

A FREEDOM SOLDIER'S HEART

A Tribute To Winnie Madikizela-Mandela

GRANT SON

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***I am the product of the masses of my country
and the product of my enemy.***

Winnie Madikizela-Mandela

FOREWORD

Winnie Madikizela-Mandela, more than any individual bar Nelson Mandela, endures as a symbol of the struggle against apartheid injustice and the ensuing freedom of a nation.

‘An act of greatness lasts forever’, Grant Son writes in ‘A Freedom Soldier’s Heart – A Tribute to Winnie Mandela’ and expresses the hope that the book will remind us that a single name – in this case that of Winnie Madikizela-Mandela – ‘can be a superlative synonymous with extraordinary’.

Winnie Mandela is, rightly, seen as the keeper of South Africa’s liberation struggle: the lone, tortured figure who kept Nelson Mandela’s name and dream alive when the world was no longer mentioning him; and who stood between the ANC and oblivion when the international media gradually stopped reporting about the struggle. Her courageous efforts did not go unnoticed and she was admired, even revered, by ordinary people, as well as by the world’s leaders. While she was in exile in Brandfort she received visits from several distinguished figures, including US Senator Edward Kennedy; and the international media reported at length about the myriad difficulties and continuing harassment she faced at the hands of the South African authorities.

In June 1990, four months after Nelson Mandela’s release from prison, Winnie Mandela arrived in New

York with her legendary husband on their first visit to the United States of America. New York, home of the United Nations, is used to receiving visiting dignitaries: kings, princes, the famous and the infamous; but the Big Apple had seldom seen the excited anticipation and frenzied activity that characterised the visit of the Mandelas.

A million people lined the streets of Manhattan – and many said they had come not to see Nelson Mandela, but his beautiful and equally admired wife, Winnie. Americans, as other people abroad, had been kept abreast by the international media of the many years of harassment and trauma Winnie had endured; and even the months of negative publicity following the death of Stompie Seipei had apparently not eroded their respect and esteem for her. People in the crowd told me they had the greatest admiration for her courage in fighting against apartheid and for human rights – and keeping Mandela and the freedom struggle alive at enormous personal cost.

Throughout South Africa Winnie Madikizela-Mandela has been respected and loved by young and old since she first arrived on the scene more than half a century ago as a young, passionate social worker. When one examines her life to understand what makes her so popular it is almost surprising to find that it is not her political acumen, nor her almost superhuman courage or enormous sacrifices; but her humanity, her empathy and support for others, which endears her to virtually everyone she comes into contact with.

This applies not only to the people closest to her.

Perhaps the most remarkable story of her compassion is that of the Afrikaans journalist, Herman Joubert, who phoned Winnie late one night, years ago, when his marriage was disintegrating and he felt depressed and lonely. In his report of the encounter he admitted that he had had too much to drink, and responded rudely to some of her questions; but she spoke to him like a mother, told him to have something to eat, drink some warm milk – and to remember that he was not alone, that there were people who cared about him.

‘We care,’ she said to him.

Winnie Mandela, who carried the struggle and ideals of an entire nation on her shoulders, and whose own life was beset with problems that most people couldn’t even imagine, told a white man she had never met that she cared about him.

Thousands of people in South Africa have had similar experiences.

The significance of Winnie’s compassion is recognised even in the political arena. In 2011 Tokyo Sexwale observed that Winnie Mandela would be valuable in addressing issues in informal settlements, because what was needed was ‘a mother’.

Why then, despite Winnie’s widespread popularity and enormous contribution to the establishment of a democratic South Africa, has the ANC continued to sideline her? The election of Jacob Zuma as president of the country, despite numerous allegations of

criminal conduct – and prosecution – put paid to the theory that Winnie was isolated as a result of criminal charges against her.

Grant Son is a young South African, well educated and with an impressive résumé. Knowing about Winnie Mandela's contribution to the establishment of the new South Africa, he was curious as to why she was not as celebrated as Nelson Mandela. He wanted to understand why, post apartheid, there was continued determination to discredit Winnie who, for all that she has sacrificed for South Africa and Black South Africans, remained largely excluded from the ANC's celebrated political history and was treated as the stepchild of the struggle. What he found was that Winnie, from the political standpoint of the ANC, was 'perceived as an appendage to a great man, Nelson Mandela'; and it is 'common in South Africa that men use their domination over women to define their manhood'.

Winnie Mandela was the most prominent woman who battled against apartheid. Her fight, however, was not only against racial apartheid, but also against 'gender apartheid'. A decade ago the political analyst Daniel Silke commented that Winnie Mandela's disagreements with the ANC were in essence over the authoritarian tendencies within both the party and Thabo Mbeki's leadership.

The apartheid struggle was a war, and after Mandela's imprisonment Winnie Mandela was the *de facto* commander-in-chief. She actively provided

assistance to operatives of the ANC's military wing Umkhonto we Sizwe (Spear for the Nation) or MK, to infiltrate the country from neighbouring states where they were based. Moreover, in her political capacity, as well as her position as a leader in society, the people of South Africa looked up to her as the 'mother of the nation'. Hence, Winnie graduated from the liberation struggle as a prominent military, political and social leader.

Deliberation of the impact of her diverse roles in the decades before and after the advent of a democratic South Africa, leads to the unambiguous conclusion that Winnie was feared, and therefore ostracised, as a result of her unintentional development into a role that is traditionally a male prerogative; and because she neglected to accommodate the ANC's definition of a woman's role in society. Their punishment of Winnie was harsh, and public.

At Walter Sisulu's state funeral Winnie Mandela was notably absent from the chief mourners: his widow Albertina; Oliver Tambo's widow Adelaide; and Epainette Mbeki, widow of Govan Mbeki and mother of Thabo Mbeki. Amid the names of Adelaide Tambo, Albertina Sisulu, Lillian Ngoyi, Helen Joseph and other women of her generation, after whom South Africa's prominent national and provincial highways, hospitals and streets are named, the name of Winnie Mandela is starkly unrepresented – her name being confined to clinics and roads in the townships – although none of them had sacrificed

more, or contributed as much to the struggle and the new South Africa, as Winnie Mandela. This is no casual oversight.

Winnie has vociferously voiced her opinion that the ANC government perpetuated, rather than improved, the plight of struggling South Africans, and was out of touch with people's expectations and the real suffering of the disenfranchised. This won her the support of many people – but not within the upper echelons of the ANC. Having proven that she would rather go to prison than compromise her principles, Winnie's vocal opposition made her as big a threat to the ANC as she had been to the apartheid government. That then, would be why, in Grant Son's words, Winnie is treated as a 'second-class citizen'.

Much about Winnie's life still needs to be researched and recorded, many questions answered. Scant attention has been paid to the devastating effects on her psyche by a quarter of a century's life-threatening danger, unrelenting trauma, imprisonment and torture. One look at a photograph of a young Winnie, prior to and even shortly after Nelson Mandela's imprisonment, shows the integrity, moral strength and inherent class she displayed throughout her life; and even allegations of criminal conduct later in her life should have been an indication of the ordeal she had faced for so long and the post traumatic stress from which she suffered.

Grant Son correctly observes that the leaders of apartheid got off scot-free. The Draconian philosophy

of apartheid incited civil and military action, and measures to end apartheid ought to be regarded as self-defence. If blame is therefore to be apportioned for misdeeds during apartheid it should be directed at the apartheid leaders, who should have faced similar justice as that imposed on Radovan Karadžić, leader of the Bosnian Serbs, found guilty of crimes against humanity and sentenced to forty years in prison – not for committing the crimes but for his knowledge thereof and failure to prevent or stop it.

Son places Winnie Madikizela-Mandela, the ‘ultimate freedom soldier of our generation’, in the illustrious company of Black women like Amina, the Queen of Nigeria in the fifteenth Century; Candace, the Empress of Ethiopia 332 BC; Makeda, the Queen of Sheba 960 BC; and Yaa Asantewaa, the Queen of the Ashanti Empire in Ghana from 1840–1921; women warriors ‘who helped to make Africa the resilient continent that it is today’. He regrets that ‘the list does not go on, because that cliché does not apply here. This list is limited.’ Limited it may be, but the legacy of this small, distinguished group has outlived the rigours of a paternalistic continent; raising the hope that Winnie Madikizela-Mandela will yet receive the recognition she deserves.

The challenges Grant faced in doing research for his book echoed my own when I was writing ‘*Winnie Mandela: A Life*’ – that far too little has been written about this remarkable woman, whose name is the ‘superlative that is synonymous with the

extraordinary'; and whose life, in terms of service to country, stands unequalled in selflessness and sacrifice for the greater good. It is therefore encouraging that a young South African voice has determined to chronicle a tribute to this heroine of our time.

South Africa's political history cannot be complete without an extensive chapter on the role, influence and legacy of Winnie Madikizela-Mandela. Pending historical validation, it must however be comforting to her to know that the decades of struggle and sacrifice has not been in vain; and that many South Africans not only thrive as a result, but respect, and are committing themselves to record her legacy.

Anné Mariè du Preez Bezdrob

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PREAMBLE

The most common statement and question by those who knew that I was writing this book have been: ‘Grant, you’re such an established individual, you carefully galvanised your own brand, you’re educated, you’ve left a corporate leadership legacy and are now a successful businessman, role model and philanthropist, or “philanthropreneur”. Why are you writing a book about Winnie Madikizela-Mandela?’

My response remains consistent: Winnie Madikizela-Mandela whom I’ve never met in person, not even physically seen at an event; nor her late husband President Nelson Mandela, is one of the most remarkable human beings South Africa has ever produced. As far as I am aware, she remains a respected legend in Africa and the world.

Let me set the scene and then for perspective and understanding, allow you to see what I see before I introduce you to my voice in the book. Winnie Madikizela-Mandela was the first Black medical social worker ever to be employed by the Apartheid Government at Baragwanath Hospital. Her then husband, Nelson Mandela, was a respected lawyer representing impoverished Black communities, with offices across from the Johannesburg Magistrate’s Court.

I am not talking about Black people who were uneducated, unemployed and bored who took up

arms to battle for us. They were well respected professionals who were, relatively speaking, earning well, living comfortable lives as perceived by Black South Africans and were marvelled at by Black communities that experienced abject poverty.

Had it not been for apartheid the above might have been describing a potential Motsepe family, or a Black Bill and Melinda Gates, respective owners of a billion rand South African brand or Microsoft. One can only imagine a South African environment producing Black professionals of that stature in the 1950's and 1960's and wonder, in such a case, where South Africa, and especially Black South Africans, would have been today.

Nelson and Winnie Mandela, these two amazing humanitarians, decided to give up their hard-earned, and honestly earned, privileges and lay down their lives, literally if necessary, so that everyone in the country might enjoy the same benefits, irrespective of race or gender.

Former President Nelson Mandela announced in a court room that he was prepared to die for the rights of Black people; and accepted the possibility of a death sentence – and the reality of life imprisonment. His wife, Winnie, then spent thirty years (three decades) fighting in the war against apartheid which brought about the demise of the apartheid government.

So the real question after reading about such a sacrifice, especially if one is a South African, should be: Why have you not you written a book about Ms

Winnie Madikizela-Mandela and attempted to at least recognise and / or thank her, and those who fought alongside her and former President Nelson Mandela, for their unselfish bravery to ensure that Blacks in this country are free from the bondage of apartheid?

If I were to deliver a short speech of appreciation to Ms Winnie Madikizela-Mandela, then it would read as follows:

Throughout history every generation of human rights activists finds the hero or heroine who defines the times they live in. As the accolades are added to the history books, so, too, is the power of their persona and personal strength, their unselfish conscience and instinctive desire to serve humanity, their obviously fearless abilities and the mysterious power they have to not just hold our attention, but to use it in ways that will immortalise them forever.

U'Mama Wethu, Mother of Our Nation, Mama Winnie Madikizela Mandela, must be celebrated as part of the long lineage of South Africa, Africa and the world's greatest who have earned a simple single-name distinction for their lifelong commitment and work to ending slavery, oppression, colonial rule and apartheid; those for whom only one name is needed to conjure a meaningful perception in this otherwise chaotic world we live in.

Africa's Black women like Amina, the Queen of Nigeria in the 15th Century; Candace, the Empress of Ethiopia 332 BC; Makeda, the Queen of Sheba 960 BC; and Yaa Asantewaa, the Queen of the Ashanti Empire

in Ghana from 1840 –1921, are women warriors who helped make Africa the resilient continent that it is today. The list does not go on, because that cliché does not apply here. This list is limited. The association is distinguished, but it includes someone whom I believe deserves the honorary graduate award – the ultimate freedom soldier of our generation, Winnie Madikizela-Mandela, who continues to be a legendary and noble freedom soldier, through serving ordinary poor and working-class South Africans.

An act of greatness lasts forever, but an act of greatness in the form of fighting for thirty years (three decades) for Black people and women to be free and equal, must forever astound us. I hope that this book will remind us that a single name can be a superlative synonymous with extraordinary; and that a single name can define bravery that is the equal of all of the greatest legends of our struggle for freedom and equality. It is time that we recognise U'Mama Wethu, Mama Winnie Madikizela Mandela's relevance; and honestly and sincerely honour her contribution towards ending the apartheid system, and securing our political freedom, whilst tirelessly helping South Africa reach its dream for land reform and economic freedom in our lifetime.

Grant Son

It is only when all Black groups join hands and speak with one voice that we shall be a bargaining force which will decide its own destiny... We know what we want... We are not asking for majority rule; it is our right, we shall have it at any cost. We are aware that the road before us is uphill, but we shall fight to the bitter end for justice...

Winnie Mandela

ABOUT THE AUTHOR

Grant Reagon Son was born in Noordgesig, Soweto, South Africa. He is a father, husband, humanitarian, philanthropist and businessman and currently a PhD and MPhil research candidate at the Da Vinci Business School Institute and the University of Stellenbosch respectively.

He holds an MBA degree; a Pre-LLM certificate from Hibernia College, Dublin; mining engineering and project management certificates from the University of Newcastle in Australia; environmental and paralegal practitioner certificates from the University of Potchefstroom, Centre for Environmental Management (now North West University) and the University of Cape Town. Grant is the former General Manager of UUNET SA/Verizon/MTN Business ISP, the mining consulting firm Metrix Consulting and Coca Cola Fortune Bloemfontein/Louis Trichardt/Tzaneen; and former Managing Director for Broadband at the Botswana Government's Telecommunications Corporation (BTC).

Grant has extensive experience in mining/environmental and other pure risk law, management, corporate governance and strategic business consulting. As Botswana Telecommunications Corporation's youngest appointed expatriate board member, he assisted in drafting documents for the BTC, a state-owned enterprise, to successfully convert

it into a profitable PPP (Public Private Partnerships) in Botswana. He is currently a Trustee and Chairman of 'I AM Black Gold,' a 100 percent black owned emerging wealth management fund; and the CEO of Batho Phahameng Consulting, a Mine Closure/ Mine Rehabilitation and Power Station Engineering Maintenance Management Consulting Firm. Grant is a cadet pilot with ambitions to fly cargo in the form of United Nations food and medical aid to African countries.

PREFACE

This is a book for those who enjoy political literature merged with current politics, social and economic views.

There are instances throughout the book where I refer to Winnie Madikizela-Mandela as either Winnie or Madikizela-Mandela. This is done to ensure flow, impact and relevance, and is in no way to be interpreted as a sign of disrespect. It is part of my culture to always address my elders, or anyone whom I do not know personally, with the correct salutation.

Part of my journey to obtaining a PhD is my current environment as an MPhil research student at Stellenbosch Business School. One of my Professors at Stellenbosch University, as part of our Neuroplasticity and learning classes, requested that our research team, a very diverse group, introduce ourselves individually and state our place of birth, work experience and the reason for undertaking the MPhil research in Cape Town at Stellenbosch University's Business School.

One of my fellow students, a White Afrikaner gentleman in his late forties, is a chemical engineer by profession. He told us that he was born in Malawi after his father, a White Afrikaner teacher and Dominee (Afrikaans name for priest), moved from South Africa with his family to do missionary work in rural villages in Malawi. Due to hardship, they moved from Malawi to Zimbabwe to do the same, and then back to South

Africa.

In South Africa they lived on the West Rand in an area called Randfontein and his father made a conscious decision to take up a position as a teacher in Soweto during the 1970s. My fellow scholar narrated this in a voice that was unconsciously shaky, as he reflected on how traumatic it was for him, his mom and siblings as they wondered if their dad would ever make it back home, fully aware of the danger their father experienced as a White teacher in Soweto, which was burning during the turmoil of the 1970s and 1980s, to offer his teaching skills and earn a wage to feed his family.

I am sharing the story above with the full consent of my colleague and with the intention, so early in the book, to avoid any misconceptions and/or assumptions about me or my voice as the writer. I write this book with the complete awareness that it was the help of some White South Africans, including some White Afrikaners, and a large number of White Americans and Europeans who assisted in bringing an end to apartheid in South Africa.

The main focus of this book is the contribution that Winnie Mandela made in the fight against apartheid. South African history and the society then and now, is filled with paradoxes, and this book is no exception to that fact. As such it highlights the injustices that have prevailed against black people simply because they are black. In the South African context, reference to the term 'black' cannot be avoided; and is by no

means intended to offend anyone.

This book is the product of an academic journey that started in 2014, when South Africa celebrated its 20th anniversary as a free and democratic country. I was also celebrating my fifth year as an entrepreneur, which is quite an important professional accomplishment, since it is something that I would not have easily accomplished during the apartheid days. Coincidental with my academic journey and professional development, South Africa was also celebrating its fifth free and fair election, where Black South Africans, the majority in the country, vote for any political party of their choice, without fear or favour.

I was born only seven months before the 16 June 1976 student uprising in Soweto and a mere five kilometres from the Hector Pietersen Memorial, so named in honour of the first youth who was killed. A memorial tribute to the youth who instituted the uprisings of the 1970s and 1980s. Growing up during apartheid in the previously disadvantaged communities of Noordgesig, Westbury and Eldorado Park, constructed and designed according to apartheid doctrine and infested with gang violence, I felt that I had a duty to understand and document the political relevance of, and the contribution made by, U'Mama Wethu, 'Mother of the Nation', Ms. Nomzamo Zanyiwe Winifred Madikizela-Mandela, one of South Africa's most popular heroines. She was not only the freedom soldiers' unofficial commander-in-chief, but

also without any doubt the true depiction of what a freedom soldier's heart looks like. She was the symbol of the 'Apartheid Struggle', when the now ruling African National Congress was a banned organisation in South Africa.

I am therefore bemused that she has been disregarded in terms of the Nobel Peace Prize, considering how she has fought bravely and gallantly against apartheid for three decades (thirty years).

The power of apartheid indoctrination and its indelible imprint on our history compels me to include excerpts from a speech on the policy of apartheid by Dr Hendrik Frensch Verwoerd, known as the architect of apartheid, made in parliament on 3 September 1948.

'As far as territorial segregation is concerned, "total segregation" as you call it in your letter of 31/10/'42 addressed to the secretary of our party on the Rand, would have been the ideal solution, but in practice it is incapable of being carried out, because quite apart from all the other difficulties, our own people, our farmers and thousands and tens of thousands of others, who use the services of the Natives and coloured people as labour, would never agree to it. For that reason, as far as 'territorial segregation' is concerned, we have adopted as a policy mainly the following:

1. That Native [sic] should not be allowed to own land among white people, but that so far the ownership of land is concerned they should be confined to the

various Native reserves;

2. That Natives and coloured people in our towns and villages should not live in European residential areas, but that there should be separate residential areas for them, that is to say separate Native and coloured villages; and

3. That in our factories, etc. Europeans and non-Europeans should not be allowed to work among one another, but separately, and that certain sorts of work should be reserved for the Europeans.'

'There must be separate residential areas for European and non-Europeans, and as far as possible this principle of apartheid must also be applied to the various non-European racial groups in their relationships towards one another, such as coloured people, Indians and Natives.'

'They must also as far as possible be separated from one another; the Indian, the coloured and the Natives. The Natives must be separate, the Indians and the coloured people each separate too.'

'The [National] party believes that a determined policy of separation between the European race and the non-European racial groups, and the application of the principle of separation between the non-European racial groups as well, is the only basis on which the character and the future of each race can be protected and made secure and enabled to develop in accordance with its own national character, abilities and destiny.'

‘Natives must eventually be represented by Natives, and Indians by Indians in the House of Assembly. The extension of the municipal franchise to Indians in Natal and the Transvaal is unavoidable.’

The political colour bar must go. In March, 1946 the then Minister of Lands asked Mr. Hofmeyr:

‘Are you prepared to undertake here to subscribe to our proposition that the white man should remain the master in South Africa?’

The answer was: ‘On that basis there can be no permanent relationship between the races (Hansard, 28th March, 1946).’

‘I want to state here unequivocally now the attitude of this side of the House, that South Africa is a white man’s country and we are not prepared to allow the Natives to be the masters; we are not masters there. But within the European areas, we, the white people in South Africa, are and shall remain the masters. The Hon. the Leader of the Opposition said just now that that was the policy of the Broederbond. I wonder what he will say, whether he is also opposed to the idea that the Europeans should remain the master in South Africa?’

This shocking reminder is still our reality. The debate about the Afrikaans language policy at South African universities has disintegrated into violence and become a race war among students on the campuses of the Universities of the Free State and Pretoria. A White,

middle aged grandmother, Penny Sparrow, posted a comment on social media (Facebook) that Black people behaved like monkeys, which was experienced as de-humanising to Black people in the same way they were de-humanised under the apartheid system. Apartheid's legacy lives on as racism in South Africa and among some South Africans remains as strong, if not stronger, than it was during apartheid. This gave rise to President Jacob Zuma, in his 2016 State of the Nation Address, calling for a fight against the demon of racism and declaring that 21 March, Human Rights Day in South Africa, will be commemorated with a focus on eradicating the demon of racism.

My definition of racism is likened to rape: it is assault, a form of violence that first attacks one's dignity, then strips it. Initially I found it incomprehensible that some people do not understand what racism encompasses. For instance, recently well-known personalities, singer Steve Hofmeyer, Economist Chris Hart and Radio Personality Gareth Cliff, were all embroiled in trying to defend as freedom of speech comments that were considered as racist bigotry and forms of assault/violence. A government employee, Velaphi Khumalo, caused a furore when he posted a comment on social media calling for Black South Africans to do to White people what 'Hitler did to the Jews'.

As I continued my research, I realised how powerful apartheid was and how influential the apartheid leaders were in creating harmful perceptions and deception and then presenting it as truth and fact.

The examples above represent deliberate factual perspectives and context to remind the reader in order to better understand the apartheid war and what Winnie Madikizela-Mandela and others went through and were up against.

I've always been emotionally detached from the apartheid government of F.W. de Klerk and wasn't fooled by the proposition of sincere reconciliation when Nelson Mandela was released. There is alarm at the suggestion that South Africa's credit rating is on the brink of being given junk status rating agencies but under the apartheid government South Africa was in a far worse situation.

History recognises F.W. de Klerk as a hero even though scores of people died after he released Nelson Mandela, yet Winnie Mandela, our symbol of freedom, does not get the credit she deserves. F.W. de Klerk owes Winnie Mandela an unreserved apology as the last apartheid leader, legally liable for all its atrocities, and for creating an environment that resulted in the actions that are recorded in history. He was the last custodian of apartheid, responsible for and in charge of the apartheid system. He was the leader of a fascist government that committed a crime against humanity. As the president of the final apartheid government F.W. de Klerk has a role to play in helping South Africans understand the origins of racism, its catalysts and how to help racist South African people unlearn racism.

The apartheid government depicted Nelson

Mandela as a terrorist before sentencing him to life imprisonment. They unjustly kept Winnie Mandela from her husband for twenty seven years and tainted her reputation and image to further their political agenda. The sole image we should have of Winnie Madikizela-Mandela – and creating this is the intention of this book – is as the symbol of the struggle, who fought with a freedom soldier's heart to free South Africans from this monstrous system.

Conceptually, I want to facilitate the redefining of the debate that will help South Africans to reinvent how we see Winnie Madikizela-Mandela; and give her the recognition she deserves. Methodologically, I sought to further the use of historical research to test theoretical propositions, especially facts on how apartheid mastered mechanisms to indoctrinate minority groups with a pro-apartheid mentality, used to defame Winnie Mandela. Professionally, I aimed to encourage further dialogue between formal and informal approaches to theorising South African, African and world views on Winnie Madikizela-Mandela.

John Maynard Keynes, a British Economist said, 'When the facts change, I change my mind.' More than a half a century later, I'm happy to know that my objectives have been met in changing the perceptions about Winnie Madikizela-Mandela. I believe that South Africa's trajectory is evidence that I am focusing on an important subject with the narrative of this book. I enjoy writing, and commenting on social,

economic and political issues has been my passion since I was in high school. With the help of technology, email and social media, my reach for instant dialogue has become so much more accessible.

I started out every day wanting to understand life and addressing relevant topics, especially in South Africa, through a series of brief discussions on email, via Facebook status updates, Twitter and Whatsapp. I created an online social media community, that either share or oppose my views and my discussions very quickly turn into robust, sometimes extreme, debates. Next I started research journals and memorandums, which I posted on Facebook and emailed both for information sharing and for eliciting community reactions. And continued until early 2014, when I decided it was time to work on something more formal than a journal: a book.

I am disturbed by the general information available on Winnie Madikizela-Mandela in the mainstream. I have also been curious as to why she is not as celebrated as former president Nelson Mandela. So I set out to research and write a paper on Winnie Mandela's political relevance, her contribution and achievement as an activist in freeing South Africa, and her role as a freedom soldier.

After summarising the research, I realised that I had focused on only half of the broader problematic issues that interested me. While focusing on Winnie Mandela's political relevance and contribution, my theoretical framework only offered research on her life

and role in the ANC before 1994. I therefore decided that, after wrapping up my original paper, I should write and include a perspective to address that which has influenced and shaped Winnie's reputation.

In order to appreciate her insight and wisdom, I added Part 2, which addresses present day South Africa and discusses current issues, which proves almost prophetic in the unfolding of Winnie Mandela's 'I told you so' wisdom. At the same time, it gradually became clear to me that the magnitude of the power shift of democracy without control of the land and economy, including the challenge of dealing with the psychological aspects of minority control over the majority, was a recipe for disaster that would continue to haunt us. This in turn, made me realise that my real interest was in the causes that led to this focus as well as the continued determination to discredit Winnie Madikizela-Mandela. My independent thoughts and view, I have shared in journals as part of the tail end of certain chapters, which I hope will evoke continued debate on South Africa's broader problems and the possible solutions that exist to better its state.

By early 2015, my work and knowledge was expanding to cover the questions that drive this book. I started hubristically, thinking that one more essay would allow me to say it's done'. But, as often happens, the more I explored, the more I realised that I had still more to learn, more to say and so much more to appreciate. To begin with, the information available for research material on the internet, in

books and libraries on Winnie Mandela is limited and its ultimate message is incorrect. My literature, after formulating all the facts, was fair. I had a clear view on what I wanted to do, which was to place Winnie Madikizela-Mandela in the right perspective and context, and see to it that I am well armed with facts to disempower those whose aim it was and is to delegitimise her credibility as South Africa's ultimate freedom soldier.

This issue manifested itself in practice when my acting supervisor, Ms Melody Rumbidzai Kozah-Chironga, (LLB and LLM University of Cape Town), asked if I was presenting a paradigm shift on how Winnie Madikizela-Mandela is received in history. My response was that it was exactly what I aimed to achieve; and I started by trying to pre-empt any criticism and attempting to guess what the next question would be. I am satisfied that this is the dynamic account I have delivered.

Looking back, and as much as I may have despaired along the way, every time someone brought up another case and, with it, another long set of materials that had to be researched and formalised, I realise that this was the right thing to do. My theory matured considerably as a result of being exposed to this expanding set of questions. My understanding of who owns information, and therefore the formulation of history, also changed appreciably. But it took me a while. In the end, the research required me to piece together all the findings in a book. And so I started

writing the pages that follow. A year and a half later, I am thrilled to finally present my anthology on U'Mama Wethu, Ms. Winnie Madikizela-Mandela.

Books always involve a struggle against various battles, some larger, others smaller. It is my sincere hope to have won the major battle against the particularly stubborn, narrow apartheid view on Winnie Madikizela-Mandela, which is largely, but not exclusively, the reason why she is not as celebrated as former president Nelson Mandela. Nevertheless, I am happy to report that my overall experience was a journey of deep appreciation for this hard and painful fought-for democracy. This book emerged organically from my personal political curiosity and gradually grew as I was writing the more focused content. In my view, this approach to research, write and consult may take longer to get things done but in my case it ensured a better final product. And it was certainly well worth it.

This book has inspired the idea for a second book. The last chapter deals with Winnie Madikizela-Mandela's endorsement of Dr Nkosazana Dlamini Zuma as the next president of the ANC and South Africa in 2017 and 2019 respectively. The obvious sequel would be a book examining why South Africa's minority groups, that is the new Black middle class, Coloured, Indian and White communities, should vote for Dr Nkosazana Dlamini Zuma in 2019. I have started exploring this issue on social media and in a working paper and will soon have more to say on this.

I will not make myself the man of any past. My black skin is not a repository for specific values. Haven't I got better things to do on this earth than avenge the blacks of the 17th century?

Frantz Fanon – Black Skin, White Mask (1952)

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This book would not have seen the light of day without the mercy and grace of my Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. Quoting the Holy Bible, Philippians 4:13, I can attest, **For I can do everything through Christ, who gives me strength.**

The support of my wife and life partner, Chantel Shereece Son, the chairman (chairlady) of Batho Phahameng, has been invaluable during the course writing of this book. Her love, patience, perseverance, individual bravery, strength and courage reflect what a woman should be to her husband. U'Mama Wethu, Winnie Madikizela-Mandela, suffered and stood steadfast so that we could achieve the freedom we have today, as is evident through the solid support structure that my wife provides for me.

To my daughters Giorgia Son and Giovanna Son: you are my team that consistently provides love, happiness and laughter. They were always asking, as if they were my professors and thesis supervisors: 'Dad, when are you finishing Mama Winnie's book?' Well, girls, daddy can safely report that it is indeed done. And, that daddy loves you unconditionally for infinity.

To my mother and late father who delivered and raised me as the product who is able to write this book: No-one has parents like mine. No-one. These

two people dedicated their lives to giving my brother, sister and I, their all. Parents who never stopped me from dreaming. I sold my dad's Toyota Cressida after matriculating and flew to England to try my luck with a football career. I ended up trialling with Queens Park Rangers and playing for Old Actonians FC based in West London, UK. Coming from a working class background and being able to do that, required a huge sacrifice for my parents; giving up their car in order for me to realise my dreams and goals. I am eternally grateful for their commitment to the family and I remain indebted to them forever.

To my brother Galen-Henry Son and sister Giselle Claire Pepper (I named her, I am thirteen years older than her), who so graciously adore me as their eldest brother; and with all my flaws and imperfections, I remain their hero. These are siblings a brother can depend on. Loved ones who would, at the drop of a hat, be at my beck and call, almost immediately, and without any questions. You cannot possibly ask for better protectors than that.

To my Sister, Glo, Gloria Pitso and my in-laws, thank you for affection without limitations.

To my Brigade's Classic Men, (collective name for my close circle of friends), who have always been supportive, positive, inspiring and encouraging.

Lance Dirksen, my coach during my youth, career guide and then business advisor, brought academic thought – leaders like Wilber and Kolb to the township.

As a Wits industrial psychologist, master business strategist and an exceptional business leader he has certainly led from the front and to this day continues to inspire by how he lives his life.

Reverend Corin Mathews espouses and lives out Christian values and virtues daily. He is indeed a moral compass to so many township youth, and many of my age, who come from Bosmont, Noordgesig, Westbury, Newclare, Riverlea and Eldorado Park, can attest to this fact.

There are many more that I must thank and I want to apologise in advance to anyone whose name I may have unwittingly omitted.

I searched the acclaimed author Ms Anné Mariè du Preez Bezdrob's contact details online, established contact, introduced myself and described what my objectives were, before ending my email request with a completely audacious plea.

An extract from one of our email communications when she has agreed to write my foreword speaks for itself:

'Wow! The author of acclaimed biographies on Nelson Mandela and Winnie Mandela, the film "Winnie Mandela" with Oscar-winning Jennifer Hudson was based on this book – writing my foreword! This is huge! And giving a lecture at my book launch! Thank you very much for the consideration and confidence.'

Expert credibility of subject matter does not get any bigger than this. I receive and experience this act of leadership from Ms Anné Mariè Bezdrob with gratitude and this action will forever be duly noted.

Ms Bezdrob read the manuscript, but felt that it required a fine toothcomb to refine the content. Her being an author of books on Winnie Mandela and Nelson Mandela, I felt it would be a disservice to the general public to not afford her this opportunity.

And so her expeditious, astute, discerning and insightful editing began. She's somewhat of a perfectionist and meticulously reviewed every detail with strict adherence to any technicalities. I therefore feel sincerely blessed to have had her play this role in the book. Thank you once again for your probity and the phenomenal contribution you made to this book. The experiential learning during the back and fourth process with the editing can certainly be equated to that of a PhD candidate with you as my research supervisor.

I am humbled to have met great South Africans like Professor Shadrack Gutto, Dr. Angelo Fick and Professor Steven Friedman. Their humility flaws me. At my first attempt when requesting them to review my work, their response was without any hesitation, 'send the manuscript'. We should celebrate academic celebrities like them (mentors and life coaches) and continue promoting their influence to change our society for the better. Your contribution my leaders, has been duly noted.

Thank you Ms Melody Rumbidzai Kozah- Chironga (LLB, LLM, University of Cape Town). I recognise the full value of your contribution in your editing and supervisory role in this book. I was subjected to unrelenting criticism, and offered expert advice. I am tremendously grateful for your time and efforts, especially over the period of Christmas and New Year 2015/16.

I am particularly proud and excited to introduce you to my writing coach and mentor, Dr. John Barton, who has 36 years of proofreading experience, including proofreading for four South African State Presidents. He has many years of academic proofreading experience for students from universities in Switzerland to the University of Bath in England, as well as most South African universities and registered colleges. He holds a doctorate in R.Ed, as well as a HRM from UNISA. What more validation and or training could I have asked for?

To the best academic quality control team in the world, Ms Beverley Pratt and Ms. Preeya Chetty, you have certainly added the quality academic touches needed to interest publishing companies.

This book would not have been possible without significant financial support from the chairperson of Batho Phahameng, my wife Chantel Shereece Son. Once again, thank you for believing in my vision and ambitions, and for your loving and generous funding. This is yet another reminder of the tremendous contribution of U'Mama Wethu, Ms

Winnie Madikizela-Mandela and the ANC, creating an environment that could see a Black woman like my wife, culturally Griqua, or Coloured, obtain business and contracts with the state and private concerns.

Who would have imagined in the past that a Black woman from a culturally diverse background, Griqua, mixed with the Chinese and Indian cultures, like my wife, would be building a community hall and renovating hospitals. We would have never experienced the kind of success that can finally break the poverty cycle that has plagued both our family backgrounds for generations, since time immemorial. That is the fruit and dividend of our soldiers' work and the contribution of Ms Winnie Madikizela-Mandela and the ANC. We must expand this kind of success to more historically disadvantaged individuals and we must expand it faster and with more urgency!

Finally, I would like to thank U'Mama Wethu, Mother of our Nation, Ms Nomzamo Winifred Madikizela-Mandela, for inspiring me to write this book with her life story, her sacrifice, and her Freedom Soldier's Heart. It must be reiterated that I have not yet met Ms Winnie Madikizela-Mandela, which was part of a strategy not to be influenced and/or be accused of bias on what to include or exclude from the book. It is my hope that I will have the opportunity to meet with her when the book is completed.

To the many individual heroes, including those who paid the ultimate price with their lives in the war against apartheid and their respective families,

and to the students of 16 June 1976, as we celebrate the fortieth year since the student uprising; for their bravery and for soldiering on to finally win the bloody and ugly war against apartheid. What we do with this democracy that you presented to us, is ultimately our gift to you, and to future generations.

While finishing this book I had an epiphany, feeling even more deeply indebted to U'Mama Wethu Ms Winnie Madikizela-Mandela and the ANC for creating an establishment that I could safely call home, which empowers me to move freely, educate myself without limitations, as well as generate wealth in an environment that welcomes Black people like me. My wife and I play our part and show our gratitude by giving back to society, through sending previously disadvantaged individuals to school. We are both happy and proud to announce that we have successfully supported five students through tertiary education, all of whom graduated in the past four years. We continue with this work. However, this is not enough; my hope is that one day I will be able to pay this forward on a much larger scale, as I am sure I will not be able to pay it back.

IMPORTANT NOTES

1. I consider myself well travelled. I have lived and worked in London, United Kingdom, Perth in Australia, and Gaborone in Botswana. I have visited Mombasa in Kenya, Maseru in Lesotho, Harare in Zimbabwe, Port Louis in Mauritius, and New York, Washington and Miami in the United States of America. South Africa is the only country that makes a distinction between different groups of black people, by calling some Black, or black African and another group Coloured. This distinction or separation made by apartheid to divide both black families and black communities continues to polarise our society. It is a term I am grappling with and will continue to challenge as we as South Africans try and make sense of who we are.

2. It is important to state that I believe in the ANC's values, policies and constitution. I am, however, gravely concerned that the current leadership, and more so the ANC president, who is also the president of the country and the ANC's 200-plus National Assembly representatives, have been found to have failed to uphold the constitution of the Republic of South Africa. This indictment is very embarrassing and at this point leaves me rather ashamed to be associated with the current ANC leadership.

It is my hope that the ANC branches will urgently convene and call a special conference to elect ANC leaders who will once again act out and live the values, policies and constitution. Steve Biko, Chris Hani and many others who paid with their lives for this democracy, did not die for our country to be freed and then recaptured in this way through the improprieties we are currently witnessing.

I will not endorse behaviour that is inconsistent with my own values or that of the ANC as per its constitution. Therefore, until such time as the ANC branches elect new ANC leaders, including a new ANC president, I WILL NOT VOTE.

No New ANC Leadership, NO VOTE.

However, I remain hopeful that this resilient organisation will go through the process of self-cleansing and will return to its former glory so that we can once again be admired by the world for producing world class leaders whom the world admires and marvels at.

In 2007 at St. Sabina's Church in Chicago Dr Maya Angelou described Winnie Mandela as a freedom fighter: 'She's a woman and a strong woman and an intelligent and loving woman.'

PART 1

Chapter 1: INTRODUCTION

Since the philosophy of apartheid (meaning apartness) was introduced in South Africa in 1948, Black South Africans have been struggling to cement the gap that existed in the economic and social system in South Africa. The aim of the apartheid government had been to maintain White domination, and to segregate the country along racial lines. The extent of racial segregation is evident from the 1950 Population Registration Act, which differentiated among the White, Black, Indian and Coloured (mixed race) groups.

The division continued in that Black people were separated by language and areas where a certain language was spoken. For example, ethnic Zulu-speaking people lived in Kwa-Zulu Natal, Venda-speaking people lived in Venda, etc. As a result, Coloured people too became divided by language, English speaking Coloureds and Afrikaans speaking Coloureds, and subliminal prejudices took root, as people became sensitive to variations of skin colour and the texture of hair; and also to religious difference, such as Muslim or Christian. Indian people too,

became sensitive to variations in skin colour, and class differences. The apartheid system did not stop there; it focused on teaching White people that they were superior to Black people, (including those of Indian and mixed origin) and the majority of the Black South African population were oppressed by the minority Whites. This invidious system further divided Black people by seeking to define ethnic differences that caused deeper prejudices, thus making it difficult to unite against the minority government.

Aside from the political struggle, apartheid encompassed deeply embedded economic issues. There was overt inequality in economic distribution, and the struggle was therefore imbued not only with racial determinism, but was conditioned by the need for economic equality. During the struggle, political parties used the policies of redistributive approach, in order to assist the majority in gaining equality against deprivation and exclusion. Generally, the economic policies of the ANC and other political parties were based on neo-liberalisation. Since the historical struggle against apartheid was based on a market-led development model to bring about equal redistribution of wealth between Black and White South Africans, and between the elite and unprivileged groups, this struggle also came to be known as 'Afro-neoliberalism'. Apartheid thus made a significant economic impact on the community as a whole, and this was felt prominently during the 1980s. In 1983 the ANC, along with other political organisations

like the UDF, started actively working towards the betterment of the socio-economic conditions of Black South Africans.

Education, too, was segregated along racial lines. During the apartheid period separate universities were established for White South Africans, and the enrolment of Black students in these institutions was severely limited.

Apartheid affected every sphere related to identity; misogyny was inherent in the apartheid system and even a so-called 'free and fair' electoral system, which was enjoyed by the White minority, was not available to the Black majority.

The names of Nelson Mandela and Winnie Madikizela-Mandela are inextricably bound to the apartheid era in South Africa. The struggle against apartheid is not considered iconic merely from a national point of view, but also due to its wider international impact and the fight against the apartheid government from 1960 onward was imbued with fervent and distinctive political, historical and social issues. The anti-apartheid movement among Black South Africans became part of a heroic struggle against the unjust system that was prevalent in South Africa and the apartheid government was seen as strongly hegemonic and misogynistic. Black South Africans like Winnie Madikizela-Mandela worked tirelessly towards fulfilling their historical aspirations of creating a non-racial South Africa.

Such aspirations were ideologically and practically

impossible during apartheid, and it took the determination and strength of ‘soldiers’ like Winnie Mandela to bring about the demise of the controversial system. Political parties like the ANC, the PAC, the South African Communist Party (SACP) and later the United Democratic Front (UDF), formed a more or less mass movement against the apartheid regime. This often resulted in the mobilisation of thousands of South Africans against the government. Part of the government’s tactics was to use propaganda to cause discord amongst different groupings.

This book looks into the life and work of Ms Nomzamo Zanyiwe Winifred Madikizela, otherwise known as U’Mama Wethu, Mother of The Nation, Winnie Madikizela-Mandela, or simply Ma Winnie, who is a unique symbol of the anti-apartheid struggle, as well as the champion of the poor and downtrodden for many decades. For all the publicity and sensationalism that Winnie Madikizela-Mandela embodies, her private and personal life, as well as her public and professional career, remains an enigma. She rose from illustrious origins but a humble background, and was catapulted into the position of a prominent political figure owing to her marriage to Nelson Mandela and her own political aspirations, suffering, and endurance during his absences and imprisonment. From the time of Nelson Mandela’s imprisonment in 1962 until his release in 1990, Winnie led a life characterised by a series of unending legal orders, torture, and accusations. (1)

Her suffering and struggles made her sympathetic to other oppressed people, and her own experience of torture and psychological disintegration made her understand the mechanism of apartheid (2) (BBC, 2013; Meintjes, 1998). Her reputation was later tarnished by allegations of fraud and a murder accusation which ostensibly led to the breakdown of her marriage to then President Nelson Mandela. Despite such accusations and her tainted image, Winnie Madikizela-Mandela emerged as the face of resistance to apartheid and racial discrimination. This book looks into her life and work as a girl who rose from a rural area and unprivileged society to that of an international symbol and icon of racial struggle, rallying for the poor, and championing the cause of women in South Africa.

The research into Winnie Madikizela Mandela's political relevance in South Africa took various perspectives into consideration, including that of Winnie Madikizela-Mandela as one of the most influential political figures in South Africa, despite being termed a controversial political figure. Her relevance and competence draws from the fact that she worked endlessly for the betterment of the people, as an icon fighting against apartheid and in working for the poor. By evaluating various reports from the African National Congress (ANC), African National Congress Women's League (ANCWL), Mandela United Football Club Association (MUFC), and the South African Truth and Reconciliation Commission,

the study investigated Winnie's activities, and how she has emerged through various ordeals as a champion of Black South Africans, women, and poor rural communities.

This book was the natural progression of a study paper which looked into how new knowledge in terms of paradigm changes can contribute to research work through ontological and epistemological approaches. By taking both approaches, the research for this book considered how theories and findings on this topic exists, and how new findings have been made known and contributed through this research. Given the way the research is mapped, the research follows the deductive research method which analyses previous literature on this topic, forming a theory and conclusion on Winnie Madikizela-Mandela's political relevance in South Africa.

Almost all the data was collected from secondary sources. Quality control and quality assurances were followed in the research procedures while collecting and analysing the sources. Secondary sources are from different published scholarly books, articles, journals, magazines, newspapers, and web pages, while some primary sources are quoted directly from Nelson Mandela's letters to Winnie Mandela, or interviews with Winnie Madikizela-Mandela. For checking accuracy, precision, repetitiveness, validation of the data, and more importantly keeping the discipline approach in view, the data collection is in qualitative form.

The Honourable Minister Louis Farrakhan described Winnie Madikizela as a ‘warrior for justice’ and fiercely defended her, calling her our freedom fighter at a media conference in Soweto in the 1998.

Chapter 2: CHILDHOOD AND MARRIAGE

Nomzamo Zanyiwe Winifred Madikizela was born on 26 September, 1934 in the Bizana District in the Transkei, in the Eastern Cape region of South Africa. She was the fifth of nine children born to Gertrude Mzaidume, a domestic science teacher and Kokani Columbus, a history teacher. Winnie's birth place which was an idyllic spot in the past, experienced turmoil with the onset of colonialism, invasion by the European missionaries, and industrial development that led to a change in life patterns. In modern day South Africa, her birth place is situated few hours from Durban, a modern city, popularly known to tourists for its sandy beaches.

Winnie always felt that she fell short of her parents' expectations. Her father had wanted a boy and consequently it also became her mother's obsession. She was often mistaken for a boy. Winnie was aware that she did not have a fair complexion like her mother. When she was young, she did not understand her mother's constant obsession for a son, which is a feature of traditional patriarchal cultures, and she resolved to satisfy her mother's desire by acting like a boy, and by enthusiastically dedicating all her energy to this cause. No doubt, there were difficulties involved in being a part of the boys' team in trying to

impress and charm her mother.

She was often criticised for not acting demurely. During family arguments, Winnie often emerged as the tougher and was more victorious among her siblings. This resulted in unpleasant encounters with her mother. This, however, did not mean that her mother loved her less than her other siblings, but it allowed her to form a stronger bond with her father. She also benefitted from her fathers' position as a tribal councillor.

In fact, her father's frequent visits to Umtata for sessions of the Transkei Territorial Authority, known as the Bunga, afforded Winnie and others the opportunity to be in contact with the outside world. (1) Bunga means discussion and these sessions were held by the 26 districts in the Transkei to discuss political, economic, and social matters. It was founded in 1985 after being federated into the United Transkeian Territories General Council; and many successful economic measures such as improving agriculture, building roads, etc. have been accredited to the efforts of the Bunga council. Columbus also brought updates about the progress of the Second World War when he went to Umtata or Bizana. The children listened intently to his stories about the war that Europe was fighting against the atrocious Nazis. Many of the young men from the region had joined the army, and also kept them informed about the war.

Winnie's mother died when she was nine years old, and both her maternal and paternal grandmothers

were involved in raising Winnie and her siblings. Her paternal grandmother was responsible for inculcating in her the importance of her traditional heritage and illustrious ancestors, while her maternal grandmother was responsible for teaching her faith (Christian-Methodist), and the importance of education. Both her grandmothers had strong but stark differences in personalities, and Winnie was influenced by both these powerful figures while growing up.

She completed high school education at Shawbury High School in the Eastern Cape, and obtained a diploma from the Jan H. Hofmeyr School of Social Work in Johannesburg, which was the first institution to train social workers in South Africa. Later, Madikizela finished her Bachelor of Arts in Political Science, majoring in International Relations at the University of the Witwatersrand in Johannesburg. Winnie was interested in the political history of her people as a young child and showed an interest in politics when she arrived in Johannesburg in 1953. (2) In 1955, she was appointed as the first black medical social worker at Baragwanath Hospital (now Chris Hani Hospital) in Soweto.

When she started working at Baragwanath Hospital in 1956, she was a carefree, cheerful, and self-confident young woman. Winnie turned out to be both beautiful and gifted, and she launched her career with determination and enthusiasm. Within a short span of time, she became the favourite at the hospital and her patients owing to her dedication. When her

photograph appeared in the newspaper with a report of her achievements and reference to how she had risen from a rural area to being a confident young social worker, Winnie reportedly cut it out and sent it to her father and family members. Both during her internship and in the course of her work she encountered the acute poverty that people faced in different places, such as Tsolo and Johannesburg, and realised that it was the result of the inequalities in the country.

Winnie Madikizela first set eyes on Nelson Mandela when he walked into a courtroom where she attended a hearing with a friend. Mandela was a lawyer and everybody whispered his name as he entered. He was already regarded by many as a freedom fighter. Some time thereafter she was introduced to Mandela by Oliver Tambo and unexpectedly, soon afterwards, Mandela surprised Winnie by asking her out. He sent his friend Joe Matthews (in keeping with custom), to fetch Winnie, who was apprehensive about meeting Mandela. He was not only considerably older than her, but he was also the 'patron of her alma mater, where the students have simply taken it for granted that anyone whose name appeared on the official letterhead was far too important a personage for them to know.' (3)

The outcome was love and marriage. The preparation of Winnie wedding to Nelson Mandela took the entire Madikizela family and Winnie's village by storm. The tribal elders kept on reminding

Columbus Madikizela that the wedding had to befit the bridegroom's family, who belonged to the royal house of the Tembu and was a respected political figure among Black South Africans. Winnie, too, was a trailblazer. She was one of the few Black women who had an ante-nuptial contract as part of her marriage, so that she could engage in business and other official matters without seeking her husband's permission. Nelson Mandela, being a lawyer, also paid close attention to the details regarding the legal matters of the marriage union.

Nelson Mandela was already a stalwart of the ANC when Winnie married him. During their first two years of marriage, Mandela was heavily involved in the marathon Treason Trial in Pretoria, which began in 1956. He therefore spent little time with Winnie and their children. In 1960, he was imprisoned along with other treason trialists for five months; and the government banned the ANC as well as the Pan-Africanist Congress. In 1961, Mandela was acquitted, but was compelled to go underground for a year until his arrest in 1962, after which he was sentenced to life in prison; and served an effective 27 years.

Many a time, during the difficult years of his imprisonment, Winnie was given courage by Mandela through his letters from Robben Island. In return, he drew support from her. He wrote to her, *'Had it not been for your wonderful letters and your love, I would have fallen apart many years ago.'* By this time Winnie had become a powerful and influential

person and managed in successfully attracting the interest of the press as well skilfully dealing with the media interest. She also came to be popularly known as 'Mother of Nation' or 'Soul of Africa'.

Many of the international leaders who regarded Nelson Mandela as fighting a great cause for his people started visiting Winnie. Prominent international leaders like Senator Edward Kennedy of the United States visited Winnie in 1984, drawing huge media interest. Winnie made it clear to Kennedy that she believed the Reagan administration in the United States was ignoring the plight of Black South Africans, racism in the country, and Nelson Mandela's incarceration.

During the late 1980s, Winnie's image was changing. Her activities garnered negative reactions across the country and the media did not deal gently with her. The negative publicity increased when the government lifted her banning orders, allowing the press to report on, and quote her freely. Winnie was widely regarded by the media as being arrogant and unpredictable, often being her own worst enemy. During their marriage and the short time they spent together, Mandela acknowledged Winnie's many positive qualities. Even when many claims were levelled against her, he, along with her supporters, knew that she was a highly motivated, intelligent, skilful and capable person.

She was one of the most powerful people who

took a bold step and stood firm in her beliefs; and continues working for the betterment of her people. When Nelson Mandela was released from prison in 1990, Winnie accompanied him as he took his first steps as a free man. Until his passing Nelson Mandela continued to share a deep bond with Winnie, and respected her for standing up against those who wished to destroy her and for being able to withstand such immense pressure.

I wrote the letter below to share what the late President Nelson Mandela meant to me at the time of his passing. It was published by my local community newspaper during early December 2013.

Farewell To Dr Mandela, Our Freedom Man (Tata Madiba)

No human being could fail to be deeply moved by such a gift as his life, from the role he, Dr Nelson Mandela, Our Freedom Man, Tata Madiba, filled for so long. I include the South African (Mzansi) people he has loved so well. It fills me with an emotion I cannot express.

This farewell to our Freedom Man is not intended primarily to honour a personality, but as a tribute to a great moral code and conduct. The code of conduct

and chivalry of those who guard this beloved South African land of culture as well as our ancient African descent. That is the animation of the many portraits and pictures we see at this time of Dr Mandela, Our Freedom Man, Tata Madiba, across the world. For all eyes and for all time, it is an expression of the ethics of the moral African Child we should all aspire to be. That I should be integrated in this way with so noble an ideal, arouses a sense of pride, and yet of humility, which will be with me always.

Farewell to our Freedom Man. He fulfilled his African duties, and honoured his country and people with leadership, humility and respect. Those three hallowed words reverently dictate what you and I, fellow South Africans, ought to be; what we can be, what we will be. They are our rallying point to build courage when courage seems to fail, to regain faith when there seems to be little cause for faith, to create hope when hope becomes forlorn.

Unhappily, I possess neither the eloquence of diction, the poetry of imagination, nor the brilliance of metaphor that Dr Mandela, Our Freedom Man, Tata Madiba had to express what these three words mean.

The unbelievers will say they are but words, but a slogan, but a flamboyant phrase. Every pedant, every demagogue, every cynic, every hypocrite, every troublemaker and, I am sorry to say, some

others of an entirely different character, will try to downgrade them even to the extent of mockery and ridicule.

But these are some of the things they do. They build your basic character as they did to our Freedom Man. They mould you for your future roles as the custodians of the nation's defence, as our Freedom Man proved. They make you strong enough to know when you are weak, and brave enough to face yourself when you are afraid, as our Freedom Man proved.

Dr Mandela, our Freedom Man, Tata Madiba, showed us that our oppressors teach you to be proud and unbending in honest failure, but humble and gentle in success; He showed us not to substitute words for action; not to seek the path of comfort, but to face the stress and spur of difficulty and challenge; to learn to stand up in the storm, but to have compassion for those who fall; to master yourself before you seek to master others; to have a heart that is clean, a goal that is high; to learn to laugh, yet never forget how to weep; to reach into the future, yet never neglect the past; to be serious, yet never take yourself too seriously; to be modest so that you will remember the simplicity of true greatness, the open mind of true wisdom, the meekness of true strength.

Our Freedom Man took our oppressors' actions

and transformed them into a spirit that gave him a temper of will, a quality of the imagination, a vigour of emotions, a freshness of the deep springs of life, a temperamental predominance of courage over timidity, an appetite for adventure over love of ease.

Our Freedom Man took the oppressor's hatred and created in his heart the sense of wonder, the unflinching hope of 'what next', and the joy and inspiration of life. Our Freedom Man, in so doing, graduated himself into an excellent officer and a true gentleman of note.

Dr Mandela's story, Our Freedom Man, Tata Madiba, is known to all of you. It is the story to free The Black African in South Africa. My estimation of him, which has never changed, was formed during apartheid's battlefield, when no one was allowed to even mention his name. I was introduced to him in the late 1980's as a 13-year old child, by my late dad, who secretly showed my then 10-year old brother and I archived videos of Dr Mandela, our Freedom Man. I regarded him then, as I regard him now, as one of the world's noblest figures; not only as one of the finest military characters, but also as one of the most polished and stainless true gentleman presidents and statesmen of all time.

His name and fame are the birthright of every South African citizen. In his youth and strength, his love and loyalty, he gave all that mortality can give. He

needs no eulogy from me, or from any other man. He has written his own history and written it in red on his oppressor's and enemy's breast.

But when I think of Dr Mandela, Our Freedom Man's patience under adversity, of his courage under fire, and of his modesty in victory, I am filled with an emotion of admiration that I cannot put into words. He belongs to history as providing one of the greatest examples of successful patriotism. He belongs to posterity as the instructor of future generations in the principles of liberty and freedom. He belongs to the present, to us, by his virtues and by his achievements.

In hundreds of campaigns for peace and reconciliation; on hundreds of Black and White and Black on Black battlefields, where bodies lie, motionless, bloodied by pangas, knives and guns; I have witnessed that enduring fortitude, that patriotic self-abnegation, and that invincible determination which has carved Dr Mandela's statue in the hearts of his people. From one end of the world to the other, he has drained the chalice of courage.

Dr. Mandela, Our Freedom Man, is now resting. But the moral conduct he has left us with, and his many words, perpetuate and embrace the highest moral law which will stand the test of any ethics or philosophies ever promoted by a mortal human being

for the upliftment of mankind. Its requirements are for the things that are right, and its restraints are from the things that are wrong.

I bid you farewell. You were truly Heaven sent, God sent.

Farewell Dr Mandela, Our Freedom Man, Tata Madiba

**Grant Son
(Black Management Forum Member,
ANC Volunteer) 9 December 2013**

Chapter 3:

PERSECUTION BY THE APARTHEID GOVERNMENT

In 1959 the government passed the Bantu Self-Government Act that allowed Blacks to claim only their traditional homelands, which amounted to a mere 13% of land in the country, although more than 70% of the people were Black. The aim was to remove Blacks as far as possible from land inhabited by the Whites. The Population Registration Act of 1950 had already divided the South African population according to race. Even before they were married it was clear to Winnie and Nelson Mandela that the quality of their lives would be determined by the apartheid state. The violence and political struggle that ensued after the 1959 Act, along with the time Mandela spent at the 'treason trial' did not allow the couple much time to lead a normal life.

After he was imprisoned on Robben Island Winnie's responsibilities increased, not only with regard to her personal life, but also her professional life and her involvement in their political cause. During Nelson Mandela's time in prison Winnie was detained, banned, placed under house arrest, faced trials, jailed several times and, worst of all, banished to the rural town of Brandfort in the Free State. For over thirteen years, from 1962 onward, she was not

free from any of these hardships for more than ten months. (1)

The government's persecution of Winnie Mandela began in 1958, when she was arrested and jailed while she was pregnant with her first child after taking part in a demonstration. Her first banning order was issued in 1962, when she was placed in solitary confinement in Soweto. In 1967, she was imprisoned in Cape Town for several days while she was en route to visiting Nelson Mandela.

In 1969, under the Terrorism Act, she was accused of 21 charges and allegations that she was acting against the state. Some of the people who were detained in order to be questioned about Winnie were tortured and some died during the process. (2) There were always restrictions on her movement, but even when she was facing these difficulties Winnie continued to work for the people. In 1969 –70 Winnie Mandela was held for eighteen months in solitary confinement under the Suppression of Communism Act.

She was confined in a tiny concrete cell in Pretoria Central prison and despite suffering from heart problems she was brutally tortured for forty days and nights, exposed to long and continuous interrogations, sleep deprivation, threats, humiliation, and extreme verbal bullying. The emotional and physical duress caused her to pass blood in her urine. She persevered and endured the extreme harassment for the betterment of her people but later spoke openly about

how the torture and psychological disintegration during her confinement had hardened her. And despite her many ordeals, suffering and torture, Winnie remained determined and resilient and continued to lead with courage, insight and skill. She never ceased to be concerned about Nelson Mandela during his incarceration on Robben Island, and whenever he heard that she had been detained he was extremely anxious for her safety. Many of Nelson Mandela's letters to Winnie show his immense concern for his courageous wife. One of the letters read:

Since the dawn of history, mankind has honoured and respected brave and honest people, men and women like you darling – an ordinary girl who hails from a country village... My sense of devotion to you precludes me from saying more in public than I have already done in this note... One day we will have the privacy which will enable us to share the tender thoughts which we have kept buried in our hearts. (3)

In 1970, Winnie was again charged under the Suppression of Communism Act; and in 1976, she was sentenced to five months imprisonment at the Old Fort.

From the 1980s onward the charges against Winnie were of a criminal nature. Thus, *'celebrated as the wife of the world's most famous political prisoner, revered as the mother of a brutally embattled nation, and admired for her courage in fighting apartheid,*

she was herself the victim of ongoing persecution, harassment, and humiliation at the hands of the South African authorities.’ (4)

The role of women in the fight against apartheid was varied and diverse. Some were given military training by the ANC and served as freedom fighters and although many of them participated in fighting against the apartheid, few women were leaders in the ANC or other organised groups. Some of the women who participated in the movement were struggling to end apartheid as well as promoting peace-building and reconciliation. Women who were accepted as leaders in the male-dominated organisations often came from the wealthier and privileged classes. Thus, for South African women, apartheid was experienced along the lines of race, gender, and class. When Black women participated in the apartheid movement, the consequences that came upon them were borne by them. There were many barriers and constraints and the threat of violence was always used against them. The apartheid state – and also the ANC – considered women’s role as mothers and wives, which required them to relegate any aspirations of equality with men, and Whites in general.

In South Africa, the reason why women are considered subordinate to men does however not necessarily spring from economic differentiation. In fact, women are economically active and they have a strong standing in this regard. The system of

patriarchy and women's subordination is rooted in the traditional culture. Given such circumstances, most women were reluctant to get involved in the apartheid struggle and preferred participating in community organisations and pursuing their responsibilities as mothers and wives.

Among those who had a formal voice, power and influence were women like Winnie Mandela, Helen Joseph, Lilian Ngoyi, Elizabeth Mafekeng, Ruth Mompati, Ruth First, Frene Ginwala and Victoria Mxenge. Winnie Mandela was no doubt the most prominent woman who struggled against apartheid. Her fight was not only against racial apartheid, but also against 'gender apartheid'.

Feted for the fact that she was able to overcome patriarchal constraints, and due to her support for groups of all ages, Winnie Mandela has long been seen as the bridge-builder across generations of Black people in South Africa and as champion for the cause of women. Many men in South Africa had to leave their homes in the rural areas to earn wages in the cities and on the mines, while their wives remained at home and became subsistence farmers. Mineworkers who live in hostels were not allowed to bring their wives to the hostels, which caused the disintegration of family life. As a wife who had been separated from her husband by an unjust state system, Winnie became both a role model and champion to many women, especially among rural peasants.

Along with Winnie, many other women struggled

against racial apartheid system, and with equal vigour fought against 'class apartheid' and 'gender apartheid'.

Helen Joseph (1905 – 1992) was another South African woman who worked tirelessly for racial equality. She was also active in establishing the Human Rights Welfare Committee in South Africa. As a White woman, she grew up in a comfortable environment but as an outspoken apartheid activist, she was jailed and tortured several times. What distinguished her from other activists was that she was willing to sacrifice her White privilege and comfortable life to fight for human rights.

Lilian Ngoyi (1911–13 March 1980), the first woman to be elected to the national Executive of the ANC, was also a fiery orator who worked tirelessly for the apartheid cause. She was born in Pretoria, and became active in politics during the most tumultuous and brutally repressive years in South African history. She was known for holding protests and leading marches against racial injustice and the violation of human rights and is held in high regard in South Africa for her undying libertarian ideals and revolutionary spirit.

Elizabeth Mafekeng (1918–2000) was another prominent woman who was an activist during the apartheid struggle. She was a trade union organiser who campaigned for the liberation African women from patriarchal domination. Born in Tarkastad, she

lived in the Eastern Cape but when her father died, the family fell into poverty and in 1927 moved to Paarl, near Cape Town. When her family's socio-economic situation did not improve, she had to leave school in 1932 to work in the H. Jones Canning Factory. The working conditions were virtually unbearable but with no other alternative, she continued to work in the industry until she got married in 1937. In 1941, the Communist Party of South Africa (CPSA) started assisting the Food and Canning Workers Union (FCWU) in order to improve working conditions at the factory and during this time Mafekeng joined both organisations and became a shop steward and committee member.

She stayed with the group until the FCWU split into the African Food and Canning Workers Union (AFCWU) and the original FCWU in 1947. In 1954, Mafekeng was elected as the President of the AFCWU and also served as a delegate of the Federation of South African Women. In 1955 she attended a trade union workers conference in Bulgaria and travelled to China, without a passport, to expose the dismal conditions of workers in South Africa.

When she returned to South Africa she propagated that workers could not be stopped if they were organised. In 1959 a Native Commissioner arrived at her home with banning orders and she was relocated to a place called Vryburg, which was more than 560 miles from her family and children. With the help of some communist leaders she escaped the police

escort but was caught and subsequently spent 33 years in exile in Lesotho. She returned from exile in 1992 but did not become involved in politics again. She died in 2009. Elizabeth Mafekeng was known as perhaps the one of the most militant activists for the betterment of workers and women in South Africa and for engaging in radical politics for working class women; extending to many the sense of responsibility and ideals of upliftment of the working class .

Ruth Mompoti (1925–2015), was another political activist who worked vigorously for interracial cooperation and gender equality in South Africa. She worked as Nelson Mandela's legal secretary from 1953 to 1961. Known for her courage, vision, and leadership, Mompoti was exiled during the political upheaval of 1962, and subsequently held the secretarial position of the women's section of the ANC in Tanzania. Later, she also served as the National Executive Council of the ANC and contributed immensely towards the ANC's activities in many areas.

Ruth First (1925–1982), was an anti-apartheid activist who was mainly known for her journalism and scholarly work. While studying at the University of the Witwatersrand, she started to take an interest in political activities and later actively worked along with her husband Joe Slovo in the ANC and the Communist Party. In 1982 she was assassinated at her office at the Eduardo Mondlane University in Mozambique,

where she was the director of the Centre for African Studies. While checking her incoming mail, she opened a parcel addressed to her which was filled with explosives. Her death was attributed to Craig Williamson, a member of the South African security police who engaged in several criminal activities during the apartheid era. Since many of her writings against apartheid were banned in the country, her assassination did not receive extensive coverage in the South African press. However, she was popular on the international front among the academics and activists, and people recognised the contribution she had made to the liberation movement.

Frene Ginwala (1932 -), a South African Indian journalist and political activist, spent many years disseminating information about the horrors of apartheid across the world and became a prominent figure in the ANC at a young age. She studied law at the University of London in the United Kingdom, where she completed her LLB degree, and she later obtained a doctorate in history from Oxford University. In 1960, the day after the Sharpeville massacre, Frene Ginwala left the country and until she returned from exile she worked as an ANC official in Tanzania, Zambia, Mozambique and the UK. Prior to her return in 1990 she was head of the Political Research Unit in the Office of ANC President Oliver Tambo, tasked inter alia with research on the transfer of military and nuclear technology.

Ginwala was the first woman to become the Speaker of the South African Parliament in 1994; She was a former member of the United Nations Secretary-General's Advisory Panel of High-Level Personalities on African Development; and was one of 25 women at the First World Conference of Presiding Officers, representing 1809 parliaments from across the world. Frene Ginwala was awarded the national Order of Luthuli in Silver for 'Her excellent contribution to the struggle against gender oppression and her tireless contribution to the struggle for a non-sexist, non-racial, just and democratic society.'

Victoria Mxenge (1942-1985) another strong anti-apartheid activist, was assassinated in 1985, four years after her husband, lawyer Griffiths Mxenge, was assassinated in 1981. His death was later ascribed to four members of the notorious Vlakplaas unit. Victoria was an executive member of the Natal Organisation of Women; and treasurer of the United Democratic Front and the Release Mandela Committee. She qualified as a nurse in 1964 and moved to Natal (now KwaZulu-Natal) soon after marrying Griffiths Mxenge. Her husband was imprisoned on Robben Island not long after their marriage. She worked as a community nurse in Umlazi; and studied law through UNISA.

After her husband's death, she carried on with his law practice and often interceded on behalf of youths who were ill-treated while in detention. She was part of

the defence team of leaders of the United Democratic Front (UDF) in their 1984 treason trial. In July 1985 she spoke at the funeral of the Craddock Four, the activists Matthew Goniwe, Fort Calata, Sparrow Mkhonto and Sicelo Mhlauli, who had been murdered by the security police. Within days of the funeral, on 1 August 1985, four men attacked and murdered her. She was laid to rest next to her husband. The Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) recorded that her killer had been recruited by the security police.

In 2006, Victoria Mxenge was posthumously awarded the national Order of Luthuli in Silver for 'Her excellent contribution to the field of law and sacrifices made in the fight against apartheid oppression in South Africa.'

Chapter 4:

16 JUNE 1976 SOWETO UPRISING

The South African Students Movement (SASM) was formed by learners from several Soweto High Schools in 1971. The movement tried to get support from political leaders like Madikizela-Mandela, other ANC leaders, as well as workers. Since SASM was a legal group the movement functioned openly. Members of the movement, however, turned to violence in June 1976. This lasted until October 1977. During this time there were indiscriminate police shootings and indescribable brutality, which gave rise to a series of events such as schools boycotts, strikes, large-scale marches and demonstrations.

By June 16, 1976 the movement had reached critical mass. One of the major factors of their discontent was the language policy that required learners to be educated in Afrikaans, and which they viewed as the language of the oppressor. They had organised a peaceful protest march but the police overreacted to the mass demonstration and the protest became violent. Hundreds of students were victims of police shootings. In order to quell this crisis, Winnie Mandela, who was at the scene, attempted, owing to her relationship with the students and the community in general, to engage with the rebelling students, their parents, and the authorities, illustrating her

deep concern for her people and her leadership skills through her continued involvement in the 'parents support group' that was formed after the uprising.

In a desperate attempt to hold someone accountable for the uprising, the authorities blamed Winnie Mandela for igniting the uprising and inciting violence against the state. They alleged that a meeting had taken place between the students and Mrs Mandela on June 15, 1976, the night before the uprising. There was no doubt that Winnie was sympathetic towards the student movement as well as the Black Consciousness Movement; but the state could not prove that she had ignited the violence. Their inability to find her guilty, which would have permitted the state to imprison her, led the authorities to take the step of banishing Winnie to the small rural town Brandfort in the Orange Free State. Because Nelson Mandela was in prison Winnie had no choice but to take her young daughter Zindzi with her.

In 1985 Winnie was awarded the Robert Kennedy Memorial Human Rights Award in recognition of her commitment to non-racism and her stance against oppression.

She was allowed to return to Soweto in 1986 and resumed her active role in the struggle against apartheid. Any political activity while she was in Brandfort was extremely difficult, in the main because she was allowed only one visitor at a time. She would have had to perform covertly and with the utmost

caution.

Once back in Soweto Winnie was quickly and overtly engaged in public politics. She became an operative for the ANC's military wing, *Umkhonto we Sizwe* (Spear for the Nation) or MK and reportedly provided assistance to MK cadres to infiltrate the country from neighbouring states where they were based. (1) (Gates Jr, *et al.*, 2012) She was also actively engaged in finding resolutions for conflict that originated from the Orlando West branch of the Soweto Youth Congress.

During the first half of the 1980s, Winnie Mandela was not very visible politically, partially because of the banning order that confined her to Brandfort; but also because of the increasing distance the ANC was placing between her and the organisation.

Chapter 5: DEFAMING WINNIE MANDELA

South Africa has one of the highest rates of gender-based violence in the World. Under the new democracy more stringent human rights have been introduced in South Africa, in comparison to the apartheid period. The latter was an unfavourable time for women as it portrayed the prominence of women in public as a reason for the deterioration of cultural and moral norms, and for this reason Winnie Mandela came to be an easy target for the apartheid regime.

Despite her immense contribution to the cause of liberating South Africa's Black people, her image was tarnished by political and legal controversies, which lead to political parties discrediting her in public. It is common in South Africa for men to use their domination over women to define their manhood, and Winnie too, suffered as a result of this tradition.

It bears repeating that the apartheid government was a hegemonic and misogynistic institution; and it was disparaging even towards White women, which meant that Black women were demeaned to a larger degree as compared to Black men. For that reason a woman of political stature, and particularly a black woman like Winnie, who was in the position to point out the misconduct of the government, was more vulnerable to abuse by the apartheid regime.

The government realised that incarcerating Nelson Mandela and other anti-apartheid leaders was not an adequate measure for silencing the ANC, and that Winnie Mandela posed an equally potent threat to the government. She was very influential and the substantial support she enjoyed among the unprivileged majority of Black South Africans fighting for democracy, unnerved the apartheid government. Because her influence was so powerful leaders like P.W. Botha and F.W. de Klerk made it their duty to discredit her and so diminish her power and image in the country. At a hearing of the TRC in 1998 a former security policeman, Paul Erasmus, revealed that there had been an ongoing smear campaign by the security police to discredit and harm Winnie Mandela.

Adriaan Vlok, the former Minister of Police and the security operative Eugene de Kock were central in carrying out this campaign; and together with F.W. de Klerk, they owe Winnie Madikizela-Mandela an apology. Moreover, they must apologise to all South Africans, and assist in rehabilitating White South Africans who remain set in their racism. It is important to note, however, that not all White South Africans suffer from this 'demon of racism' as stated by President Jacob Zuma during the 2016 State of the Nation Address. F.W. de Klerk needs to tell White South Africans the truth, namely that the intention of apartheid was to make White people believe that they were superior to Black people; and that it was always their strategy to have the power over the majority. In

addition, that their role included discrediting Black leaders like Winnie Madikizela-Mandela and sowing division among black leaders. F.W. de Klerk has a role to play in helping White South Africans accept the responsibilities of their White privilege in the national social reconstruction of South Africa; and to eliminate the prejudice barriers which still plague our country. The apartheid government and its leaders and White South Africans got off scot free from this crime against humanity. Apartheid and its sins were never punished.

The TRC exercise was an attempt at apologising for the crimes against humanity committed through apartheid; but in essence Black people remained poor and landless and White South Africans carried on as usual. Julius Malema, former ANC Youth League President and leader of the EFF, praised Winnie Madikizela-Mandela for her efforts in liberating Africa from the apartheid regime. He asserted that the contribution made by her, and her stand as the 'struggle icon' during Nelson Mandela's imprisonment, had been disregarded by various apartheid supporters as well as many political parties in South Africa, including the ANC; and that failing to honour Winnie Madikizela-Mandela was a victory for apartheid propaganda.

By the 1990s, Winnie Mandela was beleaguered. There was widespread violence in Soweto and other urban townships, 'especially the vigilante retributive violence against alleged informers and collaborators,

which had become endemic in the townships during the 1980s and early 1990s, no doubt partially in response to years of institutionalised violence and a strategy of counter-insurgency on the part of the state and its agents.’ (1) During this time Winnie’s reputation was tarnished at home and internationally. The relentless efforts of the apartheid government to destroy, or at the very least, isolate, Winnie Mandela had paid dividends, adding to her increasingly questionable credibility as a political leader. Due, in no small measure, to apartheid and its propaganda, Winnie Mandela’s professional and personal life was falling apart.

PART 2

The bronze statue of Paul Kruger, the White Afrikaner political and military leader and President of the South African Republic from 1883 to 1900, has stood in Church Square, Pretoria, since 1956.

It is my firm view that this statue should be removed and relocated to the Apartheid Museum in Johannesburg. A petition should then be drawn up, and South Africans should be afforded the opportunity to decide whether a statue of our freedom soldier, U'Mama Wethu (Mother of The Nation), Winnie Madikizela-Mandela should be erected there instead.

Chapter 6:

THE ANC IN THE NEW DEMOCRATIC SOUTH AFRICA

The apex of the apartheid regime was reached during the presidency of F.W. de Klerk. Many have opined that the apartheid government was, to all intents and purposes, a Fascist regime, which was guilty of numerous atrocities and crimes against humanity. It certainly brainwashed White South Africans into believing that Black people who were fighting for their rights were communists, terrorists and enemies of the State.

In addition to the political, economic and ideological policies and issues of the apartheid era, Black South African communities also suffered from the effects of deep-seated social conservatism, the religious confines advocated by Christian evangelical churches, and culturally reinforced patriarchy, all of which contributed to making the country and political parties nationally chauvinistic and hegemonic. For Winnie Madikizela-Mandela to have reached a position of leadership in such an environment was a tremendous feat. It was only after democracy was achieved that vital changes were instituted towards removing misogyny, homophobic, and traditional patriarchal values from society, thus making it easier for especially women to become empowered.

However, despite her immense contribution to the cause of liberating South Africa's Black population, her image had been tarnished by numerous controversies, leading to political parties – including the ANC – publicly discrediting her.

In 1991, finally free from persecution by the apartheid regime, Winnie's life illustrated both the achievement that should have characterised her life after an almost indescribable ordeal that lasted for virtually three decades, and the triumph of victory over the evil she had fought; and the fallout of the misdeeds she was accused of – none of which would have occurred, even allegedly, had it not been for apartheid. Following the unbanning of the ANC in 1991 Winnie was elected to the ANC's National Executive Committee. She was also, however, charged with the kidnapping and murder of 14-year old Stompie Seipei, who was believed to have been a police informant against the struggle. Winnie was found guilty of his kidnapping and sentenced to six years in prison; but on appeal the sentence was reduced to a fine of R15,000. In 1992, as a consequence, she resigned all her ANC leadership positions; but in 1993, not surprisingly, made a comeback when she was elected president of the ANC Women's League.

In the post-apartheid era, Madikizela-Mandela continued to play a role in ANC politics. Her symbolism as 'Mother of the Nation' was blemished but she continued to represent ordinary South Africans, in particular the poor who still suffered the

effects of the apartheid system.

Following the end of the apartheid and the release of Nelson Mandela after decades of struggle, Winnie Mandela was briefly rewarded for her incalculable efforts and sacrifices. In 1994 she was elected as an ANC member of parliament and she was appointed Deputy Minister of Arts, Culture, and Science and Technology – any hopes of a ministerial position made impossible by the charges and allegations against her.

The appointment was opposed by many Non-Governmental Organisations and by ANC executives but the opposition was overridden by Nelson Mandela. However, she infuriated Mandela with her radical political statements and criticism of him. By attacking the ANC for being out of touch with people's real suffering, she won the support of many people and although she was unpopular in the upper echelons of the ANC, her support made it difficult for the ANC to ignore her. In 1995, when she was accused of financial mismanagement, President Nelson Mandela had no choice but to dismiss her as the Deputy Minister of Arts, Culture, and Science and Technology.

In 1996 the famed relationship of Winnie Mandela and Nelson Mandela ended in divorce.

It had been symbolic that Winnie should walk through the prison gates with Nelson Mandela when he was freed after 27 years. However, the decades of separation and tremendous turmoil that characterised her life had wrought irreversible damage and in the years after his release from prison their relationship

gradually deteriorated. In 1992 they separated. From 1994 for two short years and however tenuously, the well-deserved, and legal position as First Lady of South Africa was hers, until her divorce from Mandela in 1996.

Wrenched apart by the political situation in the country, these two individuals, devoted for decades to each other and to their shared commitment to the freedom struggle, had spent only half a dozen years together out of almost forty years of marriage.

Despite yet more heartache, Winnie bounced back. Her many trials and tribulations had equipped her with obstinate resilience and although her support was substantially reduced she was still a powerful and beloved figure. In 1997, she was again elected President of the ANC's Women's League. As before, though, her success was never far from the shadow of controversy and in the same year the Truth and Reconciliation found her responsible for the 'gross violations of human rights' that had been committed by her bodyguards in the 1980s.

Winnie retained a significant following at grassroots level, remained a popular politician and continued to draw support from large numbers of South Africans who held her in high regard and in 1999 she was re-elected as a member of parliament.

Her woes, however, were not over. In 2001 she was charged with fraud and theft. In April 2003 she was found guilty and sentenced to five years in prison. She appealed, but resigned as a member of parliament;

and as president of the ANC Women's League, a position she had held for ten years. In 2004, an appeal judge overturned the conviction for theft, but upheld the one for fraud and her prison sentence was commuted to a three years and a half year suspended sentence.

Winnie weathered the appearances at the TRC and in court with the stoic resilience for which she was known and admired. After each setback she regrouped and continued with her efforts on behalf of her community and country. Her public political swansong was in 2007 at the 52nd ANC conference in Polokwane, when she was again elected to the ANC National Executive Committee.

Although no longer actively involved in politics, she has remained a steadfast supporter of the ANC; and despite decades of ordeals and hardship, accusations and reproaches, Winnie Madikizela-Mandela is still widely revered for her role in ending apartheid oppression. At the pinnacle of her political activism, her influence was impeded by allegations of criminal activities and accusations that tainted her image; but her extraordinary political survival skills, astute political instinct and resilience in the midst of personal crises and political scandals kept her going and she endured as the face of resistance to apartheid and racial discrimination.

Her life has inspired an opera and numerous books; and in a number of films and TV productions she has

been portrayed by famous actresses Alfre Woodard, Sophie Okonedo and Oscar award-winning Jennifer Hudson. Loved and loathed, Winnie Madikizela-Mandela has carved out a singular place in the history of South Africa that is unlikely to be equalled.

Chapter 7:

INFLUENCE ON THE YOUTH IN THE NEW DEMOCRATIC SOUTH AFRICA

During apartheid racist political education became the norm, as decreed in the Bantu Education Act of 1953. This decree rendered inequality in the national educational system as legal. The educational system was developed and divided into separate systems to correspond with the segregation of different racial groups with a view to limiting the educational potential of Black South Africans. Introduced in 1954 it ensured that Black, or 'Bantu', children should not learn mathematics and science, which would discourage Blacks from pursuing higher education. Although the quality of education for Indian and Coloured children was slightly better, the education systems for 'non-whites' remained inferior in quality to that of White South Africans, who received a superior education. This unequal education not only hindered the type of education Black children received, but gave rise to an inferiority complex.

It is impossible to address education during apartheid without mentioning economic disparities. The inequality in education structures was compounded by an imbalanced economic system that often resulted in children of colour needing a longer period of time to complete their education.

Many parents suffered from extremely high levels of unemployment. In addition to legislation and economic disparities, there were inequalities in funding, with Black, Indian and Coloured children receiving little or no state subsidy to further their education. The resultant system hindered Black South Africans from acquiring employment skills. Many Black South Africans remained in the working class and many subservient to White South Africans.

Throughout the post-apartheid period political leaders like Winnie Madikizela-Mandela engaged in efforts to dismantle racism in the educational system. The Freedom Charter of the ANC, which is incorporated in the Constitution, advocates equal education for all and the ANC government has worked since 1994 towards bringing social justice and equity to education. Winnie Madikizela-Mandela champions the ideals of the Freedom Charter. Her concern and involvement in the cause of students and the youth is not new; she was always actively involved with youth issues since she treasures the youth and students as the country's assets. There is, however, no 'quick fix' for the damage caused by apartheid; and South Africa continues to face social and economic division, stratification, and dysfunction in society.

There have been ongoing demonstrations and strikes across South Africa as students struggle for equality in education. Most recently the country has experienced students revolting against annual

fee increases at institutions for higher education. Students began a campaign under the banner #Fees must fall, which garnered substantial support from sizeable sections of the South African population and also from Winnie Madikizela-Mandela.

Her support of the students started at the Nelson Mandela Metropolitan University (NMMU) when they opposed a fee increase at in 2015. Madikizela-Mandela voiced support for the plight of the students and showed solidarity for their opposition to the high cost of fees at the university. When university officials did not respond to the students' plea for negotiations on the issue, the students sought the help of Madikizela-Mandela.

The situation at NMMU was part of a series of protests on other university campuses across South Africa. Students at the University of the Witwatersrand (WITS) joined forces with the NMMU against an increase in tuition costs. The collective feeling amongst students was that the prohibitive costs of tertiary education prevented students from enjoying equal educational opportunities.

Winnie also voiced solidarity in support of the protests initiated by students through social networking sites. On 8 October 2015 she stated on her Facebook page that, 'I will be joining my children in Protest at Wits today. Rhodes [University] Tomorrow [sic] and NMMU on Friday. Let us see if the police will shoot with me in the front line. I dare them to.'(1) Thousands of students thronged the streets and

marched to South Africa's Parliament in Cape Town to protest the rising cost of higher education. When students marched into the Parliament precinct, then Finance Minister Nhlanhla Nene was in the midst of delivering the 2015 mid-term budget. Many of the protesters were arrested but later released.

With demonstrations at the various universities, protestors aimed to build a national movement that would transform the educational system, as well as university employees' working conditions. Fee hikes and the high cost of education involve a number of issues. It means that the poor, who are the majority in South Africa, are detrimentally impacted by their inability to afford higher education, following which, they are unable to market themselves or improve their prospects for better employment opportunities. Many of the student representatives and protestors feel that the educational system in South Africa is managed by a capitalistic agenda and they want to improve the educational system by opening the gates of higher learning for all people.

Although apartheid ended in 1994, the country still suffers the effects of racism. This is largely because apartheid crimes were never punished; and twenty years later, the majority of White people still live in affluent areas and the majority of Black, Indian and Coloured people still live in segregated townships. For example, south of Johannesburg the township Lenasia is still predominantly home to people of Indian origin; Eldorado Park to people of mixed race,

or Coloured; and Soweto, to Black people.

Although the post-apartheid period has provided a better platform for racial equality to exist, economic freedom and equality in South Africa has not materialised as it was expected during the struggle against apartheid. With regard to Black youths, not much has changed in the post-apartheid era. They participated in the Soweto Uprising to bring changes to the education system of apartheid South Africa and many Black South Africans speak and reminisce about past sacrifices, but are still waiting for economic freedom in post-apartheid South Africa. The failure by the ANC government to implement a fair and balanced educational system remains its biggest failure.

The government has not kept pace with the needs of the youth for their growth and development and the lack of quality education to children from an early age contributes to the inability of the youth to assert their rights and freedom in the post-apartheid period. An example of Winnie Madikizela-Mandela's support of the youth and her encouragement for their labours towards true democracy was at the conference 'One Young World' in 2013, where she congratulated all the delegates 'for inspiring each other and for inspiring young people around the world'. At the conference closing ceremony, she emphasised that the South African youth are the custodians and defenders of democratic values. She reminded them that the anti-apartheid generation struggled against their government so that the present youth could achieve

their aspirations; and that the youth must be aware of what their leaders do and how their government works if they want to realise their democratic ideals. One of the reasons why Winnie Madikizela-Mandela remains so popular among the youth and the poor is that she understands the needs of frustrated people.

From 2013 to 2015 Madikizela-Mandela has come to be recognised as one of the senior political leaders in South Africa who endorsed the ANC Youth League (ANCYL) in their cause for radical policy changes, the need for land reform, and to bring change to political and economic policies through democratic reforms as espoused in the Freedom Charter.

The ANCYL argues that the ANC parent-body has taken a lukewarm stand towards changing economic policies; and the League aims to transform the economy by looking into the matters of land expropriation and the nationalisation of mines. If the land redistribution policy regarding White ownership is reviewed, the first step towards economic recovery and doing away with unemployment, can be achieved by owning the land, the economy, and the means to production. In South Africa, the landmark for economic change has always been about land and radical changes in this aspect has therefore become a necessity.

The controversial Former ANC Youth League President, now leader of the Economic Freedom Fighters (EFF), Mr Julius Malema, was supported by Madikizela-Mandela with regard to this land policy.

She endorsed Malema for showing a fearless approach in appealing to the ANC to bring about radical socio-economic policy changes in South Africa; and it cannot be denied that she remains one of the few prominent figures in South Africa to understand and address the demands and issues of young South Africans.

Chapter 8: POSITION ON LAND AND THE ECONOMY

The housing problem in South Africa, which is a consequence of the ideology of apartheid, is an issue that has escalated significantly since 1994. The backlog on housing delivery is a continuing challenge for the South African government. Despite the ANC's efforts, the supply cannot meet the ever growing demand, which are hampered by a lack of resources to build and deliver housing and by a weakened position on negotiation for land. Present challenges are the result of the ANC's failure in the post-apartheid period to address matters pertaining to land restitution that remain largely unresolved. One of the consequences of unresolved economic issues are low wages, especially for unskilled labourers and mine workers.

The Marikana massacre at the Lonmin Mine in Rustenburg in 2012 was the result of a protest against dangerous working conditions, poor wages and inadequate living conditions for the mine workers. They live in shacks and compound settlements, disconnected from their families and homes. It was the largest protest since the end of apartheid and escalated into a violent confrontation that cost the lives of 34 mineworkers, with another 78 wounded. Political parties have an ongoing battle with mining

houses to provide better living conditions and wages for their employees and leaders like Winnie Madikizela-Mandela work tirelessly to bring about the desired changes.

Land economics has been one of Winnie Mandela's main concerns. In 2011 Tokyo Sexwale, then Minister of Human Settlements, said these matters require the leadership of people who have the capacity to solve the problem. He supported Winnie Mandela for a position to deal with problems in informal settlements and emphasised that it needed someone with her 'motherly heart'. (1)

During apartheid Black people were not allowed to become business owners, nor own a business premises, nor have a leadership role in any business. Since then the hierarchy on the political, social, and economic ladder has remained:

- i. White Male;
- ii. White Female;
- iii. Coloured or Indian Male;
- iv. Coloured or Indian Female;
- v. Black Male; and
- vi. Black Female.

Although the new democratic South Africa preaches equality for everyone, Black, Coloured, and Indian South Africans continue to be treated unequally. Since racial inequality and socio-economic imbalance were in existence from the days of apartheid, historical

challenges to rectify the economic hierarchy are still problematic. This is especially so in the private sector. For instance, only seven per cent of Black South Africans have managed to become entrepreneurs and individual business owners.

The barriers to enter the economy include thick red tape for aspiring Black businessmen and businesswomen. White South Africans and international companies still own the means of production and their economies of scale continue to muscle out Black small business owners. On the list of South Africa's wealthiest which is released annually, present statistics show that only 5 percent are Black. Thus, despite apartheid being abolished more than two decades ago, the Black and Coloured populace are still relegated to the bottom of the economic pile.

The ANC is trying to improve economic conditions through measures such as introducing the Broad-Based Black Economic Empowerment (BBBEE) labour practise, a tool intended to speed up the transformation of the economy. However, the pace for its implementation needs to be radically improved if it is to speed up the process so that more Black people can benefit faster.

I am a descendant of Khoi San, Nama and Griqua lineage, African cultures from the Gamagara District in the Northern Cape, located between Upington and Kuruman. The farms Olifantshoek, Deben, Dingleton, and what is known as Kathu, is the traditional territory of the Son, McKenzie and Essau families.

The mining houses in these areas have not done justice to the Social Labour Plans, nor has government done enough in recognising the plight of these families (including mine), to recover our land. I wrote several letters to plead for a policy amendment to the Restitution of Land Rights Act which was closed in 1998.

My efforts, together with various committed social activists and supporting stakeholders, eventually won this battle and in 2014 the Restitution of Land Rights Amendment Act came into effect, affording those who had missed the earlier deadline and thus an opportunity to claim, to lodge claims.

South Africa will see one of the biggest and most expensive land claims on the 24th of September 2016 when my family and I, as stakeholders, lay claim to the Gamagara District.

The letter below addresses the Freedom Charter mandate that Winnie Madikizela-Mandela upholds; and how at times it is abused to serve the interests of the elite at the expense of the poor. It illustrates the kind of ANC supporter I am, that is one who believes in the policies espoused by the ANC, but if they are not congruent with the actions of any of its leaders, I voice my opinion to ensure that we correct such behaviour to meet the values that are advocated in the ANC's policies and that its intentions are in the best interests for the greater good of everyone. If that doesn't have the desired effect, below is an example of the wrath of my pen.

*The Open Letter Season
(Valentines Day to Easter Sunday)
March 14, 2011 at 5:06pm*

Good day Mr. Hlengani (ArcelorMittal Chief of Corporate Services); Duduzane Zuma (Hon. President Jacob Zuma's son) and Gupta Family,

Since we're in open letter season, allow me to furnish you with my 'Dear John' letter.

If ever the power of social media has been doubted, then try ignoring this email and see the impact of Egypt, Libya, Sudan, Ivory Coast and recently Japan happen in our own backyard. I have been writing to you since the 12th of October 2010. It is now March 2011 and the ICT (Zuma/Gupta) 'BEE' deal has been sealed with ArcelorMittal.

You and your organisation together with the ICT consortium have treated us unfairly and with total disdain. 'Us' meaning the Khoi, Bushmen, Hottentot, San, Griqua and the latest label, 'coloured', original inhabitants of the Gamagara land in the Northern Cape. Calling this transaction a BEE deal and leaving out the original owners and current dwellers of the Gamagara land, on which are Anglo American's Kumba / Assmang mines, is an embarrassment and shameful to the highest order.

There should be an international outcry so loud that it affects ArcelorMittal shareholder value since this deal goes against the core and every single moral fibre that corporate governance stands for and speaks to in the King Report.

Your blatant disregard of the Hottentot, Bushmen, San, Khoi, Nama, Griqua and coloured families who are the original inhabitants of the Gamagara land in the Northern Cape in South Africa is not only disrespectful but goes against the policies that piece together what our South African constitution calls Black Economic Empowerment.

How ArcelorMittal managed to engage the Gupta and Zuma families to conclude a Black Economic transaction of this magnitude and intentionally exclude the Essau, Mckenzie and Son families who still live on the very same land which has been mined for over 60 years is disgusting to say the least!

The silence from high office regarding the Jimmy Manyi saga and displacement of so-called coloured people and your reaction to previous mails also cements the mentality and behaviour in which we have been excluded and ignored from this process.

I am again requesting engagement on this matter and for the attached Trust, the Gamagara Khumo Trust, with myself as its founder, its trustees and

beneficiaries which includes:

- *Who we are,*
- *Where we come from and*
- *What our future intentions are*

Our people continue to live in abject poverty. I have sent you numerous proposals on how we plan to take advantage of the mining charter to combat the social ills that plague our people and their environment, but to date have not even received a response from your office.

I am begging you (ArcelorMittal) and the President Hon. Jacob Zuma, including his son Duduzane and the Gupta families to stop their insatiable appetite for money and start restoring the dignity that we fought for, for so many years. Many have sacrificed with blood and their lives in order for us to share what we have today. Let us make their lost lives worthwhile and allow their souls to finally find rest by including all South Africans especially the poor and impoverished in the country's wealth. Let us see that material change, especially in the poorest of the poor's lives, as opposed to seeing only the President and his elite few benefit.

This state of affairs has been made worse by our selfish, unfocused and uncaring political leadership from our region for nearly half a century. At

the centre of it all is deep-seated corruption and insatiable greed for individual wealth. This is the greed that has enslaved our country to the industrialised nations with occasional belief that we can depend on them in our hour of need when hunger ravages our neighbourhoods. It is a slave-master relationship that will take time to break.

Our democracy is government of the people, by the people and for the people; a thugocracy is a government of thieves, for thieves, by thieves. Simply stated, a thugtatorship is rule by a gang of thieves and robbers (thugs) in designer suits. It is becoming crystal clear that much of Africa, including South Africa today, is a thugocracy, privately managed and operated for the exclusive benefit of bloodthirsty thugtators.

In a thugtatorship, the purpose of seizing and clinging to political power is solely to accumulate personal wealth for the ruling class by stealing public funds and depriving the broader population from scarce resources necessary for basic survival. The English word “thug” comes from the Hindi word ‘thag’ which means ‘con man’. In India ‘Thugees’, well-organised criminal gangs, robbed and murdered unsuspecting travellers over a century ago. Africa’s thugees’ today mug, rob, pillage, plunder and rape unsuspecting whole nations and peoples and secrete away their billions

in stolen loot in European and American banks.

Today, we are witnessing a special kind of revolution never seen before: A youth-led popular non-violent revolution against thugtatorships in Africa and the Middle East. Neither the West nor the thugtators know what to do with this kind of revolution or the revolutionaries leading it.

So Mr. Hlengani (ArcelorMittal Chief of Corporate Services); Duduzane Zuma (Hon. President Jacob Zuma's son) and Gupta Family, I put it to you and pose this decisive question: Are we on the right side of history with the victims of oppression or are we on the wrong side with thugtators destined to the dustbin of history?

I await your response.

Grant Son

Winnie Madikizela-Mandela is taking a more radical stand than the ANC to bring changes to Black Economic Empowerment. By supporting the ambitions of Julius Malema, former president of the ANC Youth League and now leader of the Economic Freedom Fighters (EFF), Madikizela-Mandela supports change in the economic situation of Black South Africans.

Malema's ideology is drawn from the Freedom Charter, which Winnie also advocates, and that initiated their alliance. She courted personal and political controversy by aligning herself with Julius Malema who, while he was still in the ANC, and the outspoken president of the Youth League, became known for his controversial policies when he voiced support for the nationalisation of mines, as a result of which he was expelled from the ANC and relieved of his position as president of the ANCYL. Through her support for Julius Malema, Winnie has come to be associated with the clamour for the nationalisation of mines and her association with a populist like Julius Malema has no doubt further compromised her position in certain circles within the ANC.

The philosophy of the EFF is that the only way to truly transform the economy is to nationalise banks, mines and other capital markets monopolised by Whites so that this is transferred into the people's hands as per the policies of the Freedom Charter, which is also an ANC policy document. The campaign for the nationalisation of mines emanates from the belief that it will bring about positive economic

changes for Black South Africans who suffered during the apartheid regime. Since all mines, banks, and the majority of the country's land were in the hands of the White elite, nationalisation is expected to provide economic redress and relief by creating jobs and providing economic equality for all. The nationalisation of mines, in particular, is expected to provide Black economic empowerment through job creation and delivering public services to the poor.

Many Black South Africans equate mines with the dispossession of their assets when White colonialism came to South Africa. There is a belief that the nationalisation of mines will not only compensate, and supply huge profits to many Black South Africans; but will purportedly give the government power over mining companies and the use of mining profits for other developmental processes that are highly dependent on social grants, while empowering Black South Africans who own and manage mining companies. Many Black leaders, including Madikizela-Mandela, are strong supporters of this effort, but it remains to be realised.

There are voices within the ANC who believe that the philosophy of the Freedom Charter should be implemented as is, and agree in principal with the ideals of the EFF, but differ fundamentally in how they are executed. I drafted a journal in 2011 which follows this chapter and best explains my world view on the issue.

I believe that the Freedom Charter is the ANC's

core document and binding policy. When I feel angry or frustrated I believe that the Freedom Charter should be implemented as is. However, when my legally-trained business mind resurfaces I understand that we have made progress as a country, that we live in a global village and that South Africa has graduated from the many decades since the document was drafted.

The letter below was written to Julius Malema during 2011 while he was still president of the ANCYL. Fast forward to 2016, and the document remains relevant, also in this book, and continues to challenge Mr Malema's ideologies and views on implementation of the Freedom Charter.

Dear Mr Julius Malema,

Please receive and accept our stakeholder submission on the Nationalisation of Mines in South Africa.

I have read your note on the nationalisation of mines on the ANCYL's website, I have observed the discussion at length at the June 16 to 19 Youth Conference at Gallagher Estate and I am aware that it was placed on the ruling party's agenda at its recent mid-term policy gathering. The relevant section of the Freedom Charter reads: 'The mineral wealth beneath the soil, the banks and monopoly industry shall be transferred to the ownership of the people as a whole.' NUM (National Union of Mines) has now

agreed to the nationalisation of mines. I also listened to you on a Metro FM talk show last night the 21st of June 2011 and this morning on SAFM. What I would like to know is whether this nationalisation has a clear business plan and proven, tried and tested implementation model? I would also like to know if it includes Bushman/Khoi/San/Griqualand and whether or not they or we have a say in the matter or policy? I must add that the interviewer on Metro FM was very vaguely answered, so too this morning on SAFM regarding issues affecting tribal mining land and addressing the fears of the minority and more importantly our collective aspirations as a united country. I am of the view that no clear direction on nationalisation has been demonstrated to date.

I'd like to set the tone of my stakeholder submission by making the following statement: The symbol or emblem on ALL South African Government entities is called a coat of arms. The motto is: !ke e: /xarra //ke, written in the Khoisan language of the /Xam people, literally meaning 'Diverse people unite'. It addresses each individual effort to harness the unity between thought and action. On a collective scale it calls for the nation to unite in a common sense of belonging and national pride – unity in diversity. Pronunciation of !ke e: /xarra //ke. Perhaps we must start again at the beginning with the original people of this country's culture in order to find ourselves if we want to move forward.

I have taken issue and have a few concerns with the nationalisation of mines for a few reasons which I'll try to articulate in this document. Let me start with Land redistribution and BBBEE policies which, in my view, are deeply flawed documents if we agree that the original inhabitants of this land have not been recognised, meaning Khoi / San / Xam and Griqua people and if we consider that priority has not been placed on them for the same reason.

BBBEE in my opinion has a hierarchy and gives preference to ethnic Black or rather an elite Black cartel because it has been argued in certain circles, depending on who you ask, that during apartheid ethnic Black people suffered more than Coloured people. My view is that in South Africa during the apartheid era, where the population was classified into four main racial groups: Black, White, Asian (mostly Indian), and Coloured. The Coloured group included people of mixed Bantu, Khoisan, and European descent (with some Malay ancestry, especially in the Western Cape). The Coloured definition occupied an intermediary position between the Black and White definitions in South Africa.

The apartheid bureaucracy devised complex (and often arbitrary), criteria in the Population Registration Act to determine who belonged in which group. Minor officials administered tests to enforce the classifications. When it was unclear from

a person's physical appearance whether a person was to be considered Coloured or Black, the 'pencil test' was employed. This involved inserting a pencil in a person's hair to determine if the hair was kinky enough for the pencil to get stuck.

During the apartheid era, those classed as 'Coloured' were oppressed and discriminated against. However, they did have limited rights and overall, had slightly better socio-economic conditions than those classed as 'Black'.

In the post-apartheid era, the ANC government's laws in support of their affirmative action policies define 'Black' people to include 'Africans', 'Coloureds' and 'Asians'. Their affirmative action policies have also favoured 'Africans' over 'Coloureds'. Some South Africans categorised as 'African Black' openly state that 'Coloureds' did not suffer as much as they did during apartheid.

Now this is my issue with being called Coloured because 'Coloureds' in Griquastad, Barkley West and East, Springbok, Askham, Olifantshoek, Keimoes, Buysdorp are of Hottentot/Bushmen/San/Khoi/Xam/Griqua descent, the first people to have lived on this soil and were the first to be disadvantaged by the Dutch and later British settlers; and to date continue to grossly suffer under democratic rule. So no, in the current BBBEE policy, there is no equality among

non-white or non-white African. Nor does it make provision for Khoi/San/Xam Griqua people who suffered longer and worse under slavery, colonial and apartheid rule as well as now under democratic rule.

Furthermore, we feel that the incumbent Government policy holders have acted with bias and it would appear to show favouritism (promoting separatism)... why approve the Royal Bafokeng situation but deny us the Gamagara Khumo (Bushmen/Khoi/San/Xam/Griqua) the same model? In fact, ours is more authentic than the Royal Bafokeng situation in Rustenburg, should we ask scientists to examine the original inhabitants of this land.

Let us for a moment engage this matter in more detail. In ancient and medieval history starting from around 500 BC, some San groups acquired livestock from further north. Gradually, hunting and gathering gave way to herding as the dominant economic activity as these San people tended to small herds of cattle and oxen. The arrival of livestock introduced concepts of personal wealth and property-ownership into San society. Community structures solidified and expanded, and chieftaincies developed. These pastoralist San People became known as Khoikhoi ('men of men'), as opposed to the still hunter-gatherer San

People, whom the Colonialist Settlers referred to as Bushmen. At the point where the two groups became intermarried, mixed and hard to tell apart, the term Khoisan arose.

Over time the Khoikhoi established themselves along the coast, while small groups of San continued to inhabit the interior. Around 2,500 years ago Bantu peoples started migrating across sub-Saharan Africa from the Niger River Delta. The San People of Southern Africa and the Bantu-speakers didn't have any method of writing, so researchers know little of this period outside of archaeological artefacts. The Bantu-speakers had started to make their way south and eastwards in about 1000 BC, reaching the present-day KwaZulu-Natal Province by 500 CE. The Bantu-speakers had an advanced Iron Age culture, keeping domestic animals and also practising agriculture, farming sorghum and other crops. They lived in small settled villages. The Bantu-speakers arrived in South Africa in small waves rather than in one cohesive migration. Some groups, the ancestors of today's Nguni peoples (the Zulu, Xhosa, Swazi, and Ndebele), preferred to live near the coast. Others, now known as the Sotho-Tswana peoples (Tswana, Pedi, and Basotho), settled in the Highveld, while today's Venda, Lemba, and Shangaan-Tsonga peoples made their homes in the north-eastern areas of South Africa.

Bantu-speakers and Khoisan mixed, as evidenced by rock paintings showing the two different groups interacting. The type of contact remains unknown, although linguistic proof of integration survives, as several Southern Bantu languages (notably Xhosa and Zulu), incorporated many click consonants of earlier Khoisan languages. Archaeologists have found numerous Khoisan artefacts at the sites of Bantu settlements.

From around 1200 AD a trade network began to emerge just to the North as is evidenced at such sites as Mapungubwe. Additionally, the idea of sacred leadership emerged – a concept that transcends English terms such as ‘Kings’ or ‘Queens’. Sacred leaders were elite members of the community, types of prophets, people with supernatural powers and the ability to predict the future.

Based on the above facts I am therefore in disagreement with our land being transferred to the state without proper and thorough consultation and if need be, we will therefore contest this matter as an absolute last resort in a high, supreme and or international court should we not be able to reach an amicable solution to the dispute and or discussion. As you are aware this document is already at a Ministerial, Parliament and Presidential office level for the same.

Similar cases have been heard in America with the Red Indians, Australia with the Aboriginal people and then right here on our doorstep in Africa where, in Namibia and Botswana judgment was passed and favoured the indigenous people. Case in point being the ruling in Botswana with the Bushmen vs Government.

Find inserts from the 'Bushman vs Botswana Government ruling' in terrific news, on January 27, 2011, the people won an historic appeal. The high court ruled against the Government and ordered that the Bushmen be allowed to access water in the borehole.

According to an article on Wikipedia: 'Barrister Gordon Bennett represented the Bushmen in court as the judges declared the Botswana government guilty of "degrading treatment" and described the case as "a harrowing story of human suffering and despair". Furthermore, the Government was ordered to pay the costs of the Bushmen's appeal.' The government has said they will obey the court order.

More articles on the Bushmen's victory over the Botswana government 'Bushman forced out of the Kalahari desert by Botswana's government' won a landmark legal victory today as the country's high court ruled they had been illegally removed and should be allowed to return.

The panel of three judges ruled 2-1 in favour of the Bushmen, among Africa's last hunter-gatherers, whose fate has attracted widespread international attention.

Survival International, a British-based pressure group which campaigns for the rights of indigenous and tribal people and has been assisting with the case, hailed the verdict as 'a victory for the Bushmen and for indigenous peoples everywhere in Africa'.

The legal battle – the longest in Botswana's history – has been seen as a major test case in establishing the fundamental rights of indigenous people.

Earlier today, the Bushmen's campaign seemed lost when the high court's chief justice, Maruping Dibotelo, delivered his verdict first and ruled in favour of the government. The Bushmen's supporters assumed the other two more junior judges would follow suit.

However, they disagreed, granting the Bushmen – also known as the San people – the right to return to what is now the central Kalahari game reserve. Judge Mpaphi Phumaphi, who delivered the deciding vote, said the government had been wrong to force the Bushmen into settlement camps. 'In my view the simultaneous stoppage of the supply of food rations and the stoppage of hunting licenses is

tantamount to condemning the remaining residents of the central Kalahari game reserve to death by starvation', he said.

The third judge, Unity Dow, ruled that the government had 'failed to take account of the knowledge and the culture' of the Bushmen when it expelled them.

But the verdict also said the government was not obliged to provide basic services, such as water, to anyone returning to the reserve.

The Bushmen's lawyer, Gordon Bennett, welcomed the decision, saying: 'It's about the right of the applicants to live inside the reserve as long as they want and that's a marvellous victory.'

A number of Bushmen had trekked overland to the court in Lobatse, just south of Botswana's capital, Gaborone, and some sat in the courtroom to hear the rulings.

The Bushmen, whose ancestors lived in the Kalahari 20,000 years ago, say they have been forced to resettle in bleak camps to make way for diamond mining, Botswana's most lucrative export.

They launched a civil lawsuit in April 2002 to try to force the government to let them return to the Kalahari. The initial case was thrown out on a

technicality, but in 2004 the high court then agreed to hear the complaint. The government insists the Bushmen have changed their lifestyle so much that they no longer belong in the Kalahari reserve, an animal sanctuary the size of Belgium, and are affecting conservation efforts.

They are better off in settlements, where they have access to clinics and schools, it says, adding that diamond mining has nothing to do with the decision.

The government complains that the Bushmen's foreign supporters, including South African anti-apartheid hero, Archbishop Desmond Tutu, and British actors, Julie Christie and Colin Firth, are romanticising a hunter-gatherer lifestyle which no longer exists.

However, Survival International alleges that the Bushmen have been forced out to make way for increased operations by De Beers, the world's biggest diamond mining company, which denies any such plans.

Discovered in 1967, a year after Botswana gained independence from Britain, diamonds have taken the country from one of the poorest in the world to a per capita annual income of more than £5,000.

Today's ruling, while going in favour of the Bushmen,

said there was no reason to support such claims.

The government has resettled about 2,000 Bushmen, mostly in 1997 and 2002, and says all but about 24 had voluntarily left the reserve. About half of southern Africa's 100,000 surviving Bushmen live in Botswana.

Survival International says that more than one in ten of the original 239 Bushmen who signed up to the legal case have since died in government resettlement camps. 'Never again will our history our heritage our bones our bloodline be treated as cheap as it has been tonight!'

Back to the nationalisation of mines and banks and our immediate feeling... according to the Merriam Webster definition, nationalisation is to invest control or ownership of assets in the national government. It is therefore the acquisition by the state of assets that were formerly privately owned.

South Africa is renowned for its mineral resources, which include gold, chromium, antimony, iron ore, manganese, nickel, phosphates, tin, uranium, diamond, platinum, copper and vanadium. In 2000, mineral commodities accounted for approximately 47 per cent of the total value of South African exports. The economy of South Africa is highly dependent on mining as it is one of the main industries in the

country. Mining accounted for eight per cent of the South African Gross Domestic Product in 2008. More than 500 000 jobs are created by the mining industry. Since the 19th century, South Africa's economy has relied greatly on the export and production of minerals. Experts argue that the future of mining depends to a great extent on the changes in government regulation.

Despite government denial that the nationalisation of mines forms a part of its policy, it is becoming more and more apparent what the agenda of the ruling party and its youth league entails. The Minerals and Petroleum Resources Development Act, No. 28 of 2008 placed all mineral rights under state control.

A vast array of stakeholders opposed the act, but with little or no effect. A group of European investors (Piero Foresti, Laura De Carli and others vs. the Republic of South Africa), sued South Africa before the International Centre for Settlement of Investment Disputes (ICSID), because their mineral rights were expropriated under the MPRD Act. The case was rigged with accusations of corruption on the South African government's side, including, but not limited, to allegations of bribery to settle the case out of court. The case was withdrawn by the investors under suspicious circumstances. Nationalisation poses a threat to foreign investment in South Africa, and will give rise to more court

cases such as the one mentioned above.

South Africa's major trading partners include China, Germany, the United States, Japan and the United Kingdom; with China being the largest export market. There has been speculation that once mines are expropriated through nationalisation, the government will sell said mines to Chinese investors. Even if this is not the case, the continued debate in South Africa regarding the nationalisation of mines sends a message to foreign investors that property rights in South Africa are not safe.

The Government is once again increasing its role in the economy and has ceased to promote private sector investment. The nationalisation of mines will also have a negative impact on South Africa's international obligations; in particular the World Trade Organisation Agreements.

The problem I have with State owned enterprises is that there is no competition and therefore no incentive to improve efficiency. Therefore, there is less economic incentive to perform. Private ownership serves as a constraint on government tyranny and nationalisation undermines this.

It is common knowledge that state-owned economic entities have failed time and time and again to live up to their economic objectives. The 2007 Eskom

electricity crisis is just a single example. Other examples of failing state-owned services include Spoornet, local infrastructure, the education system, health care and road maintenance.

Government intervention and nationalisation is usually adopted as a last resort policy when a particular industry is failing economically. European banks (e.g. Spain, United Kingdom and Iceland) were nationalised by governments of the respective countries as a temporary measure to rescue the economy which was under severe threat due to the recession. When states expropriate business enterprises for nationalisation, these state owned entities tend to be less efficient than privately owned enterprises in thriving sectors of the economy.

The goal of nationalisation of the mines is to ensure that the population of South Africa also benefits from mining activities. However, as was proven by the MPRD Act, the expropriation of mines will only benefit an elite few, even though it had as objective to benefit the population as a whole. Nationalisation of mines will once again boil down to the age old communist paradigm; all animals are equal, but some are more equal than others. Furthermore, nationalisation paves the way for even more corruption.

Examples of where nationalisation took place include:

Bolivia, Botswana, Chile, Cuba, India, Pakistan, Brazil, Democratic Republic of the Congo, Ghana and Venezuela. In Venezuela the nationalisation of various industries under Chavez resulted in extreme poverty, unemployment and corruption. Currently, Venezuela is rated one of the world's worst countries in which to invest in mining. Failures of the nationalised mining industry in Venezuela include poor health and safety of work forces, lack of environmental oversight and failure to return income to the population as a whole.

The effects of nationalisation in Zimbabwe need not even be discussed. Also in Ghana nationalisation of mines led to the complete destruction of the industry, leaving thousands jobless. In the early 1990's Ghana realised that nationalisation had horrific results and decided to denationalise mines and allow private ownership. Today Ghana has one of the most successful mining industries in Africa, if not the world.

Mining is a complex industry, based on a balance between the environment, politics and labour forces. The former Soviet Union has transferred the ownership of assets to the people in order to spread wealth, and it is predicted that nationalisation (the opposite of transferring ownership) will have the exact opposite effect and will only benefit an elite few.

Nationalised mines will not be consumer orientated anymore and nationalisation would be in sharp contrast with the principles of democracy and the free market system as it is found in South Africa. The free market system presupposes that there should be as little government interference in the economy as possible. Nationalisation will threaten the entire basis on which the South African economy rests.

The Chamber of Mines has also noted that nationalisation has not worked anywhere in the world and that it will not work in South Africa. It reiterated that nationalisation will have unintended negative consequences for the mining industry in particular, and the economy as a whole. KwaZulu-Natal's Treasury Economist, Clive Coetzee, warned that mine nationalisation would result in the collapse of South Africa's economy.

A few years ago, in some of our own SADC countries (Botswana, Namibia, Zimbabwe and Zambia), mines were nationalised. Then banks were nationalised. Bus services on different routes have also been nationalised. Many other industries and business concerns, including coal mines, have also been taken over by the government.

Some of South Africa's people are against nationalisation. We believe that by nationalisation, the Government takes away the right of the citizens

to do any business which we think we ourselves to be capable of doing. Nationalisation is in my view against the spirit of democracy. You also argued that nationalisation and democracy can go hand-in-hand and that they are not opposed to each other.

Mr Malema, I listened as you stated that Nationalisation has become the economic creed of modern times and that its advantages are many. You went on to defend this by saying that first, private ownership of big industries and business concerns gives rise to two classes. On the one side, there are big capitalists who own, manage and control the firms and the mills. On the other, are the poor labourers. The capitalists become richer while the poor labourers grow poorer. Nationalisation the ANCYL says removes exploitation. It reduces inequalities. The distribution of wealth becomes uniform and just.

You also said the ANCYL believes that, under private ownership competition is very keen. Thus, big and powerful capitalists try to crush their small rivals. You also argue that this is against national interest. Nationalisation curbs unhealthy competition and checks corruption.

I agree that there are certain basic industries which must not be left in the hands of private persons. They must be run by the Government. Production of arms and ammunition, atomic energy, public utility

services like railways, electricity, oil and natural gas, waterworks and aviation, etc., are some such industries. In such production works, the service of the public is the main motive and not the earning of profits. But I'm sorry to note that a number of public sector undertakings are not doing commendable work. There are today a number of autonomous corporations, and they have not succeeded in increasing production. They are incurring heavy losses.

Let's be critical and frank about how our municipalities are run in general, lets for a while reflect on the fact that hoards of South African's have affectionately and passionately expressed their dissatisfaction on service delivery from government. Allow us to reflect on the strike culture our public (NATIONALISED ENTITIES) have created. Educators have consistently struck for the last few years, Doctors, Nurses, Municipal workers who crippled our economy, PIKITUP strike in Johannesburg before the elections, the constant Railway and Bus workers strike. The recent strikes by disgruntled communities, namely Ficksburg where Andries Tatane was murdered by unmanaged Police brutality and the Noordgesig strike near Orlando that nearly dampened the burying of our Nations Mama, Ms. Albertina Sisulu's State Funeral.

My opinion is that current nationalised or state

entities must face stiff competition from private enterprises so that their efficiency may be increased. My view is that the spirit of competition is of great good to the nation, especially if we wish to effectively render professional and quality service while at the same time maintain healthy profits.

Therefore, in my opinion, all is not good with nationalisation. If the state begins to nationalise different business concerns from time to time, it kills private enterprise. Private persons do not invest in new industries lest they be nationalised.

Further, with gradual nationalisation, the state begins to acquire greater and greater control over the life of the people. In the long run this leads to complete centralisation of economic power in the hands of the state. This means bringing in dictatorship through the back door.

It should also be kept in mind that many of the privately owned concerns have only worn out and outdated machinery. Hence to nationalise such industries is not profitable. So new industries should be established instead of taking over the old ones. The public sector should be enlarged and strengthened, but the private sector must also be encouraged and helped to tide over the crisis which it may be facing.

Perhaps we should look at the advantages of

privatisation first before rushing to nationalise mines. Perhaps we also need to ask what your, Mr. Malema and ANCYL's objectives are for nationalising mines? What are you trying to achieve? Discussion about nationalisation I agree is not bad, we can learn a lot from that but from past research and experiences, nationalisation usually doesn't attract the right people. It can't get the right investment. The advantage of capitalism is that you get capital.

I don't believe nationalisation of mines would achieve greater economic transformation, and it will not generate much income. Which of the government or the private sector will be in a better position or the preferred option to confront the challenges and to ensure the continued financial viability of growth of the mining industry in South Africa?

The theory, literature, case studies and logic suggests that the private sector has the required skills, experience, capacity, desire and incentives to make it work. The notion that natural resources belong to all the people of SA is ideologically sound, but practically and logically out of date and unattainable simply because it's a no gain situation. Nobody benefits because there is no incentive or system of incentives to actually 'exploit' the natural resource.

A system without incentives creates a system of entitlements where nobody wants to take the risk

because there are significant risks associated in the 'exploitation' of natural resources. Therefore a non-incentive system that does not sufficiently compensate for risk suggests that there will be no exploitation of the natural resources and therefore nobody benefits. I hope this also answers the ANCYL's argument regarding the will for wanting education and how we fast track that (considering the hundreds of thousands of current graduates who are roaming the streets). I must also add that I am the first and former Youth League President of the Independent Democrats and my focus on youth was squarely fixed on issues affecting the youth; HIV/AIDS, teenage and unwanted pregnancy, drug and alcohol abuse, education, training and skills development as well as encouraging recreation and sports development. Portfolio's such as minerals and energy were left to individuals like Lance Greyling our MP so as not to duplicate effort or confuse our roles and responsibilities.

I am therefore adamant that the unintended consequences of the nationalisation of the mining industry are potentially unimaginable and devastating if not implemented correctly and if the current skills, White and Black, are not retained to ensure this exercise succeeds. This is demonstrated by the consequences of such a policy on both macro savings and personal savings. Domestic and foreign savings in South Africa simply will not be sufficient to sustain

an economic growth rate where jobs are created and poverty reduced. This nationalisation process should therefore not be rushed and or implemented as radical and militant as its being pushed by you and the ANCYL now.

Nationalisation, I understand is part of the ANC's bible (Freedom Charter), and now forms part of our country's constitution. But I am a realist and therefore I'm already planning ahead and looking for solutions that will work with the proposed mine and bank nationalisation proposals (bear in mind that the policy for nationalisation was drawn up in 1955 and we must consider that the world has changed drastically since then). My opinion is that we get all South Africa's best skilled economists, mining individuals, the best strategists on PFI/PPP and the implementation experts on mining beneficiation. Then I would agree that we workshop this idea and give ourselves at least 5 to 6 years before we implement or not implement, depending on the research conducted and findings judged on the assessments submitted. Colour or race should not matter because it is state owned, anyway, and in the interest of ALL South Africans should we go that route or not.

The same way we have White people managing at local municipality, provincial government and at parliamentary level, the same should apply to

the state owned mining company if it happens. Besides, other state owned enterprises comprises of White directorship and White management as the respective custodians. South Africa has produced some the best human capital in the World, we have South Africans, Black and White, working for Blue Chip Asian, American and European companies (private and public), the Donald Trump's, Richard Branson's, CNN, Google, World Bank, we, including myself, have represented South Africa beyond its borders and done extremely well.

The collective unified effort of this nation of South Africa must not be undermined... we beat apartheid, we delivered three world cups, won two world cups, home and away and more recently we survived a recession... but, we all worked together both Black and White before we achieved these goals. I therefore request that we work together, apply extensive stakeholder engagement as a unified nation who continues to look for win-win solutions while we pursue the dream of building this country with the same respect, work ethic and positive culture that has made us successful to date.

Best regards

Grant Son

Chapter 9: INFLUENCE ON THE ANC AND SOUTH AFRICA APPOINTING A WOMAN PRESIDENT IN 2017 (ANC ELECTIONS) AND NATIONALLY IN 2019

In the post-apartheid period the ANC followed neoliberal policies, but has been criticised for not being able to accelerate development in order to uplift more people faster. Winnie Madikizela-Mandela has vigorously criticised the ANC for failing to increase the pace of poverty alleviation in South Africa.

Given her personal and political struggles, it has been logical for Madikizela-Mandela to support other women who wish to further their political position or become involved in working for the people. Through her bravery and bold outspokenness on critical issues Madikizela-Mandela made an important contribution in breaking down barriers for women to enter positions of power and seniority within the ANC.

In 2014 President Jacob Zuma made the interesting remark that South Africa was ready for a woman president, and that such a change may come faster than expected. The statement was made after he, along with other ANC leaders, showed interest in promoting his former wife, Dr. Nkosazana Dlamini-Zuma, and the

ANC's chairperson and Speaker of Parliament, Baleka Mbete, to succeed Zuma as president. At present, Dlamini-Zuma is the chairperson of the African Union (AU). Winnie Madikizela-Mandela appears to support Dlamini-Zuma as president for the upcoming 2017 ANC elective conference and subsequently the general election of 2019. Dlamini-Zuma has already accepted nominations to be an ANC representative in Parliament. Having served as respectively the Minister of Health and Minister of Home Affairs, Dlamini-Zuma has elicited Madikizela-Mandela's support to bring about political change in South Africa. If Dlamini-Zuma is successful in the election campaign in 2017, she will become the first woman president of South Africa. Based on her impressive history in activism and politics, it is likely that she will easily emerge victorious in the election. However, while Dlamini-Zuma is indisputably capable, she may face immense pressure and obstacles from traditional South African forums such as CONTRALESA.

South Africa's constitution guarantees equality as well as the right to practice one's culture. These rights therefore ought to be secure, but in reality they are not. The constitutional framework supports the election of a female president. But this is in conflict with the beliefs of, in particular, Afrikaans, Zulu, Xhosa and KhoiSan men, that the role of women should not include leadership over men. Overcoming this prejudice will be an enormous challenge, but the ANCWL and ANCYL, branches of the mother body

of the ANC, are already consenting with Madikizela-Mandela's support for a woman president. Madikizela-Mandela often supports and works with Dlamini-Zuma, who has attested that working with political stalwart like Madikizela-Mandela has guided her in the political arena and in political leadership. She has often accredited Madikizela-Mandela's strong leadership as 'inspiring her to work for the affairs of the people.' (1)

In an interesting turn of events, Julius Malema stated that Winnie Madikizela-Mandela should succeed President Jacob Zuma. She has supported Malema's return to the ANC. In her own words, 'I hope to bring Julius ... back home one day, before I sleep forever.' (2) Although Madikizela-Mandela is seen as supporting Dlamini-Zuma for president, some ANC political workers and supporters are routing for Madikizela-Mandela to become President of South Africa after Zuma. (3) Support within the ANC for Madikizela-Mandela has been strong since the early 2000s. Despite much criticism against her, many of her supporters want her at the top of the decision-making group. Since she supports Dlamini-Zuma, and given Madikizela-Mandela's age – she celebrates her 80th birthday in 2016 – it is however unlikely that she will contest Dlamini-Zuma's electoral race and will probably pledge her continuing support.

Madikizela-Mandela continues to offer her guidance to other women leaders within the ANC, notably to the ANCWL. The ANCWL is not a

powerbroker inside the ANC though; there are few exceptional female political figures like Madikizela-Mandela and the organisation sadly lacks strength. In patriarchal societies women often have difficulty rising above men with regard to decision-making.

South African politics is nevertheless slowly evolving into a more open system of political leadership where South African society as a whole is ready for a woman president.

Within this scenario the ANCWL together with Madikizela-Mandela has shown great interest in putting Nkosazana Dlamini-Zuma forward as a presidential candidate. Dlamini-Zuma has had a sound political career, and with the help of influential supporters like Winnie Madikizela-Mandela, she may face little opposition to her candidature. Should she become president it will mean that South African women have managed to overcome many traditional, cultural, and patriarchal obstacles.

Before The Epilogue

I am under no illusion that our democracy is perfect; in fact, we have a long way to go. I accept that we're a nation in trouble, politically, socially and economically. At the same time I cannot deny, nor discount, the enormous work that has been done by unselfish individuals like Winnie Madikizela-Mandela.

We've become so caught up in our own vacuums

of 'I want, I need and I demand' that we seem to forget about the gains derived from the sacrifices made by freedom soldiers like Madikizela-Mandela. Perhaps some reflection will remind us and spark a real, rational conversation about Winnie Madikizela-Mandela's political significance, her relevance in the ANC and her contribution towards achieving our democracy.

It is my view that the narrative around who Winnie Madikizela-Mandela is and what she stood for is not celebrated as it should be. Her name must conjure up images of a true freedom soldier who led on the ground, in the trenches, and from the front of the apartheid battle lines. The unofficial Commander-In-Chief who helped to bring to an end the evil apartheid system that indoctrinated South African people with propaganda in government-led campaigns through education that used the then constitution, churches, schools and other devious methods to divide and destroy us.

Winnie Madikizela-Mandela has ensured that within the framework of our South African constitution that we all, Black, Coloured, Indian and White, agreed upon; Black people get to enjoy everything and anything in South Africa: the big and small things we take for granted and use every day sometimes without even knowing it! It may have even saved your life: things like basic services, water, sanitation, electricity, roads, an ambulance in a rural area, a fire truck in a township, or a child-line service to help

abused children report an incident.

Winnie Madikizela-Mandela secured for us this mixed economy that balances both socialism and capitalism, or at least attempts to. Since 1994, Black South Africans can make a million, or even a billion, rand, live in Sandton, have a house on the Vaal river, Hartebeespoort Dam, Camps Bay or Ballito and travel to Dubai, New York and London to shop without any victimisation due to colour or gender.

The black middle class has grown from less than 900 000 (nine hundred thousand) in 1994 to over 6 000 000 (six million) in 2016.

Winnie Madikizela-Mandela and the ANC's greatest achievement in liberating South Africa from apartheid is the dignity it restored to especially the poor. Our socialist agenda is certainly one of the best programmes in the world and is available all over South Africa and we as South Africans use and enjoy it daily.

Trying to get the perfect balance between the haves and have-nots is our biggest challenge and issue. In the same way we believe in freedom and the constitution, in working hard and prospering on our own to becoming successful or rich, our collective responsibility, especially in the case previously advantaged people, or the White minority, should be cognisant of past injustices and not assume that the Black poor are all lazy or filled with a sense of entitlement. South Africa was not born in 1994, our democracy was. Black people have been born into disadvantaged circumstances and poverty since

time immemorial, so we cannot assume that life is completely fair to all in South Africa.

Some people are born into situations and environments that do not allow them the opportunities and blessings that some White people had. It's also impossible to want to reason that 20 years of democracy will be sufficient to correct 500 years of slavery, 200 years of oppression, 150 years of colonial rule and 50 years of apartheid. Especially when the only thing we as South Africans have done since apartheid ended was to forgive our perpetrators and let them keep the land and the economy without paying any price for the sins or crimes committed against Black South Africans. Instead we chose the long road to address the economy and land issues, again at the expense of the Black majority.

Winnie Madikizela-Mandela and the ANC as well as its alliance partners, have ensured that socialism in the form of our taxpayer funds, are being used collectively to benefit especially Black South African society as a whole, despite income, contribution or ability. This is done through the departments of government, listed below, tasked with the relevant responsibilities.

Note that most of the ministries below include deputy ministries:

Agriculture, Forestry and Fisheries
Arts and Culture
Basic Education

Communications
Cooperative Governance and Traditional Affairs
Defence and Military Veterans
Economic Development
Energy
Environmental Affairs
Finance
Health
Higher Education and Training
Home Affairs
Human Settlements
International Relations and Cooperation:
Justice and Correctional Services-Justice
Labour
Land Reform
Mineral Resources
Planning, Monitoring and Evaluation
Police
Public Enterprises
Public Service and Administration
Public Works
Rural Development
Rural Development and Land Reform
Science and Technology
Small Business Development
Social Development
Sport and Recreation
State Security
Telecommunications and Postal Services
Tourism

Trade and Industry
Transport
Water and Sanitation
Women

Available at :-<http://www.gcis.gov.za/content/resourcecentre/contactdirectory/national-Government>

President Zuma, during his 2016 State of the Nation Address, suggested that government departments might be cut or consolidated to save costs. My business management and business consulting view however, is that we should perhaps look at government departments' current processes and efficiencies and rather implement management systems to optimise what we currently have, to deliver more and faster, as opposed to reducing government departments.

The number of South African government employees have grown from the start of our democracy in 1994, from just over 300,000 (three hundred thousand) to over 2,000,000 (two million), mostly Black South Africans, employed by the South African government. Millions of jobs outside government departments have been created in the form of projects outsourced to Black enterprises and therefore everyone benefits from government. Whether you are an end user, government employee, sub-contractor and supplier or employed by the latter, we all benefit as South Africans.

This is the environment that has been created

by Winnie Madikizela-Mandela, the ANC and its alliances. My argument in this book is however not for a completely socialist South Africa. My conviction is that it would not work. So too, an outright capitalist South Africa will not work either. As a South African who happens to be a Christian and a supporter of the ANC, who truly believes in both democracy and socialism, I believe the two can co-exist. My suggestion is that we radically transform our economy to reflect the majority of our country; and that the land process be sped up. Winnie Madikizela-Mandela has certainly helped to transform South Africa. But there is still work to do and it must be accelerated. It is our united South African responsibility to ensure that economic freedom in our lifetime is achieved. This hard fought-for freedom must radically address the land issue so that we can be completely liberated. This is the ultimate dream that our freedom soldier, Winnie Madikizela-Mandela, fought for with her freedom soldier's heart; and it must be realised in her lifetime.

Chapter 10:

A YOUNG SOUTH AFRICAN'S VIEW

In August 2015, I wrote an essay titled ‘The Global Crisis is our big chance’, which addresses the current economic challenges faced by South Africa. I unpack the myriad issues we face as a country and seek solutions on how best we may try to resolve it. **‘The global crisis is our big chance.’**

The State of the Nation

The way you live, work, travel, retire, and invest in South Africa... everything is going to change. Some of it in ways most people do not expect. This period is going to be particularly tough on the poor, unemployed, working- and middle class. Senior citizens and everyone relying on a fixed income, or money from government, e.g. social grants and pensions will not be spared either.

Trouble is coming – please make sure you, your family, and anyone you care about are prepared.

South Africans, brace yourselves for an economic Armageddon. Sometime in the not so distant future, we’re going to have yet another financial crisis. This one won’t be solved with government bailouts, not even the BRICS bank will be able to save us. Instead we’ll be running to the International Monetary Fund (IMF), hat in hand, who will assist us with very

stringent regulations.

The current energy crisis, policy uncertainty especially around land issues, the violent wage strikes in the mining sector, continued wage increases for civil servants, are all major contributors to this crisis. Moving forward I fear there will be even worse civil unrest, more unemployment and continued job losses. Crime will continue to rise, stock prices will continue plummeting, pension funds will collapse, and we'll soon see big changes to social grants and government health care. The complete erosion of personal freedom and the right to life has long been questioned if one observes how crime affects us daily. Mining, manufacturing, support services industries, bank and brokerage closings and ultimately, a major crisis as the South African Rand develops on the backdrop of the sharp decline in China's economy, our biggest trading partner, and as the global economic crisis further unfolds.

In short, I believe that we as a nation are on the brink of a massive financial crisis infinitely worse than any other financial crisis we've seen before because it won't only be a mining, manufacturing industry, banking and bonds problem but a full-blown currency crisis, the likes of which we've never experienced in this country during our democracy. The savings of millions of people could be wiped out overnight. The stock market could crash by 50 percent or more. The way of life we've enjoyed as a welfare state could come to an end. It's not a question of if this will happen, but

when. The middle class will be completely wiped out. Our already small working class will be halved and continue shrinking. Poverty figures will compound exponentially. People won't know what to do when there's a line around the block, like the ones you only see at a Kaizer Chiefs and Orlando Pirates stadium entrance gate or at election voting stations, just to access the ATM.

We'll see even more problems in the big cities – in fact, we're already seeing the beginnings of that: police being killed every few days, daily violent robberies at armed shopping malls and houses, car hijackings, normally ending with innocent lives being lost. South Africa is facing a total financial collapse in this generation. Our rand is about to be crushed by cold economic realities. The reality is that any major currency not backed by gold in the history of the world has eventually failed, and the actions currently being taken by the South African government and the Reserve Bank are speeding up the day when the rand will totally collapse. If you look at what is happening today, the amount of rand in circulation is absolutely shooting through the roof. At this point, much of the cash which the government and the Reserve Bank have injected into the economy has not yet got into the hands of the ordinary person on the street, so South Africa is still experiencing the beginnings of a deflationary depression. But eventually all of the money they have injected will get out there into the general economy.

When that happens, there will be a whole lot more rand in circulation than before but about the same number of goods and services. Do you know what happens when that situation exists? Inflation. The reality is that because of what the South African government and the Reserve Bank are doing to the rand, we are going to be facing rip-roaring inflation of a kind that South Africans have never known. This will affect everyone. For example, maybe you make good money now, but how far will your salary stretch when a loaf of bread costs R50.00 or R80.00? Bottled water costs R20.00 just for a perspective of where we are right now and how quickly we're heading for disaster. Perhaps you have spent decades putting away money in a bank account for your retirement. Well, the cold hard truth is that inflation acts like a massive tax. When you wake up and your money only buys half of what it could buy the year before, how will you feel?

There is no other way for this current economic situation to play out. The South African government and the Reserve Bank decided to spend their way out of this current economic crisis by cranking up the debt spiral one more time, and by devaluing the rand, as our Chinese parent has. So South Africans will see massive inflation – it is just a matter of how soon it will hit and how bad it will be. What should you do? Consolidate all your debt; the aim is to be debt free. Then buy what you are going to need in terms of food and supplies, right now while the rand still has some value. The rand is never going to be more valuable

than it is right now. If you are trusting in a big bank account to be your security blanket in the future then you are going to be very disappointed as the rand continues to crumble and your riches quickly fade.

You see, the South African government has settled on a policy of massive government borrowing and spending to try to turn the economy around. This policy will have two general effects:

(1) There will be a short-term boost to the South African economy. Some analysts will call it a recovery. But this will only last for a while, probably a few months and;

(2) The long-term economic problems will be made much worse by all this borrowing. It was all the debt that caused this mess in the first place and now the South African government has multiplied the eventual economic disaster that South Africans will face. The rand is going to drop dramatically in value and inflation is going to fly through the roof.

It took South Africans many years to get to this point, but instead of learning lessons from the past, the South African government has decided that the only economic solution is to press the debt pedal all the way to the floor. Financial disaster. And that is exactly what is happening now. The reality is that South Africa is now well over 10 TRILLION RAND in debt. That is R10,000,000,000,000 in debt!

Will the current generation of South Africans

ever repay that? No, the current generation seems determined to get deeper into debt. So, that means that South Africans are dumping this debt on their children and their grandchildren, and to generations beyond that. How immoral is that? What South Africans have done is they have sold their children and grandchildren into economic slavery forever. How would you feel if you were a little child and you discovered that your parents had left you with a debt that you could never, ever repay, and that you would be making interest payments on for the rest of your life?

South Africa's children and grandchildren will ALL be working all of their lives to pay interest on this ridiculous debt. Their labour will go into servicing the owners of this debt, and there is no escape. The goal should be to pass on a better world to South Africa's children. How immoral is it to pass on such a debt to future generations? Imagine if your parents came up to you and handed you a million rand credit card bill that they had racked up and that was now in your name and you had to make payments on for the rest of your life?

South Africans have had the greatest party of all time and have fuelled the party on massive amounts of debt, but there is bad news ... the party is almost over. The reserves of South Africa's local banks are gone. The financial institutions have borrowed an insane amount of money from the Reserve Bank this year just to stay afloat. South Africa's financial system

has never experienced a crisis of this magnitude in modern times.

The biggest debt bubble in our history since the apartheid government handed over to us, is starting to crack. For decades White South Africans have lived like kings and queens, post apartheid included a few black elite...enjoying the biggest party Africans have ever known...but financed with ever increasing amounts of debt. Once upon a time, post 1994, South Africa was Africa's darling to the world. But those days are long gone. Now local and foreign investors and our own ordinary people are becoming disillusioned and Doubting Thomases.

South Africa was the richest nation on the African continent, but that was never enough. South Africans always had to have a bigger car, a bigger house and an endless supply of 'stuff'. So the South African government piled up debt, South African companies gorged on debt, and South Africans made using credit cards into a national pastime. Now that many of South Africa's jobs have gone overseas with investors setting up shop elsewhere, outside our borders, the price of petrol is shooting through the roof, and tons of people are losing their homes, do we find that South Africans are learning their lesson? No. Instead South Africans are squeezing everything they can out of their credit cards. Total credit card debt in South Africa is now over R800 billion, and it is increasing at a rate which is four times faster than earlier this decade.

Instead of showing restraint, South Africans have

jammed the accelerator to the floor. And did you know that South Africans actually have a NEGATIVE savings rate? Prices are increasing dramatically while wages are not. Jobs are being outsourced and factories are being closed. South Africa's largest mines, manufacturing sectors, banks and financial institutions are teetering on the brink of failure. Homes are being repossessed at record rates. Personal bankruptcies recently hit an all-time high. And what is the answer that the politicians give South Africa? Wasting even more money and getting us into even more debt.

South Africa is truly reaping what we have sowed.

Conclusion

The Scriptures talk about those who would hoard wealth in the last days. Instead of feeding the poor and taking care of those who couldn't take care of themselves, South Africans spend their money on mini-mansions, luxury SUVs and as much entertainment as they could pack into our lives. Now South Africans will suffer the consequences just as the Scriptures say in James 5:1-5:

Now listen, you rich people, weep and wail because of the misery that is coming upon you. Your wealth has rotted, and moths have eaten your clothes. Your gold and silver are corroded. Their corrosion will testify against you and eat your flesh like fire. You have hoarded wealth in the last days.

Look! The wages you failed to pay the workmen who mowed your fields are crying out against you. The cries of the harvesters have reached the ears of the Lord Almighty. You have lived on earth in luxury and self-indulgence. You have fattened yourselves in the day of slaughter.'

Hope for the best, but prepare for the worst.

This is a good motto to live by, despite how you think about things.

If Greece, the birth place of democracy, found themselves in a food crisis, then confronting failed bailout scenes, or China is having to devalue its currency to try and salvage its economic crisis, or the mighty America (USA)'s great depression; closer to home Zimbabwe, Africa's former bread basket which now lies in ruins, or Egypt with its Arab Spring, then, who are we, South Africa, to escape this apocalypse?

Let us release ourselves from this Victimhood status, and attitudes of Corruption, Greed, Being Wasteful, Power Hungry, Arrogance, Intolerance and Ignorance!

**Grant Son,
South African Citizen,
(South African shareholder by virtue
of being a taxpayer).**

The essay below was drafted in December 2015 and not only summarises where we are, but also offers advice on how best we should try to address our problems as South Africans.

Democracy, when it is not in your favour, becomes the most disputed idea in South Africa

2015, which was marred by #feesmustfall and #zumamustfall campaigns, ended badly. Then came 2016, and began even worse with the racism issues. The 'I told you so' wisdom of Winnie Madikizela-Mandela appears to be our reality. Because we have not dealt with the core issues our country faces, we seem to have only prolonged the inevitable. The unpunished sins from apartheid, land redistribution and the economy still being untransformed, is what keeps us returning to the same service delivery protests, labour disputes and social issues in the form of racism and other intolerance; and/or sense of entitlement to, among other things, call for regime change, when you're in the minority operating in a democracy.

Some readers may think that I have departed from the subject of Winnie Madikizela-Mandela and that the context of this chapter is a side issue. Well, it is not. What Winnie Madikizela-Mandela fought for cannot be parked in a box in a museum somewhere to then simply dream that there are other quick fixes for our democracy. It is important to understand our

history in its entirety if we are to make progress as a united South Africa. This essay forms part of this understanding while we appreciate what Winnie Madikizela-Mandela has achieved in helping us gain our democracy.

It is a strange country we live in, with even stranger people. I recently discovered that democracy, when it is not in your favour, becomes the most disputed idea in South Africa. Even with the minority (small minority opposition), democracy is sometimes controversial. Case in point: many in the #ZumaMustFall Movement consider majority decision-making and representative structures to be flawed and oppressive, something they never seemed to have had any issues with during their 500 years of slavery rule, 300 years of colonial rule, and five decades of apartheid rule. But I guess out of habit, they fall back on consensus reached within relatively small groupings. Still others simply opt out, deeply disillusioned by the contrast between the rhetoric and actual operation of the current political system we all agreed upon when we started in 1994. This in simple terms means... majority rules, period!

My argument is that democracy is not only possible, but essential if ordinary people are to collectively control their destiny. The recent economic global crisis exacerbated our problem with democracy. I'll tell you why. I explicitly illustrated the economic danger we face in my essay titled, 'The Global Crisis Is Our Big Chance', which reaffirms and exposes the cascading humanity domino effect across the globe,

with the help of social media, instantly messaging the issues of how key decisions are reached, and what they should be. Therefore, to be silent on this matter is to leave the situation unchallenged: how the previously economically, socially and politically advantaged minorities of our population continue to dominate the majority of our previously disadvantaged population.

Yet the difficulties remain. Parliamentary democracy is rightly contrasted with the fraudulent procedures of those previously advantaged minorities who own the means to production, our land and our economy through dictatorships; in other words how the minority ruled the majority during the apartheid era. Where the minority ran 'fair' elections on behalf of the majority of the population, and where the occurrence of no maths and science in schools, no land for the majority, no ownership of the economy for the majority, poverty and inequality existed; simply, because the minority felt that is what most of the majority people wanted.

It is therefore safe to suggest that one common explanation for the failure of democracy under capitalism in South Africa was a systematic way to undermine the mechanisms for accountability from the onset of democracy. The slap on the wrist for those who attended the TRC, and the millions who were left to go scot free, bred the problems we have now.

The unapologetic racist behaviour of minority groups, unchanged, untransformed land ownership and economic ownership, creates the kind of

arrogance which allows for the kind of minority entitlement narrative we see and hear twenty years into democracy. Previously disadvantaged majorities who are now employees of the state seem to have adopted this attitude, together with the new Black middle class and Black elite, who tend to belong to the same class or classes which have always dominated the other strategic heights of our society. This paragraph confirms the statement: 'We teach people how to treat us'.

Ungrateful previously advantaged ringleaders, together with the agglutination of confused new money bourgeois cheerleaders, does not fail the majority because of some flaw in the constitution. If capitalists control the means of production, then whatever electoral façade is in place, the majority's interests are nullified. Through such control, minority capitalists dominate information channels, and the means of persuasion, education and coercion. Fear of unemployment, blackmail by the money markets (changing a Black finance minister to an Indian one because the minority demands that – when in fact the one that was changed was what they called for to resign, is what partly led to the change in the first place). Divide and rule, through racism, sexism and so on, and a host of other devices are used to influence majority choices, limiting the scope of dissent and leaving the real levers of power in other hands, especially the coercive powers of the State.

What parliamentary decisions express here, is

that we are still a minority-based capitalist society – that is to say, a society in which minority capitalist interests are dominant. The institutions which are democratic in their form become, therefore, tools of the interests of the ruling minority class in their content... parliamentary decisions is a specific means employed by the Black bourgeois class state.

Our democracy cannot ignore the social reality which it created. Therefore the conundrum of our democracy can only be resolved if it is seen as a specific form of social organisation rather than an unchanging, abstract principle.

It might not be realistic to demand of the minority to be repulsed by slavery, imperialism and apartheid. However, it might be a noble idea that the poorer majority citizens emancipate their economic inequality with that of the wealthy minority. In fact, democracy gave the poorer majority citizenry a stake in a system based on inequality and exploitation.

The fact remains that the majority of the population is not treated equally to those with more privileges. Despite the fears of elite critics of democracy, the previously advantaged minority never consistently employed its collective power to equalise access to desirable private goods for all, specifically pertaining to land and the economy.

Perhaps the suggestion of a more radical approach must be put forward for the redistribution of land, the economy and for the cancellation of majority debt.

The disadvantaged vast majority require an appropriate collective organisational form to exert authority over both the state and the means of production. Only when this has been achieved, will genuine democracy be achieved.

We must end this minority class rule, where one or few of the previously disadvantaged top brass win concessions on behalf of the rank and file. This renders the members passive, leaving the leaders as the active factor. The latter are left free to mediate between capitalists and the rank and file, or are incorporated into minority capitalism through prestige and high salaries. Acts like this divorces us from the membership, encouraging personal or ideological corruption.

The majority must not be fooled by the minority and their Black bourgeois fake democracy advancements. The majority must not be misled by illegitimate calls for regime change by undemocratic anarchists. The majority must remain resolute in their democratic ideals, revolutionary goals and the creation of an environment for total land control, including economic emancipation in our lifetime. Thus the revolutionary majority party must aspire to make every member a leader through quality education. In that sense the normal definition of leaders/followers breaks down, and it is more accurate to talk about a more progressive majority inclusive society who owns the land and the economy.

The revolution which brought us real freedom and

democracy cannot be achieved if it becomes a sterile belief and is not constantly tested, developed and informed by the struggle for leadership towards the next phase which is ownership of the land and total control of the economy. Just as the revolutionary party protects itself from the pressure to adapt to a minority capitalist people and its environment, so it must expose itself through intervention.

My New Year's resolution for 2016 is thus partly that the key to healthy internal relationships *within* a revolutionary party is the correct political orientation *outside* the party.

My reasoning is simple. Whatever democratic fig leaf is in place, the capitalist minority of exploiters will continue to depend on intense centralism to prevail against us, the majority. During apartheid the minority capitalists together with the state centralised its fake democracy, and most noticeably in its weapons of coercion – the army and police – used its power to control the majority. Their power remains concentrated in a democracy through a rigid, unelected and unaccountable hierarchy, from ownership of our land and our economy.

The Sunday Times newspaper released the list of the top 100 richest people two weeks ago, and 20 years into democracy no more than 10 Blacks (who are the majority in the country) can be found on that list. The minority deploys their private minority captains at the base to act as generals at the top, again for their minority benefit. Business owned by the

minority continues to dictate terms to the majority because their worth continues to be worth more than our South African economy despite the fact that the resources belongs to us, the majority who live in it.

The majority, especially the majority working class, needs to centralise its efforts if it is to stand up against such accumulations of force. As a majority class this cannot be achieved on an individual basis. It requires the involvement of as many of the majority people as possible and so must also be democratic.

Conclusion

It is common to talk about democracy without regard to the specific social context in which it is operating. Hopefully this essay has shown how profound a mistake that is, and that meaningful discussion must always differentiate between the different types. Since minority capitalists continue to own the means of production, it is inevitable that their version of democracy separates form from content; representation from rule. Proletarian democracy unites all of these elements in a dialectical synthesis which alone can bring collective control to the majority and liberate humanity.

An army of a minority that indulges in unjust battles which it is bound to lose badly, is not necessarily going to inspire bystanders to join it. So a concrete 'sober' judgement has to be made on each occasion by those being lured into this trap, especially the

Black majority, weighing up the real forces behind, as an example, the fake #ZumaMustFall fake socialist electoral campaign, and its likely results.

The current minority capitalist crisis poses an unprecedented challenge to those who believe in democracy. For South Africa, the pressure of the South African money markets and its corporations is such that the falsity and superficiality of minority and Black bourgeois democracy are exposed. At the same time there is a wave of resistance. It takes many forms; but in every case, whether it is a general strike, a popular revolution or a fake mass movement such as #ZumaMustFall where a small minority again wanted to voice their opinion on behalf of the mass majority, the sinews of the popular will to collectively rule can be seen at work. The history of toppling the apartheid government which led to our democracy, and our continued support for the ANC (last elections 62%) shows the potential for genuine continued rule by the masses once and for all.

All previous historical movements against the ANC were movements of minorities, or in the interests of minorities. The ANC's movements have always been the self-conscious, independent movement of the vast majority, in the interest of the vast majority.

Grant Son

For the sake of perspective, I was a hashtag Mbeki supporter in Polokwane; a hashtag Motlanthe supporter in Bloemfontein; and presently I am a hashtag Dr. Nkosazana Dlamini-Zuma supporter for 2017, even though campaigning for a new ANC president only starts in 2017.

Important note

‘In the Preface I made a statement which highlights this issue. The quote was “when the facts change, then I change my mind”. The facts have changed on the “Zuma must fall campaign”. The Constitutional Court has found that the President had flouted the law in South Africa’s Constitution along with the ANC’s National Assembly; and is therefore required to be accountable for the violation. Majority rule in this instance was abused and the President and ANC NEC has acted inconsistently with the values, morals and ethics espoused in both the South African Constitution and that of the ANC’s constitution.

‘South Africans as a majority ruled state, including the ruling party the ANC, must however mature as a democracy and graduate to a level where we’re able to discern when we are a majority ruled democracy and when we’re in fact first, a constitutional democracy. This means that even when majority democracy rules, in instances where the constitution of the country has been violated, the constitutional democracy must supersede the majority democracy. The ANC’s

branches that ultimately elect and remove leadership in the country needs to reflect on this fact and be more aware and conscious of this fact if we are to avoid becoming another failed state on the African Continent’.

Chapter 11: CONCLUSION

Winnie Madikizela-Mandela is known not only for supporting Nelson Mandela before and during his incarceration, but also through her role as a leader on her own right, her arrests, exile, and torture. She held her own as a strong single mother within the cowardly and misogynistic apartheid regime in South Africa; and remains a resilient woman who overcame torment in her private life and persecution by the media in public life. Nelson Mandela admitted his appreciation of Winnie for giving him strength during his incarceration on Robben Island, at Pollsmoor and Victor Verster Prisons. He acknowledged that her suffering during his incarceration was far greater than his own suffering. Although their marriage later ended in divorce, Nelson Mandela remained loyal to Winnie during the troubled times she faced in the 1990s.

Winnie Madikizela-Mandela remains one of the principal figures who represented the plight of Black South Africans during, and after, the apartheid period. She played a significant role in the struggle to abolish apartheid in South Africa. Thus, much of the making of the icon, Nelson Mandela, cannot be mentioned without mention of Winnie Madikizela-Mandela's key role in his life. The popular saying, 'Behind

every successful man there is a woman,' holds true in their case. She demonstrated enormous strength, dedication and will-power in her devotion to the anti-apartheid cause. She was fully cognisant that when she married Nelson Mandela, she married the man as well as the liberation struggle of her people. The personal struggle of Winnie Madikizela-Mandela was the cost paid by her, and many other South Africans, for political freedom.

My understanding is that perhaps, from a woman's point of view, Madikizela-Mandela's role in politics is seen as more essential than that of Nelson Mandela. She represents all women who were oppressed during apartheid rule as well as those who suffering patriarchal domination.

It is difficult to imagine what might possibly end Winnie Madikizela-Mandela's continued and active involvement in South African politics. She remains revered, particularly among the poor, and since 1999 was named as one of the two most influential people from South Africa. Trust and respect for Madikizela-Mandela emanates in no small measure from the fact that she is always there for the people, no matter how small the issue.

There were fundamental challenges in procuring research materials for this project; and was more pronounced when writing the second part, on the post-apartheid period. Since Winnie Mandela was held in high regard before the Moeketsi murder and

the many criminal charges subsequently levelled against her, many writers were captivated by this enigmatic woman and jumped at the opportunity to write about her. The criminal charges, however, seriously damaged her image and the South African intelligentsia has largely ignored her after her 'downfall' and particularly after her divorce from Nelson Mandela.

I consider the best resources available about her to be books like her own account of her life, *'Part of My Soul Went with Him'*, and *'Winnie Mandela: A Life'* by Anné Mariè du Preez Bezdrob, author of acclaimed biographies on Nelson Mandela and Winnie Mandela – the few biographies worth considering for academic research. After apartheid was outlawed, and after her divorce from Nelson Mandela, academic forums largely halted research about Winnie Madikizela-Mandela. Now the researcher has to collect articles in magazines or newspapers for new thoughts about her. There have been some attempts made by the African News Agency and the African Press to interview her. These interviews are uploaded on www.youtube.com for public use. Using oral sources have intrinsic shortcomings because subjectivity is more inherent in this case. In many secondary sources about Madikizela-Mandela, there seems to be an absence of objectivity. Many authors lack the objectivity to carefully assess Madikizela-Mandela after the criminal charges and their writing remains rather biased.

The struggles of the people of South Africa have

been quickly forgotten and there are very few books, articles or journals, which show objective verification of Madikizela-Mandela's side of her own or the South African story. Despite these research obstacles, this research tries, however, to show Winnie Madikizela-Mandela as a champion of the South African struggle for racial and gender equality. There are many ways for future researchers to approach the life and work of Winnie Madikizela-Mandela. A more refined research stance can attempt to answer many unanswered questions about the role of Winnie Madikizela-Mandela as a champion for liberating the poor and historically disadvantaged. Or it can address the extent to which patriarchy and earlier domination by the apartheid apparatus infringed on her personal human rights. Researchers might also research Nelson Mandela from the point of view of Madikizela-Mandela, and how his rise to political power emanates to a substantial extent from Madikizela-Mandela's own struggle, strength, and potential.

***Education is the most powerful weapon
which you can use to change the world.***

Nelson Mandela

REVIEW

In his endeavour to illuminate the unrestricted availability of opportunities for which Winnie Madikizela-Mandela had committed herself to the liberation struggle, Grant Son juxtaposes the freedom to pursue, unrestricted, his own academic and professional interests, which would not have been easily attainable a mere twenty five years ago; with the restrictions and injustice of the apartheid era.

Son likens racism to rape, 'a form of violence that first attacks one's dignity, then strips it,' and proposes that the sole image we should have of Winnie Mandela is as the symbol who fought 'with a freedom soldier's heart' to free South Africans from this monstrous system.

In an era when many young South Africans express disillusionment with former President Nelson Mandela's political policies and leadership, Son voices unequivocal admiration for him – as well as for Winnie Mandela.

He feels 'deeply indebted to U'Mama Wethu Winnie Madikizela-Mandela and the ANC for creating an establishment that I could safely call home, which empowers me to move freely, educate myself without limitations, as well as generate wealth in an environment that welcomes Black people like me.'

Grant Son was born seven months before the student uprising of 16 June 1976 and a mere five kilometres from the Hector Pietersen Memorial –

and what he learnt while growing up about Winnie Mandela's singular role during the liberation struggle instilled in him the belief that he had a duty to understand and document her contribution and political relevance. More than merely assuming the role of unofficial commander-in-chief during the armed struggle she depicted, for him, 'a freedom soldier's heart' and he considers her to be 'one of the most remarkable human beings South Africa has ever produced'.

This notion inspired him to research, and write, a paper, which formed the basis of this book, on Winnie's political relevance. He discovered that the available information, whether on the internet or in books and media archives, is limited and the message often skewed and one-sided. For all the publicity and sensationalism that Winnie Madikizela-Mandela embodies, her private and personal life, as well as her public and professional career, in essence remains an enigma; unexplored and unexplained. This realisation motivated Son's intention 'to encourage further dialogue between formal and informal approaches to theorising South African, African and world views on Winnie Madikizela-Mandela' for a paradigm shift on how she is perceived and chronicled in history.

Winnie Mandela, like her famous husband, was an educated and respected professional who could have led a relatively comfortable life; but made a conscious decision to risk everything, including her life, for her ideals, which were that the entire population of South

Africa, irrespective of race or gender, should have access to the benefits the country had to offer, and which today is indeed available to all South Africans. Consequently, he appeals to every South African to recognise Winnie Mandela's unselfish bravery, and thank her for her contribution to ensure that Blacks in this country are free from the bondage of apartheid.

Curiously, the same history that recognises FW de Klerk, the last apartheid leader, as a hero, denies Winnie Madikizela-Mandela – who was in the frontline of the war against apartheid – the credit she deserves. In the author's view she is owed an unreserved apology by de Klerk, who is legally liable for apartheid's atrocities, for the environment that is apartheid's legacy and for the intentional vilification and defamation of Winnie's name.

The injustice meted out to her by the apartheid regime has, however, continued in the form of disregard and political isolation since the ANC came to power; and Julius Malema, leader of the EFF and former President of the ANC Youth League, has argued that the ANC's failure to honour Winnie Mandela is a victory for apartheid propaganda. Son concurs: 'It is time that we recognise Winnie Madikizela-Mandela's relevance and that we honestly and sincerely honour her contribution towards ending the apartheid war, its system, and giving us our political freedom, while she tirelessly helps South Africa reach its dream for land reform and economic freedom in our lifetime.' Through his book he wants to contribute

to redefining the debate that will reinvent the way in which South Africans perceive Winnie Madikizela-Mandela; and give her the recognition that she deserves.

As a product of the new South Africa, and following the example of his icon, Grant Son unapologetically and fearlessly, without mincing his words, criticises the country's problems, which has resulted in widespread corruption and grave societal ills.

He is harsh in his condemnation of both 'the unapologetic racist behaviour of the minority groups, the unchanged, untransformed land ownership and economic ownership, [that] creates the kind of arrogance which allows for the kind of minority entitlement narrative we see and hear twenty years into democracy' and 'previously disadvantaged majorities who are now employees of the state [and] seem to have adopted this attitude', along with 'the new Black middle class and Black elite'.

His explanation for what he terms 'the failure of democracy' in South Africa is 'a systematic way to undermine mechanisms for accountability from the onset of democracy. That, and the slap on the wrist for those who attended the TRC, and the millions who were left to go scot free, bred the problems we have now.'

It is his view that the government has not kept pace with the needs of the youth. 'In the post-apartheid era, the government's inability to implement a fair and balanced educational system remains its biggest

failure.’ Son asserts that the lack of quality education for children from an early age contributes to the inability of the youth ‘in asserting their rights and freedom in the post-apartheid period.’

As in the case of Winnie Mandela, Grant Son’s support for the ANC is firm – but not unconditional. When the ANC’s policies are not congruent to its philosophy he registers his disagreement: ‘I voice my opinion to ensure that we correct behaviour so that it meets the values espoused in the policies and that its intentions are in the best interests for the greater good for everyone. If necessary, through the wrath of my pen.’

Convinced that the mandate of the Freedom Charter was ‘abused to serve the interests of the elite at the expense of the poor’, he penned an open letter in 2011 to the steel producer ArcelorMittal, addressed to, inter alia, Duduzane Zuma, son of President Jacob Zuma, and the Gupta family – making it both disturbingly current and alarmingly constant. Having attempted to elicit a reaction since 2010, he remarked that he was appalled by the ‘total disdain’ and ‘blatant disregard’ meted out to the local inhabitants of the Gamagara land in the Northern Cape; and puzzled at ‘how ArcelorMittal managed to engage the Gupta and Zuma families to conclude a Black economic transaction of this magnitude’ while intentionally excluding the communities that are affected. He ‘begs’ President Zuma, his son Duduzane and the Gupta family not to allow an ‘insatiable appetite for money’

to 'destroy the dignity for which South Africans had fought, died and sacrificed their lives and blood'.

Son bemoans the reality that much of Africa, including South Africa, is a thugocracy, i.e. a government of thieves in designer suits, for thieves: 'privately managed and operated for the exclusive benefit of bloodthirsty thugtators', ... seizing and clinging to political power solely to accumulate personal wealth for the ruling class by stealing public funds and depriving the broader population of scarce resources necessary for basic survival.'

He expresses the view that land redistribution and BBBEE policies are 'deeply flawed documents' if local inhabitants are excluded from the decision-making'; and voices his disagreement with land being transferred to the state without proper and thorough consultation. In this vein, he challenges Julius Malema on his proposed nationalisation policy, demanding to know whether 'this nationalisation has a clear business plan and proven, tried and tested implementation model.'

'Nationalisation is in my view against the spirit of democracy', Son emphasises.

His reading of South Africa's economic situation is that the South African government and the Reserve Bank are accelerating the collapse of the South African rand. He warns against 'rip-roaring inflation of a kind that South Africans have never known' where a loaf of bread will cost R50.00 to R80.00; and cautions that South Africa's massive debt, which is now well over

10 trillion rand, will cripple future generations and condemn them to immoral ‘economic slavery’. How would you feel, he asks, if you were a child and you discovered that your parents had left you with a debt that you could never, ever repay, and would be making interest payments on for the rest of your life?

Grant Son’s journey through South Africa’s recent history, and his outlook on the future, is not encouraging. It exposes a ruling class that, for all the positive elements bequeathed to the country by past leaders, is deeply imbued with arrogance, misogyny and deeply entrenched corruption.

‘Nevertheless,’ he concludes, ‘I am happy to report that my overall experience was a journey of deep appreciation for this hard and painfully fought-for democracy.’

Anné Mariè du Preez Bezdrob

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[http://www.gcis.gov.za/content/resourcecentre/
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Dr Hendrik Verwoerd's September 1948 speech

[http://hendrikverwoerd.blogspot.co.za/2010/12/
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