



# ANC TODAY

VOICE OF THE AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS

24–30 January 2025

Conversations with the  
**President**



## Partnership is key to South Africa's growth and progress

■ By **PRESIDENT CYRIL RAMAPHOSA**

**A**S this Administration took office last year, we made a commitment to reach out across society to find solutions to the challenges our country faces.

Since then, we have placed partnership at the centre of our work.

While South Africa has a rich history of dialogue and cooperation, our experience of the COVID-19 pandemic underlined how important collaboration was in saving lives and livelihoods. It showed the value of effective coordination across the state and with other sectors of society.

One of the areas where partnerships within the state have had the greatest impact is in Operation Vulindlela. This initiative has brought together Government departments and public institutions to undertake focused reforms in areas such as energy, logistics, telecommunications and water infrastructure.

We also have structures like the President's Coordinating Council, which brings together leaders from national, provincial and local governments to deal collectively with common challenges.

In other areas, we have

brought the different spheres of Government together with other stakeholders. Last year, we established the Presidential eThekweni Working Group to support the metro in its efforts to restore business confidence and overcome service delivery challenges. Together, the working group has made progress on things such as water supply, tourism infrastructure and law enforcement.

We have seen the value of partnership in our response to the electricity crisis. The progress we have made in reducing the severity of load shedding has been made possible by bringing together Government

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departments, State-owned companies, business, labour and other social partners. The National Electricity Crisis Committee has played a crucial role in coordinating and focusing the efforts of these many different players.

Another area that is benefiting from such partnerships is in rail and port operations. These are beginning to stabilise and recover lost volumes as a result of efforts to support Transnet's operational recovery.

An important area of structured cooperation is the partnership between Government and business to unlock impediments to inclusive growth. Though our respective roles and mandates may differ, we are aligned on the need to drive inclusive economic growth and job creation.

Our areas of cooperation have extended beyond immediate economic issues. For example, Government came together with civil society partners on a national strategy to end gender-based violence and femicide.

We have worked with various sectors through bodies like the South African National Aids Council and the Human Resource Development Council, using our collective resources and capabilities to promote development.

This week we will attend the annual meeting of the World Economic Forum in Davos, Switzerland, where we will be outlining South Africa's priorities for its G20 Presidency.

At the centre of our G20 agenda is the promotion of cooperation among G20 and other countries on the most pressing issues facing the world. This cooperation should not only take place at a government-to-government level. It should involve all social formations.

As in previous G20 presidencies, dialogue with civil society and other non-government institutions will be conducted through various engagement groups. These engagement groups cover sectors such as business, labour, civil society, parliamentary bodies and the judiciary. Following the approach of the Brazilian G20 Presidency in 2024, we will be convening a G20 Social Forum. This will bring together representatives of engagement groups and other segments of civil society.

One of the messages we will be taking to Davos is our ongoing commitment to partnerships in pursuit of inclusive growth and sustainable development.

We will present our experiences of cooperation across society in South Africa and encourage greater emphasis on partnerships in international relations. In particular, we will make a call for global companies to partner with governments, entrepreneurs and stakeholders in emerging markets to pursue sustainable and inclusive growth.

As we take our message of partnership and progress to Davos this week, we reaffirm our commitment to work with all social partners in pursuit of inclusive growth that benefits all South Africans and leaves no one behind.



G20  
SOUTH AFRICA 2025



Solidarity
Equality
Sustainability

**Through South Africa's G20 Presidency  
we will work to build a better Africa  
and a better world, and to ensure that  
no one is left behind.**

*– President Cyril Ramaphosa*



# The success of the ANC in the GNU lies in building a meritocratic leadership

■ By **SNUKI ZIKALALA, ANC VETERANS LEAGUE PRESIDENT**

**F**OR the ANC to succeed in leading the Government of National Unity (GNU) and regaining its majority, meritocratic reforms need to be implemented to improve the quality of the government's political and administrative leadership.

As the ANC, we must learn from other successful developing countries like China and Singapore, which have adopted political meritocracy as the core basic document of education, economic and social transformation in their countries.

According to Daniel Bell in his book, *"The China Model: Political Meritocracy and the Limits of Democracy"*, through political meritocracy, "everybody in China is given an opportunity to be educated and contribute to politics, but not everybody will emerge from this process with an equal capacity to make morally informed political judgments. Hence, the task of the Chinese governing party is to identify those with above-average ability and make them serve the political community. If leaders perform well, the people will basically go along."



If leaders perform well, service delivery will happen, and the people will support the government of the day.

Marking the hundred days of the GNU, President Cyril Ramaphosa said that the GNU provides a platform for the continuation and intensification of the fundamental transformation of our economy and our society. The GNU's Statement of Intent prioritises good governance, social justice, and economic development.

Last year, as we commemorated 30 years of democracy, we celebrated our strong foundation of

constitutionalism and the rule of law. We already see signs that the economy is stabilising and recovering from the state capture period.

To continue this momentum, the ANC, the governing and largest party in the GNU, must continue to renew itself. The Veterans League's five-point renewal programme seeks to strengthen our leadership with:

- **Mandatory Political Education:** We must equip members with the knowledge and skills for effective leadership;
- **Stricter Membership Criteria:** We must ensure



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dedicated, committed, ethical and qualified individuals representing the party;

- **Enhanced Branch Communication:** We must foster collaboration and engagement within the party;
- **Uncompromising Ethics:** We must combat corruption and misconduct for a more accountable ANC; and
- **Unity and Diversity:** We must champion a democratic and inclusive society.

To go further, inspired by countries like China and Singapore, the ANC must consciously recognise the value of identifying and nurturing future leaders. Proposals to do this should include:

- **Talent Identification:** We must seek out talented individuals from all backgrounds and across the country, rural and urban.
- **Leadership Development:** We must provide intensive recruitment and training programs for promising individuals.
- **Scholarship Opportunities:** We must offer scholarships to high-performing students to study locally and internationally.
- **Community Focus:** We must encourage future leaders to return to their communities and serve them rather than only serve themselves.

For example, Bell says that in Singapore, major national examinations are conducted at key stages of student life. The high-performing students are further tested for intellectual ability, integrity, commitment, leadership skills, and emotional intelligence. Those ranked highest are then awarded government scholarships to



attend prestigious overseas universities and technical colleges.

### Investing in the Future

As the ANC, we should aim to:

- Identify top students from schools, technical colleges and universities;
- Fund scholarships in critical fields such as economics and engineering; and then
- Deploy these individuals within their communities to drive development initiatives.

To illustrate this, the Makhanda Municipality in the Eastern Cape had a problem with bulk water supply as the infrastructure was old. This has now been resolved, but there are problems of burst pipes, delivering water to households and businesses, and they do not have enough engineers and artisans to replace these and ensure that

communities get clean and quality water in their homes.

Closer working relationships and talent scouting must be forged with the East Cape Midlands TVET College, which provides hands-on practical training applicable to the workforce. This will give the municipality a pond from which they can fish for young, qualified, and skilled people who can help resolve the challenges of old and dysfunctional infrastructure in their municipality.

### A Brighter Horizon

Training young people, coupled with the GNU's focus on economic development, job creation, the rule of law, and good governance, offers a promising future for South Africa.

The ANC's commitment to meritocratic reforms and community development signifies a renewed focus on serving the people.

# The NDP is at the centre of South Africa's path to prosperity

■ By **MAROPENE RAMOKGOPA, 2nd Deputy Secretary-General**

**S**OMETIMES we become so accustomed to having certain things in place, that we become complacent and may forget to appreciate what it may be like if they were not there. The National Development Plan (NDP) is one such instrument. The NDP is commonplace as a framework in South Africa's governance architecture that one seldom sees a government document that does not have the NDP logo attached. It is a reference point that is cited in the country's goals and against which we measure our progress as a country. To some extent, its popularisation has rendered it ignorable. It forms part of background noise. It should not be.

There have been important conversations in the public sphere challenging government's planning efficacy, with some expressing views about the ongoing challenges of addressing unemployment and economic transformation in South Africa. While respecting the diversity of views, it is worth noting that there are many complexities and challenges that have confronted our gov-



ernment in its efforts to foster inclusive growth and job creation in the country. Equally, that balance is necessary in these conversations, to depict the context of how government has implemented interventions to address the challenges we face in the country. Having said this, there is a need to put into context the NDP and the interventions being undertaken to ensure that policies are being implemented to achieve the developmental priorities of the South African government.

The NDP holds us together as a society, enabling us to navigate uncharted courses, deal with national crises, drive development and bind us together as a society.

This can be seen in a variety of ways.

Firstly, it has provided an ethical foundation for the country that supersedes political cycles and interests. In the seventh administration of the South African government, the NDP has provided the framework and foundation for the statement of intent, which is currently being incorporated into the Medium Term Development Plan (MTDP), thus orientating the plan around the country's long-term developmental objectives.

Secondly, the NDP has provided direction for the professionalisation of the state. It was this Plan that identified the need to separate the political administrative interface and ensure professional administration. Today we see qualification requirements for senior officials in government, and legislation before Parliament to ensure that administrators are not subjected to undue political interference.

Thirdly, the NDP formed the basis of a whole of society response to state capture. It was through the



commitment to address corruption and reinforce ethical leadership, embodied in the NDP, that the various actors in society mobilised together to address the scourge of state capture, and gradually restore good governance and capable law enforcement agencies as envisaged the NDP. Accordingly, the NDP provided the content to many of the reforms that are currently underway in this regard.

Fourthly, the NDP has provided an aspirational standard against which we can monitor our performance. Was it not for the 5.4% annual growth target, how would we measure just how sub-standard our economic performance has been? Had the NDP not set reading for meaning and mathematics standards for basic education, what would we measure our weak performance against?

Similarly, significant progress in the social services sector in line with the NDP objectives has seen life expectancy rise, and inequality being dented by virtue of the social grants and other social protection measures. The NDP provided the motivation for access to social grants, thereby addressing the most vulnerable. The 10 year review of the NDP, issued by the custodian of the NDP, the National Planning Commission (NPC), independently assessed and advised just how far off our targets we are. As much as government did not like what it was seeing, there was nowhere to hide. The targets were visible and objectively quantifiable. The NDP provides us with the lever to honestly reflect, and then push much more ambitiously forward and course correct to achieve the NDP targets.

Finally, over the past year, the



South Africa belongs to all its peoples. We, the people, belong to one another.

We live the rainbow. Our homes, neighborhoods, villages, towns, and cities are safe and filled with laughter.

Through our institutions, we order our lives.

The faces of our children tell of the future we have crafted.

NDP has provided the long-term vision against which plans for the next five years of government need to meet muster. Much more can be done to further strengthen our planning system, but the NDP has without doubt contributed significantly to more robust, integrated and developmental medium and short-term planning in the state. There can no doubt be more improvements, but without the NDP, we would have no long-term direction against which to stress test our plans, and the success of their implementation.

The Department of Planning, Monitoring and Evaluation (DPME) and NPC are collectively committed in their mandates to further entrench the NDP as the

centre point for policies and Annual Performance Plans (APPs) of government departments and agencies. The DPME is committed to this path through its responsibility of ensuring effective planning, monitoring and evaluation of government programmes through monitoring systems designed to generate accurate and reliable reports for informed policy-making and programme adjustments. As an independent advisory body and the custodian of the NDP, the NPC advises government and society on the implementation of the NDP. The advisories and consultations of the NPC have been important in aligning the work of government towards the realisation of its priorities and development goals.

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The DPME's frontline monitoring and support function is prioritising alignment by government to South Africa's development goals. Through the goals outlined in the NDP and commitments made in the State of the Nation Address and government imbizos, the DPME continues to facilitate service delivery improvements through frontline and citizen-based monitoring and complaints resolution systems. Notable interventions have included:

- Economic recovery projects such as the country's Industrial Parks and Special Economic Zones to elevate concerns of tenants at these economic hubs to create an enabling environment for investment and productive economic activities.
- In its monitoring and evaluation work, the DPME has identified 124 ideal clinics and 45 ideal hospitals in the country for universal access to healthcare.
- To support interventions to improve education in the country, through the Department of Basic Education's Sanitation Appropriate for Education (SAFE) initiative, the DPME has undertaken the monitoring of infrastructure of schools across the country, the monitoring of special schools, and assessing the state of readiness of schools through the Back to School campaign.
- To improve efficiencies in social grant administration, the DPME has monitored sites which have experienced payment system challenges at pay points, thus affecting livelihoods.
- As South Africa continues to combat the gender-based violence and femicide (GBVF) scourge, the DPME's monitoring and evaluation inter-

ventions at Thuthuzela Care Centres and One Stop Centres in South African Police Service (SAPS) hotspots are assisting efforts to reduce secondary victimisation, improved conviction rates, and the reduced cycle time on the finalisation of GBVF cases.

The priorities of the seventh administration of the South African Government align with the NDP and speak to the need for accelerated action to meet the country's development goals. The priorities are to drive inclusive growth and job creation; to reduce poverty and tackle the high cost of living; and to build a capable, ethical and developmental state.

We are steadfast in our commitment to ensure these priorities are realised, and are working hard to ensure that we address challenges to build an inclusive and better South Africa for all. It is our aim, with the NDP as the lodestar to the country's prosperity, that we navigate the complexities hindering the country's development. The complexity of development was highlighted by the former Minister in the Presidency Mr Trevor Manuel at the launch of the NDP in 2012. At the time, Mr Manuel highlighted South Africa's approach to addressing unemployment, poverty and inequality as being premised on, amongst other things, faster and more inclusive growth, higher public and private investment, improving education and skills, the greater use of technology, and innovation and better public services. This approach is what the NDP spoke to then, and continues to speak to now.

Further evidence of our commitment to realising this path to prosperity is in the draft National

State Enterprises Bill, which proposes legislation to make South Africa's state-owned enterprises (SOE) become economically viable in the market economy and to advance the developmental mandate for their country. The proposed centralised ownership model for SOEs promotes the separation of the State's policy-making, regulatory and ownership functions; ensures greater coherence and consistency in the application of governance standards across all SOEs; promotes greater transparency and accountability for SOE operations through uniform oversight and performance monitoring. This proposed legislation promotes sustainable SOEs which will advance the country's developmental goals.

Through all of the interventions to accelerate the country's development and address the challenges of poverty, unemployment and inequality, the NDP stands as the lodestar to the country's prosperity. Despite the continuing challenges we experience in the country, it is important for us to remain on the road of implementing policies and plans that are guided by vision and goals of the NDP. While more can be done, interventions are being implemented to improve inefficiencies. It is incorrect to dismiss the NDP and its role in government's interventions to meet its priorities of government. As we continue to implement reforms, policies and plans, the NDP will continue to be the blueprint to South Africa's inclusive growth and development.

*Maropene Ramokgopa is the Second Deputy Secretary-General of the ANC; Minister in the Presidency for Planning, Monitoring and Evaluation and Chairperson of the National Planning Commission.*



# WATER SECURITY IS KEY TO FOSTERING UNITY

(Abridged version of the speech delivered by Comrade Pemmy Majodina at the Progressive Business Forum Colloquium held recently)

■ By **PEMMY MAJODINA**

**A**MONG the most critical and immediate ways of assessing any society's commitment to equality is to look at the state of access to quality water and sanitation services by its different communities, as well as the strides it is making to ensure that no one is left behind.

History is replete with examples that demonstrate that lack of access to these basic services has the potential to plunge nations into social instability.

In our own country, access to clean water remains a struggle for many. Violent protests sparked by lack of water remind us, not only that water is a precious resource, and a fundamental human right but also serve as a vivid reminder of the urgency to meet the basic needs and aspirations of all South Africans.

While more work still needs to be, I can state without any fear of contradiction that, as a country, we have made remarkable progress since 1994 to expand access to clean water and sanitation. Proceeding from the premise that access to water and sanitation is a human right, we are determined to ensure progres-



sive realization of this right. We will never consider our freedom fully achieved until all South Africans are able to access adequate water and sanitation services.

Consistent with the Sustainable Development Goals, our democratic government believes that access to safe water and dig-

nified sanitation is the most basic human need for health and well-being. Despite challenges, we remain committed to ensuring universal access to safe and affordable drinking water for all by 2030. It is a noble goal we seek to pursue with every fibre of our being and every available energy at our disposal.



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Water is life and sanitation is dignity. Water is a fundamental prerequisite, not only for health, but also for poverty reduction, food security, peace and human rights, ecosystems and education.

Every aspect of our life depends on clean water and all sectors of our economy depend on clean water to function and flourish. In short, there is no single economic sector that does not depend on water for optimal performance. But sadly, water availability has become extremely unpredictable in many regions of the world. Water scarcity is projected to increase with the rise of global temperatures as a result of climate change.

In some parts of the globe, droughts and climate change have exacerbated water scarcity in a way that impacts negatively on people's health and threatens livelihoods and sustainable development worldwide. Thus, by managing our water sustainably, we are also able to better manage our production of food and energy and contribute to decent work and economic growth.

Across the globe, demand for water is rising exponentially, owing to rapid population growth, urbanization and increasing water needs from agriculture, industry and energy sectors. In many parts of the world, demand for water has outpaced population growth, and half the world's population is already experiencing severe water scarcity.

While there are challenges, we wish to reiterate that raw water supply in South Africa is currently approximately in balance with existing demands on a national scale, but there are localized deficits such as Nelson Mandela

Bay (2015-2023) and Cape Town (2016-2018) deficits caused by droughts, Gauteng caused by increased demand, water losses, illegal connections and delays in the implementation of Phase 2 of the Lesotho Highlands Water Project 2, eThekweni, caused by delay in Umkhomazi Water Project and increase in non-revenue water.

However, water availability in South Africa could deteriorate rapidly as supply contracts and demand escalates due to economic growth, population growth, urbanization, inefficient use (including increasing physical losses in municipal distribution systems), degradation of wetlands and the impact of climate change. It is encouraging to note that delays in the implementation of surface water resource development projects in the past have now been addressed, and projects have been accelerated.

The department is implementing 14 major national water infrastructure projects (at a cost of approximately R100 billion) aimed

at securing raw water security. These include:

- R42 billion second phase of the Lesotho Highlands Water project to supply additional water to Gauteng.
- The R28 billion construction of a new dam and transfer tunnel on the uMkhomazi River in KwaZulu Natal to supply additional water to eThekweni and surrounding municipalities.
- The R6.5 billion raising of the wall of the Clanwilliam Dam in the Western Cape.
- The R750 million raising of the wall of the Tzaneen Dam in Limpopo.

Through massive water construction projects across the length and breadth of our country, the Department of Water and Sanitation is turning South Africa into a construction site with billions of investments. Through these interventions, we seek to contribute to the attainment of shared growth and prosperity. Indeed, availability of water and sanitation in our communities can be both an instrument to foster unity



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# NUMBERS YOU SHOULD KNOW

## What you can do with 50 litres of water per day



2 Litres for drinking water



2 Litres for cooking



2 Litres for daily hygiene



15 Litres for a two minute shower



17 Litres for dishes and laundry



12 Litres for two toilet flushes (less with 6 litres or smaller capacity cisterns)

WATER IS LIFE - SANITATION IS DIGNITY



Please use water sparingly

and build sustainable communities as well as a tool for economic development.

The water and sanitation sector in our country is confronted with numerous challenges. South Africa is one of the thirty most water-scarce countries in the world, and the demand for water is increasing as a result of economic and population growth. Yet, our average consumption of water is 218 litres per capita per day, compared to the international average of 173 litres per capita per day. Already, 75% of the available surface water has been captured in dams, and the remaining opportunities for capturing surface water are very expensive.

Other challenges crying out for urgent action include water losses, old and aging infrastructure, illegal connections, illegal mining and servitude encroachment, devastating impact of climate change, vandalism, lack of enforcement of by-laws, lack of adherence to user-pay policy, water tank mafias, etc.

All these factors conspire to impose a suffocating constraint on the water sector and to render

the sector incapable of responding effectively to the water needs of society.

Given that South Africa is a water-scarce country, we all carry a duty to ensure sustainable management of water resources. This requires a good balancing act – that of meeting current water needs without compromising future water needs. Put simply, this means we must ensure that every citizen has access to clean water today but not at the expense of future generations. Sustainable management of water resources and access to safe water and sanitation are prerequisites for unlocking economic growth and productivity.

The task of reconstruction and development requires the active partnership of government and civil society if we are to succeed. Protecting and managing this scarce resource remains the responsibility of all of us – individuals, communities, the private sector and government fosters. The Constitution, National Water Act and the Water Services Act clearly define roles and responsibilities for the management of water resources and for provid-

ing water services in our country.

The Department of Water and Sanitation is responsible for: Water resource management and taking regulatory action to protect our water resources, setting national minimum norms and standards for water services provided by municipalities, providing support to municipalities and intervening where these norms and standards are not being met. The Water Boards are entities under the Minister of Water and Sanitation that are established in terms of the Water Services Act to assist municipalities with bulk potable water infrastructure and services. The provision of local water and sanitation services is the Constitutional and legal responsibility of municipalities.

As government, we are painfully aware that inadequate infrastructure is holding back the provision of water and sanitation services. We are of the firm view that the private sector has a huge role to play in helping to address water and sanitation challenges and backlogs. The White Paper on Water Supply and Sanitation Policy states that *“the private sector represents a vast resource which*

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*must be harnessed to contribute to the implementation of this policy.*” The private sector is a resource which must be utilised to accelerate delivery of water and sanitation services across communities.

Together with the private sector we will embark on innovative and alternative service delivery approaches anchored on public-private partnerships. We expect the private sector, especially businesses operating within the water and sanitation sector, to play a role in empowering communities by providing water treatment solutions in their local areas, and to utilise their corporate social investment programmes to help expand access to water and sanitation services in identified communities. The private sector can play a vital role in ensuring the right to safe water and sanitation in South Africa.

Our interconnectedness as nations and communities cannot be ignored. We must work towards collaborative solutions in the context of ensuring equitable access to water resources. If not properly managed, this may give rise to community and regional tensions. As a department, we acknowledge that the depth of South Africa’s water scarcity is not just a domestic issue – it is also a regional one.

Our shared natural water resources must be benefit us all. Instead of being a source of tension, water can be an instrument of unity and cooperation. Equitable access to this resource remains central to our pursuit of peace. Expanding access to clean drinking water and sanitation and upholding water rights is key to fostering unity and peace in our communities. Through col-



### **SDG Goal 6: Ensuring Clean Water and Sanitation for All – A Lifeline to Sustainable Development**

lective action and commitment, we can ensure that this precious resource serves as an instrument for peace, equality, economic growth and prosperity for all.

How then do we respond to the vexing question: What is to be done? The self-evident truth is that only a collaborative effort will enable us to address all these challenges in a sustainable manner and help advance peoples’ right to clean water and dignified sanitation. We must also mobilise individuals, communities, civil society, private sector and government agencies to play their part.

As national government we continue to call on municipalities to impose water restrictions, upgrade water infrastructure, reduce non-revenue water, impose strict credit management systems, improve billing and revenue collection, installing water meters or replacing dysfunctional bulk and customer water meters

so that water flows can be measured accurately to determine the location of the losses. In short, we must use water sparingly, stop leaks, pay for the water we consume and deal firmly with illegal connections.

We remain convinced that we also need to continue investing in infrastructure construction and maintenance, water research and development, and promote the inclusion of women, youth and indigenous communities in water resources governance. Anything less will undermine prosperity, and our collective efforts towards sustainable provision of water and sanitation services to our communities shall not have been advanced.


We dare not fail!

*Pemmy Majodina is a member of the NEC and NWC. She is also Minister of Water and Sanitation.*



# AN UMBILICAL CORD THAT TIES HUMANITY - 113<sup>TH</sup> ANNIVERSARY OF A GIANT

■ By **GEORGE MAGOMA**

 On Wednesday, the 8th of January 2025, the African National Congress (ANC) reached 113 years. This is a significant milestone considering the tumultuous path, the existential threats experienced and the sad fate suffered by liberation movements across the world.

Every anniversary of the ANC is a period of rebirth in a complex milieu fraught with dynamics that require a deep sense of reflection to surmount challenges that dawn with each day, learning from the valuable lessons in the course of its existence, and developments across the globe and the demise of the liberation movement, the adverse impact on their livelihoods.

Ignoring the ominous signs that point to its gradual decline, its relevance in the political matrix needs an ear to the voice that says, is the ANC still a leader of society, is the ANC on the way to its grave and many questions. Otherwise its existence will be futile, disconnecting it from a dream of a better tomorrow, stifling the project of renewal with far-reaching implications for the National Democratic Revolution (NDR).

The 113th anniversary of the ANC is a turning point of its life to ponder, thinking of the prickly

path it had travelled since birth. It is a period of candid reflection, asking difficult questions as to what could have gone wrong. The midwives who delivered the ANC on the 8th January 1912 ancestrally ask, is this what we have anticipated in nurturing this child to drive what is supposed to be?

Let us reflect on this path and the dynamics at play, and what needs to be done. Learning from the global experiences and the perilous fate of the liberation movements, in its assessment

the ANC understood its umbilical relationship with society, its strategic mission of building the true non-racial, non-sexist and democratic project of a country mobilized and united under a common vision of equality, dignity and a better life based on the imperatives of the Freedom Charter and a goal of a better life for all.

It is apt that the ANC commemorates its birthday in year of the 70th anniversary of the Freedom Charter which continues to be a lighthouse, and an embodiment



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of its values, to build common citizenship, a common bond of humanity, and a citizenship that is active in its role, conscious and capable of defending the democratic state.

The ANC and progressive civil society commemorates its birthday in the Western Cape, the land of Krotoa, the Khoi and the San, and great stalwarts such as Basil February, Cecil Essau, Jakes Gerwel and many others. Its choice of Khayelitsha is a path to renewal and mobilisation of communities behind the goal of nation building and unity. Khayelitsha means a new home. For the ANC this was one of the bold steps to rekindle its relationship and to reconnect with communities.

The ANC is rooted in communities, invoking the spirit and values of comrade Dullah Omar, an advocate of human rights within which Khayelitsha is located, a region named after this stalwart, an impeccable servant of the people. The Western Cape is not pristine to the ANC nor a new terrain but the continuation of renewal and reconnection.

Today the Western Cape can be seen through a prism of racism, division and inequality surmised

as a Tale of Two Cities, Invoking President Thabo Mbeki the Western Cape can be described as a place of two stories — one is white and wealthy and the other black and poor.

Rebuilding the ANC and uniting society behind the common objective of prosperity needs a conscious concerted effort to dismantle the apartheid vestiges of what the Western Cape is, the mortified conditions of the farming and fishing communities, the children of Delft, Bontehuwel, Langa, Belhar, Gugulethu, Mfuleni, Cape Flats and many areas which are neglected by the present racist regime in the Western Cape that prefers affluent areas to the poor.

The likes of Oscar Mpetha, Dora Tamana, Ashley Kriel and others, fought against apartheid spatial development and racism and the demise of apartheid. In addition to other extra-judicial killings in retaliation to these struggles, the apartheid regime resorted to killing children in what is known as the Trojan Horse Massacre of 1985. In its deadly path, the apartheid machinery killed Jonathan Claassen (21), Shaun Magmoed (15) and Michael Miranda (11) and several others were injured. These struggles should be

elevated to address the scourge of gender based violence, drugs, gangsterism, homelessness, unemployment and other maladies.

Renewal and redemption entail restoring the dignity of the people, reconnecting with their aspirations, sharing in the pain and reversal of the apartheid spatial development which represents two cities governed on the policy of racial dichotomy and inequality. As a drastic shift to the liberation legacy as advocated by the organisation through President Ramaphosa, for the ANC, this is a new beginning of going back to basics, working together with civil society, youth, women, faith-based organisations, business and other sectors of the society to accelerate socio-economic transformation in a paradigm that is collaborative, based on a social compact.

To renew, the values of ANC and SACP stalwart, Joe Slovo are a great fountain, guiding the ANC to provide shelter over millions of the homeless, and to ensure social protection for the vulnerable, security and comfort.

In line with the ANC Election Manifesto Priorities the ANC the will:

- Working and leading together



- with society to advance socio-economic transformation;
- Institutionalize values of ethical leadership, collective leadership, accountability and responsibility;
  - Fight corruption and maladministration;
  - Inculcate a culture of respect and empathy towards communities;
  - Revamp local government to discharge its legislative service delivery mandate by its close proximity with communities;
  - Accelerate the realization of its election priorities by ensuring increased service delivery;
  - Laying a solid path to the Roadmap 2032;
  - Extricate the poor from the clutches of poverty, ensuring increased service delivery by rebuilding the economy, and addressing the porous borders which stifle local growth. This is one area that the ANC must prioritize.
  - Build unity and commitment within its ranks, respect and listen to society; and
  - Rebuild and reclaim its values for a dream of its midwives, a vision and mission of a true non-racial-non-sexist united and democratic South Africa.

The ANC is viewed to be a shell of corruption, ill-discipline, aloofness and an organisation that had deviated from its strategic mission, vision and values had weakened the organisation. Truth be told, this is a heavy albatross on the ANC. It is a weighty crust that needs to be discarded, saving the ANC from extinction, reclaiming its rightful place as a liberation movement and to free the people from the indignity of penury, diseases, drought and starvation.

This will augur well towards redemption, restoring its trust in communities, cementing its vanguardism as a leader of society and true custodian of their aspirations. The success of the country is the growth and strength of the ANC, and increased trust and confidence in the ANC as a leader of the society.

To the powers that be in the Western Cape, their appendages, divisive quest for secession and an independent Cape, these racist and reactionary forces opposed to unity must be isolated.

They must be reminded that the Western Cape is a not an exclusive enclave but an integral part of the mainstream. South Africa is a unitary democratic state embedded in a shared value system of inclusivity and equal opportunities where each individual can unleash their true potential based on the dictates of the Constitution of the country.

The choice of the Western Cape is a continuation of the work of the ANC of uniting society behind the common agenda of development, building a true non-racial society based on equality and

justice. Embracing the values and the unflinching and principled spirit and values of Joe Slovo, Ashley Kriel, and other martyrs of the liberation struggles.

For the ANC and the people, the 113th anniversary is not about glitz and glamour, of an annual pilgrimage without a moral and purposeful compass. It is a continuation of 31 years of democratic governance, decisive and outcome-based leadership and consolidation of the massive gains amassed. Walking through the path of renewal the umbilical cord that ties the ANC and society gets stronger. In rekindling its values, reconnecting with communities, the ANC will not suffer the fate of liberation movements. The growth of the ANC cannot be measured in a way that is detached to the needs of society and its strategic vision but positive and tangible change in the living conditions of the people, germane to their aspirations.

2025 is a *fait accompli*, it is irreversible. It is year of hope and a better life. Happy birthday to a revolutionary giant on a path to renewal, the prosperity of the country.







# The National Democratic Revolution and Decolonising Toxic Masculinity: The Leadership Role of the African National Congress

■ By **GEOFF BROWN**

*In memory and honour  
of our Leader, Isithwalandwe  
Seaparankoe, Walter Sisulu  
... A revolutionary  
gender activist ...  
way ahead of his  
and the time!!*

**T**HE intersection of the National Democratic Revolution (NDR) and the imperative to decolonise toxic masculinity presents a profound challenge and opportunity in the ongoing transformation of South African society.

The African National Congress (ANC), as the principal and con-

tinuing liberation movement and governing party, has played a central role in dismantling apartheid and constructing a democratic state. However, the struggle for true social and gender justice remains incomplete.

This article will shine an introductory light on the relationship between the NDR, toxic masculinity,

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and the ANC's leadership in decolonising patriarchal structures that continue to undermine the health and dignity of South African men and women.

### The National Democratic Revolution: A Brief Overview

The NDR, as conceptualised by the ANC and its strategic allies, is a revolutionary process aimed at achieving a non-racial, non-sexist, and democratic society. Rooted in Marxist-Leninist and Social-Democratic thought as well as anti-colonial struggle, the NDR fundamentally seeks to dismantle the structural inequalities imposed by colonial-apartheid rule and to replace them with a society based on equality, justice, and economic redistribution.

Key objectives of the NDR include:

- Eradicating racial oppression and economic exploitation;
- Establishing participatory democracy;
- Advancing gender equality and social justice; and
- Building a non-sexist society free from patriarchy.

While significant strides have been made in achieving formal political liberation, the deeper socio-cultural transformation required for true equality remains an ongoing struggle.

### Toxic Masculinity as a Colonial Construct

Toxic masculinity refers to harmful norms of male behaviour that promote dominance, aggression, emotional suppression, and entitlement over women. This phenomenon is not an innate aspect of African culture but rather a by-product of colonialism and apartheid. Pre-colonial African soci-



eties exhibited diverse gender dynamics, often characterised by complementary roles and communal leadership.

Colonial rule, however, imposed rigid, hierarchical structures that reinforced male dominance while marginalising indigenous governance systems, particularly those that included women.

Under apartheid, toxic masculinity was exacerbated through economic disenfranchisement, state-sanctioned violence, and the fragmentation of the African family structure.

Black men, stripped of economic agency and subjected to racial humiliation, often internalised oppression, redirecting their frustrations through hypermasculine assertions of power in domestic and social settings. The modern manifestations of toxic masculinity, including gender-based violence (GBV), femicide, and rigid gender norms, are rooted in this historical legacy.

### The ANC's Role in Decolonising Masculinity

The ANC has historically po-

sitioned itself as the vanguard movement for social transformation. While its primary focus has been racial and economic justice, its commitment to gender equality has been articulated in policies and institutional mechanisms such as:

- The Women's Charter and the establishment of the ANC Women's League.
- The inclusion of gender equality in the Freedom Charter (1955).
- The formation of the Commission for Gender Equality post-1994.
- Legislative reforms addressing GBV and workplace discrimination.

Despite these advancements, the ANC's response to decolonising toxic masculinity has been inconsistent. While progressive policies exist, their implementation remains hindered by deep-seated patriarchal norms within the movement itself. The persistence of gender-based violence, both within ANC structures and broader society, signals a need for more radical interventions as part of the broader strategic organisational and cultural renewal process.



### Strategies for Decolonising Masculinity within the NDR Framework

To align the decolonisation of masculinity with the NDR, the ANC must adopt a multi-faceted approach:

#### 1. Transforming Leadership Culture

The ANC must lead by example, fostering leadership that embodies non-toxic, transformative masculinity. This includes:

- Prioritising ethical, emotionally intelligent male leadership.
- Holding accountable members accused of gender-based violence.
- Normalising vulnerability, compassion, and collective decision-making in leadership spaces.

#### 2. Political Education and Cultural Transformation

Decolonising masculinity requires shifts in education and cultural narratives:

- Integrating gender-conscious education in political training programs.
- Encouraging traditional leadership structures to engage in gender equity dialogues.
- Challenging media portrayals that reinforce hypermasculine stereotypes.

#### 3. Economic Empowerment as a Tool for Gender Justice

Economic disenfranchisement fuels toxic masculinity by reinforcing feelings of inadequacy and entitlement. The ANC's economic policies should:

- Prioritise job creation and skills development for young men.
- Support black-owned enterprises that promote equitable work environments.
- Address economic gender disparities, ensuring that



women and men access resources equally.

#### 4. Engaging Men in Gender-Based Violence Prevention

Men must be active participants in dismantling GBV. The ANC ought to take the lead in facilitating and supporting:

- Nationwide men's dialogues on healthy masculinity.
- Grassroots movements challenging GBV in communities.
- Collaborations with faith-based and cultural institutions to reframe masculinity narratives.

#### 5. Healing and Restorative Justice Initiatives

Decolonisation must include psychological and spiritual healing:

- Expanding mental health services for men dealing with trauma.
- Revitalising indigenous rites of passage that promote responsible masculinity.
- Creating rehabilitation programs for men involved in GBV.

#### The ANC's Challenges and Future Prospects

While the ANC has the potential

to lead in decolonising toxic masculinity, it faces several challenges:

- **Internal Patriarchy:** Many ANC structures remain male-dominated and resistant to gender transformation.
- **Political Will:** Gender justice is often sidelined for more politically expedient issues.
- **Corruption and Ethical Decline:** The credibility of ANC leadership impacts its ability to drive meaningful change.

To overcome these obstacles, the African National Congress must embrace a renewed commitment to gender justice as a fundamental pillar of the NDR. This requires bold leadership, grassroots mobilisation, and a willingness to challenge entrenched power dynamics.

#### Conclusion

The struggle to decolonise toxic masculinity is inseparable from the broader goals of the National Democratic Revolution. As the leading force in South Africa's liberation, the ANC has a historic responsibility to dismantle patriarchal oppression alongside racial and economic injustices.

By fostering a new vision of African masculinity ... one rooted in equality, emotional intelligence, and collective upliftment ... the ANC can lead the charge in transforming South African society into a truly liberated, non-sexist democracy.

The time for rhetorical commitments has passed; what is required now is action, accountability, and the courage to deconstruct the colonial legacies that continue to harm both men and women in post-apartheid South Africa.



# The People's Movement: Building a Just and Inclusive South Africa Together

■ By **MEAGAN CHAUKE-ADONIS**

**T**HE African National Congress (ANC) has stood as a beacon of hope and liberation for the people of South Africa for over a century. Its historical mission, grounded in the pursuit of freedom, equality, and justice, continues to resonate in a democratic South Africa that requires unity and renewal now more than ever. As we face pressing social, economic, and political challenges, the call to strengthen, unite, and revitalise the ANC must be answered by its branches, its collective comrade

ground forces, and all sectors of society.

The ANC's renewal begins with its membership. Unity is not a theoretical ideal but a necessary foundation for progress. It is incumbent upon the branches of the ANC—the movement's lifeblood—to anchor themselves in discipline, accountability, and democratic values. Through active engagement, political education, and grassroots mobilisation, branches must embody the commitment to one shared common objective:

building a strong, united, and inclusive ANC that reflects the will of all South Africans.

Diversity must be celebrated as a strength. An ANC that promotes inclusion and reflects the principles of a non-racial, non-sexist, and non-ableist society is one that aligns with the ideals of our Constitution. Renewal requires confronting and dismantling systemic barriers that perpetuate inequality and division. It requires bold action to address disparities in wealth, access to opportuni-



ties, and social justice while holding steadfast to the values of the Freedom Charter.

A transformed and inclusive South Africa cannot be realised by the ANC alone; it demands the participation of all sectors of society. Communities, households, civic organisations, and individuals each have a role to play. Every South African must embrace the responsibility of ensuring that our nation advances equity and justice while promoting unity in diversity.

The collective responsibility of society is to foster spaces where discrimination and exclusion are rejected. This includes championing equal opportunities for persons with disabilities, eradicating gender-based violence, dismantling racial and economic inequalities, and ensuring that no one is left behind. It is through this united effort that we can build a country where every individual's potential is realised.

The legacy of the ANC must be one of enduring progress. As members and supporters of the ANC, our task is to leave behind a South Africa that is more equitable, just, and inclusive. We must strive for a nation where the aspirations of young people are met with opportunities, where women and persons with disabilities are empowered to lead, and where all people enjoy equal rights and dignity.

This legacy extends beyond our borders. South Africa must continue to influence and contribute to the development of the African continent and the global community. By championing progressive values and fostering partnerships for peace, economic growth, and social cohesion, the ANC and



South Africa can honour their historical commitment to justice on the global stage.

Achieving equality demands that the ANC accelerate service delivery and ensure better governance. Policies that address poverty, inequality, and unemployment must be at the forefront of our agenda. We must prioritise economic and social equality, ensure sustainable development, and promote diversity and inclusion. The eradication of systemic disparities and barriers is essential to realising the vision of a united South Africa.

Moreover, the ANC must lead by example in its commitment to a non-discriminatory and non-ableist society. By addressing structural injustices and advancing policies that empower marginalised communities, we affirm our dedication to the values of equality and dignity.

To members of the ANC, supporters of the movement, civic organisations, and all South Africans: the time to act is now. We must reaffirm our collective commitment to the values of the ANC

and work tirelessly to realise its historic agenda of liberation and transformation. Let us stand together in unity and solidarity, ensuring that the ANC continues to serve the people with integrity and accountability.

To the global community, we call for continued collaboration and shared commitment to a world free from oppression, inequality, and poverty. Let us work together toward building a brighter future for generations to come.

As we strive for a South Africa where no one is left behind, we must remember that the ANC's strength lies in its ability to mobilise and inspire. Let this be our call to action: to renew, to unite, and to transform. Together, we can build a just, inclusive, and prosperous South Africa that stands as a testament to the enduring spirit of its people.

Forward to victory!

Forward to a united South Africa!

**Meagan Chauke-Adonis** is National Convener of the Disability Desk.



# Lack of Economic Transformation and Unlevelled Playing Field within the South African Subsidized Bus Transport Sector

■ By **SEPHOKA DAVID SEKGOBELA**

ONE of the challenges that faced current dispensation when it assumed power in 1994 was to deal effectively with the legacy of unjust policies of the past, because it inherited a system that entrenched inequalities in opportunities among different race groups. Apartheid systematically restricted majority of South Africans, Africans in particular, from meaningful participation in the economy, resulting in economic structure that still excludes vast majority of South Africans from the disadvantaged background.

The 1994 democratic breakthrough provided opportunity to pursue transformative economic policies, which hold inclusive growth, development and wealth distribution in order to bridge the inexorable gap between the rich and the poor. As part of transformation agenda, government had to equitably redistribute wealth, boost SMME sector, and create sustainable BEE that the government promotes. Small businesses, particularly those owned and operated by previously disadvantaged individuals (PDIs), were supposed to form integral part of



national economy. However, thirty years later into democracy, with triple challenges of inequality, poverty and unemployment continuing unabated, the gap seems to be widening even further, as the rich goes richer, whilst the poor gets poorer.

South African economy is still characterized by concentration of ownership of resources in the hands of few wealthy shareholders. Most of PDIs are operating in the periphery of the country's economic mainstream. They are still lingering at the bottom of the pile in terms of socio-economic opportunities, and those who are in the system already are poor-

ly-paid unskilled and semi-skilled persons. White-owned companies and/or apartheid beneficiaries usurped lucrative business opportunities for themselves during era of apartheid and on the eve of democratic dispensation. In global perspective, South Africa has one of the world's most unequal patterns of distribution of income and wealth along racial and gender lines. Inequality results in deeply entrenched social and economic exclusions that inhibit sustainable human development and self-actualization. Combination of inequality with structural poverty, severe unemployment and slow economic recovery sets socio-economic



challenges throughout society, leading to acute social ills such as crime.

The purpose of this article is to expose maladministration and injustices within the subsidized commuter bus transport sector. The idea is to stimulate debate and discussions regarding South Africa's racially charged economic landscape, with the aim to open up subsidised bus transport sector to economically marginalized SMME bus and taxi operators as well.

Most of the existing subsidized bus contracts in the country that were initially meant to be for the duration of five, seven, or, twelve years respectively – interim contract, negotiated contracts and tendered contracts, have been in force and operative for more than twenty years. The bulk of those have long lapsed, and have just been extended indefinitely by the government for some frivolous reasons, to the exclusion of potential new entrants into the market, including SMME bus and taxi operators. Some of them have been active as way back as 1997, i.e. the so-called “*Evergreen Contracts*”, enjoyed by a monopoly of a few subsidised bus operators.

There has been numerous concerns raised to that effect from different angles – National Treasury, Public Protector, Competition Commission, Auditor-General, but to no avail. Both the Public Protector and the Competition Commissioner declared that subsidized bus contracts that have long lapsed and kept on being extended indefinitely are unlawful and irregular, and so said the National Treasury and the Auditor General. According to the Competition Commission, “*The exten-*

*sion of current subsidy contracts in perpetuity has had unintended consequences of creating de facto monopolies on subsidised routes*”. Recommendations of government institutions, namely Public Protector, Auditor-General, and Competition Commission are not being helpful. Office of Chief Procurement Officer in the National Treasury is supposed to be in the forefront of defending violation of procurement processes by any of the government institutions as outlined in the PFMA and Treasury Regulations, but nothing is being done. Even recommendations of the Competition Commission, that has been established to investigate, control and evaluate restrictive business practices, abuse of dominant positions in order to achieve equity and efficiency in the South African economy, are being ignored.

In view of the above, Contracting Authorities are contravening the Constitution, PFMA, and the National Land Transport Act, 2009, the NLTA, with impunity. There has not been consequences to delinquent parties. There is no

sensible reason to keep expired contracts valid, not even the so-called Tripartite Agreement (TA) that was signed by the government with the bus industry and the unions in 1999. TA is no sufficient reason to enable Contracting Authorities to flaunt the Constitution and the enabling legislation like the PFMA and the NLTA. Besides, TA seems to be unconstitutional as well. It is an anti-transformation instrument that seeks to perpetuate monopoly of subsidized bus sector by a few operators, to the exclusion of SMME bus and taxi operators.

TA is not law, and cannot be preferred over promulgated laws. It cannot supersede legislation like the PFMA and the NLTA, let alone the Constitution. The Constitution is the supreme law of the land. No other law or policy directive or purported agreement between the government, subsidized bus operators, and trade unions, can supersede the Constitution, because any such legislative instrument or policy directive or agreement that is in conflict with the Constitution would automatically be declared null and void.



Section 217 (1) of the Constitution provides that, *“When an organ of state in the national, provincial or local sphere of government, ..... contracts for goods or services, it must do so in accordance with a system which is fair, equitable, transparent, competitive and cost-effective”*.

Section 38 (1) (a) of the PFMA also provides that, *“The accounting officer for a department, trading entity or constitutional institution must ensure that that department, trading entity or constitutional institution has and maintains effective, efficient and transparent systems of financial and risk management and internal control, and that an appropriate procurement and provisioning system which is fair, equitable, transparent, competitive and cost-effective”*.

Section 42 of the NLTA, describes in clear and unambiguous terms the law relating to subsidised service contracts in South Africa. However, with the NLTA requirements for subsidized bus contracts, the government seems to have set itself unattainable standards, because most of the Planning Authorities, especially the local authorities do not have updated Integrated Transport Plans (ITPs), which is a requirement for advertising of subsidised bus contracts.

The government believes in the principle of subsidiarity in terms of which decisions pertaining to public transport are devolved to the lowest level of governance. In terms of the Constitution, certain powers and functions currently being carried out by other competent levels of governance, have to be devolved to the lowest level of governance. However, most of the local authorities are not yet

equipped to deal effectively and efficiently with their Constitutional powers that have always been the competency of other levels of government. There are no resources accompanying devolution of those powers and/or functions. The authorities to which those powers are being delegated are not adequately equipped to deal with them. Some of the devolved functions are too technical by nature and do require certain expertise and/or experience usually lacking in local authorities.

There is therefore unfair competition as a result of indefinite subsidized bus contracts, and designing of subsidized bus contracts in a manner that would automatically exclude SMME bus and taxi operators. Subsidies are direct financial or monetary support given to public transport in order to enhance the affordability by the user. The aim of subsidy is to make transport more affordable to the user, and not to enrich the suppliers. Therefore, subsidy should be allocated in a way that it does not further entrench inequity, but rather enhance affordability to the user and efficiency of the public transport system respectively.

The government is duty bound to rectify mistakes of the past, and should be actively and/or directly involved in facilitating immediate entry of suitably qualified SMMEs into the economic mainstream of the country through procurement reforms.

Procurement is seen as strategic tool for socio-economic development, and is guided by Supply Chain Management Policy Framework, that was developed in 2003. Instead of perpetuating injustices of the past, gov-

ernments' tendering processes should equitably redistribute wealth, boost the SMME sector, and facilitate genuine black economic empowerment.

Subsidized bus tendering system is skewed in favour of big bus operators. SMME bus and taxi operators do not have equitable opportunity to participate in the mainstream of the South African economy due to anti-competitive tendencies. Bid requirements are unfairly and deliberately exclusive to SMME bus and taxi operators.

The exclusion of, or, possible inclusion of SMME bus and taxi operators into the subsidy regime has been debated at different platforms over a period of time. However, the only way for SMME bus and taxi operators to enjoy transport subsidies would seem to be through direct bus contract tendering system, and not only through subcontracting to the main subsidised bus contractors. SMME bus and taxi operators must also be afforded the opportunity for subsidised bus contracts.

The desire for implementation of subsidy system has been argued that the government should subsidize the user, through integration of public transport system and the use of Electronic Management System (EMS), as opposed to subsidising the operator, so that the user would choose which mode of transport to use – taxi, bus, or train. It is desirable that only contracted and scheduled SMME bus and taxi services operating on a scheduled route or routes in accordance with timetables in terms of a contract, with vehicles meeting certain technical specifications, should enjoy transport subsidy.



# CONVERSATIONS WITH SEAPARANKWE/ ISITHWALANDWE TLOU THEOPHILUS CHOLO

■ By **TITUS MAFOLO**

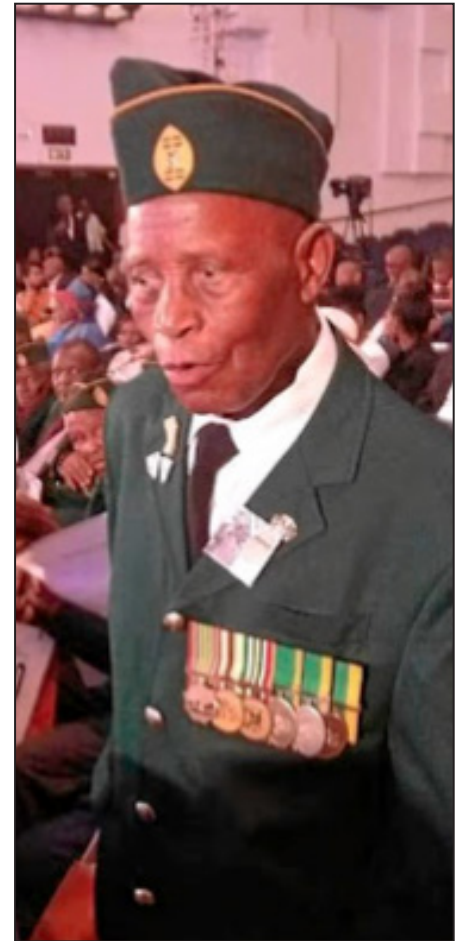
On a sunny Saturday, 18 January 2025, we converged at House Number 669 K Section, Steve Makena Street, Soshanguve, Tshwane. Earlier in the week, a clear and unambiguous command from Dr. Cholo was that we should arrive at 10am because “my Limpopo visitors will be here at 11am”. And so, we duly arrived around 10am, but found the Limpopo visitors were already there.

During the 113th Anniversary celebrations of the ANC in Cape Town, Dr. Tlou Theophilus Cholo – who will be 100 years this year – was awarded the organisation’s highest honour by President Cyril Ramaphosa – the **Isithwalendwe/Seaparankwe**. This is the award to those who have made outstanding contributions and sacrifices for the liberation of our country.

**Isithwalendwe** is taken from our traditional Nguni people, meaning the one who wears the plumes of the rare bird, in particular, the **Blue Crane – Ndwe**. There is a strict hierarchy within the Ndwe group of birds. These birds are lovingly but aggressively protective of their nesting sites and attack any animal and humans who threaten

their eggs and chicks. **Ndwe** – the **Blue Crane** – is the national bird of South Africa. Historically, our people used the plumes of the Ndwe bird to award the bravest warriors and those distinguished by their heroism, together with their leadership qualities and deeds. People so decorated and honoured would proudly wear the feathers sticking out of their hair. Apart from their bravery, those honoured with **Ndwe** plumes are known to reinstate peace and order should there be trouble.

Similarly, **Seaparankwe** is taken from the traditional Sotho national groups who wrap the bravest and most fearless soldiers as well as the monarchs with the fur-skin of **Nkwe** – the **leopard** or **tiger**. The fur is a thick growth of hair that covers the skin of almost all mammals. It consists of a combination of oily guard hair on top and thick underfur beneath. The guard hair keeps moisture from reaching the skin while the underfur acts as an insulating blanket that keeps the animal warm. Accordingly, traditionally, the leopard’s or tiger’s fur-skin is always wrapped around the one who had killed the animal – an act not for the faint-hearted. The **Nkwe** fur-coat is also wrapped



on the shoulders of Chiefs and Kings whose position symbolizes the unyielding strength, insulating warmth and the guiding durability of the people’s army and the monarchy.

The happy meeting at Dr. Cholo’s home in Soshanguve was initiated by the ANC Waterberg Region leadership. These comrades correctly wanted to come and celebrate the **Isithwalendwe/Seaparankwe** Award with one of the bravest, indefatigable heroes of our struggle at his home. Because Dr. Tlou Cholo was born and bred in their area and indeed was arrested there after he came back from his training in the Soviet Union, they were the first ones out of the blocks, to come and celebrate this outstanding award with our ageless indomitable freedom fighter. Dr. Cholo is an advanced

socialist and pan-Africanist who easily combines these beliefs with progressive African ethos and protocols. Thus, he summoned some of us to come and welcome the comrades from Limpopo and “make sure you are here before they arrive”.

Pleasantries were quickly dealt with. Then, formal conversations started. Special thanks were directed to Dr. Gwen Ramokgopa, in absentia, the first female Treasurer-General of the ANC since 1912, for her tireless work in promoting the legacy, history and contributions of Dr. Cholo. Indeed, it is thanks to the relentless efforts of Dr. Ramokgopa that Dr. Cholo received the well-deserved highest honour of the ANC.

It was then time for Dr. Cholo, a nonagenarian, who will be 100-years later this year, to speak. For more than an hour, Dr. Cholo regaled all and sundry with our rich history, laced with sagacious words of wisdom, elaborately doing so, neither with notes nor pausing:

*“All of you, visitors from Limpopo – Limpopo is part of us as a country. We are one, we are together as the people of South Africa. I acknowledge leaders from around Tshwane who are here. All of you are welcomed to this house. Let me speak to all of you as my children. There are things that you know, but others would be learned through trial and error. So, let me just demonstrate through the adage that says: ‘a child is not afraid of fire’; he just gets into the fire because he does not know that it is dangerous. But that child learns through experience, sometimes a bitter one.*

*“Commenting on the issue of the*

**The Blue Crane bird**  
- one of the national  
symbols of South Africa.



*Chair (of ANC Waterberg Region) that some priests are today distant from the organization (ANC); I will say, it is because of yourselves – as younger people. It is because of the behaviour of young people that priests, and not all priests, have distanced themselves from you, from the ANC. It is because of your behaviour. So, go back to them ask for forgiveness and behave properly.*

*“Just humble yourselves to our people, to our communities, including the priests. I am in touch with many of these priests and traditional leaders. They are not hostile and I can help you to be in better communication with them. But, work honestly with them and don’t think you are better than all people your communities.*

*“Of course, historically, there were those who used Christianity to divide our people. You know the Tugela River, in Kwa-Zulu Natal. Some Christians divided people and said those who have embraced Christianity would stay on one side of the river and those who did not convert should stay on the other side. Some of those Christians taught young African*

*children to hate their parents because these parents were not converted to their religion. That was wrong, because how can you hate your own parents! But there are religious people who were with us in the ANC and throughout the struggle. I am saying to you that if you humble yourselves to these religious people, they will come back. Go and work with them. We must not be distant to them.*

*“It reminds me of a young woman in one part of our country – Kwazulu-Natal. She gave a speech to a meeting of black people, but only spoke in English. One person in the audience stood up and said to her: ‘in this room there are only black people; why don’t you speak in Zulu?’ She responded by saying she does not know Zulu. How can you not be able to speak your own language. This is like a phure – hard beans that cannot be cooked. The phure-beans can be put into hot water and raging fire the whole day, but would remain hard! These beans can be cooked the whole day but they will remain uncooked. In fact, if you try to eat them, you would get*



a very stinking, offensive smell.

*“Within our communities, there are some young people who, because they speak English, they don’t respect others, including their parents. Never, ever think because you are educated and your parents are not, that you have the right to look down on them. Even if your parents and older people are crippled, or disabled, these are still your parents. Respect your parents; respect people. Don’t be ashamed of the fact that your parents, or any other person for that matter, can’t speak English like you.*

*“I want to emphasize the point that there are no stupid people in the world. If someone can’t speak English, it does not mean those people are dumb. Many people are good with their hands. But we are not using this important gift, because we don’t value technical skills. That is wrong. We must be serious about the important work of technical skills. You may find a person is not a good speaker, but they are good with their hands. (he pointed to the wall unit done by someone who had not been to a formal school). You should know that theory is nothing without practice.*

*“I encourage you to read and improve your knowledge. Read correct books. Some people have stopped reading when they were at university. Some of you only concentrate on what you do at places of employment. You don’t expand your knowledge. You must read right books. Not books that would tell you fake stories: that a monkey was brewing alcohol; or a snake was carrying a baby! That can’t be true. Read correct books that empower you. I have a lot of books in this house.*

(Dr. Cholo asked someone to bring the three volumes of the six volumes of **‘The Road to Democracy in South Africa**, produced by SADET.) You can come and read them here. One of the books I am recommending to you is: **The Origin of Family, Private Property and State** (By Friedrich Engels).

*“You must read, read and read. But you must not only read, you must also write. Nelson Mandela said that the most important thing for us is that we must write our stories. We must make sure that we record our experiences, our life-histories so that the next generations can learn from us about what had happened.*

*“Again, yes, as we engaged in the struggle, we did so with other races. Of course, many whites supported our oppression. But*

*there are other whites who were part of our struggle – who left their luxury lives and joined the ANC and were prepared to suffer with us. Some of them were more committed than some of our own black people. When the Communist Party was formed in 1921 after the ANC was formed in 1912, we worked together for many years.*

*“We must always remember that our people sacrificed and fought hard for this freedom. For many years they were defeated because of the powerful weapons of the oppressors. Even with the migrant labour system, initially, the Africans refused to go and work in the mines. That is when the Chinese were imported to come and work in the mines, while Indians worked in the sugar-cane farms. But eventually, after being defeated, the African people*





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were forced to go and work in the mines. By the way, don't call Indian people 'coolies' because it is the same as saying to you that you are a 'kaffir'.

"One of the strategies that Verwoerd deployed to weaken us, was to divide people according to ethnicity and give them different Bantustans for Northern Sotho, Venda, Tsonga, Zulu and so on. There are people who accepted this Bantustan thing, including some in the ANC. But Verwoerd knew that the areas allocated to black people were barren and arid places, where people could not even farm. So, Verwoerd knew that we will come back, cap-in-hand, to ask for work from the white people because there was no economic activity in the Bantustans. Hence the super exploitation of the African people.

"I must give you some important advices that you must carry for the rest of your life. First, respect your parents and people in your community. Second, practice '**Go ja Mmogo**' (literally meaning 'to eat together' or 'to share equally'. This defines the canonical ethos of communalism and Ubuntu/Botho. The Waterberg ANC Chair had used the term **Go ja Mmogo** in his introductory remarks).

"When I grew up, we were practicing '**Go ja Mmogo**' I had grandparents whose husbands unfortunately died in an accident while working at the Modderfontein bomb-making factory here in Gauteng. But their families were distributed among family members, such that we did not know that there were any orphans in the greater family. In fact, we never had orphans in our African tradition because families and the community always took responsibility for everyone. So, '**Go Ja Mmogo**' is part of our



tradition. Unfortunately, today, we don't practice these good attributes. Everyone is for himself. Today, if you call a child and say I am your father, he will say 'you're not my father'. Even if you send them to buy something, they won't bring your small change."

After more than an hour speaking, Dr. Tlou Theophilus Cholo wanted to keep on, until someone, respectfully asked him to take a break. But he ordered the Waterberg Region comrades that they must embark on changing that name because it means nothing and does not resonate with the struggles and sacrifices of the locals. The comrades heartily concurred and promised urgent feedback on the matter. All who were present agreed – it was an engaging and educative Saturday from one of our fearless, gallant and valorous true veterans of our struggle.

The following were present to

celebrate with Isithwalendwe/Seaparankwe, Dr. Tlou Theophilus Cholo:

1. Members of Dr. Cholo family.
2. Dr. Cholo Foundation – Secretary: Mayibuye Mokoena and Segoshi Maponya (Also an ANC Veteran).
3. Waterberg ANC Region – Chairperson, Jack Maeko; Regional Secretary, Rufus Magoro and Regional Treasurer Gloria Seleka.
4. Soshanguve ANC Zonal Chairperson – Joe Mathebula;
5. Head of Ministry – Defense and Military Veterans: Dingaan Ngobeni.
6. Local Ward Councillor – Ms. Sisi Sithole.
7. The Peoples Legacy – Max Theka, Thulani Mabaso and Ntime Skhosana.
8. ANC Veterans: Paul Zondo; Titus Mafolo (Also of Tshwane Legacy Foundation); Vusi Kunene (Also of Soshanguve Heritage Foundation).



# Reflecting on the 1998 ANCYL National Congress Resolutions: A Missed Opportunity?

■ By **GODFREY NKOSI**

**R**EVISITING the resolutions of the 20th ANCYL National Congress of 1998 has been an eye-opening experience as I conduct research for my book on student politics at the University of Pretoria. As a member of the organization during that period, these resolutions invite reflection on the decisions made, their correctness, and whether they inadvertently sowed the seeds of some strategic missteps that have manifested in the youth movement, the ANC, the broader liberation movement, and South Africa as a whole.

My argument is that this period was consequential, and its ripple effects remain evident in many of the challenges we face today. While my perspective is personal, I invite comrades to either share or contest it.

The cornerstone of my argument is that perhaps the ANC Youth League (ANCYL) should have been repositioned as a vanguard movement post-liberation rather than persisting as a mass-based organization. The resolutions of 1998 articulated the League's "twin tasks" as defined in its



historical mission: to mobilize the youth behind the ANC's vision and to champion their needs and aspirations. Specifically, the resolution stated:

*"To maintain our mass-based character by continuing to mobilize the broadest sectors of youth behind the vision of the ANC and championing their interests in the ANC and society. To that effect, we must reach out to all young people — professionals, working youth, students, intellectuals, rural youth, young women, and the unemployed."*

On the surface, the resolution was necessary to connect the League with youth at all societal levels.

The post-1994 dispensation presented an undeniable reality: the youth were demobilized and largely apathetic towards political engagement. In townships and villages, the Youth League's activities were reduced to isolated events, while institutions of higher learning saw a sharp decline in student activism compared to pre-1994 levels. Thus, there was a pressing need to re-engage and reinvigorate youth activism.

However, 25 years later, I grapple with whether this mass mobilization strategy was the correct response. Would it have been more strategic for the Youth League to adopt a vanguard model, led by a dedicated few, with a clear and deliberate strategy to guide the youth toward achieving the objectives of the national democratic revolution? Could such an approach have kept the youth engaged without necessitating membership in the ANC?

In hindsight, our response to youth alienation at the time and in subsequent years led to several missteps. The post-1994 era allowed the youth to explore a new cultural freedom, epitomized by



what we referred to as the “*Boom Shaka Generation*.” For the first time, young people embraced the opportunity to simply “*be young*” — frequenting “*bashes*” and embracing entertainment over activism. Recognizing this cultural shift, the Youth League’s post-1998 programmatic response was to meet the youth “*at their level*.” Entertainment became institutionalized in the League’s program of action, and deliberate efforts were made to integrate entertainers and kwaito artists into its fold.

While this strategy temporarily expanded the League’s reach, it also introduced unintended consequences. By the post-Polokwane period of 2007, the Youth League had emerged as a decisive voice within the ANC, fueled by its influential role in the conference. Its rallying cry for “*Economic Freedom in Our Lifetime*” post-2008 introduced a dynamic that attracted a new wave of young businesspeople.

However, this momentum was accompanied by a worrying

shift: the League became deeply entrenched in social elitism.

Young businesspeople, drawn by the allure of networking opportunities, used the “*economic freedom*” slogan to pressure the state into awarding them lucrative contracts. This era saw the Youth League transformed into a symbol of opulence, characterized by whiskey-filled gatherings and convoys of luxury cars at events. These displays of wealth generated both admiration and resentment in communities.

On one hand, some aspired to join the League in pursuit of a glamorous lifestyle. On the other hand, many viewed these displays as a betrayal of the poor, further alienating the League from the very people it sought to represent.

The cumulative result was the erosion of the League’s credibility. Its focus shifted from activism and mass mobilization to a culture of excess and individualism. This trend ultimately undermined the League’s ability to champion the

interests of ordinary youth. In retrospect, I question whether our desperation to reconnect with the youth post-1994 led us to abandon the principles that could have sustained the League as a guiding force for young people.

Should the League have embraced a vanguard model, guiding the youth with a clear and coherent strategy rather than attempting to mobilize them en masse? Could this have prevented the League from succumbing to unsustainable cultural shifts and internal contradictions?

These questions are not merely rhetorical but invite a deeper interrogation of the League’s historical trajectory. Perhaps the time has come to critically assess whether the “*mass-based*” approach was a strategic mistake and whether a vanguard model might have better served the youth and the broader objectives of the national democratic revolution.

Just a thought.



# ANC Veterans League mourns the passing away of Major General Keith Mokoape (Ret)

■ By **SNUKI ZIKALALA, ANC VETERANS LEAGUE PRESIDENT**

**T**HE ANC Veterans League mourns the passing away of Cde Keith Mokoape, an esteemed Umkhonto we Sizwe fighter and leader, a former Major General in the SANDF and an active member of the Veterans League and Umkhonto we Sizwe Liberation War Veterans, MKLWV.

He was awarded the Order of Luthuli in Silver by the Presidency in 2014 for his contribution to serving the country from exile to democracy.

Cde Mokoape was born in Wallmansthal, north of Tshwane, in 1947. After studying for a BSc at Turfloop University, he went to the University of Natal, where he was President of the SRC. Starting in the South African Students Movement (SASO), he was one of the first members of the black consciousness movement to join the ANC.

His efforts to become a doctor were thwarted when he left the country and joined the ANC and Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) in 1972.

Between 1975 and 1986, he served in many leadership positions in MK operations in Botswana, Mozambique, and Swaziland. In 1985, he was



## TRIBUTES

appointed to the Regional Political Military Committee in Maputo. In 1983- 1988, he was the Deputy Chief of Military Intelligence, working alongside Cde Ronnie Kasrils, the Chief of Military Intelligence. When cde Kasrils was deployed to Operation Vula, comrade Mokoape became the Chief of Military Intelligence from 1988 to 1991. Cde Kasrils remembers him as *“an outstanding hero of our struggle and a wonderful human being who will never be forgotten”*.

He has not only fought in Southern Africa. In 1988, in a six-man unit led by the late Lt Gen Lennox Tshali, comrade Mokoape was deployed alongside the guerillas of the Polisario Front in Morocco-occupied Western Sahara. They brought back tactics of the Polisario Front, which were used, among other attacks, to successfully attack the Slurry Military Base in the former Bophuthatswana bantustan.

There is hardly a former MK soldier who has not passed through the hands of Cde Mokoape. His concern for the plight of former MK soldiers is also legendary.

Thus, when he retired from military life, he studied development and co-operatives and concerned himself with development projects involving former MK members who could not make it into the future defence force. In recent years he has been working with COGTA on projects to get military veterans to rehabilitate municipal infrastructure.

Comrade Mokoape was a member of the Centurion Veterans League Branch and was co-opted to the ANC Veterans League NEC in 2024. There, he served on

various Committees, including the Elections Committee and the Awards & Memorialisation Committee. He remained deeply concerned about the welfare and memorialisation of veterans, including those from the Luthuli Detachment.

He is remembered as a well-read, consummate intellectual who engaged with every topic thoughtfully, thoroughly, and comprehensively. We remember his humility, belief, solid and steadfast character as a fearless freedom fighter.

Like most veterans, comrade Keith firmly believed that the ANC must be renewed and returned to its former glory to serve the people of South Africa and to achieve the objectives of the National Democratic Revolution.

**We extend our heartfelt condolences to his wife, comrade MaGirly and family. Your loss is our loss. May you be bouyed by the many memories of your time spent together.**

**May he rest in eternal peace.**

# A Life of Struggle, A Legacy of Principle! A Tribute to Bruce Kannemeyer

■ By **AMBASSADOR SHAUN BYNEVELDT**

**D**IETRICH Bonhoeffer says, “The ultimate test of a moral society is the kind of world that it leaves to its children.”

Today we mourn a brother, friend and comrade; a fellow traveller on the long and difficult road of Struggle, who lived not for himself, but for the oppressed, the marginalised, the destitute, those in despair and need. Today we grieve a life that was never his own, but was given – wholly, sacrificially – to the cause

of freedom, to the struggle for a South Africa that is free, non-racial, non-sexist, democratic, united and prosperous. Today we remember and celebrate a man who refused to stand on the sidelines of history, one who threw himself body and soul into the furnace of revolution - a man who understood the sacred injunction to do justice.

Cde Bruce walked the path of revolution not for power, but for the people. His was not the politics of greed, but the high



and difficult road of values and principle. While others lost themselves in the fog of self-interest, Cde Bruce remained anchored in the principles, values, culture, traditions, and the moral compass of the ANC.

Ché Guevara says, *"The true revolutionary is guided by great feelings of love."*

And love was Cde Bruce's weapon. Not love that is weak or sentimental, but love that demanded justice, love that risked everything, love that stood against the machinery of oppression, love that carried within it the fire of the Spirit. Cde Bruce actively pursued what Amos 5:24 directs us towards, *"But let justice roll down like waters, and righteousness like an ever-flowing stream."*

Cde Bruce can never be described as a mere politician. He was a disciple of justice, a servant, a man who did not bow to the idols of comfort, privilege or material gain.

From our shared trenches of student and youth politics, from the ranks of UWC SRC, AZASO, CAYCO, SAYCO, the UDF, and the ANC, from our deliberations as the PEC and PWC in the Western Cape, from the chambers of Parliament to the corridors of Municipal Governance, Cde Bruce gave ALL. Not some, not half, but ALL!

He understood the weight of the National Democratic Revolution (NDR), not as a slogan, but as a sacred duty. For Cde Bruce, the Struggle was a covenant, a holy calling to bring forth and build a better world – a world of justice, equality, freedom, love, compassion and shared



prosperity.

His was not the politics of expediency, of opportunism, of self-enrichment and self-interest. He understood, as we all must, that the NDR is not a career-path, but a sacred responsibility. Cde Bruce's service was not to himself, but to the people. He lived Psalm 82:3, *"Give justice to the weak and the fatherless; maintain the right of the afflicted and the destitute."*

As stated above, Cde Bruce took the high and difficult road, the one less travelled, the one that demands revolutionary and political consciousness, sacrifice, integrity, ethics, principles, values and revolutionary morality. When others faltered, he remained true.

Cde Bruce takes his place alongside the giants who came before him, those who gave their lives for the cause, those who refused to bend, refused to break, refused to sell their souls.

He has run his race, and he has run it well. And though his flesh has fallen, his spirit walks among us still, whispering to the weary, stirring the complacent, reminding us that work remains and that the revolution is not yet complete.

*Let the righteous stand in his memory.*

*Let the cowards tremble at his legacy.*

*For he has returned to the great cloud of witnesses,*

*to the eternal embrace of God Almighty who called him to this work.*

**Hamba kahle, Cde Bruce!**

**Yours was a life well lived, a struggle well fought, and a legacy well secured.**

**Your hands are clean, your conscience clear, your journey complete!**

## THIS WEEK IN HISTORY

# THIS WEEK IN HISTORY

25–31 January 2025

Source: SA History Online, O'Malley Archives, Africa Today/Yesterday, The Africa Factbook and Amazwi SA Museum of Literature

### 25 January 1930 Automobile Association formed

The Automobile Association of South Africa (AA) was formed at a meeting in Port Elizabeth attended by several provincial and other motoring clubs, in order to provide a strong national motoring organisation to protect and promote the interests of motorists in South Africa.

### 25 January 1971 Idi Amin comes to power after a coup in Uganda



On 25 January 1971, General Idi Amin Dada led a military coup that overthrew Ugandan President, Milton Obote while he was at a Commonwealth meeting in Singapore. Obote was a leader of Ugandan independence, serving as its first prime minister and then president since 1962. Amin was one of Uganda's commissioned officers, rising to become the army's chief of staff. He became famous in 1976 when he provided a safe refuge for hostage-holding Palestinians, who were later killed at Entebbe by

Israeli forces. In 1978, under Amin's command, the Ugandan forces invaded neighbouring Tanzania. The Tanzanian forces forced them to retreat and invaded Uganda, forcing Amin to escape to Saudi Arabia via Libya. After a long illness, Amin died in 2003 in Saudi Arabia.

### 25 January 1977 Priests report against 1976 police brutality

A group of clergymen of seven Christian churches – including the Roman Catholic, Anglican and Methodist churches – calling themselves '*Ministers Fraternal*' published a report blaming the riot police for their role in the violence in the Cape Town townships at Christmas 1976. Their report was banned. The Minister of Justice and Police, J. Kruger claimed the internal unrest and riots were not the result of the government's apartheid policies but were instigated by Communists and the ANC.

### 25 January 1980 Silverton siege in Pretoria

On 25 January 1980 three MK Cadres – Stephen Mafoko, Humphrey Makhubo and Wilfred Madela – were allegedly on their way to carry out a planned MK sabotage mission on petrol depots at Watloo near Mamelodi. En route, 'the Trio' realised they were being tailed by the police. In an at-



tempt to escape, they took refuge in a branch of Volkskas Bank in Silverton, Pretoria. They held 25 civilians in the bank hostage, making a number of demands, including a meeting with State President Vorster, the release of Nelson Mandela and James Mange, as well as R100 000 in cash and an aircraft to fly them to Maputo. After negotiations, which included the police handing food over to the cadres and hostages, a police unit stormed the bank and all three cadres were killed by the police. Two civilians, Valerie Anderson and Anna de Klerk, were killed and many others were wounded in the shootout.

### 25 January 1981 Laingsburg Floods

On 25 January 1981, Laingsburg, Western Cape was devastated by a severe flood. The hard rains immersed the whole town in water, with only roofs left visible. 425mm of rain fell on 24 and 25 January



## THIS WEEK IN HISTORY



1981 causing the Buffalo River that flows North-south through the town to burst its banks. The average rainfall was 175mm. The force of the water was so immense that victims' bodies were found as far away as Mossel Bay, 250 kilometres away.

### **26 January 1887** **Ethiopians defeat Italians at the Battle of Dogali**

The battle of Dogali was a skirmish that was part of a larger conflict between the Italians and the Ethiopians. At this time Ethiopians had the most well equipped standing army on the African continent. This battle ended in a stunning victory for the Ethiopian forces, as they totally routed the invading Italians on 26 January 1887.

### **26 January 1896** **Oldest teachers training college opens in Wellington**

The oldest teacher training college in South Africa opened on 26 January 1896, in Wellington, Western Cape. Andrew Murray, a Dutch Reformed Church Minister, was instrumental in developing early tertiary education in South Africa especially for white women, making Wellington famous as an education centre in the country. The foundation stone for the building, Murray Hall, was laid on 19 November 1874. This building also served as a hostel for girls and women, the

Huguenot University College and the Teachers Training College and is now part of the Boland College of Education.

### **26 January 1905** **The world's largest diamond found in South Africa**

The Cullinan diamond, the world's largest gem-quality diamond (weighing over 620g) was found in South Africa. It was named after the chair of the mine, Thomas Cullinan. It was put on auction, but was not sold for two years. The then prime minister of Transvaal Louis Botha presented a motion for government to buy it and to gift it to British king, Edward VII, as "*a token of the loyalty and attachment of the people of the Transvaal to His Majesty's throne and person*". The then Parliament voted 42:19 in favour of this motion, and it was presented to King Edward VII in 1907 on the occasion of his 67th birthday. The Cullinan was sent for cutting

in Amsterdam, which resulted in 9 large stones and 96 smaller stones, the majority set into various parts of British crown jewels.

### **26 January 1983** **Dieter and Ruth Gerhard detained as spies**

The South African government announced at a press conference that senior South African naval officer, Commodore Dieter Gerhardt and his wife, Ruth, had been detained for questioning in connection with alleged espionage. Gerhardt was commanding officer at the strategically important Simonstown naval base. They were jailed in December 1983 after being convicted of spying for the Soviet Union.

### **26 January 2001** **First edition of ANC Today published**

The first edition of the ANC's online weekly newspaper, **ANC TODAY**, the Online Voice of the

## THIS DAY IN HISTORY

# 26 JANUARY 2025

*Celebrating 24 years of*

# ANC TODAY

**THE ONLINE VOICE OF THE AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS**



## THIS WEEK IN HISTORY

African National Congress, was published on this day in 2001. This edition, featured the *Letter from the President*, a column written by President Thabo Mbeki, as well as three other articles on the Arms deal.

### 27 January 1914 Women drafted petition against Pass Laws



Black women in the Free State protested when they were included in Pass legislation previously reserved for African men only. A petition against Black women carrying passes was drawn up, presented to the authorities, with protests organised by women. This law was subsequently relaxed until the 1950s.

### 28 January 1974 Cinematographer Sofian El Fani born

Tunisian cinematographer, responsible for brilliant camerawork in movies such as *Black Venus* (2010), *Blue is the Warmest Colour* (2013), *Timbuktu* (2014) and *It must be Heaven* (2019) was born on this day in Tunis.

### 28 January 1981 Journalists issued with banning orders

Phil Mtimkulu, acting president of MASA and Joe Tlholoe, Transvaal vice president, are served three-year banning orders.

### 28 January 1997 Apartheid police confessed to killing Steve Biko



Apartheid-era police officers who appeared before the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) admitted their role in the 1977 killing of Steve Biko, the leader of the Black Consciousness Movement (BCM). In an inquest into his death by the apartheid government following local and international pressure, no-one was held responsible. The five former policemen, Harold Snyman, Gideon Nieuwoudt, Ruben Marx, Daantjie Siebert and Johan Beneke applied for amnesty to the TRC for their role in the death of Steve Biko.

### 28 January 1998 AKA born



South African rapper, songwriter and record producer, Kienan Jaryd Forbes (popularly known as AKA) was born in Cape Town on this day.

### 28 January 2005 Gift of the Givers to help Tsunami victims from Somalia

Gift Of The Givers Foundation founder and national coordinator

Dr Imtiaz Sooliman, announced in Johannesburg that the foundation would fly forty tons of food, medical supplies and water into Somalia immediately after getting a go-ahead from the United Nations to aid tsunami victims in Somalia on 30 January. This was the first humanitarian relief from the African continent to fly into Somalia directly, carrying aid supplies valued at R3-million. About 54 000 people were affected by the disaster on 26 December 2004.

### 28 January 2012 New African Union Headquarters inaugurated

The African Union Summit of Heads of States and Government opens the newly build headquarters in Addis Ababa on this day.

### 28 January 1988 Sarafina! opens in New York



The musical written and directed by Mbongeni Ngema and with music by Hugh Masekela, about the Soweto uprising opens in New York to much acclaim. It will later be made into a film, starring Leleti Khumalo and Whoopi Goldberg.



## THIS WEEK IN HISTORY

### 28 January 2013 Legend Victor Ntoni passed on

Victor Mhleli Ntoni was born in Langa, Cape Town in 1947. As a teenager, Ntoni gradually established himself in the townships playing with saxophonist McCoy Mrubata. He was part of the sextet, *"The Uptown"*, which included the Ngcuka brothers. A self-taught musician, he studied at the Berkley School of Music in Boston in 1976. On return, he co-founded the Afro Cool Concept band, and became a legend of South African music and culture.

### 29 January 1961 Strive Masiyiwa born

The Zimbabwean businessman and billionaire was born in Harare, Zimbabwe. Masiyiwa founded technology companies Econet Global and Cassava Technologies. Active in a number of causes, he contributed to African business support for the African Against Ebola Fund IN 2014-15 and through his foundation, has given scholarships to over 250,000 young Africans since 2000.

### 29 January 1986 Museveni becomes President of Uganda



Uganda experienced a number of changes of government since independence from British rule in

1962. In December 1980 Apollo Milton Obote, from the Uganda People's Congress (UPC), returned to power for the second time after multi-party elections. The election outcomes were contested by the opposition, the Uganda Patriotic Movement (UPM). Yoweri Museveni (UPM) refused to recognise his government and with Yusuf Lule, the former President of the Ugandan Provisional Government, challenged the legitimacy of the new government through guerrilla warfare under the auspices of Uganda Patriotic Movement (UPM), later the National Resistance Movement (NRM). The NRM finally entered the capital and deposed Military Council leader, Okelle. On 29 January 1986 Museveni, after five years in the bush, was sworn in as the new Ugandan Head of State.

### 29 January 1950 Formula One Champion Jody Scheckter born

Jody David Scheckter was born in East London, Eastern Cape on this day. Scheckter became South Africa's first and thus far only Formula One World Driver's Championship winner in 1979. He drove a Ferrari, and won several Formula One races in Europe. Jody Scheckter is also infamously known for being the cause of one of the biggest accidents in the history of Formula One.

### 29 January 1986 Police ban on struggle media, including t-shirts

Brigadier Christoffel Anthonie Swart, divisional commissioner of police of the Western Province, issues an order that would in effect ban even t-shirt slogans. It says: *"No person shall in any place affix, display or distribute*



*any placard, banner, sticker, pamphlet, clothing or similar object on or in which any viewpoint of a political nature or in relation to any system of Government or Constitutional policy is expressed, advocated or propagated."*

### 29 January 1996 Film producer Jamie Uys passed away

Johannes Jacobus Uys, popularly known as Jamie Uys, was an internationally acclaimed South African film director who made 24 films. Prizes for his work included the 1981 Grand Prix at the Festival International du Film de Comedy Vevey for *'The Gods Must be Crazy'* and the Hollywood Foreign Press Association award for best documentary in 1974 for *'Beautiful People'*. *'The Gods Must be Crazy'* enjoyed three years of uninterrupted screening in the United States of America. Jamie Uys passed away on 29 January 1996, Johannesburg, South Africa from a heart attack.

### 29 January 2021 Rwanda Chili Pepper deal

Rwanda's Gashora farm signs a deal with buyers for 100 million USD each year, to export chili peppers to China. Chili peppers soon became one of the country's top export products. The

## THIS WEEK IN HISTORY

farm was founded and is run by a young Rwandese entrepreneur Diego Twahirwa, who is in his 30's. Gashora farm not only exports raw chilies, but also produces chili sauces and other products for the local market.

### 30 January 1899 Dr Max Theiler, first Nobel Laurette born

Dr Max Theiler was born on 30 January 1899 in Pretoria. He studied medicine at the University of Cape Town Medical School from 1916 to 1918, graduated at the London School of Medicine in 1922 with a diploma in tropical medicine and hygiene and went on to work at Harvard University School of Tropical Medicine and the Rockefeller Foundation in the USA. There he did extensive research on yellow fever and other viral disease, heading the research team that produced the vaccination for yellow fever, for which he awarded the Nobel Prize for Physiology/Medicine in 1951. He was the first ever South African to receive the prize and the only Nobel Laurette to date for creating a virus vaccine.

### 30-31 January 1981 Matola raid

In the early hours of 30 January 1981, the apartheid regime launched an attack on homes of ANC members in the Maputo suburb of Matola, in Mozambique. The attack claimed the lives of 15 Umkhonto we Sizwe cadres: Mduduzi Guma, Lancelet Hadebe, Mandla Daka, Daniel Molokisi, Steven Ngcobo, Vusumzi Ngwema, Thabang Bookolane, Krishna Rabilal, Themba Dimba, William Khanyile, Motso "Obadi" Mokgabudi, Collin Khumalo, Levinson Mankankaza and Albert Mahutso. The



fifteenth victim, Vuyani Mavuso was kidnapped during the raid, and was later executed when he refused to cooperate with apartheid security agencies to betray his comrades. On the occasion of the first anniversary of the Matola Raid, addressing a Frelimo Rally in Maputo on 14 February 1982, ANC President, Cde Oliver Tambo described the Matola invasion *"as a raid, which insulted the sovereignty of the Mozambican people, defiled their national dignity, violated their territorial integrity and challenged the very concept of African independent statehood"*. A monument was built by the governments of Mozambique and South Africa to commemorate the event. The Matola raid was one of many cross-border aggressions which include invasions, bombings, abductions by South Africa of its neighbouring states since the 1970s right up to the end of apartheid in the 1990's.

### 30 January 1987 Carte Blanche denied permission to quote OR Tambo

On 30 January 1987, the Minister of Law and Order issued a message to the newspapers denying

Carte Blanche, an investigative television programme permission to quote exiled president of the African National Congress (ANC) Oliver Tambo. The communication from the office of the minister stated that: *"Please note that the Minister of law and order has not given Carte Blanche permission to quote Oliver Tambo."*

### 31 January 1986 Pregnant journalist Zubeida Jaffer still jailed

Zubeida Jaffer, former reporter from the Cape Times, is among 335 still detained under the State of Emergency regulations. Jaffer, three months pregnant, was held incommunicado, with no access to a doctor. Her lawyer was also detained.

### 31 January 1985 P. W. Botha offers to free Mandela if he denounces violence

On 31 January 1985, State President P W Botha offers Nelson Mandela, leader of the banned African National Congress (ANC), conditional release from the prison sentence he had been serving since the conclusion of the Rivonia Trial in 1964. The condition of his release is that he renounces violence, and violent protest, as a means to bring about change in South Africa. Mandela communicates his refusal of the offer through his daughter, Zinzi Mandela, who reads his statement to this effect at a rally in Soweto on 10 February 1985. He states that the ANC only adopted violence as a means of protest *"when other forms of resistance were no longer open to us"*. Mandela had refused previous offers of conditional release where the condition was that he be confined to the Transkei.



## THIS WEEK IN HISTORY

# INTERNATIONAL AND NATIONAL DAYS

25–31 January 2025

Source: [www.un.org](http://www.un.org), [www.au.int](http://www.au.int), *The Africa Fact Book (2020)*, [www.daysoftheyear.com](http://www.daysoftheyear.com)

### 25 January National Police Day

This is a South African awareness day, adopted by Cabinet in 2005. On National Police Day the South African Police Service (SAPS) remembers the sacrifices that our men and women in blue have made and continue to make as they provide safety for all who live in South Africa. South Africa has about 193,000 sworn police officers, with 1 154 police stations. According to the Constitution (205 (3)), the purpose of the police is to “*prevent, combat and investigate crime, to maintain public order, to protect and secure the inhabitants of the Republic and their property, and to uphold and enforce the law.*”



### 26 January International Day of Clean Energy

Energy lies at the core of a double challenge: leaving no one behind and protecting the Planet. In a world grappling with climate change, clean energy plays a vital role in reducing emissions, and can also benefit communities lacking access to reliable power sources. Still today, 685 million people live in the dark - more than 80 per cent of them in Sub-Saharan Africa. 26 January is also the founding day of the International Renewable Energy Agency (IRENA).

### 27 January International Day of Victims of the Holocaust

This year marks the 80th anniversary of the liberation of Auschwitz-Birkenau by the Soviet forces. It was the major Nazi concentration camp in occu-



pied Poland, and its liberation signaled the end of the Second World War, and of the Holocaust. Holocaust victims were targeted by the Nazi German regime for their religion or ethnicity, political beliefs or sexual orientation. The figure of people killed is estimated at 17 million: 6 million Jews and 11 million other groups deemed ‘racially inferior’ by the Nazis such as the Roma (gypsies), Poles, Russians, as well as Germans with disabilities, homosexuals, Communists, Jehovah Witnesses, and Socialists. Today, the state of Israel itself stands accused before the International Court of Justice of genocide against the Palestinian people.

### 28 January Global Community Engagement Day

Community engagement is the process of engaging with community groups to address and solve



There is no power for change greater than a community discovering what it cares about.

**Global Community Engagement Day!**

## THIS WEEK IN HISTORY

issues that impact the well-being of the community. It encourages public participation in communities, and for people to work together and get involved. People on social media are also encouraged to celebrate this day by broadcasting what they do for their communities and connecting with others who do the same.

### 28 January International Reduce CO2 emissions day

As climate change continues to impact our world, humans are experiencing (and contributing to) the effects of degradation on the planet. The awareness of the need to reduce greenhouse gas or CO2 emissions has been on the radar of scientists for more than 100 years. As scientists continue to study the impact of the greenhouse effect and loss of the ozone layer on the planet, more evidence has been revealed of global warming, including rising sea levels, increased drought, severe wildfires, declining water supplies and much more. When the Kyoto Protocol was signed in 1997, it was a sign of movement in the right direction toward the reduction of greenhouse gasses from industrialized countries. Still, it hasn't been adequate to slow down the rate fast enough. Later, as the Paris Agreement was adopted in 2015, it legally bound 196 different countries in a commitment to limit global warming by reducing greenhouse gas emissions. The goal is to achieve a climate neutral planet by the middle of the 21st century. (<https://www.daysoftheyear.com/days/international-reducing-co2-emissions-day/>)

### 29 January Freethinkers Day

Exploring ideas with open minds, embracing the art of independent thought and challenging dogma and norms, paving the way for unique perspectives. So, get ready to open your mind to new possibilities and ideas on this day when people are not only allowed to think outside the box, but are even encouraged to do so.

### 30 January World Neglected Tropical Diseases Day

Neglected Tropical Diseases (NTDs) are a group of conditions that affect more than a billion people who mostly live in marginalized, rural and poor urban areas zones. Although they are preventable and treatable, these diseases – and their interrelationships with poverty and ecological systems – continue to cause devastating health, and so-

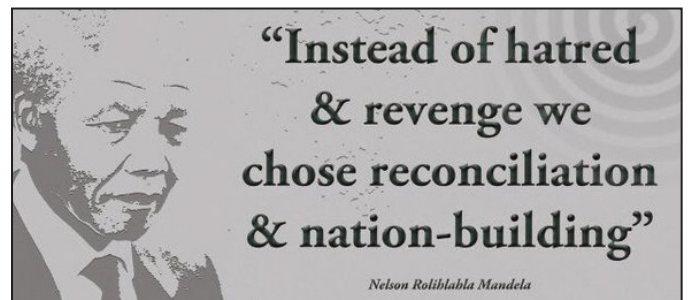
cial and economic consequences. These diseases often leave visible scars, the impacts of which are amplified for women because of gender-based cultural norms and expectations; children infected with soil-transmitted helminthiases are nutritionally and physically impaired.

### 30 January School Day of Non-violence and Peace

We dream of the world being a much safer place to live, and that future generations will inherit a healthy planet of peace and friendship. Although this change is unlikely to happen overnight, people can still start now to instill this value in the future citizens of the world. School Day of Non-violence and Peace offers opportunities for children to be taught about peaceful resolution to conflicts, pacifism and non-violence. It takes place in schools all over the world on the anniversary of the death of Mahatma Gandhi, an important figure of non-violent resistance in India and South Africa.

### 31 January African Day of Peace and Reconciliation

The day is commemorated as part of the African Union Agenda 2063 commitment to **Silence the Guns**, by working for peace, social cohesion, national unity and regional cooperation for the Africa We Want.



### 31 January World Leprosy Day

Leprosy (Hansen's disease) is a chronic infectious disease caused by *Mycobacterium leprae*. It mainly affects the skin, the peripheral nerves, mucosal surfaces of the upper respiratory tract and the eyes. It is contagious and airborne, and people of all ages can be affected. Leprosy is curable and treatment in the early stages can prevent disability. Historically, people with leprosy were isolated from their communities, or in special leprosy hospitals, asylums or colonies, until treatments were found. Although largely eliminated as a widespread public health threat, it is still prevalent, hence the continued observance of this day.