take a bow. You are doing an excellent job

B: Good, but room for improvement

C: You are okay

D: Get your act together

E: Do yourself and the country a favour, resign

F: You are fired

putting SA Inc back on its feet

Ramaphosa is hampered by divisive ANC politics and so is not providing clear leadership and direction on the economy. We do not yet have a “Ramaphosa plan” in which the communication is unambiguous and which is driven by the presidency and adopted by all ministers and departments. That means the most important part of the president’s task remains a contested political football between his economic ministers, senior ANC figures and alliance partners.

But there are triumphs on the horizon. The investment climate is slowly but surely changing. Ramaphosa’s second investment summit attracted about R350-billion in pledges from local and international investors. He has promised to bring R1.4-trillion worth of investment into the economy by 2024. On this measure, he is doing well.

The South African Reserve Bank’s numbers confirm the investment turnaround. In the second quarter of this year, gross fixed investment increased by 6% after five quarters of decline. This growth in investment is led by the private sector, with the state and SOEs following behind.

This suggests business confidence in the economy is on the rise, despite the persistent headwinds.

Under Ramaphosa there has also been a slow but clear effort to restore the integrity and functioning of state institutions and, most importantly, to restore public confidence.

Sars, the NPA, the Hawks and other key institutions have new leaders. They are in the middle of a clean-up of the rot that took root for nearly 10 years.

But budgets are constrained and progress is slow, so public patience is wearing thin.

There are signs that high-profile prosecutions for corruption will follow in 2020, as a result of the work that has been put in to reinvigorate the investigative and prosecutorial capacity of these offices.

If that happens, Ramaphosa will possibly have a better year — and a better grade.

DAVID MABUZA

Deputy President

2018 Grade: **D**

2019 Grade: **D**

Deputy President is a job that nobody wants unless they intend to use it as a springboard to pursue the top job. Presidents who think they’ve appointed a deputy who is content to support and hold the fort when needed and stay in their lane are soon disappointed.

Often, they are toppled.

For instructive contemporary examples of post-apartheid South Africa’s

“DP problem” please see

Thabo Mbeki, circa 1999-2008

or Jacob Zuma circa 2009-2012,

2014-2018.

At least with David Mabuza, Cyril Ramaphosa has the advantage of knowing exactly what his No 2 is about and what he wants. There are no deceptions. Cold comfort for a president who looks as vulnerable as Ramaphosa does, leading a party as unstable and divided as the ANC.

Mabuza knows the ANC inside out and can manipulate its internal dynamics to his own advantage. The way he ended up as its deputy president at the ANC’s Nasrec electoral conference two years ago is a prime demonstration. Moreover, unlike any of his predecessors, he can claim to have won his boss the main office. Without Mpumalanga’s votes at Nasrec — votes marshalled by Mabuza — Ramaphosa would not be in office.

What is the price that Ramaphosa will pay for this service? There is the constant looking over your shoulder sure, especially with the ANC’s national general council only six months away.

But that was always part of the bargain, and Ramaphosa would be a fool not to anticipate it.

But what does Mabuza bring or take away by occupying his office at the Union Building? A smart politician for sure, but does he have any ability as an administrator? Is he at least useful to Ramaphosa before he stabs him in the back?

The deputy president, unlike ministers, does not have a prede-



finied portfolio. How much of a job the deputy does or doesn’t have is defined by the president, who delegates responsibilities. The government defines the delegated responsibilities as:

- Leading government business in Parliament;

- Leading government efforts to fast-track land reform and the co-ordination of government programmes to accelerate land reform and agricultural support;

- Assisting the president in stimulating and supporting rural and township economies through implementing empowerment models;

- Assisting the president in the implementation of rapid response interventions on service delivery

and troubleshooting in service delivery hotspots;

- Co-ordinating anti-poverty initiatives through, among others, public employment programmes, integrated service delivery and enterprise development;

- Leading the South African National AIDS Council and the country’s integrated response to the challenges of HIV;

- Assisting the president in efforts towards building a better Africa;

- Supporting in investment facilitation and trade promotion;

- Leading the Human Resource Development Council and fostering collaboration between government and social partners towards addressing the shortage of skills

in critical sectors of the economy; and

- Promoting social cohesion initiatives including being patron of the Moral Regeneration Movement (conceptualised by Nelson Mandela).

That’s a lot of words to express responsibility of no real consequence. No delegations to do with the economy or anything important, except to assist the president accomplish those.

The ANC gives its deputy president a lot more power and responsibility than this. With his ANC hat on as chair of the party’s deployment committee, Mabuza can decide, or at the very least influence significantly, who leads our state-owned companies or other state institutions.

The area in which the deputy president has been most visible is in Parliament, where he is the most prominent member of the executive representing the government, explaining its work and its thinking, and accounting for its mistakes. He doesn’t do particularly well in this area, all too often looking like what he ultimately is — a strongman of provincial pork barrel politics risen way above his station and his grasp of the modern world, thrust into the national limelight before anyone could polish him up and make him ready for it.

He’s twice been tripped up over the fourth industrial revolution when asked questions about it. To be fair, the question from the Economic Freedom Fighters’ Mbuyiseni Ndlozi demanded Mabuza explain “the role of nanotechnology” in the area of medical diagnosis, something Ndlozi himself would not have been able to explain. It was a silly and unhelpful “gotcha!” type of question, which Mabuza pulled up short instead of waffling about nanotech.

But eight months later the Democratic Alliance asked a similar question and again Mabuza floundered. We don’t need our government leaders to know everything about anything, but we can expect them to try to plug gaps in their knowledge when these have been previously exposed.

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Cabinet report cards

KHUMBUDZO NTSHAVHENI Minister of Small Business and Development

2018 Grade: n/a
2019 Grade: **C**

Having been an entrepreneur herself, Ntshavheni might be best suited for her portfolio.

Many who have had interactions with this department have complained about red tape and inaccessibility to those it serves. Despite its promise, the department was not an ally for entrepreneurs. Ntshavheni has promised to change all of this.

But first she's had to wade through the politics of Luthuli House.

Ntshavheni has been dogged by reports that she had misappropriated campaign funds during Cyril Ramaphosa's CR17 ANC presidential campaign. The *Sunday Independent* reported that she had allegedly used a portion of the more than R5-million from the CR17 campaign funds to buy a luxury vehicle and build a "mansion" in Thohoyandou for her mother. She's denied the allegations, saying they were "based on malice and devoid of the truth".

She has been able to shuck off these claims and get on with her job.

In his State of the Nation address, Ramaphosa said small business will be crucial if attempts to alleviate unemployment by government are to be successful. It's common sense of course. Entrepreneurs need an enabling environment to thrive. But since it was first introduced in 2014, the ministry has yet to show much by way of actual results.

And so it's not insignificant that at age 42, Ntshavheni is one of the youngest ministers in Ramaphosa's Cabinet. She is meant to be bringing fresh ideas, and her own experience as an entrepreneur into the ministry.

In her budget vote address in Parliament in July, she committed to improve access to support, both financial and nonfinancial to small, medium and micro enterprises. She's done that. Or, at the very least, introduced a raft of measures.

In July Ntshavheni also announced that small businesses will have access to a mixture of grants and loans from the Small Enterprise Development Agency (Sefa) through a new blended fund that aims to finance 100 000 young entrepreneurs. The intention is to lower the cost of finance. Sefa has also set new turnaround times in which to approve funding.

These are all steps in the right direction. But there's still a lot to do to show results.

BLADE NZIMANDE Minister of Higher Education, Science and Technology

2018 Grade: n/a
2019 Grade: **D-**

Nzimannde is one of the longest serving ministers (minus the 19 months he spent in the wilderness after being booted out of Cabinet by former president Jacob Zuma).

Besides his stint as transport minister, Nzimannde has spent the majority of his time in government as the minister of higher education. In May, he returned to that role. In an interview with the *Mail & Guardian*, he spoke with the energy of someone coming to a new portfolio.

The addition of science and technology to his portfolio means that, to an extent, it is new.

In science and technology, he has inherited a stable and healthy department, if the outcomes from the auditor general are anything to go by. For the financial year 2018-2019 the department



received a clean audit, which it has achieved for the past five years.

Nzimannde lauded the department for being the biggest funder of postgraduate studies. In the 2018-2019 financial year, through the National Research Foundation, the department co-funded 13154 postgraduate students. This support allows the country to consistently punch above its weight when it comes to internationally acclaimed research.

With an eye on the future, the World Economic Forum Centre for the Fourth Industrial Revolution is also being established under his watch. This should turn the 4IR catchphrase into something concrete.

In his higher education responsibility, Nzimannde said he wants to focus on the historically disadvantaged universities, particularly those in rural areas. He said he wants to look at the funding formula for universities to see whether it discriminates against the historically disadvantaged universities. For example, these universities receive less money from the National Student Financial Aid Scheme (Nsfas) because they charge relatively cheaper fees than "wealthier universities" and yet these institutions do not have all the resources that wealthier universities have.

He also wants to attend to the funding of the so-called missing middle students — those who are too poor to afford university but not poor enough to qualify for Nsfas funding. This missing middle was left behind in the #FeesMustFall movement.

For Nzimannde, the country needs a system where no one is forced to pay for higher education upfront even if they earn R2-million. And he wants to explore ways to assist children of professionals who are excluded from getting funding for higher education. "My ideal is that irrespec-

tive of how much you earn you should be able to get a loan for higher education."

Nzimannde's other priority is the expansion of the Technical and Vocational Education and Training colleges by building more campuses. But Nzimannde cannot talk of expansion in this sector when these colleges have yet to become the "institutions of choice" that he said he wanted them to be back in 2012.

The colleges are responsible for the education of about 700 000 students. But, for the 2018-2019 financial year, they received roughly R1-billion in state funding.

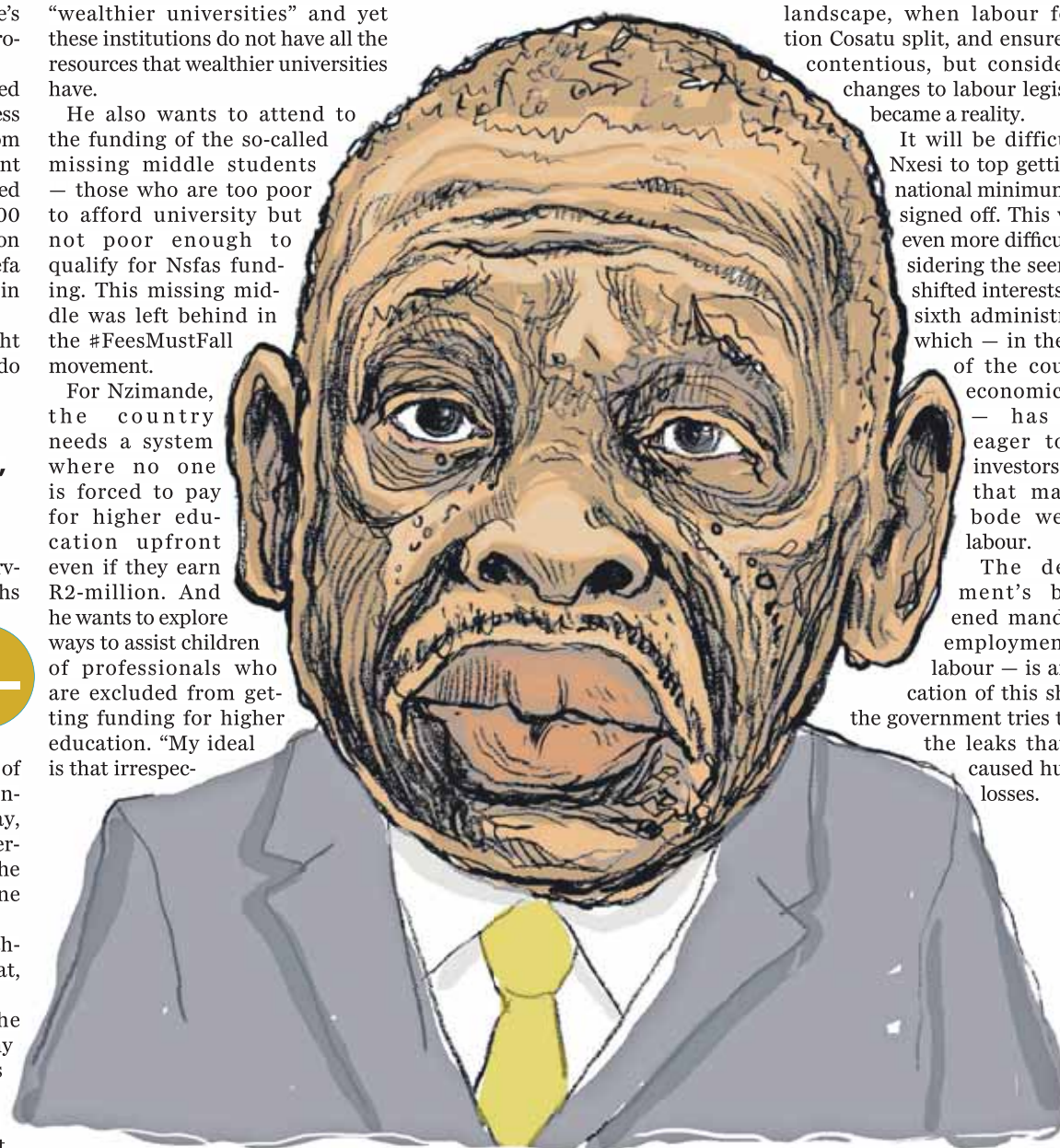
A report presented by Nzimannde's department to the portfolio committee on higher education, science

and technology last month painted a bleak picture of the colleges' stability. It was also in stark contrast to a report presented to the same committee in October, showing that most universities are well run and stable.

The report speaks of colleges that have acted inappropriately during the 2018/2019 financial year, those which have poor management and weak governance oversight. In some colleges teaching and learning has collapsed.

The White Paper for Post-School Education, which was adopted by the Cabinet in 2013, recommended that an advisory body be set up to help to build the college system. Nzimannde admits that without this body colleges will continue to struggle — and yet he has not established it. This speaks volumes about how seriously we take the colleges.

Nzimannde speaks as if he suddenly has a magic wand to fix all the gaps that have been in the system for years when he was at the helm. It is okay to have all these brilliant ideas but what is important is for him to act and skip the talking. The future of this country is at stake.



THULAS NXESI Minister of Employment and Labour

2018 Grade: n/a
2019 Grade: **C**

Nxesi, once the general secretary of the South African Democratic Teachers' Union, was probably the best candidate to replace his predecessor. But he has big shoes to fill. Mildred Oliphant was in the position for almost a decade and, during her time there, she steered the department through sometimes choppy waters. She kept things more-or-less stable during the shakeup in the trade union landscape, when labour federation Cosatu split, and ensured that contentious, but considerable, changes to labour legislation became a reality.

It will be difficult for Nxesi to top getting the national minimum wage signed off. This will be even more difficult considering the seemingly shifted interests of the sixth administration, which — in the wake of the country's economic woes — has been eager to woo investors, a fact that may not bode well for labour.

The department's broadened mandate — employment and labour — is an indication of this shift, as the government tries to plug the leaks that have caused huge job losses.

Because Oliphant's departure from the department was preceded by the sweeping amendments to labour legislation, much of Nxesi's work required adjusting to these changes.

This has gone more smoothly than expected, though the real effects of these amendments on the labour regime is not yet clear. The department, for instance, has had to ensure that the National Minimum Wage Act is enforced. As part of this, the department will add 200 inspectors and has already embarked on a nationwide blitz of workplaces.

The inspectorate has shown its muscle in recent months, carrying out a number of high-profile operations. This has had the controversial effect of also clamping down on the employment of foreigners.

Nxesi has also had to figure out how to integrate employment into the department's mandate, which requires it to shift its approach from compliance with labour legislation to helping create jobs. This is still a work in progress; the department is embarking on co-ordinating its activities with other departments and re-aligning its resources.

But the entity which has, rightly or wrongly, become the face of employment for the department, the National Economic Development and Labour Council (Nedlac), has in the last year fielded criticism for not being relevant.

Nxesi has vowed to make Nedlac more inclusive, but if this isn't dealt with carefully, it could upset the relative stability in the department. This could have the added effect of disturbing the current balance between business and labour.

Nxesi also has the challenge of rehabilitating the Compensation Fund, which received negative audit outcomes this year and has a long history of financial mismanagement.

The fund is a vital safety net for workers and central to a key piece of legislation that Nxesi hopes to see amended soon — the Compensation for Occupational Injuries and Diseases Act, which will soon be broadened to cover domestic workers.

If the fund isn't saved, the protection of vulnerable workers — the cornerstone of the department's existence — will be a lost cause.



PATRICIA DE LILLE
Minister of Public Works and Infrastructure

2018 Grade: n/a
 2019 Grade: **B**

The leader of the Good Party was asked to serve the country about 200 days ago. In one of her first speeches as a minister, De Lille said she would need to hit the ground sprinting, not just running.

Her department is charged with: the transformation of the construction and property sectors, ensuring compliance with policy and legislation for the management of state assets; giving direction to public works priorities and contributing to job creation and poverty alleviation through public works programmes.

The department has a terrible record. It's the Special Investigating Unit's biggest client, with more than 1000 of its leases being investigated. De Lille says this accounts for some 90% of all government leases.

De Lille did hit the ground sprinting. As of November, 57% of the leases had been renegotiated, saving the state about R268 000 per lease.

The portfolio committee on public works wants answers to many questions. It identified that the department did not have the muscle to deal with strategic risks, was having dif-

ficulty filling critical posts and that many fraud cases were unresolved.

The public works programme is one of the biggest sources of concern and fraud. De Lille said measures have been put in place to control ID fraud and duplication of names. The public works programme reporting system has been linked to the department of home affairs to check work beneficiaries' ID numbers.

B A month after the hype of her appointment died down — she is the only non-ANC member President Cyril Ramaphosa included in his Cabinet — De Lille was already out to curb ministerial spending. A very welcomed move.

In her budget vote speech, she was firm. Ministers would not be buying new furniture, broken chairs would be refurbished and electricity bills and water consumption would be kept to an acceptable level.

"We are investigating high consumption bills with both the City of Tshwane and the City of Cape Town municipalities. Our property section is presently engaging with the City of Cape Town on overbilling amounting to R20m," she said.

Parliamentarians also want to see the transformation of the construction sector, which provides services and property. Progress is slow but the department has

adopted the Property Management Empowerment Policy and at least 14 black-owned companies have been approved.

"Tenders up to R50-million are set aside in favour of enterprises that are majority-owned by black people to provide them with more opportunities to participate in the market," she said.

There are no sacred cows for the new minister. De Lille, a former Democratic Alliance member and mayor of Cape Town, has pushed the City of Cape Town to release land to build houses to correct apartheid spatial planning.

It is refreshing to have someone tackle the chaos in the public works and infrastructure department.

RONALD LAMOLA
Minister of Justice and Correctional Services

2018 Grade: n/a
 2019 Grade: **B**

When President Cyril Ramaphosa restructured and reshuffled Cabinet in May, it was hoped that he would split justice and correctional services back into two ministries. Instead, he kept them together and handed the huge portfolio to South Africa's youngest Cabinet member.

But after less than six months in the position, even the sceptics seem to be coming around, saying Lamola has injected new energy into the departments and, although it is too early for conclusive opinions, is making all the right noises.

Lamola says that when he was "on the outside", he also did not understand the merger of the two departments. But now that he is on the inside, it is the "sensible" approach. His biggest challenge, he says, is to create an integrated justice system, with a seamless "relay" from home affairs, which registers people, through to the police, courts and prisons.

Such a system has been a justice priority for years, and is not something easily implemented. Lamola has only been at the helm for seven months. In these seven months there have been big changes in the justice sector — the appointment of a new national director of public prosecutions, the finalisation of the saga involving former top prosecutors Nomgcobo Jiba and Lawrence Mrwebi, the establishment of Hermione Cronje's special corruption-busting directorate (known as Scorpions II)

and two good appointments to the Constitutional Court.

These are not really achievements that can be attributed to Lamola. But, when the National Prosecuting Authority desperately needed a financial injection, he went to the treasury and got the money. Impressive. He also moved with speed with the regulations that established the Special Investigating Unit Tribunal, which will recover some of the millions that have been lost to the state because of corruption and irregular spending.

Lamola also says he will, in the first quarter of next year, be introducing legislation that will set up permanent land courts. The idea is that these will deal not just with restitution claims, but with redistribution, evictions and evaluations — "everything that is land". The current Land Claims Court, envisaged when it was created to be a temporary institution, has been crippled by its legislative scheme with long-standing acting appointments. In the meantime, the Judicial Service Commission announced that it

B would be interviewing for high court judges to second to the Land Claims Court — including in KwaZulu-Natal where, says Lamola, there are many outstanding claims.

Lamola had barely got into his stride when there was the national outpouring of rage against gender-based violence, triggered by the

murder of Uyinene Mrwetyana. The criminal justice system came in for some of the harshest criticisms. The *Mail & Guardian* was almost tempted to give Lamola an F purely based on reports that he had said the Cabinet would reconsider imposing the death penalty. But he says his answer to a question at a press conference was badly reported and taken out of context. He should have been clearer about the issue, but Lamola is now reassuringly firm that: "It's not open for debate."

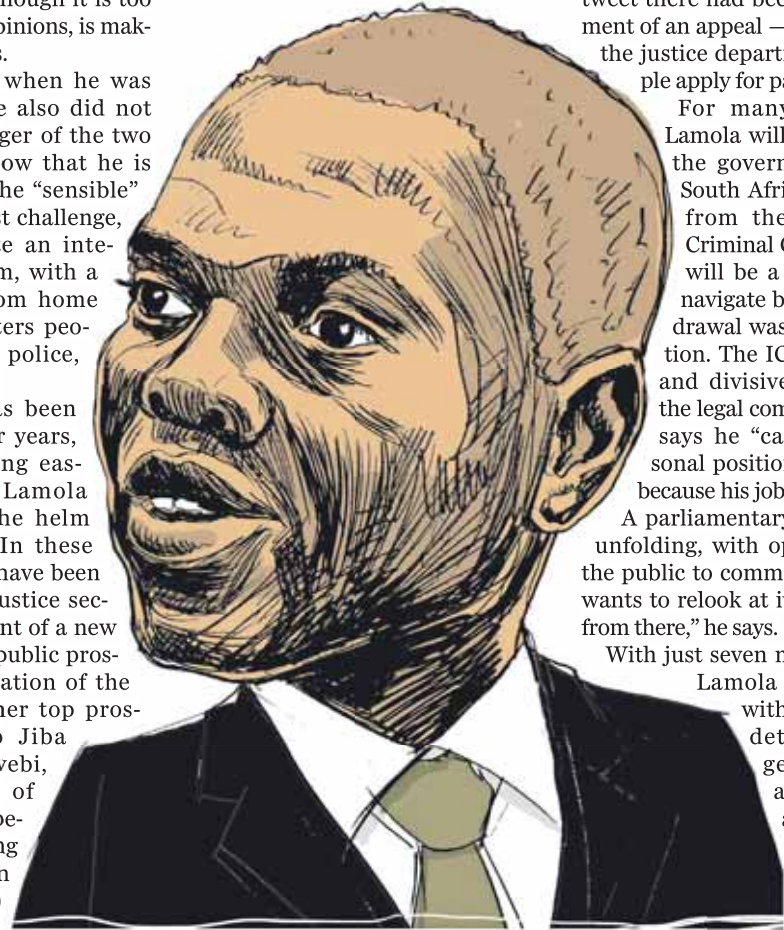
Regarding building a criminal justice system that works, Lamola is in for the long haul — talking about things that can be achieved in five to 10 years — and remains committed to a rights-based system and one that views prison as a place to rehabilitate people.

He was criticised for his tweet after Kanya Cekeshe, the #FeesMustFall activist jailed for setting a police vehicle alight, was denied bail. Lamola said: "We note the dismissal of both the leave to appeal and bail for Fees Must Fall activist Kanya Cekeshe by the Johannesburg Magistrate's Court. We're in the process of urgently assisting him with an application for presidential pardon or other legally available avenues."

Cekeshe then said he would petition to appeal further, and pardons are only an option when there are no appeals, hence the criticism. But Lamola says that at the time of the tweet there had been no announcement of an appeal — and "every day" the justice department helps people apply for pardons.

For many, the test for Lamola will be the position the government takes on South Africa's withdrawal from the International Criminal Court (ICC). This will be a difficult one to navigate because the withdrawal was an ANC resolution. The ICC is an emotive and divisive issue, even in the legal community. Lamola says he "can't have a personal position" on this issue, because his job is to implement. A parliamentary process is still unfolding, with opportunities for the public to comment. "If the ANC wants to relook at it, we will take it from there," he says.

With just seven months in office, Lamola has impressed with his energy and determination to get things done and his sober assessment of just how much work there will be.



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Cabinet report cards

NOSIVIWE MAPISA-NQAKULA Minister of Defence and Military Veterans

2018 Grade: D
2019 Grade: C

Despite a dwindling budget and the threat that this holds for the military's ability to do its job, the South African National Defence Force is guilty of gross financial mismanagement for a second financial year in a row.

In his 2018-2019 annual report, auditor general Thembekile Makwetu found that the department, led by tough-talking Minister Nosiviwe Mapisa-Nqakula, clocked up R5.13-billion in irregular expenditure.

The department has been abysmal when it comes to recording its irregular expenditures in the notes to the financial statements, as required by the Public Finance Management Act.

Makwetu noted in his report that he was unable to determine the full extent of the irregular expenditure. This mismanagement is a problem because the department has rising military personnel costs, thanks to troops on peacekeeping missions on the continent, particularly in the Democratic Republic of Congo.

Mapisa-Nqakula has raised concerns about the declining budget, which is R50-billion for this financial year.

By all accounts, this isn't enough to have a properly functioning armed service, particularly regarding military equipment.

"We are forced to adopt a short-term view with an increasingly constrained value proposition to South Africa and its people.

"Because of the severity of the budget cuts, we have become a funding-driven defence force instead of a mandate-driven force," said Mapisa-Nqakula in her department's annual report.

The minister should focus on the things she can directly control, such as the irregular expenditure.

Essentially, the armed forces are unable to do the job that they have been set. South Africa spends less, as a percentage of the national budget, than its peers and neighbouring states.

This is despite an ocean that needs to be guarded.

Mapisa-Nqakula is also battling her generals. Commanders, led by General Solly Shoke, went as far as producing a 29-page position paper asking for government to allow them to look after their own purse strings.

Essentially, they wanted to free the defence department from having to follow procurement processes. They were stopped in their tracks after the treasury and President Cyril Ramaphosa declined to entertain such an absurd proposal.

This fight is central to Mapisa-Nqakula's struggle to take control over her department, and over the generals.

The minister has, however, dealt decisively with sexual abuse in the armed forces by instituting an inquiry.

Its findings revealed systemic abuse, and little in the way of consequences. This is not acceptable when the armed forces exist in part to protect citizens, both here and on peacekeeping missions.



NALEDI PANDOR Department of International Relations and Co-operation

2018 Grade: n/a
2019 Grade: B

Former president Thabo Mbeki, without question South Africa's most internationally-oriented president, gave a speech about the state of South Africa's foreign policy in November this year. He spoke to a high-profile audience of diplomats and policymakers, and he was not kind. On an array of issues – violence in the Sahel region, ethnic tensions in Ethiopia, the civil war in South Sudan, the United States-China trade war, the rise of Europe's far right, civil unrest in Latin America, US President Donald Trump – Mbeki accused South Africa of failing to articulate a clear and consistent foreign policy.

"What does our country think about that? What are we doing about it? I'm saying I don't know if we've got any policy about matters of that kind," he said. The audience applauded in agreement (and everyone was too polite to point out the obvious irony: that it was Mbeki himself who pioneered South Africa's infamous policy of 'quiet diplomacy').

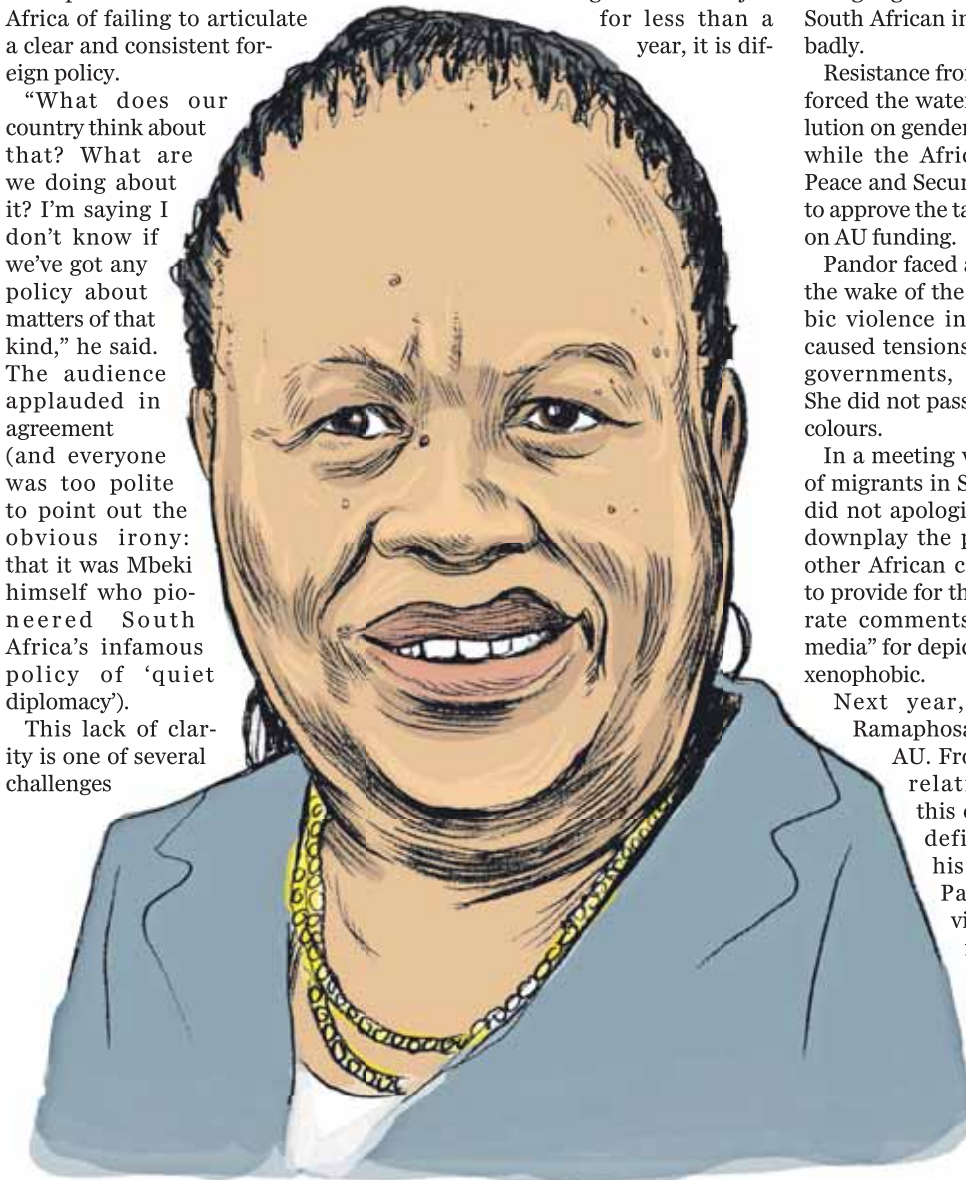
This lack of clarity is one of several challenges

facing Pandor, who assumed control of the department of international relations and co-operation in May.

She inherited a ministry that has been demoralised by several major foreign policy failures, most significantly the bruising battle to install Nkosazana Dlamini-Zuma as chairperson of the African Union Commission in 2012, which irreparably dented South Africa's continental standing.

Then there was the humiliating episode late last year when South Africa's ambassador to the United Nations went rogue and voted to abstain from condemning human rights abuses in Burma. (This was later reversed by a furious Lindiwe Sisulu, Pandor's immediate predecessor).

Having been in the job for less than a year, it is dif-



icult to accurately gauge Pandor's progress. It is troubling that we had to say almost the exact same thing this time last year about Sisulu, who ultimately spent only 15 months in the job. Consistent foreign policy requires consistent leadership.

But Pandor has already made her mark in some respects, despite her self-confessed lack of experience in the diplomatic arena.

"I had, on occasion, confessed to [Zimbabwe's then] president Robert Mugabe that I have no diplomatic skills whatsoever. I used to tell him I'm very bad at protocol matters. I've promised President Cyril Ramaphosa that I am going to learn and I'm illustrating to you that this is my beginning," she said in her first address to the department.

Department officials say she is much more hands-on than either Sisulu or Sisulu's predecessor, Maite Nkoana-Mashabane, and takes an active interest in the information presented to her.

Senior officials, unused to being questioned, are having to prepare much more thoroughly for briefings. "08:30 means 08:30," she told staff. "I believe in competence, I believe in hard work."

Pandor has also made it known in the diplomatic community that she intends to "professionalise" ambassadorial postings, drawing more ambassadors from the department. This is presumably to avoid scandals such as the one that has enveloped the ambassador to the UN in Geneva, Nozipho Mxakato-Diseko, who has been accused of bullying staff at that embassy.

These internal reforms are yet to manifest publicly. The country's most significant foreign policy foray this year has been its appointment as a non-permanent member of the UN Security Council. But critics have said that South Africa has not clearly articulated its priorities for its two-year term, and has yet to have any real effect.

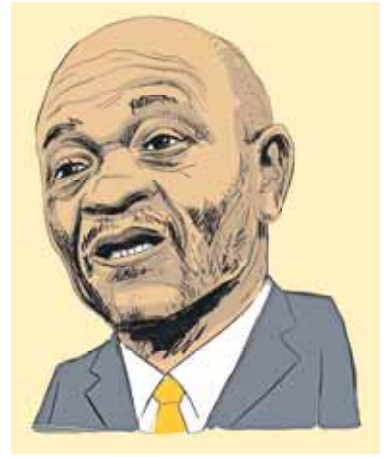
This became especially apparent in October, during South Africa's month as security council chair. The position gives the occupant a chance to highlight their priorities, but two South African initiatives went down badly.

Resistance from the US and Russia forced the watering down of a resolution on gender, peace and security, while the African Union's (AU's) Peace and Security Council declined to approve the tabling of an initiative on AU funding.

Pandor faced a major challenge in the wake of the increased xenophobic violence in September, which caused tensions with other African governments, especially Nigeria. She did not pass this test with flying colours.

In a meeting with representatives of migrants in South Africa, Pandor did not apologise, and she tried to downplay the problem, criticising other African countries who failed to provide for their citizens. In separate comments, she blamed "the media" for depicting South Africa as xenophobic.

Next year, President Cyril Ramaphosa is due to chair the AU. From an international relations perspective, this could be among the defining moments of his presidency – and Pandor will play a vital role in determining whether South Africa is able to advance its foreign policy priorities on the continental stage. If anyone can figure out what those priorities are.



SENZO MCHUNU Minister of Public Service and Administration

2018 Grade: n/a
2019 Grade: C

The most pressing item on Mchunu's agenda is the enormous public sector wage bill, particularly given the country's ailing economy.

The department is charged with helping other government departments to function better, by formulating and implementing systems that will ensure better service delivery.

But slashing the wage bill is a divisive task to take on, and one which Mchunu's predecessor, Ayanda Dlodlo, forged ahead with – sometimes to her detriment. On this front, Mchunu has perhaps been less brazen in his approach, reiterating that a plan to essentially force public servants into early retirement is not on the cards.

This is a fact that has enamoured him to labour, but risks alienating a constituency that is feeling the bite of the country's near-junk status.

The treasury has identified a necessary cut of about R150-billion to the public wage bill, which accounts for about 35% of the national budget. But Mchunu's critics have said he is nowhere near to presenting promising proposals to do this. According to the department's performance plan, it has embarked on a project to reconfigure the executive and departments. Mchunu's detractors argue that this plan does not go far enough.

The department has also been accused of poor performance, particularly in relation to the Public Service Commission (PSC), which is mandated to assess the performance of the public service.

The auditor general flagged various areas of non-compliance. These included the management of procurement and contracts, the inadequate quality of its financial statements and the poor prevention of unauthorised, irregular and fruitless and wasteful expenditure.

At the presentation of the PSC's audit outcomes in October, members of Parliament's portfolio committee on public service and administration grilled Mchunu about the department's apparent failure to implement the entity's recommendations on disciplinary cases.

Mchunu said recommendations had been ignored because the PSC's findings are not necessarily binding. He added that this gap in the commission's powers needs to be closed.

Mchunu has shown great resilience in holding his colleagues in Cabinet to account, showing that the responsibility to trim the wage bill cannot rest on the lower rungs of public servants alone.

Last month, he said that the revised ministerial handbook will be changed to slash some of the perks and benefits enjoyed by members of the Cabinet, premiers and MECs. These changes would see ministers fly only in economy class on domestic flights, their vehicle allowances being capped at R700 000, no allowance for security upgrades and limitations on domestic staff at their official residences.

GWEDDE MANTASHE**Minister of Mineral Resources and Energy**

2018 Grade: D+

2019 Grade: E

In the 2019 Cabinet yearbook, Mantashe will most definitely be voted the minister most likely to embarrass. Like Spud, the fictional character in John van de Ruit's book of the same name, Mantashe's tenure ever since he was first appointed a year ago has been characterised by making the news for all the wrong reasons.

From making the headlines over a love triangle involving a younger woman and a fellow Cabinet minister, allegations of impropriety and gratification and flawed appointments to boards of state-owned entities to promoting a non-existent mineral (hazenile) at an international mining conference, where he was supposed to sell the prospects of mining in South Africa, Mantashe's first year as an elected minister has been a disaster.

It would be funny if the portfolio he is looking after wasn't so seriously tied to the country's bid to claw its way back from "nine wasted years".

In fairness to him, Mantashe is presiding over a new super-department, which brought together two departments that are in a mess from political and administrative perspectives. Much of this is down to legacy issues.

In the first quarter of this year, mining production declined by 3.5%. In energy, the country has seen a year of rolling power outages.

Mantashe walked into an energy department that completed only 32% of its performance targets, yet spent 98% of its budget.

But, where he can make change, the minister has dallied. There is a great deal outstanding on the policy front, where Mantashe could provide certainty to both investors and residents. The national gas infrastructure plan and the National Energy Regulator Amendment Bill are two crucial examples.

The latter would start to answer questions about Eskom's unbundling, the introduction of private suppliers of electricity, what is happening with the Grand Inga hydro-power project in the Democratic Republic of the Congo, and the targets on clean energy production.

As a mark of how bad things are in the department, the country still does not have even one litre of strategic oil, after 10-million barrels were sold off in a corruption-riddled deal in 2015 under then energy minister Tina Joemat-Pettersson. It has been three years since her replacement, Mmamoloko Kubayi-Ngubane,



admitted the stocks were sold and not rotated. Subsequent investigations revealed that senior civil servants were paid to sell the stocks for a song. There has been little action to hold them to account. Litigation, by the Central Energy Fund, to reverse the deal is moving at a snail's pace. This is why, when the crude oil price changes, South Africa doesn't have a buffer and so consumers feel the pain.

PetroSA will run out of feedstock for its Mossel Bay refinery sometime next year, and the country seems to have committed itself to oil exploration in South Sudan in a R15-billion deal with no openness, or oil. PetroSA is also technically insolvent.

The Nuclear Energy Council of South Africa and the Central Energy Fund, two critical structures that fall under Mantashe's purview, are also in a mess and there appears to be no real plan to turn them around.

Mantashe's decades in political leadership before getting to Cabinet have created a political ideologue who is struggling to come to terms with the complexities of governance.

His new position requires that pragmatism sometimes trumps ideology. These are skills that he has not shown.

He adopted a hard-nosed approach to his department's impasse with the Minerals Council over the mining charter, and the department's decision to delay opening a new round of bidding to provide renewable energy – when uncertainty of energy is a key factor holding back

investment that could kick-start the economy.

The mining industry has raised issues with clauses about empowerment and renewals of mining licences. It claims to have been in discussions with the ministry since the charter was unveiled in September last year.

Instead of responding, Mantashe cites the country's improved rankings on the Fraser Institute's annual survey of mining companies as proof of his good work. *Business Day* quoted him as saying: "On policy and regulatory certainty, we have jumped 25 spots – from 81 to 56 – in one year. When it comes to investment attractiveness we have jumped five spaces – from 48 to 43 in one year."

The Democratic Alliance's spokesperson for mineral resources and energy, Kevin Mileham, believes the inaction is critical.

"In this regard, the passing of Deputy Minister [Bavelile] Hlongwa leaves a big hole, as she brought technical expertise to the [energy] portfolio. The minister has promulgated the IRP [Integrated Resource Plan], to his credit, but missed a significant

opportunity to immediately address our energy crisis, by opening a new bid window for renewables," he said.

Mantashe's mandate is huge, and crucial. The economy was built on top of the mineral complex. That industry operates amid uncertainty, and politically-connected companies continue to mine and pollute with impunity.

Without power, there is no economy. As we write this report card, the electricity is off. Eskom might not fall under Mantashe's mandate (that's Pravin Gordhan's problem), but policy certainty and new energy sources do.

The minister needs to start working with others, such as the public enterprises department, and fix his super-department.

ANGIE MOTSHEKGA**Minister of Basic Education**

2018 Grade: C

2019 Grade: D

Motshekga said in an interview with the *Mail & Guardian* last year that she believed the sector was ready to embrace someone with "fresh ideas". She had already served two terms in the portfolio. But Motshekga was kept on for a third term in the sixth administration.

The department does indeed need fresh ideas. Some in her department

and certain teacher unions believed that after 10 years the department needed someone new to steer it.

If you were to ask Motshekga why she is still basic education minister, she would probably tell you: "I go where the organisation sends me."

In her budget vote in July, Motshekga acknowledged there "are numerous concerns" in the sector.

Some of these were revealed in the Progress International Literacy Study released in 2017, which found that 78% of learners in grade 4 cannot read for meaning and, shockingly, South Africa came last in reading out of 50 countries.

So it was encouraging to hear the department had embarked on the Primary School Reading Improvement Programme, which Motshekga announced during her budget vote. The efforts invested in reading will hopefully realise President Cyril Ramaphosa's objective, as announced in his State of the Nation speech, that in the next decade every 10-year-old must be able to read for meaning.

There have, however, been stubborn issues that Motshekga has failed to resolve, particularly the provision of adequate school infrastructure in rural areas. This requires Motshekga to take bold steps. The provision of infrastructure in schools is outside of her competence and lies in provinces. But Motshekga must use her powers as the national minister of basic education and implement policies that will ensure that provinces are held accountable for failing to provide adequate infrastructure in schools.

Advocacy group Equal Education, which took her to court to force her to sign the norms and standards for school infrastructure regulations six years ago, has started a countdown to the legally binding 2020 deadline for the norms and standards when all schools in the country should, among other things, have sufficient classrooms, electricity and water.

It may well be that Motshekga is making strides in other areas to fix or strengthen basic education, but if she continuously fails to ensure that all schools have safe infrastructure, all of the good she is doing will be overshadowed by news of children dying after falling into pit latrines or special needs children in Limpopo having to go to school in shacks. She has been given another five years to redeem herself. She must use it wisely.

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Cabinet report cards


JACKSON MTHEMBU
Minister in the Presidency

 2018 Grade: n/a
 2019 Grade: **C**

As chief whip of the ANC in Parliament, and an ardent supporter of Cyril Ramaphosa's bid for the party's presidency, Mthembu was always going to be rewarded with a plum Cabinet position.

As minister in the presidency, he is Ramaphosa's eyes and ears in the administration, as well as the public face of the Ramaphosa government.

In the latter part of the job, Mthembu has decided to adopt a more open style of communication than his predecessors.

He is also the official spokesperson for the Cabinet. His interactions with the media have been fruitful and forthcoming. He answers with clarity and gives explanations during post-Cabinet media briefings, sometimes even if particular issues were not discussed in Cabinet meetings.

His job is to tout the government line of the day.

Mthembu has also been the public face of Ramaphosa's response to several key issues in the country.

After a flurry of protests against gender-based violence, it was Mthembu who had to answer for government and say what it was doing, and where it was failing. He also had to make sure that his boss was on public platforms denouncing violence and giving the state's position on protecting women and children, and punishing criminals.

In August, Mthembu stepped in and convened a meeting between a government agency, the Media Development and Diversity Agency, and small media outlets. The hyper-local media outfits complained that they were not receiving government grants. This would see radio stations and newspapers closed.

Mthembu stressed the government's commitment to media freedom and the diversity of voices in the media landscape.

But Mthembu and his department have work to do. As head of the govern-

ment's monitoring and evaluation department, it is his job to make sure departments are meeting the needs of citizens through service delivery.

With dozens of municipalities on the brink of collapse as a result of failing infrastructure, citizens not paying for services, and resultant threats of disconnection by Eskom or local water boards, there has been little word on how Mthembu is bringing together the departments of co-operative governance, public enterprises, and water and sanitation to find solutions to these problems.

This is a critical failing. Although departments in the presidency occupy a grey area, they should be providing vision for other parts of government. That's the only way that big problems — such as water scarcity and gender-based violence — will be tackled.


AARON MOTSOALEDI
Minister of Home Affairs

 2018 Grade: n/a
 2019 Grade: **D**

Motsoaledi has inherited a department known for its ill-treatment and laissez-faire attitude towards the rights of immigrants. Chapter 9 institutions and non-governmental groups have had to continually fight the department to get it to better discharge its mandate.

In his first six months in office, Motsoaledi has done nothing to turn that around. Rather, he has stoked the flames of anti-immigrant sentiment — and come across as being straight-up xenophobic.

Motsoaledi's latent xenophobia did not start in his job as home affairs minister. In his last job, as health minister, he bemoaned the burden of foreigners on the public healthcare system.

His utterances earned him a rebuke from outgoing deputy public protector Kevin Malunga, who called his statements "desperate" and berated him for scapegoating foreigners when the health department failed to look at its own systemic failures.

Motsoaledi is in the portfolio that is meant to oversee the status of citizens and migrants to South Africa.

His absence during recent refugee crises outside the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees offices in Cape Town and Pretoria gave the impression that this government wasn't willing to tackle that problem.

His truancy is part of a deeply entrenched rot in his department when it comes to migrant issues. Extensive corruption means those with money can buy their way into South Africa. But those who want to follow a legal route, either through immigration or by seeking asylum, are subjected to the snail-slow pace of issuing documents. This is a xenophobic bureaucracy. It is hateful towards people from countries that helped South Africa get its freedom, and towards skilled migrants.

Where home affairs has done an excellent job has been when dealing with citizens. To that end, there has been a wholesale improvement of services at its centres in



recent years. These range from technological advancements so things are processed faster, to getting major banking institutions to issue identity documents and passports.

The waiting time for documents has been reduced to a few weeks, if not days. That's ample evidence that the system can work efficiently, if there is a will for it to do so. These advancements also predate the new minister.

Despite the advancement at home affairs centres, maybe Motsoaledi needs to do some constitutional revision. The preamble of the supreme law says: "South Africa belongs to all who live in it", not only people with South African identity documents.

How this country treats foreigners is a shame that echoes around the world. Responsibility for changing that starts at the top.

NKOSAZANA
DLAMINI-ZUMA
Minister of Co-operative
Governance and Traditional
Affairs

 2018 Grade: n/a
 2019 Grade: **C-**

If Dlamini-Zuma had it her way, she would be president and not a Cabinet minister.

A veteran in government since 1994, Dlamini-Zuma is respected as a capable technocrat who likes to get things done.

As health minister from 1994 to 1999, she oversaw the overhaul of the public health sector, from a system that benefited only a few to one catering for the majority of South Africans. (It's now on life support, but still, it's breathing.)

She then became the country's chief diplomat for a decade, serving as the minister of foreign affairs under former president Thabo Mbeki.

But her greatest achievement was possibly the turnaround of the home affairs department, where she was minister from 2009 to 2012. From an inefficient bureaucracy to a relatively well-run organisation (for locals at least), Dlamini-Zuma tightened accounting controls and implemented systems to fast track the issuing of documents.

That task might now seem relatively simple compared with her current portfolio.

In the co-operative governance and traditional affairs ministry, Dlamini-Zuma inherited a department in the grips of financial mismanagement. In the 2017-2018 financial year, the co-operative gov-

ernance division received an audit disclaimer.

The provinces and municipalities she oversees are also in a dire state. Crucial infrastructure is generally not maintained. Corruption taints many contracts and tenders, sometimes resulting in infrastructure not being provided. In metropolitan municipalities, contestation for power often results in decisions being deferred, or plans are shelved mid-implementation. In smaller, defaulting municipalities, Dlamini-Zuma has a tough job of trying to get them to pay their outstanding bills to Eskom and water boards.

Opposition parties say the minister has not dealt decisively with problems such as these, squandering precious time. She has, for example, been criticised for not setting up a task team to deal with the municipal billing crisis. Her stock response during parliamentary question time is that it is up to the provincial and local government departments to intervene.

That is all well and good, but what happens if provincial governments are also dysfunctional, as in the North West and the Free State?

Deferring decisions is a problem when entities that are owed money say they are going to disconnect services. Dlamini-Zuma did not create these problems, but there appears to be little clarity, coherence and sense of urgency in how her department works.

She may also be hamstrung by the political considerations of the ANC.

If she stands with municipalities in their plea with Eskom and water boards not to cut services, she could further entrench a culture of non-payment that her government colleagues, especially in the public enterprises and water departments, are trying to overcome.

If she sides with the state-owned utility companies and services are cut, it could spell bad news for her political party in the municipal elections in 2021.

Local government experts say an interventionist strategy of putting troubled municipalities and provinces under administration is not an answer. A starting point, they say, would be in Dlamini-Zuma implementing an early warning system so her department knows when things in provinces and municipalities are going wrong.

Her task is herculean. It might not even be possible, given the near collapse of many local government entities and endemic corruption. But this is her job and she has to act decisively.

TITO M Bowen**Minister of Finance**

2018 Grade: n/a

2019 Grade: **C**

A year ago, Mboweni posted an image of a sieve on Twitter. Just an empty sieve and no accompanying text to provide context. Was he about to share a culinary secret, one which needed a sieve to drain a tin of one of his favourite ingredients, Lucky Star pilchards?

A colleague wondered if he'd gone nuts, but in time the context became clear. Mboweni was bemoaning the fact that our state enterprises seem to think that public money should be endlessly poured into them even though they are as financially sound as a sieve.

We have had fewer recipes from Mboweni and he's made quite the production out of the decision to discontinue his Twitter presence. At 2am, before he was to table the medium-term policy budget statement (MTBPS), he tweeted that he had come to "the conclusion that Twitter is no longer about its original purpose: ie, to create a networked society. It is now an abusive platform."

The country was in for a shock the next day; the MTBPS showed how alarmingly quickly our fiscal position was unravelling. Without interventions, public debt would balloon within just three years from R3-trillion to R4.5-trillion. It would have been useful to know what measures government had put in place to fix the problem, but the MTBPS was a work in progress, a to-do list rather than an implementable action plan.

Mboweni is not a team player. He is a maverick. He chooses irreverence over conformity. He is certainly not a chorister.

His press conference in the budget lock-up ahead of delivering the February budget had Mboweni in the starring role, his presentation all over the place as he entertained and talked to the journalists who'd come to assess the economic state of the nation. The contrast between the minister — "governor number eight and governor number 10" in his description — and Lesetja Kganyago, the governor of the South African Reserve Bank, who was seated alongside him, couldn't have been starker.

Kganyago, who appeared to be climbing up the wall in exasperation at Mboweni's wandering perambulation, in a few sharp points quickly articulated the seriousness of the situation and where the fix lay — with government which was responsible for policy-making.

Mboweni seemed detached, making light of the serious, rather than



using his time to communicate the gravity of the situation.

But his opposition equivalent, the Democratic Alliance's Geordian Hill-Lewis, says the finance minister has a clear idea of how serious our fiscal position is and of what needs to be done. "He has not shied away from this, so kudos to him for this," he says.

But Hill-Lewis says — as is well-known — the fiscal position has become much worse on Mboweni's watch, on key metrics such as the debt-to-gross domestic product ratio. The minister is operating in a constrained political environment, but it is he who presents the budget and has to take responsibility for it.

"He has one job, to stabilise the

national debt and bring it down, and he has not been doing this," Hill-Lewis says.

Analyst Ralph Mathekgga sees Mboweni's political isolation to define the treasury under his leadership, saying it is a stress test for political configuration. "If you cannot get treasury right, this is a symptom of an administration which is not politically coherent. Poor thing, he is a lone ranger."

Mboweni did look like a lone ranger when, out of the blue from the perspective of the ruling alliance, in late August he tabled his economic transformation document, which set out reforms aimed at injecting growth into a moribund economy.

His plan invited comment, but had not been circulated within the ruling alliance structures, provoking howls of protest, especially on procedure, but also on content.

Some specific revisions — scrapping the minimum wage, then just 10 months old, and doing away with the extension of wage agreements through the industrial council system to non-parties — were always going to run into serious headwind from unions (Big Labour, as Mboweni called them) and perhaps were included as negotiating fodder to be withdrawn while the rest of the plan remained more or less intact.

The plan went through various relevant structures, including the ANC's

national executive committee, emerging with most of the mooted reforms in place. While it had been labelled as neoliberal by the left, it was the job of ANC secretary general and resident don, Ace Magashule, to read some of its content after signing off on it, sprouting the supposed neoliberalism with the fervour of an acolyte.

Mboweni's reform document, with input from more than 700 respondents, was published in October at the same time as the MTBPS, so it is too early to say what effect it is having and whether the reforms are being implemented by the relevant departments, but we can get an overall take on how the Ramaphoria reform project, as it has been dubbed, is going.

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Cabinet report cards

LINDIWE ZULU

Minister of Social Development

2018 Grade: n/a

2019 Grade: **D**

The new minister inherited a department plagued by ongoing social grants payment problems and an administration that has battled to secure clean audits since 2016.

Zulu, the former small business minister, has been relatively anonymous during her seven months in her new post, despite the ministry being responsible for providing grants to 17-million South Africans and taking the second largest slice of the national budget.

The responsibility of paying grants was last year shifted to the South African Post Office after the contract with Cash Paymaster Services (CPS) was cancelled. But the move has not been without problems.

When 80% of the CPS payout points were closed recipients collected their grants from post offices, banks and retailers. The closures have had a “devastating” effect on social grant beneficiaries, particularly in rural areas, because the number of payout points has been reduced to only 20% of the previous number, which means people have to travel long distances to get them, queues are long and recipients become targets of criminals, according to a report released in October by the University of the Western Cape and Black Sash.

The department and its entities – the South African Social Services Agency (Sassa) and the National Development Agency (NDA) – received qualified audit opinions from 2014 to 2018. Little changed this year, with the auditor general giving Sassa an unqualified opinion with findings and the NDA a quali-

fied audit. The department regressed from an unqualified opinion with findings to a qualified opinion.

Wasteful expenditure increased from R2-million in 2017-2018 to R78-million in 2018-2019, the bulk of which was incurred by Sassa paying contractors for services that were not delivered.

D Irregular expenditure decreased from R517-million to R180-million, with the bulk again incurred by Sassa as a result of unapproved contract extensions.

Foster care grants are a major problem area. About 128 000 foster care orders, which are issued for two years, have lapsed because they were not reviewed in time and so the grant payment falls away.

The department is also failing to clear new foster care applications. This has resulted in a drop of 60 000 children receiving grants between 2016 and 2018, a matter of huge concern to civil society organisa-

tions. Last month the high court in Pretoria gave Zulu two years to come up with a new system, that would resolve the review problem.

Key causes of poor performance in the department and its entities, identified by the auditor general, include inadequate oversight and ineffective leadership by management, a failure to follow policies and procedures and no consequence management for bad performance by employees.

BHEKI CELE

Minister of Police

2018 Grade: **D**

2019 Grade: **D**

Cele was appointed police minister in February 2018 and his first term ended well with a string of high-profile arrests in cases dealing with political murders in KwaZulu-Natal.

Coming on the back of progress in cleaning out the South African Police Service’s top management, the arrests pointed to progress in rebuilding the capacity – and the political will – of the police service to do its job.

But the unravelling of a number of cases, worsening crime statistics and chaotic internal financial controls did not give Cele’s second term, which began when President Cyril Ramaphosa re-appointed him in June, a spectacular start.

The 2018-2019 police crime statistics released in September show a 3.4% increase in the murder rate and a 4.6% increase in sexual offences, while the total number of crimes, determined as a result of police action, declined by 21.8%.

Irregular expenditure in the police service increased from R33-million in 2017-2018 financial year to R996-million for 2018-2019. That’s an increase of almost 3000%. Corruption



in the service also appears to be at an all-time high. The 2019 Analysis of Corruption Trends Report identified, for the first time, the police service as the most corrupt sector of the public service, outstripping education, health and local government.

In his defence, Cele has had to deal with enormous problems, given the erosion of policing capability and capacity, which took place under his predecessors, in particular Nkosinathi Nhleko and Nathi Mthethwa, both of whom served as police minister under former president Jacob Zuma.

Johan Burger, a senior researcher at the Institute for Security Studies, said Cele had inherited a hugely dysfunctional ministry that had been “severely damaged” under Zuma’s presidency.

“The leadership of the police service had become particularly compromised. Fixing those challenges was always going to be extremely difficult.

“He is still struggling with leadership difficulties,” Burger said.

Cele appears to have ignored recommendations in the National Development Plan, including the creation of an independent national

policing board, which would have assisted in strengthening both capacity and oversight.

Burger said Cele had moved away from the “laager mentality” of Mthethwa and Nhleko and had been actively working with civil society since February last year.

Although Cele had been strong on announcing his successes, including the pre-election arrests, he had failed in terms of follow-up. Other key failures had been allocating sufficient resources to forensic services and a general inability of the procurement section to deal with logistics effectively.

Internal controls over firearms and ammunition continue to be poor, with big losses of both reported to Parliament this year.

New appointments to the Hawks and Crime Intelligence, where General Peter Jacobs has now taken over, are steps in the right direction. But the erosion of skilled personnel in both areas means that swift results from either are unlikely for some time.

Cele has an incredibly tough job ahead of him, but he took the role and has to deliver. People will continue to die and be sexually assaulted if he doesn’t.



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STELLA NDABENI-ABRAHAMS Minister of Communications

2018 Grade: C
2019 Grade: D

Ndabeni-Abrahams is one of the youngest members of Cyril Ramaphosa's Cabinet. With her tender age of 41 comes the exuberance many of her colleagues lack.

As minister of communications she is responsible for the department of communications and digital technologies, which is a merger of the department of communications and the department of telecommunications and postal services.

Her appointment was warmly welcomed by players in the telecoms and information and communications technology sector, and a position that Ndabeni-Abrahams has taken on with gusto.

Under her portfolio falls the 2019 buzzword "fourth industrial revolution" (4IR).

The minister has surely been dressing the part in her 4IR suits, but she may not be communicating the message to some of her colleagues in government about the constantly changing digital global economy. Deputy President David Mabuza stuttered his way through a parliamentary question about the 4IR. And if her colleagues can't explain what the 4IR is, it means many, if not most South Africans don't know the difference between blockchain and lego blocks.

During her own parliamentary question time Ndabeni-Abrahams has answered knowledgeably and succinctly on the role that digital skills development can help to grow the economy and boost job creation as part of Ramaphosa's financial turnaround plan.

The president put the minister in charge of the Presidential 4IR Commission, which advises the government on policies and strategies that will make South Africa a player in the digital and artificial intelligence-driven economy.

At the South African Broadcasting Corporation, Ndabeni-Abrahams has ensured some stability,

though she has been accused by some of still wielding too much political influence.

The public broadcaster received a R3.2-billion bailout from the government. This shot in the arm helped the SABC to avoid the retrenchment of staff, for now.

In February she was accused of censoring an SABC TV crew from filming at an ANC rally in the Eastern Cape. She later apologised.

"I would like to offer my sincere apology for an earlier altercation with some members of the media during the ANC provincial rally in Mount Frere, while trying to stop the singing comrades," she said. "I wish to assure the media and South Africans at large of my unreserved commitment to media freedom. I sincerely regret the incident."

Ndabeni-Abrahams has been lauded by many in the public domain for her support of the #DataMustFall movement to bring down the cost of mobile internet data.

But some opposition parties and telecoms industry representa-

tives said the minister was treading dangerously close to the realm of putting undue political influence on the communications regulator, the Independent Communications Authority of South Africa.

In early December the Competition Commission ordered MTN and Vodacom to slash their data costs by up to 50%, a move that will put them under financial pressure.

Ndabeni-Abrahams attended the announcement and endorsed the commission's finding.

All in all the minister gets an A for effort — but a D for actual delivery.

NATHI MTHETHWA Minister of Sports, Arts and Culture

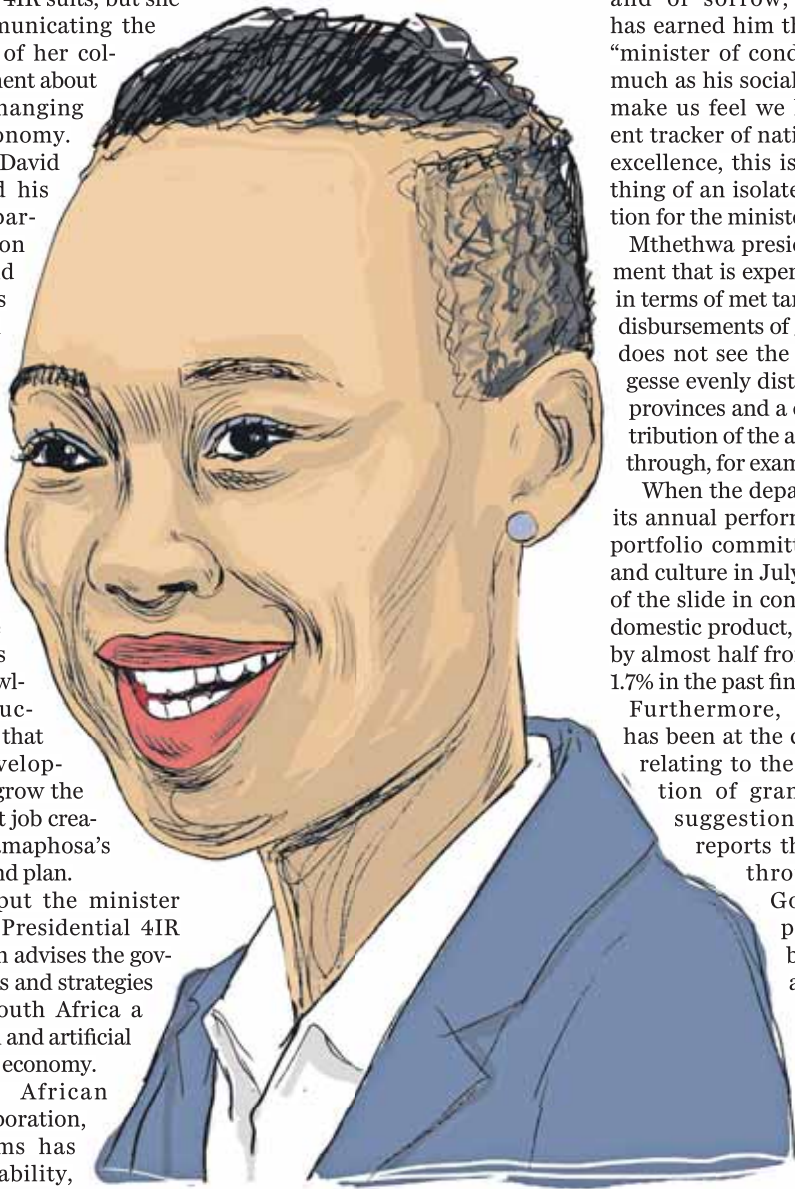
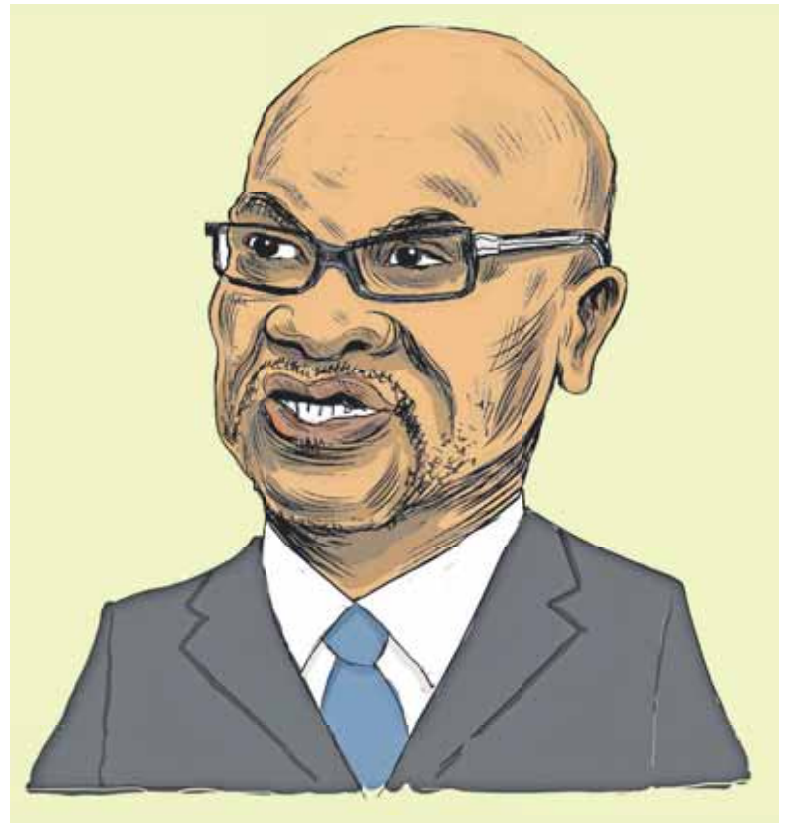
Grade 2018: C-
Grade 2019: D

Unlike his other Cabinet cohort Mr Razzmatazz (Fikile Mbalula, a former minister of sports and recreation), Mthethwa has a mild-mannered Twitter persona and sends tweets of congratulations and of sorrow, which has earned him the title of "minister of condolences". But, as much as his social media platitudes make us feel we have an omniscient tracker of national concern and excellence, this is becoming something of an isolated area of distinction for the minister.

Mthethwa presides over a department that is experiencing shrinkage in terms of met targets, questionable disbursements of grant funding that does not see the department's largesse evenly distributed among all provinces and a decline in the contribution of the arts to the economy through, for example, job creation.

When the department presented its annual performance plan to the portfolio committee on sports, art and culture in July, much was made of the slide in contribution to gross domestic product, which has shrunk by almost half from 2.9% in 2015 to 1.7% in the past financial year.

Furthermore, the department has been at the centre of scandals relating to the uneven distribution of grant funding, with suggestions in newspaper reports that funds coming through the Mzansi Golden Economy programme were being disbursed along ethno-cultural lines, with groups such as Ladysmith Black Mambazo acquiring R36-million over three years



and former president Jacob Zuma reportedly being promised several million to produce a music album.

And while benevolence was being bestowed on events such as the Indoni Cultural Awards, the department was increasingly unable to support infrastructure projects, citing a lack of capacity to direct and monitor. This is concerning, especially given the minister having stated that he considered symbolic projects such as renaming roads and cultural centres to be central to the project of social cohesion.

The minister's grip and influence on issues of national importance, such as those arising out of two interrelated Bills — the Performers Protection Amendment Bill and the Copyright Amendment Bill — seems, again, symbolic at best with no decisive support for writers, actors and other cultural workers.

At the other end of the aisle, Mthethwa has cautiously dipped into his new mandate of sport after President Cyril Ramaphosa merged the two departments in May.

His budget, at least, indicates that he won't be shaking things up right away. Of the R1.154-billion allocated to sport and recreation, R744-million will go to mass participation, sharing last year's ratio of 64% of the total, which includes school sport, development initiatives and public recreation projects. Mthethwa has continued the logic of his predecessor to stress that national success begins at school and grassroots level.

It is also pleasing to see that the

minister has acknowledged the need to offer a better framework for aspiring women to develop as athletes. Specifically, this includes the transformation of the South African Football Association (Safa) Women's League into a professional competition. Mthethwa has called for greater buy-in from corporates to make this a reality.

One intervention for which he does deserve credit is his effort in stepping into the SABC's Premier Soccer League dispute. The broadcaster had reached an impasse with Multichoice over the right to screen the league's games, which meant that viewers without DStv would be deprived of watching the nation's most beloved sport. Mthethwa, along with Communications Minister Stella Ndabeni-Abrahams, was able to bring everyone to the table and a resolution was reached, ensuring games will be shown to the broader public.

If that saga demonstrated the reach of his power, then his run-in with the South African Football Association (Safa) exposed its limits. Mthethwa made it clear during his budget speech that he intended to hold a football indaba to interrogate why international success has been so elusive in almost every age group, men and women. But Safa and its president, Danny Jordaan, had other plans, making it clear that this was their territory and they did not take kindly to interference. The indaba was called off. That Mthethwa was easily strong-armed is of concern.

CR =
$$\frac{(Mboweni + Pravin) \times Bheki Cele + De Lille}{Mabuza + Gwede + Mbalula + Loadshedding}$$

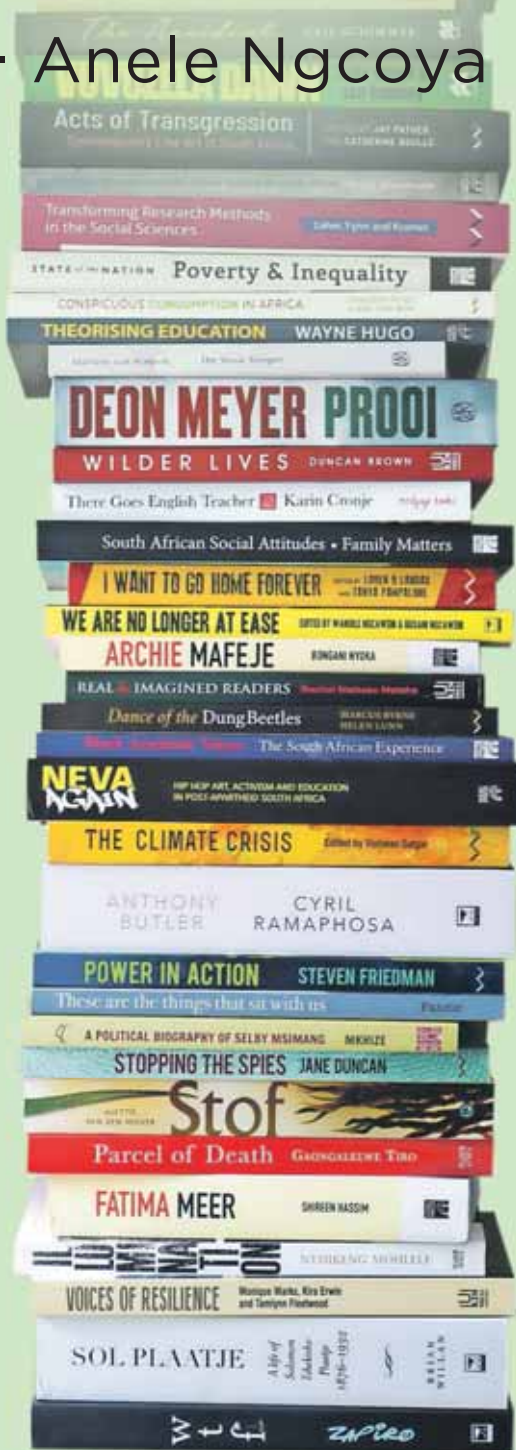
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- Anele Ngcoya



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Non-Fiction Monograph

Are You Two Sisters? a memoir, by Hester Van der Walt, Modjaji Books
A Political Biography of Selby Msimang Principle and Pragmatism in the Liberation Struggle, by Sibongiseni Mkhize, HSRC Press
After Dawn, by Mcebisi Jonas, Pan Macmillan SA
Birding in South Africa's National Parks, by Rob Little, Jacana Media
Black Consciousness and Progressive Movements under Apartheid, by Ian Macqueen, UKZN Press
Body Politics: Fingerprinting South African Contemporary Dance, by Adrienne Sichel, Porcupine Press
City of Broken Dreams, Myth-making, Nationalism and the University in an African City, by Leslie Bank, HSRC Press
Civilising Grass: The art of the Lawn on the South African Highveld, by Jonathan Cane, Wits University Press
Confronting Apartheid: A Personal History of South Africa, Namibia and Palestine, by John Dugard, Jacana Media
Cyril Ramaphosa: The Road to Presidential Power, by Anthony Butler, Helen Lunn, Jacana Media
Dance of the Dung Beetles: Their Role in our Changing World, by Marcus Byrne, Wits University Press
Death and Compassion: The Elephant in Southern African Literature, by Dan Wylie, Wits University Press
Democracy Works, by Greg Mills, Olusegun Obasanjo, Jeffrey Herbst and Tendai Biti, Pan Macmillan SA
Dr T: A Guide to Sexual Health & Pleasure, by Tlaleng Mofokeng, Pan Macmillan SA
Everyone is Present, by Teresa Kurgan, Fourthwall Books
Good Capitalism, Bad Capitalism: The Role of Business in South Africa, by Raymond Parsons with Ali Parry, Jacana Media
Like Family: Domestic Workers in South African History and Literature, by Ena Jansen, Wits University Press
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South Africa's Survival Guide to Climate Change, by Siphon Kings and Sarah Wild, Pan Macmillan SA
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The First Safari - Searching for François Levaillant, by Ian Glenn, Jacana Media
The House of Tshatshu: Power, Politics and Chiefs North-West of the Great Kei River, by Anne Kelk Mager and Phiko Jeffrey Velelo, UCT Press
Theorising Education: A primer for the

Educational Imagination, by Wayne Hugo, HSRC Press
There Goes English Teacher, by Karin Cronje, Modjaji Books
Voices of Liberation: Archie Mafeje, by Bongani Nyoka, HSRC Press
Voices of Liberation: Fatima Meer, by Shireen Hassim, HSRC Press
Voices of Resilience: A Living History of the Kenneth Gardens Municipal Housing Estate in Durban, by Monique Marks, Kira Erwin and Tamlynn Fleetwood, with a photo essay by Cedric Nunn, UKZN Press
Wilder Lives: Humans and our Environments, by Duncan Brown, UKZN Press
Writing the Ancestral River: A biography of the Kowie, by Jacklyn Cock, Wits University Press
WTF: Capturing Zuma - A Cartoonist's Tale, Jonathan Shapiro, Jacana Media

Non-Fiction Edited Volume

A School Where I Belong, by Roy Hellenberg, Dylan Wra and Jonathan Jansen, Bookstorm
Acts of Transgression - Contemporary Live Art in South Africa, by Jay Pather and Catherine Boule, Wits University Press
Black Academic Voices - The South African Experience, by Grace Khunou, Hugo Canham, Katijah Khoza-Shangase and Edith Dinong Phaswana, HSRC Press
Conspicuous Consumption in Africa, by Deborah Posel and Ilana van Wyk, Wits University Press
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I Want to go Home Forever - Stories of Becoming and Belonging in South Africa's Great Metropolis, by Loren B Landau and Tanya Pampalone, Wits University Press
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Fynn and Sherianne Kramer, Wits University Press
We Are No Longer at Ease, by Wandile Ngcaweni and Busani Ngcaweni, Jacana Media
Whose History Counts - Decolonising African Pre-colonial Historiography, by June Bam, Lungisile Ntsebeza and Allan Zinn, African Sun MeDia

Best Fiction Single Authored Volume (Novel)

A Tree for the Birds, by Vernon Head, Jacana Media
Called to Song, by Kharnita Mohamed, Kwela
Illumination, Nthikeng Mohlele, Pan Macmillan SA
Lacuna, Fiona Snyckers, Pan Macmillan SA
Liefde in die Tyd van die Internet, by Fransi Phillips, Queillerie
Medusa, by Rudie Van Rensburg, Queillerie
Prooi, by Deon Meyer, Human & Rousseau
Stof, by Alettie Van den Heever, Queillerie
The Accident, by Gail Schimmel, Pan Macmillan SA
The Snow Sleeper, by Marlene Van Niekerk, Human & Rousseau

Best Fiction Edited Volume

Asleep, Awake, Asleep, by Jo-Ann Bekker, Modjaji Books
Red Cotton, by Vangile Gantsho, Impepho Press
The History of Intimacy, by Gabeba Baderoon, Kwela
Vuvuzela Dawn, by Luke Alfred and Ian Hawkey, Pan Macmillan SA

Best Musical Composition/Arrangement

Liminal, by Reza Khota
Mantombi Matotiyana: Songs of Greeting, Healing and Heritage, by Michael Blake
There's No Disappointment in Heaven, by Kgomotso Moshugi

Best Public Performance

Institute for Creative Arts (ICA) Live Art Festival 2018, by Jay Pather
The Tree Song, by Kristina Helena Johnstone
Yet to be Determined, by Gavin Krastin

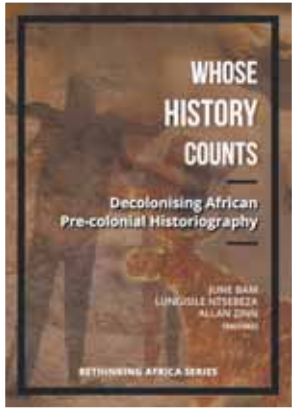
Best Visual Art

Asymmetries Exhibition, by Nduka Mntambo
Black is Blue, Oupa Sibeko
Harmonia: Sacred Geometry - Patterns of Existence, by Gordon Froud
Longing for the Old Days, by Clement Maenetja
Prides and Plights - the Reformation of Senior Women's Struggles, by Daniel Rankadi Mosako
Speaking Through Walls, by Sethembile Msezane

Best DH Visualisation Or Infographic

Azimutha: An Experiment of Virtual Reality for the Fashion Film Genre, by Nirma Dolly Madhoo
Oxford Digital Thematic Atlas series, by Elaine Williams
The Chronicles of Sketch and Etha, by Gregory Koole

contributors, but to also pay tribute to the strides made by the associated publishing houses; they also aid the creatives and academics in promoting their work. “With more than a 100 entries, we are pleased to note the phenomenal growth and interest in the number of submissions for the HSS Awards 2020. Qualifying entries for these annual HSS Awards 2020 feature 67 book entries, 18 creative collections and digital contributions,” explains Professor Sarah Mosoetsa, NIHSS chief executive. The submissions are supported by various publishing houses and associated with 15 higher education institutions. “The book submissions for the awards span a wide range of categories and they illustrate the diversity, beauty, complexities, and richness of the South African context. Most of the book entries below are a highlight of the 2020 Awards entries; they include a plethora of non-fiction literature that reflects the institutionalisation of the Southern African experience, demographic, and landscape,” says Mosoetsa.

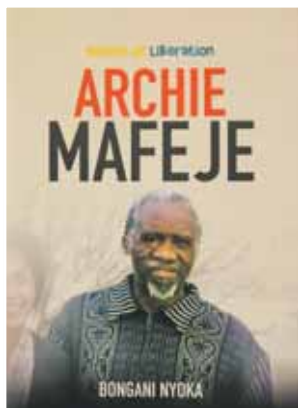


Included in the non-fiction book entries is *Whose History Counts: Decolonising African Pre-colonial Historiography*, edited by June Bam, Lungisile Ntsebeza, and Allan Zinn; it is the third volume of the Rethinking Africa series of the Centre for African Studies, University of Cape Town. The book is a result of the 2017 conference, held at the Nelson Mandela University, which addressed and debated the perceptions

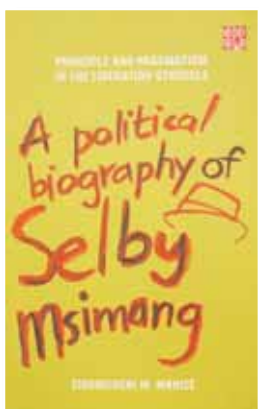
and facts of the precolonial history of South Africa.

The book focuses on Xhosa history; this focus is based on the observed absence of the Xhosa narrative in precolonial historiography, despite the prominence of the colonial land wars between the Xhosa people and the British, as well as the education system of the time that produced noteworthy leaders and academics. It goes beyond the facts of Xhosa history to explore the theory of knowledge, especially with regards to the methods, validity, scope, as well as the distinction between justified belief and opinion as it relates to South African Xhosa history. The editors explore facets of Xhosa culture that include: the past, definitions and naming, language, idioms, and knowledge retention methods within the indigenous knowledge system; they also explore the practical challenges associated with the decolonialising of knowledge.

Building on the theme of written history, the Voices of Liberation series recognises the lives and written work of African and South African activists and heroes dedicated to the liberation movement. A new addition to the series is dedicated to Archie Mafeje — whom the South African History Online befittingly describes as an “intellectual pathfinder” — who contributed much to the people of Africa’s knowledge and self-worth. Not only was Mafeje an influential academic, but he was a person of brilliance, intellect and a man of insight.



The book *Voices of Liberation: Archie Mafeje* by Bongani Nyoka captures Mafeje as a pan-Africanist and cosmopolitan thinker and scholar, who used his worldview to place South Africa and its narrative in the global context. His contributions impact how Africans understand themselves and how they engage the journey to emancipation; his contributions are informed by his family and political background, as well as his scholarly experiences and his life in exile. Most notably, the book includes a collection of Archie’s scholarly works, which are insightful and educational.



Among the biographical entries of the Awards is the story of an unsung hero. This is the story of a man who would grow up to be a political activist, qualified teacher, journalist, interpreter, farm manager and committed emancipation activist, Henry Selby Msimang. Msimang was a founding member of the African National Congress in 1912, and wore many hats throughout his life, which ended in 1982. *A Political Biography of Selby Msimang: Principle and Pragmatism in the Liberation*

Struggle is the first comprehensive biography of the activist’s life and is written by Sibongiseni Mkhize. Mkhize draws on extensive unpublished sources to create a body of work that reflects the social and political experiences of Selby, which informed his view of the world and shaped his life journey.

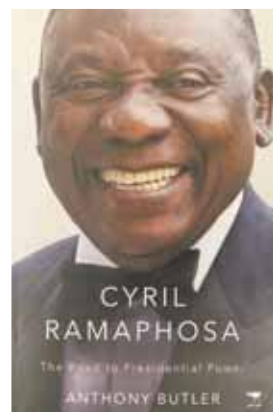
One of South Africa’s most accomplished and celebrated political and literary figures is Sol Plaatje. Written by accomplished historian and academic, Brian Willan, the book *Sol Plaatje: a life of Solomon Tshekiso Plaatje 1876-1932*,



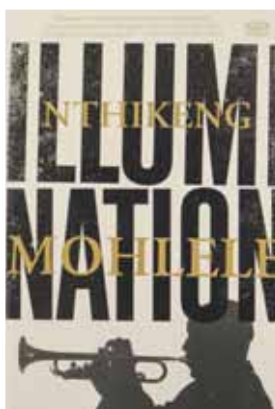
paints the picture of his life, the context in which his literary work was created, and his lived experiences that formed the background of his political contributions and opinions. The book demonstrates his commitment to black liberation by bringing to light Plaatje as one of the founding members of the ANC, and his participation in the resistance to the Native Land Act of 1913. Plaatje was also committed to language preservation: his work as newspaper

editor, published writer in both English and Setswana, and his translation of English creative work into his native language are evidence to this fact. Willan examines the formative years of the libertarian and weaves in the struggles and triumphs of his personal life. The portrait of Plaatje as written by Willan is drawn from extensive research in Southern African, European, and American archives and Solomon’s own writings.

Another libertarian portrayed in the Awards entries is President Cyril Ramaphosa. Whether you know Ramaphosa as the current President of the Republic of South Africa, as an active participant in the liberation movement in the 1980s and early 1990s, as the founding father of the National Union of Mineworkers, or as one of the most successful black businessmen in South Africa, you know him as a formidable character in the dynamics of our country. Anthony Butler’s *Cyril Ramaphosa: The Road to Presidential Power* examines the president’s traits, accomplishments and struggles. Butler looks at Ramaphosa’s formative years and schooling, delves into his contributions in paving the road to emancipation and the mobilisation of the mining workforce.

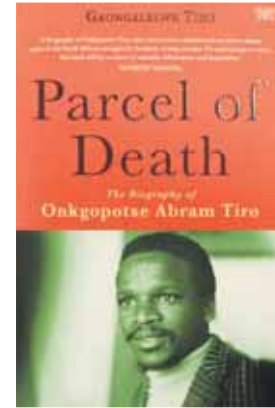


Ramaphosa’s leadership in the fight for the recognition of mineworker’s rights is also contrasted by Butler against the Marikana Massacre. Butler, who is a Professor of Political Studies at the University of Cape Town, bases his assessment and portrayal of Ramaphosa’s life on numerous conversations with the president, as well as his associates and friends. His portrayal paints the South African political context and landscape as the backdrop of the Ramaphosa’s experiences. He concludes the book by forming an analysis of the Ramaphosa’s prospects as the fifth president of democratic South Africa, drawing on his observations of the current and past presidents, combined with an understanding of the country’s political framework and landscape.



A superb entry in the fiction category is Nthikeng Mohlele’s sixth book, *Illumination*, which is an electric tale of Bantubonke’s life in Johannesburg as an artist. The book follows the life of revered trumpeter, composer, and band leader Bantubonke through the heights of his music and the eventual downward spiral that comprises his love life as well as his music. The downward spiral of the main character’s life follows his involvement in a horrific

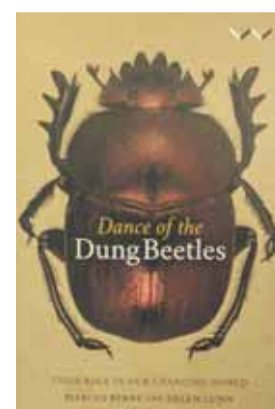
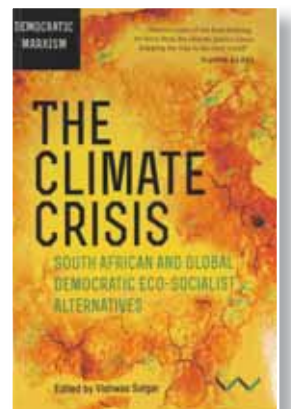
domestic gas explosion that leaves him disfigured and his music making compromised. The lives of Bantubonke and the associated characters are marked by the lingering colours of apartheid. Mohlele’s literary tapestry and characters bring to mind the existential question of who among the characters is really living? His rendering of an artist’s multi-layered life and struggles are poignant; he draws vivid imagery of not only the hustle and bustle of the Johannesburg scenery and lifestyle, but also of music and music creation. Mohlele’s powers of imagery are drawn from his experience as a performance arts student, which entrenches the imagination and related artistic development.



The body of South African biographic literature is extended with an entry that tells the life story of Abram Tiro. More than four decades after his passing, this is a portrait of South Africa’s first liberation activist to be assassinated by a parcel bomb beyond the borders of the country by the apartheid regime. *Parcel of Death: The Biography of Onkgopotse Abram Tiro*, recounts the little-told life story of Tiro. His life might have been short but it was expansive: he was an expelled

student and member of the Student Representative Council at the University of the North (now known as University of Limpopo) in 1972, and organiser of the South African Students Organisation, a history teacher, and a worker at a manganese mine in his elementary schooling years. Gaongalelwe Tiro, the author of the book, is a blood relative of Onkgopotse and writes not only of the struggles of the freedom fighter’s death and the preceding events, but also of his sphere of influence, his politics and the formative experiences of his politics.

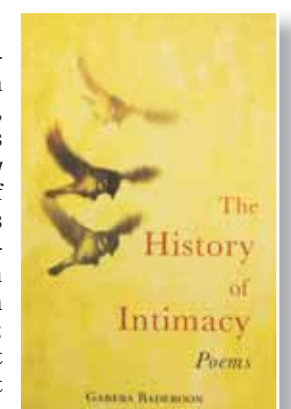
The Climate Crisis: South African and Global Democratic Eco-Socialist Alternatives, edited by Vishwas Safgar, is a Southern African perspective on one of the most pertinent global issues. It describes the role of corporate organisations in accelerating the crisis, as well as the shortfalls of public governance structures in introducing impactful approaches and solutions. Safgar also provides a commentary on the various aspects of the capitalist approach that are detrimental to the climate change conversations. This book is a third volume of the Democratic Marxism series and debates the eco-socialist solutions that are led by climate justice activists and campaigns. Safgar highlights the failings of the top-down approach that are demonstrated in international agendas such as the Paris Climate Agreement and suggests a bottom-up systematic transition to enable sustainable living. Expressing the vulnerabilities of island states and low-lying countries to changes in the climate and the environment, the book is a product of both empirical and theoretical research, and it builds on volume two of the previous series.



Dance of the Dung Beetles: Their role in our changing world explores our perception of the natural world and how societies engage with their environment. The book looks at the number of dung beetle species identified over the years and how these species have impacted societies across the globe. Marcus Byrne — writer and Professor in the School of Animal, Plant and Environmental Science — together with Helen Lunn (PhD in Musicology) bring together 3 000 years’ worth of dung beetle

history. The authors portray dung beetles as insects but also as remarkable creatures that have a longstanding presence in religion, literature, science, the environment and as a known friend of the elephant.

The 2020 HSS Awards also feature an entry by one of South Africa’s award winning poets, Gabeba Baderoon. Gabeba’s fourth poetry book, *The History of Intimacy*, is a collection of poems that express the hurts and intimacies of desire, memories, and engagement with laws of existence. Baderoon is not only a poet and writer; she is also serves an Assistant Professor of Women’s Studies at Pen State. — Anele Ngcoya



Cabinet report cards

BARBARA CREECY Minister of Environment, Forestry and Fisheries

2018 Grade: n/a
2019 Grade: **B**

Creecy looks exhausted. By her own account, she hasn't had much in the way of respite since becoming a minister seven months ago. Between ANC meetings, parliamentary work and running the ministry, she also went to Spain for international climate negotiations at COP25.

It's her first ministerial job, after spending 25 years in Gauteng in various capacities in local and provincial government. Her experience as the MEC responsible for finance in Gauteng had her tipped for that role nationally.

Instead, she is in charge of merging two departments with different realities: environment affairs and forestry and fisheries.

The environment department is relatively well run and staffed by good people.

But its greatest problem is that the current and former administrations care little about the environment, beyond paying it lip service. That was illustrated when President Cyril Ramaphosa parked Nomvula Mokonyane in environment, a minister so tainted that she should have instead been put in jail.

This lack of support has affected the department's performance. Although it tried to enforce section 24 of the Constitution, which guarantees the right to a healthy environment, realpolitik meant other departments got their way. For example, when it tried to regulate air pollution, to cut down on the 20 000 deaths a year from air pollution, Eskom and Sasol being the biggest culprits, their custodian departments — trade, energy and public enterprises — had greater political clout. When it tried to enforce legislation requiring companies to rehabilitate mines, its oversight role was given to the mineral resources department. Consequently, the state has a R49-billion bill to clean up abandoned mines.

Creecy has inherited a disaster in the forestry and fisheries component of her ministry. Under the oversight of Tina Joemat-Pettersson, their mandates collapsed, with constant qualified findings by the auditor general. The former public protector, Thuli Madonsela, found that the minister had tried to interfere in an investigation into her alleged misconduct in the irregular awarding of an R800-million contract for patrol boats to prevent illegal fleets fishing in South Africa's waters.

The department also messed up the awarding of fishing quotas to small-scale fishing people, leaving a crucial part of the coastal economy in trouble. Last month Creecy awarded new quotas.

She has also taken other steps to show that her expanded department intends to push back against its peers. She, for example, stopped a mine going ahead on farmland in eastern Gauteng.

Forestry and fisheries has a tiny budget of R2.5-billion and environment has a R7.5-billion budget. Put together, this is half a percent of government spending.

To strengthen its position, the combined department has started talking up the value of a healthy environment. Earlier this year, it said two million people are directly dependent on the natural environment

for their income — 900 000 in agriculture, 600 000 in fisheries and 400 000 in the biodiversity economy being the majority of these.

Creecy also comes to power at a transition moment — the climate crisis. South Africa has done little concrete work on reducing carbon emissions and preparing people for the changing climate.

The minister is the de facto champion of a future that we can live in. It is the mandate of her department. But the ANC is terrified of doing anything about the coal region of Mpumalanga, despite its carbon pollution, because it gets so many votes there. It is therefore up to the Presidential Climate Change Commission to get government as a whole to take the future seriously.

Where Creecy must do something is in sorting out the confusion between her department and the treasury's on how to change companies' polluting behaviour regarding carbon emissions. The different approaches mean policy uncertainty and so companies don't know what to do — and they also have an excuse to put off reducing emissions.

There is also the problem of poaching and trafficking of numerous endangered species.

The department favours a model where "wild" animals have to pay their own way. Some environmental groups disagree. The department argues that the key to conservation is to ensure people benefit, which in turn cuts down poaching. Some sort of solution is needed to this impasse.

Creecy's mandate is the health of our living world. She needs the backing of the person who appointed her. Without that, our future will be a more broken one.



THOKO DIDIZA Minister of Agriculture, Land Reform and Rural Development

2018 Grade: n/a
2019 Grade: **D**

Thoko Didiza is no stranger to Cabinet; she has served in four administrations. She served as minister of agriculture and land affairs from 1999 to 2006. This year she came back for round two as the political head responsible for the dysfunctional agriculture and land department, but with the added responsibility of rural development and land reform.

She placed fast-tracking land reform and supporting small-scale farmers high on her agenda.

Agricultural organisations welcomed the appointment of Didiza and the amalgamation of the two ministries into one, citing the minister's previous experience of dealing with agriculture and land. But the warmth soon chilled; organisations accused Didiza of being slow to deal with her first clear-cut crisis — the outbreak of foot-and-mouth disease, a contagious viral disease that affects cloven-hoofed animals and has serious economic consequences. In November cases were confirmed in 10 locations in Limpopo, North West, Gauteng, Mpumalanga and the Eastern Cape are also affected.

The Red Meat Producers' Organisation criticised the department's lack of monitoring of livestock movements after the outbreak.

In December Didiza gazetted the ban on auctions to limit the spread of the disease, but industry experts say it could take up to three years to get South Africa's disease-free status back, which prevents trade internationally.

Last year, the department of agriculture was identified by the treasury as one of the departments that places a heavy strain on the public wage bill. A pointed note was made about the cost of management. The department has not reduced the R68-million spent on senior management bonuses alone.

To Didiza's credit she has remained frugal in the amount of money spent on salaries in her private office, keeping the number of people employed to six and costing the department R2.6-million a year.

On land reform, the department has not achieved much in 25 years and Didiza has inherited this problem.

She told Parliament that 346 unresolved cases remain before the land claims court, with the oldest case going back to 1998. Despite the Constitutional Court earlier this year upholding an order by the land claims court that a special master be appointed to assist the department in processing land claims, this has not been done.

And despite the government's declarations that it is committed to land reform, the state allocated only 1.7% (about R11-billion) of its budget to the department — with R6.5-billion allocated for land reform programmes this year.

After public hearings were held around the country, Parliament's ad hoc committee on land expropriation without compensation Parliament has invited the public to provide written submissions on the draft Bill to amend Section 25 of the Constitution.

Critics of the department have warned that the amendments are unlikely to break the barriers to land reform.

These barriers include widespread corruption in the department, unclear policy, constrained budgets and lack of political will.



MAITE NKOANA-MASHABANE Minister in the Presidency for Women, Youth and Persons with Disabilities

2018 Grade: n/a
2019 Grade: **E**

In June, what was once the department of women was renamed to include youth and people with disabilities in the portfolio. People have joked that this is the department for everyone except an able-bodied man. But this department works to build an inclusive society.

Its mandate is to "ensure that the socioeconomic empowerment and rights of women, youth and persons with disabilities are mainstreamed across all sectors of society". The minister will do this through monitoring decisions (such as laws, policies and practices) and facilitating skills development.

To execute her mandate, Nkoana-Mashabane's department was allocated a total of R244.5-million. Although this is the smallest budget across all departments, its size is justified by the nature of its purpose: to liaise with and ensure that all other departments are inclusive in their plans of action.

One of the department's most questionable decisions was how its budget prioritised staff over serving the public. Its largest expense, R85.4-million, went towards compensating

its employees. Coming in second was its R85.2-million allocation to the Commission for Gender Equality, leaving a mere R69.9-million for goods and services.

A portion of what was left over went toward establishing a national council to put an emergency response plan into action. This plan involved tackling the backlog of cases while ensuring that jail sentences for convicted offenders are made harsher. Apart from this, the department saw it fit to address gender-based violence by launching a national pledge that pleaded with men to help women to deal with the problem.

The ministry has promised to spend the next five years developing disability law that will leave public and private entities no choice but to grant reasonable and supportive access to those who are differently abled.

On the youth front, the department has busied itself with amending the National Youth Development Agency Act to further its reach of servitude. We await the amendments' outcome.

But apart from showing up and giving speeches when the calendar said it was time to raise awareness about the people that concern her ministry, the department delivered few tangibles. This department sounds like a good idea, but there's not much to show for it.



AYANDA DLODLO
Minister of State Security
 2018 Grade: n/a
 2019 Grade: **C**

The state security department is supposed to keep the country safe from any threat, internal and external, but that ministry has been the political battleground — with factions in the ruling ANC using state resources to wage their war.

A number of rogue elements have also allegedly used their positions in the department to enrich themselves, with no accountability.

Dlodlo, like her predecessor Dipuo Letsatsi-Duba, started with a vow to clean up the department; some R600-million has gone missing, taken through fraudulent invoices for services purportedly rendered. Dlodlo's vow has set her on a collision course with senior officials there.

President Cyril Ramaphosa created a review panel, led by ANC veteran Sydney Mufamadi, to help to fix the rot in the department. (Moves like this have put corrupt officials under pressure. The tension has become so bad that it was rumoured that the minister was plotting to kill one of the officials.)

It found that there was no accountability and that, because there were no audits, money was taken and used for projects that had nothing to do with the State Security Agency's mandate.

Dlodlo has demanded answers and is trying to implement the panel's recommendations. She told Parliament that there were about 30 individuals inside and outside the State Security Agency (SSA) who were involved in corrupt activities. The minister has gone to the Hawks to get them to investigate this group.

Another of Dlodlo's investigations found a sophisticated listening device that had been sourced by the SSA and went missing from the "Farm", the agency's headquarters. The device was apparently used just weeks before the ANC's elective conference in Nasrec in 2017. Secrets are the currency of politics.

This is how deep the abuse of power and state resources has been in state security. Dlodlo's predecessors, David

Mahlobo and Bongani Bongo, were so loyal to former president Jacob Zuma that few people know exactly what they did in the department.

The minister finds herself facing a mammoth task of cleaning up and turning around the department and its agency.

But the resistance by senior officials is making her task much more difficult. There is a tussle over what powers she has in the SSA's operational matters. Some officials regard her as just a ceremonial head of the department who can't be involved in operations. Dlodlo went public and spoke out against what she said was "perceived interference" by officials, who don't want to account to her as the political head of the department.

Given how she performed in her previous portfolio as public service minister, it would be fair to think that Dlodlo can turn around the department and agency around.

She needs to ensure that her department is protecting the people of South Africa and not collecting secrets so politicians can blackmail their way to power.



PRAVIN GORDHAN
Minister of Public Enterprises
 2018 Grade: C
 2019 Grade: **D**

Part of the charm of Public Enterprises Minister Pravin Gordhan is his ability to be frank and honest about the perilous state of the government's assets and businesses.

His assessments pull no punches about what needs to be done and what it will take to get things done.

This and the fact that he's dealing with state-owned enterprises (SOEs) destroyed by years of corruption and a deliberate project to run out capable executives who stood in the way of questionable decisions designed to siphon money out of them.

But the state's major companies — Eskom, Transnet and Denel — are starting to stabilise. And the state airline, SAA, is now under business rescue. It's too soon to know whether it can be saved.

According to the department's presentation to Parliament's portfolio committee on public enterprises, Eskom and Transnet have, for the past two years, had qualified audit findings, while Denel had an audit disclaimer (which means auditors do not have enough information to make an audit finding).

Normally, these outcomes would be distressing — and should still be — but if one considers that Denel, for instance, did not have enough money to pay salaries or even buy toilet paper just 12 months ago, one understands that stability is a big feat.

Both Eskom and Transnet recorded reportable irregularities in their financials for the period that ended in 2018, and none this year.

SAA has not presented audited financials before Parliament for two consecutive fiscal periods. Unofficial numbers shown to the standing committee on public accounts reflect that the airline lost a cumulative R10-



billion in that period. The department has achieved 50% of its annual performance plan targets for the third quarter, which ended in September.

Some of the work outstanding is related to the troubled SOEs and problems with governance and procurement processes. The department says some of the delays — to programmes such as reporting on Eskom's implementation of its turnaround plan, a review report on the performance of its power stations and a monitoring report on SOEs' compliance with the norms and standards on memorandum of incorporation — were caused by factors out of its control.

But what is encouraging is that the department is much more focused on the problems at the SOEs and seems seized with helping the companies get the right policies on procurement, dealing with risk and operations that underpin a turnaround.

With Denel the intervention is starting to take shape and the company is looking at luring back clients and is taking action to protect its prized intellectual property.

Gordhan has also spoken about the need to develop capacity in his department and ensure there are more specialists in fields such as energy, engineering and aviation.

But not everyone appreciates Gordhan's frank approach. In inter-

actions about what needs to be done, some executives have complained that the minister crosses the line and meddles in the running of SOEs.

The problem with that is manifest in SAA and Eskom, where executives believe the board, because of pressure from the shareholder, gets far too involved in operational matters.

The appointment of Jabu Mabuza as Eskom's executive chairperson amounted to Gordhan appointing someone he knows will follow his thinking. It also presented a grey area in as far as conflict of interest is concerned, because Mabuza's companies provided services to Eskom.

A similar move took place at SAA. The airline actually had an acting chief executive, and the previous chief executive had left because of meddling and inadequate support from the shareholder.

Another aspect of the interference was uncovered when Eskom board member Busisiwe Mavuso said the company's plan to implement planned outages to deal with maintenance backlogs at power stations was undermined by Gordhan's political considerations of not wanting to shed the load ahead of and during the May elections.

For consistency's sake it is important that corporate governance be respected. Because of this Gordhan's work — which deserves a C — is getting a D.

CR =
$$\frac{(Mboweni + Pravin) \times Bheki Cele + De Lille}{Mabuza + Gwede + Mbalula + Loadshedding}$$

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Cabinet report cards

LINDIWE SISULU

Minister of Human Settlements, Water and Sanitation

2018 Grade: n/a

2019 Grade: **C**

Any person going into this department needs a prayer. It is one of the biggest after the departments of human settlements and water and sanitation were merged this year.

The water and sanitation department has little to show after years of a crisis caused by former ministers, endemic corruption and mismanagement, resulting in financial ruin. The former minister, Gugile Nkwinti, called the department “a mess”. The auditor general declared it bankrupt.

The department has had nine directors general in as many years. Irregular expenditure grew from R13-million in 2009 to R1.7-billion in the past financial year. Numerous projects are still incomplete and in jeopardy because of financial collapse, including the Giyani water project, the toilet bucket eradication programme and the programme to fix leaking water pipes.

Drought and the effects of climate change have placed significant pressure on this department.

As if this is not a big enough challenge for Sisulu, the human settlements department has its own long list of inadequacies, including entities placed under administration.

Hers has to be one of the hardest jobs in this administration.

An important step was the release of the national water and sanitation master plan, which is “a plan intended to guide the water sector with investment planning for the development of water resources and the delivery of water and sanitation services over the horizon until 2030, and beyond”, according to the department. It includes addressing backlogs in infrastructure investment, eliminating wastage and any loss as a result of corruption and mismanagement, addressing investor concerns, issuing water licences and dealing with badly maintained infrastructure.

The plan is bold and Sisulu said it will be phased in over 10 years at a cost of close to R1-trillion. But most of the money will have to be sourced from other portfolios — something which has made her ministerial peers mutter opposition to the plan.

As she unveiled the master plan, Sisulu promised that the Vaal Dam Project will bring in highly skilled people and government officials by the beginning of next year to ensure that there is accountability and hands-on management of the systems in the catchment area.

She has also focused on water licences, which are integral to investors and job creation. She said these used to take up to three years but now, she is confident that they will be processed in just 49 days.

To deal with infrastructural issues, the department, working with the treasury, will establish the National Water Resources and Services Authority to finance, develop, manage and operate national water resource infrastructure and sanitation. Sisulu said this will allow her department to “expedite a review of all current infrastructure projects with the plan to complete them”.

In her human settlements portfolio, Sisulu hit the ground running. She immediately courted controversy by appointing constitutional delinquent Bathabile Dlamini as the new chairperson of the Social Housing Regulatory Authority interim board. This entity is meant to regulate social housing for people earning between R1500 and R15000 a month.



In a radio interview, Sisulu's spokesperson, Makhosini Mgitywa, defended the appointment, saying Dlamini's experience in social development would be valuable in addressing social housing issues.

Dlamini was the social development minister during the time of the South African Social Security Agency debacle involving the payment of social grants.

More should be expected from Sisulu, because it's not her first time in charge of that department. In 2017, she promised to establish the Human Settlements Development Bank, to accelerate the delivery of housing. The bank is still not fully functioning.

Sisulu did hand over 500 title deeds in Cornubia, about 17km north of Durban's city centre, to low and middle-income earners. The cynics would say this was a political move to accelerate an election campaign.

And Sisulu, thanks to her “blue blood” status in the ANC, continues to be linked to rumours of her wish to attain higher office, “with claims emerging that she is loading her ministry with loyalists in a bid to build a campaign for her to replace David Mabuza as ANC deputy president.

In water, sanitation and housing, Sisulu oversees a department that is crucial to the fate of her party in the 2021 local government elections.

With rumours of a Cabinet reshuffle, allegedly to remove her from the powerful portfolio, it does seem politics might undo what good Sisulu might build in the two devastated departments.

People's quality of life depends on Sisulu getting things right. There is no margin for error.

ZWELI MKHIZE

Minister of Health

2018 Grade: n/a

2019 Grade: **C**

Mkhize has been health minister for about seven months. Shortly after he was appointed, he said his priority was to restore hope in the public health care system. He inherited a mixed bag: a system that has both improved the lives and life expectancy of South Africans, but one that also fails people. Clinics and hospitals either turn people away or fail to treat them properly.

The improvements are clear. Over the past 25 years, primary and secondary health care has improved. South Africans are living longer. The overall life expectancy at birth is 67.3 years for females and 61.1 years for males, according to Statistics South Africa. This can also be put down to the improved coverage and effectiveness of the government's antiretroviral (ARV) programme.

According to UNAids, in 2018 about 7.7-million people were living with HIV, 81% of people living with HIV (about 6.2-million people) are on treatment and 73% (about 5 621 000 people) of all people living with HIV are virally suppressed. These successes, like many of the programmes that Mkhize now has authority over, were inherited.

Where he has to work



MMAMALOKO KUBAYI-NGUBANE

Minister of Tourism

2018 Grade: n/a

2019 Grade: **C**

The main objective of the tourism department is to promote South Africa as a travel destination for locals and foreign visitors.

When President Cyril Ramaphosa delivered his State of the Nation address in June this year, he set a target of doubling the number of tourists to the country by 2030.

Tourism accounts for 2.7% of gross domestic product and it directly employs 739 657 people — 4.5% of total employment — according to the department.

If the goal of 21-million tourists a year is met, this could be one of the places where the government can dent the unemployment crisis.

This places a huge responsibility on the new minister.

Last year the number of tourists coming to South Africa declined by nearly 165 000, mostly in arrivals from Australasia and Europe.

The portfolio committee on tourism noted in its budgetary review and recommendation review report that the sector has potential to do more, but it has faced problems that have stifled growth.

These include: a decrease in international arrivals, safety and security concerns, concerns about the country's policy of land expropriation without compensation, and visa regime and visa processing issues.

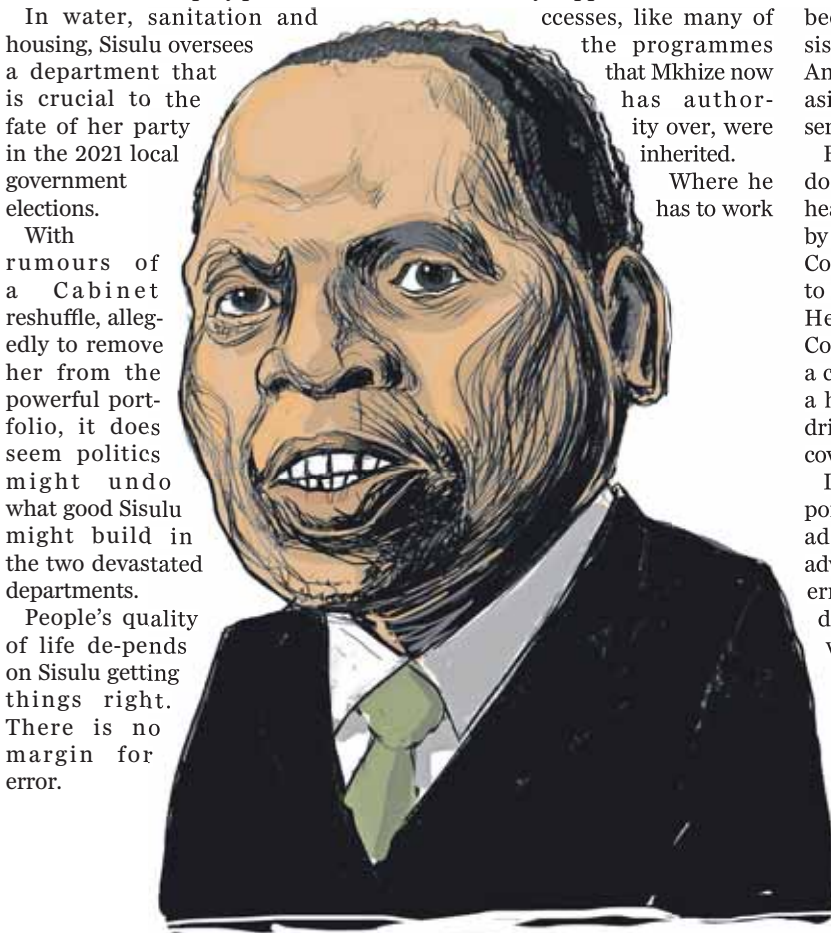
With a target of increasing tourists, the department has been busy. It has, along with the home affairs department, resolved visa issues by amending regulations applied to foreign minors travelling to South Africa.

It has also increased the list of countries that don't need visas for this country, and it is piloting an E-visa system in Kenya.

In the 2018-2019 financial year, the department spent 98.8% of its budget of R2.2-billion.

But there are still problems. There was an increase in fruitless and wasteful expenditure from R1.065-million in 2017-2018 to R120.5-million in 2018-2019.

With little money to go around, Kubayi-Ngubane has to resolve this if she wants the department to live up to its promise.



EBRAHIM PATEL Minister of Trade, Industry and Competition

2018 Grade: n/a
2019 Grade: B

Having been the minister of economic development for almost a decade, Patel is well acquainted with the economic difficulties facing the country. Since taking over from his predecessor, Rob Davies, as the political head of the department of trade and industry – competition is an added component – Patel has been known to push for the development of master plans to tackle problems.

The two departments were merged earlier this year by President Cyril Ramaphosa in a bid to reduce the bloated Cabinet.

The super-ministry and its various entities, which include the Industrial Development Corporation and the Competition Commission, is trying to create these overarching plans for industries in need of a push. It has had 40 submissions from business, unions and other stakeholders in various sectors.

Its greatest focus is on the struggling steel, sugar and manufacturing industries.

The department has already finalised the master plan in the car sector. This year the industry received a boost of R1.2-billion investment from Japanese car manufacturer Isuzu. The funding injection will create 1000 direct jobs at the manufacturer's Eastern Cape plant.

This year, the department was required to attract investment against the backdrop of slow growth and a sluggish economy. Patel has been the face of Ramaphosa's R1.2-trillion investment drive into "SA Inc", which, in 2018, generated R300-

billion and R363-billion in 2019. While preparing for the second investment drive,

Patel said the investments made last year were already bearing fruit in the vehicle production and food processing sectors and at a mobile phone manufacturing plant in KwaZulu-Natal.

Patel's detractors, including opposition parties, civil society and industry leaders, have praised his business-friendly approach to attracting investment since taking over the merged departments. But these investments have not pushed South Africa's economy out of the doldrums. Economic growth continues to be too low to address high levels of unemployment and poverty. Statistics South Africa's latest data shows that gross domestic product contracted by 0.6% in the third quarter this year.

The department placed manufacturing at the heart of its master plan to grow the economy and drive industrialisation in the 2019-2020 financial year. Despite it allocating R18-billion of its budget to the sector, manufacturing has been the biggest drag on the country's growth,

contracting 0.5% in quarter three of 2019.

This has had a knock-on effect, with businesses retrenching and downsizing. The steel industry was dealt a blow when steel producer ArcelorMittal announced it would wind down its operations in Saldanha amid a tough trading environment and dwindling returns.

The move will push about 1000 people into unemployment. ArcelorMittal has also snubbed Patel's suggestions that the plant be sold rather than closed.

This year, Patel pushed for more African countries to sign the African Free Trade Agreements, which is due to be fully implemented in July next year.

The agreement, which as of July had been ratified by 54 countries, will bring new tariff-free trade to the continent.

Patel also joined five other Southern African countries to finalise a post-Brexit deal with the United Kingdom (whenever that may be). The deal ensured that South Africa gets preferential access to the UK market even though it is likely to leave the EU.



FIKILE MBALULA Minister of Transport

2018 Grade: n/a
2019 Grade: C-

As the year wound to an end Mbalula found himself the subject of derision. Again.

Dressed in a black, Nigerian-styled agbada the minister of transport dutifully answered questions about aviation at an air show when, thrown a fluff question at the end, he proceeded to play the part as only Razzmatazz can.

The blowback was immediate with some calling for his head. Ultimately, it's the actions of the incumbent that counts and, 24 hours after the critique, Mbalula changed the narrative.

After having been afforded 20 months to address the crisis at the Passenger Rail Agency of South Africa (Prasa), Mbalula has pulled the plug on the interim board and its acting chief executive and placed the ailing rail regulator under administration. Rather late than never, but there still seems to be no clear plan for how Prasa will be turned around and promises to Parliament of a new chief

executive now appear to be in limbo.

This is the same Prasa that the former minister, Blade Nzimande, once referred to as an ATM, and staff from the auditor general's office received death threats for apparently jeopardising individuals' Christmas bonuses.

This ministry essentially deals with anything that moves – planes, trains and vehicles.

For the financial year ending March 2019, the auditor general stated that, along with the department of health, transport accounted for the greatest amount of irregular expenditure, which now stands north of R61-billion.

The auditor general found "material misstatements" in the department's financial reporting, which is the subject of two internal investigations, five by law enforcement agencies, one by the Special Investigating Unit and four by the public protector.

It's not only crooks that have left the department limping, it's also

inefficiencies, such as the ever-ballooning bill from the Road Accident Fund, which has a huge debt.

A new chief executive has been seconded and a permanent board appointed, which, along with the tabled Road Accident Benefit Scheme Bill, "will transform the fund and curb the excessive debt", said Mbalula.

Always one for catchy names, one seemingly straight from Luthuli House is "the War Room", which was set up by the minister to help to deal with Prasa.

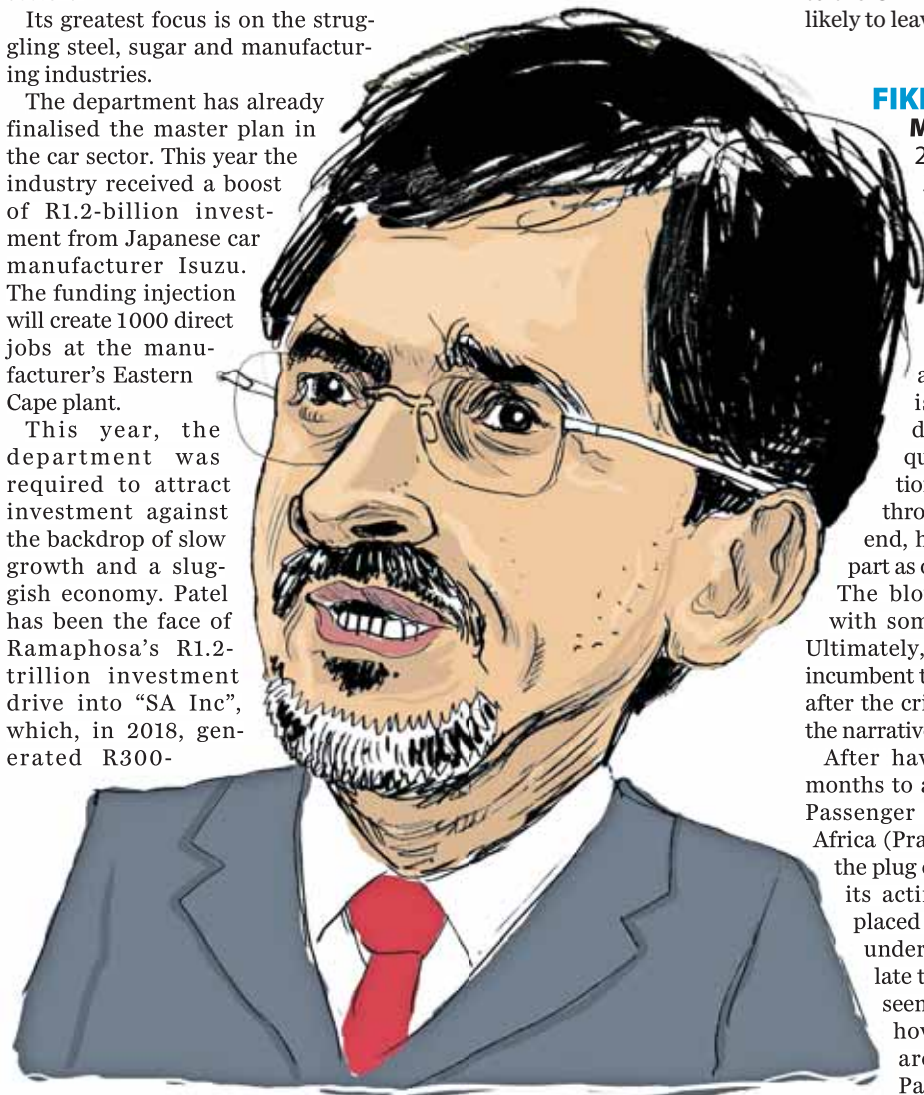
Aside from the ineffective board and dodgy management, there's also the frustrating delays or no-shows that rail commuters have had to deal with.

"The morning peak at the start of the War Room was 49% and by the end of the 14th week, on-time performance had increased to 63% ... the 85% target is for the end of the year. We are well on track towards the achievement of the target," the minister said.

Mbalula has survived more culls in government than most and there are good reasons for that. Politically astute, highly visible and energetic, he brings all of this to bare in the fulfillment of his designated portfolio. Always willing to play the fool, it would take an uninformed observer to call him one.

Report cards compiled by:

Thando Maeko, Tshagofatso Mathe, Kevin Davie, Bongekile Macupe, Sarah Smit, Franny Rabkin, Thanduxolo Jika, Athandiwe Saba, Sabelo Skiti, Simon Allison, Luke Feltham, Paddy Harper, Lester Kiewit, Beauregard Tromp, Siphon Kings, Zaza Hlathetwa and Kwanele Sosibo



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 **Nando's**



2019: Those who left us

RIP

SOUTH AFRICANS

Thandekile Buthelezi, 89. Married to former Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) president Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

Johnny Clegg, 66. Musician who blended Zulu rhythms with Western styles, best known for the song *Asimbonanga*, about Nelson Mandela in jail.

Sandile Dikeni, 53. Poet, student anti-apartheid activist, arts editor at the *Cape Times* and political editor at *This Day*.

John W Fredericks, 73. Author and filmmaker. His book, *Skollie*, was based on his life experiences and also told in the film, *Noem My Skollie*.

Donald Gordon, 89. Founder of Liberty Life Association in 1957 and Liberty International and Capital & Counties. His foundation supported numerous local projects and funded the Wits Donald Gordon Medical Centre, as well as the Gordon Institute of Business Science.

Andile Gumbi, 36. Actor in the TV series *Isibaya* who played Simba in the stage version of *The Lion King*, which showed in Australia, China, Johannesburg, London's West End and on Broadway in New York.

Allan Gray, 81. Billionaire, businessman and philanthropist. Founder of Allan Gray Investment Management, the Allan Gray Orbis Foundation, and the Allan and Gill Gray Charitable Trust.

Xolani Gwala, 44. Reporter, news anchor, producer, talk show host and current affairs presenter.

Bavelile Hlongwa, 38. Deputy minister of mineral resources and energy.

Valtny Kekana, 54, chairperson of the municipal public accounts committee in Mogalakwena municipality, Limpopo, and **Ralph Kanyane**, 32, ANC branch secretary in the region, were gunned down. Other politically linked killings include: **Mthembeni Majola**, 39, IFP councillor in Inkosi Langaalibalele municipality, KwaZulu-Natal; **Jongisethi Phoswa**, 59, ANC councillor in the Chris Hani municipality, Eastern Cape; **Khayelihle Sithole**, 30, IFP councillor of Msinga in Mzinyathi district, KwaZulu-Natal; **Martin Sithole**, 43, former treasurer of the ANC's eMalahleni region, Mpumalanga.

Danny Keogh, 71. Actor. A founder member of The Market Theatre in Johannesburg. Best known for his performances in *Known Gods* and *Invictus*. Co-wrote the play *The Native who Caused all the Trouble*.

David Koloane, 81. Internationally recognised award-winning artist and mentor to black artists during and after apartheid.

Hugh Lewin, 79. Writer, journalist and activist, jailed from 1964 to 1971 for his part in the African Resistance Movement sabotage campaign. He left for London on a one-way exit permit, where he worked at *The Guardian*, the International Defence and Aid Fund and the British Anti-Apartheid Movement.

Raymond Louw, 92. Editor of the *Rand Daily Mail* for 12 years from 1965, champion of press freedom, for which he won numer-

One of thousands

It was the death of a University of Cape Town student that caught South Africa's attention in 2019, sparking protests against the high levels of gendered violence and murder.

Uyinene Mrwetyana went missing on August 24 and a man was arrested for her rape and murder six days later. He had lured her to the Clareinch post office, violated her and killed her. The next day he put her body in a mail bag, drove to a field in Khayelitsha and burned her.

According to police statistics, Mrwetyana was just one of 2771 women and 1014 children killed in 2018-2019. And 41583 women were raped. There were 21022 murders and 18980 attempted murders. Men, particularly younger ones, are three times more likely to be murdered, according to Statistics South Africa.

"You can't police your way out of this," Gareth Newham, head of the Institute for Security Studies' Justice and Violence Prevention programme, told News24.



Downfall: Robert Mugabe got his talons into Zimbabwe, leaving its ruin as his legacy. Photo: Dean Hutton

ous awards locally and internationally, and head of a number of organisations including the Media Defence Trust.

Isaac "Bra Ike" Maphoto, 88. A member of the Luthuli Detachment of Umkhonto weSizwe. Captured by Rhodesian forces in 1968 and sentenced to death. Freed in 1980.

Dorothy Masuka, 83. A "pan-Africanist, vociferous opponent of apartheid, political exile, teen beauty queen and irrepressible grand dame of Southern African jazz" (*The Independent*), who went into exile in 1961 and returned in 1992 after Nelson Mandela's release.

Thuliswa Nkabinde-Khawe, 46. Helped establish the South African National Civic Organisation and was the Gauteng social development MEC.

Nomhle Nkonyeni, 77. Awarded with the Order of Ikhamanga for her contribution to the arts. She acted in plays such as *Die Swerfjare van Poppie Nongena* and in numerous TV shows, including *Mzansi*.

Zwelonke Sigcawu, 51. King of the amaXhosa.

Christelle Stemmet, 47. Top commercial crimes detective with the Hawks and member of the former Scorpions.

Ben Turok, 92. Outspoken fighter for freedom, equality and social justice, intellectual, economist, contributor to the Freedom Charter, philosopher, engineer, author of 20 books. And more.

Gavin Watson, 71. Chief executive of Bosasa, around which are allegations of state capture and corruption.

Chester Williams, 49. Nicknamed the "Black Pearl", he played 27 Tests for the Springboks between 1993 and 2000.

James Small, 50. The "bad boy" of rugby played 47 Tests for the Springboks between 1992 and 1997.

Marc Batchelor, 49. The "bad boy" of football played for Kaizer Chiefs and Orlando Pirates. He was shot in the driveway of his home.

INTERNATIONAL

Alicia Alonso, 98. Cuban ballerina who achieved global acclaim and went on to run the National Ballet of Cuba.

Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi, 48. Leader of the Islamic State terror group, assassinated in northern Syria by United States military forces.

Jacques Chirac, 86. President (1995-2007) and prime minister (1974-1976, 1986-1988) of France.

Elijah Cummings, 68. Civil rights leader, Baltimore Democrat and chairperson of the House oversight committee, one of the three committees leading the impeachment inquiry of United States President Donald Trump.

Doris Day, 97. Actress and singer, one of Hollywood's biggest stars in the 1950s and 1960s.

Patrick Day, 27. American boxer. Died after sustaining a brain injury during his USBA super welterweight title fight in Chicago.

Jeffrey Epstein, 66. Disgraced financier found dead in a New York jail cell where he was being held on sex-trafficking charges.

Soul: African queen of jazz Dorothy Masuka



Keith Flint, 49. The Prodigy lead singer. Died of suicide.

Peter Fonda, 79. Actor, a counterculture icon who co-wrote, produced and starred in the 1969 road movie *Easy Rider*.

Robert Frank, 95. Photographer and filmmaker. His book *The Americans*, with an introduction by Jack Kerouac, shifted the direction of photography.

Kevin Fret, 24. Puerto Rican rapper, singer and the first openly gay Latin trap artist. Shot dead.

Alan Garcia, 70. Peru's president from 1985 to 1990 and from 2006 to 2011. Accused of receiving kickbacks from the Odebrecht construction giant (linked to the Petrobras scandal). Committed suicide.

Rutger Hauer, 75. Hollywood actor best known for his role in the 1982 sci-fi classic *Blade Runner*.

Robert Hunter, 78. Collaborator and lyricist for the Grateful Dead.

Nipsey Hussle, 33. Aka Ermias Joseph Asghedom. Rapper, entrepreneur and activist, shot in Los Angeles. Named best male hip-hop artist at the BET awards after his death.

Martin Luther Kilson, 88. Political scientist and first tenured African-American professor at Harvard.

Oliver Mtshali, 66. Zimbabwean guitarist, singer and songwriter recognised across Africa and abroad. He was known for his lyrics about Zimbabweans' problems and hopes, and for his style, known as Tuku music. He released 67 albums.

Paul Krassner, 87. An icon of the 1960s counterculture, author, journalist, comedian and founder of the freethought magazine *The Realist*.

Karl Lagerfeld, 85. One of the most decorated designers in the fashion industry. He was behind the revival of the French fashion house, Chanel.

Nikki Lauda, 70. Ferrari racer and a three-time Formula 1 champion.

Li Peng, 90. Former premier of China known as the "Butcher of Beijing" for his role in the 1989 Tiananmen Square killings.

Tania Mallet, 77. Best known for her role as the "Bond girl" Tilly Masterson in 1964's *Goldfinger*.

James Le Mesurier, 48. Founder of the nonprofit Mayday Rescue, which trained the Syrian White Helmets, who rescued civilians after Russian and Syrian airstrikes, and worked with the United Nations peacekeeping force in former Yugoslavia. Awarded an OBE.

Paule Marshall, 90. Activist in the the civil rights and anti-Vietnam movements, writer on Caribbean and African-American identities and author of *Brown Girl, Brownstones*.

Jonathan Miller, 85. British actor, theatre and opera director, producer and medical doctor.

Toni Morrison, 88. Novelist, essayist, book editor and professor, received the Nobel prize for literature in 1993 and a Pulitzer prize for *Beloved* (1987).

Mohamed Morsi, 67. First democratically elected president of Egypt. Died after collapsing in court while on trial for espionage. He was ousted by the army in 2013, after protests against his rule.

Robert Mugabe, 95. Zimbabwe's president, who ruled for about four decades, went from being seen as an African liberator to an autocrat. The Gukurahundi from 1983 to 1987 saw massacres of Ndebele civilians. Violence and electoral fraud marked the elections in 2002, 2008 and 2013.

Nuon Chea, 93. Chief ideologist of Cambodia's Khmer Rouge and Pol Pot's second-in-command, was found guilty of genocide.

André Previn, 89. Pianist, composer and conductor of the London Symphony and Royal Philharmonic. Received a Grammy Lifetime Achievement Award.

Gary Rhodes, 59. TV chef in *MasterChef* and *Hell's Kitchen*.

Emiliano Sala, 28. The Argentine forward had just signed to Cardiff City Football Club when he died in a plane crash in the English Channel.

John Singleton, 51. Director of *Boyz n the Hood* and *2 Fast 2 Furious* and of TV series *Snowfall*, about the cocaine epidemic in Los Angeles.

Francisco Toledo, 79. Mexican artist who achieved fame for his paintings, sculpting, printing and tapestry weaving, all influenced by his Zapotec heritage.

Rip Torn, 88. Hellraiser actor nominated for six Emmys (*The Larry Sanders Show*), winning one, an Oscar (*Cross Creek*) and a Tony (*Sweet Bird of Youth*). His other films include *Men in Black*.

Agnès Varda, 90. Belgian-born French film director, photographer and artist. Her films were influential in France's New Wave film movement. She received an honorary Oscar in 2017.

Binyavanga Wainaina, 48. Kenyan author, journalist and gay rights activist, won the Caine Prize for his short story, *Discovering Home*. He was the founding editor of *Kwani?*, a journal of experimental writing.

Herman Wouk, 103. Pulitzer prize-winner for *The Caine Mutiny* (1951) and author of *Sailor and Fiddler: Reflections of a 100-Year-Old Author*.

2019: All the president's problems

Backstabbers limit Ramaphosa

The ANC is stronger electorally but is still too weak to help the president make the decisions the country's many crises demand



Richard Calland

Elections can be seismic events — look at Britain now. South Africa's in 2019 could have been pivotal, but with the hindsight of six months, it does not appear to have had much of an effect on the political economy, positive or negative.

The May poll could have propelled the Economic Freedom Fighters towards a kingmaker role, at least in Gauteng — Africa's fifth biggest economy (if it was a country). But the ANC hung on to power. And at national level, 11% was a disappointment to EFF leader Julius Malema — not the exponential growth that similar ultra-populist/nationalist parties have achieved in other democracies around the world.

That particular political risk has, at least, receded this year.

For the first time in five national and provincial elections since 2009, ANC support went up, arresting the party's decline. This was because of Ramaphosa's leadership. As a result, he has never been more powerful and probably never will be. But he has failed to seize the moment. The greater risk now is that his power will begin to wane and his government will get stuck in the weeds because he has not been able to impose his power and address the most politically awkward decisions.

As a result, despite the steady progress that Ramaphosa has made in rebuilding state institutions and restoring a lost normative order in public life, the economy has not yet revived.

But we should not lose sight of the bigger picture. We must remember that exactly two years ago South Africa stood on the edge of different precipice. In December 2017, Zuma was still in power and the ANC had to choose between two candidates to succeed him as ANC president — reform-minded Ramaphosa and Nkosazama Dlamini-Zuma, who headed a “coalition of scoundrels and nationalists”. It was the ultimate fork in the roads. If South Africa, in time, finds that it is well on the road to recovery, the upturn in fortunes will be traced back to the decision to elect Ramaphosa.

Since then, state capture has been halted and institutional rebuilding has commenced in earnest. But, as the details of the extent and depth of the state capture project have emerged, through the Zondo inquiry and elsewhere, it has become apparent that it will take at least as long to recover from the decade of degradation of the Zuma years.

Unjustly, it is Ramaphosa who not only must lead the turnaround strategy for SA Inc, but he must also absorb the costs of Zuma's profligacy and graft. The fiscal crisis, for example, is largely as a result of the waste and excess of Zuma's presidency. But it is Ramaphosa who will carry the can politically — both in terms of the delicate negotiations that must take



X marked the spot: Cyril Ramaphosa is repairing the damage of the Zuma years, but the beneficiaries of the former president's largesse are hindering Ramaphosa's need to urgently make rapid decisions. Photo: Paul Botes

place with public sector unions if the public sector wage bill is to be substantially reduced in time for South Africa to avoid a full downgrade to sub-investment grade (“junk”) status in March 2020, after the budget on February 26, and the bleak economic consequences if that does happen.

Time is very short: in rugby terms, South Africa is in injury time and needs a Joel Stransky to make a miraculous drop-kick between the posts. So, behind-the-scenes negotiations with the unions will have to yield concrete results if there isn't to be a full-on confrontation in the autumn or even earlier.

In terms of investor sentiment — at least internationally — this is the big ticket item: public sector wages and fiscal consolidation. Until recently, investors wanted action on Eskom, but now that the Eskom roadmap has been published, concerns have switched to the fiscal crisis. The question of whether public sector unions can be at least “handled”, if not stared down, is seen as a litmus test of whether the Ramaphosa administration is tough enough.

Given his social democratic and pro-union instincts, this presents a test of Ramaphosa's judgment and

negotiating skills. It is clear that he has managed to persuade union federation Cosatu that some level of restructuring — and even privatisation — is necessary, which suggests he knows he must not “waste the crisis”.

In this regard, the SAA strike represented an appetiser for the full meal that awaits with the Eskom unbundling. With SAA, on balance, the government “won”. The unions backed down when they realised that they would not win any concessions and risked losing everything.

The government needs to muster the same level of resolve with Eskom. It will be a much harsher test. The government could afford to see the airline grounded or even close, but no one can afford to do without electricity.

A foreign correspondent asked me why I think it is that most political analysts are positive about Ramaphosa's performance, but market analysts and international agency observers are far less sanguine.

This is the reason: if an observer had drawn up a political “to do” list when Ramaphosa ousted Zuma in February last year, then there would

be far more ticks than crosses against the various items now.

The problem is that all of the positive steps that have been taken are all necessary but not sufficient to ensure economic revival. The South African Revenue Service and the National Prosecuting Authority, to cite the two most important and obvious state institutions, are being rebuilt. But there is lag-time before tax collection increases and the perpetrators of state capture are arrested.

Part of Ramaphosa's problem is that, whereas the overlapping crises in the state-owned enterprises and in the fiscus require the government to find a way of reducing the public sector wage bill, his party is unable to muster the intellectual will to have a grown-up conversation about the deeper and longer-term strategic questions at stake.

Fifteen or 20 years ago, the ANC would have embarked on a detailed, if convoluted, internal debate about the relationship between the state and the market, about the balance of forces in society and in the economy, and about the wisdom or otherwise of strategic alliances with, for example, “industrial capital”. But now, the debate in the national execu-

tive committee of the ANC is not between those who are ideologically better disposed towards capital and private sector participation in the economy, and those who harbour suspicion towards privatisation and unrequited aspirations for the role of the “developmental state”. Instead, it is a contest between those who are smart and realistic enough to know that something has to give now and the state will have to make concessions, and those who resist structural change not because of ideological concern but because they wish to hold on to the rent-seeking opportunities that state-ownership provides.

There should be a debate about government debt. Citing Portugal, some progressive economists argue that cuts in the public sector wage bill or other reductions in government spending will be counterproductive and will lead not only to more austerity but will further constrain growth prospects. Yet there is another progressive position that argues that the problem is that South Africa's borrowing is for the wrong things: servicing debt and unproductive parts of the economy, such as Eskom, SAA and incompetent or corrupt parts of the public service.

Ramaphosa is denied the opportunity for such deliberation in the ANC, which weakens his and his Cabinet's hand because the decision is deferred or muddled through without sufficient resolution, which enables his opponents of reform to continue to distract and obstruct.

The lack of serious strategic reflection in the ruling party is a reflection of the balance of forces in the ANC. It may have recovered its electoral prowess and, now, with the collapse of coalition governments at city level, power in Johannesburg and elsewhere. But it has not recovered its senses or capability to lead society.

The weakness of the ANC hampers those who do wish to have such debates and who, because they are in government, must navigate a way forward in terms of policy-making and executive decisions. I am thinking of the trade and industry minister, Ebrahim Patel, and the deputy finance minister, David Masedo.

In Mbeki's time, Joel Netshitenzhe had the authority to lead such debates — both inside the ANC and from his position as head of the president's policy unit. Ramaphosa has no such intellectual enforcer and no political henchman to assert his power and impose his will.

The social, economic and fiscal crisis that confronts South Africa requires a high degree of urgency and boldness in decision-making in government. But Ramaphosa's decision-making has a different “tempo”; he moves at a more incremental, cautious pace. He likes to build consensus first, where he can. And, because of his wretched, divided party, he has to constantly look over his shoulder to make sure that the “fight-backers” are not going to scupper his reforms.

Despite the political gains of the past year, it is this gap that is of greatest concern: that despite all the positives of the Ramaphosa presidency, he may yet fail because he can't drive his reform agenda fast enough to ward off the deepening fiscal crisis.

Richard Calland is an associate professor in public law at the University of Cape Town and a partner in the political risk consultancy, The Paternoster Group

2019: The girl who pushed the panic button

Some say the teenager is being manipulated, others say her solutions are unrealistic and undemocratic.

Who's afraid of Greta Thunberg?

COMMENT

Svenja Blanke

Some are fascinated with Greta Thunberg: they see her as a young hero, a Joan of Arc or a Mafalda (Argentina's comic strip girl who challenged the problems of the world) of modern times with a political agenda for Earth. Others are angry. They see her as a naïve puppet of opaque adult interests and they make fun of her.

The 16-year-old has become a new global figure representing the younger generation and their concerns for their future in the face of the climate crisis.

What is now a mass movement began on August 20 2018. That day, instead of attending school, Greta sat in front of the Swedish Parliament with a board that stated: "School Strike for Climate". Her intervention built momentum and produced an avalanche called Fridays for Future.

In March 2019 about 1.5-million teenagers and youngsters took to the streets to demand governments take climate change seriously. Other strikes followed and in September an estimated four million young people and adults took to the streets in almost every country.

Greta has been recognised for the firmness of her convictions and for her actions in Europe for about a year, but in the United States she attracted attention only in the latter half of 2019. Many Americans first saw her when she appeared on Trevor Noah's *The Daily Show*. She explained with her well-known seriousness that the world has little time left — eight and a half years, because as of January 1 2018, only 420 gigatons of carbon dioxide remained to be emitted by all of humanity if climate change is to be kept to relatively safe levels. Now, there are only 360 gigatons left. That budget will vanish in less than eight years.

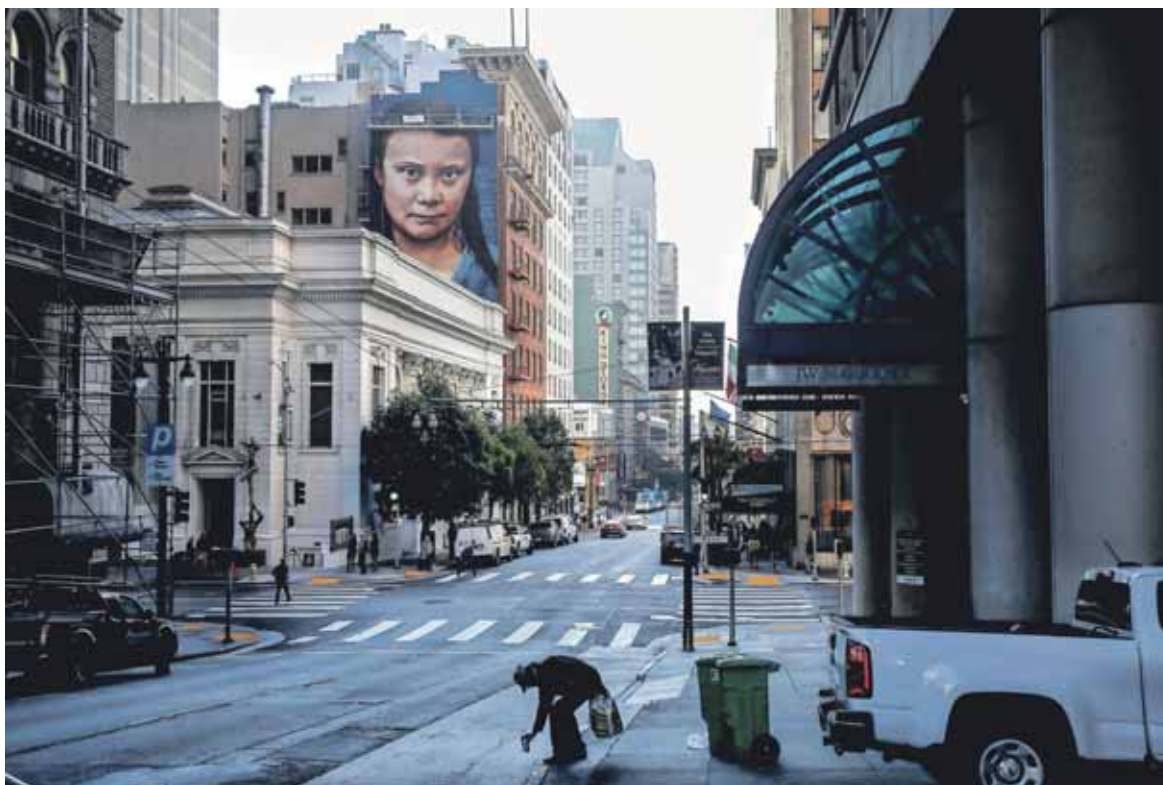
When asked for her impression of New York when she arrived on a zero-carbon emissions yacht from Europe, she replied that it smelled bad. Her lack of understanding of irony and her seriousness are probably related to a syndrome she has — Asperger's, a condition she speaks openly about — and a dose of Nordic frankness.

Like her, the new environmental movement speaks very seriously and uses scientific research to support its arguments. Greta is the global face of this movement and her presence is influential. Her yacht trip from Europe in August attracted support, mockery and criticism.

Her interventions at the World Climate Conference in Katowice, Poland, in December 2018 and at the World Economic Forum in Davos, Switzerland, in September 2019 put the world's powerful in an awkward position. This teenager with braids threw a challenge at them — "act" or "panic" — and attracted the world's attention.

She told the US Congress: "I don't want you to listen to me, I want you to listen to the scientists."

Her presence at the New York and Washington demonstrations in September, the meeting with Barack Obama, her appearance on *The Daily Show* and the speech before the United Nations general assembly



Shake-up: Millions of people around the world took to the streets in September as part of the Global Climate Strike against the use of fossil fuels, including in Brussels (above). The teenage climate activist's profile was raised in the US by appearing on *The Daily Show* with Trevor Noah (below) and a four-storey mural (left) in San Francisco. Photos: Kenzo Tribouillard/AFP & Justin Sullivan/Getty Images

raised her profile in the US.

Although in many countries the movement is led by teenage women, in no other country is the link between the movement and a person as clear as it is in the case of Greta. The media and commentators have become obsessed with her. Some observers say the adoration of Greta is similar to a religious awakening.

Those on the right and the climate deniers in particular regard Greta and her colleagues as immature, spoil young people. Argentine journalist Sandra Russo calls this the first case of "global bullying", an idea she discussed long before September 23, when US President Donald Trump sent out a tweet making fun of Greta after her speech at the UN Climate Action Summit.

"[S]he seems like a very happy young girl looking forward to a



bright and wonderful future. So nice to see!" His tweet reflects his views of women and that he is a climate denier.

Greta's ideas about climate change have been described as potentially "undemocratic" — because they do not allow for political compromise —

based on the idea that politics works only step by step, always through compromise. But this can be seen as a form of soft paternalism.

Andrew Mitrovia, writing for *Al Jazeera*, noted that Christopher Caldwell, a senior journalist for *The Weekly Standard*, wrote in *The New York Times* that Greta's "appeals for immediate action" on the climate crisis are "in conflict with democracy" and took issue with her "crude language", "unrealistic" world view, and "out of balance" priorities and that she "is only interested in 'sowing panic' and 'simplification'." Caldwell advised: "Democracy calls for waiting and seeing."

Greta's sharp accusations do not take place in a vacuum. They are stark, political interventions aimed at polarising public opinion. Her statement that "the poverty of the many pays for the luxury of the few" is, according to some commentators on the extreme right, "the product of socialisation in the Swedish education system" and is a "stupid" left-wing criticism of capitalism.

Other critics argue that "fanatical ecologists" (or green capitalists) are hiding behind the Swedish teenager. They make specific mention of We Don't Have Time AB, a Swedish company that works on environmental projects. It was founded in 2017

But her words have mobilised people around the world to do something about the climate crisis



In the beginning: In August last year Greta Thunberg, didn't go to school. She sat outside Sweden's Parliament with a poster that read 'School strike for climate'. Her protest has become a movement.

Photo: Adam Johansson

from insisting on the fact that, as the reports by the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change say, the climate crisis has worsened in the last 20 years and, despite this, politics is doing very little to change its course.

German climate movement activist Luisa Neubauer, 23, says that "the battlefield is between those who benefit most from the status quo and those who are set to lose the most". She adds: "We young people ask ourselves why things are the way they are when they could so simply be different. And we have to fight this as strongly as we can because we have absolutely nothing to lose, except our future."

There is potential for generational conflict: voters of the future are mobilising against the interests of those of the present. But young people are not alone; many adults support the movement. This was demonstrated by the large number who participated in the climate strike marches on September 20 and 27.

Greta has created mass mobilisation through her statements, actions in the public eye and intervention in the media. The movement's objective is not and cannot be to solve the climate crisis, but it has won a more immediate political success: a generalised and global awareness of the urgency of climate change. What Greta says and does already influences political debates in various countries and first steps, although still tentative, are being taken to act on climate change. Without mobilisation, this would not be happening.

The European Green Party, which is active across the continent, is one of the main beneficiaries of advertising the strikes and protests of the climate movement. In Germany, for example, the Greens obtained 20.5% of the votes in the 2019 European elections, with 33% of the votes being that of people under the age of 30. The electoral behaviour of young people is not just an expression of their sympathy for the environmental cause; it is also a reflection of the deep crisis that German social democracy is going through.

The new climate movement has created a new political actor. They will need a lot of patience to continue the campaign. The fascination with the novelty that is Greta and her personal magnetism will diminish, as will the wave of sympathy. Traditional media and social media do not stick to the same story for long. Greta will return to school. Her generation has a lifetime ahead, but this movement should become an example of democratic commitment.

Hopefully, most young people will say no to fatalism and resignation. There will come a point when we become aware that environmental issues cannot be resolved if we separate them from economic and social issues.

In New York, at the headquarters of the UN, Greta has already taken steps in this direction when she said to the heads of states of the world: "How dare you! ... We are at the beginning of a mass extinction and all you can talk about is money and fairy tales of eternal economic growth. How dare you!"

This is an edited version of an article that was originally published in *Nueva Sociedad* and *Open Democracy*

by public relations specialist Ingmar Rentzhog, who gave wide coverage to the school strikes in 2018.

On November 27 2018, the company announced it was issuing securities on the stock exchange and mentioned her name 11 times in its advertising brochure. Earlier this year, she and her family said they are no longer in contact with the company.

Others point to financier and philanthropist George Soros and conspiracy theorists claim that Greta is his granddaughter. She is not. Neither is she a member of the Islamic State, as social media would have it.

What has happened with Greta in the last two years seems to suggest that the more popular and disruptive the climate movement becomes,

the more virulent the rejection from those who consider climate change a conspiracy. The severity of reactions to a 16-year-old should make us reflect. Some psychologists try to explain it by saying "old white men" won't change their attitudes towards the environment and so attack Greta for her Asperger's, her age and because of the apparent manipulation of her activism.

But behind these criticisms there is much more than the intransigence of a whole male generation. The attacks may be a sign that she and other young people in the movement have hit a sensitive nerve: Is Greta questioning the system?

At the climate conference in Katowice, Greta said political elites had not yet understood the severity of the climate crisis. She added that,

since the political class acts irresponsibly, it is up to the younger generations to take charge of their future and do what adult politics should have done a long time ago. Young people must understand what previous generations have done with climate change and respond to the chaos they have inherited. They need to ensure that their voices are heard.

In all of her speeches, Greta makes it clear that if real and concrete measures are not taken to face the current situation, politicians will be acting irresponsibly. She maintains that rich nations have a greater obligation to reduce emissions quicker and that countries such as Sweden should reduce their fossil fuel emissions by 15% annually and reduce their emissions to zero within six to 12 years. This would allow emerg-

ing economies such as India and Nigeria sufficient time to adapt their infrastructure.

The main concern of the Fridays for Future movement is, therefore, that climate protection measures be adapted in the widest, fastest and most efficient way possible to achieve the objective of limiting temperature rise to 1.5°C — a limit established at the Conference on Climate Change that was held in Paris in 2015 (COP 21) and adopted by the UN.

These positions of the Fridays for Future movement do not seem to question the system itself; they are simply a call to reason and for fulfilment of objectives that have already been established.

The power of persuasion of the movement comes from simply stating "what is happening". It comes

2019: The last days of liberalism

Black rebels among the blue

As summer 2019 kicked in, the Democratic Alliance's two most prominent black leaders resigned in a move many saw as pre-empting the house coup already under way.

Bongani Madondo says the meltdown amid racial witch-hunting portends the beginning of the end of white liberalism itself

"This is what is really meant by keeping the Negro in his place: It is why white people, until today, are astounded and offended if, by some miscalculation, they are forced to suspect you are not happy where they have placed you. In an attempt to dismiss the social reality (of the Negro) people finally say to you 'But you are so bitter!'" — James Baldwin, *The Cross of Redemption: Uncollected Writings*

A poet of profound compassion, a voice festooned with spiritual ache on one hand, and the most wondrous of lilting cadences on the other, Don "Zinga" Mattera once wrote that "memory is a weapon". The son of an Italian man — assigned the status of a white man in this country, and then based at Sophiatown's Red Bus depot — and a Motswana domestic worker, Mattera would have a personal insight, experience even, about what that meant, born, as it were, out of a love song, a marriage of the West and the South, of black and white.

He would have had an acute understanding of the condition, then, of being a complex young African soul flowered in Western Township and growing up in Sophiatown, twin black enclaves a mere stone's throw from white Johannesburg and yet virtually nonexistent to the majority of its otherwise well-meaning liberal dwellers.

This is not about Mattera. It is about us: a country he has devoted his deep love to, in the form of song, lyric, bitterest word-spit; for its unyielding insistence on the ethnic, class, gender and racial division of its children.

For Mattera, as for all poets worth their ink, South Africa then and now is a beautiful but deeply scarred country worth dying for. Better still, the country is an idea worth living for.

Memory is the weapon? Like most people, I do not always trust my memory. I do not always trust my memory, especially pertaining to the flighty, light trivialities of life: what our friends and families tend to remind us are the "happy moments".

I do not always trust my memory but on the week the Democratic Alliance began its spectacular, its inevitable, road to political oblivion, announced through the resignations of its two most prominent black leaders, something pricked my memory. It has everything to do with former Johannesburg mayor Herman Mashaba. That week, two months ago, it felt as if everything had to do with Mashaba. Even after he had resigned it felt as if Mashaba's shadow hovers over us, still: smirkingly. Fingeringly. Righteously.

Growing up as a laaitie and running around in the same Hammanskraal villages as Mashaba, who is a decade older than me, all of us young bucks looked up to him. We read about him; dreamed about his improbable rise to the top. His story was, quite simply, improbably gorgeous. If Mashaba, or even more poignantly, his heartstrings-tugging tale, didn't exist, it'd hafta be invented. Here was one of us, someone whose parents' house we passed on any given day. A man whose relatives our mothers went to church with. A distant big brother we never knew, whose nephews and nieces we went to school with.

British soul diva Adele has an angel-rousing ditty titled *Someone Like You*. In Mashaba,



Shattered dreams: The press conference in October at which Mmusi Maimane (centre), who was recruited as a mascot of the blue wave, announced his resignation as Democratic Alliance leader. The next day he resigned from the party as well. Photo Delwyn Verasamy

here was someone like me. Someone whose dark skin and circumstances mirrored mine. Someone who was not born with a silver spoon, yet got out of the proverbial "dusty streets", toiled sweat and blood, managing to kiss capitalism in its most exponentially booming growth decade, smack on the lips.

A man so astute, whip-smart and visionary as to name his company "Black Like Me". It was simply a power move. Mashaba named it as such, in the era when blackness — regardless of the fact that there is actually no person coloured black, only variations of browns, reds, beiges, fawns — was still undergoing its psychic wounding phase.

Where, then, did he source the audacity to name his company that? How did he know that the mere gesture of naming came burdened with symbolism? Why did he assume he, and only he, could inspire millions of us through the treacherous process of naming? Devoid of love, a sense of history, the act of naming can easily lapse into shaming. Did Mashaba know something we didn't?

We loved him madly. We loved him like a dream. It was not even love. It is never unadorned, unweighted love with us. It is heroism, grudging respect, fear, devotion, and all other emotions and thoughts coursing through the central vein of love.

Although we were born out of it, yearned for it, were taught about it, and in our teens whispered it to the opposite sex, on its own, love was unafford-

The Terminator: DA federal chairperson Helen Zille



able. Love was for the privileged. Love was for whites. Love belonged in the Bible with a Jesus with blond tresses and ol' blue eyes.

How could we even love Mashaba when we hardly saw him around? He was a "big man" now, ensconced in his hair-manufacturing and distribution dream castle, a resident in the glossy magazines we peered at until our pupils became red and tears streamed down voluntarily. *Ata Boy!*

For decades I had forgotten about the vilage idol. Along the way, it also struck us that there were others who came before and after Mashaba.

Who can forget the stories of the great Habakuk Shikwane, the cane furniture genius, and his Afro-futurist architectural business premises, such as Afrispot, to drop but one name? There was an embarrassment of riches of achievers, especially in the relatively middle-class Leboneng freehold settlement dotted, as it were, with the traditional bougie class.

Fast-forward 30 years. As these things happen, three years ago I was assigned to profile Mashaba for this very publication. "Go hang with your homey," was the editor's brief. A stalker of black excellence, I pounced on it. We met at his family house in Athol. I was surprised to find it's not a chateau in a magazine but a decent, well-decorated and art-filled house, in which real people and not rip-outs of magazine-celebrity figures lived.

In the living room was a huge-ass piano; my unreliable memory wants me to recall it as a Steinway. It was most probably a black baby-grand Yamaha Clavinova. He played some tunes. He's not bad. He's not Tchaikovsky, either. We conversed about Marvin Gaye. High-fived about Motown's soul. And yet the nagging question persisted: How did a black man, even a supercapitalist like you, turn out to be a fundamentalist free-market exponent?

By the time I left, I had not drunk the Kool-Aid of his neoliberal, capitalist beliefs. The politics of small government and/or keeping the government's involvement minimal. Lovely on paper. Bad faith, in practice.

However, I could relate to the lessons of inspiring and enabling the poor to alter their circumstances through entrepreneurship, education and getting politicians off citizens' backs to do as they wish within law. His politics were old-style black conservative, often African Christian conservative, pull yourself up by the bootstraps politics — simplistic

but deeply persuasive.

He was, in a sense, not alone in this: he was part of the centuries old amaQoboka (cosmopolitan, missionary-converted, and possibly the earliest black liberals in this country), cleaved by faith and orientation from their more radical, red-blanket kith, though never kin. I remember thinking about this when, a few years later, Mashaba was miraculously plucked from political obscurity and elected the executive mayor of Johannesburg with the help of the red-apparel-clad Economic Freedom Fighters. Aesthetically and perhaps in temperament, you'll never find truer descendants of the amaQoba than the EFF.

A few years later I was not surprised to see Mashaba on a panel with then *Business Day* editor Songezo Zibi and the Institute of Race Relations' Anthea Jeffery. The two had hot books out about the vagaries of black economic empowerment and that singularly South African theme: How did Mandela's country slide so soon into the doghouse? But why was I on that panel? P'haps they needed someone to balance out a panel populated by liberal thinkers? If so, someone forgot to whisper to them that I, too, was a lib, if not politically, at least ideologically. We were all liberals and still are liberals, sometimes mislabelled "progressives".

Although it raises eyebrows still, to be black and a liberal, even to be black and a radical humanist — which is not always synonymous with being "a liberal" — is not as shocking as being black and soul'd-out on liberalism, an aloof ideological mindset of the white elite.

The American all-purpose descriptor "democrats" might be useful, here. The most potent, nay, most dangerous aspect of the liberal philosophy, going back to John Stuart Mill — to 19th, 18th and 17th-century liberal philosophers such as the Egyptian Rifa'a al-Tahtawi up to the Englishman John Locke — is, as an ideology and theological philosophy, with gender and sexual politics et cetera, liberal politics will always be varied, inherently mutative, contradictory, deeply empowering, tragically inadequate, and ultimately responsive to its time. To wit, like its often confused first cousin, Marxism, it is also culture specific.

The panel was lovely, rowdy and quarrelsome. With the headline, "At South African Literary Festival, Broaching Uncomfortable Subjects", that bastion of liberal traditions, *The New York Times*, reported that a black writer "looking at the audience attending a panel"

bloods of liberalism

observed: “There are a lot of white faces here.” The reporter didn’t say whether the speaker said it with ferocious anger and bulging veins, or, like Dave Chappelle sometimes, dropped the mic with a smile beaming from his face. “The audience laughed. Uneasily.”

Looking back, it would seem as if that year and that festival specifically was a watershed moment. It is at that festival that on a panel titled “Is Anger Underrated?” novelist Thando Mgqolozana laid down the gauntlet and told the audience: “I feel like an anthropological subject here and will never ever return here.”

Elsewhere sparks flew. Malaika wa Azania, Eusebius McKaiser and other “clever blacks” upturned the race tables, if momentarily, smashing exquisite porcelain to smithereens, spilling the red blood of Jesus (wine) all over the host’s chambers.

Time was up for that obnoxious notion of being the only darkie at the dinner table — and more so for his drenched-in-gentility host. After the day’s heated deliberations I bumped into Mashaba at one of the wealthy wine hamlet’s zhooshy restaurants where the festival’s biggest party was afoot.

Accompanied by his wife, Connie, and the writer and activist Palesa Morudu, Mashaba was in a sparkling mood. Maybe he’s been touched by the book festival’s infectious zing, thought I. Conviviality reigned supreme. Enamel-white teeth were bared. Hugs. Hello, duh-lee-ng, why, isn’t this year rather hot? The place was on fire. So was Mashaba. Smooch, smooch. Wine glasses with slim, waif-like, supermodel-tall stems kissed mid-air.

Scanning the room, in that zippy-sharp and silent way members of the tribe I’ll call Black-Onlys are socially trained in — scanning not once but twice, thrice — I caught myself counting the number of black faces. We could not have been more than five.

I thought to point it out to Mashaba. Wrong time. The man was palpably joy manifest. He was excited about the DA, a party he had just joined. I remember he was particularly pumped up about the then 35-year-old Mmusi Maimane, who, a week earlier, had just been elected the leader of South Africa’s official opposition party, the DA.

Prior to that Maimane had pipped a seasoned colleague to the party’s mayoral nomination of the City of Johannesburg. A Setswana/Sesotho translation of the name “Mmusi” means “one who rules” or simply “ruler”.

It is a weird, little South African piece of historical trivia that a “boy” who grew up on the streets of Soweto; a “boy” who, by divinity or ancestral decree seem destined to be “a ruler”, pipped a colleague named Vasco da Gama on his way to city, then national prominence. Go figure!

‘Man,” Mashaba shoulder-bounced, before hugging me playfully with a strong, tight grip, “the writing is on the wall. It’s over. The DA is the party of the future. Come join us, man. It is not a white party; you media folks have it wrong. The DA is the future.” Because of the oppressive din in the restaurant, when he uttered, “the DA is the future, broer”, it felt like he was screaming. He was not. It was the venue’s acoustics. All eyes turned to us, and sharper ears caught his last evocations “party of the future, no doubt”.

Slightly more than a year later, on August 22 2016, Mashaba was sworn in as the executive mayor of Johannesburg, a position his friend and now party boss had coveted just a year earlier. Exactly three years and a month later, Mashaba announced his resignation from both party and the mayorship.

It was simply one of the most earnest and yet dramatic boom-bye-byes in recent South African political polity. A radical protest gesture only a wealthy man or a black man who would not be shown his place would undertake. Twitter went apeshit, exploding in 280-character jeremiads.

In truth, the DA has been on a slow spin, haemorrhaging supporters for more than a year, mainly for two reasons. Firstly, in 2017 the ANC elective conference elected Cyril



Black Like Me: Herman Mashaba (above and as a youngster, right) was the DA mayor of Jo’burg for just over three years, until he left last month — in one of the most dramatic gestures in recent South African politics. Photo (top): Delwyn Verasamy

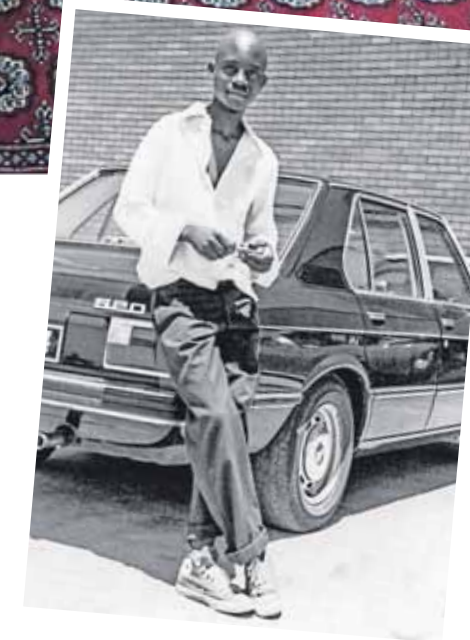
Ramaphosa as party leader, and by extension, first citizen of the country. In a period characterised by political theatricality, costumes and all, a social media boom, power cuts, a currency in tailspin, junk(yard) status from global rating agencies in the air, Nasrec 2017 proved to be both a cliff-hanger and a voluble sigh, anticipative of a thud-ful crush that never happened ... only a gradual descent.

By December 2017, everyone had known that the ANC had fully become a party of gangsters. It was also a party of hundreds of thousands of “decent” members who were either maimed into silence, remained tone deaf or, simply, were enthusiastically “unseeing” while its leadership not only looted the country, but also, even more treasonously, enabled foreign capture on a scale unseen since the halcyon days of Mobutu Sese Seko and the oil pashas of Nigerian politics.

By pulling the country away from the edge of the slippery cliffs overlooking the heart of darkness South Africa has always been expected — like its fellow African countries — to plunge into, the party managed to buy itself a temporary future and new Day-Glo.

It also assigned its smaller but noisier political rivals and their schoolyard antics to near obscurity. Not so fast. Let’s wind the clock back to six months before Nasrec 2017.

Writing in the *Sunday Times* op-ed section, the DA’s then chief whip, John Steenhuisen, crowed in an opinion piece: “The ANC is at its



weakest ... The house of cards built on the foundations of ANC capture by the Guptas is beginning to fall. The ANC is tearing itself apart in fits of factionalism as the fight for spoils rages unabated.” Nice touch. Poetic. “House of cards built on capture ... ” “Rages unabated.”

It’s no secret that under former president Jacob Zuma and his merry bands of filthy pirates bloated with greed, lucre and avarice, the ANC had stopped being a “broad church” of ideological contestations, and had fully signed a Faustian pact with the devil. It would not be long, though, before the devil was on the run and living it up in the “Hong Kong in the desert”, Dubai, and Zuma and his cronies reduced to B-movie villains at the Zondo commission, which Zuma himself had played a role in instituting.

Secondly, and according to the same issue of the *Sunday Times* in which Steenhuisen flexed his poetic gifts, the DA’s own internal poll warned the party that it had lost the faith

of its black supporters or vice-versa. Thanks to its indefatigable, then former-president Helen Zille, nicknamed “The Terminator”, and her colonialism apologist tweets, the DA’s not-so-hidden history of racism was, once again, foregrounded.

It was not so long ago that the DA fought national elections with a double-entendre slogan, “Fight Back”, a too-clever-by-half message considering the country’s combustible sensitivities about race.

But instead of apologising, Zille doubled down and dug into her bottomless tote bag filled with all sorts of curious, 18th-century, race-baiting nuggets. Earlier this year the party was duly punished, with its share of the national vote declining from 22.23% to 20.77%.

Lots of political hokum, faux pas and plain old dagger-in-the-back dark arts have happened within the DA, of course: the Western Cape-based, Xhosa-speaking Zille made a dramatic comeback in October this year when she pipped the Xhosa-fluent Athol Trollip from the Eastern Cape to snatch the position of federal council chairperson. Mashaba who, with Maimane, had long distrusted Zille’s political ambitions after her “retirement” and disdained her supremacist leanings, resigned from the City of Johannesburg in protest.

Thus spun the “guardian angels” of South African liberalism. Harry Schwarz, even Frederik van Zyl Slabbert and Joe Seremane, and Steve Biko — whom she’s in the habit of evoking — are spinning in their graves.

Mashaba was followed by Maimane, who hoped a mini-commission he instituted to investigate the causes of the party’s decline in the 2019 national elections — probably under the impression that the results would point to Zille and the party’s opposition to honest discussion about race and class matters — would exonerate him, but instead it lynched him out of the party.

Maimane, the young black man who was parachuted, without experience, to window-dress the DA into the future; Maimane who was recruited as a mascot of the blue wave — which, with the projected support of masses of “clever blacks” from the professional class, fancied itself a government-in-waiting — was lynched to save Zille’s skin.

In other words: isn’t it too cute a coincidence that the party’s “leadership review report”, the contents of which never pointed a single finger at Zille, dropped to coincide with her return to active, national politics?

Nah, c’mon, all these events just happened out of the blue, right?

What does all this mean for the South African liberal project? Globally, liberalism and its progressive and leftwards social-democratic advances are under attack. Liberalism is not only under attack from white supremacy or Stalinist centralism: it is eaten from inside its gut by its right-wing constituency.

In South Africa one thing is clear: the DA will never again be a political force. With the slow death of the custodian party of white privilege and white guilt, whiteness itself will do what it does best: fortify itself into little laagers, oblivious to the fact that its enemy is right within.

South Africa needs a radical, honest, multi-dimensional party with staunch, 21st-century, intersectional liberal resolve. A party — certainly a grassroots-to-middle-class-aligned movement — as committed to policy as it is to hearing the cries and howls of the poor, black people and women.

A party for a changing country beset with spirit-debilitating woes brought about by the ANC and stubborn white privilege, in the last-quarter century of the sulky, often fatal dance. Herman Mashaba’s once-beloved Democratic Alliance is clearly a party of the past. If my memory serves me well, my homey had lied to me.

Bongani Madondo is the author of *Sigh, the Beloved Country* (Picador Africa). He writes about poetry, photography and power dynamics

2019: Continent of triumphs and tragedies

It was another turbulent year for Africa. From revolutions to raging storms, peace prizes to power cuts,

Africa for optimists

Ditching dinosaurs

On February 6, President Abdelaziz Bouteflika announced his intention to seek a fifth term in office. He had been in power since 1999. Less than two months later, his generals told him that he had no choice but to resign.

In the interim, Algerians had taken to the streets in their millions to demand his exit. The demonstrations were largely peaceful, but they were relentless. The people made it clear that they had had enough of Bouteflika's corrupt and authoritarian rule, and the generals — fearful for their own futures — had no choice but to obey.

It took the people of Sudan just a couple of months longer to get rid of President Omar al-Bashir, who had been in charge for a decade longer than Bouteflika. Protests against a rise in the fuel price in December 2018 morphed into a nationwide revolt against his rule. So deep was the public anger that al-Bashir's generals, too, forced him to step down.

But the protesters did not stop there. Even in the face of horrific violence perpetrated by Sudanese armed forces, and specifically the Rapid Support Forces, they demanded substantive civilian representation in a transitional government. With the appointment of technocrat Abdalla Hamdok in August, they got what they wanted.

Neither the Algerian nor Sudanese revolutions are yet secured, and both countries only have to look to nearby Egypt to see how easily new dawns can be hijacked. So far, however, this new generation of activists and civil society leaders have shown they are wise to the tricks of the old guard who would subvert their will — and unafraid to return to the streets to reassert themselves. Activists everywhere else are taking note.

Strength in symbolic unity

The agreement to establish the African Continental Free Trade Area has been widely misunderstood. This is a trade deal in theory only; a statement of intent from African leaders that yes, one day, a tariff-free Africa would be a good idea. Few business leaders expect any practical changes in the trading environment within the next decade.

Although the agreement came into force on May 30 this year, with signatures from 54 African countries, there are few binding obligations and the really thorny subjects have yet to be negotiated. As the *Mail & Guardian* reported: "The protocols on competition policy and intellectual policy have yet to be agreed; nor is there any accord on rules of origin, the criteria to determine where a product is actually from. These are usually among the most contentious areas of any free trade negotiation, so expect plenty of contention to come."

Yet despite its clear shortcomings, there is still plenty to celebrate in the passing of the agreement. Even at a symbolic level, it is significant that African leaders are pushing for greater integration — especially at a time when the rest of the world seems to be moving towards greater isolationism. For some leaders, this commitment came at a political cost. In Nigeria, for example, President Muhammadu Buhari had to expend serious political capital to overrule



Champions: Two weeks after Omar al-Bashir was deposed, Sudanese gather for a million-strong march for civilian rule (above). Kenyan Brigid Kosgei (left) set a new marathon record for women of 2:14:04. Liberian lawyer Alfred Brownell (below) won the Goldman environmental prize for his fight against palm oil companies, so preventing the destruction of primary forest in one of the world's biodiversity hotspots. Photos: Ozan Kose/AFP & Quinn Harris

oil companies. In 2010, he won, saving some 208 000 hectares from deforestation, but was forced to flee the country shortly afterwards.

For Brownell, protecting forests is common sense. "When you go to bed and are asleep, what is keeping you alive when you breathe in and out? It's the oxygen from these trees. They are actually giving us life. We have to protect them. The next time you step out of your house, please give a tree a tender hug and remember this," he said.

This year, Brownell was awarded the Goldman Environmental Prize, which is given to people who show exceptional bravery in defence of the natural world. He is planning to keep fighting for forests that cannot fight for themselves. As the effect of the climate emergency makes itself felt, he is the kind of hero that the continent needs.

We are the champions

On October 12, a human being, powered by nothing other than his own body, ran 42.2km in a time of 1:59:40. The name of the person responsible for this, one of history's most remarkable feats of athleticism, is Eliud Kipchoge. He was born in a village in western

Kenya and did not start running seriously until he had left school.

On October 14, at the Chicago Marathon, a Kenyan woman ran that same distance faster than any other woman in history. Her name is Brigid Kosgei, and she finished the distance in 2:14:04. She has now set her sights on breaking the 2:10:00 barrier. Few would bet against her.

This has been another extraordinary year for African sporting accomplishment. Some other highlights: South Africa's national rugby team won the World Cup final in dominant fashion, brushing aside the strongest English team in a generation; the two best players in the world's best football team on current form, Liverpool, are African

(Egypt's Mo Salah and Senegal's Sadio Mané); the Toronto Raptors basketball team, with its Senegalese president and core of African players, surprised everyone to become the first non-American team to win the NBA Championship; and Zozibini Tunzi from South Africa was crowned Miss Universe 2019.

Yes, we know that sport is never going to solve deeper societal problems (no matter what the makers of *Invictus* would have us believe). But, damn, it feels good to win.

the objections of powerful unions before signing.

It is also significant that African leaders were able to present such a united front. It is difficult to get 54 countries to agree on anything, let alone something as potentially divisive as a free trade area. This bodes well for how the continent will be able to address some of the grave cross-border problems — migration, climate change and conflict — that it is facing.

Divisive Nobel peace prize

When the Nobel committee awarded its peace prize to Ethiopia's Prime Minister Abiy Ahmed, it cited "his efforts to achieve peace and international co-operation, and in particular, his decisive initiative to resolve the border conflict with neighbouring Eritrea".

Critics said the award came too early. For all Abiy's spectacular, headline-grabbing reforms — freeing political prisoners, abolishing controls on independent media, opening the borders with Eritrea — he is young and untested and his time in

office has been characterised by high levels of violence. It is far too early to know if his reforms will work.

These are valid arguments. Nonetheless, Abiy is offering something different to any other leader on the African continent, and possibly even the world. His dramatic rollback of aspects of Ethiopia's authoritarian state will define his country for generations to come; and his reforms are, broadly, trending towards greater openness and democratisation. In a world that appears to be moving towards closed borders and greater autocracy, this is worth applauding.

Give a tree a hug

For nearly a decade, Alfred Brownell has been in exile in the United States. The Liberian lawyer made an enemy of his government — and powerful corporations — when he fought against plans to replace invaluable rainforest with palm oil plantations. He took that fight all the way to the Roundtable on Sustainable Palm Oil, an international body that offers a fair trade-like certification for palm



Simon Allison rounds up the year's most encouraging news stories and alarming headlines

... and for pessimists

Climate change is here

During South Africa's general elections in May, the climate crisis was notable for its almost total absence from public debate. Leaders were not talking about it, and voters were not raising concerns. This silence was almost unfathomable, given the considerable effect that extreme weather is having on the region.

The highest-profile extreme weather event was Cyclone Idai, which, at the time, was the most severe tropical storm to make landfall in Mozambique. More than 1000 people were killed in three countries: Mozambique, Malawi and Zimbabwe. The United Nations described it as perhaps the worst natural disaster in the history of the Southern Africa.

It was followed, just a month later, by Cyclone Kenneth, which, although it caused fewer fatalities, was an even stronger storm.

What the twin cyclones demonstrated is how unprepared Southern African governments are to deal with extreme weather. Relief efforts were largely left to international organisations and to local people themselves. Basic services in major cities such as Beira disappeared overnight and took months to restore, if at all.

Across the continent, meteorologists are recording increases in floods and droughts, with a corresponding negative effect on food production and power generation. Biologists are warning that plant and animal species are disappearing at an unprecedented rate and rapid desertification is making more and more of Africa's land uninhabitable, forcing people to move into other areas where they are rarely welcomed.

None of this is unique to Africa. But what is unique is that the continent does not yet have the resources or skills in place to bounce back from climate-related catastrophe. This must change, and fast. Under current projections of temperature increases — a 4°C rise — most of the continent will be an uninhabitable desert, says the *New Scientist*. Which makes it clear that we do not have time to waste.

Ethiopia's Pandora's Box

In the space of a single week in late October, at least 67 people were killed during widespread anti-government protests in Ethiopia. The violence came at an awkward time for Prime Minister Abiy Ahmed: it was just weeks after he had been announced as winner of the 2019 Nobel peace prize.

This is the central contradiction of Abiy's rule. He has been praised for opening up political space, for releasing the shackles from a historically authoritarian state. He has done most of the things that rights groups and pro-democracy campaigners could have wanted, from freeing political prisoners and overhauling the security sector to lifting restrictions on independent media. And yet, despite all these laudable reforms, Ethiopia is more unstable and more violent than it was prior to him taking office.

Ethiopia feels like it is at an inflection point. Can Abiy calm the tensions that his reforms have unleashed? Or, will Ethiopia, in the absence of the state's heavy hand, fracture into its multiplicity of constituent parts?



Extreme: Buildings were flooded in Beira, Mozambique, when Cyclone Idai made landfall. The cyclone went on to cause damage in Malawi and Zimbabwe. Photo: Mike Hutchings/Reuters



Flare-up: The outbreak of Ebola in the DRC (above) is plagued by violence. There have been 390 attacks on health facilities and health workers have been killed. One of the first steps Ethiopia's Prime Minister Abiy Ahmed took was to unban opposition parties. People celebrate (left) the return of Berhanu Nega, leader of Ginbot 7, after years in exile. But violence has returned to the country. Photos: Yonas Tadesse/AFP & John Wessels/AFP

ing the outbreak in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC).

Despite all this knowledge, however, the outbreak has not been contained. Since August 1 last year, there have been a total of 3324 cases recorded, including 2206 deaths and 1087 survivors. Seven new cases were recorded in the week of November 18 to 24, which is the latest available data.

The World Health Organisation's situation report for that week says:

"Violence and civil unrest in the week have led to the suspension of Ebola response activities in some areas of Beni, Butembo and Oicha health zones ... The disruptions to the response and the lack of access to Ebola-affected communities are threatening to reverse recent progress."

Some of this violence has been targeted at health facilities and medical personnel — the very people who are supposed to be helping. Some local people are suspicious of their motives, and feel that they can trust neither their own government nor the international organisations. Who can blame them, after decades, if not centuries, of exploitation, abuse and misuse?

In the absence of trust, it does not matter how effective the ebola vaccine is. And once lost, how can authorities regain this trust?

Conflict on the rise

The Armed Conflict Location and Event Data Project maintains the most comprehensive database of conflict incidents around the world. Its figures for the African continent show a disturbing increase in the number of conflict incidents on the continent.

As of December 7 this year, there were 22063 recorded incidents. For the same period in 2018, that number stood at 16314 incidents. That is an increase of 5749 incidents.

It is not hard to see which situations may account for the rise. It has been a bad year for Burkina Faso, where Islamist armed groups have increased their activity this year; and for Mozambique, where the insurgency in Cabo Delgado shows no sign of slowing down (and still no one is entirely sure who is driving the violence). Conflict has continued in Cameroon, the Central African Republic, the DRC, Mali, Nigeria, Somalia and South Sudan.

Reflecting on this trend, the International Committee of the Red Cross's Africa director, Patricia Danzi, observed recently: "Conflicts last and they don't stop. And more are added."

Power of internet closure

In January, when it was in the midst of a brutal and wide-ranging crackdown against all forms of opposition, the Zimbabwean government shut down the internet. With a flick of a switch, all electronic communications — with the exception of voice calls — were suspended.

The shutdown had two major consequences. The first was that it became much harder to organise resistance. The second was that news of what was going on in Zimbabwe — perhaps the worst bout of violence in a decade — filtered out slowly and without much urgency. It certainly did not receive the attention it deserved, and that is because most of the people who would usually raise the alarm were silenced.

In other words, the internet shutdown worked.

Other countries that have experimented with switching off the internet this year include Cameroon, Chad, the DRC, Ethiopia, Gabon and Sudan. Expect this number to increase as authoritarian leaders realise that the relative anarchy of the online world can be tamed.

The answer to this question will reverberate far beyond the country's borders. For one thing, Ethiopian stability is central to stability in the Horn of Africa. For another, should Abiy fail, then it will strengthen the argument of those who believe that the values he professes, such as democratisation and political

freedoms, are not applicable in an African context.

Ebola and absence of trust

Ebola is not a mysterious illness. Scientists know how the virus works, and how to prevent it from spreading. There is even a vaccine, which has been widely distributed dur-

2019: A dire state of play

Protea implosion – What do

The past year has been CSA's annus horribilis. The Proteas' on-field performance was dismal but it's the behind-the-scenes machinations of the administrators that have truly damaged the sport

Niren Tolsi

South Africa's 3-0 Test series reverse in India in October felt as if the Proteas woke up every morning to find an intruder's turd on their pillows and a grinning opposition player wiping their bottoms with the bed sheet.

Wait. Hold up. Let's rewind a few decades to CLR James, who himself rewinds a few centuries to the ancient Greeks, in the essay *What Do Men Live By?* In his critical response to Leon Trotsky's argument that the workers were deflected from politics by sport – in which James insists "with my past I simply could not accept that" – the Trinidadian notes the regard with which the Greeks held their Olympic champions.

That "most politically minded and intellectually and artistically the most creative of all peoples", James continues, recognised the "notable distinction" conferred upon their city by the returning hero. "His victory was a testament to the quality of the citizens. All the magnates of the city welcomed him home in civic procession. They broke down a part of the wall for him to enter: a city which could produce such citizens had no need of walls to defend it."

Fast-forward from antiquity to day three of South Africa's first Test against India in Visakhapatnam and the Proteas had heroes for whom walls deserved to be broken down.

Dean Elgar (160 off 287 balls) and Quinton de Kock (111 off 163 balls) had suggested that South Africa still had the guts and determination to put up a fight against India. A demonstrable backbone despite the valid argument calling for patience because the Proteas were a green-horn side in a transitional phase, playing in a most difficult of countries to tour and against, arguably, the best Indian Test side of all time.

By day four in Visakhapatnam South Africa had chipped away at India's first innings total of 502 declared and scored 431 all out. There was grit and there was fight. Walls were broken, hope sprung and there was the suggestion that more heroes would be celebrated.

Then, for the rest of the series, South Africa's top-order batsmen were often castled by India's quicks or their spinners. While the tail wagged, no one appeared to be manning the Proteas' defences – and as the ensuing innings defeats in Pune and Ranchi confirmed, every day's morning brought home only the misery of a proud cricketing nation humiliated while it slept. The invaders had waltzed through the holes in the walls, nicked the family heirlooms and defecated on our beds.

As the Test series ground towards its inevitable conclusion the effects of the losses on the players were increasingly palpable. Dejection set in; likewise the sense that not everything was right in South African cricket and that the malaise extended well beyond the boundary of the cricket oval and into the boardroom.

Captain Faf du Plessis, an empathetic leader and a consistently honourable man, had insisted he would not follow contemporaries like Hashim Amla and Dale Steyn into

Test retirement. He was determined to guide the Proteas through what seems an increasingly fraught process of rebuilding. But he appeared to be taking strain; feeling the pressure of what was unfolding on the field, but also something beyond his control – machinations much further away that were, nevertheless, immediately affecting the team.

India has the highest amount of untreated faecal matter in the world. Yet, the stench of administrative explosion back home at Cricket South Africa (CSA), would soon overpower any pungency around that country's cricket grounds.

Since the Proteas' return from the subcontinent, revelations of poor governance; the CSA board's inability to perform basic fiduciary duties; projected losses of R654-million over four years for the organisation; the withdrawal of Standard Bank which were the title sponsors for the men's national team to the tune of about R100-million a year; last year's withdrawal of Momentum as title sponsors of the women's team; insinuations of administrative interference in playing matters; alleged credit card abuse by officials; woefully incompetent attempts to restructure the domestic game; a farcical search for a permanent director of cricket; the last ditch appointment of former Test captain Graeme Smith (as director of cricket) and former Test wicketkeeper Mark Boucher (as national mens' team coach) as a shot of good news that deflected public ire demanding the board resign; the demotion of Enoch Nkwe from the team's acting technical director to Boucher's assistant; the finalisation of a Test selection panel less than two weeks before a home series against England (et cetera ad nauseum) have all undermined the credibility of South African cricket.

The withdrawal of media accreditation of five cricket writers who had asked uncomfortable, yet perfectly normal, journalistic questions about how the game was being run, underlined CSA's autocratic instincts and caused a public furore.

After a meeting of the CSA board on December 6 and 7 it was announced that the organisation's chief executive Thabang Moroe has been suspended on full pay. Moroe's suspension followed the November suspensions of acting director of cricket Corrie van Zyl (who was nevertheless interviewed for permanent appointment to this position), commercial manager Clive Eksteen and chief financial officer Naasei Appiah.

They were apparently suspended because of unpaid image rights to players for the marketing of the Mzansi Super League (MSL) – a move that the South African Cricketers' Association (Saca) had criticised, arguing that following its interactions with CSA, it was clear the buck actually stopped with Moroe, who was alleged to have not signed off on the payments.

In the week before CSA's December board meeting two of its five independent directors, Shirley Zinn and Iqbal Khan, resigned. Khan made noises about irregular credit card use



A sticky wicket: (clockwise from top left) Proteas captain Faf du Plessis (left) and former coach Ottis Gibson had a tough time at the World Cup; CSA chief executive Thabang Moroe was suspended earlier this month; South African fans supporting the Proteas; and Dean Elgar (left) celebrates after scoring a century during the first Test vs India in October, which was pretty much the highlight of that tour. Photos: Noah Seelam/AFP, Shaun Roy/Gallo Images, Matt King/Getty Images and Ishara S Kodikara/AFP

as he shuffled out the door – something he did not mention in CSA's 2018-2019 annual integrated report – and three more officials were subsequently suspended: financial manager Ziyanda Nkuta, procurement manager Lundi Maja and administrator Dalene Nolan. Tellingly, only one of the non-independent directors (the cricket bosses on the board), the Gauteng Cricket Board's Jack Madiseng, understood to be an ally of Moroe, has resigned.

This administrative turmoil has affected the Proteas' performance in 2019, especially at the Cricket World Cup (CWC) in England in May and June, according to documents the *Mail & Guardian* has seen.

The past year has been South African cricket's annus horribilis. A first Test series loss to Sri Lanka at home (0-2) was followed by the Proteas' worst performance ever at a Cricket World Cup, with the team losing five of its first seven matches (the match against the West Indies was washed out) to exit the tournament before achieving late, dead-rubber victories against Sri Lanka and Australia in the group stages.

The team had gone into the tournament as favourites for a semifinal

berth at least, with a 72% win ratio since September 2018 across all formats. They had won five of the six ODI series played over that time, beating Sri Lanka and Australia away and Zimbabwe, Pakistan and Sri Lanka at home.

But things fell apart, in no small part because of the uncertainty created within the team and apparent kow-towing by the CSA board to interests outside those of the Proteas and their success at the tournament.

According to a confidential team management report submitted to the board, the team was destabilised by the withdrawal of an offer to extend coach Ottis Gibson's contract for another year. Gibson was notified of this on the day the team left for England, according to documents the *M&G* has seen.

This appeared to fray the already fractured relationship between the players and the board. A source intimate with the process told the *M&G* that this was considered by those close to, and in the team, as a punitive measure against Gibson, allegedly instigated by Moroe.

This was after Gibson, Du Plessis and team manager Dr Mohammed Moosajee had approached CSA president Chris Nenzani with an objection about a board decision made on February 1 to give the chief executive final say on team selection. The board had apparently expressed unhappiness about the national team not reaching its transformation targets. Team management had argued that extenuating circum-

stances – managing workloads and injuries – had affected these targets.

"Linda [Zondi, the then chairperson of selectors] was not consulted [about the decision], Ottis had no idea and the impression created was that the selectors could not be trusted on transformation. Ottis phoned Chris to express his concerns and the decision was overturned, but this led to the relationship between Thabang and Ottis breaking down completely and the contract offer being withdrawn," said the source.

The uncertainty about Gibson's future added to the instability in the dressing room. The players were already unhappy about the ongoing stand-off between Saca and CSA over the latter's proposed restructuring of domestic cricket to replace six franchises with 12 provincial ones. The proposed move is being challenged in court, with Saca arguing it will lead to job losses among cricketers and a dilution of talent in the upper echelons of the domestic game.

According to the team management report, the "Saca/CSA dispute shortly before the [World Cup] tournament commenced was both untimely and unfortunate. As much as we tried to downplay the dispute, it affected the team space."

Another issue was the inability to manage players' workloads, especially during the Indian Premier League (IPL), which preceded the World Cup. Kagiso Rabada exacerbated a back injury, while Du Plessis and wicketkeeper-batsman Quinton de Kock played all the way to the finals, despite requests by team management for their early return.

"The board sabotaged us [at the Cricket World Cup] with their decisions. Players were at increased risk of injuries"

SA's cricketing men live by?



According to the management report, the team had “made a request for key Proteas players to return home early from the IPL for a period of rest and rejuvenation before the CWC, similar to what CA [Cricket Australia] and ECB [England Cricket Board] did. This request was turned down by the IPL/BCCI [Board of Control for Cricket in India] and was not supported by CSA.”

A former CSA employee told the *M&G* that the decision not to recall players early was made because CSA had been pressured by the BCCI and offered a few more ODIs, which have yet to be included in the future tours programme of the International Cricket Council (ICC).

The decision to “allow/force key players (Du Plessis, Rabada & De Kock) to stay at the IPL till the end” led to insufficient rest and recovery time for players and a “delayed and then truncated camp” prior to the team leaving for the World Cup, according to the management report.

“The board sabotaged us with their decisions,” said a source close to the team. “Players were at increased risk of injuries, in fact, seven out of the 15 player squad picked up injuries before or during the World Cup and this number increased to 12 during

the tournament — we were never going to win it like that.”

Noting the pre-tournament injuries to fast-bowlers Anrich Nortje and Lungi Ngidi, and the ongoing injury concerns about Rabada and Steyn, who eventually had to withdraw from the tournament, former CSA president Norman Arendse said: “In September last year Ottis Gibson was boasting about his quartet of fast-bowlers who would win South Africa the World Cup, but the injuries affected our performance.”

Earlier this month, Arendse wrote an open letter to CSA calling for Moroe, Nenzani and the board to take responsibility for the crisis in South African cricket.

From 2013 Arendse and former director of public prosecutions Vusi Pikoli had served as independent directors on the CSA board following

“Every director has to answer some serious questions ... How did they allow this to happen? How do you explain this crisis?”

the recommendations of the commission of inquiry into untoward bonuses paid to CSA officials after South Africa hosted the 2009 IPL.

The commission chairperson, retired judge Chris Nicholson, had recommended a smaller board with a majority of members being independent, professionally skilled, non-executive directors. This would have been in keeping with CSA’s section 21 company status and ensured best corporate practices, he argued.

Previously, all 11 presidents of the affiliate unions sat on the CSA board, together with independent directors. Nicholson’s recommendations sought to install more independent directors, who would provide fiduciary oversight and “steer clear of conflicts of interests of individual shareholders”. Nicholson considered these conflicts to include the narrow provincialism and parochial interests of affiliate unions, which he had red-flagged as part of the problem leading to the lack of oversight in relation to the IPL bonus scandal.

“Chris [Nenzani] was always a very strong personality and quite arrogant. He showed signs of having an autocratic streak during my time as an independent director, but we had strong independent directors who all

had a background in cricket, so we pushed back,” said Arendse.

“It’s natural that we had differences of opinion and when things were referred to the social and ethics committee [chaired by Pikoli] they almost invariably found in our favour. We developed a strong culture of questioning things, whether it was selection or revenues, and this filtered through to the non-independent directors, who found the oomph to ask questions. We had a robust, strong culture of accountability, transparency and oversight,” said Arendse, who resigned as an independent director in 2018.

This oversight and accountability — together with an experienced chief executive in Haroon Lorgat — had realised a “golden period” in South African cricket, Arendse believes. “If you look at that period, Haroon was bringing in big sponsorship, like the R100-million a year deal with Standard Bank. The South African Test side was stable — always number one, number two or number three in the world — [and] undefeated for a very long period away from home. Administratively, we ran a very tight ship,” he said.

But these oversight strengths have been eroded during Moroe’s tenure. A new memorandum of incorporation rubber-stamped by the board allows for more non-independent directors to be included on it. Cricket administrators Donovan May and Madiseng were appointed in February, and Angelo Carolissen joined in September last year. The effect, according to people like Arendse, was to dilute the independent-mindedness of the CSA board.

This meant a return to provincial interests taking precedence over the interests of the game, development at grassroots level and the smooth functioning of the national men’s and women’s national team, say cricket insiders. “The smaller provinces have formed a bloc, which props up Nenzani and Moroe, keeping them in power while they look after these small unions,” said one cricket insider. “How else do you explain the inexplicable decision to broaden the franchise pool to 12 teams?”

It has also allowed power to be concentrated around Moroe and Nenzani at a time when those who work, or have recently worked, at CSA complained to the *M&G* about nepotism and cronyism abounding in the organisation. Cricketing insiders have described Moroe as someone without the administrative experience required to run CSA and “who seems to spin himself out of any situation, sometimes believing his own spin”. All this was done under the guise of “narrow Black Africanism”, said one former employee.

Lorgat said Nenzani was “excellent at the beginning when he first became president. He was ethical, he did things properly but at some point a switch appears to have gone off and now he is simply clinging onto power — for what? Surely it can’t be for the fees and ICC meeting allowances, which is about \$500 per day?”

The issue of money, and CSA’s haemorrhaging of money has been an open wound at the organisation over the past two years.

According to Lorgat, CSA had more than R1-billion in the bank when he resigned after the postponement of the mooted Global T20 league, which has since metamorphosed into the

MSL. Now, Saca claims CSA’s projected losses are closer to R1-billion over four years, almost double what CSA has publicly announced.

This year, the MSL attracted shirt sponsors for all the franchises only after it had already started. CSA had initially agreed to have SuperSport as “equity partners” in a “joint venture” before a fall-out earlier this year saw them part ways and the broadcast rights given to the SABC.

Having carried the costs of two MSL tournaments without a title sponsor and a broadcasting deal with the SABC, which Nenzani told the *M&G* did not cover all the costs, CSA is building debt rather than building towards profit. This makes CSA ever more beholden to ICC hand-outs and the whims and fancies of the BCCI, which intends being increasingly aggressive about rights, money and fixture programming under new president Sourav Ganguly.

On December 7 Nenzani told the *M&G* that although the SABC deal was not lucrative, it allowed cricket to reach audiences it would not normally do and “democratise” the sport.

Lorgat described the SABC deal as a “get out of jail card”. “You could have still had it broadcast on both SABC and SuperSport. SuperSport understand it is not in their best interest to monopolise cricket completely and instead of having, hypothetically, a R100-million broadcast ... the parties could have agreed on a discounted R80-million with selected games simultaneously screened on SABC. SuperSport understands this and it currently exists in CSA’s international media rights deal with SuperSport,” he said.

The board certainly used several get out of jail cards at the press conference on December 7 after it closed ranks and threw Moroe under the bus. The announcement of the possibility of securing former Proteas captain Graeme Smith as the next director of cricket (confirmed on a three-month deal the next week) and that respected administrator Jacques Faul would act as chief executive with the assistance of former South African Test wicketkeeper and ICC chief executive Dave Richardson was merely “misdirection”, according to Arendse. “They’ve made the right noises to appease the public, but they have not done the honourable thing: accepted accountability for the mess they have created and resigned.”

It is a view echoed by Saca, which, after the press conference, again called for the CSA board to resign. Lorgat agreed. “Every director has to answer some serious questions ... How did they allow this to happen? How do you explain this crisis situation where relationships with your players is in trouble, your relationship with the media is in trouble, your relationship with sponsors is in trouble and on top of this you are facing serious financial trouble?”

All this while the Proteas rebuild a team shorn by retirement of its established stars and prepare for a four-Test series with England under a new coaching regime for the second time this year — less than 12 months ago the board had decided to keep Gibson and his team on.

So far, the South African public has received very little by way of accountability or answers as to the problems that have beset South African cricket this year. But in the silence and misdirection, we do have a better understanding of what these cricketing men live by.

The couch potato's guide to sports

If you can't make it to the playing fields, don't stress out. There's plenty of entertainment to be found on the box

Luke Feltham & Eyaaz Matwadia

Cricket

It doesn't feel very ethical, but the Proteas are playing England at a time when Cricket South Africa (CSA) has let everyone down and our players are picking up the shards of their shattered confidence. Still, loving punishment as we do, most of us will watch anyway. Eskom permitting.

Driving home in the rain two weeks ago, slightly peeved after watching CSA president Chris Nenzani take up a Saturday afternoon parrying off his responsibility, it was easy for the mind to wander and reminisce on the sunnier days of cricket.

A year ago it was Pakistan that we invited to share in our festivities. And then, like now, the tour began at SuperSport Park.

There are few places better to watch a Test match in the country. With its spacious embankment, the place really does live up to its name and is not overwhelmed by concrete. Huge trees cover the braai area and the surroundings — you can take a nap under their shade should you take on too much beer, or too many wors rolls. Time seems to falter as one ball turns into another and the Gautrain hypnotically whooshes by.

Had you missed the live experience last year, there was still a show to be enjoyed on television. Although not the most enthralling match, or series for that matter, it was devilishly entertaining watching the Proteas beat down on their opponents. Even on a screen, the Pakistani distress was palpable; the sun blazed on their brows and fast balls threatened their craniums. The Proteas essentially bullied the batters into submission, paralysing them at the crease and not allowing them a moment to consider how to get out of their pickle.

What we were watching was an exciting moment for South African bowling. Duanne Olivier, Kagiso Rabada, Dale Steyn and, for the next two games, Vernon Philander — all



Winners and losers: Kagiso Rabada (above) continues to be relied upon and Liverpool (below) is almost certain to take the Premier League trophy. Photos: Shaun Botterill & Laurence Griffiths/Getty Images



healthy and bullish. Each player's overs carried a baseline of intensity, ensuring the bombardment didn't relent. Olivier would still find a way to stand out, taking 11 wickets in Centurion and 24 overall in the series. Factor in the inspiring debut of Lungi Ngidi a few months earlier and the glut of pacers became the

reason you went to the grounds, or flicked the channel to cricket.

That moment would reveal itself as a fleeting one. Olivier would sacrifice his promising international career for a county deal while Steyn realised that retirement is the only way to rest muscles that have given so much for the cause over the years.

dreams, it might be time to change the channel. Begrudgingly, one must admit that Australia is offering a decent show. They begin their second Test in a series against New Zealand on Boxing Day as the David Warner/Steve Smith redemption story marches on to its next locale. Given that it began on our shores it almost feels as though we're protagonists in the tale — or perhaps we're just confounded about how South Africa are the ones so much worse off nearly two years after #SandpaperGate and the duo's cheating.

If that is too depressing, well, you can always watch the "438 game" to bring back some festive cheer. It's easy to find online and sports channels air it from time to time. What we would give for South African cricket to make a comeback of that magnitude right now.

Premier League

It's at the cost of ceaseless cries that you get to enjoy a December chock full of Premier League action. Every year we have to listen to one or another British rent-a-pundit yabber on about how desperately the world's most watched football competition needs a Christmas break. You know, like how the Germans do it. It's hurting the teams in the Champions League, they say. It's why England always suck at the Euros. Harry Kane would have won the Ballon D'or if he weren't so knackered. Et cetera.

But you don't care about any of that do you? More football means more excuses not to play Boggle with Grandma. Just make sure you don't buy any Christmas video games for the kids because you're going to be needing the TV.

Liverpool have the chance to become world champions this December. They will duel it out for that honour in the Club World Cup — another competition not short of criticism for its inconvenient scheduling and, arguably, low stakes that end with getting a shiny badge to increase shirt sales. Still, Jürgen Klopp has taken a strong squad to Qatar and they will meet Brazilians Flamengo in the final this Saturday.

On their return, we commence pondering the quintessential question of the holiday period: Can Liverpool continue their march to the league title without slipping up?

What it means for the present is that we're less likely to get the kind of thrill that would have us spitting our mince pies onto the living room. Not impossible, just not highly likely.

At best, the Proteas could field a foursome almost as fierce as a year ago. Rabada, the undisputed leader, and Philander remain. Ngidi has returned and Anrich Nortje has the potential to be equally deadly. In theory everything is dandy.

The problem is we don't live in theory. Rabada has been pumped of every gram of his sweat and we await the toll of being asked to carry the team. Philander and Ngidi will probably be coddled to varying degrees to keep them fit. And questions remain about whether Nortje can consistently operate at an elite level — see the India Test series for reason for scepticism.

Should we get the worst of those circumstances it's going to be a long few days in the sun. Or on the couch. Should it be the latter and you find yourself staring at the empty wall instead of the 55-inch box of broken

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Mail & Guardian

over the holidays



Ones to watch: Frankie Edgar will take on Chan Sung Jung, The Korean Zombie (left). Moruti Mthalane beat Masayuki Kuroda (right) and will now face Akira Yaegashi. Chelsea, under coach Frank Lampard (below), face two big games – against Tottenham Hotspur and Arsenal. Photos: Charly Triballeau & Adrian Dennis/AFP

It's been a romp so far and the long wait for a Premier League trophy looks to finally be over. The only side capable of entertaining fantasies about catching them are Leicester City, who are setting up their Boxing Day date at the Kingpower Stadium as the most important match of the season, let alone the month. A few years ago that would have felt like asking for a Christmas miracle but now it just feels like a normal conversation. That's how good Leicester have become.

The bad news — at least for those of us not affiliated to the Reds — is that the race for first can be written off should the Foxes lose. No one-point difference hustle this season.

Fortunately, there remain a number of interesting subplots that will carry on well into the new year. Chelsea, for one, need to figure out if they're brilliant or hopeless. The young squad have offered equal quantities of both under Frank Lampard and would do well to find a base level of consistency to secure a top four spot.

Key to that journey of enlightenment will be two big games over the next two weeks. First up, new Tottenham Hotspur coach José Mourinho is salivating at the thought of a groggy Blues rocking up on his doorstep. The Portuguese's idea of a perfect gift is getting one over any of his former teams and he will whip his current lot as hard as it takes to achieve this. Add in the resentment that has been simmering over the past few years between these two and things are going to get messy. This is not to be missed.

From one derby to another, Arsenal await the following weekend. And if we're talking about disorderly Londoners, they don't get much more so than Mesut Özil and friends. But recent history suggests they too are quite capable of ruining Chelsea's ambitions. At the very least watching two trainwrecked entities collide offers certain goals and a happy jaunt for the neutral viewer.

The top four race is shaping up to be the most intriguing battle of the season. Manchester United, of course, hope they are still invited to the party. Ole Gunnar Solskjær will spend the next few weeks trying to prove he knows what he's doing. That too involves a visit to the Gunners — a perfect tonic on the first for any New Year's Eve hangover.

This subplot — which team is the



least worst and which formerly great team can cling to fourth place — makes Christmas watching worthwhile. It will hurt if you support a team that used to win trophies, or even matches, at a consistent rate. But football support makes little sense. So sit back and watch the goals (and there will be goals because nobody seems to have a defence).

For the fighters

UFC Fight Night 165

The Ultimate Fighting Championship's main events take a break over the holiday period, but hungry fighters who want to prove themselves will step into the Octagon on December 21 at UFC Fight Night 165.

Although the card boasts three fights, there is only one that is worth paying attention to.

Frankie Edgar takes on Chan Sung Jung. The Korean Zombie never fails to produce enticing fights, in which he makes you wonder whether you are watching a disciplined five-round bout or playing an exhibition match of Street Fighter on your Playstation. At times, it has cost him dearly, but when it has worked, it is a joy to the eye.

For Edgar, he will look to erase any memories of his last fight, when he went five rounds with then featherweight champion Max Holloway but eventually lost by decision, and get back into contention for a title

rematch. He claims he is focused on the Korean Zombie and has admitted that this fight is no joke — that is when he is not chasing a fight against Conor McGregor. Edgar has been stirring the pot hoping McGregor will react but, until now, the Irishman has ignored the cries and looks set to battle Donald Cerrone in January.

IBF flyweight title

South Africa's 2019 sportsman of the year Moruti Mthalane defends his International Boxing Federation flyweight championship against Akira Yaegashi in Yokohama on Monday, December 23. This will be Mthalane's third defence since regaining the title in 2017. He is in the best form of his career and near invincible for the past 12 years.

Mthalane has given Yaegashi tons of respect, but is confident that he will retain his belt after 12 rounds. Yaegashi's record is not as impressive as Mthalane, but he has mauled his opponents in his last three fights, winning all by technical knockout. The Japanese fighter will also have most of the crowd backing him.

But Mthalane fought Masayuki Kuroda in his last fight in Japan as well and thrived in the face of adversity. If he wipes his sweat and focuses on the opponent, he could add to the success South Africa has experienced

in sport in the past year, particularly in Japan.

Documentaries

Keane & Vieira: Best of Enemies

Manchester United vs Arsenal used to be the symbol of excellence in the late 1990s and early 2000s. As the decade turns and they face each other on New Year's Day, the fixture now occupies a bar just above mediocrity. What's worse is that the fire and passion has left these fixtures.

This documentary takes you back to when Roy Keane and Patrick Vieira captained the sides, which was at the peak of their rivalry. It features the pretty pictures and ugly moments. From Ryan Giggs's solo goal in the 1999 FA Cup semifinal to the Gunners winning the English Premier League title at Old Trafford, from the Arsenal players crowding in on Ruud van Nistelrooy and screaming at him to the foul-mouthed Keane incident in the tunnel at Highbury, this documentary might just make you miss the toughness football no longer has.

Icarus

This documentary dives into the world of sport and doping. After the Lance Armstrong doping scandal, author and actor Bryan Fogel, an amateur cyclist, sets out to document how easy it is to use drugs to enhance

performance and evade detection. Fogel decides to take drugs to compete in an amateur cycling race and links up with Grigory Rodchenkov, the director of Moscow's Anti-Doping Centre, who helps him break all the rules. Rodchenkov oversaw doping in Russian sports, including the 2012 London Olympics. The Russian doctor eventually blew the whistle on a state-sponsored doping scheme that had been going on for decades.

News update: Earlier this month the World Anti-Doping Agency banned Russia from hosting and competing in all major sporting events for the next four years.

Calum von Moger: Unbroken

This one is for aspiring bodybuilders or even if you just enjoy lifting a few weights now and then. This documentary might motivate you to get back on the bench.

Calum von Moger won two Mr Universe titles and became an instant star after being compared with Arnold Schwarzenegger. He might have been on his way to surpassing the Austrian, but a bicep tear brought his world crashing down.

His comeback, which is what this documentary is about, is inspiring. It also explores how passion about something can help a person overcome depression. It's almost like listening to an Eminem song, except that this documentary runs for more than 90 minutes. But it is certainly worth a watch.

And We Go Green

There is certainly a case for making Formula 1 eco-friendly. The sport has made some effort in recent years to do so. The aim is to make racing carbon neutral by 2030. Six-time champion Lewis Hamilton is part of the push.

And We Go Green explores the idea of Formula 1 racing with electric cars and using renewable energy technology. Produced by Leonardo DiCaprio, the fun in this documentary is inspired by the thrill of driving these electric cars on the circuit. Obviously, the noise of the vehicles is eliminated, but colourful personalities and imminent danger on the track makes exciting watching.

The racing game is heading in the direction of electric vehicles, so *And We Go Green* will give a taste of the races we could be watching in the future.

Culture

Sho Madjozi and the art of being seen

Using her unique style and image, she's taking her pan-African music and brand and making them internationally palatable

Zaza Hlaethwa

The artist we know as Sho Madjozi almost worked at the *Mail & Guardian*. She was Maya the Poet back then and was scheduled to have an interview for an intern position. No one quite knows what happened; she didn't have the interview and became a colorful pan-African rapper instead.

So, very unlike a journalist, Sho Madjozi began 2019 with a nod from *Vogue*. She was included in the *Vogue* World 100, a list of people who are reimagining fashion, music and television for the better. Sho Madjozi fits the bill. She has a unique style, a special sound and an individual way of identifying herself.

Her athleisure take on tinguvu, a Xitsonga garb for women, has become an extension of her brand. On any given day she's happy to accessorise her sports bra and cycling shorts with a woollen xibelani skirt and matching sneakers. To top it off she'll wear her hair in colourful Fulani cornrows accessorised with beads. The hairdos have made her selfies a key reference in many salons where many women insist on getting their fix of what they're calling "Madjozi braids".

But it's the pairing of that personal style with music that has distinguished her.

Sho Madjozi has managed to seamlessly combine Xitsonga pop with sonic cues from more contemporary and popular genres: kwaito and gqom. And, yes, she follows in the footsteps of Xitsonga women like the Kurhula Sisters and Gaza Sisters. But her rise suggests that the combination of her musical efforts, together with her New Age aesthetic, playful demeanour and her biracial luminescence give her an advantage. It also doesn't hurt that her emergence follows the release of the movie *Black Panther*, which has inspired international interest in pan-African pop culture.

And though she's now received international acclaim, her dominance in South Africa is noteworthy. The South African Music Awards nominated her in the categories female artist of the year, best newcomer and best kwaito/gqom/amapiano album and music video of the year.

At the awards ceremony, Sho Madjozi took home best female artist and best newcomer. A few days later, she made her way to Los Angeles to accept the award for television network BET's best new international act.

Lapping up the applause, she has also secured a number of endorsements. Sho Madjozi is the face for the sanitary pad brand Stayfree and of telecommunications service provider Trace Mobile, and she is an ambassador for Brand South Africa. Her 2018 clothing collaboration with Edgars sold out and was restocked in stores for another run in 2019.

As she sips from the cup of fame, the artist continues to break bread with the women who have helped to build the Sho Madjozi we know today. These include Kate Chauke, who makes the woollen xibelani she wears, her DJ, Gontse "Phatstoki", and her hairstylist, Princess Ndlovu.

Whenever her schedule allows, Sho Madjozi makes her way to a Melville salon where Ndlovu has rented a chair. The hair braider met Sho Madjozi in 2017 shortly after her music career began. Ndlovu says she "didn't know Sho Madjozi was famous until she said 'that's my song' to something that was playing on the radio".



Her association with the artist has made Ndlovu the go-to braider for public figures such as Lesego Tlhabi (Coconut Kelz), Nelisiwe Mwase, Noluthando Nqayi and Lunathi Mampofu. She has also been commissioned by Newzroom Afrika and Adidas, where she braided Amanda Du-Pont's hair.

Since 2017, Ndlovu has lost count of how many heads she works on in a week. "All I know is that I'm very busy. I haven't taken any time off in the last three months," she says, adding that she has had to ask clients to book an appointment three weeks in advance because her schedule is so full.

As carefree and playful as Sho Madjozi comes across, there's something that seems deliberate about the career and collaboration moves that she makes, much like #FillUptheDome pioneer and rapper Cassper Nyovest.

A recent example of her low-key visibility prowess was her appearance on Colours in August, an international music platform for new and distinct sounds that was established because the music scene has become "increasingly fragmented and saturated". Sho Madjozi became the second South African artist to be featured on the platform, following Sjava's appearance in May.

Although her 2018 debut album *Limpopo Champions League* still holds performative resonance, Sho Madjozi decided to use the Colours platform to debut *John Cena*, which then became a viral single.

Dressed in a pink shift dress, a tie-dye turtle-neck and pink Nike Cortez sneakers Madjozi stands in front of a suspended mic and prepares to drop her candid code-switching bars. Although the bulk of the lyrics are rapped in kiSwahili, they quickly caught the world's attention as soon as she said "John Cena".

Although Sho Madjozi admits to being a John Cena fan, she recently told AfroPunk the song is not about her adoration for the wrestler. Referencing the wrestler's "You can't see me" tagline, the song addresses a love interest who pays no attention to the song's



Culture princess: Sho Madjozi performed at Afropunk Atlanta earlier this year (above), appeared in Red Bull Perspectives in 2018 and recently met John Cena when she performed on The Kelly Clarkson Show (below). Photo: Marcus Ingram/Getty Images, Tyrone Bradley/Red Bull Content Pool/AP and Adam Christopher/NBCUniversal



protagonist.

Currently sitting at more than 8.2-million views on YouTube, *John Cena* has catapulted the star into international stardom. First there was the #JohnCenaChallenge, a viral trend where participants posted videos of themselves dancing to the song on social media platforms. Then United States talk show hosts Ellen DeGeneres and Lily Singh took Sho Madjozi into American homes by challenging the wrestler to take part in the challenge on their respective shows.

Shortly thereafter, her 2019 wins were cemented when Cena surprised Sho Madjozi while she was performing the single on American singer and television personality Kelly Clarkson's talk show. Broadcast shortly after South Africa won the 2019 Rugby World Cup and the African Netball Cup, the clip of an excited Sho Madjozi chanted the national mood. Her recognition

was a source of national pride.

Even the Economic Freedom Fighters have given her the nod of approval. After her BET award win, the party said Sho Madjozi was "a symbol of black youth power" who has used her "artistic excellence" to inspire hope and South African pride.

Although she's being celebrated as a national treasure, her rise has not been without controversy. A day before Sho Madjozi released *John Cena* on streaming platforms, after its debut on Colours, the artist took to Twitter to address sexual harassment claims made against her road manager as well allegations that she was protecting a predator. Somewhere in the thread the artist said: "I know people will lie, cheat and steal for clout. But to sink as low as using something as serious as sexual assault? I never [expected it]."

This comes after several people had registered their disquiet about her association with Okmalumkoolkat after he had been accused of sexual assault.

Considering that the Sho Madjozi persona is barely three years old, there are lessons that emerging artists who want to advance in the industry can take from her. The era of the "yaaas queen" is the right moment to curate a version of yourself that you are happy to stick with, create a team that you can grow with and take up space unapologetically. It's also okay to reclaim the parts of your identity that aren't celebrated. If you stick with it, an adoring public is likely to follow suit.

Entertainment

Have fun this festive season

Ringo Madlingozi & Samthing Soweto — Mzansi Fela Festival: Ringo Madlingozi has invited award-winning vocalist and songwriter Samthing Soweto to join him on stage for a single performance. The intergenerational concert will feature solo offerings, as well as on-stage collaborations between the two artists. Details: The concert takes place on December 22 at the South African State Theatre, 320 Pretorius Street, Pretoria. Tickets cost R300 to R500 and can be purchased from webticket.co.za. For more information, visit statetheatre.co.za or call 012 3924000.

Parkrun Botanical Gardens: Parkrun organises weekly, timed runs around the world. They are free, safe and don't require participants to be athletes. Take in the Pretoria National Botanical Garden's lush landscape over a 5km run with friends and other running enthusiasts. Details: The parkrun will take place on December 21 at the Pretoria National Botanical Gardens, 2 Cussonia Street, Brummeria, Pretoria. Entry is free. For more information, visit parkrun.co.za/botanicalgarden.

Tied by Time: Mixed media artist Tamlin Blake has created a tapestry installation akin to a Renaissance painting in its size, thematic conception and intricate detail. The installation is suspended from a

large, wooden loom and features five scenes that take the viewer on a journey that makes its way through society's technological developments and the way they have affected the human experience. Through weaving, Blake creates scenes that include events — such as the first industrial revolution, the invention of electricity, and the invention of the computer and the internet — leading up to the fourth industrial revolution. Details: The exhibition takes place until January 13 at Everard Read, 6 Jellicoe Avenue, Rosebank, Johannesburg. For more information visit everard-read.co.za or call 011 7884805.

Afropunk 2019: The Afropunk festival is back in South Africa for another two-day affair. So if you're keen for a mixed masala of cool — from the worlds of art, food, fashion and music — perhaps this is for you. Patrons can expect

performances from international acts Solange, Rico Nasty, Miguel, Masego, GoldLink, Nao and local artists Busiswa, Distruction Boyz, Sho Madjozi, Morena Leraba, DBN Gogo and Darkie Fiction. Details: The festival takes place on December 30 and 31 at Constitution Hill, 1 Kotze Street, Johannesburg. Tickets

cost R600 to R2900 and can be purchased from afropunk.com.

Sokunge: Taken from the Shona term meaning "as if", this exhibition by Masimba Hwati presents objects and scenarios other than they would be in their conventional or expected nature. Through the use of sculpture, sound and performance, the work explores the idea of liminal spaces in the postcolonial context. Details: The exhibition takes place until January 25 at Smac Art Gallery, 19 Keyes Avenue, Rosebank, Johannesburg. For more information, visit smacgallery.com or call 010 5945400.

Dr Seuss: The Cat in the Hat: This high-energy, interactive adaptation of the beloved children's book aims to take the characters from the page to the stage for a memorable introduction to the story. Details: The play will be staged until December 22 at the National Children's Theatre, Junction Ave, Parktown. Tickets cost R80 to R100. For more information or to purchase tickets, visit nationalchildrenstheatre.org.za or call 011 4841584.

Joburg Zoo Festival of Lights: In association with Joburg Theatre, Johannesburg City Parks and Zoo, as well as City Power, this festival features a collection life-size animal characters made from fairy lights, as well as entertainment, food stalls

and a craft market. Details: The festival will take place until January 5 at the Johannesburg Zoo, Jan Smuts Avenue, Parkview. Tickets cost R60 to R120 and can be purchased from joburgtheatre.com. For more information, visit jhbzoo.org.za or call 011 6462000.

How to ice skate: Use your free time to learn a new skill with loved ones while keeping away from the December sun at an ice-skating rink. Details: The classes take place on December 21 at the Durban Ice Arena, 81 Somtseu Road, North Beach. Once-off tutorials cost R150 a lesson and monthly classes cost R480 at the door. Ice skates are provided. For more information, visit durbanicearena.co.za or call 031 3324597.

Nieu-Bethesda Festival of Lights: Celebrate the arrival of the new year with the Bethesda Arts Centre's annual Festival of Lights and Lantern Parade. Join the singing procession that goes to Hightown township and then makes its way back to the Centre. You can make your own lantern or buy one. All are welcome to enjoy a braai and entertainment by a live band after the parade. Details: The festival will take place on December 31, starting at the Centre on Miller Street in Nieu-Bethesda. Tickets cost R150. For more information or to book tickets, visit nieubethesda.org.



A seat at the table: Solange will perform at Afropunk 2019, after pulling out of two years ago because of illness

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PUBLIC PRIVATE PARTNERSHIP (PPP) PROJECT FOR THE UNIVERSITY OF BOTSWANA STUDENT RESIDENCES (UB/EOI 2019/2020-1)

Background: The University of Botswana invites reputable local and international companies to submit an Expression of Interest (EOI) For Transaction Advisory Services for a Public Private Partnership (PPP) Project for the University Of Botswana Student Residences. The University seeks the services of a suitably qualified and experienced Transaction Advisor (TA) in terms of the Public-Private Partnership Policy and Implementation Framework of 2009, for a Feasibility Study and PPP procurement documentation including the draft PPP agreement for the Proposed Student Residences Project on a SUCCESS FEE basis; with agreed refundable Disbursements by the University of Botswana.

Collection of EOI document: The EOI Documents are strictly obtainable upon RECEIPT OF payment of a non-refundable fee of P500.00 (VAT inclusive), payable through any of the following methods;

- (i) At the University of Botswana Main Cash Office, Ground Floor, Administration Block 108, Main Campus, Gaborone
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The EOI document is collectable (upon proof of payment) from the Office of the Deputy Director, Business Services, at Business Services Block 129, (Inside University Maintenance Yard) Office No. 002 between the hours of 8:30 a.m. and 12:30 p.m. as well as between 2:30 pm and 3:30 p.m. CAT, from 26th November 2019 to 18th December 2019 at the University of Botswana Main Campus Gaborone.

Alternative EOI Document Collection Method

The EOI document (in pdf format) may be forwarded by email upon request, subject to receipt of proof of payment from interested bidders.

Submission of EOI Bid Proposals:

The EOI bids should be submitted in a sealed envelope clearly marked with the title 'EXPRESSION OF INTEREST (EOI) FOR TRANSACTION ADVISORY SERVICES FOR PUBLIC PRIVATE PARTNERSHIP (PPP) PROJECT FOR THE UNIVERSITY OF BOTSWANA STUDENT RESIDENCES AT GABORONE MAIN CAMPUS' (UB /EOI 2019/2020-01) and addressed to: Secretary, Tender Committee, University of Botswana, Private Bag 0022, GABORONE, BOTSWANA, and, hand delivered to the Office of the Deputy Director at Business Services Block 129, (inside the University Maintenance Yard) Office No. 002.

For Enquiries Please Contact: Tender Committee Secretariat, University of Botswana at Tel: +267 3552086/2084 Fax: (00 267) 390 1523 and E-Mail: MOSWETSI@mopipi.ub.bw and MOSIMER@mopipi.ub.bw.

ALL enquiries must be communicated via Email or Fax.

The deadline for Submission of EOI responses is 17th January 2020 at 1200hrs (noon) CAT.

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3. ORASECOM now invites eligible consultants/ consulting firms who are interested to bid for the following short-term consultancies as indicated below. Interested consultants must provide information indicating that they are qualified to perform the services (brochures, description of similar assignments, experience in similar conditions, availability of appropriate skills among staff, etc.). Consultants may constitute joint-ventures to enhance their chances of qualification.
4. Consultants are being required for the following short-term consultancies;
 - a. Design and building of groundwater desalination plants in the villages of Rappelspan and Struizendam in the Kgalagadi South District in Botswana;
 - b. Baseline study on the sources of water pollution in the Mohokare River Catchment in Lesotho;
 - c. Baseline study on the distribution and abundance of alien invasive species, Prosopis, in the Orange – Senqu part of the basin in Namibia;
 - d. Baseline assessment for the Orange – Senqu River Mouth rehabilitation demonstration project in South Africa and Namibia;
 - e. Expression of Interest for the Water Resources Quality Joint Basin Survey 3 in the Orange – Senqu River Basin;
 - f. Development of an Operations (Financial Management, Procurement and Human Resources) Manual for the ORASECOM Secretariat;
 - g. United Nations Development Programme's Social and Environmental Screening for the Orange–Senqu River Basin SAP Implementation Project for demonstration project in Botswana
 - h. United Nations Development Programme's Social and Environmental Screening for the Orange–Senqu River Basin SAP Implementation Project for demonstration projects in Lesotho, South Africa and Namibia
5. The terms of reference for the above consultancies can be downloaded from the ORASECOM website at <http://www.orasecom.org/opportunities/Procurement.aspx>
6. The estimated duration of the services differ, and the relevant information can be found on the Terms of Reference for the specific consultancy.
7. Interested consultants may obtain further information by contacting the email or telephone/mobile numbers in the Terms of Reference during the day: 09:00 to 16:00 hours, Pretoria Local Time and before the stipulated deadline.
8. Proposals and/or Expression of Interest must be received by email not later than the stipulated date in the Terms of Reference of the specific consultancy. The submission must specifically mention the title of the consultancy being applied for as captured in 4 above.

For Further information, please contact:

Mr Michael Ramaano

The Water Quality – Environment Expert, ORASECOM UNDP SAP Project

269 Von Willigh Avenue (Cnr Von Willigh and Lenchen Avenue), Block A, Corporate 66 Office Park, Centurion, South Africa

Email: mike.ramaano@orasecom.org with a copy to info@orasecom.org and communications.orasecom@gmail.com

Telephone: +27 12 6636826 Mobile: +27 84 3051002 or +267 71891945

MAGISTRATES COMMISSION

(REFERENCE: 3/2019)

The Magistrates Commission invites applications to fill judicial vacancies on the following levels:

MAGISTRATE**Remuneration:**Total remuneration package of **R971,649 per annum****EASTERN CAPE PROVINCE:**

Port Elizabeth (2 posts) | Motherwell | East London | Grahamstown (3 posts) | Adelaide (Head of Office) | Alexandria | Alice | Middelburg (Head of Office) | Somerset East | Queenstown | Steynsburg (Head of Office) | Uitenhage | Zwelitsha | Cofimvaba | Lady Frere | Mbizana (Head of Office) | Mthatha | Tabankulu | Port St Johns (Head of Office) | Ngcobo

FREE STATE PROVINCE:

Edenburg (Head of Office) | Bloemfontein (6 posts) | Koffiefontein (Head of Office) | Tsheseng (Head of Office) | Phuthaditjhaba (2 posts) | Botshabelo (2 posts) | Heilbron (Head of Office) | Welkom (2 posts) | Bethlehem (2 posts) | Lindley (Head of Office) | Theunissen (Head of Office) | Odendaalsrus (Head of Office) | Petrusburg (Head of Office)

GAUTENG PROVINCE:

Pretoria (2 posts) | Cullinan | Ekangala (Head of Office) | Soshanguve | Pretoria North | Sebokeng | Palm Ridge (2 posts) | Soweto (3 posts) | Kagiso (2 posts) | Johannesburg | Alexandra | Randburg (6 posts) | Daveyton (Head of Office) | Daveyton | Tembisa | Germiston (2 posts) | Vereeniging | Krugersdorp | Fochville (Head of Office) | Westonaria | Roodepoort | Boksburg (2 posts) | Benoni | Kempton Park

KWAZULU-NATAL PROVINCE:

Durban (6 posts) | Mtubatuba (Head of Office) | Enseleni (Head of Office) | Scottsburch (2 posts) | Hammarsdale (2 posts) | Emlazi | Umbumbulu | Empangeni (2 posts) | Izingolweni (Head of Office) | Mahlabathini (Head of Office) | Ubombo (Head of Office) | Glencoe (Head of Office) | Nquthu | Bergville (Head of Office) | Ingwavuma

LIMPOPO PROVINCE:

Lulekani | Lulekani (Head of Office) | Lenyenye | Nkowanokwa | Malamulele (2 posts) | Giyani | Modimolle | Thabazimbi | Dzanani (2 posts) | Mokopane (3 posts) | Mahwelereng (3 posts) | Seshego | Mankweng (2 posts) | Senwabarwana | Nebo (2 posts) | Lebogakomo (3 posts) | Praktiseer (2 posts) | Sekhukhune

MPUMALANGA PROVINCE:

Middelburg | KwaMhlanga | Standerton (Head of Office) | Standerton (2 posts) | Delmas | Mashishing (Head of Office) | Kwagqafontein | Barberton

NORTHERN CAPE PROVINCE:

Kimberley (3 posts) | Carnarvon (Head of Office) | Mothibstad | Upington

NORTH WEST PROVINCE:

Bloemhof (Head of Office) | Kgomoetso (Head of Office) | Lichtenburg | Klerksdorp | Tlhabane (2 posts) | Rustenburg (3 posts) | Garankuwa (2 posts) | Mahikeng (2 posts) | Moretele (2 posts) | Groot Marico (Head of Office) | Lehurutshe (Head of Office) | Zeerust | Vryburg (Head of Office)

WESTERN CAPE PROVINCE:

Cape Town | Vredenburg | Bellville | Clanwilliam (Head of Office) | Ceres (Head of Office) | Robertson (Head of Office) | Simon's Town (Head of Office) | Hermanus | Oudtshoorn | Mossel Bay | Wynberg (4 posts) | Malmesbury

REQUIREMENTS:

An appropriate legal qualification and at least seven (7) years' post-university applicable legal experience. Knowledge and application of case flow management will be an advantage. Advocates, attorneys and prosecutors who apply for the vacant posts should together with their application documents, submit a recent (not older than 6 months) certificate of good standing from their respective controlling bodies and in instances of prosecutors from the National Prosecuting Authority.

DUTIES:

Management and control of the administration of justice in the court house, and



within the sub-region and administrative region, where applicable. Adjudication of civil, criminal and family law matters. Performance of judicial work at court houses in accordance with section 14(1) of the Magistrates Act, 1993, which includes the promoting of a sound, effective, efficient and uniform case flow management. Training and guidance to all magistrates within the court house, sub-region and administrative region, where applicable. Mentoring of newly appointed Magistrates, where applicable. Regular monitoring of all judicial work to ensure compliance with judicial quality assurance standards, where applicable. Extensive travel, often on short notice and after official hours, may be required in filling posts of Heads of Office, preference will be given to serving permanent Magistrates.

ENQUIRIES:

Mr M Dawood (MaDawood@justice.gov.za) (012) 395 0704 or
Ms N van Zyl (NVanZyl@justice.gov.za) (012) 395 0705
Switchboard (012) 325 3951 between **07h15 and 15h45**.

The need for the judiciary to reflect broadly the racial and gender composition of South Africa, as required by section 174(2) read with section 9 of the Constitution of South Africa, 1996 (Act 108 of 1996) will be taken into consideration in the short-listing and appointment processes for the filling of the vacant posts. The Magistrates Commission reserves the right not to fill any of the above listed vacancies. It is the intention of the Magistrates Commission to fill posts permanently and applicants should not apply for appointment at any centre if it is not their intention to relocate permanently. Applications must be submitted on the forms prescribed by regulation 4 of the Regulations for Judicial Officers in the Lower Courts, 1994 (Regulation Gazette No. 5264 of 11 March 1994).

For this purpose a specific set of application documents has been compiled which must be obtained from the office of the Secretariat of the Magistrates Commission electronically at any of the following email addresses:

NeWilliams@justice.gov.za;
NVanZyl@justice.gov.za;
KhMabunda@justice.gov.za;
VManell@justice.gov.za;
HRSecretariatMC@justice.gov.za

THE APPLICATION DOCUMENTS MUST BE ACCOMPANIED BY:

- A certified copy of Identity Document
- Certified copies of all academic and professional qualifications
- An affidavit of assets and liabilities setting out specific amounts
- A complete curriculum vitae with full particulars regarding all judicial experience
- Certificates of service, if not available, an affidavit in respect of previous periods of service.

Applicants must also provide an e-mail address and fax number where they can be contacted.

Only one (1) set of original application documents with a clear indication of the centre of each post applied for must be submitted (no faxes or e-mails). Applications that are received after the closing date will not be considered. The onus is on the applicant to ensure that the application is received by the Secretary of the Magistrates Commission on or before the closing date. Please note that correspondence will only be entered into with successful candidates.

Serving Magistrates who are interested in a transfer to any of the advertised centres must fully motivate their applications which should accompany their application documents. Successful candidates will be subjected to vetting processes. Interviews will be audio and video recorded. Please note that non-compliance with any of the above-mentioned requirements will result in automatic disqualification.

THE SECRETARY, MAGISTRATES COMMISSION,

P O Box 9096, PRETORIA, 0001, or Reception 5th Floor Centre Walk Building, West Office Block, corner of Thabo Sehume and Pretorius Streets, Pretoria, between **7h15 and 15h45**.

CLOSING DATE: 24 JANUARY 2020**MONITORING AND EVALUATION OFFICER**

Reference Number: SOM\MAEO\001\2019\DEC

The Africa Health Research Institute (AHRI) is one of South Africa's largest independent, interdisciplinary research institutes. AHRI aims to become a source of fundamental discoveries into the susceptibility, transmission and cure of HIV and TB and related diseases, seeking ways to improve diagnosis, prevention and treatment. AHRI's principal funders are Welcome Trust and the Howard Hughes Medical Institute. Its academic partners are University College London and the University of KwaZulu-Natal.

Job Overview

The purpose of this position is to lead on the development of innovative strategies and systems to monitor and evaluate AHRI's public engagement activities. The position will be based at AHRI's Durban Research Campus with frequent travel to its Somkhele Research Campus. Minimum criteria include a master's degree in Social Science, Statistics, Economics, Public Policy or in a scientific-related discipline. We require a minimum of three years of professional experience in a monitoring and evaluation position, and experience in strategic planning.

Please visit <http://ahri.job.skillsmapafrica.com/> for the full job advert and to register your CV and apply online.
Closing date: 05 January 2020

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www.mg.co.za

Academics & Courses**CONTACT:****Ilizma Willemse****063 026 7450****Vanessa Diederich****011 250 7450****Tenders & Notices****CONTACT:****Ilizma Willemse****021 4260802****Elsie Mashanzhe****011 250 7580****Lesedi Badimo****011 250 7450**

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Jobs, Tenders & Notices

**JOB OPPORTUNITY****Position:** Country Director, Sentebale Lesotho, reporting to Chief Executive Officer**Duration:** Permanent**Remuneration:** Competitive remuneration in line with the role requirements

Sentebale is a charity working in Lesotho and Botswana to support some of the most vulnerable children and young people to lead healthy and productive lives. The Charity was founded in 2006 by Prince Harry, Duke of Sussex and Prince Seeiso following Prince Harry's gap year to Lesotho in 2004. Sentebale works directly in programmes with children and young people and also in partnership with local grassroots organisations, local and international NGOs and government institutions such as health clinics and schools. It has a particular focus on HIV/AIDS and aims to make a real difference in children's lives helping them to be more resilient, self-sufficient and have the chance to thrive.

Summary of Purpose

As Sentebale embarks on a process of building a new international strategy to maximise Sentebale's impact on the wellbeing of vulnerable children in Lesotho and Botswana, the Country Director will be key in ensuring its effective delivery across its flagship programme in Lesotho. They will help ensure that the flagship Mamohato Children's Centre is used to its full potential and there are effective outreach programmes across Lesotho.

The Country Director will lead the Lesotho Senior Management Team, helping them to become exemplary leaders in their own right, so that Sentebale can further build its reputation as a key player in the region and an advocate of best practice development on an international stage. Successful candidate will be accountable for all aspects of the work in country and will represent Sentebale at the highest level.

The Country Director will also work as part of an international leadership team and help inform and support our international advocacy work and help share best practice in the region.

Key Performance Areas and Responsibilities

The position requires a proven and credible leader with a broad skills base, creativity, and the capability to be hands-on whilst favouring an empowering leadership style which will build the capacity of the Lesotho team.

At this stage of the organisation's development it is essential that the Country Director is able to:

- **Facilitate and empower** professional leadership through an empathetic and inclusive leadership style
- **Demonstrate** and celebrate creativity and innovation in pursuit of extraordinary outcomes
- **Build** coalitions and networks which demonstrate Sentebale's belief in co-operative and collaborative working for better development outcomes
- **Drive** a comprehensive programme of change management
- **Lead** a culture of professional risk management
- **Oversee** efficient operational planning
- **Ensure** tight financial controls
- **Seed** and nurture a culture of performance and quality management
- **Promote** gender equality and diversity in all of Sentebale's practices
- **Require routine management practices** – holding the Lesotho Management Team and relevant staff to account for effective scheduling, planning and implementation of actions arising from national and international leadership meetings

Qualifications Experience and Skills

- A degree or equivalent in International Development, Children's Services, Social Services, Management, Finance or other relevant subject preferred
- Minimum five years of experience as a Country Director or similar role in the NGO, development sector or similar field
- Experience of working with development organisations/ other organisations operating internationally; or a demonstrated interest in international development
- Experience working across national and international teams
- Capable and credible leading a Senior Management Team, as well as delegating and capacity-building across a wide range of organisational functions
- Excellent communication skills with the ability to convey key messages in a clear, effective way
- Ability to multi-task and problem-solve across a variety of issues
- Comfortable and professional in situations that require high levels of confidentiality or sensitivity
- Knowledge of the development challenges in Lesotho including HIV/AIDS and wider issues affecting the lives of young people
- Good knowledge of Microsoft Office software (Outlook, Word, Excel, PowerPoint), and internet

Deadline

• Please contact info@sentebale.org with any queries • Interested candidates must submit their applications (CV, covering letter, certified educational certificates & passport/ID) to info@sentebale.org by 6th January, 2020. • Only shortlisted candidates will be contacted.

Notice is hereby given for an application for Environmental Authorisation (EA) in terms of the NEMA EIA Regulations (04 Dec 2014 as amended) and for a Water Use Authorisation (WUA) in terms of Section 40 of the National Water Act (NWA, 36 of 1998):

WEST RD BRIDGE

The Johannesburg Road Agency proposes to construct the West Road Bridge (26° 9'57.63"S; 27°57'50.98"E). The proposed project will replace the existing structure at the same location that has fallen into disrepair; the road is currently closed at this location due to the current state of the structure. The replacement of the structure requires EA through a Basic Assessment process as there will be the infilling or depositing of more than 10m³ of material into a watercourse; the potential clearance of 300m² or more of indigenous vegetation from within the Roodepoort Reef Mountain Bushveld (critically endangered) and the development of more than 10m² of infrastructure within 32m of a wetland within a Critically Biodiverse Area. The structure is within a watercourse therefore a WUA application will be lodged with the Department of Water and Sanitation. The WUA is required in terms of section 21 (c) and (i) of the NWA for the alteration of the bed and/or banks of a watercourse and impeding flow within a watercourse. Stakeholders who wish to register as interested and affected parties should register with the contact person below within 14 days of this notice.



Contact: Chevy Smith
Phone: 031 765 2942
Fax: 086 549 0342
Email: chevy@enviropro.co.za

mg_11428

POSITION DESCRIPTION**Title:** Country Office Director Namibia**Level:** Senior Director**Reports to:** Senior Vice President, US Country Offices and LAC Secretariat**Revised Date:** November 2019

WORLD WILDLIFE FUND

Major Function: The Country Director provides vision and leadership for the WWF Country Office in Namibia and effective high-level representation of WWF with key audiences and WWF's Network to build strength and support for the country office on its conservation delivery, increasing WWF's positioning and recognition as the leading conservation organization in the country.

The Country Director manages, takes responsibility and gives strategic direction to all activities of WWF presence in Namibia to ensure that WWF's Mission and Namibia's integrated strategy are successfully accomplished, ensuring, accountability, operational excellence, effective risk management and compliance with WWF's policies, procedures, standards and local requirements.

Key Responsibilities:

- Oversees the implementation of WWF (country) 's integrated strategy providing focus, direction and a culture of integration to ensure the delivery of high-level conservation impacts and advancement of WWF's Global conservation goals.
- In close liaison with the SVP, US Country Offices and LAC Secretariat, participates in key fundraising strategies with Multilateral Institutions, Bilateral and Multilateral cooperation, National Organisations, Government Agencies, Foundations, Corporate, and private donors ensuring a financially sustainable office able to generate and secure a diversified funding pipeline to support their strategy.
- Ensures the Office is accountable and able to identify, monitor and manage organizational risk. Ensures that WWF US and/or WWF Network policies, procedures and standards for operational, financial, personnel and administrative systems and outputs are implemented in the Namibia country office.
- Establishes and oversees a monitoring and evaluation system to measure the performance of the country office towards its strategic plan and reports regularly to the Senior Vice President, US Country Offices and LAC Secretariat.
- Ensures timely technical and financial information from Namibia Country Office to donors, WWF-US, WWF-International and all relevant parts of the WWF Network according to agreed standards.
- Ensures that the WWF office in Namibia co-operates with financial, operational and programmatic audits and follows-up in a timely manner on audit recommendations and ensures compliance with WWF-US and/or WWF-International Board policies, procedures and standards.
- Establishes an effective internal communication system to ensure that all staff working for WWF Namibia are fully informed of WWF's Mission, conservation architecture and strategic approaches and kept informed of new developments, policies and procedures as and when they arise.
- Establishes leadership for effective external communications mechanisms in Namibia and informs results and achievements to WWF-US Country Office Unit, network, Regional Office of Africa, donors, partners and others.
- Manages and over-see performance reviews of line staff members and ensures staff activities and annual goals contribute directly towards achievement of the Namibia Five-Year Conservation Strategy.
- Leads WWF Namibia's organizational development process, ensuring consolidation and strengthening of organizational capacities in line with needs of new strategy.
- Provides leadership for WWF Namibia's engagement with partners and policy advocacy including with private sector, government, international cooperation, NGOs and others.
- Ensure good working relations with concerned government agencies in Namibia and oversee positioning of the country office in support of country priorities.
- Establishes and maintains strong working relationships with key individuals and conservation and development entities (local, national, regional, and international) regarding WWF's position and general information. Participates in forums, workshops and conferences on behalf of WWF.
- Responsible for assuring the coordination and delivery of WWF's Environmental and Social Safeguards Framework (ESSF) ensuring the management of risk in the overall portfolios and that safeguards are implemented to WWF standards on all projects within defined landscapes and seascapes. The Country Director is Accountable to the CEO, WWF-US for implementing the ESSF in-country and for ensuring that risks and mitigating strategies are approved and included in relevant projects, that a Grievance Redress Mechanism is established and that measures are taken to ensure compliance.
- Supports Regional or subregional work and performs other duties as requested by the SVP, US Country Offices and LAC Secretariat.

Skills and Abilities:

- An advanced degree (PhD or Masters) in Conservation, Natural Sciences, Business Management, International Development, Policy, Sustainability or a related field.
- Higher academic qualifications may be substituted by relevant work experience.
- Technical proficiency in the field of Conservation, Natural-Resource Management or International Development, with at least 10 years professional experience in Africa (particularly within Southern African region), with demonstrated success in managing multi-disciplinary teams and networks.
- Proven experience of minimum 8 years in higher management position and successful outcomes in public relations.
- Excellent leadership abilities and capacity to manage human and financial resources, strong skills in strategic planning, policy influencing, operations and finance, projects planning, fundraising, budget implementation and evaluation.
- Ability to work effectively with local communities, governments and private/corporate sector.
- Proven capacity to build teams, team work and deliver a team approach.
- Strong knowledge of the country's political context and a current network of contacts in-country.
- Excellent oral and written communications skills in English is required.

To Apply:

- Submit cover letter and resume in English through our Careers Page : <https://careers-wwfus.icims.com/jobs/2498/country-office-director-namibia/job?mobile=false&width=1000&height=500&bga=true&needsRedirect=false&jan1offset=-300&jun1offset=-240>
- Due to the high volume of applications we are not able to respond to inquiries via phone
- Please submit your resume for this role by 31 January 2020

11441M&G

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Academics & Courses
CONTACT:
Ilizma 063 026 7450
Vanessa 011 250 7450
Lesedi 011 250 7430

Jobs, Tenders & Notices



FHI 360 is a non-profit human development organization dedicated to improving lives in lasting ways by advancing integrated, locally driven solutions. FHI 360 is seeking applications for the position of Total Quality Leadership and Accountability (TQLA) Technical Advisor's. The positions are contingent on donor approval of workplan and funding. EpiC is a five-year global project funded by PEPFAR through the U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID), dedicated to achieving and maintaining HIV epidemic control. The project provides strategic technical assistance and direct service delivery (DSD) to break through barriers to 95-95-95 and promote self-reliant management of national HIV programs by improving HIV case-finding, prevention, and treatment programming.

1. Two TQLA Technical Advisors: Anova Health Institute
Location: Johannesburg and Cape Town, South Africa offices, Job ID: 2019202399

2. One TQLA Technical Advisor: Match
Location: Durban, South Africa office, Job ID: 2019202398

Description: Collaboratively work with the assigned partner management teams and staff to improve analysis and translation of program data into decision making themes for the organization's project team; Support critical thinking and systems improvement approaches, to identify, develop and take little improvements to scale through short cycle interventions; Develop the nexus between data availability and utilization for day-to-day program improvement; Provide management coaching and technical guidance within the project to catalyze performance improvements and mutual accountability; Support teams to adopt analytic data review and systems thinking approaches to guide course corrective actions for improving program implementation fidelity and performance results; Applying best practices and lessons learned from previous leadership positions held, provide support to specific technical interventions will be defined by emerging data from the program as well as decisions from partner leadership. It is anticipated that these interventions will bolster South Africa's Journey to Self-Reliance. Success of interventions will be measured in terms of effectiveness (achieving intended programmatic results/targets) and efficiency (achieving results at lower costs).

Minimum qualifications required for the position: Master's Degree in business administration (MBA), public health (MPH) or related field, with 11+ years of experience managing and supervising complex public health interventions and teams with a focus on HIV prevention, care and treatment in developing countries; MD/PhD is an added advantage. Experience working in South Africa is preferred; • A minimum of 10 years' demonstrated experience in leadership, team supervision and oversight; • Demonstrated team management experience using data to align program and organizational systems to ensure quality and efficient operations with a preference for health-related activities; • Excellent data analytic and utilization skills, scientific writing and computer software skills; • Strong understanding of non-governmental organizations' policies, procedures and USG rules and regulations; • Demonstrated ability through previous experience to establish and maintain productive working relationships with a wide network of partners and stakeholders; • Demonstrated ability through previous experience to liaise with senior government officials, dignitaries, executives of NGOs, FBOs, CBOs, and the for-profit business community, and senior members of the donor community; • Strong interpersonal and communication skills, proven ability to develop and communicate a common vision among diverse partners, and proven ability to lead a multi-disciplinary team; and, • Professional level of oral and written fluency in English.

For more information on the Job Specification visit the FHI360 career website. Interested candidates may submit their resume together with a motivational cover letter to <http://www.fhi360.org/careers>

Preference for South African nationals or those with the legal right to work in South Africa, but positions are open to all candidates.

11442M&G



Request for Proposals to Pilot the EPWP Social Audits

The International Labour Organisation (ILO), as part of its collaboration with the Expanded Public Works Programme (EPWP), invites South Africa based Civil Society Organisations that have experience in conducting community social audits of asset provision and service delivery to submit proposals for the EPWP Social Audit Pilot.

A compulsory briefing session will be held at the ILO offices in Pretoria and simultaneously via Skype call on 19 December 2019 at 10am. Service providers who intend to participate in the briefing meeting should send a confirmation via email to nzuza@ilo.org by 12pm on 18 December 2019. Service providers who will have attended the briefing meeting will be requested to submit Proposals electronically in a pdf format via email to gama@ilo.org not later than 23h59 on 05 January 2020.

NB: Only proposals from bidders who will have attended the compulsory briefing session will be considered.

11429M&G



Job title: Senior MEAL Specialist

Habitat for Humanity International (HFHI) is a global, nonprofit, Christian housing organization founded in 1976. Habitat for Humanity has helped more than 29 million people meet their affordable housing needs in more than 70 countries around the world.

We invite you to visit our website to learn more about us, our values and how we work.

Your role: Located in Pretoria South Africa, as a Senior Monitoring Evaluation, Accountability and Learning (MEAL) Specialist, you will support the improvement of program and project efficiency and effectiveness, decision making and learning through Monitoring, Evaluation, Accountability and Learning. You will develop MEAL capacity of assigned organizations in Sub-Saharan Africa where HFHI operates. In carrying out your work as the senior MEAL specialist, you will interact with other Area Offices (AO), National Offices (NO) and Head Quarter (HQ) staff, partner organizations and experts.

Responsibilities:

Technical support for MEAL policy, standards, procedures and good practices: • Continue to develop MEAL methodology, approaches and tools, and provide support and guidance to area office and national organization staff to ensure their proper use • Ensure that MEAL standards and good practices are integrated in all phases of the project life cycle • Participate in program/project design and proposal writing in the areas of theory of change, logical framework development, MEAL plan and budget development • Advise and support program/project teams on quality data gathering and analysis to facilitate informed program and project design • Support program/project teams to set up accountability mechanisms to beneficiaries and community members. • Support project evaluations.

Knowledge management, reporting and learning: • Support HFH National organizations in the use of HFHI metrics tools and data reporting, review project data collection and reporting for data quality and make recommendations for improvement • Oversee the implementation of data management tools for process and quality improvement • Conduct analysis of project and program results to support evidence-based program decision making and program quality improvement • Ensure that analysis of evaluation findings and recommendations feedback into improved program quality, evidenced in subsequent program designs.

Capacity development: • Coordinate NO MEAL capacity assessments to identify process, systems and capacity gaps • Support NOs in the development of MEAL process, system and capacity building plans • Support the capacity development of NO program staff in the areas of MEAL (for assigned NOs) • Develop training materials and facilitate learning events.

About you:

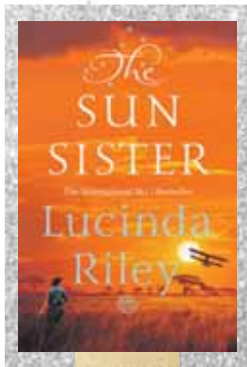
To thrive as a Senior MEAL Specialist at Habitat for Humanity EMEA, you: • Have a Masters degree in Development studies, especially in the social sciences, or program evaluation areas • Have specialization/certificate in Monitoring and evaluation • Have minimum 5 years of experience in a similar position, preferably with a development organization • Have in-depth knowledge in monitoring and evaluation, accountability, learning, research and evaluation methodologies, standards and good practices. • Have project management experience • Have demonstrated experience with qualitative and quantitative data analysis and are familiar with statistical packages, qualitative data analysis software and IT applications to support MEAL and knowledge management. • Have adult training and facilitation skills • Have strong analytical and critical thinking skills • Have good organizational skills including accuracy, consistency, and attention to detail • Have excellent written and verbal communication skills, with fluency in English • Take seriously your ethical responsibilities to safeguarding our intended beneficiaries, their communities, and all those with whom we work. • Are willing to travel up to 25% in the field.

How to apply: Submit your CV along with a letter of motivation to emeahr@habitat.org. Kindly quote the title of the vacancy in the subject of the email. Please note that only applicants who are eligible to work in South Africa will be considered. Only successful candidates will be contacted for an interview. Closing Date for Applications is 15th January 2020. HFHI is an equal opportunity employer and seeks to employ and assign the best qualified personnel for all our positions in a manner that does not unlawfully discriminate against any person because of race, color, religion, gender, marital status, age, national origin, physical or mental disability, sexual orientation, veteran/reserve national guard status, or any other status or characteristic protected by law.

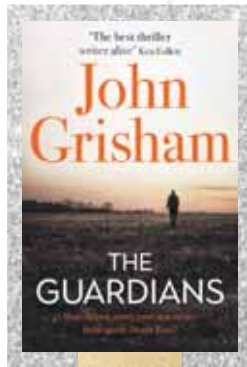
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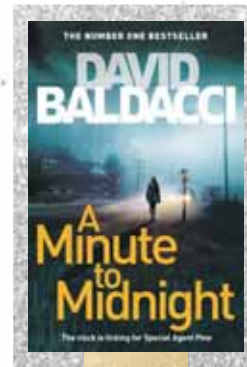
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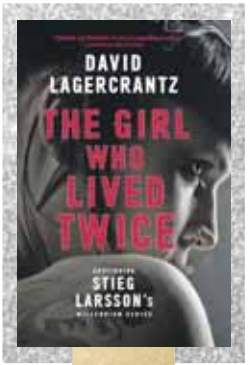
R270



R270



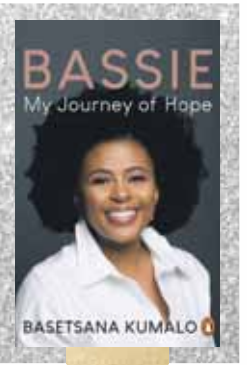
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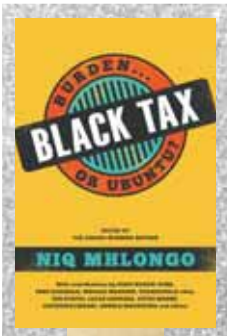
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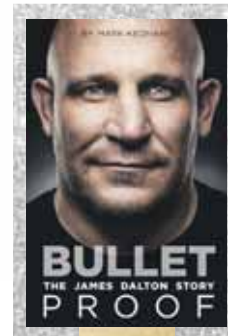
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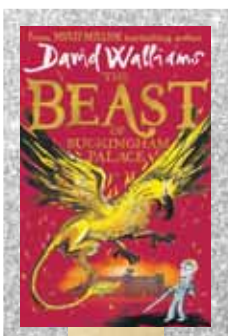
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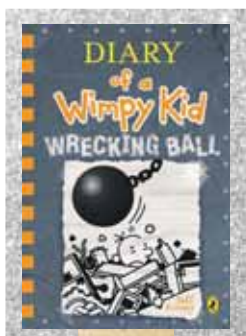
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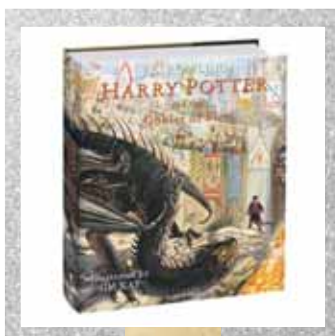
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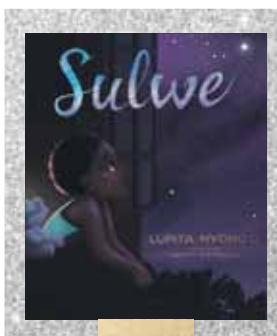
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R189



R545



R160

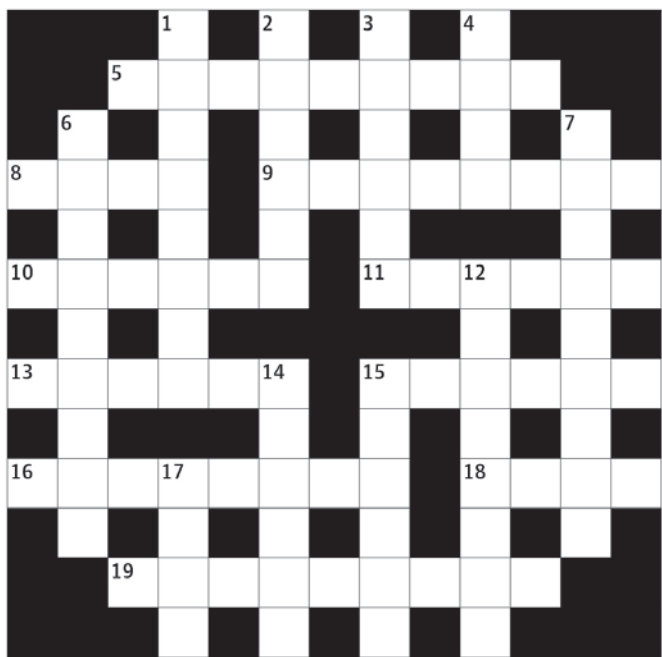


R170

Games

QUICK CROSSWORD

14,690



- Across**
 5 Self-possession (9)
 8 Inside information (slang) (4)
 9 Fit for use (8)
 10 Hinder (6)
 11 Potassium compound used in agriculture and industry (6)
 13 Short of money (4,2)
 15 Relaxed but slightly drunk (6)
 16 Put back (8)
 18 Sea foam (4)
 19 Emblem of Canada (5,4)
- Down**
 1 Brow (8)
 2 Be against (6)
 3 Please (anag) — numb (6)
 4 Locality (4)
 6 Conveying disaster (4-5)
 7 Baggy sports trousers (4,5)
 12 Lucky charm (8)
 14 Tricky situation to be in (6)
 15 Central (6)
 17 Bound (4)

SUDOKU

		4			8	3		
2	1							9
5			8					2
9	8		4					
		6		7	2			
	2		7					5
1		9		2		7		
	4			5	6	1		

LAST WEEK'S SOLUTION

5	7	1	2	8	6	3	9	4
3	4	2	1	7	9	6	8	5
9	8	6	4	3	5	2	7	1
1	3	4	5	9	8	7	2	6
6	9	7	3	1	2	5	4	8
2	5	8	6	4	7	1	3	9
4	2	3	9	6	1	8	5	7
7	6	9	8	5	3	4	1	2
8	1	5	7	2	4	9	6	3

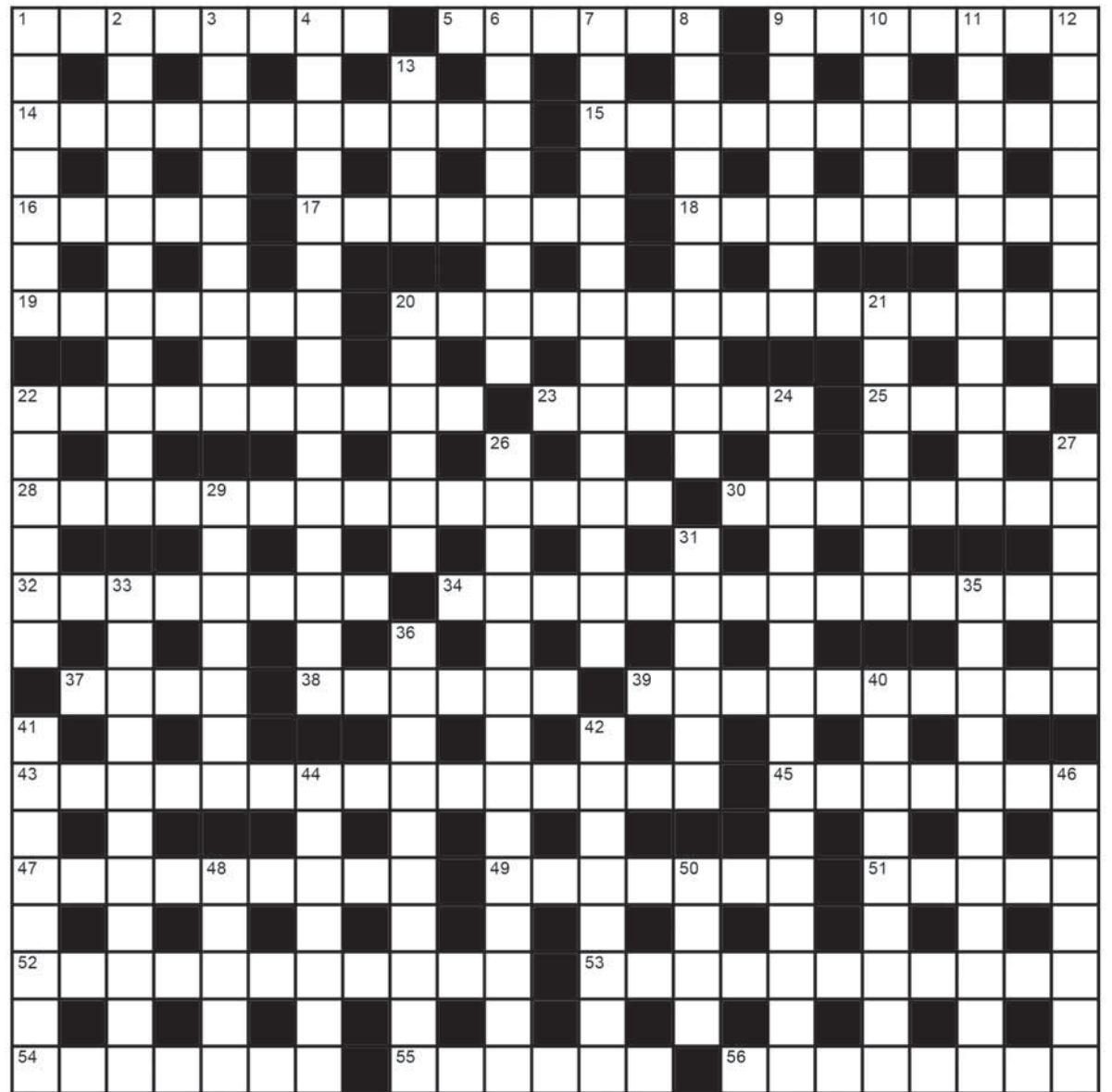
How to play Sudoku:
 Place a number from 1 to 9 in each empty cell so that each row, each column and each 3x3 block contains all the numbers from 1 to 9.

M&G quiz: The answers

- | | | |
|-------|-------|-------|
| 1. a | 11. c | 21. c |
| 2. b | 12. b | 22. b |
| 3. c | 13. b | 23. a |
| 4. b | 14. a | 24. b |
| 5. c | 15. c | 25. a |
| 6. a | 16. a | 26. b |
| 7. b | 17. b | 27. c |
| 8. b | 18. c | 28. c |
| 9. a | 19. c | 29. a |
| 10. c | 20. a | 30. a |

THE ORIGINAL SOUTH AFRICAN CRYPTIC CROSSWORD

JDE 214
 by George Euvard



- Across**
 1 Praises sausage joints (8)
 5 Support not about gun; that is fantastic (6)
 9 A sikh on tour of indigenous people (7)
 14 Privilege for one to thaw back inside hospital wards (11)
 15 Sign of peace, love ... and rejection of sinister bureau (5,6)
 16 She employs Inland Revenue in her case (5)
 17 Grade in crèche next to London (7)
 18 Small West Indies ship on swell bringing cake and jam (5,4)
 19 Russian dynasty came from ancient city of Vergina originally (7)
 20 One million prospects? They will never happen (15)
 22 Unfortunately sent moaner a very short distance (10)
 23 Such PT to spark revolutionary overthrow (6)
 25 The Ancient Mariner returns what is his to the chief (4)
 28 Bails fly in the moment in radio broadcast with cricketer (5,9)
 30 Applauds University of Pretoria salary increases (8)
 32 Enter murderer, circling black wooden cottage (3,5)
 34 Free-thinking brain limits are phenomenal (14)
 37 Australian in brief prance to Johannesburg (4)
 38 Time for everyone — eina — to get fat! (6)
- Down**
 1 Arouse woman, if ... (7)
 2 ... bedtimes involve 'Enter, Mister!' (11)
 3 The money (Rand) exchange, looks the same but doesn't sound the same (9)
 4 She safeguards sanctuary in the Holy Way (15)
 6 Buck before overturned pole (8)
 7 Furry little creature in stadia starts quiet undercover invasion, requiring replacing electrical lighting (6,8)
 8 The most eager are right in this street, just after the match (10)
 9 Boy married, surrounded by family and one ... (7)
 10 ... sweet-smelling flower (or iris) which I
- Across**
 39 Healer in a cloak comes from the south-east (10)
 43 Honduran is critical of the US (7,8)
 45 Digital protection to opening echo (7)
 47 Unyielding fighting bastion has terrible surroundings (9)
 49 Game enables personal access to dance (7)
 51 Live around minister and make long note (5)
 52 Slip on wire off Eiffel, so die (6,5)
 53 Perch — with hesitation — with chef, announcing special kind of bread (11)
 54 Lear not performed afterwards (5,2)
 55 Goodie-bag is mostly filled with thingumajigs (6)
 56 Judge test alternative (8)
- Down**
 11 Arrange (i) son, (ii) trees, for precedences (11)
 12 Extreme scepticism: nothing about greeting is ultimately dinkum (8)
 13 Me and Mum go together (4)
 20 North Asia loses first showdown with Spain and Portugal (6)
 21 Eisenhower forbid a Japanese flower arrangement (7)
 22 Rabbit heart in river snack (6)
 24 Over-excited, the VIP earnestly breathes too deeply (15)
 26 Chambers — perhaps for those who give you their word? (14)
 27 Is love mostly mercy? It's the same, but different (6)
 29 Letting in more real Kei mixture (7)
 31 Get at coach with no resistance or hesitation (6)
 33 For example, Newlands cover is an outdoor carpet (11)
 35 Bird caught in frenetic in-outs, directly into vessel (11)
 36 Falling fruit encountering loss of energy (10)
 40 Dominated and done, then carried (9)
 41 Helping grab offcuts, junk — all seconds (8)
 42 Plan car noise, mischievously (8)
 44 Fling child down after I feel sick rising (7)
 46 He skulks around, finding a tekkie (7)
 48 Colder and more expensive, but with no publicity (5)
 50 Shrub a large duck eats first (4)

LAST WEEK'S SOLUTIONS

Quick Crossword 14,689



Cryptic Crossword JDE 213



2019: Questions you need to answer

So you think you know the news?

Take the *Mail & Guardian's* 2019 quiz to test your general knowledge

1) Which Cape Town beach was the scene of an alleged racist incident between beachgoers and a private security company?
 a) Clifton Fourth
 b) Camps Bay
 c) Monwabisi

2) Which Chinese tech firm did the United States justice department charge with multiple counts of fraud?
 a) Lenovo
 b) Huawei
 c) Xiaomi

3) The court case involving Mexican drug lord Joaquín Archivaldo Guzmán Loera made world headlines. By what name is he better known?
 a) Beto
 b) Pepe
 c) El Chapo

4) In which country was the February 2019 North Korea–United States summit held?
 a) Malaysia
 b) Vietnam
 c) Singapore

5) Cyclone Idai caused death and destruction in three countries, two of which were Mozambique and Zimbabwe. Name the third country.
 a) Madagascar
 b) Mauritius
 c) Malawi

6) Which medieval cathedral in Paris was almost destroyed by a fire?
 a) Notre-Dame Cathedral
 b) St Paul's Cathedral
 c) Palma Cathedral

7) Which former US vice-president announced his candidacy for the 2020 presidential election?
 a) Al Gore
 b) Joe Biden
 c) Dick Cheney

8) In March, countries involved in the Square Kilometre Array project signed a treaty in Rome. Near which Northern Cape town will thousands of SKA antenna dishes be built?
 a) Kuruman
 b) Carnarvon
 c) Kathu

9) What is the name of the first child of Prince Harry and Meghan, Duchess of Sussex?
 a) Archie
 b) Andrew
 c) Alexander

10) Which A-list celebrity was kicked in the back while he was in South Africa?
 a) Jean-Claude van Damme
 b) Chuck Norris
 c) Arnold Schwarzenegger

11) Who won the 2019 Fifa Women's World Cup?
 a) Brazil
 b) Germany
 c) United States

12) England are the Cricket World Cup champions. But which country did they beat in the final?
 a) India
 b) New Zealand
 c) Australia

13) The Rugby World Cup was hosted in Japan. Which country did the hosts beat in the first game



Jair Bolsonaro: See question 19. Photo: Pablo Albarenga/Getty Images



The Mexican drug lord: See question 3. Photo: Jair Cabrera Torres/NurPhoto



Flooded: See question 16. Photo: Marco Bertorello/Agence France-Presse



Rocketman: See question 26. Photo: David Appleby



Rapper, See question 23

of the tournament?

- a) Uruguay
- b) Russia
- c) Namibia

14) Which country's prime minister won the 2019 Nobel peace prize?

- a) Ethiopia
- b) Somalia
- c) Norway

15) President Donald Trump has formally announced his intention to withdraw the US from a climate change agreement. Which one is it?

- a) Caracas Agreement
- b) London Agreement
- c) Paris Agreement

16) In which city did Italy declare a state of emergency after record flooding?

- a) Venice
- b) Rome
- c) Milan

17) Which Kardashian sibling became the world's youngest self-made billionaire at just 21?

- a) Kendall Jenner
- b) Kylie Jenner
- c) Kim Kardashian

18) Which WWE wrestling superstar did South African rapper Sho Madjozi write a song about?

- a) The Rock
- b) The Undertaker
- c) John Cena

19) Which country did Jair Bolsonaro become president of in January?

- a) Chile
- b) Argentina
- c) Brazil

20) On which international hit TV show did the Ndlovu Youth Choir make waves?

- a) *America's Got Talent*

b) *Britain's Got Talent*

c) *So You Think You Can Sing*

21) Of which country was actor and comedian Volodymyr Zelensky elected president? (Clue: It's the same country Trump tried to pull a *quid pro quo* on, resulting in him facing impeachment.)

- a) Hungary
- b) Poland
- c) Ukraine

22) Name the Cabinet minister with a penchant for Lucky Star Pilchards and late-night cooking for one?

- a) Aaron Motsoaledi
- b) Tito Mboweni
- c) Fikile Mbalula

23) What is American rapper Belcalis Marlenis Almánzar's professional name?

- a) Cardi B
- b) Nicki Minaj
- c) Young MA

24) The former prime minister of which country gave a South African bikini model nearly \$16-million?

- a) Syria
- b) Lebanon
- c) Jordan

25) The xenophobic violence in September came before an official state visit of an African president to South Africa. Which country is

he the leader of?

- a) Nigeria
- b) Democratic Republic of the Congo
- c) Ghana

26) Which singer, songwriter and composer is the film *Rocketman* about?

- a) Freddy Mercury
- b) Elton John
- c) Jim Morrison

27) Who scored South Africa's first-ever try in a Rugby World Cup final?

- a) Cheslin Kolbe
- b) Lukhanyo Am
- c) Makazole Mapimpi

28) Who is the federal executive council chairperson of the Democratic Alliance?

- a) John Steenhuisen
- b) Athol Trollip
- c) Helen Zille

29) US actor Donald Glover performs music under a stage name. What is it?

- a) Childish Gambino
- b) Frank Stagliano
- c) Donny D

30. Who is the new deputy public protector?

- a) Kholeka Gcaleka
- b) Buang Jones
- c) Kevin Malunga

GETTING FESTIVE

with
Rich Mnisi
+ Chef Nti



Mail & Guardian

#ontrend

DECEMBER 2019

GIFTS FOR THE PRESENT

(and for any budget)

GIN, SKINCARE + TECH

changing
the world

Audi Vorsprung durch Technik

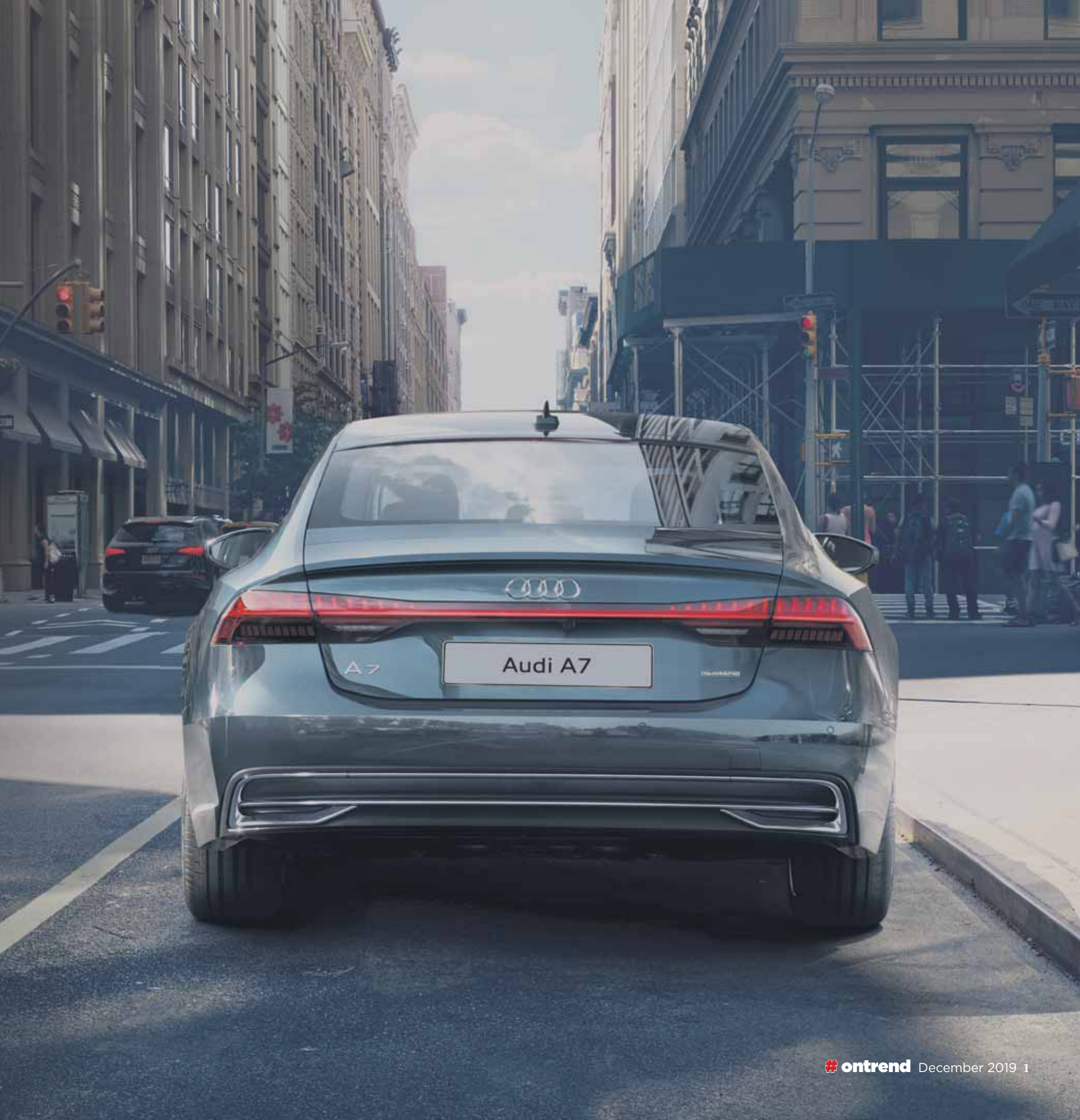


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Visit audi.co.za or contact your nearest Audi Dealer to find out more.



CONTENTS

IT'S WHAT'S INSIDE

A note from this issue's editor

Talking to Nti Ramaboa made it clear that this has been a year for being multi-faceted: she's published her cookbook with Quivertree, catered for thousands at a time and taken her culinary skills in front in the camera. Then, there's Rich Mnisi, a man whose energy and creativity seems to know no bounds, and whom we suspect is just getting started.

It's possible for all of us to do and be more than one thing, so why not choose entertainment, shopping and celebrations that are wrapped with some added benefits? As we've moved deeper into the festive season and our team has assembled pages showcasing some of the country's most exciting talent, it's become evident that there are all kinds of ways to use your gifts for good. Every day it becomes easier to live so that our most mundane actions are imbued with giving back, thanks to the labours of love performed by those creators whose businesses are designed around sustainability, empowerment and upliftment. As we've filled these pages with the items we'd love unwrap, it's been my pleasure to discover that there's gin and coffee looking out for the environment, skincare with the empowerment of women at its heart, fashion brands pushing the local production agenda, and an art consultancy changing our ways of seeing society.

Taking a slower, kinder and smarter approach to the season doesn't mean missing out. As Rosie Goddard explains, time can be the greatest gift of all, so take some of it this season to celebrate your successes. If it hasn't been your year, you get a brand new one in just a few weeks, so enjoy your present!

Cayleigh Bright



CHEF NTI

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Belvedere
Limited
Edition,
R499



Rihanna, R3 220

The Story of Gardening, R490



Little Library Year, R560

Poetry Pink Tapas Bowl with Brass Base, R140



Tsitsikamma Bar Cart; made to order by AVOOVA, prices from R38 000

The new year might mean you have a new place that you need to make your own, or perhaps you're just sprucing up your space for the season — so there's no better time to invest in the things that make a house a home, and to stock up on gifts.

For fans of feminist reinterpretations, fine art and Shakespeare alike, 2020's Pirelli Calendar is a sight for sore eyes: some of the most gifted women in music and film reimagining the role of Juliet.

If that's not the year-long inspiration you're after, there's Belvedere's "A Beautiful Future" collaboration with Janelle Monáe, which takes an optimistic look forward, following a project inviting people around the world to envision brighter days.

AVOOVA's Bar Cart collection comprises contemporary, eye-catching design depicting jungle flora, beautifully fashioned in ostrich eggshell and celebrating the abundance of the ancient

Meuble Dining Chair, R2950



Tsitsikamma forest.

Bar cart in place and stocked up? Next, pile up the coffee table with useful and beautiful books such as Little Library Year and The Story of Gardening, in which you'll learn about how and why we came to cultivate plants for their inherent beauty, tracing an engaging narrative through history from the Aztecs to our own times.

Showcasing another natural wonder, Rihanna is an eye-catching volume that'll shine bright in any setting, while The Africa Cookbook provides inspiration — both culinary and entrepreneurial.

Make a statement while taking a seat in Meuble's artfully crafted dining chairs, and add some finishing touches with coasters and tapas bowls: gifts that are always suited for good times.

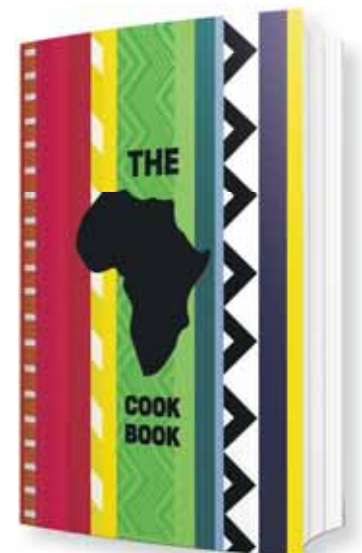
—James Nash

Pirelli Calendar

For fans of feminist reinterpretations, fine art and Shakespeare alike, 2020's Pirelli Calendar is a sight for sore eyes



Poetry Pink Agate Coaster, R99



The Africa Cookbook, R390

As an art dealer and consultant, Kholisa Thomas has long believed in the power of art to spark important conversations, but she is also aware of the gap that exists between art world insiders and those who have been historically excluded. With the foundation of her online platform artfull, she aims to make buying art more accessible — and that's just the beginning of her mission of education, inspiration, and dismantling patriarchal systems.

Cayleigh Bright: The festive months can be frantic, but are also a chance to take stock of the past year. What are you celebrating this season?

Kholisa Thomas: I'm celebrating the successful launch of artfull and the incredible artists and creatives I worked with to bring it to life. I'm celebrating being South African and the creativity, resilience and hope we've all demonstrated through a very challenging year. I'll also be celebrating time with my family and the simple pleasures of life: unrushed mornings with my kids, sunsets and catching up on books and movies I didn't have time for during the year.

CB: Much of your business has stemmed from your desire to fill empty walls with art. What would be your first piece of advice to someone who wants to adorn their walls, but has no idea what they're looking for?

KT: You've got to familiarise yourself with the product you want to buy. There's so much out there in terms of variety in art. I think people underestimate this and when they arrive at a gallery or art fair, the sheer number of choices can be intimidating. Your first assignment when deciding what you're looking for is to get out there and see as much art — and as many different kinds of art — as you possibly can. Don't be too selective or judge yourself when you're looking at art. For just that moment, leave behind what anyone tells you about what you "should" like. Art is as much mind as it is heart. Be open to being intuitive about what you like: trusting yourself will guide you well in your art-buying journey. Once you've found a style,

artist or medium you like, get expert advice, read up, speak to people in the know. Looking at art online, on gallery websites, museum websites, Instagram and YouTube is a great way to start if you don't have the time to attend every exhibition and gallery opening.

CB: What factors do you consider when you're providing art advisory services to your clients?

KT: A first-time buyer needs a lot of information and someone to guide them through the maze that the "art world" can be; they want the overall context and bigger picture. They'd like to understand the finer details, such as: "how do I know I'm paying fair value for the artwork?" or "what is a print edition, and should I be buying editions in the first place?" They need real foundational facts about how the art market works. More seasoned buyers are looking for ways to expand their scope of knowledge and access — to know the key players in the industry, the artist, the galleries, the museums and the collectors. They want to delve deeper into an artist's practice, where they are located in the art world and what their long-term career might look like.

Wherever the client is on their art journey, it should be a relationship based on trust, professionalism and strong ethics.

CB: Could you tell us a little about what's on your own walls?

KT: What's on my walls is what I love. I collect work by artists I admire, artists who take risks and are not afraid

to be authentic in their beliefs and values or to make bold, controversial statements. I collect artists who push culture forward in terms of progressive ideas and new ways of thinking. I also collect artists who create items of beauty: reflective, spiritual or nostalgic work, the kind of work that makes people feel uplifted and hopeful when they walk into your home. A good part of my collection is gifts from the artists I've worked with over the years; these are my most treasured items. They're sentimental to me and remind me how privileged I am to work with such artists.

CB: Art is, of course, a very personal choice. Can it make a good gift?

KT: If you know the person you are buying for well, then I say go for it. Art as a gift is not for the boss, the colleague or the person you sit on a board at school with. It's for your intimate relationships: your mother, father, siblings, best friends and, of course, your lover.

CB: It's the season for giving, and artfull's given that plenty of thought with the Art of Giving. Could you tell us a little about how this aspect of your business came about?

KT: My other passion is education, and in the South African context of poverty and inequality, education is the one tool that can truly transform a child's life. I sit on the board of Kgololo Academy, a private school in Alex offering high-quality education for the community of Alex, and Ubuntu Pathways, an educational

in Zwide, Port Elizabeth, where I'm from. Together with the boards, we organise two key fundraising events every year: a Joburg Gala for Ubuntu Pathways and Thanksgiving Dinner for Kgololo Academy, auctioning art donated by the artists I work with to raise the much-needed funds to run them successfully. Combining my two passions of art and education to create real change through these institutions gives my work greater purpose and meaning.

CB: If there were no restrictions at all, what would be your ultimate art gift?

KT: To create a global art collection of female artists from around the world. There's a huge imbalance in terms of female artists being recognised and collected in the art world. Humanity is going through one of its most challenging periods in history as the old paradigms of patriarchy, war, racism and fear-based control are being dismantled. What are we to replace this old system with? I believe female artists have, like women all over the world, in all professions, had their voices suppressed, rejected, belittled and ignored for centuries. They hold the key to creating a new vision for the world: a world that's more compassionate, equal, sustainable and values every individual's right to freedom.

artfull.co.za
kgololoacademy.org
ubuntupathways.org

—Cayleigh Bright

Can you picture this?



artfull founder
Kholisa Thomas
envisions a world
transformed by art



Gallotti&Radice

Designed and handcrafted in Italy,
for contemporary living.



UNWRAPPED

Let the sunshine in



Margot Molyneux scrunchie, R60



Old Khaki Paola Dot Square Scarf, R225



Maylee pink Alice band, R120

For a cool summer after a long year, a neutral base has you covered and bright touches are essential for finding your place in the sun. Think pink, from baby and bubblegum to neon, and don't neglect yellow, which is easier to wear than ever, thanks to mustardy tones and its appearance in accessories.

Margot Molyneux's ranges of mens and womenswear are ideal to lounge in, with linen and light cotton weaves that keep you cool even when the heat is reaching all-time highs.

FIELDS offers exceptionally well-made pieces to last you from season to season, and bringing Good Good



Margot Molyneux Men's Trousers, R1 400



Poetry Statement Ball Hoop Drop Earrings, R199

Good's sunny waffle-textured patterns into the mix will ensure that you make a few fashion statements.

As striking as they are spacious, Project Dyad's designs will keep you feeling secure and you stylish this summer.

It's all in the details when it comes to accessories, and Poetry's statement items come in all forms — whether the iconic hoop or three-dimensional flower, their earrings are sure to infuse summery flair into your look.

Giuseppina Jewellery's range of signet rings and floral earrings are ideal additions to any collection, adding youthful flair and accessible opulence that's sure to turn heads.



Old Khaki Raelyn Textured Cotton Clutch, R350



Project Dyad bags from R1 250



Margot Molyneux Ruched Dress, R1 225



Margot Molyneux Linen Trousers, R1 250

Margot Molyneux Shift, from R1 850





FIELDS The Field Shirt,
R1 950



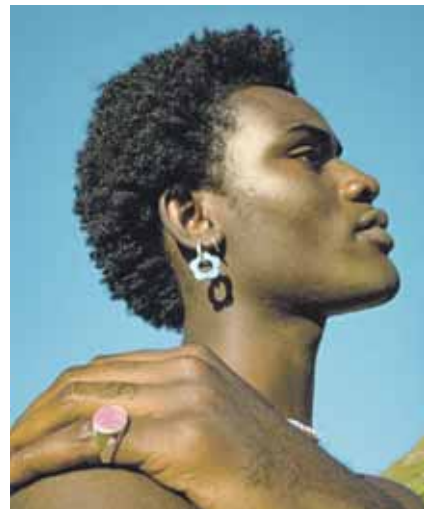
FIELDS 1 Pocket Cotton Shirt,
R1 800



Billabong Cat's Eye Sunglasses,
R349.95



Giuseppina Signet Rings,
from R580



Giuseppina Earrings,
made to order



Poetry Crystal Cluster Gold Hoop Earrings,
R399



Poetry Billie Cross-Body Leather Bag,
R899



Poetry 3D Flower Hoop Earrings,
R150



A Ring to It Silver and Agate Dangle Earrings,
R300 per pair of plain silver earrings,
R180 each per agate stone charm



Good Good Good Sunkissed Waffle Work Wear Jacket,
R4 000
and Sunkissed Waffle Wide Leg Trousers,
R4 000



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PRESENT TENSE

What would RICH MNISI do?

Fashion tips for this festive season from a man enjoying his place in the sun (but not partying there)



If he's not jet-setting to destinations on your bucket list, he's between Jo'burg and Cape Town living his best life, working and making it all look as fashionable as ever. In September, Rich Mnisi bagged the Essence Emerging Designer of the Year award. He's dressed Beyoncé, Naomi Campbell, Bonang Matheba and virtually every style influencer worth a mention on Instagram. As a multifaceted creator, his tastemaking goes beyond creating gorgeous garments to styling, providing creative direction on cover shoots and lookbooks and more recently, his second installation of collectable furniture from Southern Guild Gallery. Who better to tell us how to make the most of the season than an icon who seems to celebrate life with as much vigour as his audience celebrates his work?

Jabulani Dlamini-Qwesa: What are five statement fashion pieces one shouldn't go without during the festive season?

Rich Mnisi: I don't necessarily

believe in the idea of trends and key pieces, because I think they take away from the idea of style, so I'm all about winging it based on how I feel. But if you are a person who does need a starting point for expressing your style, you can never go wrong with a pants suit, a sequined dress, a Crystal Birch hat (wide brim with feathers) and anything by Rich Mnisi. In fact, local fashion in general; most South African designers are really in touch with trends, what's happening around them and what South Africans enjoy wearing.

JDQ: What is your strategy for packing when you travel?

RM: First of all, I'm the last person to answer this because I've been known to pack 23kg luggage for a week-long trip. But what has helped when I've considered my limitations is planning two looks per day and packing those pieces, instead of just taking everything and figuring it out as I go.

JDQ: What is one look that can take you from day to night?

RM: Wearing either a jumpsuit or a pantsuit; all you need to update are the accessories and you're good to go to any function.

JDQ: Without ruining any surprises for anyone, what are the gifts you're choosing to give loved ones this year?

RM: A lot of bags, kettles and alcohol, and I'm getting books for my nieces and nephews. Just a lot of functional things.

JDQ: Top places to hang out and get the best of the festive spirit in Jo'burg and Cape Town?

RM: My party, 2 Million Icons. It's the main thing people should look forward to in December.

JDQ: Day parties or night time vibes?

RM: Night-time parties: I don't like drinking in the sun, it makes my skin feel strange.

JDQ: Any tips for keeping to a healthy lifestyle and avoiding fatigue over the party season?

RM: Drink lots of water, take multivitamin supplements and get as much sleep and rest as you can between the festivities.

—Jabulile Dlamini-Qwesha





The continent's first sleep rooms are designed for better sleep - and not just for the weekend

It's a matter of supply and demand, and to those for whom sleep is proving elusive, it's a commodity that's ever more valuable. The facilities at the first "sleep rooms" in Africa, at Cape Town's Ellerman House, are designed to counter the chaotic overstimulation that many hotels — and the world at large — present.

The rooms are entirely devoid of electronics, in place of the beeping, flashing, buzzing and, dare we say it, ringing? Guests are welcomed to the room with a sleep pack, which includes shut eye-inducing supplies such as pillow and linen mist, eye masks and CBD chamomile tea. The hotel's wellness team guides guests through Ellerman House's signature Sleep Ritual, which is designed to help the body naturally increase melatonin. In addition to enjoying

a highly relaxing few days, those who take part will ideally take away the resources for better rest in the long term.

Renowned wellness consultant Harry Jameson has been instrumental in creating the wellness retreats of which these sleep rooms are an integral component. He'll be on hand for consultations with guests, who'll also enjoy a specially planned menu and cooking class, as well as fitness and spa activities. All in all, it sounds far superior to counting sheep.

Ellerman House Wellness Retreats are open for 2020 bookings at R100 000 per three-day retreat for a single occupancy and R120 000 for a double occupancy. Dates and further information can be found at ellerman.co.za

— Cayleigh Bright

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PRESENT TENSE

As a former beauty editor and founder of rubybox, Margaux Knuppe has come to favour the simplest, most effective of products. Her approach to the business of luxury skincare is similarly no-nonsense: she firmly believes that those paying a premium for something special will also gladly give something back.

Cayleigh Bright: Afari was a long time in the making, and you must have heard “you’ll never find that ingredient” more than once. Could you tell us more about this?

Margaux Knuppe: After selling rubybox in late 2014, I was invited on Sean Privett’s Fynbos Trail in the heart of the Cape Floral Kingdom. Learning that there are 8 000+ species of fynbos in South Africa, of which 6 000 are endemic, meant one thing to me: opportunity. How can we only know about the skin-repairing properties of rooibos and buchu — surely there had to be another indigeous species with incredible skincare benefits? I was on a mission to find this unknown botanical as I wanted to showcase it to the rest of the world.

I approached a well-known cosmetic chemist to see if there was a new, indigenous active ingredient that we could include in a luxury, anti-ageing skincare range. He didn’t know of any other local species that had anti-ageing benefits that had also been clinically tested. As the beauty industry thrives on innovation, I embarked on a journey to find a new botanical with anti-ageing benefits.

Raw ingredient suppliers told me I was looking for a needle in a haystack and that every time I identified a new potential raw ingredient I would have to spend hundreds of thousands to see if it had any skincare benefits — and I would have to conduct my own clinical trials. I spoke to the head of phytochemistry at Wits: no luck.

At dinner with my ex-business partner from rubybox, I filled her in on my ingredient hunt and her husband told me about a friend who was farming moringa in Limpopo. He introduced us, but we didn’t manage to meet face-to-face.

Time passed and I heard from the cosmetic chemist again, who had just returned from an annual raw ingredients expo in Paris. He had met up with a farmer from Limpopo who had just

It’s what’s inside

In the search for Afari’s groundbreaking key ingredient, Margaux Knuppe found the women who are the essence of the brand





finished clinical trials on a brand-new indigenous raw ingredient called *Bulbine frutescens*. Can you believe it? It was the same farmer.

After reading through the clinical trial results, I knew the ingredient was going to be a gamechanger.

Importantly, the farm employs mostly women in rural Limpopo and produces the *Bulbine frutescens* in a socially and environmentally sustainable manner. The production facility meets European standards and the agricultural process used to produce it is ECOCERT certified organic.

CB: It's been a big year for you. Other than bringing your skincare range to life, what are you celebrating this season?

MK: I'm fortunate to have most of my family close by, so I'm looking forward to spending some quality time with them over the holidays.

CB: It's also, of course, the season for giving. Could you tell us a little about what you've called Afari's "circle of upliftment"?

MK: I wanted to empower women through the skincare range; both those at the source who are planting and harvesting the raw ingredient in Limpopo, and



those purchasing the end product.

I believe that there are customers, particularly millennials, who are willing to pay a premium for products that do good, almost like a luxury tax: it justifies an indulgence. The premium can be passed on to people who need it most.

In Afari's case, we source our breakthrough ingredient, *Bulbine frutescens*, from an organic farm in rural Limpopo, where it is sustainably cultivated by female harvesters from the local community. Each Afari product sold directly benefits these women, their families and the

greater community. As an Afari customer, you keep this circle of upliftment flowing.

CB: How do you feel about giving beauty products as gifts?

MK: I've always given gifts that I would like to receive, and beauty products have been a big part of that. The joy a new fragrance, lipstick or treatment can bring means I always include beauty products in my gift giving. People tend to stick to what they know, so by gifting new or niche beauty products, I've often introduced some of my favourites to others.

CB: How did your experience as a beauty editor influence Afari?

MK: In my career, when I was paid to test products, I learnt to read ingredient labels and scientific journals in the pursuit of finding the best products for articles.

Having tested thousands of products and numerous trends, including the K Beauty 10-product skincare routine, and as a working mum in her early thirties, I was looking for an anti-ageing range that addressed all the major ageing concerns in as few products as possible. Plus, I wanted to support the local industry and empower women.

I wanted an indigenous ingredient with skincare benefits — and antioxidant levels on par with Idebenone and green tea — that we could showcase to the rest of the world. I wanted to house it in a luxury skincare range with a conscience.

Another thing that was important for me was to find airless pumps for the packaging. Even though jars are perceived as more premium, oxygen and bacteria that get in each time you open the jar can degrade active ingredients. I wanted to ensure the Afari skincare collection is effective down to the last pump in the bottle.

CB: Your key ingredient and your business model make Afari special. In what

others ways are your products unique or unusual?

MK: As a time-poor, working mum, I wanted to create a skincare range that addressed the major signs of ageing — fine lines, wrinkles, dehydration, enlarged pores, pigmentation and dullness — in four products. Three to use in the morning (Priming Cleanser, Brightening Elixir and Protecting Day Cream SPF30) and three for the evening (Priming Cleanser, Brightening Elixir and Overnight Regenerating Cream). Plus, I wanted to support local women and empower other women while doing so.

Now that I have the ingredient, with the clinical results to back it up, as well as the fact that it's being sustainably farmed by female harvesters who directly benefit from the sales, it's just a matter of showcasing Afari to the rest of the world.

CB: If there were no restrictions, what would be on your ultimate skincare wish-list this season?

MK: I would use the Afari skincare collection daily, but my bathtime routine would include Susan Kaufmann Oil Bath for the Senses followed by a good helping of La Mer Body Crème. And the biggest luxury of all would be to have the bathroom to myself, with no interruptions from the little people in my life.

CB: Looking ahead to next year, what's one change that you'd love to see in the beauty industry?

MK: There's still a perception of Africa being an untapped resource, and it's true — South Africa ranks as the third-most biodiverse country in the world, which in the plant-based raw ingredient world translates to a lot of opportunity. I'd like to see more brands, both local and international, sourcing locally, fuelling job creation and reducing their carbon footprint.

— *Cayleigh Bright*

Unwrapped



*Apartment.

Created in Johannesburg, *Apartment is a niche perfumery producing a limited range of evocative unisex scents. If the brand's beautifully minimal packaging doesn't have you feeling a little more peaceful already, Please Wait Here's notes of Hinoki, pine, cedarwood, sandalwood, violet leaf, violet and moss — intended to evoke the Japanese onsen (hot spring) experience — certainly will.

50ml eau de parfum, R1 200



SKOON.

In this limited edition gift pack, you'll find your favourite SKOON. moisturiser along with a 15ml Rosehip C+, the ideal care for after sunset. Founded by engineer Stella Ciolli and formulated in the Cape, SKOON. is a natural skincare collection that uses non-toxic ingredients such as pure plant oils, rich nut butters, exquisite floral essences and botanical extracts.

Limited edition gift set, R600.



500g hand sculpted soap

3 block soap with wooden beads

50ml eau de parfum

House of Gozdawa

In addition to fragrances made from only natural essential oils and carriers, this small batch perfumery now creates hand-rolled incense from natural woods and resins, along with handmade soaps. Combining natural essential oil perfume blends with olive oil and nut butter, the soaps make an ideal gift for anyone who deserves the time to unwind after a busy year.

25 incense sticks

500g hand sculpted soap ball with hand made glass and wooden beads, R535

3 block soap with wooden beads, R245

100g soap bar R84

25 incense sticks with a wooden burn stand, R235

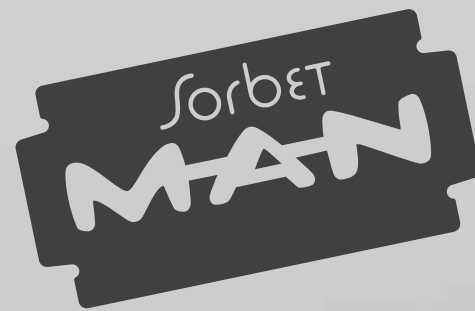
15ml eau de parfum travel vial, R695

50ml eau de parfum, R1950

15ml eau de parfum travel vial



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BROWS | LASHES & MORE**



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EARLY BIRDS

For Nzeka Biyela's innovative gin brand, gifting season presented a time for sustainable change

The festive season means big business for Nzeka Biyela and Sugarbird, the gin brand that she co-founded with Rob Heyns following an overwhelming, record-breaking response to a crowdfunding campaign for "The People's Gin" back in 2017.

Not only is this the season to eat, drink, and be merry, but it's also the ideal weather for a gin-and-tonic — and Sugarbird has made the most of this by producing seasonal gift sets, crackers, gin-filled Christmas baubles and even a Ginvent calendar.

But in the midst of the sparkling celebrations and endless Instagram notifications tagging Sugarbird in posts featuring end-of-year lunches, family celebrations and hotel check-in gifts, Biyela began to wonder about the environmental impact of her product. We caught up with her to hear about her journey to get Sugarbird to Day One of its sustainability journey.

CB: What's your advice to those who feel overwhelmed by all of the details on the path to becoming a more mindful consumer?

NB: We found it just as overwhelming as anyone would, albeit with the extra pressure of having to share this information with our community. My advice is to take it one step at a time

and not try to do it all at once. If you're not sure, ask, and ask again. Delve a bit deeper so that you can understand it fully yourself.

CB: You describe yourself and your business partner as socially conscious, but what was the moment at which you realised that this is particular was an issue you needed to address and a change you needed to make?

NB: Sugarbird Gin is about three things: innovation, entrepreneurship, and fynbos. From an innovation point of view, this year we had two objectives: reducing our environmental impact and reducing costs to our consumers. We determined which of our activities have a positive impact, which create waste, and where our opportunities for improvement lay. Switching to PET not only reduces waste to landfill but also lowers our carbon emissions by 66%! We partnered with PETCO and learnt more about Extended Producer Responsibility: a way of thinking that puts the responsibility on the producer to manage the disposal of the products they produce. This made us look internally to take responsibility for our output, beyond just making our product.

CB: The Sugarbird Day One Bag Collection works well as a visual, wearable representation of



your environmentally conscious endeavours. Why else was it important to you to introduce this part of the process?

NB: We wanted to make sure we close the loop and minimise waste at every point. We couldn't just end at recycling the bottles: we had to ensure what wouldn't be recycled back into bottles needed to be down-cycled to something else, to avoid waste going to landfill or landing up in the oceans.

CB: How does Day One align with your positioning as "The People's Gin"?

NB: Without the people, this initiative wouldn't be feasible and achieving what it needs to achieve. Day One for Change is a Sugarbird Gin initiative that allows us to make a meaningful

and sustainable change within our company to create a better world — and helps us to give the public a way to get involved too.

CB: From what you've learned recently, how optimistic are you about South Africa's potential for positive environmental change?

NB: Very positive: I think South African consumers are a lot more aware and curious.

We've learnt the main barrier is the amount of information, and misinformation, out there. Which is why there was a need for our Day One initiative. There's still more to be done, and the more we educate ourselves and each other, the more changes we can make as consumers.

—Cayleigh Bright

UNWRAPPED

MAKE A SPLASH



Springfield Estate
The Work of Time,
R178



Springfield Estate
Miss Lucy,
R120



Springfield Estate
Albarino,
R120

Treat yourself or your loved ones with these tasteful gifts, ideal for any of your loved ones. Cheers to that!

Pour a little more.

Whether you're celebrating in the sun or safely home with your loved ones, this selection caters to all tastes and inclinations. Springfield Estate's coveted Albariño makes for an ideal pairing for a festive meal, while The Work of Time and Miss Lucy are ideal gifts for your gracious host.

If you're the one welcoming guests, you'll want to investigate Jean Roi Cap Provincial Rosé's festive sizes — the 1.5-litre for company, and the 3-litre for a crowd — and put Le Creuset's Soiree Signature Round Casserole on your wishlist.

Champagnes by Veuve Clicquot, Moët & Chandon, Dom Pérignon and Ruinart are sure to start any party off right, and

make a special gift for someone who's had a year of successes to celebrate, while those feeling spirited will enjoy Sun Camino Floral Rum, Glenmorangie ALLTA Wil Yeast Single Malt Private Edition 10 or Roku Gin.

The Sundowner Society's Botanical Bombs infuse drinks with mixology-grade flavours and pair particularly well with The Duchess Alcohol-Free G&T. They're also completely compostable and printed with vegetable inks.

For those whose drink of choice is one that starts the morning with a kick, coffee at home just got a little more eco-conscious, too: 4WKS provides biodegradable pods that have the added appeal of containing your favourite flavours from the likes of Rosetta and Deluxe.

— James Nash



Ruinart Champagne Blanc de Blancs,
from R995



Jean Roi Cap
Provincial Rosé
750ml
R230,
1.5L
R480,
3L
R1010



Veuve Clicquot
2008 Vintage,
from R950



Moët & Chandon Imperial 150th Anniversary Edition
from R529



The Duchess Greenery or Floral Alcohol-Free Gin and Tonic 375ml four-pack, R79



The Duchess Bubbly Alcohol-Free Gin and Tonic 750ml, R99



Dom Pérignon Rosé 2006,
from R3900



Glenmorangie ALLTA Wil Yeast Single Malt Private Edition 10,
from R3900



Le Creuset Soiree Dining Set R5595
+ Free 4 x Le Creuset Mini Coccotes (Valued R1640)



The Sundowner Society Botanical Bombs Jozi collection, R199



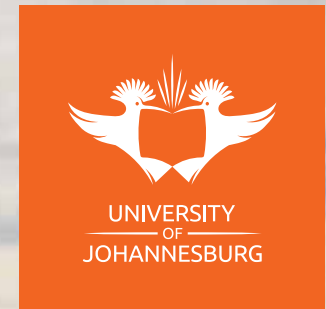
4WKS Pods jar of 28 Deluxe or Terbodore pods, R340
Naked or Rosetta jars R370



Roku Gin available in a Festive Pack, R299



Sun Camino Floral Rum, R299



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The Next Economy	14 – 15 April	2 days	R6 500
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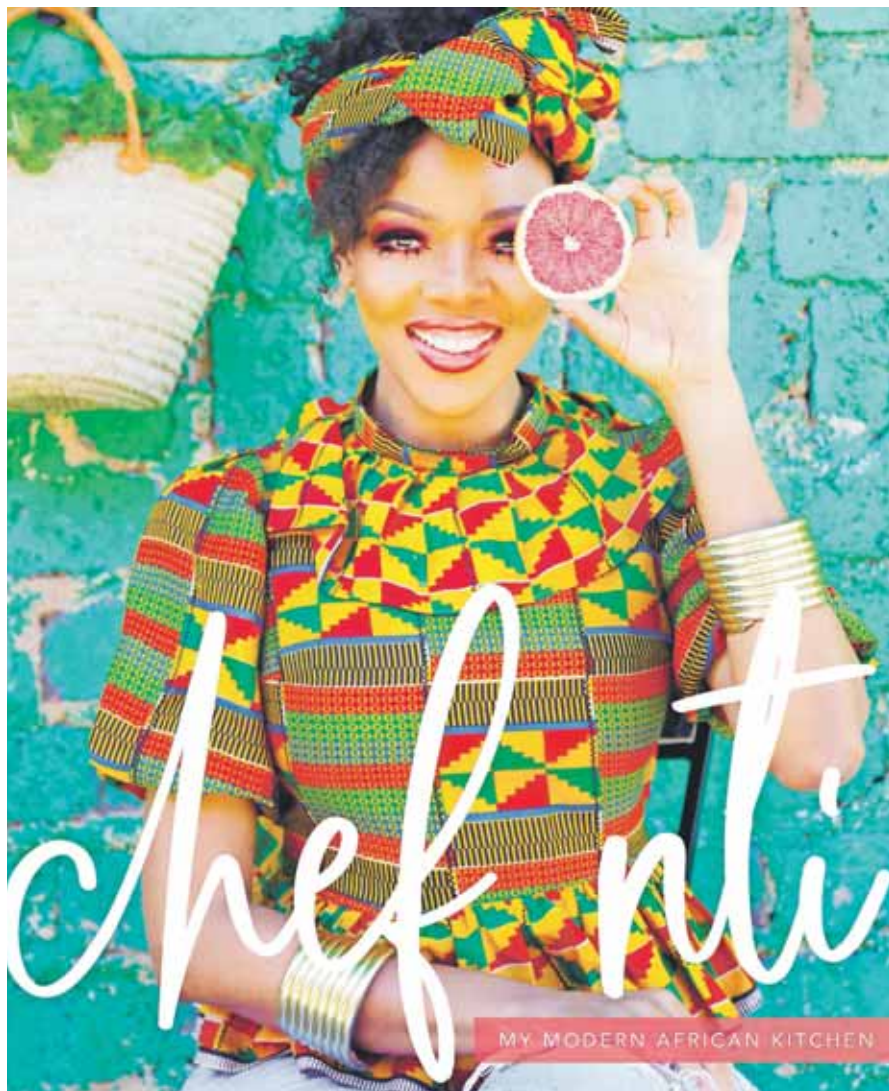
COURSE	DATE	COST (ZAR)
Women entrepreneurship and leadership for Africa (WELA) <ul style="list-style-type: none">• All teaching materials, tea breaks are covered.• Also includes flight and accommodation for the module in China	Open Day: 29 January 2020 Block 1: 30 March – 4 April 2020 Block 2: 11 – 16 May 2020 Block 3: June, 2020 Block 4: 13 – 14 July, 2020	R165 000,00
Business in industry 4.0 <ul style="list-style-type: none">• This includes UC Berkeley certification• Flights and accommodation are excluded	Open Day: 20 February 2020 Block 1: tbc Block 2: tbc	R150 000,00

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A LOT on her plate

Chef Nti talks celebrations, cooking for a crowd and how social media is turning chefs into entertainers

Nti Ramaboa has caused something of a stir this year with her cookbook, *My African Kitchen*. The proof of the pudding is in the eating, so on these pages we give you a taste of what's inside, and catch up with chef Nti about cooking on camera, catering for a crowd, and her enduring love for maize meal.

Mail & Guardian: It's been a big year for you. Following your success as a chef, entrepreneur and cookbook author this year, are you celebrating this December?

Nti Ramaboa: It's been an amazing year overall, and yes, I am planning to celebrate BIG! I'll be spending time with my family around Christmas to celebrate this huge milestone — my cookbook. And I'm going to travel the continent for more celebrations with friends.

M&G: As someone who's cooked on camera, for restaurant guests, and in every situation in between, do you ever still find times where you're under pressure in the kitchen?

NR: Oh, absolutely. With food I feel like you're as good as your last plate; each time I cook I'm always stressing about flavours, texture, presentation — and it gets worse when I'm cooking in front of the camera. I've learnt to make friends

with the feeling of being under pressure. It helps me to stay present, aware and in the moment.

M&G: You're a big fan of maize. Could you tell us more about why you love this ingredient?

NR: I'm obsessed with maize meal! Growing up it was on the menu at least four times a week, but we only had it one way: boiled! I love to play around and show people that we can do so much more with it. It's so versatile, like the Italian polenta — it's the same grain, after all. My ultimate goal is to help instil a sense of pride for this versatile ingredient that unites us all as a nation.

M&G: Do you still cook for yourself and others over the holidays?

NR: To be honest, not as much as I'd like to: because I cook for a living, I find that I love the idea of others cooking for me. It's such a treat!

M&G: Professionally, you've catered for thousands. What do you make when you're catering for a crowd at home?

NR: When I'm catering for a crowd at home, I always make it extra special, I go all out! Because, for one, they expect it, and it makes my heart warm to be able to express love like that. I make food the star: I feed them from when they arrive



and then make sure there are treats to go as well. On a good day, I'll serve anything from a six- to eight-course meal.

M&G: Food posts on social media are divisive, though they've won most people over, slowly but surely. As a chef and someone with a significant following, do you feel that social media has changed the way we cook?

NR: Oh absolutely, it has definitely changed the way we cook and eat. It's all about appearances: your plate must look appealing, so you find home cooks making an effort. Social media has made the dialogue around food bigger, and more on-trend. Because of social media, chefs today are part of mainstream entertainment.

M&G: The images of desserts in your book are especially mouth-watering. What's one recipe that can tempt even someone who's not a "sweet" person?

NR: Easy: the Almond and Coconut Flan! It's not too sweet, and the coconut adds to the texture.

M&G: What's your ultimate food gift?

NR: Anything from the heart — the heart of the home — the kitchen. Anything homemade appeals to the foodie in me. Homemade cookies, brittles, jams and more.



UNWRAPPED

FULL OF BEANS

If you're seeking out coffee to get you through the final push at work, or to inspire gift shopping and festive celebration preparation, you're in luck — 'tis the season for new cafés to open their doors in your city

Clay Pigeon Café

It's traceable from farmer to cup, it's ethical and eco-conscious, and oh, it's delicious! Whether you're after your regular flat white brewed from exclusively African coffee or something a little more fancy, such as their signature Swart sparkling cold brew coffee — or a snack — this spot's well worth a stop.

@clay_pigeon_trading



Milk & Honey

Looking for a pretty place to enjoy cake and coffee with a friend you haven't seen in a while, or want to start your day with a fresh juice? This might be the spot for you; with an iced coffee offering and incentives to use an eco cup, there's a good chance it'll become your regular.

@milkandhoney_dbn



The Ladder

This light, airy space in busy Bree Street has major appeal for casual hangouts and catch-ups. A small but beautifully planned play area lets The Ladder's littlest customers play at baking, painting, and getting imaginative, while the grownups get to do the same at creative classes and workshops hosted here.

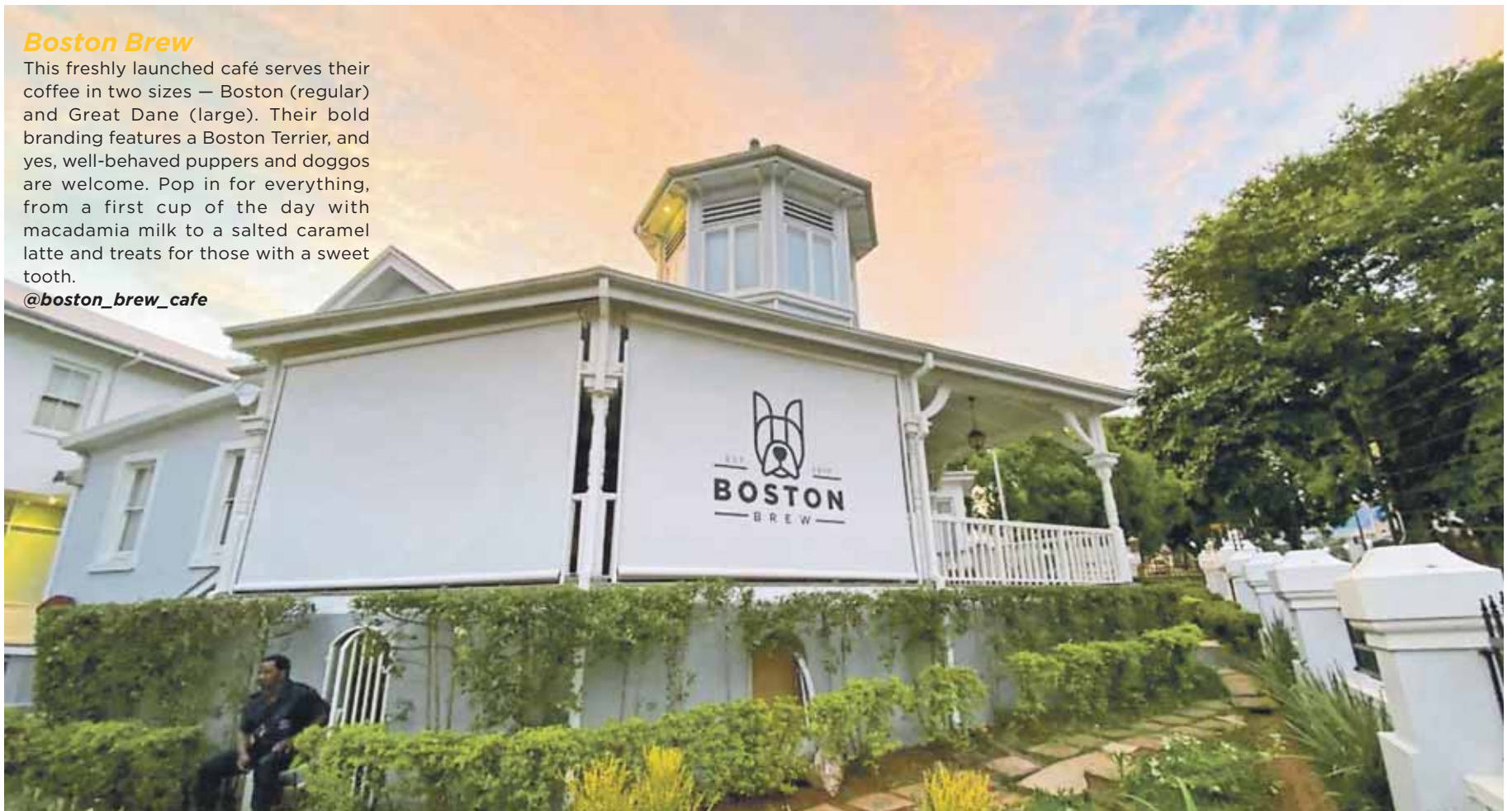
@theladder136



Boston Brew

This freshly launched café serves their coffee in two sizes — Boston (regular) and Great Dane (large). Their bold branding features a Boston Terrier, and yes, well-behaved puppers and doggos are welcome. Pop in for everything, from a first cup of the day with macadamia milk to a salted caramel latte and treats for those with a sweet tooth.

@boston_brew_cafe



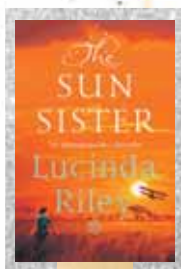


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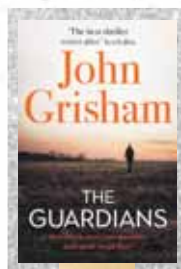
EXCLUSIVE BOOKS



R270



R290



R270



R270



R270



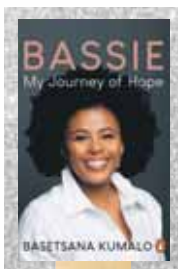
R270



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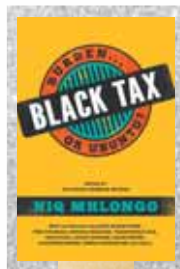
R345



R350



R275



R230



R320



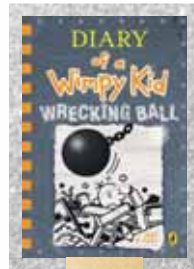
R320



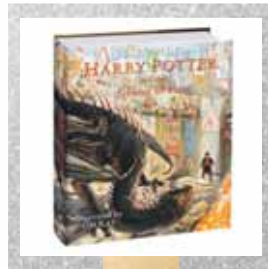
R250



R205



R189



R545



R160



R170

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Experiential gifts keep on giving, provide the luxury of me-time, and make for less consumption - all in one neat package

With time becoming our most precious commodity, experiences may be the most thoughtful presents of all.

Last Christmas, my mum gave me a yearly pass to the V&A Museum just after I had moved to London. It was the gift that kept on giving: not only was I able to visit one of my favourite galleries for free (and feel grateful to her every time I did so), she unknowingly sent my social currency through the roof. Amid a sea of sold-out shows, I held the key to every queue-jumper's heart and, for the briefest of years, I had never felt more powerful.

We all worry about what to buy our loved ones for Christmas — the cousin who seems to have it all, the daughter with very specific tastes or the sibling who “doesn't want anything” but come Christmas, looks utterly crestfallen upon unwrapping a pair of socks. We spend weeks fretting about this before making a distressed purchase, when actually, an eco-friendly but no-

less-shiny alternative is waiting in the wings.

In recent years, I have started giving experiences, whether it's a subscription to a service, a pottery class, gallery pass, or even a spa day. Time is fast becoming one of our most precious commodities, and an experience, whether it's learning a new skill or giving someone the opportunity to take a moment for themselves, is both touching and shows you've really thought about what they might want or need in a different way, and perhaps with an emphasis on their long-term happiness and wellbeing. As much as I love art, I would have never thought to buy a gallery pass for myself, but the V&A halls became my Sunday sanctuary in a new city that never seemed to switch off.

There's always something to be said for unwrapping a gift that takes your breath away, but if we can make little moves to cut back on the excess without diminishing the wow factor, it can only contribute to an overflow of festive cheer come Christmas day.

— Rosie Goddard



GIFTS THAT KEEP ON GIVING

Let your loved ones revel in the experiences that bring them joy all year round. As an added bonus, your gift supports the arts and keeps these organisations thriving



Norval Foundation

Membership from R350

norvalfoundation.org/membership

Gain free and fast access to exhibitions, offers, invitations and discounts at Skotnes Restaurant. *Why Should I Hesitate* is the first-of-its-kind exhibition of works by William Kentridge currently on display, and its title sums up our attitude to becoming a member.

Cape Town Opera

2020 Season Ticket R1 000

capetownopera.co.za/shop

Grab the best seats in the house for no less than seven engaging, modern productions to be staged by Cape Town Opera over the 2020 Season: *La bohème*, *Fidelio*, *Hänsel und Gretel* and more.



Johannesburg Art Gallery **Spier Light Art Festival**

#FRIENDSOFJAG membership R500

Friendsofjag.org

Your membership secures invitation to openings, access to lectures, tours, studio visits and special discounts. For those who prefer to fully immerse themselves in the arts, this is a gift that's hard to bear.

Free admission

spier.co.za

Free to the public, the Spier Light Art Festival offers a unique opportunity for enjoyment of the winelands by night. Guests can wander the Spier estate and explore artworks designed for interaction, with sound and video that bring the exhibition to life. To give the gift of a truly immersive event, book a picnic to enjoy as the sun sets and the lights begin to shine, or consider extending the experience with an overnight stay at the hotel — a Spier Light Art Package is on offer, as well as various options tailored to specific interests.





Take me to the Karoo

Head inland for sun and sand this festive season – and discover a whole lot more

As party season gets into full swing and I start RSVP-ing to every invite with “Tis The Season!”, my mind drifts not to beaches and blue waters, but to the Karoo.

On the surface, it's unforgiving: too hot in summer, icy cold in winter. But there's beauty to be found around every turn, and a profound sense of calm that accompanies its little moments: watching weaver birds build pepper tree palaces from a veranda; arid expanses giving way to the languid charm of tiny towns; the majesty of its morning light.

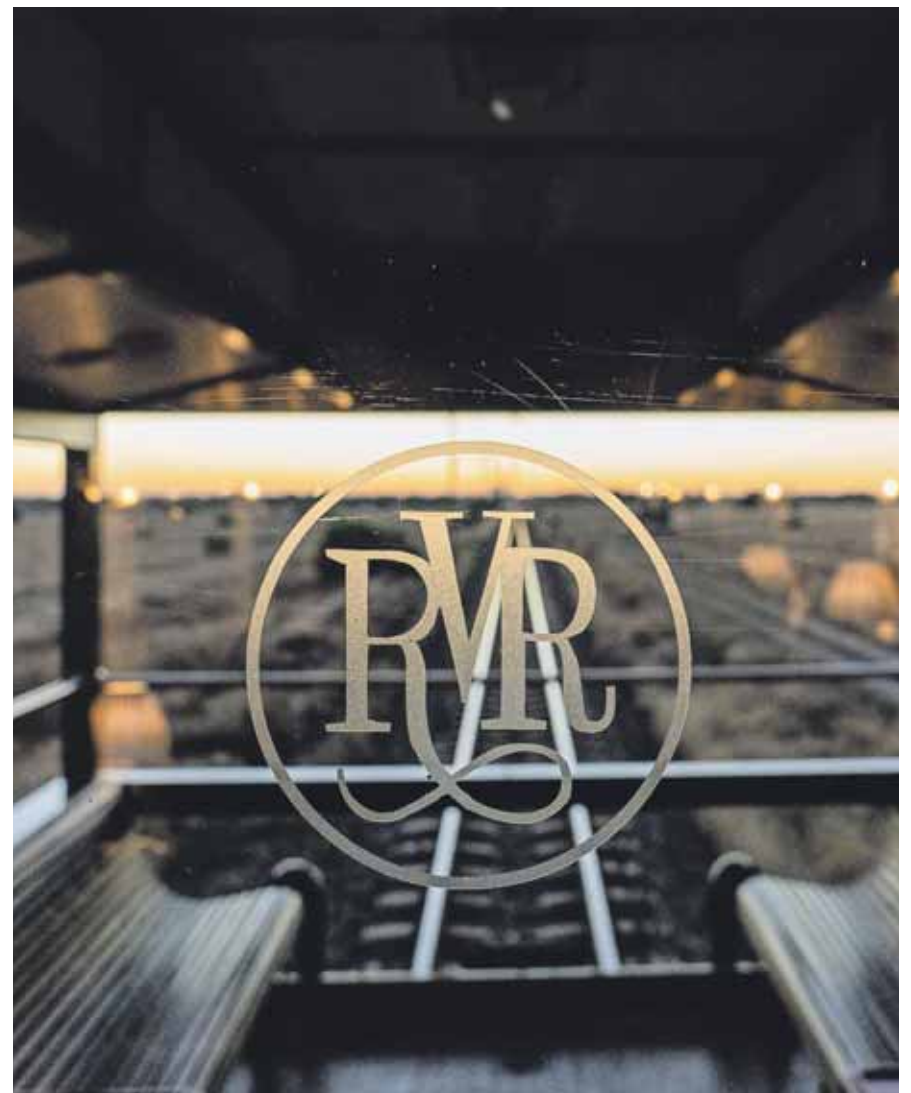
You spend your days hiding from the heat, but it's at sunset when the Karoo reveals its true powers of replenishment. As you're barreling up a dirt track,

koppies rise on either side of you like rocky cathedrals and suddenly you're face-to-face with a wraparound view that catch the words in your throat. As your eyes roam the limits of the horizon, the landscape turns from buttery brown to purple and blue in a matter of minutes. You are suspended in time, and the only thing that matters in that moment is basking in the glow of a beautiful afternoon.

Life feels slower and simpler in the Karoo, the chaos of city life refreshingly far removed. Every time I go back, I'm reminded that it's impossible to return from its reaches without a renewed sense of calm, whether you're train riding, scaling its passes or meandering down one of its jacaranda-lined streets.

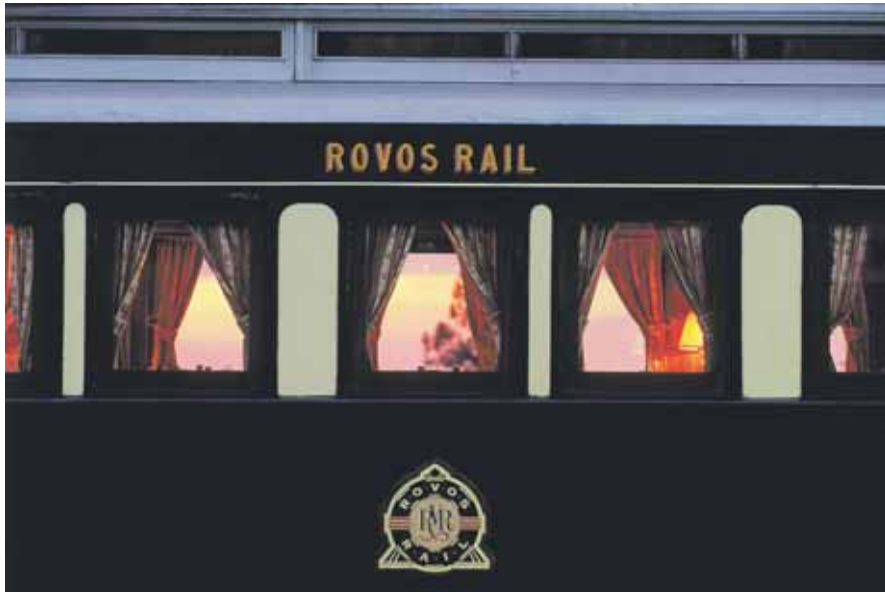
— Rosie Goddard

— Additional text by Cayleigh Bright



ULTIMATE ESCAPES

KAROO EXPLORATION OPTIONS



Rovos Rail

Sit back and enjoy the serene scenery rushing by, or enjoy seeing the sights over supper: a trip on the Rovos Rail allows for the most lazy and luxe type of Karoo tour. On our trip between Cape Town and Pretoria, the train wound its way through all manner of landscapes on the 1 600km journey, but the desert was the most striking view, while stops in Kimberley and Matjiesfontein allow a closer look at the finer details of this unique terrain.

rovos.com



Kagga Kamma

For those who relish sleeping under the sky, there's possibly no better sky to choose from — and a superlative experience is on offer, with open-air suites that bring exceptional comfort to the outdoors.

kaggakamma.co.za



The Lord Milner Hotel

If you're looking for the classic Karoo accommodation, you've come to the right place. In the perfectly preserved village of Matjiesfontein, this heritage hotel has played host to generations of travellers: why not be next to enjoy the gorgeously updated rooms and fresh approach to hospitality?

matjiesfontein.com/collections/accommodation



Daniëlskraal

For time spent unwinding with families and friends, there's little substitute for sharing a farmhouse with the free reign of a beautiful garden and refreshing pool. A cool veranda provides the ideal respite from the heat, and the ideal spot for sundowners spent enjoying the spectacular colours of the Karoo sky.

danielskraalfarm.co.za | [@danielskraalfarm](https://www.instagram.com/danielskraalfarm)

You deserve a break

Daycations, staycations and short breaks with big appeal

If you've got a full schedule this season or feel like you need a holiday after your holiday, treat yourself to a quick escape that makes up for lost time.

Those looking to spend some time by the sea this summer will want to try POD, a boutique hotel commanding views of the beaches below while a modern and refined interior design keeps guests at ease. Looking to splash out? Rooms with personal heated plunge pools are also available.

In the heart of Camps Bay's buzzing beachfront is The Marly, an acclaimed hotel renowned for its five-star fittings and fantastic views. Thanks to recent expansions, there are 38 suites on offer, complemented by a rooftop pool, lounge, and bar overlooking the beach.

To complete the seaside experience, you'll want to make a booking at

Salsify, the newest collaboration of renowned chefs Ryan Cole and Luke-Dale Roberts. The tasting menu is the ideal way to soak up this duo's utterly fresh take on seafood, while the wine list is short and simple with rare gems sure to please the connoisseur in any crowd.

In Durban, the ideal retreat for local and visitors alike is The Oyster Box Hotel, with its iconic lighthouse views and offerings ranging from a spa and hammam (Turkish bath) to arguably the best high tea in the country. Take a day trip or make it part of an excursion that involves exploring more of what the city has to offer.

Looking for a city escape? New hotels that have sprung up this year in the Cape Town CBD include Labotessa, Gorgeous George and Dorp Hotel, while for classic opulence it's hard

to beat The Belmond Mount Nelson. The pink-hued walls have become synonymous with excellence and this summer, their spa is an especially worthwhile consideration thanks to the Summer Bliss package that includes lunch at the Oasis Restaurant and access to the venue's pool, which is normally reserved for guests.

With modern design spread across a verdant garden, The Peech was for a private residence for 40 years prior to the hotel opening in 2004 and becoming one of Joburg's best-loved places to stay.

Among the other boutique spots putting their unique spin on Jozi's heritage are The Munro and The Bristol, both sights for sore eyes as well as places to lay your weary head after a day spent drinking and dining — as all vacations should be.



WANDER LIST

When in Durban...

...Stay at:

The Oyster Box Hotel
oysterboxhotel.com

Audacia Manor Boutique Hotel
audaciahotel.com
[Quarters Hotel quarters.co.za](http://QuartersHotelquarters.co.za)

...Drink and dine at:

The Fat Goat
facebook.com/pg/thefatgoatvillage

Spiga D'Oro
spiga.co.za

Dough Girl
[@doughgirlza](https://www.instagram.com/doughgirlza)

Dukkah
dukkah.co.za

Lupa Osteria
lupa.co.za



WANDER LIST

When in Joburg...

... Stay at:

Bristol Hotel Rosebank
homesuitehotels.com

The Houghton Hotel
lhw.com/hotel/Houghton-Johannesburg-South-Africa

The Crowne Plaza
ihg.com/crowneplaza/hotels/us/en/johannesburg/jnbrb

The Peech
thepeech.co.za

The Munro
munrohotel.co.za

... Dine at:

La Bouqueria
laboqueria.co.za

CHE Argentine Grill
cheargentinegrill.co.za

La Stalla
[@lastallajhb](https://www.instagram.com/lastallajhb)

Don Armando Illovo
mastrantonio.com/don-armando-illovo

Koloňaki
kolonaki.co.za



WANDER LIST

When in Cape Town...

... Stay at:

Labotessa
labotessa.com

Dorp Hotel
dorp.co.za

POD
pod.co.za

The Marly Boutique Hotel
themarly.co.za

Belmond Mount Nelson Hotel
belmond.com/mountnelson

...dine and drink at:

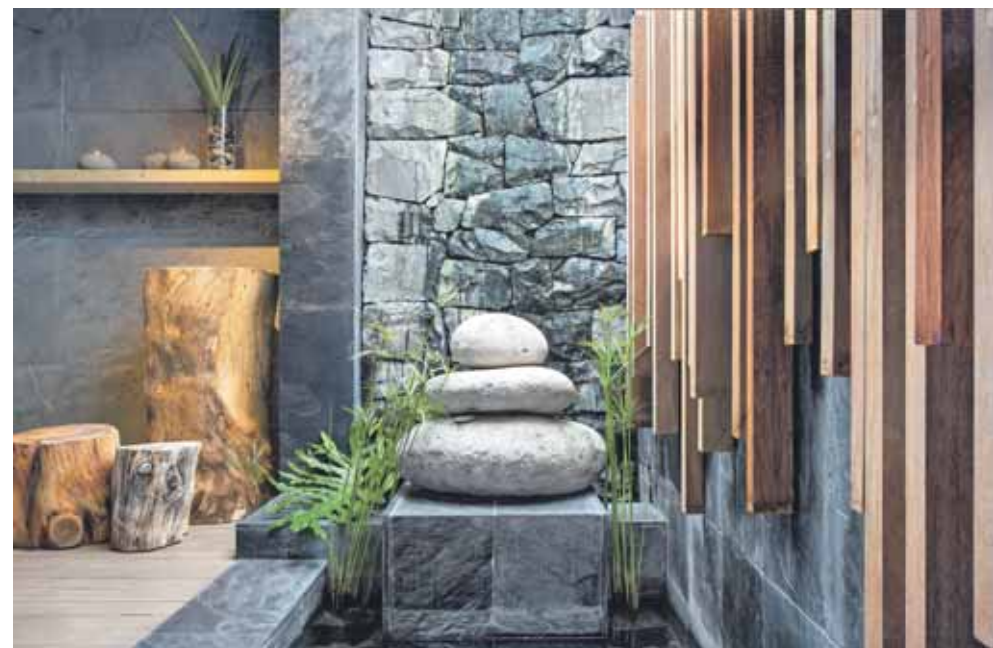
Riverine Rabbit
riverinerabbit.com

Gorgeous George
gorgeousgeorge.co.za

Salsify
salsify.co.za

Burrata
burrata.co.za

Tamboerswinkel
tamboerswinkel.com



Escape to our sanctuary

Mangwanani[®]
African Spa
SINCE 2002



Mangwanani African Spa, since 2002, has been a beloved spa brand in South Africa. Mangwanani is an award-winning spa, with recent awards including the Best of Destination South Africa 2020 – wellness, that declared Mangwanani as the perfect wellness facility for the discerning traveller, and the Best Luxury Beauty & Wellness Spa - South Africa awarded by LUXLife. With numerous branches countrywide, Mangwanani marries Western and African treatments and expertise, treating its visitors to a truly relaxing and rejuvenating African experience.

Mangwanani's highly qualified therapists offer the best of massages both at its 'traditional spas' as well as at boutique spas and kids spas. The key branch, River Valley, nestles in the Hennops River valley, within the Schurveberg Mountain range, en route to Hartebeespoort Dam. Here guests can experience the appealing combination of true African nurturing tradition in a setting of serene ambiance. Guests are offered the best of both worlds – nature and culture merge amidst the African bush: stress fades by application of our decadent revitalization spa packages. The Pivot branch, amongst others in Gauteng, is popular with South African celebrities. The Pivot branch is in Fourways, in Montecasino – a sanctuary within the city. In addition, there are several boutique spas at a number of hotels. There is the 5-star Palazzo Montecasino, the Royal Elephant Hotel and Conference Centre in Centurion, and Birchwood Hotel in Boksburg. In KwaZulu-Natal, the popular Sibaya branch is set in uMhlanga, within an authentic Zulu village, affording breath-taking views of the Indian Ocean. Other branches in the area are located at the iconic Beverly Hills, the Southern Sun Elangeni & Maharani, Jozini Tiger Lodge, as well as at the tourist hotspot – uShaka, in Durban. In the Western Cape, the newly refurbished Winelands Spa is situated between Stellenbosch and Kuilsrivier. This beautiful spa overlooks its own boutique vineyard and gives views of the Stellenbosch mountain range. There is also a branch at the premier Southern Sun, The Cullinan Hotel in Cape Town. The Eastern Cape, houses their popular branch at the Wild Coast Sun.

Popular packages include the African Revitalization Full Day Spa package. This package includes a traditional hot-stone massage, an African Royal foot-and-hand massage, and a choice of body treatments, such as a body scrub, or body-brushing exfoliation, facials, or relaxation treatments. There is also the magical Moonlight Night Spa, which is ideal for rekindling romance, or, for instance, as a girls' night out. These packages, and others, include more than therapeutic massages therapies: they also offer indulgences such as a welcoming glass of bubbly, meals, beverages, and delicious desserts. At all the boutique spas, individual treatments are available. Here you may experience the popular full-body massage with hot stones, the Korean Scrub, which is the best exfoliating treatment for skin renewal. Manicures and pedicures use quality nail brands such as Morgan Taylor, and Gelish.

Visit the Mangwanani Spa website to discover more about Mangwanani, including its kids spas, nomadic spas, and its exclusive body and bath products.
www.mangwanani.co.za. Central Reservations 0878 09 0055, info@mangwanani.co.za






PRESENT TENSE

SO MUCH TO GIVE

Can a \$1-million giveaway build a more honest internet?

Numerai, a Silicon Valley hedge fund born from some of the brightest South African minds, is making a name for itself with a business model that prioritises collaboration over competition. Now, they're giving away \$1-million to anyone building applications on their new protocol, Erasure, a radical system designed to bring accountability to the internet. We speak to Natasha-Jade Chandler, a producer at Numerai and one of a team South African ex-pats making an impact in this star-studded San Francisco company.



James Nash: Numerai is built, to a certain extent, around the ideal of democratising financial data and the skills involved with its analysis. What role do developing countries such as South Africa have to play?

Natasha-Jade Chandler: Numerai is the world's first hedge fund to give away all its data for free by cleaning and regularising financial data and then using cutting-edge, structure-preserving encryption to allow anyone in the world to make predictions using said data, without ever knowing the finer details. Anonymous data scientists from around the world participate in a weekly data science tournament, modelling the data and submitting predictions. They have to stake, essentially placing a bet, on their submissions as an indicator of confidence. This aligns incentives and encourages rational behaviour. The submissions are graded, with the best submissions being rewarded while the stakes on bad submissions are burned — or deleted, in the cryptocurrency equivalent to seeing paper money go up in flames.

To a certain degree, Numerai's tournament is akin to a math problem: It doesn't matter where you are in the world or what your background, language or profession might be, you just need to be able to model data — a skill that's rapidly gaining marketability and value in real-world instances outside of finance. As internet access becomes more widespread, more people can contribute

in real-time to global market efficiency, all while making themselves some extra cash and practising this critical 21st century skillset.

JN: You've offered a \$1-million "giveaway" for those building on your brand new Erasure platform. How does Numerai feel that this gift will help to create a foundation for the future of finance and the internet as a whole?

NC: The grant program is our way of testing the extent of Erasure's potential. Erasure expands on an idea we first tested out at Numerai. With the introduction of staking and grieving, which is when someone burns your stake, we drastically improved the submissions we receive from our data scientists, which got us thinking: what if you could stake on the quality of something you're selling on Gumtree and the buyer could destroy some of that stake if you were lying? What if you shopped for secondhand goods online by seller reputation, printed immutably on the blockchain? If you had to stake on your Tinder dates, the instances of catfishing (creating false social media identities) would dramatically drop.

The internet is full of unmanaged information right now. There's a world of fake news on Facebook and Twitter and no real way to punish the distributors of misinformation.

The concepts of staking and grieving and their ability to show a public tracking record of performance and behaviour

Numerai's mission and mechanics are explained in videos using retro motifs and abstract designs, as seen in these stills



Numerai's beautifully animated videos explain complex mechanics and concepts with enviable ease, using retro motifs and abstract designs

presents a revolutionary form of accountability.

Although Numerai cares first and foremost about performing as a hedge fund, we also care about improving the web as we know it today. We'd love to see more incentive alignment, rational acting, and recourse against bad actors. Although not everything needs a blockchain, the web could do well with some of the functions the technology has made possible.

JN: How can people get started learning new skills and making money on Numerai or even apply for a grant to build on Erasure?

NC: Anyone can build a model using

the provided example Python and R scripts on our website, which you can use to start learning to model data. As you gain skill, you'll build a reputation and claim your place on the leaderboard. Once you're confident in your predictions, you can stake on your model to earn cryptocurrency.

Our grant program was created to incentivise people to build on the platform, even if they're creating very simple applications on the blockchain or building tools to bring staking and grieving to existing applications like Tinder or Gumtree. All applicants need to do is email grants@numer.ai with a simple specification, development time, team and anticipated build cost.



Five delicious fresh coffees made easier with the new Philips 3200 Series fully automatic espresso machine

Featuring LatteGo, the fastest to clean milk system ever

JOHANNESBURG, SOUTH AFRICA – Royal Philips (NYSE: PHG, AEX: PHIA), a global leader in health technology, introduces the innovative Philips 3200 Series fully automatic espresso machine, delivering five delicious coffees, each at your fingertips. Whether you crave an espresso, coffee or a latte macchiato, enjoy your favourite coffee from the comfort of your own home.

“At Philips, we understand coffee plays an important role in your life and we want to enrich your life by bringing you the fresh coffee you love, easily. Designed with your lifestyle in mind, whether you’re rushed or relaxed, alone or together, the Philips 3200 Series fully automatic espresso machine allows you to make coffees at home in a way that’s refreshingly hassle-free,” says Lucy Jones, Marketing Director, Philips Africa.

Customized to your taste

The Philips 3200 Series fully automatic espresso machine allows you to create five delicious coffees, including latte macchiato, cappuccino, coffee, espresso, and americano. Its unique intuitive-touch display enables you to select your favourite coffee, effortlessly. With ‘My Coffee Choice’ you can easily adjust the aroma strength and length of any coffee you brew.

The easy-to-use LatteGo milk system, the fastest to clean milk system ever, adds a splash-free, creamy layer of milk froth to your cup at the optimum temperature. With only two parts and no tubes, the LatteGo can be easily disassembled and rinsed clean under the tap in as little as 15 seconds. This makes it the fastest to clean milk system ever. For extra convenience, the LatteGo milk system is dishwasher safe.

High-quality coffee from fresh beans

By coupling fresh beans (ground and whole) with milk and pure water, you can always enjoy fresh homemade coffee from the best ingredients. Thanks to its durable ceramic grinders, the Philips 3200 Series allows you to enjoy 20,000 cups of the finest coffee. To preserve the coffee beans, the aroma seal, which is located on the bean container, ensures that the beans maintain their original state over time.



The unique Aroma extract system helps to ensure that your coffee is always brewed at the perfect temperature, cup after cup. The innovative system strikes the optimum balance between the brewing temperature and aroma extraction by keeping the water temperature between 90°C and 98°C, while regulating the water flow rate.

Effortless use and cleaning for everyday enjoyment

With the patented Philips AquaClean water filter, cleaning and maintaining the Philips 3200 Series is easy. The AquaClean water filter uses a special filtration process to help ensure that you make the most out of your fully automatic espresso machine. The filter’s unique technology also slows down limescale build-up. Replacing the filter at the machine’s request gives you the pleasure of a fresh cup of coffee every day, without the need to descale your machine, for up to 5,000 cups.

Furthermore, the internal brewing group is fully removable and you can rinse it clean regularly under the tap.

So surprisingly easy and unforgettably smooth. Your favorite coffee, effortlessly, from preparation to clean-up with the new Philips 3200 Series fully automatic espresso machine. Available at Hirsch’s, Makro, Expert, Takealot and Yuppiechef.

About Royal Philips

Royal Philips (NYSE: PHG, AEX: PHIA) is a leading health technology company focused on improving people’s health and enabling better outcomes across the health continuum from healthy living and prevention, to diagnosis, treatment and home care. Philips leverages advanced technology and deep clinical and consumer insights to deliver integrated solutions. Headquartered in the Netherlands, the company is a leader in diagnostic imaging, image-guided therapy, patient monitoring and health informatics, as well as in consumer health and home care. Philips’ health technology portfolio generated 2017 sales of EUR 17.8 billion and employs approximately 77,000 employees with sales and services in more than 100 countries. News about Philips can be found at <http://www.philips.com/newscenter>.



- 4WKS | 4wks.coffee
 *Apartment. | aptaptapt.co
 A Ring to It | aringtoit.co.za
 Afari | afari.com
 Antonij Rupert Wyne | rupertwines.com
 Avoova | avoova.com
 Belvedere | belvederevodka.com
 Billabong sunglasses | swindle.com
 Dom Pérignon | domperignon.com
 The Duchess | drinktheduchess.com
 FIELDS | fieldsstore.com
 Glenmorangie | glenmorangie.com
 Giuseppina | pina.jewels@gmail.com
 Good Good Good | goodgoodgood.co.za
 House of Gozdawa | margotmolyneux.com
 Jonathan Ball Publishers | jonathanball.co.za
 Le Creuset | lecreuset.co.za
 Margot Molyneux | margotmolyneux.com
 Maylee | orphanstreetclothingshop.com
 Meuble Fine Furniture | meuble.store
 Moët & Chandon | moet.com
 Old Khaki | oldkhaki.co.za
 Penguin Random House | penguinrandomhouse.co.za
 Poetry | poetrystores.co.za
 Project Dyad | projectdyad.com
 Quivertree Publications | quivertreepublications.com
 Rich Mnisi | richmnisi.com
 Roku Gin | suntory.co.jp/wnb/rokgin/
 The Sundowner Society | sundownersociety.com
 Sealand Gear | sealandgear.com
 SKOON. | skoonskin.co.za
 Sol-Sol | orphanstreetclothingshop.com
 Springfield Estate | springfieldestate.com
 Sugarbird Gin | sugarbirdgin.com
 Sun Camino | suncaminorum.com
 Veuve Cliquot | veuvecliquot.com



All prices and contact details are correct at time of going to print, and every effort has been made to ensure correct contact information.



THE PREMIUMISATION OF A LIFESTYLE

In days gone by, owning a stove, refrigerator, radio or TV was seen as a form of status signalling. However today, with technological advances, manufacturing ingenuity and globalisation, these items have become ubiquitous. What happened? Essentially, the process of commoditisation has lowered the prices of such goods to the point where the level of quality is standard, which then makes price the key differentiator.

Premiumisation lies at the other end of the spectrum and while it may not be new, what has changed is the motivation behind consumers' purchasing decisions. With its beginnings traced back to alcoholic drinks in the 1970s, premiumisation would historically be referred to as "trading-up" and seen as luxury. However, following a multitude of production and manufacturing advancements, we can now refer to terms such as "masstige" (i.e. mass market prestige or mass personalisation), the exact opposite of commoditisation. Premiumisation, though, is not just about personalisation, and can also focus on a product's rarity, its ingredients, the level of service associated with the product, its reliability and durability, etc. These we would consider traditional premium attributes.

Importantly, consumers and their shifting preferences are playing a vital role in the shift towards premiumisation. From a desire for status, quality, brand affinity, environmental consciousness and superior style, to the subtleties of the demographic shifts from Baby Boomers to Gen-X to Millennials to Gen-Z and their respective purchasing habits, consumers are driving premiumisation across a variety of products and services. Those who can afford better, want better, and if they cannot afford better, then they will prioritise for better.

Arguably, the greatest tailwind for premiumisation demand is changing population dynamics. Not only has global population growth increased exponentially over the last century, but poverty has also declined substantially. In fact, as recent as 2018, we reached the tipping point where, for the first time, over half of the world's population were estimated to have enough discretionary expenditure to be considered middle class. This is noteworthy as the middle class essentially drives demand in the global economy, accounting for two-thirds of global household consumption.

According to the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), the middle class is expected to grow to 5.3 billion by 2030, accounting for 63.5% of the world population. It is therefore abundantly clear why businesses are making it a key priority to capture the middle-class segment of the global population.

Intuitively, the bulk of this middle class growth is expected to come from the youngest (by population age) and fastest growing economies. Unsurprisingly,

these economies are found across emerging markets such as China, India and Indonesia, with average ages of 37, 27 and 30 years respectively, accounting for 40% of the global population. As these large and young populations age, their personal expenditures ultimately change, causing major shifts in global consumer spending patterns.

CORE PREMIUM ATTRIBUTES

Essentially, when consumers make a premium purchase, they are prioritising some aspect of the item over the price. While value is certainly important, it is not measured in pure monetary terms. More specifically, attributes that are worth paying up for, and which manufacturers should focus on, tend to be more experiential in nature:

- High quality/safety standards
- Superior function and performance
- Organic and/or all natural ingredients
- Environmentally friendly/sustainable materials
- Unique feature (often intellectually protected)
- Socially responsible
- Single source of origin

In short, today's consumers are increasingly purchasing for both rational and emotional reasons.

RIDING THE WAVE

Premiumisation as an investment opportunity is borne and driven by the evolution of a multitude of factors. We live in a more populous, prosperous but flatter and closer world. Consumption patterns are shifting from developed to emerging countries and from physical to digital locations. In addition, our preferences have changed. Businesses operating in the current environment must be dynamic and flexible in order to shift with the times. Gone are the days of product differentiation by price alone. A much stronger and closer relationship with the consumer is required, ideally one that is ongoing, underpinned by product support and evolution. For investors, premiumisation offers the best of both worlds - defensive qualities underpinned by middle class demand and growth, as new markets, new products and new consumers are capitalised.



Sameer Singh, Research Analyst at
Old Mutual Wealth Private Client Securities

PRESENT TENSE

More money guidance from local experts

Niq Mhlongo

Black Tax: Burden or Ubuntu?

Jonathan Ball

Palesa Longolo

Stokvels: How They can Make Your Money Work for You

Penguin Random House

Anthea Gardner

Make Your Money Work for You: Start Big, Think Small

Jonathan Ball

Warren Ingram

Become Your own Financial Advisor

Penguin Random House

Sam Beckbessinger

*Manage Your Money Like a F*cking Grown-up*

Jonathan Ball

Thobelani Maphumulo

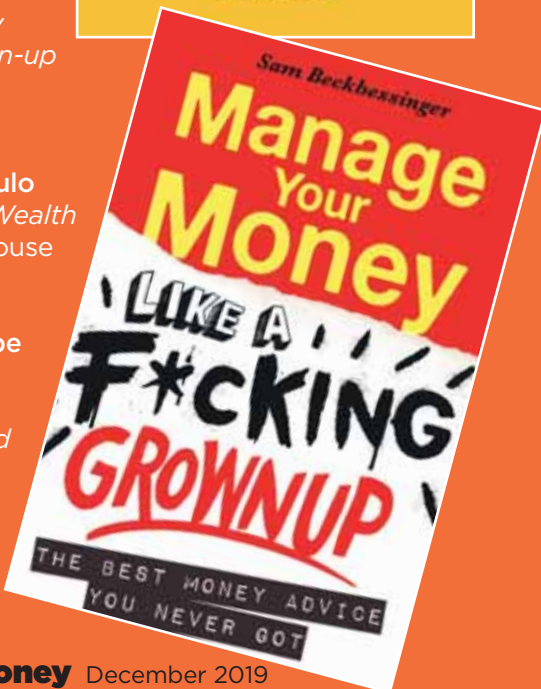
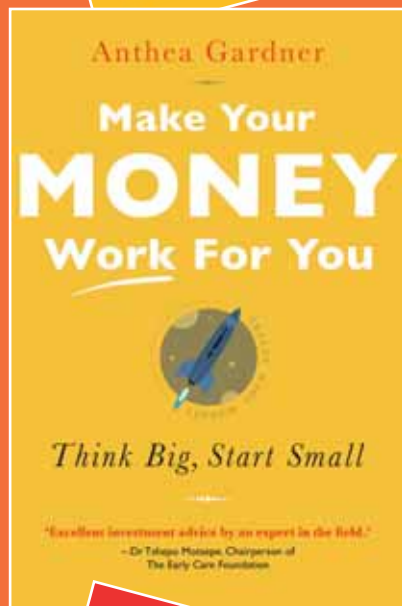
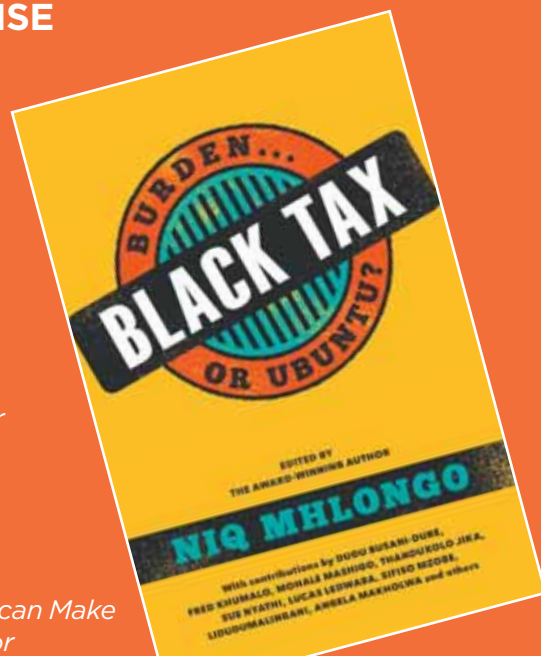
Invest your Way to Wealth

Penguin Random House

Karabo Che Makoape

The 7 Things Every Young Black Entrepreneur Should Know

Penguin Random House



Plan, shop and be merry

Most of us spend like there's no tomorrow over the festive weeks. We asked the experts how you can enjoy a plentiful holiday season and still survive January

Who hasn't stretched the budget over the festive season and lived to regret it? We asked local female finance authors how to celebrate in style — without the stress.

Have a plan

"In the festive hype, it's easy to lose control of costs," says Palesa Longolo, author of *Stokvels: How They can Make Your Money Work for You*. "So a detailed budget to stick to is vital for surviving this season financially. Remember December income is also for January costs. It's not going to be December forever, so think of long term finances too."

Shop the sales - but strategically

Once you've got your budget in place and know what you've got to spend on gifts, entertainment or holiday outfits, you can safely enjoy festive sales. Sure, they're there to promote more spending, but if you know what you're after and what they usually cost, you'll be okay snapping up discounted snacks and drinks or a three-for-two offer on items that can be gifts for your child's teacher, the office Secret Santa, and the auntie who has everything.

Give yourself pocket money

"If you're an impulse spender, try keeping your day-to-day spending money in a separate bank account (or as cash), and topping it up every Monday," says Sam Beckbessinger, author of *Manage Your Money Like a F*cking Grown-up*. "It's much easier to manage a week's worth of money than a month's."

Take some initiative in social plans

If you're spending the season with friends and family whose financial lives vary greatly, you'll save everyone stress by making some suggestions for low-cost activities that everybody can enjoy. You can plan a pretty lavish picnic

for the same price as an average restaurant meal, and bringing and sharing means that you can buy larger portions that cost less. Find out about free events in your city to make for a more interesting festive season.

Learn to say 'no'

This is a tough one for social butterflies and people-pleasers, but the fact is that you can't attend every festive event if you want to save your money and your sanity. Stick to those events that you absolutely have to attend — such as work functions — and those that you feel genuinely excited about, then practise your most polite: "Sorry, I can't make it."

Make more money

"Many of us are never taught how to negotiate for a better salary, especially women," says Beckbessinger. If you're feeling stretched this season, resolve to know your worth, and ask accordingly in the new year. "Margaret Neale has some excellent videos on the topic that you can find online, for free. If that's not an option, it might be time to start a side hustle."

Have an emergency fund

This advice holds true all year round, but especially so over the silly season: if you possibly can, you should put aside some money for unexpected expenses. The best part? If no emergencies arise, you can use it for whatever brings you joy in January, even if that's reinvesting it for 2020's festive frivolity.

Use time off to plan an abundant year

"Give yourself the gift of financial literacy this festive season," suggests Anthea Gardner, author of *Make Your Money Work for You: Start Big, Think Small*. "Start by understanding the power of compounding: you'll never look at saving and investing in the same way again."

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