



ANC TODAY

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Conversations with the **President**

A clear path towards efficiency in water and sanitation delivery

■ By **PRESIDENT CYRIL RAMAPHOSA**

LAST week government convened a landmark National Water and Sanitation Indaba to develop a clear plan for resolving challenges in the sector.

The Indaba brought together delegates representing national and local government, water boards, catchment management entities, the South African Local Government Association, scientific experts, innovators and the private sector.

The recommendations emanating from the Indaba give cause for great optimism.

A number of the suggestions and solutions are focused, evidence-based and accompanied by clear delivery timelines.

As the suggested solutions are implemented, we will chart a new course for the management of this most critical of resources.

The Government of National Unity has prioritised achieving a secure and reliable water supply to sustain communities and support economic growth.

Delegates were tasked with developing a sustainable turnaround plan that harnesses the momentum of the structural reform process initiated under the sixth administration.

These include reinstating the Drop water quality monitoring system, significantly improving the turnaround time for processing water use license applications, and a Raw Water Pricing

Strategy.

The establishment of a National Water Resource Infrastructure Agency is one of the most significant reforms in the sector to date.

The Agency will be responsible for developing and managing national water infrastructure, and will mobilise financing for water infrastructure.

Water infrastructure build is currently on an upward trajectory.

The Infrastructure Fund has to date secured R23 billion for seven large water infrastructure projects including Phase 2 of the Lesotho Highlands Water Project, the Polihali Dam, and the Ntabelanga Dam on the uMzimvubu River.

CONVERSATIONS WITH THE PRESIDENT

The Indaba resolved that there should be deeper collaboration between the Water Partnerships Office and the private sector to mobilise financing over the next three years.

A number of innovative financing models are being explored, including Green and Blue Bonds.

A resolution was also taken to forge more non-commercial water provision partnerships with industrial sectors. A successful model of this kind is the Olifants Management Model project in Limpopo in partnership with mining houses.

Water delivery implementation models and processes will be subject to rigorous review. By way of example, the process for the appointment of capable Water Service Providers will be standardised, and capacity assessments will be introduced for water boards.

A large percentage of South Africa's purified water is being lost to leaks from municipal distribution systems.

Water Services Authorities will have to develop mitigation programmes that include adequate budgets for maintenance, reducing leaks, closing illegal water connections and strengthening metering, billing and revenue collection.

Demand management is an imperative. Government will roll out an extensive public awareness campaign to encourage people and businesses to use water sparingly.

The crackdown on corruption and organised crime in the sector is being intensified.



A National Water and Sanitation Anti-Corruption Forum will be set up in collaboration with the Special Investigating Unit. A number of SIU investigations into allegations of fraud and corruption at several water boards have already been completed, and have resulted in resignations, dismissals, and criminal charges.

In line with the resolutions taken at the Indaba, Water Service Authorities have to develop water infrastructure security plans to combat vandalism and theft of infrastructure within six months.

The Indaba further resolved that communities should be more actively involved in the protection of our country's water infrastructure. One of the promising proposals that will be considered is setting up water committees in communities.

The overwhelming consensus at the Water and Sanitation Indaba was that all efforts need to be made to support municipal authorities to fulfil their service delivery mandate.

Minimum competency regulations for water service providers will be developed, and munic-

ipalities will have to urgently fill key technical positions.

It was further resolved that mechanisms should be urgently developed to capacitate municipalities to utilise their Municipal Infrastructure Grant and Urban Settlements Development Grant for infrastructure upkeep.

The resolutions taken by the Water and Sanitation Indaba, once successfully implemented, will help us turn the tide in our ongoing efforts to improve service delivery and build a capable, ethical, developmental state.

As the old adage goes, water is life.

A well-functioning, efficient water and sanitation sector isn't just a constitutional imperative and a driver of development. It also instills business and investor confidence that in turn spurs economic growth and job creation.

Working together as all spheres of government, business, communities and civil society, it is within our means to give effect to the constitutional right to access clean water and sufficient sanitation, and to achieve the water security our country needs.

STATEMENT ON THE OUTCOMES OF THE MEETING OF THE NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE (NEC)

■ By **ANC SECRETARY GENERAL FIKILE MBALULA**

THE African National Congress (ANC) convened a successful meeting of its National Executive Committee (NEC) from 28 to 31 March 2025 at Birchwood Hotel and OR Tambo Conference Centre, Boksburg. This meeting was more than a routine organisational engagement – it marked a defining moment in our collective journey to advance the National Democratic Revolution (NDR), reaffirm our core values, and confront head-on the pressing challenges facing our people, our country, and the movement itself.



As we commemorate the 70th Anniversary of the Freedom Charter and the historic legacy of SACTU –predecessor of our ally, COSATU – we do so with a clear understanding of the sacrifices made for our freedom. The NEC honoured these milestones as part of the broader celebration of 30 years of democratic freedom. The Freedom Charter remains our guiding set of aspirational principles as a nation, constantly reminding us that South Africa belongs to all who live in it – black and white – and that the people must govern. The upcoming National Dialogue will build on this legacy by placing at the centre our political project of

national unity economic transformation, and the consolidation of democracy.

The ANC discussed the issue of Gender-Based Violence and Femicide (GBVF), which has been characterised as the second pandemic by the President. We are outraged and deeply saddened by the brutal violation of a seven-year-old child at Bergview College in Matatiele. This abhorrent crime underscores the relentless scourge of GBVF that continues to plague our nation. It is a moral indictment on society that predators still find refuge in institutions meant to safeguard children. Even more disgraceful is the in-

volvement of organisations like AfriForum, who shield suspects rather than standing for justice. In moments of such horror, there is no race, no politics – only humanity, ubuntu qha. We demand the arrest and prosecution of all involved and calls on the police for swift thorough action. Enough is enough! We will not rest until every woman and child in South Africa is safe from such despicable acts.

We call on all ANC structures – led by the ANC Women's League – including all progressive organs of civil society to intensify and sustain the support for 7-year-old Cwecwe. We commend the

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ANC Women's League for its determined and principled leadership in standing with Cwecwe and mobilising our communities to say: enough is enough.

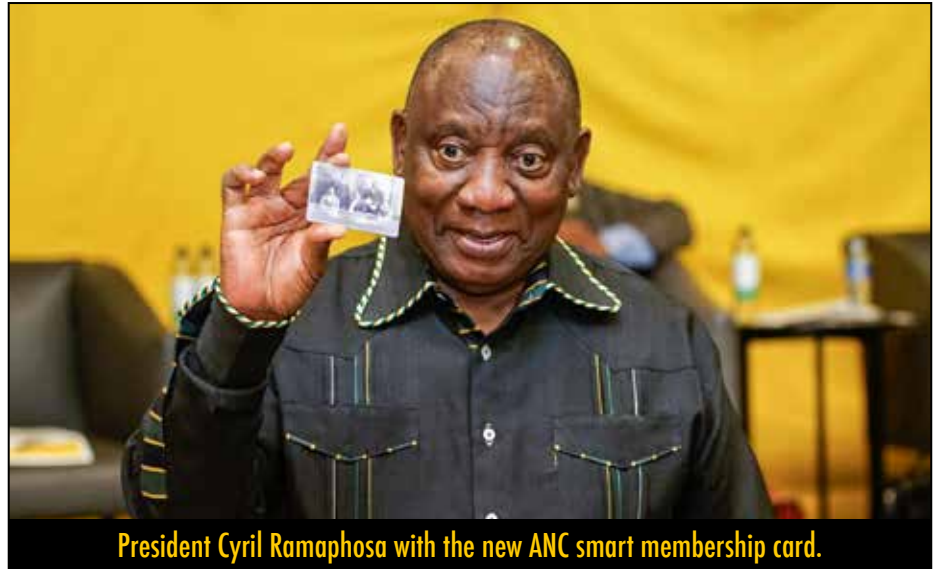
Justice for Cwecwe is not only about securing accountability – it is also a call to action against a system and a culture that continues to fail women daily. It is a reaffirmation of our collective duty to build a society where survivors are heard, protected, and supported, and where perpetrators face the full might of the law.

We urge faith-based organisations, youth formations, community leaders, trade unions, and every South African to rally behind this cause. Let us turn our outrage into organised action. Let us show, through sustained mobilisation, that GBVF has no place in our homes, schools, workplaces, or communities.

Organisational Renewal and Strengthening Structures

The NEC reaffirmed that the renewal of the ANC is an urgent, ongoing task. Renewal is not cosmetic – it is a radical overhaul of how we lead, organise, and serve. It means uprooting the culture of complacency, factionalism, and gatekeeping, and replacing it with a disciplined, accountable, and activist movement. Our members must be the first line of defence against corruption and the leading voices for development and unity in their communities.

The successful launch of our smart membership card marks a historic leap in modernising the ANC – not just as an administrative tool, but as a weapon of empowerment and integrity. It returns the ANC to the hands of its mem-



President Cyril Ramaphosa with the new ANC smart membership card.

bers and marks the end of gatekeeping and fraudulent practices.

Political education is the foundation of our renewal. The NEC resolved that no branch or conference may proceed without members having completed the political education Foundation Course. The successful completion of the Foundation Course is now part of the qualifying criteria for attending conferences and standing for leadership election. We are building a new generation of cadres who are grounded, disciplined, ideologically clear, and ready to lead transformation.

The NEC is emboldened by the commitment and progress made by our members and structures toward organisational renewal. We acknowledge the hard work and dedication of our members who are central to the life of our organisation. We recognise that renewal is not merely an internal process and that it must also mean the renewal of our state and society; a movement to galvanise our branches, enhance collective activism, and restore the people's trust in our movement.

Our focus is to strengthen the capacity of our branches to serve

the communities they exist in as repositories of service and hope. Our branches must be the heartbeat of our great movement connecting its very soul with the people to ensure the ANC remains the sharpest weapon in their hands against poverty, unemployment and inequality. We must equip our branches to represent the people's voice, their challenges, aspirations, and dreams.

Restructuring NEC Sub-committees and Provincial Deployments

The NEC resolved to implement the rotation principle in NEC deployments to provinces, alongside the alignment of memberships following the National and Provincial Elections. These adjustments aim to enhance efficiency, strengthen organisational structures, and ensure seamless coordination between the ANC and government structures.

The NEC approved the following leadership changes to subcommittees:

- Economic Transformation Committee (ETC): Cde Zuko Godlimpi replaces Cde Mamoloko Kubayi as Chairperson, with Cde Sihle Zikalala

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- as Deputy Chairperson.
- Legal & Constitutional Development: Cde Faith Muthambi becomes Chairperson, succeeding Cde Ronald Lamola.
- Peace & Stability: Cde Thabang Makwetla replaces Cde Polly Boshielo.
- Organising & Membership: Cde Polly Boshielo takes over from Cde Dina Pule.
- National Disciplinary Committee of Appeal (NDCA): Cde Geraldine Moleketi replaces Cde Johnny de Lange.
- Education, Health, Science & Innovation: Cde Nkosazana Dlamini-Zuma replaces Cde Peggy Nkonyeni.
- Local Government Intervention: Cde Stella Ndabeni replaces Cde Parks Tau.

To strengthen coordination and oversight, all NEC members who are Ministers, Deputy Ministers, or Portfolio Committee Chairs have been aligned with relevant subcommittees. Furthermore, NEC members will rotate across regions, while National Officials will be deployed to Metros to enhance grassroots implementation.

Reconfiguration of Gauteng and KwaZulu-Natal Provinces

The NEC received a comprehensive update on the reconfiguration process of ANC structures in Gauteng and KwaZulu-Natal. It reaffirmed full support for the Provincial Task Teams (PTTs) leading this work. The NEC commended their disciplined start and urged NEC deployees to assist in swiftly addressing any organisational weaknesses.

This reconfiguration is essential for strengthening unity, ensuring internal democracy, and preparing for 2026. The NEC acknowledged the oversight role played

by the National Working Committee (NWC) in driving this renewal agenda, and affirmed that this process is critical to revitalising ANC structures and reconnecting with communities on the ground.

National General Council

As we look ahead to the 5th National General Council (NGC) later this year, from the 8th to 12th of December 2025, the African National Congress calls on all structures, Leagues, and cadres to focus our collective energies on advancing the theme: ***“70 Years of the Freedom Charter: Forward with Renewal and Radical Socio-economic Transformation.”***

The NGC is more than an organisational gathering – it is the largest political school of the movement, a critical moment for political education, ideological sharpening, and collective reflection. It serves as a midterm review of the implementation of conference resolutions, offering the movement an opportunity to assess our progress, correct course where necessary, and reaffirm our strategic direction.

We must enter the NGC with a united spirit, disciplined approach, and a clear commitment to radical socio-economic transformation that uplifts all South Africans, especially the poor and working class. It must re-energise our programme of renewal, and our commitment to the National Democratic Revolution.

Water and Sanitation: Infrastructure, Integrity and Impact

As we close National Water Month and Human Rights Month, the ANC NEC reaffirms that water is not a privilege – it is a right. The NEC welcomed the progress made by the Department of Water and Sanitation in rolling out major national infrastructure projects valued at over R100 billion. South Africa is now a construction site – from the Clanwilliam Dam in the Western Cape to the Olifants River system in Limpopo – each project affirms our people’s fundamental right to live with dignity.

However, the NEC also identified a dangerous enemy to development: the sabotage of in-



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frastructure by criminal networks including the water tankering and construction mafia. These actors have turned basic human rights into profit-driven rackets, deliberately collapsing infrastructure to justify unsustainable outsourcing. The NEC declares these forces enemies of development and affirms that their actions are an attack on the Constitution, on the ANC government, and on our people.

We reaffirm our full support for reforms being undertaken, including the Water Services Amendment Bill, the move to ring-fenced utility models, and the overhaul of the grant funding and municipal management system. Water must be managed efficiently, professionally, and transparently. Every drop must count.

On Local Government

The NEC received and endorsed the outcomes of the Local Government Intervention Task Team. This team is working with Human Settlements, Water and Sanitation, Electricity, and COGTA to fix service delivery in key ANC-led and coalition municipalities.

The NEC welcomed interventions in Mangaung, Ekurhuleni, West Rand, Tshwane, and Nelson Mandela Bay. In each case, clear political leadership, technical interventions, and community engagement are beginning to yield progress.

To ensure sustained improvements in local governance, the NEC resolved to:

- Launch a comprehensive review of the White Paper on Local Government in April 2025
- Integrate this process with preparations for the 2026 Lo-



BUDGET 2025

WHY THE BUDGET MATTERS

The Budget affects everyone, guiding public spending on services, infrastructure, and economic growth for a better future for all South Africans.

1. Helps improve schools, hospitals, and infrastructure.
2. Ensures that government spending is fair and transparent.
3. Allows citizens to track where their taxes go.

113TH ANNIVERSARY **ANC PARLIAMENT**

cal Government Elections

- Convene a Local Government Summit to consolidate ANC policy inputs
- Deploy NEC and provincial leaders more decisively to stabilise municipalities
- Introduce stronger consequence management where governance fails

The ANC will lead a turnaround of local government, placing communities at the heart of service delivery.

Economic and Social Transformation

The NEC reaffirmed that the ANC remains committed to economic transformation rooted in inclusive growth, job creation, industrialisation, and broad-based empowerment. The NEC rejected attempts to reverse transformation policies under the guise of fiscal discipline and noted with concern the use of the budget process by

some to undermine the transformation agenda.

The ANC welcomes the progressive features of the 2025 Budget, including the protection of the social wage, increased allocations to education, health, and infrastructure, and measures to cushion the poor from rising living costs. The expansion of the zero-rated VAT basket and extension of the Social Relief of Distress grant are concrete signs that transformation and fiscal responsibility can coexist.

The NEC called on government to fast-track the rollout of the industrialisation strategy, prioritise township and rural economies, and ensure that public procurement supports black-owned, women- and youth-led enterprises.

State-Owned Enterprise reforms must support developmental outcomes, energy and logistics reforms must unlock economic

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potential, and the Transformation Fund must serve as a catalyst for inclusive economic growth.

Global Balance of Forces and South Africa's Foreign Policy

The NEC engaged in a comprehensive geopolitical analysis. It reaffirmed South Africa's non-aligned foreign policy and commitment to a multipolar world that respects sovereignty, promotes peace, and advances the developmental agenda of the Global South.

The ANC condemned attempts to manipulate South Africa's domestic affairs through think tanks, economic threats, and political blackmail. South Africa's democracy, foreign policy, and transformation agenda cannot be dictated by external actors.

The NEC welcomed South Africa's upcoming Presidency of the G20 and reaffirmed that the country must champion inclusive economic development, African industrialisation, and reform of global governance institutions.

The ANC will strengthen ties with progressive international partners,

defend the right of the Palestinian people to self-determination, and promote African peace and unity. The NEC welcomed efforts to stabilise the DRC and reaffirmed South Africa's commitment to post-conflict reconstruction.

The tasks before us are formidable. As the ANC, we will strengthen our efforts with SADC, the AU, BRICS, the G20, and other regional organisations and multilateral bodies to yield tangible outcomes for South Africans and our continent at large. We will continue to enhance African unity, reversing economic dependency, and neutralising the influence of external forces seeking only to extract and exploit our resources. We remain committed to peaceful resolution of conflicts in Cabo del Gado, Mozambique, Eastern DRC, and the Sahel region among others. The ANC is concerned about the resurgence of hostilities in the Horn of Africa and remains committed to the ongoing peace-building process. Solidarity campaigns with Western Sahara, Cuba and Palestine remain a priority.

Ultimately, our commitment to a more just, inclusive, and equita-

ble global community demands that we stand resolute against the new scramble for Africa. The ANC holds firm in its principles of progressive internationalism which includes non-racialism, Pan-Africanism, anti-colonialism, anti-imperialism, the respect for human rights and the rule of law as well as international solidarity. Since our formation in 1912, the ANC has always emphasized the importance of dialogue in resolving differences. However, while we remain engaged and committed to diplomacy and mutually beneficial relations, our humility should not be equated to weakness.

Conclusion

The NEC reaffirms that the ANC is the only political force capable of uniting our nation and driving inclusive transformation. We are renewing our movement, revitalising local government, expanding access to basic services, and confronting the enemies of progress.

The path ahead demands courage, discipline, and collective resolve. We will walk this journey with the people – guided by the spirit of the Freedom Charter and committed to a better life for all.

THERE SHALL BE PEACE AND FRIENDSHIP!



South Africa shall be a fully independent state which respects the rights and sovereignty of all nations; ... **SHALL STRIVE TO MAINTAIN WORLD PEACE** and the settlement of all international disputes by **NEGOTIATION – NOT WAR**; Peace and friendship amongst all our people shall be secured by upholding the equal rights, opportunities and status of all...
FREEDOM CHARTER, 26 JUNE 1955

BUDGET 2025

ANC REAFFIRMS PRINCIPLED COMMITMENT TO A PRO-POOR FISCAL FRAMEWORK

THE African National Congress (ANC) reaffirms its unwavering commitment to a progressive and people-centred fiscal framework that reflects the will of the South African people and the developmental imperatives of our country.

Following the adoption of the 2025 Fiscal Framework by Parliament, the ANC reiterates that the process was not about political point-scoring, but about ensuring a budget that prioritises the needs of the poor and working class, protects the social wage, and sustains economic recovery.

We note that several parties engaged with the process in good faith, placing the country above narrow interests. The ANC acknowledges these contributions and emphasises that our collective responsibility is to protect South Africa's democratic and developmental gains.

In line with this commitment, the ANC supports three critical principles which formed part of the consensus:

1. Reconsideration of the proposed 0.5 % VAT increase due to its potential impact on low-income households, especially during a time of economic pressure.


2. Adjustment of personal income tax brackets in line with inflation to prevent bracket creep and ensure that taxpayers are not unfairly penalised by inflationary income shifts.

3. A defined 30-day period for the National Treasury to present alternative revenue measures and expenditure reprioritisation proposals to compensate for any revenue shortfall – without compromis-

ing service delivery or infrastructure investment.

These principles are consistent with the ANC's long-standing policy positions and affirm our focus on advancing equity, justice, and inclusive growth.

Let it be clear: these are not new ideas. They form part of the ANC's transformative economic agenda which has been implemented consistently.

The ANC commits to work with other progressive parties to ensure that we produce a revised budget with alternative revenue streams that will offset the fiscal challenges we have.

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Elections, Lobbying, and Leadership in the ANC

■ By **THABANG MASEKO**

THE African National Congress (ANC) has, since its inception in 1912, allowed for regular democratic elections for leaders at all levels, except during the period of illegality. Even during the three decades of apartheid, the National Executive Committee (NEC) under the presidency of OR Tambo regarded itself as “acting,” and the national conferences held during this period were considered “consultative.”

The ANC’s constitution and organizational rules granted any

member the right to nominate, stand for elections, and be voted for. This process inherently involved contestation among individuals and lobbying by their supporters. Throughout the ANC’s history, leadership contests and transitions have often signaled strategic changes or shifts within the organization.

For instance, the building of a mass ANC in the 1950s, following the adoption of the Programme of Action, cannot be explained without mentioning the ANC Youth League’s efforts to ensure they

found a leader willing to implement the program. This led to a contest at the Congress that saw the end of Dr. Xuma’s term as President (1940-1949) and the election of the preferred Youth League candidate, Dr. JS Moroka (serving from 1949-1952).

Another notable example is the end of JT Gumede’s term as President (1927-1930) at the 1930 national conference, which marked the emergence of two influential strands in the liberation movement: African nationalism and Marxism. The leadership

contest between Gumede and Pixley ka Isa Seme (1930-1936) was characterized as a contest between those who advocated for a united front with the Communist Party and those who were skeptical of this approach.

There are valuable lessons to be learned from these leadership contests in ANC history. For example, after Seme won the elections for ANC President in 1930, was the dramatic organizational decline of the ANC in the 1930s solely due to Seme's leadership, or were there other subjective factors at play, such as divisions?

In 1990, the NEC meeting marked the beginning of the integration process, resolving that comrades who were NEC members before their arrest, including Nelson Mandela, Walter Sisulu, and Govan Mbeki, would resume their positions. The same meeting elected Nelson Mandela as Deputy President.

As the ANC re-established itself as a mass legal organization, leadership formation and con-

tests during those early years reflected the dynamics of emerging organizational transition and culture. In several provinces, the NEC intervened to address divisions and factionalism, dissolving Provincial Executive Committees and establishing interim leadership to organize provincial conferences and elect new leadership.

The 2002 Stellenbosch conference raised concerns about weak branch structures, inadequate cadre development programs, and the tendency to use members and branches as "voting cattle" in leadership battles.

This highlighted the need for consistent programs to organize and mobilize local communities and motive forces.

The conference also addressed concerns about factionalism, including elected leadership operating as factions, leadership engaging in factional activities, and decisions taken outside organizational structures. During President Thabo Mbeki's era, ques-

tions arose about his successor, with multiple names suggested, including Mosia Lekota. However, Jacob Zuma emerged as a compromise candidate, supported by the SACP and COSATU.

Recently, the ANC Youth League Provincial leaders, and Amathole Regional Treasurer, Onke Mgun-culu, have endorsed Fundile Gade to succeed Oscar Mabuyane as ANC Provincial Chairperson. Both Mabuyane and Gade are prominent figures in the Eastern Cape's political landscape.

Under Mabuyane's leadership, the province has remained a strong and united block. While nothing prevents Mabuyane from seeking a third term, similar to Limpopo ANC Chairperson Stanley Mathabatha, Mabuyane's strategic position will be crucial in the 2029 national conference. In a previous piece, I suggested that Gade should deputize Mabuyane at the 2027 ANC Provincial Conference to garner maximum support from branches and ensure a smooth transition into the Chairperson position after Mabuyane.



DONOR FUNDING AND PRESIDENT RAMAPHOSA'S CALL FOR STRENGTHENING OUR SELF-RELIANCE

■ By **DR. MICHAEL SUTCLIFFE**

THE post-inauguration and rapid fire release of executive actions by President Trump appear, on the one hand, to be a significant instance of the Outrage Industrial Complex (OIC). It is almost as if President Trump is feeding his desire to always claim he is completely right and those who disagree are wrong and in fact are fools. Note in this case how Marcus Rubio, the USA Secretary of State, claimed with pride that he was expelling students from the USA for participating in protests. These students, many of them exceptional graduates, are dismissed as lunatics without him having any basis on which to make such claims.

On the other hand, many of these actions have been undertaken swiftly and have had an immediate and negative impact on people. Many programmes, for example, have been cancelled with immediate effect without any consideration being made of the effect such actions would have on people needing such aid now, programmes which are trying to find solutions to health, educational, environmental and other global issues. There can be no doubt that the impact in South Africa has been serious with



Minister of Health Dr. Aaron Motsoaledi arguing that in the case of health programmes, such cuts have been a “train smash”.

Whilst it is difficult to estimate the immediate financial losses, estimates indicate this could be well over R500 million for existing contracts held with USA governmental institutions. The cuts immediately affect services being provided in areas like HIV and TB programmes, and will certainly slow down efforts to develop new tests, treatments, and vaccines for HIV and TB. The cuts also require large-scale layoffs of researchers, scientists, health professionals and others, all of

which could derail the development of the country's next generation of scientists.

It must be noted that South African institutions have a great record of collaboration with research institutions in the USA, working on cutting-edge discoveries, enablement of talent mobility and supporting skills development, as well as in providing assistance to the most vulnerable.

Cuts on South African and indeed on all of these programmes will also have a ripple effect across the world. And of course there will be other, as yet undocumented, impacts on USA businesses,

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people and institutions. Many USAID programmes, for example, required the participation of USA citizens, the production of equipment by USA manufacturers, etc.

Certainly if we as South Africans were to adopt the same OIC approach as that of President Trump, we would respond tit for tat, such as excluding researchers/producers from the USA on such multidisciplinary and multi-country collaborative programmes.

But fortunately President Ramaphosa has correctly cautioned us not to adopt such an approach and has rather said that this is a crucial moment for the country to strengthen its commitment to self-reliance: *“Our sovereignty is important. Our sovereignty as a country should also mean that we must find ways all the time to look after the welfare of South Africans within or with our own resources”* he said, portraying a vision of resilience amidst adversity.

President Ramaphosa recognises too, that the USA is not just their President. We enjoy massive support from a majority of citizens of the USA and they also have over 600 companies in SA accountable for over 143000 jobs.

This approach is one President Ramaphosa learnt about as he led us as one of our mass democratic movement leaders in our transition from an apartheid state to a democratic government. Let’s recall and relate some of that history.

In the 1970s, PW Botha established the State Security Council. On 16 August 1979, the National Security Management System



(NSMS) was then established which would integrate the efforts of the entire government and its assets towards protecting the state with the SADF, Police and Intelligence services as the core of the system and managed by the Security Council. As we understood then, USA generals had adopted such strategies and action plans across a number of Latin American countries. The strategies of the apartheid state in the early 1980s were then to continue its campaigns of repression coupled with what they started a *“velvet glove”*, known as the *“Winning Hearts and Minds”* strategies (WHAM). As we know, whilst the apartheid state continued to arrest and detain progressive people and disrupt their organisations, and declared two states of emergency, they also started lifting influx control and other measures. At the same time it supported and deployed planning and engineering companies, such as Van Wyk and Louw, to work directly with the NSMS and security forces to try and win over communities through the provision of social infrastructure in township areas where the greatest resistance was being found.

In parallel, big capital in South

Africa formed institutions such as the Urban Foundation and they also pursued similar aims to this reformist agenda of the apartheid state.

These processes were a direct response to the growing power of the movements fighting for liberation, including in their increasing success in isolating the apartheid state.

The Commission of European Communities (CEC), consisting of 10 powerful European nations in 1985 developed a twin-track policy of *“negative”* (primarily around non-cooperation with SA’s military) and *“positive”* measures. The latter included the creation of a special fund for the victims of apartheid, with funds channeled through the two major mainstream church groups (SACC and SACBC), the two main trades unions (COSATU and NACTU) and the Kagiso Trust.

The Kagiso Trust was then founded in 1986 and grew rapidly from three projects in 1985 to over 300 projects by 1990. These projects started with a focus on projects designed to ameliorate the impact of apartheid on its victims, but by 1990 the focus changed

towards community empowerment, with it seeing itself as a development agent. Funds went to a variety of areas: bursaries (31%), general education (19%), community development (15%), social development and health (10%), human rights (6%) and other areas (19%).

As progress towards a negotiated settlement started becoming a reality, Kagiso Trust began a process of not only evaluating its programmes, but recognising the need to become a developmental agent. On 27 January 1990, for example, a few days before the release of President Mandela, Kagiso Trust held a conference of progressive forces called **“From opposing to governing – how ready is the opposition”**. Kagiso Trust decided also to focus on “the effective use of funds at our proposal at present and reducing dependency on outside funding”. This meant the Kagiso Trust having to discontinue some 50% of its portfolio, particularly in areas such as media, culture, human rights welfare, etc.

Kagiso Trust was left with no other option than to change its

focus from *“amelioration”* to *“development”* through supporting local level development initiatives, strengthening the capacity of community structures and increasingly involving itself in improving the capacity of civic organisations to manage income generating projects. This shift by Kagiso in 1990 argued that *“a total reliance on state led initiatives for upliftment programmes is likely to leave many expectations unfulfilled. If popular expectations are to be even partially met, there will be a need for a strong and vibrant Non-governmental sector, geared towards supporting alternate and informal forms of economic and social development promotion.”*

The ANC itself, and undoubtedly also other progressive movements like the PAC, AZAPO and others who struggled against apartheid, also faced the harsh reality that with the unbanning of the ANC, the international climate also started to change and international donors felt that, for example, to assist the ANC post-1990 could amount to interference in the affairs of another sovereign state.

In addition, given that PW Botha’s approach of *“a velvet glove with an iron fist”* had failed, he then tried to capture this moment too, through the establishment of the Steyn Fund which became the Independent Development Trust.

What we have learnt from that process is:

- **Always retain your own independence.**
- **Never be overly reliant on outside funding.**
- **Diversify sources as much as possible and focus as much on building technical and human resources as on finding outside funding.**
- **Build constituencies and institutions who own the process and build on their strengths.**

Let’s focus our energy of assisting where we can with this short-term challenge, but with our thousands of civil society organisations let us also ensure we assist them with long-term strategies to show our *“resilience in such times of adversity”*.



“In a world riven by violence & strife, Gandhi’s message of peace & non-violence holds the key to human survival in the twenty-first century. He rightly believed in the efficacy of pitting the soul force of the Satyagraha against the brute force of the oppressor & in effect, converting the oppressor to the right & moral point of view”

Nelson Rolihlahla Mandela

Implementing a Permanent Basic Income Grant to Alleviate Extreme Poverty

■ By **TSHILIDZI MUNYAI**



THE African National Congress (ANC) has consistently championed the progressive policies aimed at eradicating poverty, reducing inequality, employment and expanding economic participation.

As part of this commitment, the ANC has prioritised the implementation of a permanent Basic Income Support Grant (BIG) – a strategic social and economic intervention designed to ensure that no South African is left behind in the fight against extreme poverty.

A Basic Income Grant is not about

fostering dependency, nor is it a handout. It is a direct response to South Africa's structural economic challenges, particularly widespread unemployment, job insecurity, poverty, hunger and the rising cost of living. By providing a stable and guaranteed income, a permanent BIG can empower individuals, create economic opportunities, and stimulate local economies, contributing to a more just and sustainable society.

The Case for a Permanent Basic Income Grant

Extreme poverty and hunger remain a persistent challenge in

South Africa, with millions of people struggling to meet their basic needs.

Existing social grants play a crucial role in supporting vulnerable groups, yet millions of unemployed youth, informal workers, and caregivers remain excluded from the system.

Recognising this gap, the ANC, through its 2024 Manifesto commitment and policy resolutions, has committed to expanding social protection through a permanent Basic Income Grant.

The 2024 elections further reinforced public support for this initiative, with research from the University of Johannesburg confirming that a majority of South Africans back the introduction of a BIG.

A permanent Basic Income Grant would provide immediate relief, ensuring that vulnerable South Africans can:

- Afford necessities, reducing food insecurity and malnutrition
- Pursue better economic opportunities, such as education, training, or entrepreneurship, without the immediate burden of survival.
- Participate meaningfully in the economy, stimulating demand for goods and services,

which in turn benefits small businesses.

Debunking the Myth: Basic Income Support vs. Public Employment

As the ANC, we firmly refute dogma and the misconception that Basic Income Support conflicts with public employment objectives. The notion that South Africa must choose between income support and job creation presents a false ideological flawed dichotomy.

These strategies are mutually reinforcing and collectively aim to:

1. Ensure that no South African is deprived of the means to sustain themselves while seeking employment.
2. Provide economic security that empowers individuals to take entrepreneurial risks, invest in education, and establish sustainable livelihoods.
3. Stimulate local economies, thereby generating increased demand and creating opportunities for small businesses and cooperatives to flourish and employ more people.

While public employment programmes like the Expanded Public Works Programmes (EPWP) and infrastructure-driven job creation are vital, they alone are not panacea, cannot resolve the deep-seated structural unemployment crisis. A permanent Basic Income Grant acts as a foundation, ensuring that people have financial security to pursue opportunities rather than remain trapped in cycles of poverty.

The ANC recognises that Basic Income Support lays the groundwork for economic engagement, ensuring that South Africans possess the social capacity to construct their futures rather than re-



main ensnared in poverty.

Extreme poverty remains a persistent challenge in South Africa, with millions of people struggling to meet their basic needs. Existing social grants play a crucial role in supporting vulnerable groups, yet millions of unemployed youth, informal workers, and caregivers remain excluded from the system.

As the loyal members of the ANC and deployees in legislatures and executive, it is unwavering national revolutionary duty to be discipline and *“toe the party line”* and implement ANC 2024 Manifesto commitment and policy resolutions to expand social protection through a permanent Basic Income Grant in the current phase of the National Democratic Revolution:

1. Ensure that no South African is deprived of the means to sustain themselves while seeking employment.
2. Provide economic security that empowers individuals to take entrepreneurial risks, in-

vest in education, and establish sustainable livelihoods.

3. Stimulate local economies, thereby generating increased demand and creating opportunities for small businesses and cooperatives to flourish and employ more people.

Basic Income Support and Public Employment: A Complementary Strategy

The argument that suggests that a Basic Income Grant may discourage employment. However, the ANC rejects this false choice between income support and job creation.

These two policies are mutually reinforcing, as a permanent BIG would:

- Provide a safety net for unemployed individuals while they actively seek work, upskill, or engage in small business ventures.
- Increase local demand, leading to more business activity and job creation.
- Encourage entrepreneurship,

as financial stability enables individuals to take economic risks without fear of immediate destitution.

While public employment initiatives like the Expanded Public Works Programme (EPWP) remain essential, they alone cannot address the deep structural unemployment crisis.

A permanent Basic Income Grant acts as a foundation, ensuring that people have financial security to pursue opportunities rather than remain trapped in cycles of poverty.

Revitalising Local Economies

A Basic Income Grant does not only benefit individuals – it also strengthens local businesses and creates a more inclusive economic environment.

By increasing household purchasing power, a BIG ensures that money is spent within communities, generating local economic growth.

A permanent BIG will:

- Boost township and rural economies, as increased demand for goods and services will benefit spaza shops, informal traders, and small businesses.

- Encourage entrepreneurship, as financial stability allows individuals to invest in their ideas and skills, start businesses, and create jobs.
- By linking Basic Income Support to economic participation, we ensure that recipients are not just beneficiaries, but active contributors to economic development.

Funding a Permanent Basic Income Grant: A Sustainable Approach

A key concern around Basic Income Support is its cost. However, the ANC believes that a well-structured funding model can ensure that a permanent BIG is financially viable and sustainable.

The ANC is committed to implementing a Basic Income Grant through:

- Progressive taxation on high-income earners and corporations, ensuring fair economic contribution from those who have benefitted most from South Africa's economy.
- Wealth and financial transaction taxes, designed to redistribute excessive capital accumulation and promote inclusive economic growth.
- Reallocating public spending, ensuring that resources are

directed towards critical social investments rather than lost to inefficiencies or corruption.

This approach ensures that a permanent Basic Income Grant is not a drain on the economy, but a stimulus for economic development, strengthening household incomes while promoting growth in the formal and informal sectors.

A 2025 Commitment: Implementing the Basic Income Grant

The ANC has committed to finalising a comprehensive Basic Income Support policy framework within the first two years of the new 7th Administration.

This implementation process will include:

1. Extensive public consultations with communities, businesses, and trade unions to ensure a broad-based and people-driven policy.
2. Developing a phased implementation plan, transitioning from the current Social Relief of Distress (SRD) Grant towards a permanent Basic Income Grant.
3. Establishing clear funding mechanisms, ensuring the sustainability of the grant while promoting economic growth and development.

This is not merely a policy pledge – it is a critical giant step towards achieving economic justice and ensuring that South Africa's economy benefits all citizens, not just a privileged few.

Tshilidzi Munyai is an ANC MP in the National Assembly and Whip on the Social Development Portfolio Committee. He writes on behalf of the African National Congress Caucus' Study Group on Social Development.



Honoring Zolile Malindi: Reclaiming the ANC's Revolutionary Spirit for a Just and Democratic South Africa

■ By **VUYISO JJ TYHALISISU**

AS the ANC celebrates April as Heroes' Month – a time to honour the stalwarts of our liberation struggle, particularly those born or departed during this month – we pay tribute to Comrade Zolile Malindi, who left us on 21 April 2008.

Born in the rural village of Gqogqorha in the Eastern Cape, Malindi's political awakening came in the Western Cape, where he experienced firsthand the brutal realities of apartheid's economic exclusion and racial oppression.

A teacher by training, he became a formidable trade unionist in the Food and Canning Workers' Union and rose through the ranks of both the ANC and SACP during apartheid's darkest days.

His courage was immortalized in moments like the 1955 Congress of the People, where he risked his life to preserve the Xhosa version of the Freedom Charter from police confiscation by hiding it in his sock – a symbolic act preserving the voice of the people against oppression.

Yet, despite his immense contributions, his legacy remains undercelebrated in the very province where his activism took root.



The Western Cape holds a unique place in the struggle narrative, serving as a crucible for revolutionary leaders who confronted apartheid's machinery head-on. Malindi's role as the ANC's Western Cape Provincial President during its banning in 1960, his harrowing detention under the 90-day laws, and his lifelong dedication to worker rights and liberation demand greater recognition. His story is not just one of personal sacrifice but a testament to the collective power of grassroots organizing.

Comrade Zolile Malindi was more than a leader; he was a symbol of resilience in the face of relentless oppression. Bestowed the Order

of Luthuli in Silver a day after his passing in 2008, his legacy deserves more than posthumous accolades – it demands active remembrance.

His life of struggle, sacrifice and service embodies the very essence of what Heroes' Month represents, reminding us that true heroism is measured not by dates but by one's contribution to the freedom we enjoy today.

The ANC in the Western Cape must do more to honour his memory – through annual commemorations, educational programmes, and more – ensuring that future generations learn from his courage and conviction. By celebrating him boldly and consistently, we not only pay homage to his life but also reaffirm the values he fought for, including justice, equality, and the unwavering belief in a nonracial, nonsexist, prosperous and democratic South Africa.

On 22 February 2025, I had the honor of delivering a memorial lecture for Comrade Zolile Malindi at the invitation of the ANC branch in Mfuleni. Comrade Zolile Malindi's life spanned three distinct eras in South Africa's history: colonial rule, apartheid, and democracy. Born in 1924,

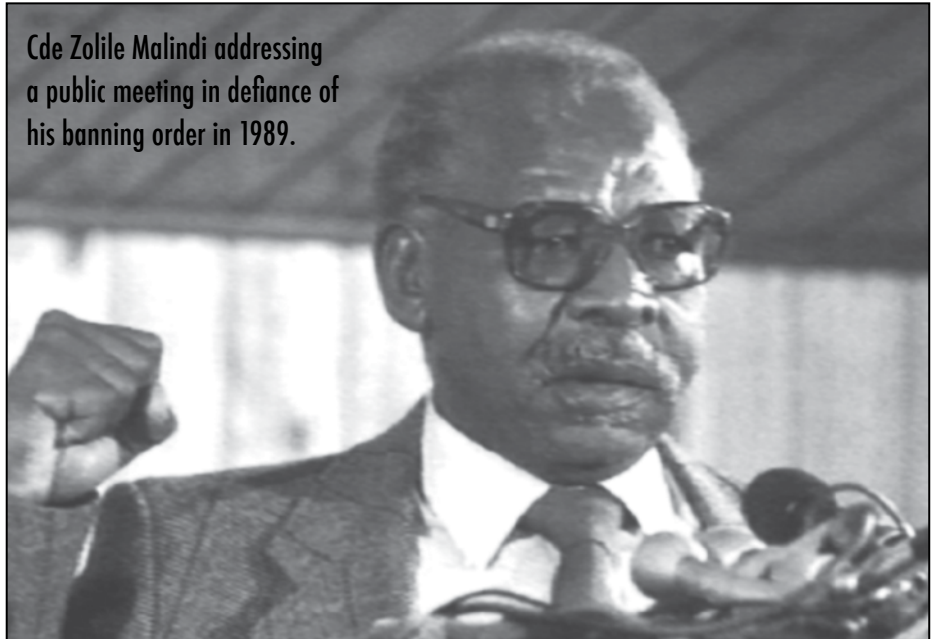
he experienced the harsh realities of racial oppression from an early age. His life was a testament to resilience, courage, and an unwavering commitment to the liberation of our people. He lived through the darkest days of apartheid, enduring torture, imprisonment, and banning orders, yet he never wavered in his belief that a free, democratic South Africa was possible.

Comrade Zolile was not just a leader of the ANC; he was also a dedicated member of the South African Communist Party (SACP). This dual allegiance is a testament to the deep-rooted history of the Tripartite Alliance, forged in the fires of the struggle for liberation. The ANC, SACP, and COSATU stood together, united in purpose, to dismantle the apartheid regime and build a nonracial, nonsexist, prosperous and South democratic Africa. The alliance was not a mere political arrangement; it was a bond of solidarity, built on the shared sacrifices of leaders like Zolile Malindi, who gave their lives to the cause of freedom.

As we reflect on Comrade Zolile's life, we must also confront the challenges facing our movement. The ANC of Zolile Malindi's time was a movement of selfless leaders, men and women who put the people first, who sacrificed their comfort, their safety, and even their lives for the liberation of our people. They were leaders who understood that the struggle was not about personal gain but about the collective emancipation of the oppressed. They were leaders who, even in the face of torture, imprisonment, and exile, never wavered in their commitment to the cause.

As our country celebrated Hu-

Cde Zolile Malindi addressing a public meeting in defiance of his banning order in 1989.



man Rights Day on 21 March 2025, we must reflect on the sacrifices of our leaders who fought for the rights we enjoy today. Human Rights Day commemorates the Sharpeville massacre, a stark reminder of the brutality of the apartheid regime and the courage of those who stood against it. Comrade Zolile was part of that generation of leaders who understood that freedom was not given but had to be fought for, often at great personal cost. His life reminds us that the struggle for human rights is ongoing, and that we must remain vigilant in defending the gains of our democracy.

The passing of landmark legislation such as the Expropriation Act, the National Health Insurance (NHI) Act, and the Basic Education Laws Amendment (BELA) Act is a testament to the enduring legacy of leaders like Zolile Malindi. These laws are not just policy achievements; they are the realization of the dreams of those who fought for a South Africa where the people share in the country's wealth, where healthcare and education are accessible to all, and where

the land is returned to those who work it. These acts are passed in the name of Zolile Malindi and countless other heroes and heroines who paid the ultimate price for our freedom.

The ANC faces significant challenges in its mission to transform South Africa into a nation of equality, justice, and shared prosperity, while confronting global neoliberal and market forces that resist change. These forces, driven by profit and power, perpetuate inequality and exploitation, both domestically and globally. The recent expulsion of Ebrahim Rasool from the U.S., widely seen as retaliation for South Africa's stance against Israeli actions in Gaza, highlights the global dimensions of this struggle. It highlights the complexities of transformation in a world that often undermines the progress of formerly oppressed nations. The ANC must navigate these challenges while remaining committed to serving the poor, working class, and marginalized, who continue to bear the brunt of historical injustices.

Claims of white genocide in South Africa are false and dangerous



Comrade Zolile
with Comrade
Alex La Guma
and Chief Albert
Luthuli

distortions, aimed at undermining the country's hard-won democracy and progress since 1994. South Africa is a peaceful nation guided by the values of democracy, reconciliation, and unity, as championed by Nelson Mandela. As Madiba once posited, reconciliation means working together to correct the legacy of past injustice. Since 1994, our government embarked on a project of national reconciliation to address past injustices while fostering harmony between Black and White South Africans.

South Africa remains committed to Mandela's vision of reconciliation and nation-building, where freedom means respecting and enhancing the freedom of others. The focus is on addressing systemic inequalities and building a future where all South Africans, regardless of race, can thrive.

The work is far from over. The ANC must renew itself, returning to the values of selflessness, integrity, and service that defined leaders like Comrade Zolile. We must reject factionalism, corruption, and self-interest, and instead focus on rebuilding the

trust of our people. The Tripartite Alliance – ANC, SACP, and COSATU – must remain united, as it was during the darkest days of apartheid, to continue the fight for economic justice and social equality.

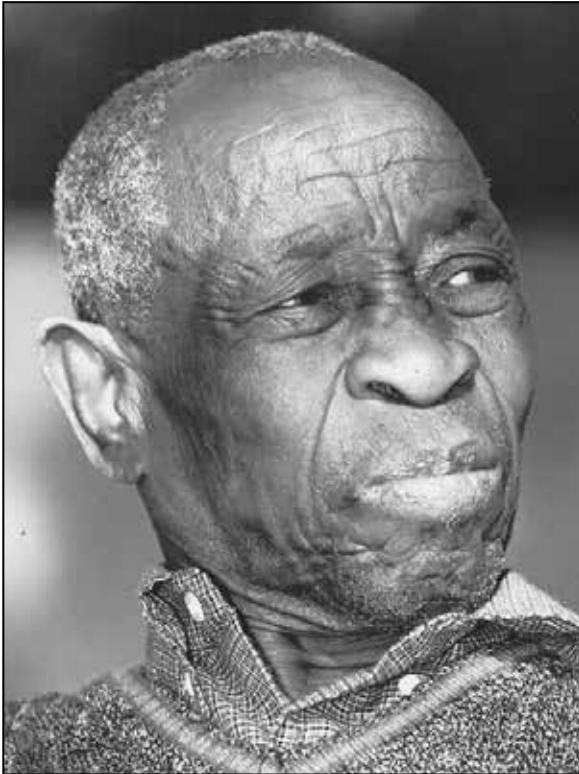
As we move towards the 2026 local government elections, let us remember Zolile Malindi's unwavering dedication. Let us go back to the people, knocking on doors, listening to their concerns, and reminding them that the ANC is their home. But more than that, let us show them that we are serious about renewal, about service delivery, and about changing

their lives for the better.

The sacrifices of Zolile Malindi and his generation must not be in vain. Let us unite, let us rebuild, and let us ensure that come 2026, we are stronger, more disciplined, and ready to lead. Let us make the ANC the people's movement once again. Let us restore the dignity of our people. Let us ensure that the dream of the Freedom Charter is realized in our lifetime.

JJ Tyhalisisu is the Chairperson of the ANC in the Western Cape. He writes in his personal capacity.





A TRIBUTE TO FISH THATOYAONE NTWAESELE KEITSENG'S LEGACY

■ By **THABANG MAKWETLA**

I AM honoured and privileged to pay tribute to Cde Fish Keitseng on behalf of Africa's oldest organisation, the ANC of South Africa, in which he spent most of his prime life promoting its vision and passionately fighting for the realisation of its ideals.

As with many individual lives, Rre-Fish Keitseng's life was shaped by the evolutionary changes in the society in which he was born. His life was only a microcosm of a more considerable social commotion engendered by much bigger and stronger forces beyond the world he lived in.

The phenomenon of colonisation, as it happened everywhere, pulled together previously geographically dispersed communities that lived separately from one another. The emergence of markets for commodities and labour led to the formation of nation-states. The experience of Southern African communities was not different in this respect.

The dramatic industrialisation of South Africa's colonial peasant economy was driven by the discovery of Diamonds in Kimberly in 1866 and Gold on the Witwatersrand in 1885. This significant economic boost created an enormous pull for labour as far afield as Malawi for decades later. As part of this region, Batswana became part of this economy, hence the story that has brought us together today.

Rre Keitseng was part of the large-scale urbanisation of South Africans and those looking for jobs from neighbouring countries in response to the demand for labour by South Africa's war economy of 1939 to 1945. This generation of urban dwellers swelled the ranks of South Africa's working class and its organisations. Their militancy decisively changed the trajectory of South Africa's liberation movement, the ANC.

Scholars of ANC History and South Africa's Resistance Move-

ment argue that it was only post-WWII, with the emergence of cadres like Fish Keitseng in significant numbers, that the critical mass of the ANC leadership became leaders with a working-class background in contrast to the earlier period when the organisation was pioneered predominantly by the African intelligentsia, while at the same time appreciating the material historical context of the genesis of the national liberation movement in general, across the globe.

The super-exploitation and draconian worker-employer relationship that defined apartheid capitalism created conditions conducive to militant views among workers. Hence, Fish Keitseng is a product of the trials and tribulations of South Africa's labour struggles, which were intrinsically linked to the secondary political status blacks were accorded then. This logically made Cde Fish (as he was fondly known among his colleagues) and many

TRIBUTE

of his contemporaries find an empowering home in the ANC.

In 1956, Fish Keitseng became one of the 156 luminary leaders who were arraigned on charges of Treason and stood trial for advocating for the fundamental rights of South Africans as enshrined in the Freedom Charter. It is this leadership that canvassed and propagated the vision on which the new South Africa was established today.

In life, some things do happen for a good reason. The deportation of Fish Keitseng after his acquittal from the Treason Trial back to Botswana was a blessing in disguise. In December 1960, at the Annual Conference of the SACP following the Sharpeville Massacre, the party leadership resolved that *“The people’s movement could no longer hope to continue along the road of exclusively non-violent forms of political struggle, and to do so would lead to paralysis of the movement in the face of new government tactics, and the disillusionment and spread of defeatism among the people”*.

Put differently, this means the organisation was faced with its demise. In a leaflet issued by the High Command of Umkhonto we Sizwe on the 16th of December 1961, the leaflet declared that: *“The people’s patience is not endless. The time comes in the life of any nation when there remain only two choices: submit or fight. That time has now come to South Africa. We shall not submit, and we have no choice but to hit back by all means within our power to defend our people, our future, and our freedom.”*

Looking at what followed, there is eloquent evidence that Fish Keit-

seng was more than ready for the challenge and the road ahead. If it had not been for his zealous interventions and facilitation, many of the foundation plans and emergencies surrounding the decision to take up arms would have been embarrassed. From the commencement of this chapter, it was evident that the lives of its participants were at stake. However, Fish Keitseng remained undeterred in facilitating the vital movement in and out of South Africa that the ANC required.

Paying tribute to the legacy of Walter Sisulu at the moment of his demise, Thabo Mbeki, former President of the ANC and the Republic of S Africa, had this to say, *“Our country and people are blessed with many heroes and heroines. These are men and women who elected to dedicate their lives to the service of the people. They were prepared to sacrifice everything, including their lives, if this was necessary for the betterment of the condition of the people. They were ready to act thus, not to earn praise or to receive any reward. At all times they swore never to betray their cause and their people, regardless of the price they might have to pay. They acted to satisfy their consciences that they had done all they could to serve the people of our country... Yet, as extraordinary as our heroes and heroines are and have been, they are human beings who are produced by the same society that produces all of us. They are in every respect ordinary human beings, who have nevertheless shown themselves capable of doing extraordinary things”*.

In his acclaimed book ***Umkhonto we Sizwe – The ANC’s armed struggle***, Thula Simpson, a senior lecturer in the Depart-

ment of Historical and Heritage Studies at the University of Pretoria, provides a blow-by-blow account of the hectic days surrounding the decision to take up arms. The centrality of the role played by Fish Keitseng colours that landscape: from conspiring in ensuring that Madiba travels to Addis Ababa to attend the meeting of the Pan African Movement of East, Central, and Southern Africa, the precursor to the OAU on behalf of the ANC as tasked by the NEC, to fetching him back from Tanganyika after his military training in Ethiopia. Furthermore, Fish was involved in the dramatic escape via Botswana of Arthur Goldreich and Harold Wolpe, two of the four Rivonia Trialists who escaped from prison before the Trial commenced, resulting in the bombing of their rescue airplanes and Fish Keitseng’s own Land Rover used to drive them from Lobatse to Francistown.

Notwithstanding the above exploits, Rre-Fish Keitseng’s most monumental contribution will always remain his facilitation of the historic Lobatse Conference on October 27, 1962, when he offered his homestead in Lobatse as the venue.

The banning of the ANC in March 1960 presented, (to use a fashionable cliché) an existential crisis. There was a pressing need for both the external mission and the leadership inside the country to confer on a range of organisational challenges which were increasingly becoming pronounced since the organisation was banned and some of its leaders banned and banished to remote corners of the country. The decision to take up arms in response to the intense repression that came with the banning of the organisation was not officially fully

canvassed and adopted as the new way forward.

For the first time the ANC accepted to continue its existence as an underground organisation and embraced the armed struggle, further defining how it will operate inside the country. This found expression in the resolutions which conference adopted.

Among others, the Lobatse delegates resolved (1) to inculcate among the people a spirit of sacrifice and loyalty to the cause of freedom (2) to enforce strict discipline; ensuring the observance of the security rules by members and to take steps to discourage loose talk, gossip-mongering and unnecessary curiosity among members (3) to raise the organisation of the freedom fighters to full strength in all areas (4) to carry out the national program of political education for members and people in general to ensure a high standard of political consciousness and understanding.

Today, it can be said that our journey has come full circle. March 28 marks twenty years after Fish Keitseng bowed out from the world of the living when our organisation the ANC is faced with the threat of being decimated again in South African communities, calling for its members to emulate the courage demonstrated by Fish Keitseng and his peers when they were confronted by a situation just as dire, if not worse than this moment.

The loss of majority support by the ANC in the last elections of the 29th May 2024 is a matter of deep national concern in our country. The history of South Africa over the past century has indeed been the history of the liberation struggle as waged by the



ANC. This humbling experience beckons all South Africans who consider themselves revolutionaries worthy of the heritage bequeathed on us by legends such as Fish Keitseng, and the names are many, to reflect deeply, honestly, and with an enormous sense of responsibility about how we got here.

We owe it first to our people, we owe it to progressives everywhere, we owe it to committed practicing revolutionaries worldwide. This we are obligated to do to honour and respect the sacrifices of the authors of the democracy we have in our country today.

Our mistakes must be generously shared as lessons that must benefit everyone. However, our most important responsibility as the ANC is to fix our mistakes expeditiously, and to clawback demonstrating discipline and determination in our work. We must take to heart the lesson that the people come first.

Amidst the flurry of views about what we did wrong, we must also admit that it is not easy to change human beings. This remains a humbling and elusive mission in the remaking of society. Human solidarity happens in flows

and ebbs and requires constant vigilance around factors that nature or erode it, in the engineering of society.

Marxist dialectics postulate the important reality that in life nothing re-

mains the same, the only constant variable in life is change itself. This notion deserves more attention among social reformers than it enjoys at times.

We believe the ANC needs peace time heroes like Rre-Keitseng because just as in war, the building of a better life requires fearlessly selfless patriots. Bravery is not a conduct to be associated with war only, because as a human attribute bravery is essentially about selflessness. This event is to us a moment to further rededicate ourselves to the ideals that Fish Keitseng lived and died for.

Thabang Makwetla is a member of the ANC NEC. He occupied various positions in the South African government, including as Deputy Minister of Defence. In the 1980's, during his stint as Chairperson of the ANC's Regional Politico Military Council (RPMC), he was the overall commander of the ANC's political and military underground activities operating from Botswana. He also served as Treasurer of the South African Communist Party (SACP), Botswana region from 1986 to 1988. Above is his address to the memorial lecture of Fish Thatoyaone Ntwaesele Keitseng, in Gaborone, Botswana.

Critique of Black Reason

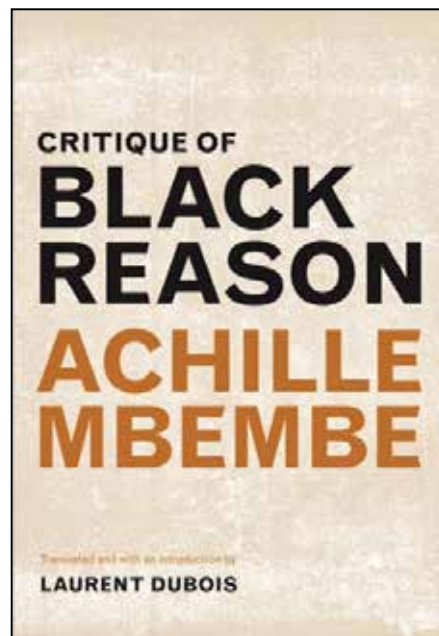
(Book by Achille Mbembe, 2017)

■ Reviewed by **ASHLEY NYIKO MABASA**

HEGEL, in the quote above, addresses the question of personhood as being composed of a conscious and rational being, while the “other” is an object that cannot be recognized. This “other” can be interpreted as the black person. Hegel’s dialectics explore how one is recognized by the other and, in turn, recognizes the other. Achille Mbembe’s seminal book, *Critique of Black Reason* (2017), examines how black people have historically been negatively characterized as the “other” and how they can redefine blackness through positive attributes. This review will illustrate how Mbembe offers a new theoretical perspective in the social sciences.

This review affirms Mbembe’s argument that while black people cannot change history, they can determine how they shape their identity in response to the historically dominant negative definitions of blackness. It will also highlight key elements of Mbembe’s argument and connect them to the author’s ontological experiences. Specifically, the notion of blackness as a concept that signifies “otherness,” inferiority, and a constructed problem will be examined.

Mbembe, much like Karl Marx in *Das Kapital (Volume I)*, argues that to study a phenomenon, one must first examine its appearance, delve into its essence, and then revisit its appearance with a deeper understanding of its essence. Marx applied this method to commodities, while Mbembe applies it to black reason-



ing, which he divides into two dimensions: first, viewing black people from an external perspective (appearance) and questioning personhood – “*What makes people, people?*” – and second, examining the internal essence of black identity, “Who are we as black people?” and what it means to be black in both an ontological and global context.

As previously mentioned, in Hegelian terms, personhood consists of being a self-reflective, self-possessed, rational, and self-motivated being. These characteristics, which relate to inner consciousness, are central to Mbembe’s argument. He asserts that external identification – “*I am black*” – is an outward form of recognition, but it stems from an internal question: “*Who am I, then?*” However,

in a country like South Africa, black identity has been largely shaped by colonialism and apartheid. For instance, colonialism marginalized black people, defining them as inferior compared to the white race and placing them at the lowest rung of racial hierarchies. Many scholars have also argued that racial subjugation in South Africa served as a mechanism for acquiring cheap labor under the white state.

Mbembe contends that black identity is a way of defining and positioning oneself in relation to others. Blackness, as a descriptor, carries specific connotations, and due to its historical ties to race and oppression, it is not a neutral term. Historically, blackness has been associated with suffering, slavery, colonialism, apartheid, and oppression. Consequently, black identity has been defined in relation to these historical injustices.

From an ontological perspective, my own ethnic group, race, and culture were marginalized by colonialism and apartheid and continue to face marginalization in post-apartheid South Africa.

Moreover, my culture and ethnicity have been manipulated to fit the demands of industrial colonial capitalism and the apartheid system. My ethnic group, the Shangaan people, have historically migrated across Southern Africa, residing in Mozambique, Zimbabwe, and South Africa. However, the languages and dialects of the Shangaan people vary across

these regions, leading to social, cultural, and political differences. These variations were largely shaped by the different colonial regimes under which they lived. Similarly, Mbembe argues that blackness was imposed upon black people in the same way tribal distinctions were externally imposed on large ethnic groups.

Borrowing from W.E.B. Du Bois' theory of *"double consciousness,"* Mbembe highlights that black people must constantly be aware of how they are perceived by others, as this external perception has real consequences. This awareness not only has psychological effects but also shapes individual consciousness. For example, Du Bois asks how it feels to be defined as a problem, and Mbembe echoes this concern. However, he also asserts that while history cannot be changed, black people can shape their identity against negative stereotypes. Mbembe argues that blackness can be transformed into a positive identity by those who embody it.

The notion of blackness as a positive construct emerges from the historical analysis of its negative connotations, which have been imposed by white supremacist discourses. Mbembe argues that blackness has historically been used as a mechanism for objectification and degradation. However, he asserts that strength can also be drawn from blackness. For instance, the South African government, through Black Economic Empowerment (BEE) and Affirmative Action, has provided certain black individuals with financial support to redress historical marginalization. Nonetheless, some scholars, such as David Masondo, argue that BEE primarily benefits politically connected elites and does not result in meaningful transformation for the majority of black people.

Mbembe further argues that blackness always exists in relation to power and has the capacity to transform it. He draws from thinkers like Marcus Garvey and Aimé Césaire, who sought to turn blackness into an

Achille Mbembe



empowering discourse. Revolutionary intellectuals such as Garvey and Césaire used blackness as a means to challenge oppression and develop an emancipatory politics. Mbembe believes that blackness can serve as both a tool of resistance and a vehicle for liberation.

Building on Mbembe's arguments and my own ontological experiences, I reflect on my participation in the ANC Youth League Johannesburg Stock Exchange march for economic freedom and social change demands in 2024. As a young activist in the ANC Youth League spaces, I witnessed first-hand the poverty, unemployment and inequality faced by many young people. The largely the ANC Youth League leadership mobilized to fight for economic transformation as a means of ending class oppress with the convergence of getting concession from the capital because in the nature of capitalist state capitalist have hyperballistic power over the state due to its social and economic investment in the country.

Mbembe acknowledges that slavery was a tool of oppression that sought to immobilize black bodies and weaken their capacity for social reproduction. However, historical examples such as the 1791–1804 Haitian Revolution demonstrate that revolt was possible. The Haitian Revolution affirms Mbembe's argument that blackness, historically used as a tool of oppression, can also be a source of

unity and liberation.

Historian Michel-Rolph Trouillot argues that the Haitian Revolution *"challenged the ontological and political assumptions of the most radical writers of the Enlightenment."* Similarly, Mbembe challenges Western epistemology by producing new knowledge based on the experiences of the oppressed. This perspective highlights how blackness, as a tool of liberation, has the potential to generate new insights from marginalized viewpoints.

Nevertheless, Mbembe also critiques Fanon's advocacy for violence as a means of self-emancipation. While Fanon saw violence as a way to undermine colonial rule and restore agency to the colonized, Mbembe warns that violence has psychological consequences. However, Mbembe does not offer a clear alternative framework for liberation without violence.

Finally, this review has illustrated Mbembe's argument that blackness has two dimensions: one as a historically dehumanized identity and another as a positive force for self-definition. He emphasizes that while black people cannot change the past, they can shape their identity in the future.

Ashley Nyiko Mabasa is a ANCYL PEC Member in Gauteng and Head of Political Education and Policy.

THIS WEEK IN HISTORY

THIS WEEK IN HISTORY

5–11 April 2025

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

5 April 1906

The Regeneration of Africa speech

A young Pixley Isaka Seme makes history when he delivers "*The Regeneration of Africa*" speech at Columbia University in the USA. The speech was carried on the front page of the New York Times the next day, and reported in the UK and South Africa. He introduced his speech with the words... "*I am an African, and I set my pride in my race over against a hostile public opinion.*" Eighty years later, making the speech on the occasion of the adoption of the South African Constitution in May 1996, Thabo Mbeki started his speech in a similar manner: "*I am an African.*" The Regeneration of Africa speech should be prescribed reading for all young Africans.

5 April 1953

Kenyatta sentenced to seven years in prison

Jomo Kenyatta, Kenyan freedom fighter is sentenced to seven years in prison on the allegation that he is leader of the Mau Mau anti-colonial movement in Kenya. In 1964 he became the first President of a liberated Kenya, until his death in 1978.

5 April 2022

COVID19 National State of Disaster lifted

Following drastic reductions in

number of infections, hospitalisation and deaths due to COVID19, the National State of Disaster, declared by President Cyril Ramaphosa in the light of the global pandemic on 15 March 2020, was lifted in South Africa. The WHO estimated that in 2020, excess deaths due to the pandemic was as high as 3 million, globally.

6 April 1652

Van Riebeeck lands at the Cape

Jan van Riebeeck landed at the Cape of Good Hope with three ships (Reijer, Dromedaris, Goede Hoop) on instruction from the Dutch East India Company (VOC) to establish a half way station. He remained head of the settlement until 1662. When he left, the white settlement numbered 134 officials, 35 free burghers, 15 women, 22 children, and 180 slaves from Malaysia, Madagascar and Angola. This set the scene for over 300 years of apartheid and colonialism and apartheid in South Africa, first by the Dutch and then by the British.

6 April 1916

Activist and lawyer AP Mda born

Political activist, teacher and lawyer, co-founder of the African National Congress Youth League (ANCYL) and its president in 1947, Ashby Peter (A.P.) Solomzi Mda, was born in Herschel,



Eastern Cape. Under Mda's leadership the Youth League presented the Programme of Action at the ANC's Cape Provincial Conference held in Port Elizabeth in June 1949. He was also part of the breakaway group from the African National Congress (ANC) that formed the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC). Mda made his debut in politics when he attended the All-African Convention in Bloemfontein in mid-1936.

6 April 1979

Solomon Mahlangu executed



"I salute combatants of Umkhonto we Sizwe, like Solomon Mahlangu and Ashley Kriel who have paid the ultimate price for the freedom of all South Africans"

- Nelson Mandela

11 Feb 1990

Solomon Kalushi Mahlangu was executed by the apartheid government at Pretoria Prison, at age 22 years, the youngest South African facing the death penalty. He joined Umkhonto we Sizwe, after leaving the country in 1976, and trained in Mozambique and Angola. He was arrested, convicted and sentenced to death. On 6 April 1979, Kalushi refused to be hand-cuffed, wanted to make the final sacrifice as a soldier. His last words were: *"My blood will nourish the tree that will bear the fruits of freedom. Tell my people that I love them. They must continue the struggle."* The 2016 film 'Kalushi' tells the story of his life.

**■ 6 April 1991
Reburial of Flora, a slave from Vergelegen**

On 6 April 1991, the reburial of a slave named Flora took place at Vergelegen Wine Estate, Somerset West. This came about after the discovery of her remains in October 1990, when University of Cape Town archaeologists unearthed the site of the Slave Lodge at Vergelegen. The remains were unearthed from a wooden box, and archaeologists discovered

fine pieces of bone in the box and through scientific testing were able to conclude that the remains found were that of a female aged between 50-59 years old, and that she was from a tropical area therefore indicating that she came to Vergelegen as a slave.

**■ 6 April 1994
Assassination of Burundi and Rwanda presidents in plane crash**

On 6 April 1994, an extraordinary event in the history of the Afri-

can continent took place in Kigali, Rwanda when two presidents from two countries were assassinated. Juvenal Habyarimana of Rwanda and his Burundian counterpart Cyprien Ntaryamira were among 10 people in an aircraft many people believe was brought down by rocket fire. Habyarimana and Ntaryamira were returning from a meeting of east and central African leaders in Dar-es-Salaam, Tanzania, at which they discussed ways to end the ethnic violence in Burundi and Rwanda. The event saw Hutu extremists blaming the Rwanda Patriotic Front, and started the genocide, which over the next 100 days saw the killings of over 800,000 Tutsis and moderate Hutus.

**■ 7 April 1871
Charlotte Mannya Maxeke born**

Charlotte Mannya-Maxeke was born in Fort Beaufort. She was the first black woman to receive a science degree, and the only female delegate at the ANC founding congress on 8 January 1912. Since the ANC did not allow full membership to women until 1944, Maxeke formed the Bantu Women's League in 1918, which

Charlotte
Maxeke

”

"This work is not for yourselves. Kill that spirit of self and do not live above your people but live with them and if you can rise, bring someone with you."
Charlotte Mannya-Maxeke



THIS WEEK IN HISTORY

advocated for the plight of African women, farm workers and challenged the apartheid government. The Bantu Women's League is seen as the forerunner of the ANC Women's League.

■ 7 April 1886 Juta, father of SA publishing passed on

Jan Carel Juta was a South African business man born in Holland in 1824. He sailed to the Cape in South Africa in 1853 where he soon established the company that has come to be known as the father of all publishing companies – JC Juta & Co. The Juta Company won the right to supply reference books to the University of the Cape of Good Hope in the 1850's. The company is still a leader in the publication of education materials and textbooks to this day. Juta died on 7 (some sources claim 8) April 1886 in Chiswick, London. He was married to Louise Marx (Karl Marx was her brother) and they had seven children.

■ 7 April 1948 World Health Organisation formed



The UN established a specialized agency for health, the World Health Organisation (WHO), dedicated to fighting global disease and improving public health. In 2017, former Ethiopian minister of health and foreign affairs, Dr. Tedros Adhanom Ghebreyesus was elected as first African head of WHO. The WHO played a major role in the 2020 Global COVID-19 pandemic and other health matters.

■ 7 April 1960 Unlawful Organisation Act sees banning of ANC and PAC

The Unlawful Organisations Act No 34, provided for organisations threatening public order or the safety of the public to be declared unlawful. The ANC and the PAC were immediately declared unlawful. Justice Minister Erasmus announced the banning of ANC and PAC for a minimum of one year and stated that there could be no political organisation among urbanised Africans.

■ 7 April 1988 Albie Sachs lost arm in bomb attack in Maputo



A car bomb planted by the apartheid government in Maputo caused Judge Albie Sachs, who was active in the ANC and in exile in Mozambique, to lose his left arm and blinded in one eye. As one of the drafters of the Constitution of 1996, he went on to become a Constitutional Court Judge and author of *The Soft Vengeance of a Freedom Fighter*.

■ 7 April 1994 Start of the Rwanda Genocide

Rwandan Prime Minister Agathe Uwilingiyimana, a moderate Hutu, was assassinated by Hutu soldiers—a day after the deaths

of Juvénal Habyarimana, president of Rwanda, and Cyprien Ntaryamira, president of Burundi in a mysterious plane crash. Anarchy and violence broke out, signaling the start of what became known as the Rwandan Genocide, with over a million Tutsi civilians and moderate Hutu killed over a period of three months or 100 days, whilst the world did nothing.

8 April 1905 Helen Joseph born

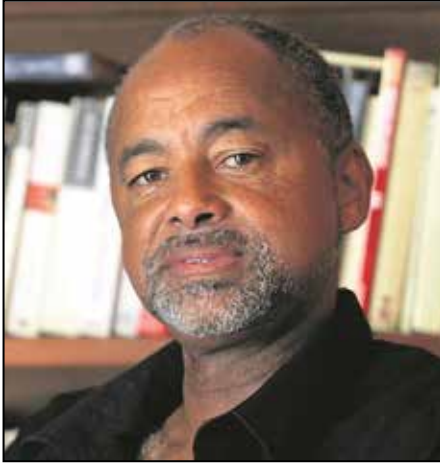


Helen Beatrice May Fennell Joseph was born on this day in the United Kingdom, where she also completed her teaching degree and went on to teach for three years in India, at Mahubia School, a school for girls in Hyderabad. She came to live in Durban, South Africa, where she met and married dentist Billie Joseph. A teacher, social worker, political activist, political prisoner, banned person, trade unionist, founder member of the Congress of Democrats, a leader of FEDSAW and the 1956 9th of August Women's March. Helen Joseph is recipient of the ANC's highest award, the Isitwalandwe/Seaparankoe Medal for her devotion to the South African liberation struggle. She passed on in 1992, and is buried in Avalon Cemetery Soweto, next to her lifelong friend and comrade, Lilian Ngoyi.

THIS WEEK IN HISTORY

8 April 1954

Poet Vincent Oliphant born



Vincent Oliphant was born on this day in Alicedale, Gqeberha (formerly Port Elizabeth). He matriculated from Patterson High, became a mathematics lecturer at Dower Teachers Training college in the city, and is currently a curriculum advisor in the Department of Basic Education. He published his first collection of poetry *Bloed vloei in stilte* (Tafelberg), followed by the *Die sagte vlees* (Tafelberg, 1988).

8 April 1998

Trans Kalahari road opens

The Trans-Kalahari road opened on this day, the first road in Africa south of the Sahara to connect the Atlantic and Indian Ocean. The Trans-Kalahari links Maputo in Mozambique to Walvis Bay in Namibia, and passes through South Africa and Botswana.

8 April 2021

Ethiopian Airlines turns 75

Ethiopian Airlines, one of the most successful aviation companies in the world celebrates its 75th anniversary, with a fleet that grew from 5 when formed in 1946 to over 120. It is the 4th largest airline in the world in terms of routes and destinations.

9 April 1917

Agricultural scientist Victor Adenuga Oyenuga (PhD) born

Nigerian agricultural scientist and academic was born in Ijube Ode, Ogun state. Oyenuga, at the time of Nigerian independence contributed to the modernization of agriculture in the country, through his work at the University of Ibadan and Obafemi Awolowo University. He served as first president of the Nigerian Academy of Sciences.

9 April 1988

GLOW formed

The Gay and Lesbian Organisation of the Witwatersrand (GLOW) was formed in Johannesburg by activists Simon Nkoli, Beverley Palesa Ditsie and Linda Ngcobo, amongst others. GLOW was one of the continent's first gay rights groups formed by black and working class activists, and started the Johannesburg Gay Pride marches. Nkoli and others were also members of the ANC, and GLOW played an important role in advocating for queer rights in the ANC and the Constitution.

9 April 1994

Chess champion Mona Khaled born

Egyptian chess champion was born in Alexandria. As a chess child prodigy, he was the first girl to win the Egyptian Chess Championship at the age of 9. She represented Egypt in the Women's Chess Olympiad from age 14 to present. She has won a number of international women's chess titles and was the first African and Egyptian chess player to win the Women's Grandmaster title in 2007.



9 April 2015

Statute of Cecil John Rhodes removed

After months of protests by the #RhodesMustFall movement against colonial and apartheid oppressive symbols on campus, the statute of Cecil John Roads was removed from the UCT campus pedestal, where it stood since the 1960's.

9 April 2019

X-Trapolis Mega trains

The first X-Trapolis Mega electric passenger trains assembled in South Africa were displayed to the public, to be used in the South African railway system. The Brazilian designed and patented trains by company Alstoms were adapted for South African conditions, in partnership with local company Gibela. A total of 600 such trains are due to be built for PRASA. In July 2022, the agency celebrated the 100th X-Trapolis Mega train manufactured at the Gibela Rail Consortium Dunnotar factory in Ekurhuleni.

10 April 1954

Artist Thomas Kgope born



Thomas Kgope, talented SA artist, was born in Rustenburg, now Northwest province. After Kgope showed interest in art, artist Norman Catherine, for whom

THIS WEEK IN HISTORY

he worked as electrician, gave him some material and demonstrated basic art techniques to him. Up to then he did work as a freelance photographer, before establishing himself as an electrician. He held his first exhibition in 1987, and has become one of South Africa's major artistic voices. Described as a postwar contemporary artist, his is influenced by Ndebele tradition as well as everyday life. His works are described as playful and whimsical, and are part of art collections across the country.

10 April 1957

Aliko Dangote born

Nigerian entrepreneur and business magnet is born in Kano. Dangote is the CEO and founder of the industrial conglomerate Dangote Group, largest in West Africa, with businesses in agro-processing, oil, cement, sugar, fertilizer and a range of other industries. A graduate of Al-Azhar University in Cairo, Egypt, Dangote began his business career in 1978, trading in rice, sugar and cement, before he ventured into full-scale manufacturing. Dangote has been listed as the wealthiest person in Africa.

10 April 1965

Architect Diebedo Francis Kéré born

Burkina Faso architect was born in Gango, Upper Volta, and the first African to receive the Pritzker Architecture Prize in 2022 for his buildings in Africa and other parts of the world. Kéré uses local materials and indigenous designs, incorporating education and environment in his buildings. *"Good architecture in Burkina Faso is a classroom where you can sit, have light that is filtered, entering the way that you want to use it, across a blackboard or on a desk. How can we take away the heat coming from the sun, but use the light to our benefit? Creating climate conditions to give basic comfort allows for true teaching, learning and excitement."* His iconic Gando Primary School building is a supreme example of his architectural philosophy.

10 April 1993

Chris Hani assassinated

SACP Secretary General Chris Hani gunned down in his home driveway by Janus Walusc. Hani was also chief of staff of Umkhonto we Sizwe and a member

of the ANC NEC. His assassination led to widespread protest, nearly ending of negotiations and may have led to a full-out civil war, but through ANC leadership this was averted.

11 April 1843

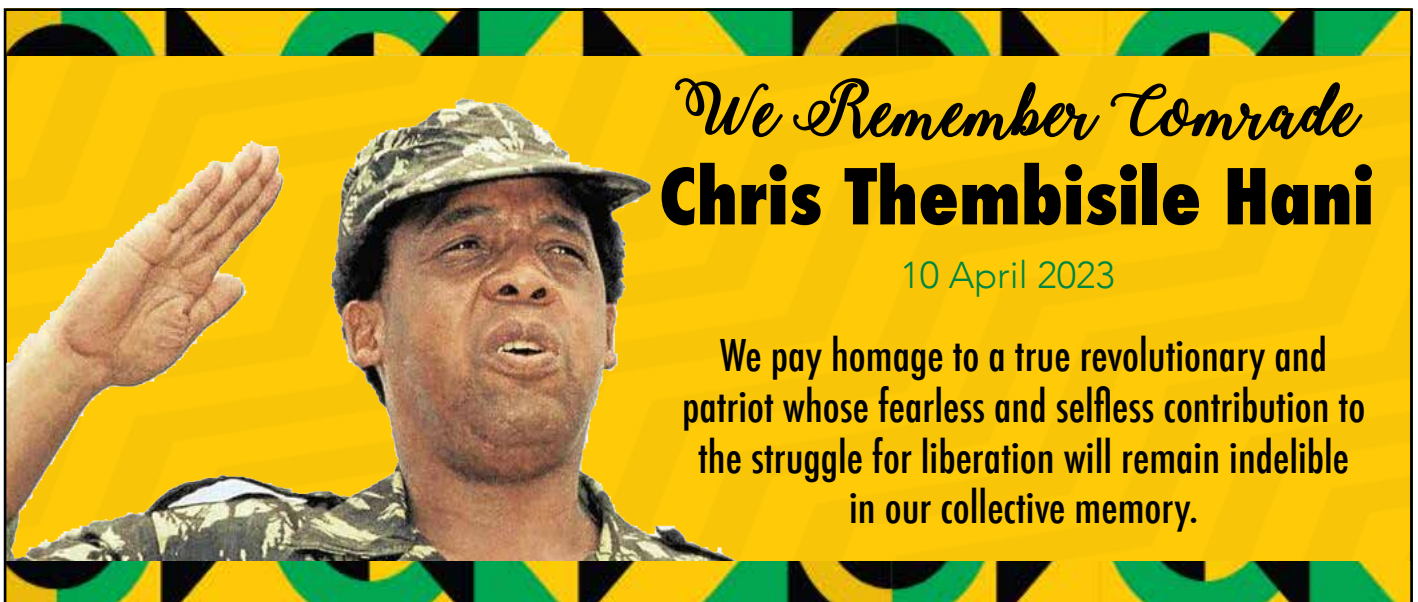
The Gambia and Sierra Leone separated

Britain separates Gambia from Sierra Leone. The Gambia was first colonized by Portugal, where it formed a key part of the Portuguese slave trade, and later annexed as a province by the British.

11 April 1942

Philosopher Paulin J Hountondji born

Considered one of Africa's most important philosophers, Beninese intellectual, academic and enfant terrible of African philosophy, was born in Abidjan. His philosophical works critique the habit of viewing African philosophy, ontology and epistemology from a western point of view, and redefining how these disciplines should be approached by Africans. Two of his major works are *African Philosophy: Myth and Reality* (1976) and *The Struggle for Meaning:*



THIS WEEK IN HISTORY

Reflections on Philosophy, Culture and Democracy in Africa (2002). He started his early academic career in Kinshasha and Lubumbashi, before returning to Benin in 1972, and was instrumental in the founding of the Inter-African Philosophical Council, and the establishment of early African journals on philosophy, and during the 1990s served as minister in the Benin government, before returning to academia. Dr Hountondji passed on in 2022.

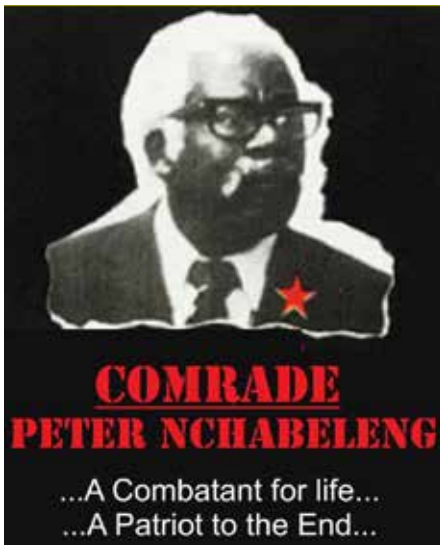
11 April 1961

Nigeria bans all trade with Apartheid South Africa

Nigeria banned all trade with South Africa, as part of the international sanctions campaign against apartheid. In early 1960, Nigeria had decided to ban all imports from South Africa, after the Sharpeville massacre.

11 April 1986

Peter Nchabeleng passed on

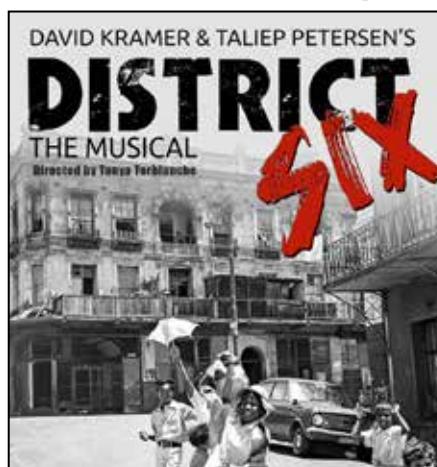


Peter Nchabeleng (1928-1986), president of United Democratic Front in Northern Transvaal, a Robben Island political prisoner, member of Sebatakgomo died in police cells in Schoonoord, Lebowa, after being tortured while he

was in custody. Nchabeleng was active in the Sekhukune rural revolts, the ANC underground, and was arrested and sentenced to eight years on Robben Island. After his release, he continued this work, becoming UDF Northern Transvaal President in 1986, and active in Umkhonto weSizwe structures, for which he stood trial with Tokyo Sexwale and others in the famous Pretoria 12 terrorism trial. He played an important role to assist the formation of youth structures in the north, assisting youth leaders such as Peter Mokaba, France Mohlala, Ephraim Mogale and his son, Elleck Nchabeleng.

11 April 1987

District Six musical opens



The award-winning musical by David Kramer and Taliep Peterson opened at Cape Town's Baxter theatre, the first of many sell-out performances. A number

of the play's songs were banned from South African radio, for criticizing the forced removals under the Group Areas Act.

11 April 2001

Ellis Park soccer tragedy

43 soccer fans that came to watch the Soweto derby between Kaizer Chiefs and Orlando Pirates were crushed to death, following a stampede at Ellis Park Stadium in Johannesburg, where the match was held.

11 April 2007

San artist "Vetkat" Regopstaan Kruiper passed on

Regopstaan Kruiper, also known as Vetkat, was a prolific artist. He was born at the camp Twee Rivieren in the Kalahari Gemsbok National Park (now Kgalagadi Transfrontier Park). The Kruipers are from the Khomani who live in the Southern Kalahari, close to the National Park. Vetkat's father was a well-respected man and was also a versatile artist and healer. Vetkat had many artistic skills including music. His main passion however was for the veld and animals. Despite having no formal training, Vetkat rose to fame as a fine artist taking his inspiration from his cultural heritage and the desert he grew up in. Vetkat's art was lauded both nationally and internationally.



**I AM AN AFRICAN.
I AM BORN OF A PEOPLE
WHO WOULD NOT
TOLERATE
OPPRESSION.**

— Jhabo Mbeki —

THIS WEEK IN HISTORY

INTERNATIONAL AND NATIONAL DAYS

5–11 April 2025

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

5 April

International Day of Conscience



The day draws attention to the founding principles of the Universal Declaration on Human rights - freedom, justice and democracy, all human rights, tolerance and solidarity, dignity, rejection of violence and prevention of conflicts by tackling root causes, solving problems through dialogue and negotiation, and the full exercise of all rights.

6 April

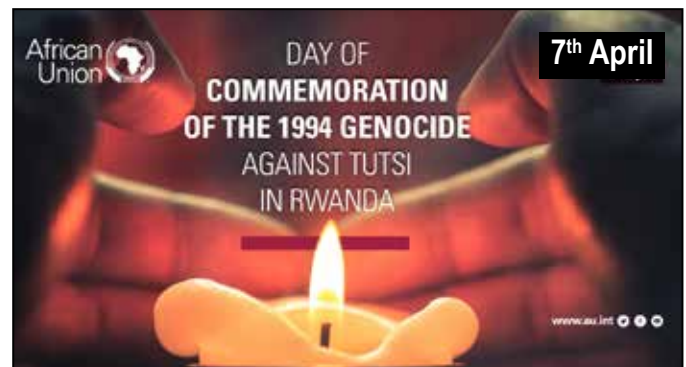
International Day for Sport and Development and Peace

An annual celebration of the power of sport to drive social change, community development and to foster peace and understanding.

7 April

International Day of Reflections on the Rwanda Genocide

On 7 April 1994, a day after the killing of the Presidents of Rwanda and Burundi in a plane crash, an orchestrated campaign of mass killings started by government directed against the civilian Tutsi population and moderate Hutus of Rwanda. Over a period of roughly 100 days, close to a million people were massacred. The Genocide was the culmination of a process which started early 1990, when the Hutu dominated government trained the



Interahamwe, engaged on virulent propaganda and hatred against the Tutsi minority, various massacres and arming the Hutu population with guns and machetes. Although the UN mission stationed in Rwanda already in January 1994 warned of the massacres and escalating violence, neither the OAU nor the UN acted in time. The Rwanda Genocide prompted a shift when the African Union was

RWANDA GENOCIDE

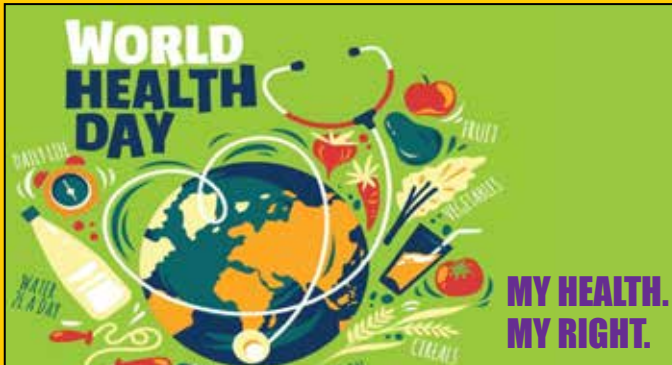
*Here it's never quiet
All the shouts every night
Screams of pain, screams of fright
Screams for mercy, to see mornings light
To pardon them and to stop this fight
Do they listen to the cry's
No they just stare into the victims eyes
And with the machetes let fly
At the border a mass of hurry
To get away from this torn up country
Kids with no food, they don't have the luxury
Kids with no home, no ones living comfortably
There's loads of noise in the countryside
But the most definite are the mournful cry's*

William Cheesman

THIS WEEK IN HISTORY

launched, from 'non-interference' of the OAU to the principle of 'non-indifference'. This year marks the 30th commemoration of the Genocide, also called *Kwibuka* (To Remember).

7 April World Health Day



Spearheaded by the World Health Organisation (WHO), it is an opportunity to look back at public health successes that have improved quality of life during the last seven decades. It is also an opportunity to motivate action to tackle the health challenges of today – and tomorrow.

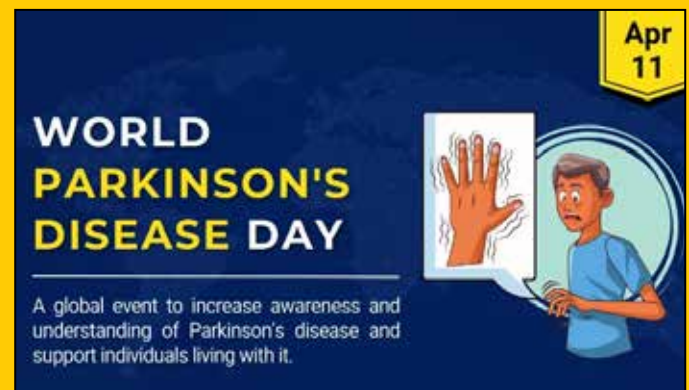
10 April 2023 International Safety Pin Day

Safety pins are strong and sharp, yet safe enough

to be used on clothing, safety pins are a simple yet ingenious invention, which practically everyone has used at some point. The day celebrates simplicity and usefulness of designs, as well as innovation. The pin is said to have been invented by a Walter Hunt, a mechanic. Although Hunt patented the safety pin, the invention does go back many hundreds of years, with such devices used in different cultures, made of bone, ivory or wood.

11 April World Parkinson's Day

Parkinson's disease is a progressive disorder that affects the nervous system and the parts of the body controlled by the nerves. Parkinson's is different for everyone. Different symptoms, different experiences. Diagnosis is scary and there's currently no cure.



"We slaughter one another
in our words & attitudes.
We slaughter one another
in the stereotypes & mistrust
that linger in our heads,
and the words of hate
we spew from our lips"

Nelson Rolihlahla Mandela