

Conversations with the **President**

VICTORY IS CERTAIN

SUMMARY OF THE STATE OF THE NATION ADDRESS BY **PRESIDENT CYRIL RAMAPHOSA**

8 FEBRUARY 2024, CAPE TOWN CITY HALL

VER the last three decades, we have been on a journey, striving together to achieve a new society. We have cast off the tyranny of apartheid and built a democratic state based on the will of the people. We have established strong institutions to protect the fundamental freedoms and human rights of all people.

We have transformed the lives of millions of South Africans, providing the necessities of life and creating opportunities that never existed before. We have enabled a diverse economy whose minerals, agricultural products and manufactured goods reach every corner of the world, while creating jobs in South Africa.

As a country, we have returned to the community of nations, extending a hand of peace and friendship to all countries and all peoples.

We have endured times of great difficulty, when the strength of our constitutional democracy has been severely tested. While each of these events has left its mark, our country has weathered every storm. We have not only persevered, but we have come back stronger and more determined. All these efforts have demonstrated how South Africans value the freedom that was won after decades of struggle.

Ending state capture

One of the overriding challenges this administration had to deal with when it took office was state capture and corruption. We appointed capable people with integrity to head our law enforcement agencies, government departments, security services and state companies.

We set up the Investigating Directorate as a specialised and multidisciplinary unit within the National Prosecuting Authority to investigate corruption and other

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serious crimes. Great progress has been made in bringing those responsible for state capture to justice.

Creating jobs and inclusive growth

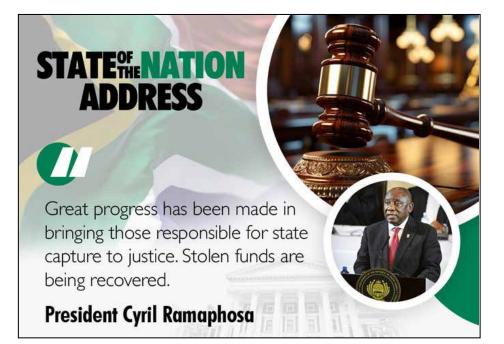
Over the past five years, we have worked to revive our economy from a decade of stagnation and protect it from both domestic and global shocks.

We have laid a foundation for growth through far-reaching economic reforms, an ambitious investment drive, and an infrastructure programme that is starting to yield results.

We are on track to resolve the most important constraints on economic growth by stabilising our energy supply and fixing our logistics system.

Since we revived our renewable energy programme five years ago, we have connected more than 2,500 MW of solar and wind power to the grid with three times this amount already in procurement or construction. We have more than doubled the amount of rooftop solar capacity installed across the country in just the past year. We have implemented sweeping regulatory reforms to enable private investment in electricity generation, with more than 120 new private energy projects now in development.

We are implementing a just energy transition, not only to reduce carbon emissions and fight climate change, but to create growth and jobs for our own people. We will undertake this transition at a pace, scale and cost that our country can afford and in a manner that ensures energy security.



To deal with severe inefficiencies in our freight logistics system, we are taking action to improve our ports and rail network and restore them to world-class standards.

We completed the auction of broadband spectrum after more than a decade of delays, resulting in new investment, lower data costs and improved network reach and quality.

We raised R1.5 trillion in new investment commitments through five South Africa Investment Conferences, of which over R500 billion has already flowed into the economy.

Three years ago, we launched the Presidential Employment Stimulus, which has created more than 1.7 million work and livelihood opportunities. Through the Presidential Youth Employment Intervention, we established SAYouth. mobi as a zero-rated platform for unemployed young people to access opportunities for learning and earning.

We have introduced laws and undertaken programmes to enable black South Africans and women to advance in the workplace, to become owners and managers, to acquire land and build up assets.

Developing Skills

Our basic education outcomes are steadily improving across a range of measures. And with each new year, learners from no-fee schools are accounting for more and more of the bachelor passes achieved. We have increased funding for poor and working-class students in universities and TVET significantly over the past five years.

Today, fewer South Africans go hungry and fewer live in poverty. The decision by key role players, being business and labour and communities, to introduce the minimum wage immediately raised the wages of over 6 million workers.

In the midst of the pandemic, we introduced the special SRD Grant, which currently reaches some 9 million unemployed people every month. South Africans are living longer than ever before. Maternal and infant deaths have declined dramatically. We have built more hospitals and clinics, especially in poor areas, providing better quality care to more South Africans.

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The National Health Insurance will provide free health care at the point of care for all South Africans, whether in public or private health facilities.

Expanding basic services

One of the most visible, impactful and meaningful achievements in the first three decades of freedom has been in providing homes to the people. Today, nearly nine out of every ten households live in a formal dwelling. At the end of apartheid, only 6 out of 10 people had access to clean drinking water. Today, that figure has increased to nearly 9 out of 10 South Africans.

Building a safer South Africa

South Africans deserve to be safe and to feel safe, to walk freely and without fear in their neighbourhoods and public spaces. We have strengthened the ranks of the police through the



President Cyril Ramaphosa

We have transformed the lives of millions of South Africans, providing the necessities of life and creating opportunities that never existed before.

President Cyril Ramaphosa

recruitment of 20,000 police officers over the last two years and another 10,000 in the year to come. The Economic Infrastructure Task Teams that are operational in all provinces have had important successes in combating cable theft, damage to critical infrastructure and illegal mining.

Together with civil society, we developed the National Strategic Plan on Gender-based Violence, together with civil society, as a society wide response to this pandemic.

Building a better Africa and world

We remain committed to playing a constructive role on our continent and around the globe for the realisation of a better Africa and a better world. Guided by the fundamental principle of hu-

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man rights and freedom, we have taken up the Palestinian cause to prevent further deaths and destruction in Gaza.

We will use our foreign policy to pursue our development goals. We will build on the progress we have made in establishing the African Continental Free Trade Area, which will transform South Africa's economy and that of the continent by creating new jobs and increasing economic participation.

As we celebrate 30 years of freedom, we must remain steadfast in our commitment to our constitutional democracy and its promise of a better life. We should not give in to those who resist the responsibility that the Constitution places on us all to correct the injustices of the past and fundamentally transform our economy and society. By the same measure, we should not allow anyone to diminish vital democratic institutions, to denigrate the judiciary or to challenge the constitutional authority of this Parliament.

As we move forward, let us remember that it is up to us – not anyone else – to determine the future of South Africa. We must keep moving, always forward, always onwards, towards the country of our dreams. Always believing that victory is certain.



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From SONA: The story of Tintswalo

HE story of the first 30 years of our democracy can be best told through the life of a child called *Tintswalo*, born at the dawn of freedom in 1994.

Tintswalo – democracy's child – grew up in a society that was worlds apart from the South Africa of her parents, grandparents and great-grandparents. She grew up in a society governed by a constitution rooted in equality, the rule of law, and affirmation of the inherent dignity of every citizen.

Tintswalo, and many others born at the same time as her, were beneficiaries of the first policies of the democratic state to provide free health care for pregnant women and children under the age of six.

Tintswalo's formative years were spent in a house provided by the state, one of millions of houses built to shelter the poor.

Tintswalo grew up in a household provided with basic water and electricity, in a house where her parents were likely to have lived without electricity before 1994.

Tintswalo was enrolled in a school in which her parents did not have to pay school fees, and each school day she received a nutritious meal as part of a programme that today supports 9 million learners from poor families.



The democratic state provided a child support grant to meet her basic needs. This grant, together with other forms of social assistance, continues to be a lifeline for more than 26 million South Africans every month.

With this support, Tintswalo – democracy's child – was able to complete high school. Through the assistance of the National Student Financial Aid Scheme, Tintswalo attended one of our TVET colleges and obtained a qualification.

When Tintswalo entered the world of work, she was able to progress and thrive with the support of the state's employment equity and black economic empowerment policies. With the income she earned, she was able to save, to start a family, to move into a better house, and to live a better life. This is the story of millions of people who have been born since the dawn of our democracy.

But it is only part of the story.

For despite the remarkable achievements of the last 30 years, many of democracy's children still face great challenges. Millions of young people are currently not in employment, education or training.

There are many who have a matric, a diploma or a degree who cannot find a job, or do not have the means to start a business. While economic growth is essential to reduce unemployment, we cannot wait to provide the work that many of democracy's children need. As government we have taken steps to address the youth unemployment challenge.



Address by ANC Deputy President Paul Mashatile in his ENGAGEMENT WITH YOUNG MUSLIM ENTREPRENEURS

Cape Town, Cape Town, 06 February 2024

HANK you for having me here at this gathering of young Muslims entrepreneurs. It is extremely uplifting to see the presence of all of you, displaying enthusiasm to make a positive impact and contribute to the advancement of our society.

Your participation in the country's growth is very significant, and as the ANC-led government, we acknowledge your contribution to addressing the triple challenge of poverty, unemployment, and inequality that our nation confronts.

When reflecting on the past, it is evident that the Muslim community and the African National Congress (ANC) have experienced common hardships and actively fought side by side for political liberation.

As we commemorate three decades of democracy and contemplate the journey we have undertaken to achieve our democratic state, the ANC will always remember the historical events and several valiant individuals who sacrificed their lives in the fight for this noble purpose.

We cannot forget the selfless role played by Nelson Mandela, Walter Sisulu, Desmond Tutu, Steve



Biko, Ahmed Kathrada, Rahema Moosa, as well as Imam Abdullah Haron and Ahmed Timol, who were tortured and killed in police detention in 1969 and 1971 respectively.

During the 1960s, Abdullah Haron organised a modest but impactful protest march to challenge the discriminatory policies of the government.

Today, we are enjoying the democratic freedom and boundless possibilities that our country provides because of these brave men and women, most of whom were members of the ANC.

The ANC declared its aim to bring all Africans together as one peo-

ple to defend their rights and freedoms. This is the call we were all prepared to fulfil, even if it meant losing our lives.

Today, we stand tall on the shoulders of these giants, some of whom perished while altering the course of history. However, despite the political freedom we have enjoyed over the last 30 years, we continue to encounter challenges to achieving economic freedom.

As the ANC, we remain committed to this cause and are certain that we will achieve financial freedom. As a result, we must pick up the baton from the freedom warriors and carry it forward to achieve economic freedom.

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This should be your mission; as Frantz Fanon once said, *"Each* generation must, out of relative obscurity, discover its mission, fulfil it, or betray it."

As the ANC, we are encouraged to see young entrepreneurs like yourselves taking the lead in our country's growth. We are hopeful that South Africa's future will be brighter as a result of your contributions to economic progress.

The ANC government is investing in the future by putting young people to work, even if progress is gradual. We have also adopted and executed several reforms and initiatives to guarantee that youth are at the forefront of economic development.

These programmes include the Presidential Employment Stimulus (PES) and the Presidential Youth Employment Intervention (PYEI). Since their inception, the PES and PYEI have been a boon for youthful job seekers, collectively creating more than 1.8 million job opportunities and providing essential livelihood support, with young individuals being the primary beneficiaries.

We also urge young entrepreneurs, especially those in townships, to apply for support through the Township and Rural Entrepreneurship Programme (TREP).

Township or rural-based entrepreneurs can apply for support, including funding, through the common application template from the Small Enterprise Development Agency (SEDA), the Small Enterprise Finance Agency (SEFA), the National Empowerment Fund (NEF), and the National Youth Development Agency (NYDA).



These initiatives are a testament to the ANC government's unwavering commitment to youth development and empowerment. We are here to listen, to understand the challenges faced by our young people, and to ensure that we continue to provide the necessary support for them to succeed.

As young Muslim entrepreneurs, we believe that you have a vital role to play in shaping local enterprises. It is through events like this, where we gather to exchange ideas and perspectives, that we can make a positive impact and bring about the change we seek in this province and beyond.

The ANC, however, is dissatisfied with the way things have been going in the Western Cape. We are aware that in this province, certain parts of the population continue to enjoy preferential treatment in the realm of entrepreneurship, while the majority of young black professionals are excluded from the business sector, limiting their capacity to build their firms.

We cannot tolerate this, especial-

ly after three decades of democracy. The ANC is purposeful in tackling disparities and poverty, and we do not want anybody to be excluded from our country's development because of race or ethnicity, particularly here in the Western Cape.

We are putting young people as part of the solution to reviving the economy in our townships and, subsequently, in our country. We want you to become part of reclaiming the Western Cape.

We are searching for young people like you who have fresh ideas and thoughts that will help to transform the narrative of this province. We need you to be the future of the ANC in the province. We want you to take leadership in this province and rebuild it with everyone, regardless of ethnicity or religion.

As we approach the elections, we need you to go out and persuade a large number of young people to vote out the DA and be the change that the Western Cape needs.

The change would ensure that young people in Nyanga have



equal access to services and economic possibilities as young people in Camps Bay.

We want the youth of Khayelitsha to feel as secure as the youth of the V&A Waterfront, where the City of Cape Town spends a great deal of money guarding its area while ignoring the townships.

The ANC is and will always be dedicated to the goal of improving and defending the lives of all people. We shall consistently advocate for non-violent means of resolving human conflicts. As the ANC, we oppose intolerance, polarisation, and social divides.

We are sympathetic to what Palestine is going through and will always stand in solidarity with them. The significance of the Palestinian struggle concerning South Africa has its origins in the past.

Thus, we firmly declare our steadfast support for the realisation of Palestine's people's fundamental rights to statehood, independence, and self-determination. We further demand that all relevant UN resolutions be put into effect, including the convening of a UN-supervised referendum to settle the Palestine Question.

Our resolute dedication to the protection of human rights has been exemplified through our application to the International Court of Justice (ICJ) on behalf of Palestine, invoking the Genocide Convention, for actions carried out by Israel during its assaults on the city of Gaza.

Despite the significant advancements made by our nation since the time of apartheid, there are still challenges that prevent true solidarity and inclusiveness within ourselves. These challenges could potentially materialise as economic inequalities, religious prejudice, ethnic conflict, or political divisions. It is our responsibility, as active members of society, to confront these challenges directly.

As young Muslims, you have an important role to play in the construction of a better society and the world. Together, we need to work on being more empathetic and accepting of people from all walks of life. This necessitates making an effort to connect, work together, and dismantle the obstacles that divide us by celebrating our shared values.

We urge you to engage in the political sphere, ensuring that your voices are heard and that your concerns are addressed. We also require your participation in policymaking, lobbying, and community organising.

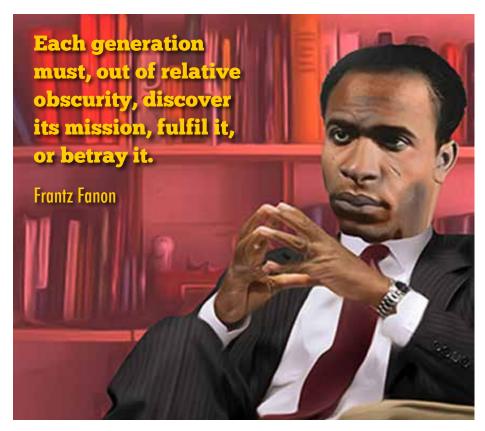
As Muslims and, more important-

ly, as citizens of South Africa, you must understand the weight of your responsibilities. If we come together, we can change the world, bring people together, and create a future that values diversity while also embracing togetherness.

In conclusion, I urge all of you to persist in improving your skills and knowledge. Engage in training programmes and strive to remain ahead in your particular industries.

As entrepreneurs, you have the opportunity to make a difference and address social challenges. Act as a driving force behind the development of new jobs and the empowerment of others in your community.

Go into the world and make the difference as young Muslim entrepreneurs. As ANC, you have our support, and we are eager to assist and advise you throughout your business effort.







THE STATUS OF ECONOMIC
EMPOWERMENT OF WOMENEMPOWERMENT OF WOMENSINCE 1994

By SISISI TOLASHE

HE year 2024 marks a significant chapter in South Africa's history as we celebrate and reflect on the remarkable strides made under the democratic dispensation led by the African National Congress (ANC). In defining the strides in the past three decades, it is equally critical that we rivet on the social, economic, and political trajectory of women's empowerment and emancipation from the shackles of patriarchal power and abuse.

To understand and critically engage on the progress made in South Africa's growing democracy, it is important to use the lived experiences of the most vulnerable people in society- women and children, as a starting point. Equally, in engaging the progress made in the past thirty years, we must be able to identify and account for the bottlenecks that have impeded the social transformation agenda of democracy more broadly and women's emancipation more specifically.

As the chosen leader of society, the ANC's mandate to 'build better lives for all' requires a recommitment to the alignment of the ideals and principles of the National Democratic Revolution (NDR). This includes ensuring the anticipated 2024 elections manifesto as a guiding framework for policy and legislative development can translate the mandate of the NDR into practical steps that can be administered through the organs of the state, our Alliance partners, the mass democratic movement, progressive civil society, and society more broadly.

The African National Congress Women's League (ANCWL) is a critical institution in ensuring that the road to the NDR remains a gendered and intersectional one. Since its formation in 1948, the ANCWL has served the women of South Africa to ensure their struggles find expression in the broader organizational agenda of the ANC and society at large through mass-based mobilization, advocacy, and lobbying.

The ANC's Strategy and Tactics of 1997 thus states the role of the ANCWL as follows:

"The ANC Women's League (AN-CWL) is tasked with the responsi-

bility of helping the ANC to broaden its mass base, as it champions the aspirations of a section of our society which over the decades, has been oppressed and exploited as 'a nation,' as a class and as women. It should continue to be the voice of ANC women members, but it should also be at the cutting edge of the Broad Women's Movement, spearheading gender transformation and the advancement of women's agenda."

Therefore, the ANCWL remains a critical vehicle to mobilize all women in their diversity to address the persistent barriers to women's empowerment and emancipation including gender disparities, economic exclusion, and persistence in toxic norms and values that perpetuate gender-based violence, amongst others. These efforts by the AN-CWL must be sustained by political commitment from the ANC through its resolutions and other organizational processes, as well as through the legislative mechanisms of the state to ensure gender equality is a lifetime commitment for South Africa.

Priority 1: Women's Economic Justice and Empowerment in the Context of Economic Transformation

1. CONTEXT: THE STATUS OF ECONOMIC EMPOWERMENT OF WOMEN

Ensuring women's full participation in the South African economy is essential for the ideals of equity, prosperity, and shared and inclusive growth to be achieved. Historically, women in South Africa have been at the receiving end of social, political, economic, and institutional exclusion informed by colonialism, apartheid, and patriarchal norms and val-



ues. The pervasiveness of this exclusion has been felt hardest by black working class and poor women. Over the past three decades, we have witnessed significant progress in advancing the women's agenda using mechanisms such as the Constitution of South Africa on non-sexism and the Equality clause which was informed from the second Women's Charter, and all other policies of the ANC.

After 1994, the principle of gender equality influenced policy and legislation formulation in economic and development-related areas including areas such as access to employment, land, housing, water, health care, and public works programmes among others (Department of Women, 2015). Subsequently, it led to the development of key government programmes and long-term planning strategies including, the Reconstruction and Development Plan (RDP), Growth, Employment and Redistribution (GEAR), and the National Development Plan (NDP) amongst many others that included an emphasis on advancing gender equality and promoting women's empowerment.

a) Entrepreneurship and the Rise of Women-owned Small Medium and Micro Enterprises (SMMEs)

Over the past three decades, there has been a notable surge in the establishment, growth, and support of women-owned businesses in key sectors including energy, tourism, agriculture, ocean economy, and manufacturing. According to the most recent Mastercard Index of Women Entrepreneurs (MIWE), South Africa ranks as the second highest country in Africa in terms of its proportion of women-owned businesses and the formal support available for women entrepreneurs. In addition, the Global Entrepreneurship Monitor (GEM) Women's Entrepreneurship Report reveals that women in countries like South Africa are among the most innovative and high-growth entrepreneurs in the world. There is sufficient ev-



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idence that reaffirms the importance of women entrepreneurs in contributing to the overall productivity and transformation of our economy through diversifying industries, innovation, and fostering economic resilience. In addition, women-owned businesses contribute to the creation of employment opportunities, promote inclusive supply chains, and stimulate local economies. The diverse perspectives brought by women entrepreneurs have fostered creativity and adaptability, positively influencing the business ecosystem. Therefore, the formation of the Women's Economic Assembly (WECONA) becomes critical in ensuring the gains made in advancing women's entrepreneurship are protected, advanced by all social partners and institutionalized.

b) The Impact of Women's Increasing Participation in the Formal Workforce on Economic Productivity and Growth

Under the ANC-led government, there has been a significant increase in the participation of women in the formal workforce. The increase is due to improved access to educational and training opportunities from basic to tertiary education, changing societal norms, and a growing awareness of gender equality. All these have contributed to breaking down barriers that once limited women's career choices. Women now actively contribute to various industries and professions including 'traditionally' male-dominated industries, mining and energy.

The increased participation of women in the formal workforce has positively impacted economic productivity and growth. Despite the notable increase, only 41% of South African women aged between 15 and 60 years are regarded as being economically active. There is more advocacy, implementation and adherence to legislation needed to ensure that more women are participating in the economy in recognized and compensated ways. In addition, the ANCWL and ANC must bolster efforts to address unpaid care work which lies on the shoulders of women and girls and forms a barrier to participating in economic processes.

Comrade Sisisi Tolashe *is President of the African National Congress Women's League (ANCWL)*





The government is a capable state, not a welfare state!

By BONNIE RAMAILA

HE Public Protector, Kholeka Gcaleka's recent warning about the potential of South Africa becoming a welfare state signifies a lack of understanding of the role of the State and its social welfare policies that seeks to address the triple challenge South Africa faces, that is, poverty, inequality and unemployment.

Whilst one cannot invalidate her personal thoughts on her 'concerns of the country becoming a welfare state based on the number of people on social grants' and also referencing a plethora of other socio-economic issues in the speech she made at a FW de Klerk Foundation event on 4 February 2024, her claims though, are devoid of substantive base.

One of the successes of the ANC led government is the effective and impactful implementation of the social welfare policy whose aim is to alleviate poverty and address the inequality gap and unemployment.

Since 1994 to date, the government has introduced various forms of social relief grants such as: the National Schools Nutrition Programme, the Expanded Public Works Programme (EPWP), the Municipal Infrastructure Grant (MIG), the Umsobomvu Youth Fund (UYF) now Nation-



al Youth Development Agency (NYDA); and several land reform and agricultural support grants, including the Child Support Grant (CSG) and many other social relief grants that address the very crisis of poverty, inequality and unemployment to ensure a better life for all.

The ANC is aware of extreme poverty in various pockets of our society. It is therefore the responsibility of the State to take care of their elderly, children, the vulnerable and the poor, as a principle. The 18 million recipients of the welfare grants from the government hardly constitute a country becoming a welfare state. Instead, it should be viewed as an attestation of a capable State that has the welfare of its society at heart. Research conducted by various institutions has revealed how social welfare grants could be used to enhance the development of society. There is ample evidence that demonstrates how the social welfare system of our country targets poor households and has helped to close the income poverty gap. This, notwithstanding its downside or unintended consequences.

Social grants are basically assistance and protection programmes aimed at the poor and vulnerable groups of our society. They form the bulk of the redistribution of fiscal resources to the poor. From a socio-economic perspective, the social welfare grants benefiting the poor must exceed societal costs, assisting to lift them out of the poverty

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trap, and reducing the chances of them falling back into a cycle of poverty in the future.

There is sufficient research evidence that proves that social grants have a positive impact on developmental and human well-being indicators within households. In one research, it was found that living in a household receiving social grants is correlated with a higher success rate in finding employment. Individuals in households receiving social grants have increased both their labour force participation and employment rates faster than those who live in households that do not receive social grants.

Further, recipients of these grants show a strong desire to be productive and also find ways to improve and supplement their income and well being of their families. It has also been argued that the 'social wage' lowers the cost of labour and encourages active participation in labour markets.

To reiterate the statement of the ANC President Cde Cyril Ramaphosa at the 6th National Policy Conference in July 2022, "... the ANC government has put in place massive social and economic relief packages to provide cash directly to the poorest households; provide wage support to workers and various forms of relief to struggling businesses." And one of the key immediate tasks at the conference was to break the cycle of poverty - which was aggravated by the pandemic. "Had it not been for these interventions, the impact of the pandemic on business, workers and families would have been worse."

Furthermore, at the policy conference, the ANC supported the introduction of the universal Basic Income Grant to meet basic needs and reduce unsustainable wealth and income inequality. It stated that universalism is a vital principle that supports the dignity of all. Since there are social grants for children, and people with disabilities, the focus will shift to add the 18-59 age group of the population. Government will develop a strategy to link working age unemployed grant recipients to economic activity, amongst other policy programmes that were discussed and agreed upon. Efforts are being sought, according to the policy conference, to help move the government's system of social transfers to more sustainable and productive investments in the people.

To add a cap in the feather of the ANC led government's social welfare policies, the very social grant system has been hailed as the most progressive in the world, described as *'being effec-* tive, well targeted and providing sizeable benefits to the poorest households, effectively reducing poverty and inequality rates'.

Therefore, caution should be exercised when warnings of this kind are being purported in the public discourse without substantive argument backing the concern, as it might be misleading to the ordinary people, some of whom are prone to believing any social media vitriol.

It is prudent therefore to respond to the Public Protector's comments by saying the following. Becoming a welfare state is not such a bad thing, especially if the preoccupation of the State is 'to address the crisis of poverty', reduce inequality and unemployment to bring dignity to families - for a better life for all.

It is an indication of a capable state, not a welfare state.

"Overcoming poverty is not a gesture of charity. It is an act of justice. Like slavery and apartheid, poverty is not natural. It is man-made and it can be overcome and eradicated by the actions of human beings."

Nelson Mandela



Hamas is not the problem, **APARTHEID ISRAEL'S OCCUPATION AND GENOCIDE IS**

By MANDLA MANDELA, from the Royal House of Mandela

E support the legitimate struggle of the people of Gaza, Hamas their duly elected government, and their right under international law to resist occupation and genocide.

Branding Hamas, the Palestinian Resistance and all who support them as terrorist is not new to us. This is just a flimsy veneer behind which Apartheid Israel hides its genocide, war crimes and crimes against humanity.

The ANC and other formations of our struggle for liberation in South Africa were also branded as "terrorist organisations" by the Apartheid regime.

Western Imperialism also branded our sister liberation movements in Southern Africa such as Frelimo, ZANU PF, and MPLA, amongst others as terrorist organisations.

Throughout the years of his Presidency from 1994 to 1999, President Nelson Rolihlahla Mandela remained on the terrorist list until it was finally revoked in 2008. Shortly after his release in 1990 he visited the USA and was interviewed by ABCs Ted Koppel in an attempt to sully his name and



that of the ANC and distance himself from the Palestinian struggle and its leadership.

His response was historic and unequivocal: They must know what our stand is: Arafat is a comradein-arms, and we treat him as such.

Today, we say unequivocally Hamas and all in the axis of resistance are our comrades-inarms waging a legitimate resistance against occupation, crimes against humanity, war crimes and systematic genocide.

Declaring Hamas a terrorist organisation is just another example of the hypocrisy of western imperialism which protects the perpetrator of genocide whilst vilifying the victims. Apartheid Israel was guilty of genocide decades before Hamas came into existence.

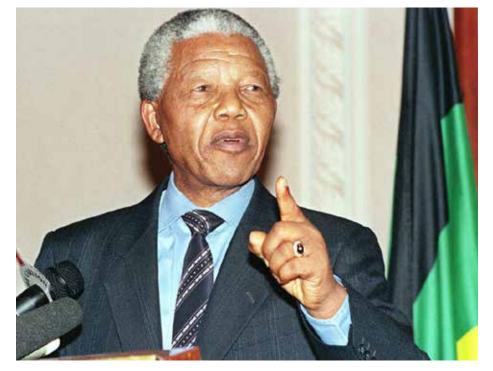
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Many of the refugee camps in the Gaza Strip have been home to Palestinian refugees from the 1948 Nakba that saw no less than 750 000 Palestinians displaced, 531 villages destroyed, and ethnically cleansed. Village wells were poisoned in a biological warfare programme and properties were looted to prevent Palestinian refugees from returning. The looting has not ceased and the Zionist entity continues to pillage and plunder.

Hamas wasn't in existence in 1948 when Apartheid Israel massacred Deir Yasin, Tantura and Simsim amongst many others, killing more than 13 000 Palestinians. Who destroyed Qisarya on the 15th February 1948 leaving only rubble? Who destroyed Iraq Al Manshiyah in Gaza on the 1st March 1949 leaving no trace of its existence? Who did that Hamas or Apartheid Israel? That is the real terrorist armed and trained by the USA and UK to this date.

We reject with disdain any attempt to cast aspersions on Hamas and any of the axis of resistance engaged in supporting the legitimate struggle of the people of Gaza and all of Occupied Palestine. We were supported militarily, financially and morally by many countries in Africa and the Global South in our struggle for liberation. We know who the real terrorists are and will not be drawn into any attempt to distance ourselves from Hamas or any other legitimate formation of the Palestinian struggle.

The **Royal House of Mandela** is dedicated to upholding the life and legacy of President Nelson Rolihlahla Mandela. We strive to advocate the causes that he supported and championed.



A Leaf out of South African History Options for Building an Economic Future

[lart One]

By CASTRO KHWELA

Statement by Deputy President of the African National Congress (ANC), Nelson Mandela, at the Consultative Business Movement Conference, Johannesburg, May 1990

(Edited for space and contextual relevance)

e would like to thank the Consultative Business Movement most sincerely for taking the initiative to convene what is for us a truly historic conference. The mere fact that it is taking place sends an important signal about the need for all South Africans to get together to determine the destiny of our common fatherland.



One of the fundamental issues that the process of transformation must address is the question of the structure of power. Within the political sphere what has to be done seems clear enough. I think we would all agree that we must have a united, democratic and non-racial South Africa. ... But then, what about economic power?

This, obviously, is one of the thorniest issues that must be addressed. It is said that less than corporate conglomerates ten control almost 90% of the shares listed on the Johannesburg Stock Exchange. If somebody did any arithmetical calculation, he or she would probably find that the total number of people who sit on the boards of these companies as directors is far less than one thousand. These will almost exclusively be white males. If you add to this the fact that 87% of the land is, by law, white-owned and is in fact owned by a minority even among whites, then the inequity of the system we have all inherited becomes even more plain (although these statistics have changed, such modifications are miniscule - Ed).

If we are genuinely interested in ending the old social order and bringing in a new one, characterised by the notions of justice and equity, it is quite obvious that the economic power relations represented by the reality of the excessive concentration of power in a few white hands have to change. We make this demand not as a result of any imperative that might be said to derive from ideological convictions. We make it because we cannot see how it would be possible to pull our country out of the economic crisis, in part caused and exemplified by white control of economic

power while, at the same time, we perpetuate this power structure.

It might be said that international experience shows that it is wisest not to tamper with this power structure. The argument is made that the sanctity of private property, and the incentive and dynamism that derive from private ownership, should convince all of us to accept, if not welcome, this economic power structure as a fact of life. What we would like to say is that, while we look at economic models and study the experiences of other countries, we should not forget that we are dealing with South Africa, with its own history, its own reality and its own imperatives. One of these imperatives is to end white domination in all its forms, to deracialising the exercise of economic power.

If we agreed about this objective, as it affects the economy, then, I trust, we can begin a serious discussion about how it should be achieved. It would seem to me necessary that this discussion, vigorous though it has to be, should not be conducted in a manner which makes healthy debate impossible. We would therefore have to avoid throwing epithets at one another, questioning one another's capacity to think, or challenging one another's good faith.

I am not going to present any argument about nationalisation. I would however like to share a secret with you. The view that the only words in the economic vocabulary that the ANC knows are nationalisation and redistribution is mistaken. There are many issues we shall have to consider as we discuss the question of the democratisation and deracialisation of economic power.

One of these is whether we should not draw on such lessons as we might learn from the anti-trust laws of the United States or the work of the Monopolies Commission in Great Britain to address the issue of how to ensure that there is no unhealthy over-concentration of economic power. The application of those lessons would of course have to take into account the economic realities of our own country which might dictate various optimal sizes for different firms.

(To be continued: The factors that would have to be considered...)



On page 18 of the ANC Today 26 January 2024 edition, in the article titled A Reflection on Unity, Struggle, and the Immortal Legacy of the African National Congress by Cde Phatse Justice Piitso regarding the letter he wrote to the former SG Ace Magashule, the sentence preceding the letter should read: *"The contents of the letter which I wrote on* **6** *May* **2021** *are as follows:..."*

The author regrets and apologises for the unfortunate error.



10 – 16 February 2024

Source: SA History Online, O'Malley Archives, Africa Today/Yesterday and The Africa Factbook (2020)

10 February 1957 First AFCON tournament starts in Khartoum

The first Africa Cup of Nations (AFCON) football tournament started in Khartoum, Sudan, with only three teams competing: Egypt, Ethiopia and Sudan, after South Africa was disqualified for its apartheid policies. Egypt won the first Cup.

10 February 1985 Zindzi reads Mandela Message



Zindzi Mandela reads out her father, Nelson Mandela's, rejection of President PW Botha's offer of conditional release at a United Democratic Front (UDF) rally.

10 February 1988 UDF Activist Pearl Tshabalala assassinated

Ms Pearl Tshabalala, a prominent businesswoman and mem-

ber of the United Democratic Front (UDF) in Clermont, Durban, who had resisted moves to incorporate Clermont into the Kwa-Zulu homeland state, was fatally shot. This was allegedly done by Caprivi trainees led by Daluxolo Luthuli, acting on instruction from Samuel Jamile, former deputy minister of the KwaZulu government. Tshabalala was shot in front of her five-year-old child as she was leaving her business in Clermont, Her assassination also served before the Truth and Reconciliation Commission.

10 February 1991 17 million people arrested for pass violations

Minister of Law and Order Adriaan Vlok said that between 1921 and 1986 more than 17 million people had been arrested under influx control laws for pass violations.

11 February 1966 District Six force removals start

On 11 February 1966, the mixed race residential area of District



Six in Cape Town was declared a 'White area" under the 1950 Group Areas Act of the apartheid government. Over 60,000 people were moved from District Six to various Cape Flats townships, based on racial classification.

11 February 2000 Nelson Mandela Museum opened in Mthatha



The Nelson Mandela Museum is a three component structure comprising of a museum in Mthatha, a visitors' centre in Mvezo and a youth centre in Qunu, all in the Eastern Cape. The museum was opened by then President of South Africa, Nelson Mandela himself on 11 February 2000, exactly ten years since his release from prison. Positioned in the area of his birth. the museum receives tourists from all over the globe. The Bhunga building in town usually holds exhibitions of Mandela memorabilia such as gifts the late statesman has received throughout his life. The Mvezo visitor's centre situated at Mandela's birth place offers visitors a glimpse into his early childhood. The Qunu Youth Centre,

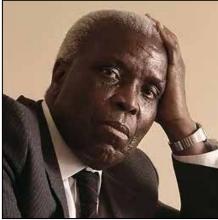


situated in the place where Mandela and his mother took refuge and where he grew up, gives visitors an experience of his school years and young adulthood.

11 February 2022 Toxic waste win for Tunisia

The Tunisian NGO Réseah Tunisie Vert wins an environmental victory blocking 200 shipping containers holding 7,900 tons of toxic rubbish that Italy sought to dump in Tunisia. The waste was illegally declared by the shipping line as 'recyclables', until the seizure by authorities. On this day, the governments of Tunisia and Italy settled that the waste would be shipped back to Europe.

12 February 1920 Rivonia Trialist Raymond Mhlaba born



Raymond Mhlaba, was born on 12 February 1920 in Mazoka village near Fort Beaufort in the Eastern Cape. He joined the trade union movement as a young worker and in 1943 and 1944 joined the Communist Party and the ANC. He was amongst the first to be arrested for defying apartheid laws in 1952 and was detained together with Govan Mbeki and Vuyisile Mini. He joined Umkhonto we Sizwe after the ANC banning in 1962, and was send to China for military training. Before leaving, he helped Mandela to draft the first MK Constitution. Upon his return as MK commander, he was arrested and charged in the famous Rivonia trial. In 1964, he was sentenced to life imprisonment, which he served on Robben Island for 25 years. After his release in 1989, he was elected to the ANC NEC and SACP CC, also serving as Party Chairperson from 1995 till his passing. Om Ray served as the first Premier of the Eastern Cape (1994-1999) and then as High Commissioner to Uganda, till his retirement in 2001. Honours bestowed on him included Isithwalandwe/Seaparankwe, the highest ANC honour and the Moses Kotane Award by the SACP. Raymond Mhlaba passed away on 20 February 2005.

12 February 1930 Sculptor born Tavhana born

South African sculptor Tshikudo Paul Tavhana (also Thavhana), was born in Dzanani, Limpopo Province.

12 February 1982 Journalist Thami Mazwai

jailed



On 12 February 1982 journalist Thami Mazwai was jailed for two years after refusing to present facts against a former fellow student-leader charged under the Terrorism Act. At the time Mazwai was a journalist with the Sowetan.

12 February 1989

Vatican condemns Apartheid

The Vatican issues a report, "The Church and Racism", in which apartheid is condemned as the most evil, systematic form of institutionalised racism.

12 February 2019 Victory for Teff in Dutch Court

A court in the Netherlands has ruled that two Dutch patents for processing teff, a kind of grain which has been used for thousands of years to make injera, the fermented pancake that Ethiopians eat with their meals, are null and void. (Kluwer Patent Blog)

12 February 2020 Egypt's population reaches 100 million

The Egyptian statistics office announced that the population reached 100 million, with 10% of the total population living in Cairo, and the remainder mostly in cities along the River Nile or the Red Sea. Egyptian population reached 114 million by 2024, making it the third most populous African country after Nigeria (229 million) and Ethiopia (129 million), followed by Tanzania (69 million) and South Africa (61 million).

13 February 1713

Smallpox epidemic strikes the Cape, annihilate Khoi clans

Smallpox is exogenous to Africa, and mainly brought to the

IN ANNIVERSER

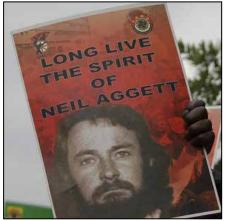
continent by European settlers or through contact with areas outside Africa. The Dutch East India Company established a halfway station at the Cape of Good Hope, laying the foundation for the colonization of South Africa, with settlers moving more and more inland. A smallpox epidemic broke out in 1713, after arriving with the crew on a Dutch ship. The disease wreaked irreparable havoc amongst the indigenous and colonist population of the Cape Peninsula and adjacent interior. Hardest hit were the indigenous Khoisan people, with whole clans wiped out. In other instances, the few survivors could not reconstruct a coherent clan. For this reason. the indigenous clan names were lost. Instead the Khoikhoi became known by the derogatory term "Hottentots". As the smallpox epidemic decimated most of the Khoikhoi, what remained of their economic strength after colonization was further eroded. Settler farmers moved into areas previously inhabited by the Khoi and started a new existence for themselves with the aid of the Cape government. In another smallpox epidemic in 1831 in the Cape Province, over 80% of the Griqua communities were also wiped out.

13 February 1960 France tests nuclear bomb in Algeria

On 13 February 1960, France conducted its first nuclear test at Reggane, an oasis town in southern Algeria. The war for the North African country's independence had been ongoing since 1954 and French President Charles de Gaulle was keen to show the world that France belonged at the top table of military powers. This first French atomic bomb, named

Gerboise Bleue after the blue of the tricolour flag and a small desert animal in the Sahara, was detonated in the Algerian desert. It released over four times the amount of energy as that of the US bomb dropped on Hiroshima. Between 1960 and 1966, France detonated 17 bombs in the Algerian Sahara. Contrary to Paris's assertions, radiation from the first bomb alone had covered a region that ran from Algeria to Libya to Mauritania and on to Mali and Nigeria, and as far north as Spain and Italy. (middleeasteye.net)

13 February 1982 Neil Aggett buried in Johannesburg



Neil Aggett, former organiser of the Food and Canning Workers Union and African Food and Canning Workers Union, was buried in Johannesburg. It was estimated that 15 000 people attended his funeral. His labour organisation issued a call on 11 February 1982, that on the day of his burial, all workers should stay away from work. About 7 000 FOSATU workers at the Uitenhage branch of Volkswagen responded. The presence of police did not stop mourners from reaffirming the struggle for which Aggett died by singing revolutionary songs. Aggett's funeral was filmed as a symbol of the impact he had on people through labour issues and his community work. He became the 51st person to die in police detention, and was the first White person to die under those circumstances since 1963. The inquest into his death is currently under way.

13 February 1995 Constitutional Court inaugurated



South Africa's first Constitutional Court is inaugurated, signaling the country's transition from a parliamentary to a constitutional democracy. It is the apex court of the country, and Judge Arthur Chaskalson became its first President.

13 February 2005 Ladysmith Black Mambazo wins Grammy Award

Ladysmith black Mambazo won their second Grammy Award on 13 February 2005 for their album Wenyukela. A hybrid of the album was released in the United States and went platinum, helping the group win the award. The group through their leader, Joseph Tshabalala made the genres of isicathamiya and Mbube a lasting and living legacy.

13 February 2019 African Fine Coffees conference

Rwanda hosts 2000 coffee growers at Kigali's African Fine Coffees conference. The country's coffee has been winning awards



in the specialty coffee categories, and accounts for over 50% of the country's coffee production.

14 February 1961 The Rand replaces the British pound

The Union of South Africa introduces its own currency, the Rand (ZAR) replacing the British pound since the latter colonized the country in the 17th century. Under apartheid, the Rand had the head of Jan van Riebeeck, the original settler and colonizer. Since 2012, all Rand notes have the face of Nelson Mandela, father of our democracy.

14 February 1976 Second Battle of Amgala

In this battle, the Polisario Front of Western Sahara wins its first major victory against Morocco to liberate the territory. In 1975, the International Court of Justice ruled that the Saharawi people must decide on their independence and right to self-determination, denied by Morocco ever-since, despite OAU, African Union and United Nation resolutions in support of the implementation of the judgement.

14 February 1981

Samora Machel pledges solidarity after Matola Raid

President Samora Machel of Mozambique pledged solidarity with the South African people, in reaction to the Matola massacre on 30 January 1981, where more than 14 uMkhonto weSizwe (MK) cadres were killed. Machel, together with the African National Congress (ANC) President, Oliver Tambo, was addressing mourners at the funeral of the victims of the Matola raid in Mozambique killed by South African security forces. The victims were Lancelot Hadebe, Mandla Daka, Daniel Molokisi, Steven Ngcobo, Vusumzi Ngwema, Thabang Krishna Bookolane. Rabilal. Themba Dimba, Motso Mokgabudi, Collin Khumalo, Levinson Mankankaza, Albert Mahutso, Mduduzi Guma, William Khanyile and Vuyani Mavuso. Mavuso was kidnapped during the raid, and was later executed when he refused to cooperate with apartheid security agencies and betray his comrades.

14 February 2021 First African woman to lead WTO



Nigerian finance minister and former foreign minister, Ngozi Okonjo-Iweala becomes the first woman and first African to serve as Director General of the World Trade Organisation.

15 February 1900 Siege of Kimberley ended

During the Second Anglo-Boer War, a 123 day siege was held over Kimberley, which came to an end on this day. After numerous attacks by the Boer commandos firing 5, 800 shells, the town suffered only 134 casualties among armed defenders and twenty-one civilians, but some 1 500 people, mostly Coloureds and Blacks, died of famine and disease. Infant mortality rate during the 4 months of the siege rose to 67, 1% among Whites and 91.2% among Coloureds and Blacks.

15 February 1960 Oldest Bank trade union in Commonwealth formed

The South African Society of Bank Officials (SASBO), now an affiliate of COSATU was formed in secret in February 1916, the first in the British Commonwealth of its nature. "In the earliest days, the founders met in absolute secrecy and it was necessary to produce proof of identity before admittance to a meeting." SASBO started as a whites-only union, but became more non-racial since the 1980s. Though started in banks, it is now called SASBO - the Finance Union with a presence in banks, insurance companies, credit unions and other financial institutions.

15 February 1964 ILO suspends South Africa

The governing body of the International Labour Organisation (ILO) meeting in Geneva, votes in favour of suspending South Africa from participation in its Annual General Conferences. The resolution is passed by thirty-two votes to fourteen with two abstentions.

15-21 February 1986 Six Day War in Alexandra

The 1986 six-day war in Alexandra was sparked by the tear-gassing of mourners after a funeral, sparking running battles between police and youth. Several arrests were made and 27 people were killed.



15 February 1986

University of Pretoria admits first 20 Black students

The university which was formed in 1908 and remained exclusively white. On 15 February 1986, the university admitted its first twenty black students. It later opened a campus in Hammanskraal for black students, and in 2004 merged with the defunct Vista University's Mamelodi Campus. Today the university has three languages of communication, Afrikaans, English and Sepedi.

15 February 1995

President Mandela announced he will not stand for re-election



President Nelson Mandela on this day announced he would not be standing for re-election in 1999. Mandela, who was released from prison in February 1990, became the first democratic president of the Republic of South Africa in April 1994. His announcement meant stepping down as African National Congress's (ANC) and as the country's president. The struggle icon took over as ANC president from Oliver Reginald Tambo in 1991. Thabo Mbeki, his Deputy President in government replaced him as president of the ANC in 1997 and as State President in 1999.

15 February 2018 Parliament elects 5th President of the Republic



ANC President, Cyril Ramaphosa was elected unopposed as the fifth President of democratic South Africa by the National Assembly on 15 February 2018.

16 February 1991 Bheki Mlangeni, Human rights lawyer, activist assassinated

Bheki Mlangeni was a member of the national executive committee of the student organisation AZASO (now SASCO) during the 1980s; active in the UDF and ANC, and practiced as a human rights lawyer in the 1990s. He worked with former Captain Dirk Coetzee to expose the existence of a secret police unit based at Vlakplaas, which carried out assassinations of anti-apartheid activists. On 16 February, Mlangeni received a postal package with a tape player, and when he tried to listen to the tape it exploded. He died instantly, leaving his wife and young child. He was only 35 vears old when he was assassinated.

16 February 1991 First new Africa Women's

Cup of Nations played The first match in a revamped continental competition for women's football, later known as African Cup of Nations (WACON) was played. The first championship was won by Nigeria, who went on to win 11 out of the 14 tournaments. Other champions were Equatorial Guinea in 2008 and 2012, and South Africa for the first time in 2022. Banyana Banyana made it to the finals as runners-up five times, in 1995, 2000, 2008, 2012, 2018, before the win in 2022 against Morocco.

16 February 2017 Museum of National Egyptian Civilisations opens

The Museum, an idea dated back to the era of King Farouk (1939-1945), was finally started with excavations and construction in 2000, and 17 years later opened its doors in old Fusat, in the city of Cairo. The museum comprises 9 large halls displaying the civilization of Egypt from the prehistoric period to the present era, including a pyramid shaped hall on the top floor. The Royal Mummies Hall is seen as the most important exhibition.

16 February 2018 Black Panther

The superhero movie The Black Panther, based on the Marvel comic book set in the fictional African kingdom of Wakanda was released and became a global megahit, drawing attention to the genre of AfroFuturism.

16 February 2020 Egypt Space Day

The country holds its first National Space Day, to educate the public and win support for the country's space programme, including satellites which provide communication to millions along the Nile River.



INTERNATIONAL AND NATIONAL DAYS

10 – 16 February 2024

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

10 February

World Pulses Day

Pulses, also known as legumes, are the edible seeds of leguminous plants cultivated for food. Dried beans, lentils and peas are the most commonly known and consumed types of pulses. Staple dishes and cuisines from across the world feature pulses, from hummus made of chickpeas, to beans or to dhal made of peas or lentils. Pulses are packed with nutrients and have a high protein content. They are also low in fat and rich in soluble fiber, which can lower cholesterol and help control blood sugar levels. The nitrogen-fixing properties of pulses improve soil fertility, which increases and extends the productivity of the farmland.

11 February

International Day of Women and Girls in Science

The day celebrates the unrecognized role that women through the ages played in the sciences, and promote their current contributions and involvement in science. Throughout the world, women make up 53% of bachelor and masters graduates and 43% of PhD graduates, but only 38% of them pursue careers as researchers and only 30% in STEM (science, technology, engineering and mathematics). Female students' enrolment is particularly low in



ICT (3 per cent), natural science, mathematics and statistics (5 per cent) and in engineering, manufacturing and construction (8 per cent). The African Union has been campaigning for more women and girls in science, including an annual award for the top African women scientist. Since 2011, there has been an increase in women researchers in South Africa, Egypt, Morocco, Senegal, Nigeria, Rwanda, Cameroon and Ethiopia. According to UN Women "Science reflects the people who make it. The world needs science, and science needs women and girls." The global campaign is therefore for more women in STEM, role models for girls, girls choose studies in science, technology, engineering, and mathematics, more innovators with diverse backgrounds and better solutions to global challenges.

12 February Charles Darwin Day

Darwin's theories have been pivotal to understanding of life and the species of the world. Charles Robert Darwin was born on 12 February 1809, in England, and received his education at the University of Edinburgh in Scotland. He grew to become a naturalist and geologist who would eventually impact the thinking of people all over the world. Darwin was fascinated by the number and variety of fossils from around the planet, as well as the species in their great diversity. So he set out on a five-year voyage on the Beagle to sail around the world and study life in all of its varied forms, making particularly important discoveries in the Galapagos Islands. Darwin's theories presented the ideas that some species originated from other species, and that humans had a shared ancestor with the primates. DNA research seemed to push his theories even further, as scientists started to see the connections between species in the very genes that composed them. His most famous book is The Origin of the Species (1859). https://www. daysoftheyear.com/days/darwin-day/



13 February World Radio Day



World Radio Day celebrates radio as part of humanity's history of 112 years of radio.

al, every year over 400,000 children are diagnosed with cancer, with survival rates ranging from 80% in high income countries and 20% in low income countries. The day raises awareness of childhood cancers and support to survivors and families.

15 February World Hippo Day

Hippopotamus - an old Greek name for river horse - are the world's third largest mammal (only blue whales and African elephant are larger), yet are in danger. They are only found in Africa, at home in over 30 African countries. In the wild they live up to 50 years, and are herbivores.

As the world changes, so does radio. South Africa has a very vibrant radio sector, with audience growth from 34.6 million in 2014 to 38.2 million in 2018. These are across 19 SABC radio stations, 21 radio stations and 264 community radio stations. Nine of the top ten stations are public broadcasters in African languages, with Ukhozi FM pulling over 7.5 million listeners. Radio remains one of the most trusted and accessible media in the world.

14 February

International Book Giving Day

The day is dedicated to increasing children's access to and enthusiasm for books. In South Africa, the Reading Panel, convened by former Deputy President Phumzile Mlambo-Ngcuka aims to ensure all children can read by 2030. Having books at home and access to books at school are important for the development of a love of reading amongst children. Participate in the day by giving a book as a gift, donate books to your local library or a school library, support organisations that distribute books, connect with others using the hashtag #bookgivingday.

15 February International Childhood Cancer Day

According to Child Cancer Internation-

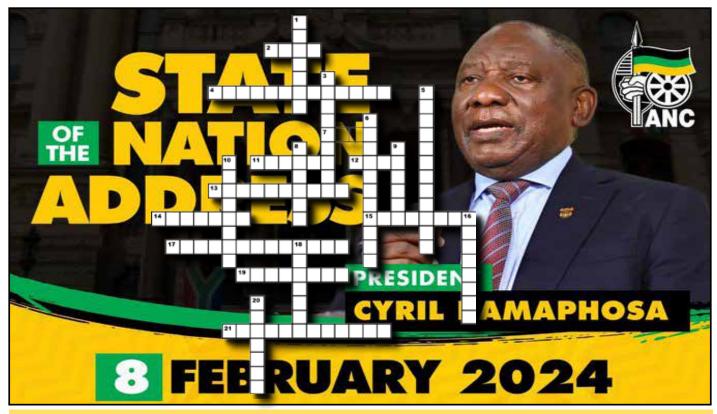


Street, Johannesburg, 2001, +27 11 376 1000, www.anc1912.org.za

X-WORD



SONA2024 #lamTintswalo



DOWN

- 1. A South Africa that... to all who live in it.
- 3. Democracy's Child that President spoke about.
- 5. Guided our collective efforts over the last three decades.
- 6. Presidential Youth Employment Intervention online platform.
- 8. ... in our diversity.
- 9. National Roads Agency.
- 10. We cannot deny the... South Africans made over the last 30 years.
- 16. We are Coming Back!
- 18. Recovery, rebuilding and...
- 20. April 27 will mark 30 years of ...

WORD BANK

ACROSS

- 2. After climbing a great..., one only finds that there are many more to climb.
- 4. SONA Minute of Silence for this Namibian freedom fighter and President.
- 7. State of the Province Address.
- 11. Place where Madiba casted his vote in 1994.
- 12. State of the Nation Address.
- 13. We will not stop until every person responsible for... is held to account.
- 14. Always believing that ... is certain.
- 15. ... of young people are currently not in employment, education or training.
- 17. ..., initially for the Johannesburg-Durban corridor.
- 19. Nor can we ... the severe challenges we continue to face.
- 21. Yet, our ... rate is the highest it has ever been.

SONA	SOPA	Siyabuya	Tintswalo	Dr Hage Geir	ngob fi	reedom	belongs
Inanda	Constitution	progress	diminish	millions	SAYouth.mobi		corruption
unempl	oyment	SANRAL	high-speed rail	renewal	victory	hill	united
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