



ANC TODAY

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Conversations with the **President**



IN THE WORLD OF TODAY, NO COUNTRY CAN GO IT ALONE

■ By **PRESIDENT CYRIL RAMAPHOSA**

LAST week, I led a South African delegation to the World Economic Forum (WEF) annual meeting in Davos, Switzerland. Every year in January thousands of leaders from government, business and other sectors gather in this town in the Alps to discuss the state of the global economy.

The South African delegation that arrived in Davos was upbeat, confident that we are overcoming the challenges that we face. Our democracy is thriving. Our energy challenges are now a story of opportunity.

This year, South Africa was invited to present its priorities for its G20 Presidency. In a plenary address and in a separate discussion with business leaders, we outlined our theme for

the G20 this year – Solidarity, Equality, Sustainable Development – and the focus areas through which we will give meaning to this theme.

We made the point that it is in the interests of all countries, large and small, wealthy and poor, to reduce global inequality. That is why one of our priorities is ensuring debt sustainability for low-income countries.

By freeing up funds for debt relief in these countries, they will be in a better position to invest in infrastructure, industrial development, education, health care and other forms of development.

Another focus area, which both reduces poverty and promotes sustainability, is the mobilisa-

tion of finance for a just energy transition. Through this, developing economy countries will be able to pursue a low-carbon development path while protecting the interests of affected workers, businesses and communities. Related to this is another focus area: the mobilisation of special financing and insurance to enable vulnerable countries to rebuild after being struck by natural disasters.

The fourth focus area is to harness critical minerals, which are abundant in Africa and other countries of the Global South, to promote inclusive growth and development. We are proposing a G20 framework on 'green' industrialisation so that countries endowed with these resources must be the ones that benefit most.

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We stressed that our themes and priorities are underpinned by the principle of cooperation. Throughout history, human progress has been possible only through collaboration among peoples and countries. We therefore renewed our call for the resolution of global challenges through multilateral actions. We called for inclusive solutions that recognise that the world is more interconnected than ever before.

Cooperation is vital if we are to overcome the existential threat of climate change. Carbon emissions into the atmosphere, global warming and the extreme weather events that it causes do not recognise national boundaries or political systems. Although the poor are most vulnerable, the effects of climate change threaten everyone.

As we saw during the Covid pandemic, the same is true of pandemics and other health emergencies. Conflict in one part of the world impacts on

countries in other parts of the world. Trade wars, especially between large economies, weakens the global economy and holds back inclusive growth and development for all.

In the world of today, no country can go it alone. No country can sustain its growth, stability and development without working together with other countries to overcome common problems.

South Africa's message resonated with the participants in Davos. It was a sentiment shared by many of the business leaders with whom we interacted, as well as with other heads of state and multilateral institutions.

Many of the people we spoke to endorsed South Africa's G20 priorities. They saw the value of our focus on Africa and the interests of countries with developing economies. They appreciated the importance of reducing inequality within and between countries and the need for new growth paths that

are climate-friendly sustainable.

We also noticed a much improved sentiment towards South Africa and the prospects for our economy in the years ahead. They commented on the successful transition from the 6th to the 7th administrations and the formation of the Government of National Unity. They saw this as a sign of stability and a common commitment among parties to inclusive growth, employment and a capable state. They welcomed the far-reaching reforms that are underway in areas such as energy, logistics, telecommunications and water to grow and transform our economy.

The South African delegation left Davos with a sense that there are many leaders in the world that share our vision of an inclusive, just and equal world. And that they are prepared and willing to work with us through our G20 Presidency towards the achievement of such a world.

STATEMENT BY THE ANC SECRETARY GENERAL FIKILE MBALULA ON THE **OUTCOMES OF THE ANC NATIONAL LEKGOTLA**

THE African National Congress (ANC) emerges from this past weekend's National Lekgotla as a unified, disciplined, and forward-looking organisation, resolutely focused on responding to the challenges facing the people of South Africa. This NEC Lekgotla, which brought together ANC, SACP, COSATU and SANCO leaders, including cadres, and activists of the Mass Democratic Movement, reaffirmed our movement's commitment to its historic mission: advancing the aspirations of the people and realising the promise of a democratic, just, and inclusive South Africa.

The deliberations were robust, reflective, and thoughtful, drawing on critical lessons from the past while charting a course for the future. The ANC is a resilient organisation, firmly rooted in the understanding that our struggle for a better South Africa is a work in progress, and we are resolute in our efforts to address the economic, social, and political challenges we face.

The Lekgotla endorsed a series of specific resolutions, each one rooted in the lived experiences of our people and designed to address the most pressing issues



of the day. We are determined to ensure that the ANC remains a responsive, people-centred movement that is in touch with the realities of South Africans on the ground.

The Lekgotla highlighted the importance of unity and cohesion, for we understand that only a united ANC and its Alliance partners, will be able to effectively implement the resolutions we have adopted. A cohesive ANC, firmly grounded in the values and principles of the Freedom Charter, will be the driving force behind the transformation that our country so desperately needs.

ANC Renewal: Strengthening Our Movement

The ANC has entered a critical phase of renewal, one that is focused on revitalising the organisation and ensuring that it remains rooted in the people's struggles and aspirations. Central to this renewal is a commitment to rebuilding the ANC as a united, ethical and disciplined organisation capable of meeting the challenges of our time. The Lekgotla highlighted several key resolutions aimed at strengthening the movement, with a focus on expanding membership, deepening political education, and ensuring

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that the ANC remains a home for all South Africans, especially the working class, poor and marginalised.

One of the key decisions during the Lekgotla was the emphasis on raising the quality of ANC leadership and membership, expanding our presence especially among the youth, professionals and workers, who remain vital to the movement's future. The ANC has committed to campaigns to recruit and retain members who are committed to the vision, mission and values of the movement.

This will not only ensure that the ANC continues to have a broad base of support, but also that it remains a dynamic organisation that can effectively respond to the changing needs and concerns of the people. The ANC will invest in campaigns that attract new members and provide platforms for dialogue, debate, and unity within the movement.

Political education remains a central pillar of ANC renewal. The Lekgotla resolved to place renewed emphasis on the ongoing education and ideological development of all members. The ANC recognises that a strong, ideologically grounded movement is essential for navigating the complexities of the modern

political and social landscape.

Therefore, the ANC will prioritise political education that engages with the contemporary issues affecting South Africans, including economic transformation, social justice, and governance. The ANC will also strengthen the development of cadres who are well-versed in the ANC's history, principles, and mission, ensuring that all members are equipped to defend and advance the movement's goals.

This commitment to ideological clarity will ensure that the ANC remains a relevant force for transformation in South African politics, unafraid to confront difficult questions and offer solutions that are in the best interest of the people.

ANC renewal is about more than just expanding membership or engaging in political education; it is about creating an organisation that is intellectually rigorous, accountable, and ready to confront the challenges of today with the same courage and vision that guided the movement's founders. Through these efforts, the ANC will continue to be the leader of society, advocating for the transformation of South Africa into a just, democratic, and prosperous society for all.

Commitment to Energy Security and Infrastructure Development

One of the key resolutions from this Lekgotla is the urgent need to accelerate energy security, starting with the stabilisation of Eskom. We welcome the work achieved thus far to stabilise energy availability with over 300 days of uninterrupted supply of electricity. We once more thank the team of patriotic South Africans, working at Eskom for their dedication in resolving this issue under the leadership of the Minister of Energy and Electricity. The ANC has committed to a bold plan to address the energy availability, including expediting the rollout of renewable energy as part of a just energy transition.

Eskom's challenges are being resolved, and will contribute to economic recovery, industrialisation, and job creation. We welcome the work being done with local government and ESKOM, to resolve the challenges of debt and load-reductions.

In addition to energy security, the Lekgotla stressed the importance of addressing infrastructure backlogs in critical areas such as water, sanitation, and transportation (roads and rail). We resolved to prioritise investments in these sectors, particularly in rural and

underserved communities, where many people still lack access to basic services.

A dedicated task team in government, will oversee the development and maintenance of water resource systems to ensure that all communities have access to clean and potable water. The existence of water-tank mafias, illegal connections and vandalising of infrastructure must be tackled without any reservation.

This will also include tackling the inefficiencies and corruption that often delay service delivery. The ANC understands that infrastructure is a vital pillar of economic growth, and we are committed to ensuring that all South Africans, regardless of where they live, have access to the services they need.

Economic Transformation and Fighting Unemployment

Economic transformation remains a key focus area of the ANC Makgotla. Lekgotla deliberations centred around the issues of consolidating the mass employment programmes, financial sector transformation, the digital economy and the new industrial policy approach.

We have a range of Public Employment Programmes, such as the EPWP, CWP, youth service, amongst others, but these are disjointed and not making the full impact required given the unemployment crisis we face. The lekgotla therefore received a report on the review of all these programmes, with a view to consolidate into an overall nation-wide and multi sectoral mass employment programme, that has scale and impact.

The Lekgotla reaffirmed our commitment to an inclusive economy,

where economic opportunities are accessible to all, particularly the youth, women, and rural communities who have historically been excluded from meaningful economic participation.

The ANC is committed to creating an economy that works for all citizens, with a focus on job creation and industrialisation in key sectors such as agriculture, manufacturing, construction, mineral beneficiation, digital economy and the green economy.

We are also focusing on reducing youth unemployment by introducing targeted skills development programmes, ensuring that young people are equipped with the skills needed to thrive in a rapidly changing global economy. Young people have an advantage in the digital age, and we will ensure that our education

and skills provide them with the skills for the digital economy, as well as continue to reduce the cost of data and bridging the digital divide.

Our economic vision also includes supporting Small, Medium, and Micro-sized Enterprises (SMMEs). The ANC understands that these businesses are the backbone of the economy, and we are committed to creating an enabling environment for them to thrive. Through targeted support, including access to finance, training, and markets, we will empower SMMEs to create jobs and contribute to South Africa's economic growth.

The resolution to focus on economic empowerment, particularly for women and youth, will create a fairer and more equitable economy for all South Africans. A

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ECONOMIC TRANSFORMATION AND FIGHTING UNEMPLOYMENT

- 1. Tackling Unemployment:** The ANC will continue to prioritize creating sustainable jobs, expanding public employment programs like the Presidential Employment Stimulus, and empowering youth, women, and rural communities through ongoing targeted initiatives and skills development.
- 2. Inclusive Economy:** we are committed to building an economy accessible to all, focusing on industrialization in sectors like agriculture, manufacturing, construction, mineral beneficiation, and the green economy.
- 3. Youth Empowerment:** We aim to address youth unemployment through targeted skills development programs to equip young people for the evolving global economy.
- 4. Supporting SMMEs:** Recognizing small businesses as the backbone of the economy, the ANC will enhance access to finance, training, and markets to empower SMMEs to create jobs and drive economic growth.
- 5. Economic Equity:** The ANC's vision includes economic empowerment for women and youth to create a fairer, more inclusive, and equitable economy for all South Africans.

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number of laws to facilitate SME development, such as the National Small Enterprise Amendment Act and the Public Procurement Act have been enacted, and there is a strengthened legal framework to advance SMMs, cooperatives and the township and village economy.

The Lekgotla also welcomed the ascending into law of the Expropriation Act, which will be utilised to ensure security of tenure, accelerate land claims along with the now full-time Land Claims Court and speeding up land redistribution for agriculture and housing.

Revitalising Public Transport and PRASA: Rebuilding Rail Networks and Logistics

A major focus of the Lekgotla was the urgent need to revitalise South Africa's public transport systems, particularly the rail network. The Passenger Rail Agency of South Africa (PRASA) is a key player in ensuring affordable, reliable, and efficient public transport, especially for working-class South Africans who rely on trains to get to work. The ANC acknowledges the deep challenges that PRASA faces, including infrastructure decay, financial mismanagement, and security concerns that have hampered its service delivery.

In response, the Lekgotla adopted a resolution to rebuild South Africa's rail network, with a clear focus on modernising rail infrastructure, improving operational efficiency, and enhancing the security of commuters.

We have resolved to prioritise significant investments into PRASA and other key public transport projects, particularly the rehabilitation of rail infrastructure



across the country. This includes improving station facilities, and enhancing security measures to ensure the safety of passengers. Furthermore, work must be done to engage with all relevant stakeholders to ensure that the rail network can integrate effectively into the broader logistics and transportation framework of South Africa, enhancing connectivity between rural and urban areas and improving the overall functioning of the economy.

The ANC's broader approach to transport reform includes addressing the inefficiencies in the logistics sector. We recognise that an efficient and well-integrated logistics system is crucial for economic growth, reducing transportation costs for businesses, and improving competitiveness in both local and global markets. The Lekgotla emphasised the need for government to work with private sector partners to address key bottlenecks in South Africa's transport and logistics networks, ensuring that goods are moved efficiently, reliably, and at a reduced cost.

Strengthening Local Government for Better Service Delivery

The ANC Lekgotla recognised the critical role that local government plays in the lives of South Africans. The effectiveness of

municipalities in delivering services such as water, sanitation, and housing is fundamental to improving the quality of life for all citizens. However, many municipalities are struggling with inefficiency, corruption, and a lack of capacity. In response, the ANC has adopted a series of resolutions aimed at strengthening local government and improving service delivery.

Our local government team will strengthen its work with municipalities to address service delivery backlogs and ensure that citizens in all areas, especially rural and underserved regions, receive the services they need. This will include improving the governance and management of municipalities, ensuring that officials are held accountable for service delivery failures, and making sure that resources are used efficiently. The ANC is committed to increasing the capacity of municipalities, through the District Development Model to deliver quality services and ensuring that municipalities have the necessary resources, systems, and personnel in place to function effectively.

The ANC Lekgotla also resolved to invest in the political and administrative leadership at the local government level. By focusing on building the leadership capac-

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ity of local government officials, we will ensure that municipalities are better equipped to address the needs of their communities. Stronger leadership and effective governance at the local level will improve service delivery and contribute to the overall goal of creating a better South Africa for all. The Lekgotla also welcomes the process of review of the local architecture and the funding model.

Investing in People: Education, Health, and Research Development

Investing in the education, health, and well-being of our people, alongside research and development, remains central to the ANC's vision for national development and economic growth. The ANC is committed to ensuring that every South African has access to quality education and healthcare, and that our research and development efforts drive innovation and sustainable progress.

We reaffirm our commitment to the National Development Plan (NDP) target of Gross Expenditure in Research and Development (GERD) reaching 1.1% of GDP, with contributions from state-owned enterprises, the public sector, and private entities. This focus on research and development will be vital for building a competitive, knowledge-driven economy that can create sustainable jobs and respond to the complex challenges we face.

In line with the ANC Manifesto, we will prioritise Early Childhood Development (ECD) as a foundation for lifelong learning. The ANC believes that investing in ECD is one of the most effective ways to break the cycle of poverty and ensure that every child has the opportunity to succeed.

We will also continue to focus on improving the quality of learning and teaching in public schools, with an emphasis on expanding bilingual education in mother tongues to ensure better outcomes for learners across the country. Furthermore, the ANC remains dedicated to improving school infrastructure, especially in rural and under-resourced areas, to ensure that every student has access to a safe, conducive learning environment. These are fundamental building blocks for producing skilled, capable citizens who can contribute to the growth and prosperity of our nation.

The Post-School Education and Training (PSET) sector will be a key driver of our human capital development agenda. The ANC is committed to expanding opportunities for post-school education, as outlined in the latest

National Skills Plan (2024). To this end, we will accelerate the expansion of Technical and Vocational Education and Training (TVET) institutions to meet the NDP target of 2.5 million places.

We will ensure that the curriculum offerings at these institutions align with the needs of the economy, focusing on sectors that can drive growth, such as renewable energy, agriculture, and information technology. The ANC also acknowledges the need to address critical issues such as the National Student Financial Aid Scheme (NSFAS) funding, the availability of student accommodation, and the challenge of graduate unemployment, particularly in the health sector.

These issues will be tackled head-on to ensure that more young people, especially those from



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INVESTING IN PEOPLE: EDUCATION, HEALTH, AND RESEARCH DEVELOPMENT

- 1. Education Transformation:** The ANC is committed to strengthening Early Childhood Development, improving public schools, expanding TVET opportunities, and addressing funding challenges like NSFAS to ensure equitable access to education and reduce graduate unemployment.
- 2. Driving Innovation:** Achieving the NDP target of 1.1% GDP investment in research and development will position South Africa as a knowledge-based economy, driving innovation and sustainable job creation.
- 3. Healthcare for All:** The implementation of NHI remains a top priority to provide universal access to quality healthcare. Focus areas include improving infrastructure, addressing HIV and teenage pregnancies, and empowering youth through health education.
- 4. Inclusive Education Reform:** The ANC fully supports the BELA Act to strengthen school governance, promote inclusivity for learners with disabilities, and ensure every child's right to quality education is upheld.
- 5. Commitment to Prosperity:** By investing in education, healthcare, and innovation, the ANC reaffirms its commitment to building a fair and prosperous future for all South Africans.



disadvantaged backgrounds, can access higher education and enter the workforce with the skills they need.

In the area of health, the implementation of the National Health Insurance (NHI) remains a priority. We are committed to building a more inclusive and equitable healthcare system that provides universal access to quality care for all South Africans. This year, we will focus on improving public health infrastructure, tackling HIV and TB, and addressing the challenges within the healthcare workforce.

Of particular concern is the alarming increase in HIV infections among young people, particularly adolescent girls, and the troubling rise in teenage pregnancies. The ANC has resolved to prioritise education campaigns that promote safe sexual practices and health literacy, alongside providing better access to sexual and reproductive health services. We will ensure that interventions are designed to empower young people to make informed choices, and we will work with communities to combat the social and economic factors that contribute to these issues.

The Basic Education Laws Amendment (BELA) Act, which seeks to provide a more inclusive, fair, and accountable education system,

was also highlighted during the Lekgotla as a key tool for advancing educational transformation. The BELA Act aims to strengthen governance in schools, promote inclusivity for learners with disabilities, and ensure that every child's right to quality education is upheld. The ANC will continue to push for the full implementation of this Act, ensuring that it achieves its intended outcomes.

The ANC reaffirms that investment in people is the cornerstone of the nation's future prosperity. By prioritising quality education, accessible healthcare, and a robust research and development framework, we will build a society where every citizen can realise their full potential. Our commitment to these goals is unwavering, and we will work tirelessly to ensure that the youth, women, and all South Africans benefit from these transformative investments.

Condolences to the Families of Fallen SANDF Soldiers in the DRC

The ANC extends its deepest condolences to the families of the SANDF soldiers who tragically lost their lives in the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) as part of the UN Mission deployed in the eastern DRC. These brave men and women paid the ultimate price in their service to

peace and security on the African continent.

The ANC salutes their courage, dedication, and sacrifice in the fight for peace and stability. Our thoughts and prayers are with their families during this difficult time, and we wish a swift recovery to those injured in the attack. As a nation, we stand together in support of the SANDF and the families who have lost loved ones in this tragic incident.

In line with UN and African Union resolutions and protocols on peacekeeping, we call on the UN Security Council to act on the attacks against UN peacekeepers, and the violation of the fundamental principles of sovereignty and territorial integrity enshrined in the UN Charter.

Fight against crime, corruption and GBVF

The Lekgotla noted that the South African peace and stability environment is facing a challenging period characterised by the threats of crime, terrorism, and illegal migration, worsened by the scourge of corruption and inefficiencies across government departments and state-owned agencies. The scourge of Gender Based Violence and Femicide (GBVF) continues to persist in the South African landscape.

- **Reform, integrate and modernise the Criminal Justice System (CJS):** Capacitate all role players within criminal justice value chain through Human Resources & system integration
- **Effective border management mechanism:** Invest in technology and modernise border management work

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through introduction of biometric systems, including Electronic Traveller Authorisation.

- **Secure the cyberspace:** Invest in the development of key legislative platforms, institutional establishment and capacity building in partnership with private sector role players.
- **Increased safety in the communities, particularly for women and children:** Robustly implement the Integrated Crime and Violence Prevention Strategy (ICVPS) across all communities and develop an accountability matrix across all clusters,
- **Combat priority offences such as economic, commercial, organised crime and corruption:** Effectively synchronise investigative and prosecutorial efforts in addressing all priority offences and ensure the protection of whistleblowers.

International Relations and Solidarity

As South Africa continues to solidify its role as a global leader, the ANC affirms its strong commitment to the country's G20 Presidency. The G20 platform provides South Africa with an unparalleled opportunity to advocate for the interests of the Global South, particularly in addressing issues such as climate change, sustainable development, and equitable global economic governance. South Africa will use its G20 Presidency to advance initiatives that promote multilateralism, global cooperation, and inclusive economic growth, particularly in the areas of financ-

ing for development and poverty eradication.

The ANC remains steadfast in its support for BRICS, which continues to be a critical pillar of South Africa's foreign policy. BRICS provides an important platform for emerging economies to reshape global governance systems in ways that reflect the realities of a multipolar world.

The ANC will continue to work within BRICS to promote a fairer global order, where the voices of the Global South are heard and respected. Our continued partnership with BRICS nations will be a driving force in advocating for the reform of international institutions like the United Nations Security Council and the International Monetary Fund (IMF), ensuring that these bodies better reflect the interests of developing nations.

Looking ahead, the ANC will further engage in initiatives that strengthen South Africa's role in international affairs. This includes hosting the Liberation Movements Summit in 2025 and commemorating the 70th anniversary of the Bandung Conference. We remain committed to advancing South-South cooperation, strengthening Africa's presence on the global stage, and building alliances that support peace, prosperity, and shared development. South Africa's strategic positioning within both the G20 and BRICS will play a crucial role in shaping the future of global politics and economics.

Battle of Ideas: Ensuring a Transformative Agenda for All South Africans

The ANC's battle of ideas is about ensuring that the movement's

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INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS AND SOLIDARITY

- 1. G20 Presidency:** The ANC reaffirms its strong commitment to South Africa's G20 Presidency, leveraging this platform to champion the interests of the Global South in climate change, sustainable development, and equitable global economic governance. The focus will be on advancing multilateralism, inclusive growth, and poverty eradication.
- 2. Support for BRICS:** BRICS remains a cornerstone of South Africa's foreign policy. The ANC will use this platform to promote a fair global order, amplify the voices of the Global South, and advocate for the reform of institutions like the UN Security Council and IMF to reflect the interests of developing nations.
- 3. Strengthening Global Leadership:** The ANC will lead key initiatives, including hosting the Liberation Movements Summit in 2025 and marking the 70th anniversary of the Bandung Conference, to enhance South-South cooperation and Africa's global influence.
- 4. Vision for Global Governance:** South Africa's leadership in the G20 and BRICS positions the nation as a driving force in reshaping global politics and economics, fostering peace, prosperity, and shared development on the world stage.



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transformative agenda is understood by society and embraced by all sectors, from the poor and working class to the youth and the middle class. At the core of this battle is the need for the ANC to be a movement that speaks to the aspirations of all South Africans, particularly those who have historically been marginalised.

The Lekgotla emphasised that the ANC must clearly articulate how its policies and actions will uplift all South Africans and how each section of society, including the youth, workers, and the middle class, can see their dreams and aspirations reflected in the ANC's work.

A central focus of this battle is ensuring that the poor, the youth, and the working class are actively engaged in the ANC's vision for economic transformation, job creation, and access to quality services. The ANC remains committed to advancing the economic and social interests of these groups, ensuring that they not only have a voice in the movement but that their needs are met through concrete action.

The Lekgotla resolved that the ANC would prioritize policies that address inequality, poverty, and unemployment while focusing on building an economy that works for all, including youth employment initiatives and support for small businesses.

Equally important in the battle of ideas is the need for an impartial and responsible media sector. The ANC acknowledges the critical role of the media in shaping public discourse and influencing societal change. However, the movement also recognises the challenges posed by biased media narratives and sensation-



alised reporting that often prioritises gossip over facts.

The Lekgotla resolved that the ANC would work towards ensuring that the media serves as a platform for factual, evidence-based reporting that reflects the true progress being made in society. This includes challenging biased portrayals and promoting the accurate representation of the ANC's transformative agenda, as well as highlighting the voices and concerns of ordinary South Africans in a fair and balanced manner.

In advancing this battle of ideas, the ANC will continue to engage with different sectors of society and media organisations to foster a deeper understanding of its policies, strategies, and objectives. It is through these efforts that the ANC will continue to build a stronger, more inclusive South Africa where every citizen can see themselves in the vision of the country's future.

Building a South Africa that belongs to all through National Dialogue

Implement the programme and roadmap announced by President Ramaphosa in December by placing the people at the centre of the process.

It supports the holding of an inclusive, democratic and representative process that encourages full participation, following the tradition of the Freedom Charter and negotiations for a democratically agreed constitution.

The process must reignite hope and citizen's participation on issues that matter most to the people. Among the areas that should be discussed are:

- The economy and jobs.
- Poverty, Inequality and hunger.
- Governance.
- Crime and lawlessness.
- Nation building and social cohesion.
- Advancing constitutional rights and principles.
- Participatory democracy and an active citizenry.
- Land reform.

The ANC should work with the Alliance, MDM and progressive civil society to participate in a meaningful and coherent way and build consensus on key issues.

Reflection on the 70th Anniversary of the Freedom Charter

Finally, the Lekgotla reflected on the 70th anniversary of the Freedom Charter, a seminal moment in our history that serves as a reminder of the vision of a free, non-racial, democratic, and prosperous South Africa. This milestone provides us with an opportunity to reflect on our progress, recommit to the ideals set out by the people in 1955, and galvanise efforts towards realising those goals. As we look to the future, the ANC remains resolute in its commitment to building a South Africa that belongs to all, rooted in equality, justice, and human dignity.



The value of Gauteng's participation at the World Economic Forum

■ By **LEBOGANG MAILE**

THE Gauteng Provincial Government (GPG) attended the World Economic Forum (WEF) in Davos on the 20th to the 24th January, with a delegation led by the MEC for Finance and Economic Development, alongside two key entities of the Gauteng Department of Economic Development, namely the Gauteng Growth and Development Agency (GGDA) and the Gauteng Tourism Authority (GTA). The WEF provided us with an opportunity to assert the place of the Gauteng Province in the global economy.

I participated in various panel discussions and seminars. One of the key panels included one on regional economic development strategies and the role in enhancing food security, which fell under the broader thematic priority of Safeguarding the Global Agricultural Sector and Food Security. This was a particularly important discussion at the WEF given glob-

al food security challenges confronting both developed and developing countries. So significant is the issue of hunger that at the G20 Summit in Brazil in November 2024, Brazil's G20 presidency under President Luiz Inacio Lula da Silva launched the Global Alliance Against Hunger and Poverty, which aims to establish a glob-

al alliance to gather funds and knowledge towards the implementation of public policies and social technologies proven effective in reducing global hunger and poverty. It was thus significant that Gauteng lead this discussion.

Despite its small size, Gauteng is a significant contributor to food



security and agricultural innovation in South Africa, accounting for 20% of the nation's agricultural output. The province directly employs 188 000 individuals in formal roles, representing 4.7% of Gauteng's formal employment, and supports an additional 498 000 informal jobs in retail, catering, and small-scale agriculture. In 2021, Gauteng exported R62 billion worth of agricultural goods, comprising 5% of provincial exports, while its companies accounted for 31% of South Africa's agricultural investments, attracting foreign direct investment in agro-processing and biotechnology. As a leader in agro-processing, Gauteng produces 33% of South Africa's output in this sector, excelling in food, beverages, textiles, and wood products. Its comparative advantage in agro-processing products contributes to 88.4% of its exports in the sector.

The province is also advancing precision agriculture and climate-resilient farming technologies, creating pathways for sustainable growth. Opportunities for further development include reducing reliance on non-African countries for agricultural inputs, meeting growing regional demand for agro-processing equipment, and strengthening integration into global agricultural value chains. Through its strategic contributions, Gauteng plays a vital role in enhancing both national and regional food security.

The MEC-led delegation at the WEF in Davos also outlined the role of Gauteng in economic transformation in South Africa and the broader African continent. At the core of our message on economic transformation is the value of strengthening and investing in the township economy.



The township economy in South Africa generates approximately R200 billion annually. Over the past few years, the GPG has invested significantly in the development of the township economy. This investment has taken the form of legislative instruments, financial and non-financial support as well as programmes.

The Township Economic Development Act (TEDA), which was passed in 2022 and is currently under review, has remained a critical instrument in the development of township enterprises both qualitatively and quantitatively. Through the Township Enterprise Fund (TEF), as well as other mechanisms including linking Gauteng township manufacturing enterprises to the Black Industrialist Fund (BIF), over R1 billion has been invested in the township economy. With regard to the BIF, which aims to strengthen the productive capacity of township enterprises, approximately R1 billion has been spent by the Industrial Development Corporation (IDC) on Gauteng township entities.

The township economy will be elevated to global importance in South Africa's G20 presidency. President Ramaphosa has an-

nounced that South Africa's G20 Presidency will pursue progress on cross-cutting issues through the establishment of three dedicated task forces. He also stated that South Africa intends to support the creation of a new engagement group, Township20 (TS20), to spotlight the potential of South Africa's township economies. This will highlight the creative, cultural, financial and innovative capacities that South Africa has to give when it comes to small and medium enterprises as well as cooperatives and how these operate in rural areas as well as townships where our people live. The Gauteng Province will be at the forefront of the work of the TS20.

Beyond this, Gauteng, as South Africa's economic engine, is poised to play a critical role in advancing regional integration and achieving the continent's economic aspirations. With South Africa's gross domestic product (GDP) at US\$400 billion in 2023, Gauteng's ambitious efforts can catalyse the country's growth trajectory toward the \$1 trillion milestone. The Gauteng Province, through initiatives like the African Continental Free Trade Area (AfCFTA), stands at the threshold of transformative economic change. The continent, with its vast potential, youthful population, and abundant resources, has the opportunity to redefine its place in the global economy. At the heart of this transformation lies Gauteng, South Africa's economic powerhouse, playing a pivotal role in shaping a prosperous future, as well as SADC.

Lebogang Maile is the Gauteng MEC for Finance and Economic Development and a member of the ANC Gauteng PEC.

Building Stronger Partnerships Between Development Agencies and Operation Vulindlela

■ By **NONCEBA MHLAULI**

IN South Africa, the drive for sustainable economic growth and social development requires innovative collaborations between various stakeholders. Development agencies, such as Enterprise iLembe, play a pivotal role in fostering local economic development. Simultaneously, **Operation Vulindlela**, as a government-led initiative to fast-track structural reforms, has become a critical enabler of broader economic progress. By working together, these entities can create a synergy that amplifies their collective impact.

Understanding the Roles

Enterprise iLembe focuses on regional development by promoting investment, supporting small and medium enterprises (SMEs), and driving initiatives in key sectors like agriculture, tourism, and manufacturing. Its grassroots approach ensures that development efforts are tailored to local needs, creating jobs and addressing community-specific challenges.

On the other hand, Operation Vulindlela targets systemic reforms to unblock barriers to economic growth. From energy



security and water resource management to transport infrastructure and digital transformation, this initiative lays the groundwork for a more efficient and competitive economy.

The Case for Collaboration

The goals of Enterprise iLembe and Operation Vulindlela are inherently complementary.

While Enterprise iLembe operates at the micro level, driving projects that directly impact communities, Operation Vulindlela provides the macro-level reforms needed to create an enabling environment for these projects to thrive.

For instance:

1. **Infrastructure Development:** Operation Vulindlela's focus on improving transport and energy infrastructure aligns with the needs of businesses supported by Enterprise iLembe. Collaboration could ensure that infrastructure projects prioritize regions with high economic potential, boosting local industries.
2. **Policy Alignment:** Enterprise iLembe's insights into local challenges can inform the policy reforms championed by Operation Vulindlela. This two-way dialogue ensures that reforms are not only impactful but also practical and

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Screenshot of Enterprise iLembe investment video

involve private stakeholders to leverage investment and innovation, particularly in sectors like renewable energy and digital services.

Conclusion

By forging a closer relationship, Enterprise iLembe and Operation Vulindlela can bridge the gap between national reform agendas and local development needs. This partnership represents a unique opportunity to not only unlock South Africa's economic potential but also ensure that growth is inclusive and sustainable. Together, they can pave the way for a future where systemic change meets community-driven progress, creating lasting benefits for all South Africans.

By working together, development agencies such as Enterprise iLembe can compliment Operation Vulindlela well and create a more prosperous and inclusive future for the iLembe District and South Africa as a whole.

Nonceba Mhluli is Deputy Minister in the Presidency and a Member of the ANC National Executive Committee (NEC).

implementable at the ground level.

3. **Resource Mobilization:** By working together, these entities can pool resources – financial, technical, and human – to scale impactful projects. For example, Enterprise iLembe's agriculture initiatives could benefit from Vulindlela's work in securing water infrastructure.

- where representatives from both entities meet regularly can enhance coordination and information sharing.
2. **Co-Design Projects:** Collaborative planning of initiatives ensures that local projects align with national priorities, making them eligible for broader support and funding.
3. **Monitor and Evaluate Impact:** Joint monitoring frameworks can help measure the effectiveness of collaborative efforts and identify areas for improvement.
4. **Engage the Private Sector:** Partnerships should also in-

Practical Steps for Partnership

1. **Establish Joint Commitments:** Creating platforms

FIVE DESIRED OUTCOMES OF OPERATION VULINDLELA AS PART OF THE ECONOMIC RECONSTRUCTION AND RECOVERY PLAN

1

Supply of electricity stabilised

3

Sustainable water supply to meet demand

5

A visa regime that attracts skills and grows tourism

2

Reduced cost and increased quality of digital communications

4

Competitive and efficient freight transport

Understanding the Expropriation Act: Debunking myths and fear-mongering

■ By **CRISPIN PHIRI**

THE recent response to President Ramaphosa's asserting to the Expropriation Act has sparked significant debate.

Critics have expressed concerns, suggesting it may lead to reckless land grabs and an erosion of property rights. Some have framed this as a land seizure law.

Potential for Land Grabs

Critics argue that the Act could enable the government to arbitrarily seize land without compensation, leading to uncertainty and instability in property ownership. They fear that this could deter investment and harm the economy.

The Act contains specific provisions and procedural requirements that prevent arbitrary expropriation. For instance, the Act lists five conditions under which compensation may be nil, ensuring that expropriation is justified and not conducted recklessly.

These conditions include:

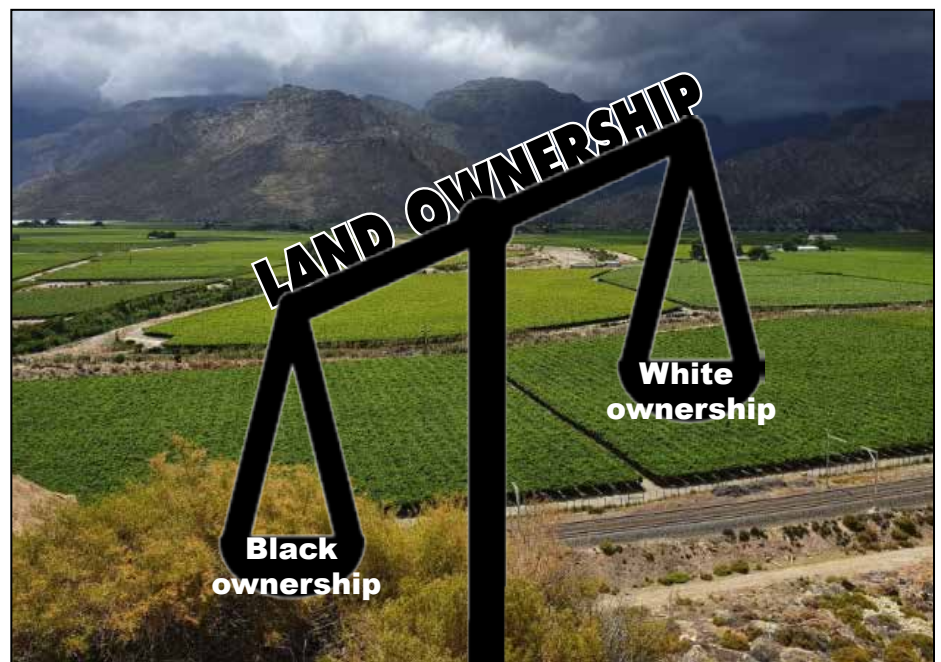
1. Where the land is not being used, and the owner's main purpose is not to develop the land or use it to generate income.

2. Where an organ of state holds land that it is not using for its core functions and is not reasonably likely to require the land for its future activities in that regard, and the organ of state acquired the land for no consideration.
3. Where an owner has abandoned the land by failing to exercise control over it.
4. Where the market value of the land is equivalent to or less than the present value of direct state investment or subsidy in the acquisition and beneficial capital improvement of the land.

5. When the nature or condition of the property poses a health, safety, or physical risk to persons or other property. These conditions ensure that expropriation is done in the public interest and not for arbitrary reasons.

Erosion of Property Rights

Critics also contend that the Act erodes property rights, undermining the security of ownership. The Act reinforces the application of Section 25 of the Constitution, which protects property rights. The procedural requirements,



such as publishing notices and verification processes, ensure transparency and accountability in expropriation.

Property rights are not undermined; rather, the Act provides a framework for the state to address public interest issues, such as urban decay, just and equitable land reform and safety hazards, which are currently difficult to manage under existing laws.

Negative Economic Impact

Another concern is the potential negative economic impact, with critics suggesting that expropriation without compensation could lead to decreased property values and reduced investor confidence.

The Act aims to address specific situations where land is under-utilised, abandoned, or poses risks.

By targeting such properties, the Act can contribute to urban renewal and improve public safety, potentially enhancing property values and investor confidence in the long run.

Additionally, similar expropriation laws in other countries, like eminent domain in the United States, have not led to widespread economic decline, demonstrating that with proper implementation and safeguards, the Act can be beneficial.

Expropriation, or eminent domain as it is known in other countries like the United States, is not a new concept. While the issue of compensation may be debatable, it remains a secondary argument. If one receives an expropriation notice, it is necessary to respond to the expropriation authority within 20 days indicating their re-



sponse. This is inconsistent with the notion of a land grab or land seizures.

Those who assert that the new Expropriation Act will enable land seizures or land grabs often do so without referring to the actual text of the legislation.

This narrative may serve political interests but does not reflect the Act's intention or impact. It is also quite evident that a just and equitable approach to land reform is required. There have been instances where the land reform process has cost the State very high "market prices".

It is worth noting that there is existing precedent in International law which the Constitutional court obliges us to consider when interpreting legislation.

The European court has found that expropriation without compensation is justified under exceptional cases. In the CASE OF JAMES AND OTHERS v. THE UNITED KINGDOM the same court held legitimate objectives of "public interest", such as pursued in measures of economic reform or measures designed to achieve greater social justice, may call for less than reimbursement of the full market value. Our expropriation act echoes the very same ethos. Secondly the notion of no compensation for a legitimate

government action is well settled

In conclusion, far from being a reckless land grab, it aims to address specific issues such as underutilised land, urban decay, and public safety hazards.

By reinforcing property rights and implementing safeguards, the Act has the potential to contribute positively to urban renewal and economic stability. It is crucial to move beyond fear-mongering and political narratives to understand the Act's true impact and benefits.

In any event compensation for land reform process is not a constitutional requirement in fact the Constitutional court has made it clear that section 25 does not exist in a vacuum in the matter of *AgriSA v Minister of Minerals and Energy*

former Chief Justice Moeng held *"We must interpret section 25 with due regard to the gross inequality in relation to wealth and land distribution in this country."* All things carefully considered fear-mongering over the Expropriation Act is unwarranted. South Africa belongs to all who live in it.

Chrispin Phiri is the spokesperson for the Minister of International Relations and Co-operation. He writes in his personal capacity.

ADDRESSING APARTHEID'S INEFFICIENCIES IN TRANSPORT PLANNING

■ By **SEPHOKA DAVID SEKGOBELA**

THE role of transport in socio-economic wellbeing of the people cannot be overemphasized. Public passenger transport plays a significant role for various sectors of the community – commuters, learners, students, staff, casual travellers, etc. Effective and efficient public transport system is the nerve-centre of economic activities, as it would cater for the provision of adequate transportation facilities, and thus furthering the interests of public transport users and promoting the interests of transport suppliers, on the other hand.

Apartheid system created a legacy of inefficiencies that is difficult to shake off, but cannot be left unchallenged. Those unjust policies resulted, inter alia, in:

- Low-density development, spatially dislocated settlements, and urban sprawl.
- Relocation of majority of people to urban outskirts or hinterland, forcing them to make use of transport services that result in long commuting distances and times, and subsidies.

Due to historically distorted, unviable and unsustainable spatial patterns, challenges to today's



transport planners and decision-makers are massive. Transport planners are challenged to create solutions to, and create and exploit opportunities to improve existing mobility and wellbeing of the people. Challenges facing today's transport Planning Authorities (PAs) are enormous, and include ensuring sustainable use of resources and integration of environmental, land-use and transport management systems against the backdrop of the contradicting paradigms depicted in figure 1.

In terms of the Constitution, certain powers and functions currently carried out by other levels of governance such as the provincial and/or national authorities or agencies, have to be devolved to the lower level of governance. In line with the Constitution, the national transport policy, as set out in the White Paper on National Transport Policy, confirms the principle of subsidiarity, i.e. regulation and devolution of public transport functions, powers and duties to the lowest appropriate level of government. The Nation-

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Previous Transport Planning	Today's Transport Planning
Fragmentation	Integrated System
Supply-driven	Demand-driven
Inefficiencies	Efficiencies
Not customer focused	Customer-Driven

Figure 1

al Transport Policy indicates that land passenger transport planning should be carried out by relevant PA in an integrated fashion covering all modes, i.e. taxis, buses, and trains (if any), at the lowest level of governance as possible. The same observations were made in subsequent legislation, namely NLTTA and NLTA respectively, which both added details regarding the role of local government as PA and its interface with provincial and national levels.

Schedule 4, Parts A and B to the Constitution, allocates function of public transport to all three spheres. The national and provincial governments have concurrent powers, and local governments have powers over municipal public transport. Schedules 4 and 5 of the Constitution provide provinces exclusive legislative competencies on specific functional areas that include public transport and provincial roads, and provision of transport funding, including transport subsidies.

Chapter 7 of the Constitution deals specifically with matters related to local government. Part B of Schedule 4, read together with Section 155 (6) (a) and (7) of the Constitution, list a number of functions that local government must perform, including municipal planning and municipal public transport services. Flowing from

this, the Municipal Structures Act, 2003 (Act No. 117 of 2003) was passed, and Section 81 (1) (a) thereof states that municipalities should prepare Integrated Development Plans (IDPs). The Integrated Transport Plan (ITP) constitutes transport sector input into the IDP process.

ITP is defined as a process to identify current and future access needs for people, places, goods and services, and should focus on public and private transport, infrastructure, facilities, and services. It informs PAs on ways to manage transport system and land-use to best address mobility needs. ITPs are tools for comprehensive analysis of existing and future transport system requirements within the local authority. They provide overall framework for holistic planning approach to

resolving transport issues at district and local levels. The purpose of ITP is to resolve transport issues and problems in accordance with the goals and objectives of local authority. It must be closely associated and integrated with other branches, such as land use and planning.

The National Land Transport Act, 2009 (Act No. 5 of 2009), the NLTA, was enacted to further transformation process and restructuring of the national land transport system that was started by the National Land Transport Transition Act, 2000 (Act No. 22 of 2000 ("the NLTTA" or "the Transition Act"). The NLTTA was transitional in nature. The NLTTA gave effect to the Constitution and national transport policy directives contained in the 1996 White Paper on National Transport Policy. The NLTTA required that transport authorities, core cities and other municipalities (planning authorities) to prepare ITPs annually as component of the IDP and/or Local Development Objectives (LDOs). Most of the relevant provisions of the NLTTA had since been included in the new legislation, namely the NLTA.





One of the major roles of the local PA is to establish a viable and appropriate transportation system that would support the Local Economic Development (LED) objectives of the municipality as a whole. PA is not only responsible for planning of public transport services and provision of public transport infrastructure within its jurisdiction, but is also responsible for upgrading, rehabilitation and maintenance of such facilities.

One of the major purposes of the NLTA was to consolidate land transport functions and locate them in appropriate sphere of government. The Act confirms the principle of subsidiarity and devolution of public transport functions, powers and duties to the lowest appropriate level of government. However, the main issue hampering the devolution of functions to the lower levels of governance has always been lack of capacity in terms of the resources – finance, infrastructure, human resources, or otherwise.

The issue of concurrent public transport powers across all levels of governance seems to have led

to power struggle amongst levels of governance, as the lines seem to be blurred. Disagreements always ensue between the Department of Transport with some of the provinces and local authorities, such as the Western Cape province and the City of Cape Town respectively. For some time, the Western Cape province and the City of Cape Town have been decrying devolution of public transport powers vested in them in terms of the Constitution.

The NLTA requires land public transport planning to be integrated with land development and land-use planning processes. In terms of Section 36 of the NLTA, every PA must develop ITP and make it available to the National Public Transport Regulator (NPTR), and the relevant Provincial Regulatory Entity (PRE), whose role is also supposed to monitor and oversee public transport in the province.

The development of ITPs depends largely on the type of PA that should compile the plan, especially the size of the area of jurisdiction, and the extent of transport activities taking place in that

particular area:

- Type 1 Planning Authorities - Larger municipalities designated by the Department of Transport to upgrade and/or to prepare Comprehensive Integrated Transport Plans (CITPs).
- Type 2 Planning Authorities - All district municipalities that are required to prepare District Integrated Transport Plan (DITPs).
- Type 3 Planning Authorities - Local municipalities, required to prepare Local Integrated Transport Plans (LITPs).

Inasmuch as the NLTA clarifies at length the roles of different spheres of government, there is still ineffective intergovernmental relations that results in uncoordinated operations, and creating inefficiencies within the public transport system. For instance, transport planning is the responsibility of local government, but provinces are the Contracting Authorities (CAs) for subsidised bus contracts, whilst these buses operate within the municipalities. The NLTA provides that provinces must continue to manage the existing subsidised bus contracts until the function is assigned to relevant municipality.

The President recently signed the National Land Transport Amendment Bill into law in June 2024, but implementation is still awaiting for development of regulations thereof. The Amendment Act gives provinces powers to conclude new subsidised bus contracts (negotiated, tendered, and commercial) in municipal areas where municipalities do not have capacity. However, those subsidised bus contracts must be designed in terms of ITPs of the municipalities, or, if there are no such ITPs, and provinces must,



in collaboration with the affected municipalities, design Integrated Public Transport Networks (IPTNs), before going out on tender.

Most of the local PAs, however, seem to be inadequately capacitated to develop or review these ITPs as required in terms of prevailing policy and legislation. Almost all existing subsidized bus contracts have long expired, but extended indefinitely. In the meantime, some big bus operators continue to unfairly enjoy the monopoly of subsidised bus sector, to the exclusion of new entrants onto the market.

Despite anticipated role of the municipalities as PAs, public transport in general does not seem to be a priority by local authorities, mainly due to lack of capacity and other competing service delivery priorities – electricity, water and sanitation, infrastructure such as serviced roads, etc., leading to constant community protests, especially in African dominated settlements like town-

ships and rural areas. Inadequate planning leads to low-density residential developments that give rise to longer travelling distances and dislocation of the poor on the fringe of urban areas.

In terms of Section 36 of the NLTA and gazetted 2016 Minimum Requirements for Preparation of Integrated Transport Plans, ITPs must be developed and reviewed or updated annually, and be synchronised with municipal IDPs. However, they are not always available. The Department states

in its 2017 Revised White Paper that, lack of capacity at the municipal level, is a major inhibiting factor in municipalities preparing transport plans, including ITPs.

There should be effective, efficient, and sustainable integrated public transport system that is designed and managed in accordance with the needs and desires of the end-users.

A holistic approach is therefore necessary in addressing the challenges identified.



Part One

Meritocracy Is a Good Thing

■ By **DANIEL A. BELL**

POLITICAL meritocracy is the idea that a political system is designed with the aim of selecting political leaders with above average ability to make morally informed political judgments. That is, political meritocracy has two key components: (1) the political leaders have above average ability and virtue and (2) the selection mechanism is designed to choose such leaders. Political meritocracy has been largely eclipsed from political theorizing in the modern world, but there are three important reasons for reviving and reinterpreting this political ideal, particularly in a Chinese context.

First, political meritocracy has been, and continues to be, central to Chinese political culture. Second, democracy is a flawed political system and meritocracy can help to remedy some of its flaws. Third, the Chinese Communist Party itself has become a more meritocratic organization over the last three decades or so. I will discuss each of these factors and conclude with some suggestions for reducing the gap between the reality and the meritocratic ideal.

Political Meritocracy and Chinese Political Culture

Political meritocracy is a key theme in the history of Chinese



political culture. The idea of “*elevating the worthy*” emerged in the wake of the disintegration of the pedigree-based aristocratic order of the Spring and Autumn period (Yuri Pines, *The Everlasting Empire*, Princeton University Press, 2012, ch. 3). This idea was shared by the vast majority of known thinkers in the Warring States period, and political thinkers debated about how to define merit and how to develop political practices and institutions based on merit. For Confucius, political meritocracy starts from the assumption that everybody should be educated. However, not everybody will emerge from this

process with an equal ability to make morally informed political judgments. Hence, an important task of the political system is to select leaders with an above average ability to make morally informed political judgments, as well as to encourage as many people of talent as possible to participate in politics. Such rulers, in Confucius’s view, would gain the trust of the people.

In Imperial China, political meritocracy was institutionalized by means of the imperial examination system that put successful candidates on the road to fame and power. Whatever the flaws of

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the system, it did provide a minimal standard of talent selection and allowed for a modest level of social circulation. The examination system spread to Korea and Vietnam and also influenced the development of civil service examinations in Western countries. In the post World War II era, East Asian societies developed rapidly at least partly due to the sound decision-making of meritocratically-selected political rulers.

Today, political surveys show that there is widespread support for the ideal of political meritocracy in East Asian societies with a Confucian heritage. In China, Shi Tianjian and Lu Jie show that the majority of people endorse “*guardianship discourse*,” defined as the need to identify “*high quality politicians who care about the people’s demands, take people’s interests into consideration when making decisions, and choose good policies on behalf of their people and society*” over liberal democratic discourse that privileges procedural arrangements ensuring people’s rights to participate in politics and choose their leaders (*Cultural Impacts on People’s Understanding of Democracy*, 2010 APSA Annual Meeting, Washington, D.C.).

The idea of political meritocracy is also central to Western political theory and practice. Plato famously defended a meritocratic political ideal in *The Republic*: the best political regime is composed of political leaders selected on the basis of their superior ability to make morally informed political judgments and granted power to rule over the community. Meritocracy was influential throughout subsequent history, though subsequent thinkers rarely defended a pure form of political meritocracy. US founding

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**The will to win, the desire to succeed,
the urge to reach your full potential...
these are the keys that will unlock the
door to personal excellence.**

CONFUCIUS

fathers and nineteenth century “*liberal elitists*” such as John Stuart Mill and Alexis de Tocqueville put forward political ideas that tried to combine meritocracy and democracy. Yet theorizing about meritocracy has all but faded from modern Western political discourse. There are hundreds if not thousands of books on the theory and practice of democracy, but it is hard to think of a single recent (and decent) English-language book on the idea of political meritocracy.

Democracy and Meritocracy

The dearth of debates about political meritocracy would not be problematic if it were widely agreed that liberal democracy is the best political system (or the least bad political system, as Winston Churchill famously put it). But there are growing doubts. The “*crisis of governability*” in Western democracies caused by the unprecedented globalized flow of goods, services, and capital has been well documented by political scientists (see, e.g., Charles Kupchan, *The Democratic Malaise*, *Foreign Affairs*, Jan./Feb. 2012). Capitalist interests have disproportionate power

in the political process, especially in the American political system which has been described, perhaps not unfairly, as one-dollar one-vote rather than one-person one-vote. Political theorists have raised questions about the voting system itself. Part of the problem is that voters are often selfishly concerned with their narrow material interest, and ignore the interests of future generations and people living outside national boundaries who are affected by the policies of the government. Jason Brennan has argued that voters should stay away from the voting booth if they cannot make morally informed political judgments (*The Ethics of Voting*, Princeton University Press, 2011). Certainly there are some issues where the pursuit of narrow economic self-interest at the voting booth could lead to disastrous consequences for non-voters who lack representation (consider global warming). Just as worrisome, perhaps, voters often misunderstand their own interests. Drawing on extensive empirical research, Bryan Caplan shows that voters are often irrational and he suggests tests of voter competence as a remedy (*The Myth of the Rational Voter*, Princeton University Press,

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2007). Of course, such proposals are non-starters in liberal democracies. The principle of political equality expressed in the form of one person, one vote has assumed quasi-sacred status today. In the nineteenth-century, John Stuart Mill could propose extra-votes for educated people, but today proponents of such proposals are considered (in Western countries) to have lost their moral compass.

Fortunately, political theorists are not so dogmatic in the Chinese context. Jiang Qing has argued that democratic forms of legitimacy – which in the West is grounded in notions of popular sovereignty – should be balanced by two other sources of legitimacy that come from Heaven and Earth. In a modern context, he argues that this political ideal should be institutionalized by means of a tri-cameral legislature, with authority divided between a House of the People, a House of Confucian Scholars, and a House of Cultural Continuity that correspond to the three forms of legitimacy (*A Confucian Constitutional Order*, Princeton University Press, 2012). Similarly, Bai Tongdong and Joseph Chan have argued for models for a hybrid political regime that

combines elements of democracy and meritocracy, with meritocratic houses of government composed of political leaders chosen by such means as examination and performance at lower levels of government [I have also argued for a hybrid regime, with a meritocratic house of government termed the House of Exemplary Persons].

These models may be utopian, but they provide us with a new, and, arguably, better standard for evaluating political progress in China and elsewhere. Instead of judging political progress simply by asking whether China is becoming more democratic, the new standard provides a more comprehensive way of judging political progress (and regress). The question is also whether the Chinese political system is becoming more meritocratic. And here there may be grounds for optimism.

Meritocracy and the Chinese Communist Party

In its early days, Communist China under Mao explicitly rejected Confucian-inspired ideas of political meritocracy. Understandably, perhaps, the main task was rewarding revolutionary energy

and securing military strength for the state to put an end to abuse and bullying by foreign powers. But now, the establishment of a relatively secure and strong Chinese state under the leadership of the CCP means that China has less to worry about survival qua political community. Hence, the emphasis has shifted to the task of good governance led by able and virtuous political leaders, and the selection and promotion mechanisms of the CCP have become more meritocratic.

In the 1980s, talented students at leading Chinese universities often did not seek to join the CCP. Today, it's a different story. College campuses have become the main location for recruitment efforts (*Gang Guo, Party Recruitment of College Students in China*, *Journal of Contemporary China*, v.14(43), May 2005). At elite schools like Tsinghua University, 28 percent of all undergrads, 43 percent of graduating seniors and up to 55 percent of grad students were CCP members in 2010 (www.china.org.cn/china/2011-05/31/content_22678122.htm) (I've been teaching at Tsinghua for nearly eight years, and many of my high-performing students are party members). The CCP is also



targeting the “*new social stratum*” of young professionals in urban areas, including business people and managers in private firms, lawyers, and accountants.

The promotion system for cadres is even more explicitly meritocratic. At a recent dialogue session with several foreign and Chinese academics, Mr. Li Yunchao, Minister of the Organization Department of the CPC Central Committee, provided some fascinating and illuminating details. Minister Li noted that different criteria are used to judge abilities and virtues at different levels of government. At lower levels, close connection with the people is particularly important (put differently, perhaps, democracy is more important at the lower levels). At the higher levels, more emphasis is placed on rationality since cadres need to take into account of multiple factors and decision-making involves a much broader area of governance, but virtues such as concern for the people and a practical attitude also matter.

Cadres are also expected to set a model of corruption-free rule. To illustrate the rigorous (meritocratic) nature of selection at higher levels of government, Minister Li described the procedure used to select the Secretary General of the Organization Department of the CPC Central Committee. First, there was a nomination process, including retired cadres. Those who received many nominations could move to the next stage. Next, there was an examination, including such questions as how to be a good Secretary General. Over ten people took the exam, and the list was narrowed to five people.

To ensure that the process was



fair, the examination papers were put in the corridor for all to judge the results. Then, there was an oral examination with an interview panel composed of ministers, vice-ministers, and university professors. To ensure transparency and fairness, ordinary cadres who work for the General Secretary were in the room, which allowed them to supervise the whole process. Three candidates with the highest score were selected for the next stage. Then, the department of personnel led an inspection team to look into the performance and virtue of the candidates, with more emphasis placed on virtue. Two people were recommended for the next stage. The final decision was made by a committee of twelve ministers who each had a vote, and the candidate had to have at least eight votes to succeed. If the required number of votes was not secured the first time, the ministers discussed further until two-thirds could agree on a candidate.

It is hard not to be impressed by the rigorous selection process for the Secretary General of the Organization Department of the CPC Central Committee (and it is even harder not to be impressed by

the successful candidate). Such transparency in the talent selection process is likely to contribute to the government’s legitimacy. If people are not aware of the selection process, they may suspect that promotion is based primarily on loyalty, connections (*guanxi*), or corruption. Hence, shedding light on the actual mechanisms is likely to dispel such suspicions. There is still a long way to go – for example, it would be useful to have more information about the criteria that influence selection of members on the Central Committee and the Politburo – but the fact that Minister Li told us about the process in his organization is a good sign of a high-level decision to increase transparency.

[In the next edition we will look at issues of the advantages of meritocracy and rooms of improvement].

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Echoes of Resilience: The Pueblo Rebellion and the Triumph of the Human Spirit

■ By **AMBASSADOR PHATSE JUSTICE PIITSO**

EVEN the horizons of towering architectural wonders, encompassing the remarkable achievements of human civilisation, cannot predict the inexpressible episodes of resilience, courage, and sacrifice exemplified by the indigenous people of the New World against the horrors of imperialism and colonial dispossession. The history of the Pueblo Rebellion, the first American Revolution, is like an orchestral masterpiece, echoing the sounds of transition in human society from the darkest corners of the pages of history books.

The annals of history singularise the Pueblo Rebellion as an unimaginable tapestry of heroism, an untold journey of triumphant acts of resilience and courage by the forgotten warriors of human civilisation – true sons and daughters of the struggle for humanity's freedom. It is a maelstrom of profound historical significance, heralding an age of liberation for human society.

In 1598, the Spanish colonial monarchy established a colony in what is today known as New Mexico, in the southwestern region of the United States of America. The invasion by colonial settlers led to the declaration of the ter-

ritory as property of the Spanish monarchy and its inhabitants as its subjects.

The first Pueblo Rebellion against the settlers occurred in the settlement of Acoma, New Mexico, when the indigenous people took up arms against Spanish soldiers who demanded grain from their storage facilities, seeking to confiscate the harvest critical for the community's survival during winter. They fiercely resisted these attempts, taking up arms to defend themselves.

Armed with sophisticated weaponry, the Spanish soldiers responded harshly, killing dozens

of innocent people and inflicting gruesome atrocities on the Pueblo community. All men over the age of twelve were condemned to twenty years of personal servitude, while men beyond the age of twenty-five had one of their feet cut off without mercy.

After the defeat of the Pueblo community in this initial conflict, they were forced into slavery – constructing houses, churches, and infrastructure such as roads and dams, while working on farms and in mines as unpaid labor. Spanish missionaries imposed a ban on all forms of traditional and religious practices, replacing them with the values of Christianity.



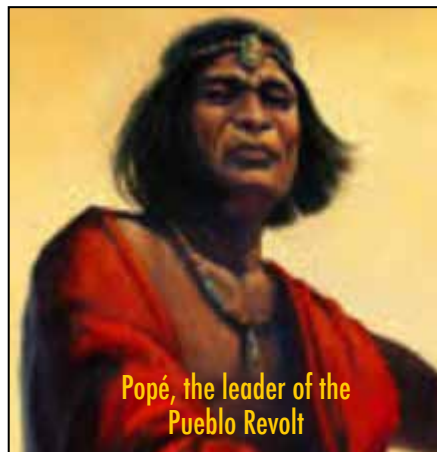
The world-renowned geographer and journalist of antiquity, M. Malte-Brun, described the impact of colonialism and Christianity on the native people of the New World: “Tyranny and ignorance have not had the power to destroy the inexhaustible fecundity of the soil but have turned it into a theatre of eternal robbery and a vast market of blood.” Colonial authorities and missionaries became scavengers, spilling rivers of human blood on the soil of the free world.

The world was yet to witness the full magnitude of European colonialism’s plunder: the extermination of millions of indigenous people of the New World, the destruction of architectural and cultural wealth, and the erasure of languages, literature, and arts, as well as the dismantling of entire social, economic, and political ecosystems. These complexities of human history define the path to a better future.

Long periods of severe drought and famine plagued the region, forcing the native people to turn to traditional and cultural practices, including sacred ceremonies and rituals to worship their gods. Settler authorities and missionaries accused them of witchcraft, sentencing them to lengthy imprisonment or, in some cases, death.

After his release from prison, one community leader, Popé, organised a well-orchestrated revolt against the Spanish settlers. Hundreds of soldiers, missionaries, and other Spanish nationals were killed. This marked the first recorded defeat of a European colonial power by the indigenous people of the Americas.

The rebellion forced the withdrawal of colonial settlers from Pueblo territory, allowing the indigenous people to return to their traditional ways, banning Cathol-



Popé, the leader of the Pueblo Revolt

icism, and destroying the missionaries’ infrastructure.

This victory distinguished the Pueblo Rebellion – popularly known as the first American Revolution – as a testament to true heroism against adversity.

The celebrated German philosopher Karl Marx regarded European colonialism as profound hypocrisy and inherent barbarism. He argued that colonialism and imperialism were unconscious tools of history. In his seminal work *Das Kapital*, he stated: “*The discovery of gold and silver in the Americas, the extirpation, enslavement, and entombment of indigenous populations in mines, the conquest and plunder of India, and the conversion of Africa into a preserve for the commercial hunting of black skins are all defining moments of capitalist production.*” He further concluded that “*if money comes into the world with a congenital bloodstain on one cheek, capital comes dripping from head to toe, from every pore, with blood and dirt.*”

Centuries of genocidal crimes committed against the native people of the New World, based on false narratives of race, modernity, and civilisation, inflicted devastating psychological trauma that transcended generations. It is evident that European settlers sought not coexistence or diplomacy with local communities but

total extermination and confiscation of their land and wealth.

There are countless examples of genocidal crimes committed by European colonial powers throughout history. As we dream of a better world for humanity, we must take stock of these lessons and experiences. Understanding history enables us to appreciate the complexities of the present social, economic, and political milieu. Although much scholarly and academic focus has been placed on the encounters between the indigenous people of the New World and European settlers, future generations still have opportunities to learn about pre-colonial life and to gain insights into indigenous social, political, and economic systems. It is crucial to challenge the dominant narrative that civilisation began with the arrival of European powers in the New World.

The Pueblo indigenous people’s victory is a monumental milestone in the history of anti-colonial struggles, symbolising hope for oppressed people worldwide.

Their contributions to humanity’s freedom mark them as timeless heroes, shaping both the past and future.

Our Africa is our America, our America is our Middle East, our Middle East is our Europe, and our Europe is our Far East. We are a world of wonders, defined by resilience and heroism, transcending time and history. The universe remains a beacon of hope, and climbing to its mountaintop of peace and tranquility is what will define us as philanthropists of freedom.

Ambassador Phatse Justice Piitso is a member of the ANC. He writes in his personal capacity.

TAKING UP THE SPEAR: Shadrack Maphumulo's Struggle Against Apartheid

As told to Joe Pillay

■ A Review by **VUSO SHABALALA**

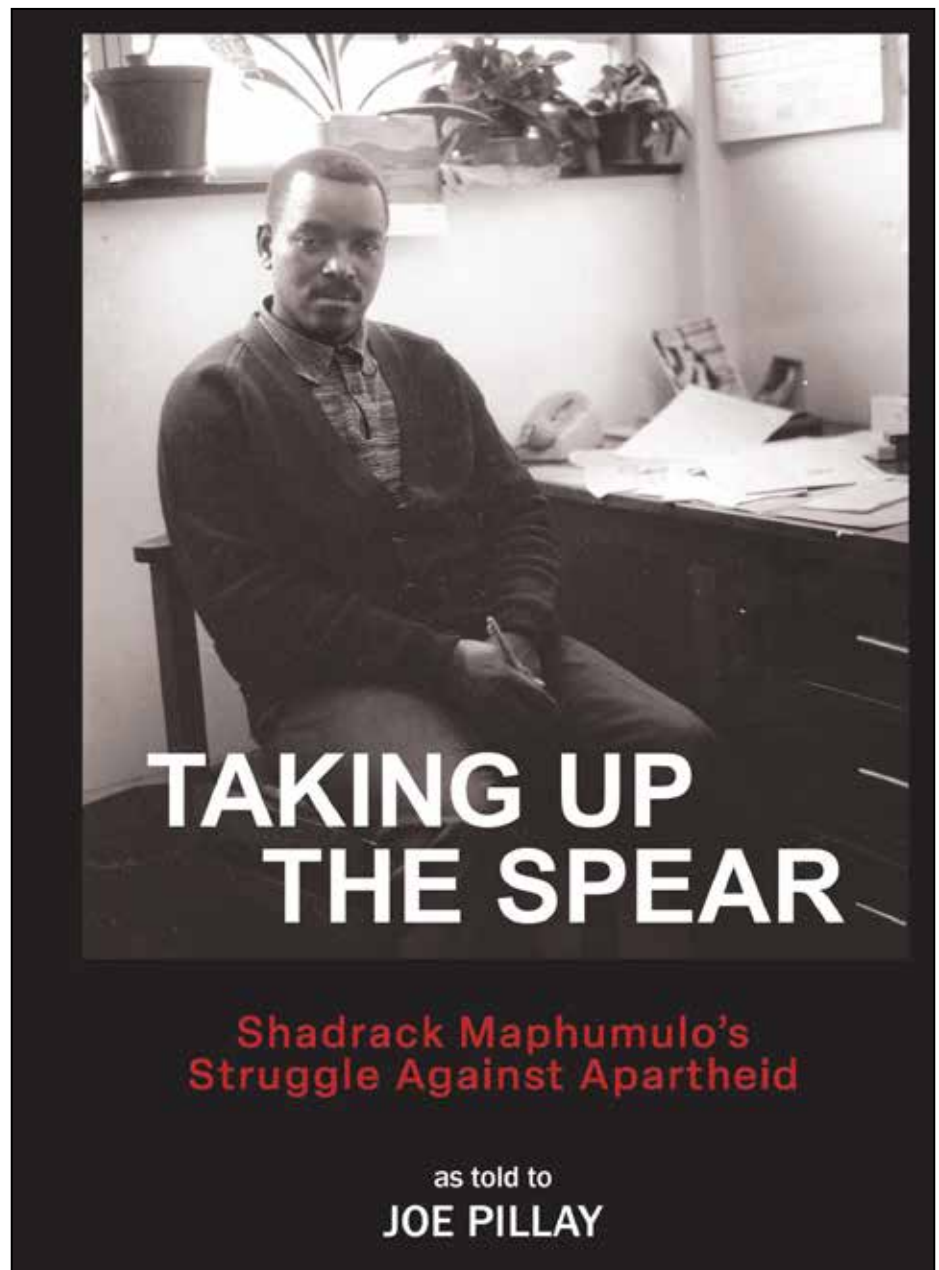
THE book attributes the following statement to Harry Gwala; popularly known as uMntomdala (Old person).

“Let the PAC note that liberation movements and Communist Parties do not come about because an individual happens to be intelligent and decides to form such an organization. No! These organizations do not come about because a group of individuals decide to form them. No! It’s the objective conditions that determine the behaviour of people and the creation of an organisation.

The Communists have a role to play in our liberation, for they too want to eliminate all forms of oppression.”

The book is written from the notes and records of interviews of Msizeni Shadrack Maphumulo, by his comrade and friend Joe Pillay in the early to mid-1980s.

The decision by South African History Online that the book has special relevance in the current situation in South Africa, as the revolutionary movement rebuilds itself, is borne out by the content.



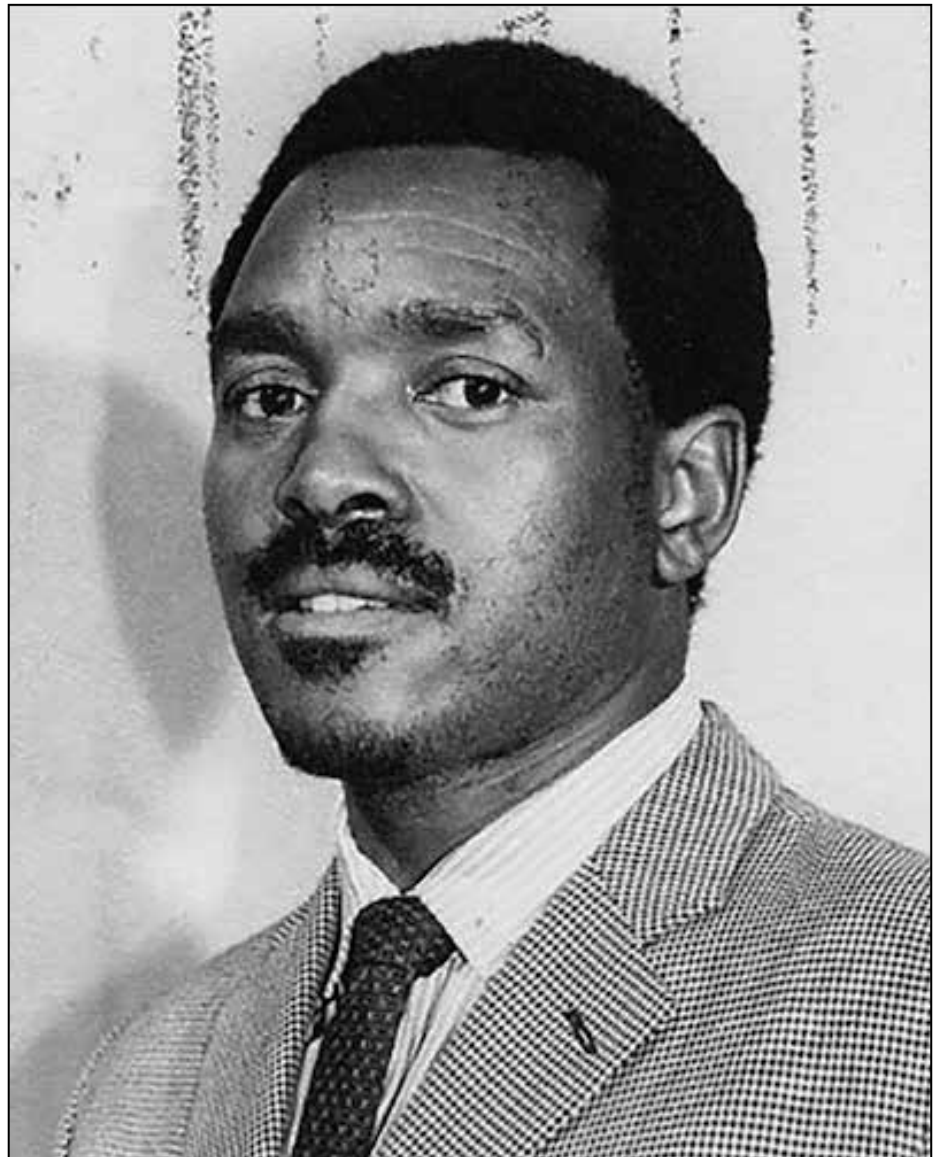
BOOK REVIEW

The book tracks the development of the political consciousness of Maphumulo from when he was a little urchin herding his father's cattle in the latter 1940s, through his early working life; becoming an active trade unionist; his exploits as a combatant of Umkhonto WeSizwe, the military wing of the ANC; his arrest and time on the Island of Penguins; his work in the ANC underground after his release from prison; and ultimately operating as a political leader from Swaziland in "exile".

Understandably, as a disciplined cadre, Maphumulo leaves out his membership of the South African Communist Party – the latter correctly kept a low profile, and its general membership was not exposed at the time. Nonetheless, his leaning shines through.

The author artfully presents Maphumulo's journey from the mouth of the subject, with minimal commentary on chronological context and facts that would be unfamiliar to some readers. Maphumulo comes through as a very ordinary worker-peasant who projects himself as an observer in his own life rather than the legendary figure that he actually was. He is always just one among his peers rather than the centre of his world.

Maphumulo grows up in an impoverished traditional African community (in) KwaMaphumulo in Natal (now part of KwaZulu-Natal province). He leaves school at Standard two and flees to the nearby town where he ends up working for a small farmer of Indian origin. Telling this story some 40 years later one cannot miss how his political development was progressing, without him even saying so.



Shadrack Maphumulo

Maphumulo's political development grows at an accelerating pace when he starts work in Durban (now eThekweni). His life there is initially unremarkable; just another African bearing the burden of life in a "white area"; ground down by "white" folk and government, with their inhuman laws and practices. He works, falls in love; and learns to make and save as much money as possible for when he starts his own family.

Soon he joins the whirlwind of trade union politics when the Movement (ANC) is banned

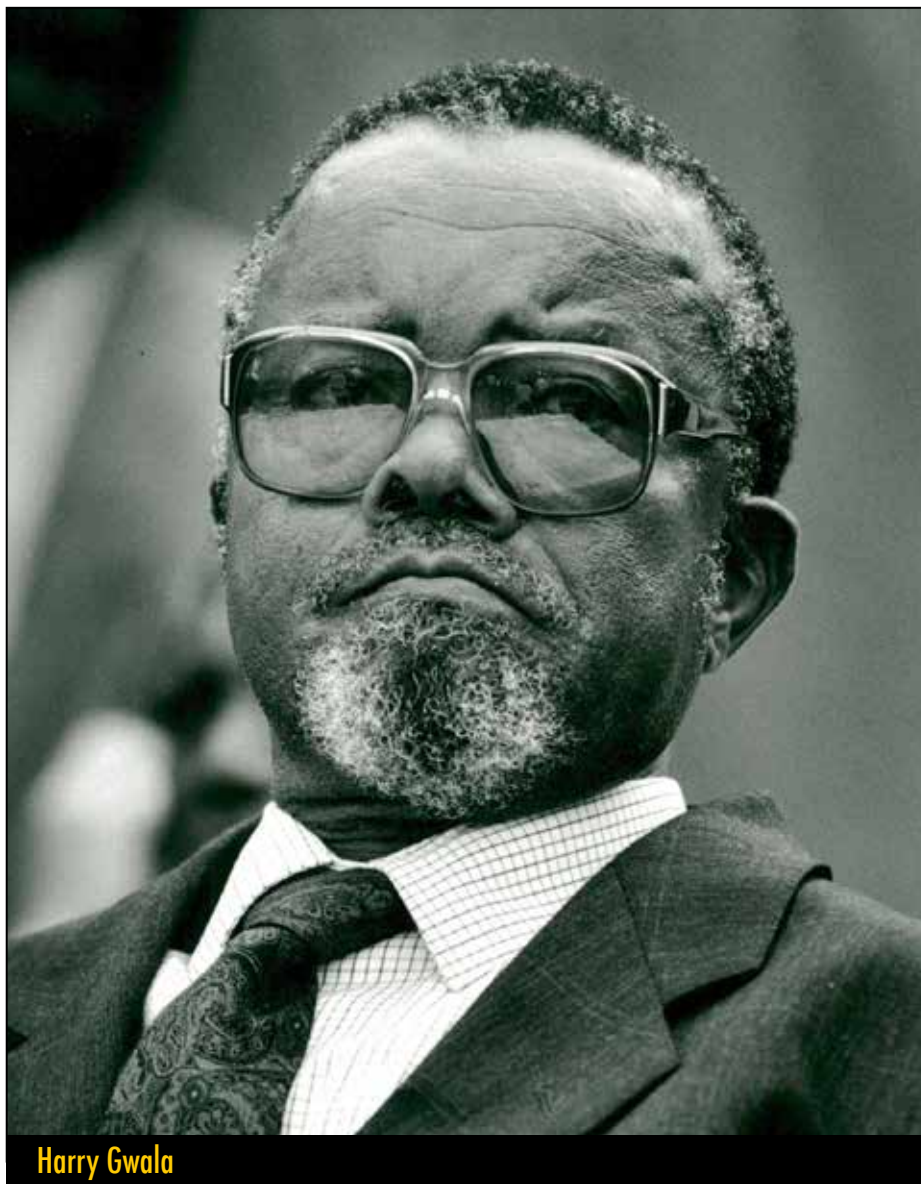
(others were banned too but they fill little space in the story). The South African Congress of Trade Unions stays legal long enough to accelerate his political education in the shadow of its leadership, including Stephen Dlamini, its President. Soon he joins the ranks of MK not knowing much beyond that it is using sabotage in the fight for freedom for which he has decided to lay down his life.

Two instances specially highlight the development of the political consciousness of Maphumulo. One is his appreciation of the

political education in the early years of his stay on Robben Island. He highlights that in those years political education focused on the history of colonialism and of the ANC; and the knowledgeable people made presentations, but there were no discussions involving the listeners. This, according to him changed with the arrival of the group of Harry Gwala and Stephen Dlamini – group in the sense that they arrived together. Gwala, in particular, constantly engaged the younger ANC members in discussion about the source of the oppression and exploitation in the capitalist system.

Maphumulo appreciated the contrast and he and his peers were excited by these discussions and took every opportunity to talk with Mntomdala. The discussions included examination of the ‘labour theory of value’. This brought tension in the ranks as some ANC inmates felt that such discussions caused divisions in the ANC, which included both workers and capitalists. It was agreed to seek the intervention of the senior leaders in the isolation cells. The latter drew up a long document which gave direction on how to accommodate the different ideological currents within the ANC.

The second instance touches on the quotation above from the input by Gwala. This, according to Maphumulo, arose from the constant taunts by fellow inmates from the Pan Africanist Congress that the ANC was led by people from other races and communists. The decision was taken that a formal discussion of the various issues be arranged in which both ANC and PAC presented their positions. Gwala was among the ANC presenters.



Harry Gwala

Finally, the manner in which the MK cells were established and carried out work inside the country in the early sixties is worth highlighting. Maphumulo’s account indicates that the Movement was not totally unprepared for work outside the racist laws directed specifically on suppressing it. His cell and the others in Durban alone, with rudimentary training and home-made material, carried out many operations that unsettled the regime within a short period of time before the cells were smashed. The later approach on armed struggle relied too heavily on operations carried

out by combatants trained outside the country returning with sophisticated material but without strong internal support networks.

The story is inspiring firstly by his unflinching dedication to the cause of liberation, but perhaps more importantly, by the political and technical lessons in the prosecution of the struggle against a formidable enemy supported by the largest economies in the world, who were also among the strongest military powers. Indeed, nothing can stop a people determined to rid themselves of oppression and economic exploitation.

THIS WEEK IN HISTORY

THIS WEEK IN HISTORY

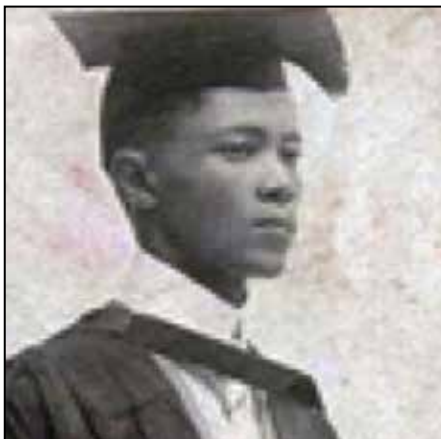
1–7 February 2025

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

1 February 1920 South African Air Force established

On 1 February 1920, the South African Air Force was established. This made it the first air force of the Commonwealth, with Lt-Col. Pierre van Ryneveld appointed Director of Air Services.

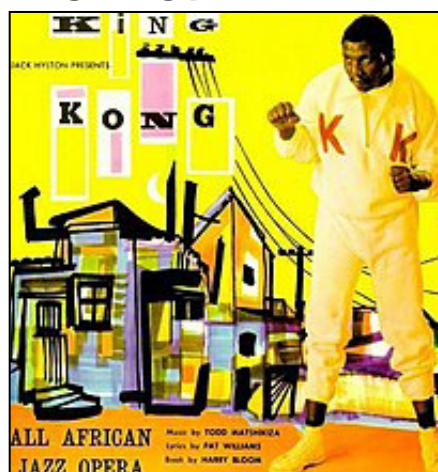
1 February 1889 Educationist Harold Cressy born



Harold Cressy, co-founder of the Teachers League of South Africa (TLSA), educationist and teacher, was born in Rorke's Drift, KZN. He qualified as a teacher at the Zonnebloem College Cape Town. In 1906, at the age of seventeen, Cressy was employed as principal of the Dutch Reformed Church mission school at Clanwilliam, where he was exposed to the injustices of the Cape's segregated education system. He studied matric part-time and went on to study for his degree. He was the only Black student of

the South African College, now the University of Cape Town, after being refused entry to the universities of Rhodes and Stellenbosch because of his race. He went on to become principal of Trafalgar High, the first secondary school in Cape Town for Coloured students. He was active in the African Peoples Organisation, founded the Teachers League of South Africa and edited its journal. He passed away of influenza in 1916. Harold Cressy High in District Six, Cape Town is named after him.

2 February 1959 King Kong premiers



The hit musical about the life of boxer Ezekiel 'King Kong' Dhlamini opened in Johannesburg. The All-African Jazz opera cast of 70 featured amongst others Miriam Makeba, Nathan Mdelele, Hugh Masekela, Gwigwi Mrwebi, Phyllis Mqoma, Todd Matshikiza and many others. The production was

not without its challenges, with an actor almost daily arrested for pass law violation and would have to be bailed out the next morning. Nelson Mandela attended the opening in Johannesburg. *King Kong* ran from 1959 to 1961, touring the country.

2 February 1969 Eduardo Mondlane assassinated

Eduardo Mondlane was the founding president of the Mozambican Liberation Front (Frelimo), fighting against Portugal's colonization of his country. Born in the Gaza province on 20 June 1920, he did high school in Limpopo, went to study at Wits University, but was expelled after a year with the rise of grand Apartheid. He then went to study at Lisbon University in Portugal and later in the United States, earning an MA and a PhD. He trained as an anthropologist, working for the United Nations, and as a historian and sociology professor at Syracuse University. He was elected first president of Frelimo in 1962, and returned to Tanzania to found the Frelimo headquarters. In 1969, a bomb was planted in a book sent to him at the FRELIMO Headquarters in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania. It exploded when he opened the package, killing him. After the liberation of Mozambique and Frelimo took power, the Universidade de Lourenço Marques in Maputo was

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renamed the Eduardo Mondlane University in 1975.

2 February 1981 Sowetan founded



The Sowetan newspaper was founded to give voice to black South Africans across the country. Important names associated with the paper included owner Dr Nthato Motlana who purchased it through NAIL after 1994, editors Percy Qoboza, Joe Latakomo, Aggrey Klaaste and others. It remains one of South Africa's leading newspapers, and also exists online.

2 February 1990 Nelson Mandela release announced

In a state of the nation address to the apartheid Parliament, President FW de Klerk announced that his government would release Nelson Mandela and other political prisoners and immediately unbanned the ANC, SACP, PAC and other organisations.

2 February 2020 Somalia's National Locusts Emergency

Somalia declared a national emergency as large swarms of locusts spread across east Africa. The Ministry of Agriculture said the insects, which consume large amounts of vegetation, posed "a major threat to Somalia's fragile food security situation". The UN

says the swarms are the largest in Somalia and Ethiopia in 25 years

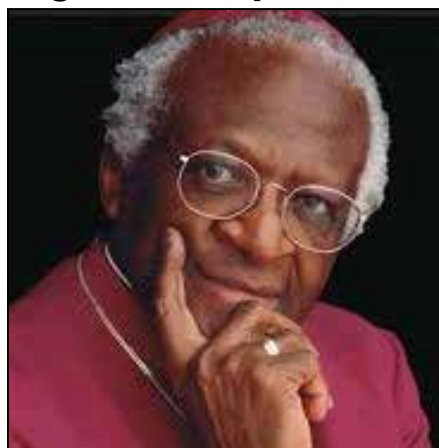
3 February 1976 Abuja founded as new capital

The City of Abuja was chosen as the new capital of Nigeria, from amongst 33 cities which bid for the honour. The planned city houses the federal government, with a three arms zone with the Presidential Villa, the National Assembly and the Supreme Court, all surrounded by a ring road in close proximity. Abuja replaced Lagos as capital officially on 12 December 1991.

3 February 1976 Lourenço Marques becomes Maputo

The capital of Mozambique, named Lourenço Marques after a 16 century Portuguese trader and colonizer, is changed to Maputo by then President Samora Machel. The city takes its name from the nearby Maputo River, which starts as the Pongola river in South Africa, joined by the Great Usuthu river from Eswatini.

3 February 1985 Rev. Desmond Tutu becomes first black Anglican Bishop



Desmond Mpilo Tutu was appointed and ordained as the first Black Anglican Bishop of Johannesburg after winning the Nobel Peace Prize in 1984. The following year he was elected archbishop of Cape Town, which made him the head of the Anglican Church with a 1.6 million membership in South Africa. He used this position to intensify his opposition to the Apartheid system in the country.

3 February 1996 South Africa hosts and wins AFCON

For the first time since the end of Apartheid, South Africa hosts the African Cup of Nations Football tournament. In the final on this day, Bafana Bafana, captained by Neil Tovey plays and wins 2:0 against Tunisia.

3 February 2000 1300 Volkswagen workers dismissed

1300 auto workers were dismissed by Volkswagen on 3 February 2000 in Uitenhage, Eastern Cape, for not returning to work after a wildcat strike. It was possibly the first major example of workers, after 1994, striking not just outside of the auspices of their trade union but ultimately against their union. The immediate source of conflict was a productivity agreement between NUMSA (the National Union of Metalworkers of South Africa) and VW management in 1998 to ensure that the production of vehicles would be doubled the following year. In 1999, the Concerned VW Workers collective campaigned against the latest agreement during the shop steward elections, citing a lack of democratic accountability in the union. This group was made

THIS WEEK IN HISTORY

up of older, long-serving workers who had been politicised during the heyday of the workers' movement. They opposed the productivity agreement and were suspicious of the younger layer of shop stewards that had initially agreed to it. After complicated internal politics, the union leadership expelled all 13 newly elected stewards. A month later, the union obtained a court interdict to forcibly remove the stewards from their offices. Thousands of rank-and-file members responded with an immediate strike action. VW warned that striking workers would be retrenched if they did not return to work, a call which was echoed by NUMSA. The official COSATU press release read: COSATU General Secretary, Zwelinzima Vavi will address a NUMSA General Meeting at Barks Madlakane Hall, Kwanobuhle Uitenhage this afternoon at 5PM. The meeting has been called by NUMSA to address the illegal strike at the Volkswagen plant in Uitenhage. Vavi will urge all NUMSA members to go back to work and distance themselves from agent provocateurs bent on disturbing production at the plant. At the time, this response was considered by a number of labour analysts to be a clear indication of the COSATU leadership's ever-increasing willingness to collaborate with capital. As a result, it stands out as an important moment in the Federation's history.

4 February 1906 Sunday Times published



The first edition of the first Sunday newspaper in South Africa, the Sunday Times, appeared with New Zealander George Herbert Kingswell as editor.

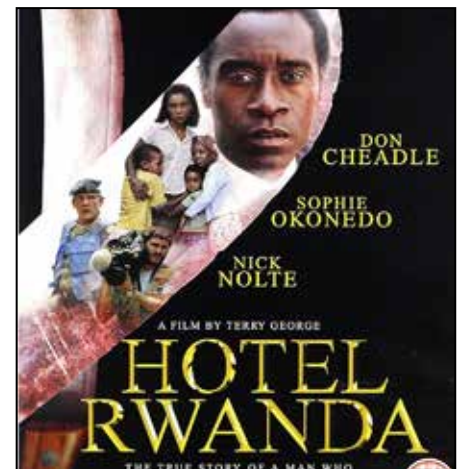
4 February 1959 Tsitsi Dangerembga born

The renowned Zimbabwean author was born in Mukoto. Her first novel *Nervous Condition* (1988) was a hit, the first novel published in English by a black Zimbabwean woman and making the BBC 2018 list of the top 100 books that shaped the world. Other works include the play *She No Longer Weeps* (1987), a feature film that she directed *Everyone's Child* (1986), and novels *The Book of Not* (2018), *This Mournable Body* (2020) and essay collection *Black and Female* (2022)

4 February 1972 Addis Ababa UN Security Council Special session against Apartheid

At the United Nations Security Council's Special Session on Colonialism and Racial Injustice in Southern Africa held in Addis Ababa, a resolution was adopted against apartheid. The UNSC adopted resolution 311 (1972) condemning apartheid; recognising the legitimacy of the struggle of the oppressed people of South Africa; calling upon South Africa to release all those imprisoned as a result of apartheid; calling upon all States to observe strictly the arms embargo against South Africa; urging governments and individuals to contribute to UN funds to assist victims of apartheid; and commending organisations and individuals assisting in the education and training of South Africans. The vote was 14 in favour and one abstention (France).

4 February 2005 Hotel Rwanda



The feature film, about Paul Rusesabagina, a hotel manager in Kigali, that gave refuge in his des Milles Collines hotel to over a thousand Tutsi refugees fleeing from Hutu attacks during the 1994 Rwanda Genocide, is released to critical acclaim. The movie was shot in Kigali and Johannesburg and features American actor Don Cheadle, as well as South African actors Leleti Khumalo, Desmond Dube, Tony Nkoroge and Fana Mokoena.

5 February 1905 Herman Charles Bosman born

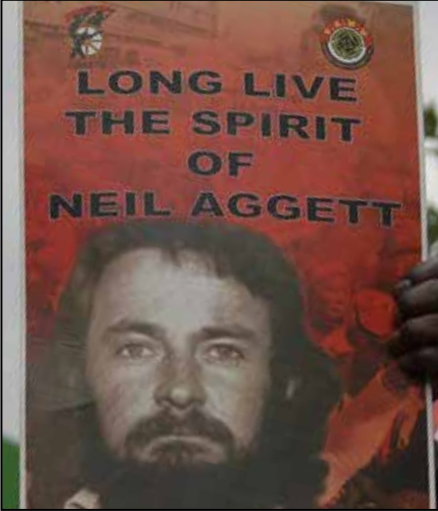
Considered one of South Africa's great short story writers, Bosman was born in Kuilsriver, Cape Town on this day. His short stories were published in the collection *Mafikeng Road* (1947)

5 February 1977 TANU and Afro-Shirazi party merge

The Tanganyika African National Union (TANU) founded by Julius Nyerere in 1955, and Zanzibar's ruling Afro-Shirazi Party merge to form the Chama Cha Mapinduzi (CCM). This lays the basis for the United Federation of Tanzania, still governed by a CCM majority.

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5 February 1982 Neil Aggett killed in detention



Medical doctor and activist Dr Neil Aggett, who was Transvaal organiser for the Food and Canning Workers Union and African Food and Canning Workers Union, died after 70 days in detention without trial, at the hands of apartheid security police. Dr Aggett was just 28 years of age. Aggett was born in Nanyuku, Kenya and moved to South Africa in 1964 to complete his education, earning a degree in medicine from UCT in 1976. He worked as a physician in Umtata, Tembisa and later Baragwanath hospital in Soweto. About 15000 people attended Aggett's funeral in 1982, including Bishop Desmond Tutu, and 90,000 workers went out on strike in a show of solidarity. The first inquest in his death, with Aggett family represented by George Bizos, found no-one was responsible. Another inquest that started into his untimely death continued in 2021.

5 February 2016 Morocco Noor 1 solar array

Morocco's Noor 1 solar array, covering 450 hectares delivering 370 Giga watts of solar power, begins to generate electricity.

6 February 1993 Arthur Ashe, tennis star and anti-apartheid icon passed on

Arthur Robert Ashe, a prominent African American tennis player who was born and raised in Richmond, Virginia died on 6 February 1993. Ashe, a vocal protester against apartheid, was approved a visa to visit South Africa in 1973, after a number of refusals. He became the first black player to win a title – a doubles match – in the South African Open. During his career, Ashe won three Grand Slam titles, making him the first black man to win the singles title at Wimbledon, the US Open, and the Australian Open. He also set a record in 1968, winning both the U.S. Amateur and the U.S Open championships. For 12 years, Ashe was ranked among the world's top ten tennis players. He was ranked number one in 1968 and 1975. He was one of the founders of the powerful Association of Tennis Professionals (ATP) in 1972 and served as its president.

7 February 1966 Sobukwe clause in amended Suppression of Communism Act

The Suppression of Communism Amendment Bill provided for the extension by a further year to the power of the Minister of Justice to detain prisoners convicted under the Suppression of Communism Act for further periods after the expiry of their sentences. This power had been applied to Robert Sobukwe and his detention was extended.

7 February 1983 Cedric Mayson charged with Treason

Cedric Mayson, former Meth-



odist Minister, was editor of the Christian Institute's journal, Pro Veritate, and was banned for five years in 1977, together with Beyers Naude. He was detained on 27 November 1981, and appeared before the Pretoria Supreme Court on charges including treason and being a member or an active supporter of the African National Congress (ANC) on 7 February 1983. His co-accused were Alan Fine, Sisa Njikelana, Thozamile Gqwetha and Sam Kikine. He was released on bail, fled the country and arrived in Britain the day before his case was due to resume on 18 April 1983. Rev Cedric Mayson served as Chaplain of the ANC until his retirement. He passed away in 2015.

7 February 2016 Ethiopian Airlines Aviation Academy opens

The upgraded academy, founded in 1958, was opened by Prime Minister Haile Mariam Desalegn, and aimed to train 4000 aviation personnel, including pilots, mechanics, engineers, technicians and others in the sector, every year by 2025. On 6 March 2023, the Ethiopian CEO Mesfin Tasew announced that the academy was upgraded to an aviation university, also offering degree programmes.

THIS WEEK IN HISTORY

INTERNATIONAL AND NATIONAL DAYS

1–7 February 2025

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

1–7 February African Heritage and Health Week



The African continent brings an incredible heritage of delicious and nutritious food to the world, and African Heritage & Health Week focuses on sharing our cuisine with the world. As Africans spread throughout the world – as a result of the Slave trade, colonialism and migration – our traditions of incredibly flavourful food has spread, fusing with the local cuisine to create something familiar yet powerfully new. Throughout the Caribbean, South America, and all the other regions of their world, African influence has touched global cuisine and left an indelible mark. African Heritage & Health Week brings these delicious traditions to the world.

February World Hijab Day

February 1st, 2013 marked the first annual World Hijab Day in recognition of millions of Muslim women who choose to wear the hijab. The brainchild of this movement is a New York native, Nazma Khan, who came up with the idea as a means to foster freedom of religious expression and cultural understanding, by inviting women from all walks of life to experience the hijab for one day on February 1st annually. The day hopes to counteract some of the

controversies surrounding why Muslim women choose to wear the hijab.

2 February World Wetlands Day

Wetlands are areas where water covers the soil or where water is present very near to the surface for prolonged periods, creating conditions that favour the growth of specially adapted plants (hydrophytes) and wetland (hydric) soils. Wetlands are important for their biodiversity and ecosystems, their contributions to the groundwater systems and as carbon sinks, are and must therefore be protected. South Africa's 300,000 wetlands make up only 2.4% of the land, but nearly half are endangered, due to urban encroachment and development, mining, and agriculture, invasive alien plants, and erosion. The St Lucia wetlands system in KZN is amongst the most renowned. (<https://www.environment.gov.za>)

2 February Number Day

Unleashing curiosity, sparking puzzles, and making numbers an exciting adventure ignites young minds, fostering a lifelong love for math.

4 February World Cancer Day

Cancer can develop anywhere in the body, starting when cells grow out of control and crowd out normal cells, making it hard for the body to function as it should. Each year, over 10 million people



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die from cancer and this figure is expected to rise to 13 million by 2030. Factors contributing to high incidents of cancer include tobacco and alcohol, obesity, diet and nutrition, lack of physical activity, radiation, workplace hazards, infections as well as non-modifiable risk factors such as age, genetics and carcinogens.

4 February

International Day of Human Fraternity

We need — perhaps more than ever before — to recognize the valuable contribution of people of all religions, or beliefs, to humanity. The declaration **“Human Fraternity for World Peace and Living Together”** – co-authored by His Holiness Pope Francis and His Eminence the Grand Imam of Al-Azhar Sheikh Ahmed El Tayeb – is a model for interfaith harmony and human solidarity.

5 February

World Read Aloud Day

Storytelling and the oral tradition were and remain important part of preserving history, traditions, indigenous knowledge, education and history. Today we have books, but reading aloud for children and each other, listening to audio books remain important part of how we learn. World Read Aloud Day is therefore celebrated by over 170 million people globally and is growing, celebrated every first Wednesday of February. *“Storytelling creates connections among people and communities that*

exchange stories and engage in reading aloud together become stronger and show improved family health and nutrition, civic engagement and participation in the labor market.” South Africa’s Nal’bali celebrates the day, encouraging a reading culture and targeting 3.5 million people to read aloud. (worldlit.com, <https://nalibali.org/wrad2025>).

6 February

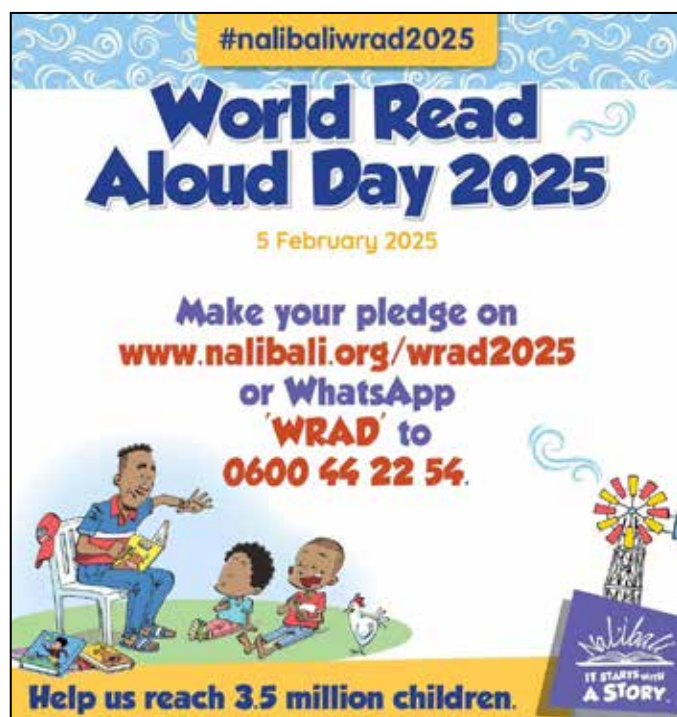
International day Against Female Genital Mutilation

Female genital mutilation (FGM) comprises all procedures that involve altering or injuring the female genitalia for non-medical reasons and is recognized internationally as a violation of human rights, the health and the integrity of girls and women. Girls who undergo female genital mutilation face short-term complications such as severe pain, shock, excessive bleeding, infections, and difficulty in passing urine, as well as long-term consequences for their sexual and reproductive health and mental health. FGM is a universal problem, concentrated in 30 countries in Africa and the Middle East and is also practiced in some countries in Asia and Latin America and amongst immigrant populations in Western Europe, North America, Australia and New Zealand. The African Union has a continent-wide campaign to end FGM, with the president of Burkina Faso as the AU champion on the campaign. To date, more than 22 AU member states have legislation to criminalise female genital mutilation.

6 February

Africa Safer Internet Day

Safer internet day celebrates how the internet can inform, connect and inspire all of us, but also on the importance of a safe internet, safe from bullying, predators, abuse, racism, homophobia, sexism, fake news and misogyny. In 2019, over 71% of children were online, according to UNICEF. At the same time, due to work and other pressures, parents and guardians have less time, and often the knowledge to guide their children’s engagements with the internet. With increasing digitalization, children are more able to get access to education, to connect to peers and to use the enormous potential the internet provides to them. This awareness day is aimed at young people, to help them know what to trust online, supporting young people to question, and to challenge and change the online world for the better. In most of Africa, it also focuses on access to the internet and data.



#nalibaliwrad2025

World Read Aloud Day 2025

5 February 2025

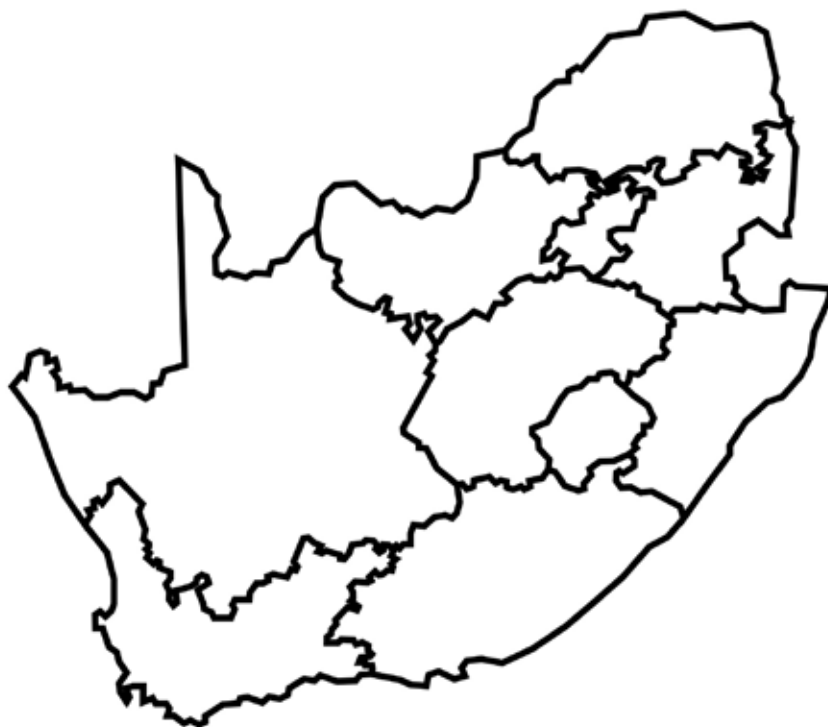
Make your pledge on
www.nalibali.org/wrad2025
 or WhatsApp
WRAD to
0600 44 22 54.

Help us reach 3.5 million children.

nalibali
IT STARTS WITH A STORY.

SA IN NUMBERS

(Income and Expenditure Survey, StatsSA 2024)



R3,0 Trillion

In 2023 the Total Household Income was R4,3 Trillion, the Total Household Consumption Expenditure: R3,0 Trillion

In 2023, on average, household consumption expenditure amounted to R143 691, while average annual household income was R204 359

R 204 359

R204 359

Average Nominal household income has increased from R74 589 (2006) to R204 359 (2022)

Black African-headed households accounted for 62,2% of all household consumption expenditure in 2023 and spent on average R108 461

62,2%

54,4%

Western Cape and Gauteng combined accounted for the majority of the total household consumption expenditure (54,4%)

In terms of average annual household consumption expenditure, households in Western Cape are the richest (R229 636) while the poorest province was North West (R98 147)

R 98 147

SA IN NUMBERS

(Income and Expenditure Survey, StatsSA 2024)

17,9%

Between 2006 and 2023 Black African (36,2%) and Coloured-headed households (17,9%) experienced the largest real growth in household consumption expenditure

The following metros have average annual incomes higher than the national average: City of Cape Town (R387 881), City Of Tshwane (R282 542), City of JHB (R280 416), Ekurhuleni (R206 425)

R 206 425

R 179 227

The following metros have average annual household consumption expenditures higher than the national average: City of Cape Town (R248 539), City of Tshwane (R198 035), City of JHB (R179 227)

In households led by men, the average annual household income is R176 812, of which 70% is derived from work.

70%

59%

In households led by women, the average annual household income is R93 540, of which 59% is derived from work.

Male-headed households spent more on average than female-headed households, with annual consumption expenditure at R159 315 compared to R123 346 for female-headed households.

R 123 346

33,3%

Households in the lowest decile spent over two-thirds (68,6%) of their total expenditure on housing and food, while the wealthiest decile allocated a significantly lower proportion (33,3%) to these basic needs, spending more on discretionary expenses such as insurance and financial services.

White-headed households had the highest average annual household income (R676 375), followed by Indian/Asian-headed households (R417 431), Coloured-headed households (R260 816), and Black African-headed households (R204 359)

R 204 359