

A portrait of Prof. Bonang F. Mohale, a Black man with glasses, smiling, wearing a dark suit jacket over a light blue shirt. He is positioned on the right side of the image, with his arms crossed.

**PROF BONANG F.
MOHALE**

Author of the bestseller
LIFT AS YOU RISE

BEHOLD
THE
TURTLE

THOUGHTS ON ETHICALLY PRINCIPLED LEADERSHIP

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CONTENTS

FOREWORD

PREFACE

PART 1 BRIDGING TWO PANDEMICS

PART 2 COVID-19: A TEST WE ARE BOTH PASSING AND
FAILING

PART 3 EDUCATION

PART 4 LEADERSHIP

PART 5 COLLABORATION AND COMMITMENT

PART 6 GOVERNMENT AND GOVERNANCE

PART 7 ETHICS

PART 8 SUSTAINABILITY

PART 9 EQUALITY AND INCLUSIVITY

PART 10 TRIBUTES

FINAL WORDS

EPILOGUE

BRIEF BIOGRAPHY

ENDNOTES

FOREWORD

Following on his first book, *Lift As You Rise*, the unstoppable Bonang Mohale now offers us *Behold the Turtle*.

This book is a compilation of previous articles and speeches, letters, tributes, thoughts on leadership in all its aspects, and more. An affidavit is thrown in for good measure. And then there are the unusual, or is it unique, testimonial contributions penned by 10 leading South Africans from academia and the corporate world. This testimonial treatment easily translates into a biography and attests to Bonang's character.

But ultimately this book is a treatise on leadership. The tone throughout the book is simultaneously motivational and challenging. A positive energy emanates from each page. And so does a sense of urgency, so characteristic of Bonang.

His diagnostic approach to our country's ills is clinical, clearly contextualised through a historical prism, of present-day South Africa. Whilst decidedly opinionated, he backs his arguments with facts. As Wiseman Nkuhlu opines in the book, Bonang has 'a keen interest in facts'. And data. Numbers come easily for Bonang through his facile use of statistics.

State capture is seen as a pandemic, a precursor to the 'corona-coaster', living with the ups and downs during the current pandemic, and our mixed response to it. A change in human behaviour is called for, spurred by the lives versus livelihood conundrum. In an almost evangelical tone he asserts that COVID-19 provides for not just a new normal, but a 'better' normal, one that delivers prosperity to the people of South Africa.

Bonang writes about how B-BBEE, whilst not a permanent feature, can and must be used to erase economic inequality. Gender equality is another subject matter. And then there are proposals on how we can fix our state-owned enterprises. Business is reminded of its role as a catalyst for social change. Business must do good and be values driven.

Education is seen as a bridge for class distinction, for independent thinking and a *sine qua non* for civilisation and poverty eradication. He writes about transformation not just from a racial or gender perspective, but how education can serve to internalise better human behaviour. And this is done through use of Afrocentric language and idioms.

Bonang reflects on a new agenda for leadership. A leadership that encompasses transparency and accountability, is ethical and visionary. For him 'The Two Weeks in July', when broad and general mayhem visited Gauteng and KwaZulu-Natal, was the coagulation of ethno-tribalism, criminality and economic desperation. The failure to contain the looting and destruction is placed squarely on the ruling party.

Bonang also examines in detail leadership aspects such as succession planning; servant leadership, the dearth of continental leadership, ethical leadership, etc.

Various policy documents are examined and how these can lead to national cohesion. He argues for the democratisation of capitalism through ensuring that capitalism lives side by side with human rights. The book also delves into the great global issue of the day, namely equality and inclusivity.

Personal and heartfelt tributes are paid at the end of the book to recently departed South African leaders.

Read this book and be inspired!

B. PETER VUNDLA

PREFACE

How the world has changed, dear reader, since my first book, *Lift As You Rise*, was published in 2018.

The launch of that book will forever remain one of the highlights of my life. I was completely unprepared for the level of support it would receive – that I would receive. I was touched and humbled by all those who came to the launch at the Exclusive Books store in Sandton City, forming a queue down the corridors of the shopping centre, and by all those who purchased copies for themselves or their teams. I was thrilled to see the book sitting on the local best-sellers list alongside such international works as Michelle Obama’s *Becoming*.

At the time, I imagined that my next book would be more autobiographical and be written from a small farm that I would retire to, spending my days reflecting and living off the land, as I had long planned.

Little did any of us know what lay ahead for South Africa and for the world! That is probably a good thing too, or we may not have had the courage to face what was coming.

In 2018, South Africa had emerged from nine years of the Zuma presidency, battered by state capture – a national crisis that to this day casts a long shadow over us all. At the time, I was CEO of Business Leadership South Africa (BLSA) and we flagged the two leadership challenges that we believed lay ahead of us: the need for state building to address the decimated public administration, and to retain and even strengthen our active citizenry.

At BLSA we embarked on a campaign called #BusinessBelieves, which launched on 23 August 2017. BLSA had entered into a contract with South Africa, committing to playing its part in creating a South Africa of increasing prosperity for all by harnessing the resources and capabilities of business in partnership with government and civil society to deliver economic growth, transformation and inclusion.

We were in a good (or at least better) place as a country, following the recall of Jacob Zuma and the victory of Cyril Ramaphosa at the 54th ANC Policy and Elective Conference and his subsequent unopposed election to President of South Africa by the National Assembly on 15 February 2018.

Although I cautioned that we should remain vigilant and avoid sliding back into complacency, I was optimistic about what the next period held in store. Confident that I had played my part at BLSA, I felt ready for the next chapter in my life. In June 2019 I ended my term at the organisation, choosing to hand over the reins to the eminently competent and energetic 'Me Busisiwe Mavuso, who was my own choice as my successor and with whom I had been working side-by-side for 20 months in preparation for this moment.

However, those who know me will know that I am not very good at sitting still! I was invited to join the board of Bidvest Group Limited as an independent non-executive director. I felt it was a nice piece of biltong I could sink my teeth into and was humbled by the offer, which I accepted. Within a year, I was honoured to be elected as Chairman of Bidvest.

I was then offered a full professorship at the Johannesburg Business School (JBS) College of Business and Economics. As Professor of Practice, I now teach global MBA students, although I maintain that I learn as much from them as they do from me. So you see, I came to teaching by accident.

Then, just under a year after my so-called retirement, I was offered the position as Chancellor of the University of the Free State. I was appointed

on 4 June 2020, in the midst of the COVID-19 pandemic.

I remain involved with three other boards – I am an independent non-executive director for Swiss Re Africa Limited and Rand Merchant Bank Limited (RMB), and I chair the board of SBV.

These things have kept me active, alive and busy, for which I am grateful.

At the time of writing this, South Africa has been in one or another level of COVID-19 lockdown for more than 500 days and the world has changed beyond what any of us could have imagined in 2018. We are still grappling with the long tail of state capture, and the Zondo Commission¹ has dragged on. I include my own submission to the Commission on the following pages.

On top of this, South Africa continues to suffer from structural inequalities, laid even barer by the unrest of July 2021, which saw rioting and looting sweeping across areas of Gauteng and KwaZulu-Natal, as well as the taxi strikes in the Western Cape.

And so, instead of a book of quiet reflections on life's lessons and farm living from a retiree, this book is another call for leadership. In these deadly times, one thing that's been demonstrated beyond a shadow of a doubt is the lack of leadership.

Usually, I'd say that a good leader is directly responsible for roughly 30% of any organisation or entity's success. Today, I'd say that's probably closer to 40%. We have seen how countries with good leadership have dealt with the pandemic better than those that haven't.

Leadership is not only topical right now – it is literally a matter of life and death. And so, my call is to every individual, organisation and the world as a whole: we need to unite in working together to co-create a new and more equitable normal.

There is no room for complacency. *Behold the turtle – he only makes progress when his neck is stuck out.*

Now, more than ever, dear reader, is the time for each of us to stick our necks out. It is the only way.

Lift yourself and you can lift the world.

Rivers don't drink their own waters; trees don't eat their own fruits. The salt seasons the soup in order to have its purpose fulfilled. Live for others! –

Israelmore Ayivor, Leaders' Watchwords

Bonang F. Mohale

Postscript: *I would like to hope that many of you reading this book are doing so because you were in some way touched or inspired by Lift As You Rise or because our paths have crossed or we have connected at some point in our journeys. However, I also hope that some of you have come across this book without knowing me and that our connections still lie ahead of us. For those readers, there is a brief biography included at the end of the book, should you wish to know a little about who Prof Bonang F. Mohale is.*

PART 1

BRIDGING TWO PANDEMICS

Before COVID-19 swept through the globe, including South Africa, we were already facing a pandemic of a different kind – state capture.

Tragically, many South Africans have become so used to corruption that they have begun to accept it or at least to no longer be outraged by it. But state capture has affected all of us and its legacy continues to do so, whether directly or indirectly.

BLSA (where I was CEO at the time) took a public stance on the allegations of corporate malfeasance and governance failures at Eskom in late 2017, calling for dramatic change and new leadership.

Some might say ironically, I (along with BLSA) was later accused by Matshela Koko, Eskom's former group CEO, of having perpetuated state capture by influencing then Deputy President Ramaphosa to remove him from leadership at the state-owned entity.

I present to you my sworn affidavit submitted to the Zondo Commission, dealing with these allegations.

AFFIDAVIT

I, the undersigned,

BONANG MOHALE

do hereby make oath and say that:

1. I am the former Chief Executive Officer of Business Leadership South Africa ('BLSA').
2. The contents of this affidavit are true and, save where the context indicates otherwise, within my personal knowledge.
3. I have read the Commission's notice to me in terms of Rule 3.3 dated 19 April 2021. I have also read the relevant portions of Mr Koko Matshela's ('Mr Matshela') supplementary affidavit dated 13 April 2021.
4. I do not intend to apply to give evidence at the Commission, to cross-examine Mr Matshela, or to call witnesses.
5. The purpose of this affidavit is to respond to Mr Matshela's allegations about myself and BLSA.
6. I deny that:
 - 6.1. BLSA or I improperly influenced or sought to improperly influence Deputy President Ramaphosa, as he then was; and
 - 6.2. Deputy President Ramaphosa, as he then was, unlawfully acted on the demands of myself, or BLSA.



7. BLSA is an independent association whose membership includes the leaders of South Africa's biggest and most well-known businesses. It provides a forum through which South Africa's business leaders engage government, civil society and labour, in order to exchange ideas of national interest, and to create effective dialogue.
8. BLSA's mandate is to:
- 8.1. advance a modern, inclusive and growing economy;
 - 8.2. demonstrate that business is a national asset and Government is central in addressing poverty, unemployment, economic injustice, and transformation;
and
 - 8.3. importantly for present purposes, to uphold the constitution and protect the integrity of state institutions.
9. In pursuit of this mandate, BLSA consistently and publically demands that officials of state owned entities who are implicated in state capture, corruption and other criminal conduct are held to account. In addition, given that BLSA represents South Africa's business leaders, BLSA frequently makes recommendations to government about individuals who it believes will provide competent and ethical leadership of South Africa's state owned entities. Government is not bound by the recommendations we make and have from time to time not followed our recommendations.
10. On 23 October 2017, and as a result of the numerous allegations of corporate malfeasance and governance failures at Eskom, BLSA released a statement in which it recorded that:

"BLSA is of the view that dramatic change is needed at Eskom. The entity is an important component of the South African economy and is systemically linked to SA's

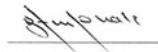


fiscal stability. BLSA believes, in the light of repeated and serious governance failures, that Eskom needs a complete new Board and management team comprising individuals who are not conflicted, have impeccable credentials, and who have a solid track record with relevant industry expertise. To this end we call on the Government and Minister of Public Enterprises to replace the entire Board and management of Eskom so that the turn-around of the utility's operational integrity and the restoration of its balance sheet can begin urgently" (emphasis added).

11. I attach as annexure "BM1" a copy of this statement which was published on BLSA's website.
12. Therefore, at all relevant times, BLSA's call for a replacement of Eskom's then board was well-known, and made publically. BLSA also made no secret of the fact that it was calling for Eskom's board to be replaced with individuals "who are not conflicted, have impeccable credentials, and who have a solid track record with relevant industry expertise". Given the importance of a stable electricity grid for businesses to prosper, BLSA felt that it was important for it to make such a call.
13. As I explained in the lecture which I gave at Stellenbosch Business School on 1 March 2019, to which Mr Matshela refers in his affidavit I, along with various South Africa's other delegates to the World Economic Forum's 47th Davos Summit, attended a pre-Davos breakfast.
14. At this breakfast, Deputy President Ramaphosa, expressed a fear that Eskom would default on its debt and if Eskom goes down, we all go down. He indicated that government wanted to implement a new board and he asked for five names to be recommended to the new board.,


57

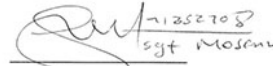
15. I offered Deputy President Ramaphosa, as he then was, no enticement to heed BLSA's demand or recommendations, nor did I have any power to direct the decision of any government official. Instead, I simply repeated BLSA's position, which I have described above, and which BLSA had made publically known. Mr Matshela's suggestion that this amounts to state capture is therefore plainly without merit.
16. I was also contacted by the National Treasury, who requested that I provide them with a list of names of people that BLSA believed could competently serve on Eskom's board. Such a list was provided.
17. I offered National Treasury no enticement to act on BLSA's recommendations, and I had no power to direct whatever decisions or recommendations that National Treasury was responsible for making with regard to the appointment of Eskom's board.



BONANG MOHALE

THUS SIGNED and SWORN to before me at Randburg on this the 04 day of
APRIL 2021 by the deponent who has acknowledged that he knows and understands the
contents of this affidavit; and that it is true and correct; and after taking the oath administered
by me in the manner prescribed by regulation.




sgt Mosena
COMMISSIONER OF OATHS
SP Mosena

PART 2

COVID-19: A TEST WE ARE BOTH PASSING AND FAILING

What COVID-19 has simply done is to demonstrate the huge and deep structural inequality, now laid bare for all to witness.

It is sometimes hard to remember that before early 2020, the words ‘COVID-19’ and ‘pandemic’ were not part of our daily vocabulary. Phrases like ‘unprecedented times’, ‘new normal’ and ‘remote working’ have never enjoyed so much airtime as in the past few years!

The world has had to adapt at lightning speeds and on many fronts, I believe we’ve done a good job and continue to surprise ourselves with our resilience and adaptability. But on other fronts, we have failed and continue to do so.

As I’ve read through my musings from 2020 and 2021 for inclusion here, it has felt like a whirlwind tour through the highs and lows of our most recent history.

As I have said time and time again, any form of leadership begins with self-mastery. When you go to Greece and you open the two doors that lead to the Temple of Apollo at Delphi, the inscription says, ‘Know thyself’.

Before you can look at yourself as a leader, you need to understand deeply and profoundly who you are and what you stand for. This applies to us collectively too.

If we are to find a way through the pandemic, we need to pause to reflect. We need to take stock of our resources, understand our failures and replicate our successes. We need to act for the greater good, for self-interest is not sustainable.

It is easy to say that what occupied our thoughts in early 2020 is no longer relevant in our changed world. Our knowledge about the SARS-CoV-2 has changed. Our views on managing its spread have changed. Our ways of working, schooling and behaving as a society have changed. But how will we learn from our mistakes (and our successes) if we do not reflect on them?

I therefore present some of my thoughts here, cropped from speeches, letters, articles and personal, that tell a story of the journey through what many are calling the 'corona-coaster'.

SAVING LIVES AND PRESERVING LIVELIHOODS

*The Stone Age did not end because we ran out of stones. It ended
when alternative options opened for humanity.*

– Steven Chu and Arun Majumdar

There are two spooky past incidents that are worthy of revisiting that foreshadowed the pandemic we are facing today.

The first is the Japanese science fiction manga (graphic novels) called *Akira* by Japanese artist, Katsuhiro Otomo, later released as an anime film in 1988, which seemingly predicted the postponement of the 2020 Tokyo Olympics.

The second is the 2011 movie titled, *Contagion* about a COVID-19-like virus, which also seemed to prophesy many of the experiences the real-world pandemic would bring.

It is hard to comprehend that it was only on 31 December 2019 when the world really woke up to the novel coronavirus 2019 (COVID-19). In just six months, we had about 9 627 315 infected and about 487 438 dead with 5 232 082 recoveries. South Africa was gifted its index patient on 5 March 2020 and in just three months, had 111 796 infected and 2 205 deaths, with 56 874 recoveries.

Logistics, tourism, petrol prices, airlines, and textile industries were affected around the world in 197 countries. With the global population of

almost 8 billion people, within six months half had already been in lockdown.

There is no doubt that COVID-19 has fundamentally changed everything. In thinking about recovery, I'd like to focus on three things.

First, is how the world will start thinking about the health and well-being of their people in good times, in order to build the necessary resilience to cope with the increasing frequency of occurrence and virulence of these successive viruses.

Resilience, especially in Africa, is much more than the 'food-energy-water' nexus. Health is not just the absence of disease and infirmity. It is the physical, emotional, social and psychological well-being. The countries of South East Asia have demonstrated that they have internalised the learnings extracted from previous viral attacks like SARS-CoV, SARS-CoV-2 and MERS-CoV epidemics by rapidly and widely deploying these learnings to good effect.

South Korea's learnings have mostly been about speed, intensity, transparency and cooperation. From now on, electorates are not just going to demand houses, electricity, roads and bridges, but hospitals, good healthcare, water, education and social justice.

Gone are the days when leaders neglected provision of good healthcare to their own citizens in the knowledge that when they and their nuclear families need healthcare, they can obtain this overseas, at the expense of their own taxpayers.

Second, is the direct financial impact of those infected and affected, as well as the direct economic devastation as a result of ubiquitous lockdowns at a time of global income disparity and attendant social unrest; extreme weather and precarious government finances.

The price of crude oil has plummeted from the highs of yesteryear at \$147 per barrel to make history in April 2020, when US crude oil fell into

negative territory for the first time ever.

The world GDP is approximately \$90 trillion. Almost \$20 trillion is the European GDP, which represents more than 23% of the global GDP. This world cannot have a healthy global economy without a healthy European economy. The EU is more important to the global GDP than China because of its maturity of markets and a strong financial system, based on hundreds of years of foundations.

China lacks both these qualities. In the first three months of the pandemic, we lost \$3.2 trillion in global GDP. World capital markets lost double that amount.

Here at home, the 86-year-old South African Airlines went into business rescue and 77-year-old Comair posted its very first loss since inception. Without any government assistance, South Africa will have no aviation industry to speak of.

South African companies have responded by, among others, increasing operational efficiencies; changing product specifications, launching new products and increasing customer experience; adopting even better technologies and growing e-commerce; increasing ICT equipment procurement; increasing Research & Development spend; selling non-core businesses and consolidating some businesses.

Massmart, for example, announced a reduction from 15 to 7 mega-warehouses, demanded reduced rentals for Game stores and agitated for an end to big annual increases in rental. Labour market adjustments have been in full swing as evidenced by reductions in employment, remuneration and hours worked per employees.

In the magazines sector, the 38-year-old Associated Media Publishing (with titles including *Cosmopolitan*, *House & Leisure*, *Women on Wheels*, and *Good Housekeeping*), founded by Jane Raphaely, and Caxton & CTP Publishers (*Bona*, *Garden & Home*, *Woman & Home*, *Food & Home*, *Your*

Family, People, Country Life, etc) have been forced to close down permanently.

Business has changed – locally and globally – and it will not go back to the way it was before. This has major repercussions.

Thirdly, we must consider how human behaviour, relations and interactions are going to change, both at a personal level and the world of work. This pandemic has changed the way we greet, visit, gather, entertain, bury our dead, pray and worship, etc.

It now feels so archaic that we used to write letters, lick a postage stamp and stick it onto an envelope and walk to the post office to put it into a red bin and then wait for six weeks to be delivered AND still wait another six weeks for a reply. Our children find it quite funny that we used telegrams, telex machines and faxes.

In the same way, our grandchildren will laugh when they learn that we used to book our flights a year in advance in order to benefit from a cheaper fare, that we used to book a hotel room at about the same time, depart from home in our own cars to drive to the airport, in order to check in an hour before departure, land an hour or two later and hire a car to go to a meeting and then retire at a hotel overnight. They will be surprised that we actually owned our own cars or holiday homes in the era of Uber, Lyft, Grab, Taxify (*now known as Bolt*) and Airbnb.

The past months have demonstrated beyond any shadow of doubt that technology like Zoom, Google Hangouts, Microsoft Teams, Skype, BlueJeans, etc, is extremely effective and efficient. COVID-19 has accelerated the digital economy, the Fourth Industrial Revolution (4IR).

Just like the JSE trading platform migrated from the floor to online, so too has the education system migrated from bricks and mortar to an online distance learning platform.

With the price of crude oil pegged to the US dollar, and now with the collapse of crude oil, are we likely to see the emergence of a new currency, and with it, the creation of a new trading bloc/s?

With the re-emergence of China and Russia forcefully inserting themselves back on to the global agenda, does this mean the displacement of the USA as a global police force and an honest arbitrator of global conflicts?

With global lockdowns, what about the incomplete project of globalisation?

One thing is certain, past assumptions are no longer accepted, like the stabilising power of economic globalisation, job security, political liberalisation, environmental protection and technological innovation.

All of these will have to be both reimagined and repurposed into creating a shared future in a fractured world by, among others, driving sustained economic progress; navigating a multipolar and multi-conceptual world; overcoming divisions in society and shaping the agile governance of technology.

We need to balance, on the one hand, the medical imperative of trying to slow down the spread of COVID-19, with, on the other hand, the economic imperative of trying to keep our businesses running and maintaining sufficient levels of trade, commerce and payments – the lifeblood of economic activity – AND fundamentally change our own human behaviour in recognising and accepting our inter-dependencies and inter-connectedness by demonstrating more gratitude, care, kindness and continue to communicate with respect and understanding.

It is about both saving lives and preserving livelihoods.

Some hurdles that are uniquely South African include practising social distancing and preventative hygiene in a lived reality of the majority of our people who find themselves in crowded dwellings with no access to flush

toilets; no access to piped water; no access to electronic communication; relying on public transport and the use of public health facilities.

Many already have heightened health and socio-economic vulnerabilities. Many more face hunger, have pre-existing health conditions, have no medical aid nor insurance, have previously failed to find healthcare and find it difficult to save. Many lack running water, safe and affordable public transport, internet connectivity and other critical resources.

NOT THE 'OLD' NOR THE 'NEW' BUT THE 'BETTER' NORMAL!

When our elected leaders steal food parcels from the hungry and PPE from the sick and dying, we know for sure that we have lost it! And this in the context of a developmental state ideology, finding expression in the NDP 2030, where the country had a legitimate right to expect both transformation AND performance.

Twenty-six years into democracy, the huge and deep structural inequality have been laid bare by this pandemic for all to witness. As the world has turned to studying or working from home, just 10.4% of households in South Africa have direct access to the internet, according to Stats SA.

Government revenue – 70% – is gobbled up by the public sector wage bill and debt servicing costs. We have not even touched the apartheid spatial planning, where 13,5 million commuters are carried daily by taxis, not our trains nor buses – living on average about 40 kilometres from their place of employment, the one-way trip taking about 40 minutes and shaving off about 40% of their pay. Most of our people still live in informal settlements and rural areas, with no reliable fresh water supply.

We now have a unique opportunity, not to hanker after the 'old' nor the 'new' but to co-create and co-craft a 'better' normal. To signify a major break with the past and no longer just seek to be accommodated in the existing structures of society, but deliver a fundamental restructuring of all aspects of South African society.

This is such a moment as the commitment we made in Kliptown on 26 June 1955 that ‘these freedoms we will fight for, side by side, throughout our lives, until we have won our liberty’².

Unfortunately, as a people with great natural endowments, we have most certainly veered off the founding principles and intent of our forebears. We have left undone those things that we ought to have done and done those that we ought not to have done. We have not, collectively, eradicated the legacy of apartheid.

There is still a lot of work to be done on every, single, solitary one of the ten core principles of the Freedom Charter, namely: the people shall govern; all national groups shall have equal rights; the people shall share in the country’s wealth; the land shall be shared among those who work it; all shall be equal before the law; all shall enjoy equal human rights; there shall be work and security; the doors of learning and of culture shall be opened; there shall be houses, security and comfort and there shall be peace and friendship!

When the ANC finally came to power after democratic elections on 27 April 1994, the new Constitution of South Africa included many of the demands of the Freedom Charter. It addressed directly nearly all, especially for equality of race and language. The preamble to the South African Constitution, rightly, starts with, ‘We, the people of South Africa, recognise the injustices of our past; honour those who suffered for justice and freedom in our land; respect those who have worked to build and develop our country and believe that South Africa belongs to all who live in it, united in our diversity. We therefore, through our freely elected representatives, adopt this Constitution as the supreme law of the Republic so as to heal the divisions of the past; establish a society based on democratic values, social justice and fundamental human rights; lay the foundations for a democratic and open society in which government is based on the will of the people;

every citizen is equally protected by law; improve the quality of life of all citizens and free the potential of each person and build a united and democratic South Africa able to take its rightful place as a sovereign state in the family of nations.’

We must, therefore, continue to strive for a better normal:

- Where transformation has been achieved and the economy is broadly reflective of the demographics – from ownership to positions of leadership with the attendant gender equality and pay parity.
- Where jobs are created in large numbers as a way of creating markets of the future for oversized and outsized economic impact.
- Where the economy is growing because a significant portion of government revenue is spent on infrastructure.
- Where digital migration has been successfully completed and the 5G spectrum has been auctioned off to enable working and studying from home.
- Where state owned entities or companies (SOE/Cs) are adequately capitalised, well governed and have clear mandates and the sole shareholder respects this notion of role clarity and definition.
- Where there is regulatory certainty and policy stability and business is both conscientious and patriotic, investing at home rather than overpaying for overseas assets, where most South African companies have not met with the anticipated success.
- Where we urgently embark on much needed and long overdue massive structural economic reforms AND fiscal austerity.
- Where we have drastically reduced the bloated public sector wage bill – dealt decisively with the R480 billion Eskom debt and the R128 billion cumulative bailouts.

- Where we understand that inclusive socio-economic growth means primarily, black people and women.
- Where investors believe that the country warrants a lower risk premium.
- Where we have a safe, accessible and affordable public transport system and road and bridge maintenance that have a high employment impact.
- Where we focus on land reform (land restitution, land redistribution and land development) and agricultural support programmes directed at supporting young people to find work opportunities, as well as scaling up our expanded public works programme.
- Where we have efficient and effective enterprises, with ruthless execution AND attention to detail, of what needs to be done.
- Where there is demonstrable ethical leadership, financial accountability, transparency and good cooperative governance – some of the values upon which our democracy is built.
- Where our leaders, both in public and private sector, do not bribe, steal nor cheat.
- Where we find it necessary and prudent to reject corruption as part of our country's DNA and speak strongly against those who are its perpetrators.

IS B-BBEE RELEVANT DURING COVID-19?

Too many people are poor and marginalised. Unable to reach their potential. We have to try harder.

– Deputy Chief Justice, Dikgang Ernest Moseneke

Just like the National Occupational and Safety Act is a law that is unaffected by the novel coronavirus (COVID-19), so is the Broad-Based Black Economic Empowerment Act (B-BBEE)³. It is the law and our job is to comply.

In May 2020, the Department of Tourism claimed victory over AfriForum⁴ and Solidarity⁵ in the North Gauteng High Court, which reaffirmed the uneven playing field between white and black-owned companies, created by the country's historical imbalances and confirmed the criteria as being well within the law.

The North Gauteng High Court also agreed with the Department of Tourism that the economic impact of the COVID-19 pandemic will result in the closure of black business and 'would undermine and set back transformation'. It found 'nothing racial or shameful' in our inclusion of Broad-Based Black Economic Empowerment (B-BBEE) in the criteria, as the applicants sought to suggest. This was upheld by the Constitutional Court's dismissal of the joint AfriForum and Solidarity's application to appeal and set aside the use of B-BBEE as consideration for financial relief to small businesses in the sector affected by COVID-19. The Constitutional

Court considered the application for leave to appeal and concluded that the application should be dismissed as ‘it is not in the interest of justice to hear it at this stage, as there are insufficient grounds raised for a direct appeal to this Court on an urgent basis.’

Section Nine of the South African Constitution guarantees equality before the law and freedom from discrimination to the people of South Africa. This equality right is the first right listed in the Bill of Rights, our human rights charter. It prohibits both discrimination by the government and discrimination by private persons; however, it also allows for affirmative action to be taken to redress past unfair discrimination.

Section 9(1) has a general limitation clause (section 36) that says that rights may be limited by a law of general application that is ‘reasonable and justifiable in an open and democratic society based on dignity, freedom, and equality’. Section (1) does not preclude any law, programme or activity that has as its object the amelioration of conditions of disadvantaged individuals or groups, including those that are disadvantaged because of race, nationality or ethnic origin, colour, religion, sex, age or mental or physical disability. This constitutional equality within a transformative approach is included to better address the deep and systemic inequalities in our society. It suggests that we should move through and beyond a dignity-based concern with social inclusion and sufficiency towards an idea of systemic and material justice. It proposes that the value of equality can be developed as an idea of ‘equality of condition’, aligned with an idea of substantive freedom, that would better resonate with the struggles of our past and present, and suggests how the ‘right’ could be subject to more transformative interpretation and application.

The law without an analysis of power is tyranny! The law is not a moral compass. The people who hid Bantu Steve Biko⁶ and Anne Frank⁷ were breaking the law. The people who killed them both were following it! We

are 26 years into democracy and all of us, collectively, individually and severally, have NOT succeeded in eradicating the 82 years of separate development⁸, 48 years of apartheid and 340 years of colonialism.

This is despite the fact that, not in the main body but in the preamble to the South African Constitution, not only are (the royal) WE implored to ‘recognise the injustices of our past’ but explicitly mandated to ‘heal the divisions of the past and establish a society based on democratic values, social justice and fundamental human rights’ AND ‘improve the quality of life of all citizens and free the potential of each person’. Our Constitution concludes with the hymn, ‘Nkosi Sikelel’ iAfrika’, now our National Anthem, which WE sing daily!

We cannot fix the problems of economic justice in this country without first addressing racial justice. The deck has always been stacked against poor people. Economic justice and racial fairness have always been one and the same thing. Asking for a hand-up is not the same as asking for a handout. B-BBEE is not a permanent crutch against which black people want to lean for the rest of their lives.

What COVID-19 has simply done is to demonstrate our huge and deep structural inequality, now laid bare for all to witness: the grotesque and obscene wealth and the grinding, self-perpetuating, vicious cycle of abject poverty.

THE COLOUR OF COVID-19

The colour of COVID-19, like poverty, is primarily black and feminine. A report by the Office for National Statistics found black women are 4.3 times more likely to die from COVID-19 than white women, while black men are 4.2 times more likely to die.

In Chicago, 72% of people who died were black, officials said in April 2020, despite African Americans only making up 30% of the city's population. In Louisiana, African Americans make up 32% of the population, but account for around 70% of deaths. Even after taking into account age, demographic factors and measures of self-reported health problems, black people were still almost twice as likely to die from COVID-19 than white people.

COVID-19 has also demonstrated another very disturbing exponential increase in gender-based violence and child abuse. South Africa already has unacceptably high levels of gender-based violence.

We are reminded of the African adage, 'The child who is not embraced by the village will burn it down to feel its warmth'. Ms Tabea Kabinde is the Chairperson of the Employment Equity Commission (EEC), which has been releasing Employment Equity (EE) statistics for the last 21 years.

The 2019 report shows black representation in positions of leadership at a disappointing 14.3% despite black people constituting more than 90% of the population. Women representation is less than 24% and African women are less than 4%, despite women constituting 51% of the population.

Today, we still pay women about 75% of what we pay men for work of equal value. COVID-19 is everywhere, but countries with women as heads

of state – Denmark, New Zealand, Germany, Belgium, Finland, Iceland – seem to be managing the crisis better! Women contribute to a much more 360-degree/holistic perspective about how companies operate inside societies. It still tends to be assumed that they will take on the majority of both domestic and caring duties at home and broader society. So, they are generally the ones dealing with the dentists, doctors, the schools, the care homes, the bus timetables, etc, without fair compensation for such care work.

I absolutely love the proposals that have come out of Hawaii, called a ‘feminist economic recovery plan’. Rather than restoring the economy to the old normal, the state is looking to seize the opportunity ‘to build a system that is capable of delivering gender equality’.

The proposal includes, among others, a universal basic income; special emergency funds for marginalised groups, including undocumented immigrant women, domestic workers, women with disabilities and sex-trafficking survivors; waived co-payments for COVID-19 tests and treatment, including for incarcerated women; a 20% pro rata share of the COVID-19 response; funds for the express recovery needs of the indigenous population; a \$24.80/hour minimum wage for single mothers; and free, publicly-funded childcare for all essential workers.

Four decades have passed since management consultant, Marilyn Loden coined the phrase, ‘glass ceiling’ to describe the invisible barrier blocking the way for women to progress to senior positions. Despite the #MeToo campaign and the attention given to the gender pay gap, attempts to increase both the number and advancement of women in business are moving excruciatingly slowly. The metrics are not showing the direct result of this significant momentum we have at the moment.

Inequality is not something the market is going to fix by itself. The burden of ‘women’s work’ excludes women. While women account for an

increasing proportion of enrolment and component in higher education, they remain less likely to pursue higher levels of degrees at tertiary level. In addition to financial restriction, women are more likely to sacrifice education to fulfil family and household commitments (particularly due to pregnancy) than their male counterparts.

At the risk of repeating myself for at least the hundredth time, let me say: When your neighbour is hungry, you cannot sleep at night. From those that more is given, much is expected. Because to truly act in our own interest, we must first act in the best interest of others – that is being truly human versus being just an insecure over-achiever.

It is manifestly in the best interest of the ‘haves’ to take the lead in bringing about and sustaining this worldview of abundance. It is the moral duty of the beneficiaries of patriarchy and privilege to bring about both gender equality and pay parity in order to attain the ideals of social justice, nation building, social coherence and deliver the South Africa of Rolihlahla N Mandela’s dreams – the South Africa we have all been praying for. The democracy dividend must surely percolate to all the social strata of our people.

We dare not give up on the miracle of the South Africa of Rolihlahla Nelson Mandela’s dreams as carried forward and eloquently articulated by his successor, former president Thabo M Mbeki during his inaugural address on 16 June 1999 in Pretoria.

On that auspicious occasion, the then President graphically described this dream as ‘*mahube a naka tsa kgomo*’ – the arrival of the dawn, when only the tips of the horns of the cattle can be seen etched against the morning sky – demonstrating a ‘palpable process of the comprehensive and simultaneous formation and renewal of our country – its rebirth’.

We must continue this dream of a South Africa that has been forcibly pulled from ‘the abyss and placed on the pedestal of hope’ – a South Africa

that is free, humane, noble and beautiful, upholding good over evil and affirming the dignity of all its people. A South Africa where the vast majority of our people own assets with no more suffering inflicted by degrading poverty, where hunger is banished forever because all will be gainfully productive, where the young and the women feel both safe and equal – a nation diligently at work to create a better life for itself. A winning nation joined together into one nation of many colours, cultures and diverse origins.

We dream of a South Africa that is on an economic path that will ensure a bright and better future for all its citizens. Let us work to make that dream a reality.

VUKANI MNGXATI

Baba Vukani is CEO of Accenture in Africa, and has also run his own consulting firm, so he has experience as both an entrepreneur and a leader in a large multinational organisation. He is someone who is ready to have courageous conversations and who is always ready to take a stand for what is right; someone who is always seeking to improve and who gives serious consideration to the requirements of leadership.

We agree on many key issues, such as the desperate need for skills development in South Africa, ethics as a foundation for successful leadership and the urgency of addressing the effects of state capture, among others. Thus, when he asked me to join his advisory board at Accenture, it was an invitation I was honoured to accept.

I am honoured, too, by his kind words, which I share here:

Prisms of fear, power, love

‘As someone at the helm of a large organisation I spend an inordinate amount of time wrestling with the ongoing trials and tests of leadership. I’ve learnt during my tenure as CEO of Accenture in Africa that it has little to do with hierarchy, age or time spent in the job.

Search online for definitions of leadership and you're likely to break the internet. Peter Drucker, the so-called father of management consultants, suggested cynically that the best description of a leader is simply a person who had followers.

Bill Gates believes that effective leaders of the future will be those who empower others. The ebullient Bonang Mohale brings a fearless and forthright quality to leadership. He is deeply principled and sensitive. He is always clear on his intent, and this, I believe, is his leadership superpower – it raises the ante in unexpected ways. When he speaks, he does not hold back. He throws serious punches that land powerfully and accurately.

Bonang also has strong views on ethical business and leadership, and has been vocal on the insidious nature of corruption. He believes South Africa has squandered its potential – it has regressed. State capture happened and business was part of it, and none have been held accountable. Now we have the PPE tender scandals. How we choose our leaders and the level of ethics and morality we demand from them needs to change. “Corruption is like a cancer,” Bonang notes. “Those who lead and represent us must be held to the highest possible ethical standards, palpable morality, higher purpose, demonstrable set of values, grounded in principles and wholesome intent.”

My path and that of Bonang Mohale did not cross by chance. In 2019, when I became CEO of Accenture in Africa, I reached out to Bonang to join an Advisory Board I had established. It's proven an excellent decision.

In taking on the leadership of Accenture, I knew that I would need the insight and guidance of seasoned, successful businessmen and women – strategists and innovative thinkers with strong ethics and proven strengths that would help me make the decisions needed to take the company to the next level.

Before me lay a number of challenges, from bedding in a new leadership team to achieving ambitious diversity and equality targets, helping South

Africa leverage the power of digital technologies, and responding to tough asks by powerful clients in government and business. I wanted advisors with a passion for and commitment to Africa, who understood the challenges we face and could help me navigate them.

Bonang, with his experience in large business leadership and advisory roles, at Shell and Bidvest among others, and his fearless voice on issues of transformation and equality, was one of just four business giants I approached.

His counsel has led me to interesting perspectives and considerations on important and sensitive business matters, but I have also been privileged to learn much from him that has contributed to my own growth.

The way he engages with people and issues, what motivates his engagement, the depth of his consideration and, in the final measure, the simplicity, transparency and resounding impacts of his responses to issues – these are just some of the leadership traits that have enriched my own capabilities, not to mention my understanding of humanity and humility.

Speaking truth to power

Speaking truth to power – what does that mean? It's become a slogan, a mantra that marches past us. Many of us speak it but the courage – and skill, experience, empathy and knowledge of people – that it takes to execute successfully, evades us. I have had the opportunity to witness Bonang speak truth to power masterfully.

He can stand up on a podium and condemn corruption, inequity, greed and failure to act. He can address ill-considered power plays by corporate giants, political parties and state-owned enterprises, even individuals who do not serve the economy and its people. While others pretend blindness as

emperors parade nude, he speaks that truth – in the presence of power and to great effect. Yet he rarely encounters enmity. Why? How?

Credibility, reputation, earned respect – these are some of the reasons. But I believe there's an elusive trait, a charisma if you will, that belongs to only a select few, that is intrinsic to Bonang. He “gets” people and he gives. He is self-effacing and unpretentious. He understands what's important to people, connects with the individual and motivates them to be their best selves. And it's infectious. I have seen him enter a room of 50 people and chat to every one of them. Where he goes, people light up. When he mounts the podium, people listen.

It's hard to articulate a tough message and not draw fire. Bonang's messages resonate, perhaps because they are based on universal truths we all recognise. They are clear, well designed, coordinated and aligned to galvanise people and entities to right action.

Diversity, inclusion

In South Africa, the reality is that empowerment, in its many forms, remains a painfully difficult transition for business. Bonang is a patriot. He wants the best for South Africa's people and economy. He too is a big proponent of diversity and empowerment. A quote of his that I appreciate: “Business cannot continue to be an island of prosperity in a sea of poverty – it's in our interests to look after all our stakeholders.”

Bonang's formula: create jobs by growing big business and SMEs; empower senior black and women leaders through deliberate action, providing skills and accelerating leadership opportunities; invest in South Africans by growing their skills; invest in communities, pooling resources to improve impacts; and root out corruption – an area where business (not just government) has a big role to play today.

For me, this positioning is important and instructive as Accenture moves to meet ambitious diversity and empowerment targets that match the demographics of the country. Just throwing out numbers drives fear and resistance. There is a deep need for honesty; for speaking candidly about the journey. There is a larger vision we are working towards for the greater good and it requires deliberate action.

Best brand

Bonang is a philosopher. He thinks deeply about choices. We can approach the world through a prism of fear, where you see the world as constrained and greedy and it's about being self-centred and ego-centric, he says, or through a prism of love, which uses the principles of plenty, abundance of sharing and caring, of being other-centred. I choose love.

My vision for Accenture is to see it grow, supported by a fully inclusive culture, top to bottom. I would like it to be a model company led by people who understand that ethos. For myself, my vision is to actively and deliberately pursue personal and leadership growth. And to ensure that whatever I help build has a strong ethical foundation.

Like Bonang, I believe that an ethical business requires strong foundations. We cannot rely on leadership or governance processes alone; ethics must be part of the culture of an organisation. It must be reflected in how decisions are made, and how the business – and every person within that business – conducts themselves, from hiring to transacting.

I believe that stepping forward – in business and in our personal lives – to address inequality and shoot for long-term outcomes for the greater good, demands vision, strategy and courageous leadership.

I hope that as I continue my journey, wherever it takes me, that Bonang will remain an inspiration, advisor, and a reminder of the need for love and

soul in everything we do in business. Because business is, at its core, about people.'

SEARCHING FOR STIMULUS

When the President announced the R500bn COVID-19 economic stimulus in October 2020, we knew that we didn't have the money. About R130bn was going to come from re-prioritising from the approved budget, accessing money belonging to workers in the form of UIF. We knew we would likely have to borrow from the IMF, BRICS Bank, African Development Bank and lose our sovereignty over economic policy long-term – this is the only way to prevent a debt crisis in the longer term.

This is precipitated by our economic growth rate declining steadily in the last three quarters prior to the announcement. We have also seen sharp declines in growth and therefore government revenue collections.

We have to stop the rising trend in the budget deficit and public debt, with the forecast showing a rise in the public debt to GDP ratio of 106% by 2023 and 148% by 2028.

The question is, how will government be able to curtail its spending to such an extent?

We need to try to find a compromise that does see government reducing its expenditure, as we cannot keep borrowing at the current levels. We therefore need to start addressing the structural weaknesses of the economy, as well as our educational outputs.

The economy was already under-performing and living standards declining prior to COVID-19. There are also deep, systemic structural inequalities that are worsened by, among others, weak educational outcomes, rapidly unravelling SOE/Cs, increasing corruption, deteriorating

government fiscal position, over regulation and insufficient capital investment.

COVID-19 has merely exposed these deep structural inequalities and has given us an opportunity to fundamentally transform this economy. We must start examining which aspects of it can actually be localised and beneficiated and where we can use the emergent black industrialists and community-owned businesses to transform many sectors.

We must also fix our captured SOE/Cs by, among other things, ensuring that they are well capitalised, proper governance is reintroduced, there is independent recruitment, selection, appointment and retention of members of the boards of directors to support and oversee the CEO effectively, eliminate ‘tender boards’ and ‘development business partners’, routinely perform planned and preventative maintenance (especially at Eskom) and ensure clarity about their often dual (commercial AND developmental) mandate.

The practice (especially pronounced during the ‘nine wasted years’) where SOE/Cs are systematically slammed with hurriedly promoted, usually untested, largely incompetent and often corrupt ‘cadre deployments’ – where performance is not even expected – must come to an urgent stop.

Had we seized the opportunity presented by the more than 740 SOE/Cs, and appointed a black (preferably black female) CEO for each, 26 years into democracy, we could be having about 3 000 competent, experienced and with demonstrable track record CEOs – even if 20% did not succeed!

To talk of rebuilding a NEW SAA from the ashes of the bankrupt one could not have been conceived at a worse moment. This, when airlines around the world are grounded, when investors have been dumping airline stock and when there is no money even to pay salaries. What is needed now is the shift of capital towards initiatives that exhibit a potential to drive

social impact and the ability to facilitate meaningful transformation in our society.

The four sectors that have been identified by National Treasury to reboot the economy, namely manufacturing, agriculture, ICT and tourism, deserve our undivided attention and execution.

We must use this opportunity to tackle the economic concentration being into too few hands and where 60% of the GDP is from only four metropolitan cities.

NEW HOPES FOR AFRICA EMERGING THROUGH COVID- 19

In the 2020 Bloomberg Innovation Index, not even one of the 55 African countries was included. The survey takes into account R&D spending intensity, patent activity, efficiency of tertiary education, value-added manufacturing, productivity, high-tech density and researcher concentration. South Africa's economy, once the largest on the continent, is now second to Nigeria's. The year 2021 has proven to be yet another existential crisis/a historical defining moment/tipping point/inflection point, where economic, political and social freedoms will never be viewed quite the same again.

Megatrends we are living through have been fast-tracked, bringing the future ever closer to our doorstep. Adoption rates for, among others, telemedicine, cloud computing, social media, and digital entertainment have exceeded all expectations. Many behaviours are unlikely to come back as 'work from anywhere' has become increasingly mainstream.

The road to recovery will be long for the whole world. New 'waves' of COVID-19 infections as novel variants arise pose significant downside growth risk. A lot of things need to go right, concurrently, simultaneously and in parallel to address the lowest levels of confidence, trust and hope since the Second World War.

We must send some top state capture miscreants to prison; improve our vaccination rates as a matter of life and death; execute on the long promised deep systemic socio-economic reforms; reduce the soaring government debt; fix the more than 740 SOE/Cs; increase our infrastructure spend; and execute on the ten-year-old spectrum auction, among other things.

It is now underwhelming when South Africa says it is going to do anything. The heart of good management is execution: focus on GDP growth, create jobs in large numbers for outsized and oversized impact, and fix the quality of our educational system.

FRANCIS W PETERSEN

My dear Brother, Prof Francis William Petersen, has been the Rector and Vice-Chancellor of the University of the Free State since 1 April 2017. He has formerly been Deputy Vice-Chancellor of the University of Cape Town; Dean: Engineering and the Built Environment at the University of Cape Town; Executive Head: Strategy at Anglo American Platinum; Executive Vice-President: Research and Development at Mintek; and Head of the Department of Chemical Engineering at the Cape Technikon (now the Cape Peninsula University of Technology).

His illustrious career is testimony to his strength of character, his unwavering belief in doing what is right – and his actions that support that belief. He is a true leader, and so it is only fitting to share some of his thoughts with you on what leadership is.

I am honoured and humbled to read his kind words about me, and I am privileged to work with him to steward the incredible institution that is the University of the Free State.

What does it mean to be a leader?

‘We live in a world of rapid geopolitical and socio-economic change, impacted by technological innovation, and driven by economic inequality

and ideological discourse. It is a world in which we are witnessing the birth of new human aspirations, new ways of living, new roles and relationships, new forms of production, and new forms of power. The COVID-19 pandemic not only disrupted our world in so many ways and accelerated the use of technology in various fields, but it also challenged leadership at all levels of society. The pandemic has demonstrated the ability of humanity to stand in solidarity through our fragility and has also shown key fault lines in society – mainly driven through poverty and inequality. Institutions of global governance, finance, health, and trade have been challenged to reform in order to respond to a call for a fairer, safer, equitable, and prosperous world – all require visionary and empathetic leadership – the ability to inspire and motivate others.

Leadership is not about popularity – it is about what is right. It is about a bold and clear vision, supported by a culture of innovation and empathy. In the global health crisis, political leaders have had to demonstrate their leadership – or lack thereof – in handling an effective response to the pandemic. Similarly, business leaders had to reimagine the business models for their organisations to survive and thrive through and beyond the pandemic.

More than enough has been published on the subject of leadership, conferences and colloquia on how to lead organisations, and various qualifications offered in the discipline of leadership. Debates are being conducted about whether leadership competencies are inherent in individuals, or whether training is required to become a good leader. Do not forget about different leadership styles, from servant to an authoritative style of leadership, and various styles in between. Research has shown that excellent leaders should be passionate, good communicators, strategic thinkers, agile and resilient.

Ultimately, a good leader can be recognised, is visible, and affects impact.

This is Bonang Francis Mohale.

A business leader, writer, and thought leader whose warmth and humility endears him to friends and critics alike.

Although I have admired Bonang Mohale for many years as a business leader at Shell South Africa, Drake & Scull FM SA, Sanlam, and South African Airways, and in his role as Chief Executive Officer of Business Leadership South Africa, I really got to know him as a person when he was elected Chancellor of the University of the Free State. Chancellors are titular, ceremonial leaders of their universities – the embodiment of the institutional ethics, ethos, and integrity thereof. They are substantial and leading members of society, and they support the strengthening of our universities as places that nurture the growth of young people not only with hard skills, but with a sense of social justice, critical thinking, and curiosity.

I will never forget his excitement and endless energy at our first meeting – he clearly knew the challenges of higher education, but he also had a profound understanding of the role of universities in society, the development of critical citizens, with a willingness to review and renew prevailing ideas, policies, and practices, based on a commitment to the common good. He also understood his role as Chancellor, and that he would support me, as Rector and Vice-Chancellor, and the University of the Free State to the best of his ability, articulated through his humbleness, simplicity, and honesty.

As a business leader, Bonang founded his commitment on the words of Sir Ernest Oppenheimer – “A company can, when powered by beliefs and principles, be a positive agent of change, in a way which good governments welcome and bad governments fear” – and he has been extremely successful as a business leader whose companies have flourished under his guidance and direction. The many awards and recognition he received for this contribution throughout his business career are evidence of this.

Leadership gurus will articulate leadership as the art of motivating a group of people to act towards achieving a common goal, but I would define Bonang as a natural leader of people, instilling in those around him inspiration, excitement, devotion, and commitment – a man of powerful optimism, blessed with an uncomplicated vision of what is right.

Bonang believes that there is a need for co-responsibility, collaboration, and co-creation among all sectors of the economy to address the challenges in our physical and social environments – a need to work in partnerships. He has a deep appreciation for the challenges facing South Africa and the importance of the role of universities as one of the generators of new knowledge and thought processes. However, he also argues that different knowledge systems need to intersect and complement each other in order to respond to the non-linear, persistent and ubiquitous changes in both the social and natural worlds – from solving the problem of water scarcity to citizenship and civility, and how one lives in the presence of illness, which knowledge has an obligation to respond to.

Bonang has the ability to listen and to reflect on issues – a trademark of a good leader. This also allows him to reassess his thoughts and perhaps reconsider initial actions. He does this in a transparent and open manner, always underpinned by his strong values and principles.

Bonang is a uniquely inspirational, humble, and visionary leader – someone I am extremely proud to know and have the privilege of working with. A leader driven by a passionate commitment to development in South Africa and the continent, and a deep desire to make a continuous contribution to that development.’

HISTORY REPEATS

(This is based on an opinion piece I crafted for Daily Maverick in January 2021. Although the infection rate statistics are now already outdated, my point stands – we need to learn from history, not repeat our mistakes.)

In 1918, Philadelphia prematurely ended its quarantine from the February 1918-April 1920 Spanish Influenza (Flu) pandemic to throw a parade in order to boost morale for the war effort. Some 200 000 people lined the streets on that late-September day. Within 72 hours, every bed in Philadelphia's 31 hospitals was filled and the city ended up with 4 500 people dying from the pandemic or its complications within a matter of days.

This was an unusually deadly influenza pandemic caused by the 'H1N1 influenza A virus' that infected 500 million people, about a third of the world's population at the time, in four successive waves.

As [History.com](https://www.history.com)⁹ explains:

'In the spring of 1918, just as the man-made horrors of World War I (WWI) were finally starting to wind down, mother nature unleashed the deadliest strain of influenza in modern history. The virus infected as much as 40% of the global population over the next 18 months. Of these, an estimated 20 to 50 million perished

– more than the roughly 17 million people killed during WWI. The pandemic's grasp stretched from the United States and Europe to the remote reaches of Greenland and the Pacific islands.

Its victims included the likes of President Woodrow Wilson, who contracted it while negotiating the "Treaty of Versailles" in early 1919. As the pandemic reached epic proportions in the spring of 1919, it became commonly known as the "Spanish Flu" or the "Spanish Lady" in the United States and Europe. Many assumed this was because the sickness had originated on the Iberian Peninsula, but the nickname was actually the result of a widespread misunderstanding.

Spain was one of only a few major European countries to remain neutral during WWI. Unlike in the Allied and Central Powers nations, where wartime censors suppressed news of the 'flu to avoid affecting morale, the Spanish media was free to report on it in gory detail.

News of the sickness first made headlines in Madrid in late-May 1918, and coverage only increased after the Spanish King Alfonso XIII came down with a nasty case a week later. Since nations undergoing a media blackout could only read in-depth accounts from Spanish news sources, they naturally assumed that the country was the pandemic's ground zero.

The Spanish, meanwhile, believed the virus had spread to them from France, so they took to calling it the "French Flu". While it's

unlikely that the “Spanish Flu” originated in Spain, scientists are still unsure of its source. France, China and Britain have all been suggested as the potential birthplace of the virus, as has the United States, where the first known case was reported at a military base in Kansas on March 11, 1918. Researchers have also conducted extensive studies on the remains of victims of the pandemic but they have yet to discover why the strain that ravaged the world in 1918 was so lethal.’

Those who cannot learn from history are condemned to repeat its mistakes. The pandemic mutation variant seems to have up to 70% transmissibility and be more contagious, affecting higher socio-economic groups/levels, though with up to 25% less mortality now that frontline staff know how to treat it much more effectively.

Data coming from the Department of Health, University of the Witwatersrand, National Coronavirus Command Council (NCCC) and medical schemes seem to confirm that deaths are probably understated by up to 100% when looking at ‘excess mortality’. Estimates are that up to 40% of the adult population has already been infected.

It is unfortunate that the second wave coincided with, and was aided by, our major annual holidays in the middle of December, with the majority of our people going back home, to be with their loved ones, mostly to villages, and those that can afford it, going on holiday. Unfortunately, the same people have to come back to work in major cities in the middle of January. The annual migration of people to our neighbouring countries, with our highly porous borders and high levels of corruption, can only exacerbate an already dire situation.

January already presented the highest COVID-19 admissions, giving us one of the highest daily rates in the world. Major areas of concern remain

KwaZulu-Natal, Eastern Cape and Gauteng. Limpopo could still be better prepared and better equipped.

The biggest concern must surely be the perception that vaccines will be the silver bullet that cures this pandemic! Our only salvation and therefore, best defence, for some time, will still remain working from home, self-quarantine, social distancing, wearing of masks and regular washing of hands with running water and soap.

The President has set us a herd immunity national target of 67%. This is 40 million people being vaccinated at 100 000 per day. Our social partners, government, business, labour and the Solidarity Fund specifically, having obtained us access to the WHO COVAX programme, are, like all countries, going about it in an integrated, coordinated, moral and ethical manner.

For effectiveness and efficiency, not to mention avoiding massive and coordinated PPE looting, central procurement will most certainly help. There are now no less than four already approved vaccine types globally, and depending on the type, foreign exchange, cost per unit, logistics to land it/local manufacture, the cost for us could be anything between R2 billion and R18 billion.

Considering that we had about 16,4% of South Africans belonging to medical aid in 2018, medical schemes have a maximum liability of about R7 billion, representing about 2% of all premiums.

It is in the country's enlightened self-interest to take care of the most at risk first – frontline workers, essential workers, people in old age homes, teachers, people in descending order of age (>75 years, >65 years, etc), people with comorbidities, and so on, if we wish to have the slightest chance of ultimately defeating this unusually deadly virus and thereby maintaining a modicum of hope.

STAYING PEOPLE-CENTRED IN A PANDEMIC

We don't have to do all of it alone. We were never meant to.
– Brené Brown

These are years like no other.

Today's corporate challenge is volatile investor confidence and emergence of both new business models and supply chains (where the weakest link will determine performance and no performance means no pay, and therefore, no future). Original core competencies are being seriously tested. This pandemic has demonstrated a new structure of work where work is no longer the place we go to but what we do.

Work is where our colleagues are totally mobile, totally available and totally insecure. Where, precisely because you are alone, the temptation might be to avoid taking any decisions because of the fear of the consequences, uncertainty of the answer and 'analysis paralysis'.

We know for sure that to excel during this pandemic, we have to anticipate and address multiple challenges through flexible adaptation, evolution and still, customer-led innovation. Today's market drivers are survival, cash preservation (not just cost containment), strengthening the balance sheet, added value without additional costs, guaranteed results, minimal fixed/maximum variable costs, and public private partnerships (PPPs). Increasingly complex service solutions are being explored, technological advances stretch the imagination, financially led solutions are

increasingly frequent and real estate rationalisation is an imperative (property is the problem and accommodation is the only solution).

The year 2020 was filled with challenges and uncertainty and 2021 followed suit. In fact, the word ‘unprecedented’ trended 90% higher in web searches in 2020 than in 2019, which tells us a lot about the state of the world.

However, what that spike doesn’t show us is how 2020 and 2021 have affected people’s mental health. Close to 1 781 people in the country committed suicide in the four months following the declaration of the initial lockdown in March 2020.

In May 2020, mental health experts told SABC News that many South Africans are increasingly experiencing depression due to financial burdens and stress brought about by the coronavirus pandemic and resultant lockdowns. They noted that the COVID-19 virus has sparked anxiety, panic and an increase in substance abuse.

Globally, every year, close to 800 000 people take their own life and there are many more people who attempt suicide. Every suicide is a tragedy that affects families, communities and entire countries and has long-lasting effects on the people left behind. Suicide occurs throughout all age categories and was the second leading cause of death among 15- to 29-year-olds globally in 2016.

Suicide does not just occur in high-income countries but is a global phenomenon in all regions of the world. In fact, over 79% of global suicides occurred in low- and middle-income countries in 2016.

Suicide is a serious global public health problem. However, suicides are preventable with timely, evidence-based and often low-cost interventions. For national responses to be effective, a comprehensive multisectoral suicide prevention strategy is needed.

South Africa urgently needs to put in place mechanisms to deal with the fallout of COVID-19 – socially, economically, and in terms the massive loss of human lives, not to mention the effect of ‘cabin fever’ from the lockdowns.

Record numbers of people are already suffering from post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD) – the combination of stress, anxiety and depression. It is probable that the incidents of suicides are likely to jump in a country with already high suicide rates. South Africa has the eighth highest rate of suicide in the world, with around 8 000 people committing suicide every year, the third biggest cause of unnatural death after homicide and unintentional reasons.

Violence, whether in families, on the roads, workplaces, educational institutions and in communities is also on the rise. There has been a terrifying rise in domestic violence and abuse against women and children. There is a rise in marriage breakdowns, as well as drug and alcohol abuse.

Many people are now working remotely, often alone with very little human interaction.

This is when we need leaders within organisations to not only reiterate that our people (and their families) must continue to be safe and comply with COVID-19 safety measures, but to focus on true employee engagement. Leaders must be respectful, visible, supportive, understanding and felt by our employees. We need to find ways to increase the feeling of connection and caring.

Now, more than ever, our colleagues must feel needed, valued, wanted and appreciated because we have succeeded in creating a conducive environment where each and every, single, solitary employee can be very comfortable in showing up and feeling that ‘I can be myself’. Where,

especially their individual career pathing and succession planning is continuously discussed, affirmed and reiterated.

This will enable companies to continue to receive high performance, but with high integrity. If we get this right, employees will also continue making quality decisions at high speed, with leadership from every seat (not just the C-Suite), thereby increasing employee engagement, agility, sustainability and resilience.

The intent, as always, but now more than ever, should be to achieve high levels of inclusiveness.

BUSINESS AS USUAL IS OVER

Business no longer really has a choice about declaring the values they hold dear, adhere to, and making a vocal stand about. It is now expected of them.

Today, society believes that business now bears equal responsibility with government to drive positive social change. This illustrates a fast-shifting mood towards social justice in society's mindset.

We have now entered the age where the 'weapon of mass destruction' is social media that has hugely empowered ordinary people to hold business accountable. As companies have grown in size and power, ordinary people are increasingly expecting more from them to drive positive change and to work towards the greater good, rather than acting solely on the basis of business' own agenda.

Because to truly act in business' own interest, it must first act in the best interest of a much broader stakeholder community. This is an uncomfortable space for business to enter.

Only making money was, up until now, the main pursuit of 'old' business. But finding purpose is pivotal to the 'new' business.

Business must make the shift from a 'sales-based' to a 'values-based' way of thinking and doing. Business now has to answer to a very different type of stakeholder. In this era, fence-sitting is no longer an option.

Being ethical – visibly so – is mandatory. I am haunted by the potency of Dante Alighieri's words, 'the darkest places in hell are reserved for those who maintain their neutrality in times of moral crisis.' Let business take these words to heart.

ADRIAN GORE

Adrian Gore is not only the founder and CEO of Discovery Holdings – a true South African business success story – but also my colleague, comrade and compatriot. Our paths have crossed in many ways, most recently at Business Unity South Africa (BUSA), where I was appointed as President in August 2021, with my dear Brother Adrian stepping into the role of Deputy President.

I am honoured to include his thoughts in this book.

‘When I think of Bonang, a few key attributes come to mind: personal conviction and courage, the inherent belief in the power of people, and an unwavering dedication to our country and helping to build it to achieve its potential.

On the topic of conviction, I clearly remember a Business Leadership South Africa meeting where myself and Stephen Koseff were having a heated discussion about some issue, and Bonang, with great assurance and authority, refocused us on the task at hand. He is a leader of stature and presence but also of humanity and compassion, and because of this, people listen. In fact, Bonang never rests on his laurels but continues to learn and to ask tough questions. His ability and willingness to speak truth to power has always struck me as particularly courageous.

Second, a key feature of his servant leadership is the development and intellectual emancipation of others. His focus on people as one's "greatest investment" resonates with me, as liberating the best in people has always been a core value of our organisation. His appreciation for the value of each individual manifests in the way he treats people – with humility and respect – regardless of their status or title. Coupled with this, having a purpose, a vision that focuses people, is something he has recognised as critical to effective leadership and positive progress. He is devoted to ensuring that the next generation is equipped and empowered, and that current leaders – as captured in his previous book – lift others as they rise.

Finally, Bonang sees our country – even while acknowledging its complex issues – as a place of opportunity. Significantly, his motivation is always anchored in a sense of hope about the future, and a belief that things can get better. His long career as a business leader and people's champion has given him deep insight into the challenges we face – and how to overcome them. He believes, as I do, that our problems are significant, but solvable. Having given his time and skills to numerous business leadership bodies in the interests of nation-building, he has helped lead the fight against corruption, injustice, and inequality.

In his role as CEO of BLSA, Bonang led a bold movement to boost South Africa's economy, support small businesses and communities, advance and support black leadership and stamp out corruption. He has helped rekindle the trust and cooperation between the public and private sectors and remains one of the country's most authentic leaders.

Factually, he is just the kind of leader we need in an emerging South Africa: principled, patriotic, and pragmatic.'

PART 3

EDUCATION

The problem today is not people being uneducated. The problem is that they are educated just enough to believe what they have been taught and not educated enough to question what they have been taught.

In a country with extreme levels of poverty, unemployment and inequality, where hundreds of thousands of job-seekers sit with a Matric exemption or tertiary qualification, unable to find work, it's easy to discount the value of education. To me, education is important, firstly, because I am a product of education. Had I not been to school, I have no doubt that today I would be sitting on the back of a truck, delivering sacks of coal in one of this country's townships.

Education matters because it's the shortest way in which one can transcend social classes. You could be born in Alexandra¹⁰, just across the bridge from the richest square mile in Africa, in Sandton¹¹. With an education and years of hard work, you might be able to afford a house in the leafy Sandton suburbs.

Lastly, education is important because it makes it impossible to be fooled by politicians, and because (on a more philosophical note), when one steadily burns the midnight oil, one gains access to the domain of

knowledge and wisdom, which cannot be conquered without a personal crusade.

I personally love education because it punctures many inflated fallacies. It opens your eyes, not just to the world as it is, but the world as it should be. Education makes it possible for us to think for ourselves. If you don't think for yourself, you place your future in the hands of others.

It is up to you to create your own new world. Education makes this easier – to describe, define and shape the world you want; to co-create and co-craft a better normal. Education is the new currency. As my grandmother used to say, 'If you think education is expensive, try ignorance.'

Education is the foundation, the cornerstone, the bedrock of civilisation, especially in Africa, where it's a daily struggle to get out of poverty. In fact, in Africa, education is the difference between life or death. Poor parents give rise to poor children. The only way to break that cycle is through education.

As someone who feels very strongly about education, it has been a great honour for me to step into the role of teaching global MBA students at the Johannesburg Business School and to be appointed as Chancellor of the University of the Free State (UFS).

This, for me, is a chance to give back – to show gratitude for my own education and to work to make education more accessible for others. It is a great privilege. I have stepped into these two great academic institutions at a time when education, like every other sphere of life, is facing major challenges. Some of these relate to technology and digital transformation in a world where being together in a classroom suddenly became a health risk. But other challenges go further back, particularly in the context of our colonial past in Africa.

I have collated some of my thoughts on these challenges, as well as the opportunities they herald, many of which I have shared with graduates as

they end a chapter of their education.

It is our collective responsibility to put our education to good use in helping to solve these challenges and make the most of the opportunities; to create educational institutions that represent our dreams for a better world – one that is inclusive and prosperous.

TOWARDS TRUE TRANSFORMATION

Not much has changed since Onkgopotse Tiro started his graduation speech at what was then the University of the North, on 29 April 1972. He commenced by quoting R D Briensmead, an American lay preacher who said, 'He who withholds the truth or debars men from motives of its expediency, is either a coward, a criminal or both.'

At the UFS, we will collectively endeavour to produce social justice activists, which Eve Ensler described so well as those 'who cannot help but fight for common good. Usually not motivated by a need for power, money nor fame but in fact driven slightly mad by some injustice, some cruelty, some unfairness – so much so that s/he is compelled by some internal moral engine to act in order to make it better.'

It was the South African traditional healer and author, Baba Vusamazulu Credo Mutwa (21 July 1921-25 March 2020), who opined, 'I weep even now when Eurocentric education is being fed to our children. Fed in order to make them Afrophobes; creatures that hate and despise their Motherland, which look down in contempt upon their own people, because this is what all European educated Black people do. They despise Africa and all she stands for. And they are in contempt of the culture of her people. They are still even now doing the colonialists' dirty work for them, because if you want to destroy the culture of a nation, you must brainwash the youth of that nation and make them do your dirty work for you.'

It was Martin Luther King Jr. who reminds us that protest is the language of the unheard. An old African proverb rings true: ‘Until and unless lions have their own storytellers, stories about hunting will always glorify the hunter.’

History is up to the temporary occupants of the corridors of power. South African history as taught in most institutions, still starts in the year 1652 with the Dromedaris, Reijger and Goede Hoop¹².

Too many people are still poor, marginalised, unable to reach their potential and on the periphery.

And yet, we have come to know and understand that no people can be helped by, nor benefit from, institutions that are not a direct result of their own character. To have a full appreciation of poverty, racism, sexism, men perpetrating gender-based violence, men committing violence against children, men raping women and babies, toxic masculinity and patriarchy, one must understand power dynamics. To understand power dynamics, one needs to listen and believe the stories of the survivors and the powerless. A misogynist is a person who dislikes, despises or is strongly prejudiced against women. Racism is the belief that groups of humans possess different behavioural traits corresponding to physical appearance and can be divided based on the superiority of one race over another. A racist is defined as one who inherently believes that one is superior, has the power and uses that power to exclude. I and many black people are products of that exclusion when, not long ago, in 1981, we needed a ‘Special Ministerial Consent’ to study at The University of the Witwatersrand. We were carted every morning and every afternoon, to and from Glyn Thomas House, inside the then Baragwanath Hospital, Soweto and Braamfontein because of the Group Areas Act¹³.

What COVID-19 has done is to expose these deep, systemic and systematic structural inequalities. It has removed the gloss and veneer to

reveal that we have successfully transitioned into a new political epoch but have not yet fundamentally transformed both the economy and society. In terms of just the three inequalities of income, wealth and opportunities, we are very far from being broadly reflective of the demographics. Our institutions are simply a microcosm of these broader socio-economic fissures and fault lines. Therefore, we are called upon, not to maintain the status quo nor be assimilated but to be social justice activists, systemic change agents and defenders of democracy.

Our whole history is not only peppered but shaped by a very painful and hurtful past of exclusion, subjugation and oppression. Twenty-seven years into democracy, we have not collectively succeeded in eradicating the legacy of apartheid.

The country's greatest resource is the youth. We must treat South Africa's children as our very own! We need to own the strength in our name.

The problem today is not people being uneducated. The problem is that they are educated just enough to believe what they have been taught and not educated enough to question what they have been taught.

Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn accentuates this notion, saying, 'It's an universal law [sic], intolerance is the first sign of an inadequate education. An ill-educated person behaves with arrogant impatience, whereas truly profound education breeds humility.'

We will have succeeded when we, collectively, can imbue these institutions of higher learning and, by definition, the next crop of leaders, with a higher purpose, palpable ethical leadership, and a demonstrable set of values, thereby creating an unambiguous cohesive culture. A culture in which they feel needed and wanted; in which they feel free to speak their mind without any fear of retribution or reprisal.

Imagine if we changed our paradigm and could all be successful in unleashing this potential in all our students as not the future, but present

leaders. Not viewing them as rebellious, operating mostly in the periphery of our institutions, but positioning them firmly centre stage. We need the creativity of free young people to run the heart of a productive knowledge-based and digital economy, giving them space to have crucial, critical, but nonetheless, courageous, conversations because woman's/man's greatest accomplishments are achieved through talking and woman's/man's greatest failures come about through not talking.

We must lend students our support and resources to conduct rigorous research in management knowledge, champion business education and to be a leading influence on management thinking and best practice. But also to describe, to define and shape their own new world that is co-crafted and co-created in their own image and brand. A brand of multiculturalism with no one dominant culture and no prevalent dogma. Developing their own leadership intuition. Mindfully taking a resolutely unorthodox approach that views the current unrelenting and periodic unpredictability and uncertainty as a prime opportunity to press the reset button. Even against this disturbed backdrop, to be the integrator of the best minds and a catalyst to creating innovative and challenging ideas. Challenging preconceived conceptions, breaking down mental barriers, bringing depth and substance to empirical attempts at organisation and sharing across cultures. Demonstrating respect and openness to other views in addressing today's strategic challenges, building a shared vision and a common language – the language of change, creating value through action and accelerating innovation. Accessing an extraordinary and unique experience to recover from anxious setbacks in order to discover new unlimited perspectives on their own leadership capabilities. Informed by interdisciplinary learning for thinking strategically, complemented with practical tools and frameworks to aspire to a different and better kind than we have today.

#FeesMustFall and #Decolonisation were amazing acts of demonstrable leadership worthy of the respect of the quadruple helix of academia, business, government and civil society. Surely the expectation is not that these young leaders will simply be the next rung in the ladder, but a different rung.

A bird sitting on a tree is never afraid of the branch breaking, because her trust is not in the branch but her wings.

We have to start by extending trust to these young leaders. To trust that they are intellectually capable. They have to survive COVID-19. They must retain focus. They get it – that they are the ones on whom stuff is going to land, that they must walk the very fine tightrope between being radical and respectful, as well as internally assertive and externally loyal. They have to understand ‘self’ more deeply. They must be themselves and authentic – be you, do you, for you.

We need to help our youth to embrace that there is beauty in identity, grace in legacy and courage in resilience. Fall in love with your roots; learn more; share your stories; speak your language; own your truth. Master enough courage to develop beyond. Be grounded in principle and purpose; drive engagement and performance; leverage technology better; map out progress and movement; develop a muscle for pause; be more thoughtful and long term in orientation; make a more systemic difference and have a meaningful over-sized impact in society and understand that the price of liberty is eternal vigilance.

We, therefore, must be more intentional in sharing our accumulated wisdom and wise counsel in the full understanding that leadership cannot be anything but ethical, that one can buy knowledge, but never wisdom. That knowledge speaks, but wisdom listens. It is the Dalai Lama who reiterates that when you talk, you are only repeating what you already know, but if you listen, you may learn something new.

Education can be thought of as the transmission of the values and accumulated knowledge of a society. In this sense, it is equivalent to what social scientists term socialisation or enculturation.

Children are born without culture. Education is designed to guide them in learning a culture, moulding their behaviour in the ways of adulthood and directing them towards their eventual role in society. The unenviable task of connecting people, changing lives and creating possibilities, is now theirs.

EDUCATION AS A MEANS TO UNLOCKING POTENTIAL

At the gate of a South African university, the following was posted for contemplation, ‘Destroying any nation does not require the use of atomic bombs or the use of long-range missiles. It only requires lowering the quality of education and allowing cheating in the examination by the students. Patients die at the hands of such doctors, buildings collapse at the hands of such engineers, money is lost at the hands of such economists and accountants, humanity dies at the hands of such religious scholars, justice is lost at the hands of such judges – the collapse of education is the collapse of the nation!’

In the wake of what we are facing in the world today, it is clear that our institutions of higher learning have not yet succeeded in making the world a better place. How is it that some of the best brains have all been involved and often complicit in the destruction of their own societies? How have we allowed some populist leaders to manipulate all of us to work to their own personal desires and not to the common interest and common core purpose for greater and higher good? What are we educating for, if not about who we become as well as enabling others to also become – with the ethic of responsibility? How did we relegate our collective fate to those who control the levers of power in the party to also control the levers of power of society? How did we so quickly allow the dearth of critical thought, ethical character and the collective moral conscience, judgement and agenda for

the South Africa of Rolihlahla Nelson Mandela's dreams – the nation we have all been praying for?

Clearly, there is something that we are not doing right, especially in our institutions of higher learning – institutions that train and educate our youth!

We seem to be producing leaders who remember things versus leaders who think for themselves. Creativity is thinking new things and innovation is doing new things. We have the best constitution in the world, explicit, even about the LGBTQI rights. Our laws are right for just about everything but our leaders totally disregard the system of final accountability.

The first democratic elections our country held on 27 April 1994 were supposed to be the culmination of a lifetime of struggle to bring about respect for one another as human beings, improve the quality of life of all citizens, free the potential of each person and build a united and democratic South Africa, able to take its rightful place as a sovereign state in the family of nations. To work together towards a greater and higher good, eliminate the legacy of apartheid, make a profound difference, demonstrate deep care, act with integrity and, together, reimagine the possible!

I implore all of us to rededicate ourselves to the unfinished task of attaining social justice, defending democracy and being change agents. To draw and build from our own humanity, for the growth and development of all our society.

Work for a cause not just for applause. Live life to express not to impress and do not strive to make your presence noticed, just your absence felt.

I am inspired by the book, *The Art of Possibility* that combines Benjamin Zander's experience as conductor of the Boston Philharmonic and his talent as a teacher and communicator with psychotherapist Rosamund Stone Zander's genius for designing innovative paradigms for personal and professional fulfilment. Benjamin starts every new class by extending a

hundred per cent pass to all his students. His theory is that it's easier to motivate students to win an A by giving them one from the start. All his students begin with an A, and their goal is to try to maintain it. For more than three decades, he has never been disappointed.

In this new model of leadership, the conductor sees his job as awakening possibility in others. 'The orchestra is a group of highly trained individuals poised to coalesce into an effective whole. Passion, creativity and the desire to contribute are basic human instincts to be released.'¹⁴

Human progress is neither automatic nor inevitable. Every step towards the goal of social justice requires sacrifice, suffering and struggle, the tireless exertions and passionate concern of dedicated individuals. Not everybody can be famous but everyone can be great.

Greatness comes as a result of serving.

We are simultaneously the most evolved species on the planet and wholly unprepared for the demands of modern life. Changes in both external landscape and socio-economic conditions, as well as the increasing ongoing challenges in higher education, put pressure on institutions to deliver greater quality and capabilities. The cost of higher education drives barriers to access. Both academic and financial disruptions hamper throughput. Support from other higher education ecosystems is limited by reach and resources and the talent pipeline is not stable, with only 13% of learners who start Grade 1 qualifying for university.

The challenges facing higher education are linked to the wider challenges facing South Africa, namely, poor economic growth, high youth unemployment and the paralysing effect of the 'nine wasted years'¹⁵. The student protests were a symptom of many societal ills and failures. While government may have had the resources, financial and technical, to map a way forward for the higher education sector, its ability to implement is severely constrained by political leadership and insufficient capacity.

South Africa has 26 public universities with nearly one million students while 700 000 students are registered at the more than 50 Technical and Vocational Education and Training (TVET) colleges. An additional 90 000 students can be found at various private institutions. University enrolment has increased from about 500 000 in 1994. Enrolment at the colleges has increased from around 200 000 in 2000. The vast majority of students are now Africans.

This is a dramatic increase, although the number of students in the higher education system in relation to the size of the population of 58.78 million is still far too low compared to other middle-income developing countries. The government plans to increase university enrolment to 1.5 million by 2030.

We may also collectively continue along the present path without really being able to fix the undergraduate university and college system. This could lead to increased division between, on the one hand, the bigger and more well-resourced universities (the top five or six) with relatively large postgraduate facilities, and on the other hand, the majority of universities with poor resources and a decreasing quality of undergraduate education. A singular success is the creation of NSFAS, which, from end of March 2020 to date, received registration data for 614 986 students from universities and TVET colleges.

I assumed my role as Chancellor of the UFS during a year that has tested the higher education community by unprecedented challenges; the rising toll brought about by a global pandemic, continued student protests related to access and funding, and economic inequalities that place opportunities out of reach for many. However, the higher education system's most pressing challenge is that of transformation – it is highly elitist and class-based in nature, patriarchal and racialised with a strong urban focus.

The UFS is well in its advanced stage of transforming itself to ensure that beyond merely changing the gender and racial character of the institution, it is confronting the challenges of South Africa's stubbornly high unemployment. Unemployment in turn leads to increasing inequality and grinding poverty facing our country, exacerbated by the pandemic. We are working to ensure that the face of scholarship is changing.

It is humbling indeed to be a part of an institution during a time where the pandemic serves as a catalyst for change. How we respond, equip our students, serve the general population and contribute effectively to the South African and global economy will ultimately define and differentiate us. Despite these unusually deadly times, the community of the UFS has nimbly managed to adapt seamlessly to the changes and ensure that a bright, achievable future for our students is not a far-fetched mirage.

We have taken action to ensure that no student is left behind, to prevent dropout rates, to increase financial, digital, and technology access, and to ensure the safety, health and well-being of our students.

In my many discussions with members of the UFS community, varying perspectives were presented about the attributes and aspirations of the UFS. I was encouraged that the vision of inclusive academic excellence emerged quite often.

The strongest amongst us are those who help others even if they have challenges of their own. I look forward to completing this vision with the UFS and I am confident that, together, we will see an institution of inclusive excellence in research, teaching and learning and advance sustainability in the short term whilst building long-term resilience as an institution and sector.

This will be determined by the extent to which we improve, adapt, stay relevant and focus on a future beyond the pandemic, while remaining resolute about our own strategy and vision in a post-COVID-19 space.

I hope that other institutions, organisations and people will join us in this journey, creating a new era of education in our country, our continent and our world.

COVID-19 IS AN OPPORTUNITY FOR REINVENTION

When fisherwomen and fishermen cannot go out to sea, they repair their nets. COVID-19 has given us an amazing opportunity to repair our nets as institutions of higher learning.

Technology is changing both the teaching and learning process, thereby blurring lines between work and study; modular degrees are offering students greater choice and ability to acquire specific expertise; increased emphasis on creativity, emotional intelligence and cognitive flexibility leads to more applied learning and globalisation is leading to increased competition for talent.

We must grab this opportunity to reimagine and repurpose institutions of higher learning.

Former President Thabo M Mbeki in a letter to Ronald Suresh Roberts, 1 January 2006, reiterates, ‘One day I pray that I will find the time to write or otherwise address the issue of the calamitous retreat from the habit of thinking in our country, the atrophy of meaningful critical intellectual engagement and communication, and the occupation of the realm of ideas largely by dearth of originality, superstition, opinionated prejudice, stereotypes and a herd mentality.’

Not only did he implore us, but he mandates us, that if we don’t think for ourselves, we place our future in the hands of others. It is up to us to create our own new world.

Universities can indeed promote informed self-reflection, curiosity and tolerance as a driving force in how we shape our realities, understand our prejudices, promote tolerance and animate life in a much better world.

UNIVERSITIES ARE MORE THAN ACADEMIC CENTRES

Universities were initially created to connect people. In our country, after 27 years of democracy, we have succeeded in increasing the percentage of students who attend institutions of higher learning from 7% to 11%.

By definition, then, if you have a degree, you are part of the elite. I hope, however, that you will resist the temptation to be elitist and therefore exclusionary. The biggest injustice in Africa has been exclusion!

If the year 2020 was the year of the digital revolution, I have encouraged the graduates of the UFS to help me make 2021 the year of the Ark – bringing people in. Our goal should be to empower universities to become inclusive centres of excellence; to be awake to still persistent inequalities and how these continue to shape our sense of belonging, ownership and identity. How they continue to affect access, language, symbols, attitudes and expectations.

Our goal should be to support the emergence of institutions that nurture young people to emerge not only with hard skills, but with a sense of social justice, critical thinking and curiosity; to conceptualise ethical frameworks that will guide societal engagement with universities.

Our goal should also be to promote public ownership of higher education institutions, where the public recognise their role as both beneficiaries and stakeholders in the accomplishments of universities; to develop a social justice approach to higher education, where universities propel democratic

engagement and advocate for academic freedom, which nurtures success of the higher education system through assessments of different perspectives.

Help us in our incessant, consistent and persistent pursuit of equality!

Together, let us inform, inspire and ignite new efforts to achieve a world where, eventually, every woman and every man, every black person and every white person, can look forward to fair and equal treatment – a world in which being a woman or a black person is not a barrier to becoming a leader in any field, nor a factor contributing to negative perceptions of an individual's leadership.

Equality is something that affects everyone and has the potential to benefit everyone. We all lose out if we dismiss it as simply a women or black people issue. Much more is needed to achieve equality than mere compliance with the law. All of the great leaders have had one characteristic in common: the willingness to confront unequivocally the major anxiety of their people in their time. This, and not much else, is the essence of leadership.

My particular call as Chancellor to those upon whom I have conferred masters and doctoral degrees from the University of the Free State year has been to remind them that they are honour-bound to boldly and consistently demonstrate their strengths that have been honed thus far and to take advantage of the expertise that they have acquired, to tackle some of the difficulties facing humankind.

I share my encouragement with them now, as I believe it is relevant to all of us:

If you only carry one thing throughout your entire life, let it be hope – that better things are always ahead; that you can get through even the toughest of times; that you are stronger than any challenge that comes your way; that you are exactly where you are meant to be, right now; and that you are on

the path to where you are meant to be. Because during these unusually deadly times, hope will be the very thing that carries you through.

ADDRESSING THE FEES ISSUE

Heartfelt sympathies and sincere condolences go to the clan, colleagues and friends of the slain 35-year-old, Baba Mthokozisi Edwin Ntumba, father of four, a former SASCO member who just got his master's degree in Management of Technology and Innovation, a leader of the ANC Branch in Kempton Park and a regional organiser in Ekurhuleni, who was killed during a protest outside Wits University on 10 March 2021, allegedly by police. Effective 1 March 2016, he had been appointed by the City of Tshwane Metropolitan Municipality as a Human Settlements Planner in the Human Settlements Department, responsible for more than 20 projects in Regions 1, 2 and 4, and the Formation of Informal Settlements (Township Establishment) Programme.

This is the opportune moment to pause and reflect on the eighth of the 10 principles of the Freedom Charter as adopted at the Congress of the People, Kliptown, on 26 June 1955, boldly declaring that, 'The Doors of Learning and Culture Shall be Opened!' – that 'the government shall discover, develop and encourage national talent for the enhancement of our cultural life; that all the cultural treasures of mankind shall be open to all, by free exchange of books, ideas and contact with other lands; the aim of education shall be to teach the youth to love their people and their culture, to honour human brotherhood, liberty and peace; education shall be free, compulsory, universal and equal for all children; higher education and technical training shall be opened to all by means of state allowances and scholarships awarded on the basis of merit; adult illiteracy shall be ended by a mass state

education plan; teachers shall have all the rights of other citizens and that the colour bar in cultural life, in sport and in education shall be abolished.’

It has been seven years since the genesis of #EverythingMustFall, precipitated by #FeesMustFall, followed by #RhodesMustFall and culminating in the decolonisation movement. Since then, South Africa has witnessed annual student protests linked to exclusion on financial grounds, leading to annual disruptions at universities.

I believe that no student who meets funding and study criteria should be excluded from university, let alone preventing final-year students who are on track to graduate from completing their studies because they owe money. The situation is exacerbated by the impending fiscal crisis precipitated by the quadruple helix of the pandemic, sub-investment grade ratings, economic recession and the nine wasted years of industrial scale state capture.

The pandemic has led to a protracted national lockdown that has decimated the economy, with many businesses closing, thereby leading to massive job losses. The end result is that SARS has collected less revenue than planned. Because government is now bankrupt, all departments’ budgets have been cut and therefore budgets must be reprioritised.

The Department of Higher Education also has to reprioritise its budget to meet the R7 billion shortfall in National Student Financial Aid Scheme (NSFAS) money for first-year students. This is on top of the R10 billion historic debt by the 26 public universities.

From the days of Sizwe Nxasana’s National Education Collaboration Trust (NECT), involving all social partners, the expectation is that, by now, common cause and common ground should have been reached to deal decisively with the issue of historical student debt. Especially because cabinet has already agreed that a comprehensive review of student funding policy is urgently required.

The burning platform was provided by the surprise announcement, without the attendant planning being finalised, of fee-free higher education. It is government that must lead (in consultation with all the social partners and the universities) in finding a sustainable national solution to settling student historic debt in the short term, towards a more resilient higher education funding model in the long term. What is needed, among other things, is urgent resolution of the proper level of university tuition fee, subsidy funding, student funding, operational expenditure and infrastructure development funding.

As the Freedom Charter concludes, 'These freedoms we will fight for, side by side, throughout our lives until we have won our liberty.'

PART 4

LEADERSHIP

All great leaders have one characteristic in common: the willingness to confront unequivocally the major anxiety of their people in their time.

I hope that anyone who has known me for any length of time will know that I am passionate about leadership.

I always say that leadership is about creating movement and influence. Creating movement, because leadership accepts that when you choose to stand still, that's actually a choice to go backwards. Creating influence, because leadership is about harnessing the best of people to achieve more together.

I remain convinced that the world is facing a leadership crisis. We do not need to look far for examples of leadership failure. I often say that Africa is a case study in leadership gone wrong. How is it, when we are the world's richest continent in terms of mineral resources and fauna and flora, that our people are some of the poorest? In fact, of the 1.4 billion people in the world who still have no access to electricity, about 642 million of them are in Africa.

The events of 2021 in South Africa have shown beyond a trace of a doubt that the legacy, the strength and power of leadership are needed now more than ever before. Put simply, good leadership will mean prosperous people

and poor leadership will mean perpetuating the vicious cycle of abject poverty.

Leadership is about showing people new possibilities. Leadership is about bringing people together to give of their best in order to co-create and co-craft a more inclusive and better reality. Leadership is about sticking our necks out to make progress.

We need more leaders – those who are here to serve with their time and their talents for the benefit of all. It is time for a new agenda for leadership.

SEEKING CONSCIOUS LEADERS

I am not afraid of an army of lions led by a sheep; I am afraid of an army of sheep led by a lion. – Alexander the Great

All of the great leaders have had one characteristic in common: it was the willingness to confront unequivocally the major anxiety of their people in their time. This, and not much else, is the essence of leadership.

South Africa, like the rest of the world, is reeling from the ongoing impact of the COVID-19 pandemic. It is imperative that thinking about economic policy matters be as thoughtful, deep and clear as possible so as to avoid errors and to create the kind of interventions necessary for a sustainable and inclusive economic recovery.

In the short term, we must focus on macroeconomic policy, energy policy and developing state capacity. While the public health and national lockdown responses have – by and large – managed to minimise loss of life and contain most of the direct public health related damages of the coronavirus pandemic, the economic impact of this COVID-19 crisis has been devastating, especially to the most poor and vulnerable and the informal sector.

As Dr Cheryl Moen Vermey, CEO of EnVision Coaching Inc. once wrote, ‘In its most simple form, conscious leadership is bringing one’s whole self and with total awareness to your leadership position. It requires authenticity to be who you really are. Conscious leaders focus on the “we” rather than

the “me” and realise that their role is to create a culture of trust, care and expansive influence.’

Conscious leaders learn from others and everything and continue to be empowered for their own leadership journeys.

Leadership is about mustering courage to shape one’s sense of character and making a difference – being able to lead and persuade others as to why change is needed; why tomorrow, on a composite basis, will be substantially better than today. Leaders help people to understand that the pain of change will be much less than the pain of staying the same – how our common humanity can benefit from the desired outcomes and why the effort is worth the investment of sacrifice, dedication and resources.

Leadership is about having a compelling vision, courage and integrity. It is about helping our people to be better able to see around corners, to always ask the question, ‘What else is missing?’

A job is how you make money. A career is how you make your mark. A calling is how you acknowledge a higher vision, whatever it may be. Leadership is a calling.

More than ever, we need focused, ethical and moral leadership from the ruling party, government and business to work together. Rooting out corruption and defeating state capture in both the private and public sectors remains a priority.

A better normal is where there is demonstrable ethical leadership, final accountability, transparency and good cooperative governance as some of the values upon which our democracy is built. Where our leaders, both in public and private sector, do not bribe, steal nor cheat. Where we find it necessary and prudent to reject corruption as part of our country’s DNA and speak strongly against those who are its perpetrators.

Each of us must play a part in building this better normal, brick by brick.

MARK BARRETT

Mark Barret is Group Chief Executive Officer at SBV Services – a company whose board of directors I chair. SBV Services plays a key role in providing essential cash services to the banks of South Africa and is also a service provider to the South African Reserve Bank. SBV ensures business continuity for the cash industry, managing the risks associated with processing and movement of cash, and ensuring that the most vulnerable citizens of our society have access to cash to pay for their daily necessities.

I agreed initially to join the board and then to accept the nomination as chairman because I believe SBV is a business with a strong emphasis on its culture to build long-term sustainability – a business that truly values its people. And, as you’ll hopefully know, I am obsessed with the development of people!

Mark and I know each other through our ongoing engagement at board level, and I am touched by his kind words he has shared here.

‘When meeting Bonang for the first time you cannot help but be incredibly drawn to his energy, positive outlook and genuinely engaged leadership style. His calm demeanour adds depth to his charisma and vast business and

life-experience, and you instantly know that he is a person driven by a genuine desire to add value in whatever he is involved in.

In having worked with Bonang over the last 18 months on the board of SBV Services and more recently in his capacity as the Chairman of SBV, I am constantly reminded of the importance of how we carry ourselves and the examples that we set to the people that we have the privilege of leading and uplifting.

If there was ever an individual that personified how to live our values, uphold extremely high morals and set the example continuously and unwaveringly within the confines of what is to be expected in a world so desperately in need of ethical leadership, you couldn't choose a better person to be your guide and mentor than Bonang.

I have had the privilege of witnessing Bonang's leadership style in many different situations, how he personally engages with everyone – from the receptionist to our cleaning staff, executives, managers and our people on the ground – to the difficult senior leadership discussions across our industry where the views are at times incredibly divergent. He is somehow always able, in a very respectful way, to guide and at times even coerce positive alignment on the issues that really matter.

Under pressure Bonang remains incredibly calm and no doubt draws his strength under very trying conditions from the fabric of life experiences that has shaped the inspirational business leader that he is.'

THE TWO WEEKS IN JULY

Those who love peace must learn to organise as effectively as those who love war. – Martin Luther King Jr.

‘The two weeks in July’¹⁶ demand that we bell the cat¹⁷, lift up the mirror and be harsh with ourselves in our reflection and introspection. They have also demonstrated that we begin to die when we are silent about things that genuinely matter, that the ANC¹⁸ is at war with itself and that it is prepared to burn the whole country with it.

The two weeks in July have shown that the ANC is unwilling and therefore, incapable of rehabilitation, has lost its capacity to implement policy – the festering sore, is not only bleeding but has become septic. That the social compact has been broken, our economic fabric is under severe strain and that we have finally reached a breaking point with the economy that was already rapidly de-industrialising and on its knees. That the ticking time bomb is about to go off with the tinder box having been finally lit by, among other things, the 17 million people on social security, 11.7 million who are unemployed, 74.7% youth unemployment rate, 43.2% expanded unemployment, with nine out of ten people who are poor still being black.

The two weeks in July have reminded us that 64.2% of black people are still living in poverty in South Africa compared with only 1% of white people. Access to food, clean water, health and education is still a pipe dream for the majority of black people. Most township learners are still dependent on school nutrition programmes. Local government is not only in

a parlous state but has collapsed. Young black graduates are roaming the streets hopelessly, unhappy, angry, disillusioned and disaffected.

Only 30% of families have both parents; inequality is widening; racism is at an all-time high; public schooling is broken; public hospitals continue to fail the poor and vulnerable; crucial infrastructure is in decay; lawlessness has now become an epidemic; electricity supply continues to be uneven, unstable and unreliable.

State capture, corruption and ‘cadre deployment’ have visited untold harm to our nascent democracy. The lived experience of black people is that children born in poverty grow up to be poor, and poor mothers raise up poor children.

With these conditions ubiquitous and further deteriorating, we are leaving people with no choice. We are asking for civil and social unrest – a revolution! ‘No country can expect its economy to grow, or to live in peace and harmony, while many of its citizens remain marginalised, hungry and excluded.’¹⁹ Surely, 27 years into democracy, black people cannot only aspire to have a job but to buy a stake in current white businesses.

The still to be properly quantified impact of the two weeks in July on our economy has made the implementation of our Economic Reconstruction and Recovery Plan (ERRP) even more urgent. By 19 July, more than 350 lives had been lost, 150 000 jobs were at risk, 5 000 informal traders had been affected, 32 schools were vandalised or had equipment stolen, while one school was destroyed in a fire in KwaZulu-Natal.

More than 40 000 businesses were affected, 200 shopping centres were looted and damaged, 3 000 stores looted, 300 bank and post office outlets vandalised, 1 400 ATMs damaged, as well as 161 liquor outlets, 113 communications infrastructure points, 11 warehouses, and eight factories. There has been an estimated R1.5 billion worth of stock lost just in KwaZulu-Natal and a R50 billion impact on national GDP. About 1.5

million rounds of ammunition were stolen from a container at a depot in Prospecton. The Clicks²⁰ United Pharmaceutical Distributors was looted and the pharmaceutical company Cipla's factory in Durban was burned down. More than 90 pharmacies were destroyed and vaccines and other medication were not spared from the rampant looting and torching of buildings.

The real loss, though, is how we continue with the self-harm and self-infliction of the fifth wound (on top of state capture, recession, serial downgrades by rating agencies and the pandemic) of rampant looting and destruction of crucial infrastructure, deliberate disruption to our vaccine roll-out programme and how this ANC-led government has taken the economy back 20 years.

We will never be able to comprehend and therefore quantify the collective trauma, fear and anxiety of citizens who, at the moment of need, were failed by government in its constitutional mandate (to deepen Constitutionalism, respect for the rule of law and promotion and protection of Human Rights) and duty to protect us. The loss of the deep sense of the sanctity of life, respect for property in the public interest, the innocence of our youth. The loss of values such as not being in the habit of taking things that do not belong to you. Remember, sons learn by looking at the back of the head of their fathers. We will struggle to understand and measure the economic devastation brought about by the lowest levels of confidence, trust and hope.

The biggest loser is the ANC, which has lost its founding principles, integrity, the moral authority to be the leader of society, the legitimate claim to delivering social justice, and the social licence to continue to not only exist but thrive.

The best articulation of Madiba's dream is the Constitution, which must continue to be nurtured, advanced, anchored and supported. It is particularly

painful that this unmitigated thuggery happened in the month that the United Nations General Assembly has declared as ‘International Nelson Mandela Day’ (on 18 July to coincide with the former President’s birthday) and also on the occasion of the 25th anniversary of the adoption of the South African Constitution. These occasions are an opportunity to reflect on the fact that all of us collectively, have not succeeded in overcoming the legacy of apartheid.

This was supposed to be a moment of celebrating the auspicious and august fact that our very first democratically elected President Rolihlahla N Mandela signed this most liberal Constitution into the world on 10 December 1996 and it came into effect on 4 February 1997. This was after it was adopted by the Constitutional Assembly on 8 May and certified by the Constitutional Court in October 1996.

The cornerstone of our democracy is contained in the Bill of Rights, which enshrines basic rights of all people and affirms the democratic values of human dignity, equality and freedom. Recognising that so many sacrificed their lives for these ideals, it is the duty of every South African to vigilantly guard and continue in our quest to further strengthen our democracy.

Liberal democracy is defined by the four pillars of the free press, independent civil society, constitutional democracy and the rule of law. It is premised on producing institutions that are honest and fair, grounded in excellence, evidence and science.

I continue to marvel at how, in the most clear, crisp, concise and precise manner, the most potent intent of our forebears is captured in the preamble to the Constitution, declaring to all in the world to know that:

‘We, the people of South Africa, recognise the injustices of our past; honour those who suffered for justice and freedom in our

land; respect those who have worked to build and develop our country and believe that South Africa belongs to all who live in it, united in our diversity. We therefore, through our freely elected representatives, adopt this Constitution as the supreme law of the Republic so as to, heal the divisions of the past and establish a society based on democratic values, social justice and fundamental human rights; lay the foundations for a democratic and open society in which government is based on the will of the people and every citizen is equally protected by law; improve the quality of life of all citizens and free the potential of each person and build a united and democratic South Africa able to take its rightful place as a sovereign state in the family of nations.'

It ends with a hymn originally composed in 1897 by Enoch Sontonga, a clergyman at a Methodist Mission School, near Johannesburg. The hymn became a pan-African liberation song and versions of it were later adopted as the national anthems of five countries in Africa including Zambia, Tanzania, Namibia and Zimbabwe after independence, '*Nkosi Sikelel' iAfrika*, May God protect our people.'

In an unprecedented act of reconciliation, in 1994, President Rolihlahla N Mandela declared that both *Nkosi Sikelel' iAfrika* and the previous national anthem, *Die Stem van Suid-Afrika* would be national anthems. While the inclusion of *Nkosi Sikelel' iAfrika* celebrated the newfound freedom of most South Africans, the fact that *Die Stem* was also retained even after the fall of apartheid, represented the desire of the new government led by Mandela to respect all races and cultures in an all-inclusive new era dawning upon South Africa.

During this period, the custom was to play *Die Stem* together with *Nkosi Sikelel' iAfrika* during occasions that required the playing of a national

anthem. In 1996, a shortened, combined version of the two compositions was released as the new national anthem of South Africa under this Constitution and was adopted the following year.

This version uses several of South Africa's 11 official languages. The first two lines of the first stanza are sung in isiXhosa and the last two in isiZulu. The second stanza is sung in Sesotho. The third stanza consists of a verbatim section of *Die Stem van Suid-Afrika* and is sung in Afrikaans. The fourth and final stanza, sung in English, is a modified version of the closing lines of *Die Stem van Suid-Afrika*. The first half was arranged by Mzilikazi Khumalo and the latter half of the song was arranged by Jeanne Zaidel-Rudolph, who also wrote the final verse.

The very last two lines, 'Let us live and strive for freedom in South Africa our land' remains purely aspirational when, according to the State Land Audit 2017, of farmland owned by individuals, 72% is still owned by white people, 14% by coloured people, 5% by Indian people and 4% by black people.

It therefore behoves all the social partners, who are both implored and mandated to redouble our collective efforts to urgently address, among other things:

- Resolve the hollowed-out security cluster to ensure that we have effective early warning systems
- Demand a cohesive and capable state that has integrity, credibility and can withstand laser focus scrutiny
- Improve the quality of life of the majority of our people
- Deliver the long overdue transformation
- Decisively tackle the most extreme levels of inequality in the world
- Eliminate the dehumanising and grinding poverty
- Accelerate the implementation of the long overdue socio-economic reforms, drive inclusive socio-economic growth, and create sustainable

jobs

The reason former President Mandela referred to us as ‘the rainbow nation’ is because we all came to the negotiating table at CODESA²¹, not to take, but prepared to give up something. Ours is a negotiated settlement, albeit a particularly violent and loud democracy. We must incessantly strive to be better as South Africans.

THE GUILTY ARE AFRAID

The treasonous behaviour of the ‘Dirty Dozen’²² individuals within the ANC, in their attempt to bring the country to its knees by creating mayhem, looting, destruction of property and instability – probably to avoid their day in court – is the lowest point in our 27-year-old democracy.

It is reminiscent of *The Guilty are Afraid*, a 1957 thriller novel by British writer James Hadley Chase set against the background of a rich gangster-ridden city on the American Pacific Coast. Let us not allow ourselves to be used by known thieves who are running scared, petrified at the sudden realisation that their time of looting is over, and that the time for them, too, to go to prison has finally arrived. As South Africans who have endured so much, we know we are better than this, and certainly deserve much better than this.

Though not totally unexpected, the events of July took us by surprise and left us stunned, scared, confused, traumatised and anxious. Even though limited largely to two provinces, KwaZulu-Natal and Gauteng, the economic devastation will affect the entire country (and region). The process that culminated in former president Jacob Zuma being sentenced to 15 months in prison took at least three months, thereby giving the security forces more than enough time to prepare for this eventuality.

KwaZulu-Natal has a well-documented history of violence, from the 1980s through to the period leading up to the first democratic elections in 1994. The seeds of violence were sown and have lain dormant; the risk of insurrection has always existed. Of late a precedent has been set of mafia-like groups threatening construction companies, property developers and

even state-owned enterprises and either demanding free equity, that only individuals from their group be hired, or that only funeral undertakers from KwaZulu-Natal be allowed to bury people in the province.

There was also the tragic assassination of Richards Bay Minerals general manager Nico Swart, in broad daylight in May 2021. This precipitated Rio Tinto declaring *force majeure*. No action was taken when members of the disbanded MK²³ Military Veterans Association defied the national disaster regulations and gathered outside Nkandla²⁴, most neither wearing masks nor social distancing. Upon delivery of the Constitutional Court judgment against Zuma, the former president followed suit, marching and singing along with the members of the ‘Zulu regiments’ who converged on Nkandla – without wearing a mask.

There has been just one arrest to date of the 12 known instigators of the looting and destruction, despite intelligence officials apparently being in possession of cellphone numbers, tweets and videos they posted to deliberately inflame tensions and make the country ungovernable.

If we are to unite and start rebuilding the economy, such acts of treason and sabotage against people, property and the economy must be met with the full and unequivocal might of the law. The law enforcement agencies must immediately arrest those who have fomented this heinous crime against the people.

These events lay bare the shortcomings of a South African Police Service that is supposedly intelligence-led but is under-resourced, ill-equipped and badly trained, its finances and networks decimated by the ‘nine wasted years’ of state capture.

Caught off guard, the police soon ran out of essential equipment, cars, uniforms, bulletproof vests, rubber bullets, teargas and ammunition. They had no capacity to anticipate, prepare for and proactively implement preventive measures and were unable to process intelligence shared from

multiple outside sources, including the cooperation extended by the private security industry.

It was heartening to witness community policing forums (not vigilantes), members of the community and the SA Taxi Association stepping in to defend shopping malls and warehouses located in their areas. It is also interesting that the malls that survived were those where mall management had cultivated close relations with the communities they served, investing time and effort to engage through community liaison officers, councillors, *amabutho*²⁵ and military veterans living in the areas.

There is no doubt that unprecedented economic damage has been done. The focus in the immediate term must be on restoring normalcy, and over the longer term on pre-empting similar challenges to law and order. All social partners should collaborate to the extent possible with government and the security services, to thwart further criminality.

The worst affected parts of the country went into the weekend facing the prospect of long queues to buy basic necessities, including fuel and medicines. Distribution channels have been severely affected and, in some cases, crippled for months to come. Panic buying only worsened what was already a dire situation.

Coming in the middle of a third COVID-19 wave caused by the Delta variant, the events of July 2021 were the very definition of a super-spreader event. The destruction of distribution centres and warehouses also led to visible and regrettable disruptions to the vaccine roll-out and deliveries to hospitals.

This has demonstrated beyond any shadow of doubt the intersectionality of ethno-tribalism, rampant criminality and genuine economic desperation among ordinary South Africans. Having been buffeted from all sides by state capture, recession, ratings agencies' downgrades and the coronavirus

pandemic, our resistance and resolve has been severely thinned and hugely compromised.

The task of urgently addressing the stubbornly high levels of unemployment in South Africa, which have led to increasing levels of poverty and inequality, have become more urgent than ever. As was demonstrated, it does not take much to either trigger or instigate insurrection.

South Africa cannot afford to ignore the events of 17 December 2010 in Tunisia, when 26-year-old street vendor Mohamed Bouazizi set himself alight in the dusty provincial town of Sidi Bouzid in protest at the seizing of his vegetable stand by police for failing to have a permit. He had refused to pay a bribe and been slapped by a policewoman.

The outraged reaction to Bouazizi's desperate suicide sparked a popular revolt behind the slogan 'Pride and poverty'. The 'Arab Spring' that followed brought down governments and ushered in an era of political chaos and instability in Egypt and Libya, while Syria descended into civil war.

We were warned.

MEASURE LEADERSHIP BY RESULTS

American educator and author Stephen R Covey's list of demonstrable behaviours of trusted leaders include 'delivering results'.

Leadership should be measured by results. How else can we hold our leaders accountable? This is why I say we have a crisis of leadership in South Africa – if I look at what we set out to achieve at the dawn of our democracy, the results on a socio-economic front are not only deeply disappointing, but truly disheartening. The only sure-fire way to make progress in addressing abject poverty, rampant unemployment and pervasive inequality is through good leadership. We have seen how poor leadership has the opposite effect during the nine wasted years, and it is now time to move firmly in the opposite direction from state capture, corruption and cronyism.

When I joined BLSA, the 60-year-old organisation had an image problem. It was, after all, the institution that used to defend apartheid – an organisation that paid black people less than white people based only on the colour of their skin. BLSA had recognised this and appointed me to lead it into a new era. There was an understanding that, to give it a legitimate voice, BLSA would have to confront its own monster of a history.

I like to say that we had to learn from Alcoholics Anonymous – you must realise that you have an existential crisis, first and foremost, before you can begin to deal with the problem. And then you need to verbalise that

problem. It's when society sees you at the confessional table that society is likely to begin to take you seriously.

So that is where we began. And as we built that legitimate voice, we then needed to ask ourselves how we should choose to use this voice in the most effective, efficient, potent manner to be a force for good.

We believed (and I still believe) that business must become a force for good. As the most significant direct contributor to the South African economy, business must play its part by doing more to encourage inclusive economic growth and transformation.

Between 2017 and 2019, when I held the honour of leading BLSA, we achieved several important milestones:

- Ten compromised ministers lost their jobs
- Our major SOEs, including Eskom and Transnet, have new boards appointed by state ministers, not unelected civilians
- Most of the SOE executives implicated in the state capture project have been fired or are undergoing disciplinary hearings and, at the SABC, for example, arrests have been made
- The (Raymond Mnyamezeli Mlungisi) Zondo Commission of Inquiry into state capture commenced its investigations
- Not only is the former SARS Commissioner facing disciplinary action, a judicial commission of inquiry was been established to investigate governance and tax administration concerns, as part of the process of restoring confidence in the revenue authority
- Many of the architects of state capture, such as members of the Gupta family, have fled the country
- The new administration has prioritised the economy and placed inclusive growth and transformation at the centre of the economic agenda

BLSA continues to spearhead efforts to ensure that business plays its part in preventing and defeating corruption, reaffirming honesty, respect for the rule of law, accountability, transparency and putting South Africa first, acting with courage, integrity and consistency.

I believe that the actions of BLSA and the results it is delivering are testament to the catalytic force of good leadership.

This is what South Africa needs across every sphere – leaders who seek first to serve.

LUMKILE WISEMAN NKUHLU

Tata Professor Lumkile Wiseman Nkuhlu is one of South Africa's foremost examples of ethical leadership and I hold huge respect for him. He was South Africa's first qualified black chartered accountant and has been a tireless advocate for justice and all that is right and fair.

*He is Chancellor of the University of Pretoria, Chairman of Rothschild (SA), and was President of the International Organisation of Employers from 2008 to 2011. He has served as economic advisor to the President of the Republic of South Africa, Thabo Mbeki, and as Chief Executive of the Secretariat of New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD). Currently, as well as sitting on the board of several companies, he has authored the memoir, *Enabler or Victim? KPMG SA and State Capture*, which describes his experience as Chairman of KPMG South Africa during the turbulent period the firm experienced²⁶.*

I look up to him immensely and am beyond grateful to be able to share here with you some of his wisdom, and our shared history, which goes back some 30 years.

‘I first met Bonang in the early 1990s. At the time he was a young manager and very active in the BMF. I remember very vividly the conversations we

used to have about leadership and the need to ensure that the CODESA negotiations produce not only a constitution for a non-racial, non-sexist democratic South Africa, but also an agenda and a programme for accelerating meaningful participation of black people in the mainstream economy.

Our relationship and engagements increased when I became the president of the BMF in 1993. By then he was one of the directors of the BMF and very involved, passionate and diligent – always ready to lend a hand and to accept new challenges.

The top priorities on our agenda at the time were two matters: the financial sustainability of the BMF and the development of a programme for accelerating the democratisation of the economy. We felt that dependence on white business philanthropy was undermining the independence and credibility of the BMF. Our solution to the matter was rapid development of other revenue streams.

However, our most urgent demand was the eradication of racism at the workplace – specifically, the removal of obstacles to the advancement of black people to managerial positions. Bonang's voice could be heard loud and clear on all these issues. He boldly expressed his impatience and determination to succeed despite the obstacles imposed by apartheid.

I kept in touch with Bonang as he continued to grow as a leader in business and we would compare notes from time to time. Whenever we met, he would greet me enthusiastically and with respect as his elder brother. We would talk about our families and developments in our careers. Each time he would ask me about my wife and children with great warmth and love. His genuineness would touch me very deeply. When I enquired about his wife, Susan, I would see the glitter in his eyes and the smile on his face. As he says in his book *Lift As You Rise*, Bonang was 17 years old when he married Susan, but their love is still very hot and he is not shy to

boast about that. Of course, being the family man that he is he would also talk about his children and the rest of the family.

Even today, Bonang has not changed. When we meet, I experience the same warmth and love as in the 1990s. He has not lost his enthusiasm for life. The only difference today is that he has matured and is more patient. I have no doubt that all those who have known Bonang for some time would agree with me. He is genuine, warm and authentic.

Regarding his growth as a leader in business, what struck me from the beginning was his keenness to learn and to grow. I would observe him listening attentively to speakers at conferences and approaching them for clarifications after their presentations.

Being able to listen with a genuine intent to understand is one of the most important skills of great leaders. Acquiring this ability early is a prerequisite for achieving greatness later in life. Look at the cover of his book *Lift As You Rise*, and you will see Bonang listening with the intent to understand. Even today, when you meet Bonang for a consultation on any matter you will appreciate that he is a good listener.

Another characteristic that I noticed in Bonang early in his career is his keen interest in facts – scientifically proven information – as a basis for decision-making and action. He is very methodical and clinical in his thought processes and analysis. He invests the time that is necessary to collect relevant information, analyse it appropriately and then take an informed position.

This discipline, together with his capacity to retain and recall facts, makes his presentations very effective indeed. This is another skill that is a prerequisite to achieve greatness as a leader. A leader should be a good communicator and what he puts across should be understandable and credible to those he seeks to persuade or inspire.

There is no doubt that Bonang has invested in this skill. I remember the way he used to show interest in my own presentations, when I shared facts from a number of scientific publications. Over the years he has perfected his unique delivery style and has attained recognition for using the most up to date and relevant facts whenever he addresses an audience. This has enhanced his credibility as a leader. Unfortunately, not all leaders are as disciplined as he is. The tendency is to embellish the facts in order to achieve popularity or to appease.

Possibly, authenticity, genuine care for the interest of others, integrity, respect, diligence, being scientific and methodical and being a true patriot, best describe how I have experienced Bonang in the years that I have worked with him as a young leader in the 1990s and a mature experienced leader in the second decade of the 21st century.

The call for him to lead Business Leadership South Africa could not have come at a better time. By 2017, he had a proven record as a successful business leader, Chief Executive and Chairman of major companies. He had led these companies in dealing with major challenges that confront South Africa and the world. He had dealt with entrenched racism, denial of opportunities to blacks and women, ethical challenges that major companies face, the imperative of delivering sustainable value to society as well as climate change.

These experiences have enabled him to acquire a deep appreciation of the positive contribution that business makes to society. He had no doubt in his mind that even companies that prospered under apartheid in the past could be transformed by their current leaders to be partners in the building of a South Africa of President Mandela's imagination.

His accomplishments as a business leader with a proven record of delivering profits on a sustainable basis, while at the same time driving transformation and ensuring business conduct that is in tune with the values

and aspirations of the country, gave him tremendous credibility to drive change in the BLSA. He positioned business as a credible partner in the rebuilding of the country – not just a subservient party that has to be nice all the time, in case it gets accused of being untransformed or not committed to the new dispensation.

Bonang's leadership of BLSA may prove to have been a turning point in the fortunes of our country. History shows that trust and alignment between the government and business are crucial to socio-economic progress, especially for countries that are small and integrated in the global economy. Economic policies adopted by a country should make sense not only to domestic constituencies but also to investors worldwide. Bonang was well positioned to articulate this imperative, not only to the government but to labour and broader society.

One of Bonang's great contributions in his capacity as CEO of BLSA was the role he played in galvanising a strong business voice against corruption and state capture.

In the past, business leaders tended to be mute when one of them was found to be entangled in corruption. Even in cases where unethical conduct and brazen corruption resulted in huge job losses and damage to the economy the voice of business would remain inaudible. With Bonang and Jabu Mabuza at the helm of BLSA, all that changed.

They did not only condemn state capture and corruption, they also took action against their own members who were implicated in corruption. This was a major step in addressing the trust deficit between business and the public.

Therefore, I can say without any shadow of doubt that as a result of Bonang's leadership, the BLSA's legitimacy as a partner to the government and civil society has been greatly enhanced by his values, leadership and patriotism and have had a lasting impact.

The enhanced trust was clearly demonstrated in the manner the BLSA and other business formations responded to the COVID-19 pandemic in early 2020. Agreements on collaborative initiatives were achieved in record time and both parties could agree or disagree without always attributing differences to lack of good faith.

Much as Bonang was no longer at the helm of BLSA, his voice could be heard, urging business and government to work together – again using his voice to promote the public interest.

Having returned to a corporate leadership position, Bonang continues to be a mentor, a coach and a confidant to many young leaders. Obviously, he continues to question and to explore new ways of improving himself as a human being and as a citizen of South Africa and the world. This process never stops, especially for Bonang, who always makes sure that he has the most up-to-date and most relevant information at his fingertips.

He continues to be a fervent campaigner for ethical leadership and good governance. He does not only talk about these things; he lives them and it can be observed in how he leads as well as conducts himself.

Like many of us he is very anxious to see those who caused harm to our country and its institutions through state capture and corruption go to jail. He believes, as I do, that for the country to learn from the state capture and corruption crisis, the findings of the Judge Zondo Commission of Inquiry should lead to incarceration of implicated high-profile politicians and businessmen and women. It will be tragic if the Inquiry leads to no criminal cases and convictions. If that happens, it will leave a legacy that we will all regret, which is that one can get rich through corruption and get away with it. This will open the door for egoistic ambitious characters to repeat what we experienced in the last ten years in a generation or two. To ensure that this does not happen we should demonstrate beyond doubt that corruption

does not pay; that the end result is disgrace, rejection by society and spending the rest of your life in jail.

Of course, this is not the only weapon we have against corruption and unethical conduct. The more potent weapon is to nurture and grow conscious leaders modelled after Bonang's values, character and leadership style – leaders who are inspired not only by their self-interest but more by the desire to contribute to the growth and welfare of others. Leaders who conduct themselves with integrity, who are proficient in what they do. Leaders who are in tune with their environment, and genuinely care about the impact of their organisations on the planet.

Bonang has shown us the way. He is a good role model. The challenge is for all of us as leaders to aspire and strive for greatness as Bonang continues to do.'

LEADERSHIP LEGACY STARTS WITH SUCCESSION PLANNING

There's an old adage, 'No one is a blacksmith at birth.' The essence is that we all need to learn the skills to make our way in the world. Becoming a CEO is no different. True leaders are obsessed with people development and so, to me, one of the signs of excellent leadership is proper succession planning. This is something I have tried to put into practice in my own life, most recently at BLSA.

I had personally worked with my 'successor to be', 'Mè²⁷ Busisiwe Mavuso, at the Black Management Forum (BMF) where she was the Financial Director when I was on the board. 'Mè Koko Khumalo and I were subsequently elected to be deputy president and president, respectively. Being obsessed with the personal growth and development of previously disadvantaged individuals, the presidency decided to offer to pay for 'Mè Busisiwe to go back to university on full pay to complete her studies towards her CA(SA) board exams and thereafter serve her articles.

Being a mom to Tshiamo and Lunga, she requested that she rather be allowed to pursue an MBL degree through Unisa School of Business Leadership (SBL) part time. We were absolutely determined to work with her and prepare her to eventually be the Chief Financial Officer (CFO) of one of the top five listed entities on the JSE. We decided to get her an experienced CFO with a demonstrable track record, Mr Philani Dlamini, to work with her until she felt ready to assume the CFO role.

Much later, at BLSA when I was elected deputy chairman to Dr Jabulane A Mabuza and the board ultimately requested me to consider being the CEO, I agreed on condition that I do this for no more than a year and, together with the board, I search for and prepare my own successor. This was subsequently included as one of my KPAs.

The scene was set and the foundation laid when the board approved the new BLSA with a five-year strategy to 2021. The strategy was built on the concept of partnerships for oversized and outsized impact.

It rested on three pillars and it was no accident that the very first was to enable ‘inclusive socio-economic growth AND transformation’. We were crystal clear that the people we wanted to include are black people in general and African women in particular. For us, transformation meant a fundamental change in both form and character to ensure that what we were creating would bear absolutely no resemblance to the past.

The second pillar was ‘the protection of key state institutions’ and in the height of state capture, we meant the Chapter 9 Institutions²⁸, as these were most under siege. Not once did we doubt that a company can, when powered by strong beliefs and wholesome principles, be a positive agent of change, in a way which good governments welcome and bad governments fear.

The third pillar was positioning ‘business as a national asset’ as it was crucially important that business must continue to do well by doing good – that business cannot continue to be an island of prosperity in a sea of poverty. Because business employs about 13.5 million people versus government’s 1.3 million people, and is endowed with both disproportionate resources and a voice that it must use loudly and judiciously, we were convinced that when business does well, society generally does well too.

We took seriously our own responsibility in creating jobs in large numbers, not just in and of itself, but as a resilient act of creating markets of the future. For me, the four critical aspects of strategy execution are to put together a peak-performing team that you trust, create clarity, communicate clarity and reiterate clarity.

With the full support of the board, I obtained the requisite approval to go and headhunt 'Mè Busisiwe from the BMF as my potential successor. I duly offered her a letter of appointment as CFO of BLSA, effective 1 November 2017.

After she accepted the offer and duly signed the letter of appointment, even before she started, I went back to the board with two new specific requests to be very intentional, explicit and transparent about the board's intent to make her ready for the CEO role by changing her role from CFO to COO, a role that was specifically created, and to also appoint her to the board in her own right, thereby finding an elegant solution to our constitution.

Only then did I share the full picture with her. We also made it clear to the rest of the organisation that, subject to performance, delivery, wholesome conduct, etc, she is the 'CEO Designate'. We wanted to frame the expectation of all our broader stakeholder community and set her up for success.

I truly believe that to act clearly, one must speak clearly, precisely because one thinks clearly. I worked with her for a full year where she was responsible for all the operations, ensuring her exposure to the entire business, and personally introduced her to every single, solitary one of our 86 CEOs.

For her own continued personal growth and development, we paid for her personal executive coach and even before she had spent a week at BLSA, we sent her to parliament to represent business on the 'political party

funding bill' presentations, having ensured that she was appropriately and adequately prepared. We let her lead the planning, relocation and all logistics of both BLSA and Business Unity South Africa head offices to Sandton. We nominated her to serve on the council of the University of Fort Hare and the board of directors of the new Eskom (as part of the five names we submitted, of which four were accepted).

We ensured that she played a prominent role during the launch of the new strategy 2021, the Integrity Pledge, Integrity Fund and 'reason to believe' campaign in Alexandra township. She held a leadership role during the launches of the BLSA Connect, the SA SME Fund and Youth Employment Service (YES) by the President of the Republic, as well as during the reintegration of Business Against Crime (BAC) back into BLSA, and the Jobs Summit and Investment Summit, where R290 billion was raised.

I had no doubt that she was ready at the end of that year, especially because I ensured her full exposure to the board that met 11 times and the council that met six times in that particular year.

However, being in the middle of the unfolding state capture project, the board asked me to continue in my role for at least one more year to maintain the momentum gathered. I only agreed on condition that the board confirm her as 'CEO Designate' as it was conducting quarterly reviews of both our performance, and it was absolutely satisfied, as demonstrated by the full short-term incentives/bonuses awarded and above-average salary increases granted.

I duly proceeded, with the support of the board, to totally delegate all decision-making to her for the full six months of my remaining second year.

I also ensured that she literally ran all the 45 individual engagements already scheduled with our member CEOs just for that year. The last month of June 2019, I physically relocated her into the CEO's office in order to

ensure that the whole organisation deferred to her on ALL decisions required to be made.

The very last and equally important task, having seamlessly handed over to her, was to get out of the way, to create a safe space for her to describe, define and shape her empire in her own image and fashion.

For the whole six months after she assumed her CEO role, I maintained absolute media silence and even the media interviews that were already confirmed, I deferred to her. When I resumed, after six months, I was very purposeful to highlight, celebrate and speak only about her. My last one-on-one with her, with the greatest of humility, communicated with respect and understanding, I reiterated that, 'I will not even call as you must be the one to reach out about anything and everything, irrespective of its significance and/or size.'

You see, I continue to be inspired by Rev Tiyo Soga (1829-1871) the first ordained African Priest, who earned his Theology degree in Scotland and married Janet 'Nosantso' Burnside, who poignantly reflected that we must, 'assist one another, patronise talent in one another, prefer one another's business, shops ... just for the reason that it is better to elevate kindred and countrymen before all others.'

It is Marcus Aurelius, the Roman Emperor and philosopher who accentuated this notion when he implored us that, 'We ought to do good to others as simply as a horse runs or a bee makes honey or a vine bears grapes, season after season, without thinking of the grapes it has borne.'

It is the author, Vivian Greene, who opined that life is not about waiting for the storm to pass; it is about learning how to dance in the rain.

In the final analysis, a greater measure of success is who we become in the process of succeeding.

This has been a hugely rewarding journey. Really, living is about giving. It was James Heller who reminds us that a candle loses nothing by lighting

another.

Never stop sharing, caring and helping others because it makes our life more meaningful.

I include below my congratulatory note to 'Mè Busisiwe on the occasion of her official appointment to the position of CEO of BLSA:

'Mè Busisiwe,

As you ponder what exactly you are going to do first, on your first day in the office, on Monday, 01 July...

When you start your well-earned and much deserved role as the new CEO of BLSA, I deemed it necessary to drop you a personal note, as I am still stuck in Hotel Nikko, Kansai Airport, Osaka. My flight has now been delayed for a second successive night.

Heartiest congratulations and well done.

Your resilience and singularity of purpose has come through. I am delighted to hand over to a good quality human being of your exceptional calibre. You are that rare individual who is unforgettable!

Watching your explosive, boundless energy, unabated enthusiasm and sharp rationale in defending democracy, few would know that you are a very private, shy introvert. Highly competent, professional, totally in charge and totally on top of your work. Extremely hard working, operational – get down and understand the numbers – and naturally intuitive, bold with a tough edge and a staying power to match, unflappable consistency and approachable, responsible and responsive, decisive, passionate and demanding, kind, caring, warm and supportive, a superb

manager and a very bright scholar, pragmatic and penetrating and highly engaging and present in the moment with an amazing ability to forge lasting relationships.

I wish you everything of the absolute best as you begin a new journey of self-discovery and service tomorrow. Your whole life has been a struggle for excellence, personal growth and development full of progressive accomplishments. You just continue to make us extremely proud indeed. We know for sure that, even in this difficult challenge, you will, again succeed, precisely because it is not easy. We will always be there for you. It was Bill Cosby who accentuated this point when he said, ‘In order to succeed, your desire for success should be greater than your fear of failure.’

Do continue forth with confidence, your gentle courtesy as you extend your gift of time to others. Seize this moment of transition marking the end of the old order and entry into the new one – wildly liberating and often terrifying too.

The challenges for you are: what shapes your identity, what type of a legacy do you want to start building and how are you going to use some markers to frame your own life? Anchors matter, as not only do they build shared identity, but they also provide psychological comfort (for purposes of reassurance and social cohesion) in a still hostile world.

Do continue to be a loving mom and considerate parent to both your daughter, Tshiamo and son, Lunga.

Bonang

ANDILE NOMLALA

Brother Andile Nomlala, or Ntate Nobhula, as I call him, is President of Black Management Forum (BMF) and my long-term comrade at that commendable organisation. He is also the founder and CEO of NCS Investments, a private equity firm that focuses on investing in SME businesses looking to scale. We have known each other for many years now, and it is a delight to share some of our shared memories with you, as told by Andile.

Sticking his neck out for the BMF

‘In September 2012, Ntate Bonang Mohale found himself cornered by a group of young BMF professionals at a dinner in that French village of the Western Cape, aptly named Franschhoek.

As Ntate Mohale’s eyes feasted over the Cape Dutch architecture, the towering mountains, the valleys carpeted by the lush-green vineyards, the impatient youthful folk put an abrupt end to the sighting.

Instead, we put in front of his bespectacled face a bunch of presidential nomination forms for him to sign, pronto.

In that moment, Ntate Mohale discovered we were not in Franschhoek simply for the Shiraz or Cabernet Sauvignon blended red drink often served with that brownish and pink juicy steak.

The mountains of Franschhoek became witness to a campaign where we nudged Ntate Mohale to quickly put ink on paper and sign the nomination

acceptance forms. A total of seven out of the nine South African provinces wanted him to contest for the BMF presidency.

The clock was ticking fast, as the nomination process was closing in less than 24 hours.

As young fellows, we were determined to secure his acceptance before his dinner plate was emptied. We did not want to give him much time to somersault and refuse to contest.

In 2012, the BMF presidential challenge was narrowed down to Ntate Mohale and Sis Tembakazi Mnyaka. The latter was seen as an extension of the then outgoing president Mzwanele Manyi.

People who know Ntate Mohale will tell you he is a man driven by unity. We were concerned that he would invoke his ‘harmony’ principles and refuse to contest.

Our anxiety was not overstated because Ntate Mohale had set a precedent in 2009. He was due to go against Mzwanele Manyi for the BMF Presidency, but chose not to avail himself at the very last minute.

To our surprise, he was the keynote speaker at the same Annual General Meeting where President Manyi was re-elected.

And so, on the eve of Ntate Mohale’s nomination in September 2012, my palms had been sweaty, gripped by a bundle of nerves, thanks to his conduct.

Before cornering him in Franschhoek, the Western Cape BMF Provincial Committee had invited Sis Tembakazi and Ntate Mohale to a manifesto session. We wanted both of them to state their case on why they regarded themselves fit to lead the BMF.

Both candidates had flown down to Cape Town to honour our invitation.

As I arrived at the University of Cape Town Graduate School of Business, the venue of the event, I could hear Ntate Mohale’s alto voice from afar. He

was his jovial self, even making a cup of coffee for his presidential rival Sis Tembakazi and one young professional lady from the province.

I was obviously stunned that we had created a platform for someone to lobby, yet he was busy making coffee for his opponent instead of campaigning members. I was told by my colleagues that the great camaraderie showed by Ntate Mohale was his nature. He was exhibiting his authenticity.

That was my first humbling lesson from the man. Right there, Ntate Mohale, in not so many words, taught me that even if you are contesting someone for the highest office you do not need to be hostile to them as they are not your enemy.

President Bonang's demeanour is always that of a very humble person. He makes time to greet people and spends a minute or two checking on their well-being. When you have an encounter with him, he makes you feel you have known each other for years. He is very welcoming and receptive to people.

When I first shook his hand at the 2009 AGM, he made me feel like I had just greeted the most important person in the BMF. From there on I grew fonder of him.

I started addressing him by the respectful phrase of Ntate Mohale or President Mohale. In turn, he called me Ntate Nobhula (my clan name) or President Nomlala.

It was the manifesto gathering of September 2012 that really reassured us he was the right man to lead BMF. A few other committee members and I were then tasked by the province to have a follow up with him and get him to sign his nomination forms in Franschhoek.

When we elected him as President of the BMF, the organisation was viewed as a desk of the African National Congress (ANC). The BMF

relationship with the ANC was too close for the non-partisan organisation that we are.

In fact, in my view, before Ntate Mohale's ascension to the Presidency, the BMF was immensely compromised in the eyes of the public. We could not be confrontational on many wrong things that were happening in the country. We turned a blind eye on corruption. The BMF went quiet on its principle of espousing ethical leadership.

When we elected Ntate Mohale we wanted him to repair and restore the BMF image. We knew his integrity. The other reason we fought for him as the leaders of BMF Young Professionals was because of his support for the young blood.

We knew he would rally behind the call of making BMF Young Professionals a formally affiliated structure of BMF and its national chairperson to be represented on the BMF board. He indeed made sure that happened in 2012.

During his term, BMF launched the Transformation Barometer and Transformation Master Plan. It was a well thought through tool. Through this we were able to take stock on the progress of transformation and what needed to be done.

It was under his selfless leadership that the image and legacy of BMF stalwart, Lot Ndlovu, was rekindled. During Ntate Mohale's tenure the BMF launched a book about the late President Ndlovu.

In the 1980s the stalwart Lot Ndlovu had been instrumental in getting Ntate Mohale to join the BMF and spend over three decades on its board.

When I was elected chairperson of the BMF in the Western Cape, in early 2015, I had the privilege to serve on his board a few months before his term ended in October 2015.

In BMF board meetings, Ntate Mohale would engage in a manner that accommodated everybody. He made you feel like an equal of his, even

though you could tell he was miles ahead. He taught me patience and humility. Even though we knew he was far more senior and quite accomplished he never made us feel small. In fact, sometimes you could tell that he felt our engagements were below his level, but he still remained patient with us.

Ntate Mohale taught me the importance of time. He was never late and ensured that meetings started and finished as scheduled. He would literally keep his watch next to him. As President he was meticulous. He gave ample time for discussions, but knew when to cut the conversations and get the board to take decisions. That was one of the valuable lessons I learnt from him.

I can safely say Ntate Mohale was one of the people who gave me the confidence that I could also lead the BMF as President. He rallied BMF stalwarts, such as Bheki Sibiya, Eric Mafuna, Nolitha Fakude and Dr Reuel Khoza, as pillars of support during my tenure.

He created a platform where I had access to the best advice on leadership and navigating the BMF challenges.

President Mohale is deliberate about accelerating the people he works with, more especially women. Busi Mavuso, who has served the BMF for years as Finance Manager, can attest to this. Every time a BMF Managing Director (MD) resigned, Busi would be asked to act in that capacity.

It was under President Mohale's term that Busi Mavuso was appointed as COO, making her a member of the Executive Committee. Later Busi was made MD of the BMF. She remains one of the best MDs the BMF has ever had.

While all human beings are not perfect, looking for imperfection in President Mohale was unthinkable. The gentleman represented the epitome of leadership to me and as a result have never paid attention to things he does not do well.'

PART 5

COLLABORATION AND COMMITMENT

What is needed now, more than ever, is integrated national effort by all South Africans to re-establish a sense of greater good.

We need to all work together to restore confidence, extend trust and give hope.

South Africa entered this pandemic at our weakest. The economy was already devastated by us. Twenty-seven years into democracy, we have squandered both our social and political capital.

What is needed now, more than ever, is integrated national effort by all South Africans to re-establish a sense of greater good. It might be useful to focus on those things that are common amongst us than on those where we might differ.

Examining the policy documents that have been launched recently, *all* geared towards the country's *urgent* socio-economic recovery from COVID-19 (including National Treasury's *Towards an Economic Strategy for South Africa*²⁹ and the Supplementary Budget; *Reconstruction, Growth and Transformation: Building a New, Inclusive Economy*³⁰, developed by the Economic Transformation Committee (ETC) of the ANC, and Business for South Africa (B4SA)'s *A New Inclusive Economic Future for South*

*Africa: Delivering an Accelerated Economic Recovery Strategy*³¹⁾ and comparing and contrasting these with the country's national economic vision, the National Development Plan (NDP) 2030³²⁾, it is heartening that our challenges are very well understood and articulated. Similarly, the requisite solutions are equally well understood and articulated.

The NDP 2030, after much intense work and input from highly competent experts, correctly diagnosed our nine challenges and proffered excellent solutions. The challenges it lays out are that too few South Africans are employed; the quality of school education for most black people is sub-standard; poorly located and inadequate infrastructure limits social inclusion and faster economic growth; spatial challenges continue to marginalise the poor; South Africa's growth path is highly resource intensive and hence unsustainable; the ailing public health system confronts a massive disease burden; the performance of the public service is uneven; corruption undermines state legitimacy and service delivery; and South Africa remains a divided society.

The framework outlined in the *Reconstruction, Growth and Transformation* document has been developed with the objective of building a new, inclusive economy. It also starts by correctly identifying that the COVID-19 pandemic continues to impact negatively on economic activity in South Africa and around the world – unemployment is rising, businesses are under pressure and public finances are being stretched.

South Africa's legacy of underdevelopment and the country's ongoing realities of poverty and racial and gender inequality are once again being exposed for all to see. The first pillar of the new policy framework is to mobilise society around an infrastructure-led recovery with new investments in energy; water and sanitation; roads and bridges; human settlements, health and education; digital infrastructure and public transport.

To achieve significant job creation multipliers, the emphasis will be on localisation, including maximising the use of South African materials and construction companies as well as labour-intensive methods. While it is an urgent priority that state capacity to plan and monitor the execution of infrastructure projects should be strengthened, there will also need to be expanded use of public-private partnerships (PPPs), including build, operate and transfer project delivery methods.

The establishment of an Infrastructure Development Agency in the Presidency will play a useful role in complementing the pockets of excellence that currently exist within the SOEs with regard to project management capabilities.

B4SA's *A New Inclusive Economic Future for South Africa: Delivering an Accelerated Economic Recovery Strategy* also starts by observing that a coherent economic recovery strategy (which should be clearly articulated as well as competently and efficiently implemented and led with visible urgency), will enable a new narrative to be established about South Africa's macro-economic potential. In so doing, it will improve confidence, investment, inclusive growth and unemployment levels.

The work prioritises 12 key initiatives, from a list of over 50, some of which can be launched immediately, across 11 high-impact sectors. B4SA has also identified 12 initiatives: secure an affordable electricity supply; fast-track the green economy; implement Transnet's Road to Rail Strategy; ports expansion; road infrastructure; full spectrum utilisation; e-learning and digital health platforms; e-commerce acceleration; water infrastructure; maximise commercial agricultural output; import replacement focus, and increased financial inclusion and lower cost of capital.

For each of these high-impact areas, B4SA has considered the critical enablers and success factors that are prerequisites for activating employment and reducing poverty and inequality. The following themes

have been identified as priorities: policy consistency; regulatory reform; addressing crime, corruption and undoing state capture; infrastructure investment; SOE restructuring, optimisation or exit; energy industrialisation strategy; economic transformation and B-BBEE; addressing skills shortages; and investing for modernisation.

A recurring conclusion across most sectors is that infrastructure is a key enabler, which must be addressed with urgency if businesses are to deliver inclusive growth. A constructive, effective policy framework is required to support and sustain growth.

What needs to be done to make all of this happen?

Strategy is simply defined as how to compete. We compete at a country, business and individual level.

We need a committed leadership willing to make difficult, sometimes unpalatable choices focused on appropriate policies, which enable investment and inclusive socio-economic growth. A leadership that is able to rise above its immediate interest, because to truly act in our own interest, we must first act in the best interest of others.

We need to have consensus, especially on the economy, by all social partners – devoid of factional and ideological self-interests and without resource contestation.

We need a more socially conscious business and flexible labour. We need a Nedlac³³ that will deliver a social and economic compact of a shared, compelling, coherent, clear, crisp, concise and precise national vision – not just a bargaining chamber.

We need to harness the pockets of excellence in the public sector, together with the huge managerial capacity in the private sector.

We still urgently need far-reaching structural economic reforms *and* fiscal austerity; to unlock the township title deeds on land; to effectively and efficiently implement the R500 billion COVID-19 economic stimulus

package; to charge the top state capture miscreants; to eliminate R32 billion in increasing irregular, fruitless and wasteful expenditure; to deal decisively with the R450 billion Eskom debt and the R128 billion cumulative bailouts; to grow GDP by a minimum 4%, otherwise we are standing still (with interest rates at about 8% and CPI about 4%).

We need to auction the 5G spectrum; re-activate the next round of renewable energy; fast track infrastructure PPPs broadly; restore the effective tax collection capacity lost during the nine wasted years; expand the tax base; clamp down hard on tax evasion; reduce the deficit to zero (preferably quickly moving into surplus); sell some non-core assets; dramatically cut/eliminate the red tape, and only seriously consider increasing the tax rate as the absolute last resort before we kill the goose that lays the golden eggs.

That is what needs to be done.

LESSONS FROM SELFLESS LEADERS

This is something I wrote in the wake of state capture, but I think it remains relevant now – in fact, perhaps more relevant than ever – as South Africa faces the many challenges wrought by the pandemic. The solutions lie, as ever, in leadership and in selflessness.

Mangaliso Robert Sobukwe, born in 1924, was a political dissident, a freedom fighter, the founder and leader of the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC), and a man from whom we can learn much. He was a great leader, an intellectual and lived a profound life until his premature death in 1978. For me, the quintessential question is what can today's South Africa learn from him?

What can we learn from this humble firewood salesman, who went on to become National Secretary of the ANC Youth League, a teacher, a lecturer, a lawyer and Methodist Church lay preacher, who was so feared by the apartheid government, that he was deemed to be more radical and more difficult an opponent than the 'regular' political prisoners?

Sobukwe is best remembered for initiating and leading the 21 March 1960 anti-pass law protests³⁴. He was the only liberation leader in South Africa's history to be imprisoned on Robben Island without even a mock trial, remaining in solitary confinement for another six years, banned from

praying in public for fear that he would conscientise black people about the struggle.

At the end of his sentence, the apartheid parliament enacted a ‘General Law Amendment Act’, including the ‘Sobukwe Clause’ that allowed the Minister of Justice to detain any political prisoner indefinitely, which was renewed every year and was never used to detain anyone else.

Eventually released from prison in 1969, Sobukwe was immediately placed under strict house arrest where he lived in Kimberley. He was fed pieces of broken glass in his food and poisoned in secret. Even after his death, in apartheid South Africa, Sobukwe’s voice could not be quoted nor heard.

Sobukwe, like nature, is a wonderful metaphor for business. Please allow me to use the self-selected sacrifice and indomitable spirit of his lifelong struggle as an emblem for the gigantic battle still facing us.

Strategy is simply how to compete and the conversations around strategy are littered with military jargon. But fixing a broken economy is like nothing else. It is not just a career or a job. It will demand everything and often takes it all. It is selflessness personified. It is about living a life that few imagine but many know so well – a life marked deeply by sacrifice.

Even though he was the founding president for only a year before his incarceration, Sobukwe’s ethos was one of teamwork, integrity and duty – making the struggle essentially democratic. He prioritised listening and communicating carefully to get the best out of the liberation team. This attitude comes from Sobukwe’s confidence and intelligence – how he thought and how ready he was to express his opinion within the framework of the liberation struggle’s discipline.

Exposing plans and ideas to robust challenge is vital at this time, when arrogance, bluff and half-truths will cost lives. The trust underpinning this openness must be built on a tradition of the toughest and arduous training.

Like all rites of passage, it bonds recruits to the cause so that each knows they can trust the other and themselves. Most of all, it proves that a comrade has the integrity to go beyond their own safety, to put the mission and other comrades first; where selfishness is the worst sin because it undermines trust and cohesion. In contrast, generosity and care make units stronger.

Comrades know each other well and care for each other because it matters. Beyond fear there is a romance and faith required to fight for what is right.

Like a church, the struggle transforms this ethos from the ordinary into a badge of honour. Faith in the struggle – its tenets listed as struggle honours – makes dishonour more terrifying than any enemy.

After our democracy, belief in the struggle is not enough. More than anything, you really have to believe in your country to risk everything to defend it. It is never about you – it is about the country we serve.

In his inaugural address to South Africa's Parliament, President Cyril Ramaphosa, as our new State President, quoted a song by the late Bra Hugh Masekela³⁵, *Send Me/Thuma Mina*, which, like the verse in the Bible it references³⁶, highlights the need for self-sacrifice and individual responsibility. The State President's State of the Nation Address (SONA) invocation must find both resonance and expression in every one of us, in everything that we do – every day:

Thuma Mina

'I wanna be there when the people start to turn it around.

When they triumph over poverty.

I wanna be there when the people win the battle against Aids.

I wanna lend a hand.

I wanna be there for the alcoholic.

I wanna be there for the drug addict.

I wanna be there for the victim of violence and abuse.

I wanna lend a hand.

Send me.

There is an urgent need for all of us to be seized with the task of rebuilding post state capture. In the same way that in modern-day Japan they talk of ‘after Hiroshima and Nagasaki’; in Russia they talk of ‘post the 1917 Revolution’; and in Angola, of ‘after Savimbi died’, I have absolutely no doubt that South Africans will continue to look back and talk about ‘after February 2018’, which ushered in ‘The New Dawn³⁷’.

How do we begin to pick up the pieces after the most daring and brazen industrial scale looting known as state capture? We are in a critical situation. We are very vulnerable. This is a crisis of epic proportions.

In the context of a developmental state ideology finding expression in our economic vision, we have the NDP 2030, which holds that our country has a legitimate right to expect both transformation *and* performance, equality and justice. And yet the reality is still witnessed through the tearful eyes of those 90% of students at Fort Hare University who are totally dependent on the National Student Financial Aid Scheme (NSFAS)³⁸, not only for their tuition and accommodation, but for their survival. Every day more children risk their lives for an education in schools that crumble around them.

The year 2017 will be remembered for unparalleled gruesome images of Life Esidimeni patients’ painful deaths³⁹ and their relatives’ harrowing testimonies to locate their loved ones.

Our key state institutions and SOEs have ordinarily and systematically been slammed with hurriedly promoted, usually untested, largely incompetent and often corrupt ‘cadre deployments’ where performance was not even expected.

It requires all social partners to approach the resolution of this, not so much looking at ‘what is in it for me’, but like Sobukwe, prepared to give up something. Therefore, to ultimately emerge from this self-inflicted, home-grown own goal, I submit that our institutions and SOEs were the target of repurposing for the sole intent of ferocious state capture. They must now be transformed, strategically managed and judiciously governed, to offer South Africans, not our second, but last real chance. It took a mere decade to destroy them but will take much more than 10 years to fix.

The hitherto narrative of the African continent – of coups d’etat, wars, famine, droughts, sick or dying children; the Africa whose people need saving, are poor, desperate, hopeless and lost; defined by corruption and HIV/Aids – that narrative must now give way to a new one.

The new narrative should tell of our Africa that, in the language of poets, is the cradle of mankind, the root of civilisation; where we see ourselves as heroines and heroes; owning the strength in our name, where the sense of joy is an inhibitor of fear. Africans should be a proud people worthy of pursuit of happiness, enveloped by beautiful, mighty images that connect; offspring of brave women warriors. Where African people are happy revolutionaries filled with hope; achieving our own entrusted dreams; serving as a positive inspirational reference point; steeped in rich cultural heritage, mythology, and symbolism of both science and fiction; where people are comfortable to play both objects and subjects; where communication is not only verbal; where understanding is more important than love purely because we experience, feel and see love everywhere as something and anything.

This Africa, like the rest of the world, has a full appreciation that liberal democracy still means a free press, independent civil society, constitutional democracy and the rule of law – that contrition remains an ongoing process

where you have to continue asking for forgiveness and remain grateful for the mercy shown.

Currently, South Africa is a complex place where our children's idiosyncratic upbringing wears away their innocence – a righteousness that is deeply powerful and naively abstract; sobering. Our apartheid scars are raw, open wounds. It's an enigma, where articulate cosmopolitan young women with the means and education of the oppressors, but the skin colour of the oppressed – a discomfort that deeply pains – are able to shine light on the class divide and the power imbalance that have torn away the post-apartheid optimism of the 'Rainbow Nation'. South Africa is now a sharply divided country – an echo chamber of the identity politics of the country's deeply torn youth and oblivious white compatriots.

In this new Africa, a racist no longer believes certain ethnic groups to be inferior because of the acceptance, as the philosopher, Amartya Sen accentuates, that 'Nobody is only one thing – simply black or white, Muslim or Jew.'

In this Africa, there is an appreciation that we all have multiple identities – one can be black, Christian, Sowetan, a mother, a sister, a niece, etc.

Like Orwell says, 'To think clearly, we need to speak clearly.' For as long as colour affects one's life chances, being colour-blind means not seeing reality.

This Africa is inspired by former President, Rolihlahla Nelson Mandela's epiphany upon his release from Pollsmoor Prison, that, 'As I walked out the door towards the gate that would lead to my freedom, I knew that if I didn't leave my bitterness and hatred behind, I'd still be in prison.'

This is an Africa of Mangaliso R Sobukwe taking full advantage of its place in history; whose time has finally arrived. Propelled by factors necessary for consumer opportunities, such as the rise of the middle class, exponential population growth, the dominance of youth, rapid urbanisation

and the continued fast adoption of digital technologies, in this Africa, Millennials and Generation Z implore us to favour ethical consumerism and reject gender stereotyping.

This is a new Africa; an Africa affirming that it is a growing imperative that corporate responsibility and positive social impact should be at the heart of a business strategy and the driving force behind every decision taken. In this Africa, we're accelerating the achievement and realisation of 'The High 5 Agenda for African Development'⁴⁰ to light up and power; feed; industrialise, integrate and improve the quality of life for the people of Africa.

We must never rest until and unless the entire bottom half has been lifted into the middle class, because our Constitution does not only implore us to acknowledge the injustices of the past but that we are all mandated to correct these.

IMAGINING A NEW AFRICA, POST-PANDEMIC

The height of folly is not taking action when you have the data.

With the prolonged COVID-19 recession continuing to bring uncertainty to credit markets, risk appetite among South African investors continues to be low, with investors demanding a much higher risk premium for low-rated bonds.

With the current constitutional, political, economic, health, unemployment, and gender-based violence crises, South Africa is in a state of war, if not worse. Africa's once biggest, most sophisticated, (largely extractive still) diversified and resilient economy, with the strongest private sector, has lost its shine, purpose and true north.

For the economy to achieve not a new but a better normal, many things now need to be done simultaneously, concurrently and in parallel. It's pretty much like building a plane while flying it.

The trick is to accept that we cannot fix everything. We can't keep on analysing and eloquently talking about the problems. What is needed now is concrete solutions. Even after consulting, there comes a time to decide and, most importantly, to *do*.

It will need all the social partners and the convening power of faith-based organisations working together in concert, on the same things, pulling in the same direction, for the same ultimate objective and the same story, in a united, coherent and coordinated fashion like synchronised swimming, to

co-create this better normal. Because amongst us, we know the issues; we have all the answers and the tools we need.

We must agree on big things and stop bickering on small ones – a coalescing of the rational centre.

But areas where we still have not succeeded, among others, are in safety and security, health and education.

The economy is in disarray. We now find ourselves in a parlous financial state; governance has collapsed; electricity supply is inconsistent, unreliable and unstable. The much-needed national dialogue towards a national compact for national action, has not yet materialised.

As in most African countries, our leaders shun the public institutions, safety and security, hospitals and schools, thereby depriving themselves of the opportunity to personally experience these public services in the execution of their primary responsibility as public servants in public service – elevating themselves above the very people they are meant to serve instead of living with them.

Unless one knows what is happening on the ground, one is clueless and rudderless. You can't fix what you don't know. Our 'leaders' are alienated and therefore unable to lift their own people, who are still without opportunities, jobs, money and food.

Under such a dire state, people often gravitate towards charismatic characters. Unwilling to do what we have to do, when it needs to be done, the result is pedestrian economic growth, stubbornly high unemployment, increasing poverty, sky-high inequality, poor service delivery by an unresponsive and weak state, short-term thinking, lack of continuity, and lower voter turnout, among other things. Starting and doing business in South Africa is too complicated.

So, what needs to be done?

At the risk of repeating myself (although I feel this point bears repeating), all the social partners must commit to action, dedicate resources, put action plans in place, determine deadlines and assign final accountabilities in execution of the ‘four, foremost, overriding priorities’ the President identified in his SONA speech of 12 February 2021: to defeat the coronavirus pandemic; accelerate our economic recovery; implement economic reforms to create sustainable jobs, and drive inclusive growth and fight corruption and strengthen the state.

We need a compelling vision driven by nimble, responsive and accessible leadership that will deliver, not promise, inclusive socio-economic growth *and* transformation. Not either/or, but both, together and at the same time.

I maintain that the biggest injustice is exclusion. The majority of black people, and women, have not personally benefited from the democracy dividend.

We must start with what we have, not what we wish we had. We need a much more, not less, assertive redistribution strategy. Because we have not succeeded in changing the apartheid spatial planning, most black people are still unable to save, with transport gobbling up no less than 40% of their already meagre salaries. This goes up to more than 70% when you add the cost of food.

We therefore demand ethical leadership – leaders, who, by definition, will give us absolute transparency and final accountability. The Constitution of the Republic of South Africa says we must create a Public Service that must loyally execute the lawful policies of the government of the day [Section 197 (1)]. Further, employees of the Public Service may not be favoured or prejudiced because they support a particular political party [Section 197 (3)].

More importantly, Section 195 (1) of the Constitution spells out the values and principles that must govern public administration. These include a high

standard of professional ethics, effectiveness and efficiency, a responsive public service, accountability, and a development-orientated public service.

These ideals are what we must pursue, with an increased sense of urgency, if we wish to build a new South Africa – a new Africa – that makes good on its nascent potential.

AFRICA IS NOT POOR, JUST POORLY MANAGED

The vaccine roll-out was always a race. The country that achieves herd immunity first will reap the global tourism pent-up demand. It is a sorry state of affairs that Africa is reduced to a begging continent, unable to procure vaccines for its own people, depending, once again, on the goodwill of the world's aid and not trade.

The effects of the pandemic have proven to be devastating on both the production and demand sides of the economy. The decline in GDP growth has been largely due to the marked slowdown in economic activity, coupled with widespread disruptions in both international, regional and domestic supply chains.

Saving lives and preserving livelihoods was always going to be a monumental task. Though Africa is rich in resources, the continent and its people have been exploited for decades – centuries. Yes, several countries in Africa are among the poorest in the world and a large section of the population lives below the poverty line. While Africa carries about 20% of the global burden of disease, its scientific output represents less than 1% of the world's share. Africa represents the youngest and fastest-growing population in the world (the median age of an African individual is 19.7 years vs 38.4 years for the median individual in the US).

The implementation of the African Continental Free Trade Area (AfCFTA) agreement will boost intra-Africa trade. Africa is the world's second-largest and second-most populous continent, after Asia in both

cases, and the most centrally located continent in the world with both the prime meridian (0 degrees longitude), and the equator (0 degrees latitude) cutting across it, therefore receiving direct sunlight throughout the year.

A distinctively unique continent among all seven continents of the world, it has everything – from a pink lake in Senegal⁴¹, to its incredibly diverse cultures. It is rich in cultural heritage, a wealth of natural resources, and offers breathtaking tourist attractions. Both the world's tallest and largest land animals are found in abundance here (the giraffe and the African elephant, respectively). And so is the world's longest river (the Nile) and the world's largest desert (the Sahara).

The equator passes through the middle of the so-called Dark Continent (its terrain was uninhabitable and remained unknown for thousands of years, earning it the name of 'Dark Continent') and it receives direct sunlight throughout the year.

The largest waterfall in Africa, Victoria Falls, indigenously called Mosi-oa-Tunya, or 'The Smoke That Thunders', is found on the mighty Zambezi River, and is 1.6 kilometres wide, plunging a misty 108 metres into the narrow Batoka Gorge, forming part of the border between Zimbabwe and Zambia.

At about 30.4 million km², including adjacent islands, Africa covers 6% of Earth's total surface area and 20% of its land area.

With 1.3 billion people as of 2018, it accounts for about 16% of the world's human population and 55 of its countries (54 sovereign African states, plus the territory of the Sahrawi Arab Democratic Republic, are members of the African Union, a federation of African nations established in 2001 in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia). The people of these 55 states speak more than 3 000 languages and have formal GDP of \$2.6 trillion.

According to the 2019 World Bank report, the top ten African economies by GDP in billions of US dollars are: Nigeria at 448; South Africa at 351;

Egypt at 303; Algeria at 171; Morocco at 120; Ethiopia at 95.9; Kenya at 95.5; Angola at 88.8; Ghana at 67 and Tanzania at 63.2.

Historically, there have been different waves of ‘outflows’ from Africa – African explorations and expansions outside the continent, as well as mass deportations of Africans to different regions of the world via trafficking, displacements caused by colonisation, and postcolonial migrations.

In addition to its usefulness in reflecting the diversity of trajectories and the continuity of relationships, the concept of global Africa also provides a better understanding of the aspirations of new generations in Africa and its diasporas to contribute to the African Renaissance and the construction of a twenty-first century pan-Africanism.

The Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), with its untapped deposits of raw minerals estimated to be worth in excess of US\$24 trillion, is widely considered to be the richest country in the world in terms of mineral resources. It has large reserves of cobalt, gold, gems, copper, timber and uranium.

However, the most valuable resource that the DRC possesses is its large reserve of diamonds. Diamonds essentially serve as a pillar to the DRC’s struggling economy. With a surface area equivalent to that of Western Europe, it is the largest country in sub-Saharan Africa, the second-largest in all of Africa and the 11th-largest in the world. It has one of the largest forest reserves in Africa, the world’s second largest rainforest and about half of the hydroelectric potential of the continent.

Zambia is one of the continent’s biggest copper producers and has the world’s ninth richest copper deposits. The ‘big four mines’, Barrick Lumwana, FQM Kansanshi, Motani and Konkola Copper Mines (KCM), account for around 80% of Zambia’s annual copper production. They account for most of the mining employment, most of the corporate social investment and most of the media publicity and are the leaders in direct

fixed investment in the industry, having ploughed a collective \$12.4 billion into new mining projects between 2000 and 2014. They are a barometer for the state of health of the mining industry and, by extension, of the Zambian economy.

Ye Barrick Lumwana is wholly owned by the Canadian company Barrick, which is the world's largest gold-mining company. The other three each also have a majority foreign shareholding. The Zambian government, through its investment holding company, ZCCM-IH, is a minority shareholder in nearly all of them and is, in effect, the biggest shareholder in Zambia's mining industry.

Ghana is Africa's largest gold producer, producing 80.5 tonnes in 2008. Ghana is also a major producer of bauxite, manganese and diamonds, with 23 large-scale mining companies. There are also over 300 registered small scale mining groups and 90 mine support service companies. The mining industry in Ghana accounts for 5% of the country's GDP and minerals make up 37% of total exports, of which gold contributes over 90% of the total mineral exports.

About 70% of the world's cocoa beans come from four West African countries, namely, Côte d'Ivoire, Ghana, Nigeria and Cameroon. Côte d'Ivoire and Ghana are by far the two largest producers of cocoa, accounting for more than 50% of the world's cocoa.

Nigeria is the eleventh largest (and Africa's biggest) crude oil producer, with 18 operating pipelines and an average daily production of over two million barrels in 2019. The petroleum industry accounts for about 9% of Nigeria's GDP and for over 90% of oil export value.

Arlit uranium mining operation, on the southern border of the Sahara Desert in West African country, Niger, ranks as the fourth largest in the world by uranium production. The mine produced 3,065 tonnes of uranium in 2012. The Arlit mining operation comprises several open pits exploiting

four main uranium deposits, namely Arlit, Tamou, Tagora and Artois in north-western Niger.

Rössing Uranium Mine, located near the town of Arandis in the Erongo Region of Namibia, is the sixth largest uranium producing mine globally. The open-pit mine produced 2,289 tonnes of uranium in 2012.

Operating since 1976, Rössing is the first uranium mine in Namibia and one of the oldest in the world. Langer Heinrich uranium mine, located in the Namib Desert, 40 kilometres south-east of the Rio Tinto-operated Rössing Uranium Mine, is the ninth largest uranium producing mine in the world. The open-pit mine produced 1,960 tonnes of uranium in 2012.

South Africa is internationally respected; is a member of the G20 and the World Economic Forum; sits on the UN Security Council; has the most diversified and industrialised economy; offers a sophisticated and promising emerging market, as well as modern and well developed transport infrastructure; provides a healthy legal and regulatory environment for business, a strong financial and banking sector, an internationally acclaimed and independent central bank (SARB), an innovative and dynamic technology sector; and is home to a large number of multinational headquarters. South Deep Gold Mine in South Africa has the largest gold deposits in the world. It is also the seventh deepest mine in the world, with a mine depth up to 2 998 metres below the surface. The managed mineral reserve at South Deep as of December 2018 stood at 32.8 million ounces.

Mponeng gold mine located near the town of Carletonville, is owned and operated by AngloGold Ashanti. The underground gold mine is also currently the deepest mine in the world with a depth of more than four kilometres below the surface. The mine had contained gold reserve of 11.65 million ounces (36.47 metric tonnes – grading 9.93g/t gold), as of December 2018. It produced 265 000 ounces of gold in 2018. The mine

uses a sequential grid mining method. The gold plant complex and the shafts at Mponeng were commissioned in 1986.

South Africa also produces over 250 metric tonnes of coal every year. It is estimated that almost 75% of this coal is used domestically. Nearly 80% of the energy needs of South Africa are taken care of by coal and over 90% of the coal consumed on the entire African continent is produced in South Africa. The biggest coal deposits can be found in the Ecca deposits, a vein of the Karoo Supergroup in South Africa. The Ecca Group covers approximately two-thirds of the country and contains over a third of the coal reserves in the entire Southern Hemisphere.

All of these facts sound enormously impressive.

Yet none of the African countries beneficiate and all export, only to import the finished product, often at about ten times the original cost.

This guarantees jobs in other continents (mostly Europe) and condemns Africa to a self-perpetuating, vicious cycle of abject poverty.

Africa's path through and beyond the COVID-19 crisis will be determined to a large extent by the actions that all social partners take in the not-too-distant future.

In the immediate term, it will be important for African countries to find smart approaches to reopening economies, building sustainability and, over time, resilience, while ensuring that populations are protected from the virus. As I have said time and time again, the biggest injustice is exclusion and there is no possession like land.

This will require innovative thinking, along with decisive action.

At the same time, the virus also confronts the continent with an imperative to begin looking ahead and repurposing, reimagining and reopening African societies, business, developmental institutions and government, to emerge from the crisis with greater inclusion, smarter development, better services and more globally competitive enterprises.

We must accelerate our digital transformation; put renewed focus on serving the needs of vulnerable urban populations; transform our healthcare systems, with a focus on resilience, equity and social justice; strengthen sector competitiveness through consolidation and innovation; reshape manufacturing, with a focus on self-reliance and resilience; catalyse the formalisation of our economies; prepare for a more active government role in the economy; forge a stronger social contract between citizens and government and sustain momentum in country, regional and pan-African cooperation.

We *all* must begin the arduous task of restoring confidence, extending trust and giving our people hope.

South Africans will celebrate when they see top state capture miscreants in orange overalls. We are desperate for some big-ticket wins.

More than ever, we need focused and moral leadership from the ruling party, government and business to work together. Rooting out corruption and defeating state capture in both the private and public sectors remain a priority.

What South Africa needs now, more than ever, is common purpose for common good, and a common enemy like we used to have. We collectively succeeded in defeating the common enemy of apartheid. This time, the enemies are state capture, corruption and the COVID-19 pandemic. South Africans must truly know one another. Over time, we might even like one another. We must mobilise, galvanise, agitate and orchestrate around the new common enemy.

We must build a better country for all.

We are the generation that must do the heavy lifting so that our children can find their own new battles. The time for only moaning and groaning is over because, if it is to be, then it is up to you and me.

TROUBLED COUNTRIES DO TURN AROUND

The Republic of Rwanda is a landlocked country in the Great Rift Valley, where the African Great Lakes region and East Africa converge – one of the smallest countries on the African mainland, with Kigali as its capital city. The Rwandan genocide against the Tutsi occurred between 7 April and 15 July 1994, during the Rwandan Civil War, and more than 800 000 Tutsis were killed. Yet, within just 20 years, Rwanda is in the top seven of the fastest growing economies in the world, a model of unity and reconciliation, with even free WiFi on buses in Kigali.

The economic crisis that hit Ireland in 2008 stemmed from an uncontrolled real estate bubble that had developed over the previous five years and the resulting collapse in the domestic financial system, which was heavily exposed to the property market. The collapse had an immediate and very severe impact on all aspects of the economy. Urgent measures were taken to deal with the deterioration in the public finances in the Budget for 2009 through the National Recovery and Resilience Plan. A very large fiscal adjustment was necessary to restore order to the public finances, which began in 2009 and it has continued to this day. Yet the economy continued to grow right through to 2014.

Ranking tenth among the world's largest economic powers and fourth in Asia in 2021, South Korea is famous for its spectacular rise from one of the poorest countries in the world to a developed, high-income country in just one generation. During the global financial crisis of 2007-2008, the country

maintained a stable economy and even experienced economic growth during the peak of the crisis. Since the announcement of the 'Korean New Deal' in early May 2020, President Moon's cabinet has been swift to accelerate the implementation of this economic recovery policy. While much of the policy was initially focused on the transition to a digital economy, the policy has now been re-framed to include environmental sustainability. According to updates released following the sixth emergency economy meeting, the government has committed C\$85 billion over the next five years to implement the Korean New Deal, which it hopes will help create 550 000 new jobs. South Korea has experienced remarkable success in combining rapid economic growth with significant reductions in poverty. Income per capita increased from US\$100 in 1963 to more than US\$31 762 today with a 4.1% unemployment rate (according to the International Monetary Fund, 2021).

When impoverished, disease-ridden Republic of Singapore became independent in 1965, the nation's leader, Lee Kuan Yew, had to build an economy almost from scratch. The island's success is even more remarkable when you consider the dire circumstances the newly independent state found itself in, in 1965, when it was expelled from a short-lived merger with Malaysia. What it has achieved borders on the miraculous. It is unprecedented and is unlikely to be repeated anywhere else, despite the large body of academic work devoted to trying to decipher the 'Singapore model'. This tiny state, which continues to sit on top of the global economic pile, with a population of just over five million, has once again been acknowledged by the World Bank as the best place in the world in which to do business. This is the seventh consecutive year that Singapore has won this highly coveted accolade. With a per capita income of around US\$61 000, it is also the world's richest non-resource-based country. This sovereign island city-state in maritime Southeast Asia is ranked the best

country in the world in human capital development in 2020 (according to the World Bank, 2021). According to Labour Market Advance, Singapore also made improvements in total employment and local employment towards the end of 2020.

Singapore's economy is characterised by excellent finances and a high degree of openness. It is also among the world's top three oil export refining centres, the world's busiest trans-shipment port, the world's biggest manufacturer of jack-up rigs, the only Asian country to have AAA credit ratings from all three major credit rating agencies – Standard & Poor's, Moody's and Fitch – and among the world's handful of highly sophisticated financial centres.

According to the Index of Economic Freedom, it is also the second most free economy in the world and considered the world's most efficient and least corrupt nation. Beyond economics, it has the least rush-hour traffic density of any capital city. It is reputed to have the best designed and integrated public housing on Earth and the swathes of trees, flowers, shrubs and parks that cover the urban infrastructure have given it the well-deserved reputation of a 'garden city'.

Singapore is determined to continue its march towards a knowledge-based economy and is upgrading both its high-end technical training and providing companies with subsidies to increase their rate of mechanisation. In 2000, it set up the Agency for Science, Technology and Research (A*STAR) and it is devoting more of the budget to research and development, as well as the promotion of innovation, entrepreneurship and attracting foreign talent. The mega three-phase One North science-culture project is an important move to anchor Singapore in the higher reaches of the knowledge-based economy structure.

Troubled countries (or as Donald Trump once called them 'shithole countries') can and do turn around. Even wealthy, developed countries,

such as the United States itself, have not travelled only smooth roads.

On 5 June 1947, US Secretary of State, George Marshall, announced the European Recovery Program (later known as the Marshall Plan) in a famous commencement address at Harvard University. He said that it was 'logical' for the United States to do whatever it could to restore the region to economic growth, 'without which there can be no political stability and no assured peace'.

The plan, funded by the US government and administered by a Europe-wide commission, spent US\$13 billion over four years, engendering the highest rate of economic growth (about 35% per year) in European history. When the work of the plan was finished, the economies of every western European country had not just returned to pre-war levels of growth and economic development, but surpassed them. Since then, the Marshall Plan has been widely regarded as a triumph and an example of foreign aid as an enabler of large-scale economic revitalisation.

The plan had four components: the way aid money was gathered and spent; the intensive involvement of the private sector; every European government making economic policy reforms to support its domestic private sector; and a regional coordinating body that handled the distribution of funds among countries.

At the completion of the Marshall Plan period, European agricultural and industrial production were markedly higher, the balance of trade and related 'dollar gap' much improved and significant steps had been taken toward trade liberalisation and economic integration.

Historians believe the Marshall Plan affected the political development of some European countries, as well as US/Europe relations. The European Recovery Program assistance is believed to have contributed to more positive morale in Europe and improved stability (both political and economic), which helped decrease the strength of domestic communist

parties. The US political and economic role in Europe was enhanced and trade with Europe was improved significantly.

Although many disparate elements of the Marshall Plan assistance speak to the present, the circumstances faced now by most other parts of the world are so different and more complex than those encountered by Western Europe in the period 1948-1952 that the solution posed for one is not entirely applicable to the other.

Even if countries exist whose needs are similar in nature to what the Marshall Plan provided, the position of the United States has changed since the late 1940s as well. The roughly \$13.3 billion provided by the United States to 16 nations over a period of less than four years equals an estimated \$143 billion in 2017 currency.

That being clear, during the past few years, some leaders have proposed it as a model for helping an entirely different region. A call has gone out for a Marshall Plan for Africa. Extreme poverty, civil wars and disease have ravaged much of the continent, leaving it poorer today than it was 20 years ago.

Sub-Saharan Africa in particular, which is home to two-thirds of the world's least developed countries, is the focus of greatest concern. Marshall's logic applies just as well to Africa today – a thriving business sector is the key to improving political and social conditions and Africa today needs that sort of help. The first Marshall Plan accomplished even more than its creators had hoped. If its successor is designed with the same conceptual base, then history could repeat itself in another part of the world.

In 1960, the average output per worker of African countries was about the same as that of Asian economies. But the latter have since experienced a boom, whereas most African economies have stagnated or deteriorated. This lack of growth has reinforced war and dictatorship throughout the continent, just as it threatened to do in Europe after World War II.

Most of today's 'Marshall Plan for Africa' proposals have little in common with the original Marshall Plan. But there are some important similarities between Europe then and Africa now.

One is the sense of urgency. Africa is in danger of economic and social collapse, whereas Europe was under threat of Soviet advance.

The second similarity is the recognition that the speed of implementation is critical – the original plan lasted only four years and most of the present-day plans aspire to offer help in a similar time frame.

Third, the financial scale of the original Marshall Plan was similar to today's proposals – both involved spending about \$20 billion per year in today's dollars.

I believe that an effective 'Marshall Plan for Africa' should concentrate exclusively on business development. As with the original, the business sector must lead it. Administrators and decision makers should, once again, be drawn from that sector – present in flesh as well as spirit.

Like the original, the plan should focus on business infrastructure. In Africa, that would mean not just hardware – upgrades in electricity distribution, telecommunications and transportation – but also a sort of 'software'. This software would include financial institutions, business schools and associations, anti-corruption units and courts – all of which must be improved or created in most African countries to enable their business communities to expand.

The African Continental Free Trade Area (AfCFTA) is a free trade area founded in 2018, with trade having commenced on 1 January 2021. It was created by the African Continental Free Trade Agreement among 54 of the 55 African Union nations. It is the world's largest free trade area (by geography) since the formation of the World Trade Organization. It aims to bring together all 55 member states of the African Union (AU) covering a market of more than 1.3 billion people, including a growing middle class

whose purchasing power is increasing, and a combined gross domestic product (GDP) of \$2.6 trillion.

Estimates from the United Nations Economic Commission for Africa (UNECA) suggest that the AfCFTA has the potential to boost intra-African trade by 52.3%, and to double this trade if non-tariff barriers are also reduced. It has eight strategic objectives, namely: creating a single market for goods and services, facilitated by the movement of people; contributing to the movement of capital and people and facilitating investment; creating a continental customs union; expanding intra-African trade; resolving the challenges of overlapping memberships in regional economic arrangements; promoting sustainable and inclusive economic development; boosting industrial development and enhancing competitiveness.

In March 2018, three separate agreements were signed, the African Continental Free Trade Agreement, the Kigali Declaration and the Protocol on Free Movement of Persons. The three agreements work with the aim of reducing bureaucracy, harmonising regulations and avoiding protectionism on the African continent. These will also expand intra-African trade through better harmonisation and coordination of rules across Africa. Also of significant interest are the so-called 'Phase II' protocols, still currently being negotiated, which will include the investment protocol that will decide the important question of how intra-African investments are protected, whether intra-African investors will be able to start an investor-state dispute on the basis of the protections contained in the treaty and if they can, in what forum.

Investors will be able to do business on a single set of trade and investment rules across the African continent. They will also be able to take advantage of economies of scale and avoid the challenges of market fragmentation.

While COVID-19 has had a significant impact on the economic fortunes of the African Union, the fact that economic integration is progressing under AfCFTA and that international organisations are providing support, will likely fuel investor confidence in the long-term prospects of the region, thereby accelerating intra-African trade and boosting Africa's trading position in the global market by strengthening Africa's common voice and policy space in global trade negotiations.

Urgently implemented and with the singularity of purpose, the only logical outcome will be an integrated, prosperous and peaceful Africa, driven by its own citizens and representing a dynamic force in the global arena.

South Africa's COVID-19 roll-out has demonstrated that we have finally reached a breaking point with the economy rapidly deindustrialising and on its knees; young black graduates roam the streets hopelessly; inequality has widened; racism is at an all-time high; public schooling is broken; public hospitals fail the poor and vulnerable; crucial infrastructure is in decay; lawlessness is epidemic, electricity supply continues to be uneven, unstable and unreliable; GDP growth is lower than the emerging markets, our BRICS counterparts and the rest of the continent; the value of money is eroding; income, wealth and assets continue to be concentrated in fewer hands; our educational outcomes are not improving; we're seeing record-low levels of confidence, trust and hope.

What needs to be done is to engender an absolute obsession with ethical, transparent and finally accountable leadership. We must prioritise good governance; implement land reform; deliver an inclusive economic growth, focused resource mobilisation, wealth redistribution and entrepreneurial revolution; boost job creation for oversized and outsized impact, and prioritise regional integration and cooperation.

THE SOUTH AFRICA I WANT TO LIVE IN

South Africa has produced numerous blueprints for the future, rather than just pick one *and* deliver it. The country's current fiscal crisis has absolutely nothing to do with the availability and adequacy of resources but everything to do with our inability to manage, plan lead and coordinate – our inability to *do*.

When one considers that SARS collects, on average, about R1.4 trillion rand per annum and there are currently about 57.8 million of us, there is absolutely *no* reason whatsoever as to why anyone should go to bed hungry.

The state capture project simply exacerbated this already ominous situation. The nine wasted years were wasteful at a grand scale where we were rendered passive by ubiquitous industrial scale looting. About R1.5 trillion of waste in just four years!

We estimate an average of R100 billion every year was siphoned off to the 'Zupta Family'. Bosasa⁴² netted R12 billion from 2004 and VBS⁴³ squandered R1.8 billion of investors' hard-earned cash.

Former president Rolihlahla Nelson Mandela inherited a technically bankrupt country in May 1994, but during his tenure, the size of the economy doubled. In seamlessly handing over to former president Thabo M Mbeki, South Africa was to enjoy 43 consecutive quarters of positive GDP growth.

Had we continued on this upward and forward trajectory, our GDP growth and unemployment rates would be less severely affected by the COVID-19

pandemic.

State capture has brought about irreparable harm, dashed dreams, caused profound disappointment and human tragedy, leaving millions in avoidable and often desperate poverty. When economic freedom – the ability of individuals and families to make their own economic decisions without interference from government – is extended to all, it generates positive social and economic outcomes, including opportunity; increased economic growth; enhanced job creation; economic diversification; political stability; peaceful development of other freedoms; etc.

It should concern all of us that Ayn Rand wrote the following more than 60 years ago:

‘Money is the barometer of a society’s virtue. When you see that trading is done, not by consent, but by compulsion – when you see that in order to produce, you need to obtain permission from men who produce nothing – when you see that money is flowing to those who deal, not in goods, but in favours – when you see that men get richer by graft and by pull than by work, and your laws don’t protect you against them, but protect them against you – when you see corruption being rewarded and honesty becoming a self-sacrifice – you may know that your society is doomed.’

The South Africa I want to live in must work much harder for the ultimate achievement of our new Constitutional values:

- Human dignity, the achievement of equality and the advancement of human rights and freedoms
- Non-racialism and non-sexism and
- Supremacy of the Constitution and the rule of law

There is no doubt that all of us, collectively, have not succeeded in eradicating the legacy of apartheid and colonialism!

We dare not give up on the miracle of the South Africa of Rolihlahla Nelson Mandela's dreams.

We must continue this dream of a South Africa that has been forcibly pulled from the abyss and placed on the pedestal of hope. A South Africa that is free, humane, noble and beautiful – upholding good over evil and affirming the dignity of all its people; where the vast majority of our people own assets with no more suffering inflicted by degrading poverty. Where hunger is banished forever because all will be gainfully productive; where the young and our women feel both safe and equal – a nation diligently at work to create a better life for itself. A winning nation joined together into one nation of many colours, cultures and diverse origins.

I also dream of a South Africa that is on an economic path that will ensure a bright and better future for all its citizens.

PART 6

GOVERNMENT AND GOVERNANCE

Our challenges are many and varied. Some are structural whilst others are cyclical. The painful fact is that most are self-inflicted as a direct result of decisions and choices we make.

In the wake of the ANC being once again voted into power after our sixth free, fair and credible national elections on Wednesday, 8 May 2019, and following the inauguration of the fourth democratically elected president of the Republic, President Cyril Ramaphosa, on Saturday, 25 May 2019, I wrote a list in early 2018 of the priorities that BLSA believed the new government needed to address, urgently.

That list remains relevant today, perhaps more so. Many of the issues continue to stand in the way of growth and prosperity for our country, and some have been exacerbated by the pandemic. I therefore continue to believe that our government's priorities should be to:

- Eradicate the legacy of apartheid (the metaphors and tropes of the colonial and apartheid past continue to damage the present)
- Root out and defeat state capture (increase transparency and accountability)
- Ensure clear and enforced rule of law

- Fix the SOEs
- Reduce government debt
- Reduce bloated public service due to patronage (a trimmed-down corruption-fighting Cabinet)
- Accelerate the rate of transformation
- Facilitate the creation of jobs in large numbers
- Prioritise inclusive socio-economic growth
- Rededicate itself to huge infrastructure investments

As democracy is perfected, the office of president represents more and more closely the inner soul of the people.

– H. L. Mencken, American scholar

However, while government has a critical role to play, so too do the other social partners. Business, labour, our educational institutions and civil society – we must each do our part.

DEMOCRATISING CAPITALISM

I believe that the world is converging and disintegrating at the same time. In 2002, Michael Mandelbaum, one of America's leading foreign policy thinkers, building upon what Woodrow Wilson proclaimed more than a century ago, wrote an illuminating and thought-provoking piece of work, *The Ideas that Conquered the World*.

He argued that three ideas dominate the world in the 21st century: peace as the preferred basis for relations between and among different countries; democracy as the optimal way to organise political life; and free markets as the indispensable vehicle for the creation of wealth.

Mandelbaum posits that the free market has become the most widely accepted institution in all of human history and that the rise of free markets holds the key to a peaceful and democratic future. He charts the course and explains the interconnectedness of ideas, politics and economics.

Of course, there is no country in the world that practises capitalism in its purest form. Capitalism's great historic strengths have been its ability to reform and change shape as social needs and democratic demands shift.

Democratising capitalism is precipitated by the fact that our country and our political economy appear to be grinding to a slow halt. The institutions on which this political economy is built are crumbling and standard economic concepts and methods seem inadequate.

Looking self-critically at our present, we compare the world we now know against the world we imagined we would be in – at that poignant moment in the history of this country as we queued and voted for the very first time; the South Africa we have all been praying for; the South Africa

of Rolihlahla Nelson Mandela's dreams. There is no doubt that, collectively, we have not succeeded in eradicating the legacy of apartheid and the 350 years of colonialism. This cannot be simply explained away, masked nor defended.

Martin Wolf, in the *Financial Times*, 19 September 2017 article, 'Capitalism and Democracy – the odd couple', argues that we are making a bad job of reconciling the tensions to hold this marriage together.

Wolf opines that democracy is in recession. After spreading across the globe between the 1970s and early 2000s, it is in retreat. Also in retreat is the belief in a liberal global economy.

Larry Diamond of the Hoover Institution has propounded the idea of a 'democratic recession'. Roberto Foa of the University of Melbourne and Harvard's Yascha Mounk have referred to 'the democratic disconnect', pointing to a depressing loss of belief in democracy in the US and Europe.

In its 2017 annual report⁴⁴, Freedom House noted that 'a total of 67 countries suffered net declines in political rights and civil liberties in 2016, compared with 36 that registered gains. This marked the 11th consecutive year in which declines outnumbered improvements.'

'In brief, the industrial revolution has ultimately led to a political revolution, from autocracy towards democracy. Moreover, periods of globalisation have been associated with the spread of democracy and periods of de-globalisation with the reverse,' Wolf writes.

He notes that Harvard's Benjamin Friedman has argued that periods of prosperity strengthen democratisation and vice versa.

Since 1820, average global real income per capita have risen thirteen-fold and even further in high-income countries. As economies progress, people needed to be educated. Such changes and mass mobilisation for industrialised warfare, strengthen demands for political inclusion. In reverse, the financial crises

that destroyed globalisation in the 1930s and damaged it after 2008 led to poverty, insecurity and anger. Such feelings are not conducive to the trust necessary for a healthy democracy. At the very least, democracy requires confidence that winners will not use their temporary power to destroy the losers. If trust disappears, politics becomes poisonous.

The link is not just empirical. Democracy and capitalism rest on an ideal of equality: everybody may share in political decision-making and do the best they can in the market. These freedoms were revolutionary not that long ago. Yet deep conflicts also exist. Democratic politics depends on solidarity; capitalists do not care about nationality. Democracy is local; capitalism is essentially global. Democratic politics is founded on the equality of citizens; capitalism cares little about the distribution of riches. Democracy says all citizens have a voice; capitalism gives the rich by far the loudest. Electorates desire some economic security; capitalism is prone to boom and bust.

The tensions between national democracy and global capitalism can be ruinous, as the 1930s proved. Yet history also shows that the two systems do go together, albeit uneasily.

This is not to argue that all market economies are democracies or that all market economies must be globalised. It is to argue that stable democracies also possess at least reasonably open market economies. No alternative way of managing the affairs of complex societies has proved workable. The aim must now be to manage capitalism so that it supports democracy and to manage democracy so that it makes global capitalism work better for all.

Today, we are making a mess of this marriage. We must do far better. – Martin Wolf

I am in agreement.

We must force ourselves to move much more from a production and consumption narrative towards a more sharing and caring narrative.

We must express hope that the future-orientated dialogue of key stakeholders will create a community of shared interest and, ultimately, one of shared purpose.

The ethical basis for capitalism must be that it offers better life chances for a majority of citizens. We must think of both capitalism and human rights in one breath.

We must all, collectively, do much more to eradicate the nightmare and deep horrors that rendered black people and women both victims and survivors – dehumanised, dispossessed, violated, oppressed and repressed.

Race and identity still predetermine one's social and economic position. Whiteness has been constructed as an opposite of blackness. Social compacting was undertaken with white men. It's therefore unsurprising that, 27 years after the legal end of apartheid, South Africa remains deeply racist, sexist, patriarchal, misogynistic and xenophobic.

Othering and bigotry continue to be weekend braai conversation staples. It was George Orwell who implored us that, 'to think clearly is a necessary first step toward political regeneration.'

As long as colour affects life chances and opportunities, being colour-blind means not seeing reality. To rise above the racism of the past, we must acknowledge it. It is hard for an individual or a country to evolve past discomfort if the source of the anxiety is only discussed in hushed tones.

The South African Constitution sets us a higher standard. The Bill of Rights holds all equal; outlaws discrimination on any grounds; and protects

the right to dignity for all.

Freedom of opportunity and freedom from domination, with individual agency and a stake in the economy, with one's own capital, is the very least we can guarantee.

What then are the sources of wealth in our historical context without large transfers of land and asset ownership? Because only 5% of our people own individual land and more than 80% have absolutely no assets.

History is replete with examples of how an economy inherits a system of power relations, where natural resources are exploited for both economic and political purposes.

What then should be the role of government?

When other countries boast transformative interventions like sovereign wealth funds; education coupons; reparations; Basic Income Grants; in South Africa, poverty still has both a black and feminine face.

We are still struggling with the moment of integration where identity has moved. Under apartheid, the Japanese were conferred 'honorary white' status, whereas the Chinese were conferred 'not white' status. Now, comingling has replaced the Immorality Act⁴⁵; the English and Afrikaners merged into 'white'.

Momentum for a better life for all must be maintained.

Most people just want to see incremental progress and also want to share in that momentum and progress. Again, history can be a good teacher and there are examples we can draw from of what may help and what may hinder.

For example, the State of Alaska still sends everyone a cheque once a year⁴⁶, which is a form of basic income for many.

On the other hand, at the end of the US Civil War in 1865, dealing with the fact that the Constitution allowed slavery, General William T Sherman made the promise that would come to be known as ‘40 acres and a mule’ (officially Special Field Order No. 15), which proposed redistributing a huge tract of Atlantic coastline to African Americans recently freed from bondage as a way of compensating them for suffering under slavery and other forms of racial injustice.

President Abraham Lincoln and Congress gave their approval and soon 40 000 freed women and men in the South had started to plant and build. Within months of President Lincoln’s assassination though, President Andrew Johnson rescinded the order and returned the land to its former owners.

In Britain, Margaret Thatcher gave council houses to workers; East Germans were given tangible economic benefits as some kind of reparations; Malaysia’s Bumiputera were intentionally included in the economic mainstream, thereby transforming their quality of life.

Land is the first means of production. Government must ensure a thriving property-owning democracy that is underpinned by home ownership by all – in control of their own land and therefore, their own destiny. Where asset ownership, as part of belonging to society, is guaranteed.

We must be quite purposeful about how we think deeply about our ‘pre-redistribution’ past and why ‘distribution’ must be completed in our lifetime, in order for our children to thrive in a ‘post-redistribution’ epoch.

We must boldly and decisively deal with this dilemma between our painful past and hopeful future. We must do more to reimagine and develop our own language and meaning of productivity, value addition and returns.

What then should be the role of labour?

Won't it be fantastic when labour can really care about what is in South Africa's best interest and global competitiveness, thereby freeing itself of 'ideology for its own sake', being genuinely concerned about the well-being and resilience of its own members in the long term?

To a large extent, labour is already an employer and shareholder in most companies through a plethora of union-owned investment companies and the Government Employees Pension Fund (GEPF), that 'owns' the Public Investment Corporation (PIC) – the biggest asset manager on the continent – with about R2 trillion assets under management.

With such an arsenal, labour can genuinely drive infrastructure investment and transformation of the boards of directors and the executives in this country. Instruments like employee stock ownership plans (ESOPs) and shared prosperity can be a palpable reality for the majority of workers. This could transform ordinary workers into serious economic players – active participants versus passive recipients; producers versus consumers; givers versus takers – to give real meaning to a shared sense of prosperity and wealth.

Where globalisation has undermined local communities, labour can be a powerful mitigating agent.

There are instructive lessons offered by the French Revolution that gave the world the three famous 'freedoms', namely *liberté, égalité, fraternité*: liberty, equality and fraternity.

For us, liberty is our 'long struggled for' freedom – freedom of speech, association and freedom from hunger. Equality of individuals and in particular 'relational equality', but most especially the power relations around the place of work. It is the last one that is the most profound for me – fraternity. Brotherhood – this notion that 'we care about each other and one another'. It is hugely premised on trust, the reliance on me to do what I

said I would do; the trust that I believe you deeply care about my interest. Status accorded by what you contributed rather than just what you have.

What then should be the role of business?

It was Marcus Aurelius, Roman Emperor and Philosopher, that opined, ‘We ought to do good to others as simply as a horse runs, or a bee makes honey, or a vine bears grapes, season after season, without thinking of the grapes it has borne.’

The definition of a successful company is one that develops a corporate soul – not just a group of people gathered together for a joint commercial purpose. This is much more than the sum of its many and varied parts. It is the ethos that drives it and makes it special.

This requires not only doing right by the business but also the societies in which it operates. John Naisbitt, an American author, accentuates this point, when he stated, ‘The most exciting breakthroughs of the 21st century will not occur because of technology but because of an expanding concept of what it means to be human.’

Politics determines economics.

The role of business, therefore, must surely be to survive; deliver *shared* value; deliver on what it says and promises; do no harm; make the world a better place; give the world ethical leadership and true engagement *and* grow our own timber (i.e. develop our own talent pools) by taking education much more seriously.

Leadership is about mustering courage to shape one’s sense of character and making a difference – about helping people to see how our common humanity could benefit from the desired outcomes and why the effort is worth the investment of sacrifice, dedication and resources.

Business is no longer on the periphery of development. It is intricately intertwined with society and its citizenry role. Business must do well by doing good because it cannot continue to be an island of prosperity in a sea of poverty.

The broader societal issues of justice, fairness, equality and peace must be at the core of business and its desired outcomes. Business cannot continue to be indifferent to the plight of the most vulnerable. It must be deeply committed to ethics, integrity, respect and moral values – it must be committed to ‘doing the right thing’.

There is a need to restore trust, faith and confidence in business (and government). Business must work much harder. What a strange and wonderful change that would be.

COMING BACK TO THE CONSTITUTION

It is therefore important that as we put our vision to the country, we should do so directly, knowing that people out there want to be part of the process and will be responding, because in the end the drafting of the constitution must not be the preserve of the 490 members of this Assembly. It must be a constitution which they feel they own, a constitution that they know and feel belongs to them. We must therefore draft a constitution that will be fully legitimate, a constitution that will represent the aspiration of our people. – Matamela Cyril Ramaphosa, chairperson of the Constitutional Assembly, which wrote South Africa's new democratic constitution, 24 January 1995

Writing for *The Independent*, Mary Braid penned: 'It was on Saturday, 22 October 2011, and before taking the witness stand at Pretoria High Court, President Mandela said his blood boiled at being forced into the chamber by the controversial Dr Louis Luyt⁴⁷ to be grilled about his decision to set up a commission to investigate alleged racism, graft and nepotism in rugby, the game Dr Luyt had been accused of operating like a personal fiefdom.'

The summons to the President, which shocked many legal experts, was issued by the right-wing and reactionary Judge William de Villiers, who consistently opposed the admission of black people to the Pretoria Bar

Council until the early 1980s and was conservative in apartheid era political trials.

‘Dr Luyt has accused sports minister Steve Tshwete of conducting a vendetta against him and is arguing in court that President Mandela did not properly consider the arguments for a commission but simply rubber-stamped Mr Tshwete’s decision. He is also insisting that his South African Rugby Football Union (SARFU) is a private association and should be free from government interference,’ Braid wrote the day afterwards.

Being amongst the President’s supporters, who packed the court, we most certainly regarded the entire proceeding as disrespectful and a little humiliating to President Mandela. The president said he was attending out of respect for the administration of justice and was keen to demonstrate openness. But why, he asked Judge Villiers, was Dr Luyt resisting transparency. ‘It gives the message he is hiding something,’ he said.

South Africa, as a country, adopted its Constitution in 1996, which is the Supreme Law.

Under this Constitution, everyone is equal before the law and has the rights to equal protection and benefit of the law. Equality includes the full and equal enjoyment of all rights and freedoms.

Section Nine of the Constitution of South Africa guarantees equality before the law and freedom from discrimination to the people of South Africa. This equality right is the first right listed in the Bill of Rights. It prohibits both discrimination by the government and discrimination by private persons. However, it also allows for Affirmative Action to be taken to redress past unfair discrimination.

In the first years of its existence, our Constitutional Court repeatedly emphasised the primacy of the right to equality. The apex Court has referred to equality as ‘our Constitution’s focus and organising principle’ and ‘the

very ethos upon which the Constitution is premised'. The judges have also remarked that equality 'lies at the very heart of the Constitution'.

The particular importance of the right to equality derives from South Africa's history in which inequality pervaded apartheid laws, policies, practices and attitudes.

Schedule 2 (amended by s. 2 of Constitution First Amendment Act of 1997 and substituted by s. 18 of Constitution Sixth Amendment Act of 2001) prescribes the Oath or solemn affirmation of the President of South Africa before the Chief Justice. The President (in this case, Matamela Cyril Ramaphosa) must swear as follows:

In the presence of everyone assembled here, and in full realisation of the high calling I assume as President of the Republic of South Africa, I, Matamela Cyril Ramaphosa swear that I will be faithful to the Republic of South Africa, and will obey, observe, uphold and maintain the Constitution and all other laws of the Republic and I solemnly and sincerely promise that I will always promote all that will advance the Republic, and oppose all that may harm it; protect and promote the rights of all South Africans; discharge my duties with all my strength and talents to the best of my knowledge and ability and true to the dictates of my conscience; do justice to all; and devote myself to the well-being of the Republic and all of its people. So help me God.

The oath is an important ceremonial gesture signifying the official start to one's term in office. Importantly, it is a means for the official to make a public commitment to the duties, responsibilities and obligations associated with holding public office. This is an official promise by a person who has

been elected to a public office to fulfil the duties of the office according to the law.

Liberal democracy is defined by the four pillars: free press, independent civil society, constitutional democracy and the rule of law. It is premised on producing institutions that are honest and fair, grounded in excellence, evidence and science.

Lest we forget, our democracy was forged in blood and fire. In September 1991, political parties and interest groups committed themselves to a joint peace effort by signing the National Peace Accord – the first multilateral agreement of the post-1990 period. At the end of the ‘pre-negotiation phase’ in October 1991, further talks would take place within a forum called the Convention for a Democratic South Africa, CODESA.

The CODESA talks of December 1991 to May 1992 marked the foundation of South African democracy – the passage of the old to the new, from the apartheid regime to multicultural and multiracial democracy. In *The Politics of Transition, The Hidden History of South Africa’s Negotiated Settlement*, Richard Spitz called CODESA a ‘way of compromise’ and Steven Friedman, South African academic and columnist, referred to the ‘seeds of compromise’.

In the quest for constitutional solutions for the institution of a new South Africa, CODESA was a very crucial moment. To better understand it, it is important to link it to South Africa’s previous history.

The whole process that culminated in the final Constitution of December 1996 first started with the negotiations in Kempton Park in 1991⁴⁸. Although CODESA itself collapsed in May 1992⁴⁹, the Multi-party Negotiations of 1993⁵⁰ resumed, culminating in the final 1996 Constitution.

As Pascal Nsundi Mbambi writes⁵¹:

The ‘checks and balances’ system consecrated in the final constitution shows once again how democratic power is the

‘power of none’, as a result of the systematic mutual control of the different branches of government. The executive is accountable to the legislative and the legislative to the judiciary and vice-versa. But more importantly, all of them are ultimately accountable to the citizenry as a whole – the people. Codesa was thus a moment when South African society was ‘present to itself’ in an unprecedented way.

Right across all social sectors, South Africans were caught up in the drama of the protracted negotiations during which opposing conceptions of South African society were brought into interaction with one another. Arguments and values were exposed to adversarial pressure with significant effects for the forging of a national bond able to accommodate the strains of democratic pluralism.

LEADERSHIP IS STANDING UP FOR WHAT'S RIGHT AND AGAINST WHAT'S WRONG

True leadership demands complete subjugation of self, absolute honesty, integrity and uprightness of character and fearlessness and above all, a consuming love of one's people. – Mangaliso Robert Sobukwe

There are at least two Acts that are explicit in specifying that if you are a government employee, it is illegal to do business with the state.

The Minister of Public Service Administration, Honourable Senzo Mchunu, reiterated this in the notice to Provinces and Municipalities on 30 June 2020, that it is a contravention of Section 8 of the Provincial Administration Management Act (PAMA) to do business with the state when you are a public servant. The Financial Intelligence Centre Act (FICA) calls for extreme due diligence to be applied to politically exposed persons (PEP) and their first-degree relatives.

What makes the current spate of corruption even more revolting is that upon the announcement of the COVID-19 R500 billion social and economic stimulus package, South Africans strongly warned government that most of this yet-to-be-borrowed money, *is*, not *might*, going to be stolen. They were quickly proven correct.

Business has been quite firm that prevention of looting is much better than the cure. The Nelson Mandela Foundation has been advocating for developing a social contract by and with the people. Such a social contract must be mounted on the principles of integrity and ethical conduct.

The Council for the Advancement of the South African Constitution (CASAC) has for some time called for the establishment of a dedicated independent anti-corruption entity with teeth. The Foundation for Human Rights has called for accountability and visible consequences for corrupt acts, for without that we have unbridled impunity.

In April 2020 already, the South African Council of Churches (SACC) warned about this and called for specific COVID-19 corruption busting measures. In May 2020, the Ahmed Kathrada Foundation and several civil society organisations made practical recommendations to monitor how the R500 billion was going to be spent by government. These included transparency, the effective use of the online portal of the e-tender system, and the involvement of trustworthy people outside of government to help monitor the use of funds and resources. The Tutu Legacy Foundation, at the passing of the last Rivonia Trialist⁵², Andrew Mlangeni, highlighted that he ‘continued to speak out against corruption, for morality and fairness within his beloved ANC and in government’.

This, in the wake of the closest working relationship amongst all the social partners as a *tour de force* in the wake of the pandemic. The immediate consequence is that we are now in the midst of the lowest confidence, trust and hope since the Second World War.

Surely, there is no economy that can survive the at least eight catastrophes that have been meted out in quick succession in such a short period of time: the nine wasted years of state capture, a technical recession, Moody’s downgrade, COVID-19, twelve years of Eskom’s rolling blackouts, 2018 VBS Bank looting, intermittent water supply and now this daylight pillage.

What we need now, more than anything, is to restore confidence, extend trust and give hope by all working together to, among others, urgently send some state capture miscreants to prison. We need to continue to protect whistle-blowers and honest public servants in reporting corruption, naming and shaming the corrupt; the Solidarity Fund setting an example of absolute transparency by publishing all COVID-19 awarded contracts in order for government to go even much further; government also recouping all funds lost through irregular and corrupt COVID-19 contracts, and so on.

Those who lead and represent us must be held to the highest possible ethical standards, grounded in principles and wholesome intent and not just the much lower prescripts of the law. It is James E Faust who reminds us that, 'Honesty is more than not lying. It is truth telling, truth speaking, truth living and truth loving.'

The vulnerability that honesty requires is not something that everybody can handle. Lying allows people to be comfortable.

Leadership is knowing when the time is to speak out. Indeed, by definition, speaking out is leadership. Charles Swindoll accentuated this fact when he opined, 'Honesty has a beautiful and refreshing simplicity about it. No ulterior motives. No hidden meanings. An absence of hypocrisy, duplicity, political games and verbal superficiality. As honesty and real integrity characterise our lives, there will be no need to manipulate others.'

History has consistently taught us that we can be legally correct and yet so morally wrong.

FACING A FINANCIAL CRISIS

Knowing is not enough, we must apply. Willing is not enough, we must do. – Johann Wolfgang von Goethe

The fiscal crisis is coming, precipitated by the financing crisis, where the private capital markets are simply not willing to continuously roll over an ever-growing amount of South African debt.

It is practically impossible to keep on the current trajectory and momentum, what with South Africa's debt at about R3 trillion, where we are borrowing at a rate of R2.1 billion per day, with a debt to GDP ratio of 93% (which, when we include government guarantees to SOEs, jumps to 110%). Our debt servicing costs are now R20 billion, our deficit is sitting at 16%. Only in 2024 will we reach the 2019 GDP growth level. It will take us nine to ten years to get back to pre-COVID-19 employment levels, with employment losses concentrated among lower skilled workers, as always. South Africa now has more downside risks than upside opportunities. It is now behind the curve in so many ways. It is now beginning to squash 'the human spirit'.

However, by putting all our efforts into implementing the Economic Reconstruction and Recovery Plan (ERRP), we can accelerate growth to 3% or more. Ratings agencies are looking for only four things: economic strength, fiscal strength, institutional strength and susceptibility to event risk.

Business has been consistent in what needs to be done. The government has great intentions but woefully inadequate execution mainly due to purposefully hollowed out capacity, reduced capability, poor coordination and lack of prioritisation.

At the time of writing, South Africa has just taken the dubious honour of having the highest unemployment rate in the world at 44.4%⁵³. We must urgently create jobs in large numbers and fix the quality of our educational system. At this rate, our Southern African Customs Union trading partners, Botswana, Lesotho, Namibia and eSwatini, will soon have 6G whilst we are still fiddling with 4G. We must also execute on the long-promised fiscal consolidation – austerity must be taken much more seriously.

The coronavirus pandemic (*and* successive ratings agency downgrades, recession and state capture) has exacerbated the deterioration of South Africa's government finances because it negatively affected revenue collection, raised the cost of borrowing and pushed the economy into its longest recession in almost three decades.

Comparing ourselves with our BRICS counterparts in terms of 'vaccine doses administered,' on 27 January 2021, Brazil was on 579 000; Russia on 800 000; India on 2 million and China on 15 million. We took delivery of ours only on Monday, 1 February.

The President has set us a 'herd immunity' target of 67% in 2021. This represents about 40 million people that must be vaccinated at a rate of about 100 000 per day. The total cost could be R20 billion depending on the type of vaccine (Pfizer, Johnson & Johnson, AstraZeneca or Moderna) dose, foreign exchange, cargo insurance, imported or locally manufactured, etc.

South Africa has always been helped by global events. Maybe our current crisis might be attenuated by the about \$18 trillion from the USA that is looking for better returns, mostly in the emerging markets – where

conditions are improving, especially with the global ‘reflation’ that is currently under way and with growing divergence between economies.

The speedy implementation of National Treasury’s ‘revenue and growth-enhancing reforms’ could help to soften the adverse GDP impact of fiscal consolidation, which needs to be done in a way that limits further damage to growth and the country’s social fabric. It should be focused on expenditure reductions targeted at current, mainly wage bill expenditure with capital expenditure being protected.

The only chance we have of flawless and seamless execution of this mammoth task is working hard, hand-in-glove with all the social partners.

URGENCY IS THE ORDER OF THE DAY

We seem to have inherited a capitalist system, but refuse to manage it. We have purposefully chosen to be a mixed economy, but are enacting laws and regulations specifically designed to stifle and marginalise the role that business has constructively played and could potentially play in ensuring our international competitiveness.

Our joint contributions must result in an action plan for regional development and growth. In the words of James C. Penney, 'Growth is never by mere chance, it is the result of forces working together.'

Our challenges are many and varied. Some are structural whilst others are cyclical. The painful fact is that most are self-inflicted as a direct result of decisions and choices we make.

The general economy, business confidence, investment and the country's reputation are suffering. Tourism numbers have plummeted whilst crime levels have soared. We are experiencing record unemployment; our oversized government departments are mired in bureaucracy. There is rampant corruption. General lawlessness, public discontent and ballooning social grants aptly characterise the current quagmire. If this decline is not urgently halted, the economy will remain moribund, constrained and suffocated. In the midst of growing inequality and racism, we will soon start talking about the redistribution of poverty and not wealth.

It seems like we have resigned ourselves to being a '3% GDP per annum growth economy' and yet have allowed the lack of reliable and stable

electricity to annually wipe off the whole 1% – about R11 billion a month – just imagine the amount of economic activity that must be created to pay this amount in taxes.

The NDP 2030 target is 5.4% growth and yet we seem to be herded for ‘lower for longer’ economic stagnation. At 7% GDP growth, at least, we stand a chance of doubling the size of this economy in about five years and stand a good chance of absorbing the hundreds of thousands of young graduates getting into the job markets, often with inappropriate skills.

We intellectually agree that most jobs in the world, including in our BRIC(S) counterparts, are actually created by SMEs, but the red tape is still suffocating and only recently have we created a dedicated Ministry with probably the least defined vision and number of resources of them all.

We intuitively understand that our economic fate is inextricably bound to the rest of the continent and yet our intra-regional trade is negligible to the potential it holds. Africans still struggle to seamlessly travel from West to East without having to go through London Heathrow International Airport (and recently Dubai) and yet we signed the ‘Yamoussoukro Declaration⁵⁴’ for ‘free skies’ in 1992 and are yet to implement it. This demonstrates beyond any shadow of doubt that our problems have little to do with the quantum of resources, but everything to do with our inability to manage – plan, actuate, coordinate and organise.

If we are genuinely serious about the drastic reversal of our past and current misfortunes, some of the potential solutions must surely include deliberate and urgent efforts to, among others:

- Improve the political climate and move fast to sort out our SOEs (especially the going concern status, planned and preventative maintenance and most importantly, governance)
- Pick only one economic vision – the NDP – and focus on its relentless execution and focused implementation with the singularity of purpose

- Achieve coherence amongst ‘siloe’d’ government departments to be able to work in an integrated, end-to-end manner that will enhance synergies
- Substantially broaden the reach of quality education as the only hope for most youngsters to transcend social classes in their lifetime
- Comprehensively create work for unskilled people because everyone deserves the dignity and self-esteem of providing, not only for oneself but one’s dependants as well
- Drastically focus on a conducive investment climate, giving regulatory certainty and policy stability in an environment where international competition is on steroids and most countries are giving incentives, not barriers, to business
- Fearlessly increase labour productivity and totally eliminate their inordinately destructive role in education, especially in the appointment of school principals, because successful economies are built on the production of goods and services, not just on mergers and acquisitions
- Implement the long outstanding ICT strategy that has outlived at least four ministers
- Totally eliminate rampant corruption, especially in the public sector, instead of hiding behind unhelpful expressions like ‘for every public sector “corruptee”, there is a private sector “corruptor”’ because this steals from the poor and affects them disproportionately, as well as killing the good and compliant companies

In the final analysis, our children will judge us on what we did rather than just what we planned. It was General George Patton who reiterated that, ‘A good plan, violently executed now, is better than a perfect plan next week.’

DEAR MR PRESIDENT, PLEASE CALL US

This is an open letter I wrote to President Matamela C Ramaphosa, which was published in Daily Maverick in September 2021.

Business is ready and waiting to be part of getting South Africa out of this mess.

The further a society drifts from the truth, the more it will hate those that speak it. – George Orwell

When we have a bold, fearless and determined country, Mr President, everything is possible. A president who is excited about transforming our country and puts the African child at the centre to ensure that the story of Africa is different. It depends on all of us. It will take bold decisions. Let us not allow challenges to distract us and stop our vision, as cogently articulated by our father of democracy, President Rolihlahla Nelson Mandela when he implored us that, ‘the greatest glory of living, lies not in never falling but rising up every time you fall.’

Just nine years into democracy, I felt absolutely blessed and humbled to be a part of the 127 organisations invited by the then deputy president Thabo M Mbeki, to Skukuza in the Kruger National Park to seriously work on business unity. A few of us were subsequently asked to reconvene a few

weeks later at the Mopani Camp of the Kruger National Park to formalise the agreement that was to be known as the 'Mopani Memorandum of Understanding', which gave birth to Business Unity South Africa (BUSA) and Ntate Tlhopane Patrice Motsepe was elected the inaugural president.

The Black Management Forum's (BMF) Baba Bheki Sibiya (Sotobe) became its inaugural managing director with a measly budget of R7 million, to be succeeded later by another BMF member, Baba Jerry Vilakazi. 'Me Futhi Mtoba was the first woman to be the president and 'Me Nomaxabiso Majokweni was the first woman CEO. Sincere gratitude to Tata Dr Sipho Mila Pityana and Martin Kingston, the immediate past president and deputy president respectively, for having ably and competently steered the ship in these unusually deadly times. They succeeded Baba Dr Jabulane Albert Mabuza.

BUSA and the Black Business Council (BBC) created Business for South Africa (B4SA) as an incredible affirmation, made up of individuals who have volunteered their time, knowledge, skills and capacity to respond quickly to the coronavirus pandemic with agility and to help develop a set of proposals as to where the economy currently is and where it is going – without the usual constraints of, nor undermining, the mandated forum.

Business developed and shared its Economic Recovery Plan and made it clear that, as always, it wants to help. Not to rebuild, but repurpose the economy post the pandemic. Business understands that it is manifestly in its own interest to drive for change, address inequality and help deliver inclusive socio-economic growth.

To create jobs in large numbers, the imperative is creating markets of the future because if business doesn't succeed in this critical mission of helping to deliver the South Africa of Mandela's dream, the South Africa we have all been praying for, thereby attaining nation-building, social cohesion and social justice, there will be no business in 20 years' time.

There must be greater use of business's vast and experienced resources. It is a critical partner and because of its centrality and contribution, it must be taken much more seriously, not called names, white-anted nor scapegoated.

Business wants to continue to be constructive, talk frankly and honestly, be part of the solution, and for that it needs clear direction from government – a Cabinet that is aligned and pragmatic, values meritocracy and honesty, not just beholden to ideology. Business thrives under appropriate conditions, a conducive environment and where there is regulatory certainty and policy stability. Hard decisions need to be made and there are significant levers to be pulled to get the country out of the 'sub-investment' grading, accelerate the mass vaccine roll-out, speed up additional vaccination site accreditation, increase investments, catapult economic growth and continue to do well by doing good.

Capital flows to where it is partnered, valued, appreciated and protected. Business laments the fact that this sixth administration continues to put the party before country; has squandered a golden opportunity to further rationalise Cabinet; fails to look beyond the party for demonstrable talent; and is the very first that has not yet engaged business on a bilateral basis and, therefore, is still without a formal and structured business and government forum.

All engagements have been at multilateral fora with social partners. We must – together – build and cement relationships with all social partners and resuscitate the National Economic Development and Labour Council (Nedlac) with the requisite senior leadership, effectiveness and fluidity as a platform that is fit for purpose. There is a need to review the structure, processes and how we work to, among other factors, avoid duplicating work that has already been done.

In the second half of 2012, our economy was under pressure due to the unabating wave of strikes that engulfed the country. In October 2012, then-

president Jacob Zuma convened a high-level meeting of all the social partners, a timely intervention that we, as business, welcomed. The outcome of this high-level engagement was a social compact with a package of urgent interventions aimed at alleviating the pressure on the economy and addressing causal factors for the violent strikes the country was experiencing.

This was a decisive leadership intervention when the country was experiencing violent strikes which did not only have a negative impact on the country's mining and agricultural sector, but on overall investor sentiment.

BUSA has also not only endorsed the National Development Plan (NDP) 2030, but is actively engaging with government in an effort to find ways to enable collective implementation of the plan. In August 2012, business and government held a follow-up high-level bilateral meeting. The focus of that engagement was the implementation of the NDP. The meeting reaffirmed the need to move with urgency in implementing the NDP.

To this end, it was agreed that joint technical teams co-chaired by business and government would be established to develop an action plan to work on the collaborative efforts between government and business to improve education and skills development outcomes; a regulatory environment conducive to investment and ease of doing business; a labour relations environment that instils investor confidence and an infrastructure roll-out programme that acknowledges government's role in rolling out public investment – while also recognising the private sector's role as a provider of skills, technical and project management capacity, as well as funding specific measures to ensure inclusive socio-economic growth through implementation of transformation legislation and interventions. This will also be achieved by giving the required support for small and medium enterprises (SMEs).

In the interest of ‘South Africa Inc’, BUSA and the BBC have made great strides in forging a working partnership on various key areas affecting business. Key among these was the memorandum of understanding signed by BUSA and the BBC to maintain a single business caucus at Nedlac, with the BBC participating in that caucus. In the area of SME supplier and market development, BUSA also entered into a cooperation agreement with the BBC and the United Nations Development Programme.

BUSA has also had various engagements with the BMF and NAFCOC, the oldest black business organisation, with a view to finding the best model to ensure a unified and inclusive apex business organisation.

Business needs to be a unifying force that continues to assert its voice, clearly, candidly and honestly, where its legitimacy is unquestionable and has consistency – not just superficially rebranded away from an arrogant and tone-deaf ‘white monopoly capital’ perceived as anti-transformation, but to one that is fundamentally and demonstrably seen, felt and experienced as a force for good.

And not to be overly eager to support nor just kowtow to government even before it has pushed for its views in particular, which still defer to a much-weakened, fractious and fractured labour movement that is unsparing in its criticism of business.

The community constituency could be stronger and cohesive. We must graduate critical initiatives like the Job Summit from merely being projects that paper over deep structural fissures in the economy – a Band-Aid at best – to the now-urgent inclusive socio-economic growth; transform SOEs/SOCs like Eskom into multinationals that are net exporters of integrated energy, not just domestic monopolies, and so on.

As a response to the president’s Economic Reconstruction and Recovery Plan (ERRP), business highlighted certain comments to commence substantive engagement:

- To explore all reasonable alternatives to retrenchments in distressed companies and sectors with the intention of developing a detailed set of guidelines and a code of good practice within which retrenchments are the last resort;
- Reinforcing an ethical culture including refraining from abuse of dominance behaviour and excessive pricing;
- Business organisations taking firm and decisive action, together with law enforcement agencies, against private companies and professional service firms in the business community that facilitate collusion and corruption, including state capture;
- Civil society and trade unions acting against corruption in their organisations, or against officials and office-bearers who facilitate corruption, including state capture;
- Promoting genuine entrepreneurship, innovation and new enterprise creation;
- Identifying key mining value chains for greater downstream beneficiation and localisation;
- Jointly developing a new competitive exploration strategy within three months to target 3% of global exploration expenditure;
- Implementing and promoting norms and standards for biosafety protocols by the tourism industry;
- Promote full tax compliance, including taking steps against measures such as transfer pricing, base erosion and profit shifting, non-payment of customs duties and tariffs, tax boycotts and tax evasion through offshore arrangements and use of tax havens; and
- Support the commitments made at the Presidential Investment Conferences and R100-billion industrial financing for enterprise and supplier development (ESD) through the Financial Sector Code.

The two weeks in July that marked our own ‘winter of discontent’ exposed a number of truly painful truths. It is the classic intersectionality between our wholly unviable society, the fractious privileged elite in the ruling party, rampant criminality, lawlessness, breakdown of services to local communities, below living-standard wages and genuine widespread societal desperation of the poor.

It was a rebellion against state capture and the stubbornly high levels of inequality. It laid bare the extent of the chasm in the ruling party; it is self-evident that government was taken by surprise; that there was a monumental intelligence failure, that security forces were overwhelmed; that the SAPS is grossly under-resourced, under-trained and ill-prepared; that youth unemployment is the single biggest systemic risk and that – at our most vulnerable – government is incapable of protecting its citizens.

The ‘treasonists’, arsonists and thieves must be publicly exposed in a court of law and the guilty sent to prison. In the short term, we must urgently rebuild our economy to hardwire the required sustainability. In the medium term, we must recreate the Peace Accord and the Business Trust.

In the long term, we must address the welfare of our people away from the grinding, dehumanising and self-perpetuating vicious cycle of abject poverty to ensure resilience; to salve and bind the long-festered sores as well as deep and septic wounds; to deliver the promised social justice and human rights, especially freedom from hunger; to restore people’s hope so that they can also have a stake in the system that also works for them; and the protection of the status quo and preservation of the democratic project to engender trust that their un/elected leaders genuinely care about their fate.

Because ordinary people who have property to protect don’t ordinarily run around looting, destroying and burning other people’s businesses and

government property. People who have their own livelihoods to protect don't destroy the livelihoods of others.

PART 7

ETHICS

Ethics is about wholesomeness and is a fundamental requirement to achieve success for individuals, companies, human societies and countries.

The contagion of crime is like that of the plague.
– Napoleon Bonaparte

It was Nicholas Haysom, former legal advisor to Madiba and now Deputy Special Representative of the UN Secretary General in Afghanistan, who stated, ‘We need a leader who is bigger than the divisions that have torn their communities apart – a “Mandela” uniquely capable of speaking for those that demand change and simultaneously addressing those that fear it.’

Ethics or moral philosophy is a branch of philosophy and knowledge that deals with moral principles. It involves systematising, defending and recommending concepts of right and wrong behaviours or the conducting of an activity. Ethics, therefore, is about morality, what’s right, honesty, fairness, integrity, principles, conscience, value, responsibility and choices. It is about wholesomeness and is a fundamental requirement to achieve success for individuals, companies, human societies and countries.

Ethical behaviour builds trust, which is the glue that holds the electorate to their elected leaders. There is an increasing focus on purpose beyond

profits and on inclusion and sustainability. In fact, it is about public well-being – ‘the common good’.

Those who lead and represent us must be held to the highest possible ethical standards: palpable morality, higher purpose, a demonstrable set of values. Their leadership should be grounded in principles and wholesome intent and not just the much lower prescripts of the law (‘presumed innocent until proven guilty’ nor ‘I have not been found guilty by any court of law’).

The presumption of innocence is one of the golden threads that holds together our justice system. It forms part of the legal bulwark that prevents unjust and wrongful convictions. It is a legal construct. It operates as a shield between the individual and the overwhelming power of the state to deprive the individual of her/his liberty. It operates in our courts of law.

It does *not* operate to immunise political leaders, famous entertainers or powerful CEOs from scrutiny. In short, the presumption of innocence is a procedural protection to ensure court fairness – not a moral imperative.

Low trust levels are ammunition for populist politicians. They exploit people’s anger and frustration, making promises that are enticing but unrealistic and bound to result in damage and destruction.

The definition of a successful company (and this is true for countries too) is one that develops a corporate soul – not just a group of people gathered together for a joint commercial purpose. It is the ethos that drives the organisation and makes it special. This requires not only doing right by the business but also the societies in which it operates. It is Samuel Johnson, the English poet, who reminds us that, ‘Fraud and falsehood only dread examination. Truth invites it.’

When people who call themselves our leaders are so brazen, shameless and act with such impunity (*abanavalo*⁵⁵), maybe what we need now, is a better ethos for our times, a cadre of leadership that can lead with both a

heart (conscience) and a mind (consciousness) to transform the individual and the individual's world.

A critical issue facing South Africa that blocks possibilities for economic development and shared growth, is the inadequate level of ethical consciousness and ethics management in government, SOEs and corporates. They do not need overwhelming rules. What they need is strong and effective values within the limited scope of corporate governance functions.

What every prosperous and successful democracy deems to be fundamental rights – universal healthcare, equal access to quality public education, a social safety net for the poor, weak, elderly, and infirm – these are all contingent on ethical leadership.

We must perform well during the COVID-19 crisis because of our social contract, the bonds of community, the trust for one another and our institutions, especially our healthcare system, in particular with hospitals that cater to the medical needs of the collective, not the individual.

The measure of wealth in a civilised nation is not the currency accumulated by the lucky few but rather the strength and resonance of social relations and the bonds of reciprocity that connect all people in common purpose.

Developed countries are not those where the poor can afford cars but where the rich use public transport.

To fix capitalism, business has to, firstly, avoid doing harm, especially through reducing misconduct.

Secondly, it has to serve a social purpose beyond profits and become more inclusive. Only then can it restore public trust and secure the conditions for its long-term success. It is about a 'better performance standard' for world-class organisations, distinguished by the achievement of both financial and ethical excellence.

Business must be deeply committed to ethics, integrity, respect and moral values – it must be committed to ‘doing the right thing’.

For companies and societies, ethics provides justice and fairness, which are required for peace and development. Business should speak out on the social and ethical issues of the day. It can no longer be business as usual with an exclusive focus on shareholder returns.

Ethical leadership means truly focusing on the human dimensions of the country, community and society: helping our honest leaders to cultivate and activate those human capabilities which determine whether any significant change ever gets implemented.

There is intellectual agreement on what needs to happen but very little help for those who seek to make it happen. We must start with what matters most to us – a commitment to achieving a vision that exceeds any individual capacities. A vision that connects people in a common effort with genuine meaning.

Such commitment is grounded in people taking unconditional responsibility for their situation and for their ways of responding to it. We then must choose what matters more to each one of us – knowing or learning. Real learning opens us up to the fear of uncertainty and the embarrassment of incompetence, as well as the vulnerability of needing one another.

The challenge is creating a vibrant middle class and a trade union movement that allows a single breadwinner with limited education to own a home and a car, support a family and send her/his kids to good schools.

The negative forces tearing apart a society are mitigated or even muted if there are other elements that reinforce social solidarity like religious faith, the strength and comfort of family, the pride of tradition, fidelity to the land, a spirit of place, etc.

It is about living with purpose, intent and authenticity. Because purpose is the journey of self-discovery, intent is about designing a plan and authenticity is about being real and genuine.

It is about being truly ethically principled. True leadership cannot be anything but ethical.

We must, therefore, for emphasis, demand ethical leaders, who, by definition, will give us absolute transparency and final accountability.

SIKKIE KAJEE

Sikkie is a highly regarded governance specialist who has led an outstanding career in both the public and private sector, from his internal audit days at Agricor, Agribank, and Transnet to stints in the consulting world at EY, Gobodo and KPMG, and sitting on the boards of the Automobile Association, Powertech Transformers (Pty) Ltd, Altech UEC (Pty) Ltd, and Dorper Wind Farm (Pty) Ltd.

I believe Sikkie is an ethical leader and one who gives a great deal of thought to his decisions and actions, and their consequences. It is therefore a privilege and an honour to share with you some of his musings on the subject of ethical leadership here.

‘When Professor Mohale approached me to write this contribution, there was much trepidation on my part. Like most human beings, I have made mistakes in my life, some of which, with the benefit of hindsight, would be ethically and morally questionable today, so my question was why me and what can I contribute to this debate?

I have ruminated about this question for many days until it struck me that I may have had some telling experiences which may help others navigate the challenging arena of ethical leadership.

One such experience was when I was told by one of Mzansi's billionaire sons that my board and I were fools for taking a stand on a particular issue. True, the behaviour was not illegal, but it certainly was questionable when someone other than your customer was paying you for providing a service to that customer (in addition to your customer's payment). It certainly caused me to pause and reflect.

Was I doing what was right for my organisation? Was I doing what was right for my customer? Was I being foolhardy? Should I be listening to this billionaire rather than my much poorer self? I think about this regularly and I always come to the same conclusion: we were right.

Commissions, business development fees, or any other label we could attribute to these payments would not change the nature of the payments. These were kickbacks or bribes ultimately, and would over the long term not serve our customers or our organisation well. In time, we would destroy the trust and the brand that had been built over 80 years.

Some of you may wonder, how is this any different from a financial services broker accepting a commission from an underwriter for selling the customer a product? For me, the key difference is one of expectation and disclosure.

I expect that, when I am not paying my financial advisor, that someone else is paying them, in this case the underwriter. Secondly, our financial services laws regulate the numbers involved and its disclosure to myself (a more recent development, unfortunately for those old folk among us).

So, would disclosure in the scenario I outlined make a difference to the payment our organisation received? I think not.

In the first instance, my customer had already paid me a fee. Perhaps the fee could be reduced by the payment by the third party, but in my mind, there was no need to accept a backhand payment, which would make my organisation beholden to two masters rather than one.

Going back to my financial services example, if I was paying my advisor a fee and they were also receiving a fee from an underwriter, to whom does my advisor owe their loyalty? I for one would be truly upset.

To me, ethical leadership and ethics generally are usually very situational. In one case you may find a practice abhorrent and in another, the same practice may be quite acceptable to you.

Furthermore, for most of us, ethical behaviour that conflicts with our own deep-seated personal values makes for the most uncomfortable discussions.

However, when it comes to organisations, the role of one's own personal values cannot and does not always prevail. Boards generally operate as a team and reach decisions by consensus (or sometimes by majority vote). This makes for a particularly uncomfortable position for the individual when the majority view is different. Often principled leaders will need to make a difficult decision to step away when faced with this kind of situation. Going with the flow is rarely an option in such instances.

In South Africa, we have all been raised in different and sometimes difficult environments. This informs our values and sometimes our outlook on decisions. I recall such an event from my younger days as a rookie manager. I was required to administer a large aid scheme for my employer. In doing my job, I had occasion to approve funding to a particular individual. When this person received the much-needed funding, they felt they needed to thank me with a gift. I tried to explain that this was not necessary nor expected nor allowed by my employer, but the individual would not hear these objections. I consulted with one of colleagues (who shared a similar culture to this individual) and he advised me to be careful not to reject the gift, which was very much a part of the individual's cultural upbringing rather than an attempt to influence me in any way.

I am sure that this is a daily occurrence in the rainbow nation. After much soul searching and consultation with my own manager, I accepted the gift,

but promptly donated it to charity. In doing so, I had in effect received gratification (although it was not intended as such by the giver). Giving it away as I had done, did not change the issue and to this day I am no wiser what the right thing to do is. I relieved my conscience by donating the gift but it does detract from the fact that there was a gift for doing my job! Is this a bribe? Was I corrupt?

We live in a fast-changing world today and leadership is constantly tested as a result. As business leaders, we will make decisions today which will be judged through a different lens sometime in the future – how will we fare in this regard?

I read a biography on my grandfather – someone who died long before I was conceived – and by all accounts he was considered a progressive leader by his peers. When looking at some actions taken with the benefit of 70 to 90 years of hindsight, perhaps I would disagree with some of his actions looking through the prism of the 21st century. Is it fair to judge someone in whose shoes you did not walk? By the same token, how will your grandchildren judge you in 50 years? How will my grandchildren judge me (although I don't have any yet)?

Some of us are looking at our legacy for when we leave this world. If we measure ourselves by a material lens, then leaving a vast fortune may certainly be measured as success and a legacy to be valued. Unfortunately, this has not worked well for Mr Cecil John Rhodes over 100 years after his death. Mr Alfred Nobel on the other hand created the Peace Prize to partly offset his contribution to the development of dynamite. Will history judge your leadership in the boardroom harshly?

Can you really be expected to make decisions and judgements today, which are acceptable by today's norms and standards, only to be judged at some time in the future by a set of norms and standards which you are not aware of? Unfortunately, we are expected to do so. And we will surely be

judged harshly if we take decisions that make the future world a worse place to be.

As directors and leaders of business today, we need to stand up and be counted. The decisions we make today can sometimes have far-reaching implications (both in time and in terms of impact on communities, the environment, employees, suppliers, customers, et al).

Can we take the time to look at the possible impacts of our decision from a multi-focal lens rather than just a singular view of business? I believe that we often look at issues in a very binary way and don't stop to consider the impact on all our stakeholders. I would rather make a decision that may hurt some stakeholders, but in the long term benefit more stakeholders than it hurt. I am sure it is easier to defend a decision that indicates more people benefited than were hurt, than to say, "I did not expect that this would hurt you."

In conclusion, perhaps we should start making decisions that we can defend to our grandchildren. Only then can we really hold our heads up high and say we did the right thing.'

CONFRONTING OUR REALISTIC POTENTIAL

South Africa is no stranger to recurring upheaval, volatility and shifting geopolitical landscapes.

Successful countries have the proven ability to take a long-term view, execute and manage through such challenges, by innovating and adapting. However, navigating the future has become increasingly challenging, especially because of our incessant self-harm in a more uncertain, complex, highly competitive global market, combined with the fact that the longer-term backdrop has substantially changed.

As a result, we are trailing both the competition and our own potential by some distance on most metrics and are now facing an existential threat.

Following the recent Cabinet reshuffle⁵⁶, which aimed to strengthen our quick and effective responsiveness, service delivery and final accountability, it has now become urgent to correct our course. The ‘two weeks in July’ were painful, traumatic and shocked us all, including the leadership.

This, on top of an external environment that has significantly shifted. It worsened our licence to operate as a result of the lowest levels of confidence, trust and hope. It also provided the necessary wake-up call that requires deep reflection on our collective performance – a thorough, granular top-down and outside-in assessment of where our country is going and where it could be going if it lived up to its full potential.

At present there is no consensus about our current reality and consequently our collective future vision. This is a reflection of the broad range of viewpoints and interests. In practice, various elements of the perspectives can be expected to apply in distinct ways.

In every perspective, it is important to develop a clear strategic underpinning, to focus on agility and sustainability in the short term, and resilience in the long term; to leverage key enablers, such as technology, innovation and collaboration; and to ensure we have the trust and support of all stakeholders.

We must transfigure from just development to production, from slow to agile and from 'not fit; no future' to 'fit for the future as the most competitive and resilient country'. There is more work to do to close the performance gap and deliver the country's potential to be the most competitive and resilient country it can be.

Our primary objective must be a holistic transformation of our economy across all of its aspects and value drivers, such as effectiveness, productivity, debt, capital expenditure, cost and safety, towards global competitiveness.

To address some of the enduring challenges we must overcome, we have to strengthen our implementation muscle, a historical area of weakness, and develop new capabilities as a country and people with great natural endowments.

It is self-evident that the type and pace of transformation now needed requires competencies that the government doesn't necessarily have in sufficient quantity, which is a direct result of the hollowing out of state capacity.

We need to leverage the elements that we know work, deepen front-line engagement, increase the alignment, implementation, reliability, ownership, front-line empowerment, and planned and preventive maintenance, and

apply a portfolio campaign approach to decommissioning, benchmarking, analytical effort and final accountability, as well as increasing the ambition on the president's 'four foremost overarching priorities' (accelerating economic recovery; creating jobs and inclusive economic growth; fighting corruption; and strengthening the state).

We must ensure we have a critical mass of leaders who can see the opportunity embedded in our Economic Reconstruction and Recovery Plan and who are willing to make the required leap of faith to commit not just at a personal level, but also to start driving their teams and the entire country to move in the same direction.

The ingredients must include the substantiation of our realistic potential, calibration of the gap to our real potential, shared understanding of the case for change, committed leadership, and distillation of a funnel of top-quality infrastructure projects. Also required is the creation of performance infrastructure, with a programme management office operating as an implementation engine – including finance, planning, appraisal, and continuous improvement.

The first confrontation with our realistic potential must be difficult and preceded by critical but nonetheless courageous conversations.

It has to hurt a little.

We must be prepared to start, adopt and learn as we go. We must build the behavioural change that will be critical to achieving the type of country we want to be, and what some of the associated cultural traits must be.

'More creates more' as the realistic potential is not the end state. Experience shows that the ultimate potential this type of approach delivers, more than doubles over time.

We can most certainly get a lot better even by not being very good. The most important insight is the unease of not being satisfied with the status quo and how we go about improving.

Addressing the country in totality allows us to make integrated decisions and prevent unwise trade-offs. We must urgently change the current reality where being black and female automatically implies being unemployed and impoverished with no stake in the future, living in squalor and misery – landless, dispossessed, disinherited and deprived, abused, hurt and scarred.

CORRUPTION CRIPPLES PROGRESS

Corruption is a form of dishonesty or criminal offence undertaken by a person or organisation entrusted with a position of authority, to acquire illicit benefit or abuse power for one's private gain.

International Anti-Corruption Day has been observed annually on 9 December, in recognition of the United Nations Convention against Corruption, which was signed in Mexico in 2003. This day provides an opportunity for anti-corruption advocates, the private sector, non-governmental organisations, the media, citizens, political leaders, governments, legal bodies and lobby groups to join forces against corruption, to raise public awareness and to engage the general public to effectively fight against corruption, fraud, bribery, stealing and cheating in communities.

Fighting corruption is a global concern because corruption is found in both rich and poor countries and evidence shows that it hurts poor people disproportionately. It contributes to instability, poverty and is a dominant factor driving fragile countries towards state failure. Social partners around the world are joining forces to fight this crime.

The United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC) and the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) are at the forefront of these efforts. Corruption affects us all. It threatens sustainable economic development, ethical values and justice, destabilises our society and

endangers the rule of law and undermines the institutions and values of our democracy.

Precisely because public policies and public resources are largely beneficial to poor people, it is the poorest of the poor who suffer the harmful effects of corruption most grievously as they are the ones most dependent on the government for housing, healthcare, education, security and welfare. They are most vulnerable to corruption since it stalls service delivery, results in delays in infrastructure development, poor building quality and adds unnecessary layers of additional costs, especially to 'middlemen'.

Many acts of corruption deprive our citizens of their constitutional and their human rights. Corruption and international perceptions of corruption in South Africa have been damaging to the country's reputation and have created obstacles to local and foreign direct investment, flows to the stock market, global competitiveness, and economic growth. Often goods and services are not even delivered.

Corruption reduces quality, increases the cost of doing business, kills competitors, reduces international competitiveness, stifles entrepreneurship, hampers planned and preventive maintenance of critical infrastructure, reduces local savings and has ultimately distorted the development and upliftment of our people.

There is evidence that corruption reduces private investment in a country, particularly foreign direct investment, and has dampening effects on the competitiveness of firms and innovation. A 2009 study finds that a one-point increase in the corruption level (measured by the International Country Risk Guide Index) leads to a reduction in per capita FDI inflows of about 11%.

Public money, taxes collected, bonds issued, income from government investments and other means of financing government expenditure are for

government services and projects. They are meant for, among others, social grants, education, hospitals, roads, the supply of power and water and to ensure the personal security of our citizens.

The Corruption Perceptions Index (CPI) collated by Transparency International, ranked South Africa 69 out of 180 countries with a score of 44 out of 100 (with 100 being the least corrupt) in 2020, 44 in 2015, 45 in 2010, 50 in 2000 and 56 in 1995.

Coupled with bad management practices, corruption eats into the nation's wealth, channelling money away from such projects and the very people most dependent on government for support.

Countless studies around the world show how corruption can interrupt investment, restrict trade, reduce economic growth and distort the facts and figures associated with government expenditure. But the most alarming studies are the ones directly linking corruption in certain countries to increasing levels of poverty and income inequality. Because corruption creates fiscal distortions and redirects money allocated to income grants, eligibility for housing, pensions, etc, it weakens service delivery and, as a result, it is usually the poor who suffer most.

This means that there are fewer state resources available to fulfil the socio-economic rights guaranteed in the South African Constitution, Act 108 of 1996. These include the right to basic education, the right to healthcare, food, water and social security, and the right to housing.

The Constitution recognises that the state cannot fulfil those rights exhaustively, and that they are limited to the extent that the state has available resources to address them. Nonetheless, redirecting even a portion of the current levels of wasted state resources would undoubtedly contribute to the economic and social development of the poorest.

Economies that are afflicted by a high level of corruption, which involves the misuse of power in the form of money or authority to achieve certain

goals in illegal, dishonest, or unfair ways, are not capable of prospering as fully as those with a low level of corruption.

Corrupted economies are not able to function properly because corruption prevents the natural laws of the economy from functioning freely. As a result, corruption in a nation's political and economic operations causes its entire society to suffer. Income inequality has increased in most countries experiencing high levels of corruption.

In South Africa, the fight against corruption is one of the major priorities of both the public and private sectors. Corruption in both the private and public sector has a detrimental effect on government's effort to deliver effective services to the people.

Adherence to good governance creates an environment where corruption struggles to flourish. Failure to adhere to the practices of good governance means stakeholders increasingly demand accountability.

Mass action and strikes are organised in protest as citizens begin to lose faith in the ability or willingness of their elected officials. Political instability increases. Investment declines. The sale of shares by investors decreases the value and rating of companies. Their regulators can deny them licences, a stock exchange listing or the ability to sell products and services. Other organisations refuse to do business with them. And donors or economic organisations grant fewer loans or aid to nations whose governance is murky.

Tackling corruption could have a positive effect on South Africa's economic output by strengthening institutions and creating a virtuous cycle of trust in the state and investment, ultimately contributing to GDP growth and reducing unemployment and income inequality.

If the state could tackle some of the current costs of corruption, this could have substantial positive effects for the economy and support the progressive realisation of our citizens' socio-economic rights.

To those who wish this country well, even though corruption is deeply rooted in South Africa's past, it must not be allowed to be part of our heritage and therefore, not part of our DNA.

PART 8

SUSTAINABILITY

Today, surely, the new purpose of business must be, among others, to survive; to deliver shared value; to deliver on what it says and promises; to do no harm; to make the world a better place and to provide ethical leadership and true employee engagement.

We can no longer afford business indifference to socio-economic challenges.

In 1970, Milton Friedman, a Nobel laureate in economics, wrote an essay that was published in *The New York Times* titled ‘A Friedman Doctrine: The Social Responsibility of Business is to Increase Its Profits’. He argued that businesses have no social responsibility to the public or society, but only to their shareholders. Friedman understood that the competitive market was a better aggregator of knowledge about ideal investments, management strategies and the overall future of the economy.

In the 21st century, the JPMorgan Chase CEO, Jamie Dimon, together with 180 of his fellow CEOs at the Business Roundtable, intends to move beyond the staid maxim that corporations should act to maximise shareholder value. They propose a new ethos in which corporations will be accountable to all stakeholders – not only shareholders, employees and customers, but also society at large.

Today, surely, the new purpose of business must be, among others, to survive; to deliver *shared* value; to deliver on what it says and promises; to do no harm; to make the world a better place and to provide ethical leadership and true employee engagement.

Business is no longer on the periphery of development; it is intricately intertwined with society and its citizenry role. Business must do well by doing good. Broader societal issues of justice, fairness, equality and peace are at the core of business and its desired outcomes. Business must adopt socially responsible, transparent and values-led practices with all its stakeholders. Business and sustainable development are now one and the same thing.

Leadership is about mustering courage to shape one's sense of character and making a difference – being able to lead and persuade others as to why change is needed, how our common humanity could benefit from the desired outcomes, and why the effort is worth the investment of sacrifice, dedication and resources.

Business cannot continue to be indifferent to the plight of the most vulnerable. It must be deeply committed to ethics, integrity, respect and moral values – it must be committed to 'doing the right thing'.

It was Archbishop Emeritus and human rights activist, Mpilo Desmond Tutu who stated, 'If you are neutral in situations of injustice, you have chosen the side of the oppressor. If an elephant has its foot on the tail of a mouse and you say that you are neutral, the mouse will not appreciate your neutrality.'

There is a need to restore trust, faith and confidence in business (and government). Business must work much harder. What a strange and wonderful change that would be.

Shared value is defined as intentionally using core business activities, including a group's role in capital allocation in the economy, to add value to

society and the environment profitably and at scale.

Aligned with this strategy are the concepts of Environment, Society and Governance (ESG) integration, sustainable finance, green finance and climate finance, which are often used interchangeably though they have distinct definitions and meanings.

More recently, ESG and sustainable finance have entered the mainstream as customers have higher standards for the companies with which they do business, thereby influencing shareholders and funders to do more and exert influence over how their funds are being used.

In the global market, there has been a noticeable evolution in the adoption and implementation of ESG and sustainable finance. For asset managers, what once started as a screening tool in the investment process – with binary outcomes – has commercialised into an in-depth ESG research and product offering, attracting US\$71 billion inflows in the second quarter of 2020 alone.

For lenders, this has expanded from a credit risk management framework to a capital-allocation consideration and includes associated products such as sustainability-linked bonds and loans.

Though there is a wide breadth of work to be done globally to address the ESG shortcomings currently at play (and specifically in emerging markets), climate risk and its threat to the environment, ranks as the most urgent.

Climate change poses a strategic risk that manifests as physical and transition risk. To this end, we have seen a surge in green/climate products and advisory services from the banking fraternity with the notable domestic players being Nedbank and Standard Bank (the former being the first to issue a green bond in the first quarter of 2019 and publicly announce its stance on fossil fuel financing). It is also worth noting that other banking institutions like RMB have been arranging green bonds since 2017, embedding ESG into the business strategy.

All banks have adopted sustainability as a strategic priority with some international banks committing themselves to funding targets and others linking their interest rates to pre-agreed ESG performance targets. By publicly endorsing and aligning with globally recognised principles and frameworks, all banks have also published internally generated frameworks and policies outlining their approach to addressing climate risk, enhancing client relationships through a shared ESG journey.

As a starting point, banks have initiated the sustainable finance journey by engaging existing clients on their current climate risk to identify how funding and advice can be leveraged to address these. Financing existing clients through this lens makes for a good test case from which to attract new opportunities and to scale.

Banks are prioritising ESG and sustainability product development using bank resources, including capital and intellectual property, to service clients by way of lending and advisory services. The *en vogue* products being green/climate bonds with defined use-of-proceeds, fund listings on sustainability-linked indices, environmental ratings, etc. The intention is to augment the existing role of banks as trusted adviser, partner of choice and doing everything possible to enable this ANC-led government to be a capable state, especially on ESG and sustainability related matters.

This includes intentional allocation of research and analytical skills, as well as capital resources, to support clients holistically as they navigate their respective journeys.

The goal is to contribute meaningfully to brown sectors (i.e. those dependent on non-environmentally conscious models) that are currently under pressure, but wherein there is an opportunity to create significant value, which will underpin the business proposition. For example, in integrated energy, renewable energy, gas, infrastructure, real estate, and so on.

BUSINESS MUST STEP UP FOR SUSTAINABILITY

Ever since the first meeting of the G20 heads of states and governments in 2008, the forum has faced strong criticism regarding its effectiveness and legitimacy. The increasingly difficult negotiations within the G20 and the challenging consensus-finding processes during previous summits fed into these criticisms.

I'd argue that this has created an unprecedented opportunity for the private sector leaders to have a voice at these summits, even when they don't have a physical seat at the table. The idea is that business should take the lead in shaping the process of globalisation, contributing to economic growth and prosperity, sharing with the world ideas and concepts that will build towards a better future and use the digital transformation to create a bright society.

The seven G20 Engagement Groups represent, among others, different stakeholders like civil society, scientific community, trade unions, women, youth and the private sector. The many working groups allow for a continuous exchange on issues ranging from development to financial market regulation, trade digitalisation, and health, among others. They help to build relationships and trust. Meeting in parallel to the G20, they not only provide indispensable expertise to the policy makers, they also help to build a broader G20 community in times of rising protectionism, anti-globalisation sentiments, increasingly aggressive rhetoric, etc. They serve as important channels of communication and exchange.

Under the *Sustainable Development Goals* (SDGs) and the idea of *Society 5.0*⁵⁷, Business 20 (aka B20) – one of the working groups – is proposing seven actions:

- 1 Ensuring a digital infrastructure
- 2 Advancing international cybersecurity
- 3 Creating a framework for privacy protection
- Regarding international trade, business calls to:
- 4 Renounce protectionist and unilateral measures
- 5 Strengthen free and rules-based trade and
- 6 Address the challenge of World Trade Organization reform
- 7 Realise a low-carbon society to assist in managing climate change

As business, we must also step up within our own organisations. Value-creation for our stakeholders means we must also contribute meaningfully towards South Africa's transformation, education and training, as well as health and sport, while remaining committed to social cohesion.

It is our duty to encourage and support small- to medium-sized business enterprises, building long-term partnerships with a range of organisations and associations directly affected by our businesses.

Accepting our place in the larger economic ecosystem of stakeholders, we must channel our corporate citizenry efforts into making a real difference, even if these might only return a benefit in the years to come.

Our actions must be aligned to ensure that we, as business, are able to help address socio-economic challenges in South Africa and that, as social partners, we focus on ensuring shared prosperity to address the pressing challenges of poverty, inequality and unemployment.

PART 9

EQUALITY AND INCLUSIVITY

Diversity and inclusion must be a planned and positive process and strategy aimed at transforming socio-economic environments that have excluded individuals from disadvantaged groups.

We are simultaneously the most evolved species on the planet and wholly unprepared for the demands of modern life. Humanity has not successfully evolved to deal with diversity. Since time immemorial, we have either avoided anything that doesn't look like us or killed it. Diversity requires both consciousness and intentionality.

It is man's choice as to which prism we choose to view the world through: Either through the 'fear' or 'love' prism. The love prism is one of abundance, of helping one another to cope with adversity. The love prism seeks to unite, to give and receive support and become a better, good quality human being, as opposed to the fear prism, which is one of scarcity. Fear sees only conflict, versus the consensus that is always sought by love. The scarcity paradigm is characterised by hoarding and is greedy, while the abundance one is characterised by sharing and giving. Abundance is about providing all with a life of possibilities.

Fear is arrogant and irrational, more about hierarchical steering and control, while love is about continuous adaptation and learning about how to achieve what we need. Fear pontificates while love executes.

Scarcity takes from the ‘haves’ to give to the ‘have-nots’ whereas abundance increases the size of the pie. Scarcity wants to reduce the CEOs’ salaries while abundance seeks to substantially increase the low-level employees and the ‘missing middle’s’ salaries.

Love gives access while fear is obsessed with ownership. When a 14-year-old decides not to receive presents for her birthday but instead chooses her favourite charity to which these same gifts can be redirected and donated, she is not driven by fear, but by love.

Business must do well by doing good and must now execute on this notion of shared value. One of the key challenges facing boards of directors today, is to ensure that corporate decision-making is consistent not only with the wishes of the shareholders, but the broader stakeholder community.

Businesses that don’t look after their customers soon fail and, similarly, businesses that do not take good care of the community in which they are located will soon perish. Marikana⁵⁸ taught us that business must assist in providing appropriate and affordable housing for their lowly paid employees.

When your neighbour is hungry, you cannot sleep at night.

From those to which more is given, much is expected.

It is manifestly in the best interest of the ‘haves’ to take the lead in bringing about and sustaining this worldview of abundance, precipitated by the love prism – in viewing job creation in abundance as creating markets of the future.

It is the moral duty of the beneficiaries of patriarchy and privilege to bring about both gender equality and pay parity in order to attain the ideals of social justice, nation building, social coherence and delivering the South Africa of Rolihlahla N Mandela’s dreams – the South Africa we have all been praying for.

The democracy dividend must surely percolate to all the social strata of our people.

Speak your love. Speak it again. Speak it yet once again!

THE IMPORTANCE OF DIVERSITY AND INCLUSION

Diversity and Inclusion (D&I) needs to be defined in a way that has meaning and purpose within the South African context and that reflects the particular historical origins of inequality in this country. The definition must also give clear directions as to how a commitment to D&I can be translated into practical strategies, action plans and programmes. It must be a planned and positive process and strategy aimed at transforming socio-economic environments that have excluded individuals from disadvantaged groups, for such disadvantaged individuals to gain access to opportunities, including developmental opportunities, based on their suitability. It requires the total eradication of all obstacles, subtle or overt, formal or informal, which hinder the empowerment of disadvantaged individuals.

Part of the problem is that ‘diversity’ and ‘inclusion’ are so often lumped together that they are assumed to be the same thing. But that is just not the case.

In the context of the workplace, diversity equals representation. Without inclusion, however, the crucial connections that attract diverse talent, encourage their participation, foster innovation and lead to business growth will not happen.

Diversity is being invited to the party. Inclusion is being asked to dance.

Numerous studies show that diversity alone does not drive inclusion. In fact, without inclusion there is often a diversity backlash.

Trevor Goodloe writes⁵⁹:

In 1971, the late Rev Leon Howard Sullivan Jr. (1922-2001) was elected to the Board of Directors at General Motors Corporation (GM), at this time, the largest employer in South Africa. Sullivan used his position within this corporation to oppose discrimination. To this end, in 1977 Sullivan created the Sullivan Principles, a code of conduct for corporations operating out of South Africa. The Sullivan Principles were designed to protect human rights and promote equal opportunity for workers in South Africa. This code of ethics was widely acknowledged for challenging racial discrimination in South Africa and helping dismantle apartheid.

In 1997, with help from the United Nations Secretary-General, Kofi Annan, Sullivan launched the Global Sullivan Principles campaign, calling for companies to play a larger role in achieving worldwide human rights, equality, economic fairness and social justice.

Leaders have long recognised that a diverse workforce (that includes women, black people, and LGBTQI+ individuals) creates a competitive edge in terms of selling products or services to diverse end users. Yet a stark gap persists between recognising the leadership behaviours that unlock this capability and actually practising them.

What is needed is inclusive leadership that will ensure that team members speak up and are heard, making it safe to propose novel ideas, empowering team members to make decisions, taking advice and implementing feedback, giving actionable feedback and sharing credit for team success.

What also helps is networking by making your 'net work for you' and visibility (as often, the adage 'out of sight, out of mind' rings true). For

black people and women, the key to rising above a playing field that remains stubbornly uneven is sponsorship. A sponsor is a senior-level leader who elevates their protégé's visibility within the corridors of power, advocates for key assignments and promotions for them and puts their reputation on the line for the protégé's advancement. For those who feel marginalised by their gender, ethnicity, age, sexual identity or educational and economic background, sponsorship is particularly crucial in invigorating ambition and driving engagement. Having a sponsor increases the likelihood of being satisfied with the rate of career advancement. Conversely, lack of sponsorship increases someone's likelihood of quitting within a year.

Career pathing and succession planning are also important. Companies should start from the simple but fundamental understanding that there are different perspectives, each of them valuable, and work to explore and identify the range of barriers holding individuals back.

Organisations can then formulate plans and programmes that offer options and provide signposts that help women, LGBTQI+ people, and black people to find the path that's right for where they are in their lives and careers.

In the 21st century, not to have a diverse team is absolutely unacceptable, and to have a culture that is not inclusive is criminal.

Diversity without inclusion is a story of missed opportunities, of employees so used to being overlooked that they no longer share ideas and insights. But diversity with inclusion provides a potent mix of talent attraction, retention and high engagement levels.

The United Nations' Sustainable Development Goals (SDG) 10 talks about the need to 'reduce inequality within and among countries'. Reducing inequalities and ensuring no one is left behind are integral to achieving the SDGs. Inequality within and among countries is a persistent cause for

concern. Despite some positive signs towards reducing inequality in some dimensions, such as reducing relative income inequality in some countries and preferential trade status benefiting lower-income countries, inequality still persists.

COVID-19 has deepened already existing inequalities hitting the poorest and most vulnerable communities the hardest. It has put a spotlight on economic inequalities and fragile social safety nets that leave vulnerable communities to bear the brunt of the crisis. At the same time, social, political and economic inequalities have amplified the impacts of the pandemic. On the economic front, the COVID-19 pandemic has significantly increased global unemployment and dramatically slashed workers' incomes.

SDG 5 talks about the need to 'achieve gender equality and empower all women and girls'. Gender equality is a fundamental and inviolable human right and women's and girls' empowerment is essential to expand economic growth, promote social development and enhance business performance. The full incorporation of women's capacities into labour forces would add percentage points to most national growth rates – double digits in many cases. Further, investing in women's empowerment produces the double dividend of benefiting women and children and is pivotal to the health and social development of families, communities and nations.

COVID-19 also puts at risk the limited progress that has been made in gender equality and women's rights over the past decades. Across every sphere, from health to the economy, security to social protection, the impacts of COVID-19 are exacerbated for women and girls simply by virtue of their gender.

Inequalities are also deepening for vulnerable populations in countries with weaker health systems and those facing existing humanitarian crises. Refugees and migrants, as well as indigenous peoples, older persons, people

with disabilities and children, are particularly at risk of being left behind. Hate speech targeting vulnerable groups is rising.

In June 1993, the Black Management Forum (BMF) set up an Affirmative Action Commission, consisting of 12 members to look at key aspects of affirmative action. This found expression in our constitution as the Employment Equity Act.

Chief among South Africa's political success is the country's Constitution, which was written in 1996. The three parties that made up the Government of National Unity (GNU) – the ANC, National Party and the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) – established the core principles on which the country's future was to be built.

The result of the negotiations was a Constitution that is today considered to be one of the most progressive in the world. It is perhaps best known for its second chapter, a Bill of Rights, in which the question of human rights is expounded upon over 35 sections. Mindful of the country's recent undemocratic past, its authors included a further chapter establishing a number of related commissions and offices, such as the South African Human Rights Commission and the Commission for Gender Equality.

The GNU has long made a national transformation agenda one of its overarching policy priorities, aiming to address the societal imbalance left by the apartheid regime. Meanwhile, the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP), Growth Employment and Redistribution (GEAR), Accelerated and Shared Growth Initiative for South Africa (ASGISA), New Growth Path (NGP), National Development Plan (NDP) 2030, and the more recent Economic Reconstruction and Recovery Plan (ERRP), all address the economic facet of the national process, by focusing on, among others, infrastructure investment, skills enhancement, support for SMEs and macroeconomic stabilisation, thereby demonstrating beyond any shadow of

doubt that government has moved to tackle race and gender-related inequality in a much more direct fashion.

Additionally, the B-BBEE Act of 2003, sets out the government policy of situating B-BBEE within the context of a broader national empowerment strategy. The broad objectives of the B-BBEE policy include an alteration to the racial and gender composition of ownership and management structures of existing and new enterprises, as well as in skilled occupations, increased access to finance for black people and women, the employment of rural communities, the development of black South Africans as human capital through programmes such as coaching, mentorships, sponsorships, internships, preferential procurement policies for black-owned and black-women-owned businesses, among others.

In both the spirit and letter of the law as well as in practice, companies must comply with B-BBEE Codes of Good Practice (CoGP) principles of 2007.

Central to the issue of transformation is the emotive issue of land reform, including restitution, redistribution and development – with land as a primary means of production.

At the end of the apartheid era, only 13% of commercial farmland was owned by black South Africans. Bringing black ownership of farmland up to 30% became one of the central policy pillars of the newly elected GNU in 1994. The White Paper on South African Land Policy of 1997 solidified this objective.

In marked contrast to the confiscatory model adopted by Zimbabwe, the Act established a regime based on the principle of ‘willing seller, willing buyer’ at the market price. However, by 2011, only 6 million hectares of a targeted total of 25 million hectares had been bought by government and nearly 30% of the land that had been handed over to aspirant black farmers had been sold back to its original owners.

To try and address this failure to implement the Act, we have now amended Section 25, Article 3(a) to be even more explicit on expropriation without compensation.

NICOLA KLEYN

My dear Sister, Professor Nicola Kleyn, is the former Dean of the Gordon Institute of Business Science (GIBS) and the co-author of When Crisis Strikes: Ten Rules to Survive (and Avoid) a Reputation Disaster (together with Francis Herd). I am honoured to include her thoughts on ethical leadership – a topic that I believe is vitally important in these unusually dangerous and testing times.

Ethical Leadership in a Crisis

‘The 9th of July 2018 was a chilly winter morning in Johannesburg. It was an important day for me. After a lot of to-ing and fro-ing, we had confirmed that Kevin Sneader, the newly appointed global leader of consulting behemoth McKinsey, was willing to participate in an open forum at the Gordon Institute of Business Science (GIBS), the school where I was then the Dean. Since its inception, GIBS had sought to convene conversations about topical business issues not only with business, but also with government and civil society. But to my mind, this was not going to be a typical learning event with a seasoned business leader sharing their knowledge. McKinsey was going to discuss its involvement in what had come to be known as “state capture”, with a specific focus on its work with Eskom and the almost R902 million it had earned in fees after paying nearly

R600 million to Gupta-linked Trillian⁶⁰ for work with nothing to show for it.

It was important for me and our GIBS team that the event would not be white-washing of a very serious incident or that we were simply hosting a press briefing. We wanted to ensure that there would be a robust discussion following McKinsey's address. When we brainstormed who we felt would be the right respondent to Sneader's address, we all agreed that Bonang would be the ideal person to make opening comments and pose questions before opening to the audience for their comments and questions. Not only was Bonang the CEO of BLSA and so ideally placed to respond, but in the more than 20 years I have known him, he has stood as a vocal advocate for ethical conduct.

As is always the case with GIBS public forums, the event was open to anyone who wanted to attend and in addition to journalists there were a number of well-respected leaders of NGOs, including David Lewis, the CEO of Corruption Watch. In addition to feeling a sense of responsibility about how best to hold the space for the event, I was curious to see how, as the new head of the firm but a seasoned McKinsey leader, Sneader would address the issues, and what the response from both Bonang and the audience would be.

Sneader's apology started off well. He acknowledged the involvement in state capture, the failure in due diligence on Trillian and the fee that was "too large". He also apologised profusely for the firm's failure to engage with civic society, the press, academic, the public, their clients and their alumni. Despite these admissions he was at pains to repeat that internal investigations "found no evidence our firm engaged in corrupt activity". Whilst I applauded Sneader's decision to fly to South Africa and confront our people in person, it was clear to me that the corporate lawyers were in firm control of the corporate narrative.

Although Sneader's address was courteously received by Bonang, he made no bones about condemning the firm's behaviour and the impact of its actions. In true Bonang style he balanced speaking his personal truth with also representing his constituents, the members of BLSA, who have all been directly and indirectly affected by the devastating impact of state capture. As he had done across the years I have known him, he named McKinsey's aberrant behaviour for what it was and demanded consequences.

The deep mettle of ethical leadership is forged during crises. Academic literature references two broad categories of crisis – performance crisis and ethical crisis. Although steps can be taken to prevent them, performance crises can happen to any organisation. Sometimes, as we saw with the case of Tiger Brands and its listeriosis crisis⁶¹, a performance crisis can quickly morph into an ethical crisis. As has been the case for organisations like Tiger Brands, McKinsey and other firms that have faced ethical crises, the management of the crisis plays a profound role in enabling an organisation to forge an ethical course going forward.

Sneader's acknowledgement of the crisis early in his tenure was a promising signal of McKinsey's recognition of its errors and its commitment to reforge its value. But ethical leadership can't stop there. Holding transgressors to account and taking active steps to learn from the crisis and prioritise ethical values going forward are integral to the leadership task at hand.

Fast forward three years and March 2021. Following the surfacing of a number of other major corruption scandals at McKinsey across countries (including China, Turkey, Saudi Arabia, the United States of America and the Ukraine), McKinsey partners elected to turn down Sneader's bid for a second term as CEO of the firm. It remains to be seen whether or not the new leadership will be able to restore the firm's reputation.

As important as firm leadership is in promoting ethical leadership, the role of each and every one of us to hold organisations to account is also a critical facet of ethical leadership. That day at GIBS in which Bonang, along with others, played an important role in advocating for morally responsible behaviour, was a small exemplar of the way we need to continually engage and re-engage to build the stronger, more ethical society our country and world needs.'

LAND EXPROPRIATION WITHOUT COMPENSATION

The worst thing ever is not to recognise that the issue of land to African people is like the concentration camps to the Afrikaner people and Auschwitz to the Jewish people.

We must use land to build a single, unified and prosperous South Africa in exactly the same way as the former West and East Germany, now one Germany, was able to seize the moment in an incredibly short time.

In spite of land having been expressly addressed in both the 1955 Freedom Charter and the 1996 Constitution, a pro-poor land reform process that could have been successfully implemented post-1994 was not. In fact, there has been a spectacular political failure, with the country having failed to simply complete a land audit, secure customary land rights in both law and practice, and enforce tenure rights for farm dwellers. Limited delivery, lethargy to engage with our historical legacy, inadequate commitment to redress the pain and government omission (rather than constitutional commission) have been the biggest impediments to constructing a society based on dignity, freedom and equality for all who live in this country.

An opportunity has now been presented to really continue with a wider national conversation about land rights and economic justice. Our current Constitution already makes it 'possible for the state to expropriate land in the public interest, and if it is just and equitable, that compensation be set at zero', under the existing 'property clause', which is explicit that *no* provision can impede the state from embarking on reforms to address

historical inequality. This is truly a potent transformative weapon for restitution, redistribution, development (and security of tenure). It imposes a *positive* obligation on the state to provide suitable land for the landless and housing for the homeless.

Patriotic business, therefore, welcomed the establishment of the ad hoc constitutional review committee, comprised of representatives from different political parties, to review and amend Section 25 of the Constitution to make it possible for the state to expropriate land in the public interest without compensation.

In seeking to right a painful and longstanding injustice, patriotic business stands ready, eager and willing to proactively work with all social partners in finding a better, orderly, reasoned, rational, nuanced, careful and constitutionally sound way to get to a transparent and fact-based enquiry.

A land debate designed to ensure equitable access for all to the land and, more generally, the natural resources of the country, as in Section 25(4) of the Constitution, is an imperative for the future of South Africa.

If land held by black people is converted into full title, R1 trillion of dead capital and eight million properties will be unleashed at nominal cost into the economy and the hands of low-income black people. Even now, a generation after apartheid and under democracy, black people remain tenants – even on ‘redistributed’ land.

Verwoerd’s ghost rules.

There is no possession like land! We will do well to use this opportunity to help develop a more measured, more mature approach to moral affairs in general. It is surely unarguable that this is not a quandary that is easily resolved. South Africans desperately need their communal dialogue to be wise, brave and empathetic. If thought leaders fail South Africa in this regard – if they opt for the politics of identity and indignation over that of pragmatism and hope – the National Project could easily unravel.

APARTHEID IS A CRIME AGAINST HUMANITY

The Springboks' 2020 Laureus World Sports Award demonstrated that sport – like nature – is a wonderful metaphor for business.

Winning the Team of the Year at the Verti Music Hall in Berlin, Germany, on Monday, 17 February 2020, was just the good news that South Africa needed in the midst of gloom and despondency. Beating out Liverpool, who won the Champions League; Formula One winners, Mercedes; the USA women's football team, the Toronto Raptors (basketball); and Spain's men's national basketball team, was truly extraordinary.

At 12-year intervals, not only did we equal New Zealand's All Blacks' record of three wins (and the All Blacks have played in two more Rugby World Cup events than South Africa) at Yokohama Stadium in Tokyo, Japan, but the Springboks hold a record of never having lost in the final. Captain Siyamthanda Kolisi, who celebrated the 2019 win on his 50th test match, in front of President Matamela C Ramaphosa, also became the first black captain to deliver this most epic, dramatic and emphatic win.

Left wing, Makazole Mapimpi, also became the first Springbok to score a try in a Rugby World Cup final. Right wing, Cheslin Kolbe, scored the second try and was nominated for the Player of the Year Award. The Springboks went on to win the Team of the Year Award. The whole of South Africa owes a huge debt of gratitude to Johan 'Rassie' Erasmus for the art of the possible. Francois Pienaar's 1995 15-12 win against the All

Blacks at Ellis Park was seismic, cheered on by former president Rolihlahla N Mandela.

Former president Thabo M Mbeki celebrated the 15-6 reassuring win against England at the Stade de France in Saint-Denis, France in 2007.

The 2020 win was particularly special in a week when South Africa was shaken to its core by one of the joint winners of the Nobel Peace Prize, former Deputy President FW de Klerk, publicly denying that apartheid is a crime against humanity. It seriously risked unravelling the gigantic efforts made at giving effect to the South Africa of (our very first democratically elected president) Rolihlahla N Mandela's dreams; the unfinished project of nation building; the much-needed social cohesion and reconciliation.

To also assert that more people were killed during the so-called 'black-on-black' violence than by apartheid is a lie that was comprehensively repudiated during the extensive Truth and Reconciliation Commission⁶², chaired by the Archbishop Emeritus Mpilo Desmond Tutu, especially the hearings dealing specifically with the Boipatong massacre, where many eyewitnesses testified that members of the then South African Defence Force (SADF) would ordinarily ferry members of Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) in their Casspirs⁶³, often in the dead of night, and stand and watch as these members attacked (often defenceless) residents. Thereafter, members of the SADF would round up the eyewitnesses and not the perpetrators of these heinous murders. For FW de Klerk to later claim that he did not know that the United Nations had declared apartheid a crime against humanity is preposterous in the extreme.

Not only was the denialism offensive to all South Africans, but it was hugely hurtful, especially to the millions of apartheid victims who, up until now, have not seen nor experienced justice.

There is absolutely *no way* that any of the top brass of the National Party can ever claim ignorance of this fact, let alone a senior member of the

Special Security Agency.

It was on 6 November 1962, that the United Nations General Assembly adopted a resolution condemning South Africa's racist apartheid policies and calling on all its members to end economic and military relations with the country.

The 1973 Apartheid Convention declared that apartheid was unlawful because it violated the UN Charter and was given the nod by 91 countries with only four (including South Africa, the USA, the UK and Portugal) voting against. By August 2008, it was ratified by 107 states. In 2005, the Republic of South Africa's Constitutional Court had also declared apartheid a crime against humanity.

Crimes against humanity entail extermination, murder, enslavement, torture, imprisonment, rape, forced abortions and other sexual violence, persecution on political, religious, racial and gender grounds, the forcible transfer of populations, the enforced disappearance of persons, etc. Even the International Criminal Court of Justice has ratified this universal truth.

Contrition remains an ongoing process. You have to continue asking for forgiveness and remain grateful for the mercy shown.

The former Deputy President has been consistent in defending apartheid on every platform⁶⁴ and by so doing, has demonstrated beyond any shadow of doubt that he is not a worthy recipient of the Nobel Peace Prize.

PUTTING GENDER ON THE BUSINESS AGENDA

When she became Bidvest Group Limited CEO on 1 October 2019, Nompumelelo Madisa was only the third woman in South Africa to head a mid- to large-market cap JSE-listed company. The other two are Anglo Platinum CEO Natascha Viljoen and Phuthi Mahanyele-Dabengwa of Naspers South Africa.

More than 27 years into our democracy, this dearth of female leaders in business is shameful. Why is gender equality in business leadership doggedly elusive when women constitute 51% of the 59.3 million South Africans?

Inequalities associated with the class system are founded upon two interlocking but conceptually distinct social processes. One is the allocation of rewards attaching to different positions in the social system. The other is the process of recruitment to these positions. Modern societies do of course exhibit both forms of inequality. Both gender inequality and pay parity are the crudest manifestation.

On what grounds is it morally legitimate to give greater economic and social benefits to men than to women when each, in their own way, contributes to the social good? We must all be seriously concerned about social justice as it pertains to both the rewards accruing to different genders, as well as the process of recruitment to the C-Suite.

Although the processes of rewarding and recruitment are analytically separable, they are closely intertwined in practice. This is to a large extent

to do with the prominent part played by men in ‘placing’ other men at the pinnacle of the corporate ladder. There is a marked tendency for those who already occupy relatively privileged positions to ensure that their own progeny and those who look like them are recruited into similar positions.

The ability of men to confer advantages on other men thus encourages a fairly high degree of social self-recruitment within privilege from one generation to the next. Partly as a result of this, there often develops a pattern of social and cultural differentiation which, in turn, reinforces the system of occupational recruitment and so crystallises the masculine structure through time.

Women still suffer many disadvantages in various areas of social life, including employment opportunities, income, property ownership, etc. This is because, for the majority of women, the allocation of social and economic rewards is still predominantly determined by men.

Men should shoulder blame for the barriers holding back women. For gender equality and pay parity to take hold in South Africa and globally, men must be at the forefront because they are beneficiaries of centuries of patriarchy.

It is easier for men to be accepted as leaders in the C-Suite – as managing directors, presidents and chief executive officers – because the system both expects and accommodates them. When men ascend the corporate ladder, the corporate environment is friendly, forgiving and understanding.

If we are to increase the numbers of women leaders in established companies, men must knock down the entrenched barriers and the proverbial glass ceiling hindering women’s progress. As men, we should actively, purposefully, deliberately and consciously push, counsel and walk alongside women.

Gender equality will not happen by accident.

Whenever they have been given opportunities, women have proven that they are as capable as men, if not more so because they have the requisite skills of the 21st century. Today, we still pay women about 75% of what we pay men for work of equal value.

COVID-19 is everywhere, but countries with women as heads of state, like Denmark, New Zealand, Germany, Belgium, Finland, Iceland, etc, seem to be managing the crisis better. So, why are women not progressing as fast and in as large numbers as men? They are not accessing positions of power and authority because men are uncomfortable with having women as their equals, let alone as their leaders.

This is partially due to the way many of us were brought up and socialised. South Africa is still steeped in patriarchy and suffers from toxic masculinity. Do most men really appreciate the seriousness of gender transformation? If men were in the forefront of driving gender equality and pay parity, the figures would tell us. But the statistics show that, even though women account for more than half of the South African population, their representation in positions of leadership is not more than 24%. African women are less than 4%, according to the Employment Equity Commission report.

The 'old boys' network' mentality remains intact. Yet the skills required in the 21st century such as empathy, ability to connect and focusing on people, are found naturally in women. The ability to communicate comes naturally to women. But when it comes to trusting them with the stewardship of our entities, men are still reluctant. By blocking women's path to the C-Suite, companies are losing out on important insights and perspectives.

Gender inequality is not unique to South Africa. The global picture is similar, if not worse. In the US, about 35% of Fortune 500 companies do not have a single woman on their boards.

Similar to other business activities, clear targets are required. If you don't set the tax rate at 28%, companies are not going to voluntarily pay you 32%. They will comply with the bare minimum of the law.

When you want to increase sales for the year ahead, companies ordinarily aim for a 10% increase on this year's sales. You set an unambiguous target. Gender and pay parity should not be different.

If we want to achieve gender equality, we must be purposeful about it. It is not going to happen on its own. It's time for decisive steps to address the gender imbalances. There must be clear and measurable targets. This includes making gender diversity one of the metrics to measure performance.

Business leaders must answer the question: How are you making it possible for women in your team to progress?

We must also highlight and celebrate those companies on the JSE that are making serious headway and name and shame those that do not have a single woman on their boards, as well as those that still prefer to exclusively appoint white males to CEO positions.

Most importantly, we must have punitive sanctions against those companies that put together annual employment equity plans and yet fail to meet them. Non-performance should be consistently punished. That is the only way to drive desired behaviour.

We also need to acknowledge the pyramid of discrimination and oppression.

One cannot talk about gender diversity and equality without singling out the plight of black women. At work and in life, black women have to deal with systemic discrimination and oppression. They are caught in the intersectionality among race, gender and class.

Most menial jobs in South Africa are still done by black women. The least amount of pay in this country is still reserved for black women. This is not

sustainable in the 21st century. It is just unacceptable. How do we become internationally competitive when we leave more than half of the population behind?

Women in most households are the biggest consumers and buyers of goods and services. They are the ones responsible for bringing up the next generation of future leaders. Yet we do not take their role in society seriously. History shows us that a poor woman brings up poor children. Therefore, the best way to reduce the self-perpetuating vicious cycle of abject poverty is to make sure that women are both financially independent and secure.

Without coaching on the job and mentorship about leadership, the progress of women will be slow. Mentors and coaches fulfil an important role by counselling, coaching and supporting the next crop of leaders.

Women also need 'sponsorship'. This is about finding someone who can speak factually and passionately about women's accomplishments in their absence. This is someone who will be heavily invested in women's progress, ascension, personal growth and development.

As men, most of us are raised by women. Precisely because of that seminal task, we must make sure that we trust our own mothers, sisters, aunts and nieces with positions of responsibility to ensure that the next generation of women leaders have a bigger pool from which to choose their next mentors, coaches and sponsors.

MTETO NYATI

Baba Nyati is the Chief Executive at Altron, former CEO of MTN South Africa, and MD at Microsoft South Africa, among others, as well as a Yale World Scholar. He is also the author of the number one bestseller, Betting on a Darkie, a book about his life as a shopkeeper's son, family man and business leader at local and multinational corporates. He exemplifies black excellence and I have admired his career progression. His determination and dedication to succeed show that he, more than most, is an embodiment of the concept that God has given his toughest battles to his strongest soldiers.

I'm thankful for his generosity and his support, and for the kind words he has shared.

‘The first thing that comes to mind when I think about Bonang Mohale’s leadership is a saying by an American writer Steve Maraboli that “the harder thing to do and the right thing to do are usually the same thing”. His leadership is characterised by conscious choices he is making, informed by what he believes is right. In a world where following the crowd is perceived as the safe route, Bonang almost always chooses the road less travelled.

I have known him for more than two decades now. His leadership style has been consistent throughout the period. I have no doubt that it is rooted on a set of values that guide his life. And by life, I mean his whole life, not

just work or home life. It is a constancy that is both powerful and disarming. He shows up as a force, on a mission – a mission to do what is right.

In this chapter I will unpack how I have personally experienced Bonang's leadership. I will share these experiences while in the process highlighting the values that are driving this exceptional leader.

In 2008, I joined Microsoft South Africa as their Managing Director. I had been approached by Microsoft to lead their local subsidiary in terms of business growth and local relevance. In my mind, driving business growth and positive societal impact are not mutually exclusive. It was heartening to see Microsoft South Africa employees embrace the local relevance strategy with both hands. The company was aligned with the priorities of South Africa – focusing primarily on improving education outcomes and reducing youth unemployment through skills and enterprise development.

It is this work that caught the eye of Bonang Mohale, who had just been elected as the new President of BMF in October 2012. Neither Microsoft South Africa nor me were individual or corporate members of Black Management Forum. In fact, the imagination of the outgoing BMF leadership was captured by radical economic transformation ideology. Companies like Microsoft South Africa were seen as “White Monopoly Capital” – whatever that means – what I do know is that it is definitely not a label of endearment.

It is for this reason that we were surprised to receive a special invitation from BMF to attend their annual gala dinner. At the dinner we could not believe it when I was awarded the 2012 BMF Manager of the Year. The message from the new BMF leadership was loud and clear. They did not care what organisation one works for, nor did they mind the person's or organisation's association. What mattered to them were the deeds of the business leaders. What was important was the impact business leaders were

having in terms of the new South Africa transformation project. It was a breath of fresh air. It was typical Bonang Mohale – transcending superficial differences and focusing on humanness.

It is experience that brought to the fore the value of diversity and inclusion. Bonang could not have used a better platform to set an inclusive agenda for his presidency. South Africa's renewal requires all its people – the rainbow people of God. It was President Nelson Mandela who led with national reconciliation, guided by the belief that South Africa belongs to all who live in it, united in our diversity. It is leaders like Bonang who demonstrate practically how to make choices that are informed by diversity and inclusion.

In South Africa, we have become masters at making certain segments of our society feel like they are not welcome in our country. The new Chief Executive Officer of Eskom, André de Ruyter, is doing a great job for all of us. In less than 24 months he has reduced Eskom debt by R83 billion. He has held companies that were looting Eskom accountable. He is rooting out corruption with this energy utility. What is our way of thanking him? We call him a racist. His only sin is that he was born white. Many white South Africans who are patriotic and are making a big difference in our society are getting consistent messages from their black compatriots that “they don't belong here”. Bonang has no time for these peacetime revolutionaries. He calls them out, as he should.

He has long understood the value of diversity and inclusion. He never fails to speak to people in their own languages. He switches with ease across the various languages of South Africa. Nelson Mandela once said, “If you talk to a man in a language he understands, that goes to his head. If you talk to him in his own language, that goes to his heart.”

Bonang is the king of hearts.

In July 2017, Bonang was appointed as the new Chief Executive Officer of Business Leadership South Africa (BLSA). The chairman of BLSA, the late Jabu Mabuza commented, “The board of BLSA is delighted that someone of Bonang Mohale’s calibre and immense leadership ability has agreed to steer the organisation through the most challenging environment the organisation has faced since 1994. His depth of experience, integrity and courage make him a great fit for the position.”

In April 2017, I had just joined Altron as Group Chief Executive. Altron is a member of BLSA. The big challenge was state capture and how should business respond to it. Business was clear that President Zuma and his friends – the Guptas – were destroying South Africa. It seemed that most of his ministers were willing enablers of the state capture project. Corruption was everywhere. The future looked bleak. There was fear all around.

We had witnessed how the Chairman of Nedbank Reuel Khoza stood alone in his criticism of South African politicians when he referred to them as “strange breed of leaders” who were determined to undermine the rule of law.

We needed more people like Reuel who could speak truth to power. Bonang was one such person. He blasted into the scene calling a spade a spade. He put the blame where it belongs, at the feet of President Zuma. He also popularised the term ‘Zupta’ which links President Zuma and the Guptas directly to corruption.

The French-Cuban-American writer Anaïs Nin once said, “Life shrinks or expands in proportion to one’s courage.” Bonang has received a number of awards for being a force for good. At the core is his courage and integrity. Like all human beings, I am sure that he is scared to death when he engages those in positions of power, but he takes the next step anyway. He always sticks his neck out like a turtle.

Bonang is exceptional in building organisational capability. When he took over as CEO of BLSA he set out to transform that organisation as well. One of the notable examples of his leadership style was how he created a succession slate for his position. Soon after his appointment, he visited us at Altron to seek guidance on the new mandate for BLSA. He was accompanied by Busisiwe Mavuso – his recently appointed chief operations officer. We had deep discussions about the state of our nation and what needed to be done.

Little did I know that Bonang was working in the now and future at the same time. Here was a man who was already preparing for his exit from BLSA by actively grooming his successor. It was always going to be difficult to fill the shoes of Bonang. But his forward planning skills coupled with coaching abilities made the transition from Bonang to Busi smooth. In the process Bonang had scored another goal – driving gender diversity.

Gender diversity is his passion. As the chairman of Bidvest he has appointed the first black female Chief Executive Officer of the group, Nompumelelo Madisa. Bonang walks the talk. He knows that he is destined to be one person – the person he chooses to be. He has chosen to be a man of integrity. He has chosen to be a man of action.

The world is currently facing the COVID-19 pandemic. We have seen how COVID-19 devastation is a good barometer to assessing a country's leadership. During the early stages of the pandemic, South Africa's political leadership took bold, decisive but right decisions about the hard lockdown in order to flatten the curve and prepare hospitals for the inevitable. As painful as these actions were when it comes to the economy, they were lauded by all those who understood what needed to be done.

In South Africa, it seems our leadership basked in this praise and forgot to plan ahead for the vaccination of its people. Today our leaders cry of vaccine nationalism when in reality they slept at the wheel. Once again,

Bonang has emerged as a voice that speaks truth to power. What I particularly like about his approach is that he backs his argument with numbers. As they say – numbers don't lie.

I have seen many leaders who are inspirational. Many of them keep things at high level but are unable to get to the real issues on the ground. That is not Bonang. He is gifted with the ability to straddle both strategy and detail. He has exceptional memory coupled with his comfort with numbers. That is a deadly combination. He has become a voice that our government may not want to hear but needs to hear.

To conclude, Bonang is living a purposeful life that is guided by a strong set of values like respect, kindness, courage, integrity, honesty and passion. The one value that sets him apart is the love he has for his family, in particular his wife, Susan. Recently, I called him and got his voicemail. He promptly returned my call and apologised for not picking up his phone. He shared with me that he was busy washing Susan's car. That statement captured for me who Bonang is. He is wise beyond measure. He knows that giving starts the receiving process.

A wise man once said, "People don't care about how much you know until they know how much you care." Bonang cares about South Africa. He cares deeply about his family. He may be shorter than me, but I look up to him. Behold the turtle.'

IMAGINING 2030

This is based on a keynote address I gave at the South African Revenue Authority in August 2020 called ‘Generation Equality: Realising Women’s Rights for an Equal Future’.

Imagine the world in 2030, fully inclusive of all persons!

In September 2015, the UN General Assembly adopted the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development that includes 17 SDGs and 169 targets. Building on the principle of ‘leaving no one behind’, the new Agenda emphasises a holistic approach to achieving sustainable development for all.

Goal 5 sets out ‘to achieve gender equality and empower all women and girls’. It talks about ensuring women’s full and effective participation and equal opportunities for leadership at all levels of decision-making in political, economic and public life; undertaking reforms to give women equal rights to economic resources, as well as access to ownership and control over land and other forms of property, financial services, inheritance and natural resources, in accordance with national laws.

It implores us to adopt and strengthen sound policies and enforceable legislation for the promotion of gender equality and the empowerment of all women and girls at all levels. On 2 August 2019, South Africa became the 25th country in Africa to adopt a national action plan for women, peace and security. By then, 79 countries had developed plans. This is a critical landmark for peace. South Africa has unacceptably high levels of gender-

based violence. The national action plan provides an opportunity for South Africa to work together to chart a new dawn to realise a society free from fear.

The struggle for women's emancipation, led by women themselves, has been long, difficult and to this day, filled with very many unsung heroines.

In 1913, women like Charlotte Maxeke⁶⁵ led the way in establishing the ANC Women's League and encouraging women to engage in the struggle for freedom. Cissie, Jaynab and Amina Gool were among the leaders of the National Liberation League and the Non-European United Front of the 1930s. Dora Talana, Winifred Siqwana, Ida Mntwana, Bertha Gxowa, Florence Matomela and other stalwarts of the 1950s led militant women's formation for the rights of workers and the rights of women. The Women's National Coalition convened a conference where the Women's Charter for Effective Equality was adopted in February 1994 – the very same year that South African women attended the UN Fourth World Conference in Beijing, China.

The Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) was ratified without reservation in 1995. The Commission for Gender Equality was established in 1996. The establishment of the Office on the Status of Women in the Presidency happened in 1997. The Department of Women, Children and People with Disabilities was established in 2009. The SADC Protocol on Gender and Development was ratified in 2012.

The women of the Black Sash were the first to protest against the disenfranchisement of the Coloured voters during the 1950s. The 9 August 1956 march was coordinated by the Federation of South African Women (FEDSAW) led by, among others, five women: Dr Ruth Segomotsi Mompati, Lilian Ngoyi, Rahima Moosa, Sophia Williams-de Bruyn and

Helen Joseph. These leaders delivered petitions to the then Prime Minister JG Strijdom's office at the Union Buildings.

Four decades have passed since management consultant, Marilyn Loden coined the phrase 'glass ceiling' to describe the invisible barrier blocking the way for women to progress to senior positions. Despite the #MeToo campaign and the attention given to the gender pay gap, attempts to increase both the number and advancement of women in business are moving excruciatingly slowly. The metrics are not showing the direct result of this significant momentum we have at the moment. Inequality is not something the market is going to fix by itself.

The burden of 'women's work' excludes women. While women account for an increasing proportion of enrolment and component in higher education, they remain less likely to pursue higher levels of degrees at tertiary level. In addition to financial restriction, women are more likely to sacrifice education to fulfil family and household commitments (particularly due to pregnancy) than their male counterparts. The author of the classic, *Les Misérables*, Victor Hugo wrote, 'Nothing is more powerful than an idea whose time has come.'

Much the same will apply in not a too distant future, when the world will ultimately wake up to the premium that will be placed on the attributes that women already bring to corporates. At the time that companies value a stronger team approach, a new form of collaboration is emerging in which women are appreciated for their intuition.

Organisations are recognising that the idea that 'teamwork makes the dream work' depends on people chemistry, without which it can fall into the 'analysis-paralysis' trap. Much depends on how teams are constituted, how they are led and how their norms of engagement are seen. As in sports, teams can fail, but they can also succeed and create stars. Teamwork does not have to mean group-think. Individual managers can generate ideas and

perform ‘reality checks’ with colleagues before implementing them. More diverse teams perform better.

Employers believe women bring specific attributes, including the ability to understand a problem and then find a solution, even when a spreadsheet suggests otherwise. They also see what others see but think what others do not. Women tend to be good at the big-picture thinking that is conducive to problem-solving. The same employers stress that, men too, can be intuitive but that women tend to be stronger on nuance and deep meaning. It therefore makes more sense that boards of directors must champion diversity as an integral part of their stewardship role.

More shareholders must bring about more diverse boards and must orchestrate for more diverse executive teams. Boards cannot afford to remain the preserves of men. Instead of founding ‘think tanks’ and gorging on discussions about improving distant lives, we must create more ‘do-tanks’ to attend to the lives around us in the places in which we actually live.

We must stop fighting and pushing for rules that let us steal the future from our children. Numerous pieces of research – from Harvard Kennedy School to MSCI, and McKinsey, etc – have shown the link between having more women on board and stronger financial performance, better oversight over underperforming CEOs, greater employee engagement, productivity growth, best company to work for, etc.

Yet, wherever you are in the world, you are underneath a kind of overarching sky that theologically and therefore philosophically, tells you that girls and women are second to boys and men. For girls and women, you can make progress, but any rights you are given are conditional on society allowing you to have them.

Women contribute to a much more 360-degree/holistic perspective about how companies operate inside societies. But it still tends to be assumed that

they will take on the majority of both domestic and caring duties at home. So, they are generally the ones dealing with the dentists, doctors, the schools, the care homes, the bus timetables, and more.

What this means, however, is that women can therefore bring the whole community into the boardroom. And at a time when we are grappling with how to create ethical economic viability, this is invaluable.

The notion of diversity is both about lived experience and thought process.

In 2016, Jayne-Anne Gadhia, CEO of Virgin Money, was invited to lead a review into the representation of women in senior management in the financial sector. Her report, *Empowering Productivity: Harnessing the Talent of Women in Financial Services* revealed that only 14% of executive jobs are held by women.

The report's recommendation became the backbone of the Women in Finance Charter, which asks financial services firms to commit to four key actions: appoint a member of their senior executive team to be responsible and accountable for gender diversity and inclusion; set and publish internal targets for gender diversity in their senior management; publish progress annually against these targets in reports on their website and have an intention to ensure that the pay of the senior executive team is linked to delivery against these gender diversity targets.

The March 2018 review of progress made by the original 68 signatories to the Charter reported that more than a quarter have already met their targets and more than a half are on track to do so. The focus must continue to be on mentorship, effective sponsorship and talent management – from a place of truthfulness and genuine care.

We must be dogged and determined in consistently emphasising diversity, knowing that people will work that much harder at coming up with positive outcomes – in rethinking how business is done; the way managers develop

talent; creating inclusive and flexible working environments; attracting, retaining and inspiring women.

At the end of June 2019, Deborah Hargreaves, a former senior *Financial Times* and *Guardian* journalist and founder of the High Pay Centre, published a report, *Women at Work: Designing a Company Fit for the Future*, in which she offers a manifesto for change through ten recommendations on how a female-driven approach to working life might create better businesses for the future and in turn make the economy fairer for all.

Some key points of the report:

- The organisation will put caring for children, relatives and parents at its heart – workplaces would offer affordable childcare in-house or via vouchers.
- There would be a focus on job-shares and flexible working at all levels.
- The workplace would be inclusive and open to people from all heritages, disabilities and identities.
- There would be no gender pay gap and mentoring would be available for all.
- Equal numbers of women and men (with diverse backgrounds) would be promoted to management boards.
- The organisation would encourage a more ethical way of working rather than a focus purely on profits and growth and rewards would be based on the broad values of the company rather than just individual performance.

It was Atticus, the Canadian Instagram poet who accentuated this notion when he declared, ‘She was powerful not because she wasn’t scared but because she went on so strongly despite the fear.’

One of my favourite four lines is from *The Rose That Grew from Concrete*, a collection of poetry written between 1989 and 1991 by Tupac Amaru Shakur, supported by an all-women team, published by Pocket Books through its MTV Books imprint. A preface was written by Shakur's mother Afeni Shakur, a foreword by Nikki Giovanni and an introduction by his manager, Leila Steinberg.

The lines from Shakur's poem reads:

*Did you hear about the rose that grew from a crack in the
concrete*

*Proving nature's laws wrong it learned to walk without having
feet*

*Funny it seems, but by keeping its dreams it learned to breathe
fresh air*

*Long live the rose that grew from concrete when no one else even
cared.*

CELEBRATING SUCCESSES

I include here my letters of support for two incredible women upon their appointment to leadership positions. I hope to write many more letters such as these in future. There is much work yet to be done in achieving gender equality in our organisations. Ms Sizakele Mzimela and 'Me Nompumelelo Thembekile Madisa are shining examples of why this should be a national priority.

Ms Sizakele Mzimela

The following statement was issued in response to the appointment of Ms Sizakele Mzimela as Chief Executive of Transnet Freight Rail (TFR) on 1 April 2020.

Transnet is to be congratulated on appointing Ms Sizakele Mzimela as head of its largest business unit, Transnet Freight Rail. I have no hesitation in saying that a better person could not have been found for this job.

I worked with Ms Mzimela, head-hunted from financial services, when I was the first South African Executive Vice President of South African Airways (SAA) and was consistently impressed by her uprightness, abilities and capabilities – particularly her ability to understand and deal with complexities.

Because of this, I had no hesitation in promoting her to senior management positions at both SAA and South African Express

(SAX) and I am proud to say we worked together on, among others, developing the independent ‘code-share and commercial agreements’ that allowed SAA to fly to about 700 destinations; the complex three-hub strategy that *profitably* linked O. R. Tambo International Airport with the airports in Ghana (Accra), Kenya (Nairobi) and Nigeria (Lagos) – a fundamental, ground-breaking project which is still in place today.

Sizakele excelled in everything that she was responsible for and beyond and was then promoted to be the CEO of SAX where she left a profitable and resilient company. She then left the airline for a while and excelled so much in the private sector that we brought her back to SAA as CEO, where she ran the airline effectively and efficiently after years of industrial-scale looting. And it is no secret that she was fired from SAA at the height of the state capture project because she refused to buckle under pressure from then-President Zuma to award the lucrative Dubai route to the Guptas.

It is for this reason, and many others, that I say: Ms Sizakele Mzimela is the absolute epitome of ethical leadership in South Africa.

On top of that, there can be no doubting that SA Express – where she was interim CEO – would have in fact imploded much earlier than it did had it not been for her wholesomeness, skill, commitment, acumen and her integrity.

Any criticism of her ability to head Transnet Freight Rail (TFR) is therefore not only unwarranted – it is completely disingenuous and uninformed. The combination of her experience in the private sector, entrepreneurship and state-owned companies is unchallenged and only an ill-informed or malicious person would say she does not have the requisite skills and experience to run the Transnet business unit that forms the backbone of the South African economy.

Moving goods efficiently is essential to anchor this economy for its next phase of industrialisation and Ms Mzimela’s experience at both SAA and

SAX shows that she is more than capable of doing just that. Leadership in general and logistics in particular, is her forte, and critics who think that airlines are about only flying passengers rather than complex supply chain management, moving people and freight, etc, completely misunderstand the fields she has excelled in.

In my view, if you are a leader who profoundly understands probity and stewardship; the duty of care, skill, diligence and faith *and* of the calibre of Ms Mzimela – where your trademarks are integrity, wholesomeness and ethical leadership – you are more than eminently qualified to run, not only TFR but any business for that matter.

Her competency, related to her duties and integrity; experience; qualifications; commitment to continuous professional development (CPD); operational ability and soundness as well as her standing in the business and broader community, renders her uniquely qualified. Impartiality and objectivity are character traits that she has consistently demonstrated in all interactions I have had with her.

‘Me Nompumelelo Thembekile Madisa

The board and leadership of Bidvest Group Ltd should be proud of their selection and appointment of Nompumelelo Mpumi Madisa for the CEO position. She is endowed with all the right attributes to lead Bidvest forward at a time of great uncertainty, unprecedented challenge and unrelenting pandemic for the company, the nation and the world.

After an 18 months chief executive institute process, she has demonstrated beyond any shadow of doubt her aptitude and maturity of a world-class CEO. As a public person, has emerged as authentic, forward-looking, courageous, informed and with a genuinely strategic perspective of her business, her country and the world.

Most notable has been the maturity and perspective which she has brought to a number of very difficult issues. Her Exco relationships are now strong and mutually rewarding. She benchmarked well with ‘ready now’ CEOs and are confident that Bidvest will benefit from the kind of leadership, agility and full cultural alignment which we believe she is able to practice across the whole organisation.

She is a highly conscientious person; comfortable with making herself vulnerable as a leader and its contribution to authenticity and presence; with the full appreciation of the power of using emotion in a mindful and intentional way; very high standards, managing and sustaining the energy needed for optimal performance; continuously learning to trust her instinctive judgement; using her position to give others their own voice, thereby relieving her of the burden of being seen by many as a ‘pioneer’ and is currently hard at work consolidating key relationships which she wished to broaden and deepen.

Her top leadership priorities, among others are:

- Talent development through business rotation and cross pollination programmes
- Building a more cohesive corporate culture
- The development of a clear and compelling corporate strategy to guide sustained competitiveness built around an aligned and inspiring corporate purpose and vision

ABIGAIL BOIKHUTSO

‘Me Abigail Ntombikhona Boikhutso is the Managing Director of Serialong Health Care Group, the holding company for various health and medical entities (Isifuba, Quattro and MyINR) which is wholly owned by the Family. As she explains below, we first met when I recruited her into a Group CFO (Consulta, Digi-Litho and Serialong Health Care) role. I have come to know, love and respect her. I am deeply touched by her kind words and to have been part, albeit small, of her meteoric growth journey.

‘In my 20-year career, the choices I made in moving from one organisation to another were generally influenced and shaped by the job title and/or salary scale. However, my personal experience under the leadership of Ntate Bonang Mohale has facilitated a re-ordering of my priorities.

Personal connections

My first close encounter with Ntate Bonang was in June 2020. Like many South Africans and young professionals, I had known him as the President of the Black Management Forum (BMF) and as an advocate of ethical leadership and empowerment. The reason for this first encounter was the last round of interviews for candidacy as the Group CFO within his group of companies.

After receiving the news from the CEO that my final interview was going to be handled by Mr Bonang Mohale himself, I was, understandably, extremely nervous. I was about to be interviewed by Ntate Bonang: a renowned businessman, the Chancellor of the University of the Free State, a Professor at Johannesburg Business School. Who wouldn't be nervous?

As I was anticipating what was about to happen, several questions crossed my mind: What questions was he going to ask me? My work experiences? My academic credentials? Will it be questions that typify a GCFO role? Even more worrying: was he going to assess my understanding of politics, particularly as regards its impact on the economy? Was he going to ask me to comment on such matters? Or, more logically, was he going to ask me questions that were business related?

As is our family custom, before going to bed, I prayed and asked God to go before me and grant me favour and wisdom for the following day.

In the interview, Ntate Bonang's first words were what I needed the most: 'Relax *Kgaitsemi* (sister), we are just having a conversation! This is an opportunity for you to ask me any questions.'

He began to tell me about himself and his family, his background, his beliefs and values. It was extremely relaxed for an interview. This had a positive impact on me: I was calm and began to experience him as a fellow human being.

When my turn to speak came, it was easy for me to tell the panel about who I was, my family, my beliefs and values. As the conversation went, I saw how much we connected based on the similar beliefs and values. Immediately, I was sold on his company. I believe that it was that connection, even from the panel's side, that led to my appointment.

After the interview, I knew that this was the company that I wanted to work for. The interview brought me to a new understanding: values are not just what we read on the strategic documents or listen to as prominent

leaders address us. Instead, they need to be applied, acted upon and modelled by the leaders in any organisation. It dawned on me that the values upheld by the leader of any organisation will filter from top to bottom, and certainly not the other way round.

When healthy values are upheld, practised and appreciated, they far supersede remuneration packages.

By the time I eventually received the telephone call that I was the successful candidate, I knew that I was entering into a long-term professional relationship based on the solid foundation of the company.

In the year since I have known Ntate Bonang, I have developed and evolved daily to be intentional in all that I do. Knowing him has refined my commitment to humility and encouraged me to appreciate the Biblical scripture on love and the manner in which a mere human being can be a living depiction of the definition of this virtue:

Love is large and incredibly patient. Love is gentle and consistently kind to all. It refuses to be jealous when blessing comes to someone else. Love does not brag about one's achievements nor inflate its own importance. Love does not traffic in shame and disrespect, nor selfishly seek its own honour. Love is not easily irritated or quick to take offense. Love joyfully celebrates honesty and finds no delight in what is wrong. Love is a safe place of shelter, for it never stops believing the best for others. Love never takes failure as defeat, for it never gives up.

– 1 Corinthians 13:4-7, The Passion Translation Version

Ntate Bonang is one of the few employers that I've worked for who cares for the well-being of an individual before the well-being of the company. Every time you speak to him, he will ask you how are you and the family?

After the conversation, he would say, '*Ba dumele lapeng!*' (send my regards to the family).

His belief is that if you are well as an individual, you will perform well in the company. The company's success is a by-product of highly motivated and passionate individuals. It is almost impossible for employees to perform their jobs satisfactorily, or even go beyond the call of duty, when they're not in the right frame of mind or space, either due to ill health or circumstances at home that steals their joy and peace.

I remember once, when the chairman of the Audit & Risk Committee (ARC) attended a virtual meeting. He had not been well that week. Ntate Bonang said to him that the team would continue with the meeting and he should go and rest. 'You'll come back when you're well rested,' he said. He gently wouldn't take no for an answer, in as much the ARC chairman was insisting because of his passion for his job. This was a great eye-opener to me.

The fact that our son's school has an annual 'job shadow day' gave me opportunity to see another side of Ntate Bonang.

My son asked, 'Mommy, can I please job shadow Ntate Bonang?'

I asked, 'Do you know how busy Ntate Bonang is? Why do you want to job shadow him anyway?'

He said, 'He's a businessman. I also want to be a businessman.'

I told him that Ntate Bonang was a very busy man, to get a slot in his diary, particularly at such short notice was close to impossible. I tried to prepare him for possible disappointment, but just to satisfy him, I sent Ntate Bonang a text message on this matter.

To my surprise, within ten minutes Ntate Bonang responded 'I would love to. I'll work around your son's busy Grade 11 schedule.'

I was shocked by this response. This is the Chairman of Bidvest Group and SBV, who sits on so many other boards – an entrepreneur, the

Chancellor of the University of the Free State, a Professor of Practice at Johannesburg Business School.

‘Exactly who has a busy schedule here?’ I thought.

When I showed my son Ntate Bonang’s response, he jumped like a small boy receiving toys. From there, I started liaising with Ntate Bonang’s personal assistant, whom he calls his ‘boss’ to get a suitable date in his diary.

My son was shocked that Ntate Bonang drove himself to the meeting that he attended, and was not driven by the valet services offered. He didn’t feel the need of having all these benefits based on the positions he holds or his status.

As he was going to the meeting, he spoke to the cleaners and receptionists, the same way he did to the CEOs of listed companies.

Ntate Bonang also asked my son for input in one of the meetings that he attended with him as part of our son’s job shadowing Grade 11 school assignment. Naturally, this was a shock to my son.

As is common with the current generation, my son was looking forward to seeing how powerful men, who drove powerful cars, exert their status to get what they wanted in business and in life. His conclusion of the job shadowing was that he learned humility and respect from a person who was just going about living his life and performing his daily duties.

Ethical leadership begins with individuals

Ethically principled leadership that will ultimately benefit society begins with an individual. It is doing the right thing even though it is not a requirement.

For example, Ntate Bonang recommended the establishment of Social & Ethics Committee (SEC) in his group of companies, among other

committees, even though this was not a requirement of him according to the Companies Act.

He embraced the spirit of the functions of the SEC as if the group of companies were a listed or public company.

Another example of doing what is right versus mere compliance was when he encouraged the management team to still go through the B-BBEE Audit even though some of the companies within the group had a turnover that was below the threshold required for the B-BBEE Audit. He would say, 'We are not doing it for compliance purposes but to ensure that we contribute positively to society as guided by the B-BBEE pillars.'

My lesson as I've worked with Ntate Bonang was that everything starts with individuals, who collectively, when they do the right thing, positively impact an organisation, then a society and ultimately a country.

I know that he is not perfect. He's a human being. But he tries to live an exemplary life. It is a conscious decision that I believe he makes every single moment.

His faith in God which he is not ashamed of, helps him to walk daily according to godly principles and the people that associate with him become beneficiaries of his relationship with God.

His exemplary lifestyle encourages me to make a change in my world. I tell myself that if he can do it, so can I. After all, we are all humans.

The other day, I said to my husband, I have learnt as much from Ntate Bonang as I have from the preachers who hold microphones and speak before the congregations. I have learnt that a lifestyle speaks volumes more than what you say with your mouth.

I joined his group of companies with some business experience and qualifications, but I am daily learning from him what schools and institutions cannot teach. Ethically principled leadership is observed, not learnt from the textbook, and we can all choose to make it our lifestyle.'

16 DAYS OF ACTIVISM IS A HUMAN RIGHTS ISSUE

The 16 Days of Activism against Gender-Based Violence is an annual international campaign that begins on 25 November, the International Day for the Elimination of Violence against Women, and runs until 10 December, Human Rights Day. Initially founded by activists at the inaugural Women's Global Leadership Institute in 1991 it continues to be coordinated every year by the Center for Women's Global Leadership. I wrote this for the 2020 edition of the campaign.

As we close the 16 Days of Activism against Gender-Based Violence (25 November to 10 December 2020), some introspection is mandatory.

Human rights are moral principles or norms that describe certain standards of human behaviour and are regularly protected in municipal and international law. Everyone born in this world has human rights that must be protected by the law.

There are 30 basic human rights that are recognised around the world known as Universal Declaration of Human Rights by the United Nations. This declaration consists of 30 articles affirming an individual's rights, including rights to life, rights to education, rights to organise and rights to be treated fairly among others.

The 30 universal human rights also cover, among others, freedom of opinion, expression, thought and religion. They codify the right that all

human beings are free and equal; no discrimination; right to life; right to privacy; freedom of opinion and expression; right to social security; human rights cannot be taken away, etc. To amplify its importance, there are 25 International Human Rights Organizations, including Amnesty International, Human Rights Watch, Civil Rights Defenders, Anti-Slavery International, UN Watch, International Federation for Human Rights, International Service for Human Rights, Center for Economic and Social Rights, etc, and yet these basic rights remain elusive for a majority of people and women in particular. The preamble to the South African Constitution reiterates this when it declares, ‘... believe that South Africa belongs to all who live in it, united in our diversity’.

The UN Secretary-General’s ‘UNITE by 2030 to End Violence against Women Campaign’ is marking the 16 Days of Activism against Gender-Based Violence (25 November to 10 December 2020) under the global theme, *Orange the World: Fund, Respond, Prevent, Collect*.

The UN Women’s Generation Equality Campaign is amplifying the call for global action to bridge funding gaps, ensure essential services for survivors of violence during the COVID-19 crisis, focus on prevention and collection of data that can improve life-saving services for women and girls. The campaign is part of UN Women’s efforts for ‘Beijing+25’ and building up to launch bold new actions and commitments to end violence against women at the ‘Generation Equality Forum’ in Mexico and France in 2021.

This year is like no other, as even before COVID-19 hit, violence against women and girls had reached pandemic proportions. Globally, 243 million women and girls were abused by an intimate partner in the past year.

Meanwhile, less than 40% of women who experience violence report it or seek help. As countries implemented lockdown measures to stop the spread of the coronavirus, violence against women, especially domestic violence, intensified.

In some countries, calls to helplines have increased fivefold. In others, formal reports of domestic violence have decreased as survivors find it harder to seek help and access support through the regular channels. School closures and economic strains left women and girls poorer, out of jobs and out of school, and more vulnerable to exploitation, abuse, forced marriage and harassment.

Today, although the voices of activists and survivors have reached a crescendo that cannot be silenced or ignored, ending violence against women will require more investment, leadership and action. It cannot be sidelined – it must be part of every country's national response, especially during the unfolding COVID-19 crisis.

For the 16 Days of Activism, UN Women handed over the microphone to survivors, activists and UN partners on the ground, to tell the story of what happened after COVID-19 hit to simply share stories and hopefully get inspired by activists who are making a difference every single day. The bigger conversation surely must be Social Inclusion as part of human rights.

Our knowledge as a species is expanding. Four out of ten single parents are women. Gender (LGBTQI+) has expanded. Facebook has now identified about 112 gender identities.

Precisely because this community is still largely excluded and recessive in our social discourse, we need to liberate our colleagues (and ourselves in the process) from still 'lying for survival' and create safe spaces for people to be authentic, apparent, existent and visible – where no one is hindered by perceived 'individual weaknesses'.

The issue is both systemic and societal and ordinarily should address, among others, equality, same sex marriage, etc, in order to move from policy to practice.

Patriarchy, misogyny, toxic masculinity, gender identity and corrective rape⁶⁶, etc, should be comfortably spoken about as the pink elephant in the

room, where even families are not very understanding and therefore, not supportive, to continue to accept, defend, empower, emancipate and uplift.

Where we are brought up with moral codes and about 75% of the population is religious, there is a need to develop a new, much more kind, more inclusive and understanding language. We can't continue referring only to 'ladies and gentlemen'. Nothing is more important than life!

If you believe that the world is ruled by overpowering economic and political forces, that conflict is the essence of life, that humans are basically animals and that history is just a long struggle for survival and domination ... If that is true, you can't change much.

But I see the world differently – as made up of individuals searching for sense, meaning and purpose.

The most important life-changing events are the meetings of these individuals. Some people get disappointed, give up searching and become cynics. But some keep on searching for new meetings. Humans have already changed the world several times by changing the way they have had conversations.

There have been conversational revolutions, which have been as important as wars, riots and famine, simply by changing the subject of their conversation or the way they talked or the persons they talked to.

In the past, that gave us the Renaissance, the Enlightenment, modernity and post-modernity.

These people confirm my beliefs that a new kind of group is growing up in the world – an affinity of people living on every continent for whom the broadening of their curiosity is a major passion and for whom travel is an essential part of education, which is never complete.

I see an affinity of those who are impatient with the slow pace of change in public life and who, while waiting for politics to increase the amount of justice – which may take centuries – believe that ordinary people can make

big changes by improving the way they relate to each other and one another in daily life.

I hope that the next decade will be more adventurous. Mere personal advancement or respectability can no longer be the main purpose.

What is missing is a sense of direction because we are overwhelmed by the conflicts which surround us, as though we are marching through a jungle that never ends. Surely some of us must dispel this darkness to create more equality, to give ourselves courage, to open ourselves to strangers, make a change in the way life is lived and most practically, to remake our working world so that we are no longer isolated by our jargon, professional boredom or beliefs.

I personally think that we ought to start on that adventure by helping young people to escape from the narrowness and by giving older people more opportunities to share their experience with the young to counter the segregation of the generations and of knowledge.

Part 10

TRIBUTES

It may seem strange to include a section specifically for tributes for those who have departed this world in a book that deals predominantly with ideas of leadership and ethics. But in our world, rocked by a pandemic none of us could ever have imagined, where loss has become a daily theme, a constant reality, I am convinced that now, more than ever, we need to remember those who have left us, and the lessons we can glean from the lives they lived.

Sometimes it would be easier to swallow our sadness; to soldier on. But that would not be fair to these fallen comrades, these dear departed brothers and sisters, whose lives have touched our own, and whose sacrifices and leadership should be remembered and upheld. Forgetting would not be wise nor healthy.

And so, I share with you here these treasured memories and these heart-aching goodbyes, to the women and men who we have lost in recent years, whose input and influence in my life I will always treasure.

MORENA PETER MATLARE

Peter Matlare passed away on 7 March 2021 due to COVID-19-related complications. At the time of his death, he was Executive Director and Deputy Group Chief Executive for Absa Group.

It is necessary for human progress that Africa be fully developed and only the African can do so.

– Mangaliso Robert Sobukwe, 1949

We arrived at the Swiss Embassy at the same time, as we always did, for our ‘in-person’ interviews to get our visas and travel documents in order, for our annual pilgrimage to the World Economic Forum (WEF) in Davos.

As usual, we met in the business lounge of South African Airways three hours before departure to break bread together and catch up. Our last ‘together’ was the 49th Anniversary of the WEF (former President Donald Trump’s very first ever), where we travelled via Frankfurt and ultimately Zurich International Airports and shared a two-hour ride to the Swiss Alps, Davos.

We often planned to attend different sessions of the 400 as an excuse to double up on our collective experience by sharing notes at the end, except at the African Chapter, where we would often try and sit together to reflect on the significance of family in what we were busy becoming.

Morena⁶⁷ Matlare, you punctured the inflated fallacy that South Africa lacks talent. Your whole life is a testament that nobody is born a CEO until

someone gives you your first break. That, if we stayed the course of our forebears' vision and we trusted African and, in particular, female CEOs, to run the more than 740 SOEs, and each was set up for success and supported to complete just five years, we would today be boasting no less than 3 000 experienced CEOs, even if we allowed for a 20 per cent failure rate. That a CEO is not what you are when you are appointed, but what you become in the process of practising your craft and continuously learning. Because leadership and learning are indispensable to each other. That a greater measure of success is who we become in the process of succeeding.

You never confused the faith that you will prevail in the end, with the discipline to confront the most brutal facts of your current reality, whatever that might be.

Thank you for demonstrating in deeds and not just in words that the problem with black exceptionalism is that the black achiever can begin to believe her or his own press releases – to believe that success is only a product of one's achievements and that luck, opportunity, support, community, family, and timing have little to do with it.

Thank you for demonstrating that we are not a product of our circumstances, but of our decisions. That we are limited but we can push back the borders of our limitations.

Your life was not driven by how high you climbed the corporate ladder of success, title or where you hoped to end up on the pay scale, but by the simple desire to do good work – fuelled by the obsession of the development of others. Dedicated to the craftsmanship and storytelling provided by the essence of leadership – an attitude that has no ego – with its attendant sanctity of friendship and the constant challenge of absolute power and hierarchy. Where its varied activities deserve our utmost respect, meticulous attention to detail and absolute dedication. Where business, like quality is the truth.

A giant gum tree has fallen and the big shade that it offered is no more.

A consummate professional, highly experienced executive with a demonstrable track record of successfully running diverse, big and complex companies has been called to higher order.

Having served as an independent non-executive director for five years, Morena Matlare was, effective 1 August 2016, appointed Barclays Africa Group Ltd (BAGL) Deputy Chief Executive Officer with responsibility for the rest of Africa banking operations. He was Chief Executive Officer at Primedia Group, SABC, Tiger Brands and the Chief Strategy and Business Development Officer at Vodacom. He began his corporate career with the Urban Foundation and Citibank before going to work overseas.

‘Robala ka kgotso, Moholwane!’⁶⁸

Your name will endure through the ages and so also will your work. You have fought the good fight; you have finished the race. Even at the end you teach us that we isolate now so when we gather again, no one is missing.

TATA THEMBEKILE ‘KIMI’ MAKWETU

Thembekile Kimi Makwetu served as the Auditor-General of South Africa between 2013 and 2020. He passed away on 11 November 2020 from lung cancer.

Whatsoever thy hand findeth to do, do it with thy might; for there is no work, nor device, nor knowledge, nor wisdom, in the grave, whither thou goest. – Ecclesiastes 9:10

It is Walter Payton who reminds us that, ‘Remember, tomorrow is promised to no one.’

It was only on Tuesday, 10 November that I was personally talking to Tata⁶⁹ Thembekile ‘Kimi’ Makwetu, congratulating him on yet another global recognition and about the SENS announcement that The Bidvest Group Limited was going to release the following week; seeking his final sign-off wherein he had accepted to be a non-executive director and his concurrent appointment, effective 1 December 2020 to three committees of the board, in preparation for the finalisation thereof at my 3.00 pm meeting with Sis’ Nompumelelo Madisa, CEO, on the same day. It was only 1 July 2020, following the board approval, that he signed the ‘conflict of interest’ forms.

So it was with great shock that we learned of his sudden passing away on the afternoon of 11 November, at the young age of 54.

A truly fearless, dynamic, driven and ethical leader, Tata Thembekile had given his life to the now maligned auditing profession. Having worked for most of his life in the private sector before accepting the call to share his vast knowledge, demonstrable track record and professionalism in the public sector where he was the deputy Auditor-General, his career culminated in his logical appointment as Auditor-General until 30 November 2020, upon the expiry of his seven-year term, where his successor had been already recommended.

All of us bow our collective heads in admiration as to how he and his team succeeded in raising the bar and providing a step change in the Auditor-General's office. The team succeeded in changing the law to give this office more teeth in demanding ethical leadership, absolute transparency and final accountability from public servants.

He was a formidable ally in helping South Africa to root out and defeat state capture. He was among the few who worked tirelessly to help us better understand and unravel the very complex spiderweb of how state capture actually works: by creating a shadow state, repurposing state-owned entities and companies, replacing highly skilled and experienced public servants with the 'bad guys', with the ultimate prize being the actual capture of the National Treasury itself – for the perpetrators to get their dirty hands on the biggest asset manager on the continent, the PIC.

He played a pivotal role in helping us conceptualise, distil and synthesise a submission prepared at a time when civil society organisations were deeply concerned about the impact of state capture on the lives of millions of people.

Evidence of the impact of state capture on people is taken from the People's Hearing on State Capture, an initiative by the Working Group in October 2019, to give voice to the victims of these economic crimes. The human cost of state capture and its contribution to deepening poverty and

inequality provide the necessary urgency for the reforms set out in that submission, the recommendations of which identify and address areas across the broad scope of the Working Group's submissions, as needing critical attention. These were: strengthening and building the capacity of criminal justice agencies, holding enablers of state capture to account, improving the financial accountability of political parties through amended regulations, addressing the endemic nature of corruption in SOEs, and addressing the impact of corruption and how it undermines the fundamental rights of vulnerable groups.

He set the Office of the Auditor-General's sights on the 26 misusers of taxpayers' money. In particular, under Mr Makwetu's leadership, the Auditor-General of South Africa has reached a milestone of over 1 000 chartered accountants in its ranks.

As a key institution of accountability in the public service, the recent passing of the Public Audit Act, as amended, has the potential to significantly alter the safeguarding of the nation's resources through fostering greater accountability amongst the custodians of public resources.

He was bestowed and honoured by the Association for the Advancement of Black Accountants of Southern Africa (ABASA) during their annual convention with a lifetime achievement award by his peers for sterling work and his contribution to the industry.

He passed his CA(SA) board exams in March 2000. His further education saw him completing, among others, an Accelerated Executive Development Programme at IMD, Lausanne, Switzerland; Legal Aspects of Corporate Finance at the University of London, etc.

To Sis' Miranda, their three children, extended family, colleagues and friends, kindly accept our heartfelt and sincere sympathies and condolences on your and the country's profound loss. We can only imagine that there is

no pain deeper than losing a loving father, considerate husband and a truly good quality, wholesome human being.

He shall grow old no more and will walk beside you – every day unseen, unheard, but always near; still loved, still missed and very dear.

Our support and prayers are with you. May Jehovah grant family and friends the fortitude to bear the irreparable loss. We pray that you will also find strength in Jehovah's abiding grace, healing and His never-ending supply of love.

He gives strength to the weary and increases the power of the weak.
*uThixo anisikelele ngalolonke ixhesha. Sibulela ngokuzithobileyo nokungazenzisiyo Tata!*⁷⁰

MSHENGU, DR JABULANE ALBERT MABUZA

We dream of a nation with people who are empowered, self-reliant, selfless, skilled, free from corruption and with high morals and ethical values. – Rev Mashwabada ‘Castro’ Mayatula, revolutionary and mentor to the 16 June 1976 Youth

Dr Jabulane Albert Mabuza was my boss. We persuaded him and he ultimately agreed to be the single face of big business as the President of both Business Unity South Africa and the CEO Initiative, as well as Chair of BLSA.

He, in turn, later personally strongly persuaded me to come out of my early retirement at age 55, to help be the CEO of BLSA, the organisation that was founded in 1960, even before I was born.

At its inception, BLSA had two primary purposes, to defend apartheid and sanctions-busting. The two of us were absolutely convinced that it presented a perfect candidate for transformation, not reformation, and I agreed to take up the cudgel and to eat this monster from within, effective, Monday, 3 July 2017.

With his inimitable leadership, singularity of purpose and a strong board, we rapidly put an effective and efficient team of two African women and three African men in place as early as 1 November 2017. A year later, that team was to evolve to three African women and two African men.

Against fierce opposition and at great personal risk, we firmly laid the foundation to root out and defeat state capture, starting with the planned, focused and relentless pursuit and ultimate demise of Bell Pottinger in just six months.

He reluctantly agreed to be included in the five names that BLSA submitted to National Treasury for consideration to the Eskom Board. He ended up as Chair of the board in January 2018, which consisted of true patriots, determined to end the crucible of state capture – South Africa's single systemic risk and the fourth means of production.

We did initially suspend KPMG, Eskom, Transnet and Bain Consulting, in that order, for aiding and abetting state capture.

Due to his determination, dedication and will to succeed, and having been sufficiently convinced of the new strategy, systems and processes that the Eskom Board and executives (led by Baba Phakamile Hadebe) had put in place, it was the very first company to have its suspension lifted.

He is widely recognised as a successful entrepreneur. He retired from the position of Group Chief Executive of Tsogo Sun Holdings Ltd, and as Deputy Chairman of Tsogo Sun Holdings. He founded, amongst others, FABCOS, went on to Chair the Telkom SA SOC Limited, Casino Association of South Africa, Anheuser-Busch InBev SA, South African Tourism, UNISA SBL, Sun International Boards, etc.

He was the lead independent non-executive director of Multichoice and served as a member and patron of the South Africa Day initiative (Citizens in Partnership with Government, aka CPG). He served on the boards of Tanzania Breweries Ltd, and Castle Brewing Company in Kenya. He recently retired as board member from the Corporate Council on Africa in Washington DC and the World Travel and Tourism Council in England, UK, as an executive committee member.

He was appointed to the Concordia Leadership Council, USA. He was also the Chairman of the Regional Business Council for the World Economic Forum. When the University of the Witwatersrand, led by Prof Adam Habib, awarded and conferred a Doctor of Commerce Degree (Honoris Causa) on him on 5 July 2017, ‘In recognition of his sterling work in his achievements in entrepreneurship and his contribution to the growth of the South African economy’, and Baba Sotobe, Bheki Sibiya, tirelessly put on a celebration function at The Pivot, he asked that I officiate. He, with the BUSA board, ultimately convinced Dr Sipho Mila Pityana to seriously consider being the president of the organisation, and he ultimately agreed.

I will forever be grateful to you for being not just a brilliant pioneer but a purposeful disruptor, formidable leader, dynamic ally, change agent, passionate fighter, patriot and a beautiful soul – such a great teacher, an amazing and good quality human being.

Thank you for touching my life in such a meaningful way. Teaching me, and many more, that if we wait for someone else to fix things, we are doomed to further despair. That our purpose must be to do something, no matter how small. It’s the sum of the parts that creates a greater whole. That we must each adopt one aspect of what government is failing to do and just get it done and, by so doing, we put ourselves on the path to real black economic empowerment and ultimate emancipation.

Thank you also for being a testament to the fact that, having witnessed both the economic struggles of our forebears and the birth pangs of a new nation, there is truly real value in building our South African nationhood, for it gives expression to a fundamental truth in our national life. That right through our history and texture, one can trace a golden chord of exclusion, oppression, subjugation and engineered disunity endured at the hands of a racist, prejudiced and unsympathetic National Party government. That the liberation mothers and fathers have successfully impressed their quality and

views upon successive generations – an influence later sustained, deepened and broadened by your personal participation in the 16 June 1976 student uprisings, for which you were later expelled. Thank you for being a testament to the United Democratic Front – women and men who, when the great liberation struggle came, made so notable a contribution in that lifelong fight for both political and economic liberation, each, essentially a scion of the same stones in our shoes, scars on our backs, bound by the national ideals and traits and by deep inherent bonds of common kinship, as well as being subject to the ills to which this nation has immemorably been heir. A nation that must retain throughout the years, the original attributes of mind and person derived from a common African ancestor – a type such that still tenaciously clings to its parent soil in Africa.

Thank you for leaving an indelible mark in our hearts and showing us that our destiny is to clearly build a free, democratic, united, anti-racial and anti-sexist South Africa. Indeed, today we are united on the many big issues. It is only really the few and little issues that still, to some extent, keep us apart. Appealing for a cessation of strife between countrywomen, countrymen and brethren. To become the means for quickening amongst South Africans a recognition of our common national bond – a bond deeply rooted in the African soil, which carries with it the obligations of a common fellowship.

It is indeed true that the strongest people make time to help others, even if they are struggling with their own problems. Our heartfelt and sincere sympathies and condolences go to his lovely wife, Sis' Siphiwe, their children – Lwazi, Sakhiwo and Mbali – his father, Lazarus, family, the Mabuza clan, and friends, on such a profound loss.

May Jehovah grant him eternal rest and give the family the fortitude to bear this irreparable loss. We are consoled that he lived such a beautiful life, worthy of emulation.

Hamba kahle Mshengu⁷¹ nkos'yam!⁷²

DR SEMANE BONOLO MOLOTLEGI

*Dr Semane Bonolo Molotlegi, Queen Mother of the Royal
Bafokeng Nation, passed away in November 2020, aged 77, after
a long illness.*

The BMF has lost a dear friend, generous supporter and wise counsel.

We are eternally grateful to you for many things, especially demonstrating more by your deeds that the personal is political, that when a flower does not bloom, you fix the environment in which it grows, not the flower – with the homage and gratitude of a friend and compatriot.

You have now passed the baton to us to complete the work that you have started and carried on your shoulders with such grace, elegance and generosity of spirit. A succession of carpetbaggers have tried to deprive the Bafokeng Nation of your ancestral endowment to occupy land holding some of the richest deposits of platinum in the world. Even today, few South Africans are aware of the struggles the Bafokeng Nation, now numbering some 350 000 people, have endured throughout South Africa's storied political history.

Yours is a story of gallant warriors who have fought for more than a hundred years to retain title to the land your ancestors occupied for hundreds of years.

We have rich lessons from your life of servitude. Having been devoted to a mutual destruction, in so short a time, we must now fight side by side

inside the motherland against a common enemy, united by the ideals we have committed to defend, in which the bitter memories of racial and political conflict has been forgiven but not forgotten. Where the whole history of South Africa is beset with tangles and thickets of distrust, prejudice, oppression, subjugation and exclusion – so dense that, at times, it is difficult to see the wood for the trees.

We can, indeed, harness the enormous wells of goodwill that have fortified us in the performance of this perilous task and drive a straight path through these impediments to maintain an open mind and to understand the conflicting motives that have hurt and maimed and sometimes stained with blood of honest women and men, this page of history.

Sadly, tragically and regrettably we have to decisively deal with matters more contentious, including state capture, bribery, stealing and cheating from the poor, hungry, sick and dying, which put back the clock 20 years.

This is a formidable prospect from which bolder women and men might well shrink. But, keeping always in view, however discouraged and bewildered, the great end towards which South Africa is gradually and inevitably moving – the high destiny of the land and its people – we all have already given a great part of our heart to the fierce and lovely South Africa. This – giving up a part of ourselves to our country – is one of the most heroic achievements. This is how we make our own contribution to a cause in which we believe most fervently: the unity of the South African people. Saturating ourselves in the new atmosphere of the country and absorbing as much of its history as our collective mind could hold.

Doubtful of our knowledge and of our power, we have detached and shrunk from our duties and responsibilities. We must continue to believe in the greatness of South Africa's destiny and hold an unshaken faith in the future of the land and the people we all love.

The community of Phokeng, the Royal Bafokeng Nation in the North West, the whole nation and the world continue to mourn the sudden and sad loss of you, mother of the fifteenth direct descendant of Kgosi Sekete III, current King Leruo Tshekedi Molotlegi, queen mother, Mamogolo Dr Semane Bonolo Molotlegi.

You will be hugely missed, especially for, among others, your passion towards education, your role in the fight against HIV/Aids, where you served on the Aids Council in the broader delivery of good healthcare, for championing the well-being and aspirations of young people, especially children, and being the founding member of the Provincial Council on Aids in the North West province.

*Robala ka kgotso Phoka! Mofokeng wa maotwana finyela, wa 'MaMoraredi wa Phohole, wa maotwana a kaa ka dinaledi, a kaa ka jwang ba Tshaane, a kaa ka joang ba molelengwane, ba kgomo ya Mpiletsa, ngwana wa 'Mope, Tshwana Makara, ba 'MaManti wa 'Mope, sakana le lenyane la 'Mope le ikatise, dihlola-pula ke dihlola-monono, motho wa bo-Mararedi wa Phohole, rarollang ba bo-Mare dithapong, le bao re setseng, ha e le molato wa kgomo le ka o bolela!*⁷³

MNCEDI DOUGLAS ZULU

*Douglas Zulu was Regional Vice President: Southern Africa:
Shell Oil Products Africa. He passed away in May 2020.*

*Akwehlanga! Kubuhlungu ukulahlekelwa kwenu. Sengathi
uSimakade anganiqinisa anipholise. Thina ke sonibeka
emithandazweni. Sinethemba ukuthi uMvelinqangi uyaqhubeka
nokunisimama aniqinise nidadunguza efwini elimnyama
elinisibekela. Useyithonga lenu. Phephisa!⁷⁴*

Little did his parents know when they named him, Mncedi – he who helps others – that he would be true to his name; a testament to humanity itself.

S/he that gives money, gives a lot and s/he that gives time, gives much. But s/he that gives of her/himself, gives everything. Craig Harper holds the view that, ‘Every now and then, a person with no agenda, no ulterior motive and no self-interest will take pleasure in helping you to succeed, grow and live your purpose. This person will operate in love, will seek no praise and will want nothing in return. This person is a gift.’

The secret to living is giving. A gift is pure when it comes from the heart, to the right person, at the right time, expecting nothing in return. John C Maxwell accentuates, ‘Leadership is not about titles, positions or flowcharts. It is about one life influencing another.’

Marcus Aurelius, Roman Emperor and philosopher reiterates, in one of my favourite quotes, ‘We ought to do good to others as simply as a horse

runs, or a bee makes honey, or a vine bears grapes, season after season, without thinking of the grapes it has borne.’

You were not driven by how high you climb the corporate ladder of success, title, or where you hope to end up on the pay scale, but by the simple desire to do good work, fuelled by the obsession of the development of others. Dedicated to the craftsmanship and storytelling provided by the essence of leadership.

I formally met Mncedi Douglas Zulu on 1 January 2008 when he personally welcomed me to Shell Oil Products Africa as the new Vice President and Chairman. I asked him to please stay on for at least one more year to show me the ropes. He reluctantly agreed to give me no more than six months so that he could start his long-planned early retirement on 1 July 2008, having worked for Shell for 32 years, since 31 October 1977.

Shell had a special dispensation where, if one had worked for at least 30 years, one could opt for an early retirement without being out of pocket. It is easier to list the one or two roles in the entire company that Mncedi did not do. His last role was that of a Regional Vice President: Southern Africa.

Some of the notable senior roles he held were, Senior Despatcher at the Alberton Depot; a three-year stint in Distribution at Shell, Netherlands; Depot Manager in Polokwane; Transport Operations Manager in Alberton; Operations Coordinator in the Western Cape; Storage and Handling Manager in the Western Cape; Regional Distribution Manager in Gauteng; Supply and Distribution Manager in South Africa; Sales and Operations Manager in South Africa, etc.

Many of us could always count on his excellent support and his potential to unlock any possible impediments standing in the way of servicing our customers – a truly consummate, customer-focused professional.

A greater measure of success is who we become in the process of succeeding. It was Theodore Roosevelt who reminded us that the best

executive is the one who has sense enough to pick good women/men to do what s/he wants done and self-restraint enough to keep from meddling with them while they do it.

Proverbs 27:17 best describes his character, 'As iron sharpens iron, so one person sharpens another.' Because character is how you treat those that can do nothing for you. Indeed, God has given his toughest battles to his strongest soldier.

Most people walk in and out of one's life but friends leave footprints in one's heart. This is an example of who and what Mncedi is to many other people.

Those who give their all to improve themselves tend to inspire and improve everything else around them. Persistence is inspiring and inspiration is contagious. As we grow older, real beauty travels from the face to the heart; appeal turns to charm; hurt to wisdom, and great moments to shared memories.

The true beauty of life is not how happy you are now but how happy others are because of you. The words of 2 Timothy 4:7 ring true, 'I have fought the good fight, I have finished the race.'

To the entire Zulu Clan, kindly accept our heartfelt and sincere sympathies and condolences on your profound loss. We can only imagine that there is no pain deeper than losing a husband and father. You were blessed with his life for all these years, so was he with yours. You have every reason to feel grateful and blessed. May your husband's and father's dear and precious soul rest eternally in divine peace. Our thoughts and prayers are with you. For us, resurrection is promised.

RICHARD MAPONYA

Richard Maponya was a legendary black South African entrepreneur known as ‘Soweto’s most humble giant’, who passed away, aged 99, on 6 January 2020.

The following is how I remember Dr Richard Maponya:

Assist one another, patronise talent in one another, prefer one another’s business, shops ... just for the reason that it is better to elevate kindred and countrymen before all others. – Rev Tiyo Soga (1829-1871), the first ordained African Priest, who earned his theology degree in Scotland and married Janet ‘Nosantso’ Burnside

Just in November 2019, a month before your 99th birthday on 24 December, you were still obsessed with establishing an ‘Academy for Entrepreneurs’. Such has always been your willingness to share what you have learned and demonstrate through deeds, not just theory, because your whole life has been characterised by finding solutions even to our most intractable challenges.

I pay a much-earned and most deserved tribute to the father of black business in general and the father of retail in particular. We cannot possibly thank you enough, Morena Maponya, for the many pioneering successes with your late stalwart wife, Mme Marina.

We thank you for demonstrating beyond any shadow of doubt that one's pain is one's superpower – that pain is an intrinsic part of purpose; that meaning is how purpose feels; that pain is the most real truth because it determines how people act. You showed us to ask 'how do I find joy in the face of suffering; that my void is my energy'. That without a struggle, there can be no progress; that s/he who has a why to live, can bear almost any how. That we are a people with great natural endowments, descendants of explorers and sense-makers by nature. A million thanks for teaching us how 'to ride the tiger of apartheid'.

We remember fondly your permanent smile when the former president, Rolihlahla N Mandela asked you to be the one to drive him around, in your own BMW, upon his release from prison.

Thank you for accepting to be the very first president of NAFCOC, the National African Federated Chamber of Commerce and Industry and the oldest – at 55 years – black business organisation, co-founded with other giants, Rev Bishop Joe Hlongwane, Dr Sam Motsuenyane, and Dr Archie Nkonyeni, who went on to respectively succeed you as presidents.

Today, Maponya supermarket in Phefeni, Soweto, stands as a monument to your entrepreneurial spirit and Maponya Mall, (at 80 000 square metres) as the biggest of the five malls in Soweto is a testament of your resilience – having held onto this parcel of land for more than 27 years.

On the occasion of NAFCOC's 50th Anniversary in 2014, in the annals of black business contributions as aptly captured by Professor Kwandile Kondlo, in the publication, *A Legacy of Perseverance*, your personal and collective contributions loom large indeed. From organising the almost 400 minibus taxis to ferry the supporters of SWAPO during the 1989 general elections in Namibia, to organising, among others, both accommodation and transport for some of our political leaders who were returning to the country from exile in the early 1990s, the origins of black economic empowerment

can be traced back to both NAFCOC's Resolution 3, 4, 5, 6 and the BMF's 'Basotho Hat Formula' as a blueprint for an inclusive economic transformation; the establishment of a fully-fledged ministry of Small Business Development, etc.

The biggest achievement is how you and the NAFCOC founding fathers – silverbacks – harnessed the collective savings of the individual members (shopkeepers), in a period spanning over 20 years just to raise a meagre R1m to establish the African Bank in 1975. The sale of African Bank in 1995 still stands as a historical error that must surely be corrected by the current generation.

Our heartfelt and sincere condolences go to not only the Maponyas, but to the nation on its profound loss.

FINAL WORDS

Standing for Truth

It is apparent that one of the biggest obstacles standing in South Africa's way of moving forward to achieve the NDP 2030 targets (and the UN Sustainable Development Goals), is state capture (and systemic corruption), which has seen state institutions purposefully hollowed out, final accountability faltering, democracy severely undermined and the economy destroyed.

As South Africans and those who love this country we must not and dare not give up on our dream of truthful, incorruptible and capable leadership; leadership of astonishing courage and unquestionable integrity – fully committed to upholding, respecting and protecting our Constitutional principles of social justice, democratic values and fundamental human rights.

We seek leadership that will deliver on its promise even though we are currently in a perilous state, while civilisation is on a path to self-destruction and where extreme poverty lives side by side with obscene affluence, bad outcomes live side by side with good outcomes, disease lives side by side with well-being and competition lives side by side with collaboration.

It is evident that the current economic model is hopelessly outdated, where the system does not recognise the creation of any other value except economic value. What is needed now is deep structural transformation to

deal decisively with most people's lived experiences in order to better inform agreements to change outcomes.

We must create a much better society where the workforce is treated as family members by companies that are socially minded and environmentally aware. Even though South Africa has been a one-party dominant state since the dawn of democracy in 1994, the share of the vote won by the African National Congress (ANC) has been gradually declining and it has been apparent for a while that it is dropping towards the all-important 50% mark.

We now hold the world record for the most unequal society, with the highest unemployment, highest SME failure rate and worst educational outcomes.

Leadership is the answer. However, leadership presupposes followership.

Leadership can only occur if there is followership – without followers and following behaviours there would be no leadership.

Followership is the actions of someone in a subordinate role. It can also be considered as a specific set of skills that complement leadership – a role within a hierarchical organisation, a social construct that is integral to the leadership process, or the behaviours engaged in while interacting with leaders in an effort to meet organisational objectives. As such, followership is best defined as an intentional practice on the part of the subordinate to enhance the synergetic interchange between the follower and the leader.

However, in organisations, leadership is not just done by the leader, and followership is not just done by followers.

This perspective suggests that leadership and followership do not operate on one continuum, with one decreasing while the other increases. Rather, each dimension exists as a discrete dimension, albeit with some shared competencies.

We need good leadership and good followership

The role of a follower is not a simple one. It doesn't just mean following directions or blindly accepting everything a leader says. Good followership is characterised by active participation in the pursuit of organisational goals. In many cases, this means working independently, being accountable for your actions, and taking ownership of necessary tasks.

The catch is that it's common for followers to not be recognised for their accomplishments in these areas, even though they are essential to the success of the organisation. Although it can feel like a thankless role, many followers take great satisfaction in the work they do and embrace followership.

More recently, there has been increasing focus on how followers shape, define and co-create leadership and leaders' actions and identity, recognising that all individuals, both in senior and more junior positions, move around the leadership 'triad' of using leadership, management and followership skills according to the situation, environment or position they find themselves in at any one time.

The 'dance of leadership and followership' involves being able to step up to take leadership when needed (which may be small "I" leadership, such as leading on a task), to recognise how and when to follow a leader and to acknowledge that leadership may be distributed and rotating, not necessarily vested in one individual.

It is much more about energy, which is infinite, than power, which is finite. I always say leadership is more like a sailboat than a speed boat. It doesn't roar, it doesn't make noise, it's not arrogant, it's not loud. But, if you can harness the force, the impetus, the energy of the sail, you can circumnavigate the world, not once but as many times as you want to.

True leadership is about a cause that is much greater than oneself. It is not about self but is other-centred. Anybody that feels called upon to lead is a leader. It has nothing to do with one's title nor corner office nor the C-Suite. Whilst management is about what happens when you are there, leadership is about what happens when you are not. It is when your colleagues choose to follow, not when they do so because they have to.

When one gets it right, your colleagues will jump over the cliff for you. The link between leadership, management and enterprise performance is widely understood and accepted. Improving leadership improves management and raises the probabilities of better performance. That boards often change leaders when enterprises are slipping confirms the importance placed on leadership.

The flip side of leadership is followership. It stands to reason that if leadership is important to performance, followership must have something to do with it too. But curiously, followership gets only a small fraction of the airtime that leadership does.

Followership is a straightforward concept. It is the ability to take direction well, to get in line behind a programme, to be part of a team and to deliver on what is expected of you. It gets a bit of a bad rap. But how well the followers follow is probably just as important to enterprise success as how well the leaders lead.

Yet the label 'excellent follower' can be a backhanded compliment. It is not a reputation you necessarily want if you are seeking higher corporate office. There is something of a stigma to followership skills, which is a pity because the practical reality is one does not reach progressively more responsible leadership positions without demonstrating an ability to follow and function effectively in a group.

The fact is that in organisations everybody is both a leader and a follower depending on the circumstances, which just adds to the paradox of the

followership stigma. Followership problems manifest themselves in a poor work ethic, bad morale, distraction from goals, unsatisfied customers, lost opportunities, high costs, product quality issues and weak competitiveness. At the extreme, weak leadership and weak followership are two sides of the same coin and the consequence is always the same: organisational confusion and poor performance.

Good followers, like great leaders, have a number of qualities, namely: a compelling vision, courage, integrity, judgement, work ethic, competence, discretion and an extraordinary ability to manage their own ego.

I would like to end this book with a call to action – an impassioned plea – to everyone who holds South Africa dear: to be good leaders, good followers and to stand for truth.

Let us not allow challenges to distract us and stop our vision. As cogently articulated by our father of democracy, President Rolihlahla N Mandela, I echo his imploration: ‘The greatest glory of living lies not in never falling, but rising up every time you fall.’

Let us keep rising, South Africa, and let each of us choose to lift one another as we rise. And let us learn from the turtle and be willing to stick our necks out for the greater good.

EPILOGUE

As a final postscript, I would like to echo my sentiments with which I ended my first book, *Lift As You Rise*.

I hope you have found some use in the thoughts, stories and experiences laid out in this book and that they will spur you to think more deeply, to have important conversations, and to stand for truth.

Secondly, I ask that if you benefited from this book, that you consider passing it along or purchasing a copy for someone else who might also find it useful or encouraging. We are not yet a reading nation, but my hope is that we will take strides to change this by supporting local authors and booksellers.

Instead of giving bottles of whisky as year-end gifts, I always suggest that companies select books instead (it doesn't even have to be this one!) and I ask that all of us are intentional in seeking to teach our young ones about the power of the printed word to expand our imaginations and forge our dreams of the world we want to build.

May God bless you.

Bonang Mohale

BRIEF BIOGRAPHY

Bonang Francis Mohale was born on 22 November 1961 in the township of Etwatwa near Benoni on the East Rand of Johannesburg. The old Etwatwa region was a mixed area – white and black, young and old. But people were forcefully removed to Daveyton and other townships under the Group Areas Act of 1950. The Act separated people based on race and assigned different regions to different race groups. Bonang was about two years old when his family moved to Katlehong township, which today falls into the Ekurhuleni Metropolitan Municipality.

He grew up in Katlehong, together with his six siblings. His parents rented a municipal house – in those days, black people in South Africa were not allowed to own property. Bonang was the fourth of seven children, and the first son.

He went to school for all 13 years (completing what was known as ‘sixth form’ after Matric). He says he was ‘a full product of Bantu Education’.⁷⁵ He began his school career at Mogobeng Lower Primary School, then attended Reahile Higher Primary School, and completed his schooling at Katlehong Senior Secondary School. He always excelled academically, finishing in the top or second spot in his class throughout his school years.

In 1976, Bonang was part of the student uprisings,⁷⁶ which led to his first prison experience at the age of 15.

However, he says that most of his childhood was less eventful. His mother was his strongest influence. She has an entrepreneurial spirit. She began as a domestic worker, but her knack for business saw her become an entrepreneur. ‘She sold anything and everything at different stages to

generate income – from selling sorghum beer to construction workers in Alberton to clothing (especially men’s suits) and even meat, which she bought in bulk from the local abattoir,’ recalls Bonang.

In his culture, Bonang (as the first-born son) was expected to share an equal responsibility with his father for taking care of the family, and did everything he could to help his mother. ‘I would collect goods, market them, collect monies and generally be her business assistant. She was also the one who taught me to paint a house, plaster a *stoep* and even to cook,’ he says. ‘She always said to me, “Even if you get married one day and your wife can cook; if she is unwell, it may be necessary for you to help. Best you learn early.” And so I learned everything she taught me.’

In 1979, when Bonang was in Grade 11, his father passed away. ‘That meant that his responsibility passed on to me – the responsibility to look after my mother and to provide for the education of the three younger siblings who came after me,’ he says.

Bonang took the responsibility on, putting his inherited entrepreneurial nature to good use. ‘My mother, whom I called Mme, wanted for nothing, and my siblings knew that they could go as high in education as they wanted to and I would find a way to fund their studies. From the proceeds of selling oranges and sweets at school, I funded my first “box” camera. I taught myself photography and used my skills to help pay for my siblings’ school fees. Eventually, I owned five cameras, including a Nikon F1 that cost the same as my first car,’ he recounts.

At the age of just 17, Bonang decided to marry his then girlfriend, Susan. They remain happily married to this day. ‘She made it easy to love her. She was accommodating and selfless. She still is,’ he says. ‘My excuse for getting married so young was that I needed help taking care of Mme and my siblings. Susan embraced my family as her own.’

The young couple had their first daughter, Tshepiso, when Bonang was 19 years old. Bonang and Susan began their studies at the University of the Witwatersrand (Wits). Bonang initially studied medicine and Susan social work.

‘I chose to go to Wits, which was a white university at that time, even though there were two black medical universities (the University of Natal’s Wentworth and the Medical University of Southern Africa, aka Medunsa, in Pretoria). I chose Wits because I knew deep in my heart that I was as good as the best,’ says Bonang. ‘I had to apply for special consent from the Minister of Interior Affairs to study at a white university. There were 27 of us African students who applied, and only 11 of us were successful in our application. Some of those who were not successful had better Matric results and were more diligent than those of us who were granted consent. That gave me the second taste of the rawness and injustice of apartheid (the first being having Afrikaans shoved down our throats at school).’

He says these two experiences were the catalysts for his lifelong activism and his mission to be a change agent and defender of democracy.

Bonang and his fellow black students were not able to live at the residences on the Wits Campus – they spent two hours every day being bussed to and from the Glyn Thomas Residence at Baragwanath Hospital in Soweto, because the university would not break the Group Areas Act.

‘Living there was an eye-opener in many ways. We engaged, interfaced and interacted with doctors living in the nearby doctors’ quarters, and with banned activists who would arrive at our residence like Nicodemus in the night from outside the country. They would hold workshops throughout the night – people like Dan Sechaba Montsitsi and Bheki Mlangeni.’

However, after four years of medical school Bonang decided medicine was not for him, and instead embarked on a three-year Diploma in

Marketing Management at the Institute of Marketing Management (IMM). He began working in the pharmaceutical industry.

‘At the same time, Susan and I continued our life of student activism, becoming part of a larger group with people like Themba James Maseko, Dali Mpofu (who was my neighbour at the time), Xolela Mangcu and Saths Cooper, among others,’ he recalls. ‘I remember this time in my life as a tapestry of richness, scholarly debate and robust engagement. It culminated in us taking a bus through the night to launch the United Democratic Front (UDF)⁷⁷ in Cape Town.’

His hard work was paying off in his career, and he soon found himself appointed export manager at Logos Pharmaceuticals (MSD). He was the only delegate from Africa at the Cholesterol Reducers International Conference in Barcelona, Spain, in 1992.

On the home front, Susan and Bonang bought property in Daveyton and built their own home – their first one with an inside bathroom – in 1986. Their second daughter, Maneo, was born at this beautiful, warm home in 1992.

‘We lived at 16369, Britz Street, Extension 3, Daveyton, for six glorious years, during which I cultivated my passion for gardening, particularly roses,’ he says. ‘Only when society decided that the Group Areas Act was antiquated did we follow a herd of our fellow Africans who had bought properties in white areas, like Kelvin, under the Nominee System. We bought a home in Benoni.’

In 1993, Bonang completed an 18-month postgraduate advanced diploma in marketing management through the IMM, with his dissertation on ‘The Future of Health Care in South Africa: Implications for Marketing in The Pharmaceutical Industry’.

In 1994, he joined Sandoz Products (Pty) Limited (now Novartis) as Head of the Public Affairs and Communications Department and a member of the

Exco.

In 1996, he was appointed Managing Director of OTIS (Pty) Ltd – the world’s biggest and oldest elevator company – responsible for operations in South Africa, Zimbabwe, Zambia, Malawi, Botswana and Namibia. Bonang and Susan bought a home in Bedfordview, closer to his work.

‘It was our first double-storey home. For some reason, the apartheid spatial planning had decreed that Africans shouldn’t live in double-storey properties. I guess the reasoning was to stop Africans from getting any ideas about ascendancy,’ he adds.

In 1997, OTIS won the Black Management Forum’s (BMF) ‘Progressive Company of the Year’ award. Bonang also served on the Management Committee of the South Europe, Middle East and West Africa Area (SEA). He was able to make the most of opportunities for personal development, such as the Director Development Programme through Carl Duisberg Gesellschaft on behalf of the government of the Federal Republic of Germany, and International Programme in Management (OTIS’ Making Magic Work) at the International Institute for Management Development (IMD) in Lausanne, Switzerland.

In 1999, Bonang passed his Chartered Marketer [CM (SA)] Board Exams at the Institute of Marketing Management (IMM). ‘During this season, Susan and I decided to buy my mother a house in town – 10 Taaibos Street, Leondale,’ he remembers. ‘It was one of our greatest accomplishments. I was able to do something special for Mme, in gratitude for all she did for me.’

Bonang then joined South African Airways (SAA). Until August 2001, he was the Executive Vice-President, responsible for Strategic Alliances, Network Management and Global Sales. The revenue generated by this business unit was in excess of R8 billion.

In 2001, the family relocated to Cape Town, where Bonang took up the position of Chief Executive: Corporate Marketing at Sanlam, and bought a lovely three-storey property in Durbanville. Bonang became a member of Exco and then Chief Executive: Shared Services and Associated Companies of Sanlam and an alternate director of the Sanlam Limited main board.

In 2003, Bonang and his family moved back to Johannesburg, where he took up the position of CEO of Drake & Scull FM SA (PTY) Ltd, an integrated facilities management company owned by the Tsebo Outsourcing Group.

‘In 2007, we could afford to buy my in-laws a house in Leondale, three streets away from my mother’s house, so our children could run between their grandparents’ homes. That was another of our most important accomplishments,’ he observes.

In 2008, Bonang left Drake & Scull to join Shell South Africa. He worked in various Shell businesses and held positions including Vice-President Upstream & Chairman of Shell Downstream South Africa (Pty) Limited, and Chairman of the boards of Shell South Africa Holdings (Pty) Ltd; Shell Downstream South Africa (Pty) Ltd; Shell South Africa Refinery (Pty) Ltd and South African Petroleum Refinery (SAPREF). He remained at Shell until 2017, when he joined Business Leadership South Africa (BLSA) as CEO.

‘Work was going well, and my children were growing up into amazing women who make me proud to be a father. But, as the Bible says, in this world you will know trouble. We were devastated on 27 November 2015, while we were aboard the Blue Train, to hear of my mother’s tragic passing. I felt as though my whole world had collapsed and a searing pain went through my heart and into my bones. We laid her to rest on 5 December 2015,’ says Bonang. ‘I was rendered an adult orphan. But, thankfully, I have the most loving, caring, kind parents in my in-laws – accommodating,

God-fearing people who have shown me unconditional love. Susan and I count ourselves blessed that both her parents are still living and well, in their seventies. We have tried to spend almost every weekend with them, taking our children to learn from the feet of their grandparents and to develop close, personal, intimate relationships with their cousins. Family is everything.'

Bonang left BLSA in June 2019. He was invited to join the board of Bidvest Group Limited as an independent non-executive director and soon thereafter elected Chairman of Bidvest. He took up a full professorship at the Johannesburg Business School (JBS) College of Business and Economics and, in 2020, the position as Chancellor of the University of the Free State. In 2021, he was elected the President of Business Unity South Africa (BUSA).

'Looking back, it's fair to say that I have been blessed with some amazing opportunities in my life,' he says. 'If I had to live it all over again, I think the only major change I'd make would be to marry Susan even earlier!'

ENDNOTES

- 1 The Zondo Commission was launched in January 2018 as a public inquiry launched by the government of former President Jacob Zuma, to 'investigate allegations of state capture, corruption, fraud, and other allegations in the public sector including organs of state' in South Africa.
- 2 The Freedom Charter was adopted on this date. It was the document that outlined the core principles of the South African Congress Alliance, consisting of the African National Congress (ANC), the South African Indian Congress, the South African Congress of Democrats and the Coloured People's Congress and was the most representative event to be held in South Africa up to that point.
- 3 In 2003, the Broad-Based Black Economic Empowerment (B-BBEE) Strategy was published as a precursor to the B-BBEE Act, No. 53 of 2003. The Act's aim is to advance economic transformation and enhance the economic participation of black people in the South African economy.
- 4 *AfriForum* is an NGO that focuses on the rights of Afrikaners as a community living on the southern tip of the African continent.
- 5 Solidarity (or Solidariteit, its Afrikaans name) is a trade union.
- 6 Bantu Stephen Biko was a South African anti-apartheid activist, the co-founder of the South African Students' Organisation, and a leader of the Black Consciousness Movement during the late 1960s and 1970s. He died from injuries suffered while in police custody.
- 7 Anne Frank was a Jewish girl who hid in 1942 from the Nazis during the occupation of the Netherlands for two years before being discovered. She died in the Bergen-Belsen concentration camp in 1945.
- 8 The policy of separate development divided the African population into artificial ethnic 'nations', each which was forcibly moved to its own 'homeland'.
- 9 Andrews, E. (2020, March 27). *Why was it called the 'Spanish Flu'?* Retrieved from History.com: <https://www.history.com/news/why-was-it-called-the-spanish-flu>
- 10 Alexandra is a township in Johannesburg first established in 1912.
- 11 Sandton is an affluent municipality within the City of Johannesburg and one of the city's commercial hubs.
- 12 South Africa's colonial history began on April 1652, when Dutch navigator Jan van Riebeeck arrived in Table Bay with his three ships, *Reijger*, *Drommedaris* and *Goede Hoop*.
- 13 The Group Areas Act of 1950 separated people based on race and assigned different regions to different race groups.
- 14 From Benjamin Zander's website, <https://www.benjaminzanderspeaker.com/>.
- 15 Former President Jacob Zuma's years at the helm of the country.

- 16 During July 2021, there were two weeks of unrest and looting in KwaZulu-Natal and Gauteng provinces, said to have been triggered by the jailing of former president Jacob Zuma for contempt of court. Damages have been estimated at R50 billion (approximately \$3.4 billion).
- 17 ‘To bell the cat’ means to risk one’s well-being to perform a difficult task for the benefit of the whole community, taken from a fable attributed to Aesop in which a group of mice discuss tying a bell around the cat’s neck to keep themselves safe. The group is all in agreement that this is a good plan, but no mouse is willing to volunteer to be the one to ‘bell the cat’.
- 18 The African National Congress is South Africa’s ruling party, which has been in power since the country’s first democratic elections in 1994.
- 19 Quoted from a speech by President Cyril Ramaphosa on 25 July 2021:
<http://www.thepresidency.gov.za/speeches/statement-president-cyril-ramaphosa-progress-national-effort-contain-covid-19-pandemic-4#!slide> (accessed 19 August 2021).
- 20 Clicks is a JSE-listed retail-led healthcare group.
- 21 CODESA stands for the Convention for a Democratic South Africa and was a negotiating forum comprising 92 organisations united against apartheid.
- 22 After investigations into the unrest, then Acting Minister in the Presidency Khumbudzo Ntshavheni suggested there were 12 alleged ringleaders, one of whom had been arrested.
- 23 MK is a widely known acronym in South Africa for uMkhonto we Sizwe, which was the armed wing of the ANC.
- 24 Nkandla is the homestead of former president Jacob Zuma.
- 25 *Amabutho* is a word in isiZulu meaning ‘regiments’.
- 26 KPMG South Africa was accused of facilitating the Gupta family in tax evasion and corruption.
- 27 ‘Mè is a formal, respectful term used to refer to mature or married women, meaning ‘mother’.
- 28 According to Polity.org.za, the ‘State Institutions Supporting Constitutional Democracy’ are known as the Chapter 9 Institutions, after their place in the Constitution. They are the Public Protector (PP), the Auditor-General (AG), the Electoral Commission (IEC), the South African Human Rights Commission (SAHRC), the Commission for Gender Equality (CGE), and the Commission for the Protection of the Rights of Cultural, Religious and Linguistic Communities. Chapter 9 Institutions function independently of government. They are subject only to the Constitution and the law, and report annually to Parliament.

- 29 *Economic transformation, inclusive growth, and competitiveness: Towards an Economic Strategy for South Africa* is a document prepared by Economic Policy, National Treasury: http://www.treasury.gov.za/comm_media/press/2019/Towards%20an%20Economic%20Strategy%20for%20SA.pdf, accessed 22 August 2021.
- 30 The Economic Transformation Committee (ETC) of the ANC developed the framework for Reconstruction, Growth and Transformation, with the objective of building a new, inclusive economy. https://www.gov.za/sites/default/files/gcis_document/202010/south-african-economic-reconstruction-and-recovery-plan.pdf, accessed 22 August 2021.
- 31 Business for South Africa (B4SA)'s A New Inclusive Economic Future for South Africa: Delivering an Accelerated Economic Recovery Strategy: <https://www.businessforsa.org/wp-content/uploads/2020/07/B4SA-A-New-Inclusive-Economic-Future-for-South-Africa-narrative-10-July-Final.pdf>, accessed 22 August 2021.
- 32 The NDP serves as an action plan for securing the future of South Africans as charted in the Constitution, according to the National Planning Commission. More information available here: https://www.nationalplanningcommission.org.za/National_Development_Plan, accessed 26 August 2021.
- 33 Nedlac stands for the National Economic Development and Labour Council. Nedlac is tasked with ensuring effective public participation in the labour market and socio-economic policy and legislation, facilitating consensus and cooperation between government, labour, business and the community in dealing with South Africa's socio-economic challenges. More information is available at <https://nedlac.org.za/>.
- 34 The Pass Laws Act of 1952 required all black South Africans aged 16 and over to carry a pass book at all times. The laws were aimed at restricting and controlling the movement of black people. The protest organised by Sobukwe on 21 March 1960, spread across the country, culminating in what has become known as the Sharpeville Massacre, where police opened fire on unarmed protestors, killing 69 people and wounding 180 more.
- 35 Hugh Masekela was a world-renowned flugelhornist, trumpeter, bandleader, composer, singer and defiant political voice who spent 30 years in exile. He passed away in January 2018, shortly before President Cyril Ramaphosa's inaugural SONA speech. More information is available at <https://hughmasekela.co.za/>.
- 36 'And I heard the voice of the Lord saying, "Whom shall I send, and who will go for us?" Then I said, "Here am I! Send me."' – Isaiah 6:8.
- 37 A phrase that was popularised in the wake of Jacob Zuma's recall by the ANC, symbolising a new era after his nine years at the helm of the country.
- 38 NSFAS is a bursary scheme funded by the Department of Higher Education and Training for those students unable to fund their own studies.
- 39 The Life Esidimeni tragedy involved the deaths of 144 people at psychiatric facilities in the Gauteng province of South Africa from causes including starvation, dehydration and neglect, after the Gauteng Department of Health ended its contract with the facility in 2015. Although many of the deaths occurred in 2016, the tragedy was widely reported in 2017.
- 40 The High 5s were set out by the eighth elected president of the African Development Bank Group, Akinwumi Adesina, in 2015. They are: light up and power Africa; feed Africa; industrialise Africa; integrate Africa; and improve the quality of life for the people of Africa. These focus areas are essential in transforming the lives of the African people and therefore consistent with the United Nations agenda on Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs).

- 41 Lake Retba; also known as Lac Rose.
- 42 Bosasa is a company that provides various services to government, most notably prison services. Its former chief operating officer, Angelo Agrizzi, testified at the Zondo Commission that it had been involved in corrupt activities that directly benefited former President Jacob Zuma, as well as paying kickbacks to the ANC.
- 43 Venda Building Society Mutual Bank was placed under curatorship and investigated by the South African Reserve Bank, which later released Advocate Terry Motau's report implicating 53 people and companies in fraud and corruption totalling almost R2 billion.
- 44 Freedom in the World 2017, published by Freedom House:
https://freedomhouse.org/sites/default/files/FH_FIW_2017_Report_Final.pdf, accessed 24 August 2021.
- 45 The Immorality Act of 1927 (Act No. 5 of 1927) prohibited extramarital sexual intercourse between white people and people of other races.
- 46 The Alaska Department of Revenue's Permanent Fund Dividend Division pays an annual dividend to eligible Alaskan residents. More information is available at <https://pfd.alaska.gov/>
- 47 Dr Louis Luyt was a business tycoon and president of the South African Rugby Football Union.
- 48 'On 13 November 1991, Nelson Mandela announced that the first constitutional talks would take place on 29 and 30 November at the World Trade Centre in Kempton Park, east of Johannesburg, Gauteng Province. On 20 December 1991, the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (CODESA I) started its first plenary meeting in the World Trade Centre in Kempton Park. Working groups were formed to deal with specific issues. The first multi-party meeting was named The Convention for a Democratic South Africa (CODESA I).'
- <https://www.sahistory.org.za/article/interim-south-african-constitution-1993>, accessed 24 August 2021.
- 49 'On 17 June 1992 the Joe Slovo Informal Settlement in Boipatong outside Vereeniging was attacked by a group of about 300 armed men from Kwa-Madala Hostel in nearby Sebokeng Township. The armed men were affiliated to the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) and observers suspected that the attack was aimed at undermining the delicate process of negotiations between the Nationalist Party (NP) government and the African National Congress (ANC). In response to the massacre the ANC withdrew from the negotiations, blaming the NP government for the attack.' <https://www.sahistory.org.za/article/boipatong-massacre-17-june-1992>, accessed 24 August 2021.
- 50 'On April 1993, the Multiparty Negotiating Forum started. The agreement on many issues was reached, and an Interim Constitution for South Africa was initiated on 18 November 1993. A Transitional Executive Council was formed to run the country until democratic elections could be held.' <https://www.sahistory.org.za/article/interim-south-african-constitution-1993>, accessed 24 August 2021.
- 51 'The "Conference Nationale Souveraine" in Zaire and the Convention for a democratic South Africa: a comparative study through Claude Lefort's theory of democracy';
https://wiredspace.wits.ac.za/jspui/bitstream/10539/4692/5/NsundiMbambiP_Chapter%203.pdf, accessed 24 August 2021.

- 52 'In October 1963, ten leading opponents of apartheid went on trial for their lives on charges of sabotage ... The Rivonia Trial and the arrest of the MK high Command highlight a conundrum faced by those in the liberation struggle: the way that justice was often at odds with legality. Liberation movements, while rejecting the legitimacy of the racial minority state, were forced to deal with the legal system – when activists were apprehended, they simply could not disregard it. In the Rivonia Trial, the “accused” addressed this problem by using the courts as a site of struggle.’ <https://www.sahistory.org.za/article/rivonia-trial-1963-1964>, accessed 24 August 2021.
- 53 <https://www.aljazeera.com/economy/2021/8/24/south-africas-unemployment-rate-is-now-the-worlds-highest>, accessed 24 August 2021.
- 54 The Yamoussoukro Declaration of 1988 saw signatory countries agree to air services liberalisation.
- 55 'Abavanalo' can be translated as 'those without shame'.
- 56 Following the unrest in July 2021, President Cyril Ramaphosa made several changes to Cabinet appointments, including changing the ministers responsible for health, finance and defence.
- 57 'Society 5.0 can be defined as a human-centred society that balances economic advancement with the resolution of social problems by a system that highly integrates cyberspace (virtual space) and physical (real) space.' <https://www.conference-society5.org/>, accessed 26 August, 2021.
- 58 On 16 August 2012, in an event that would become known as the 'Marikana Massacre', the South African Police Service opened fire on a crowd of mineworkers at Marikana, in the North West Province, who were demanding a wage increase through unofficial industrial action. The police killed 34 mineworkers and injured 78 more. More information is available: <https://www.sahistory.org.za/article/marikana-massacre-16-august-2012>, accessed 29 August 2021.
- 59 <https://www.blackpast.org/african-american-history/sullivan-leon-howard-jr-1922-2001/>, accessed 29 August 2021.
- 60 Trillian Management Consulting – a consultancy firm headed by Salim Essa, a known associate of the Gupta family, alongside whom he stands accused of state capture and other crimes. The Indian-born Gupta brothers, Rajesh, Ajay, and Atul, are accused of plundering billions of rands from South Africa with the help of former President Jacob Zuma.
- 61 Tiger Brands, South African packaged goods company, found itself in the spotlight during the world's worst outbreak of listeriosis when South Africa's National Institute for Communicable Diseases found through an investigation that the origin of the disease was one of its meat processing plants.
- 62 'The South African Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) was set up by the Government of National Unity to help deal with what happened under apartheid.' <https://www.justice.gov.za/trc/>, accessed 29 August 2021.
- 63 The Casspir is a 4x4 mine-resistant ambush protected vehicle.
- 64 FW de Klerk later apologised and withdrew the earlier statement in which his foundation had justified its stance that apartheid was not a crime against humanity.
- 65 Charlotte Maxeke (née Manye) was born in 1874 and died in 1939. She was one of the first black women graduates in South Africa and an activist for the rights of black women.

- 66 'Corrective rape' is a hate crime perpetrated against victims because of their perceived sexual orientation or gender identity. The intended consequence of the rape is to 'turn' the person heterosexual.
- 67 Morena is a Sesotho word meaning 'king', 'leader' or 'chief'.
- 68 Rest in peace, my brother.
- 69 *Tata* is an isiXhosa word that means 'father' and is used to indicate respect.
- 70 God bless you at all times. We are eternally grateful.
- 71 Mshengu is Jabulane Albert Mabuza's clan name.
- 72 Farewell, my lord.
- 73 This is a clan tribute.
- 74 Heartfelt and sincere sympathies and condolences on your profound loss.
- 75 The Bantu Education Act of 1953 governed education for South Africa's black population, called Bantu by the apartheid government. It ensured black learners received separate and inferior education to their white counterparts and was aimed at keeping black people subservient to white people.
- 76 On 16 June 1976 (today commemorated as Youth Day in South Africa), between 3 000 and 10 000 students marched peacefully to protest the apartheid government's decision to make Afrikaans a compulsory medium of instruction in schools. The protest began in Soweto, and spread across the country. The Soweto protest was meant to culminate with a rally at Orlando Stadium. But armed police officers intercepted students along the way and fired teargas and later live ammunition at them. Over 500 youths were killed.
- 77 The UDF was an anti-apartheid body incorporating numerous anti-apartheid organisations, from churches to trade unions, student organisations, sports bodies and civic organisations. It was launched in 1983, in Mitchells Plain in Cape Town.

Table of Contents

[TITLE PAGE](#)

[IMPRINT PAGE](#)

[CONTENTS](#)

[FOREWORD](#)

[PREFACE](#)

[PART 1 BRIDGING TWO PANDEMICS](#)

[PART 2 COVID-19: A TEST WE ARE BOTH PASSING AND FAILING](#)

[SAVING LIVES AND PRESERVING LIVELIHOODS](#)

[NOT THE 'OLD' NOR THE 'NEW' BUT THE 'BETTER' NORMAL!](#)

[IS B-BBEE RELEVANT DURING COVID-19?](#)

[THE COLOUR OF COVID-19](#)

[VUKANI MNGXATI](#)

[SEARCHING FOR STIMULUS](#)

[NEW HOPES FOR AFRICA EMERGING THROUGH COVID-19](#)

[FRANCIS W PETERSEN](#)

[HISTORY REPEATS](#)

[STAYING PEOPLE-CENTRED IN A PANDEMIC](#)

[ADRIAN GORE](#)

[PART 3 EDUCATION](#)

[TOWARDS TRUE TRANSFORMATION](#)

[EDUCATION AS A MEANS TO UNLOCKING POTENTIAL](#)

[COVID-19 IS AN OPPORTUNITY FOR REINVENTION](#)

[UNIVERSITIES ARE MORE THAN ACADEMIC CENTRES](#)

[ADDRESSING THE FEES ISSUE](#)

[PART 4 LEADERSHIP](#)

[SEEKING CONSCIOUS LEADERS](#)

[MARK BARRETT](#)

[THE TWO WEEKS IN JULY](#)

[THE GUILTY ARE AFRAID](#)

[MEASURE LEADERSHIP BY RESULTS](#)

[LUMKILE WISEMAN NKUHLU](#)

[LEADERSHIP LEGACY STARTS WITH SUCCESSION PLANNING](#)

[ANDILE NOMLALA](#)

[PART 5 COLLABORATION AND COMMITMENT](#)

[LESSONS FROM SELFLESS LEADERS](#)

IMAGINING A NEW AFRICA, POST-PANDEMIC
AFRICA IS NOT POOR, JUST POORLY MANAGED
TROUBLED COUNTRIES DO TURN AROUND
THE SOUTH AFRICA I WANT TO LIVE IN
PART 6 GOVERNMENT AND GOVERNANCE
DEMOCRATISING CAPITALISM
COMING BACK TO THE CONSTITUTION
LEADERSHIP IS STANDING UP FOR WHAT'S RIGHT AND
AGAINST WHAT'S WRONG
FACING A FINANCIAL CRISIS
URGENCY IS THE ORDER OF THE DAY
DEAR MR PRESIDENT, PLEASE CALL US
PART 7 ETHICS
SIKKIE KAJEE
CONFRONTING OUR REALISTIC POTENTIAL
CORRUPTION CRIPPLES PROGRESS
PART 8 SUSTAINABILITY
BUSINESS MUST STEP UP FOR SUSTAINABILITY
PART 9 EQUALITY AND INCLUSIVITY
THE IMPORTANCE OF DIVERSITY AND INCLUSION
NICOLA KLEYN
LAND EXPROPRIATION WITHOUT COMPENSATION
APARTHEID IS A CRIME AGAINST HUMANITY
PUTTING GENDER ON THE BUSINESS AGENDA
MTETO NYATI
IMAGINING 2030
CELEBRATING SUCCESSES
ABIGAIL BOIKHUTSO
16 DAYS OF ACTIVISM IS A HUMAN RIGHTS ISSUE
PART 10 TRIBUTES
MORENA PETER MATLARE
TATA THEMBEKILE 'KIMI' MAKWETU
MSHENGU, DR JABULANE ALBERT MABUZA
DR SEMANE BONOLO MOLOTLEGI
MNCEDI DOUGLAS ZULU
RICHARD MAPONYA
FINAL WORDS

EPILOGUE

BRIEF BIOGRAPHY

ENDNOTES