



AL JAMA AH 2024

POLITICAL REPORT FOR DONORS

Identifying activities, Monitoring financial controls, Demonstrating Ethical Leadership.

An Abridged Report

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With inputs from
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A
POLITICAL
PLATFORM
FOR ALL
COMMUNITIES

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INTRODUCTION

For this political report, the Party had to consider a few issues that it should share with the nation and with its supporters that voted in favour of it at the municipal, provincial, and national levels. No Party can ignore its founding father(s) since he/she has been the one that helped to conceptualize it, shape it, guide it, mentor it, and lead it. So, it was therefore crucial – in this instance - for his personal story to be told before providing insights into other aspects. For this report, Honourable Hendrick's brief but fascinating life-story was drawn from published and unpublished material; this compiler and researcher thus re-ordered sections of his life so that the narrative runs smoothly and flowingly.

The country's national and local voting results over the years demonstrated that the Party, despite its smallness, has made waves; and its policies and positions have been noted by other political parties. All underline that it has and is making its mark and hopefully leaving a legacy. Indeed, the Party would want to leave a memorable legacy – individually and collectively - at different levels so that others may benefit and learn from its minor or major contributions; and, for this reason, it has been pro-active in Parliament as well as the other spheres of government.

In fact, when the Party contested the local elections during November 2021, it fielded a record number of candidates across the country. Even though it did not have sufficient funds, it proved that it had the potential to participate and compete freely with others in the political arena. This may partly be attributed to the fact that it had a real vision and meaningful mission; and along with these, it promoted universal values that all could identify with and supported. All this resulted in positive outcomes for the Party and its growing members.

As an established political party that functions within the South African democratic system, it has been active since its formation. Since then, it completed various tasks; while many of which the Party is proud of, resulted in successes, it also encountered failures in certain sectors. Considering these, the Party is at a stage in its political life that forces it to weigh the negatives and the positives or better still the SWOT analysis model.

Now the Party needs to pursue this approach so that it can work and improve its profile as a pro-active socio-politically conscious and ethically oriented Party. It describes itself in this manner to underscore that it is aware of various issues, despite its minority status within South Africa's parliamentary political scene; it is fully cognisant of the challenges and the matters that it encounters as a small but noticeable political voice.

After having inserted the founder/leader's story, it placed the Party in a socio-political context in order for the interested reader to see the Party alongside other significant developments; one of these was its participation in the local and national elections from 2009 until 2016. Now this section acted as a backdrop for each of the chapters that follow. It paved the way to appreciate and understand the national election results of 2019 and 2021 respectively.



The most important outcomes for the Party in both elections were the fact that it clinched seats at both the national and local levels. Honourable Hendricks was awarded that primary seat to represent the Party in Parliament on behalf of a party contesting on a Muslim ticket for the first time and three new members joined at the municipal level pushing the numbers up from nine to twelve. And since then, the councillors have made their contributions and their leader has made his presence felt with his continuous inputs in each of port-folio committees that he serves. And this speaks volumes for the Party's leader and councillors.

At this juncture, the report turns the focus to the Party's long and short-term goals; and these were discussed in some detail showing how these complement one another in each of the three spheres of government. Thereafter, it shifts to the Party's series of activities; though it was beyond the scope of the report to list them all, it selected some and these provide a fair insight how, where, and when its members raised the concern regarding several matters such as environmental pollution.

The penultimate section weaves in the Party's audit reports; there were quite a few and it was forced to choose a few that informs one whether the Party's financial statements were in order; here again, it underlines that the Party's leader disbursed funds wisely since he oversaw the Party's purse and aware of the budgetary constraints. It, unlike bigger parties, had a limited budget that had to be smartly used for its diverse activities.

The final section wraps up this report; it addresses two key issues. The first of the two is that it urges the Party to undertake a collective SWOT analysis weighing up each of the variables and it encourages individual representatives to do likewise; each of the SWOT outcomes will help the Party to chart out the road map. The second notes down points as the Party readies itself for 2024 and the years thereafter; one key issue that its members need to reflect upon, discuss and debate is that of leadership succession.

Since the leader opined that he would like to bow out of that responsible position, the critical concern is who - within the Party - has the character and qualities to lead and guide the Party into the future. Members are aware that each one is different and that he/she comes with his/her own baggage. They are fully cognisant of the fact that the current leader's leadership (because of his rich personal history) is not easy to emulate. So, in closing this report suggestions to overcome this impasse have briefly discussed and for the Party to consider.



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GANIEF HENDRICKS My 50 years of Activism

2.1 MOTIVATION FOR MY BIOGRAPHY

Senior South African award-winning journalist and academic Zubeida Jaffer suggested in 2010 that I write my autobiography though I protested that it is not right to write about oneself, she urged and suggested I write a letter once a week to one of my grandchildren telling them my stories. It so happened that my granddaughter, Aquila was tasked to do an oral history assignment at Cape Town's Westerford High School on Apartheid; and she chose to interview me for that project; and through her own efforts, she was given nearly 90%. So, when she proudly showed me her mark, it struck a cord and affirmed that Zubeida had a point.


Even though I did not embark on the idea immediately, it was an assignment that I realized I should do since others encouraged me to. The person who got me started in writing a chapter on District Six was my good friend, Dr Anwar Nagiah; he was then a Land Restitution activist and the Founder of the Palestinian Museum in Cape Town that was situated on the outskirts of District Six.

2.2 DISTRICT SIX: MY EARLY YEARS

My parents lived in Richmond Street and my grandparents in Chapel Street. At 3 am in the morning my grandparents driver went to fetch the midwife, who delivered me six (6) hours later. My father walked from our house into Hanover Street past the (legendary) Seven Steps, the fish market, past the wash baths, and along Aspeling and the Muir Street Mosque, and as he reached the grandfather's house, he was out of breath; he told his father in law "a son was born in my house." He could speak English well but that is what – I was informed - he said. The Booley family was jubilant. I was their first grandchild. My aunt from Durban paid a visit as was the custom, and she remarked that I am so white and my hair was blond! Those colours soon changed and my hair became black.

I was born on the 14th of September 1949 in District Six. I continued to live there as a kid, as a learner, as a teenager, as a university student, as a community leader, as an activist, and as a freedom fighter. I lived close to the famous Seven Steps that is located on the well known and infamous Hanover Street; this roadway was controlled by the known Globe gang for years. This gang was a vigilante group that was formed by local businessmen in order to protect themselves; but they, later, ran illegal protection rackets and they became an organized crime group.

We, as a family, moved from 49 Richmond Street to Azad Villa, 114 Rochester Road into a bigger house; this was closer to my father's grocery store on Reinbach Street, Draai Docks. The Booley family was one of the most respected families in District Six and two of my uncles were Sheikhs; they (Ganief and Yusuf) were both trained in religious studies in Mecca, Saudi Arabia.



My aunt, Aysha Booley, was a popular madrasa (Muslim school) teacher who married a Turk and she then immigrated to Mecca where she ran a popular hotel for pilgrims. My grandfather was the secretary of the Jama'at al Gasnat (the group that does good). On the 28th of May 1950, he hosted His Holiness Sayed Mansoor Alawi who was from Mecca; this was when I was just 6 months old. I describe this as my debut into the Muslim Community and its leadership. He was proud of his first grandson and he shared his joy with the Jama'a members who visited. They took turns to keep me on their laps.

They included the chairman Hadjie Cader, the treasurer Hadjie Dout, and the assistant manager Mr. Isaacs. Sayed Mansoor Alawi made a special du'a (supplication) that I become a leader in my country, that I have good health, and that I become educated. At that time, my grandfather was regarded as the most influential person in Cape Town. Little did he know that his first grandson will feature 48 years later in a Cape Argus spreadsheet written by veteran reporter Sharkie Isaacs as one of the most influential persons in Cape Town (Cape Argus 12 March 1997); this was three years after the demise of apartheid.

My father had the Draai Docks grocery shop a few years before he got married in 1948. I assisted in the shop as from the age of 8; and after school, I would have to work until 7 pm. During that period, I was often alone to give my father a break and he came back on duty after dinner. The business was not very profitable, so my mother had to take on boarders and cook for visitors. Half of our customers did not pay their weekly bills, but my dad did not stop their credit as he felt that they had to eat. My mom also opened her own drapery shop to help us make ends meet.

We had a big family, and, in addition, we had to feed activists mostly at our own expense; this task was a revolutionary duty, so every cent helped. Often, my mom was ill, and I had to cook. My favorite dish was penny polonies which I braised with tomatoes and added potatoes. My siblings had no quarrel with this as the polonies of Adams butcheries (Abassie) were legendary and very popular in District Six. He used the best of meat to give the poor a treat.

My mom was born in the heart of District Six where she entertained guests from all over the country by cooking for them in between her sewing to make extra money to boost the family's income. Soon after she got married, word reached the family that my father was up for deportation to Durban. He was an 'Indian' and could not live in a 'Coloured' area and in another province other than (KwaZulu) Natal. She dreaded every knock on the door.

Now that I was born, I also faced deportation as my father had a responsibility to take me with him according to the customary teachings. In fact, a sell-out Muslim official of the Department of Home Affairs carried my father's identity document in his shirt pocket to possibly threaten him with deportation if he refused to do what was demanded from him, but my father knew a White official who was more understanding. This official assisted him with an adoption by a 'Malay' woman, a Mrs. Hendricks, who was my grandmother's friend; this technically allowed him to stay in Cape Town.

My mother always feared the deportation of her family, and she dreaded every knock at the door beginning from the first day of her marriage until the demise of apartheid. She became a veteran activist dedicated to bringing down Apartheid and ending racist



white rule in South Africa. She also had to deal with the forced removal when District Six; an area that was declared 'white' in terms of the notorious Group Areas Act. Living under Apartheid, the threat of deportation and being forcibly removed from her home did not deter her from becoming the most respected activist in that area.

When I was born, I was not free as a child in District Six. I had issues with my identity. My surname was Latiff, but I had to take the surname of Ebrahim while in primary school; and then, as Hendricks when I went to high school. All of this was done in order to fight the possibility of being deported; and this was embedded in the country's despicable racial classification that used the colour of one's skin as a determinant.

My father's new surname was Hendricks, but my great grandmother registered me as Ebrahim at Primary school; it was done just in case attempts were made to deport the family. My great grandmother was, however, not going to see her great grandson deported. She knew all about the pass laws, resident stamps, and carrying a reference book, a pass book also known as a 'dompas'. Fifty years before Africans burnt their passbooks in Vereeniging leading to the Sharpeville Massacre, my great grandfather, HJ Ozeer Ally (d.1921), did the same in Johannesburg.

He and hundreds of Indians, including Mahatma Gandhi, burnt their passbooks in protest at the new laws curbing the freedom of movement of Indians. Many Indians including my great grandfather went to jail and were beaten with batons. So, both my maternal great grandfather and my paternal grandfather went to jail to defy the pass laws. The latter, Mohamed Shaikh Latiff, did that in support of Gandhi's wife who was jailed when she crossed Natal into the Free State without a dompas.

As already indicated, I spent my childhood in District Six, and life there was tough. District Six was, indeed, at the heart of the struggle for freedom. The bigoted whites wanted to wipe it - and its peoples - off the face of the City of Cape Town. Revolutionary activity was intense in the area, and this was especially so during the 1960s; and, for the record, my mom and I were at the heart of some of these activities.

There are some signature events that must be told as District Six was facing many challenges to rise up again as a revolutionary place. Even more than two decades after the fall of Apartheid, it still struggles as a suburb in the City of Cape Town. The widely reported 1960 Langa March was known across the city for it spilled over to District Six. Its kids ran out of their houses with buckets of water, sandwiches, food, and fruit to support the marchers (mainly Africans who was joined by others). They saw the marchers as 'liberators' that were going to rid Cape Town of the white oppressors.

Now, when I went to school my mother wanted me to be taught by the activist teachers at the school. It so happened that I had a good set of teachers including some who were revolutionaries; some were members of the Non-European Unity Movement (NEUM) and others were associated with the non-racial sports bodies that stopped international sporting visits to South Africa; one of them was Mr. Effendi who was my Standard Three teacher.

All of these teachers disliked Tom Swartz who was a 'Coloured Representative Council' (CRC) member that supported the Apartheid system. Some of the present 'Coloured' councillors or their parents who were part of the Democratic Alliance (DA) had links with

the former CRC; this structure later became the House of Representatives in the Tri-Cameral Parliament during the 1980s.

In 1966, when I was 17 years old and in Grade Ten at Trafalgar High School, District Six was declared a white area. This declaration was due to the fact that the 'whites' that resided in the nearby suburbs felt that people of colour (that is, 'Cape Malays' and 'Indians') were living too close to them. They wanted to take over this area so that they could enjoy the benefits of living close to the city and its bustling port. Years back, the 'Africans' were removed by means of the barrel of a gun.

2.3 ARCHIE MAFEJE: MY ROOMMATE

As a community, we were close; and everybody was welcome in our home. My mom received and hosted individuals from different ethnic and religious backgrounds without considering where they came from. Earlier it was mentioned that my mom took on boarders who even shared rooms with me and my siblings. One of the known respected intellectual Xhosa-speaking personalities, who made our home his, was Professor Archie Mafeje. At one stage, he and I shared the same double bed.

It was orally reported that Archie Mafeje, who was then a postgraduate student at the University of Cape Town (UCT), asked my uncle Thaabiet Booley, a fellow UCT student, to get him boarding and lodging in a Muslim home. He had heard that Muslims saw no colour in terms of their religion, and that they would not hesitate to welcome an African in their home. My dad was already under surveillance for contravening the Group Areas Act as he was an 'Indian' living in a 'Coloured' area and for having left Durban illegally; so he felt things could not get worse. And as was known then, it was a crime to accommodate an African in a 'Coloured' area. Since then, Archie became my roommate. My dear mom, however, introduced him as my elder brother; so I lost my status as 'the eldest' son! He took up this responsibility seriously, and like a big brother would discipline me.

Others who also frequented our modest home were Philip Skosana and Fikele Bam; they were all students at the UCT. Fikele Bam used to visit Archie daily and he joined us for lunch as well as dinner whenever he was around. Though Philip was a less frequent visitor, he was always an honoured guest especially after he became famous for leading the Langa March mentioned earlier. For my mom, he was just a youngster who was very bitter about life whilst on UCT campus, and Archie showed him much respect.

After years of non-violent struggle in the 1940s and 1950s, the decision was taken to take up arms to bring down apartheid, and the blessings from the Chiefs spurred on the armed struggle; hence the formation of the African national Congress' Umkhonto we Sizwe and the Pan-African Congress' POQO (also known as APLA). Archie was a targeted man; and when he was suddenly arrested, my mom - for fear of his incrimination - destroyed some of the papers that she found in his suit pockets. When the notorious Security Branch (SB) searched our room, nothing was to be found except a Botany notebook. Amidst these searches, my mom was very anxious to let Archie know about what she had done.



On 16 August 1963 at 5 am in the morning, there were repeated knocking by SB operatives at our home; and they asked for Archie Mafeje. He told me that my mom was right the day before; she alerted him indicating that they were coming for him. Archie greeted and hugged me as he announced himself to the SB. He was arrested for questioning and taken to Caledon Square where he was held for three days; and he was later transferred to Roeland Street jail. He was charged with having addressed an illegal gathering of school children on a visit to Flagstaff in the Transkei. We then visited him at that jail. Following upon my mom's last visit to Caledon Square to see him, I was tasked to take clean shirts and food parcels to Archie. My dad, in fact, initiated me to perform my first revolutionary duty.

Since Archie was found guilty of having addressed the mentioned illegal gathering, he was fined. My mom was on standby to go to Flagstaff to give evidence in favour of Archie to prevent him from being incarcerated, but this was not necessary now that he was given a fine. Archie was allowed to return to Cape Town to continue his studies but he was banned from staying at our safe house. While he stayed elsewhere, he used to slip into our house most nights and slept over. He still received visitors but they were under cover. I played an oversight role which was very exciting.

Archie Mafeje honed his fight for freedom in District Six. Later in 1968, it was our group from District Six that gave him the necessary support and this time it was to fight the UCT administration. Archie returned from London to take up a position at UCT. His first port of call was District Six where he stayed. By this time, District Six was declared a 'white' area. By then, UCT had revoked his appointment as a Senior Lecturer in Social Anthropology; this was a letter (dated 3rd of May 1968) written by Jan de Klerk (the father of former President of South Africa, FW De Klerk) to Sir Richard Luyt, UCT's Vice Chancellor. De Klerk was then the Minister of Education in the Apartheid government; this order was, many believe, at the behest of UCT's white professors. For the record, UCT did the dirty work of the Apartheid government. That is why many activists frowned upon that university's liberals.

Fikele Bam was Archie's closest friend when they were members of the student wing of the NEUM; an organization that was under Neville Alexander's leadership. They liked the movement's radical politics; and Archie, until his death, discussed with me that the country should be radically transformed. The last time we talked about this was when we together launched the African Publishing House Naledi ea Meso (APH); its launch funding was from the Post-Apartheid Department of Arts and Culture and Judge Ernest Moseneke.

2.4 RIVONIA TRIALISTS, UWC ACTIVISTS, AND OTHERS: TOWARDS APARTHEID'S DESTRUCTION

Returning to the 1960s when the Rivonia Trial saw Mandela and other activists being sent to jail for life, there were other activists who were taken in for their acts of sabotage; some tried to overthrow the Apartheid government and others attempted to blow up electric power stations. This was the case with Professor Sedick Isaacs (who was a teacher at Trafalgar) and Imam Achmat Cassiem (who was a student at that school); both I knew well since I was at that school too. The UK, USA, and other Western governments that had close trade ties with the Apartheid regime supported it when it

declared and described Mandela and all who were jailed as terrorists; this description, after some pressure, was only erased from the books of the mentioned countries in the early 2000s!

Besides those who were incarcerated, there were others such as these activists' friends who did not give up; they worked stealthily underground. They secured funds from abroad to assist the families of those who were apprehended and jailed. One prominent person who did that was Imam Abdullah Haron who also taught and examined me at madrasa; this Cape Town born Imam played an important role here. He received the funding via Canon Collin's International Defence and Aid organization to assist. He was himself apprehended without trial and eventually killed during 1969.

In any case, the District Six community continued to play their role in supporting whosoever managed to take clothes and food to the Robben Island political inmates. My mom was approached to help four women who had a permit for a week to visit their husbands on Robben Island. We were told that we could be fined twenty thousand rand or twenty years in prison as they could not stay in a 'Coloured' area as they were African and Indian, and District Six was still considered a 'Coloured' area. They were amongst the first women to visit political prisoners after the Rivonia trial.

For the record, not many prisoners on Robben Island survived their marriages, so we hoped that these four marriages would, at least, survive. The women were very traumatized when they returned from the prison as a glass wall separated them from the prisoners. They would hug and cuddle us which they could not do during their visits. It was as if they were hugging their own children who must have been our age. So, we in District Six did what we could for those who went to jail for our freedom. More could have been done to support them from the broader activist community, and it is sad that while we now enjoy freedom, activists did not do enough in the darkest days of Apartheid for them; and the fact that they were on the run was no excuse for this neglect.

By the time we left, District Six was like a war zone (similar to occupied and suppressed Palestine) that had been razed to the ground. They were waiting for 'white settlers' from different parts of South Africa to come and build a new settlement with both residential and commercial buildings. Whites wanted to be near the city and by the port; and they were determined to never give up their ambition to occupy District Six. The communal anti-apartheid organizations were able to stop this from happening and for that reason much the area is still empty to this day.

Turning to the late 1960s and early 1970s, socio-political developments were underway. By the end of the 1960s, I was at the University of the Western Cape (UWC) where we faced the odds that were stacked against me. On campus, I took the lead during the years of resistance. The rebellion at UWC, I can confidently claim, was hatched in District Six. I led the Muslim students community and was one of the founders of the national Muslim Students Association of South Africa (MSA). For seven years, I was its president.

Subsequent to my studies at UWC, I can claim that I struck a triple whammy of which I am proud. As said, I helped found the MSA; and at that time, I was also appointed an executive member of the Majlisush Shura Al Islami (Shura) which was viewed as the 'Muslim parliament' that was founded by the Muslim Judicial Council (MJC). Shura, for example, introduced Shari'ah complaint investments in Cape Town.



I too founded UWC's *Unibel* student newspaper and served as its editor along with Professor Jakes Gerwel who the SRC appointed as the news editor and who later became that institution's rector. And later, he became the late President Nelson Mandela's Director General as well as the chairperson of Naspers, the media giant. Under my watch at UWC, he got his editorial training as editor. Apart from these activities, from the late 1960s into the early 1980s, I gained much experience in these organizations and in the commercial sector after I also joined the business industry. In this sector, I received an award as a pioneer of the internet in South Africa while working in the corporate world.

By the 1990s, I co-founded a Muslim Community Radio station (namely Radio 786) as well as the African Publishing House that was mentioned earlier. During these years and later, I eventually became (a) a General Secretary of the Trade Union for Workers with sensory disabilities in the 1990s, (b) a Councillor in the City of Cape Town during 2010s, and (c) I contested the National Elections as a Presidential candidate in 2000s.

In addition to these, I was also an avid cricket, rugby, and table tennis player, as well as a miler and a National Black Chess champion. I had a stint as a cricket manager in non-racial sport. And I can proudly say that I am the reigning chess champion of the Black Consciousness Movement (BCM) as no event has been held after the last South African Black Intersarsity Championships (SABIC) sports event. Respected Cape Argus senior journalist Sharkie Isaacs, in a full-page feature, had banner headlines that I was 'the most influential person in Cape Town' in 1982.

A quick detour with the focus on developments at UWC is in order: at UWC, the SRC offered the editorial position to me, but I had to get the newspaper printed as well; now, with the meagre funding we got from the UWC administration, we had to search for printers that would be willing to print the student newspaper for a small sum. It so happened that James Matthews, the respected BCM South African poet who was close confidante of Imam Haron, worked at *Muslim News*; and he volunteered to design the Unibel logo.

The SRC approved the name and Jakes Gerwel, as mentioned, was my news editor and Howard Eybers my secretary; while the latter became the SRC President, Gerwel became a lecturer in Afrikaans. Two members (one of them was Gerwel) of the *Unibel* editorial board later became rectors at Universities. Leonardo Appies, a champion of liberation theology and who also became an SRC President, was a senior member of my board. Appies a devout Christian activist had no quarrel with my ambition to form a national Muslim student body. This was a quest that interestingly intensified when Allan Boesak joined UWC's Theology department; he was the very person who linked the Christian liberation theology project to Black Consciousness.

The Muslim student voice could not be silent. On 18 August 1971, the Anglican Society on campus and the Cape MSA jointly had a buffet discussion with the well-known Reverend Dr. H. Kenneth Cragg who was a specialist on Islam and Christianity; this was at the UWC cafeteria. On 15 May 1975, the MSA launched its magazine *Inqilaab* (revolution); and for the first time in the history of UWC heads of departments, leaders of clubs and societies, members of the SRC, and members of the UWC Islamic Society came together for a literary and social event.

Richard Stevens, the UWC SRC President, received the first copy of *Inqilaab*. Jeff Manuel, UWC's SRC PRO, congratulated the Islamic Society for bringing such a high-powered group together destroying the myth that we cannot work together. Looking back, this editorial board could have been a cabinet in the making but we had only one female on the editorial board namely Ms H. Harting. Blame this on the (male dominated) SRC for its members (including me) made the appointments.

Muslim Views did not charge me for printing the newspaper as I explained our plight to Mr Zubair Sayed of "Sayed and Sons"; he was the owner of the MN printing press. His son, Abdul Quayum, who was influenced by the BCM movement too and mentored by James Matthews, did the layout; James Matthews helped me with the editing.

Reflecting on these events and my involvement, I may be able to self-confidently state that I, like others, was destined to become a revolutionary; and I may have been the youngest one in my community at the time. There was no other kid who had the honor of having been in the noble company of Archie Mafeje, Philip Skosana, and Fikele Bam as well as the cabinet ministers and judges that I have not mentioned.

These activists did not only have Mrs. Hendricks (my mom) as their adopted 'mother' but they too had a supportive father (my dad). It was interesting to observe that both their fathers (that is, of my mom and dad) were revolutionaries. The first was Secretary of the Natal Indian Congress (NIC), and the second a senior member of the Transvaal Indian Congress (TIC); considering these facts, I can again claim that I had a strong political pedigree; and it is perhaps because of them that I succeeded to achieve my personal goal and that was to represent my community in Parliament.

2.5 FREE MANDELA CAMPAIGN: I TOOK THE LEAD

Taking into account my proud lineage and considering my activism, I want to share thoughts of my intimate involvement with the 'Free Mandela' campaign. The pamphlets and flyers for this campaign were written by hand; and they were cyclostyled in District Six. Some were left at the offices of the old Cape Muslim Youth Movement (CMYM) in Hanover Street and at the offices of award winning Egyptian born poet and Cape Town resident, Tatamkulu-i-Afrika's (aka Ismail Joubert) Al Jihad Movement (AJM) based in Aspeling Street in District Six.

My mother told me that Sergeant Spyker Rooies van Wyk, one of the despicable SB characters, called and that he wanted me to report to Caledon Street Police Station at 6 am the next morning. He left a note with the details which I kept for many years. My mother gave me two pairs of socks to wear. A fortnight earlier, I rallied nearly 100 Muslim organizations to support a call for the release of Nelson Mandela at the Bekoedratullah Hall; this was the MSA's headquarters that was situated in Athlone outside the City's centre.

Muslims were generally quiet about the struggle and were apathetic towards the deaths in detention (of Imam Haron) and the incarceration (of Imam Achmat Cassiem); they were, regrettably, sleeping through a revolution. The MJC also attended though many of its members were afraid to speak out. I prepared the press release, took it to the newspapers, and distributed it to 100 mosques in and around Cape Town. I knew all the Imams as I was popular in Shura (mentioned earlier), and the mosques were all



member organizations. The call for Mandela's release was read out at all the mosques during the Friday congregational prayers.

Spyker's brother made me re-write all the handwritten flyers and wanted to establish who my handlers were. He wanted to know who was in charge. I told him that I was the mastermind and that I had acted alone. They then let me go after two or three days. The MSA's Executive Committee in Natal rocked up for a meeting and they were going to stay at our safe house. Because of the situation, I decided to send them back to Durban to prevent them from being arrested; they were bewildered and confused not knowing why I did that. Since then, I laid low for a few months.

Two security agents followed my every move. Spyker admonished me for adding Robben Islander's Achmat Cassiem and Ahmad Kathrada's (a Revonia trialist) names to be also released, which was not part of the Bekoedratullah resolution. I admitted to my wrong doing, but told him that I could not leave out my fellow Muslim brothers. Not long before that, my mother had visited Kathrada's mother in Sweitzer Reineker with her sister from Mecca; so, I knew about him. Achmat Cassiem was Boeta Cassiem, my District Six madrasa teacher's son.

Moving on, Nconde Balfour who was for a period the Minister of Sports, Nconde Balfour, had cut his teeth in sport management in our house at a time when racialism in sport was at its harshest. His non-racial provincial rugby team had 'White', 'Coloured', and African players when they came to Western Province to play against a 'Coloured' backline that was the best in the world; and I can boldly add better than the Springboks!

The chauvinistic Springboks were starved of international competition because of the boycott at that time. Balfour's rugby players had to stay at 'White', 'Coloured', and African hotels or guest houses which they refused. 'Coloured' rugby players were not ready to host African players in their homes, and they lived all over the Cape Flats in small houses. My high school brother Nadeem Hendricks, a Western Province Rugby official as young as he was, came to the rescue; he offered our home in defiance of the Group Areas Act. They all slept here, except for one or two who stayed with the President of the Western Province Non-Racial Rugby Union. Every meal at our house was a banquet, and the rugby players were well fed.

Coming back to the Free Mandela campaign, I should add that after having edited *Unibel*, I was redeployed to head up a Muslim structure to call for the release of Nelson Mandela from Robben Island. Important to note was that I was sent for "organizational training" to Libya as a guest of erstwhile Col. Muammar Gaddafi. Of relevance is the fact that, the Libyans never taught me to throw a grenade or shoot a gun; they taught me organizational skills and these came in handy when I became a founder member of Gaddafi's international and (then) influential "Call of Islam Society" (CIS) as well as in other national and local organizations.

For the record too is the fact that I was honoured by the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO); I even had a lapel badge pinned to my shirt after I met PLO members on the outskirts of Benghazi. While in Libya, I took part in the historic march to unite Libya and Egypt; this was one of Col. Muammar Gaddafi's dreams. I also received a special briefing on his famous *Green Book* and the "Third International Theory". Since I had been a founder member of CIS, I was privileged to travel using a Libyan diplomatic passport to other countries. This was the time when invitations were received from the

USA-based MSA of North America to attend the 13th Annual Convention of the MSA; in August 1975, Dr. Rushdie Hendricks, a dentist in training, and Dr. Sulaiman Nordien, who was then studying medicine at UCT, represented our MSA at the convention that took place at the University of Toledo.

2.6 FROM LION MATCH TO NESTLE TO NASPERS (MWEB) EMPLOYED IN AN APARTHEID CORPORATE ENVIRONMENT

In 1975, I was teaching at Mount View High School while still studying at UWC. I was at the heart of high school activism in 1976 as the school was the hub of protests. Teaching was a start to earn an income and fund my own activism; but I had an eye for the corporate world and it seems that world had an eye on me too; this was in spite of the Apartheid state's job reservation policy and apartheid practices. By then, I was also married and I, like many others from our suppressed communities, had to put food on the table. For that, I also needed a car to move around. This was, for me, a new challenging front; one that meant resistance had to be against Apartheid from a dissimilar dimension using a different platform.

A glaring reality was that most company cars were reserved for Whites, and Blacks were kept out of positions in the corporate world; an arena where a company car was one of the few perks. This was certainly the case at Swiss' Nestle, the international food giant where young Whites got positions as sales representatives soon after they completed their military training.

Blacks could only aspire to be merchandizers and used pool cars to do their work; so, one can imagine the types of struggles they/we had to encounter. As employed Black personnel, we could not take the cars home like our White counterparts. Having noted this practice, I already concluded that the merchandizer job was not for me. Earlier in 1968, I worked for a company called 'Hirt and Carter'.

Both founders were keen on affirmative action; although they saw me as their first photo lithographer of colour, I was also then the first in the country. This job was reserved for Whites. In preparing for change, they offered me an apprenticeship in the most racist industry at the time. But the White artisans at 'Hirt and Carter' found me acceptable and had no quarrel. Mr Hirt was so disappointed that I did not sign my papers but understood that studies at UWC made sense for such a "bright person as myself".

There was a measure of relief for the White artisans when they heard as they had to face the music with their local chapters for not stopping such an appointment. My 'Coloured' and African colleagues, however, were, as expected during that period, disappointed. I was going to show the Whites that I was among those that adopted a no-nonsense attitude. All were, in fact, keen to see someone – other than a White - wearing the first blue overall in the Company. But I made up in later years, when I wore the first white jacket at Lion Match; this was a British Company where I was appointed as a trainee Personnel Officer.

On my first day at work, Mr Kallis, who was the Assistant Manager, brought my new white coat; and for some reason, his career depended on me being successful. The



news of the first Black to wear a white coat spread like wildfire and everyone came to have a peep at my uniform; many too shook my hands and touched my white coat. I was welcomed in the 'Coloured' canteen, but Mr Kallis took me away to the White personnel's canteen; one that was transformed into a management canteen as Lion Match tried to move away from Apartheid policies internally; this was because of the pressure from its headquarters in London.

I got the best of training at Lion Match under my mentor, Peter Russel who was (my) ex Rhodesian Personnel manager; later we became good friends and he relayed information about me to such an extent that overseas executives all wanted to meet me. Their first 'other than' White protégé. Cape Town was a 'Coloured' preferential employment city, and because of that, Africans could only get a job if no 'Coloureds' were available for the 'Coloured' jobs. Whites had the more senior jobs reserved for them in terms of the contemptable job reservation laws.

By that time, Steve Biko had made me 'Black'. I told my 'Coloured' work colleagues about this, and they supported my quest to employ more Africans. This was not easy. I first had to motivate why no 'Coloured' labour was suitable or available; and then, I had to get a place in the Langa hostel for them to stay. I was very creative in my motivations. It was easy to get permits for jobs in the Boiler house. All I had to say was that Africans did not mind sweating, while 'Coloured' did not like sweating (!) Log handlers was easier as Africans had more strength than 'Coloureds'. I then justified it by writing that 'logs had become heavier'. Certain jobs depended on nil absenteeism, and this helped Africans as I could say 'Coloureds' had hangovers and they were often absent on a Monday or came to work still drunk.

Soon we had many Africans working at Lion Match. In 1979, Nestle head hunted me and doubled my salary; this was, moreover, to fund my activism. I could not say no to such an opportunity. It also meant taking less money out of my father's till to make up financial shortfalls. Revolutionary activities do not come cheap. Just three years earlier, we had the 1976 riots. To climb the corporate ladder in Apartheid South Africa was a nightmare. However, resistance on a third front appealed to me. I already cut my teeth in District Six and at UWC; these exposures helped me to face various challenges in and outside the corporate world.

For me, Nestle was a thrill a minute. Soon one of my perks was a company car that I could take home, a thought unheard of before. More junior Whites had company cars and I asked silently: why not me? I was a very dedicated worker and never watched the clock. When the siren went most people were out of the gate, but I carried on working. I made a name for myself when I was part of the team that tripled production of mayonnaise by converting an eight-hour operation to a twenty-four hour one.

It caused waves in the production world. We had no staff issues. I addressed every concern of the workers. The trick was that I involved them in recruiting extra staff and rewarded them for each recommendation that led to an appointment. They also helped me draw up shift rosters and identifying taxis to take them home. The canteen was upgraded and subsidized. The workers in Bellville South, where I worked, liked ballroom dancing so I arranged training for their kids and an annual competition at Xmas time. I had a battle to get licences for taxis because of the City Tramways' monopoly. The company rejected every application that I made. I represented Nestle on the Employers Association and took my fight there. Nestle was a powerful member of the Association, and this power was in my hands.

The Nestle factory was near the Peninsula Technikon, and I helped develop the curriculum for the three courses in Human Resource Management. I also lectured at all three levels; and later, I was the moderator for the third-year examination paper. UWC invited me to present the Trade Union module to its honours' students because of my experience with trade unions.

A major breakthrough was my facilitation of a Food Technology Diploma at the Peninsula Technikon and providing technical training to diplomats in their practical year. This professionalized the food technology discipline in the Western Cape as a whole. I also assisted with establishing a satellite course in Port Elizabeth for the Technikon. The armed struggle was a threat to Business and all neighbouring companies established a radio network to help one another when there was an impending attack. Let me say this: I was very popular with the staff; and one person, who was near retirement, made me a beneficiary of her provident credit as she had no close relatives. She also put me in her will, and it took me much persuasion to change her mind.

We had a visit from Mr Montevon who was Nestle's top economist from Switzerland. He spent a week with me, and I took him around the townships to places Nestle executives have never been. He told me that Nelson Mandela will be President; and looking back, he had the year correct. So, I can safely argue that a decade ago the corporate world had already decided South Africa's fate; they were aware of what was going happen and what the end result would be.

I was promoted to regional personnel manager for Nestle in the Southern Cape a few years before Mossgas in Mossel Bay became operational. Of relevance is that the strip from Riversdale to Karreedouw was an Apartheid hub in the Western Cape. The former Apartheid hardliner Prime Minister John Vorster was buried in Kareedouw. I visited his grave in this one-horse town.

Mossel Bay was, however, a milk producing region; so, the baby formulas were made here. I saved this factory from being closed down in later years, after putting down a strike that saw workers adding caustic soda to the Nan milk formula tank. Switzerland gave management forty-eight hours to put out the strike or close the factory down forever. I worked in Cape Town at the time, and I was redeployed to save the factory from closure which I did.

One can imagine when working in a racist environment: This regional strip was racist, the management was racist, my own staff was racist, and the town was racist. The management made us wait three hours at the airport before a driver came to fetch us. The kids were restless, and we just waited and waited. We were just dropped at the hotel to fend for ourselves late at night. I was forced to live in a township house with four kids used to living in an executive home.

Before that we were in a hotel on the beach in this seaside Mecca. The kids came from an English medium school and now had to switch to Afrikaans. We did not riot like the Soweto kids. The first step I took was to take them to the nearest library to take out Afrikaans readers. I thought Afrikaners would be proud of us getting to learn their language better, but the racist librarian unceremoniously bundled the kids out and told them to go the 'Coloured' library which was not within walking distance to the hotel like this this one.



The kids left their Afrikaans books at the library. They looked at me wanting to know why I brought them to this terrible place. Apartheid at its worst. My first day at work was not pleasant. I saw the hostility of my White human resource staff. My first meeting with the management team was tense. All this, I set aside as the Black (African and 'Coloured') staff welcomed me with open arms as well as a few Whites who were not racists. It is because of them that I saved this factory in later years from closing down; if it had to close its doors, it would have been a blow to the town and this milk producing region.

I was now getting established in the corporate world and had a top job with a company car and a PA testing my skills with the Food and Allied Workers Union (FAWU). Many of their organizers were senior Communist Party members. They asked: What is a comrade doing on the other side? I made them sweat to get their demands. No easy rides. In Ladysmith, I had the Union on the back foot when I doubled their demand for a wage increase. They asked for 11%, and I offered 22%. The organizer had a caucus for an hour and came to sign with a blank look on his face.

He obviously did not do his homework. In Durban, I staged a management walkout. The Union hit back and said that Unions walk out and not management; and I made them sweat for a day before returning to the negotiating table. This must have been the first management walkout in South Africa! I set the wives of workers after the FAWU organizer for Nestle in Mossel Bay; they put him on the bus back home to Cape Town after workers added caustic soda to a Nan milk tank during a strike. When I told workers that Switzerland sent me to fire the management and close the factory, they were prepared to do anything I wanted. For saving the Mossel Bay factory, I got a 14th cheque.

2.7 CHALLENGING LABOUR LAWS : MY SUCCESSES CASES

Being a HR specialist, I did what I could to transform human relations. Since I was a Training and Development Specialist and not an Industrial Relations Specialist, Nestle gave me the top labour lawyers in the country as my advisors. They were on retainers to assist me 24 hours a day as its National I.R. Specialist. My brief was that they coach and teach me; and I soon became an expert.

UWC used me as a part time lecturer for honours industrial relations students. I then took an interest in education labour law, and I wrote the first book on education labour law titled: Teachers have Rights Too; the first signed copy was approved and accepted by the former Minister of Education Minister S. Bhengu. Professor Nicky Morgan, a former student friend at UWC, co-authored the book with me. Old Mutual's Aziz Kader sponsored my teacher labour newsletter, and I operated a free 'Teacher's Advice Office' on Saturdays. Under President Mandela's watch, teachers were being retrenched; this even included Mathematics and Science Teachers. This was part of the plot of SADTU, the teachers' trade union, to shrewdly – if not unethically - get their members million-rand retrenchment packages knowing full well they will be re-employed later.

On a related front, I worked long hours in the corporate world, but I found time to assist teachers with education labour disputes. The first case on discrimination in terms of the Constitution and the Employment Equity Act was won by me. Karen

George was a music teacher; and, in addition, she was a shop-steward. But SADTU's executive refused to help her with her demand for a housing subsidy. At the time, it was available to males only. Her husband was a medical student, and she was the sole breadwinner.

Ms. George's employer discriminated against her on the grounds of her gender (that is, being female). SADTU had an agreement with government not to demand a housing subsidy for women educators as it would open the floodgates and cost the fiscal. She was told to wait a few years. Hundreds of schools were going to lose teachers as a result of the Mandela government increasing learner educator ratios requiring less teachers. To soften the blow teachers, who became redundant, were offered generous retrenchment packages. The World Bank (WB) and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) pressurized the South African government to increase the ratios; this, for me, was an unacceptable policy indeed.

My position was that this would destroy our educational system, which it did. I engaged with the Mandela government challenging the changes with a legal opinion by two counsels who later became judges. President Mandela was adamant and wrote back on an embossed letterhead refusing to budge. Increasing learner educator ratios remains a blot on the Mandela government as South Africa grapples to recover from what I call a debacle; sadly, there has been no radical change in the educational system and even the subsequent Ministers have not assisted to improve the situation.

I was surprised when I was approached by the Nuncio of the Roman Catholic Church to assist a Catholic woman who was challenged by a Protestant applicant when she was appointed principal of a Catholic school in Mossel Bay. The applicant argued that she was appointed because she was a Catholic and that she was discriminated against on the grounds of 'religion'. I argued on her behalf that it was the right choice to appoint a Catholic as principal of a catholic school as she was best placed to maintain the Catholic ethos when everything else was equal between the two candidates. This was a victory for the Catholic Church as for the first time in 20 years they had a Catholic principal at their Mossel Bay school. The hardworking nuns were so excited. I was invited to have an audience with the Pope. Catholics phoned me to offer whatever I wanted, and the Catholic newspapers praised me as a good Muslim. I did not want any payment for this but still look forward to my audience with His Holiness the Pope. I understand that the matter was brought to the Pope's attention and that I was blessed.

A sad case was when a teacher was raped by her principal, and she left the school to join another school the next day. This was interpreted as a break in service; and she lost nearly half her pension. The education department refused to budge but I got them to reinstate her with full pension and fire the principal who was, by then, a very senior education official. This matter is a disheartened one because for the first time the baby born out of this rape came to know that she had another father. This case took a year because I was careful to ensure that all parties had a social worker to assist them.

On a lighter note, a teacher who was near retirement wanted to be declared a permanent teacher; this was a right that she was wilfully denied because she was deemed to be over-weight. This was discrimination on an arbitrary ground which was not in our law yet; in the end, I won this case. Three landmark discriminatory cases and still counting. I am sure I am the envy of many labour lawyers, and I don't even have a law qualification!



There was a fourth case at Lentegeur Psychiatric Hospital when five cleaners were fired because they were over 60 years. I got them reinstated. Maybe the case, I must mention, is the case of seven drivers/salesperson who did not get equal work for equal work. This case I won. A matter that is still pending is the discrimination against workers with disabilities that work for the Department of Labour Service Products factories. Seconded officials, management, and office staff got a retirement benefit from date of engagement while the workers did not. I succeeded in getting the workers a provident fund, but the struggle continues as it is still not yet backdated.

2.8 OTHER EXPERIENCES IN DEMOCRATIC ERA: TRAVERSING RADIO-WAVES (RADIO 786) AND CYBERSPACE (MWEB)

What I enjoyed most is the slot I had for the past twenty years (circa 1996-2016) on Radio 786. I had my own program on labour law that was relatively popular; via this platform, I was weekly educating listeners and taking their questions. My occasional co-presenter, Ms. Yasmina Osman, livened up the programme with her passionate insight into the plight of listeners unfairly treated by their employers. Very often the technical manager Akbar Hoosain had to cut off listeners as they complained about their employers.

Then there was the listener who wanted confidentiality and spoke softly on radio about his complaint. We must have been the best team around on air on labour matters. Since Radio 786 has already celebrated their 20-year anniversary, I was there from day one. One of the listeners phoned in and asked that I help W.A.R. a trade union about to be deregistered. This meant that workers with disabilities would lose their voice. I did so and became the Union's General Secretary later. With my corporate experience, I became the worst nightmare of many companies. I was also an executive member of the South African Labour Law Association (SALLA) for many years.

I left Nestle in 2006 after 18 years of service to retire and run a Teacher's Advice Office on my smallholding in Schaapkraal where I had one lamb, chickens, a horse, and grew vegetables. My health was not too good, and I wanted to take it easy. Entering politics was not on my mind. Just as I was about to settle down six months later my cousin's husband Sadick Matthews recommended me for a job as a Human Resources Manager for an internet company to be launched by MNET that was a cash flushed Naspers subsidiary.

The company offered me double the salary I got at Nestle and a million rands worth of shares if the company did very well. I had to grow the company from a dozen workers to 2000 and had to help create next generation jobs. I went for the interview on Thursday, saw the CEO on Friday, and started on the first day of spring. A giant leap for me. It was like my own company, although, I should say, Antonie Roux was the toughest CEO around. He believed in the internet, and his passion rubbed off on me. I worked for MWEB up to 16 hours a day. It was a thrill a minute, like Nestle, where I was for almost two decades. I was thrown in the deep end.

After the struggles at Nestle, I was ready for the challenges. It was 2007, and in the post-apartheid era. Just imagine starting a company from scratch and be in the action from day one. We first had to raise a billion rand as we could not depend on MNET's

money for long. I was also seconded as a Director of MTN a cellular company in which Naspers had some shares. A director of two companies. This child from District Six. Amazing!

First things first. We had to convince the Naspers board to invest in the company we wanted to list on the Johannesburg Stock Exchange (JSE). My job on the listing team was to convince Naspers and others that I will be able to create the next generation jobs needed, find the recruits, and train the new workers. My experience in Nestle was good enough. Antonie was more careful and did not want to upset these newspaper Moghuls avert loyalty to the print media.

So, he lobbied first with Koos Bekker and then selected members of the Board. He told me he won over the chairperson. Then, Antonie and Koos came up with the silver bullet. This swayed the board. He first called for strengthening the newspaper brands and stated that the next step was to have an internet company; this was a key defensive strategy to ensure the survival of newspapers. Further, that their content will spread all over the world via the internet.

Finally, MWEB was launched; and South Africa was introduced to what would become the best internet service provider in the country. Once the money was in the bank, we signed the lease for three buildings, and soon there were over 1000 workplaces; and I had to fill them and tripled the HR team. We bought Computicket and I had to reduce the staff from 500 to just under a 100. At their Xmas party, I was the guest of honour, and they were giving out 'Oscars'. I got an 'Oscar' for "sleeping with the enemy". And thereafter, I was to retrench many people; but we found jobs for most of them. Ten seventy-year-olds were left for last, and we settled amicably with each of them.

2.9 POLITICAL ARENA: A DIFFERENT JIHAD (STRUGGLE)- BEING A POLITICIAN, OFFERING A MODEL

When I witnessed how Liberation Theology was linked to Black Consciousness by Allen Boesak when he joined UWC, I asked myself: Why cannot Shari'ah be linked to human consciousness? By this, I do not mean that before the beginning of the next century or earlier, we – in South Africa - must have a state ruled according to Muslim law. As far as I am concerned, all states (and especially Muslim countries) must first improve their Islamicity index; and we, in South Africa, should strive to do so exponentially.

Put differently, we should get 'Islamic values' (aka universal values) accepted in South African society via our socio-educational structure. Through this educational method that should spill over to the working environments and elsewhere, Shari'ah – as a bona fide positive (and not negative) legal system - must stand up to other competing (secular) values. That, to my mind, is the challenge.

Islamic Finance, for example, is a good start; and next to that is 'interest free micro finance' and 'an interest free' State Bank which is already the policy of the ANC, the ruling Party. Then, in the legal arena, there is the customary and religious marriage laws that have not been given their rightful recognition despite being a democracy for more than two and a half decades! Related to these is the issue of rightful maintenance of the family members (wife and children). Now, for me Islam has a solution if its legal texts are read and interpreted correctly.



When I look at the data on world states, I noted that there were and are only seven declared 'Islamic states' and twelve states that have declared 'Islam' as their countries' state religion; that implies that out of the 57 countries that make up the Organization of Islamic Countries (OIC) only a handful described themselves as 'Muslim'. Considering these facts, my argument is that there must be no rush for any Muslim to demand the formation of an 'Islamic state' in South Africa for this or the next century. It should be stated that even the term – as employed in the English language - 'Islamic state' compared to the term 'Muslim state' is problematic, and I will not go and elaborate on this; let me leave that to the academics.


So let me come back to the notion of the Islamicity Index; the latter idea, for me, should be viewed as a benchmark or an index to assess the degree of rule compliance or Islamicity; this would, in other words, serve as an indicator of the socio-economic hallmark of Islam: that is, the society may be described as just or unjust vis-à-vis oppressive or non-oppressive. If I should undertake a random survey among South African comrades, then I would conclude that no one will have a quarrel with this.

In South Africa, justice is what we fought for and justice is still out of our reach in post-Apartheid South Africa. Taking this further, we have political freedom in South Africa but not economic freedom. So, there is space in South Africa to put on the table 'Islamic Economic' principles, doctrines, and teachings. Economists generally agree that there are many determinants of economic growth, and that successful explanations of economic performance have to go beyond narrow economic variables to encompass other forces like religion.

My sociology studies taught me that a person's everyday decisions are influenced by his/her belief system. We must look at whether 'Islamic economic' principles are conducive to free markets, and we should also look at the teaching contents of Islamic economics; the foundations of these are embedded in the Qur'an (a divine text that Muslims consider to be unadulterated revelation from God directly to the Prophet); and, on top of this, these principles were expounded upon by Prophet Muhammad (s). So, the two texts (Qur'an and Hadith) should be taken together; and they, along with the subsidiary principles, provide an insight into Islamic finance/economics.

From my vantage point, as a democratic nation we should be open to different models and this should be viewed as one possible model for our ever-changing societies. While we have seen how Arab states – I stress Arab and not Muslim states – have suppressed viable Muslim voices and groups such as the Muslim Brotherhood (Ikhwan Muslimun) that had put forward practical models but that were openly rejected – as if these are extremist models - through tangible pressures from the USA and its allies, these models have not been given a chance to be tried or tested; these, I submit, should be considered across our continent; perhaps South Africa can open the way in doing that and may I rhetorically ask: why not?

In any case, I have succeeded after a lengthy jihad to enter politics and now that I am in the arena the jihad continues; I make use of the word 'jihad' because it does not contain the negative connotations that the Islamophobes and their ilk have given. By this word, I merely mean a struggle; a struggle to be a good politician, to be committed to just causes, and to bring about fair transformation in all spheres of human life from putting basic items on the table to economic justice for all.



Allow me to end by returning to my forebears who have influenced our diverse Muslim communities in different ways. The first two names that come to mind is Shaykh Yusuf Al-Khalwati (d.1699) and Imam Abdullah ibn Qadi 'Abdus Salam (d.1807); both men were exiled from the Melayu archipelago because of their stand against VOC oppression in their lands. Another two names that pop up are Shaykh Abu Bakr Effendi (d.1880) who tried to bring about religious reform and Hajj Ozeer Ally (d.1921) who was a social reformer; since it was established that the latter was my great grandfather, it was also revealed that he was one of Gandhi's companions; on the whole, he made an important contributions in South Africa since his arrival towards the end of the 19th century.

Then we recall the name of Shaykh Ismail Ganief Edwards (d.1958) who hailed from the Cape and who penned a series of notable religious texts in Arabic-Afrikaans. Alongside him is Shaykh Ahmad Behardien (d.1979) and then his successors: Shaykh Shakier Gamielien, Shaykh Ighsaan Gamielien, Shaykh Abu Bakr Najaar, Shaykh Nazeem Mohamed, and my dear uncles Shaykh Ganief and Yusuf Booley. Apart from them, there were Imam Haron, Imam Nordien (the latter's student and father of Zayd who is advisor to Mandela's grandson), Imam Sep Davids, and Imam Achmat Cassiem. Each of them men contributed towards the reform of our community in their own ways and I was influenced and inspired by their examples. For them, I take off my proverbial 'kofiyah' because we are here because of them; this idea, therefore, reinforce the notion of Ubuntu.

3

IN CONTEXT : Party's Socio-Political History

Since Honourable Ganief Hendricks (hereafter: Honourable Hendricks), as a founding member, penned the social history of the Party from a purely personal perspective, this report extracted ideas from that narration; it will, however, offer the Party's understanding and interpretation. It should perhaps be categorically stated that it is impossible to describe and discuss the Party without inserting Honourable Hendricks's name as its founding father or prime mover.

He has been and remains its key leader; one who conceptualized it and who has been its leading figure from the start. So, Honourable Hendricks's role and position within the Party cannot be ignored nor overlooked; the pivotal part that he played in its formation is therefore a significant in the Party's story; and it is for this reason that his story appeared first in this report.

So, while Al Jama-ah does not claim to be the first Muslim party it can proudly claim to be the first Muslim party that has successfully won a seat in Parliament ; this was after much hard work over the previous years. Since the Party's leader, Honourable Hendricks, has set his foot in Parliament, he was 'not shy of pulling out all the stops' to make an impact, to leave a legacy, and to assist the community to address its miscellaneous concerns.

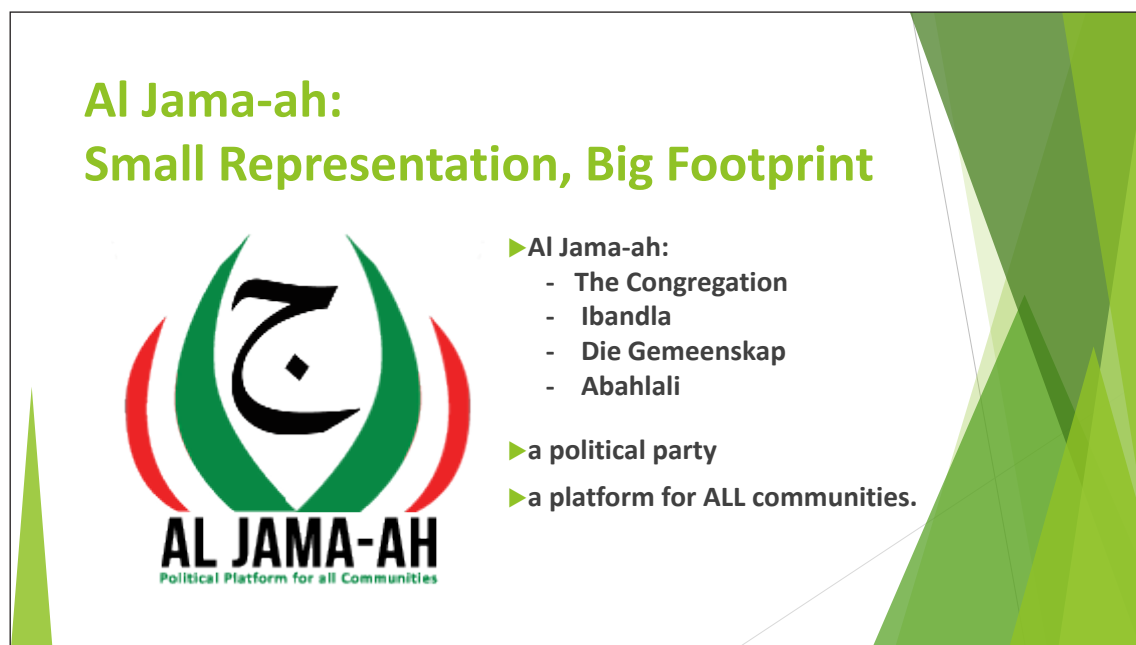
Figure 1 : The Party Leader



3.1 The Party: In Context and Its Conceptualization

Anyhow, between 1994 and 2000 Muslim organizations such as the Cape-run Islamic Unity Convention (IUC) was among those that were influential dissuading – using socio-political arguments - Muslims and others not to go to the polls in 1994. Despite having adopted that stance, it was clear that some of its members and affiliates did not agree; among the IUC members that had a different opinion was Honourable Hendricks. Having been a pragmatist and networker, he saw opportunities - as a known thought leader - and he thus expressed a different understanding of the socio-political environment.

Figure 2 : Its Logo and Meaning



Being the founding father of the Party, Honourable Hendricks was elected its leader. Anyone who has been involved in forming political organizations would be aware of what amount of energy, funds, and time go into setting up and sustaining a party; when it started out, its leaders consulted widely with stakeholders who hailed from a variety of backgrounds; among them were religious leaders (imams and maulanas), socio-politically minded community activists, committed government officials, and a host of others who had an interest in the developments of the nation.

3.2 The Party's 2007 Launch and Beyond 2009 National Elections

On the 23rd of June 2007, the Party's first branch was launched in Lotus River. By the end of that year, it hosted a Centre for Entrepreneurship program; an institution where the youth – who was the Party's target group - could test their potential entrepreneurial skills. It was at the launch that Honourable Hendricks announced his intentions to contest the 2009 elections. And Abdul Gamiet Flack, who was elected the Party's campaign manager, announced that it was decided to ambitiously campaign for 10 seats; it thus aimed to have three candidates in the National Assembly, five in provincial, and two on local council.



As the Party's presence was felt in the South African political arena, South Africa's Joint Constitutional Review Committee invited submissions to change the Constitution during 2008. The Party was proactive by sending through a comment stating that the 'Equality Act' should include a Shari'ah system as regards both personal and family law. In that year, the 'Refugee March', which condemned the 2008 xenophobic attacks, also took place. The Party joined others in supporting the plight of the refugees.

Figure 3 : Al Jama-ah's Pro-Palestine Position

Palestinians: An Oppressed Nation

- ▶ South African Muslim support for the Palestinian cause
- ▶ Cape Muslim Rallies and Protest against the Zionist State of Israel
- ▶ Anti-Zionism, Anti-Racism does not mean anti-Jew nor anti-Semitic

AL JAMA-AH

**PRESS RELEASE
NO DIBRAGDO
20 May 2011**

AL JAMA-AH CONDEMNS THE ISRAELI AGGRESSION AGAINST PALESTINIANS WITH PRAYING AT AL AQA SHEIKH

The Al Jama-ah party strongly condemns the Israeli aggression and aggression committed against Palestinians by the apartheid Israeli state regime.

Al Jama-ah is a non-political group of people and supports the Muslims throughout the world. The attack on praying at the shrine of the Islamic prophet for Muslims is a heinous and other to the character of the Islamic religion.

Al Jama-ah condemns the previous behaviour of the Israeli regime towards the Palestinians from their land. The most calculated aggression of the Palestinian of Sheikh Al Aqsa when to the continued occupation and aggression to the sacred shrine of the prophet.

These actions by the Israeli regime cannot be continued and needs to be condemned by the world.

Al Jama-ah supports the rights of all Palestinians and Muslims in having every rights to their Al Aqsa Mosque and all places of worship, and their land and property.

The Israeli aggression should be a painful message for South Africans of our own suffering during the Israeli and extensive control of apartheid. The Palestinian citizens, men and women continue their struggle in a fight to know as the world's biggest 'apartheid' system. You share with all the resistance against the occupation and the worldwide struggle.

Palestinian's land has been occupied and colonized. How often is their right to the distribution of South Africa and elsewhere? They are being denied their right to their land, occupation and land to be held without any compensation to be made for their land.

Al Jama-ah calls on the South African government to:

- meet Palestinian demands on land to stop all building of settlements,
- meet demands, cultural, political and economic to help them to stop the apartheid regime of the occupation,
- immediately withdraw all Palestinian weapons,
- Al Jama-ah demands immediate release for Palestinians when travelling to South Africa,
- End the illegal occupation of Palestine.

Reported in the South African Daily Sun (20 May 2011) and in the Al Jama-ah website.

And since Parliament adopted a resolution that condemned the Zionist State of Israel's illegal occupation of Palestine, the Party fully endorsed it. In fact, since before the Party's formation the Palestinian issue had always been high on the agenda of South Africa's Muslim organizations. The Party thus used this as one of its drawing cards to attract the Muslim – as well as pro-Palestine Christian - voters in and far beyond Cape Town.

Besides its support for social justice in the international arena ranging from Myanmar and Palestine to Indian occupied Kashmir and China's control of the Uyghurs, the Party also vented its feelings for South African communities that have been affected by poverty and unhealthy environmental surroundings. Alongside these, it addressed socio-economic issues too. The Party, for example, launched a political internship that emerged as a spin-off of the Centre for Political Entrepreneurship. The Party took part in many public political forums such as the release of land for housing; and, among them, it persistently requested the formation of a Shari'ah- Compliant Criminal Justice System.

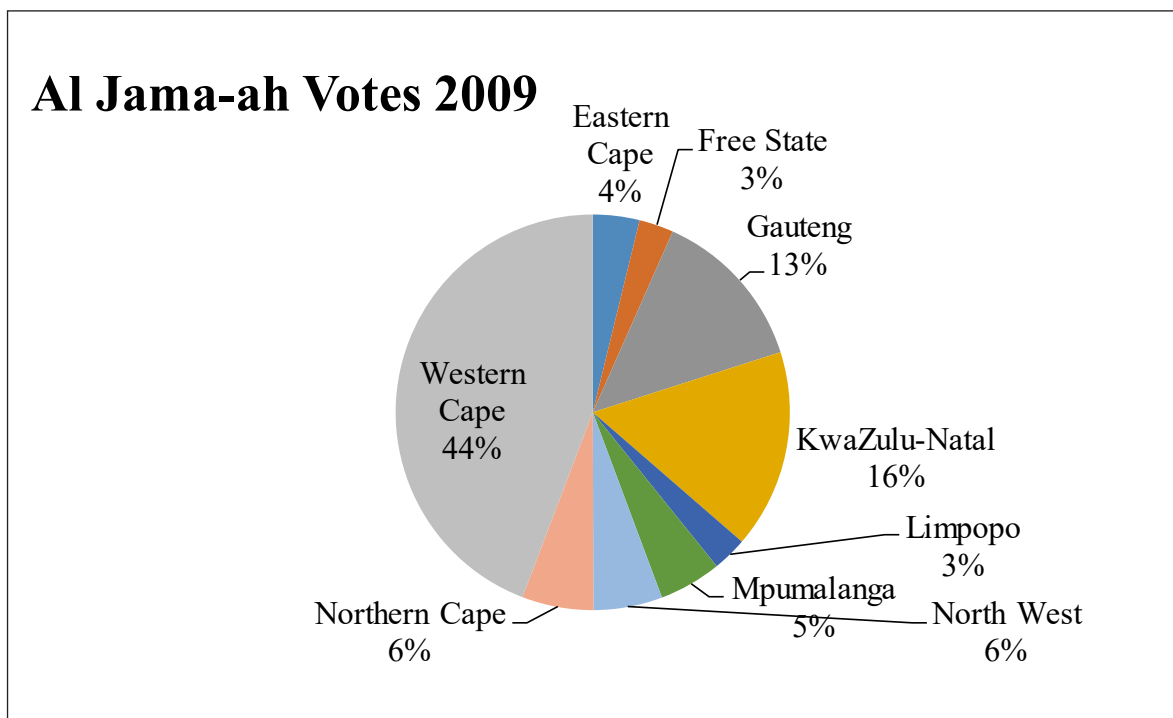
In the Party's 2009 manifesto, the mission statement decreed to 'uphold the freedom to practice Islam in public'; it did so by creating a new Muslim statutory organ in government in terms of the 'Bill of Rights' with regards to:

- Fast-tracking the recognition of Muslim Personal Law.
- Facilitating supplementary religious education regarding HIV/AIDS, abortion, and drugs in madrassahs

- Creating better working conditions and wages for Imams, Mu'adhhdhins (those who call everyone to pray) and mosque caretakers.
- Promoting the establishment of pension funds for these individuals.
- Regulating 'Hajj and Umrah' trips to the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia for the pilgrims; and
- Improving communication between the Muslim communities and the Nation.

The narration informs one that while the established parties depended heavily upon their respective constituencies, the newer ones challenged them head-on in the traditional areas. One such Party was Al Jama-ah. Though numerically small with a minor footprint, it managed to get a foot into the voters' doors. This was especially the case in the Western Cape where voters in the urbanized sectors were still loyal to the DA, but they broke ranks by giving thumbs up to possible new contenders such as Al Jama-ah.

Figure 4 : The 2009 National Elections



From the Venn Diagram above, one can gauge that the Party garnered 44% of its national vote and that is quite a feat considering that it is not only 'a new kid on the political block' but that it uses the 'Muslim identity' as its voting ticket within a largely secular political environment. So, the Party began its campaign consciously targeting the eligible Muslim voters across the country and particularly in the Greater Cape Town area where a sizeable number reside.



3.3 From the 2011 Municipal Elections to the 2014 National Elections

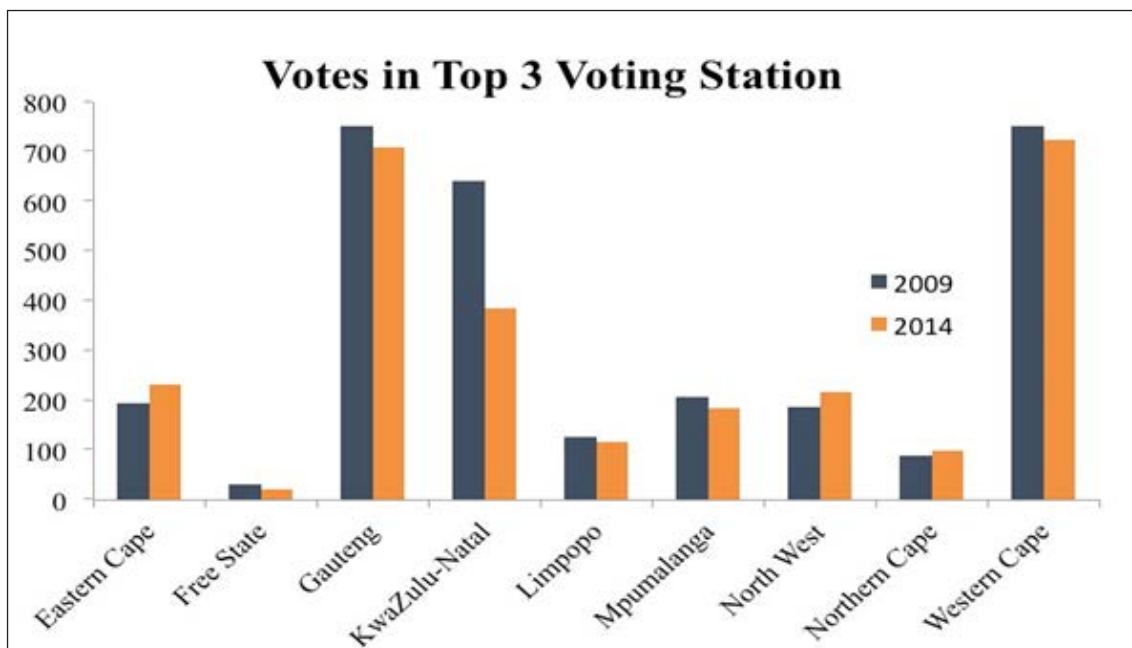
Like the Cape Muslim Congress, Al Jama-ah won a seat in the City of Cape Town's legislature; Because of this success, Honourable Hendricks was appointed a Proportional Representative Councilor (PRC) in 2011. By then, he had used his personal funds spending about R1 million (over a four-year period) to create the Party as a possible political brand and with the fervent hope of attracting the necessary votes.

Before Honourable Hendricks was able to take his seat, he was unexpectedly faced with an internal Party coup; those who were responsible were granted all the opportunities under his watch to build and expand the Party. Unfortunately, their intentions were not so much to do that, but their efforts were to unseat him.

The conspiracy persisted and continued during the full term of his five years as PRC; despite this, he managed to hold on eventually defeating and expelling those who were responsible for unsettling the Party. Leaving the conspiracy story behind, a slight detour by mentioning significant developments regards MMB; an issue that the Muslim community has grappled with for long and that was fully supported by Al Jama-ah's leadership.

Subsequently, the Party also lodged a complaint against the Minister of Home Affairs at the Human Rights Commission (HRC) regarding the 'death certificate' forms that stated that the Muslim spouse (especially the 'wife'), who died, was 'never married'. By March 2011, the South Gauteng High Court gave the Party the appropriate authority to convey its views on the MMB to the (then) Minister of Justice and Constitutional Development; and, for the record, this is the first time a High Court ordered a political party to do so.

Figure 5 : Provinces - Voting Trends in 2009 and 2014

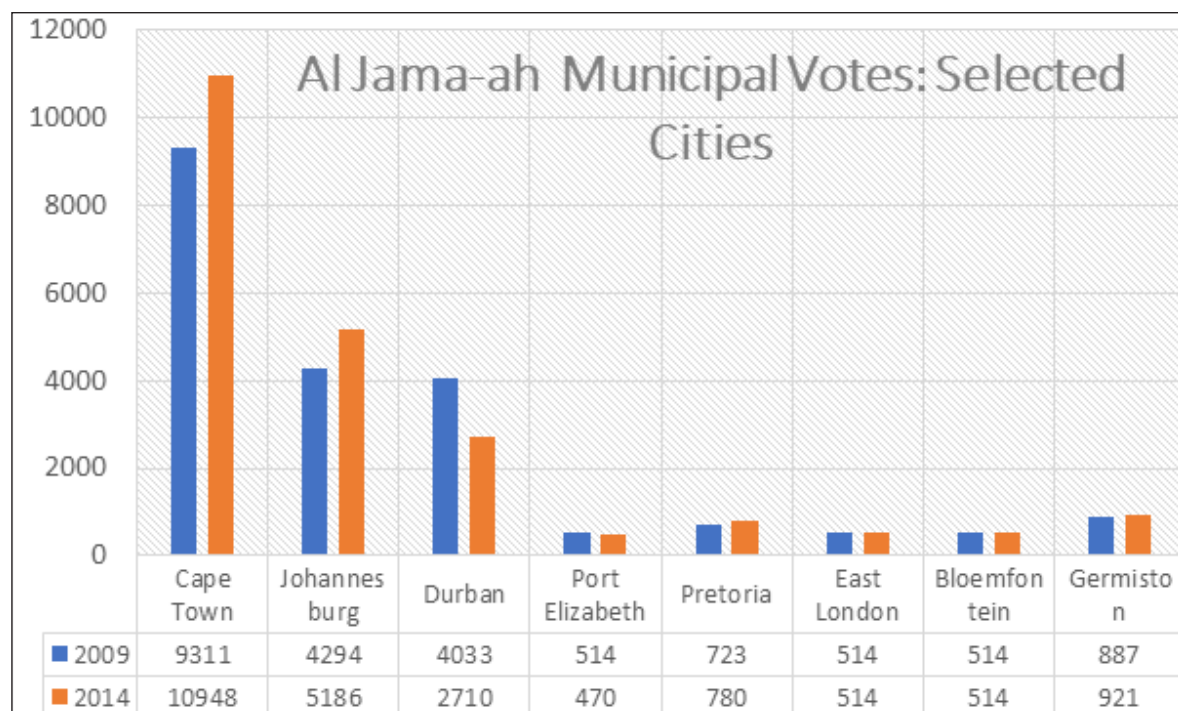


Turning away from these socio-legal issues and before moving to the results of the 2014 national elections, it is useful to adopt a comparative perspective statistically; the statistics basically revealed that the Party received in both 2009 and 2014 only 0.15% of the registered population's votes. Any critical onlooker would agree that this was a relatively poor percentage knowing that South Africa is the home of between two to three million Muslims; but despite the Muslims' numerical presence (and this included refugees that have been granted residency and citizenship), only about 500 000 registered to vote. Nonetheless, Figure 5 offers a bird's eye view of the top three voting stations alongside those where the Party had an almost invisible presence. While WC and Gauteng may be described to have competed neck-on-neck, KZN remained statistically far behind.

For the 2011 municipal elections, the Party mainly contested in the WC and Gauteng provinces; it, then, managed to only obtain 0.04%. Despite the minute percentage, it was felt that the Party made a strategic move to only contest in these two provinces where it secured for itself two seats. Anyone, who assessed these results, would agree that even though the party was a late comer to the political arena, it did well under the circumstances; in 2009, its 25 947 voters gave the Party the required support. So, this was - realistically speaking - a fair outcome for a small party.

In the City of Cape Town, the trends matched those nationally. More-or-less the same percentage was achieved in the respective national elections for 2009 and 2014. However, a lower percentage was encountered during 2011; this was the case because the Party chose to concentrate and confine its campaigns to Gauteng and the WC as mentioned. Though the Party had candidates in KZN where it ploughed in lots of effort, it did not secure any seat, and this meant that it had to rethink ways of making progress in that province.

Figure 6 : Cities' Voters – 2009 and 2014





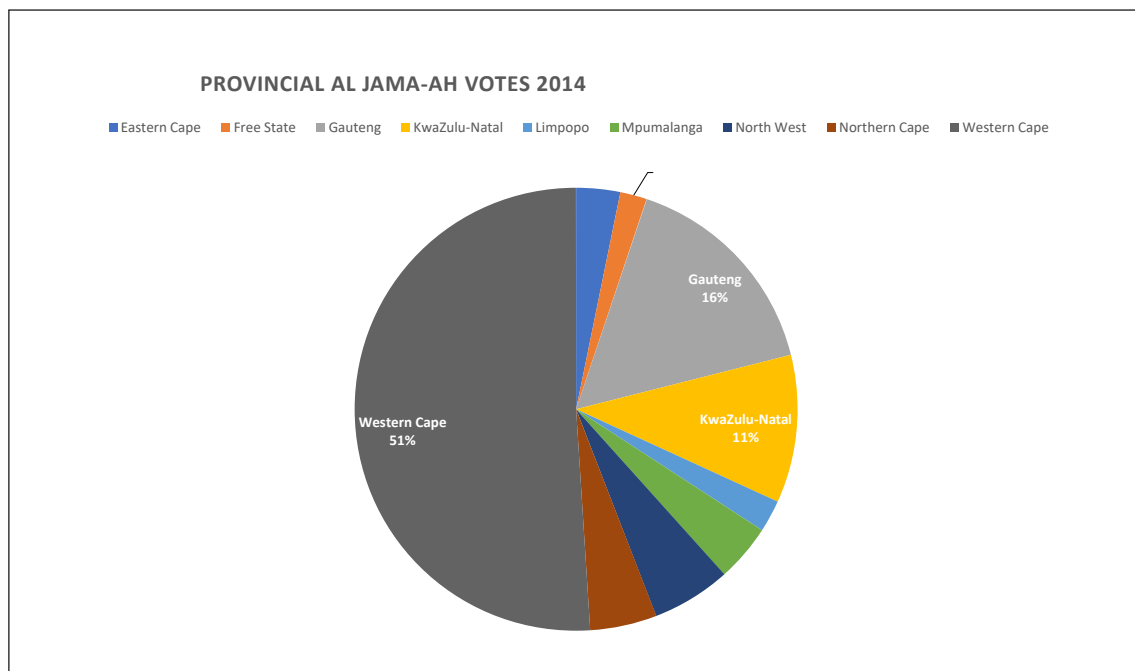
It should be noted that 0.37% was significantly higher than the 0.04% that it achieved nationally during the municipal elections. The statistics further showed that most of the support for the Party was – expectedly - in the City of Cape Town (and its surrounding areas); despite a 5000 drop in voters nationally, the increase in the percentage from 2009 to 2014 proved that the Party was gaining the support. During the 2014 national elections, the Party contested for the second time; and though it had hoped to achieve positive results, it missed a parliamentary seat by a mere 5 000 votes!

A quick scan of the above column graph offers an overview of voting patterns for Al Jama-ah in selected cities. It may be deduced that most of these voters were Muslims that resided in the mentioned cities; it illustrated that most of the voters were in Cape Town followed by the City of Johannesburg where Al Jama-ah interestingly played a key role during the past few years.

Statistically, it is interesting to observe that in Durban and in Port Elizabeth there were notable drops in voters for the Party; and in East London and Bloemfontein, however, the numbers remained static with slight increases in Pretoria and Germiston.

Be that as it may and considering these voter trends at the national level and in key cities, it may be asserted that Greater Cape Town was and remains the home of a sizeable number of Muslims where the Party enjoyed a good support base. Now it was in this city where the Party made inroads among the Cape constituencies. This may be attributed to the strategies that it adopted to win the voters' confidence, but it may also be the sentiments expressed by the Muslim voters who felt that they should give Al Jama-ah a chance to prove its worth as a political party. At the polls, there were obvious losses, but there were also gains that helped to improve its statistical records. On the whole, the Party successfully garnered voter support that increased from 2009 to 2014.

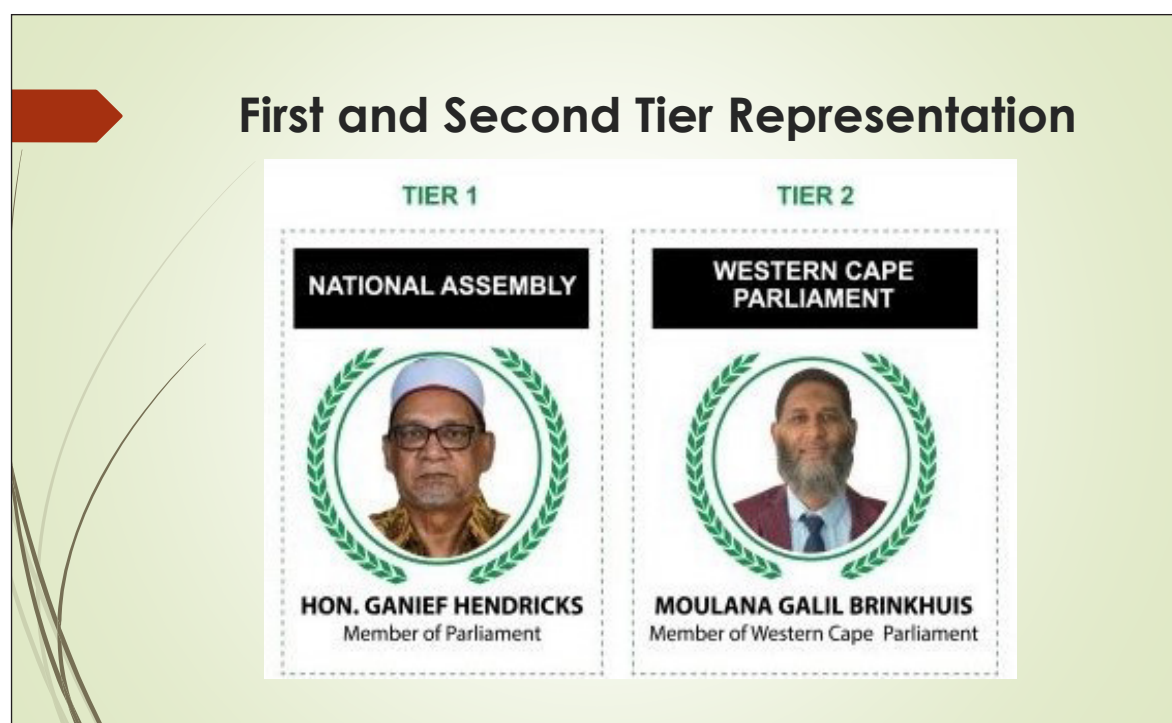
Figure 7 : The 2014 National Elections



Looking back at 2009, the Party was upbeat about the fact that the voter numbers would swell during 2014. Though a newcomer during the 2009 polls, the Party was overconfident that it would secure a seat in Parliament; alas, this did not happen. In any case, despite the Party's inability to find a way into Parliament then, it was still hopeful and confident; it did not give up since it acquired seats in the government's second and third spheres respectively. It was looking forward to being boosted by getting representative seats in the provincial legislature and national assembly; for this, the Party must be patient and bide its time until the subsequent elections take place. The Party knew that to achieve these goals, it would have to cleverly strategize by working hard but to also seek ways of expanding its ranks; all of these might assist in bringing about the relevant changes paving the way for possible representation in the other two spheres.

The diagram above provides an interesting set of statistics showing that the WC remained its base where it had handsome results and the smallest percentages were recorded in most of the other provinces except Gauteng and KZN; in these two, it had reasonable percentages and it expressed hope that it should be able increase its support base; this, however, depends on the Party's marketing strategies and its ability to deliver.

Figure 8 : Party Reps at First and Second Spheres of Government



4

THE 2019 NATIONAL ELECTIONS AND 2021 MUNICIPAL ELECTIONS

Going back to the basic statistical data of 2009 when the Party used the 'Muslim identity' card to lure its voters from all parts of the country, it failed to entice large numbers of (Muslim) voters when it reached the polls. It is assumed that many of these voters either ticked off the ANC or the DA, and, up to that moment, showed that they did not have real confidence in Al Jama-ah's ability to deliver and besides it was still a small political outfit; it may be assumed that guess that many of them were still skeptical about the Party's leadership and they thus steered clear of voting for it.

Even though most of the Party's voters were Muslims, there were others who came from different religio-cultural backgrounds, and this was, by and large, a positive outcome for the Party. The mere fact that they voted for the Party was an indication of what the future was going to be like; in the future elections, it need not depend on its traditional voters but on the non-traditional communities that would need a Party that delivers on time and in time; and that it is a Party that is seriously concerned with everyone's interest; essentially, this would thus depend upon the Party's key marketing strategies.

It will be recalled that the Party ploughed much effort inching its way in clinching seats in the respective national elections of 2009 and 2014; it, regrettably, did not garner sufficient votes to clinch them. It was, however, only after the 2016 municipal elections that the Party saw the results swinging in its favour. During that year, it successfully gained 36,891 votes (0.10%); and from the DA, it won a crucial ward in Greater Johannesburg. The Party won nine seats and these results were, of course, warmly welcomed giving added expectations. In fact, it anticipated that it would do well during the 2019 national elections. Though it only won one seat at the national level and one at the provincial level, these results gave the Party the necessary confidence to look ahead to 2024.

Figure 9 : Its Manifesto



4.1 The 2019 National Elections

When the Party entered the national elections of 2019, it had to compete with a few new parties and a small pocket of splinter parties. While a sizeable number competed nationally, there were those that only contested provincially. The Party was among the small ones that entered the national contest.

As soon as the results were declared, it was a victory for the Party since it made a breakthrough on two levels; it won a seat in the National Assembly and thus becoming the first Muslim party to have national representative in Parliament; and on top of that and for the first time, the Party secured a seat in the Western Cape legislature. As from that point onwards, the Party had representatives in all three spheres of government. This illustrated that the Party progressed but at a steady pace though it had hoped to have performed better over the decade (between 2009 and 2019). Nonetheless, it was generally satisfied to have achieved these results and used these to strengthen and expand its presence politically.

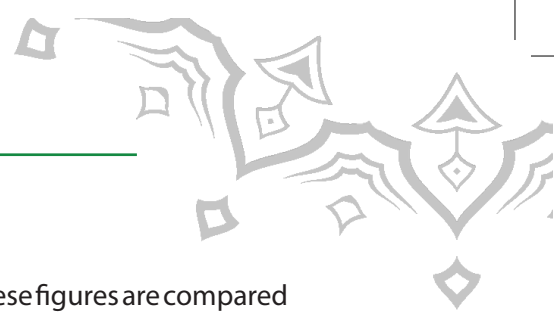
Table 1 : Its National Assembly Representation

NATIONAL ASSEMBLY					
Election	Total Votes	Share of the Vote	Seats	+/-	Government
2009	25,947	0.15	0/400	-	Extra-Parliamentary
2014	25,976	0.14	0/400	+ - 0	Extra-Parliamentary
2019	31,468	0.18	1/400	+1	In the Opposition

From the statistics in Table 1, it is quite clear that the Party made slow progress on this front. In both 2009 and 2014, it failed to obtain sufficient votes to enter Parliament; and it reflected that the number of votes was almost the same.

Table 2 : The 2019 Provincial Elections

PROVINCIAL ELECTIONS					
Elections	Eastern Cape	Gauteng	KZN	Western Cape	
	Percentage and Seats	Percentage and Seats	Percentage and Seats	Percentage and Seats	
2014	Percentage: 0% Seats: 0	Percentage: 0% Seats: 0	Percentage: 0% Seats: 0	Percentage: 0.62% Seats: 0/42	
2019	Percentage: 0.15% Seats: 0/63	Percentage: 0.18% Seats: 0/73	Percentage: 0.28% Seats: 0/80	Percentage: 0.86% Seats: 1/42	



This changed in 2019, when one seat was secured. And when these figures are compared to the results of all the parties that participated in the 2019 national elections, then the Party slipped through showing its mettle. So for the 2024 elections, it will have to make great efforts to retain that seat in Parliament and it should adopt effective strategies; and at present, the Party’s leadership is working on possible strategies with the hope that it would be able to gain more seats and not loose the one that it has currently.

4.2 The 2021 Municipal Elections

Since the May 2019 national elections, the Party had representatives in each of the three spheres and this was a positive political outcome for it. It somewhat revealed to Party members and outsiders what was lying in the years ahead. According to the narrative so far, even though the Party was unsuccessful in 2009 and 2014 respectively, the post 2019 elections signalled important changes for the Party and its constituencies.

As a matter of fact, the statistics revealed to what extent the 2019 results differed from the earlier national elections’ results in which the Party participated. A similar trend was observed when scrutinising the provincial election results. The 2021 elections also ushered in new developments; one of these was the appointment of fresh new Party councillors into office. In the previous municipal elections, the Party boasted only nine; and this time round it increased to twelve. While some might view this as insignificant, through the Party’s eyes they are more than weighty; the increase, however, remains steady.

Other aspects of the provincial election results revealed that the Party had voters in only four of the nine provinces. In each of these provinces except for WC, the votes were zero during 2014 national elections. According to some observers, this was as ‘an expected outcome’ since it was but a small party with little influence and impact. From the Party’s view, this was somewhat disappointing since it had it hopes high of winning at least one seat in the provincial legislature. What it indicated was that the votes were not sufficient to have gained a provincial seat and that it would have to apply other strategies to enter the legislature.

Table 3 : The 2011 and 2016 Municipal Elections

Municipal Elections

- By-elections: November 2020
- Al-Jama-ah won a ward in City of Johannesburg from Democratic Alliance.

			+/-
	13,227	0.04%	
	36,891	0.10%	

Soon after the 2019 polls, the results were revealed; all indications were that the political scene for the Party was about to change but not necessarily in a dramatic fashion. The highest results were achieved in the WC; this is vastly different when compared to the other provinces. As a result of the increase in voters, the Party was successful in winning one seat.

Leaving that aside and turning to the provincial results, it is perhaps helpful to return to the earlier municipal elections to give an idea of the shifts that have taken place; the table above offers an overview. Since the Party participated in two municipal elections within the decade and more, it is useful to browse through the results. These revealed that in 2011, the Party garnered only 13,227 votes; when compared to 2016, the Party attracted almost three times that amount. It was because of that sharp increase that it succeeded to put in office nine councillors. That showed that the Party's strategy in gaining plenty of votes was successful as compared to 2009 when it was an unknown factor.



As the Party extended its footprints across the country, its manifestos and policies became known; and this also triggered a curiosity and an interest among the (Muslim) urbanites who were and are concerned about their identity in future scenarios and environments. In fact, an earlier graph illustrated the numbers of votes that the Party received; and this thus boded well for the Party's members as the years unfolded.

Figure 10 : Its Twelve Councillors

MEET YOUR COUNCILLORS

AL JAMA-AH
Political party for all Muslims

 <p>CITY OF CAPE TOWN SHAMEEMAH SALIE 084 423 0476 shameemahsalie23@gmail.com</p>	 <p>CITY OF CAPE TOWN FARIED ACHMAT COUNCILLOR & SECRETARY GENERAL 073 177 7120 faried.achmat@aljama.co.za moegamat.achmat@capetown.gov.za</p>	 <p>LENTEGEUR MITCHELLS PLAIN ACHMAT HENDRICKS 071 065 9663 achmat.hendricks@aljama.co.za Achmad.Hendricks@capetown.gov.za</p>
 <p>DRAKENSTEIN PAARL MPUTUMI 'TETE' AHMED STULWENI 067 8108929 vuyelwasovile05@gmail.com</p>	 <p>JOHANNESBURG THAPELE AMAD 065 881 7465 abubakr.thapele@aljama.co.za abubakr.ita@gmail.com</p>	 <p>LENASIA JOHANNESBURG IMRAAN MOOSA 082 805 1368 lenasiaward9@gmail.com ImraanM@jo'burg.org.za</p>
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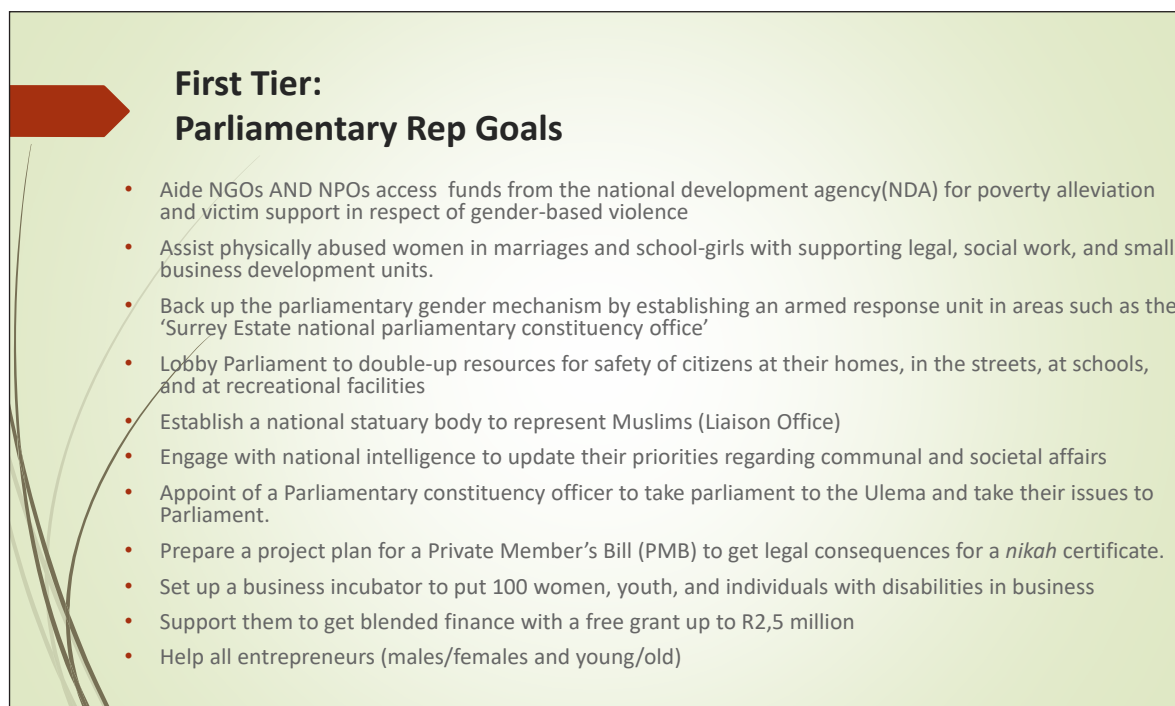
PARTY'S GOALS : Stretching its Brand, Transporting its Image

Though the Party entered and exited a successful 2021 municipal elections, it would like to have won more seats since it fielded 1,000 candidates. From this sizeable amount, only twelve eventually crossed the lines of the political polls; and each of them was rewarded for having garnered in many votes.

The questions that the Party must deal with during the post-2021 elections are: How should the Party engage with those candidates who failed at the polls? What measures should be taken to strengthen its relationship with each of its councillors who have succeeded and gained seats? At what point should it organize workshops/seminars to keep the councillors abreast with national, provincial, and local developments? To what extent should the councillors reach out to its constituencies to address communal issues? Which issues are primary, and which are secondary when tackling communal issues?

While these are but some of the questions that the Party should pose as it moves forward and inching its way to the 2024 national elections, it cannot afford to rest on its laurels knowing that the forthcoming elections would be critical for the leadership and its group of councillors. On the one hand, the Party should stretch its brand to include the rural areas demonstrating that it is not an urban-focused Party; and on the other, it must seek ways in transporting its image to different parts of the country so that outlying communities – outside the urban settings - can be informed about the brand, its activities, its representatives, and its image.

Figure 11 : The Party's Long-Term Goals 1





Factoring in these questions and considering possible answers, it is important that the Party spells out each of its long-term and short-term goals publicly and circulating these via various platforms. The purpose for this approach is that the Party should convey to its constituencies and others that it is serious about these; and it intends to achieve these within the timeframes that have been set. So, before discussing the activities that have taken place over the past two to three years (circa 2019-2021), it is necessary to jot down the goals for each of the three spheres.

A cursory glance through the list of long-term goals by the parliamentarian and leader of the Party underlines that his list of concerns and interests are wide. Since he has been passionate about eradicating poverty, he realized the need to aid the various NGOs and NPOs that have been and that continue to be active on these fronts. He, like many, expressed his alarm about gender-based violence and would want to see it ended through policy formulation and other methods.

For the past two years and more, Honourable Hendricks was the champion of the formulation of the Private Members Bill (PMB) since its approval. Because of the opportunity that this type of bill provides, he used his status to push through the Muslim Marriage Bill (MMB, alternatively known as the Nikah Bill) to see that the Muslim women's dignity is restored. Complementing this bill, he also recommended significant amendments to the Maintenance Act that addresses the needs of the widows/divorcees/children that are affected by the secular legal system that has not recognized Muslim marriages.

Among the list, he aimed to set up key offices where communities can log their complaints and concerns. For him, the Party's office in Surrey Estate (Cape Town) should serve as a critical nodal point for the various grievances. Apart from the office to address grievances, he pro-actively proposed the idea of establishing a series of business incubators that would be training and serving the womenfolk; via these, he intends to encourage and train by empowering women entrepreneurs armed with certain skills.

Alongside that, he suggested ways of channelling funds to assist this sector. All in all, it may be stated that the leading member of the Party has set himself ambitious goals that he regards achievable, and it may be underlined that he has shown this through personal leadership. He worked at the forefront addressing pivotal issues that affect and impact on the communities.

At the second and third spheres of government, the Party identified other long-term goals for those serving in these sectors. When browsing through the list under the provincial category, the issue of liaising with the councillors that serve on the lower rung is critical for the Party to run its affairs smoothly; in other words, the lines of communication and cooperation are important in the political arena since each politician committed him/herself to work in the interest of the community and the nation.

Being in a provincial seat implies that one has a range of issues to tackle; and, in this instance, the Party requested that the person monitors the curriculum and teaching materials that are open to abuse by the educationists. The current education sector, for example, has permitted the inclusion of sexual education without thinking about the negative impact that this would have on the young untamed minds at the primary school level.

6

THE PARTY'S ACTIVITIES : From Social Issues to Political Matters

At this point in the report, it behoves one to reflect on the various socio-political issues that the Party interacted with and engaged in. Here, the idea is to tabulate some of the issues that the Party and particularly its leader responded to; the list will, however, not be pursued in a chronological fashion. Nonetheless, the report tries to list many activities that demonstrated to what degree that Party responded pertinent and important issues. He, for example, fielded questions – some controversial and others pertinent to the communities - in Parliament; as a result, the President and his team of Ministers, to whom the questions were posed, were forced to answer.

So, the question-answer method was a good way of soliciting responses from government officials who remain silent even when cajoled to publicly reply. In any case, Honourable Hendricks made sure that he asked his questions; and, in most cases, he received his replies. This was an indication that he engaged them all the time as a parliamentarian. In fact, because of his political status as an MP and the responsibility that he carries wherever he is, he made certain that matters that have been overlooked by the government gets placed on the Q and A agenda.

Perhaps it is instructive to extract some of the questions that Honourable Hendricks posed and reflect on them; the rationale is to share the types of questions asked and how the Minister (to whom the question was posed) responded. From the Party site, it will be noted that Honourable Hendricks who serves on different Parliament portfolio committees have not been shy in raising pertinent questions; and he used all opportunities to do so in the interest of the community at large. At this juncture, different case studies will be shared to illustrate the Party's pro-active stance towards nation and international issues.

6.1 The Party's Stance on Land Reform

The question of 'land reform' has been high on South Africa's agenda soon after it became a democratic state; it has, to date, remained a debatable issue and has not, as yet, been satisfactorily resolved. It is an issue that goes back – if not much earlier – to the notorious 1913 Natives Land Act; it was a conscious governmental legal decision to offer legislative muscle to dispossess the African cum Khoi-San communities, who were the rightful owners, of the vast arable and non-arable land.

During the post-colonial period when Apartheid became an institutionalized system, its regime held onto the obnoxious notion that the land belonged to the minority White Afrikaners; and armed with this despicably devised Act, they disallowed the Khoi-San, African, and other racial communities in occupying and even purchasing land; their rights were ignored; and because of that, they were restricted to certain areas. In other words, the Apartheid or rather the racist state forced communities of colour to live in areas that were set aside for them; and this implied that the different racially segregated communities were uprooted and relocated to reside in zones that were earmarked for them in accordance with the Apartheid government's racist policy makers.

Popular geographical areas such as Sophiatown, Fietas, Greyville, Cato Manor, and District Six were deeply affected; they were literally emptied out because of the government's racist policies. Those areas that were populated with mixed communities experienced the negative socio-economic effects of the contemptible Group Areas Act; an act that forcibly uprooted and removed them to far-flung areas. They were settled in places that were distant from the cities that were the respective regions' economic hubs.

So those racially diverse communities who used to live in Fietas in the City of Johannesburg and in District Six in the City of Cape Town found themselves on the outskirts of these cities that were akin to wastelands. The report refers to the City of Cape Town's District Six as a case study; it was in this location where Al Jama-ah's leader was born and raised; hence the Party's intimate involvement in pushing for radical land reform became louder and forceful; it had to do so because it is a critical process that relates to reform, redistribution, restitution, and restoration.

6.2 The Party: Empowering Communities through SBD

Al Jama-ah, however, sought other avenues to bring about positive changes; one of these that he was passion about was the Small Business Development (SBD) segment; a sector that operates at a different level, and that empowers individuals and communities that hail from lower-income and poorer communities.

While the Party addressed SBD matters, it, like everyone, has had to encounter, inter alia, bouts of corruptions, a spiralling crime rate, increasing unemployment, deepening poverty, and continuing negative social issues that tarnished the womenfolk for generations. These issues Al Jama-ah, which were mentioned and listed in its manifestos, tackled speaking out against with the hope that it would be able to attract voters who identify with them.

So, when the Party circulated its manifestos over the years prior to each election, it made certain that it channelled its energies addressing pertinent matters such as SBD as possible enabling sectors that can bring about positive developments among sections of the poorer communities. Whenever the Party found a platform, it made the necessary efforts to speak on behalf of those communities that have been heavily affected; on these platforms, the Party leader not only suggested ways in addressing these but he provided alternatives and SBD was one of these practical alternatives.

By and large, the Party openly endorsed the government's realistic policies and SBD was among them. It thus initiated social projects that included the SBD since they were meaningful and impactful; they have and do make positive inputs that benefit the communities where they were and are implemented and monitored. At this point, reference will be made to two SBD events that Al Jama-ah undertook during 2021; the first was an Imbizo that took place early in 2021, and the second was a workshop that was organized late in 2021.

On Monday 26th of April 2021 in Greater Cape Town's Mitchell's Plain, Hon. Ganief, who was also a member of the portfolio committee for SBD, hosted the Deputy Minister of SBD, the Hon. Rosemary Nokuzola Capa and her delegation at an Imbizo for SBD affairs. The Party stated that it was a landmark event that brought together the



Deputy Minister and the SBD community; at this imbizo, they shared ideas regarding their challenges and discussed issues that ranged from financial issues to retail space. The Deputy Minister and Honourable Hendricks successfully discussed on how small businesses can access funds and undertake training so that they may be able to enhance and build their business.

The delegation visited a home baking business in the Cape Flat's Belgravia, known as 'Sweet Miracles'. The business is female-owned by Basheerah Fakier. Her place was chosen with the intention of showcasing a 100% female-owned business to the delegation, but Basheerah had such a good heart that she included another 100% female-owned business in the exhibition. The Deputy Minister was impressed with this type of collaboration and mentioned that this is the beginning of a successful business. A female who teaches other female self-sustainable skills also reduces the chances of abuse. Too many times, a female remains in an abusive relationship because she is financially dependent upon the abuser. Once she empowers herself and becomes financially independent, there is no reason for her to remain in a toxic and potentially dangerous relationship.

Figure 12 : The Party's SBD Imbizo



One of the areas that the Honourable Hendricks has a passion for is the Small Business Development (SBD) sector. This is not because he is a member of Parliament's Portfolio Committee on SBD; the reason is that he is fully cognisant of the fact that poverty is rife and widespread.

That being on his mind, he was obsessed with the idea of using SBD as an avenue via which to empower and transform the communities that experienced poverty and that are willing to turn around their circumstances that they are in. In the light of this, the Party held a small business workshop on the 6th and 7th October 2021; this took place at a mosque called Masjied ul Jummu'ah located in Shepherd Way, Westridge.

It acknowledged that 25 entrepreneurs took part and that they received certificates when they completed the course. This two-day workshop included: (a) ideas to start-up a Business and the critical issue of 'Financial Planning', and it (b) shared thoughts on 'Marketing Strategy' as well as 'Idea Generation'.

Interestingly to observe was the fact that the programme was hosted by Moulana Ely and Imam Nolan; both religiously trained individuals who work with the Party. Imam Nolan, who is the Imam at the mentioned Westridge mosque, said that: "I'm fully involved with the initiative; and I encourage small business ventures in the disadvantaged communities."

Figure 13 : -Empowerment Projects: The SBD Sector



Now these SBD initiatives bode well for the Party for two basic reasons. The first is that the community (by word of mouth and via online platforms) gets to know that the Party is serious about skilling individuals, training personnel, organizing workshops, and helping families out of poverty through these projects; and the second is that these practical business-oriented projects may be used at the Party's method in delivering services. In other words, the Party's leadership and members do not 'talk-the-talk' but they 'walk-the-talk' with meaningful and helpful ventures that empower, transform, and change the livelihoods of communities for the better.

6.3 The Party's MMB: Challenges in the Legal Arena

Al Jama-ah had its eyes peeled on all fronts, and in the previous section it was narrated how it ploughed its energies, time, and resources into the SBD sector; while that was indeed the case, the leadership and a few members who function in the legal fraternity shifted their focus on the MMB. Why was this so, one might wish to ask? Well, the plain reason is that Muslim marriages have never ever been recognized during the colonial period, apartheid epoch, and the democratic period. Though the Muslim



community and its religious leadership had much hope that this would change during the democratic years, it has been a major concern up to this day.

In fact, since before October 2020 when he broached the matter via Parliament, Honourable Hendricks confirmed that he had been lobbying various political parties to support this Bill so that it may be voted on. As part of this process, he also made written submissions to the Home Affairs Minister Aaron Motsoaledi to remove the insulting entry on the death certificates of Muslims; one that stated that the spouse who died was 'never married.' This was all due to the government's non-recognition of Muslim marriages. Honourable Hendricks informed all that the request to have it removed was turned down by the Minister; this was, to say the least, very disappointing and it may also be regarded as a short-sighted and undignified response to a critical community matter.

Figure 14: Fast-Tracking MMB

**Al Jama-ah & PMB:
Returning Dignity to
Muslim Communities**

- ▶ Used PMB to have MMB recognized
- ▶ Consulted widely
- ▶ Advertised via various platforms
- ▶ Drafted a minimalist MMB

ACT of PARLIAMENT
AL JAMA-AH'S 1st BILL
Recognition of Religious Marriages

RECOGNITION OF MUSLIM MARRIAGES VIRTUAL MEETING

AL JAMA-AH

Honourable Hendricks said that “We submitted a Parliamentary written question to the Minister for the Nikah, a formal binding contract according to Muslim rights, to be recognised by the same legislation that recognises African customary marriages and gay marriages. But the Minister replied that the government has no powers to have Muslim marriages legalised through the Recognition of Customary Marriages Act, which is regulated by the Recognition of Customary Marriages Act, 1998.”

He added that, “The Party views it as the most insensitive response to not only grieving Muslim women, but also women from the Jewish and Hindu faiths. Grieving widows cannot have a final view of their husbands after a Covid-19 death and all they have is a death certificate which states, ‘never married.’ Honourable Hendricks correctly responded when he posed a rhetorical response: ‘How insensitive and cruel after many years of marriage and it’s an insult to the Muslim community.’

Hon. Ganief, who has been the main driver of this Bill, was confident when he said that the PMB would ensure the relevant rulings would have the necessary legal muster. He remarked that, "The party had public participation with the wider community and with women, through the media, and round table discussions in townships such as Atteridgeville. The feedback on the Alternative Dispute Resolution Bill (ADRB) was extremely positive." He affirmed that anyone taking their marriage disputes to the High Court would know that it is an extremely expensive process and that this should be avoided.

Way back during February 2021 long before the MMB was drafted, Honourable Hendricks posed a question to the Minister of Home Affairs: What prevents the Government from (a) affording legal recognition to Muslim marriages by using the same procedure that provides for the recognition of African customary marriages through the registration process at his department, while permitting for the Nikah certificate to be issued by an officiating Imam in the same way as the lobola certificate is issued by an African customary official such as an Induna, and (b) attributing the status of married on death certificates of such Muslims in instances of a de facto marriage(-s) having been in existence as opposed to the current not married status attributed to all Muslims who were exclusively married according to Muslim rites, particularly in instances of Muslims who succumb due to Covid-19 related deaths but also deaths resulting from other causes? These were pertinent questions that complemented other questions that Honourable Hendricks also posed; since he was intimately involved in the process of drafting the Bill, he and his team factored in issues as the Bill was sorted prior to it having been handed in to Parliament.

6.4 On Other Pertinent Matters

Let it be re-stated that the Party has been a political party with an unimaginable footprint – if we permitted to say so - in Parliament and beyond it; though it might appear to be small, it managed to make legal waves for the communities that it serves. Since it stepped into the political arena as a Party, it slowly made its presence felt through putting forward proposals, making legal amendments, bringing about social changes, and charting out pathways.

Bearing these in mind, despite the Party's faults and weaknesses it has, since 2007 when it was established, made an impact in the Party's eyes. This may not have been felt across the nation, but it has been encountered in communities where it functions and that is an important development that should not be ignored.

During the past two to three years since the Party, led by Hon Hendricks, entered Parliament, it succeeded in using the opportunities and resources that came its way; it set in motion proposals, which were long overdue and necessary, to bring about socio-legal changes as regards certain Acts. These were and remain critical for our communities at different socio-economic and legal levels.

6.4.1 An Amendment: SA Maintenance Bill

The other proposal that it has made and that is still being addressed is the revision of the SA Maintenance Bill; one that affected and continues to negatively impact on the vulnerable sectors of the communities; the one



group is women, and the other is the children. The Party gathered ideas to have this amended and changed so that these sectors of our communities can be granted their right to maintenance as understood within the SA democratic system. Unfortunately, despite the democratic environment that we are in, these groups have experienced injustice since before the country became a democracy.

6.4.2 A Right: Burial Rites for Foreigners

Amidst these, other developments also occurred as well; and these thus this caused the Party to address these too. The one issue was the burial of a foreigner; someone who drowned and whose body laid in the morgue for many days. In this case, the Party worked hard to have the body released and have it buried. It seems that the laws in South Africa have been unfriendly towards these individuals, and it is for this reason that the Party argues that changes that relate to them (that is, foreigners) be addressed since they form part of the South African society; in fact, one of the reasons for them having been treated unfairly and unjustly may be attributed to the xenophobia that has been rampant and that has been witnessed over the past few years. So, our nation should see that they be treated humanely and with dignity.

6.4.3 Demand: Right/Access to Water

And the other issue that Al Jama-ah expressed its concerns about are the wording in the Constitution as regards 'access' or 'rights'. When turning to the Constitution, it seems that the clauses phrased it in such a manner that everyone should have access and that the issue of 'rights' has been less stressed; worded differently, it should be stated that everyone human being within the South African society should not only be given access but that he/she has the right to access water and sanitation. At no stage, should this matter be interpreted as if only certain sections have the right whilst others have access or some access.

From a Muslim perspective, the Maqasid ash-Shari'ah is a critical part of the Muslim legal system; it underlines the law's purpose and the community's needs; these are important to address, and they should not be ignored or overlooked by anyone in the society/community. According to these objectives, there are five inter-related aspects that a community – whether within or outside the House of Islam – should be concerned about: the first is the protection of (a) life, (b) family, (c) property, (d) religion, and (e) intellect. As one assesses each, then the individual's fundamental right to water is part of it. And for the record, the President sent Honourable Hendricks on an oversight visit to the Eastern Cape since he was deployed to serve on the Water and Sanitation portfolio committee.

6.4.4 A Concern: Environmental Affairs

The Party made known its concerns about the deteriorating environment in different parts of the country particularly in municipalities where its local councils supposed to consider these as urgent and immediately attend to; alas, this has not been so. According to the Party's findings, these municipalities have been pumping sewage into waterways without proper oversight by

Provincial and National government which is worse than the harm caused by climate change. There are thousands of informal settlements across South Africa which need special attention and have not received the attention they have been promised. How long should the community stay hopeful? Yet, the population is increasing daily, the demand of food is high, and so is the need for proper sanitation.

The Party looked back to the main root of the problem, where we discovered that most people are living in informal settlements where they are daily affected by sewage spill-outs into the streets and around their homes. It does not sound sane for the government to encourage residents to engage in planting when these are taking place. How will plants grow in an untreated sewage system? We are more likely to have sewage cases rising unless proper oversight is done by provincial and national government.

The Party is quite determined to work with communities and stakeholders' hand-in-hand to correct the error and ignorance by municipalities. Section 24 of the Constitution states everyone has the right: (a) to an environment that is not harmful to their health or well-being; and (b) to have the environment protected, for the benefit of present and future generations). Honourable Hendricks dispatched support staff of its Parliamentary Constituency Office to Masiphumeleli as the Cape of Storms lived up the devastation it has always wreaked on Cape Town. They found many houses flooded with sewage.

Honourable Hendricks raised the housing plight of families of sailors from the nearby Simonstown Naval Base a portfolio committee on Defence and got permission from chair to get speaking time although he is not a member of the committee. Children of sailors must leave the base accommodation when they reach the age of 18 and many of them rent a shack in nearby Masiphumeleli. The grandchildren of sailors live in sewage, play in sewage, and now learn in sewage.

He also raised the plight of African children living in sewage conditions at a political party leaders forum with the President on moving to Lockdown Phase 3, and when given an opportunity to speak addressed Minister Zuma for a more comprehensive intervention to fight Covid 19 by addressing the sewage pandemic in Masiphumeleli and other parts of South Africa. The Minister gave an undertaking to include it in her plans going forward.

Honourable Hendricks said that we should blame the Human Rights Commission and the Director for Environment Enforcement in the Western Cape for not enforcing their settlement agreement with Mayor Patricia De Lille last year, the damning report of the HRC and two Directives of the Director. Hon Hendricks felt that the City of Cape Town has a bigger plan of ethnic cleansing in the 'Far South' which is the last white outpost in the City. There is enough land next to Masiphumeleli to move the residents living amongst seven waterways and they were for decades flooded with sewage but the Councillor for the area did not want the Blacks to creep into the nearby white suburbs. The damning findings and recommendations of Section 9 bodies and the Director of Environment Enforcement are just being paid lip service.



6.4.5 An Oversight Visit: KZN Unrest

Soon after the unrests caused havoc in KZN, the President selected a team of parliamentarians to conduct an oversight visit; Honourable Hendricks was among them. This was, however, not the only oversight visit; he was involved in many others; and this suggest that despite representing a small party, he had already made a huge impression within governmental circles.

That said, on 28 July 2021 the Party embarked on a fact-finding mission in KZN and Gauteng. Honourable Hendricks was part of Members of the Portfolio Committee on SBD to do undertake an oversight across communities that were affected by the June 2021 unrest in KZN and Gauteng Provinces. The visits took place from the 1st until the 6th of August and the Party welcomed the announcement by President Cyril Ramaphosa; it assured the nation that government is considering intervention measures to assist the affected businesses including those that are not insured.

Honourable Hendricks has also committed to giving feedback to Parliament and the PC SBD. He stated that, "Urgent attention should be given to guide the process and ensure that communities get relief as soon as possible. In Umzinto only one business out of a hundred survived the looting, the rest of the businesses were affected;" he said this since he was mindful of the country's high unemployment rate and aware that SMMEs have played a crucial role in supporting better prospects for SA's economic growth.

He added that, "We cannot afford to see more businesses shutting down permanently and people losing their jobs." However, the party was disappointed that learners had to wait until 1 September to receive the Covid 19 vaccine. The vaccination of the relevant age group was not expedited; and this was a concern.

While the pandemic has created delays in the education of our children, the violent protests have added more challenges to schools in affected communities. The Minister of Basic Education, Ms. Angie Motshekga announced that the department suffered damages of about R300m after schools were vandalized during unrest. Honourable Hendricks mentioned that "This required speedy intervention to avoid children falling behind in their studies."

6.4.6 A Plea Bargain: The Thulsie Twins

The Party has been very concerned about the socio-personal welfare of many individuals who have been incarcerated for 'political' reasons. It has raised concerns about those who – such as APLA members - have been in prison for many years but whose plight have not been heard and who have been unfairly left without any formal representation. Regarding these inmates and those who were recently incarcerated without a fair trial, the Party has been proactive raising questions about their status.

Since the Thulsie twins have been apprehended six years ago without having appeared in court, the Honourable Hendricks opined that their case should be addressed. Though he came out strongly in favour of their case being addressed, he made the point that his request for a plea bargain agreement and conviction of their instance should not be seen the Party's members in support for any form of (religious) extremism in South Africa.

Even this issue has been over exaggerated by self-proclaimed specialists in extremism and something that the academics and others should be aware of because they taint the image of bona fide scholars who usually offer informed views on these matters. Be that as it may, the Party argued that up to now, there was no threat of any act of terrorism by Muslim individuals who embraced the democratic parliamentary process; one that guarantee everyone's rights and in this instance the twins who have been accused of having committed extremist acts.

Honourable Hendricks stated that even though the Thulsie Twins had chosen to go to a country where they thought they could live under Shari'ah, he was of the view that they were wrongly mentored and ill-advised by someone who turned state witness. It is an accepted fact that it is a crime in South Africa to be involved with extremist groups or states in and outside the country and this should act as a warning to those who are inclined to act like extremists.

Since it was established that Salaahudeen, the one twin, was in possession of a prohibited book in accordance with the United Nations Security Council Resolution, and Yakeen, his twin, was in discussion with Kashmiri supporters, their acts were questioned. According to India, which 'illegally' occupies Kashmir, no one should engage with Kashmiri supporters; in its view, it is an illegal act. A careful evaluation of both proofs suggest that these cannot be used as hard evidence for being intimately involved in extremist affairs and nor can they be used as proof that they have flouted South Africa's legal system; it seems that the lawyers (spurred on by foreign outfits) forced that to offer questionable but acceptable legal arguments.

It should be stressed that the Party, like many other stakeholders including the South African intelligence clusters, is fully informed that many foreign operatives (like Mossad, M15, and CIA agents as well as Chinese and Indian operatives) conduct undercover operations in the country and across Africa.

It does not in any manner condone extremism in any form, and it stresses the point that someone who is entrapped by foreign or national groups using the covert methods is also an unlawful act; and that means that the rights of those – like these twins - who were deliberately ensnared is unconstitutional. It is for this reason that the request is made to bring the twins to court; an act that should have taken place soon after they were captured. If that had occurred then, then that would have been in everyone's interest so that they may have had a fair hearing. But since this only happened recently, the question is: would the outcome for these be fair?



Since the democratic state was forced to take the issue to court because of the pressure that was imposed by the Party and perhaps others, Honourable Hendricks posed a related question: Why (only) now, after six years, have they (that is, the twins) decided to plead guilty? His response was: Well, the first answer to that question is that the original indictment contained a raft of charges counting at least 12 (and this) excluded the alternative charges. According to the court findings, the twins have pleaded guilty to two charges. It was reported that:

- They admitted that they attempted to leave South Africa to live in a Muslim country, namely Syria, under Shari'ah. At the time, on the advice of their 'good friend' and state witness Ronaldo, they believed that it was in line with Shari'ah to live under ISIS in Syria; now, any informed person knows that Syria has a bona fide government – whether one agrees with its policies or not – so how can an ISIS be in charge of that country and one is certain that the twins had little knowledge about the socio-political affairs of that country.
- Nonetheless, they pleaded guilty in that they ought to have known that it was a crime to attempt to leave South Africa to join an extremist group or community. Now, Salaahudeen pleaded guilty for having been in possession of an ISIS booklet, and hence, he was associated with a forbidden organization in terms of the resolution mentioned earlier. That book is apparently a survival kit text for anyone who wishes to survive in the west; in other words, 'a guide for mujahidin (that is, fighters in the path).'
- The other brother, Yakeen, pleaded guilty for having participated in discussions on social media with Kashmiris; he did so with individuals whose identities were unknown. They egged him on to apparently carry out acts against organizations who support and perpetrate crimes against Muslims in Kashmir, Palestine, and elsewhere. Now, the second charge in respect of Yakeen was particularly serious; the evidence in respect thereof, involved foreign operatives (that is, FBI and others) that conducted undercover operations luring these young innocent men and women and in many instances those who converted to Islam. Now, this is a shameful FBI act since they were aware that these were young lads that were searching for comfort in their religious identity (that is, being Muslim).
- Interesting to record too is the fact that for the first time the defence team had excess to this information because the judge ordered the state to waive its right to privilege and confidentiality, and to disclose the confidential section of the state's docket, to them. So, why is this so, one may ask? It may be firmly argued that when the information was divulged, there was conclusive proof that part of the case against the accused involved undercover operatives.
- The problem with that was that because the act was not conducted in South Africa by South African officials, the requirements for a lawful entrapment in terms of Section 252 of the Criminal Procedure Act did not apply. Now it is widely documented that undercover operations by USA agents (and others) may well offend international law in that vulnerable individuals are carefully profiled and shrewdly enticed to participate in these condemnable activities;



ones that they attribute to extremists but ones in which they had a calculated hand.

- In South Africa, baiting or luring someone into an unlawful act, or the country's law says, going beyond creating an opportunity to commit an offense, would be unconstitutional and the state would not be able to rely on that evidence. In this case, because the operations were conducted by (unknown) foreign officials, located in foreign jurisdictions, the state argued that Section 252 did not apply and although they retained the evidence of the operation, they did not rely on the trap anymore. They said they relied on 'real' evidence: whatever that meant in concrete tangible terms.
- Ultimately, to avoid a lengthy trial and to avoid further hardship especially to the accused twins, a plea bargain was the correct and perhaps an acceptable step in the current circumstances. A lot of time in the background was used to negotiate a 'reasonably' appropriate deal considering the elapse of so much time; and what the Party find, by the will of the Creator, is the deal that was sanctioned by the High Court. The case of the twins should be used to dissuade others; those who might be inclined to pursue similar activities when they aware of the possible entrapments by foreign individuals.

PARTY'S AUDITED REPORT OF ITS FINANCIAL STATEMENTS

As this report reaches the concluding part summarizing the contents and charting out the road map, it shares selected Audit reports that were issued by Nexia SAB & T; this company is directed by Mr. Hassen Kajie who is also a registered auditor. He forwarded different reports that reflect the Party's management style and other aspects.

For this report, only two were chosen and each provide a fair insight based on the auditor's assessments and comments. The two focused on the Party's Leadership and Administrative Allowance (for 2020 and 2021 respective). It will be observed that each report has a section that was repeated; the repetitive sections were edited out to allow for a simple flow of information. So, here follows the two mentioned reports:

7.1 The 2020 Audited Leadership and Administrative Allowance Report


7.1.1 Opinion

We have audited the financial statements of Al Jama-Ah Parliament Leadership and Administrative Allowance set out on pages 7 to 15 which comprise of the statement of financial position as at 31 March 2020, and the statement of comprehensive income, statement of changes in funds and statement of cash flows for the year then ended, and notes to the financial statements, including a summary of significant accounting policies.

In our opinion, the financial statements present fairly, in all material respects, the financial position of Al Jama-Ah Parliament Leadership and Administrative Allowance as at 31 March 2020, and its financial performance and cash flows for the year ended in accordance with International Financial Reporting Standard for Small and Medium-sized Entities and the requirements of the Financial Management of Parliament and Provincial Legislatures Act.

7.1.2 Basis for Opinion

We conducted our audit in accordance with International Standards on Auditing (ISAs). Our responsibilities under those standards are further described in the Auditor's Responsibilities for the Audit of the Financial Statements section of our report. We are independent of the organisation in accordance with the sections 290 and 291 of the Independent Regulatory Board for Auditors' Code of Professional Conduct for Registered Auditors (Revised January 2018), parts 1 and 3 of the Independent Regulatory Board for Auditors' Code of Professional Conduct for Registered Auditors (Revised November 2018) (together the IRBA Codes) and other independence requirements applicable to performing audits of financial statements in South Africa.



We have fulfilled our other ethical responsibilities, as applicable, in accordance with the IRBA Codes and in accordance with other ethical requirements applicable to performing audits in South Africa. The IRBA Codes are consistent with the corresponding sections of the International Ethics Standards Board for Accountants' Code of Ethics for Professional Accountants and the International Ethics Standards Board for Accountants' International Code of Ethics for Professional Accountants (including International Independence Standards) respectively. We believe that the audit evidence we have obtained is sufficient and appropriate to provide a basis for our opinion.

7.1.3 Auditor's Responsibilities for the Audit of the Financial Statements

Our objectives are to obtain reasonable assurance about whether the financial statements, as a whole, are free from material misstatement, whether due to fraud or error, and to issue an auditor's report that includes our opinion. Reasonable assurance is a high level of assurance but is not a guarantee that an audit conducted in accordance with ISAs will always detect a material misstatement when it exists. Misstatements can arise from fraud or error and are considered material if, individually or in the aggregate, they could reasonably be expected to influence the economic decisions of users taken on the basis of these financial statements.

We communicate with the member regarding, among other matters, the planned scope and timing of the audit and significant audit findings, including any significant deficiencies in internal control that we identify during our audit.

7.1.4 Report on Other Legal and Regulatory Requirements

The Report by the Member describes no instances of non-compliance with laws and regulations, including those that determine the reported amounts and disclosures in the financial statements that has come to the attention of the Member and the corrective action taken by the Member. There are no instances of non-compliance with the Financial Management of Parliament and Provincial Legislatures Act that came to our attention during the course of our audit of the financial statements.

7.2 The 2021 Audited Leadership and Administrative Allowance Report

7.2.1 Opinion

We have audited the financial statements of Al Jama-Ah Parliament Leadership and Administrative Allowance set out on pages 7 to 15 which comprise of the statement of financial position as at 31 March 2021, and the statement of comprehensive income, statement of changes in equity and statement of cash flows for the year then ended, and notes to the financial statements, including a summary of significant accounting policies.

In our opinion, the financial statements present fairly, in all material respects, the financial position of Al Jama-Ah Parliament Leadership and Administrative Allowance as at 31 March 2021, and its financial performance and cash flows for the year ended in accordance with International Financial Reporting Standard for Small and Medium-sized entities and the requirements of the Financial Management of Parliament and Provincial Legislatures Act.

7.2.2 Other Information

The member is responsible for the other information. The other information comprises the information included in the document titled "Al Jama-Ah Parliament Leadership and Administrative Allowance Annual Financial Statements for the year ended 31 March 2021", which includes the Member's Report. The other information does not include the financial statements and our auditor's report thereon.

Our opinion on the financial statements does not cover the other information and we do not express an audit opinion or any form of assurance conclusion thereon. In preparing the financial statements, the member is responsible for assessing the organisation's ability to continue as a going concern, disclosing, as applicable, matters related to going concern and using the going concern basis of accounting unless the member either intends to liquidate the organisation or to cease operations, or have no realistic alternative but to do so.

8

WRAPPING UP: Summarizing the Contents, Mapping the Future

As one draws this political report to a close, it is important to consider two related issues. The first is to return to this report's contents; it does so not to regurgitate the information but to summarise them and insert additional points that were inadvertently left out. The second issue that is very critical for the Party is to reflect on its future; it does so by briefly sharing ideas and charting out a set of reasonable steps along a futuristic road map. The latter is a practical plan that may help and guide its members as the future gradually unfolds.

But before doing that, it is perhaps necessary to go back to the beginning when the Party was set up and inched its way thereafter into the years ahead. It would be recalled that when the idea of the Party was conceptualized, many individuals from within the Muslim community were not optimistic; they were, in fact, sceptical questioning its viability to perform well as a Muslim-oriented political party; the rationale for this scepticism is perhaps to do with the performance of previous Muslim parties such as the African Muslim Party that ended its life after having been around since the dawn of the country's democracy; another reason that may proffered is the fact that the community did not have enough faith in the sustainability and for that reason very few rally around these types of parties and others wait along the margins to observe how it will fair before they through their lot in to support the Party.

Be that as it may, the Party managed to overcome the hurdles that were in its path; it survived the early years during which some planned a coup d'etat to not only unseat the founding father but to oust him; since their plans failed, the Party ploughed ahead with its meagre funds but armed with ample faith in the Almighty. Their faith and the loyal members and supporters assisted them to counter the choppy waters through which they had to together navigate.

Along the path, from the year 2007 when it was established until 2016 when it secured positions for a few councillors in respective municipalities, the Party experienced a degree of stability and steadiness; though it had hoped to have clinched a seat in Parliament by then, its leaders did not give up hope in reaching that stage. It was only by 2019 that this quest for such a seat became a reality and this was indeed a historical milestone that no historian or politician can ignore; it was realized because of Honourable Hendricks's undying efforts to reach that personal party goal. Having been the Party's founding father the desire to acquire that plum post to represent the Muslim community was no easy struggle; it was a difficult one and a well-deserved one.

So, the auspicious day when he was sworn in with a copy of Tuan Guru's mushaf (copy of the hand-written Qur'an) in his heavy hand, he felt that internal joy of being able to officially represent not only the Party that he worked so hard for but the Muslim community from which he came. Honourable Hendricks's triumphant victory to be a Member of Parliament for a Muslim party was unimagined and this has since become a reality.

As one looks back at the Party's firm formation and its continuous development despite the obstacles that it encountered, it may be argued that it managed to reach its goals mainly because of Honourable Hendricks's sterling leadership; he, like many others, have shortcomings but these were dwarfed as a result of his unstinting leadership that was driven by an unrivalled commitment; he was pushed by a desire to dedicate himself to see that the Party succeeds and that it serves the community sincerely. It may be stated that he steered the Party in the right political direction; one that placed on the Parliament's agenda pertinent issues such as the non-recognition of Muslim marriages.

For Honourable Hendricks, the reality of being an MP opened unforeseen opportunities; ones that other Muslim parliamentarians failed to see or ignored when they served in that capacity as members of the ANC, PAC, IFP, or DA. As Honourable Hendricks entered, the first thing that was uppermost in his mind was: restoring the dignity of Muslim women by being issued a state recognized nikah certificate; defending the position of Muslims who have been negatively portrayed in the public sphere and secular media as extremists; and protecting the human rights of both Muslims and those who are not Muslims.

In a few cases, for example, the Party proactively took on some of South Africa's media outlets such as the *City Press* and the SABC TV regarding incorrect reporting, which related to the Kenya bombings, to court. In another example, it won a ruling against African Christian Democratic Party. Besides these, he used his position in Parliament to remind everyone about unfinished TRC cases; these included the respective cases of Imam Abdullah Haron and Rev. Dr. Albert Luthuli. Alongside these, he bravely raised the issue of the Thulsie twins that was discussed earlier in this report; and he was respectably involved in the release of Pagad members who are presently on parole. These are some of the issues not dealt with or elaborated in this report, but they may be used as proof that the Party demonstrated tangibly its interest in the affairs of this community.

8.2 The Road Map: From Civil Society Forum to Sustainable Leadership

The Party has, indeed, made strides from the time it was set up and when it participated in contesting the elections between 2009 and 2021; they partook in a very vibrant and competitive socio-political environment. In each of the electoral environments, the Party demonstrated its resilience and its ability to survive using its meagre resources skilfully. Though it encountered setbacks as is the norm, it also had successes. It thus built on its successes and because of these, it secured a seat in Parliament and the increased its number of councillors. The question that the Party's leadership and its councillors face is: How do they chart out a road map that would assist them in forging ahead and extending their gains amidst an ever-changing South African political landscape?



8.2.1 Party's SWOT Analysis

Perhaps, for this the collective leadership in each of the spheres of government should undertake a SWOT analysis – a point raised in the introduction - so that they have a clear understanding of themselves as a Party and are fully informed about their resources and skills. Taking this on board, a quick reflection on each of the SWOT variables is a useful and relevant exercise.

When reflecting on the strength of the Party, it is obvious that it has a set of individuals that have a list of strong qualities; each of them possess rich communal experiences and each acquired skills that complement others in the Party. A close look at the Party's leadership suggests that the founding father of the Party has been and remains its champion and main driver. Anyone, who has read Honourable Hendricks's published short biography as well as his extended unpublished text and including the second section in this report, cannot deny that he has demonstrated leadership qualities that kept the Party on the move to compete with others in a very animated manner.

Long before Honourable Hendricks entered politics and took his seat in Parliament, he had been involved in socio-cultural and commercial organizations where he proved his worth as a leader. In the 1970s, for example, he led the Muslim Students Association of South Africa (est.1974); and, in the 1990s, he held key positions in Naspers and the Islamic Unity Convention (est.1996). All these organizations handsomely benefited from his diverse inputs; and these demonstrated not only how he employed his adaptive skills as an organizational player, but how he led by example showing ways of socializing and interacting with others to chart out pathways for the different organizations. By and large, Honourable Hendricks's set of qualities have stood him in good stead and because of that he always found himself in leadership positions mentoring others and driving the organizations.

Since he has made his mark as a leader in different positions over the years, it became increasingly clear that he brought alongside him individuals who had notable characteristics and suitable skills that complemented his. When one evaluates each of the Cape Town-based councillors (such as Farid Achmat and Shameema Salie) who work with him, it is an established fact that each of them possesses a set of skills that 'perfected' his; and these were used collectively in the Party's best interest; the same may be said for those councillors who serve in Gauteng (for example, Imraan Moosa and Thapelo Amad) and KZN (for example, Asghar Khan and Mrs V. Luthuli) respectively.

While much more can be stated about the strength of the Party, it is important to focus on the weaknesses. Here a range of things may be identified and listed; one of these is the fact that it is a small party, and another is that it is a religiously oriented (that is, its Muslim identity) party. These variables may act against rather than in the Party's ambitious interest. For example, since the Party advocated a philosophy that was embedded in Islam and that adhered to Shari'ah as a legal system, potential voters from outside the house of Islam might not wish to identify with it. And being a relatively small party, it also raises concerns regarding its ability to deliver services and its ability to reach out to all affected communities that are in dire straits needing a party's assistance.



But even though the Party's weaknesses might appear an obstacle in growing its footprints, there are opportunities to do so. Being a small party might appear as a disadvantage at first glance, but, on another level, it has the chance to change that through its projects such as the SBD. The latter project, in fact, has given it the necessary exposure to transform itself into a party that is competitive and that was encouraged to take up political challenges. Honourable Hendricks's rich experience in socio-political and commercial sector helped him to view these challenges in a positive light; and, because of this, the Party was provided the required assistance because of his role as a political leader and mentor.

In fact, Honourable Hendricks's character traits offered him the opportunities to counter the series of threats that it encountered as it travelled along the political path. When the Party was threatened by a few of its members who wanted to replace him as the leader, they remained undisturbed by these developments and kept their cool before he and others managed to out manoeuvre those who had hoped to take over the Party. Besides this threat, the Party was 'threatened' to some extent by its paltry resources and as a result the Party's leadership have had to devise ways to overcome this; in this case, Honourable Hendricks, once again, came to its rescue when he sold his home and gathered a sum of money to keep the Party on an even financial keel.

From what was narrated above, there is little doubt that the Party's SWOT analysis is an important exercise that will aid it to survive and chart out a way forward. Now, besides the points that were listed and unpacked in each of the variables, there were many others that needed to have been catalogued; because of space constraints, these will be left aside and kept in mind.

8.2.2 The Party and Civil Society Forum: Acting in the Nation's Interest

So, the question for the Party is: What strategy or set of strategies should the Party adopt to extend its footprints across the country in both the urban and rural areas? Whilst the Party is aware that it is small and that it does not have widespread representation in cities such as Kimberly, East London, Mahikeng, and elsewhere, it had to devise other practical plans to change this scenario. In response to this, an idea that Honourable Hendricks proposed was the formation of civil society forums; ones that have their linkages in both the urban and rural sectors. The purpose of these forums is to grow its membership numbers through different structures.

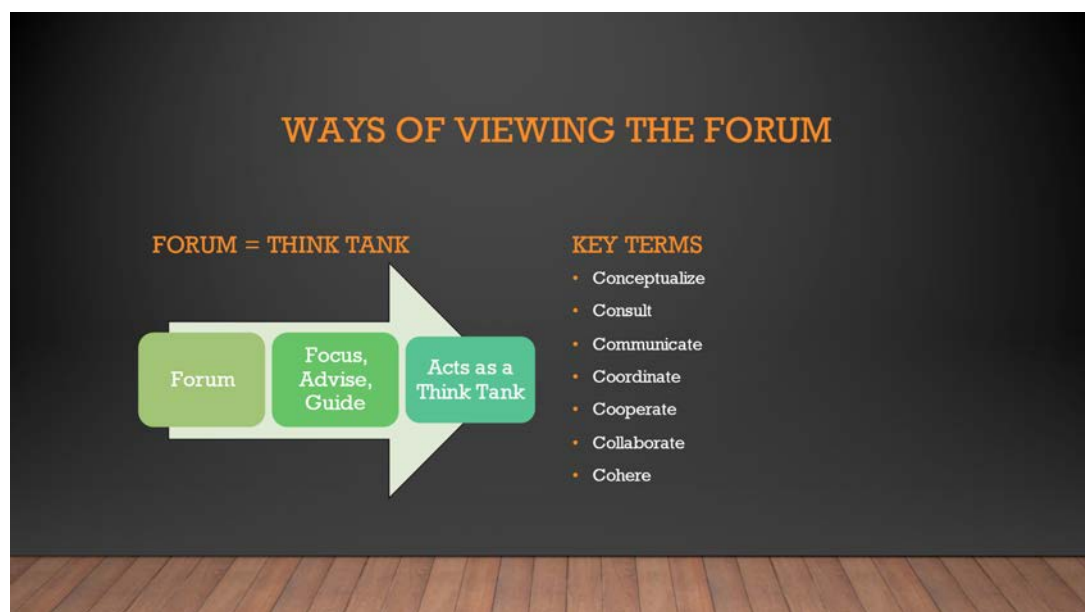
The civil society forum is a medium that should be initiated by the Party and not by civil society groups or any of its representative organizations such as NGOs or NPOs. Honourable Hendricks opined that if and when the Party sets up these structures and drives it initially, then it should have the potential to extend its influence and cause further traction. The crafted organogram below offers some idea of its structure:

Figure 15 : The Party and Civil Society



And another method how this creative structure can assist in the transformation meaningfully is perhaps operating like a think tank; one that can offer informed opinion about socio-political affairs of the community, on the one level, and the nation, on the other. It also implies that through this platform, it can reach segments of society that is normally or usually not accessible to political parties and interest groups. This forum should therefore be in a position to conceptualize ideas/projects, act as a consultancy agent, communicate with various stakeholders, cooperate with a variety of groups, coordinate diverse activities, collaborate with willing partners, and cohere at all levels to agreements and regulations. This structure might also be used to drive Al Jama-ah's Political (cum Leadership) Institute.

Figure 16 : Forum: A Form of Partnership between the Party and Civil Society



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