27th ANNIVERSARY



Celebrating the life and times of **Chris Hani**

#20 years of making a difference



The 27th anniversary of South African Communist Party stalwart and Umkhonto we Sizwe commander Chris Martin Thembisile Hani takes place in fearful and uncertain times. It finds almost half the world's population under various forms of restrictive measures adopted to contain the spread of the Covid19 pandemic.

South Africa is in the midst of an unprecedented lockdown which prevented us as the City of Ekurhuleni from hosting the commemoration as would have wished. This would have included the opening of the Chris Hani Museum at the stalwart's home in Dawn Park on 10 April 2020. But this should not prevent us from celebrating his memory in our hearts, through virtual means as enabled by technology and through the written words as we do in this special Chris Hani digital edition today.

Hani's assassination was a potentially cataclysmic event that simultaneously threatened to derail South Africa's democracy project, as its orchestrators had intended, but also galvanised the country to embark on the last leg of the journey towards the historic 1994 general election.

Foreword

Ekurhuleni Executive Mayor Cllr Mzwandile Masina

Honouring Hani in uncertain times

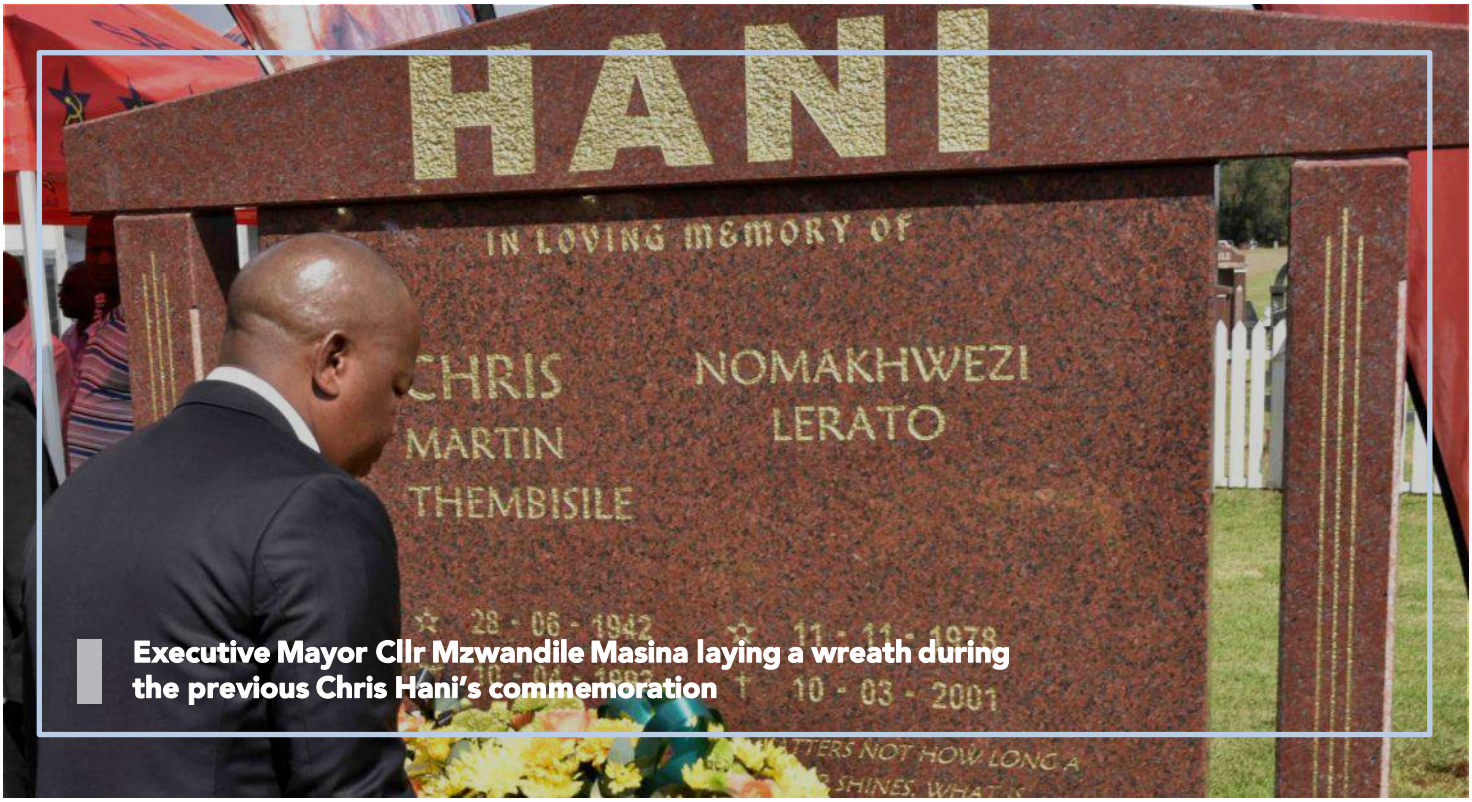
I was 19 at the time of this tragic incident and a student at Mpontseng High School in Katlehong, I was among the hundreds of young people who poured into Dawn Park when news of the incident first broke. We found the scene cordoned off by police before Hani's body was removed. With the mood both tense and sombre, we awaited to be addressed by the then chairman of the ANC in the Pretoria Witwatersrand and Vaal region, Tokyo Sexwale.

I was also at Hani's funeral a week later to listen to ANC President Nelson Mandela call for calm and restraint and the resolve as we were working to usher in a democratic order. These events shaped my desire to honour struggle heroes, especially those who paid with their lives, and I am grateful for the opportunity to lead the process since assuming office in August 2016. The process turning Hani's home into the Chris Hani museum, now in its final stages, is a profound and significant one.

Hani's most enduring value is that of selflessness and sacrifice. He is known to have openly declared "I have never wanted to spare myself because I feel there are people who are no longer around and died for this struggle. What right do I have to hold back, to rest, to preserve my health, to have time with my family when there are other people who are no longer alive when they sacrificed what is most precious: namely life itself?" That sums up the man that Hani was.

More importantly, without being conscious of it, Hani's principles and those of a number of other struggle heroes who did not live to see democracy underpin South Africa's constitution. Most notable of these is the Bill of Rights, which contains rights that Hani believed citizens are entitled to from birth without having to fight for them. From an early age, Hani was driven by a desire for a better treatment of African workers who were exploited and treated unjustly. His exposure to the racist nature of successive minority governments that shaped his belief in human rights as contained in the constitution.

Hani was passionate about and preoccupied with eradicating Hunger, promoting good Health and Housing for all. These three Hs of Health, Housing and Hunger guide our work as a city and realising them is our tribute to this revolutionary giant, who was granted freedom of the city in November 2006.



Executive Mayor Cllr Mzwandile Masina laying a wreath during the previous Chris Hani's commemoration

Our 93 clinics all enjoy ideal status and are ready to serve as sites for the National Health Insurance (NHI) and makes us one of the best regions in primary health care in the country. On housing, we set ourselves the target of providing 100 000 during our term of office and to date, we have provided 30 000 houses and 59 000 serviced stands to improve access to housing. As a city, we spend R4 billion towards cushioning the poor against the effects of hunger and poverty and believe this is among the highest levels of expenditure for the poor and indigent.

We must maintain and improve on these standards to truly honour the legacy of fallen heroes like Hani, Thomas Nkobi, Bertha Gxowa and Margaret Gazo among many others.

The Chris Hani Museum is a critical component of Ekurhuleni's struggle route, which is aimed at stimulating economic activity through tourism. Hani would have wanted the museum to stimulate economic activities to benefit primarily his neighbouring community of Dawn Park but also the wider community of Ekurhuleni. He would want to see the museum and the Memorial Park named in his honour and situated next to his grave contribute directly towards the creation of jobs, to help fight unemployment in the country. As he often used to say "if you want peace, you must fight for social justice."

Hani was also a believer in active citizenship and would expect South Africans to remain actively engaged with the government between elections and hold all public representatives, from councillors to members of parliament and the executive, accountable. He would also expect us to play our part whenever called upon, such as now when we are expected to limit our movement and observe strict hygiene measures.

If Hani were alive today, his call to the global leadership would be for calm and solutions in the midst of an epidemic. Hani would call for the strengthening of global public health systems and improvement of universal access to health. For South Africa, he would refuse to allow us to rest on the laurels of global praise we are receiving for our handling of the crisis and instead call for a rollout of an aggressive screening, testing and treatment programme at no cost to the citizens. Post Covid19, he would call for the preservation of jobs and livelihoods by strengthening and reviving economies.

We need his wisdom now more than when he was brutally taken away from us. His spirit lives on.

A struggle icon's life in words and pictures.



The Chris Hani Museum

The life and times of SACP stalwart and liberation struggle icon Chris Hani are fittingly paid tribute to in the Chris Hani Museum and the Chris Hani monument and Walk of Remembrance respectively located at his home and his grave in Dawn Park, a suburb of Boksburg in Ekurhuleni.

The Chris Hani monument in South Park cemetery now known as the Thomas Nkobi Memorial Garden was unveiled at the 2015 anniversary of his death while the South African Heritage Resource Agency (SAHRA) declared his grave and the Chris Hani Memorial and Walk of Remembrance as a National Heritage site on the 24th March in 2017 before being unveiled by former president Jacob Zuma on April 10 2017.

Thomas Nkobi is a former Treasurer General of the ANC who played a key part in the liberation struggle after joining the ANC in 1950. At the time of his death in 1994 at the age of 72, he was an ANC Member of Parliament.

"Chris Hani, was a well respected and revered leader of Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK), the South African Communist Party and senior ranking ANC official, who played an important role in the liberation struggle and the negotiated transition for a free and democratic South Africa." The citation from SAHRA reads. It tells of his role as leader of the Luthuli Detachment in the Wankie Campaign and was instrumental in the drafting of the "Hani Memorandum" which ultimately led to the Morogoro Conference in 1969 which brought about strategic changes within the ANC.

SAHRA further notes Hani as a strong proponent of the peaceful negotiations after the unbanning of liberation movements and played a critical role in the MK abandoning the armed

struggle. "His assassination brought the country to the brink of civil war that led to Nelson Mandela's plea, in what is regarded as a "presidential" statement, for calm and for all South Africans to stand together in ensuring a peaceful transition. "The tensions at the time hastened the CODESA negotiations and an agreement on a date for the first democratic elections," the citation says of the historical moment.

Finally, the agency notes that his gravesite and the Chris Hani Memorial and Walk of Remembrance commemorate his life, work and sacrifice and contribution to a free and a democratic South Africa "and mark a pivotal point in our history in which the leadership and commitment to peaceful transition was proved."

The Memorial and Walk of remembrance are characterised by the use of simple material rich earthy tones to show capture the essence of the life of simplicity that Hani exemplified. The Monument consists of the four pillars of the liberation struggle. The Walk of Remembrance is a short meandering route that leads to a Wall of Remembrance for fallen struggle heroes.

Ekurhuleni executive Mayor Mzwandile Masina sees the museum and Memorial Park as a critical part of a Struggle route that can be explored by local and international tourists. Masina says the route starts at the OR Tambo International Airport and the OR Tambo Narrative Centre and goes through the home and grave of another giant of the struggle, Oliver Reginald Tambo in Wattville, then through the Hani Memorial and museum and takes in the Khumalo Street in nearby Thokoza, which has a memorial in honour of those who died in intense political violence in the early 90s.

The museum is created from the compact home that Hani and his family made their home in the early 90s, when Dawn Park was still a predominantly white neighbourhood. The house has been restored to its original state at the time of Hani's passing. Its four bedrooms and living area now serves as a tribute to various aspects of Hani's life and activism.

"What we need in South Africa is for egos to be suppressed in favour of peace" reads part of an inscription at the entrance of the museum. "We need to create a new breed of South Africans who love





A hole left by one of the bullets that missed Chris Hani

their country and love everybody, irrespective of their colour" the inscription continues.

Inside the house on walls and sandblasted windows, Hani's story is told through words and pictures. From his belief that "if you want peace, you have to fight for social justice" to his desire to see "progress towards the eradication of hunger" and "the promotion of good health and housing for all" his values resonate throughout the house.

The first section of the museum comprising the entrance,garden and thatch area tells of Hani's early life. Born in 1942 in Sabalele, Cofimvaba in the Eastern Cape, the museum traces his timeline and upbringing in various ways. The fifth of six children, his early life was shaped through being a devout Catholic, while his sense of patriarchy was shaped by his experience of his father's generation being away in the mines in the Transvaal, sugar plantations in Natal and farms in the Cape.

He obtained his education at Sabalele, Zingudu, Matanzima High in Cala before enrolling in the prestigious Lovedale College in Alice, where he joined youth and political movements including the ANC Youth League, inspired by the arrest of the 1956 Treason Trialists. The sight of African workers who were exploited with no union rights attracted him to socialism. In 1959 he registered in Fort Hare and was attracted to Marxist ideas after being exposed to the brutality and racism of the apartheid regime at the time.

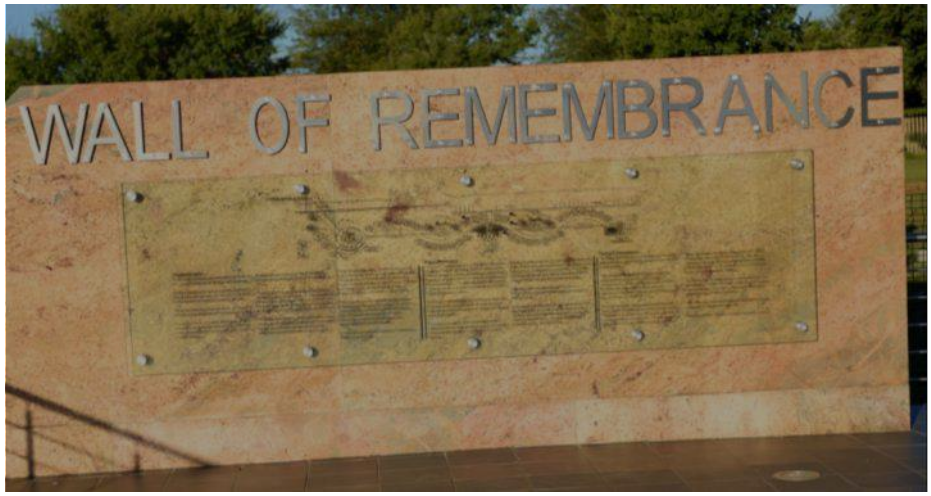
The main bedroom of the house tells the Hani love story centred on Hani's marriage in 1974 to Limpo, whom he married in Lusaka and with whom he has three daughters: Neo, the late Nomakhwezi buried alongside him and Lindiwe.

The Children's bedrooms are dedicated to their own life journeys while the main family room tells of Hani's political career and leadership and activism and life in exile. Hani's journey into exile started when he received a jail sentence and went into hiding, moving to Bechaunaland (Botswana) and the Northern Rhodesia (Zambia) where he was briefly detained then moved to Tanganyika (Tanzania) before being dispatched to receive military training.



Gym equipment previously used by Chris Hani

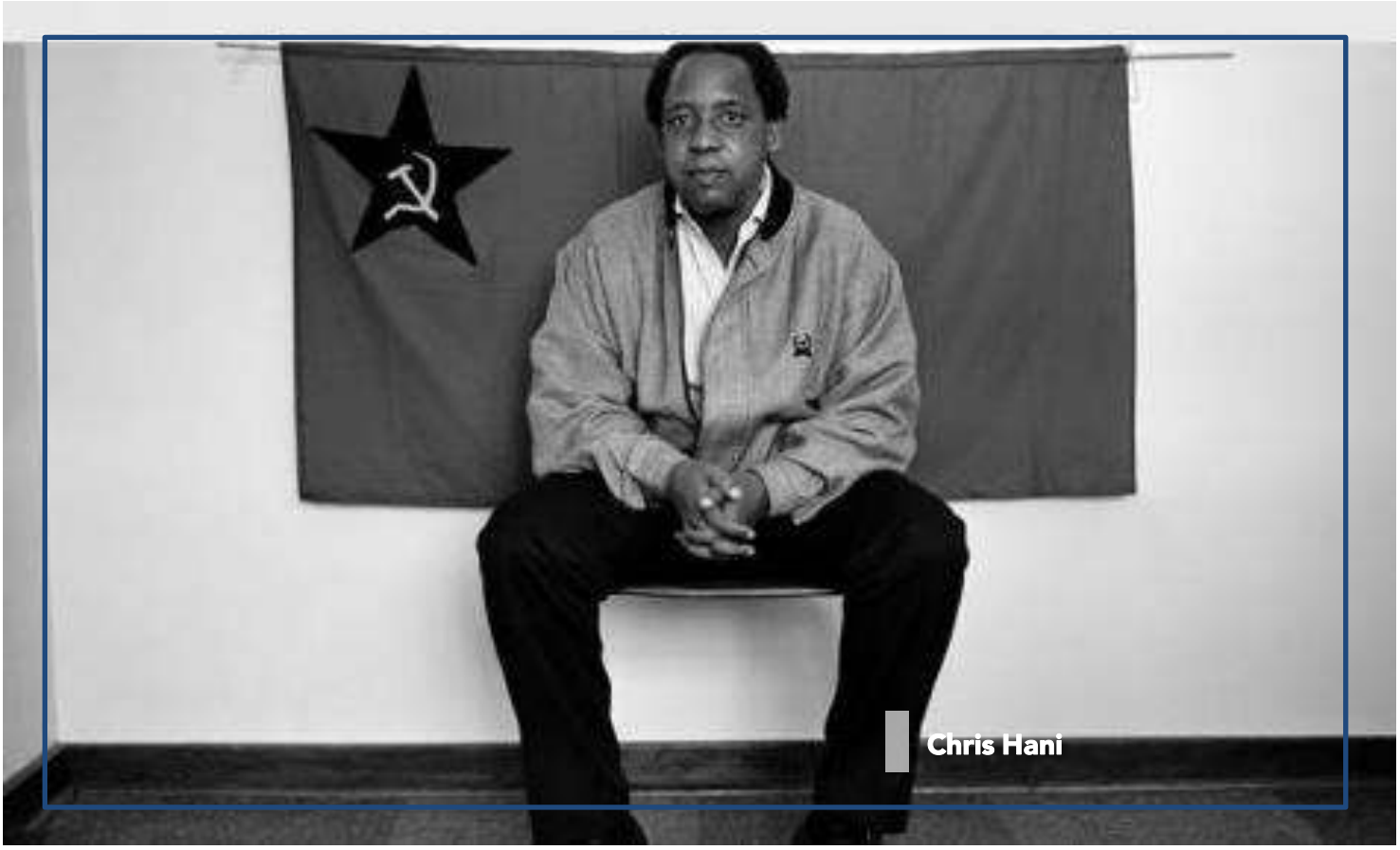
In sections of the museum, he takes up his life story in his own words in a February 1991 narrative. "In 1961 I joined the underground South African Communist Party as I realised that national liberation, although essential, would not bring about economic liberation" Hani says, noting that the decision was influenced by the likes of Govan Mbeki, Braam Fischer, JB Marks, Moses Kotane and Ray Simons.



This was followed in 1962 by his decision to join the then fledgling uMkhonto we Sizwe (MK) because of what he describes as the "intransigence of the racist regime" This saw three unsuccessful assassination attempts on him. "The armed struggle, which we never regarded as exclusive as we combined it with other forms of struggle, has brought about the present crisis of apartheid." He wrote at the time.

In 1967, Hani fought alongside the Zipra forces in Zimbabwe as a political commissar before returning to South Africa in 1974 and then to exile in Lesotho to set up underground structures in South Africa. Hani maintained that the four pillars of the liberation struggle brought apartheid to its knees with the regime reluctantly recognising the legitimacy of banned political organisations and agreeing to negotiate. He ends off the narrative by noting that the decision to suspend the armed struggle was the correct one and an important contribution to sustaining the momentum of negotiations.

The SACP, which is arguably the most embedded in Hani's identity and to whose central committee Hani was elected in 1970, is paid tribute through a "red room" in the patio, espousing Hani's values and


Chris Hani

the party's beliefs. Its slogan, "for the workers and the poor" was a guiding Matra in Hani's life and comes to mind as one meanders through the rooms as it is also etched at the walk of remembrance.

The Lounge is dedicated to Hani's later political life including the negotiations to transition to democracy at the Congress for Democratic South Africa (Codesa) while the kitchen pays tribute to gender based roles in running the household. The garage and driveway leading to the exit are dedicated to the final horrific moments of Hani's assasination. Reminders of the tragic shooting on the morning of 10 April 1993 are etched on his driveway through bullet holes on his garage door and a wooden panel that was ripped when he was shot at close range.

When completed, the museum will also serve as a tribute to Hani's legacy. Masina believes that the best way that the city can pay tribute to Hani is to realise its goals of providing Housing, Health and fighting Hunger among its citizens. The executive mayor says the city's progress on these goals is being tested by the Covid 19 outbreak which has led to a nationwide shutdown since late March.

Masina notes the city's clinics are graded as ideal and some are testing sites for Covid19 and are ready to serve as sites of launching the National Health Insurance (NHI).

Masina's administration has launched a number of mega projects to provide housing in pursuit of its goal to provide 100 000 housing units over its term of office. Even before Covid19, Ekurhuleni was already spending R4 billion on cushioning its poorest residents against hunger and poverty. The heightened response to Covid19 has seen the City beef up its food parcel distribution network.

In 1998, the SACP awarded the late former President Nelson Mandela the Chris Hani award. Ten years after his passing, in 2003 the Chris Hani Institute was launched in Braamfontein, Johannesburg.

In 2006, the City bestowed its highest honour on the stalwart when it gave him the Freedom of the City. "Chris Hani is the freeman of the City of Ekurhuleni, conferred upon him for his outstanding political life and contributions towards the freedom enjoyed by South Africans today," the City declared.



Former South African Communist Party leader Chris Hani

"The HHH (Health, Hunger and Housing) - campaign is part of the legacy that Chris Hani left for us to carry forward. It is our responsibility to break down the barriers of social injustice and advance the heroes' vision of minimizing unemployment, eradicating poverty, providing shelter to everyone and promoting an environment characterised by healthy society that is at peace with itself" the city stated in its declaration. in 2012, Hani was awarded Gold Medal for Bravery for his central role in the Wankie campaign by the department of Military Veterans. The department also awarded Platinum Medal Class II for his leadership role in the ANC and MK in exile and extreme devotion to duty. Africa's largest hospital, the Chris Hani Baragwanath hospital in Soweto, bears the stalwart's name.

Sozi Singwane, a neighbour residing a stone throw away from the museum, says he is looking forward to seeing it take off and streaming with visitors. "it is an important part of history and I look forward to informing people about this development, which will also change the perception that everything happens in Soweto, "he says. Having moved into the years after the tragic events of April 1993 and in his 30s relatively to fully comprehend the scale and context of those events, he feels the museum will be an important tool of teaching history to younger generations. Singwane hopes the museum can also directly benefit his taxi hailing business, where he is a driver.

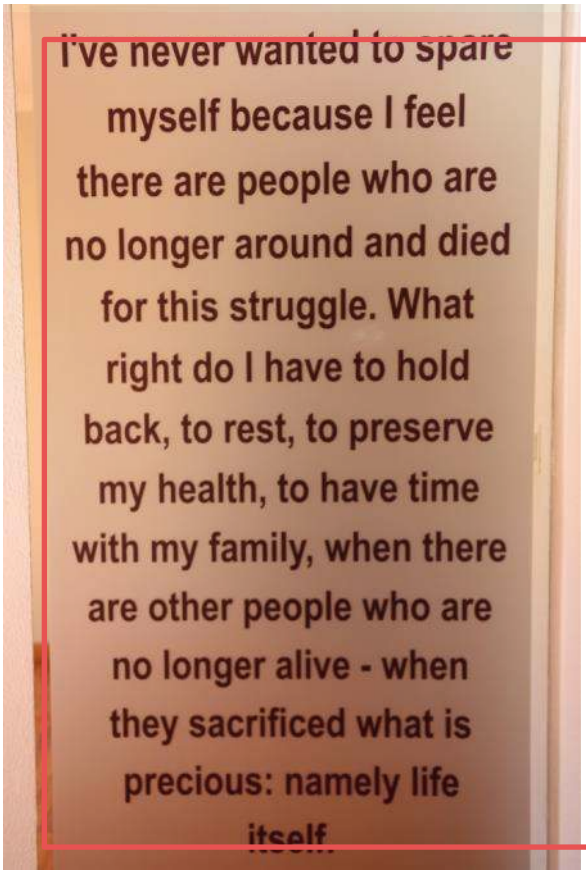
A local activist in the neighbourhood describes the house as "symbolic" and thus important to preserve, which is why he was happy to participate in structures that led to its preservation.
The Struggle route is located within the broader tourism offering within Ekurhuleni, home of the busiest airport in Africa. The development of the struggle routes and the Khumalo Street tourism hub will also include the museum for the Congress for Democratic South Africa (Codesa), the negotiations that took place in two parts in Kempton Park in which the likes of Hani played a key role. Entertainment in the area is anchored on two major casinos, Emperors Palace and Carnival City in Brakpan then complemented by shopping at major shopping centres and outdoor on the region's lakes and Wetlands. All this with easy access to Pretoria and Johannesburg.

People with an interest in history and architecture can visit Iron Age settlements which predate the discovery of gold in 1886 on a section of the reef now known as Johannesburg. Ekurhuleni has the second highest concentration of Art Décor buildings in the world after Florida in the United States. The buildings are found in areas such as around the Springs Station.

In 2016, the City adopted a Tourism strategy that aims to position the region as a preferred tourism destination, taking advantage of the proximity to OR Tambo airport. The City plans to invest over R 500 million to develop tourism in the Ekurhuleni region in the coming few years.

The Chris Hani Museum & Wall of Remembrance Gallery



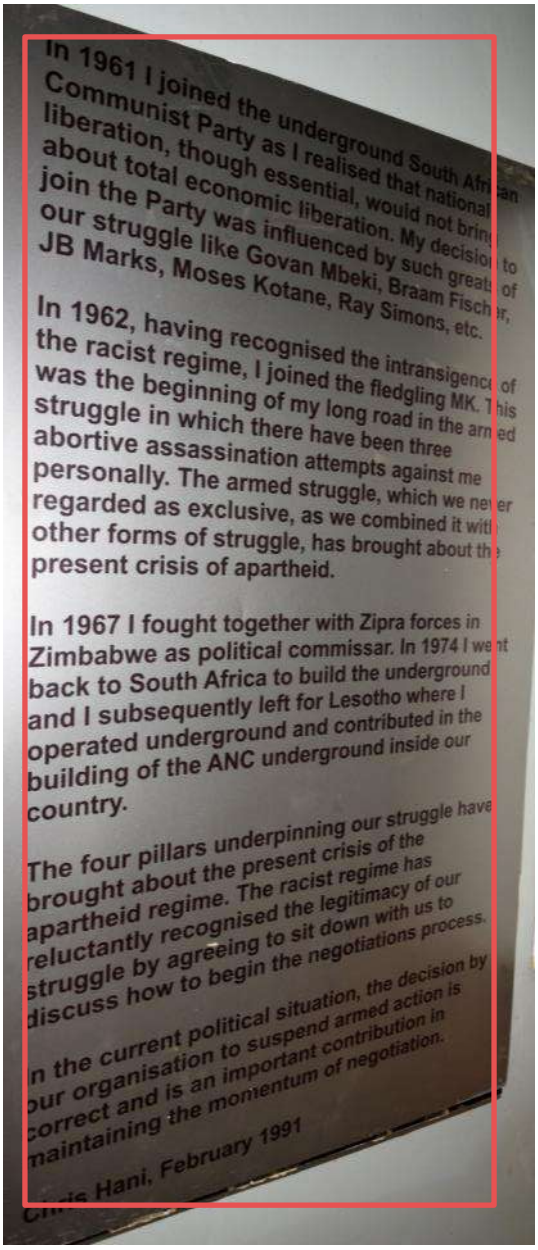


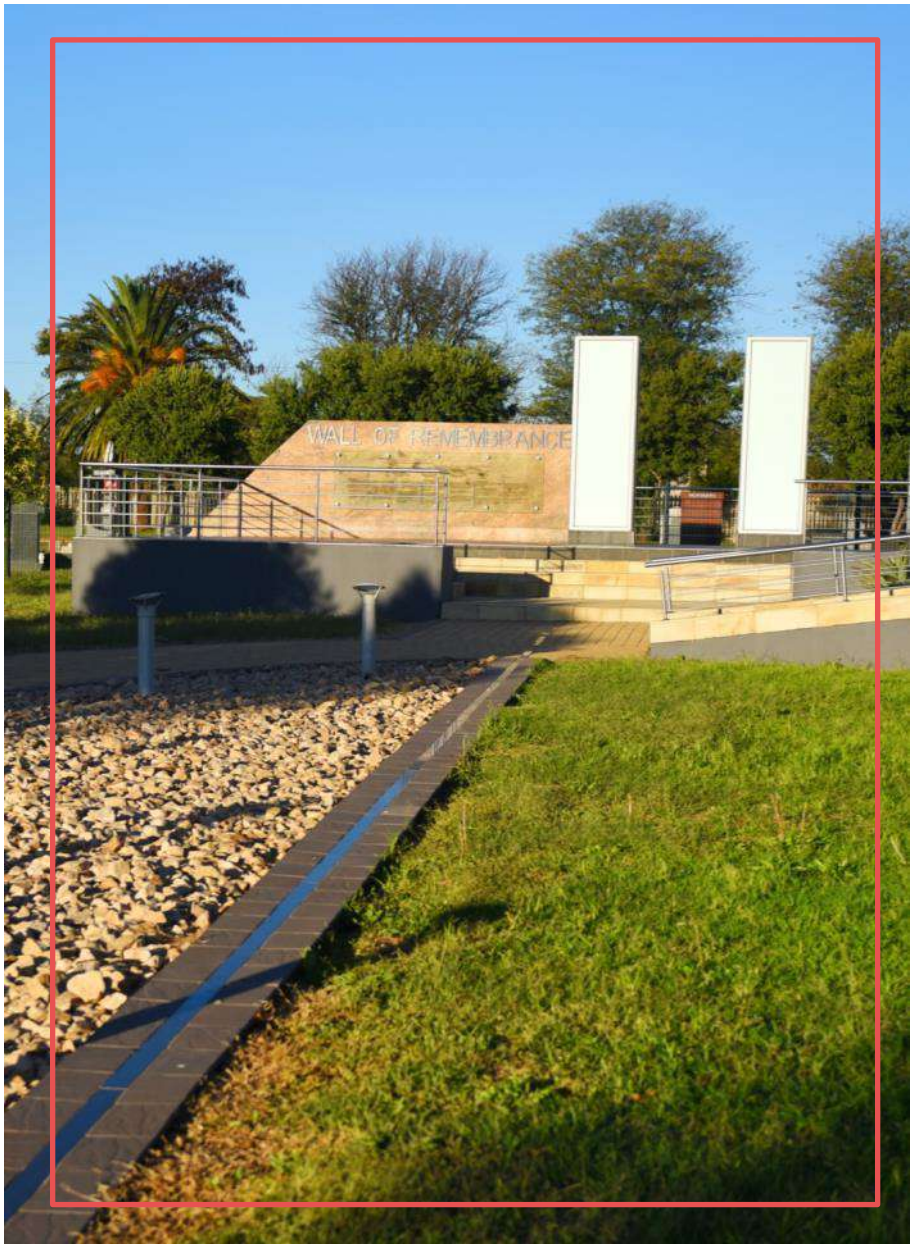



Progressing
towards
eradicating
HUNGER
Promoting
good
HEALTH
HOUSING
for
all

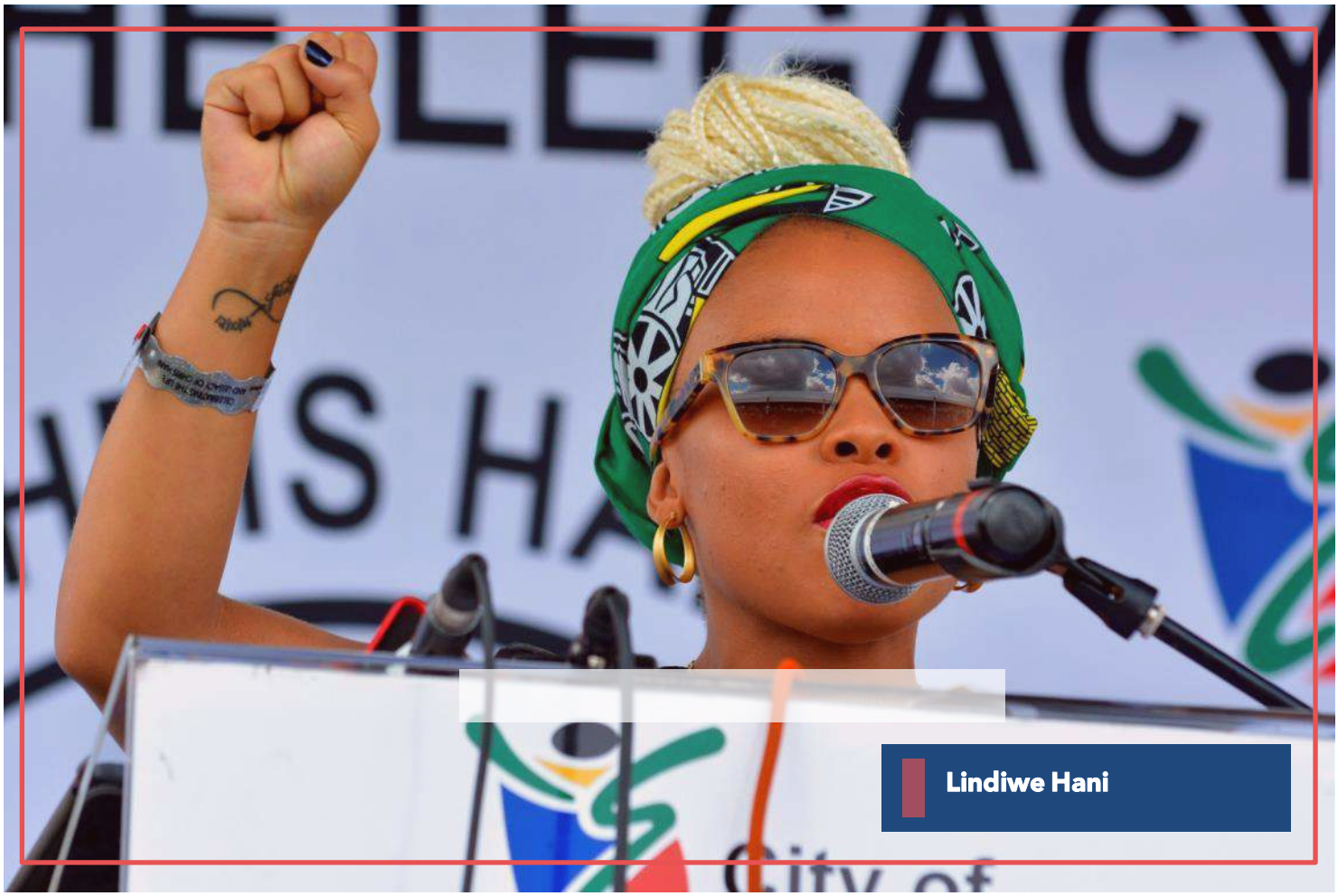

WALL OF REMEMBRANCE




In 1961 I joined the underground South Afr an
Communist Party as I realised that national
liberation, though essential, would not bring
about total economic liberation. My decision to
join the Party was influenced by such great of
our struggle like Govan Mbeki, Braam Fischer,
JB Marks, Moses Kotane, Ray Simons, etc.
In 1962, having recognised the intransigence of
the racist regime, I joined the fledgling MK. This
was the beginning of my long road in the armed
struggle in which there have been three
abortive assassination attempts against me
personally. The armed struggle, which we never
regarded as exclusive, as we combined it with
other forms of struggle, has brought about the
present crisis of apartheid.
In 1967 I fought together with Zipra forces in
Zimbabwe as political commissar. In 1974 I went
back to South Africa to build the underground
and I subsequently left for Lesotho where I
operated underground and contributed in the
building of the ANC underground inside our
country.
The four pillars underpinning our struggle have
brought about the present crisis of the
apartheid regime. The racist regime has
reluctantly recognised the legitimacy of our
struggle by agreeing to sit down with us to
discuss how to begin the negotiations process.
In the current political situation, the decision by
our organisation to suspend armed action is
correct and is an important contribution in
maintaining the momentum of negotiation.
Hani, February 1991


WALL OF REMEMBRANCE

Chris Hani – a daughter keeps the legacy alive



Lindiwe Hani still cannot bring herself to look at the historic photograph of her father's bloodied body lying in the driveway of their home after being struck by an assassin's bullets on 10 April 1993.

The gory, repulsive photograph has earned its place on the significant timeline of history – in the same vein as the iconic photograph of a dying Hector Pietersen being carried by Mbuyisa Makhubu at the outbreak of the 16 June 1976 riots.

In the past 27 years since his death at the hands of right-winger Janus Waluz, it has become almost impossible to come across a publication commemorating Hani's assassination without prominently carrying the photograph.

It has come to symbolise Hani as a political martyr whose killing fast tracked South Africa's journey to its first democratic election on 27 April 1994.

But to the Hani's last born child Lindiwe, the photograph remains a source of great pain, a reminder of the agony she has been trying to run away from for the better part of the past two and a half decades.

Lindiwe is the third of Chris and Limpho Hani's three daughters, Nomakhwezi and Neo. Nomakhwezi, who was in the company of her father when he was killed, passed away in 2001.

While the grisly moment frozen in time brought positive change to the political landscape in South Africa, to Lindiwe, who was only 12 years old then, it meant the beginning of a long, tumultuous journey of sorrow.

"That was always a very jarring experience, very difficult to move on from such brutality," Lindiwe reflects on the moment that brought SA to the brink of a bloody, racial civil war.

She was visiting her mom's family in Maseru when Hani was shot during the Easter weekend of 1993.



Twenty seven long years have passed since the image was shot. Yet for Lindiwe, time has not eroded the pain.

It still evokes shock and disbelief that the doting father she loved and respected dearly, is the one lying in a pool of blood, helpless and silent.

"No, I don't manage to look at the image. If I see it I just glance past it. It is a reminder of one of the worst day of my life. It's effectively the day our family was destroyed," Lindiwe says in a telephonic interview.

In her book Being Chris Hani's Daughter, Lindiwe offers insights into her close relationship with her father, how they swam together in their Dawn Park home and also how she used to cycle behind him as he jogged around the neighbourhood.

All that ended when Waluz's bullet found its mark. Lindiwe sank into a state of deep depression which saw her later slip into drug and alcohol addiction. She has been clean for the past five years and now confronting her life as the daughter of the SA Communist Party and uMkhonto we Sizwe stalwart.

News that the Ekurhuleni Metro will be honouring Hani's legacy this year by among others turning his Dawn Park home into a museum, has reassured Lindiwe her father's legacy will not evaporate into memory. It will also help her and probably her family, move towards some form of closure.

"I think that if Ekurhuleni does it properly with dignity and sensitivity, he was a huge part of our history and our Struggle and I appreciate him being commemorated that way," she says.

Lindiwe wishes that one of the things the museum would achieve is to offer young people an opportunity to learn about her father's best attributes which included giving to the needy, speaking out against injustice and contributing to the building of society.

"I think that if Ekurhuleni does it properly with dignity and sensitivity, he was a huge part of our history and our Struggle and I appreciate him being commemorated that way"

"Before he was assassinated it [our house] was a home of joy, bustling and full of people in and out. If we can curate it in that manner it would be great," Lindiwe says.

Lindiwe believes that although the killing of her father was a tragic moment in our history, more should be done to learn from and commemorate his legacy than focusing solely on the spilling of his blood.

It is a journey she too embarked on a few years ago since she emerged from a period of ridding herself from the substance addiction behind which she was trying to avoid confronting her pain.

She believes Hani was an ordinary man doing extraordinary things and should be remembered that way.

"He was put in a situation where he had no choice but to fight for his country," she says, adding that at home Hani could be strict.

"He didn't understand giving up," Lindiwe says of her father's resilience.

Hani had such an impact on Lindiwe that after his death she lived with the constant fear of failing to live up to his high expectations. She felt a heavy load carrying the name of this

> ***"He was put in a situation where he had no choice but to fight for his country,"***





Chris Hani's widow Limpho Hani

man, who was to millions of oppressed black South Africans a source of hope and a shining example of good, ethical leadership.

"Disappointing my father was my greatest fear," says Lindiwe.

The fear and weight of carrying the Hani name saw her slide into the dark world of drug and alcohol addiction, a subject she tackles with open honesty in her memoir Being Chris Hani's daughter.

Lindiwe has worked hard to kick her addiction is now working the marketing field and has come to terms with the fact that the blood of one of the country's greatest revolutionaries courses through her own veins.

"Now I do think that I am going in the right direction. I am living; I am helping to make myself proud of who I am instead of hiding from it. Now it's [being Hani's daughter] a sense of pride [and] joy, it's not something that gives me heart palpitations anymore," says Lindiwe.

"Once I managed to separate Lindiwe from addiction it became clear who I was. I still have those moments of insecurity but I no longer have days where I feel like I'm letting my father down," she says.

Months before Hani was murdered, Lindiwe was troubled by nightmares in which a killer was on the lookout for him. Now that he is no more in the physical Lindiwe still has a strong spiritual connection to Hani who vividly visits her in her dreams.

"I sensed him very strongly during lockdown. We are very much connected spiritually with my father."

Hani's killer Waluz was denied parole in March by Minister of Justice Ronald Lamola. Lindiwe has met the man who pulled the trigger that fateful morning in April 1993 several times. She prefers to keep her views on whether the convicted murderer should be granted parole to herself.

But adds: "I have different feelings about it, my biggest emotion is that it would will not bring back my father, whether he is in jail or free it doesn't affect my life [and] I have made a conscious decision not to focus on that."

Lindiwe has kept one of her father's favourite items of clothing, a woollen jersey he wears in a lengthy TV interview with Afravision shortly before his death. She has donated his favourite treadmill and bike to the museum in Dawn Park. The museum will no doubt ensure that even in death, Hani's voice remains influential and powerful just as it was in life.

Hani's 'revolutionary restlessness' needed to drive struggle values - Sexwale



ANC stalwart and former Gauteng Premier Tokyo Sexwale outside Chris Hani's house soon after the former liberation fighter was gunned down in 1993.

Monuments come and go. And even when they are erected sometimes bad things that go against the values of the people in whose honour they are erected happen right under their silent, towering gaze.

It is the values of the distinguished men and women in whose honour the statues and monuments are erected that live on to touch, move and inspire generations long after they have passed on.

ANC stalwart Tokyo Sexwale thanks and commends the City of Ekurhuleni for keeping Hani's name alive. But the greatest honour befitting the late Umkhonto we Sizwe chief of staff would be if those in leadership live according to the values that made him one of the most respected leaders during the Struggle against apartheid.

"I don't think Chris would be dying to be remembered with monuments," said Sexwale, who was among the first senior ANC leaders to arrive at the scene of Hani's slaying on 10 April 1993.

Sexwale, who spent 13 years on Robben Island after he was convicted for his role in the underground activities of the then banned ANC and Umkhonto we Sizwe in 1977 – knew of Hani's role as a fearless and honest cadre even back then.

But it was only after his release from prison in 1990 after the signing of the Groote Schuur Minute agreement between the ANC and the ruling National Party – that he finally got to meet Hani.

He was deployed to pick him up from the airport on his return home from a quarter of a century in political exile. They served together in the structures of the ANC and grew very close.

But within three years Hani, aged 50, was killed by assassin Januz Waluzs. Images of a tearful Sexwale weeping over the bloodied body of his comrade moved a nation and evoked anger among the men and women who served with and under Hani in the ranks of the ANC and its military wing.

Sexwale said the values that defined Hani and that should be guiding the ANC today were his revolutionary honesty, analysing problems and not rushing to find quick solutions.

He said presently the country misses the 'revolutionary restlessness' that drove Hani and ensured he never rested on his laurels or on his hands. Sexwale said Hani was militant against wrong, hated corruption and never held back to speak out against wrongdoing whenever he felt something was wrong.

Sexwale said Hani showed courage and discipline even after he was disciplined by the ANC for challenging the leadership on the direction the struggle was taking in exile after the ill-fated Wankie and Sipolilo campaigns in 1967. Instead of walking away from the ANC – Hani instead continued to serve with discipline and emerged as one its most courageous leaders in the 70s and 80s.

Sexwale said while he was very critical and outspoken against wrongdoing, Hani was himself 'a master of self-criticism.'

"What we are missing today is that revolutionary honesty…that revolutionary voice, honest voice, pure honest voice. He was a practitioner, a doer," said Sexwale.

Sexwale who underwent military training in the Soviet Union in the mid-70s after having lived in political exile in Swaziland said Hani's dedication to the Struggle was shaped by Nelson Mandela's clarion call during the Rivonia trial in 1964 when he announced from the dock he was ready to die for his beliefs.

He said Hani was shaped firstly by his roots in rural Sabalele in Eastern Cape where he was born in 1942 and grew up until he went to study at Fort Hare University from 1959 to 1961.

"It is the philosophy of the life of the man, a disciplined leader," Sexwale said about what can be learnt from Hani's legacy today.

Hani, said Sexwale, espoused the values of honesty and being true to the values of the Struggle.



Tokyo Sexwale and former Reserve Bank Governor Gill Marcus at the scene of Hani's murder in 1993.

He said his was the kind of attitude that was always questioning what was wrong and even going further to try find solutions – but not quick fix solutions. He said Hani was restless politically, in a positive manner in that he was always on his toes seeking to fix what was wrong.

"Don't sit on your hands when people don't have health, don't sit on your hands when there's no sufficient housing…don't sit back because we are in government. This is the type of a leader who questions more. Do not sit on your hands, do not sit on your laurels," he said.

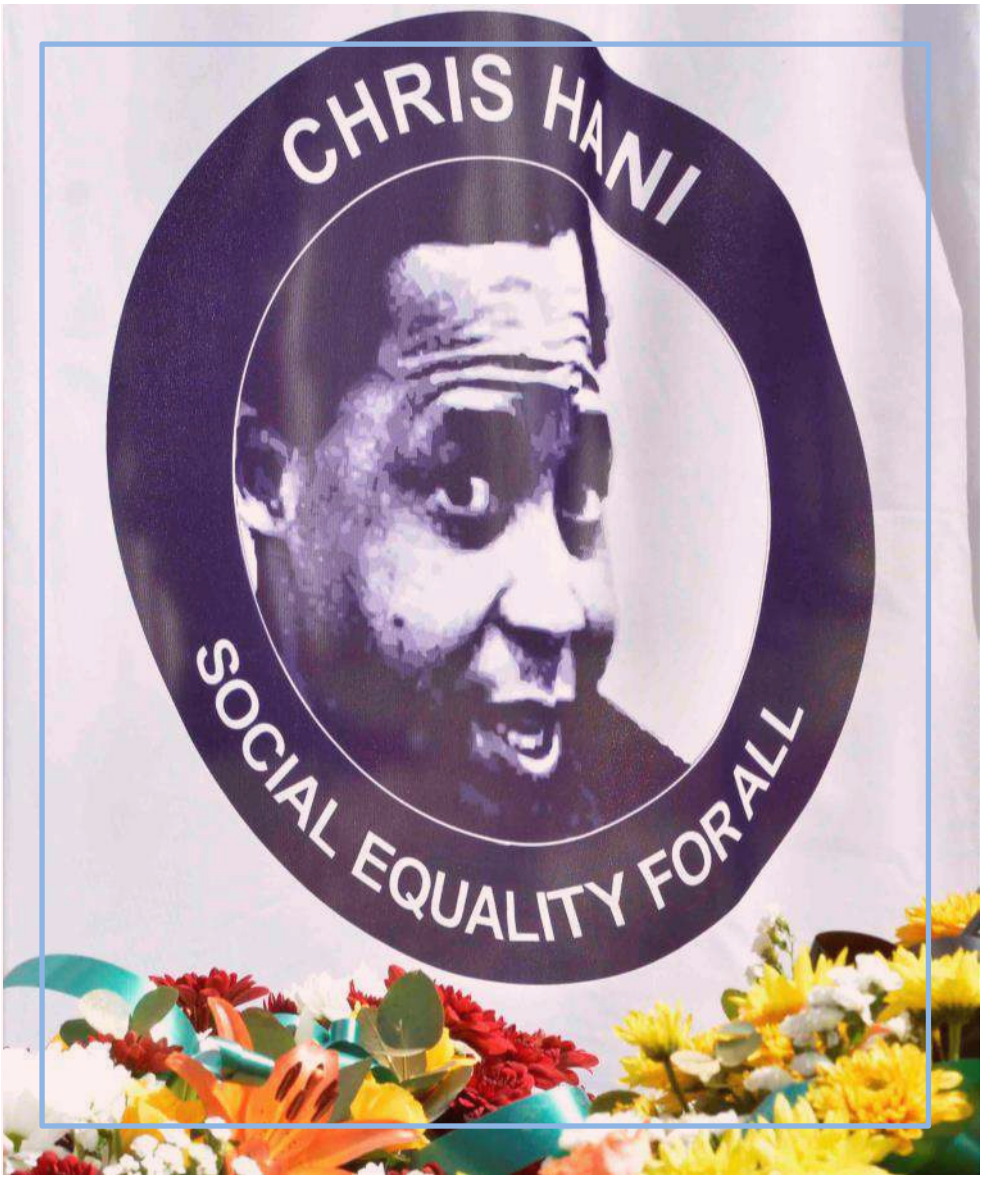
He highlighted Hani's life as that of exemplary courage and selflessness in which he never sought personal glory. He cited the historic moment when at the first ANC conference back in SA after 30 years in 1991 – Hani withdrew his nomination as vice president at the 11th hour.

Three other strong candidates, Walter Sisulu, Harry Gwala and Thabo Mbeki were also in the running. But Hani who enjoyed popular support decided to withdraw from the race for the sake of unity and peace in the movement.

Although some may have been disappointed in the move and saw it as an act of cowardice on his part – Sexwale argues this was one of the greatest displays of discipline from a loyal cadre who saw matters way beyond his own interests.

> ***"It is the philosophy of the life of the man, a disciplined leader"***

Hani – fearless beacon of courage and ethical leadership



Chris Hani shook the core of the ANC in exile in 1969 when together with other comrades they wrote and signed a memorandum highly critical of the leadership.

In the memorandum that has become known as the Morogoro Memorandum, Hani and other MK members who had fought in the ill-fated Wankie campaign in Southern Rhodesia [Zimbabwe], "accused the leadership of the movement under Oliver Tambo of careerism and of becoming a middle class of globetrotting salaried bureaucrats".

Taking a leadership role in this move to call the leadership to order perhaps best captures Hani's attributes as a leader. He was fearless and didn't worry about appearing unpopular before the leadership. He did not fear speaking truth to power.

Although at the time he was among the leading cadres in the ranks of uMkhonto we Sizwe at the time, aged only 29 years old, he didn't shy away from pointing out what he believed was ailing the ANC at the time.

The movement had been banned by apartheid SA and forced into exile nine years earlier. With Tambo as acting president in the wake of the death of Chief Albert Luthuli, and the collapse of the Wankie campaign in 1967 the ANC in exile found itself in limbo.

And when young comrades like Hani who had seen action in the Wankie campaign regrouped after serving terms of imprisonment in Botswana and Zimbabwe – they were shocked to find the organisation was inactive.

Academic Hugh Macmillan aptly captures this troubled period in the ANC's history in his highly acclaimed book The Lusaka Years – The ANC in exile in Zambia 1963-1994.

Macmillan writes that the 3 000-word memorandum opened with the statement: "The ANC in exile is in a deep crisis [and], as a result, rot has set in. From informal discussions with the revolutionary members of MK, we have inferred that they have lost all confidence in the ANC leadership abroad. This they say openly and, in fact, show."

The explosive memorandum went further to accuse the ANC national executive committee of losing control of MK and allowing commander-in-chief Joe Modise to run it alone and arbitrarily.

Macmillan quotes Leonard Pitso, one of the signatories of the memorandum: "Orders were

given for our arrest for alleged treachery. Dungeons were dug at Livingstone for our reception. We would probably have been thrown into these dungeons but for the intervention of a leading comrade. The acting president [Oliver Tambo] ordered the dungeons to be closed, and convened a meeting of militants to consider our case."

This act by Hani, challenging the leadership at a time when most of the rank and file members of the movement chose to cower for fear of reprisals far away from home; is an example of his fearless stance for his beliefs.

He could have chosen to remain silent and wait for the leadership to decide a new course of action. But he didn't. He directed the wrath he had pointed at the enemy earlier at the leadership of the ANC which by then, were not used to that kind of open criticism especially from young cadres. Such was the courage by the young cadre. The Morogoro Memorandum episode also exposed his commitment to the Struggle and the ANC, his courage and vision because like many he could have allowed himself to be demoralised by the state of affairs.

At his funeral in April 1993, ANC president Nelson Mandela aptly captured Hani's commitment to the Struggle and personality.
"We worked together in the National Executive Committee of the ANC. We had vigorous debates and an intense exchange of ideas. You were completely unafraid. No task was too small for you to



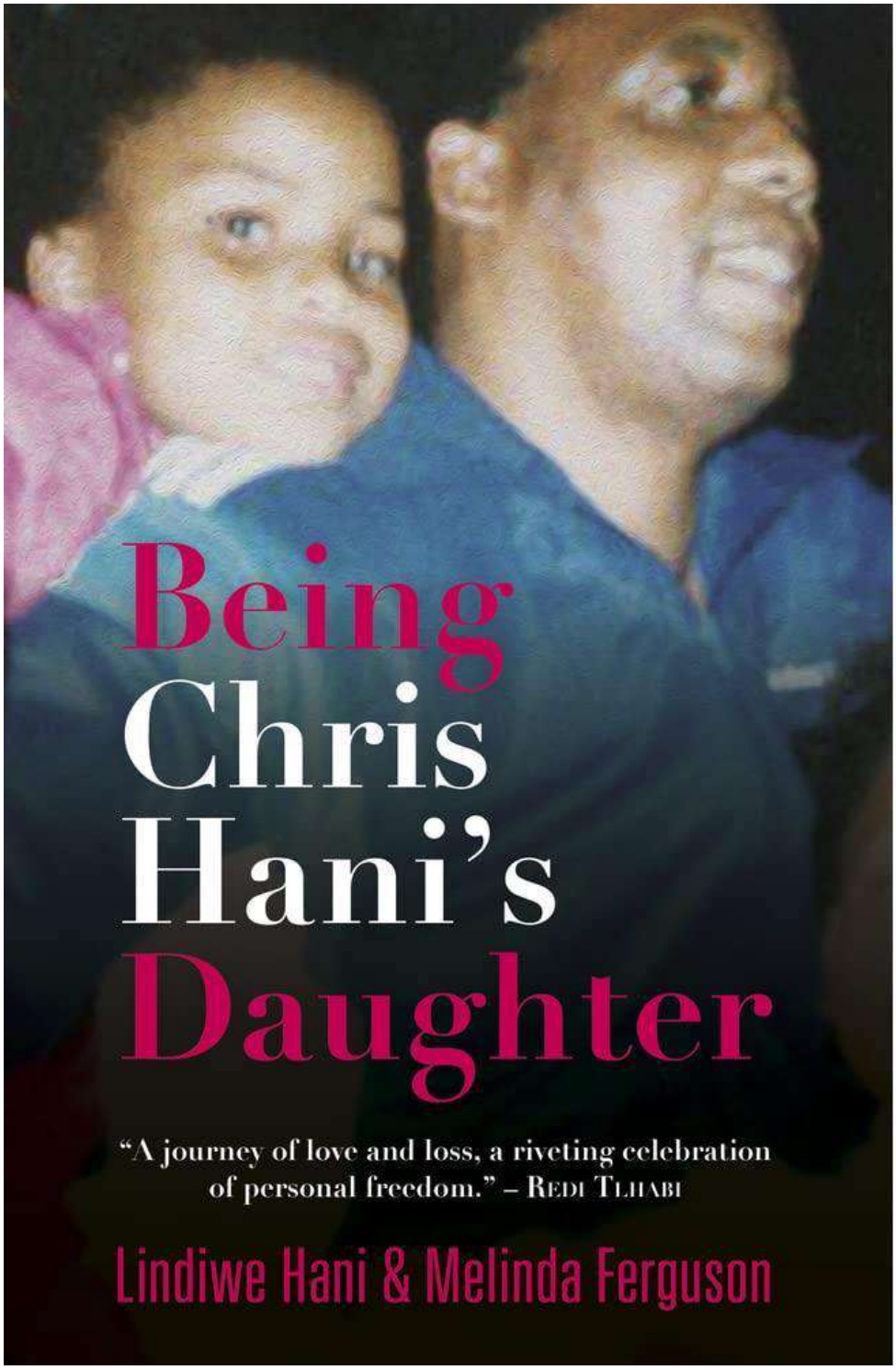
perform," Mandela told the 100 000 mourners who packed the FNB Stadium in Crown Mines.

Perhaps in these times when the country and the ANC alliance are facing a new struggle against poverty, underdevelopment, corruption and declining standards of governance and accountability – it is to Hani's legacy the movement should be looking to.

Hani had the common touch and never saw himself as better off or above the ordinary man. He identified with the poor and their struggle. Mandela identified this humility and level headedness in Hani's rural roots.
"Chris Hani's passion for justice, for addressing the problems that plague the rural poor, were rooted in his childhood in Sabalele. His roots were so deep, so true, that he never lost them."
The question that always gets asked when Hani's name is mentioned is what would have been his role or attitude towards the state of affairs today?

Would he be among the elite who have exchanged the slogans of the struggle for the flowery language of the boardroom?
Would he be an indifferent government leader caring only about his welfare and forgotten about the plight of the poor?
What would be his role in corruption plaguing the civil service and government?
Perhaps the answer lies in Hani's own words spoken before his murder in the early 90s.
""The perks of a new government are not really appealing to me. Everybody would like to have a good job, a good salary….but for me that is not the all of struggle. What is important is the continuation of the struggle…the real problems of the country, are not [going to be resolved] whether one is in Cabinet."

Being Chris Hani's daughter



In this extract from the book Being Chris Hani's Daughter author Lindiwe Hani offers glimpses of the father figure behind the image of the colossal political leader.

We drove out of my beloved Maseru as a family in early December 1990. My heart felt like thunder as I watched forlornly, from the back of Mama's car, my familiar childhood streets fade into the distance behind us.

…after the four –hour journey, once we entered Dawn Park, drove down Hakea Crescent, and got closer to our face-brick dream house, I began to feel the first stirrings of excitement.

As Daddy parked the car in the driveway, I found myself dashing out, through the front rooms and arches, into the back yard, stopping at the edge of the huge blue swimming pool, and taking the wonder of it all in. Not only did our new house have a pool and the best kitchen on the planet, it finally dawned on me that for the first time in my life I would have my very own bedroom.

I also made my first friend in the neighbourhood, a vivacious blonde Afrikaans-speaking girl, Sonya, who lived next door. From the moment we laid eyes on each other, we were inseparable and spent most days running in and out of each other's houses. At this time, about to turn 10 years old, I was still entirely oblivious to racism. I had grown up in the multicultural mixing pot of Maseru and even during those first few months in South Africa I was unaware of any racial undercurrents. The irony that my first real friend in South Africa was a white Afrikaner girl from Boksburg totally escaped me.

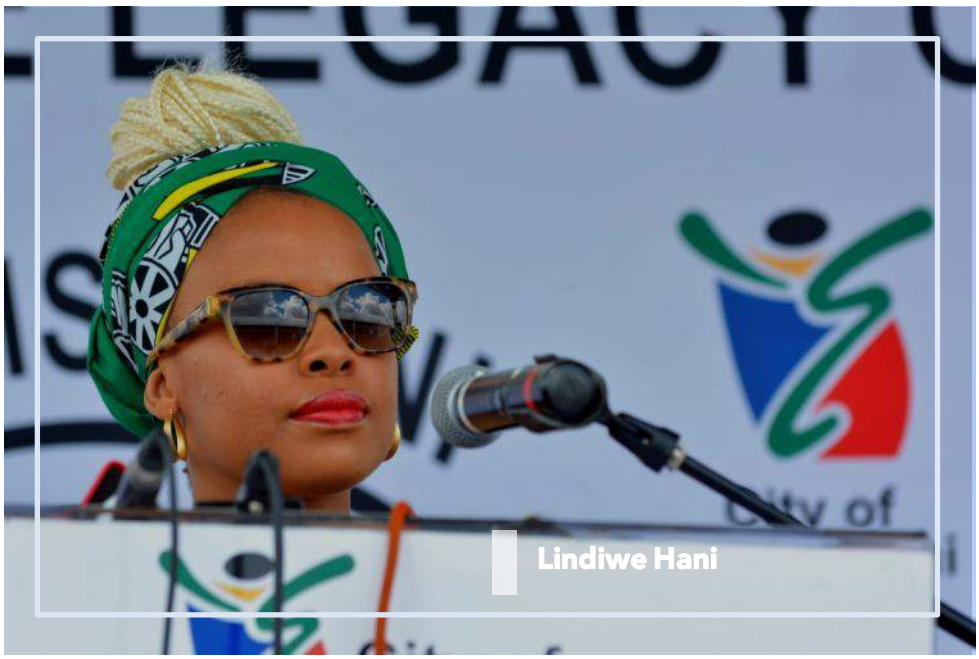
With Daddy at home, we were now a 'real' family. Initially, however, it was quite an adjustment because we had all kind of got used to having a dad we only saw a couple of times a year. As thrilled as I was to have him home, I now faced many challenges accepting my dad as the new head of the family. I had lived many years with just having

Mama as the be-all-and-end-all, so I found myself challenging him on a number of issues.

One of the areas of contention was my bedtime: I was used to going to bed after watching TV shows such as Dynasty or Dallas, which I simply adored, but he wanted to set my bedtime at 8pm! I vehemently resisted, shouting that "Mama always lets me go to bed later". We finally struck a compromise in which some days I went to bed earlier, while on others I enjoyed some leniency. Very soon the TV remote also became a battleground. My dad immediately laid claim to it but all he ever seemed to want to watch was the news or serious documentaries. He was a news man to the bone, and even slept with the radio on. Numerous times I'd get out of bed in the middle of the night to go to the toilet and hear, "This is the BBC" coming from my parents' bedroom. That particular conflict was finally resolved by getting another television set, which was placed in their bedroom.

Besides the few battles over bedtime and the television remote, I adored having Daddy permanently back in our lives. I was especially drawn to his passion for exercise. I loved nothing more than swimming with him in our beautiful blue pool.

He taught me how to dive and how to master all the different strokes –backstroke, breast stroke, butterfly, crawl. I mainly joined him in the pool in the early summer evenings, though



he often swam at dawn as well. We soon bought him a stationary exercise bike and a treadmill so even in bad weather the man wouldn't be deprived of his endorphin and adrenalin fix.

When he jogged out on the suburban streets, I would be right behind him on my bike, keeping up with him as much as my wheels would allow. The one thing Daddy was totally hopeless at was handyman stuff.
The man who could put an AK-47 together in under two minutes had no idea how to wire a plug or change a light bulb.
My father constantly attracted people to him. Our new home always seemed full of visitors and activity. There was hardly a time that you didn't walk in to find comrades either in the lounge or outside around the pool, engrossed in robust discussions. Mama would invariably be in her dream kitchen preparing food for the men.

It seemed like I was forever being summoned to make coffee or bring drinks out for Uncle So-and-so. My main gripe with so many people in the house was that I was often not allowed to watch TV, because the noise from the television would drown out the conversation.

The one show Daddy insisted on not missing, besides the news, was Going Up with Joe Mafela. I loved watching it with him, giggling as my dad roared with laughter. If he wasn't there to watch it, we would have to tape it on our big VHS video machine.

The other TV show Daddy never missed was his favourite news show, Agenda – unless, of course, he was being interviewed for the show by Freek Robinson. I would sit glued to the screen, watching every second, literally shaking with pride for my father, knowing that the whole country was watching him talk about politics like an expert.


Lindiwe Hani

After the show I would wait up for him, as he made his way home from the SABC. The moment I heard the door open, I'd be sitting at the dinner table, knowing that he didn't like eating by himself.
While he was chewing on a meal that my mother had lovingly prepared for him – shepherd's pie, roast chicken or lamb chops – I would take out my carefully prepared notes and go through what he had mispronounced in all my 11-year-old wisdom. "Daddy, it's Vic-tree, not Vic-tawry."

He would sit there all serious, nodding at my crit, listening to every word and pretending to take it all on board. The one thing the whole Hani family had in common was a love for meat. So when Daddy was diagnosed with gout not long after we moved to Dawn Park, he really suffered on the strict no red- meat diet of fish and chicken that Mama now insisted on. But that didn't mean a thing when it came to lamb chops, his favourite meal. - *Being Chris Hani's Daughter by Lindiwe Hani and Melinda Ferguson was published in 2016. Copyright - Melinda Ferguson Books, an imprint of NB Publishers. During Lockdown the book is available as an e-book on Amazon.com*

How Fort Hare shaped Hani's ideals



Chris Hani identified Fort Hare University where he was a student between 1959 and 1961 as a place where he was exposed to ideals that deepened his non-racial perspective.

This is one of the ideals that shaped his vigour as a fearless fighter against racial oppression and injustice.

It was not surprising that Fort Hare University played such an influential role on the man from Sabalele because it was no ordinary institution.

Long before his time there, the institution produced notable alumni – among them seven men who went on to become state presidents in Africa, emerging from the dark days of colonial occupation.

The roll of honour includes SA's first democratically elected president Nelson Mandela, Mwalimu Julius Nyerere of Tanzania, Yusuf Lule of Uganda, Robert Mugabe of Zimbabwe, Ntsu Mokhehle of Lesotho and Botswana's Sir Seretse Khama.

"For young black South Africans like myself, it was Oxford and Cambridge, Harvard and Yale, all rolled into one," Mandela wrote glowingly of Fort Hare in his celebrated memoir Long Walk to Freedom.

Hani recalled his time at the institution as the place where he became openly involved in the Struggle. He said this because Fort Hare was a liberal campus.

"It was here that I got exposed to Marxist ideas and the scope and nature of the racist capitalist system. My conversion to Marxism also deepened my non-racial perspective."

He said his early Catholicism led to a fascination with Latin studies and English literature which he took up at Fort Hare.

"These studies in these two courses were gobbled up by me and I became an ardent lover of English, Latin and Greek literature, both modern and classical. My studies of literature further strengthened my hatred of all forms of oppression, persecution and obscurantism. The action of tyrants as portrayed in various literary works also made me hate tyranny and institutionalised oppression."

In line with its reputation for producing great leaders throughout its 104 year history, Fort Hare runs The Centre for Leadership Ethics in Africa (CLEA).

The university describes the course as a cross-disciplinary initiative that conducts research, develops postgraduate curricula and shapes debates about leadership ethics in post-apartheid South Africa and its wider theoretical and global significance.

"CLEA sees itself contributing to the crafting of a new generation of enlightened leaders within a space of lively and imaginative intellectual engagement."

It is perhaps befitting that the CLEA is housed in the aptly named Chris Hani Building in East London.

Writing in a tribute to the institution on its centenary in 2016, former student and now renowned businessman Luthando Bara said: "The institution's alumni acts as a powerful magnet for present and past pupils to merge, to share experiences and insights, and to contribute to solving the many challenges that exist in today's turbulent world."

Although he eventually graduated from Rhodes University – Hani's name will continue to rank among the most notable of those who were honed in the institution's lecture halls.

Hani identified corruption as the new enemy



From left ; former SACP General Secretary Chris Hani, former Cosatu leader Jay Naidoo, former UDF Leader Alan Boesak and former ANC Secretary General Cyril Ramaphosa

Shortly before his tragic killing Chris Hani made a powerful statement that continues to be the subject of animated debate long after his death.

"What I fear is that the liberators emerge as elitists who drive around in Mercedes Benz's and use the resources of this country to live in palaces and gather riches," Hani said in an interview in 1993.

The charismatic leader and former secretary general of the South African Communist Party enjoyed popularity among the downtrodden for his fierce and non-partisan approach to worker's rights particularly advocating for socialist driven policies.

Hani was ambushed, shot and mercilessly killed on the driveway of his Boksburg home on 10 April 1993 in what is widely believed to have been a well orchestrated assassination. The motive for his brutal slaying is still shrouded in mystery.
In 2003, a joint collaboration between COSATU and the South African Communist Party saw the formation of the Chris Hani Institute, an educational and research hub aimed at rekindling the spirit of Hani.

The institute is underpinned on promoting socialist values and principles practised by Hani and others in their struggle and pursuit to serve and emancipate the poor working class in Southern Africa. This year marks 27-years since the tragic killing of Hani.

Professor Edward Webster who served at the Chris Hani Institute from 2012 to 2015 says in a context where so many of the political leaders have succumbed to personal enrichment, Hani stands out in contemporary South Africa as a beacon of selfless struggle for the working poor and the marginalised.

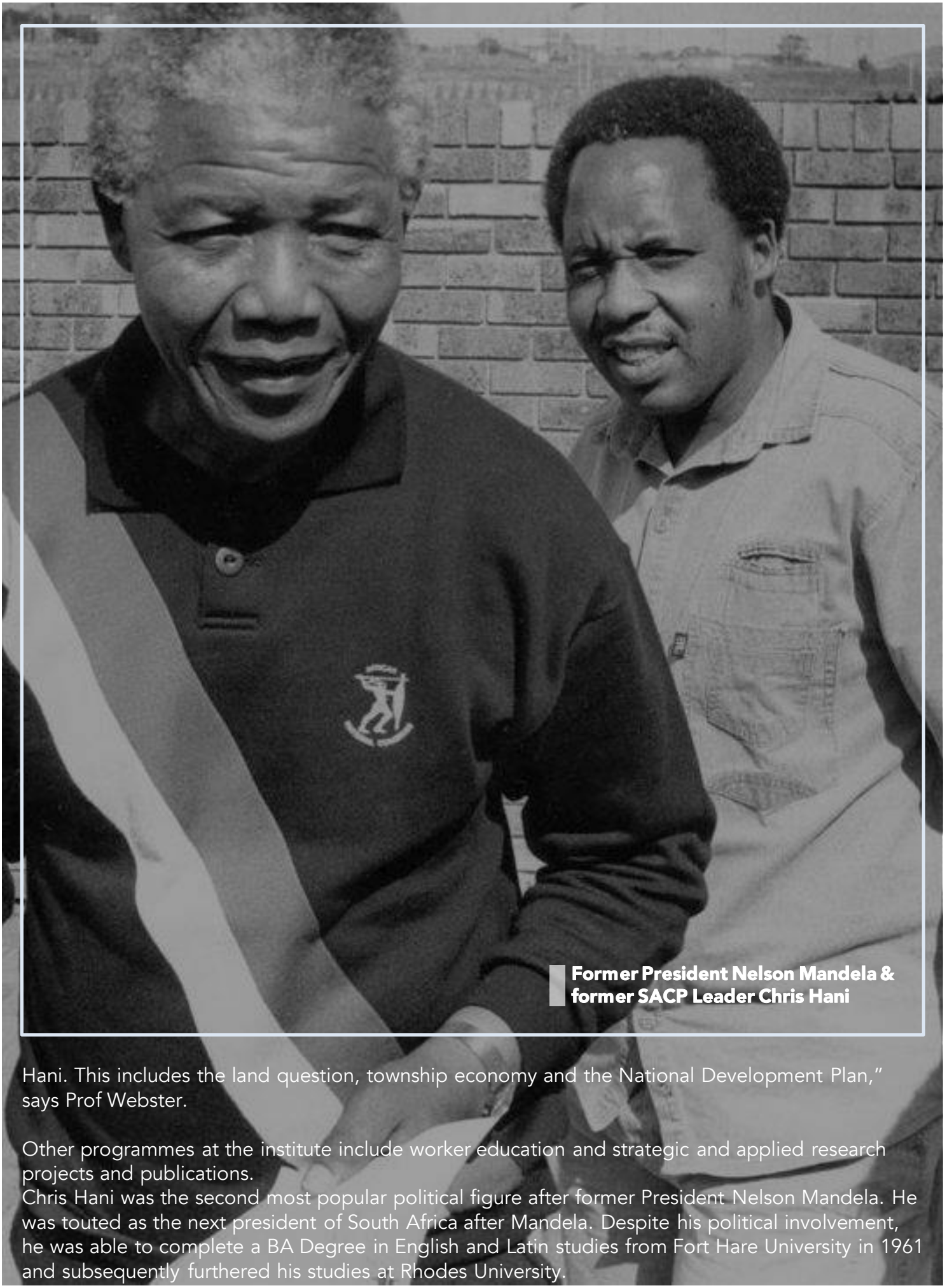
"Eight days before comrade Chris was assassinated, he was interviewed by social historian Luli Callinicos. In this interview on the eve of the 1994 democratic elections, he said that South Africa faced a new enemy and a new struggle that enemy, he said, was socio-economic. The fight would be about the struggle for jobs, houses and schools, so that we could build a society that cares," says Prof Webster.

He says Hani called for a culture of public service where nurses are guided by ethic of care, teachers by ethic of learning, police by an ethic of community safety and local government by an ethic of public service.

"The new enemy, he said, was corruption. And we in the SACP have been discussing how we should cut down on salaries of ministers and that of parliamentarians so that if you are in parliament in Cape Town, you actually rent a flat like everybody else," adds Prof Webster.

Prof Webster says it was important that research and think tanks institutions such as the Chris Hani Institute remain active as a vehicle of public engagement and discourse, saying the institute should ensure that Hani's legacy and ideals lived on for many decades to come.

"While a director, my aim was to make the institute a leading think tank for the broad left and a place where the memory of Hani could be kept alive. We focused on three main activities: public engagement, public debates, roundtables and workshops on key socio-economic issues in South Africa such as the work and life of Chris



Former President Nelson Mandela & former SACP Leader Chris Hani

Hani. This includes the land question, township economy and the National Development Plan," says Prof Webster.

Other programmes at the institute include worker education and strategic and applied research projects and publications.

Chris Hani was the second most popular political figure after former President Nelson Mandela. He was touted as the next president of South Africa after Mandela. Despite his political involvement, he was able to complete a BA Degree in English and Latin studies from Fort Hare University in 1961 and subsequently furthered his studies at Rhodes University.



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