

The *real* state of the nation

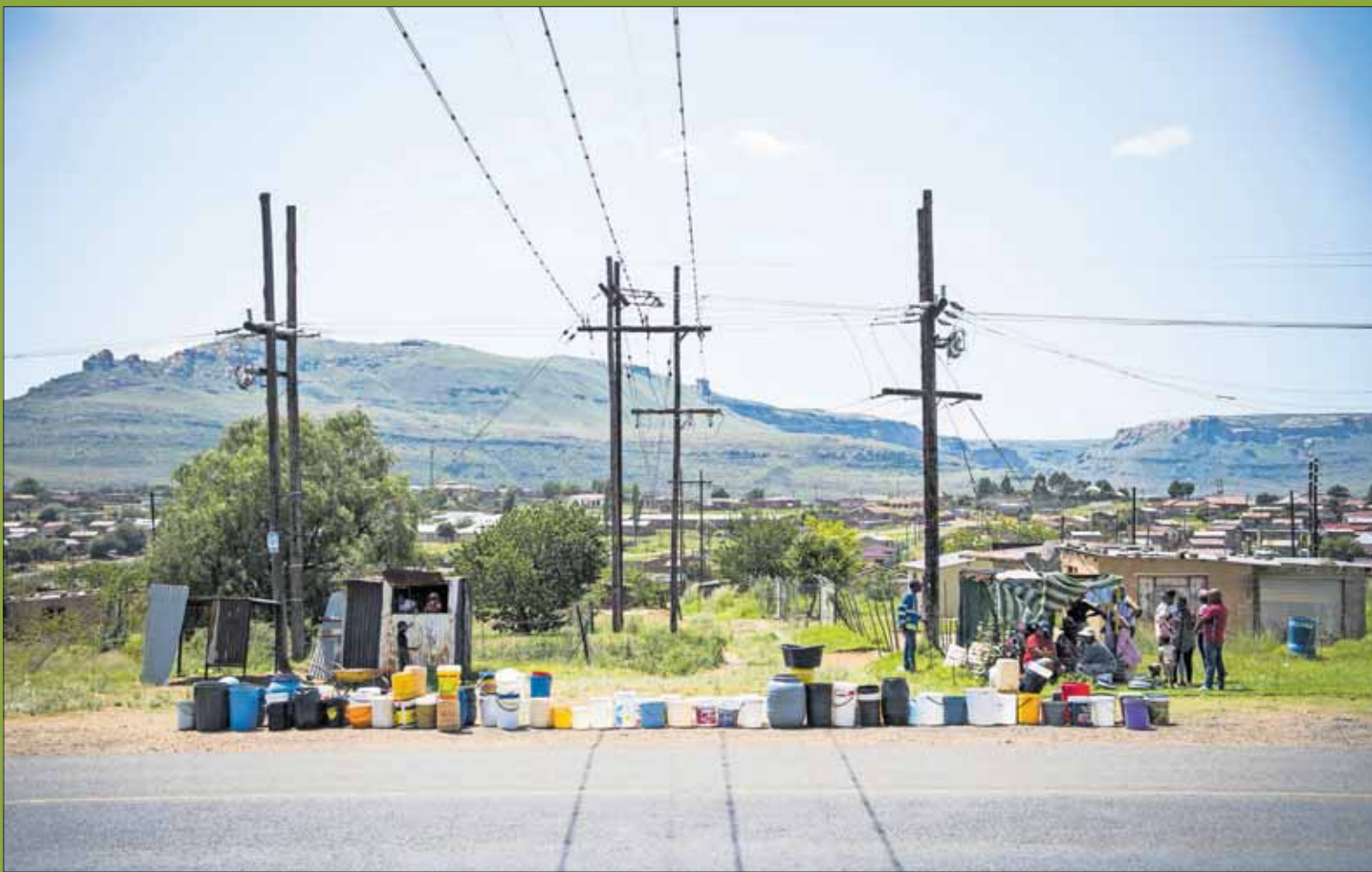


PHOTO: DELWYN VERASAMY

All but 18 municipalities have failed, hundreds of billions of rands are lost, promises have turned to lies and desperate communities have turned to the courts

- The cost of water: Sex with a water carrier or endanger a child
- How high court officials stole millions from deceased estates

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Zuma was not going to make it to court anyway

Page 2

Public protector's powers on trial

Page 12



A welcome boost of youth for the Proteas

Sport



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412 ppm
 As of December 2019 this is the latest level of carbon dioxide in the atmosphere. A safe number is 350 while 450 is catastrophic
 Data source: NASA

Apply to be our climate fellow

The climate crisis is driven by humans and it is already breaking down the ecosystems that we rely on for survival. It is both the biggest story of this century and also one largely overlooked by the media. We tend to report when there is a big event, such as international climate negotiations or destructive cyclones.

Our problem is that the crisis comes at a time when media are dealing with its own crisis. The internet meant most media outlets decided to chase clicks: quantity, and attention-grabbing cat videos, over quality. They essentially decided to disrespect their audience. Now they are desperate to grab attention by investing in (important) political and investigative reporting. But everything else — health, education, environment, arts — suffers as a result.

The *Mail & Guardian* is no different in having made mistakes. But we are trying to change this. That's why this column and the graphic with carbon concentrations is the first thing you see in the newspaper. It's why we lead with articles about the environment and the intertwined climate crisis, as well as education, mining and other social justice problems.

To help the change, we have partnered with the Eugene Saldanha Memorial Fund, a project of CAF Southern Africa, to create a climate reporting fellowship. This will give someone a year-long chance to enter the journalism industry.

Search "The *M&G* is hiring a climate fellow" to read the advert and information on requirements and how to apply.

Based at the *M&G* newsroom in Johannesburg, this role will prioritise reporting on communities that are not in the media spotlight. The climate crisis is a complex story but at its core is a tale of social injustice and power. Across our print and digital platforms, the *M&G* seeks to hold power to account and investigate the status quo. Our starting position is that the world and this country, in particular, in their current form perpetuate abuses of power that manifest themselves in environmental problems ranging from mines polluting rivers to power plants releasing the carbon that drives global heating.

I started this job as a trainee reporter. The *M&G* newsroom is one where people share ideas and challenge each other, with the expectation that any reporter and any story can lead and drive the national news agenda. Apply. Or share the link. — *Sipho Kings*

News

Riddle of Zuma's sick note

SANDF officials considered launching a probe into the 'doctored' certificate

Thanduxolo Jika

Former president Jacob Zuma's questionable medical certificate has raised sufficient concern within the South African National Defence Force (SANDF) to prompt the possibility of an investigation into the document.

The doctor's note, presented to the Pietermaritzburg high court by Zuma's lawyers this week, was deemed to be insufficient proof of the former head of state being indisposed.

Among the concerns raised by Judge Dhaya Pillay were its vague nature and the fact that dates appeared to have been altered, without a corresponding signature from the issuing doctor.

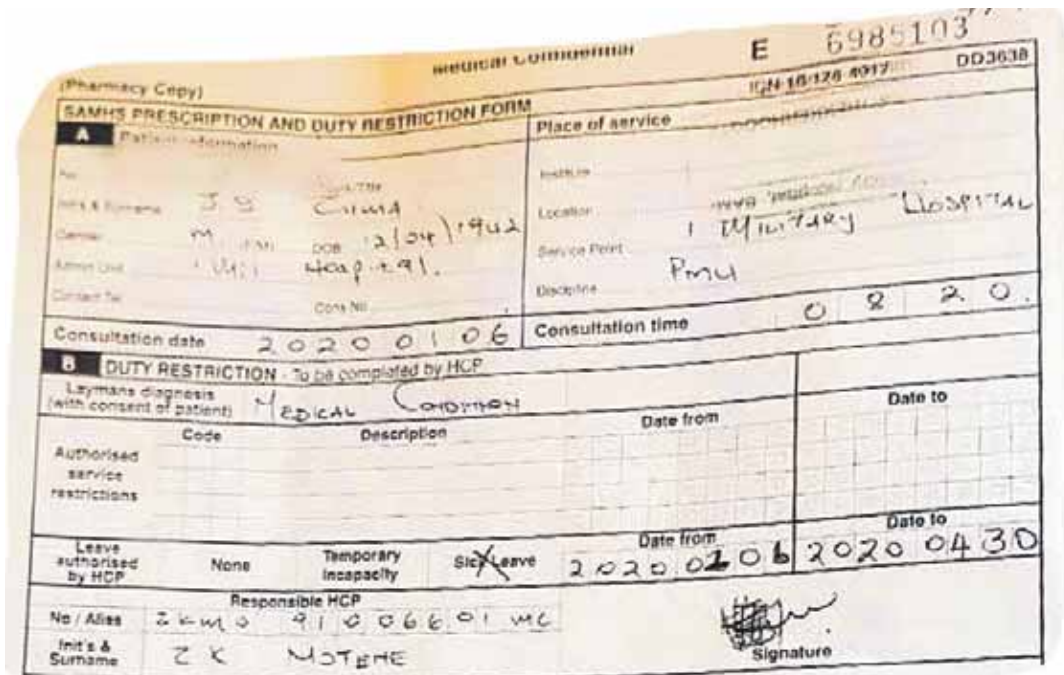
The certificate listed Zuma's diagnosis as a "medical condition" and did not provide further detail. The date had been changed to January 6, but was not initialled by the doctor who issued it.

Although Zuma's lawyer, Daniel Mantsha, told the court that Zuma had undergone two surgical procedures on January 7 and 9 and could not travel on January 23, when he was supposedly meant to go to Cuba, the *Mail & Guardian* can reveal that the former president's travel date of January 27 was finalised as far back as the second week of January and was not a last-minute decision.

"During the week of January [7] president Zuma underwent two surgeries and given his age and the fact that he didn't recover much quicker ... that affected the time of departure on the 23rd of January ... He eventually travelled on the 27th of January," Mantsha told the court.

The timing of Zuma's travel dates to Cuba, with him departing on January 27, would have left him with roughly four days to undergo his medical treatment and recuperate before travelling back to South Africa. On this schedule, Zuma would have been hard pressed to attend court on February 4.

Mantsha had not responded to requests for comment about when the presurgery assessment was conducted, by which anaesthetist,



Doctored document? Zuma's medical certificate, which was presented to the Pietermaritzburg high court on Tuesday when he was due to appear on corruption charges, has allegedly been altered

and who had cleared Zuma to fly after two surgeries.

Sources have told *M&G* that Zuma has been in Pretoria — with his fourth wife Bongki Ngema-Zuma — since he left Nkandla in the first week of January after spending Christmas with his family at the homestead. He has not been to Nkandla or to Durban — where his third wife, Thobeka Madiba-Zuma, lives — since then. He flew out of the country on January 27 and was only expected to return in March.

It was reported in *Sunday World* that the two are now estranged after claims that Madiba-Zuma had taken some of Zuma's sim cards without his permission.

It is understood that Zuma told those close to him that he had been poisoned again. It is unclear who he blamed for this. Zuma has openly spoken about his alleged poisoning previously. In 2017 he was quoted as saying that he had been poisoned three times by someone close to him.

"I was poisoned and almost died just because South Africa joined Brics [the Brazil, India, China, Russia, South Africa bloc] under my leadership. They said I was going to destroy the country."

The *M&G* has now established from different sources in the government that the SANDF had been considering an investigation into the sick note handed in to the court during the week, but that it

was called off at the highest level because it was felt that the matter was before the courts.

As a former president, Zuma is treated by the South African Military Health Services (SAMHS).

At the centre of the concern in the corridors at SANDF is that the sick note, which was signed off by Dr Zakes Motene — who is assigned to Zuma as his doctor — could be a forged document because the dates appeared to have been altered.

A government official who is aware of the concerns said: "The sick note is the one that we use at defence. The problem is that there are dates which were changed there and that is what the investigation would have focused on. But those that are in power said this should be dealt with by lawyers who are already at court."

The *M&G* has also confirmed that Motene was part of the SANDF team that accompanied Zuma late last year when he went for medical treatment in Cuba, leaving him unable to attend the Zondo commission of inquiry.

Zuma was in Cuba in early December last year — travelling with a personal assistant and doctor. He travelled back to South Africa on December 8 via Paris on a commercial flight. He landed in the French capital on the morning of December 8 and was received by the South African diplomatic

office, after which he was checked into a hotel where he spent a few hours to refresh before boarding an 11pm flight for Johannesburg.

"As a doctor he [Motene] has a right to travel with his patient and also issue a sick note," said another source in government with knowledge of the SANDF's medical practices. "It is normal that the Cuban doctors would tell the former president's doctor that he will be booked off for a certain period and, as the president's doctor, he can issue a sick note. In this instance, this note doesn't look genuine and it was definitely altered or forged."

Another government source said: "Dr Motene is part of the team that sees to the medical needs of the former president ... SAMHS will be responsible for any diagnosis and treatment required by [Zuma]. They would also make the referral to any other medical facility, should the treatment required not be available at a military medical facility."

The source said that the medical certificate appeared to be a legitimate SAMHS document, multiple copies of which would have been generated in terms of military protocol. "All military documents would be duplicated, with copies retained by the issuing medical officer; the institution from which it was issued and pharmacy services." — *Additional reporting by Paddy Harper*

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NUMBERS OF THE WEEK

520 000 TURKEY
 The number of people — mainly women and children — who have fled the war-torn Idlib province in Syria since December 1. This is one of the largest exoduses since the conflict started in 2011

17 Jacob Zuma
 The number of years Jacob Gedleyihlekisa Zuma has been fighting not to have his day in court. This week he evaded his corruption court case again with an allegedly dubious doctor's note

5 407 The number of volunteers who joined the HVTN 702-Uhambo HIV vaccine efficacy study. During the unsuccessful vaccine trials, 252 South Africans contracted the HIV virus

R3-billion
 The amount of money Patricia de Lille denies her public works department owes Eskom, saying the figure is wrong

9585.5%
 Venezuela's inflation at the end of 2019, a sharp fall from 130 060% in 2018, the country's central bank said on Tuesday

Patricia de Lille

Graphic: JOHN McCANN
 Compiled by: ATHANDIWE SABA

The real state of the nation

SIU raids master of high court

Officials assisting with deceased estates, trusts, and protecting minors allegedly siphon off funds

Sabelo Skiti & Chris Gilili

Bina Masuku, the deputy master at the high court in Mbombela, Mpumalanga, has been in jail since November last year. She was arrested for stealing R1.7-million from people seeking help with deceased estates.

Masuku, who has worked for the justice department for 15 years, cannot get bail because she was found to have fraudulently obtained South African citizenship. She was also found to have falsified her qualifications, passing herself off as an advocate.

Among the eight victims who fell prey to Masuku and her husband Pule Kgosiemang are the wife and two children of Elias Ngcongwane. The family lost more than R540 000 in death benefits in 2015 after Masuku introduced them to Kgosiemang, saying he was an attorney and would help them register the estate. She then abused her authority by handing Kgosiemang executor powers, which enabled him to siphon money from the trust.

In another instance, which forms part of four charges in a departmental disciplinary process against her, Masuku was accused of handing executorship over Mbombela resident Corrine Musgrove's estate to a person (whose name is known to the *Mail & Guardian*), who then stole R705 666.60 from Musgrove's beneficiaries.

Masuku's case is one of many involving the master of the high court offices, which saw the Special Investigating Unit (SIU) raid all 15 offices in the country on Monday.

The raid, involving 87 investigators, was co-ordinated to take place

at the same time at all 15 offices. It also saw Justice and Constitutional Development Minister Ronald Lamola shut the masters' offices and order all officers away for two days.

This allowed the SIU to take specific desktops and laptops it had identified as necessary for the investigation, which will have far-reaching implications for the master's branch in the department of justice.

The branch assists with the administration of deceased estates, liquidations, registration of trusts, the appointment of curators and the administration of the Guardian's Fund, which looks after minors and legally incapacitated people, as well as beneficiaries of pension funds and deceased estates who can't be traced.

The numerous complaints about these offices include maladministration, allegations of corruption and other malfeasance. These include the destruction or theft of 45 000 files at the master in Pretoria, as well as problems at the high court in Cape Town, which has backlogs in processing the registration of trusts.

In the Mthatha master's office in the Eastern Cape, there is apparently little compliance oversight on millions of rands in trusts emanating from medico-legal and Road Accident Fund litigation. It's alleged that attorneys, instructed by the court to open trusts for their clients, deposit part of the money awarded to their clients and pocket the rest.

Lamola's spokesperson Crispin Phiri said he was not in a position to comment on individuals, save to say the investigation would address numerous complaints brought to the ministry. "The issue of the deputy master in Nelspruit in particular has called into question the administrative process in the master's office."



Clean-up: After Justice Minister Ronald Lamola closed all 15 of the masters' offices on Monday, the Special Investigating Unit investigators moved in and worked through the night. Photo: David Harrison

A proclamation signed by President Cyril Ramaphosa on January 30 empowers the SIU to investigate the master of the high court regarding:

- Maladministration in the administration of deceased estates, winding up of insolvent estates and the protection and administration of the funds of minors;

- Losses or prejudice suffered by the master's offices or the state as a result of maladministration;

- Unauthorised, irregular or fruitless and wasteful expenditure in respect to travel, subsistence and accommodation costs for officials;

- Irregular appointment of officials at the office;

- Interference by senior officials in pending disciplinary matters against officials or a failure to institute disciplinary proceedings;

- Procurement of contract cleaning services and payments made in respect of those contracts; and

- Payment of salaries to ghost employees in the office.

The investigation will cover the period from January 1 2014 until January 30 2020.

SIU spokesperson Kaizer Kganyago said: "Our teams were there and worked throughout the night and were done by yesterday [Tuesday]. What will happen next is that they will mirror the hard drives and begin the process of going through what is in there. After that we will see if there are any other documents we need."

Since assuming office last year, Lamola has been inundated with complaints against acting chief mas-

ter Theresia Bezuidenhout, who is accused of meddling in disciplinary cases to protect deputy masters — including Masuku — and officials she favours.

Bezuidenhout is the subject of an investigation into misconduct and irregular expenditure involving the master in Kimberley, Craig Davids. Documents show that the department incurred travel and accommodation costs so that Davids could travel to Mbombela to represent an employee accused of gross negligence and prejudicing the administration of the department.

This was related to the employee having issued a letter of authority to an ex-wife, giving her power over her former husband's estate when the man had a five-year-old child who should have been a beneficiary.

Davids referred all queries to Bezuidenhout's office.

The *M&G* has also seen payment stubs that show Bezuidenhout's branch paid in excess of R1.3-million to accommodate a personal assistant who travelled between KwaZulu-Natal to Johannesburg from March 2017 to September 2019. The payments to Travel With Flair show the employee stayed at the Tsogo Sun 39 times at a cost of R1.1-million, flights cost R86 309 and R55 089 was paid for car hire and transfers.

Bezuidenhout said she could not comment on the allegations because they will form part of her responses to the SIU.

Another set of documents — statements that are part of a criminal investigation into the office of the

master by the police's organised crime unit and then the Hawks — detail allegations of fraud and corruption dating back to 2013.

A source with intimate knowledge of the investigation said Ramaphosa was approached, through Luthuli House, to have the SIU do a consolidated investigation.

"The president has given the SIU a year to get the investigations out of the way even though the trials will likely take years to conclude," the source said. "The focus will be people in the office as well as high-profile private liquidators."

A former employee of the high court in Pretoria alleges in a statement made in relation to the police investigation: "I received information during June 2013 from two liquidators relating to alleged fraud and corruption by [name withheld] and others. I am in possession of a number of emails and other types of communication in this regard."

The whistleblower also said one of the informants, Erly Bester, was "found dead" on July 15 2013, just four days after he cancelled a follow-up meeting. Bester says in the letter he sent to the whistleblower that he had received death threats and was scared.

Another former employee in the office of the master said giving evidence regarding alleged fraud and corruption implicating senior officials led to them being removed from the office's panel of liquidators.

Chris Gilili is an Open Society Foundation fellow



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The real state of the nation

Impossible choices in QwaQwa:

A broken municipality and a four-year crisis forces residents to consider desperate choices, such as trading sex for water

Bongekile Macupe

Every drop of water counts in QwaQwa. So when the *Mail & Guardian* visited the area this week and saw buckets lined up outside people's doors to collect rainwater it was not an unusual sight.

The people of QwaQwa in the Maluti-a-Phofung municipality in the Free State have been experiencing a water crisis since 2016. The taps finally ran dry in October.

At the heart of the crisis is ageing water infrastructure, according to an April 2019 report by the department of co-operative governance and traditional affairs following a visit to that area by the then minister, Zweli Mkhize.

The situation is exacerbated by political instability in the municipality, maladministration, poor delivery of services, high levels of corruption, poor financial management and a R4-billion debt owed to Eskom. Last year the municipality's chief financial officer and expenditure manager were arrested for fraud and corruption amounting to R4.6-million in a security tender.

The auditor general has not presented glowing reviews of the cash-strapped municipality, which was put under administration in 2018. In its 2017-2018 Consolidated General Report on the Local Government



Audit Outcomes, the municipality was flagged as one of nine out of 23 municipalities whose audits had not been finalised by the cut-off date.

The report said this was because of late or nonsubmission of financial statements, among other factors.

This municipal failure manifests itself in other ways besides water

shortages. In the central business district of Phuthaditjhaba — the main town in the area — roads are pockmarked with potholes and heaps of rubbish lie everywhere. In the suburbs, people have to make their own arrangements to discard waste.

For two weeks in January,



Not a drop to drink: Residents in QwaQwa have not had water in their taps since October. Many have to walk long distances and stand in queues to purchase water from a water truck — if they can afford it. Those people with money have purchased Jojo tanks (left) to collect rainwater. According to a government report, ageing water infrastructure and political instability in the municipality are to blame. Photos: Delwyn Verasamy

QwaQwa residents, fed up with not having water, took to the streets. Those protests and the lack of water meant learners attended only three days of school in January. Some residents home-schooled their children. But for others who did not have the capacity, this meant that children were left idle.

They went back to school on Monday. But schools rely on water tanks and this has compromised the hygiene in school toilets. Learners have to get water from the tanks to flush the toilets. When there isn't water, going to the toilet becomes unpleasant.

Parents are also worried about the health of their children if they have to use unhygienic toilets. One local told the *M&G*: "My seven-year-

old granddaughter came back from school one day without having eaten her lunch. She told me that she had gone to the toilet and was so disgusted by the faeces in the toilet that she could not eat. Imagine that."

Locals also said that some schools ask learners to bring water to school. Another resident said: "I don't trust the water from the Jojo tank. Do you know that someone can pour poison inside a Jojo tank and all our kids would die at school."

Residents who have the means buy water to drink. Those with cars fetch water from neighbouring towns, which they use for cooking, flushing toilets and other chores.

Other residents and businesses have resorted to buying water tanks for their homes. Selling those tanks is a booming business.

Embattled Limpopo municipality fails residents — again

The Sekhukhune District Municipality, plagued by allegations of corruption involving irregular expenditure, does not have the money to provide water to all its residents.

This is according to the municipality's spokesperson, Moloko Moloto, who told the *Mail & Guardian* on Tuesday that ideally they would hire service providers to send water tankers to the villages in Flag Boshielo West not receiving water.

He said this is what is holding the municipality back from complying with a 2017 court order compelling it to provide its residents with a lifeline as it seeks a permanent solution to its water crisis.

Moloto spoke to the *M&G* outside the Pretoria high court, where the latest round in the battle to get the municipality to supply water to five villages — Elandskraal, Morarela, Mbuzini, Dichoeng and Tsantsabela — played out.

The municipality has been in and out of court for almost five years over the matter.

At the centre of the standoff has been municipal manager Norah Maseko, who was suspended last year over an irregular contract for a R67-million sanitation project.

But now, with Maseko out of the picture, residents want her successor to be arrested for vio-

lating the 2017 court order.

The court battle was the first step in an effort by residents, represented by the Centre for Applied Legal Studies (CALS), to find acting municipal manager Mpho Mofokeng in contempt of court.

In November, the municipality was issued a contempt order after two years of what lawyers described as its "egregious" failure to comply with the 2017 order. Mofokeng was not included in the contempt order because he had only been in the acting position for two months.

In an affidavit to the court, Mofokeng says that upon taking up office he had become "swamped and overloaded" trying to familiarise himself with his duties.

But since the contempt order, the municipality's failure to perform its duties has persisted, CALS attorney Ariella Scher notes in an affidavit.

According to Scher, there was no water sent to Mbuzini for two weeks last month and a number of water tankers have stood empty, in some instances for weeks on end, in Elandskraal, Morarela and Tsantsabela.

In her affidavit Scher says the municipality has demonstrated "flagrant disregard" of the court order, adding that the "behaviour of the municipality will continue" if tougher sanctions are not applied.

Moloto conceded that its provision of water to the villages is "not at the satisfactory level", but denied that its officials were deliberately neglectful.

The municipality has recently encountered "a little bit of instability", he added. "So it's not as if we have these accounting officers who are saying: 'We are simply going to ignore that [the court order].'"

Since his appointment, Mofokeng has been tasked with dealing with allegations of corruption and maladministration by municipality officials.

In 2018, R5.4-million destined to pay a service provider was paid to individuals instead and last year the municipality discovered that it was missing R12-million. The money — a compensation fund contribution — had reportedly been transferred to the wrong account.

More recently, the municipality revealed that it is investigating how officials paid R4.4-million to a service provider which was only meant to be paid half that amount. According to Moloto, Mofokeng has been instructed to take disciplinary action against "all those officials who are implicated" in the double payment.

Moloto added: "Obviously any money that belongs to the public has a particular purpose that it

serves. A large part of this money indeed was supposed to be paid to service providers ... but keep in mind that even the R12-million was not going to address the water situation in our district. Surely we require way more than that."

Meanwhile, the municipality continues to lose money by keeping Maseko on the payroll.

Moloto told the *M&G* that to relieve the economic burden of paying Maseko's salary, the council is considering a proposal to "part ways" with the suspended municipal manager.

He pointed out, however, that when the municipal council suspended Maseko, "they did not say there was corruption".

Moloto said the council is in the process of "overhauling" the entire system, but "the executive leadership isn't in the position that we want".

But Scher says Flag Boshielo West residents are not prepared to sit tight until the municipality gets its act together.

"Our clients can't be expected to wait an indefinite amount of time for ... a new incumbent [municipal manager] to be recruited before protecting their rights — under the Constitution and the various court orders — to access clean and safe drinking water." — Sarah Smit

Another lucrative business is owning a truck and selling water to businesses and residents who own tanks. Filling a Jojo tank from a water truck costs R350 for 1000 litres and R800 for 5000 litres. If people could buy water directly from the municipality, they would pay about R350 for 20000 litres of water.

For people who don't have that much money, or access to water tanks, life becomes about waiting for the municipal water trucks. In Letshalemaduke village, the last time the water trucks visited was on January 2.

On Tuesday morning, a truck carrying 7500 litres of water arrived. But this was not enough. By the time the *M&G* reached the group of mostly women waiting for the truck, the water was finished and those who had not managed to fill their buckets and containers with water were left dejected.

"Ausi, life is hard here. What must we do now? The water is finished and this Jojo is going back and will not come back again," said a visibly frustrated woman.

"They have not delivered water since 2 January and when they do come, they come with little water. Why are we being treated like this, mara?"

The only option for those who did not receive water is to fetch it from a river or buy from one of the small bakkies that drive around selling water. A 20 litre container costs anything from R7 to R10.

What it takes to get water



The women do not work. Most of them survive on their children's social grants and it is from this R420 a month that they now also have to budget money to buy water.

"I have taken my child out of creche because the money I paid to the creche for his school fees now has to

buy water. Do you see how bad this situation is, mara ausi?"

Another woman said: "My child has to suffer and not get an education because we have to get water."

About 5km from the first group of women — still in Letshalemaduke

— another group of mostly young women line up their buckets and containers waiting for a truck to deliver water.

It was 11.30am when the *M&G* came across this group. They had been waiting since 8am.

"When you see me here, ausi, I

have not even cleaned my house. I rushed here thinking that maybe today a Jojo will come so we can get water," said one woman.

The women told the *M&G* that the last time the water truck came to their area was on December 16. On January 4, residents forced a water truck to stop and managed to get water.

The women were joined by their small children while they waited. The children had composed a song and chanted "Jojo, Jojo, Jojo" in anticipation of a water truck's arrival.

"I stay with my sickly, elderly parents who defecate on themselves and this means I have to do their washing everyday. But how can I do that without water?" asked another woman.

These women said they are now scared of fetching water from the river or sending their children there to collect it. This is after an eight-year-old girl drowned while fetching water from a river recently.

The women said their lives have been hell since not having water. Their situation is compounded by the fact that they are poor and cannot afford to buy water.

"We might as well prostitute ourselves to the men driving the Jojo

trucks to get water because, honestly, we cannot live like this," said a young woman.

She is serious. She told the *M&G* about rumours that the men who drive the water trucks say the reason why people in her part of the village are not receiving water is the women do not want to give their phone numbers to them.

"Other women are clearly giving out their numbers and that is why their areas maybe do get water. We must sleep with these men then."

These are the calculations that people in QwaQwa are forced to make.

But it does not have to get to this if the government sticks to the intervention plans it has for the area.

During the January protests, Water and Sanitation Minister Lindiwe Sisulu visited the area and, among other interventions, she promised that 5 000 water tanks would be provided within seven days to ensure that all households have a tank.

She also promised that the department would investigate new technology that can assist with mitigating the water problems in the province.

But, on Monday no water tanks arrived. Instead, five water trucks were delivered to the municipal offices.

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The real state of the nation

Sisulu and the bucket toilet stink

The minister has joined a long line of politicians and ministers promising to eradicate bucket toilets and then failing to deliver

Athandiwe Saba

Under every president after Nelson Mandela there has been a promise that bucket toilets would be relegated to the past. These promises have never been fulfilled.

More than 12 000 homes in South Africa still use bucket toilets, and days can go by without them being cleaned.

The latest person to make this promise was Human Settlements, Water and Sanitation Minister Lindiwe Sisulu. She told *City Press* in June: "We will eradicate this bucket system. Give us time. Come to us in six months and ask us about the bucket system." More than seven months have passed since then.

Joleen Steyn Kotze, a senior research specialist in democracy, governance, and service delivery at the Human Sciences Research Council, said bucket toilets are a human rights issue, because using them strips people of their dignity.

In 2006, former president Thabo Mbeki was the first to say that bucket toilets would be eradicated — by 2007. The same call was made by the ANC in the build-up to the local elections that year.

The deadline was missed.

A year later, former president

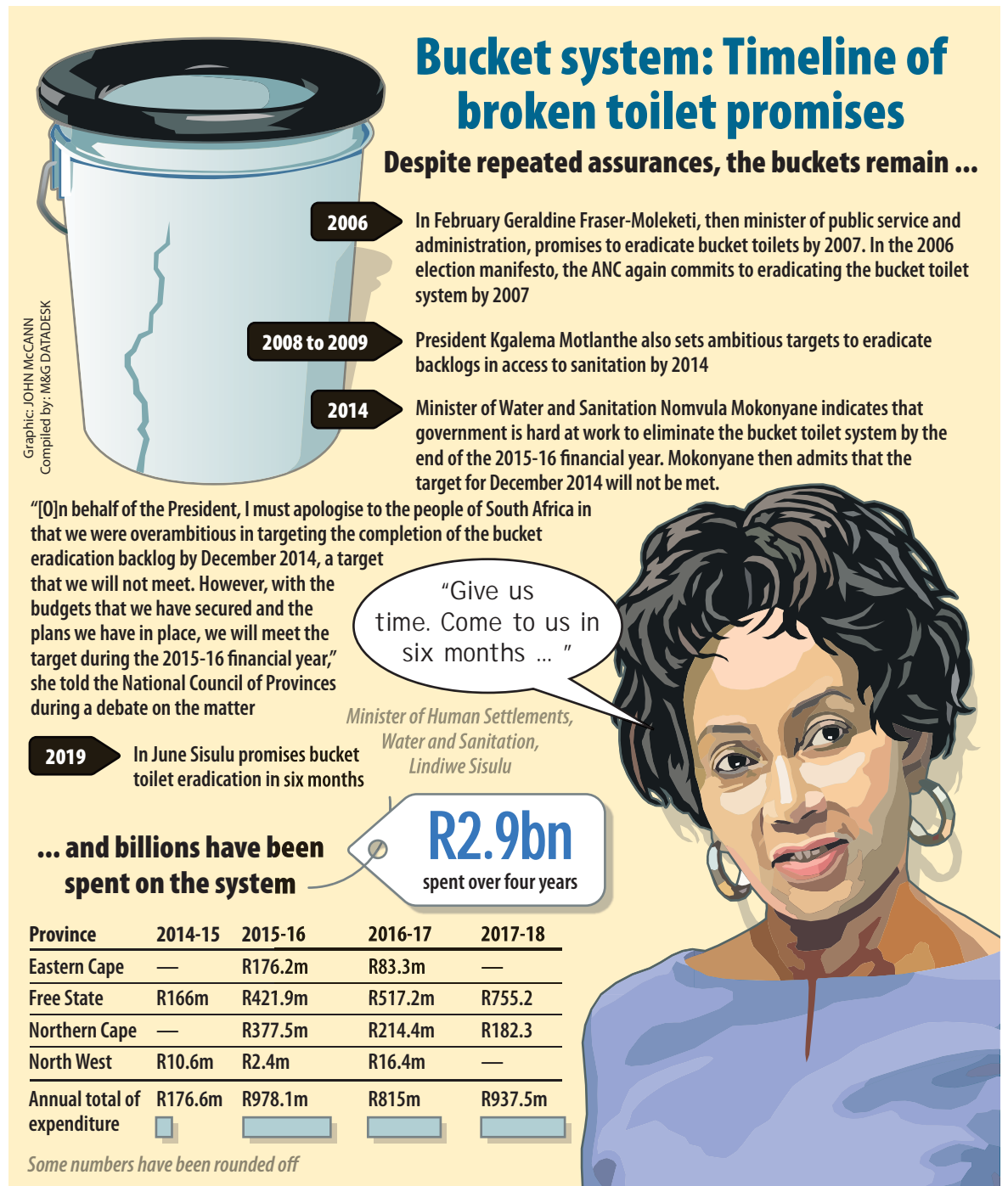
Kgalema Motlanthe also set an ambitious target — to eradicate the backlogs in providing people with improved sanitation by 2014, including the eradication of bucket toilets. His statement in the presidential annual report of 2008-2009 was straightforward and unambiguous. By 2014 there were still an estimated 85 718 bucket toilets and, since then, almost R3-billion has been spent to replace them.

Kotze said: "There is a moral responsibility to ensure the bucket system is eradicated. The bigger issue is how politicians govern. There is a culture of lack of accountability where politicians [who] fail to meet their targets or execute their duties somehow get off scot-free without them being held accountable for their failures."

She added that until that "culture of a lack of accountability" is addressed, those people living in inhumane conditions — such as having to use bucket toilets — are going to continue doing so.

Water and sanitation spokesperson Sputnik Ratau said: "A combination of factors has resulted in the minister missing the deadline she set, including tenders that were not finalised on time."

But it is unclear whether there are more bucket toilets being built or not. Answering questions, Ratau said: "There are no new Bucket Toilets



being built ... this refers to the system in the formal areas," said Ratau.

But later he says: "The target is a moving target as municipalities continue to provide households with bucket toilets as a form of sanitation."

In 2018, Ratau told the *M&G* that the department had identified dry toilets, costing R11 500 each, and waterborne sanitation, at R15 000 a toilet, as the solution.

He said there were more than

52 000 bucket toilets in formal areas. The majority of these backlogs were in the Eastern Cape, Free State, Northern Cape and North West provinces. But now, most of these toilets have been eradicated, he said.

Data provided by the department in 2018 showed that almost R3-billion had been spent on eradicating the bucket system in the four provinces with the biggest backlogs.

In its annual performance plan

for 2019-2020, the department said it needed another R2.3-billion to get rid of bucket sanitation systems in formal settlements and reach out to about 30 978 rural households with sanitation backlogs.

As has been tradition, the department has set another deadline that toilets will be completed in the Northern Cape by the end of April 2020 whilst the Free State Projects will be completed by August 2020.

Council officials must explain wastage or pay up

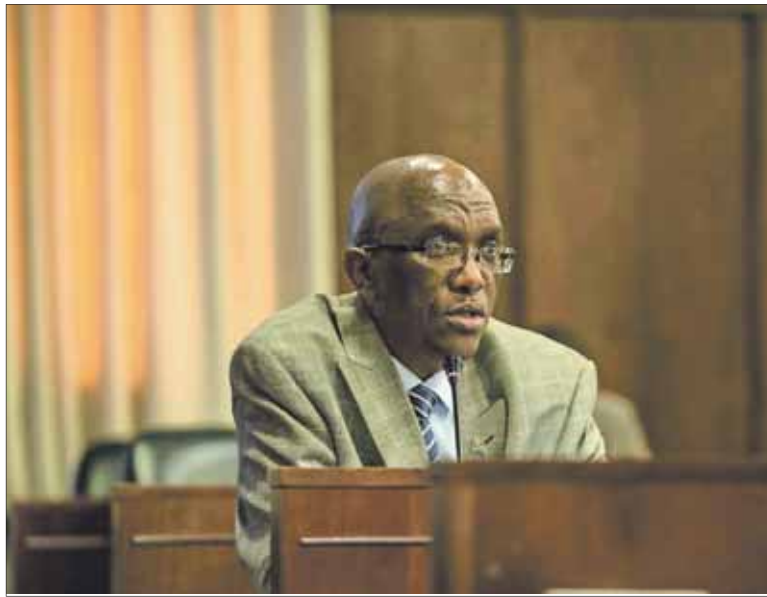
Thando Maeko

Auditor General (AG) Kimi Makwetu's extended powers will soon be used to hold municipal managers and chief financial officers of local councils personally liable for irregular expenditure that cannot be explained away.

Makwetu told the *Mail & Guardian* in an interview on the sidelines of the Public Sector Forum held in Johannesburg this week that his office plans to use the Public Audit Amendment Act to audit the financial statements of an initial 10 municipalities across the country for any instances of "material irregularities". These are municipalities that have been identified for their history of fruitless and wasteful expenditure, he said.

The Act, which was signed into law by President Cyril Ramaphosa last year, gives the AG real teeth. Before this, auditors could report evidence of irregular expenditure but that information would often go nowhere. Now, municipal managers and accounting officers can be held responsible for theft or wasting money.

But first they need to audit the 10



Bold moves: Auditor General Kimi Makwetu will target offenders at municipalities. Photo: David Harrison

municipalities to "test how the provisions [of the Act] would work", Makwetu said.

The last full municipal audit, for 2017-2018, showed that unauthorised, irregular, fruitless and wasteful expenditure at municipalities has reached R122-billion. Only 18

out of South Africa's 257 municipalities received clean audits. This was down from the 33 municipalities that received clean audits in the previous financial year.

Makwetu said the statistics show a "deterioration in the general governance environment". Under the new

powers, where there is evidence that preventative controls were not put in place, or that corruption occurred, auditors can demand that those responsible recover "an appropriate portion of the financial loss".

"It's also about going down to the individual levels of accountability," Makwetu said, adding that although departments are governed by the Public Finance Management Act, there is "no one who has bothered to check what the law requires them to do".

If there is any evidence of material irregularities, auditors from the AG's office are required to write to the accounting officer asking them to explain the financial loss or fraudulent activity. If there is a financial loss that has been identified — and the accounting officer is not in a position to explain or recover that loss — then the auditor has to hand the evidence to an investigating agency such as the Hawks or the Special Investigating Unit.

Makwetu said a decision is then made on "who needs to be held accountable".

Sixteen provincial and national government departments have been audited since the new Act came

into effect. Makwetu said the auditors have already found about 60 instances of material irregularities. This year, the AG will audit the finances of an additional 89 provincial and national departments as well as state enterprises.

To do more, auditors also have to be trained to become forensic investigators which allows them to dig deeper.

But this is dangerous work — death threats have already been received by auditors who have discovered evidence of financial mismanagement. Makwetu said the threats usually come in the form of anonymous letters once the auditors have searched extensively "into the closet" and officials become rattled.

Local law enforcement is now being told when auditors are in the area, so they are ready to respond to any threats or problems. Auditors also hide where they are staying.

The idea of bodyguards wouldn't work, said Makwetu: "You can't afford auditors running around with bodyguards otherwise it will make the audit system scary."

Thando Maeko is an Adamella Trust Business Fellow at the Mail & Guardian

SCATEC SOLAR SOCIO-ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT PARTNER SEARCH



Scatec Solar
Improving our future™



Scatec Solar is an integrated, independent solar power producer, delivering affordable, rapidly deployable and sustainable clean energy worldwide. As a long-term player, Scatec Solar develops, builds, owns, operates and maintains solar power plants, and has an installation track record of more than 1.3GW. The company has a total of 1.9GW in operation and under construction in emerging economies on four continents, namely: Honduras, Argentina, Brazil, Jordan, Malaysia, Vietnam, Ukraine, Egypt, South Africa, Rwanda and Mozambique.

With an established global presence and a significant project pipeline, the company is targeting a capacity of 4.5GW in operation and under construction by the end of 2021. Scatec Solar is headquartered in Oslo, Norway. To learn more, visit www.scatecsolar.com.

In South Africa, solar power plants are governed by the Renewable Energy Independent Power Producers Procurement Programme (REIPPPP), which requires independent power producers (IPPs) to contribute not only affordable, clean energy to the renewable energy mix, but also to the economic development of the communities near the power plants. This is undertaken at Scatec Solar through the vehicles of community and district trusts, as well as socioeconomic development (SED) and enterprise development (EnD) funds, calculated and made available quarterly as a percentage of income.

For Scatec Solar, sustainability is core to the company values and hence the Sustainability team takes a long-term, strategic approach to the socio-economic and enterprise development mentioned above. Scatec Solar is also one of ten South African private sector companies participating in the UN Global Compact Voluntary National Review of contributions to the UN Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs). This commitment is reflected in the 20-year Integrated Community Development Strategy of which the themes are education, youth development, local economy, well-being, and community visioning. The trusts, SED and EnD funds are spent on programmes under each of these themes.

The five themes of Scatec Solar's Integrated Community Development Strategy

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Early childhood development • Infrastructure • Primary education • Secondary education • Research Chair for post graduate studies in renewable energy 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Positive and health recreation options • Responsible youth and future leaders • Skills development and access to work opportunities • Internships 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Local import substitution • Local enterprise and supplier development • Enhancing local export potential • Enhancing employability 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Supporting fetal alcohol spectrum disorders initiatives • Self defence classes and women support groups • First 1 000 days of a child's life • Nutrition • Physically health population 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Facilitating local stakeholder engagement forums • Local capacity building • Increasing social cohesion and creating local leaders • Promoting agency
Education	Youth development	Local economy	Well-being	Community visioning

Early Childhood Development (ECD) Support

The selected service provider should be able to assist Scatec Solar in achieving the following objectives:

- To create a strong pipeline of qualified ECD practitioners through assessment and accredited training;
- To increase access to quality ECD opportunities, services and equipment through both centre-based and non-centre-based programmes;
- To strengthen the capacity of caregivers and community members to be actively involved in the stimulation of young children;
- To actively facilitate the transition from ECD to primary school; and
- To explore potential synergies with other strategic themes — for example, food gardens.

Youth Development Programmes

The selected service provider will be able to assist Scatec Solar in achieving the following objectives:

- To develop a well-rounded youth leadership capacity in our host communities;
- Increase youth wellness (physical and mental) through regular, scheduled, structured and supervised activities where learning and development opportunities take place. These programmes may occur before or after school, weekends, or during seasonal breaks; and
- To increase access to youth-focused opportunities and nurturing a sense of agency. This should be through comprehensive, defined skills development programmes targeted at specific job opportunities. Synergies should also be explored with internship opportunities in Scatec Solar as well as other organisations.

While Scatec does have an integrated development approach, the company recognises that there may be additional service providers in the market, offering advancements to its current service offering. The 20-Year Strategy requires an integrated programme offering that is cutting edge, alive, dynamic and incorporating the latest approaches.

Request for Expressions of Interest

To scope additional and attractive development projects, programmes, and other related services in the following areas:

- Youth Development Programmes
- Early Childhood Development Programmes
- Teacher Assistant Development Programme (Mathematics & Literacy)
- SMME Loan Administration Service

Scatec Solar welcomes proposals from individuals, companies, and nongovernmental organisations that can add significant value to Scatec Solar's current portfolio of socioeconomic development. This might be through a well-conceptualised and implemented single programme, or a package of programmes under one of the themes above — alternatively, through organisations that offer programmes straddling a number of strategic themes. Even though the Wellbeing and Community Visioning themes are not being evaluated at this stage, expressions of interest in this regard are welcome for increased awareness of services being offered, should these themes be evaluated later.

The following areas will be prioritised, for all of these initiatives:

- Petrusville, Philipstown and Hanover in the Northern Cape;
- Burgersdorp in the Eastern Cape; and
- Uppington in the Northern Cape (Dawid Kruiper and Kai! Garib municipalities)

SMME Loan Administration Service

One of the avenues for high impact is the appropriate support to and development of local entrepreneurs as pillars of local economic development. A key component of SMMEs' ability to grow and prosper is the ability to obtain funding. This is particularly relevant for entrepreneurs requiring micro-loans; there are limited options that are SMME-focused.

The preferred service provider will be able to assist Scatec Solar in achieving the following objectives:

- To evaluate the SMMEs that are applying for a loan to Scatec Solar in order to determine their eligibility by means of an appropriate due diligence process co-developed with Scatec Solar.
- To identify and communicate areas of concern related to the repayment of any loan to Scatec Solar during the application process as well as during repayment.
- To have the requisite administrative capacity, qualifications and certification to fully administer all loans provided to SMMEs and invoice Scatec Solar accordingly, timeously and accurately.
- To share the Scatec Solar vision of bringing about enhancement in SMMEs' capacity, their ability to attract business, their turnover and profitability, and, very importantly, their ability to create jobs — through small business loan provision.

Teacher Assistant Development Programme (Mathematics and Literacy)

The selected service provider will be able to assist Scatec Solar in achieving the following objectives:

- Well-trained and committed educators and assistants;
- Improved access to learning materials and resources;
- A stable pipeline of teachers who can implement improved pedagogical teaching methods;
- A platform for educators within schools and across schools to share ideas, knowledge and lessons learnt; and
- Improved learner outcomes in mathematics and literacy in the foundation phase as a result, as well as a more successful transition to the intermediate phase.

Service providers are invited to respond to as many RFIs contained in the advertisement as they desire. Scatec Solar reserves the right not to award this contract, in whole or in part. Please contact the Scatec Solar Sustainability Department at sustainabilitysouthafrica@scatecsolar.com for a full Request for Expressions of Interest and any further information. Proposal deadline: Monday February 10 2020 at 12pm.

The real state of the nation

ANC agrees to discuss more seats in Western Cape

Lester Kiewit

The ANC in the Western Cape has agreed, in principle, to discuss a move to call for the increase in the number of seats for elected public representatives.

Following an interim provincial leadership committee meeting last weekend, the party said it is willing to discuss the matter, and raise it with the party's national leadership.

The proposal was first mooted by the Democratic Alliance in 2019.

The legislature currently has 42 seats, a number it has had since 1994. The 1996 National Census indicates that the provincial population at that time was about 3.9-million people.

Since then, the province has seen a population explosion, largely brought on by the migration of people from other provinces. According to the latest statistics, the province has a population of about six mil-

lion people. Some politicians say it's now necessary to increase the number of seats to reflect the increase in population.

The ANC's caucus leader in the legislature, Cameron Dugmore, said an increase in population means the oversight work of government functions, as well as the responsibilities of Members of the Provincial Legislature (MPLs) to interact with constituents, has intensified.

"In the last administration the DA raised this matter and they are now raising it again. It is true that the population in the province has grown since the initial decision of about 42 seats were made, placing greater pressure on MPLs," he said.

But Dugmore said more economically prudent measures could be used to lighten the load for over-worked MPLs.

"The current financial environment facing our country needs to be considered. There also needs to be

a specific discussion on supporting current MPLs with greater research capacity.

"The ANC interim provincial committee has resolved that the matter be discussed and that we also engage our national leadership. This we will do before making a final decision on the matter," Dugmore said.

The head of government business in the legislature, Human Settlements MEC Bonginkosi Madikizela, has welcomed the ANC's willingness to debate the issue.

He said the province has seen a mass migration of people from other parts of the country and believes it should be allocated more seats in Parliament to represent the growing number of Western Cape residents.

"We are now talking about a population of more than six million people. And the tragedy is that part of the problem is because of in-migra-

tion from other provinces because of what is happening there. And it is unfair to the Western Cape because the capacity of MPLs to serve constituencies is stretched too thin to do their parliamentary work."

Madikizela said the proposed increase in seats is not just to give more politicians jobs, but because there is a need for the legislature to hear the views of more citizens.

"When you are a constituency head serving 100 000 people, it is completely different serving 200 000 people. It's about the quality [of the interactions]. We are a Parliament for the people and the decisions that we make must be based on the views of the people on the ground."

He said increasing the number of seats in the provincial legislature would require a constitutional amendment, a process that shouldn't be taken lightly.

"Ideally we should have about 60 MPLs. But, given our financial posi-

tion, the proposal was that there be about 52 or 54."

This would mean the Constitution has to be amended each time the population grows by about three million people, so leaving the number at 60 now would be good for 20 more years of growth, he said.

The MEC said the provincial government has already started cutting costs when it comes to the benefits and perks for provincial Cabinet members to mitigate arguments that an enlarged legislature is unaffordable.

Madikizela said more seats in the provincial legislature would also mean smaller political parties would be better represented.

Currently, seven political parties are represented in the Western Cape: the Democratic Alliance, ANC, Economic Freedom Fighters, Good, African Christian Democratic Party, Freedom Front Plus and Al Jama-ah.

Changes to mining Act need work

Proposed amendments to the legislation mandate meaningful consultation with communities but critics say there are loopholes

Sarah Smit

Years of fighting by South African mining communities have shaped the changes to the Mineral and Petroleum Resources Development Act.

But civic organisations say the recently released amendments need some work if these communities are to finally be heard.

In his speech to delegates at the 26th annual Mining Indaba in Cape Town this week, Mineral Resources Minister Gwede Mantashe said that mining companies "must take seriously the communities on whose land they mine".

The subject of community land rights has been a mainstay of Mantashe's time as minister, as his department inched closer towards finalising the draft amendments to the Mineral and Petroleum Resources Development Act.

The Act — which came into force in 2004 and vests all mineral rights in the state — governs who gets to mine.

But in recent years litigation has exposed how the Act, in its initial form, has failed to address the tension between land rights and the rights of companies to mine that land.

In two court battles — over the informal land rights of the Bakgatla community in the North West and a community in Xolobeni in the Eastern Cape — judges found that the Act does not trump the rights of communities to decide what should happen to their land.

Although civic organisations have pointed out that the amendments to the Mineral and Petroleum Resources Development Act are a step in the right direction — in that they clarify what it means to meaningfully

Licence to exploit: A decade of fights over who has the say on mines

2010

August: Environmentalists serve an application to controversial mining house Coal of Africa, as well as the then minister of mineral resources, Susan Shabangu, to stop activities at a proposed coal mine near Mapungubwe in an attempt to limit environmental damage.

Shabangu announces a six-month moratorium on new prospecting applications amid a full audit of all mineral rights granted since 2004.

2011

April: Shabangu reveals that the inspections, conducted during a moratorium on the awarding of mining rights and licences, had resulted in over 700 notices issued for environmental violations.

Shabangu halts all applications for licences to prospect for shale gas in the Karoo using hydraulic fracturing (fracking) amid concerns raised by farmers and fears that the process would contaminate water sources.

June: Shabangu revokes the rights to mine at Xolobeni, on the Wild Coast, after the Amadiba Crisis Committee argued that the granting of mining rights without sufficient community consultation is unlawful.

2012

September: Cabinet drops fracking moratorium.

2013

October: Shabangu announces proposed technical regulations which would provide for assessment of the potential environmental effects of fracking activities.

2013

January: Shabangu temporarily suspends Mintails operations at the Princess pit in Kagiso, Krugersdorp, following community's concerns about environmental impact.

February: Then president Jacob Zuma announces "one environmental system" in an attempt to streamline mining applications. The system effectively strips the department of environmental affairs of its oversight role in authorising mining activity.

May: Ngoako Ramatlhodi appointed minister

November: Mokopane community in Limpopo protests against a mining licence granted to Canadian company Ivanhoe.

Graphic: JOHN MCCANN
Compiled by: SARAH SMIT

2015

January: Zuma refers the Mineral and Petroleum Resources Development Bill back to the National Assembly for reconsideration after declaring that it would not pass constitutional muster.

September: Mosebenzi Zwane appointed minister.

2016

January: Indian company Jindal Africa withdraws application to mine in Makhasaneni near Melmoth in KwaZulu-Natal following a five-year fight by residents.

November: Zwane grants an application by Atha-Africa Ventures to mine coal within the Mabola Protected Environment.

2017

May: Western Cape high court sets aside a prospecting rights application that would allow Rhino Oil and Gas Exploration South Africa to frack in KwaZulu-Natal.

November: Earthlife Africa of Johannesburg and the Concerned Citizens of Lephalale succeed in appealing the decision to grant an environmental authorisation to Groothoek Coal Mining for the proposed construction of a coal mine in Lephalale, Limpopo.

2018

February: Gwede Mantashe appointed minister.

November: Pretoria high court rules in favour of the Xolobeni community, declaring that the minister must obtain consent from the community, as the holder of rights on the land, prior to granting any mining rights.

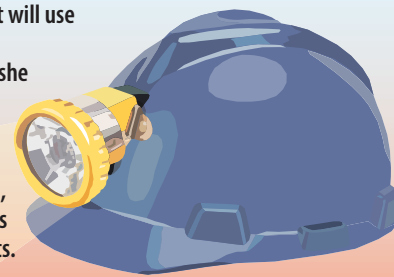
Also in November, the Pretoria high court sets aside the decision to mine inside the Mabola Protected Environment.

2019

February: Mantashe tells the 2019 Mining Indaba delegates that he will appeal the Xolobeni ruling, saying that government's authority in mining regulation needs to be protected.

July: Mantashe announces that his department will not be extracting gas by way of fracking, but it will use "other methodologies".

In the same month Mantashe reveals that 60 mineral resources projects are in the pipeline. These are projects in exploration, expansion, new mines and processing plants.



consult with these communities — they have also identified loopholes that could undercut the aim of the amendments.

For instance, in its submission on the amendments, Corruption Watch notes that the definition for meaningful consultation merely

requires "good faith" on the part of the applicant.

"While this requires the applicant to go further than mere notification of the affected and interested parties, the reality is that the guidelines have similar requirements, which has led to the limitation of

participation rights of community members," the submission reads.

In its submission, The Centre for Applied Legal Studies takes issue with the phrasing of the requirements for initial consultation with interested parties.

The centre points out that "the

phrasing of each of requirements as alternative 'or' rather than cumulative 'and' means that technically, mere publication in the provincial gazette could be sufficient".

This could undermine the "progressive intent of the amendment", the submission adds.

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The real state of the nation

The grim reality of education:

Attention has been given to democratic South Africa's first matric pass rate of more than 80%, but the reality is that schools with a 0% pass rate still exist. To look at the connection between dismal results, poor infrastructure and the toll that this takes on learners and educators, **Chris Gilili** and the **M&G Data Desk** dug into the numbers and went to Limpopo to find out more

There are schools that achieved a 0% pass rate in matric – 18 in total. Over the past three years, 2017 to 2019, 30 schools achieved a pass rate average of less than 20%. These are the schools where there is no water for learners to drink or textbooks for them to read. Some of these schools don't have windows. The one thing that they have in common is that they are in the poorest provinces: the Eastern Cape, KwaZulu-Natal and Limpopo.

And, while politicians talk about a fourth industrial revolution and laud a matric pass rate of more than 81%, the reality is that the learners who attend these schools are destined to fail. This is according to Siyabulela Fobosi, a researcher with the Public Service Accountability Monitor unit at Rhodes University, who says these learners "don't have access to what we call quality basic education".

According to the latest National Education Infrastructure Management System report, the majority of schools have no laboratories, libraries or computer centres. 74% of schools don't have libraries, 80% lack science labs and 63% don't have computer centres. And the poorer the province, the greater the shortage in infrastructure, to the point where schools don't even have basic necessities – such as toilets and desks.

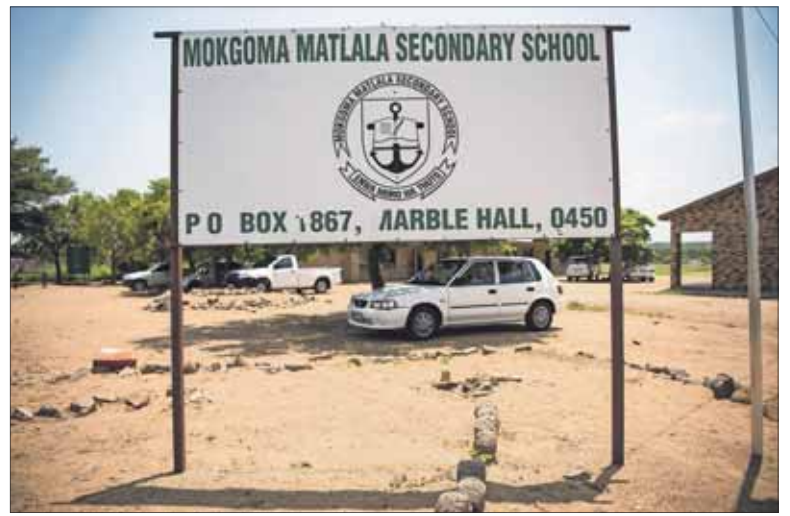
In Mokgoma Matlala Secondary School, an hour south of Limpopo's capital, Polokwane, learners have struggled to get water since September.

Grade 12 learner Kagiso Mokobi says studying without basic resources such as water is hard. "You see today is very hot as well. We struggle to focus on days like these," he says.

There are sweat patches on his blue, short-sleeved shirt and his face is moist. "At break time we normally go around the village to ask for water, just to drink. We navigate between the houses, placed distant from each other, on the gravel paths," Mokobi says. "Sometimes the teachers buy water on their way to the school. We don't have textbooks here, no laboratory or library even. We cannot excel and perform well under such circumstances."

More than 90% of schools in Limpopo have no science labs.

Mokobi knows this hardship very well. The 19-year-old failed his matric last year. He was one of 28 learners from the school who sat the exam.



Lack of resources: Kagiso Mokobi (top left), a grade 12 learner at Mokgoma Matlala Secondary School, says it is tough to focus on studying when his school has no water. Photos: Delwyn Verasamy

Only two passed. The school has had an average pass rate of 14% over the past three years.

"I do not think I failed because I am stupid or a slow learner. I failed because the school is not adequately resourced. We don't have enough textbooks here to study effectively. We have to share them as groups of five for other subjects, and one doesn't get enough time to prepare for exams, because we stay far apart from each other," says Mokobi.

And his school is not the worst performing – nine schools in the province achieved a 0% pass rate in

the 2019 exams, giving Limpopo the highest number of worst-performing schools.

An analysis by the *Mail & Guardian* Data Desk focusing on school matric pass-rate data shows that Mokgoma Matlala Secondary School is the 14th-worst-performing school in the country over the past three years.

The worst-performing is Mahlaba Secondary School in Limpopo, an hour to the east of Mokobi's school. No matric learners passed there last year. At a glance, the school looks in good shape – face-brick walls and a red roof only slightly worn by the weather. But inside the classrooms there are no doors, the windows are broken and learners have to compete for a desk.

When the *M&G* arrives, the economics teacher says the teachers don't have desks and use their laps instead. The teacher, who doesn't want to be named, says: "The worst thing is that the education department does visit the school, but they never say anything about improving the infrastructure. They just come for curriculum-related issues and that is about it. Where have you seen teachers sharing a toilet with students; it's a huge disgrace."

University of Johannesburg-based education specialist Mary Metcalfe says there is a tangible link between the performances in different provinces and underlying social, economic and educational inequalities.

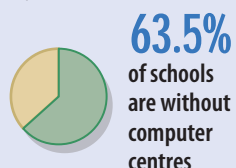
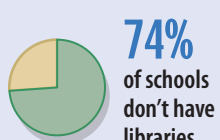
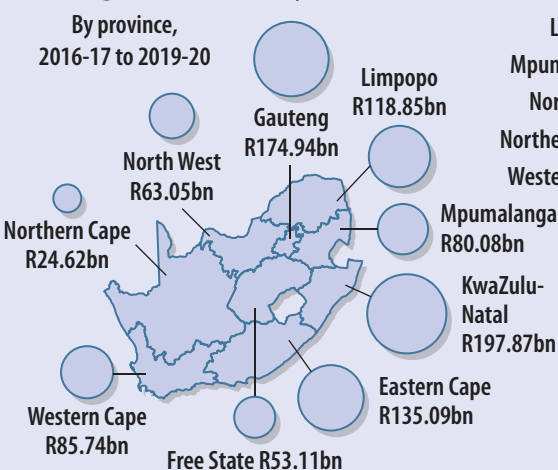
"It is a reality that education performance correlates with socioeconomic status. Schools serving wealthier communities perform better than schools serving poorer communities." Poorer homes and communities also have fewer resources to support learning, she says.

Essentially the poor are destined to stay poor.

More than 40km from Mokobi's school is another school where

Pass rates are up but amenities are few

Totals of average education budgets over four years



Matric pass rate, by province over four years

(%)	2016	2017	2018	2019
Eastern Cape	59.3	65	70	76.5
Free State	88.2	86.1	87.5	88.4
Gauteng	85.1	85.1	87.9	87.2
KwaZulu-Natal	66.4	72.9	76.2	81.3
Limpopo	62.5	65.6	69.4	73.2
Mpumalanga	77.1	74.8	79	80.3
North West	82.5	79.4	86.8	81
Northern Cape	78.7	75.6	73.3	76.5
Western Cape	86	82.8	81.5	82.3

Legend: Below 75% (light orange), Above 75% (dark red). Only one province remains below 75%

Amenities in schools

By province	Percentage that are without labs (%)
Eastern Cape	93
Free State	69
Gauteng	76
KwaZulu-Natal	88
Limpopo	94
Mpumalanga	87
North West	79
Northern Cape	76
Western Cape	66

The poor get poorer schooling



Top 13 worst-performing schools in all provinces



Matric pass rate over past three years, as a percentage (%)

Average over three years

	Province	2017	2018	2019	Average over three years
Mahlaba Secondary	Limpopo	5	5.3	0	3.43
Makama Secondary	Limpopo	10	10	0	5.67
Makobatang Secondary	Limpopo	18.8	20	0	12.93
Matsebe Secondary	Limpopo	33.3	31.3	0	21.53
Dolophini Senior Secondary	Eastern Cape	30.9	37.3	0	22.73
Siyazama Senior Secondary	Eastern Cape	46.9	14.7	7.4	23
Ntibaneng Secondary	Limpopo	28.6	23.5	7.7	19.93
Inkonjane Secondary	KwaZulu-Natal	25	13.3	9.1	15.8
Kgolane Secondary-1	Limpopo	40.4	17.9	9.1	22.47
Mthambo High	KwaZulu-Natal	5.3	27.3	10	14.2
Mpadi Secondary	Limpopo	18.8	33.3	10	20.7
Manzini Secondary	KwaZulu-Natal	22.2	16.7	12.5	17.13
Mokgoma Matlala Secondary	Limpopo	12.5	15.8	15.4	14.57

Graphic: JOHN McCANN Compiled by: M&G DATADESK Data sources: DEPT OF BASIC EDUCATION, SECTION 27



my parents that what would work for me is dropping out and going to a skills college."

This led him to train as a plumber at a college in Johannesburg, says Phaladi. "I am even ashamed to tell people I studied in Senwane because it's been a poorly performing school for years," he says.

The spokesperson for the provincial education department, Sam Makondo, says the school was not viable because it had less than 200 learners and, therefore, could not be allocated teachers. "The MEC indicated when announcing the 2019 NSC [national senior certificate] results that the department is going to ensure that all small and nonviable schools are merged to ensure that learners get quality basic education that they deserve."

Makondo adds that schools are responsible for their maintenance as the department provides them with funding. "Our governance unit will be sent to the school to check why they are not maintaining the school as expected, because they do get the money — like other schools in the province."

Although Makondo throws the issues back to the schools, the most recent National Education Infrastructure Management System report — released by the national education department — shows that Limpopo, Eastern Cape and KwaZulu-Natal still face the worst infrastructure backlogs.

Equal Education researcher Sibabalwe Gcilitshana says poor school infrastructure is a barrier to schooling and the lack of basic services in these schools contravenes the South African Schools Act, which contains norms and standards for school infrastructure. The Act stipulates that all schools should have had access to electricity, water and sanitation. But, despite the norms and standards banning pit toilets, Gcilitshana says there are 4000 schools using these "as their only form of sanitation".

That failure is just one of a whole host that means that, despite a historic 81.3% matric pass rate, schools are not providing learners with the environment they need to obtain a good education.

Failing our learners: Senwane Secondary (left) has merged with Rakudubane High School (above). Marakalla Lesetja (above left), a teacher, says most of the school's amenities are falling apart. Only three classrooms have electricity.
Photos: Delwyn Verasamy

school yard. There is no staff room, only three classrooms have electricity and there aren't enough textbooks for the learners in some subjects.

A teacher at the school, Marakalla Lesetja, says most of the school's amenities are makeshift and falling apart and the teachers don't know how they are meant to produce basic pass rates, much less stellar results.

Sello Moeta, a teacher who came to Rakudubane from the now-defunct Senwane school says Senwane was bound to fail. For three years their school had no principal, and no mathematics, physics or English teachers. The four teachers had to teach seven subjects across grades 8 to 12. Last year just three of the 17 learners who sat matric passed.

Moeta says: "You can just imagine such an environment working with no leadership; we were bound to perform poorly since certain subjects don't have teachers."

Thabo Phaladi, a former learner at Senwane Senior Secondary, says he dropped out in September 2017 before he could finish matric. "I had a challenge with understanding what we were taught. Especially for subjects like maths and physical sciences — there was no teacher for these two subjects. I panicked because my results were not improving; I kept failing my terms at matric. I informed



learners keep failing — Senwane Secondary. No matric learners passed in 2018. Last year, of the 13 learners who wrote matric exams, only two passed. When the *M&G* visits the school it is locked, and there is grass taking over the yard. Some classrooms are left open, and there are desks packed untidily on top of each other.

The Limpopo education department has responded to the school's continued failure by closing and merging it with the neighbouring Rakudubane High School. The two schools are 3km away from each other. But Rakudubane is also struggling. There is only one tap in the



Court tests protector's powers

In the Ramaphosa vs Mkhwebane case, the court has been asked to reign in the public protector

NEWS ANALYSIS
Franny Rabkin

The public protector “has no power to investigate all and sundry under the sun”, said counsel for President Cyril Ramaphosa in the high court this week.

The Nkandla judgment of the Constitutional Court in 2016 gave the public protector a huge boost in power. Famously depicting the public protector as David to the all-powerful executive’s Goliath, the judgment clarified that the public protector’s remedial action is binding unless it is set aside by the courts.

At a time when there seemed little accountability on the part of the government, former public protector Thuli Madonsela achieved a hero’s status — a rose was even named after her.

After the Nkandla judgment, the courts saw Madonsela flexing and, for the most part, winning. Although this development was widely celebrated by the public, constitutionalists quietly fretted. Because as wide and as strong as the public protector’s powers are, there are limits. Now, the courts have been asked to do the work of defining those limits.

Perhaps it is the result of the change of role-players — Madonsela has been succeeded by Busisiwe Mkhwebane and former president Jacob Zuma by Ramaphosa. But it could also be a natural progression — it is normal that, when a new power is recognised or granted, what follows is a refinement by the courts.

Two legal limitations to the power of the public protector took centre stage in the high court in Pretoria this week. The president and public protector were facing off over her bombshell report, released last year, that looked into donations to the president’s #CR17 campaign to become president of the ANC in December 2017.

The complaint that triggered her investigation was limited to one donation — R500 000 from Gavin Watson, the chief executive of the allegedly corrupt company Bosasa. When the report was released, it emerged that Mkhwebane had investigated the entire campaign and all the donations it received.

Not only did she find that Ramaphosa had misled Parliament when he answered a question about Watson’s donation, she also found that he breached the executive code of ethics and the code applicable to members of Parliament by not declaring the donations to Parliament. She ordered Parliament to demand that Ramaphosa disclose the identity of his donors and the amount of their donations. She added that there was “merit” to a suspicion of money-laundering and

directed the National Prosecuting Authority to investigate further the prima facie case of money laundering.

The first way that Ramaphosa’s team sought to define the outer limits of the public protector’s powers was their arguments that her powers must be exercised rationally. Before a full Bench of three judges that included Gauteng Judge President Dunstan Mlambo, the president’s counsel, Wim Trengrove SC, and Tembeka Ngcukaitobi made a number of arguments as to why Mkhwebane’s report was irrational in law. These included an argument on procedural rationality: the report was fatally flawed because she did not give Ramaphosa an opportunity to respond to crucial aspects of it.

The second was that Mkhwebane had strayed into forbidden territory; she was not in law entitled to investigate donations to an internal political party campaign, because this was outside of her jurisdiction. As suggested by Judge Raylene Keightley, the outer limits of the public protector’s jurisdiction is a subject that had not yet been squarely tested by the courts.

Section 182(1) of the Constitution gives the public protector the power to investigate conduct in “the public administration” and “state affairs” in “all spheres of government”. Ngcukaitobi said donations to members of a political party for their internal campaigns did not fall inside this definition.

“Her powers are defined in the Constitution and further refined in the legislation,” he said, going through the Public Protector Act step by step to argue that this kind of donation was not a matter of state, government or public administration.

The Executive Ethics Act gave her further powers — to investigate a breach of the executive ethics code — but only on receipt of a complaint. In this case the complaint was about Watson’s donation only. She was not entitled to go on “a frolic” and investigate all and sundry, Ngcukaitobi said.

Mkhwebane asked the court to interpret “state affairs” more broadly — to include conduct that may occur in private but that could affect a public role.

Her counsel, Muzi Sikhakhane SC, said: “I’m not suggesting she is the body to investigate everything under the sun ... But in respect of donations to a member of Parliament ... who wants to become president of the party in order to rise and become president of the state, are matters of state affairs.”

The president’s version of what constituted state affairs was “narrow, self-serving and incorrect. It’s not a proper understanding of the state,” he argued.

Sikhakhane urged the court to apply the law consistently with



Seeking clarity: President Cyril Ramaphosa’s counsel, Tembeka Ngcukaitobi and Wim Trengrove SC (below), argued that public protector Busisiwe Mkhwebane (above) was irrational and had strayed way beyond her jurisdiction. Photos: Felix Dlangamandla/Gallo Images and Felix Dlangamandla/Netwerk24



the Nkandla judgment and its own earlier judgments given while Madonsela was public protector and Zuma was president. He said the Nkandla judgment was “made for this case” because it was also a case between the public protector and the president.

He argued that Mkhwebane was correct to find that Ramaphosa had breached the executive ethics code and the code that applies to members of Parliament by not disclosing the donations.

Another question, which could have implications beyond this particular dispute, was whether donations into an internal party campaign fall within the ambit of these two codes. The executive code refers to “material benefits” while the MPs code refers to “financial interests”, “benefits of a material nature” and

If the court decided the executive code does not require disclosure of internal political party campaigns, then it is unconstitutional

“sponsorships”, saying these need to be disclosed.

The president’s counsel said it was unnecessary for the court to even look at these codes, let alone interpret them, because the facts of the case didn’t implicate the codes or trigger their application.

They argued that, in terms of the disclosure of benefits, the two codes amounted to the same because the executive code says that, if you’ve disclosed under the MPs code, there is nothing further that needs to be done under the executive code. The overriding requirement in the MPs code was to disclose “financial interests”, they said.

Ngcukaitobi said Ramaphosa received no financial benefits from the donations — the money went to the campaign and was spent by the campaign on the campaign. Not a cent went to the president’s pocket, he said.

All of this had been meticulously explained to the public protector, he said, yet she chose to ignore it. The finding of a breach of the codes was unfounded by the facts, Ngcukaitobi said.

“If it is factually unfounded, it is irrational. And if it is irrational it cannot stand,” he said.

Sikhakhane said the fact that no money went to Ramaphosa’s

pocket was neither here nor there. “Becoming state president is a benefit,” he said.

Then there was the argument brought by the amaBhungane Centre for Investigative Journalism. Its counsel, Steven Budlender SC, argued that if the court decided the executive code — as it stands — does not require disclosure of internal political party campaigns, then it is unconstitutional and had to be changed in the future.

He said the code, as it now stood, required the disclosure of gifts. But if the court were to say that internal political party donations were not covered, the following would be the result: If he were to give two good bottles of wine to the deputy president, worth more than R350, the deputy president would have to disclose it to Parliament. But if someone were to donate R5-million to the deputy president’s internal party political campaign, no disclosure would be required. This could “never be consistent with our constitutional scheme”, he said.

He said amaBhungane was not in court about Ramaphosa “or any other president”, but were challenging the constitutionality of the code. Judgment was reserved.

Ingonyama axes top managers

Five people have been placed on special leave, but no one knows why they are being investigated

Paddy Harper

The Ingonyama Trust Board (ITB), under pressure from Parliament over poor corporate governance, has suspended five of its top managers — including its recently-appointed chief executive, Lucas Mkhwanazi.

On the instruction of the board's chairperson, former judge Jerome Ngwenya, the five were ordered out of the ITB offices in Pietermaritzburg last Friday and told to hand over cell-phones and laptops belonging to the entity.

They are corporate services head Siphwe Madondo, head of legal services Bongani Ngcobo, internal audit head Amin Mia, real estate head Phumlane Mkhize and Mkhwanazi. The only executive not to be suspended is land and tenure management services head Thembeke Ndlovu, the sister-in-law of King Goodwill Zwelithini.

Mkhwanazi was appointed in late 2018 after the resignation of the former chief executive, Fikisiwe Madlopha, in April that year.

The five executives have been placed on two months special leave,

pending the outcome of an investigation, the subject and content of which is not known at this time.

According to staff at the ITB, the five were given letters informing them that they were being placed on special leave "pending an investigation".

"They were not told what they were being investigated for, just that there is an investigation. Nobody knows what for or why. Their phones and laptops were taken from them," said a staff member who asked not to be named.

An acting chief executive officer, Bheki Gabela, has been appointed to act in Mkhwanazi's stead.

The *Mail & Guardian* was unable to contact Mkhwanazi or any of the other executives placed on special leave. But a close associate of one of them, who asked not to be named, said they believed the suspension was spurious. "Things are bad at the ITB. There is a lot of pressure because of what has been going on. If this matter gets to court it will all come out."

The suspensions follow the resignations late last year of two members of the board, deputy chairperson Jabu Bhengu and Tshitshi Mbatha. It is not clear whether the two have been replaced.

It also comes at a time when five senior staffers, who were suspended by Ngwenya in 2016, are still sitting at home on full pay because of the failure of the ITB to conclude its case against them. The five — deputy real estate manager Duncan Pakkies, community liaison officer Bheki Zondi, survey officer Nono Msani, real estate officers Nompumelelo Ndlovu and Lungile Sibiyi — were suspended over issues relating to leases issued by the ITB.

But they claimed at the time that they were being purged because of their failure to "co-operate" in the issuing of a number of disputed leases.

ITB spokesperson Simphiwe Mxakaza undertook to transmit questions about the latest suspensions to Ngwenya for comment. Ngwenya had not done so at the time of writing and did not answer calls from *M&G* on his cellphone.

The ITB controls about 2.8-million

hectares of land in KwaZulu-Natal on behalf of Zwelithini in terms of the Ingonyama Trust Act, passed on the eve of the first democratic elections in 1994.

Its leadership has been under intense scrutiny from Parliament's land reform portfolio committee over corporate governance, having received a series of unfavourable audit outcomes from the auditor general.

Last year, the land reform committee ordered Ngwenya to provide a breakdown of how much of the R90-million a year it raised was from leases and how much was disbursed to communities and traditional authorities on ITB land.

On Monday, Ngwenya addressed a gathering of about 300 amakhosi from KwaZulu-Natal, who have been mobilised in support of the ITB since it came under the scrutiny of presidential and parliamentary panels in 2017, ahead of a high court challenge to its lease programme next month.

The amakhosi at the meeting undertook to attend the court hearing, to be held in Pietermaritzburg on March 25.

Two nongovernmental organisations and several residents on ITB land have applied to the court to have the lease programme, under which permission to occupy certifi-

cates have been converted to 40-year residential leases, declared unlawful. The applicants, who include the Rural Women's Movement and the Council for the Advancement of the South African Constitution, also want the ITB to return all revenue it has collected from residents since the lease conversions programme started in 2013.

On Wednesday, ANC spokesperson Pule Mabe said the party had not backtracked on dealing with obstacles to security of land tenure posed by the ITB's continued existence.

Mabe said the ITB had not been discussed at the recent ANC national executive committee and Cabinet lekgotla, because the immediate priority was land expropriation.

"There is the expropriation Bill that is going back for public engagement. Once all of those issues are all completed, we would then be coming back to this. When we are done with expropriation, all other subsequent issues that have to do with land ownership will effectively be attended to," Mabe said.

Last week, the *M&G* reported on the apparent move by the government and the ANC to place the ITB on a back burner and avoid a showdown with the king and his supporters ahead of the 2021 local government elections.

The ITB has been under intense scrutiny from Parliament's land reform portfolio committee over corporate governance



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Africa

Covering Malawi's political crisis

The past eight months were perhaps the most strange and unsettling in the country's modern history. Reporting on it was tough, but I persevered — and so does Malawi

Golden Matonga

I have reported on almost every moment of Malawi's bitter, sometimes violent election dispute — the dispute that was settled, for now at least, by this week's unprecedented Constitutional Court decision to annul the result and order a new poll.

Over the past eight months, I have been harassed and robbed, feared for my life — and even ended up in jail. But I have also seen young people rise up to defend their aspirations in a way that has been both uplifting and illuminating.

My first brush with trouble came even before the results were in. In May 2019, I was in Malambo village, where I was watching opposition leader Lazarus Chakwera cast his ballot. I was at the Kabudula Trading Centre, charging my laptop, when I was suddenly encircled by a group of angry men. Their mood was threatening; they wanted to know exactly what I was doing there, and for me to prove my bona fides.

In the context of the history of the area, their suspicion made perfect sense. It has been an opposition stronghold for decades, but the opposition has lost every election since Malawi's return to democracy in 1994. Opposition leaders such as Chakwera keep telling people their votes are being stolen, so why wouldn't they be suspicious of a stranger?

I eventually persuaded them that I was a real journalist, and voting continued without incident. The same could not be said at the St Thomas polling station in Lilongwe, where another opposition candidate, Saulos Chilima, was supposed to be voting.

Chilima's entry into the presidential race was a shock: the young telecoms executive had been vice-president to the incumbent President Peter Mutharika, until the pair fell out. Malawi's Constitution means that the president does not have the power to dismiss his vice-president. Cabinet meetings in the last months of Mutharika's first term were tense.

So here was Chilima on voting day. Smartly dressed in a traditional African shirt, about to cast his vote at a school polling centre — dreaming his vote would be one of millions that would make him president. Except his



Power to the people: Protesters at a rally in Lilongwe in January gathered to denounce alleged attempts to bribe judges overseeing a legal challenge to the re-election last year of Malawian President Peter Mutharika. Photo: Amos Gumulira/AFP

name was not on the St Thomas voters' roll.

After much consternation, it was discovered that Chilima's name had been transferred to a polling centre thousands of kilometres away, on an island in Lake Malawi accessible only by an old ship that docks there once a week.

Chilima was allowed to vote by order of the electoral commission chairperson, Dr Jane Ansah, a Supreme Court of Appeal justice on secondment to the electoral body. Chilima's name, it was later confirmed, was transferred to the island by a data clerk who would later die in a road accident. He had been charged in connection with the incident and he died on the day of his first court appearance, shortly after being granted bail.

The election results gave Mutharika a narrow victory over both his main rivals, but it was not long before the opposition began to cry foul. The most obvious sign that something was wrong was the use of Tippex — the correction fluid — to alter numbers on results sheets.

Mutharika hurriedly inaugurated himself, seemingly oblivious to the growing street protests. A court challenge launched by the opposition was expected to fizzle out and be forgotten, as others had been in the past.

Contrary to all expectations, the protests continued over the next weeks and months, making some areas of the country inaccessible to the police and effectively ungovernable. So too

did the court case, despite political pressure to throw it out. But judges had to reckon with popular pressure too: a failure to observe due process may have incited a revolution.

On the streets, the crowds kept coming, in their hundreds and thousands. While covering one of these protests in Lilongwe, a group of young protesters attacked me as I was taking photographs. They took my phone and my wallet. One of them grabbed me by the neck, as others swarmed around me and threatened to beat me senseless. I was rescued by another brave journalist, who wrestled with my attackers; and by a contingent from the Malawi Defence Force, which had been mobilised to oversee the protest action.

I was not the only journalist or observer attacked that day. A female colleague was almost stripped naked, her jeans torn apart. Nick Chakwera, son of opposition leader Lazarus, almost suffered the same fate after attempting to film the protests on his phone. The anger I witnessed made me realise the protesters' main grievance was not necessarily political; that they would probably be here, and be just as angry, regardless of who had won. They are victims of an economy that has not grown meaningfully in years; of a country in which jobs are scarce and low-quality; and of a government that has for too long been concerned more with power than with governance.

And, it must be noted, the looting and violence was committed by a tiny fraction of the many, many Malawians who braved sun and rain, who sacrificed their time to demand that their vote was respected.

Village after village, town after town, month after month, young and old, whether through organised or spontaneous protests; almost as one, Malawi raised its voice to demand justice.

My troubles were not yet over. A European Union team arrived in Lilongwe to release its report into the election. The report was controversial, and the government was nervous. Waiting at the airport to interview the European delegation were three journalists, myself included. But before we could ask our questions, we were arrested by police and thrown into a tiny, smelly cell in the basement. They removed our belts and shoes, and deleted footage from my colleagues' cameras.

The police charged the three of us with "behaving in a disorderly manner contrary to the Aviation Act". Later, when word of our arrest got out, we were released and the charges were withdrawn.

For a journalist, most weeks during this election fiasco have been memorable, but none more so than this one. On Monday I woke up fearing the worst — that the verdict the Constitutional Court was about to deliver would spark nationwide violence. I made my way to the Lilongwe courtroom through a ghost city, with shops closed and residents too scared to go outdoors, and military helicopters circling above the city. We had to navigate through military and police checkpoints.

It took 10 hours for the panel of five judges to read out the judgment. Their final verdict was unprecedented: the election was marred by grave irregularities and a new vote must be held. The results don't count. As Judge President Healey Potani uttered the magic word, "nullification", the courtroom erupted in cheers. Chakwera and Chilima hugged.

The verdict is a victory for Malawi's legal processes, but even more so it is a victory for the youths, opposition supporters and activists who braved tear gas and police intimidation to demand their democratic rights.

The battle is not over yet, however. As incumbent, Mutharika stays as president (with Chilima as his vice-president, and has said he will appeal the court's verdict). And a new election does not guarantee Mutharika's ouster.

This is tomorrow's problem, however. For now, Malawians can celebrate the fact that they once again have hope for their country's future — and they know they created that hope for themselves.

BROKEN AND UNEQUAL: THE STATE OF EDUCATION IN SOUTH AFRICA

INVITATION

Join the Mail & Guardian and Amnesty International South Africa as it launches its report *Broken and Unequal: The State of Education in South Africa* on **Tuesday, 11 February 2020**.

If the right to quality basic education is enshrined in the Constitution, why is it not a reality for many learners in South Africa? Is the Government really doing enough?

TIME: 6pm for 6.30pm

VENUE: 16th Floor, Metal Box Building, 25 Owl Street, Milpark, Johannesburg

Request to attend by emailing Denise Sewchurn at denises@mg.co.za or call 011 250 7341

SOUTH AFRICA

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THE BIG PICTURE / Mufananidzo mukuru / Aworan nílá / As-surat al-kabira



Last parade: Former Kenyan president Daniel arap Moi, pictured here alongside Queen Elizabeth II in 1983, died on Tuesday. He was 95. Moi was Kenya's longest-serving president, from 1978 to 2002, but also arguably the country's most controversial, overseeing the country's transformation into a one-party state and a crackdown on rights of expression and protest. Photo: David Levenson/Getty Images

CONTINENTAL DRIFT

Lesotho's first lady charged

Lesotho's first lady, Maesaiah Thabane, appeared in a court in Maseru on Wednesday. She has been charged with killing her husband's former wife, Lipolelo Thabane, in 2017, allegedly over who was entitled to use the title first lady. At the time, the divorce of Prime Minister Thomas Thabane and Lipolelo had yet to be finalised. An arrest warrant was issued for Maesaiah last month. The scandal has forced Thabane to announce his resignation, although he has yet to set a date to step down.

Mutharika to appeal ruling

Malawian President Peter Mutharika said he will appeal the Constitutional Court's decision to annul his election victory in May last year. The court said the vote was marred by "widespread, systematic and grave" irregularities, but Mutharika disagrees. "The ruling ... cannot be allowed to stand," the president said in a statement, adding that it was "a grave miscarriage of justice". The court ordered that new elections must be held within 150 days of Monday's judgment.

Nigerian visa on arrival

Nigerian President Muhammadu Buhari on Wednesday unveiled a new visa policy that should make it considerably easier for Africans to enter Nigeria. The major feature of the new policy is that it will now be possible for citizens of any African country to get a visa on arrival. "The Nigeria Visa Policy 2020 is intended to attract innovation, specialised skills and knowledge from abroad to complement locally available ones," Buhari said.

Ramaphosa at the head of AU

The 33rd African Union summit is taking place in Addis Ababa this week. Heads of state will meet this weekend, where the main order of business will be to confirm South Africa's President Cyril Ramaphosa as chair of the continental body for 2020. "At the top of our agenda as chair must be the deepening of economic integration. This is a historic moment that we must seize," said Ramaphosa last week.

\$8-million airport bust

Customs officials in Nigeria seized more than \$8-million in foreign currency from an airport bus on the tarmac at the Murtala Muhammed International Airport in Lagos. The cash was in brown paper bags. The driver of the bus has been arrested. Police are not yet sure where the cash came from, or where it was going, but there is no doubt that it was illegal: the maximum amount that Nigerian travellers are allowed to carry with them is \$10 000.

Morocco suppresses criticism

In the past four months, Morocco has arrested and prosecuted at least 10 citizens for expressing critical opinions on social media, according to Human Rights Watch (HRW). Charges brought include a "lack of due respect for the king", "defaming state institutions" and "offending public officials". The HRW said: "An increasing number of Moroccans are taking to social media to express bold political opinions, including about the king, as is their right. As self-censorship erodes, the authorities have stepped in to frantically try to reinstate the red lines."

Frelimo's dodgy business empire

Dangerously close links between government officials and the private sector encourage corruption

COMMENT
Khadija Sharife & Mark Anderson

As Mozambique prepares for a natural-gas boom that could double its gross domestic product, the governing Frelimo party must get serious about cutting ties between senior officials and big business.

The country's recent tuna bond scandal — which saw former president Armando Guebuza and former finance minister Manuel Chang collude with senior government officials, banks and companies to saddle the country with \$2-billion of hidden loans — shone a light on the party's intricate business network.

But before the scandal was exposed, a confidential European Union analysis from 2012 about Mozambique's government, which was distributed to European legislators, raised concerns about the state of the governing party.

The EU report said Mozambicans had described Frelimo as "dangerous" and as "an armed party" that was "gatekeeping" access to housing, jobs and credit. The bloc's report detailed a business network that it said allowed the party to secretly manage the vast wealth at its disposal.

Holding companies connected to current or former officials serve as "entry points for large-scale foreign direct investment," the EU report said. These companies include:

- Insitec and Focus 21, controlled by former president Armando Guebuza;

- Tika, controlled by former president Joaquim Chissano;

- Whatana Investment Group, controlled by the family of former president Samora Machel; and

- PSI, controlled by the Frelimo party as a whole.

Another layer of the network consists of local partners, who land lucrative contracts under a broad mandate, according to the EU report. These companies identify business

Mr 10%:
Armando Guebuza



opportunities, obtain licences, and wait for foreign partners to invest or target public tenders. They are mostly staffed by family connections and loyal friends.

Mozambique's Frelimo government rode to power in 1975 after liberating the country from Portuguese colonial rule. A civil war between Frelimo and rebel group Renamo engulfed the country for the following two decades.

In the aftermath of the war, the Frelimo government became a donor darling for Western aid agencies by posting impressive progress in reaching development goals.

But, like many governments born out of liberation struggles, Frelimo has become more concerned about retaining power and control over state resources than developing the country, according to the EU report.

Frelimo's legacy as a liberator of the country from Portuguese rule was "still fundamental to justify its exclusive rule over Mozambique", the document said. The party has been "suspended above society" and has failed dismally in its stated social and political goals.

The analysis, which was circulated after Mozambique announced the discovery of an enormous field of natural gas — estimated to be worth trillions of dollars — showed the EU was worried that Frelimo had little interest in using natural gas reserves to spur economic development.

Instead, the party was mostly interested in dominating the state

for "the expansion and reproduction of power and access to rents", the EU's analysis concluded.

Key players in the tuna bond scandal remain at the helm of the government. Frelimo has created a system of governance that protects the guilty, incurs public debt and barbers natural reserves for repayment.

The public outrage following the tuna bond scandal has piled pressure on the government, presenting an opportunity for reform.

As Mozambique's lucrative natural gas industry nears production, which could begin as soon as 2023, bolstering public institutions that will hold senior party members to account, is more important than ever.

Mozambique's Parliament must begin investigating and making public all contracts involving politically exposed people with ties to the dominant party. These people must be banned from participating in deals with foreign companies.

The government must also make public all contracts involving natural resources through every stage of the pipeline. Most importantly, the government must also put mechanisms in place to ensure any debt incurred is for the benefit of citizens, rather than private interests.

Otherwise Mozambique's wealth will belong to the party, not the people.

Khadija Sharife and Mark Anderson are Africa editors at the Organised Crime and Corruption Reporting Project. The views of the authors do not necessarily represent those of the organisation

AU commissioner's job on the line

Smaïl Chergui may hold a powerful position, but he is a controversial figure

NEWS ANALYSIS
Simon Allison

Last week, a screen grab went viral in the corridors of the African Union headquarters in Addis Ababa, and in the WhatsApp chats of AU staff members on the continent.

It showed an extract from an article published in the Indian Ocean Newsletter, which covers politics and business in the region and is read widely in diplomatic circles. The headline read: "Crisis meeting to discuss Smaïl Chergui", and the article detailed how the future of the AU's peace and security commissioner would be up for debate at the 33rd AU Summit taking place this week.

Specifically, the article said African leaders are unhappy with Chergui's handling of funds for the African Union Mission in Somalia (Amisom), and are worried that this might affect relations with the European Union, the AU's biggest funder.

Several sources in the AU sent the screen grab to the *Mail & Guardian*. "This is the talk of the town," said one. "Maybe his time has come," said another.

Controversial diplomat

A career diplomat in Algeria, Chergui has headed up the AU's peace and security department since 2013. With the possible exception of the chairperson, this is the most influential position in the AU Commission, making Chergui one of Africa's most powerful diplomats.

His department is responsible for all African peacekeeping initiatives, including military interventions such as Amisom. As a result, much of the AU's budget flows through him.

But Chergui has never been far from controversy. Any heads of state that might be agitating for his removal — and he has made many enemies — will have lots of ammunition at their disposal.

The most serious charge against him is in a report released in late 2018 about sexual harassment, fraud, nepotism and corruption in the AU



Troubling: The African Union Mission in Somalia (below) falls under Smaïl Chergui (above centre), the AU commissioner for peace and security. Photos: Luiz Rampelotto/EuropaNewswire & Tina Smole/AFP



Commission. The report was compiled by a three-person panel led by Bineta Diop, the AU's special envoy on women, peace and security. Its findings were that sexual harassment is "pervasive" in the institution and corruption is "systemic, entrenched and widespread".

The report named 40 people who are implicated in these offences. The *Mail & Guardian* was able to confirm last year that one of those individuals

is Chergui, although the exact nature of the allegations against him are not known; and that 30% of the specific offences detailed in the report happened in the peace and security department, under his watch.

The full report has never been made public. At the time, Chergui told the *M&G* that he had not read the report, but that he believed the allegations against him relate only to contract and salary disputes.

Another factor that will count against Chergui this week is his nationality. His predecessor, Ramtane Lamamra, was also Algerian, which means the AU's most important portfolio has been run by an Algerian for the past 12 years. Some countries believe it is time for a change. This sentiment has grown stronger ever since Morocco — Algeria's arch-rival — rejoined the continental bloc.

Failure in Somalia

Perhaps the most significant argument against Chergui is that he has been ineffective in his position. Conflict and insecurity on the African continent has increased on his watch. The AU's slogan for 2020 is "Silencing the Guns in Africa" but, as many commentators have noted, those guns are only getting louder. From the Sahel to Somalia, the numbers show that incidents of armed conflict are on the rise.

Somalia is a particular problem. Through Amisom, the AU has taken the lead in peacekeeping operations there since 2007 — and it is not going well. Al-Shabaab remains entrenched in its strongholds, with the capacity to launch deadly attacks

in other parts of Somalia and in neighbouring Kenya.

Amisom itself has been plagued by reports of sexual abuses, corruption and mismanagement. Once again, these alleged offences have occurred on Chergui's watch, and the peace and security commissioner has appeared to be unwilling or unable to do anything about it.

Behind the scenes, Western diplomats say that they are losing faith in Amisom's ability to execute its mandate. Last year, the United Nations security council, which provides the bulk of the funding for Amisom, resolved to cut 1000 troops from the mission. This takes effect later this month, according to France24, and will leave the mission with a contingent of 19626 troops.

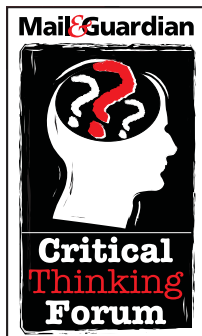
This leaves the AU's flagship peacekeeping operation significantly weaker, and this can only weaken the position of the AU's head of peace and security.

The *M&G* contacted Chergui for comment. He declined a telephone interview, but he did say in a text message that the report in the Indian Ocean Newsletter is "fake news". He pointed out that he had recently been awarded the Rwenzori Star Medal, a Ugandan military order, by President Yoweri Museveni.

Chergui blamed France for the drawdown of troops in Amisom (even though it was the United Kingdom that proposed the motion at the security council). "The French are behind the drawdown ... at a time [when] Somali forces are not yet ready to take over," he said. "Unfortunately we are going to quit positions that we gained with heavy sacrifices, they might be taken immediately by terrorists."

The French ambassador to South Africa, Aurélien Lechevallier, denied that France was responsible for the drawdown, and said France had always had a professional working relationship with Chergui, despite the odd tough conversation.

Even if Chergui does survive this AU summit — the AU is notoriously slow to take action against one of its own — his mandate expires next year, along with that of AU Commission chairperson Moussa Faki Mahamat. This may be the perfect opportunity for African leaders to revitalise the peace and security department with strong, effective leadership.



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INVITATION

Join the Mail & Guardian in association with Rosa Luxemburg Stiftung as we discuss President Cyril Ramaphosa's 2020 State of the Nation Address. With a stagnant economy further crippled by badly run state owned enterprises, the president will use the address as an agenda for positive change.

Senior Mail & Guardian reporter, Lester Kiewit, will be joined by a panel of experts who will unpack the president's address, and the year ahead for South Africans.

DATE:
Friday 14 February 2020

TIME:
08h30 - 10h30

VENUE:
Webber Wentzel, 15 Floor, Convention Tower, Heerengracht, Foreshore, Cape Town

If you would like to attend, please email mahlodim@mg.co.za or call her on 011 250 7399

Comment & Analysis

The Makhanda disaster cannot be ignored

The municipality turned a deaf ear to residents' cries — until they united and took it to court



Eusebius McKaiser

Makhanda is a shadow of its former self. Gaping potholes yawn menacingly at pedestrians and motorists. You're lucky if water comes out of a tap. You're even luckier if the water that does come out of the tap is safe to drink. Refuse removal isn't guaranteed, and landfills are a health and environmental hazard. Raw sewage is running into the streets.

The timely maintenance of critical infrastructure, as well as new-build programmes, do not happen. The levels of unemployment are higher than that of most other cities (it's more than 40%). The city is cash strapped.

The parlous state of local government exacerbates the hardships of its residents.

All of this is a pitiful shame. Makhanda (previously called Grahamstown), is an important Eastern Cape city. For tens of thousands of South Africans, and students from around the world, the city's schools and Rhodes University trigger beautiful memories of a place that gave them a world-class education, and memories they carry deep into the next phase of their lives.

This little outpost, with its complex colonial and anti-colonial histories, has played its role in developing the consciousness of countless citizens who went on to slot into the struggle for a just South Africa. Many a book has been written about young white English liberals grappling with their moral duties in a time of apartheid racism on Rhodes campus. Many more books have yet to be written about the bravery of black children in the townships in the 1980s resisting and opposing the racist apartheid state and the local police in particular. As a city along the N2, Grahamstown was also perfectly placed as a hiding place for comrades en route to other destinations.

Even the design of this fascinating city carries important historical pain. There are hills everywhere and from atop most of the hills, you can see what apartheid geography looked like, because the design is that visible and that crude, courtesy of the racist urban planners of Grahamstown.

Culturally, it also punches way above its weight: from science festi-

vals and eisteddfods to the famous National Arts Festival, Makhanda cannot be left out of any serious documentary of South African cultural lore.

As if these accolades aren't enough, the city has also been a critical site of progressive jurisprudence, courtesy of a high court that often delivers judgments that have gone on to entrench our normative constitutional values. It is therefore unforgiving that the Makana council is so shamelessly useless, ignoring its constitutional duties and risking all that is beautiful, brilliant and important about Makhanda.

But perhaps, tragically, the most urgent truth about what is happening in Makhanda is that we are seeing the connections between political sins at the local government level and the biggest faultlines in our democracy. Makhanda isn't only a case study of what bad local governance looks like, it is also a metaphor of what disregard for constitutionalism looks like.

Despite the historical prominence of Makhanda, neither the provincial government nor the national government appear embarrassed by what is (not) happening. That's reminiscent of how indifferent our government has become to the cries of citizens everywhere.

Makhanda echoes QwaQwa. Makhanda echoes Queenstown (now Komani). Makhanda echoes Diepsloot. Makhanda echoes villages, dorps, towns and cities across Mzansi.

On January 14, the high court ordered that the Makana local municipality be dissolved, because it is failing to provide basic services to citizens. Instead of being ashamed, the provincial government is appealing that judgment.

On one level, the appeal is to be welcomed: the decision of a higher court will allow us to have legal clarity and certainty about when and under what circumstances a court can order a provincial government to dissolve a local municipality. It is obviously not desirable for courts to routinely make such judgments, because we want the political arena

The crisis in Makhanda is also a lesson in cross-class solidarity that should be restated



Graphic: JOHN McCANN

to be subject to political judgments. It is preferable, if a council should be dissolved, that that decision should emanate from the provincial government. So it is unsurprising that Bhisho, the capital of the Eastern Cape, is claiming that the high court in Makhanda has overreached in the exercise of its judicial powers. An appeal will settle the legal dispute. That will be useful.

That said, the appeal is also disingenuous for two sets of reasons.

First, the court was thorough in examining the facts. There is a five-year timeline that shows how, time and again, the Makana council has failed to comply with a range of laws related to local government.

The Unemployed People's Movement is the civil society organisation that took the matter to court. The case was so well prepared that the other side couldn't, and didn't, contest some crucial evidence about the state of the municipality, including the debt that had spiralled out of control. But for residents' intervention, even the lights would have been switched off by Eskom a few years ago. By 2014, Makhanda owed Eskom more than R57-million.

An appeal from Bhisho will be difficult to sustain in the face of established facts.

For example, an administrator appointed by Bhisho in 2014, Pam Yako, made no difference to the project of repairing local government. The municipality also lost a case in 2015 when residents took it to court to manage an unmanaged landfill site. It didn't bother to comply with the judgment.

Second, the outcome of the court case is unprecedented, but that fact alone doesn't mean it is a case of judicial overreach. The court was nuanced in laying out which sources of law it was applying the facts to.

The Constitution, for example, makes clear what the obligations of local government are. Section 139 outlines when a local council can be placed under administration. The same is true of the statutory requirements for finances to be managed lawfully, as outlined in the Municipal Finance Management Act.

The provincial government will have its legal work cut out for it because it will have to show that the courts do not have the authority to enforce legal duties of councils in respect of their residents.

That is where the linkages between law and politics come into play. While the main mechanism for holding useless local councils — as well as useless provincial and national governments — is a political mechanism (voting them out), it is also true that we are allowed simultaneously to enforce the legal duties of government through the courts. That is the very meaning and purpose of the principle of constitutional supremacy.

So while many a lawyer will fancy their chances of a successful appeal, it is a tall order. The doctrine of separation of powers isn't undermined when a court tests whether a local municipality is complying with the laws that govern local government,

and remedies any legal waywardness with a court order that aims to restore compliance with the laws being trampled on.

Third, the crisis in Makhanda is also a lesson in cross-class solidarity that should be restated. Makhanda is a divided city in many ways. It shouldn't be romanticised. Even when the council did function, Grahamstown was a deeply unequal city in which the quality of your life, and your chances of flourishing, depended on the arbitrary fact of where you are born.

If you're from Joza township, you would be lucky to end up with opportunities to flourish, and to reach your potential in life. If you're born into a family from one of the pristine suburbs, across the buffers and bridge that divide the poor and middle-class, you're more likely to end up with a world-class education and prospects of reaching your life's potential.

(That is why, even as a proud alumnus of Rhodes University, I do not share many of the political convictions of some of my former colleagues and teachers, and even some friends. I know the journey I had to travel, literally and figuratively, from the other side of the Grahamstown tracks to get to Rhodes University.)

Nevertheless, it is fantastic to see how differences have been set aside by the residents of Makhanda — in both the townships and in the suburbs — to fight a useless council. History demands of South Africans to learn to co-operate strategically, across our differences, to hold the powerful to account.

Comment & Analysis

Mail & Guardian

Promises are on tap, but not water

South Africans are intimately familiar with corruption and poor governance. They see it when they walk down our potholed streets or when they're left fumbling for their cellphones to light the way through another bout of all too familiar load-shedding. It is worrying that these failures have become so commonplace, so ingrained in our daily reality that they are increasingly being regarded as "normal".

This week the *Mail & Guardian* visited several parts of the country where governance has entirely failed. In the Free State, QwaQwa residents have been without regular access to clean drinking and potable water since 2016. When they've successfully drawn attention to their plight, national ministers have promised much but delivered little. In Sekhukhune in Limpopo, an NGO has taken the municipality to court to try and compel it to comply with an earlier court order: to do its job and ensure a basic human right — access to water.

In both these cases the failure of the local government to supply water stems from some corrupt activity with some garden-variety mismanagement thrown in. In Sekhukhune the municipal manager is implicated in a dodgy R67-million scandal. She's been suspended on full pay with the municipality now edging towards a settlement.

In QwaQwa, the local government has been mired in scandal. When ANC councillor Vusumuzi Tshabalala became mayor, corruption is alleged to have become rampant. Then, in June 2018, in the face of mounting protests, a motion of no confidence was tabled before the council to remove him. Tshabalala was set for a forced exit. But minutes before the vote, he resigned.

His future job prospects were already secured — he was redeployed as ANC chief whip in the provincial legislature.

But it doesn't end there.

This is the same municipality — Maluti-a-Phofung — that employed more than 200 people days ahead of the ANC's Nasrec conference, even as it was placed under administration. We reported in 2018 that a worker at the municipality, who asked not to be named for fear of being victimised, said: "The job was part of a deal that I would go to the conference and vote for NDZ [Nkosazana Dlamini-Zuma]. We were paid before we even started working."

And herein lies the rub.

Two years ago, much of the country was enthused by President Cyril Ramaphosa's "Thuma Mina" promise. Many were ready to do what was necessary to help steer the country out of the morass that had accelerated during the Jacob Zuma presidency.

There were repeated promises that government employees who were guilty of wrongdoing would be brought to book. There was the expectation that repeated campaigns of misgovernance would not be tolerated.

A year ago the president held out even more hope by proposing the construction of new cities — a real life Wakanda. Not as many people were enthused.

And on the evidence collected thus far, these promises are much the same as those made to the people of QwaQwa. It is the promise of hope, of a better tomorrow just waiting over the next horizon. But it all comes to naught.

This is the state of South Africa today — our country and her people deserve better than this. Promises are not enough.

Democrats must unite

The most basic principle of any election is an accurate vote count. Unfortunately, this is something that the Democratic Party in the United States has failed to get right. As of our publication deadline, the results from the Iowa caucus — the very first leg in the lengthy journey to select a presidential candidate — have yet to be released, allegedly due to a faulty app.

Even assuming the absence of any malign influences, this is not a good look for the party as it heads into a gruelling 10 months before Americans vote for their president in November. It could, in fact, be catastrophic, giving supporters of President Donald Trump all the ammunition they need to dismiss the challengers: after all, if they cannot organise an election, what hope do they have of effectively running a country?

An even more serious own goal is the increasingly bitter tone of the fight between the rival candidates for the Democratic nomination. The opposition risks destroying themselves before they even begin to challenge the governing party.

This could be a fatal mistake. *The Mail & Guardian's* experience of covering elections across the African continent has taught us that the only way to successfully challenge an authoritarian-leaning regime — and make no mistake, that is what the Democratic Party is now dealing with — is for the opposition to unite. Perhaps the best example of this comes from Nigeria, where president Goodluck Jonathan was unseated in 2015 after opposition parties put aside their differences to unite behind President Muhammadu Buhari, who is now on to his second term.

Trump has made insularity and isolationism a core plank of his foreign policy. The best chance the Democrats have to beat him is to take the opposite approach — and learn from the rest of the world.

SA and the death of Dag Hammarskjöld

The democratic government has not helped with the investigation into the UN leader's death

JUSTICE

Richard Goldstone & Henning Melber

Dag Hammarskjöld, the second secretary general of the United Nations, died in a plane crash shortly after midnight on September 18 1961. The aircraft was approaching Ndola, a mining town in then Northern Rhodesia (now Zambia). Hammarskjöld had arranged a meeting with Moïse Tshombe, leader of the secessionist Katanga province, to find a solution to the conflict in the Congo. His efforts were viewed with suspicion by Western governments and the white settler-minority regimes in Southern Africa considered him to be their enemy.

The findings of a UN commission of inquiry into the circumstances of the crash were inconclusive. But its report dismissed the findings of a Rhodesian inquiry to the effect that it was "pilots' error".

General assembly resolution 1759 (XVII) of October 26 1962 requested the secretary general "to inform the general assembly of any new evidence which may come to his attention". It took more than 50 years for new evidence to emerge.

New investigations

In 2011, the book *Who Killed Hammarskjöld?* by the Zambian-born scholar Susan Williams of the London University's Institute for Commonwealth Studies, marked a turning point. It presented a wide range of disturbing evidence.

Under the leadership of Lord Lea of Crondall, a British trade unionist and Labour politician, a few individuals established the Hammarskjöld Inquiry Trust. It initiated a Hammarskjöld Commission, tasked with a new inquiry. This was conducted pro bono by four jurists from The Netherlands, South Africa, Sweden and the United Kingdom.

The commission's report revealed circumstances that called for further research and inquiry. It was submitted to UN secretary general Ban Ki-moon in 2013. In consequence of initiatives by the Swedish Permanent Mission at the UN, the general assembly decided on new inquiries to be made by a panel of experts.

Following the panel's report, in 2017, the former chief justice of Tanzania, Mohamed Chande Othman, was tasked with further investigations. His first report concluded that an aerial attack on the plane "would have been possible using resources existing in the area at the time" and "that there is likely to be much relevant material that remains undisclosed".

He identified "the continued non-disclosure of potentially relevant new information in the intelligence, security and defence archives of UN member states" as "the biggest barrier to understanding the full truth". He suggested that a continued investiga-



Whodunnit: United Nations secretary general Dag Hammarskjöld met his death while on a peace mission involving the Congo. Photo: AFP

tion shifts the burden of proof to the member states to "have conducted a full review of records and archives in their custody or possession, including those that remain classified".

Secretary general António Guterres recommended, "that relevant member states appoint an independent and high-ranking official to conduct a dedicated and internal review of their archives, in particular their intelligence, security and defence archives, to determine whether they hold relevant information".

Othman presented his second report in September 2019. It concluded "that there were many more foreign mercenaries in and around Katanga, including pilots, than had been considered by earlier inquiries". They had suitable planes and airfields to enable them to intercept the aircraft approaching Ndola airport. "It remains plausible that an external attack or threat was a cause of the crash".

South Africa's passivity

Othman based his conclusions partly on reports of the "independent high-ranking officials" that several member states had appointed pursuant to his request. But states expected to have information (the United States, the UK and South Africa) made no efforts to comply with that request. Othman recommended that key member states again be urged to appoint independent high-ranking officials to determine whether relevant information exists in their security, intelligence and defence archives and that key documents be made public.

In December a Swedish draft resolution was adopted with a record number of 128 co-sponsoring countries (including South Africa but not the UK and US), further extending Othman's mandate. The website of the Hammarskjöld Inquiry of the Westminster Branch of the UK's UN Association notes that "observers view this decision and a record number of co-sponsoring member states to be a clear indication to those few states which have failed to co-operate".

The South African government did not respond to Othman's request for assistance in 2017.

In May 2019, after yet more requests, Mxolisi Nkosi, deputy director general for global governance and constitutional agenda at the department of international relations and co-operation, was appointed. He has

not submitted a report. This failure to respond is disturbing. The Truth and Reconciliation Commission referred in 1998 to the obscure South African Institute for Maritime Research (SAIMR) having been possibly involved in unlawful operations at the time of the plane crash. It was linked to the death of Hammarskjöld through Operation Celeste. Williams and the Hammarskjöld Commission were eager to get more information about SAIMR, but to no avail. In 2015, the UN panel of experts also sought such information but without success.

In 2019, SAIMR resurfaced in a documentary, *Cold Case Hammarskjöld*. It presented no hard evidence with regard to what happened at Ndola. But it highlighted a suspected different role of SAIMR in activities aiming at regional destabilisation in later years.

In his latest report, Othman devotes three pages to SAIMR. He acknowledges that there is currently no hard evidence confirming Operation Celeste, but the documentary underscores the need "to verify or dispel the hypothesis relating to Operation Celeste". This requires the co-operation of South Africa "to obtain the original documents so that they may be analysed forensically" and further classified intelligence information archived in South Africa might well exist.

Hammarskjöld played a substantial role in the decolonisation of Africa and in the search for a solution in the Congo. His concerns about the inhumanity of apartheid were well known. He was hardly liked by the white minority regimes in Southern Africa.

It is difficult to imagine that the apartheid state of the time did not follow the events in the Congo. Agencies such as SAIMR or individual mercenaries might have been directly involved in some operations. It is also difficult to understand why the government of a democratic South Africa fails to provide the support requested of it by Othman. One would expect that it would be eager to co-operate in uncovering information relating to the untimely death of a man so many people regard as being the greatest secretary general in the history of the UN.

Richard Goldstone was a member of the Hammarskjöld Commission and Henning Melber is a member of the Hammarskjöld Inquiry Trust

Comment & Analysis



VERBATIM

“[Julius] Malema had promised to occupy Eskom to address load-shedding. A quixotic answer to a problem created deliberately by white monopoly capital. Occupation of Eskom would precipitate its crisis to justify privatisation. Here we are just reminding everyone that Malema doesn’t mean what he says. This endangers the future.” — Black First Land First deputy president Zanele Lwana, taking a swipe at the Economic Freedom Fighters leader for being “consistency in [his] inconsistency”.

“By this time next year we hope we can say we have a site for energy generation outside of Eskom. We want people to sell energy through transmission. We want to take the pressure off of Eskom.” — Minister of Mineral Resources and Energy Gwede Mantashe, speaking on the sidelines of the Investing in African Mining Indaba in Cape Town.

“The biggest threat to action is the fact that those who are trying as hard as possible to speak up are not being given the amplification, they’re not able to tell their stories. If we continue the silencing of planet activists from different parts of Africa, it will be so hard for them to get their message across to our government leaders.” — Vanessa Nakate, of the Fridays For Future, Uganda, speaking at a news conference held in Sweden last week after the World Economic Forum meeting in Davos.

“First question: Are you expecting any players until the end of the [transfer] market? First answer: No. Let’s move, second question: Are you happy with your market? Yes I am. Third question: Don’t you want a striker?” — Tottenham Hotspur manager José Mourinho interviews himself in his pre-match press conference for the game against Manchester City on transfer deadline day.

Nxamalala contracts the Shaiks



Paddy Harper

There is no name yet for Jacob Zuma’s medical condition, but he obviously doubts the NHI can cure it

Thursday. It’s still a good hour till sunrise, but I’m already wide awake and melting, desperately trying to catch up on the drama sparked by former president Jacob Zuma’s failure to appear in the Pietermaritzburg high court on Tuesday.

I’ve been on the back foot since the court took exception to the sick certificate describing Zuma’s medical condition as a “medical condition” and issued a warrant for his arrest, which it has stayed until he next appears in court, pending a proper explanation from his legal team.

Like everybody else, I had expected the court to be brought up to speed on the former head of state’s latest series of appeals and adjourn to another holding date while the challenges to the ruling that Zuma can’t have a permanent stay of prosecution play themselves out. And like the rest of the country, I was shocked and surprised, to borrow a phrase from the current head of state, Cyril Ramaphosa, by the actions of the court.

Perhaps I shouldn’t have been. Zuma’s legal team have, since the corruption case against him was reopened, spent a fair amount of their time playing hard ball against the prosecution team, accusing them of prosecutorial malfeasance; bias



Laughing fit: There is a warrant of arrest out for Jacob Zuma (centre) should he not be able to provide a concrete medical certificate to justify his absence from court on Tuesday. Photo: Michele Spatari/POOL/AFP

and of being part of a plot against Nxamalala. During the failed application for a permanent stay of prosecution last year, they were particularly vicious, painting the National Prosecuting Authority (NPA) as a willing participant in a political vendetta against uBaba.

So, should it be so surprising then that Billy Downer and his team chose to return the compliment in court on Tuesday, essentially accusing Zuma’s lawyer, Daniel Mantsha, of coming to court with a forged sick note and putting him — and his credibility — on the spot?

Perhaps not. It appears that Judge Dhaya Pillay has also had enough of team Zuma diving in the box, given that she granted Downer’s request for the arrest warrant to be issued, and finally whipped out the yellow card.

Pillay’s message to Zuma, channelling his inner Fidel Castro — all Adidas track top and military fatigues while watching, with glee, Donald Trump beating the rap on

Fox News — is clear: stop taking the piss, Baba.

The old man can, obviously, go for medical treatment anywhere he wants, even if he is out on bail, be it Havana, Moscow, Dubai. I would have thought, however, that as a tired and tested what what — sorry that should have read, tried and tested what what — of the former liberation movement, and as a former head of state, Zuma would have stuck around and gone for treatment at home. Shown some faith in the legacy he has left us, and all that.

Health Minister Zweli Mkhize can’t be too pleased either. Think about it.

Poor Khabazela is busy running around the country preaching National Health Insurance (NHI), trying to convince the general populace that state health care is up to scratch and will improve under the NHI. Instead of endorsing this, Zuma, Khabazela’s former lahnee, under whose leadership the whole NHI thing started to really gain

momentum, the whole father of the NHI as it were, promptly fucks off to Cuba for medical treatment the minute he gets a headache or a runny tummy.

Not exactly a vote of confidence in Mkhize, or our health services, or the ANC, or the government of the republic for that matter, on the part of Nxamalala.

Perhaps the former head of state knows something the rest of us don’t about the ability — or lack thereof — of our health services to treat him, hence his decision to seek treatment in Cuba.

Perhaps. I wonder when the bookies are going to start taking bets on Zuma coming back for his May 6 court appearance, and what odds they are offering?

Perhaps they’ll only start giving odds when all the legal toing and froing is over and the trial proper gets going.

May 6 will just be another holding date, given Zuma’s intention to go to the Supreme Court of Appeal to challenge the ruling by the high court that he can’t have a permanent stay of prosecution. If that appeal fails, he will undoubtedly appeal the failure of the appeal, so expect another 18 months or so before the appealing of appeals is over and the matter actually goes to trial.

If our man does a runner, it will be then, just after an actual trial date is set, not now, with Dubai a far more likely hideout than Havana. For now, there’s still plenty of time left to run the clock down before the inevitable happens.

Perhaps Zuma will be well enough to appear in court on May 6.

Perhaps the old man will send Mantsha back to court with another sick note, this time in Spanish, causing another three-month delay while the department of justice finds a translator.

Perhaps.



The 1995 Labour Relations Bill promises a third revolution in South African labour law. The first was in 1924, which saw the first comprehensive labour statute in the wake of the Rand Revolt; 1979 brought the deracialisation of labour law.

The bold draft Bill promotes conciliation and mediation in industrial relations rather than adversarial relations, worker participation and a controversial model of corporatism. It is the fruit of compromise between big business and big unions.

The big winners will be well-organised unions and employers who are prepared to shake off their bad old fighting ways. They are given a chance to enter into a new era on constructive, participative relations. The losers are likely to be isolated employees, managers, workers in small enterprises, small unions, unions trying to make headway against powerful, recalcitrant employers and the labour judiciary.

Anti-union businesses with poorly organised workforces will also gain; the Bill will assist them in engineering a union-free environment. — *The Weekly Mail & Guardian, February 3 to 9 1995*

Comment & Analysis

Even religious freedom has its limits

When a business decides who can or cannot buy their services or products, is this discrimination?

RELIGION
Andile Zulu

Are all beliefs equal? Does every opinion deserve the respect of citizens and the protection of the state? Should the right to freedom of belief, religion and opinion be absolute?

These questions pervaded my thoughts when reading about how Megan Watling and Sasha-Lee Heekes were recently denied the use of the Beloftebos wedding venue because their marriage violated the owner's Christian beliefs. For them, marriage is an institution designed by God and solely reserved for the union of a man and woman.

The couple, angry and wounded, wrote of their feelings on social media. Soon fervent debate was ignited and a petition was drafted rallying citizens to demand the intervention of the South African Human Rights Commission. Accused of and chastised for discrimination, Beloftebos released a media statement on their website to clarify their position. Their defence appealed to the constitutional right to religious freedom and the expression or enacting of that liberty through denying wedding services to lesbian, gay, transgender, queer and intersex (LGBTQI+) clients.

I was intrigued but not surprised by the appropriation of liberal values for a conservative business decision. Remarkably, on Twitter and Facebook, there was support for Beloftebos's actions and reasons, that reaffirmed their liberal justification. Many of these supporters seemed to be frustrated and confused by the calls for a boycott of the business because of the injustice against Watling and Heekes.

"You can't force people to accept your lifestyle," said one person while another said, "Everyone has an equal right to an opinion." A third person said, "This is an attack on freedom of religion" and a fourth said "Stop moaning and find another wedding venue."

I pondered these perspectives, asking myself: even if I disagree with a belief held in reverence by an individual or institution, what justifies my own or the state's demand that they compromise their faith? I don't want to make an argument solely based on the authority of our Constitution. Rather, I ask that we closely and honestly examine how belief functions in society.

The right to freedom of belief and its expression does not mean that all beliefs are equal. In other words, not all opinions are of the same moral and logical value. This is an awkward truth and a difficult discussion to navigate. In a country where political opinion was once suffocated by authoritarian power and uncon-

formist thought constantly beaten down, many South Africans have come to cherish the liberty to rule over our own thoughts and to boldly proclaim our values.

Democracy in this country has been marked by the attempt to accommodate a diversity of belief, often while trying to avoid tricky and uncomfortable discussions. An unintended consequence of this process has been the cultivation of a culture of artificial tolerance. Too many of us have deluded ourselves into forgetting that some opinions and beliefs are bad.

The notion that marriage is to be enjoyed and endured only by heterosexuals is one of the many bad opinions that can be privately embraced but not adversely affect how other citizens live their lives. It would be unconstitutional and unfair for the state to compel a priest or imam to officiate a same-sex marriage if it stands against their values or contradicts their beliefs.

But Beloftebos is not a church or mosque or temple. It is a business that sells a service to the public.

It was saddening to see some people who explicitly did not identify as Christian defend Beloftebos's decision, as though homophobia is a morally sound and rational belief to hold.

And I imagine some may find the use of the term homophobia unfair and inaccurate. A person who loudly rejects LGBTQI+ people and is willing to harass, bully or use violence against them is homophobic. But so too is a person who quietly discriminates against queer people. The actions of Beloftebos, and any institution that discriminates on the basis of sexuality, also have a home on the spectrum of prejudice.

If a business refuses service to an individual or group based not on what an individual or group has done, but rather on what a person or group is, reflects a deep disapproval of a person or group's identity. In this particular situation, not believing LGBTQI+ people should participate in a practice as old as humanity itself, in which people have found profound meaning and immeasurable joy, shouts to all of society that such a group is somehow undeserving, ill-suited and unworthy of the practice. Surely, such hostility must be aptly described as homophobia?

Moreover, if one holds the view that religious freedom justifies such discrimination, the question of how far religious freedom can be exercised needs to be addressed. Should religious schools reject the admission of LGBTQI+ children? Is it morally sound for Muslim or Christian adoption agencies to deny orphans the opportunity to be raised by a responsible and caring same-sex couple? Would we tolerate universities



Degrees of discrimination: Megan Watling and Sasha-Lee Heekes (above) could not celebrate their marriage in a venue of their choice. Rohingya Muslims in a refugee camp in Bangladesh (left) have faced persecution and pogroms in Myanmar, where the majority religion is Theravada Buddhism. Photo: Ye Aung Thu/AFP

firing queer staff or expelling queer students?

It's tempting to think our beliefs have little or no effect on the experiences of others. This allows us to elude responsibility for what we say and how we act based on what we believe. Ideas, be they religious, political or cultural, do not float above us sealed off and intangible. Rather they are in our worlds, pumped with power by those who wield them. The actions of businesses, while undertaken as private institutions, still affect those who choose to buy their products. So business practices matter — as does the reaction of the law to their practices.

Watling and Heekes have lodged a complaint with the Human Rights Commission. A considerable number of citizens, Christian and secular alike, have viewed this kind of legal action as unfair persecution of a religious group. The state must not be callous with the rights of an individual or group.

History is humiliated with episodes of religious groups that struggled to survive the brutality of governments seeking to exterminate those who did not conform to popular ideology. For Muslims in Burma, Christians in Iran and Hindus in Pakistan, openly practicing their faith can have lethal consequences.

But South Africa is not a theocratic

dictatorship. Christians are not politically disempowered, nor the victims of state violence. Numerically, Christians are a religious majority. Gospel artists sometimes outsell their secular counterparts. Sermons crowd public television screens on Sundays and churches pervade urban and rural spaces across the country. Certain brands of pastors have become a new kind of celebrity.

What South Africa is not is a paradise for LGBTQI+ people. A wide, dark and chaotic space exists between progressive legislation and the often unchallenged hostility towards anyone who isn't straight. On the whole, unless one is protected by wealth or lucky to be supported by loving friends and family, those who don't live by the rules of sexual and gender conformity are treated with disrespect similar to the degradation people of colour experienced under the heels of white power.

The evidence is damning to the democratic dream we have been trying to manifest: corrective rape remains a nightmare for lesbian women and gay men, while queer children, whether transgender or non-binary, still fear and endure severe bullying at schools. Suicide is seen as the only relief for too many

LGBTQI+ people across age, race and class, who often suffer from depression, anxiety or post-traumatic stress.

Precisely because queer equality has yet to be made tangible, because our freedom is held hostage by various forms of bigotry and because government deals with LGBTQI+ issues often only in progressive rhetoric followed by little or no meaningful action, the choice to discriminate on the basis of sexual orientation matters.

No human rights are absolute. Reasonable limits are placed on rights and freedoms in democracies around the world. I predict the Human Rights Commission will act in favour of Watling and Heekes, primarily because the right to freedom of religion exists insofar as it does not impede the liberty of others.

Constitutional debates aside, we need to have conversations on what beliefs should be respected and defended. Such discussions should be led by asking ourselves how freedom can be fairly realised and savoured by all citizens — and what beliefs, opinions and values stop human beings from living their lives without fear or indignity.

Andile Zulu has a blog called **Born Free Blues**

Comment & Analysis



Food for thought: Should people eventually be able to establish a settlement on Mars, they could learn valuable lessons and test out new technologies to benefit Earth. Illustration: SAIC

Bid to settle Mars could solve Earth's crisis

Africa must be part of developing technology that may make inhabiting the Red Planet possible and help the continent survive climate change

ENVIRONMENT
Sikhulekile Duma

But if we want humanity to advance a step further, if we want to bring it up to a different level than that which Europe has shown it, then we must invent and we must make discoveries."

These words were written by Frantz Fanon, an influential writer in the anti-colonial liberation struggle, in the concluding chapter of his book *The Wretched of the Earth* (1961). The chapter is an ode to humanism and a reflection on Africa's potential contribution to humanity as it emerged from the atrocities of colonialism. Fanon's parting message is that Africa should not try to mimic the West, but rather focus on contributing its own inventions and perspectives in the service of humanity. Fanon captures this by writing: "For Europe, for ourselves, and for humanity, comrades, we must turn over a new leaf, we must work out new concepts, and try to set afoot a new man."

At this point you might be asking: "What do Fanon's concluding remarks in 1961 have in connection with humanity's quest to reach Mars?"

Almost 60 years after he died, Fanon and his teachings have been reawakened as young Africans have become conscious in the face of ever more complex problems. It is not enough to regurgitate Fanon; rather we should contextualise and build on his philosophy in a changing Africa and a changing world.

It is a long-established view among

most Africans that Africa and its people have much to contribute to the advancement of our world. But one finds that we still limit our contributions, choosing to confine them through the narrow lens of the "Third World". Although these contributions are important, we confine our possibilities to the limitations of the present.

In South Africa this mentality is prevalent and has reinforced the pessimism that has become the contemporary South African view. Consider President Cyril Ramaphosa's last State of the Nation address, in which he spoke of smart cities and bullet trains whizzing across the country. The nation's response to his vision was one of ridicule and calls that he should "get his head out of the clouds" and focus on more pressing problems.

But the articulation of a long-term vision is an essential function of any country's leader. It should be our desire that our president thinks not only five years into the future but 20 and 30 years ahead, with the hope that his contributions today can begin a journey to a different society tomorrow.

With our planet facing an array of interconnected crises, including climate change, an out-of-date economic system, growing inequality and revolutionary advancements in technology that will fundamentally transform how we work and interact with each other, it's not enough to think only of the present. Our contributions as Africans must be future-focused and provide an equitable alternative not only for ourselves but for all of humanity.

This train of thinking needs to be

extended to how we think about sustainability. Africa has the undesirable burden of having contributed the least to the climate crisis yet is being affected by it the most. Climate change fundamentally threatens all the developmental goals we have set for ourselves. Consider, for example, that, if the world warms by an average of 3°C, which we are on track to reach, this will mean an average rise of 6°C in Southern Africa. A 6° rise in average temperature in this part of the world would result in the failure of the maize crop, which most of the population is dependent on for food. The devastation would render all developmental interventions useless.

But one does not have to wait for the Earth to heat up further to understand the seriousness of millions of people reported to be facing food insecurity because of drought and the devastating effects of tropical Cyclone Idai, which hit Mozambique, Malawi and Zimbabwe in March last year. As South Africans, we know that any crisis in Zimbabwe becomes a problem for us, especially through the manifestation of increased migration as Zimbabweans are once again forced to flee their country.

Our perspectives on anything that pertains to the sustainability of humanity is essential and, as crazy as this sounds, this includes humanity's quest to settle on Mars by the middle of this century. When Africans, similar to many other people, comment on the likes of Elon Musk's efforts to reach Mars in the 2030s, the prevalent opinion is that this is a waste of money that would be better served solving issues on Earth.

But this view ignores the historical fact that space travel has been an enabler of technological advancement that has affected on our everyday lives. In 1961, when President

John F Kennedy committed the United States to sending astronauts to the moon by the end of the decade, the technology to achieve such an incredible feat had yet to be invented. This ambitious goal, mainly driven by Cold War rivalry, forced engineers and scientists to develop the technology that would make manned flight to the moon possible.

Some of these inventions and innovations include efficient water purification systems, lightweight breathing masks (which are essential for firefighters), solar panels, and cordless devices such as drills. In total, Nasa is responsible for 6300 new technologies in their bid to understand space better.

Similar to the beginning of the 1960s, the technologies and innovations necessary for manned flight to Mars — and settlement of the Red Planet — have yet to be invented and forces engineers and scientists to think outside the box and accelerate the pace of innovation. Essential to our ambition to reach Mars will be sustainability. Considering that it is estimated that a one-way manned trip to Mars would take seven months, the success of the mission and future settlement will be dependent on how sustainably we reuse water, how we source energy and we ensure food security on a barren planet.

These considerations, if applied successfully to our ambition to reach the Red Planet, will answer the big questions that we have on Earth about how we transition our societies towards reusable water, sustainable farming in regions facing desertification and how we fundamentally rethink urban living and settlement (inclusive of smart cities).

In an interview with the online publication *Observer.com*, Stephen Petranek, the author of *How We'll Live on Mars*, said that going to other planets could help us mend

the destruction we have caused on Earth. In Petranek's view, the settlement of other planets gives us incentives, resources and space to test out new technologies that could limit or reduce the effects of climate change here on Earth.

One such example is the difficulty of growing food on Mars; the soil is salty and dry, but nutrient rich. Any endeavour to grow crops in such a hostile environment would have to consider efficient resource use. The success of such experiments would have a widespread effect on our ability to grow food in the most arid areas on our own planet.

It is therefore essential, considering that Africa is at the forefront of food, water, and resource insecurity in the face of climate change, that our scientists, engineers and policymakers are involved in humanity's quest to reach Mars. Our absence from this endeavour will result in technical solutions that are of little relevance to our context. It is not enough for African governments to focus on the "bread and butter issues" of today. They must also have one eye on those future-focused developments that can help us ensure that the bread and butter issues of tomorrow are not worse than those of today.

I leave you with the words of Fanon, who wrote: "Humanity is waiting for something from us other than such an imitation [of the West], which would be almost an obscene caricature." The world awaits unique perspectives and innovations that will bring security and equity to all of humanity. This we can only deliver through our involvement in the collective philosophical and technical ambitions of humankind, such as the race to reach Mars.

Sikhulekile Duma is an adviser in international and government relations in the mining sector and wrote this article in his personal capacity

Education

Student vandalism at UKZN is inexcusable

EDUCATION MATTERS
Bongekile Macupe



Last week the South African Union of Students called for a national shutdown of all universities, accusing the higher education minister, Blade Nzimande, of failing to meet 15 demands in the student union's memorandum.

The demands included scrapping historical debt and for students with historical debt to be allowed to register, funding for postgraduate studies, addressing the shortage of student accommodation and free registration for poor and "missing middle" students.

These and other issues are not new. In fact they could easily be a copy-and-paste of what they submitted

to former higher education minister Naledi Pandor last year.

A few universities heeded the call by the student union to join the national shutdown, resulting in the disruption of registration when the protest turned ugly and violent on some campuses.

But this past weekend, the student union called for an end to the shutdown after it met Nzimande and Universities South Africa — an association of universities — and a consensus was achieved on some of the demands.

But damage had already been done on some campuses and the scenes of what happened at the University of KwaZulu-Natal (UKZN) were jaw-dropping to say the least.

The student union called for the shutdown on Monday, January 27. Two days later students at UKZN

petrol-bombed the security control building and a vehicle belonging to the university.

On Monday, February 3 — after the union called off the shutdown — UKZN students torched another car, an HIV support centre and an office for student residence affairs.

The next day they burned a lecture hall.

Newspaper headlines screamed that the students promised they would burn down the entire university if their demands were not met.

The few days of their protest has, without doubt, set the KwaZulu-Natal university back by millions of rands in damages.

Last year, UKZN students burned mattresses and flung them out of windows, because they were fed up with sleeping in "uncomfortable beds".

Huh?

So by burning the "uncomfortable" beds did they think new ones were suddenly going to appear?

It must be disappointing and embarrassing for a parent to be called and told that their child has been arrested for torching university property. And now the parent — probably a poor parent — has to scramble around to find bail money, which might involve going to loan sharks.

I wonder if these students ever stop to think about the effects of their actions.

This is in no way invalidating the concerns of students.

But let us say all these demands are met. Where are these students going to go for inquiries about student accommodation now that they have torched that office? Where should

students living with HIV go when they need support, because that office has been burned down. Where will they attend classes because a lecture hall also went up in smoke?

There is no logic in all of this. And there can never be any explanation that would excuse their action. None.

What is perhaps most depressing about it all is that these are the people the country is looking to as future leaders. If the thuggish students of UKZN — those who are responsible for the mayhem of the past few days — represent the calibre of the leaders we will rely on to advance this country then, sadly, there will be a very long way to go.

There is nothing radical or revolutionary about burning down university property while claiming to be fighting for access to education. It's vandalism, qha qwaba.

Mandela said I could, so I got my doctorate

My mother was a domestic worker and my father a miner, and I went to school in the townships

COMMENT
Motlalepule Nathane

I am a first-generation university graduate and I spent the first 12 years of my education in township schools in Evaton in Gauteng. The township was established in 1904 for black gold miners and was one of the few townships in which black Africans could own land before 1994.

I was born on a farm about 15km west of Evaton, where my paternal extended families were tenant labourers for more than two generations. Education was highly valued in my family, even though neither of my parents had formal education. They instilled the value of education in us from a young age, stressing that it was the only way out for a black child in apartheid South Africa.

My father was, at some point in his life, a mineworker in Rustenburg and my mother was a domestic worker. My parents' attitude towards education was manifested in them making a tough decision to move from a farm to Evaton. This was because there was just one small school on the farm, which offered only grades one to three.

This groot trek happened when I was four months old, and led to us leaving behind the secure farm life and the safety provided by the extended family. My siblings and I were educated in Evaton, which had a number of schools.

Life in the townships in the 1970s and 1980s was harsh, because regu-

lations controlled and disrupted the lives of black African families. These were the pass and permit laws that led to the constant arrests of black people. My parents were well aware of these realities — they knew exactly what they were getting into. This was the sacrifice that my siblings and I would eternally be grateful for.

My encounter with learning began on the floor of an overcrowded classroom with no furniture, no teacher and no teaching materials. The school was in an area called Small Farms; the year was 1980.

The education district office made a decision to enrol all learners without the necessary documents such as birth certificates and family permits. In townships, it was illegal to accept learners who were not in possession of these documents.

This resulted in the high enrolment of learners but not enough school buildings. For more than three months my classmates and I were placed in a church-like classroom at Mme Christina MaNku's premises, while we waited for the authorities to come up with a plan. My family did not have a permit, and I was placed in a class after a plan was devised to offer learning in two time-based streams.

My schooling was constantly disrupted by the political unrest that affected most townships in the 1980s and early 1990s. During the years of military occupation in Evaton, I witnessed the dehumanising brutality and atrocities perpetrated by young white men in the army and police



Graphic: JOHN McCANN

force against innocent residents who were fighting for their freedom.

I learned at a young age how to escape rubber bullets and tear gas; how to leave my classroom through a small window; how to jump over our high school fence when running away from white men who wanted to shoot my "k..... kop" in their quest to improve their skills of shooting at a target whom they did not see as a human being.

This was my first experience of open violence in an oppressive system that denied us our humanity. I had many unanswered questions and my 11-year-old logic could not make sense of everything that happened around me.

It was in a first-year sociology lecture that my questions about an unjust society were answered. One of my professors covered a section on education in apartheid South Africa; this included how Bantu education was conceptualised and how much the National Party government spent on the education of children according to their race. It was as if someone had dropped a bomb on my head; as

though a big family secret had been disclosed.

I did not know this part of history: it had not been covered in my school curriculum. For the first time I understood what was going on in this country.

The Bantu education system was highly co-ordinated, with a clear agenda of turning black African children into drawers of water and hewers of wood for a white-run economy and society, regardless of an individual's abilities and aspirations.

This was a turning point in my life. Everything about the schools in townships made perfect sense for the first time, from the empty laboratories to school libraries with empty shelves and a shortage of text books to no sports fields or equipment. I abhor admitting this, but it was Hendrik Verwoerd's assertion about the position of a black child that made me more resolute to become part of a space that he maintained was reserved for white people. I was determined to achieve this, despite the fact that my schooling had not prepared me for it.

This led me to pursue my childhood dream of obtaining the title of doctor. Some adults dismissed this dream. I was advised to settle for a more modest level of achievement that could be more easily attained.

But my dream was realised in December, when a degree of doctor of philosophy was conferred on me by the University of the Witwatersrand. This achievement became a reality through the support of family, friends and many academic aunts, and through overcoming the countless obstacles confronting me as a black African woman.

As Nelson Mandela said in his autobiography, *Long Walk to Freedom* (1995): "It is through education that the daughter of a peasant can become a doctor, that the son of a mineworker can become the head of the mine, that a child of farm workers can become the president of a great nation."

Dr Motlalepule Nathane is a lecturer in the social work department at the University of the Witwatersrand

Transform campuses, transform society

These transit points can move the decolonisation process forward by breaking down barriers

COMMENT

Colin Chasi & Ylva Rodny-Gumede

The role of the university campus can be more than a place and structure in which higher education is delivered, as well as provide additional services and extra-curricular activities.

After the RhodesMustFall and FeesMustFall campaigns, facilitation of access to and the promotion of diverse cultures and languages, and the transformation of curriculums have been prioritised under the all-embracing heading of “decolonisation of the university”.

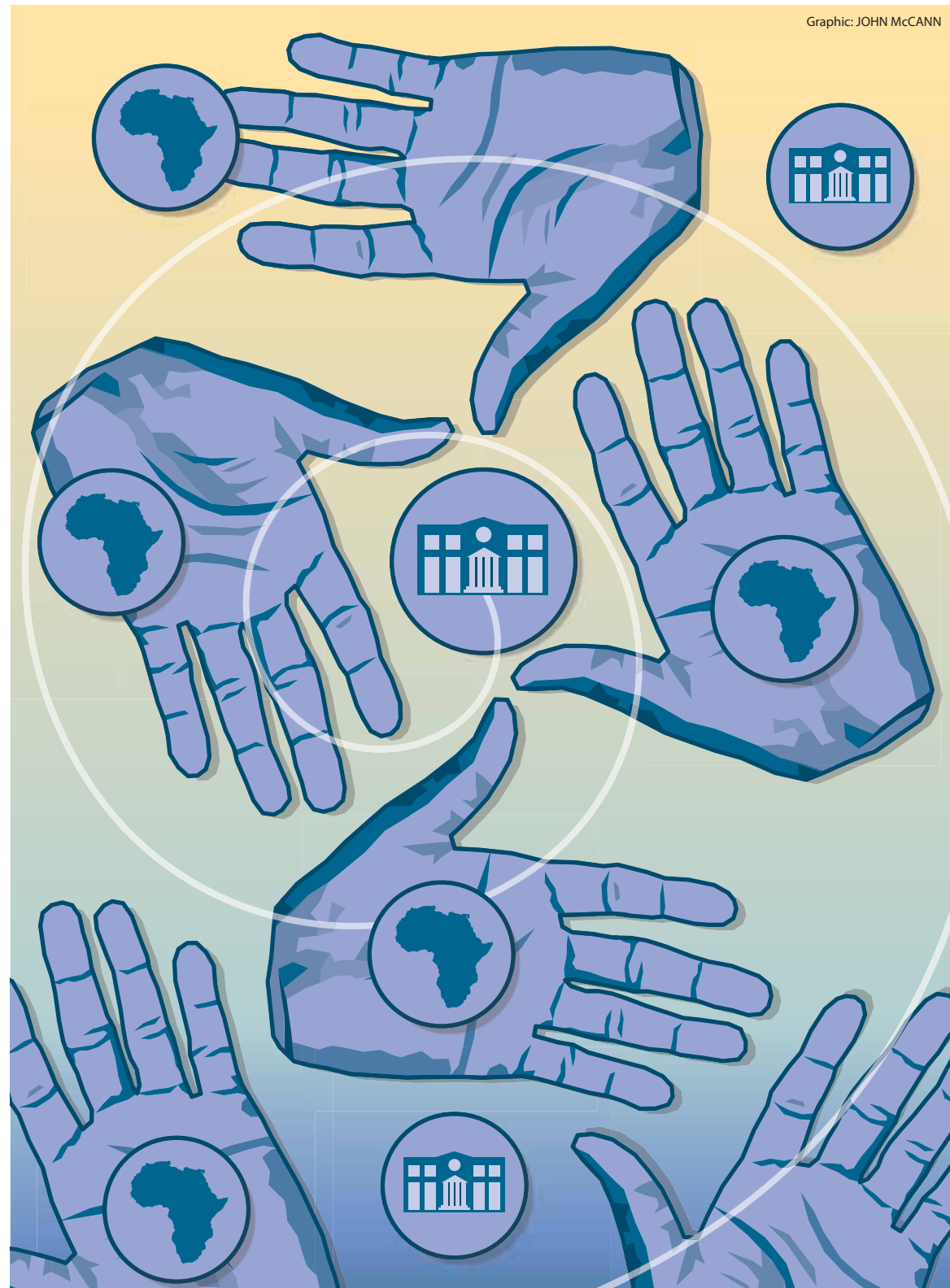
But little emphasis has been put on the transformation of university campuses themselves as an embodiment of colonialism and the exclusionary politics thereof. In fact, the university campus can be used as an analogy for the role that higher education can play in facilitating decolonisation and social transformation. Discussions on the decolonisation of the university are incomplete until they also encompass critical and creative thinking about the places and spaces in which universities work and lives are lived and fulfilled.

Education is linked to the metaphor of change and the transference of knowledge, so is the university itself and, no less so, campus. Universities can be seen as transit spaces that function as nodes in which people and even society are transformed. Equally, universities mirror, and take on the form of, their surroundings and the societies they are part of. Former University of the Free State vice-chancellor, Jonathan Jansen, when dealing with racism on campus, found that sentiments on campus were mere mirror images of racist attitudes in the communities surrounding the university, as reflected through newspaper editorials and letters to the editors in local newspapers.

This becomes ever more important in the postcolonial context of South African universities, whereas previously, the place and space of the university campus made statements of belonging and exclusion in equal measures. Instead, the strategic direction of South African university campuses must be to make statements about a new set of ideologies and values, and serve as a space for the re-appropriation of cultural production and reproduction.

Thus, what makes universities transit spaces is that the coincidence or meetings that they give rise to frame cultural trajectories. The university serves as a place where people of different generations and genealogies meet and, through the meeting of people, the university also connects multiple epistemic schema, disciplines, knowledges, ideas and systems of thought.

The key point here is that the “transit” metaphor captures the transformation ideal of a univer-



Graphic: JOHN McCANN

sity that changes society through its educational, research and other endeavours. It coheres with the idea of a university that breaks the yoke of colonialism and moves to replace colonial orders with new ones that are relevant to the needs of the society in which it is founded.

The transit metaphor suggests that the ideal of the university, as a place of advancement through teaching and research, is best met when the university itself is informed by the environments on which it is based. South African university campuses, like their counterparts around the world, are all products and embodiments of the political and social agendas of their time.

The post-war era brought the construction of large numbers of universities characterised by bold modernist architecture and rigid layouts planned to host much smaller student populations, which are ill-suited for today’s large surge in student numbers and the changing demands of 21st-century education, ideally characterised by the flexibility of evolving technological develop-

ments, changing teaching methods and a greater need for interactions between students and staff and the surrounding communities.

There is an imperative to reimagine and reconfigure the physical place and space of campus to not only accommodate larger student numbers, but to create a campus that is centred on a holistic and equal learning experience that provides for formal and alternative teaching and learning modalities, and that creates a sense of sociocultural belonging for all students.

To create a learning environment that is conducive to a “future-fit” university, and to create a learning space that talks to and considers a

The transit metaphor suggests the ideal of the university is best met when it is informed by the environments on which it is based

South African and African cultural, as well as a socioeconomic context, it is important to rethink, reconstruct and re-practice campuses in ways that mediate transformation. Imagining campuses as transit points allows us to think about how spaces can be reconfigured to become virtual as well as literal transit halls in which social transformation is enabled. Thus, campuses as transit points can open up to processes that are conducive to individuals, societies, nations and the world being reimaged, reconfigured, transformed and decolonised.

There are three main areas in which campuses can be reconfigured as transit spaces.

First, campuses can work as transit points that link people to multiple and varied possibilities for sociocultural belonging. Research shows that the South African university mergers have successfully managed to construct a professional academic and student identity that is moving away from an apartheid higher education system in which academic identities were formed by an alle-

giance to an institution shaped by and premised on the apartheid ideology of belonging and exclusion. Instead, a new allegiance and identity is formed, shaped by the post-merger institution independent of previous language and cultural affiliations. Thus, a conscious restructuring and reimagining of the place of the university and those who inhabit it can create new ways for people to reimagine their identities.

Second, universities can decolonise by enabling and providing extended educational, professional and social services. With campuses essentially built to host much smaller student numbers, many institutions are hard-pressed to reconfigure, rebuild and construct new lecture venues, student accommodation and recreational spaces. With dwindling funding, new and innovative solutions to space constraints are much needed. Here universities need to harness opportunities of the fourth industrial revolution and new options for how services can be delivered without compromising the social aspects of the campus experience.

Third, campuses can decolonise by recreating and facilitating decolonised relationships between the university and surrounding communities and broader socioeconomic policies and imperatives nationally, regionally and globally. Transformation and decolonisation projects will have to take stakeholder relationships seriously and make them key to the transformation agenda of the university.

This means giving all stakeholders real and tangible stakes in the facilities and services of the campus. Thus, university campuses must be configured in such a way that, unlike, for example American university campuses, structured as a “place apart” and as microcosms of cities, they instead become a place that is part of the surrounding community.

As transit spaces, universities can act as vital nodes for the transitions South Africa envisions to advance decolonisation. University spaces can also work as networks in which possibilities are produced that enable society to develop innovations and capabilities with which to cope and even lead in a fast changing world.

To do so, it is necessary to remove structural, material and other barriers that limit the extent to which the university can function as a transit space. Thus, architects, planners, university leaders, academics and students, as well as other stakeholders, need to be challenged to fundamentally rethink the campus and the roles it fulfils.

Ultimately, how universities are constituted and given meaning say a great deal about how decolonisation of higher education and the societies they form part of will transpire.

Colin Chasi is in the department of communication studies and is head of the unit for institutional change and social justice at the University of the Free State. Ylva Rodny-Gumede is in the school of communication and is the head of the division for internationalisation at the University of Johannesburg

Speech by the KwaZulu-Natal MEC for education, Kwazi Mshengu, during the announcement of province's 2019 matric results on January 8.

Today the education sector will give account to the people of KwaZulu-Natal on the mandate to ensure quality education for all.

We give this account on day in the ANC was founded 108 years ago. The formation of the organisation was a response to the grieving majority of indigenous people. Among the tools used to oppress our people was education.

I am still yet to find the best description of the standard of education given to African people other than the one given by the apartheid minister of education, Hendrik Verwoerd, who said: "There is no space for him [the native] in the European community above certain forms of labour. For this reason, it is of no avail for him to receive training which has its aim in the absorption of the European community where he cannot be absorbed. Until now he has been subjected to a schooling system which drew him away from his community and misled him by showing him the greener pastures of European society where he is not allowed to graze."

As we give account of the class of 2019 matriculants, we are reporting to John Langalibalele Dube, AB Xuma, Chief Albert Luthuli, Oliver Tambo, Nelson Mandela and many other leaders and martyrs who heralded the freedom we enjoy today. We are reporting on how far have we gone in responding to the demand that the "African must be given the type of education which will enable him to meet on equal terms with other people's conditions of the modern world" (African Claims document).

For the first time, we have compiled a report that gives account of performance from grade 1 to grade 12. We base this on the conviction that our focus should be learner performance throughout the entire education system as opposed to only focusing at the tail end – matric. The report will inform the interventions we need to make. The education system is performing fairly well in lower grades, but we are worried that there is a decline in grades 8 and 9 – an indication that there either may be a disconnect between primary and secondary education or that we don't pay sufficient attention to these two grades as opposed to grades 10, 11 and 12.

The focus on the performance of the whole education system should also assist us in tracing learners from the time they enter the school system until they leave it. We remain worried about learners who drop out and we don't fully understand when or why this happens. I have directed the education department to investigate the development of a system that can trace each learner and their performance from the time they start in grade 1. This system will enable teachers, parents and others to make pointed interventions for an individual learner and a cohort of learners.

The year 2019 has been a difficult year for the education sector. We had to contend with many factors inhibiting our progress. These include violence in our schools, vandalism, theft, disruption of teaching and learning by residents, burning of schools and the shortage of funds to meet our targets. Notwithstanding these difficulties, the dedication of all stakeholders made it possible for us today to stand with our heads high.

Interventions to improve results

During 2019 we undertook a number of interventions to improve the results. Among them are:

- Enforcing and monitoring the implementation of the Academic Improvement Plan right down to the school level;
- The MEC and Head of Department's District Support Programme, which saw the MEC and HOD meet senior management in districts, circuit managers and principals of



KZN's top 10 with the MEC, KZN premier, His Majesty the King Goodwill Zwelithini and Department's Head Of Department

T60 schools to identify problems and to find solutions;

- The District Mathematics Support Programme, which targeted teachers and learners and was one of the major reasons behind the improvement made in mathematics in the province;
- Orientation workshops, which had a huge effect because they provided teachers with necessary techniques for effective teaching;
- Support to underperforming schools by head office and district officials; and
- Lessons on radio stations helped learners who would listen at home and combine this knowledge being imparted with what they learned at school.

Drive to maintain and improve results

KwaZulu-Natal, with an enrolment of about 2.8-million children, has almost 23% of all learners in the country. We need to step up our drive to record yet another good academic year in 2020. We will continue improving the measures we have in place and introduce more so that the whole system works. Among the areas of our focus will be:

- Making the classroom the centrepiece of all activities;
- Early childhood development;
- Literacy, numeracy and digital skills;
- Assessment and accountability;
- Infrastructure and sanitation;
- Rollout of information and communications to meet the demands of the fourth industrial revolution;
- Skills and competencies for a changing world;
- School safety;
- Partnering with institutions of higher

The top 10 circuits are

District Name	CMC	Circuit	Total Wrote	Total Achieved	Pass%
Ugu	Emzumbeni	Highflats	338	328	97.0%
Pinetown	Durban Northwest	Westville	3 350	3 203	95.6%
Amajuba	Newcastle	Ebuhleni	1 987	1 896	95.4%
Umgungundlovu	Umnjeni	Howick	4 201	3 959	94.2%
Amajuba	Dannhauser	Normandien	781	733	93.9%
Ugu	Scottburgh	Dududu	297	278	93.6%
Umlazi	Durban Central	Ethusini	5 748	5 377	93.5%
Pinetown	Mafukuzela Ghandi	Phoenix Central	3 474	3 243	93.4%
Zululand	Bhekuzulu	Ngotshe	772	714	92.5%

learning on various programmes and projects; and

- Mobilising communities to take active interest in education.

Matric results for 2019

KwaZulu-Natal's national senior certificate pass rate improved from 76.2% in 2018 to 81.3% in 2019. Last year saw 116 937 candidates sit for the final exams. Today we proudly join the league of other provinces in the 80% bracket.

Our bachelor passes have increased from 38 573 in 2018 to 44 189 in 2019. In percentages, that translates to 37.8% in 2019 and 33.2% in 2018. We are also pleased with our steady increase in both maths and physical science.

Performance of the progressed learners

We are proud of the continued improvement in our intervention programmes for progressed learners. This is evidenced by an increase in bachelor passes from 561 in the class of 2018 to 966 in the class of 2019. The overall pass percentage for progressed learners has improved from 63.40% to 71.80%. The improvement in pass percentage of progressed learners is higher in Umkhanyakude by 18.70%, Ilembe by 14.90% and Umgungundlovu by 12.40%.

The overall pass percentage per district is:

Ugu:	86.30%
Amajuba:	85.20%
Pinetown:	83%
Umgungundlovu:	82.80%
Umlazi :	82.60%
Ilembe:	80.90%

Umkhanyakude:	80.60%
King Cetshwayo:	79.30%
Uthukela:	79.20%
Zululand:	79.10%
Umzinyathi:	77.40%
Harry Gwala:	77.30%

We congratulate Ugu district for being the best performing district in 2019. To the district direct, Mr Sibiyi, we say well done to you and your team.

We congratulate all 12 districts because they recorded improvements. We congratulate Ilembe district in particular for being the most improved district (by 5.90%).

A total of 201 schools obtained a 100% pass rate in 2019, compared with 121 in 2018. Included in these best schools are rural and quintiles 1, 2 and 3 schools.

But we note that, despite our hard work to turn things around, three schools recorded a zero percent pass rate.

The department has plans in place to support candidates who require a second chance to get their national senior certificate. They are advised to contact their nearest district office for details.

At the beginning of last year the department promised that we would break the 80% pass threshold and we have delivered. Our commitment this year is that we will narrow the gap between our current performance and the 100% pass rate, which is our ultimate target.



education

Department:
Education
PROVINCE OF KWAZULU-NATAL

Calls mount for Tax Ombudsman's independence

There is mounting pressure on National Treasury to give the Office of the Tax Ombudsman independence, following a dialogue with the public, tax practitioners and representatives of the South African Revenue Services (Sars) this week.

Panellists and audience members at a critical thinking forum hosted by the *Mail & Guardian* at Webber Wentzel's offices in Sandton discussed the importance of the office being seen to be independent and as a crucial to boosting tax morale.

The views expressed during the engagement will be used to support the call for the structural independence of the Office. Judge Bernard Ngoepe is becoming increasingly desperate for the office to be given autonomy.

He has written to three finance heads, Nhlamhla Nene, Malusi Gigaba and Mboweni about the difficult situation the office faces and has so far not received any response. Determined to achieve full independence from Sars by the time his term end in 2022, he is now soliciting the views of the public.

A study was conducted by Government Technical Advisory Centre (GTAC) several years ago and they presented two scenarios for the tax ombud. The one would see a total divorce and the other would see certain services shared to save funds. This report which Ngoepe reminded the audience cost several millions to produce, has thus far been ignored by government.

Declining revenues and the growing tax collection gap has been a headache for Treasury in recent years with part of the blame being attributed to weak economic growth and a slippage in tax morale. Mboweni is expected to announce further tax increases in his budget speech in the final week in February. There has been some speculation by analysts that this could be in the form of another value added tax (VAT) hike, the second one in three years.

The Office of the Tax Ombudsman is seen as a key institution to boost morale and compliance by allowing tax payers who have exhausted internal Sars processes, to have their complaints dealt with by an independent body.

The tax ombud's office opened in 2013 with just three staff members, growing to 40 people, having received over 4 800 complaints in the previous financial year with around half of these resolved and more than R35 million gained back for taxpayers.

Ngoepe who has been at the helm of growing the institution since 2013 warns against a false sense of complacency that the office is working well in its current format, where the Sars commissioner is the accounting officer and can dismiss and hire staff for the watchdog.

'Why would you report Sars to Sars'

"Why do we need that structural independence, we need it because this is a public office...don't look at its performance when assessing its need for structural independence, that office is working well because of the mutual respect with Sars commissioners," Ngoepe said.

He added that when he steps down in just over two years, he does not want the next tax ombudsman to be dependent on the good will of a commissioner.

"No public office should survive on the reputation of an individual," said Ngoepe who was the former Judge President of the North and South Gauteng High Courts.

The current format for the office sees the Minister of Finance appoint the tax ombud while Sars, the institution that the office is supposed to provide oversight for, controls their finances, HR processes and even the building's lease.

This was an issue of concern raised by Wayne Duvenage, the CEO of the Organisation Undoing Tax Abuse (Outa) during a panel discussion.

"You cannot have an organisation that you are holding to account controlling you... now is the time to fix this"

He pointed out that Sars had previously been weakened under former commissioner Tom Moyne and people need to be able to trust in the institution as it tries to rebuild.

Duvenage added that a great deal more work is required to ensure the public is aware of the office of the tax ombud, which will require more resources and the ability to control its own budget.

Advocate Lucia Hlongwane, the CEO of Walena Africa Capital and former Africa Tax Leader at EY said that tax payers don't feel they can rely on the tax ombud due to perceptions of not being fully independent



Stakeholders representing different groups including taxpayers, tax practitioners, civil society, tax industry bodies, academia, as well as representatives of private and public sector entities held constructive discussions on Tax Ombud Judge Bernard Ngoepe's call for the structural independence of the Office of the Tax Ombud. Photos: Supplied

and would rather go to court to try get their money back.

"Why would you report Sars to Sars," Hlongwane described as the common feeling amongst many of her corporate clients.

South Africa, close to 26 years after the first democratic elections is still trying to refine its key institutions, clearly outlining their powers and scope.

Protect democratic institutions

This was highlighted by Ngoepe who said there is a "bad culture in this country, [we] try create institutions in terms of the constitution but we are poor in terms of protecting them.

The tax ombud's office is one of the institutions where legislation and the practice is somewhat confusing, according to Pieter Farber, executive in the tax department at the South African Institute of chartered Accountants (SAICA).

"The perceived independence [of the tax ombud] has always been a problem, there were some refinements in the 2016 amendments but we should have asked questions a lot earlier," Farber said.

He pointed out one example of this, the tax ombud's budget (R46.4 million in 2018/2019) is approved by the minister of finance but is then allocated by Sars which has a separate reporting schedule to parliament.

Farber also questioned why the Office of the Tax Ombudsman does not have the powers to open bank accounts. "The legislation doesn't seem to tie up," Farber said.

International best practice

With very few tax ombud offices in Africa, the

SA office was modelled on similar watchdogs in Australia, Canada and New Zealand.

Professor Deborah Tickle, from the University of Cape Town and the managing partner of the tax department at KPMG (Cape Town) tackled international best practice in keeping watchdog's independent.

The US office touts its autonomy but has to report to the Internal Revenue Services who also controls the appointment of staff. Australia's Inspector-General of Taxation has financial independence from the revenue agency.

The best example is perhaps Mexico's Prodecon, which has a wide mandate, acting as an arbitrator and can represent taxpayers up to a certain limit. The timeline to respond back to complaints is 72 hours.

Mexico has seen an improvement in tax morality and compliance as the public feels they are being treated fairly and SA should see any increased cost of independence of the tax ombud, being offset by increased tax revenue, according to Tickle.

Hlongwane warned meanwhile that it is important not to simply 'copy-paste' policy proposals from international best practice and the structure of the tax ombudsman's office should be modelled to fit SA.

The resounding response from the audience which split into two breakaway sessions to discuss practical proposals to give the watchdog functional and operational independence.

Proposals include amending legislation that Sars can share some services with the tax ombud such as IT and office space but HR processes and powers should be separated

and international practices can be studied in this regard.

Another suggestion supported by much of the audience was to give the tax ombud's office powers to make recommendations that would be binding against Sars or at least have implications if they are not followed.

Money well spent

Several tax practitioners expressed frustration that Sars does not adhere to the 30 day response time by the tax ombudsman and the office currently does not have the powers to enforce this.

Experts concluded that it would be money well spent in giving the office independence as it would increase tax compliance and revenue while tax payer confidentiality would also not be compromised as the ombud would be bound by the same provisions as the revenue agency.

Ngoepe emphasised that Sars is an institution with enormous powers which needs to have checks and balances for the benefit of tax payers and the broader economy.

"I've seen people coming into the office crying because their business account was frozen... Sars did that in some instances without following correct procedure," Ngoepe said.

He added that many companies folded and failed to pay salaries when Sars retained their VAT refunds, a finding he made against the revenue agency in 2017.

Sars is supportive of the office gaining independence, according to Ngoepe, now he just needs Mboweni to open his ears to the growing calls for taxpayers to be treated fairly and equally.

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- Analyse and articulate the University's strategic vision and direction and to lead the creation and implementation of systems and policies in compliance with the University's strategic and policy frameworks
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Term of Office: Five (5) years, with eligibility for reappointment based on satisfactory performance.

Contact: Ms Riëtte Duvenhage T: +264 61 207 2448 E: rduvenhage@nust.na

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The University is committed to employment equity. Preference may be given to appointable applicants from the under-represented designated groups in terms of the relevant employment equity plans and policies of the University. The University reserves the right to verify all information provided by candidates and to verify credit standing. Please note that correspondence will only be entered into with short-listed candidates. The University reserves the right not to make an appointment or to re-advertise.

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UNIZULU is a comprehensive University offering approximately 252 accredited degree, diploma and certificate courses across its Faculties of Arts; Education; Science and Agriculture; and Commerce, Administration and Law at the KwaDlangezwa and Richards Bay campuses. *The University believes in promoting a culture of learning in an environment that is conducive to personal growth and academic development.*
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REGISTRAR

Five-Year Fixed Term Performance-Based Contract | Reference Number: 2020/02/RR01

The Council of UNIZULU seeks to appoint, on a Five-Year Fixed Term Contract, a high calibre, dynamic, visionary and accomplished leader to provide leadership in the areas of institutional governance, student enrolment and administration services, records management, legal advisory and information services.

The Registrar is a member of the executive management team and reports directly to the Vice-Chancellor. The Registrar also works closely with the Chairperson of Council and other members of the University Council and its Subcommittees. Applicants should have extensive knowledge and experience within the higher education environment, unquestionable management and academic credentials, strong and proven leadership qualities at executive management level.

DUTIES AND RESPONSIBILITIES: •Act as the Secretary to Council and its Committees •Provide secretariat services to the Senate, Institutional Forum and the Executive Management Committee •Provide effective and efficient management of the Registrar's portfolio by leading and taking responsibility for the following services: •Governance by compliance with relevant acts, statutes, rules, policies, regulations and procedures •Compile and facilitate the approval, publication and administering of Institutional Statutes and Rules •Student academic administration services, including registrations, examinations and graduations •Professional and Legal Advisory Services.

MINIMUM REQUIREMENTS: •A relevant Master's degree (Law) •Knowledge of the Higher Education Act and other relevant pieces of legislation •Five (5) years managerial and leadership experience coupled with sound knowledge of the principles of good governance and administration within the higher education sector •Knowledge of DHET, HESA, CHE and SAQA policy matters •Financial and people management skills.

The appointment is for a 5-year fixed term which may be extended for a further and final term by mutual consent.

To apply for this position, please email the application form and all required documentation to Mrs N.P. Matikınca, matikincan@unizulu.ac.za OR log on to PNET (www.pnet.co.za) to submit your application by no later than 12h00 on the closing date stated below.

DEPUTY REGISTRAR

Academic Administration | Grade: 05 | Reference Number: 2020/01/RR20

The primary purpose of the position of the Deputy Registrar: Academic Administration is to plan and manage all key activities of the Academic Administration portfolio, from enrolment through to maintaining student records, including all communications with all relevant stakeholders.

KEY PERFORMANCE AREAS: •Policy and procedure review and development •Operational planning, budgeting and financial control •Communication and stakeholder interface •Operational management and coordination •Staff management •Reporting.

MINIMUM REQUIREMENTS: •Honours degree (NQF Level 8) in Business or Public Administration •Possession of a Master's degree in Business or Public Administration would be an advantage •Minimum of eight (8) years experience in academic administration at senior management level •Leadership and ability to guide and motivate a team of diverse cultures •Sound knowledge of formal University structures. **Knowledge:** •Excellent working knowledge of student enrolment, examination processes, graduation, student records and administration procedures •Working knowledge of ITS. **Skills:** •Communication (written and verbal) •Interpersonal •People management •Planning and organising •Reporting. **Behaviours:** •Goal driven and self-motivated •Customer focused •Team player •Initiative •Attention to detail.

To apply for this position, please email the application form and the required documentation to Ms P. Nhlengethwa, nhlengethwap@unizulu.ac.za OR log on to PNET (www.pnet.co.za) to submit your application by no later than 12h00 on the closing date stated below.

CLOSING DATE: 23 FEBRUARY 2020

For the APPLICATION FORM, please log on to the University website and click on vacancies (<http://www.unizulu.ac.za/vacancies>)

All applications must include the following which are critical in evaluating applicants received: (a) A Self - Evaluation by the applicant of his/her ability for the appointment; (b) A completed UNIZULU application form; (c) A detailed Curriculum Vitae; (d) Certified copies of all academic qualifications, ID; and (e) Names and contact details of at least three contactable work related referees (one must be a current or recent superior).

No hand-delivered or postal applications will be accepted. The University reserves the right not to make an appointment. Communication will be entered into with the shortlisted candidates only.

By submitting an application for this vacancy you accept the recruitment and selection process of UNIZULU.

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Arts and Languages	Lecturer	2020/02/AJ20
Student Teaching Practicum	Lecturer (Temporary)	2020/02/ET01

CLOSING DATE: 23 FEBRUARY 2020

For full post requirements, please log on to the University website and click on vacancies (<http://www.unizulu.ac.za/vacancies/>). To apply for these positions, please log on to [Pnet.co.za](http://www.pnet.co.za). If not registered, please register and apply for the appropriate position. Ensure that you complete the questionnaire as per the specific post. **Please note no applications through any other means will be accepted.** Please indicate clearly the reference number for the respective application on your email subject line. Communication will be entered into with short-listed candidates only. No hand-delivered or posted applications will be accepted.

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AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL PURPOSE:

Amnesty International campaigns meaningful human rights change. It does this by enabling effective human rights activism and work to persuade governments and other actors to uphold universal rights standards.

HOW WE WORK – OUR BEHAVIOURS:

Our organisational culture; which essentially represents how we behave, our working relationships and our ability to collaborate as a movement, underpins everything we do and is pivotal to the success of our impact. Our five behaviours form the basis of the type of culture we want to have in Amnesty:

- **Accountable** - I consistently strive to reach my goals in a thorough, timely way that I can be proud of, and I re-empower others to do the same.
- **Considerate** - I support my colleagues and try to find out what motivates them to do their best, and what pressures they are under, so that I can consider this when we work together.
- **Creative** - I continuously look for new and creative solutions and encourage others' ideas so that we can adapt and succeed in an ever-changing and uncertain global environment
- **Decisive** - I make sound judgements within my work so that a project or activity can progress with pace and confidence.
- **Respectful** - I treat my colleagues with equality and dignity, and assume they have integrity. I value the different perspectives of my colleagues as well as my own and show them that their contributions and expertise matter.

WORKING RELATIONSHIPS

Reporting to: AISA Executive Director
Posts this job manages: This role will manage interns assigned to the team and additional campaigning staff should the programme grow.
Other key relationships: The campaigner works in close collaboration with the researcher, ESCR Officer, Media Officer, Growth and Memberships team and, where relevant, other posts in AISA, SARO, the International Secretariat and in the Amnesty International movement.

MAIN RESPONSIBILITIES

- Develop and deliver a high impact campaign strategy for ASISA and ensure it is coordinated with, and aligned to, the research, media and growth strategies.
- To develop and deliver the work on South Africa's Foreign policy and represent AISA on the IGO Coordinators Group.
- To support and liaise with AI membership structures and maintain and develop networks of national and international NGOs and other external partners in the development and implementation of campaigning strategies and plans
- To write or otherwise devise campaigning and other materials for external and internal use, such as, public statements, web features, audio-visual materials and government correspondence as well as provide support for annual report entries
- To research the most effective ways to campaign on human rights concerns and monitor and conduct evaluations of campaigning strategies and plans
- To monitor and analyze political and human rights developments for purposes of devising appropriate campaign responses including by participating in field research and through contact with partners on the ground
- To communicate AISA's concerns, positions and key messages to AISA's membership, civil society organizations and at other forums, including through lobbying at relevant public forums in relation to campaigning priorities and undertaking other advocacy, and in addition,
- As appropriate, represent AISA in governmental, inter-governmental and various public forums, as well as with the news media and others
- To contribute to the development of sub-regional and region-wide strategies and plans for research and campaigning and provide input into internal discussions on the AI mission, policy, organizational and other issues in order to increase the effectiveness of AI's work
- To participate in the coordination of the work of



the team and contribute to the overall flexibility of resource use, including through setting priorities, preparing work plans, monitoring their progress and maintaining basic budgets

- To perform all necessary administrative tasks to ensure effective self-servicing, participate in the recruitment and induction of new staff and consultants and perform other corporate tasks as appropriate

WHAT DOES SUCCESS LOOK LIKE IN THIS JOB?

- A successful campaigner will have developed and implemented effective and deliverable campaigning strategies within the overall strategy on the countries or other geographical areas or themes in her/his brief; communicated clear and effective messages to government, media, civil society, national and international NGOs and partners on the ground, having an impact on the human rights issues
- S/he will have produced, implemented, monitored and evaluated related campaign and action plans to agreed deadlines with relevant members of their project team(s); generated external awareness and activities on the countries and/or themes in her/his brief including by mobilizing and supporting the membership, and expanded networks of influence in relation to key concerns and priority areas in the regional strategy and plans; and written high quality materials for publication and other outputs
- S/he will have contributed to the effective functioning of the team, and to the implementation of AI's mission, upholding AI's values at all times

SKILLS AND EXPERIENCE

- Experience of strategic campaigning, including knowledge of the steps required to devise campaigning strategy and awareness of the need for actions and campaigning techniques to be based on strategies and be adapted to effect changes in a given situation
- Knowledge of the sub-region in general and a specialist knowledge in relation to specific countries or other geographical areas or thematic issues in your brief
- Ability to understand and express ideas in English, and, where applicable, other relevant languages in a fluent, clear and concise way, both orally and in writing, and to communicate complex information and institutional positions
- Ability to motivate and inspire others towards activism for change, including through creative and dynamic approaches to encourage campaigning in the face of obstacles and including an understanding of digital campaigning tools and their appropriate use for target audiences to ensure both online and offline activism and mobilisation
- Ability to represent AISA in a variety of forums, particularly with civil society and the AI membership
- Experience of working in a team and understanding of the importance of efficient communications for the coordination and effective functioning of teams
- Demonstrated commitment to human rights, e.g. through previous work, membership of an organization, involvement in advocacy of human rights, etc
- Experience of managing conflicting demands, meeting deadlines and adjusting priorities
- Ability and willingness to undertake personal administrative tasks in accordance with AISA's guidelines on self-servicing
- Understanding of equal opportunities, cultural diversity and gender issues as well as a commitment to apply relevant policies
- High levels of emotional intelligence and conflict resolutions skills

HOW YOU WORK

- Delivering results
- Working with others
- Developing oneself and others
- Contributing to a dynamic and effective International Secretariat
- Making decisions
- Taking the initiative
- Communicating and influencing

EQUALITY STATEMENT

Equality and diversity is at the core of our values and staff are expected to work collectively and individually to promote a constructive and sensitive approach to others from a variety of backgrounds, where the work of others is valued and respected.

CONFLICT OF INTEREST

Public or other activity, affiliation to or support for any group or organization, personal association or other factor which may generate a real or perceived conflict of interest with Amnesty International's principles (specifically independence and impartiality), or raise a security concern, or otherwise prevent the candidate from carrying out key functions of the specific post and would therefore disqualify the candidate from being appointed.

To apply, submit a motivational letter and CV no later than 21st February 2020 @ 16:00pm to the following address: james.jairos@amnesty.org.za

If you have not heard from us by the 20 March 2020 please consider your application unsuccessful.

For more information, please visit: <https://careers.amnesty.org>

11472M&G

New Zealand High Commission Pretoria Vacancy – Consular Officer / Team Administrator (Properties)



The New Zealand High Commission in Pretoria is looking to recruit an experienced Consular Officer / Team Administrator (Properties) to join the New Zealand High Commission team in Pretoria.

Under direction from the High Commission Management team, in particular the Administration Manager, the Consular Officer / Team Administrator (Properties) is to ensure the effective management of the property, consular services and passport services functions within the New Zealand High Commission in Pretoria.

This position will involve the requirement to be available outside of business hours, and will have occasional overtime duties.

The key responsibilities of the position include but are not limited to: - Manage and undertake the provision of consular, passport and notarial services to New Zealand citizens in South Africa and the countries of accreditation in accordance with Ministry guidelines. - Manage consular enquiries and provide on the ground assistance to consular clients, including, but not limited to prison / hospital visits as required. - Familiarise themselves with and use all consular-related Ministry tools (Safecase, Safetravel, etc.). - Develop and maintain a strong network of key contacts with local authorities and emergency services organisations relating to consular and passports work. - Implement changes based on feedback to maintain and improve client service standards. - Assist with the development and update of the emergency management, consular contingency plans and drafting of travel advisories for all countries of accreditation. - Provide support to the seven Honorary Consuls present in neighbouring countries. - Manage Post's owned and leased property portfolio, in consultation with the Administration Manager, including scheduling and supervision of routine and reactive maintenance, communication with relevant stakeholders (High Commission staff and contractors). - Familiarise themselves with and use all property-relevant online Ministry tools (AIMS, Navision, etc.). - Assist the Administration Manager in the implementation of all Health & Safety instructions, including reporting any Health & Safety risk to the High Commission Management team. Ensure that all contractors perform their duties while observing Health & Safety instructions. - Provide assistance for Ministerial visits as required. - Perform general administration including but not limited to preparation of weekly diplomatic bag, distribution of incoming diplomatic mail, responding to general correspondence, etc.

The position may be required to provide backup in a wide range of activities in support of the High Commission's operational objectives. Responsibilities will be allocated by the Administration Manager to take best advantage of the overall team resource and individual skills.

You must be a highly motivated, meticulous, resilient and well-rounded individual with a drive to go the extra mile and work under pressure. The role will suit someone interested in a broad range of duties in a fast-changing environment. The ability to multi-task and deliver results both independently and in a collaborative manner is essential, as is the ability to work effectively across cultures. You must have a sound understanding of administrative processes and possess strong communication and interpersonal skills, attention to detail and produce quality work within agreed deadlines.

Qualifications/Experience: - Demonstrated tertiary qualifications, experience or knowledge in client services and property management. - Well-developed interpersonal skills; flexibility and adaptability. - Demonstrated knowledge, skills or experience in consular and passport services. - High-level written and oral English communication skills. - Demonstrated ability to prioritise, think strategically, apply judgement and innovation to achieve results. - An understanding and knowledge of the security and property environment in Pretoria.

Package and remuneration

The successful applicant will be employed in a permanent position at the salary level range of ZAR 300,000 – 320,000 per annum.

Application Guidelines

If this sounds like you, please download the application form and full position description from our website (www.mfat.govt.nz) by navigating to the New Zealand High Commission Pretoria page. All applications must be in English.

A completed application form, a covering letter of no more than one page, setting out why you are applying for the position and examples of how you meet the job criteria, together with a CV of no more than two pages should be emailed to enquiries@nzcc.co.za.

Applications must be received by close of business **21 February 2020**.

The successful applicant will be employed on local terms and conditions and must have the right to work in South Africa. Obtaining and maintaining the appropriate working visa and security clearance is the responsibility of the applicant and any offer of employment is subject to this. In addition relocation to Pretoria is to be undertaken at the expense of the applicant.

No telephonic enquiries pertaining to this position will be answered. All enquiries must be made via email when submitting your application.

Only shortlisted candidates will be contacted for an interview. If you have not received any communication from the New Zealand High Commission within four weeks after the close of applications, please consider your application unsuccessful. Shortlisted candidates should apply for their security clearance with the relevant authorities ahead of the interview.

*Thank you for your understanding and interest in working at the
New Zealand High Commission in Pretoria.*

11482M&G



THE SOUTH AFRICAN COUNCIL
for the
QUANTITY SURVEYING PROFESSION

Established in terms of the Quantity Surveying Profession Act 2000 (Act No 48 of 2000)

**INVITATION TO
TENDER
RECRUITMENT/
PLACEMENT FIRMS**

The South African Council for the Quantity Surveying Profession established in terms of the Quantity Surveying Profession Act (49 of 2000) hereby invites formal tenders from registered recruitment /placement agencies to provide job recruitment services for the Council.

Such firms must have;

- at least five years of relevant recruitment experience
- working knowledge of labour laws in SA
- ability to streamline applicants as per job specifications
- valid tax clearance certificate
- BBBEE certificate minimum score card of level 2

**Interested bidders should email their proposals
by 12:00 on Friday, 21st February 2020**

to The Finance Manager, SACQSP - finance@sacqsp.co.za or by hand to
Suit C27, Lone Creek Building, Waterfall Office Park, Bekker Road, Vorna
Valley Extension 21, Midrand.

Late proposals will not be considered.

Enquiries to be made to the Finance Department at 011 054 8300



Kingdom of Lesotho
Ministry of Health

REQUEST FOR CVs- INDIVIDUAL CONSULTANT
Terms of Reference: (Individual) Short Term Individual Consultant

DEPARTMENT	Project Implementing Unit
JOB TITLE	Development of Project Implementation Manual
PROJECT	Lesotho Nutrition and Health System Strengthening Project (LNHSSP)
RESPONSIBLE TO	Project Coordinator
DATE OF ISSUE	3rd February 2020

Introduction

The Government of Lesotho (GOL) is planning to implement the Lesotho Nutrition and Health System Strengthening Project (LNHSSP) with the International Development Association's (IDA) financial and technical support for a period of 5 years (2020 – 2025). This project aims to support the GOL in implementing a multi-sectoral approach to improve health and nutrition outcomes over a five-year period. The project development objective is to increase utilization and quality of key nutrition and health services in Lesotho. Most of the interventions will be implemented nationwide. The LNHSSP has four main components which include component 1) Community-based health and nutrition services; component 2) Improving health facility-based service delivery; component 3) Strengthen government stewardship, project management and monitoring and evaluation; and component 4) Contingency Emergency Response Component (CERC).

Component 1 consists of three subcomponents which will focus Strengthening Village Health Worker (VHW) functions; 2) Support to Early Childhood Care and Development (ECCD) and 3) Support to Adolescent Health of Boys and Girls through community-based school health days.

Component 2 will focus on 2 subcomponents namely: 1) Quality and Bonus Financing for Strategic Purchasing to Eligible Health Facilities and; 2) Quality Improvement Training and Equipment.

The three subcomponents for **component 3** will focus on: 1) Building a Nutrition-Enabling Environment through Strengthening the Food Nutrition and Coordination Office; 2) Strengthening MOH Stewardship and M&E Capacities; and 3) Supporting Project Management, data collection, assessments, surveys, and regular project evaluations.

The Ministry of Health (MOH) will be the fund holder and lead the project. MOH will be working with other MOET, water commission, Ministry of Agriculture and Food Security and Food and Nutrition Coordinating Office (FNCO). The stakeholder profile includes various MOH departments and units such as Family Health, Planning and Statistics department, Human Resources, Supply Chain, Environmental Health, Quality Assurance, National Health Training College (NHTC) and health facilities. The Ministry of Health will be managing the project through the Project Implementing Unit (PIU).

Objective of the assignment

The purpose of this assignment is to assist the GOL in: **a)** reviewing the mechanisms and modalities for sound implementation arrangements for the project; and **b)** producing Project Implementation Manual (PIM). The manual will serve as the main reference for project staff and other stakeholders on project-related management, implementation, procurement and financial administration. Specifically, the PIM will outline institutional arrangements, systems and procedures for project planning, implementation monitoring activities, fiduciary and administrative management and evaluation of impact at both national and sub-national levels for implementing ministries and contracted entities.

The PIM will have but not restricted to the following areas of focus: **A)** Financial operations; **B)** Procurement operations and contracting the service providers to support the implementation of the project; **C)** Governance arrangements for the project; **D)** Project administration and Human resources management; **E)** Documentation, monitoring and evaluation, **F)** Implementation arrangements.

The assignment will require a senior level consultant with proven record with design and development of complex manuals. The consultant will refer to other specific standard operating procedures developed for key project's instruments: Results Based Financing and Community-Based Service Delivery. He/She will receive inputs from the PIU team and other stakeholders.

Duties and Responsibilities

Drawing from key national documents of the MOH, the project Appraisal Document (PAD), and other documents and under the supervision of the Project Coordinator, the Consultant will support the PIU to prepare the PIM which will include interalia:

- i. A brief but clear description of the project that includes some background information (e.g. context, objectives, components, organisational framework, relations with other institutional participants, etc);
- ii. Institutional arrangements within the MOH, and between all the participating ministries, institutions and contracted organisations;
- iii. Detailed arrangements for overall implementation of the project (including, interalia, a description of the roles and responsibilities of the various institutional partners as needed) and develop a template for service level agreement or memorandum of understanding to be signed between MOH and other ministries/partners;
- iv. The guidelines and processes for preparation of annual work-plans;
- v. Procedures for implementation of each project component and subcomponent including performance-based contracting of non-state actors under the project;
- vi. Drawing from existing documentation, financial management and procurement processes for the project (detailed chapters to be included in line with the Kingdom of Lesotho processes and World Bank fiduciary processes);
- vii. Governance of the project including detailed processes and procedures to guide all the structures – High level committee and steering committees including the link to other existing structures such as the Nutrition coordination technical working group;
- viii. Include a chapter summarising the Environmental and social safeguards procedures detailing for example the stakeholder engagement processes and complaint handling mechanism in relation to the project to enhance accountability for service delivery at national, district, health facility and community levels;
- ix. Include procedures for human resources or personnel engaged under the project and other administrative procedures such as asset management, etc
- x. Include development and inclusion of the revised Standard Operating Procedures (SOP) for Result Based Financing (RBF) scheme and the Community-Based Service delivery instruments.
- xi. Support MOH PIU to provide sensitisations and in depth training on procedures stipulated in the PIM.

Qualification and Experience

- i. Advanced degree in Public health or Health care management or administration; OR Business administration in health care management;

- ii. Extensive experience in project, financial management and administration (at least 5 years in implementation role)
- iii. At least 10 years' experience in the design and or implementing health or related projects/programs or preparing procedure manuals for guiding implementation of projects– Attach evidence
- iv. At least 5 years' experience developing project manuals for World Bank projects. The incumbent should have extensive knowledge of World Bank operations guidelines including fiduciary and safeguards guidelines.

Key Skills

- i. Ability to work independently and be creative and innovative; and ability to work in a team;
- ii. Good listener with demonstrated ability to present and win support for ideas as well as make effective and timely decisions;
- iii. Good mastery of standard computer applications: Microsoft Office Package;
- iv. Excellent written and verbal communication skills in English.

Outputs/Deliverables

The Consultant is responsible for delivering of the following outputs:

No.	Deliverables (soft copies)	Tentative Timeframe	Percentage of Output
1.	Inception Report, including the proposed methodology and work plan for delivering the assignment after initial phase of consultations.	15 days after contract signing.	10% upon acceptance of the inception report
2.	Consolidate the manual and present the draft	25 days after contract signing	50% upon acceptance of the draft manual
3.	Submission of the final draft of the manual	30 days after contract signing	15% upon acceptance for the Manual
4.	Training major stakeholders and disseminating sessions (Final Report)	40 days after contract signing	25% upon completion of the training and acceptance of the final report
	TOTAL	40 days	100%

Management Arrangements

The consultant will be reporting directly to the Project Coordinator, who will manage, supervise and guide the work plan.

The Project Coordinator will put at the disposal of the selected Consultant all available materials, and necessary information for tasks achievements as needed. During the assignment, the Consultant will use the Office facilities of the Ministry of Health e.g. Office space, internet access, printing, copying.

Duration

The assignment shall be completed within 40 days of contract signing.

Duty Station

The duty station shall be the Ministry of Health Head Office, Maseru, with possible visits at project's sites.

Consultant Responsibilities

- i. The Consultant shall be solely responsible for analysis and interpretation of data, reports, review, etc., for the purpose of this assignment and for the findings, conclusions and recommendations in all requested Deliverables;
- ii. The Consultant will be responsible for their own accommodation, living expenses, communication expenses and relevant insurances. The Consultant is expected to use his/her own computer and cell phone. The work plan should also make allowance for the time and travel required for interaction with all the stakeholders. Sites visits plan will be proposed to the Consultant.
- iii. The Consultant will make all travel, meeting and other necessary arrangements for the assignment;
- iv. Conduct of the Consultant:
 - The Consultant will be expected to carry out this assignment in an open and transparent manner, with the highest degree of professionalism and integrity;
 - The Consultant will not, under any circumstances, take any action or be seen to be taking any actions, which may hinder or prevent the progress of the project.

Travel

All envisaged travel costs must be included in the financial proposal. This includes travel to join duty station as well as site visits and travel costs exceeding those of an economy class ticket will not be accepted. Should the Consultant wish to travel on a higher class he/she should do so using their own resources.

Lump Sum Amount

The price for the financial proposal should indicate a "Lump Sum Amount" for all costs including professional fees, living allowance and communication. The consumables during field related missions, travel, etc. that could possibly be incurred by the Consultant need to be factored in and should be included as "Re-imbursables" into the proposed price. A detail breakdown of all the costs should be provided in the financial proposal.

Payment

Payments for this Consultancy will be based on approval of each deliverable and certification that each has been satisfactorily completed in accordance with this terms of reference. Payments will not be based on the number of days worked but on the completion and acceptance of each stated deliverable within indicated timeframes.

Attention of interested Consultants is drawn to paragraph 1.9 of the *World Bank's Guidelines: Selection and Employment of Consultants by World Bank Borrowers*, January 2011 (revised July 2014). ("Consultant Guidelines"), setting forth the World Bank's policy on conflict of interest.

All applications should be in English and must be properly filled in and be courier with the subject "**Expression of Interest for "Development of Project Implementation Manual"**" or hand delivered to the below address.

Expressions of interest must be delivered in a written and hard Copy form to the address below in person, on or before **20th February, 2020 12h00 Local time.**

Attn: M Moeketsi-Procurement Specialist and copy Procurement Manager

Procurement Unit, Ground Floor, Ministry Of Health Headquarters ,Corner Constitution Road & Linare Road P. O. Box 514, Maseru 100, Lesotho, Tel:(+266) 27323277 or email.

lnhssproject@gmail.com

Compensation Fund Vacancies

The Department of Labour's intention to promote equity through the filling of these posts with the candidates whose transfer/appointment will promote representivity in line with the numeric targets as contained in the Employment Equity Plan of the Department

Post: Chief Financial Officer

Centre: Compensation Fund, Pretoria

Reference No: HR 5/1/2/3/01

Salary: R 1 251 183.00 per annum (SR14)

Enquiries: Mr V Mafata, 012 313 9118

Requirements: Four year qualification or NQF7 (recognized by SAQA) in Financial Management or Accounting Qualification. • 5 years experience in a Senior Management position. • Demonstrated experience and performance in the field of financial management. Knowledge: Finance. • Technical standard / procedures. • HR matters. • Training. • Managerial functions. • Financial Regulations. • Public Service Regulations. • Public Service Act. Legislative requirements: Public Financial Management Act. • Public Services Regulations ACT. • Treasury Regulations. • Supply Chain Management prescripts. Skills: Research and development. • Computer literacy. • Policy formulation. • Communication. • Knowledge Management. • Advanced Financial Management. • Planning and organizing.

Duties: Provide strategic leadership, support and advice to the Compensation Fund regarding financial management functions according to the PFMA and other relevant regulations. • Implement strategic financial control, budget and internal systems as prescribed by the PFMA, Treasury Regulations and relevant prescripts. • Manage the finances, assets and supply chain management functions and revenue generation of the Fund. • Represents the Fund at relevant structures to enhance the value of CF operations. • Oversee the management and collection of revenue and accounts receivable functions of the Fund. • Responsible for the resources and performance management of staff the Chief Directorate Finance sections.

Posts: Medical Officer Grade 2: Occupational Medicine

Centre: Compensation Fund, Delta house ,Pretoria

Reference No: HR 5/1/2/3/02

Salary: R 938 964- R1026 693

Enquiries: Dr B Ndzuta 012 406 5856

Requirements: An MBCHB Degree and Diploma in Occupational health(DOH). Minimum of 5 years appropriate experience after registration with HPCSA and at least 3 years experience in Occupational Medicine practice Post incumbent may be required to travel to see clients. Knowledge: National Health Act,Public service, Department of employment and labour, Compensation Fund regulations, policies and procedures. CF relevant stakeholders, Customer services principles(Batho Pele).Fund values, Required information technology knowledge. Compensation Fund information technology operating systems, DPSA guidelines on COIDA;COID Act; Occupational Health and Safety Act(OHS),PFMA and National Treasury Regulation; Promotion of Access to information Act;PAJA,Constitution Act 108 of 1996.General knowledge of the Public service regulations. Skills : Required technical proficiency, business writing, knowledge management, basic computer skills, programme management change management, service delivery Innovation, problem analysis and solving ,accountability, decision making, people management and empowerment, Client orientation and customer focus, Communication, work ethic and self management, Risk management and corporate governance, Medical skills, environmental awareness

Duties: Research and do benchmarking on Occupational Medicine standards and protocols.

Develop policies and guidelines on occupational injuries and diseases. Analyse and report on occupational injuries and disease/medicine trends. Assist in establishing and maintaining mutually-beneficial relationships with key stakeholders in Occupational related fields. Provide technical advice and expertise on all medical aspects of compensation claims

CLOSING DATE FOR APPLICATIONS:
21 February 2020 at 16:00

Applications must be submitted on form Z83, obtainable from any Public Service Department or on the internet at www.gov.za/documents. The fully completed and signed form Z83 should be accompanied by a recently updated, comprehensive CV as well as recently certified copies of all qualification(s) including a Senior Certificate and ID-document [Driver's license where applicable]. Non-RSA Citizens/Permanent Resident Permit Holders must attach a copy of their Permanent Residence Permits to their applications. Should you be in possession of a foreign qualification, it must be accompanied by an evaluation certificate from the South African Qualification Authority (SAQA). Applicants who do not comply with the above-mentioned requirements, as well as applications received late, will not be considered. The Department does not accept applications via fax or email. Failure to submit all the requested documents will result in the application not being considered. Correspondence will be limited to short-listed candidates only. If you have not been contacted within eight (8) weeks after the closing date of this advertisement, please accept that your application was unsuccessful. Suitable candidates will be subjected to a personnel suitability check (criminal record, citizenship, credit record checks, qualification verification and employment verification). Where applicable, candidates will be subjected to a skills/knowledge test. All shortlisted candidates for SMS posts will be subjected to a technical competency exercise that intends to test relevant technical elements of the job, the logistics of which be communicated by the Department. Following the interview and technical exercise, the selection panel will recommend candidates to attend generic managerial competencies using the mandated DPSA SMS competency assessment tools. Successful candidates will be appointed on a probation period of 12 months. The Department reserves the right not to make any appointment(s) to the above post. The successful candidate will be expected to sign a performance agreement. The Department of Labour is an equal opportunity affirmative action employer. The employment decision shall be informed by the Employment Equity Plan of the Department. It is the Department's intention to promote equity (race, gender and disability) through the filling of this post(s) with a candidate whose transfer / promotion / appointment will promote representativity in line with the numerical targets as contained in our Employment Equity Plan.

Applications: Chief Director: Corporate Services: P O Box 955, Pretoria, 0001 Or hand deliver at 167 Thabo Sehume Street, Delta Building, Pretoria.

For Attention: Sub-directorate: Human Resources Planning Practices and Administration, Compensation Fund



ERRATUM EXTERNAL RE-ADVERTISEMENT BID NO: ANDA 09/2019/2020

This serves to place an erratum in respect of the advert issued on the 10 January 2020 with Bid no: ANDA 09/2019/2020 in relation to Expression of Interest to establish a partnership between Alfred Nzo Development Agency (ANDA) and a national retailer for the implementation of the rapid rural transformation project which closes on the 06 February 2020. Bidders should NOTE that the purpose of this erratum is to extend the closing date for the Advertisement

1.The closing date in this respect will change to the 21 February 2020.

NOTE: The rest of the advert's content as stipulated on the advert remain unchanged.

Issued by
MS M. BAMBENI
CHIEF EXECUTIVE OFFICER

Mai & Guardian

Academics & Courses

CONTACT:
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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Tenders & Notices



TENDER NOTICE

Samaritan's Purse is a non-denominational evangelical Christian organization providing spiritual and physical aid to hurting people around the world. Since 1970, Samaritan's Purse has helped meet needs of people who are victims of war, poverty, natural disasters, disease, and famine with the purpose of sharing God's love through his Son, Jesus Christ. The organization serves the Church worldwide to promote the Gospel of the Lord Jesus Christ.

Samaritan's Purse International Relief in South Sudan is inviting submissions of tenders to provide Vehicle Parts as summarized in the following 5 sub-categories

1. LPR12-19-008JBA - T1 SAKOM & SAMAG Parts
2. LPR12-19-006JBA - T1 Unimog Parts
3. LPR01-20-004JBA - T1 & T2 Unimog Parts
4. LPR12-19-005JBA - T1 Mitsubishi Parts
5. LPR02-20-005JBA - T1 Komatsu Engine Overhaul Parts

Detailed technical specifications are included within the tender documents. If you are interested in submitting a tender, please contact the tender committee at ssenders.response@samaritan.org to express your interest and request for the tender documents.

Kindly submit your bids Quoting both DDP – Juba and EX works price options.

It is recommended to request the tender documents as soon as possible. Enquiries regarding this tender should also be directly sent to ssender.response@samaritan.org

Complete tender documents addressed to the Procurement Committee - Samaritan's Purse South Sudan – should be submitted via email to ssrfq@samaritan.org quoting the **Tender Reference Number and the Category name** in the email subject line.

Your complete tender must be received **on or before 6th March 2020 at 5.00 PM, East Africa Time. Late bids will not be considered.**

Samaritan's Purse South Sudan does not bind itself to award the tender to the lowest bidder and reserves the right to accept the whole or part of this tender.

Thank you for your interest in doing business with us

11489M&G

Mail & Guardian
www.mg.co.za

Academics & Courses
CONTACT:
Ilizma 063 026 7450
Vanessa 011 250 7450
Lesedi 011 250 7430

REQUEST FOR EXPRESSION OF INTEREST (EOI) EOI REF NO. JSI/SA20-001

Name of project description- Request for Expression of Interest for Vendor Prequalification for the procurement of stationery goods.

Issuance Date: January 24, 2020

Deadline for Receipt of EOI: February 17th, 2020 at 17:00hrs

Submission email only to: procurement@jsi.org.za

Point of Contact: Tracy Ngwenya, Procurement Officer, email address: Tracy_Ngwenya@za.jsi.com or landline +27 12 346 7490

Company Address: 138 Muckleneuk St, Nieuw Muckleneuk, Pretoria, 0181

All questions and requests for clarification regarding this EOI must be submitted in writing not later than 17:00hrs on February 16th, 2020 to procurement@za.jsi.com Questions received after this date may not be considered.

Procurement Description:

JSI Public Health Group (herein referred to as "JSI") is soliciting EOI's for the provision of Stationery Goods that are of high quality at competitive rates that can be delivered efficiently to project offices. This procurement is funded by the United States Agency for International Development (USAID) and is subject to all applicable Federal Acquisition Regulations (FAR) and AID Acquisition Regulation (AIDAR).

Please submit your expression of interest (EOI) applications in accordance with the EOI instructions.

For the full EOI document please visit <https://www.jsi.com/partner-with-jsi/solicitations/>

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TENDER NOTICE: 'Procurement of a Transactional Advisor for the bidding and contracting of a Property Developer to build LRA Headquarters' Reference: LRA/BE/01/02/2020

The Lesotho Revenue Authority invites interested and qualified vendors/ companies/ firms to submit proposals for offering 'Transactional Advisory Services' during the bidding and contracting phase of building the Lesotho Revenue Authority (LRA) Headquarters. The Transactional Advisor shall provide technical support and advisory services to the Authority in concluding a project financing deal. The Bidder must be ready to deliver the work upon the award of the tender. All potential Bidders must be in possession of a proven track record of providing advisory services of a similar nature.

All bidders must attach certified copies of valid Tax Clearance Certificates and Company Registration Licences or equivalents; bids without these documents shall be disqualified. The Request for Proposal (RFP) document indicating all requirements and specifications may be collected from the address stated below from the 10th February 2020 10:00 am. An alternative for emailing the RFP is also offered and bidders who may have interest may contact the email below for assistance.

Terms and Conditions:

1. Tender documents will be available at a non-refundable tender deposit of **R500**.
2. The price quoted in the Bids must be in Maloti/Rand and include all applicable taxes and duties.
3. The Bids must be submitted not later than **12:00 hours** on the **10th March 2020** and they shall be opened same day at **12:15 hours**.
4. Tenders received later than the above-mentioned deadline, telegraphic, faxed or electronic tenders **will not be accepted**.
5. Detailed tender packaging and labelling requirements in the Request for Proposal (RFP) must be adhered to or this shall lead to **disqualification**.
6. **Important indicative dates:**

Action	Date
Issue RFP	10th February 2020
Final date to submit written questions only (email format)	17th February 2020
Compulsory Pre bid meeting (Only bidders who have paid the tender deposit shall attend the pre bid meeting)	28th February 2020 @10:00 am: Finance House, LRA Maseru
Distribution of questions and answers to all bidders (email format)	02nd March 2020
Final date for submission of Bidder proposals in response to the RFP	10th March 2020@ 12:00
Public opening of the bids	10th March 2020@ 12:15

7. All tenders must be delivered to: The Secretary – Tender Committee

Lesotho Revenue Authority, Government Complex, Phase III, Cnr. Kingsway Road and Old High Court Road, Finance House, Ground Floor, Office Number 0013

Any queries concerning this tender should be addressed to the Secretary of The Tender Committee at this e-mail address: supplychainmanagement@lra.org.ls

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giz

Call for proposals from Consultancy Firm

Brief project title	Proof-Reading, Editing and Layout of Knowledge Products on climate-smart Agriculture for the Centre for Agricultural Research and Development in Southern Africa (CCARDESA)
Commissioning party	Deutsche Gesellschaft für Internationale Zusammenarbeit (GIZ) GmbH GIZ Office Gaborone, New CBD, 1st Floor South Wing, Morula House, Plot 54358, P. O. Box 202, Gaborone, Botswana Tel: +267 395 7400, Fax: +267 395 9750, Internet: www.giz.de
Your contact person is	Ms. Dimpho Keitseng Email: Dimpho.Keitseng@giz.de
Contract no.	83349491
Country of assignment	SADC region (home-based with travel to Botswana)
Period of assignment	01.03.2020 – 30.09.2020
Project description and sector	The GIZ Adaptation to Climate Change in Rural Areas in Southern Africa (ACCRA) program is supporting CCARDESA in developing knowledge products and studies on climate change and agriculture. One of CCARDESA's role is to disseminate knowledge e.g. through its online platform where these products are visible and made accessible to users within the SADC region and beyond. The products exist in English, French and Portuguese. GIZ is seeking to engage a consultancy firm to proof-read, edit and layout these documents to a high-quality state ready for publishing/printing. A Consultancy firm is invited to bid for the above-mentioned assignment. The selected Consultancy firm will enter into a contract with GIZ. Invitation letters to bid, Terms of References and further information can be found under http://www.sadc.int/opportunities/procurement . Submission address and deadline: Kindly submit your bid, comprising a technical offer and price offer, by 21 February 2020 15:00hrs . The application package must be addressed to: Deutsche Gesellschaft für Internationale Zusammenarbeit (GIZ) GmbH, GIZ Office Gaborone, New CBD, 1st Floor South Wing, Morula House, Plot 54358, New CBD, Gaborone, Botswana or P.O. 202 Village, Gaborone, Botswana

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Books

South Africa's gift to the world

Behind JM Coetzee, the writer lauded for his 'wonderfully brave, bold mind', is John Coetzee, the quiet man

Angelo Fick

On February 9 2020 JM Coetzee, long considered among the preeminent writers of his times, turns 80. His gifts as a writer have been widely recognised. He won the Nobel Prize for Literature in 2003, and the Booker Prize in 1983 and 1999. Behind the eminence of JM Coetzee the writer is a deeply private man, John Coetzee, shy of the public attention which attends the publication of writing done, ironically, in solitude.

My first encounter with JM Coetzee occurred at 16 when I read a library copy of *Waiting for the Barbarians* (1980). Its opening sen-

tence reflected my own response; I too felt that "I have never seen anything like it," as the Magistrate says of Colonel Joll's dark glasses. Written in the late 1970s, partly in response to Steve Biko's murder in detention by the apartheid security state's agents, the novel examines notions of complicity with and implication in injustice. Realising that such writing could be done, and by someone from the same marginal part of the world in which I found myself, signalled a sea change in my intellectual life.

Over the past 46 years all of Coetzee's books have enthralled and challenged readers. Never one to accept trite solutions to larger questions of ethics and responsibility, his exploration of the human condition may at times be disturbing, but it is always rewarding. *In the Heart of the Country* (1977) asks readers to confront the torsions of power and tensions beneath traditional notions of rural idyll in figurations of the pastoral in South Africa. The Booker Prize-winning *Life & Times of Michael K* (1983), and *Age of Iron* (1990) tell the stories of people caught up in the spectacular conflagrations of history (real or imagined); the lot of billions the world over.

Coetzee's ethical vision allowed him to show how the "deformed and stunted relations between human beings that were created under colonialism and exacerbated under what is loosely called apartheid have their psychic representations in a deformed and stunted inner life" (Jerusalem Prize Acceptance Speech, 1987). This diagnosis was echoed by Njabulo Ndebele in his seminal essay on the politics of the English language in South Africa. Coetzee's excoriating examinations of "the burden of consciousness" (whether as novelist or essayist, as critic or teacher) often centred on the paradoxes of white South African life, the concerns of "people no longer European, not yet African" as he suggested in *White Writing* (1988). One recalls apartheid signage referred to white people as "Europeans"; one thinks of post-apartheid yearnings for European habits of being that echo what Coetzee in 1987 diagnosed as "a sentimental yearning ... to have fraternity without paying for it".

But while he indicated that his work "suffer[ed] from the same stuntedness and deformity" that blighted the inner life in colonial and apartheid South Africa — analogous to what Abdullah Ibrahim called "the madness of South Africa" in Lee Hirsch's *Amandla: A Revolution in Four-Part Harmony* (2002) — his ethical vision pushed through local peculiarity. It allowed Philip Glass to adapt *Waiting for the Barbarians* as an opera, remarking on the human condition in light of the rendition and detention programmes run by the regime of George Bush II in the United States prison camp at Guantanamo Bay in Cuba, and at Abu Ghraib in Iraq. I sat on a train for eight hours to travel from Amsterdam to Erfurt in Germany to see the premiere performance of the opera. It was worth the effort to see two such fine minds confront notions of responsibility and accountability in a work of such profound depth and beauty. Coetzee returned to these questions of ethics and humanity in *Diary of a Bad Year* (2007), broadening his critique to his adopted country, Australia. Recently, in an essay on Behrouz Boochani's *No Friend But the Mountains* (2019) for *The New York Review of Books*,



Formidable: JM Coetzee is the winner of numerous awards, including the 2003 Nobel prize for literature. As a teenager Coetzee took photos of his family, school, his uncle's farm and this self-portrait. Photos: Micheline Pelletier/Corbis/Getty Images and JM Coetzee

he renewed this concern with ethical conduct, humanity and political responsibility.

In the last, paranoid year of apartheid South Africa's existence, I was a student in an Honours seminar led by Coetzee on the 18th-century English novel. Once a week, over a semester, seven of us met for two hours in the afternoon to discuss the works of Daniel Defoe, Henry Fielding, Samuel Richardson and Laurence Sterne. But these meetings in the attic of what was then the Arts Block, now renamed for the African intellectual, Archie Mafeje, were not escapes from the violence and violations that went on beyond the classroom. On the contrary.

In the middle of the semester Chris Hani was assassinated. I was 20 years old. Things in South Africa looked bleak. Even the present felt uncertain at that time; there was no guarantee that little more than a year later the edifice of the white supremacist apartheid state would be gone. Coetzee led his students through discussions of the emergence of the sentimental tradition in English letters — the notion of "fellow feeling", a kind of profound empathy that suggested imagining oneself into the emotional life of another was politically crucial for a more just way of living. But he also connected these two centuries-old texts with the present. We explored, with Coetzee, how the engendering of "race" in Southern Africa could be contrasted with and connected to the developments in Protestant thinking in 18th-century Europe and England. This way of reading, of being taught to reread, has been invaluable for understanding so much of what has happened in South Africa before, then and since. That it happened in a class on literature written in another time and in another place is testimony

to Coetzee's gift as a teacher.

Doris Lessing, in her 2007 Nobel Prize acceptance speech, lauded Coetzee as part of the great tradition of writers whom she held in awe. She even expressed the wish that she could have been a student in his classes at the University of Cape Town, where he had served as professor of literature for two decades. I am humbled to be among those students envied by Lessing.

But most people will know Coetzee's fine mind, his formidable intellect, from his many books. A few of us have had the gift of his instruction. In February this year, the Amazwi South African Museum of Literature will host Coetzee for the opening of *Scenes from the South*, an exhibition in honour of his 80th birthday. The exhibition will be on display in Makhanda until July 6, after which it will be moved to the Harry Ransom Center at the University of Texas in Austin (where Coetzee completed his doctoral studies).

"Other people's stories may become part of your own, the foundation of it, the ground it goes on," Ursula K Le Guin wrote in *Gifts* (2004). Coetzee is a gift to South Africa and, in many senses, one of South Africa's gifts to the world. As Simòn says of Don Quixote in *The Death of Jesus* (2019), Coetzee's latest novel: "If he had really abominated his stories ... [h]e would have stayed at home with his horse and his dog, watching the clouds cross the sky, hoping for rain, eating coarse bread and onions for supper. He would never have been recognised, let alone become famous."

We are grateful to John Coetzee the shy man who gave us the masterful writing of JM Coetzee.



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Sandra Khumalo –
South African Para
Olympic rower

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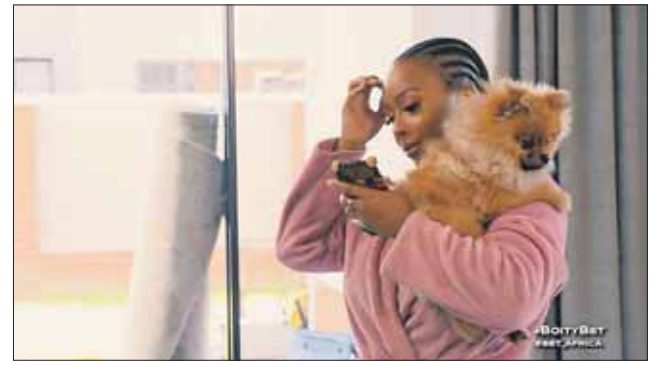
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Television



Boitylicious: Screenshot from Boity's reality show, *Own Your Throne*. The first episode of 13 in the season was broadcast on BET Africa on Wednesday

Boity takes control of her story

Reality shows such as *Own Your Throne* may be banal, but affluence attracts viewers

Zaza Hlaethwa

'S hit, in celebrity years I'm a grandma," scoffs Boity Thulo (30). The television personality-turned-rapper sits in one of Viacom's common rooms for a series of media interviews in preparation for the debut of her reality show, *Own Your Throne*, on BET Africa.

After playing the fame game for 10 years, Thulo uses the word "exhausting", a sigh, and an eye roll to describe the highs and lows that she has experienced so far. "There's no such thing as normal, I always have to anticipate being seen and discussed." In spite of her fatigue, she has committed herself to a life in the limelight because she doesn't see herself doing it any other way.

Own Your Throne is produced by veteran production house, Red Pepper Pictures, which pitched the idea to Thulo for three years before she was interested. She says she eventually assented to the idea because she felt as if she owed it to her supporters to show them her



Friends and family: In her new reality show, *Own Your Throne*, Boity (centre) is supported by her mom, Modiehi Thulo (left); her dog, Asante; and her BFF, Bob Sithole. Photos: Supplied

candid self now that she is financially and socially secure enough to do so.

Much like its predecessors, the first episode of *Own Your Throne* allows the viewer into the affluent and safe spaces that the protagonist occu-

pies. Apart from the seemingly candid interactions with her mom and a glimpse into Thulo's ubungoma practice, the show follows a conventional formula. Viewers see a celebrated figure in their home, driving their SUV, going about their day to

day business and facing minor adversities, such as having to deal with a make-up artist running late. There's always a supporting cast member whose narrative is used much like b-roll in between scenes about the sterring. With the exception of outfit,

task and theme changes, the show's episodes tend to follow this same humdrum order. But covered in affluence, the monotony continues to look attractive week after week. Yet celebrities with reality shows continue to make waves that result in countless memes, trending hashtags and increased online followers.

"There's a concept in media studies known as the super peer," says Oupa Makhalemele, the acting research manager in the research, policy and advocacy unit of the Film and Publication Board (FPB). According to Makhalemele, a super peer is someone in the public sphere who seems to have their life under control.

Through information garnered from focus groups, the FPB has found that, without knowing it, viewers who consume this often blemish-free, self-correcting, adversity-free curation end up immersing themselves in the lives of the people they see portrayed. "This is where binge-watching comes in," Makhalemele adds.

Of the 13 episodes that will make up the first season, Thulo is yet to film the last three. To actualise *Own Your Throne*, she and Red Pepper Pictures had to work out a filming schedule on a weekly basis. As much as the show is reality, it's television that needs to be filmed by a crew who needs to be paid. "It costs money so we can't have a camera crew following me 24-7," Thulo says. Instead, the schedule ensures that the crew is there to film when Thulo has something worthy of being captured.

When the *Mail & Guardian* asks about how scripted *Own Your Throne* set out to be, Thulo says viewers will see "things that I was already going to do, I just happened to schedule in a camera crew. I'm too old to be scripting shit," she laughs.

So, as well as refreshing an existing public figure's portfolio — in the case of mainstay names such as Thulo, Bonang Matheba and Somizi Mhlongo — what reality shows offer their protagonists is the opportunity to steer the public's perceptions in a favourable direction. Thulo says she hopes that the show rids people of any ideas that make it seem as if she is a people-pleaser. "I look forward to the days when I no longer have to censor myself and slowly work at showing people the real me," she says, sitting at the edge of her seat.

With regards to self-inflicted surveillance and ensuring that she and her family continue to be safe and are provided a level of privacy, Thulo says she could agree to having a reality show only if she could have the final say on what can and can't be captured. For instance, the camera crew is allowed in her house and backyard, but never upstairs where her and her mother's bedrooms and bathrooms are situated. "Why would you want to know what my bed looks like — that's literally none of anyone's business," she says.

Giving the people what they want to watch

Own Your Throne is the first local reality show to air on BET, but it follows formats similar to the likes of *Nonhle Goes to Hollywood* (Vuzu), *Dineo's Diary* (Vuzu), *Being Bonang* (One Magic), *Living the Dream with Somizi* (Mzansi Magic), and *Have Faith* (MTV Base).

In a journal article titled *Star Image, Celebrity Reality Television and the Fame Cycle*, Ruth Deller from Sheffield Hallam University argues that, depending on the content and the status that the figure is afforded beforehand, reality TV shows can help household names "expand, enterprise, enhance, exhume or exit" their fame.

Here in South Africa, it's almost as if shows of this kind have become a rite of passage for household names. This is fitting in a market in which charismatic folk are no longer at the mercy of modelling agencies, presenter-search television shows and radio shows to become popular. YouTube, Instagram, podcasts and Twitter have put the public-figure label within reach. In this context, reality shows offer prestige, as they keep the long-standing public figures in the limelight, while the new-age social media figures flood our timelines.

Reality shows may be a kind of

reference library for quotable lines that can be transferred into our everyday lives, but they do not serve the audience. Instead, they work at getting viewers to talk about their protagonists.

Once the duty of serving the protagonist is fulfilled, reality shows of this nature benefit the platforms that choose to broadcast them.

In a newsletter targeted at the media, on-demand streaming platform, Showmax said it appears as if reality television is taking over in South Africa. The newsletter reads: "Of the 10 most-streamed

local series on Showmax in 2019, four were reality shows: *The Real Housewives of Johannesburg*, *Being Bonang*, *The Bachelor SA* and *Boer Soek 'n Vrou*."

So far 2020 has seen *Kwa Mam'Mkhize* following suit. This show documents the post-divorce-life of Durban-based business mogul, Shauwn Mkhize. *Kwa Mam'Mkhize* is broadcast on DSTV's Mzansi Magic and produced by The BarLeader, the production company behind the reality series *Being Bonang* and upcoming wedding special, *The Somizi & Mohale Union*.



Rite of passage: *The Somizi & Mohale Union* is a forthcoming reality wedding special, produced by The BarLeader. Photo: Nkatekoda

After its premier in the second week of the year, *Kwa Mam'Mkhize* has already made Showmax's top-seven most streamed list for January.

The Showmax newsletter describes the reality show as "a huge hit on Twitter, where the commentary is almost as entertaining as the show". This illustrates the way in which reality shows serve broadcasters and streaming platforms by causing national social media engagement that encourages more viewers to consume the content.

"It's about what people want to see," says Monde Twala, the vice-president of the South African division of Viacom that runs BET Africa and MTV Base. These channels, together with Mzansi Magic, One Magic and Moja Love, broadcast the bulk of South Africa's local reality shows.

Although Twala doesn't directly speak to why there is an increasing number of reality shows on these channels, he says, "If you just look at social media and the level of following that [Thulo, Lasizwe and Faith Nketsi] have on social media, obviously there's something there that audiences are interested in. That's why we buy into it." — Zaza Hlaethwa

Levin initiates cycle of freedom

The guitarist is growing into his groove, with a new concept album launching soon

Gwen Ansell

Ninety percent of the people who come across this music," speculates guitarist Vuma Levin, "may not listen to it beyond the first half-minute of the first track." He's discussing his fourth album as a leader, *Antique Spoons*.

Two singles were released on January 20 (*Palmas*) and February 3 (*Promenade*), and the full album is due to launch at the Wits Theatre on February 29.

The comment isn't artfully crafted to elicit denials. Levin's simply describing how a commercial music market that predominantly streams disaggregated single tracks is shaping our ears: "That's how people listen these days," he says resignedly. "Even I find I have to consciously create time to listen."

"But *Antique Spoons* was conceived to be heard in its entirety, including the three short films we've made to accompany it." The films (made by Dylan Valley and Jurgen Meekle) and the nine tracks together comprise a story whose chapters deal with "love, loss and the politics of memory".

Related themes, centred on exploring and asserting the nuances of African identity, have been consistent in Levin's work since his 2015 debut, *The Spectacle of An-Other*. Revolutionary psychoanalyst Frantz Fanon describes in *The Wretched of the Earth* how "colonialism forces the people it dominates to ask themselves the question constantly: 'In reality, who am I?'" and that's been a leitmotif of Levin's becoming, as both an African nationalist and a musician.

Appropriately for a jazzman, the process of that becoming has been hot and cool. Hot, in that it's emotional and personal. Levin is the son of a black Swati mother and a white South African father, exploring identity in the turmoil of post-apartheid South Africa, amid the surface liberalism of the Netherlands where he studied, and now back home. Cool, because his praxis is increasingly informed by rigorous postcolonial theory (Fanon is one source; Achille Mbembe another), an unsparing work ethic and a distilled approach to composing.

"My usual composition process is to take x amount of material and deliberately render down that harvesting. [The *Antique Spoons* suite] is based on recycling three or four melodic, harmonic or rhythmic motifs throughout."

There's more to the album than the suite. Short interludes have been created by South African composer Cara Stacey on a variety of indigenous instruments, on which the quintet (Levin, reedman Bernard van Rossum, keys player Xavi Torres Vincente, bassist Marco Zenini and drummer Jeroen van Batterink) subsequently improvise. There, the compositional process is reversed: "Cara's sounds evoke experiences; the meaning becomes clear later," says Levin.

"I'm very concerned with how history and memory find their way into modes of being, relating, conceptualising, and reading symbols in the present," Levin adds. If the track titles often refer to places, objects and happenings in his own history, it's because "events are the intersection of space and time".

Take, for example, the title track, *Antique Spoon*. "Oh yes, there is a real spoon. It was a gift from someone who'd been very central in my life. But the metaphor embodies so much else too: the tension between a personally precious, domestic object and how it becomes an 'antique' and thus commercially valuable. Historical assignations placing that kind of weight on something are often deeply political."

As with "antique", so, Levin feels, with "African". "Dominant discourses have often allowed only one way of being 'black' or 'African'. Often, it's quite a performative thing: ideas of 'blackness' that can be most easily commodified in the capitalist marketplace. I've had discussions making it very clear that sign-



Hot and cool: Jazz guitarist Vuma Levin's fourth album, *Antique Spoons*, will be launched at the end of February. Photo: Delwyn Verasamy

ing to a major label might be very hard for my music — 'You don't have a South African sound' or 'We couldn't market you as an African'.

"But even if musical signifiers of 'Africanness' aren't there, the questions about identity always are. This music, composed over the two years since I've been home, was written from the vantage points of not only Jo'burg but Basel, Amsterdam and even Spain. Black Africans in the 21st century can live in those places — but in a provisional, ephemeral way that makes establishing a life in the Global North, sustaining relationships, falling in love, very difficult. People don't realise how moving around spreads you so thin."

Yet through their intense, empathetic collaboration, Levin's relationship with his Europe-based co-players has stayed strong. He's often discussed feeling hesitant about his own musicianship, because he started a jazz career relatively late: at 20. That's receding now. He's more at ease in his relationship with his instrument (something evident in his body language on stage). He's older, no longer studying — "where you worry a lot about how people hear you" —

and shares stages with mentors like Feya Faku and Marcus Wyatt, whom he used to place on a distant pedestal. He's relaxed into the supportive politics of improvisation in the group. "Our personal relationships have deepened over time. Now I realise that even if they're 'better' than me, we still love one another. In terms of the dynamic of the group I'm more conscious of giving and energy, rather than the specifics of a solo. Actually, it's always been like that — but it took me a while to grasp it."

Perhaps partly because of that, Levin is happy with *Antique Spoons*. "Compositionally and guitaristically — if that's a word — it's probably my most successful album. My three albums as leader seem to have been moving towards some kind of accessible, clear, own voice: less literal and ..?" — I suggest, and he agrees — "more allusive".

To listening ears, the album offers warm, appealing textures alongside searching, technically fierce musicianship, capturing soundscapes of hope and joy as well as regret. It's

worth far more than Levin's speculative 30 seconds of your time.

Some things, though, can never be expressed through gentle allusion. The album's closing interlude, *A Cockroach at the Intersection*, stands in sharp sonic contrast to the rest. Its textures are painfully abrasive, visceral and violent. "I was walking towards the robots at Fourth and Riviera in Killarney, when suddenly a some guys from a car emptied a can of Doom in the face of the guy who stands and begs there. It happened so fast. They'd gone again before I could stop them. Nobody else even slowed down, as if this was an everyday, normal event. It made me reflect that, on a smaller scale, it is."

He's momentarily silent, visibly shaken even by remembering. And yet that horrifying intersection remains a part of the road Levin travels.

It's Fanon, again, who gives us good words to describe the guitarist's journey: "In the world in which I travel, I am endlessly creating myself. And it is by going beyond the historical, instrumental hypothesis that I will initiate my cycle of freedom."

Art

THE PORTFOLIO

Bale Legoabe

I attended the National School of the Arts from 2010 - 2013. My main discipline was drama. During the course of my grade 9 year, I saw this drawing at a students' exhibition that I thought was really cool. I started drawing from that moment on and my love for art started overtaking my love for drama. I showed my mom a folder with all my artwork in it and she wouldn't let me switch from drama to art. She felt that we'd already invested so much into drama. It took a year for me to convince my parents, but finally, in 2012, my grade eleven year, I made the switch from drama to art.

I started studying at The Open Window Institute in 2014. I chose to specialise in illustration and then went on to add motion design when I was in second year. Initially it was stop motion-based, and as the course went on we started working on digital animation.

There are similarities between art and drama. They are both forms of emotional expression. I just like that you can communicate through a picture in illustration. It forces a different dialogue because people read different things into the illustration. People come from different backgrounds and they bring themselves into that image.

In my digital collage works I always use animals, plants, people and organic subject matter. Recently I've been taking photographs of buck and working with those in my artwork. I find them very beautiful from a design perspective; when they bend down to drink and when they stand in groups. I just like the aesthetics of that.

It's meditative when you're sitting down laying out an image. It feels like a puzzle. Over the years, my approach to composition has changed a little bit. I love how you can visually please or disturb someone just through composition.

A few years ago, my approach was more about putting things in order and presenting visually clean things. Now I am interested in disrupting that order, offsetting things a little bit and complicating composition.

There is usually no set formula to how an image forms for me. If it is a digital collage, it could be an image



of a buck on the page or a line, or an emotion. Sometimes it is playing with a composition and seeing how those things go together or it could be a vacillation between emotion and a well-composed image.

I have realised that these choices go with my experiences in life. My emotional experiences and my

expression in art kind of go hand in hand for me. Difficult experiences are generally more complex to depict than happy things.

Working on *Occupying the Fatuous State of Severity*, for me, goes back to how art creates dialogue, especially among several artworks in communication with each other. Within a

collective body of work, multiple sets of meaning can be created. It was interesting collaborating with people I didn't know, across mediums. For example, Felix Laband is a musician, so it was interesting to see how expansive a topic can be. It was literally collaborating to learn.

I have two solo exhibitions coming

up in the second half of the year. I am thinking of ideas around what those will be about and starting to create the work. In Cape Town I will exhibit digital collages and in Joburg I will exhibit traditional mixed media collages — all of them handmade.

Artwork title: *2kay9teen, 2019*

DON'T MISS

Kings of the World: This is a dark comedy and takes place in a suburban garden cottage where three people unpack their neuroses and shortcomings. The play is by William Harding, who will make his debut as a director. He'll be mentored by actor and director Robert Whitehead. The mentoring programme is funded by the department of sports, arts and culture. **Details:** The play is on until February 23 at the Market Theatre, 56 Margaret Mcingana Street, Newtown, Johannesburg. Tickets cost R90 to R150 and can be purchased from webticket.co.za. For more information visit markettheatre.co.za or call 011 832 1641.

Chthonios: Dylan Lewis uses his sculpture to introspect and reckon with the tensions that come with relationships. *Chthonios* represents an overdue homecoming in contemporary art for the artist. **Details:** The exhibition is open until February 29 at Everard Read — Circa, 3 Portwood Road, V&A Waterfront, Cape Town. For more

information visit everard-read-cape-town.co.za or call 021 418 4527.

Future Without N: Jonathan Silverman's show continues his exploration of how we neglect nature. As this subject is often covered by a Western quantitative discourse that relies on numbers, Silverman fashions an alternative where things play out in the non-verbal and non-numerative language that nature expresses itself in. **Details:** The show is on until February 22 at 99 Loop Gallery, Cape Town. For more information visit 99loop.co.za or call 021 422 3766.

Parkrun Voortrekker Monument: Parkrun organises weekly, timed runs around the world. They are free, safe and don't require participants to be athletes. Take in the lush landscape surrounding the Voortrekker Monument during a 5km run with friends and other running enthusiasts. **Details:** The parkrun is on February 8 at the Voortrekker Monument, Eeufees



Mythic quest: Dylan Lewis explores relationships and a sense of self in his sculpture exhibition *Chthonios*. Photo: Stella Olivier

Road, Groenkloof, Pretoria. For more information visit parkrun.co.za or call 012 326 6770.

Blue Is the Warmest Colour: After a successful showing in Johannesburg and Pretoria, BKHz

has decided to test its model on coastal waters with a pop-up show. Some of the artists have worked with blue, but others are challenged to explore territory that is outside their experience. The multi-modal group show includes artists

Vusi Beauchamp, Vuyolwethu Ndakisa, Jodi Bieber, Lunga Ntila, Banele Khoza, Mashudu Nevhutalu, Nkhensani Mkhari, Nelson Makamo, Tatenda Chidora, Nobukho Nqaba, Oratile Papi Konopi, Cole Ndelu, Ke Neil We and Jamal Nxedlana. **Details:** The exhibition takes place until February 28 at 41 Sir Lowry Road, Woodstock, Cape Town. A walkabout will take place on February 15. For more information visit bkhz.art.

Beginner's Bread Workshop: Learn how to bake a wholesome loaf of bread this weekend. The workshop will also highlight the importance of sourcing good quality ingredients and following traditional artisan baking techniques. **Details:** The workshop will take place on February 9 at Babette's Bread, 274 Fox Street, Johannesburg. Tickets cost R1000 and can be booked by calling 084 516 3014 or emailing babettesbreadfrances@gmail.com. For more information visit babettesbread.co.za.

Mail & Guardian Friday

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On her throne:
Boity cashes in
her reality check
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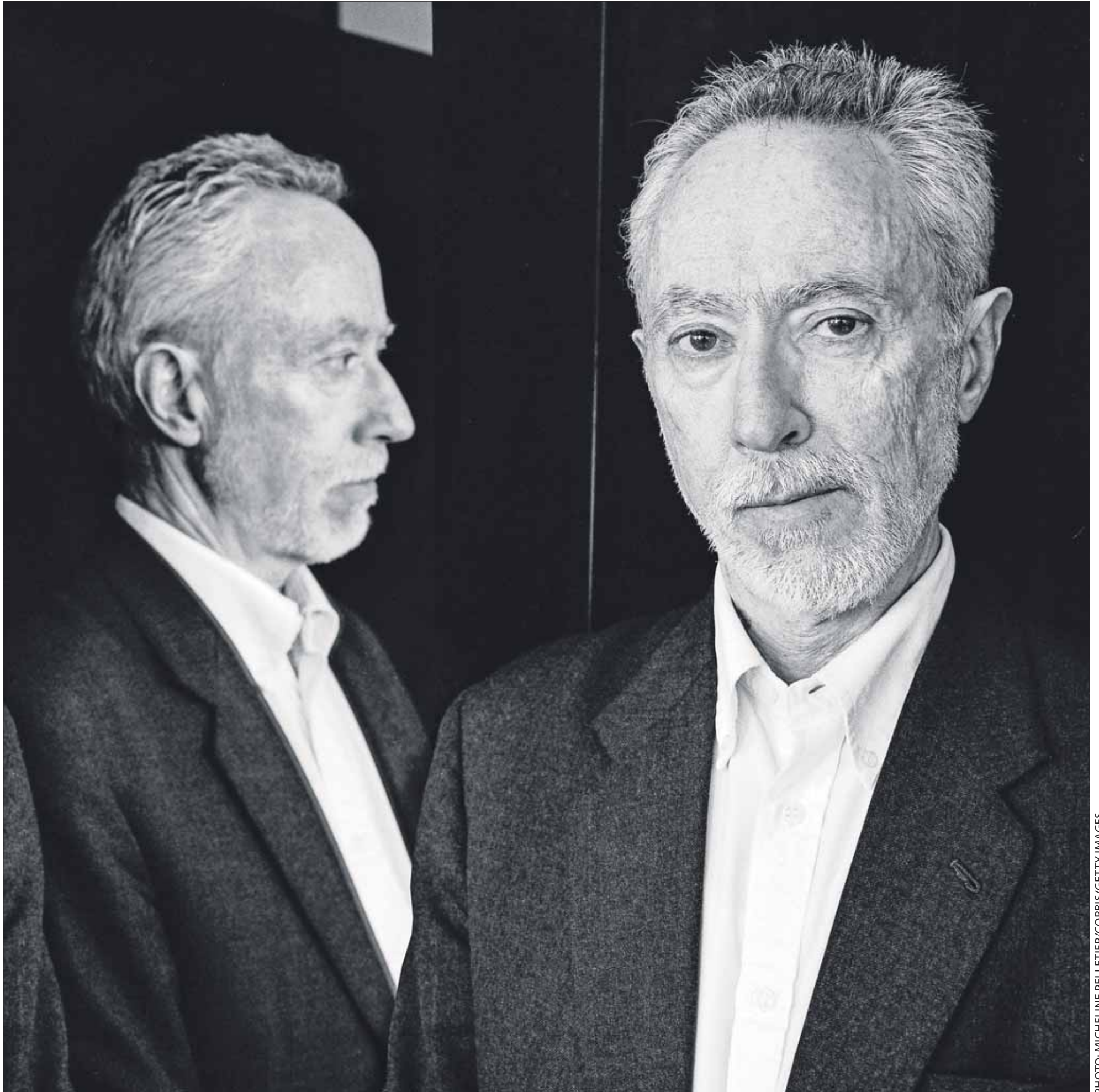


PHOTO: MICHELLE PELLETIER/CORBIS/GETTY IMAGES

Coetzee at 80: Reflections on his 'ethical vision' Page 32



Things get a little Messi at Barcelona

Arguably the world's greatest footballer, Lionel Messi has created unease at Barcelona after a bust-up with the club's sporting director. In an interview, Eric Abidal suggested that former coach Ernesto Valverde was sacked because of unhappiness within the dressing room. Messi responded furiously, challenging Abidal to name names. There are now fears that the club lynchpin may depart in the summer, when his contract allows him to leave on a free pass. Abidal, a former French national player and Barcelona left-back who played with Messi, has retained his position for now.

New squad boosts performance

The Proteas have entered the England ODI series with nine changes from their World Cup line-up, as well as a new captain. It's paying off, so far

Eyaaz Matwadia

It would be an overstatement to say that the aura around the Proteas has turned after their one-day international (ODI) against-the-odds triumph over England on Tuesday at Newlands. However, the refreshing setup employed for this series could be a blueprint that alters their traditional narrative and allows room for a new growth trajectory.

For starters, nine replacements have been made to the Proteas squad since they last played an ODI, which was at the World Cup, and six of those nine players are ODI debutants. The squad is also much younger than the side that travelled to England last winter as it boasts an average age of 25, compared with the former squad's average age of 30.

It could be seen as an attempt by the Proteas' selectors to go for broke, but former Proteas batsman Alvaro Petersen believes that it is a calculated decision, as players need to be



Captain's innings: Quinton de Kock (left) scored a century in the first one-day international match between South Africa and England on Tuesday. He was ably supported by Temba Bavuma, who fell just two runs shy of scoring a century himself. The Proteas won the match by seven wickets. Photo: Dan Mullan/Getty Images

tested at this level so that management can see where they stand and what areas need to be worked on in the future.

"With the team being new, young and inexperienced, they definitely need time to gain experience, however, that time can't be unlimited. I would guess about 12 months would be enough time to gain experience and gel as a team," Petersen said.

And although former Proteas spin bowler Paul Adams agrees with Petersen to an extent, he has already enjoyed the positivity that this refreshing South Africa side showed against England on Tuesday.

"For now it is trial and error for the Proteas, but they'll [new players] ease into it. For instance, if you take JJ [Jon-Jon] Smuts in Tuesday's ODI, he showed his character and, more importantly, he showed his versatility with the ball in hand and we also know that he can bat," Adams said.

Furthermore, the captaincy for this series has been changed, which has been welcomed across the country. The new ODI captain, Quinton de Kock, now has the added responsibility of leadership, together with his already heavy load of opening the batting and his keeping duties behind the stumps.

However, Petersen said that after the performance De Kock produced in the first ODI match on Tuesday, it is obvious that he is relishing this responsibility.

"I said it for years — he can do all of it. Quinton is a great reader of the game and he showed last night that he can keep, captain and score runs, as well as produce match-winning innings," Petersen said.

Adams believes that the Proteas understand the implications that these responsibilities might have on de Kock, but they have thought past them and have a "plan B" in store.

"Quinton obviously wants to do what he is doing, but Kyle Verreynne has also been included in this squad and he is a wicketkeeper and we've tried this before at Cape Town Blitz in the Mzansi Super League, [when] Quinton went into the field and Verreynne stood behind the stumps," Adams said.

"It adds a different balance to the team and it is the combination we need to try moving forward," he added.

For now, De Kock's men will be focused on claiming a series victory over the world champions, as well as avenging the demoralising defeats they received in the Test series. The chips will be placed on them too, especially in Sunday's pink ODI, as they have lost only one of seven matches when sporting their lucky colour.

For Adams, a series win will not only bring confidence to the squad but also restore pride in the Protea name. If they lose the remaining fixtures, he fears such a poor performance will have far-reaching consequences for the team, especially with Australia heading here in less than a month.

Get to know the new faces in the Proteas team

With the national cricket team in freefall of late, South Africa overhauled the squad for the Proteas' one-day international (ODI) series against England. The *Mail & Guardian* takes a look at some of the debutants.

Janneman Malan

Janneman Malan is a right handed opening batsman. He appeared in the T20 series against Pakistan in February 2019, during which he scored 35 runs in two matches. He topped the batting charts at last year's Africa T20 Cup, during which he produced lots of rapid runs, including the performance of the tournament, which saw him score 128 runs off 67 balls.

Malan's local first-class and one-day game records are proof that if he has more overs to set himself at the crease, he can inflict massive damage upfront.

Malan has a first-class average of 50.36 and has scored more than 3000 runs in 38 matches, notching up 11 centuries along the way.

Kyle Verreynne

Kyle Verreynne is a wicketkeeper and another promising batsman with an average of 50.72 in first-

class cricket and 17 half-centuries to his name. He was also South Africa A's stand out performer against India in 2019.

He is known for playing hard-hitting cameos in the middle of an innings, much like Justin Kemp would do back in the early 2000s.

Bjorn Fortuin

Although Bjorn Fortuin is an all rounder, his ability with the ball in hand is more significant. The left-arm spinner showcased his prime attributes on the subcontinent when the Proteas played a T20 series against India last year. He also boasts 55 wickets in 46 local one-day games with an economy rate of just more than four runs an over.

Lutho Sipamla

Being a right-arm fast medium bowler, Lutho Sipamla does not average a wicket per game in local one-day cricket and has an economy rate that is a tad expensive at 5.55 runs an over. However, Sipamla's performance against England in his ODI debut on Tuesday showed that he brings agility to the field, an attribute



In the big league: Eastern Province teammates bowler Lutho Sipamla (left) and allrounder JJ Smuts both made their one-day international debut against England on Tuesday. Photo: Dan Mullan/Getty Images

the Proteas sorely lacked in their World Cup campaign.

Jon-Jon Smuts

Jon-Jon Smuts or the player better known as "JJ" made himself a part of the Proteas T20 squad after significant performances against Sri Lanka in February last year and looked comfortable when making his first start in an ODI on Tuesday. The all-rounder can score runs, coming in at number four in the batting line-up, and his orthodox spin bowling has an economy rate that suggests he can limit

sides from achieving high run rates in the middle overs of a match.

Sisanda Magala

Sisanda Magala is a proven wicket-taker in local cricket. He averages a wicket every five overs and has a total of four five-wicket-hauls in local list A games. However, these wickets do come at a price: an economy rate of almost 6 runs an over. The 29-year-old's ability is not in doubt, but he will need to develop greater composure when he dons the Proteas shirt for the first time. — Eyaaz Matwadia

Sport

South African tennis serves up promise

After years of struggle, the sport seems to be taking some steps in the right direction with an ATP Challenger 50 event to be held in March

Luke Feltham

Keep it at a whisper for now, but South African tennis might just be heading in a positive direction. It's spent much of the last decade ambling along with little evidence of a course in mind; any meaningful attempts to develop a plan usually catch a snag before they can grow into anything significant.

You can pick from a long line-up of suspects to explain why this is the case — lazy administration, lack of funds, an apathy for the sport and so on — but the list of viable solutions has always remained slim.

No one has stumbled on a silver bullet, but we did get a small taste of what a flourishing tennis scene might look like last weekend when the Arthur Ashe Tennis Complex played host to the RCS Rising Stars national finals.

The event was the culmination of an almost year-long battle between hundreds of primary schools across the country. But the real draw, at least to most of the public, was an exhibition match between Kevin Anderson and Lloyd Harris.

The opportunity to watch the highest-ranked South Africans on the ATP ladder duel it out brought in hundreds of spectators and all but filled the stadium to capacity. There was genuine excitement about the competitiveness of the game too: as friendly in nature as it inevitably was, the crowd was invested in the outcome, becoming increasingly drawn in as the two allotted sets ticked over into a tie-breaker that Anderson would eventually clinch.

A few celebrities pitched up to

watch as well, adding an air of prestige to proceedings but not to the point where the outing threatened to degenerate into pretention.

Rather, it felt distinctly South African — a sense helped in no small part by a large contingent of Kaizer Chiefs fans who sang at every available interval (one can't help but ponder the fact that whoever encouraged them to attend didn't warn them that tennis etiquette, unlike football, demands silence during play).

Much of the excitement about the excursion stemmed from the fact that we simply don't have first-class tennis to watch live, competitive or otherwise. At least until now.

At the beginning of December, Tennis South Africa (TSA) was finally able to announce that it had secured an ATP Challenger 50 tournament to be played here — the first since 2013. Given that last year 52 countries shared more than 200 ATP events among them, the development is long overdue and very welcome.

Only a couple of weeks later TSA announced it had secured funding to host three International Tennis Federation events, each with a prize pool of \$25 000. No tournaments on these shores could match those figures last year.

All of that may not contain the gravitas of a grand slam, but it is certainly a move in the right direction and will help build the momentum that events such as Sunday's create. (Some people might even argue that the Roger Federer and Rafael Nadal spectacle in Cape Town this Friday contributes to that cause as well.)

With growth arriving on the home front, perhaps more eyes than ever will be on Anderson and Harris in what will be an important



Friendly rivalry: Lloyd Harris (above) and Kevin Anderson, seen together (below), faced each other during an exhibition match at the Arthur Ashe Tennis Centre in Soweto last Sunday and both represented South Africa in the ATP Cup in Australia last month. Photos: Jono Searle/Getty Images and Lefty Shivambu/Gallo Images



year for both players.

Despite the annoyance Anderson has generated by rejecting national team call-ups, he remains the best hope the country has of success in singles competition.

Although in 2018 he rose to as high as fifth in the world before succumbing to injury again, time is running out for the 33-year-old to achieve his dream of going one better than his

two grand-slam final appearances. With a second-round collapse in the Australian Open two weeks ago, it's clear he's still got some work to do.

Harris received a similarly deflating exit in the form of a first-round straight-sets spanking. No one is asking him to win a major at this point, but at 23 years old and with an ATP 250 final already under his belt, much is expected from his

development this year.

The hope is that one day Harris will reach Anderson's level or, perhaps, even surpass it. Having two South African tennis players competing for high honours in the space of a few years would be a huge boost for the sport here. Long-term success, however, will arise when they are able to face each other competitively on home soil one day.



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Sport & Games



Space-gazing: Jomo Sono just hopes Jomo Cosmos does well at the Nedbank Cup and before he retires. Photo: Lefty Shivambu/Gallo Images

Galaxy allows others to shine

With a nation watching, Jomo Cosmos is one side looking to use the Nedbank Cup to rise

Luke Feltham

A maniacal grin flashes across Ernst Middendorp's face whenever he's asked about last year's Nedbank Cup final, a game his Kaizer Chiefs side lost to TS Galaxy of the first division. His only concern, he says now, is the present.

The German doesn't seem to appreciate what that day at Moses Mabhida Stadium meant for South African football. All it took was one composed, slightly off-centre penalty in the 92nd minute to prove that even those on the lower rungs can rise to defeat the most followed team in the country. Thanks to that watershed moment, the latest Nedbank Cup round of 32 carries more weight and anticipation to it than perhaps ever before. There's a renewed belief that it could catapult a team into something great.

Take Jomo Sono. The legendary coach is beginning to tire of the GladAfrica Championship (for the uninitiated, this is what we're calling the first division these days). He still relishes the chance to spend each day beside a football field, but finds himself increasingly longing for the glamour of the PSL. With a promising but raw Jomo Cosmos under his command, the Nedbank Cup represents the opportunity to accelerate their growth and familiarise them to the bright lights that he once played under. Even if that begins with a fixture against ABC Motsepe League side, Hungry Lions.

"They are learning but while they're learning I'm not staying young," he said this week. "They must learn quickly because I'm also getting old. I can't stay too long in the NFD [National First Division]. By the time I retire I must be out of there."

"We want to do well. We want to do very, very well. Go as far as we can get. Just for the players to gain confidence ... we want to use the Nedbank Cup to start building for next season."

Another new aspect of knockout competitions this year is the capacity to field a senior side with no restrictions. At the end of last season, the National Soccer League (NSL) Board of Governors introduced a new rule that forces first division teams to field at least five U23 South Africans in every starting 11 in league games.

Cosmos have continued their struggles under the new dispensation and currently sit in 14th, far closer to relegation than the promised land of play-off spots. Sono doesn't seem to have contemplated the possibility of dropping down further, but rather wants to transform his young crop into promotion chasers as quickly as possible.

This week, Galaxy coach Dan Malesela said the Nedbank Cup will allow him to put some kilometres on the legs of his under-used senior players. The plan would fail, however, with Chippa United downing the champions 3-0.

Sono's rationale is different — he insisted he will be fielding a similar line-up to that which he might on a weekly basis. Consistency and development remain key for him.

A sustained run in the Cup will also help restore faith in a young squad that may have become disillusioned with South African footballing institutions. The first division, in particular, has been rife with allegations of corrupt refereeing that has left a bad taste in the mouths of those who swear by its competitiveness.

From a team with a deep history to one with very little — the Vaal University of Technology Football Club (VUT) will notably make its debut in the round of 32. As the only team to arrive via the fourth tier SAB Regional League, victory would epitomise the clichéd magic of the Cup.

With the draw pitting them against the PSL's Golden Arrows that's a big ask. Addressing the media this week, their coach Stanford Nkoane spoke with commanding authority. He showed no sign that he was at all uncomfortable with suddenly falling under a national microscope. When asked if he was intimidated by Steve Komphela's philosophising, he replied emphatically: "English will not be playing football on the day."

He too harbours ambitions of stretching the club's run in the competition and using it as a boon in their promotion fight ... and there's little wonder about where he draws his inspiration.

"Firstly I tell the boys to respect football because if you respect football anything is possible," Nkoane said. "What TS Galaxy did against the biggest team in South Africa is something you can also do. We may be from the lower leagues but anything is possible when it's 11 vs 11."

THE ORIGINAL SOUTH AFRICAN CRYPTIC CROSSWORD

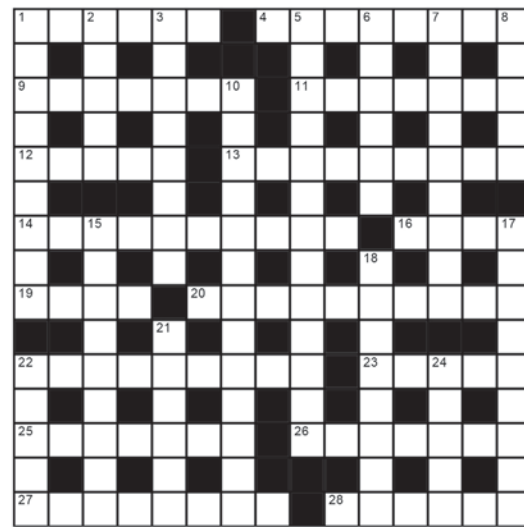
JDE 218
by George Euvrard

Across

- 1 Black, large and covered in hair, but not loud and cannot be seen clearly (6)
- 4 Spread theologian provided initially for us English inside (8)
- 9 Very pleased that friend had sex change in the end and was catered for (7)
- 11 Strengthen pro to return capable at beginning of year (7)
- 12 Chute for female mule on heat (5)
- 13 Bachelor to name just one (9)
- 14 Sound of support mate not new (10)
- 16 Isinwithadrop(4)
- 19 States agreement on board (4)
- 20 Signs of excitement in bird shoves (10)
- 22 Goldfish in secret tomb (9)
- 23 Black party closing down (5)
- 25 I shall say almost all are improper (7)
- 26 Relives playing fish (7)
- 27 Sing to demure Dane resident holding back (8)
- 28 Electrodes are one sad creation (6)

Down

- 1 Earth-moving operations reverse troubles, restricting frequency (9)
- 2 Rush and hurry up, even for Africa's highest peak (5)
- 3 Sends back muses (8)
- 5 Tiny nit in families affected (13)
- 6 Surely company has limits on leniency? (6)
- 7 Religion comes quietly into one's mind at first (9)
- 8 Make money for leader (5)
- 10 Lewd bile demos produced from removed organs (13)
- 15 Manservant becomes a poet and playwright (3,6)
- 17 Cook rats — sis! — on burners (9)
- 18 Shaggy beard on local one in Eastern Cape dorp (8)
- 21 Another final expropriation includes good two acres (6)
- 22 Helpers have mass benefits (5)
- 24 Five plus one gets six — dynamics start to become clear (5)



Solutions and explanations can be found at mg.co.za/crossword



Go to 'JDE' on facebook for discussion and solutions to every JDE crossword, and talk or stalk!

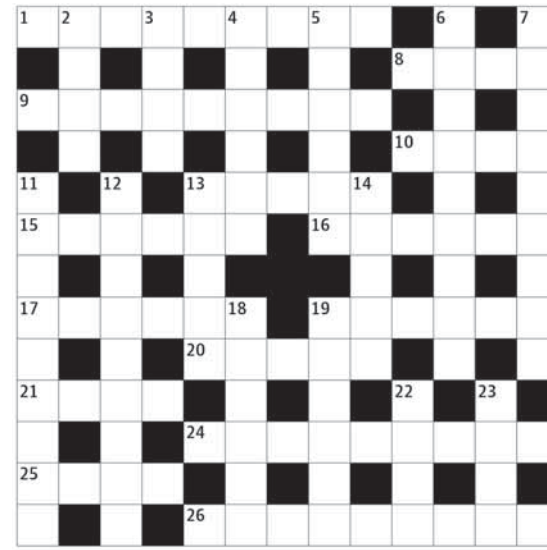
QUICK CROSSWORD

Across

- 1 Written carelessly (9)
- 8 Potter's material (4)
- 9 Seamless carpet type — a bold room (anag) (9)
- 10 Affectedly pretty (4)
- 13 Branch (5)
- 15 (Of information) very recently received (3-3)
- 16 Socialise (especially with posher people) (6)
- 17 Messiah composer (6)
- 19 What follows (6)
- 20 At an angle (5)
- 21 Castor or Pollux? (4)
- 24 Backside (9)
- 25 Clothed (4)
- 26 Soldier — in red gear (anag) (9)

Down

- 2 Brusque (4)
- 3 ___ Lendl, Czech-born American tennis star (4)
- 4 Vote (6)
- 5 Sufficient (6)
- 6 Exploding (7,2)
- 7 Extravagant exaggeration (9)
- 11 Designer of buildings (9)
- 12 Indistinguishable (9)
- 13 Pugilist (5)
- 14 Sharpened (5)
- 18 Toil (6)
- 19 Church caretaker (6)
- 22 Waterless (4)
- 23 Proverbial pig container? (4)



14, 696

LAST WEEK'S SOLUTIONS

Quick Crossword 14,695

UNASCERTAINED
SCAABOER
ULTDEBAUCHEE
AJIBTOA
LENTLILYCLAM
GLEHDE
OUTLAWHAWSER
EHCSJB
DREYNUPTIALS
IFTNIRK
PROFUSIONRAY
UOBORGEP
SALMANRUSHDIE

SUDOKU

						2	4	
		7		2				6
		4			8			5
					3	1		
	3		8	4				2
	2	9	5	6				
		1	4			8	5	
9			1	7				
	5							

Cryptic Crossword JDE 217

D O E K E M B A T T L I N G
E L E N R N R
R E D U C E R I S A N D L A
I O A G M M I I
S E R E N G E T I P A G A N
I A N S O O Y
O L D W I V E S T A L E
N O B S I I S U
P A N T E C H N I C O N
L S L A I R E
I R A Q I T H E I S L A N D
T V S E X T P I
C A U S T I C I N S P E C T
H K I A S U E
I N A C C U R A T E S P U D

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.

LAST WEEK'S SOLUTION

8	4	9	2	6	1	7	5	3
5	3	2	4	9	7	8	1	6
7	6	1	5	3	8	2	9	4
4	7	6	3	1	2	5	8	9
2	8	3	9	4	5	6	7	1
1	9	5	7	8	6	3	4	2
9	1	7	6	5	3	4	2	8
6	2	4	8	7	9	1	3	5
3	5	8	1	2	4	9	6	7