



ANC TODAY

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Conversations with the
President

UNPACKING THE ANC'S MANIFESTO

Priority 6: BUILDING A BETTER AFRICA AND A BETTER WORLD

THE current geo-political context is underpinned by a range of troubling developments that have severely distracted global attention from the global agenda of human security and universal access to human rights and social justice.

However, despite these negative trends, this inflexion point also offers the world's nations a unique opportunity to define a new world order based on shared bonds of common humanity. The Preamble to the Constitution of South Africa foregrounds our membership of the community of nations as follows:

"We the people of South Africa... we therefore, through our elect-

ed representatives, adopt this Constitution as the supreme law of the Republic to build a united and democratic South Africa able to take its rightful place as a sovereign state in the community of nations."

This constitutional imperative guides South Africa's role in the international community and affirms its independence, its embrace of constitutionality, territorial integrity, self-determination, and sovereignty. As part of the community of nations which includes membership of the United Nations, the African Union, BRICS, and the Southern African Development Community (SADC), South Africa plays an important role in changing the world for the better.

Priority 6 of the ANC's 2024 Election Manifesto gives effect to the 55th Conference's decision to actively contribute to building a better Africa and a better world.

Our commitment consists of our active contribution to implementing the AU's Agenda 2063, strengthening relations in the Global South through BRICS as a catalytic instrument to transform the world through a range of initiatives and interventions in the areas of trade, economic development, peace, security, agriculture, food security, and science and technology. Since the 55th Conference of the ANC, South Africa's flag has flown high across the globe in support of a better Africa and a better world. We are committed to progressive

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internationalism and collaboration for mutual prosperity.

Rooted in internationalism, peace, solidarity and friendship, the ANC will continue with its mission of building a world devoid of war, famine, disease, military coups, foreign occupation, and exploitation. Ours is a vision of a new global order based on collaboration and partnership. We have also committed ourselves to building a community of nations which prioritises dialogue to resolve conflict.

The ANC fully supports our government's efforts to try and silence the guns on the African continent. South Africa played a key role in bringing about the Ethiopia-Tigray Peace Agreement, commonly known as the Pretoria Agreement, which was signed on the 2nd of November 2022, here in South Africa. South Africa is also involved in conflict resolution efforts in Mozambique, the Democratic Republic of Congo, South Sudan and many other

parts of Africa, where tensions are flaring up.

South Africa has also played a role in trying to bring Russia and Ukraine closer together to bring an end to the war in Ukraine. President Cyril Ramaphosa led the first African Peace Mission beyond the borders of our continent, which comprised the leaders of the Comoros, Congo Brazzaville, Egypt, Senegal, and Uganda as the representatives of the African Continent. The delegation travelled to both Ukraine and Russia in an attempt to bring peace between these warring nations. South Africa has remained involved in high-level peace talks on Ukraine hosted by several countries since June last year.

The ANC supports calls for the urgent reform of the United Nations and its institutions. As part of building a better Africa and World, we are continuing with this important work. South Africa, in keeping with the Ezulwini Consensus, fully supports calls for

the democratisation of the United Nations Security Council (UNSC) as the premier body responsible for maintaining international peace and security. We continue to work with like-minded and progressive countries and organisations across the globe to make sure this decision is realised.

It is also worth mentioning that it was through the leadership of President Ramaphosa that the African Union became a full member of the G20. This gives the African Union the same status as the European Union, which is part of the 19 other countries, with the developed or developing economies in the world. As part of the achievement, we can also boast of hosting one of the most successful Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa (BRICS) Summit, which saw the expansion of membership to include other countries of the South. It was particularly pleasing that two of the countries are from our Continent, Egypt and Ethiopia. This not only cements our com-



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mitment to South-South cooperation but also signals our resolve to have the entire African Continent development as the cornerstone of our foreign policy.

As the ANC, we have acted in solidarity with those struggling for justice and self-determination, most particularly the Palestinians, Sahrawis, and Cubans. We have lobbied internationally for the lifting of the illegal US economic blockade imposed on Cuba so that its people can access much-needed food and medicine. We also hosted the Africa-Cuba International Solidarity Summit in January this year. We continue to mobilise internationally in support of the people of Western Sahara who are struggling against illegal occupation, and we are working within the African Union to ensure that Africa's last colony is liberated.

The ANC has actively supported the South African Government in its efforts to bring about justice and self-determination for the Palestinian people. The ANC's position on Palestine has always been clear, consistent, and convergent with the international community. We continue to support all efforts aimed at the establishment of a viable, contiguous Palestine State, existing side-by-side in peace with Israel, within the internationally recognised 1967 borders, with East Jerusalem as its Capital, in line with all relevant UN resolutions and international law.

The case that South Africa brought against Israel at the International Court of Justice (ICJ) was in keeping with our obligations under the Geneva Convention to ensure no nation can continue to commit genocide with impunity. As the ANC we have mobilized the international com-

munity against the genocidal acts of Israel against the Palestinian people in Gaza and strongly condemned the killing of over 30,000 Palestinian civilians, most of whom were women and children. The actual death toll is far higher as thousands remain trapped under the rubble and unaccounted for. We have fully supported the second approach made by our Government to the ICJ. The court granted South Africa's Urgent Request of 6 March 2024, for further provisional measures to prevent Israel from causing irreparable harm to the rights invoked by South Africa under the 1948 Genocide Convention in respect of the ongoing siege of Gaza.

The purpose of Priority 6 is to not only build a better Africa and a better world by supporting development and peace efforts on our continent and across the world but also to strengthen trade and investment links with other countries. This agenda includes strengthening the implementation of the African Continental Free Trade Area, enhancing the BRICS programme for an outcome-based BRICS agenda that benefits the African continent, promoting peace, security, democracy and socio-economic development in the Southern African Development Community (SADC) and other parts of the continent, increase the voice of developing countries in multilateral institutions, and work with other countries in the fight against climate change, global poverty and inequality in line with applicable international resolutions.

As a progressive organisation, we will continue to lobby and mobilise through party-to-party relations and strive for growth by ensuring that our policies on regional integration cover the movement of goods and people

and resolve the issue of undocumented immigration. Through these priorities, we will work towards achieving the National Development Plan 2030 objectives to eliminate poverty and reduce inequality.

Through this manifesto, the ANC makes a solemn pledge to South Africa to drive faster progress, more action, accountability, citizen involvement and better implementation. In addition to advancing the agenda of a better Africa and a better world over the next five years, the ANC will recommit South Africa to work with others to take forward its responsibilities in the fight against climate change, global poverty, and inequality in line with applicable international resolutions. The ANC will also work towards strengthening the country's development cooperation and institutional frameworks to tackle development challenges in Africa and the global South in keeping with the United Nation's Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) and the AU's Agenda 2063.

The ANC supports all efforts to deepen our trade and investment relations with both developing and developed economies in line with the National Development Plan (NDP). The ANC would like to see the implementation of the African Continental Free Trade Area, which will promote cross-border infrastructure, tourism, agriculture, and manufacturing value chains through industrialization and minerals beneficiation in the region and increase the levels of South African manufacturing and value-added exports to the rest of the continent.

The world is changing for the better. In the true sense of internationalism, there shall be peace and friendship.

Remembering Nomzamo Winifred Madikizela-Mandela

A Tribute from the ANC Women's League

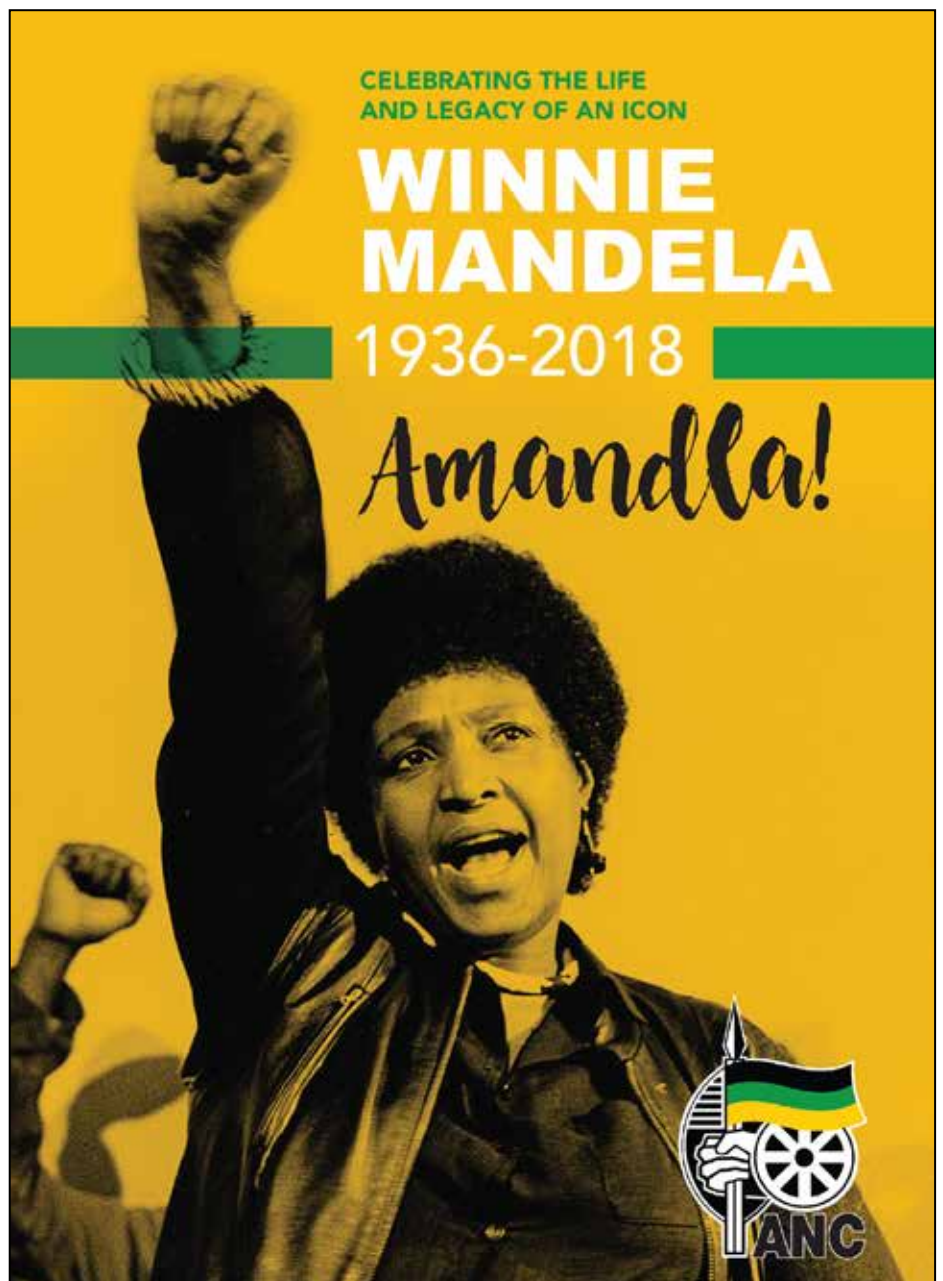
■ By **SISISI TOLASHE, ANC WL President**

FELLOW comrades today we gather on the occasion of the commemoration of Isithwalandwe/Seaparankwe who stood firm in the fight against colonialism and apartheid of more than three centuries of oppression subjugated against the majority of our people.

Mama Nomzamo Winifred Madikizela-Mandela dared her acquired social work qualification and chose a path that saw her incarcerated, banished, tortured and exiled in her own land of birth.

She became a prominent political figure at the height of Apartheid State of Emergency as she refused to remain silent when our leaders were exiled and jailed. Mama Winnie was a proponent of the organs of people's power as she galvanised society through existing structures to mobilise our people against the indignation of a White supremacist government that was consistent in inflicting a vicious onslaught against our people.

She was loved by both young and old as she represented hope for the marginalised masses of our people when our very own



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organisation was banned and all our leaders exiled and sent to South Africa's notorious Alcatraz, the Robben Island Prison.

Mama Winnie's fighting spirit was never in depletion even when she was legally registered as an obvious candidate to the infamous Suppression of Communism Act and its sister ordinance of Imprisonment without trial.

Mama Winnie incurred suffering from all these unjust pieces of legislation and albeit having

to raise her own two beautiful daughters, she chose a life of being a mother to a bleeding nation marred by violence, poverty and an inherent racist system aimed to exterminate the majority of the population which was Black in general and African in particular.

This baobab tree soon became a midwife who crisscrossed the country without any permission from the racist government, in her endeavour to fight for a better life for all her children who continued to be mercilessly butchered

on all fronts, just for demanding a classless society for all.

Mama Winnie's fearlessness in the battlefield constantly clashed with the Apartheid Security Forces and she became a frequent patron to the most notorious prison facilities across the country, as she once acclaimed with no sense of self importance that she was a product of the masses of her country but also a product of the enemy of our people.

Her gallantry in the fight against the liberation of our people who still remain women in their majority, from the triple challenges of avert poverty, unemployment and visible inequality became a thorn in the then Apartheid administration.

Mama Winnie's continued fight for a free, democratic, non-racial, non-sexist and a prosperous South Africa was neither idealism nor self-delusion but a dream she lived to realise. At the dawn of our political freedom, this gentle giant continued to be the voice of reason in ensuring that the ideals implanted in the historic



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Congress of the People in 1955, were carried through with no exception.

As an all round cadre who has seen and done it all through her activism in the combat zone of our revolution, Mama Winnie never reneged in the conviction that the motive forces should prevail as the primary beneficiaries of our hard earned freedoms.

She therefore was passionate and never relinquished the torch bequeathed from giants such as Lilian Ngoyi, Sophie Williams, Bertha Gxowa and many others who came before us in the resilient struggle to free society from the shackles of inherent patriarchy.

Comrades we are indeed standing on the shoulders of colossal women who fought a good fight and as we remember Mama Winnie today we must dare not forget the exceptional sacrifices made by these women during the course of our liberation struggle. Our revolutionary task is to keep the flame alight as we strive to renew an organisation that belongs to these gigantic figures of yesterday.

The most prestigious honour our generation can attribute to Mama Winnie is to strive through our deeds and ensure that the ANC wins decisively in the upcoming National General Elections.

This comrades is a task we must dare not fail as Mama Winnie herself once retorted during the darkest days of our liberation struggle when she said...

"There is no longer anything I can fear. There is nothing the government has not done to me. There isn't any pain I have not known"

Therefore our revolutionary conscience must always be submerged on the conviction that the ANC remains the only hope for our people and in memory of Mama Winnie we must do everything necessary to defend our revolution.

The enemy is hard at work and it is now no longer a narrative but concerted efforts for regime change, thus we must close ranks and defend the gains we have achieved over the last three decades.

The 1956 Women's March should always remind us of our duty to defend the revolution and as a commitment and a tribute to those who stood firm against Strydom and his ilk, we must reiterate the words of our forebears when they said. **"You strike a woman you strike a rock"**.

The ANC Women's League therefore recommit ourselves on this day of remembrance of our former President to our founding aims and objectives 'to mobilise, organise and unite South African women to participate in the struggle for the full liberation of all vulnerable and oppressed groups'.

As we march towards 29 May 2024, we awaken the deathless, immortal and never dying soul of Mama Winnie to stroll with us towards a decisive victory for the only organisation that she has ever endorsed until she drew her last breath.

Our conviction to a free, non-racial, non-sexist, democratic and prosperous society can only be fully realised when the ANC of Winnie Madikizela-Mandela regains state power in the upcoming National General Elections.

Remembering
MAMA WINNIE MADIKIZELA-MANDELA
26 September 1936 - 02 April 2018

The African National Congress in Gauteng remembers and celebrates internationally renowned liberation struggle icon

LET'S DO MORE, TOGETHER. VOTE ANC

Issued by the Walter Sisulu House
 96 Commissioner St, Marshalltown, Johannesburg, 2001



Tribute in remembrance of **Mama Winnie Madikizela-Mandela**

■ By **BATHABILE DLAMINI**

IN this solemn occasion of commemorating and remembering the remarkable spirit of Mama Winnie Madikizela Mandela, we are called to reflect upon the enduring legacy of a titan whose presence among us transcended mere existence and instead epitomized resilience, courage, and unwavering commitment to justice and freedom.

Mama Winnie was not just a name; she was a force of nature, a beacon of hope in the darkest of times, a warrior queen whose indomitable spirit inspired generations and continues to illuminate the path towards a more just and equitable world. Her life was a testament to the power of perse-

verance, the strength of the human spirit, and the transformative impact one individual can have on the course of history.



In the crucible of struggle and adversity, Mama Winnie emerged as a fierce advocate for the voiceless, a fearless champion of the oppressed, and a relentless fighter for the rights and dignity of all people. Her legacy is not confined to the pages of history but lives on in the hearts and minds of those she touched, the lives she transformed, and the causes she championed.

Through her actions and words, Mama Winnie created a ripple effect that multiplied into a wave of change, birthing a multitude of “Winnie’s” – individuals emboldened by her example to stand up, speak out, and strive for a better world. Her legacy is not just a memory but a living, breathing

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force that continues to inspire, empower, and uplift those who follow in her footsteps.

As we gather to pay tribute to Mama Winnie, let us not only honor her memory but also re-commit ourselves to the ideals she lived and fought for. Let us draw strength from her courage, wisdom from her resilience, and inspiration from her unwavering dedication to the cause of justice and equality.

Mama Winnie, your legacy is etched in the annals of history, your spirit resonates in the hearts of the oppressed, and your name is spoken with reverence and gratitude by all who cherish freedom and dignity. **May we, the many Winnie's you have created and inspired, carry forth your torch of hope, your banner of solidarity, and your legacy of courage as we continue the struggle for a more just and equitable world.**

Rest in power, Mama Winnie Madikizela Mandela. Your light will forever guide us, your legacy will forever inspire us, and your spirit will forever live on in the creation of many Winnie's who walk this earth with your indomitable spirit and unwavering resolve.

The memory of Mama Winnie Madikizela-Mandela continue to inspire us to strive for a better world and to uphold the values of justice, equality, and freedom that she so passionately fought for. We are trying to emulate you mama for your spirit of perseverance. **We continue to embrace the ANC, the organisation of the people and your organisation.** Mama, you were a titan that was produced by the people of this titanic organisation and the Nation.



A Tribute and Farewell to Jeanette Selby

■ By **ISITHWALANDWE/SEAPARANKOE**
MAM SOPHIE DE BRUYN

 On Tuesday 26 March 2024 I received the unexpected and sad news about the passing on of comrade Jeanette Selby (nee Thomas) from Michael Khan, her nephew.

I knew Jeanette, fondly known as Nettie, during our activist days as youth in the original Congress Movement of the 50's that was led by selfless leaders such as Chief Albert Luthuli, Yusuf Dadoo, Adam Daniels, Bram Fisher to name but a few and a diverse group of members despite the race based discriminatory laws at the time.

Michael has conveyed to me that the last two years of Jeanette's life saw the onset of Alzheimer

and later Dementia. Upon seeing her need for specialised frail care, Jeanette's loving friends and neighbours admitted her to a Frail Care Clinic last year.

A week ago, she stopped taking her meals, which resulted in organ failure and her inevitable departure at 11:30AM on the 26th of March.

Fortunately Jeanette was not alone at the time of her passing, as she was surrounded by her only grandson Albert, close friends and neighbour.

Jeanette was born on 23rd March 1931. She was the eldest daughter of 10 siblings, raised in Albertville, Johannesburg.

During the campaign of the Freedom Charter, she met her husband to be, Arnold Selby, a Renowned Communist, who himself was harassed and hunted by the notorious Special Branch. Arnold was forced into exile due to the Immorality Act and its unjust consequences on their relationship.

Later, Jeanette together with her young daughter Lorna, went into exile, escaping through Botswana, thereafter entering Ghana.

Our beloved O.R Tambo was the Best Man and Witness at their Nuptials, in the Accra, Ghana home of the Attorney General, Mr Bing. Mrs Bing organised the airlift from Botswana, to bring Nettie and Lorna on a one-way passport to leave SA.

Their marriage was the climax of their long hard struggle, Jeanette as a young, black activist in the garment worker's factory and participating in the campaigns of the Congress Movement and, Coloured People's Congress (SAC-PO).

The Confederation of Free German Trade Unions of the GDR (now Germany), invited Arnold to have his chronically weak eyes treated in the GDR. Thereafter they were offered the chance to permanently live in the GDR.

Their activism did not stop upon arriving in the GDR. They started living a busy life from the onset, visiting numerous factories, schools and outdoor venues, making people aware about the inhumane suffering of people back home under apartheid.

For Jeanette, it was a way of organising solidarity with the struggle back home. Jeanette was working in a garment factory in

Leipzig and started fundraising. She was able to purchase bulk clothing from surrounding factories. This clothing, earmarked for newborn babies, young children and adults, was then sent to those exiled in Mazimbu, Dakawa and Lusaka.

Jeanette solicited scholarships for the needy children back home too, as she felt they needed to be supported just as much.

Jeanette was known to be somewhat "Feisty", she was no walk-over and could stand her ground. She was kind, firm and fair as a mother to the young adults from the liberation movement who studied in the GDR and needed her attention, love and care.

She consistently made herself available to listen to their gripes and woes as they acclimatised to their new surroundings.

The Chief Rep in the GDR mission supported and respected her for her honesty and dependability and knew he could rely on her at all times. The ANC Women's Section, also had confidence in Jeanette, to represent them at International Conferences, Workshops and to escort visiting delegates

when necessary.

Life in exile was never going to be a bed of roses, this Jeanette understood all too well, she was therefore, well equipped to meet the challenges head on.

Arnold Selby died on the 27 September 2002 in Leipzig Germany. Jeanette has now joined him in that realm where they will be blissfully happy together.

Michael informed me that a previously exiled friend, named Bart Stuurman, is taking care of the funeral arrangements and had contacted the South African Embassy.

I spoke to Cde Stone Sizane the Ambassador in Berlin, who's aware and has undertaken to be present at the funeral, to support and acknowledge her life long sacrifices, at home and abroad in East Germany.

May the soul of Jeanette rest in eternal and everlasting peace and let perpetual light shine upon her.

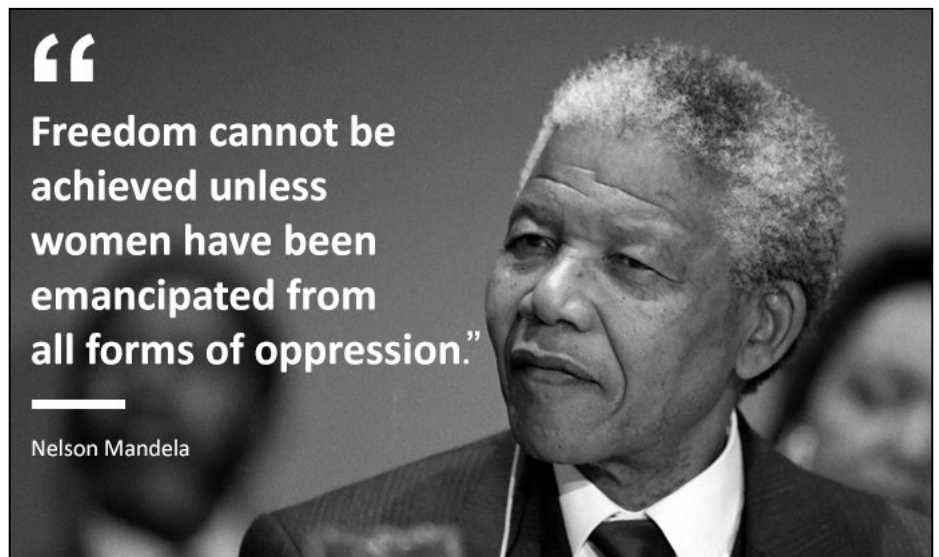
You have fought the good fight, you have finished the race.

Hamba Kahle Mosadi.

“

Freedom cannot be achieved unless women have been emancipated from all forms of oppression.”

Nelson Mandela



Winnie Mandela

■ By **OBET MOSIAPOA**

WINNIE Mandela, an emblematic figure in South Africa's fight against apartheid, has left an indelible mark on the country's history. As a 32-year-old transgender woman from the small town of Kuruman in the Northern Cape, I view Winnie Mandela's life and legacy through a unique lens, one that intertwines the struggles of gender identity with the broader narrative of resistance, resilience, and the quest for equality in a diverse and multifaceted nation.

As a transgender woman, I can resonate with the challenges she faced, as both of us have had to navigate a society that often seeks to marginalize and silence us. Growing up in Kuruman, I experienced firsthand the difficulties of being different in a conservative and traditional community.

The stigma and discrimination that I faced as a transgender woman were not dissimilar to the prejudices that Winnie Mandela encountered throughout her life. Like her, I learned to harness my resilience and strength to challenge the status quo and fight for my rights and the rights of others.

One of the enduring images of Winnie Mandela is that of her rallying the crowds with her impassioned speeches and unwavering commitment to the cause. Her ability to mobilize and unite people from all walks of life is a testament to her leadership skills and her deep understanding of



the struggles faced by marginalized communities. As a transgender woman, I am inspired by her ability to use her platform to amplify the voices of those who are often silenced and overlooked.

However, it is also important to acknowledge the complexities of Winnie Mandela's legacy. Like all of us, she was a flawed individual who made mistakes and faced criticism. Despite these complexities, Winnie Mandela's impact on South Africa's history and the global struggle for human rights cannot be overstated. Her legacy continues to inspire countless individuals, including transgender women like myself, to stand up against injustice and fight for a more inclusive and equitable society.

In recent years, South Africa has made significant strides in advancing LGBTQ+ rights, with the legalization of same-sex marriage and the implementation of anti-discrimination laws. However, the fight for equality is far from over, and transgender individuals

continue to face high levels of violence, discrimination, and marginalization. The struggles that Winnie Mandela faced as a woman in a patriarchal society parallel the challenges that transgender women face today, highlighting the ongoing need for activism, advocacy, and solidarity.

As we reflect on Winnie Mandela's life and legacy, let us remember her as a beacon of resilience and resistance, a woman who defied the odds to fight for freedom, equality, and justice. As a transgender woman from Kuruman, I am proud to stand on the shoulders of such a formidable and inspiring figure, and I am committed to continuing the fight for equality and acceptance for all.

In conclusion, Winnie Mandela's life serves as a powerful reminder of the importance of perseverance, courage, and the relentless pursuit of justice. Her legacy resonates with transgender women like myself, who continue to navigate the complexities of identity, discrimination, and societal expectations in our quest for acceptance and equality. As we honour her memory, let us renew our commitment to creating a more inclusive and equitable South Africa, where every individual, regardless of their gender identity or expression, can live their lives free from fear, prejudice, and discrimination.

Obet Mosiapoa is a Transgender Woman

There is nothing to fear and nothing to gain from the expropriation bill

■ By **ADV TEMBEKA NGCUKAITOBI**

OUR five-year ritual is upon us. On 29 May 2024, we shall elect a new government. Or perhaps extend the mandate of the current. And so, predictably “land reform” is in vogue once again. The expropriation bill – which should have been passed 30 years ago – has been resurrected. Not to address the colonial and apartheid crisis of land injustice, it seems, but as political football.

Nevertheless, the bill is necessary. Black people need land. To live in it. To eat from it. To make a livelihood from it. Black people need land also to affirm their common South African citizenship: to give effect to the promise of the Freedom Charter that South Africa belongs to all, who live in it. If some have so much land and others so little, perhaps the country doesn’t belong to all, but only to some. Land is the thing that will finally help black people to experience freedom: to make tangible, visible, touchable, the revolution against conquest and apartheid.

So, we decided that the revolution will also be constitutional,



underpinned by legal rules and legal principles. A central piece of legislation is the expropriation bill. But, questions of state capacity, counter hegemonic forces aside, will this bill actually give land to black people who need it?

An analysis into the structure of the bill shows that as an instrument of land reform, the impact of the bill will be negligible. Why?

By “**land reform**”, I mean actu-

al transfer of ownership to black people who need the land but cannot afford to buy it, for reasons of history. I also mean the ability of black people to access land, exploit it, and productively use it?

First, on **transfer of title**. The bill does not envisage any acquisition of title by private individuals who need the land. The bill defines ‘expropriation’ as the ‘compulsory acquisition of property by

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an expropriating authority or an organ of state upon request to an expropriating authority'. So, right at the outset, the bill adopts the standard definition of expropriation, as being an instrument to empower the state to acquire property, without the consent of the owner.

Secondly, the bill contains explicit limits to the power to expropriate. Land owned by state entities, or state corporations may not be expropriated without the consent of the executive authority responsible for the specific corporation or entity. The state is required to first reach an agreement with the owner of private property on "reasonable terms", and any expropriation without this step is unlawful.

Finally, expropriation can only be effected for a public purpose or in the public interest. By public purpose, it is meant that the taking of a property must be connected with the administration of a law. When it comes to public interest, the bill merely regurgitates the Constitution, stating that it means "*the nation's commitment to land reform, and to reforms to bring about equitable access to all South Africa's natural resources in order to redress the results of past racial discriminatory laws or practices.*" This could have provided a potential avenue to deepen land reform. But that is also where the problem lies.

The third problem with the bill is section 3. This section purports to empower the Minister of Public Works and Infrastructure to "*expropriate property for a public purpose or in the public interest.*"

Any other organ of state which wishes to expropriate property must ask the Minister of Public



Works, to do so on their behalf. Yet subsection 3 contains a perplexing clause: it states that the Minister's power to expropriate property in terms of the bill, "*applies to property which is connected to the provision and management of the accommodation, land and infrastructure needs of an organ of state, in terms of the Minister's mandate.*"

What does this mean? The section identifies the class of property which may be expropriated, so that any other property falling outside this category cannot be expropriated. That is clear because sections 1 and 2 of the bill are the only sections which permit expropriation of private property. The category of property which may be expropriated must be connected to the provision of accommodation, land and infrastructure needs of an organ of state. Basically, the Minister can only expropriate if the state needs accommodation, land and to develop infrastructure. Nothing else. The promise of expropriation for "land reform" is rendered moot. But the section goes further. Accommodation, land and infrastructure needs of the state must be connected to the "Minister's mandate".

The mandate of the Minister of Public Works and Infrastruc-

ture is not land reform. It is also to manage land, accommodation and infrastructure needs of the state. That mandate will not change. The consequence is that the bill can only be used to help the department of public works to acquire buildings, roads and land for the state, not for the landless.

Ultimately, the bill promises much, but delivers little. There is a betrayal of history in the problematic and constrained framing of the bill. Even the 1975 act, defined the Minister responsible for expropriation as "the Minister of Agriculture". Yet here, in 2024, the function of expropriation is not located in the department with a mandate for land reform.

So, it turns out that the bill is not an engine for land reform: it will not result in land in the hands of poor people who need it, but cannot afford it. Nor will it guarantee access and productive use of the land. Of course the expropriation act of 1975 had to be repealed. But a new bill, which speaks to land is what is needed. Perhaps, after the elections. Maybe with a new government, or with the current government, under a fresh mandate.

For progressive constitutionalists, like me, there is some hope. Apart from the stale critique of

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section 25 of the Constitution, the proposals of the Economic Freedom Fighters on land could bring about the changes we need. The main proposal is captured in point 8 of the EFF's land proposals: *"The EFF government takes cognizance of the difficulties faced by the land restitution programme and will do away with land restitution as a mechanism for land reform, and have the land reform programme anchored mainly by land redistribution."*

One could quibble with whether or not there is a strong enough case to jettison land restitution in its entirety. What is impossible to argue against is the centrality of land redistribution for the future. In the December 2022 conference, the ANC also passed a resolution calling for the land redistribution bill, falling under the department of rural development and agriculture, with the specific purpose of enabling poor people, who need land but cannot afford it, to own, access and productively use land. But like many things before, the government is the place where good resolutions go to die. Both the EFF and the ANC proposals are catered for on one section of the Constitution, which has been ignored by the government: section 25(5) provides *"The state must take reasonable legislative and other measures, within its available resources, to foster conditions which enable citizens to gain access to land on an equitable basis."* We need this section implemented now. Regrettably, the expropriation bill is not the law we need for land reform.

Tembeka Ngcukaitobi is the author of the book *Land Matters: South Africa's Failed Land Reforms and the Road Ahead* (2021, Penguin).



UMKHONTO WE SIZWE – BORN OF THE PEOPLE

■ By **MKLWV GAUTENG PROVINCE**

THE past few months following the advent of the fraudulent MK Party, the people of South Africa have witnessed a barrage of historical distortions of fact including outright lies.

New self-styled analysts have mushroomed overnight to offer opinions about the history of an organization that at best they know very little about or at worst know absolutely nothing about.

It is therefore necessary for the genuine cadres of Umkhonto we Sizwe to step forward to defend

the glorious legacy of the fighting arm of the African National Congress called Umkhonto we Sizwe.

In fact it is even better to allow the African National Congress to speak for itself.

Below we reproduce extracts of the statement of the ANC to mark **THE 25TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE FORMATION OF UMKHONTO WE SIZWE, DECEMBER 16, 1986.**

"This day 25 years ago bomb blasts in several main centres rocked South Africa. Thus was

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born Umkhonto we Sizwe – the People’s Army of our country.

By that time the demands of our people were loud, persistent and clear: all our efforts as a people, the whole record of relentless struggle under the leadership of the African National Congress, were being met with ever-increasing violence and repression by the racist State. The time had arrived when we needed to re-inforce our mass political action with the hammer blows of an armed struggle.

The formation of Umkhonto we Sizwe was a response to these needs and the demands of our people.

December 16, 1961, accordingly, marked an historic turning point in our long march to freedom.

With the formation of Umkhonto we Sizwe our people were now better equipped to grasp history into their own hands.

Born of the people, combatants of Umkhonto we Sizwe pledged themselves in our Manifesto to complement the actions of our national liberation movement by means of organised revolutionary violence. These past 25 years are a proud record of a risen people making their own history with their blood, sweat and tears as we live out that commitment.

From those small beginnings, Umkhonto we Sizwe has emerged today as the guarantor of our people’s future and the indispensable fighting arm of our people.

Combatants of Umkhonto we Sizwe, you are the flower of successive generations of our youth tempered in the crucible of battle.”

Part One

Is South Africa Heading for a Post-Revolutionary Government?

■ By **SONWABILE NGXIZA**

AT the beginning of January 2024, the ANC celebrated 112 years since its founding in 1912 as a liberation force in South Africa.

As the ANC celebrated this milestone with the articulation of grand plans for the future, there is an air of uncertainty and intrigue. South Africa is preparing to hold the 7th National and Provincial Elections (NPE) in mid-2024, which also marks 30 years since the advent of democracy.

The ANC-led revolutionary alliance, comprising the South African Communist Party (SACP), Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU), and South African National Civics Organisation (SANCO), has wielded power since the democratic breakthrough in 1994. Many observers are bemused by how the ANC remains relevant despite major internal political vicissitudes.

These observers seek to understand what is regarded as politi-



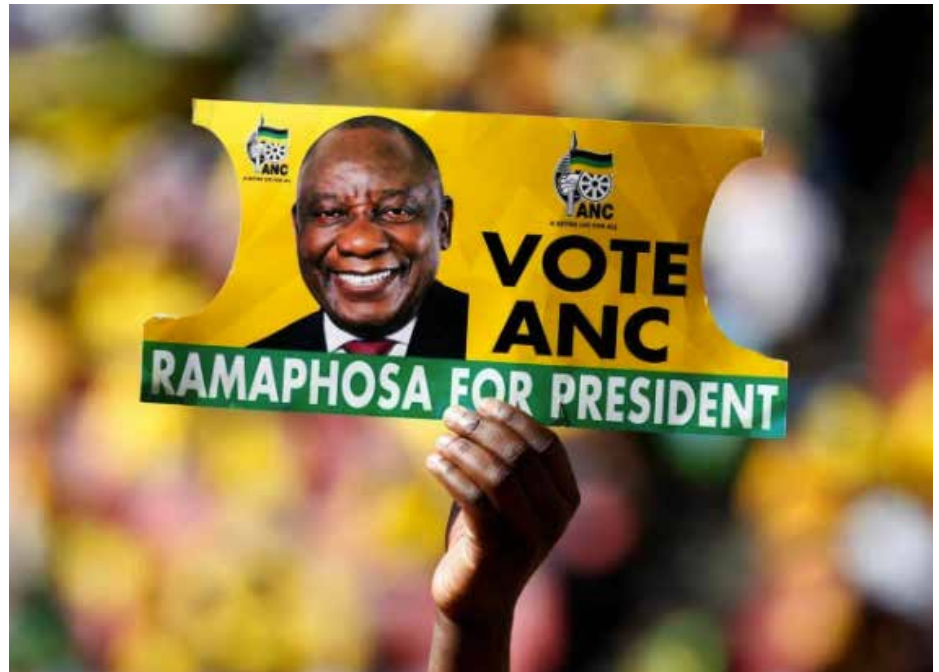
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cal resilience (not to be confused with invincibility) of the liberation movement. Primarily because it is also an election year, some analysts and commentators delve into the dissection of the prospects of the ANC in the upcoming general elections.

Some critical observers believe that the ruling ANC-led Alliance is losing its grip on power and that this is a sign of its waning hegemony and tell-tales of degeneration. These predictions are often premised on opinion surveys and research data that project declining support and confidence in the ruling party. It is trite to note that underlying assumptions and biases tend to lead to incorrect predictions. There exists a possibility that the election outcomes may just be confounding to analysts and their predictions.

In moments of uncertainty, it is wise to avoid hysteria and take a step back to analyze and reflect soberly on the overall reality. In conducting such analysis, it is necessary to deploy credible theoretical frameworks to understand various permutations of an evolving, complex, and fluid political situation. In essence, it is important to analyze the whole situation guided by tested scientific instruments of analysis.

In this exposition, a combination of the degeneration thesis and resilience theory are used. These are important lenses for insightful analysis of how parties emerge, rise, plateau, and fall on one hand and the notion of persistence of revolutionary movements on the other. It is further hypothesized that the concept of renewal in the ANC is an attempt to avoid decline and decay, to remain resilient, and to pursue its enduring historical mission.



What is a revolutionary movement and relatedly, what is a revolutionary government?

Those on the liberal end of the political spectrum often condemn the ANC for identifying itself as a liberation movement with a revolutionary programme of fundamental socio-economic transformation. They claim this identification is archaic and belongs in the 'soviet era'. This irritation extends beyond liberal politicians as was exemplified by utterances by the then Chief Executive Officer of a state energy company, Andre de Ruyter, in a much-publicised media interview.

The ANC however, remains unapologetic about being a revolutionary movement. In the discourse on the durability of revolutionary regimes Levitsky and Way (2013:5) define revolutionary regimes *“as those which emerge out of sustained, ideological, and violent struggle from below, and whose establishment is accompanied by mass mobilization and significant efforts to transform state structures and the existing social order.”*

Although the authors studied revolutionary regimes with an “authoritarian” outlook, their broad definition aligns with the characterization of the ANC as a revolutionary mass movement that, in its relentless struggle against colonial apartheid, was guided by the four pillars viz mass mobilization, the underground, armed struggle and international solidarity. The decades-long relentless struggle against apartheid colonial system by the ANC, its revolutionary alliance and the broader democratic mass movement culminated in a relatively peaceful transition to democracy. This process is sometimes erroneously regarded as a miracle or ‘bloodless revolution’, that is, if you ignore all the massacres that took place, particularly on the eve of the democratic breakthrough.

Alarm bells of endemic fragility and vulnerability of the ANC-led Alliance are rung continuously from many quarters to signal its imminent demise. However, this has not come to pass. The question is why?

The ANC continues to predomi-

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nate despite narratives of acute crises and possible state failures as a governing party. It survived and continues to endure despite levels of unprecedented protests during the state capture years, for example. What can account for this ‘anomaly’?

There are various plausible explanations for the prevalent organizational persistence of the liberation movement in the post-apartheid period. Booyen, (2011:5) argues that one of the main factors is that “*A cohering, broadly trusted and in-charge ANC, the popular argument seems to be, will better serve the interests of South Africa than an ANC that crumbles and has no prospect of gaining mastery of government, and specifically of policy and delivery. Opposition parties are certainly not trusted to take over.*”

To inflict damage to the ANC’s electoral fortunes, opposition parties need to present a credible alternative. However, at the present moment, there seems to be a dominant view that the opposi-

tion is weak. This weakness can be witnessed from the lack of policy alternatives as the opposition parties simply regurgitate ANC policies or campaign on how best they can implement these. Accordingly, Parkin (2023:129) concludes that “[.....]South Africans trust opposition parties even less than they do the ruling party.” It is not only that South Africans do not trust the opposition that accounts for the persistence and durability of the liberation movement but it seems in general the policy outlook and record in government also appeal to the population in profoundly significant ways.

It is also important to acknowledge that the abiding vision of the liberation movement resonates with significant segments of the population. According to Levitsky and Way (2013:8), “Most successful liberation parties develop powerful mass organizations, based on extensive networks of activists and supporters that penetrate the entire national territory. More important, military struggle gives rise to cohesive organiza-

tions. The exigencies of armed conflict compel revolutionary organizations to institutionalize military-style discipline characteristic that often persists after the seizure of power.” Hence, in the context of South Africa, the durability of the liberation movement is multi-layered and includes the enduring mass appeal of the historical mission, record of delivery in strategic areas, and the fact that its policy package is head and shoulders above the rest.

The continued relevance of the liberation movement in South Africa is underpinned by several areas of success in the state and society. In this respect, there are several variables which Salih (2018:21) opines that the success or failure of the liberation movement is contingent on their “*ability to create a broad-based social coalition and a workable post-liberation development program; its ability to provide services in liberated areas; its ability to create and develop a civilian administration and opportunities for citizen participation; and its ability to maintain autonomy be-*

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tween military and civilian affairs, i.e. laying a foundation for civilian – not military – rule.”

In post-apartheid South Africa, it can be argued that the democratic government has performed relatively well in some of these variables albeit major constraints and challenges remain. Uniting the majority of South Africans is one of such advances that cannot be overlooked despite the stubborn legacy of racial polarisation which is perpetrated by wealth inequality and spatial segregation.

Another important advance is the expansion of social assistance, including the provision of free basic service to the destitute, social safety net, a massive programme of human settlement, healthcare, access to education, etc. The democratic government has also created resilient institutions that independently enforce the rule of law and preserve democratic values, as the edifice of democratic consolidation. The process of integration of public service is virtually complete and the question of professionalisation is underway. Therefore, in terms of indicators of success or failure, the picture is largely positive.

The dangers of decay and the promise of resilience: Quo Vadis ANC?

For more than a decade, there have been concerns about the degeneration of the democratic order in South Africa. Several scholars raised serious concerns about the present threats to democracy emerging within the South African polity under the tutelage of the ruling ANC (Southall, 2014; Labuschagn, 2016; Silander, 2022). Accordingly, Southall (2014:49) outlines the main features of the “logic

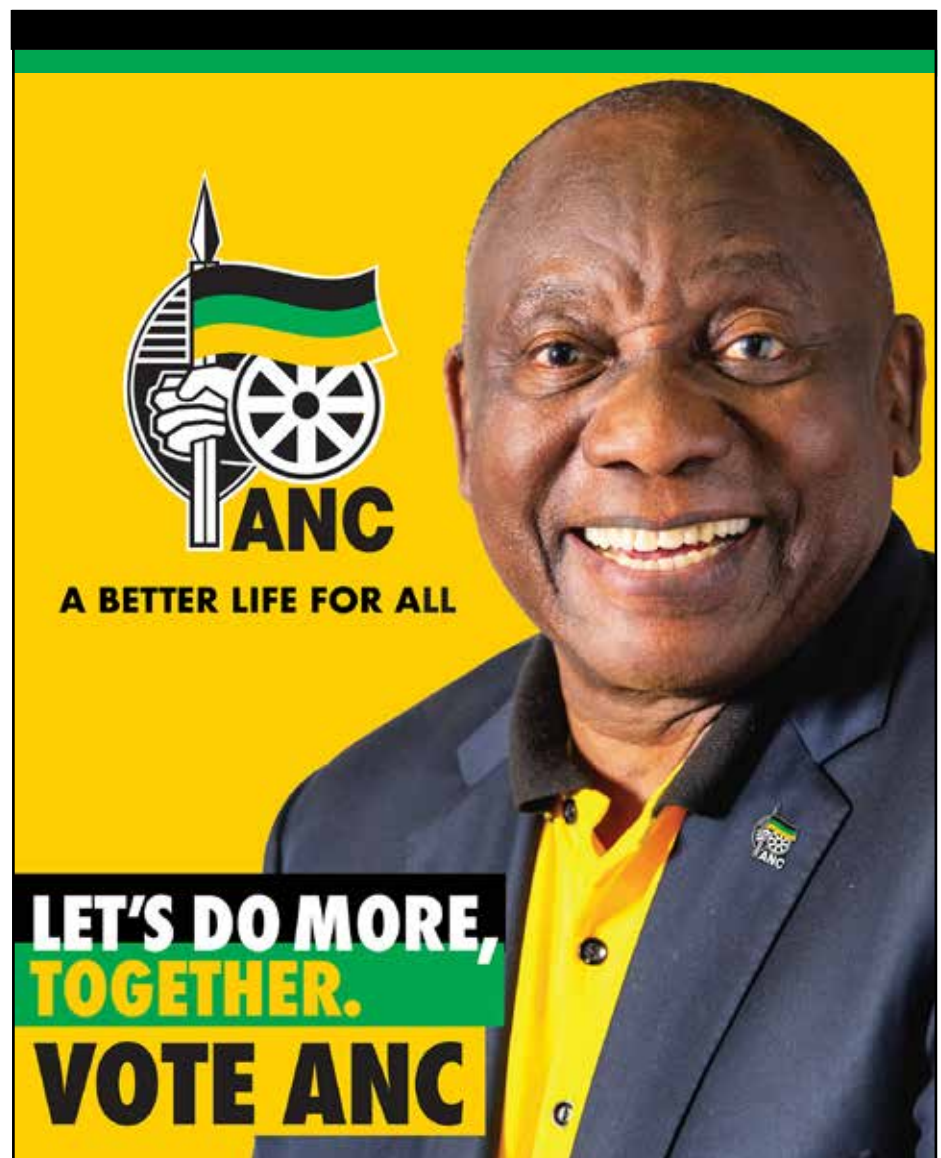
of the ANC’s degeneration” that places South Africa’s democracy at risk. Southall (2014:65) argues that this degeneration is due to the clash between the values of constitutional democracy and the ANC’s commitment to the NDR. The author contends that while constitutional democracy is fundamental to political freedom, the ANC’s liberationist theory necessitates a need to extend its authority over all sites of power using deployment, thus delegitimizing the political opposition, and diminishing democracy by asserting “majoritarianism” (Southall, 2014:65).”

From the above, it can thus be ar-

gued that the ‘logic of ANC’s degeneration’ is the incongruence between its theory of struggle and the constitutional order as well as its desire to maintain and cling to power at all costs. However, this belief is not supported by concrete empirical evidence.

On the contrary, Slater and Wong (2013:720) believe that the ANC has shown democratic traits of conceding defeat and voluntarily handing over power as previously done in provinces like KwaZulu Natal and Western Cape as well as in numerous metropolitan and local municipalities.

(To be continued...)



A VOTE FOR THE ANC IS A VOTE FOR CONTINUATION AND EXPANSION OF PRO-POOR POLICIES

■ By **SEPHOKA DAVID SEKGOBELA**

THE forthcoming 2024 elections are crucial for the ANC, because the odds are stacked against it, especially with the formation of a myriad of political organizations and so-called independent candidates. Human vultures and scavengers are drooling lustfully for a taste of power, wishing and hoping that the ANC would gasp its last breath, so that they could feast on its carcass. However, this excitement is definitely going to end up in tears, because there is going to be “weeping and gnashing of teeth” when the ANC emerges victorious after the elections.

Anyone who really thinks that these hyenas could unseat the ANC, is in for a big surprise, because an experienced 112 years political party, with clear policies and sense of direction, would not be threatened by hungry and angry pack of wolves, including smaller parties just formed specifically to contest the elections, with no credible and recognizable leadership, and no policies.

With all identifiable challenges experienced by the government, no black person of sound mind, African in particular, should say that he/she is worse-off under the democratic dispensation than



he/she was under apartheid, because that would be disingenuous. People need to understand what a loss for the ANC in the elections would mean to most South Africans, Africans in particular, and the impact on the fight against unemployment, poverty, and inequality (also called the triple challenges), to which there are no easy solutions. Due to lack of sufficient resources, the government is still grappling with those socio-economic challenges plaguing the country, and the ANC government has acknowledged those, and working hard to address them.

There would be disastrous consequences should ANC lose elections. For instance, South

Africa's position in international geopolitics, including membership of BRICS, and government's efforts to address the imbalances created by apartheid, e.g. BB-BEE, affirmative action, employment equity, etc. amongst others, would be rescinded.

Doomsayers like the opposition, sponsored media and political analysts, even some clergies on the pulpits, are telling all sorts of lies about the failures of the ANC government, and refuse to acknowledge its achievements. People are fed lies and fake news on a daily basis about the failures of the ANC government. Therefore, it is for ANC members to set the record straight, and rebut those lies. Unfortunately, the gull-

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ible ones tend to believe anything and everything that the media and people with vested interests, are saying, and get confused. They are themselves not analytical, and take whatever is being spewed as gospel truth. People would post whatever they like on social media, but we should be a bit analytical, and not allow ourselves to be misled.

The ANC has a good story to tell, but behind every good story, there should be a good storyteller, and ANC members should tell their own stories. The ANC has achieved much within a short period of thirty years, and given the opportunity, more could still be rolled out to attain **“Better Life for All”**.

ANC members countrywide are embarking on door-to-door campaigns, and are being asked difficult questions. There is a saying that “Ignorance is bliss”, but there is nothing blissful about ignorance. It is said that, “Everything has a cost, but not as compared to ignorance, which is more costly”. Thus why Sri Chinmoy wrote, “Ignorance is an enemy, even to

its owner. Knowledge is a friend, even to its hater”. Therefore, ANC members cannot afford to be ignorant, and need to be better informed regarding the achievements of the ANC government. They should arm themselves with adequate information, carry the message of hope to the electorate, and be able to defend ANC policies and/or its leadership in all fronts.

There are indeed still many challenges, but those cannot prevent anyone from seeing what the ANC government has attained in the past 30 years. Seeing or raising only the negatives or failures of the ANC government amid all achievements could be attributed to a few reasons, including hiding one’s ignorance about the issues at stake, intellectual bankruptcy or “intellectual laziness”, as Lindiwe Sisulu puts it, or, inability to advance formidable reasoning in a discussion.

Most people are not aware or pretend to have forgotten that we are dealing with the legacy of unjust policies of the past that were systematically created by apart-

heid. We need to dispel the myth that the ANC has failed to deliver services as expected in terms of the social compact with the society and/or the Constitution. It does not matter what the doom-sayers are saying, but those who are not suffering from memory loss or selective memory, would know the difference from where we have been, and where we are today as a country. There are many Tintswalo’s who have been able to seize the opportunities at their disposal, and there are equally those who have, for various reasons, been less fortunate to do so. The Tintswalo scenario should resonate in most of the Africans who have suffered immense injustice and indignity under apartheid.

Contrary to popular belief, under the ANC government, an African child is now better off than before in more ways than one. For instance:

1. **Social Grants** – The government supports those who cannot afford through social grants for children, the elderly and the disabled. The ANC government has also

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increased the recipients of social grants from 3-million in 1994 to 18-million in 2018, and further introduced R350 social relief of distress grant for the unemployed, benefiting 8.4-million people.

2. **Free Quality Education** – 80% of schools in South Africa are no-fee paying schools. Children whose parents cannot afford, get free education up to tertiary level. The government currently spends more than R48 billion every year to support the poor students' education through NSFAS.
3. **Basic Service Delivery** – In the past, almost 80% of the African population were not catered for basic services such as electricity, water and sanitation, roads infrastructure, etc. Though basic service delivery is not what it is supposed to be due to lack of adequate resources, ANC government is still doing its utmost best to cater for everyone, regardless of race.
4. **Free Health Facilities** – the ANC government has built more than 1,700 new clinics and 56 hospitals since 1994.
5. **School Feeding Scheme** – Over 9-million pupils are fed at school.
6. **Scholar Transport** – Subsidy provided to learners travelling more than 5km to school.
7. **Free Houses** – The ANC government has built 3.2-million free houses, and handed over close to 100,000 title deeds to households.
8. **Porous Borders** – Border Management Authority unit was recently launched by the government, and is turning the tide against illegal immigration.
9. **Unemployment** – When



the government took over in 1994, only about 8 million people were gainfully employed, and today it is over 16.4 million people, because the economy has tripled ever since, leading to growth in employment. However, the ANC acknowledges that unemployment still remains high at 32%, with youth being the most affected at 62%.

10. **Employment Equity** – Africans could not do certain jobs reserved for whites due to Apartheid's job reservations policy.

If concerned about high unemployment rate, wait until the ANC is unseated. The DA has been quoted as saying that as soon as the ANC is taken out of power, the first thing that the DA and its coalition partners will do is to terminate employment contracts of many people currently employed within the public sector, because the public sector is bloated.

Therefore, the ANC should decisively win the forthcoming elections to save public service jobs. Civil servants should be worried about the DA's utterances, if they really value their jobs. Voting for the DA or any of its coalition partners, would be suicidal and/or tantamount to digging their own graves, because chances are that they could be jobless after the

elections should the ANC lose.


This is not just a veiled threat or crass electioneering, because the DA has been saying the same thing in parliament in 2017, before the previous elections in 2019, "When the DA takes over the Union Buildings in 2019, we will ensure that there is service delivery for every single citizen in our country by reducing public administration to make it more efficient and therefore freeing up money for service delivery". They are resolute and not relenting on this one. Should they win elections, public service will suffer collateral damage, because civil servants would be the first to be laid off, and unemployment would skyrocket. Therefore, as a civil servant, not voting for the ANC, is like "cutting one's nose to spite one's own face".

In conclusion, over the past thirty years, ANC government strived to improve the lives of ordinary South Africans in many ways by providing free, inter alia, housing, basic electricity, infrastructure, access to clean water, quality education, health services and social grants, etc. It is therefore disingenuous to lie with a straight face that the ANC government did not or is not doing anything to address challenges identified, including crime and corruption. Service delivery backlog systematically created by colonialism and apartheid in South Africa over centuries would not just disappear in 30 years. There are those who are assuming that we should not continue to blame apartheid for the purported failures of the government, but we would definitely not stop doing that for as long as the effects of apartheid such as poverty, illiteracy, unemployment, inequality, etc. are still with us.

A LEAF OUT OF SOUTH AFRICA'S HISTORY

The Brutal Murder of Solomon Kalushi Mahlangu

■ By **CASTRO KHWELA**

 On this day, 6th April 1979, Solomon Kalushi Mahlangu, a South African Freedom fighter, struggle activist and operative of the ANC military wing. uMkhonto weSizwe (MK) was brutally murdered by the apartheid regime by hanging at the tender age of 22 years.

Solomon Mahlangu was born in Pretoria on 10 July 1956, the second son of Martha Mahlangu. He was raised by his mother, a domestic worker, as his father left in 1962. Solly attended Mamelodi High School up to standard 8 (his tenth year of school), but his education was interrupted in 1976 by the SOWETO uprising that resulted in school closures.

In 1976, Mahlangu fled to Mozambique and spent 6 months in a refugee camp near Xai Xai. From there he was taken to ANC training camp called "Engineering", in Angola. There at Engineering, and at Funda camp he received in marching drill, sabotage, firearms, military combat work, military engineering, communications, topography, intelligence and revolutionary political theory. SM, George Lucky Mahlangu and Monty Motloung were

Remembering
SOLOMON "KALUSHI" MAHLANGU
 10 JULY 1956 - 6 APRIL 1979

“ My blood will nourish the tree that will bear the fruits of freedom. Tell my people that I love them. They must continue the fight, *Aluta Continua.*”

African National Congress   

then taken to Swaziland, where they were given large suitcases filled with pamphlets, rifles and hand grenades. On the 11th June 1977, they crossed the border into SA and started making their way to Johannesburg.

The three comrades-in-arms, each carrying a large suitcase, were climbing into a taxi in Di-

agonal street in the centre of Johannesburg when an ordinary policeman became suspicious and grabbed one of the suitcases. An AK47 assault rifle and a hand grenade fell out. All three of them fled, Lucky Mahlangu in one direction, and the other two in the direction of Fordsburg. There, on Goch street, the two sought refuge in the storage facilities of the

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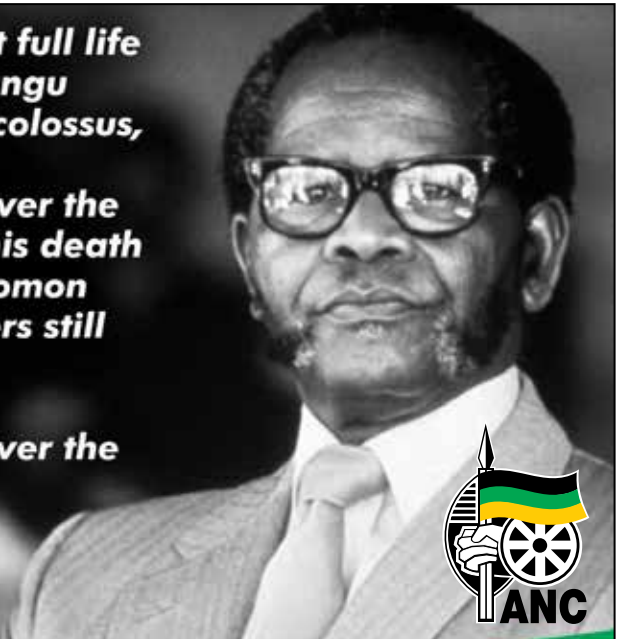
retailer John Orrs. One of the them opened fire on the employees of the company, killing two and wounding another two. Both Mahlangu and Motlounge were eventually arrested.

Mahlangu's trial started in the supreme court on 7th November 1977. SM and Monty Motlounge were found guilty of the death of Rupert Kessner and Kenneth Wolfendle and were handed the death sentence. The court refused Mahlangu's appeal. His lawyers then asked the appeal court for leniency and it was again refused.

Solomon Mahlangu was hanged on 6th April 1979. Before going to the gallows he told his mother

"In his brief but full life Solomon Mahlangu towered like a colossus, unbroken and unbreakable, over the fascist lair...in his death the spirit of Solomon Mahlangu towers still like a colossus, unbroken and unbreakable, over the fascist lair"

- President Oliver Tambo



the following. ***"Tell the people that I love then and that they must continue with the fight,***

my blood will nourish the tree that will bear the fruits of freedom. Aluta Continua."

MYANC PLEDGE ELECTIONS INITIATIVE



A BETTER LIFE FOR ALL

TO PLEDGE



SCAN ME

OR GO TO

www.anc1912.org.za/pledge

OR

SMS "ANC" TO

37057

to **PLEDGE R10**

44892

to **PLEDGE R20**

42053

to **PLEDGE R30**

**PLEDGE FOR A
DECISIVE VICTORY
AND A BETTER
LIFE FOR ALL!**

Oh, children of Palestine!

■ By **DAVID MBHELE**

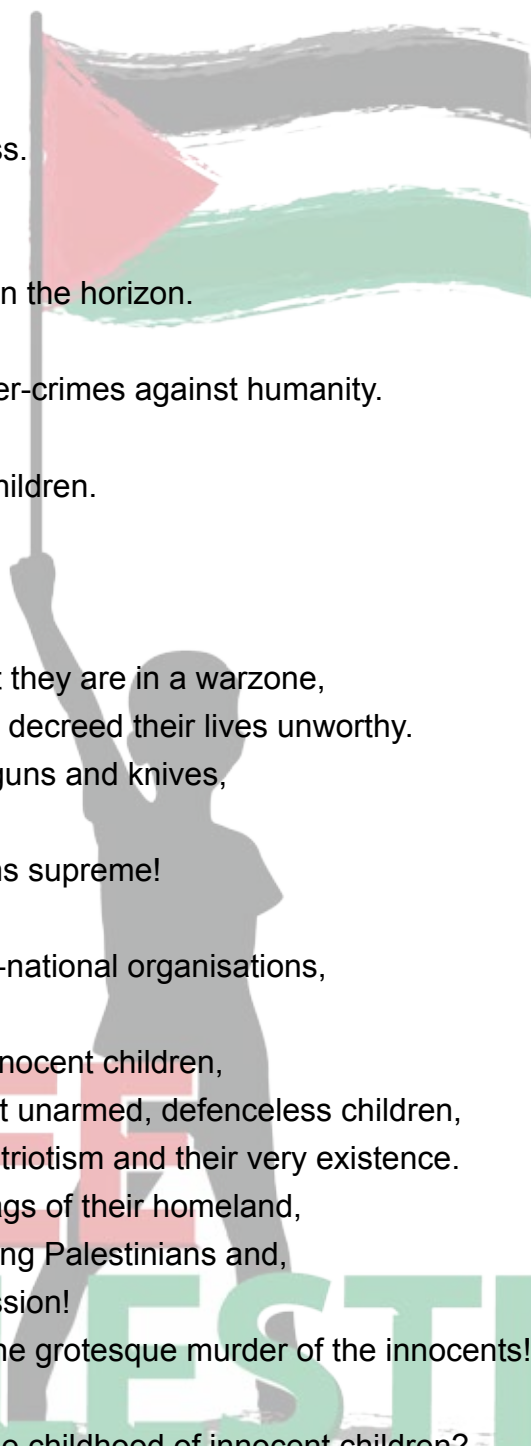
Beaming faces,
filled with smiles and happiness.
Happy to see a new day,
To laugh, to love, to play,
Yet unaware that somewhere in the horizon.
lurks a brutal death,
at the hands of victims of yester-crimes against humanity.

No. How do you dare blame children.
for not being aware,
of the spillage of blood.

Yes, they remain unaware that they are in a warzone,
that somewhere someone has decreed their lives unworthy.
Even though they don't carry guns and knives,
because they are children
and in their hearts peace reigns supreme!

Leaders of militaries and multi-national organisations,
Don't be quiet while Israel.
Is daily unleashing terror on innocent children,
hurling bullets and grenades at unarmed, defenceless children,
Their only crime being their patriotism and their very existence.
denied the right to carry the flags of their homeland,
sentenced to death just for being Palestinians and,
for refusing to cower to oppression!
Religious beliefs don't justify the grotesque murder of the innocents!

How dare do you take away the childhood of innocent children?
How dare you take away the lives of teenagers,
who still have their lives full ahead of them.



INTERNATIONAL

How dare you fill those who survive your gruesome actions,
with so much anger, hatred, and pain!

Nothing and no one is spared,
hospitals, schools, religious sites, everything,
daughter, son, mother, father, and grandparents,
doctors, nurses, teachers, sheiks everyone,
if this is not a genocide, it is ethnic cleansing, or both.

Cold blooded, trigger-happy, soldiers of Israel,
walk with confidence brandishing the guns!
they used to murder innocent children,
loyally carrying out the instructions of their leaders and commanders.

Yes, we might be removed by time, space, and distance,
from the people of Palestine,
yet we refuse to choose to be silent.

Our own experience with apartheid monsters,
that had imposed themselves masters over us,
citing religious beliefs as their justification,
will forever instruct us never to keep quiet,
when an injustice is visited on fellow humans.
For, silence is a betrayal.
of the course of humanity.

The people children and people of Palestine
are slaughtered daily,
without mercy or any shame,
because of their refusal to give up their right to exist.

World leaders,
with the power to end the slaughter of the innocents,
they who watched idly as Rwanda descended to,
a dark phase of genocide,
only to express regret after the fact,
still, they watch and refuse to condemn apartheid Israel,
they march side-by-side with the butchers of Palestine!

FREE
PALESTINE

INTERNATIONAL

We can no longer be silent,
or pretend as all is well.
while terror is unleashed on innocent children.
Silence is betrayal!

Therefore, we speak out,
In defence of humanity and our conscience,
End the genocide!
Silence the guns!
Free, free Palestine!
From the river to the sea,
Palestine shall be free!

Freedom is inevitable,
Freedom is a fundamental human right,
Freedom is non-negotiable!
With our sisters and brothers of Palestine we stand,
Uncompromising and fearless,
holding hands through solidarity,
because our people know, understand.
and have experienced.
how it feels like to be like an outcast in your homeland.

Silence is no longer an option,
may the cries of children killed daily?
and thrown into the mass graves be heard!

May the pain and anguish of Palestinian people,
slaughtered daily like animals of sacrifice,
be not ignored.

Aluta continua!

**FREE
PALESTINE**

A silhouette of a person holding a flag on a pole. The flag is the flag of Palestine, with a red triangle at the top, a white triangle in the middle, and a green triangle at the bottom. The person is standing on a textured ground surface.

THIS WEEK IN HISTORY

THIS WEEK IN HISTORY

6 – 12 April 2024

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

6 April 1652

Van Riebeeck lands at the Cape

Jan van Riebeeck lands 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 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 (PA) 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 1926

Jeanne Martin Cissé born



Guinean diplomat, educationist and independence fighter was born on this day in Conakry. She became her country's first female teacher in 1945, and her exceptional diplomatic and management skill led to her appointment as the first female President of the UN Security Council in 1972. Mme Cissé was one of the founders of the Pan African Women's Organisation (PAWO) in 1962, serving as its Secretary General. She passed on in 2017.

6 April 1935

Poet JP Clark born

Nigerian poet, John Pepper Clark-Bekederemo, writing as JP Clark, was born in Kigbodo, Delta State. His memorable poems pursue the themes of colonialism, neo-colonialism and protest against societal ills. He was also a journalist, playwright, and scholar-critic who conducted research into traditional Ijo legends and wrote essays on African poetry. He studied English at the University of Ibadan, and founded a magazine of student poetry, lectured at University of Lagos and became co-editor of the literary journal Black Orpheus. Clark passed away in 2020.

6 April 1959

PAC founded by Sobukwe

When the Freedom Charter was adopted at Kliptown in 1955, those who championed the Africanist ideological stance felt that this was a betrayal. At the Transvaal provincial congress of the ANC in 1958, 'Africanist' members were excluded from the hall. This group resolved to break away from the ANC and form a political party. On 6 April 1959 the PAC was formed at Orlando Community Hall in Soweto, led by Robert Mangaliso Sobukwe.

6 April 1966

Bouar Megaliths recognised

UNESCO placed the Bouar Megaliths in Central African Re-

THIS WEEK IN HISTORY

public on the list of potential World Heritage Sites. The megalithic zone covers an area 130 by 30 km and extends over an area of approximately 7500 km².

6 April 1979 Solomon Mahlangu executed

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

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 African 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 Tsutsis and moderate Hutus.

6 April 2022 Compare convicted for Sankara assassination

After a six month trial, and 35 years after the assassination of Burkina Faso leader and Pan African visionary - Thomas Sankara, the former Burkinabe President, Blaise Compaoré was given life sentence for his role in Sankara's death.

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



"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

WE REMEMBER
SOLOMON KALUSHI MAHLANGU
His selfless legacy lives on



THIS WEEK IN HISTORY

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 Manya- Maxeke

Charlotte Maxeke (maiden name Manye) was a South African woman who broke societal barriers throughout her life. She was born in South Africa on April 7, 1874



Women's League in 1918, which 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. 2021 was declared the Year of Charlotte Maxeke, in the year that commemorates 150 years since her birth.

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 the 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

THIS WEEK IN HISTORY

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.

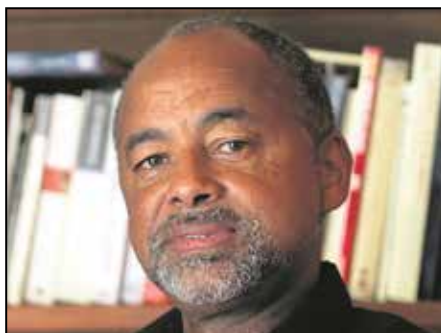
8 April 1905 Helen Joseph born



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 Mahbubia 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.

8 April 1954 Poet Vincent Olyphant born

Vincent Olyphant 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 vloeï 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

THIS WEEK IN HISTORY

oppressive symbols on campus, the statue 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 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.

In memory of Comrade
Chris Thembisile Hani
 10 April 2023

We pay homage to a true revolutionary and patriot whose fearless and selfless contribution to the struggle for liberation will remain indelible in our collective memory.

THIS WEEK IN HISTORY

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.

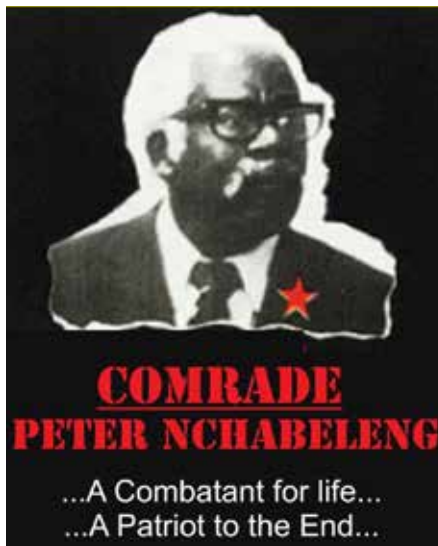
11 April 1942 Philosopher Paulin J Hountondji born

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: 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, El-leck 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.

12 April 1940 Health activist Dr Miriam K Were born

The Kenyan public health activist was born in Nairobi. Her grassroots level work towards achieving sustainable local health care has become an international example. A medical graduate from the University of Nairobi, she also

THIS WEEK IN HISTORY

has Masters and Doctor of Public Health from John Hopkins University. Her dream: "an Africa where every household has access to nearby Community Health Services that provide health-promoting, disease preventing and first-line curative services." Dr Kwere is also the Founder Chairperson of the Public Health Association of Kenya, later renamed Community Health Association of Kenya, with a long and illustrious career in medicine and public health, in Kenya, the African continent and international organisations.

12 April 1962

St Boniface school in Kimberley opened

St. Boniface school opened its doors in Galeshewe township, Kimberley and Edward Skosana became the first African teacher at the school.

12 April 1969

SA Tennis Open concludes without #1 ranked

The SA Opens concluded without the participation from World number 1 ranked, Arthur Ashe, because the apartheid government refused to issue black US tennis player a visa.

12 April 1969

Bafana captain Lucas Radebe born



Lucas Radebe, South Africa's celebrated soccer legend was born in Diepkloof, Soweto. At age of 15 his parents sent him to live and go to school in Bophuthatswana. Soccer became a favourite pastimes and his talent was soon spotted by Kaizer Chief Scouts, who signed him up. He went on to become a successful soccer player both locally and abroad. Radebe captained Bafana Bafana, Kaizer Chiefs and the UK's Leeds United. Radebe is the first South African to have captained two World Cup finals, these were in France in 1998 and South Korea and Japan in 2002. He received a Master of Social Science honoris causa from UCT for his humanitarian work with various educational, social and charitable initiatives in South Africa.

12 April 1991

ANC unveils constitutional guidelines

The ANC introduced its Constitutional Principles for a Democratic South Africa in Johannesburg, ahead of the start of the negotiation forum CODESA. Many of these principles were eventually enshrined in the In-

terim Constitution and later the 1996 Constitution, laying the basis for a democratic, non-racial and non-sexist South Africa.

12 April 2019

OR Tambo School of Leadership is launched

The ANC in many national conferences since 1990 resolved to form a national political school, but it only came to fruition when the OR Tambo School of Leadership was formally launched on 12 April 2019 by President Ramaphosa in Midrand, Gauteng. The programmes and courses of the ORTSL build on a rich tradition of political education in the ANC and mass democratic movement, adapting to new possibilities provided by technology. Increasingly, completion of the School courses are a prerequisite for all candidates standing for leadership and as public representatives in the ANC. Former ANC Secretary General and Deputy President, Cde Kgalema Motlanthe is the first chair of the broad of trustees of the OR Tambo School of Leadership, and NEC member David Masondo its first principal.

MYANC PLEDGE

ELECTIONS

INITIATIVE

ANC
A BETTER LIFE FOR ALL

TO PLEDGE

SCAN ME

OR GO TO

OR

SMS "ANC" TO

37057

to **PLEDGE R10**

44892

to **PLEDGE R20**

42053

to **PLEDGE R30**

PLEDGE FOR A DECISIVE VICTORY AND A BETTER LIFE FOR ALL!

www.anc1912.org.za/pledge

THIS WEEK IN HISTORY

during the last seven decades. It is also an opportunity to motivate action to tackle the health challenges of today – and tomorrow. The WHO this year celebrates 75 years since its founding.

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.

WORLD PARKINSON'S DISEASE DAY

Apr 11

A global event to increase awareness and understanding of Parkinson's disease and support individuals living with it.

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.

12 April

International Day of Human Space Flight

12 April 1961 was the date of the first human space flight, carried out by Yuri Gagarin, a Soviet citizen in the Vostok 1 spaceship. This opened the way for space exploration.



12 April



International Day of Pink

This day uses the color pink to raise awareness and fight against bullying, discrimination, homophobia, transphobia, and transmisogyny across the world.

"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

X-WORD

30 Years since **Rwanda Genocide** (1994-2024)



DOWN

1. Canadian UN peacekeeping chief warned about genocide.
3. International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda convicted this Taba mayor first.
5. Theme of annual Commemorations, meaning "Remember" in Kinyarwanda.
8. Main victims of the 1994 Genocide.
10. Rwanda was colonized by...
11. Belgium Journalist convicted for broadcasting incitement to genocide.
12. Hutu militia, meaning "those who attack together".
13. Capital city where mass killings started.

ACROSS

2. UN Security Council vote in April 1994 to withdraw peace keeping mission
4. Radio station inciting killing of Tsutsi, calling them 'cockroaches'.
6. Rwanda President killed in plane crash enroute from Arusha Peace talks.
7. Ethnic majority responsible for the Genocide.
9. UN Secretary General at the time.
14. 30th Commemoration theme: **Remember...-Renew.**
15. Moderate Hutu Prime Minister ... Uwilingiyimana killed during the Genocide.
16. OAU Secretary General at time of Genocide

WORD BANK

- Tutsi Hutu Belgium Habyarimana Interahamwe Kigali Agathe
 Roméo Dallaire Boutros Boutros-Ghali Salim Achmed Salim Jean-Paul Akayesu
 Georges Ruggiu Libre des Mille Collines Kwibuka Unite UNAMIR

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