



# ANC TODAY

VOICE OF THE AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS

12–18 September 2025

Conversations with the  
**President**



## We must build a society in which corruption cannot take root

■ By **PRESIDENT CYRIL RAMAPHOSA**

**J**ust over a week ago, the National Anti-Corruption Advisory Council (NACAC) handed over its final report at the conclusion of its three-year term. The Council was set up in 2022 to guide the implementation of the National Anti-Corruption Strategy and to strengthen the state's anti-corruption architecture.

The report includes a recommendation to establish a permanent, independent, overarching anti-corruption body. The Council recommends that this body be known as the Office of Public Integrity and Anti-Corruption and that its mandate be to prevent, investigate and

remedy systemic corruption. The proposed body, which responds to one of the key recommendations of the State Capture Commission, would be expected to both fight corruption and prevent it from happening in the first place.

The NACAC report also makes recommendations on the strengthening and coordination of law enforcement agencies, enhanced coordination mechanisms among the different law enforcement agencies, the use of Artificial Intelligence to prevent corruption and the establishment of an anti-corruption data sharing framework. These recommendations will be thor-

oughly reviewed by the relevant government institutions for tabling and deliberation in Cabinet.

The work of NACAC makes it clear that the fight against corruption is complex, multi-faceted and protracted. This fight requires the dismantling systems of patronage that have become entrenched over many years. It requires strengthening state capacity to handle complex cases and closing regulatory loopholes that have enabled corruption to flourish.

We need to tackle public and private sector corruption with equal energy. Tax evasion,



market manipulation, inflated contracts and tender collusion by businesses significantly harm our economy, yet often receive less attention than corruption in public institutions.

Amid daily reports of alleged corruption, South Africans want to see action. They want to see more arrests and convictions.

We should therefore welcome the progress being made by our law enforcement agencies. Last week the Directorate for Priority Crime Investigation, known as the Hawks, and the Special Investigating Unit briefed Parliament on investigations into the South African Post Office, Postbank and the South African Social Security Agency, financial irregularities at water entities, an allegedly corrupt fuel tender, and graft at a number of municipalities.

This year has seen a number of arrests linked to alleged corruption in Eskom, the South African Police Service, Transnet and in municipalities. While allegations of corruption within these important institutions are deeply disturbing, it is encouraging that they have been de-

tected and that criminal action is being taken.

In July this year, the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) Working Group on Bribery noted that South Africa continues to make progress in detecting and investigating foreign bribery cases, and that *“the resilience and commitment of individual government and law-enforcement officials, working in a multi-agency approach, has contributed to this progress”*.

We continue to make progress towards the removal of our country from the Financial Action Task Force (FATF) grey-list. In June, FATF noted that South Africa has completed all 22 action plan items to combat money-laundering and the financing of terrorism. Exiting the grey-list is part of the fight against corruption and key to safeguarding the integrity of our financial system.

Much of this work takes place behind the scenes. While there is a justifiable public expectation that there should be more convictions – including of those

implicated in state capture – fighting corruption extends way beyond putting culprits in the dock.

As the NACAC report points out, we need to pursue institutional reform to address the shortcomings in practices and systems that have enabled corruption to flourish.

Corruption is much more than the result of the criminal intent of a few individuals be they government officials, elected public representatives or business people. It can become embedded in state institutions or business enterprises and manifest itself in practices and organisational culture. The success of our efforts relies on our ability to prevent corruption in the first place in state institutions, business enterprises or organs of civil society.

That is why we need to build transparent, accountable and ethical institutions – both public and private – in which corruption is unable to take root.

We all need to work together to build a society characterised by responsibility and integrity. ■

# The People's Trust in the ANC Confirmed Through By-Election Victories as Renewal, Discipline and Service Delivery Remain Our Mission

■ By **ANC SECRETARY GENERAL FIKILE MBALULA**

**T**HE African National Congress celebrates the victories recorded in the by-elections of Wednesday, 10 September 2025 across the country, which once again confirmed the peoples faith in the ANC as their movement of choice and as the dependable force and trust to lead transformation and development in their communities. In these by-elections, the African National Congress retained key wards across the country, each victory carrying the unmistakable voice of the people.

In **Ward 5, Bela Bela** in the Waterberg Region, Limpopo, the community once again placed their trust in the ANC, delivering a decisive mandate for progress. We extend heartfelt appreciation to every voter, volunteer and activist who carried this campaign, and we congratulate **Cde Malesela Michael Ramashala**, who must now serve our people with humility, dignity and unwavering accountability.

In the Free State's Lejweleputswa Region, the people of **Ward 7, Kgotsong-Bothaville** reaffirmed their confidence in the ANC, proving that when we stand close to the people, they continue to stand with us. We salute every

comrade who made this victory possible and congratulate **Cde Manana Anna Mohapi**, who is entrusted to lead with honesty, respect and an unbroken commitment to service.

In Gauteng, the ANC retained **Ward 130, Emdeni and Naledi** in Soweto, Greater Johannesburg Region, which demonstrated once again the enduring bond between the ANC and the people of our nation's largest metro. We thank the community of Johannesburg for their loyalty and support, and we congratulate **Cde Nduduzo Mzolo**, who must carry this mandate with humility and dedication to the daily needs of our people.

We also express gratitude to the people of **Ward 01, Kou-Kamma Municipality** in the Eastern Cape, who supported the ANC in the by-elections.

These results are not ordinary but they are proof that the renewal project of the ANC is yielding fruit. The people are responding to the stability, unity and discipline that is returning to the organisation, and to the visible commitment of the ANC to serve communities better.

As we celebrate these victories,

we look ahead to the **Special NEC on Local Government** taking place from Saturday, 13 to Sunday, 14 September 2025, followed by the **Roll Call of Councillors** at the **GoldRush Dome, FNB Stadium on Monday, 15 September 2025**. This process will reaffirm the pledge taken by councillors in Ekurhuleni in 2021, sharpen our focus on service delivery, and intensify consequence management.

The Roll Call of Councillors will be guided by the principles of consultation, service standards, openness and transparency, redress and value for money. Its goal is clear, it is to build a dependable corps of ANC councillors who are disciplined, people-centred, and accountable to the communities they serve.

To our people, we say thank you for your trust. Your voice has been heard, and your confidence strengthens our resolve. The ANC recommits to ensuring that service delivery is accelerated, that councillors honour their mandate, and that renewal remains at the heart of our organisation.

The ANC lives. The ANC leads.

Renewal continues. ■

## EDITORIAL



# 5<sup>TH</sup> NGC ROADMAP: CONTENT AND PROCESS

ACTIVITY	UPDATE AND NEXT STEPS	WHO
1. Regional meetings on NGC Base Document	All regional meetings that launched the NGC roadmap took place on 30-31 Sept 2025, except Vhembe that was disrupted, well attended with inputs. Good start, but some instances felt presentations too abbreviated.  <b>Action:</b> Complete outstanding regions: GP: Joburg and Tswane, 7 Sept. NC: all 5 regions 6-7 Sept. EC: Joe Gqabi, Chris Hani. LP: redo Vhembe	SGO and Organising & Membership dept
2. Provincial Workshops with PECs and RECs	7 scheduled for this weekend, except N Cape (20/9) and GP. NEC deployees will present, may require PolEd support.	SGO and Organising & Membership dept
3. Special Umrabulo	The Special NGC Umrabulo with the NGC base document which also include Roadmap done. Provinces will use establish distribution channels to share electronic copy, and will also be published on our website. Some issues raised already with regards to economic section.  <b>Action:</b> (1) Ensure ready for publication early 4/9/2025 (2) Add email address for submissions and inputs. (3) Share on website, social media sites and WhatsApp groups, ANC Cloud (4) Specs for provinces that want to print (5) +2000 copies to be printed for NGC.	PMER, DCIP
4. NGC Communications	Action: (1) Create 5 <sup>th</sup> NGC microsite on anc1912 website and publish Umrabulo there. (2) Popularise activities related to Base document Roll-out.	DCIP
5. Training of Trainers	Training of trainers for the branch roll-out of the NGC base document (along with Foundation Course and BET training) scheduled for 20-22 September 2025. To also involve Organising & Membership, DCIP, PMER (and Elections) staff and coordinators.	PolEd
6. Sectoral Engagements	The Sector Task team is having a workshop on 5-6 Sept, asked to make presentation on taking NGC document to Sectors. Will raise issues and report back to this team with proposals.	FPG, PMER
7. Processes in ANC Branches	Need to clearly communicate when BGMs and workshops on the NGC doc will start – after Training of Trainers, the membership renewal cut-off date for 30 September 2025, and the BGMs to finalise branch submission, cut off 15 November 2025. Action: (1) SGO letter on cut-off date to all members. (2) Regular communications in ANC Today on the Roadmap.	SGO
8. Collation and Analysis of Submissions on NGC base document	Create and email for submissions and inputs from ANC structures, ensure collation and analysis for NGC	PMER PolEd
9. Coordination	Weekly sittings of this forum to check progress and report to PMC	ALL

# ROADMAP TOWARDS THE ANC 5<sup>TH</sup> NATIONAL GENERAL COUNCIL

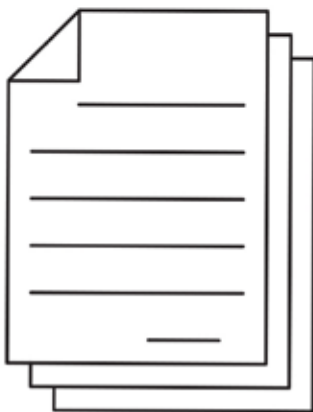
8-12 December 2025, NASREC

## NGC Delegation:

1650 total delegates.  
750 from Branches,  
270 from RECs (5 per REC);  
90 from PECs (10 per PEC;  
2 per League per province;  
30 per League National;  
20 MKLWV;  
Alliance and Sectors.



All delegates must be members in good standing by **30 September 2025**, completed all 5 Modules of the ANC Foundation Course and attended a branch, regional or provincial workshop on the NGC Base document.



NGC will discuss two **main documents**:

- NGC Base Document on the State of the National Democratic Revolution and the Balance of Forces.
- Mid-Term Report and Review of implementation of 55<sup>th</sup> National Conference Resolutions.



# COSATU STATEMENT ON HIGH ELECTRICITY PRICES

**T**HE Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU) urges immediate action by government to reduce the increasingly unaffordable price of electricity to stop a jobs bloodbath. This is not a matter that workers or the economy can afford for government to continue to philosophise about.

Since the advent of loadshedding in 2006, electricity prices have increased by more than 450% with endless promises of short-term pain. The consequences have been that electricity tariffs are squeezing working-class families, taking monies needed to buy food and other essential goods, as well as starving the economy of badly needed stimulus. It is not a coincidence that more than 70% of households are drowning in debt.

These relentless electricity price hikes have led to closure of numerous smelters, with the latest alarms being sounded by Glencore that will see thousands of workers lose their jobs, more lost downstream and ghost towns created. Industry and labour have raised the alarm bells on this crisis with government over many years. It is time that government acted decisively to avoid further job losses.

Key interventions need to include ensuring that:

- All consumers are moved to prepaid electricity bills, whilst ensuring that indigent households receive their free elec-

tricity allocation.

- Eskom and municipalities disconnect illegal connections and are provided the necessary protection by law enforcement when doing so.
- Revamping Treasury's debt relief package for municipalities owing Eskom.
- Treasury's Chief Procurement Officer provide support to Eskom and municipalities to reduce wasteful expenditure.
- The South African Police Service, Hawks and the judiciary ramp up support to Eskom and municipalities to tackle crime and corruption, including cable theft and vandalism.
- Investment in 14 000 kilometres of transmission lines are expedited to unlock renewable energy in the three Cape Provinces.
- Eskom is provided the support, including financing, to enter the renewable energy space to help reduce its own generation costs.

Whilst these key interventions

will provide the medium- and long-term solutions needed to place electricity on an affordable trajectory, an immediate intervention is needed from government and Eskom to enable industrial sectors to cope and avoid further smelter and other company closures, including through reduced tariffs. What the economy cannot afford to continue is to allow the massive financial leakages undermining Eskom's ability to provide affordable electricity to continue, including the widespread culture of non-payment for electricity consumed.

The Federation has continuously raised this matter at Nedlac and will soon be tabling a Section 77 strike certificate there and seeking urgent engagements with Eskom as well as the Presidency and the Ministries for Electricity and Energy, Finance, Cooperative Governance, Mineral and Petroleum Resources, as well as Trade, Industry and Competition to find tangible solutions to this crisis. ■





## Breaking the glass ceiling in the water sector and fighting the demon of GBVF in the workplace

■ By **PEMMY MAJODINA**

**W**OMEN'S Month presented an opportunity to highlight the plight of women and to reflect on the journey we have travelled to build a society that responds to the aspirations of women, and to rededicate ourselves to the task of breaking the glass ceiling in the water sector and to advance the goals of gender equality and women empowerment.

As we commemorated this year's Women's Month under the theme: "Building Resilient Economies for All", we did so painfully aware that the goals of gender equality, economic empowerment of women and defeating the pandemic of gender-based violence and

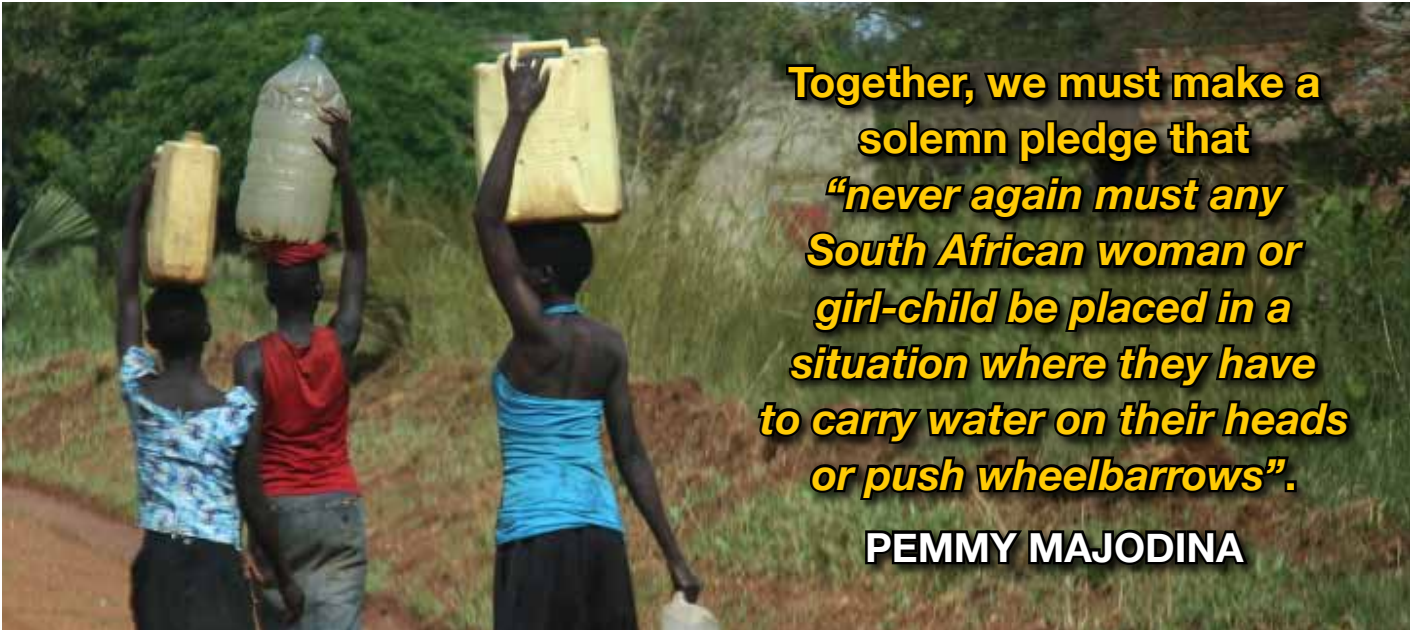
femicide have not yet been fully achieved.

We live in a country where, not so long ago, women were stripped of their dignity and self-worth in the land of their birth. Basic rights that were taken for granted across the progressive world were made foreign to them by a system that sought to make them permanent minors. This relegated women to the margins of society and forced many of them to be economically dependent on their male counter-parts, thereby subjecting them to unequal power relations. This deprived all of us as South Africans of the opportunity to benefit from the important contribution that women can make in the life of our nation.

Indeed, our ugly past, made us poorer without their contribution.

Throughout history, women have been the backbone of our society. Despite having been pushed to the periphery of the economy, their resilience have kept families and our nation together. This they did in the face of heavy odds that were stacked against them. These include a hostile environment, bullying, harassment, unwelcome conduct and offensive jokes.

As the Department of Water and Sanitation, we continue to open opportunities for women to occupy senior leadership positions in our department and its entities. The appointment of women



**Together, we must make a solemn pledge that “never again must any South African woman or girl-child be placed in a situation where they have to carry water on their heads or push wheelbarrows”.**

**PEMMY MAJODINA**

as chairpersons of boards and CEOs bears testimony to our commitment to achieve gender equality and women empowerment. Significant as it is, I believe this is not enough. We must do more. In the department, we have 47.16% women in senior and strategic positions, with African women accounting for 42.05% of this figure, while white women constitute 5.11%.

At all times, let us remember that the advancement of gender equality and women empowerment in the water sector is not optional, but a constitutional imperative. Let us all heed the clarion call to accelerate our collective efforts towards creating a conducive environment for women in the sector. Women are not an act of charity. Women empowerment is a social, economic and constitutional imperative.

I continue to make a call to the senior leadership of the department to ensure that our department creates a conducive environment for women to work and thrive. We all draw inspiration from Mama Charlotte Mannya-Maxeke. Through her own

personal conduct and articulation, she demonstrated selfless commitment to the upliftment of the downtrodden. In her own words: *“This work is not for yourselves – kill that spirit of self, and do not live above your people, but live with them. If you can rise, bring someone with you”*. Senior managers carry a responsibility to ensure that the department becomes a safe space for women where their rights are promoted and protected.

The 1994 democratic breakthrough marked a decisive break with our ugly past and the rise of a new dawn for the women of South Africa. Women now occupy influential positions in government and in civil society. They continue to play important roles in decision-making processes of the nation. Through the Constitution and an array of other measures introduced since 1994, the position and conditions of women in our country have improved.

The living conditions of the majority of ordinary women have undergone significant qualitative change. Women now have access to services and positions

that were a dream only a mere thirty years ago. Indeed, the 1994 democratic breakthrough has enabled us to break the glass ceiling and allow women to occupy their rightful places. At the same time, we must also concede that there are still many formidable obstacles that must be overcome before we can fully achieve gender equality in the workplace.

While significant strides have been made to empower women and promote gender equality, we must concede that women still bear a disproportionate burden of the triple challenges of poverty, inequality and unemployment. Across society, the stark reality is that the majority of people living in conditions of poverty are women and the poorest households are headed by women. They are also the hardest hit by lack of access to clean water.

Lack of access to reliable water supply and proper sanitation can be particularly more devastating to women and girl children. Women and girl children are often vulnerable to harassment or violence when they have to travel long distances to fetch water or

use shared toilets. Water is a resource that can advance the development of women and girls. We are implementing water projects across the country in order to alleviate the heavy burden on the shoulders of women. We are targeting areas where the need is particularly acute, where women still bear the burden of travelling long distances to fetch water for domestic use.

As women leaders in the water sector, we carry a responsibility to intervene decisively to address the situation. Together, we must make a solemn pledge that *“never again must any South African woman or girl-child be placed in a situation where they have to carry water on their heads or push wheelbarrows”*. However, I remain encouraged by the progress we are making in this regard.

As a department, we are also conscious of the fact that women should not only be recipients of service delivery, but should also benefit economically from the procurement opportunities.

We are deliberate in enhancing the participation of women in the economy. This commitment is further demonstrated in the implementation of our big water infrastructure projects. As an example, one of the work packages of the R2 billion Loskop Regional Bulk Water Infrastructure project is implemented by a women contractor. At the same time, many women benefit as sub-contractors and workers. In line with the department’s Economic Empowerment programme, we have targeted 40% of the procurement budget to spend on Exempted Micro Enterprises owned by women and 40% procurement budget to be spent on qualifying small enterprises owned by women.

We are focusing on women economic empowerment because we know too well that the economic empowerment of women remains central in our fight against gender-based violence. An economically independent woman has an option to walk away from toxic and abusive relationships. Poverty tends to trap women in conditions of abuse.

As a sector, we have a moral obligation to ensure that access to water and sanitation prevents any possible gender-based violence. We heeded the call from women who are also burdened by the risk of being attacked in the remote workstations such as the dam construction sites and in water tunnels. Our security teams must put all hands on deck to ensure the safety of all in these remote dam sites. We must also look at remote technologies and artificial intelligence solutions that are aimed at reducing this risk of safety.

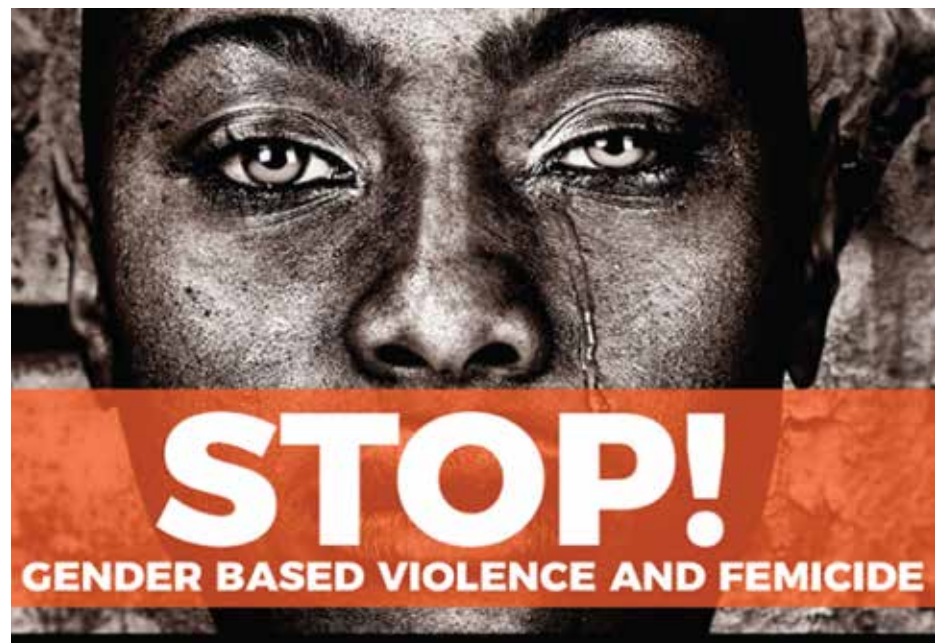
Together, we can and must do more to prevent violence against women, provide services to survivors, and ensure that perpetrators are punished. Through the

collective efforts of government, civil-society organisations and the business sector, we can defeat the scourge of gender-based violence and femicide.

Our government has approved several pieces of legislative that are aimed at eliminating scourge of violence and discrimination in our society. Among others, these are: Domestic Violence Act, 1998; Children’s Act, 2005 and Children’s Amendment Act, 2007; Promotion of Equality and Prevention of Unfair Discrimination Act, 2000; Employment Equity Act, 1998; and the Maintenance Act, 1998. These progressive laws must help to ensure that every woman and girl is free from any threat of violence.

Every woman and girl should be free from gender-based violence.

Every woman and girl should be able to walk the streets of our towns and townships without any fear of harassment or attack. In the workplace, every woman must be free to perform her duties even after hours without fear of attack at work or on her way home. ■



## CURRENT AFFAIRS



# STOP CORRUPTION

**NAME AND SHAME**

**NOT IN OUR NAME**



There are consequences for **Corruption**. The Hawks report on **16 cases** referred to it by the AGSA, resulting in **21 individual cases**:

- 5** cases now at court
- 1** submitted to the NPA for decision
- 15** under investigation

Estimated total value: **R452 862 735**

### Notable cases of fraudulent activities

- **South African Post Office and Postbank** – stolen SASSA cards and misrepresentation of beneficiary payments
- **Mohokare Local Municipality**: non-payment of pension fund contributions
- **Madibeng Local Municipality**: unauthorised debit orders
- **Matjhabeng Local Municipality**: irregular deviations in a stormwater system project
- **Free State Development Corporation**: uncollected revenue
- **Free State Department of Human Settlements**: overpayments of contracts
- **Northern Cape Urban TVET College**: fraudulent quotations
- **Department of Defence**: fraudulent tender award for fuel supply

The SIU is developing a **National Corruption Risk Management and Prevention Framework**, focusing on prevention, awareness, and advisory services.

### Cases under Investigation

- **Chris Hani District Municipality**: supply chain management and VAT compliance
- **Department of Defence**: irregular procurement for asset verification and management systems
- **Bushbuckridge Local Municipality**: irregular payments and procurement
- **State Information Technology Agency**: turnkey software asset management solutions
- **JB Marks Local Municipality**: floodline canal construction
- **Office of the Free State Premier**: bursary scheme maladministration

### Finalised Investigations

- **Amajuba District Municipality**: irregular procurement of a reservoir
- **Umgenti Water**: invalid payments for security and consultancy services
- **Ngaka Modiri Molema District Municipality**: irregular procurement of personal protective equipment, generators, and water-related material
- **National Treasury**: Integrated Financial Management System contract irregularities

**SOURCE: Standing Committee on the Auditor General, 5 September 2025**

[https://pmg.org.za/committee-meeting/41539/?utm\\_campaign=minute-alert&utm\\_medium=email&utm\\_source=transactional](https://pmg.org.za/committee-meeting/41539/?utm_campaign=minute-alert&utm_medium=email&utm_source=transactional)

# The Age and Dangers of Fake News: Safeguarding the ANC in the Era of AI

■ By **JAMES NGCULU**

**T**HE world is captured by fake news and the ANC is now a main target as local and international enemies take aim. Fake news thrives in the arena of political contestation. And in the ANC, as in all social movements, it causes confusion, mistrust and internal divisions. Fake news is weakening the fabric of our movement. It's corrosive effect deepens the cracks of disunity and factionalism. It's a reality we must be alive to.

South Africa has a high penetration of smartphones and true to our talkative nature we populate thriving social media communities on platforms such as Whatsapp, facebook, instagram and X. These high-speed message vehicles have become the main carriers of fake news and as we chat and bond over the internet. Yet, every ANC member should continuously be alive to the threat posed by ever active message manipulators planting fake news.

But what is fake news? A simple rule of thumb is the old saying: if it sounds too good to be true, it probably is. This rule of scepticism is a good one as social media consumers wade through overwhelming numbers of random short form messaging. It's not in dispute that these social media platforms have become the Pandora's box of spreading



propaganda and disinformation.

Today, information spreads rapidly and widely. A most recent social media sensation, for example, is Burkina Faso's 34-year-old *'interim'* president, captain Ibrahim Traoré, who led a successful coup in 2022 and has increasingly become the *'star'* of multiple videos singing his praises. Most of the information spread about him is by influencers and very little by his government and therefore not verifiable. In a discussion on a social media platform, **Africa Here & Now**, on 13 May 2025, one of the commentators asked: "We wonder why we've heard so few Burkinabe voices on the matter – most of the commentary is coming from outsiders, very few of whom have actually been to Burkina Faso." The young president has equally

found favour on ANC message groups where Traoré is held up as the symbol of the young showing their elders the way.

Many commentators view the Covid-19 years as the propeller of Fake News. We suddenly saw vaccine skeptics flooding social media. As a **Business Day** article of 13 July 2021 stated: "Social media is contributing to this chaos, with fake videos circulating on Twitter handles (called catfishing), sending out fake incendiary messages from fake revolutionaries. The fake stories are then forwarded from one account to another and laundered in the public mind before the truth can lace up boots."

During and after the 2016 US presidential election Donald Trump fanned the flames with almost a

## VIEWPOINT

daily attack on the World Health Organisation and his own health department staff. Thousands of skeptics followed in his wake and in South Africa it was no different. Many applauded Trump's message that "*people were tired of Covid*" and tired of hearing from 'idiots' such as his Chief Medical Advisor Anthony Fauci, despite credible scientific evidence showing the efficacy of vaccines and social distancing.

Another world leader that took to social media to spread fake news and disinformation about the epidemic was Brazil's Jair Bolsonaro whose denialism exacerbated the effect of the pandemic that left an estimated 690 Brazilians dead. Commentators termed it the "*Bolsonaro Effect*", because of the higher deaths that were recorded in pro-Bolsonaro municipalities, a phenomenon replicated world-wide as epidemic deniers and vaccine skeptics trended on social media, despite the UN Secretary General, Antonio Guterres, alerting people to the "*dangerous epidemic of fake news on Covid-19 in the current situation*". He stressed that social media companies had to take responsibility for tackling the spread of fake news.

A democratic South Africa had its own baptism of fake news in early 2016 when the British public relations company Bell Pottinger (BP), contracted by the infamous Gupta brothers, orchestrated a secret campaign to stir up racial tension in South Africa with the ostensible aim of rescuing the tarnished political image of former president Jacob Zuma and the Guptas who were desperate to recover from the corruption laced Guptagate scandal. Bell Pottinger, known for polishing the image of British conservative pol-

iticians such as Margaret Thatcher was also known in South Africa for 'advising' apartheid president FW de Klerk. Much of Bell Pottinger's work was conducted through disinformation campaigns in the main media but, more importantly, through planting fake news and negative political messages with 'influencers' on social media. Their primary focus was a claim that the ANC was in the clutches of 'white monopoly capital', a catchy phrase created by the firm. Many South Africans, both inside and outside the ANC viewed the campaign as stirring racial tension, despite the ANC's own strong message of justice and economic empowerment. The campaign attracted many followers such as the EFF and its leader Julius Malema who launched a powerful campaign against one of South Africa's richest citizens Johan Rupert. On 6 April 2022 the EFF descended on Ruperts Stellenbosch farm, calling on EFF supporters to "*confront White Monopoly Capital*" for stealing the wealth of black people. The strength of the Bell Pottinger campaign was the successful manipulation of social media.

There are various platforms in

the short message video category. Academics and social commentators write about X (former Twitter) increasingly being used as the channel through which information and opinions are circulated, and identify, alongside fake news and misinformation, various other terms, such as: post-truths, alternative facts, falsehoods, deception, hoax news and even fake reporting, the latter often created through Artificial Intelligence and 'bots'. Many distinguish between the deliberate spreading of false information and those inadvertently forwarding false information. The Oxford English dictionary defines it as "*false information that is broadcast or published as news for fraudulent or politically motivated purposes*". It explodes on social media and then seeps into the mainstream.

We can view fake news as a fiction or a non-existent story presented as factually new, most often to deceive or confuse the person into believing the claim and at the same time spreading it. A person does so because he or she believes the story as truth. Yet there are some who distribute these narratives with obvious ill-intention, a reality frequently





seen to create serious factional conflict within organisations such as the ANC.

At a University of Johannesburg roundtable discussion in April 2025 Vice-Chancellor Prof Letlhokwa Mpedi noted that distinguishing fact from fiction had become harder and he expressed concern that disinformation in Africa was spreading rapidly, threatening democracy, stability and civil liberties. He identified disinformation campaigns that fuelled violence, launched coups and promoted election interference. His view was echoed by Phathiswa Magopeni of the Press Council who stressed that the danger of fake news was that it conflated disinformation with journalism and thereby undermined trust.

### **The Risks to the ANC**

We should accept that fake news has now taken firm grip in the ranks of the ANC. Our defence against it must be bold and disciplined. Fake news continues to create divisions and strategic setbacks within our ranks, especially within lower structures. Within party branches and WhatsApp groups, comrades who encounter sensational but false content may react strongly – forward-

ing posts without verification or acting on fabricated claims. Because disinformation often plays on emotions (anger, fear, pride), even committed party members can be duped into believing and sharing wrong information. Comrades must be trained to spot deepfakes and fake news. It undermines organisational discipline. It confuses members and supporters about the ANC's true policies. In the broader democratic context, experts warn that "information disorders" erode voters' ability to form accurate beliefs, threatening the legitimacy of election outcomes. Internally, disinformation, misinformation can derail organisational focus: resources may be diverted into rebutting false allegations or calming frayed tempers, rather than advancing the campaign. The ANC must therefore recognise that fake news is not just an abstract 'media problem' but an organisational hazard that can hamper morale and cohesion if not addressed, and foment divisions and factionalism.

As we go to the local government elections in 2026, ANC members are going to be bombarded with fake news, AI, and bots to flood the space with anti-ANC propaganda, including fake WhatsApp

messages or voice notes that impersonate members and leaders. It spreads lies designed to sway undecided voters and confide members. The ANC must think of ways to capacitate members against this reality of AI and Deepfakes.

### **Conclusion**

Fake news and disinformation have become an endemic part of politics throughout the world. The ANC must develop an education and information platform to alert our members about the threat it poses to our unity and cohesion. It is a scary situation. We daily see comrades being hooked into sophisticated and sometimes clever and hidden fakes. It's relentless, as every day, new fake news, dis- and misinformation flood our information ecosystem. We experienced it first-hand when Donald Trump, in the full glare of the world, flashed obviously fake information and images about a so-called white genocide in South Africa. If it can be done to our President by the President of the United States, how much more to members of the ANC? ■

**James Ngculu** is a member of the NEC of the ANC Veterans League.



# A Movement Betrayed, A Nation in Peril

■ By **VUSANI MBUTHO**

**T**O my comrades, my fellow members of the ANC: the results of the 2024 election are a verdict. Not from our political rivals, but from our people. The very masses we swore to serve have, in their quiet desperation, delivered the ultimate condemnation. For too long, we have stood by as our movement – the very soul of our liberation struggle – has been hollowed out by corruption, paralysed by factionalism, and betrayed by a self-serving elite. We have watched our principles become punchlines and our legacy become a burden.

This is not a moment for polite debate or quiet reflection. **This is the time for fire.** Our house is on fire, and we must become the ones who extinguish the flames.

And let's be clear those who hold the matches cannot claim to be those who can extinguish the fire.

## **Our Last Stand for a Stolen Legacy**

Look at us. We, the inheritors of giants, have allowed our sacred principles to be corrupted and our democratic centralism to be turned into a tool of personal tyranny. The violence in KwaZulu-Natal, the decay of our public institutions, the open theft of our national resources – this is the monstrous legacy of our inaction and our generations complicity.

We are no longer the leaders of a revolution; we are the caretakers of a failed state. The time for denial is over. The moment for revolution is now.

This is not a suggestion. This is a demand. This is a call to arms for every honest comrade who still believes in the ANC's promise.

As Lenin once famously said *“A party is the vanguard of a class, and its duty is to lead the masses and not merely to reflect the average political level of the masses.”*

**This is what we have to do:**

- **We will seize our branches back from the gatekeepers!** No more shall membership lists be a convenient fiction for factional power. We will purge our ranks of every charlatan and opportunist. Our branches will become true centres of community power, evaluated on our service to the people, not our loyalty to a cabal.



- **We will drag the corrupt from the shadows!** We will no longer tolerate the thieves in our midst. We will build independent ethics tribunals with the power to investigate and expel, and we will do it without the approval of the very leaders who have tolerated the rot. We will expose them, shame them, and cast them out so the people know that their betrayal will not be forgiven.
- **We will end cadre deployment and reclaim our public service!** We will break the unholy marriage between our party and the state. The public service belongs to the people, and it must be led by the most competent, most ethical, and most dedicated among us, regardless of their factional allegiance. We will refuse to accept any appointment that is not based on pure, undeniable merit.

#### The NGC: Our First Battlefield

The coming National General Council is not just another bureaucratic meeting. It is the cru-

cible. It is the point of no return. For decades, the NGC has been a stage for political theatre and empty promises. Not this time. This time, it will be the first phase of our action. We will arrive in force, with a single, uncompromising mandate.

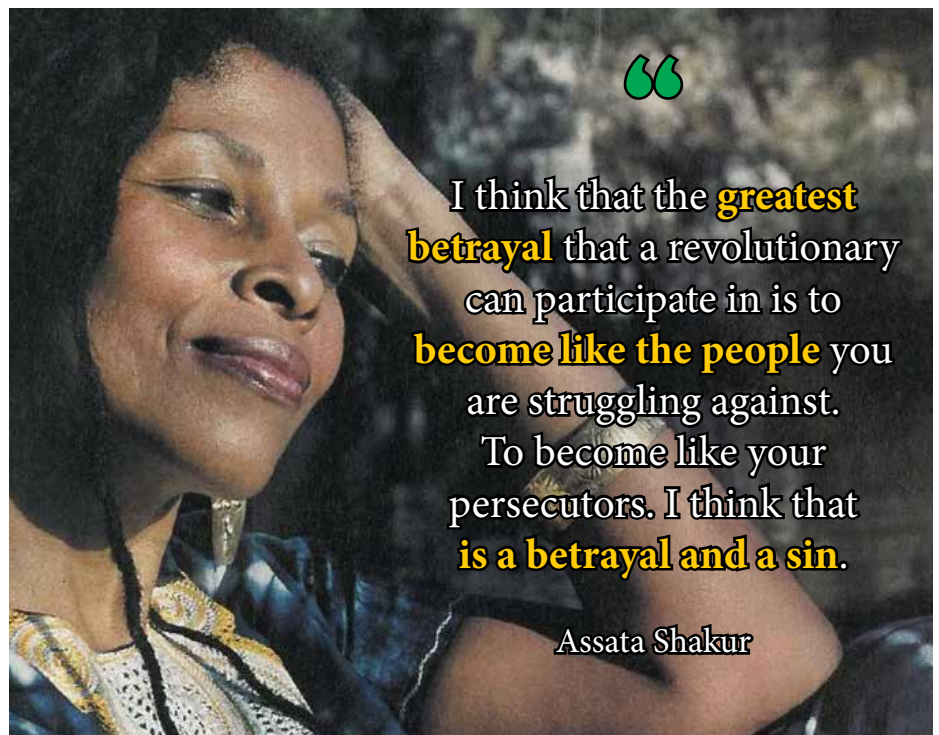
This is what we will force upon the NGC:

- A full, public account for the 2024 electoral collapse.

No more excuses. We will demand an honest diagnosis of our systemic failures and the betrayal that led to this humiliating defeat.

- A motion to dismantle the current cadre deployment committee. We will demand an end to the “hole of the camel” and a return to the principles of “Through the Eye of the Needle.”
- The immediate establishment of an independent ethics tribunal, with powers to prosecute corruption without the NEC’s approval. The purging of our ranks will begin here.

The time for waiting has passed. The time for polite dissent is over. The ANC will not reform itself; we, the true members of the movement, must do it. We will either rise up and reclaim the soul of the revolution at the NGC, or we will stand by and watch it burn to the ground. The choice is not theirs – it is ours. ■



“  
I think that the **greatest betrayal** that a revolutionary can participate in is to **become like the people** you are struggling against. To become like your persecutors. I think that **is a betrayal and a sin.**”

Assata Shakur

# Borders, Beds, and the Law: Restoring Order to South Africa's Public Health System

■ By **DR BANDILE HADEBE**

I recently bumped into an excerpt from an interview I did in September 2023, when I headed the Regional Secretariat for the Africa Health Indaba, a platform established within the now World Health Congress (WHX), which we had set up specifically to deal with regional policy matters and collaboration, the financing of healthcare, the business and trade in the health industry across the continent in order to drive Africa's competitiveness in the global health economy.

It then reminded me of a thought piece on foreign nationals in public hospitals I had intended to pen but then got lost in the bustle and the hustle of the work of the day.

**At the outset, my top four stand-points are:**

1) Except maybe for Brazil in

the context of Sistema Único de Saúde or SUS, their version of Universal Health Coverage, no country in the world provides free healthcare for all citizens of the world within its borders irrespective of immigration status or type of condition. While many nations with universal healthcare systems provide some level of free medical care to non-citizens, this is rarely extended unconditionally to all.

2) South Africa must act within the law. People who cross borders unlawfully place themselves outside immigration law. It is the state's duty, primarily the Department of Home Affairs, to enforce that law and secure our borders.

3) At the same time, our health

system must follow the Constitution and health statutes on who is entitled to care, what care is non-negotiable, and how facilities should conduct themselves.

4) Where foreign nationals are entitled to services, and have received them, the costs should be recovered wherever possible, including through structured agreements with their home states and embassies.

## Disclaimer

I have become accustomed to some level of hostility from both sides of the aisle whenever I attempt to navigate a difficult issue in our healthcare system, with the intention to provide an analytical and objective perspective on



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a matter that is contentious and emotive such as this one.

So as a disclaimer, I am definitely not going to write everything you hope for in this paper. You will find parts that resonate with some of your views and you will also find parts that throw you off. I am hoping even as you read *parts ezikwenza uziphahlaze phansi*, you will collide with more information to guide you towards a balanced understanding of the situation.

***So what does the law actually say, (and what it does not)?***

### 1. The Constitution

Our constitution says everyone has the right to have access to health care services and no one may be refused emergency medical treatment (underline emergency). The Constitutional Court has clarified that “emergency” means sudden, life-threatening situations; it does not force hospitals to provide all possible treatments regardless of resources, and this not only affects foreigners but also South Africans. That balance, rights versus resource rationality, frames every downstream policy choice.

### 2. The National Health Act (NHA)

The NHA operationalises these rights and prescribes that a provider or facility may not refuse emergency treatment. This in fact should be understood more by South Africans than by foreigners. There is absolutely no reason why we all rush our relatives to Bara or Mshiyeni after an accident, while passing a string of private hospitals along the way, just because they do not have medical aid. All private hospitals, by law, are obliged to receive, stabilize and then transfer if you

cannot afford further stay. This is the law under which they are granted operating licenses.

Clinics and community health centres must provide free primary health care to all persons, except those on medical schemes or receiving certain compensation benefits; and must provide free services to pregnant and lactating women and children under six who are not on medical schemes.

Importantly, the NHA also makes it a criminal offence to obstruct or hinder a health officer, inspector, or the Ombud in the performance of their duties and this definition of obstruction extends to the gate of the facility where health officers work. While a lot of us may be somewhat sympathetic to the activities of March in March and Dudula, which are an attempt to address failures in law enforcement and our porous border, it must still be clear that the law prohibits their actions and penalties can include imprisonment.

### 3. The Immigration Act (IA)

This is where enforcement meets care. Public bodies, including hospitals, must ascertain the status of the persons they serve and report illegal foreigners to Home Affairs, but this duty may not prevent rendering services to which such persons are entitled under the Constitution or any law. So for instance, illegal foreigners are entitled to emergency services, and such services must first be offered and then get them arrested.

The Immigration Act criminalises assisting an illegal foreigner to remain in SA except for necessary humanitarian assistance, which plainly includes urgent health care. It is an offence to take steps intended to help an illegal foreigner receive a public service to which they are not entitled.

This means that doctors and nurses who continue to treat illegal foreigners with stable chronic diseases using state funds and resources are themselves committing a criminal offence. The





**Zimbabwean nationals illegally cross into South Africa.**

Act further reinforces that in the case of legal immigrants, facilities should deliver what the law entitles and bill or recover where the law requires.

### **Where Home Affairs sits at the centre of the problem**

Even the best hospital protocol collapses if (1) borders are porous, (2) documentation systems are slow or dysfunctional, and (3) enforcement is inconsistent. The Immigration Act explicitly places status-verification and reporting duties on organs of state, but hospitals cannot substitute for border control or asylum processing. That is a Home Affairs function.

The absence of tight Home Affairs processes and controls results in a policy vacuum at point of care. Clinicians face legal duties to treat emergencies and provide free primary care at clinics, while communities, seeing queues and budget stress, reach for unlawful, vigilante solutions at hospital gates. That is a failure of governance, first and foremost in immigration management, not in

healthcare.

### **Policy fixes that align borders with beds**

They say you must not point out challenges and not offer solutions. So I would like to throw the following into the kitty of ideas.

- 1) DHA mobile/desk units at major hospitals to close the verification loop within 24 hours. This should come with integrated biometric look-ups into the Home Affairs data base to distinguish refugees/asylum seekers who are protected from others, minimizing front-line disputes.
- 2) Cost-sharing with foreign states through Embassy MOUs for guarantees of payment above a defined threshold such as inpatient and surgical episodes. Certainly within SADC we should be looking at putting in place some sort of cross-border health compact with defined reciprocal reimbursement schedules and referral pathways for high-cost care.

3) Revenue offices in hospitals trained on foreign-patient billing, ICD coding for claims, and debt recovery, without delaying emergency care. This will obviously be an outcome of international diplomacy suggested above as it is not mandated by international law today.

4) Protecting facilities from interference by enforcing existing law against obstruction and maintaining police presence where there is credible risk, which should also bolster immigration verification status and deter illegal immigrants from presenting at our public hospitals.

5) Public health guardrails to guarantee access to TB/HIV testing and treatment continuity for migrants to reduce community risk and downstream costs. Clear communication that emergencies and clinic PHC are safe spaces; enforcement happens through DHA processes, not at triage.

### **Conclusion**

The current conflict at hospital gates is a symptom of state failure at the border and in documentation, not a licence to shred constitutional norms in casualty. Enforce immigration law where it belongs; safeguard emergency and clinic-level care as the law requires; and build real cost-recovery mechanisms with foreign states. That is how we restore order, protect public health, and keep the promise of a lawful, humane Republic. ■

**Dr Bandile Hadebe** is the Managing Director of Health Accelerator.

# Improving execution in government

■ By **DR. SEAN PHILLIPS**

**T**HE observation that government is good at developing policies and strategies but bad at executing them is often made in the media. However, attempts to analyse why this is the case are rarer.

Execution in government is very different to execution in the private sector. In the private sector, you can do anything you like as long as you don't break a law. This gives you the scope to be innovative, flexible and quick with your approaches to execution.

In government, however, you can generally only do something if there is a law or regulation allowing you to do it. Even if you think of an innovative or flexible approach to execution, you can only use that approach if there is a law or regulation allowing you to do so. This is because of the rigid regulatory frameworks of government, which requires any implementation by public servants to be based on clearly defined legal mandates and authorities.

This is particularly the case with procurement, which is usually a key element of execution. Procurement of large government infrastructure programmes and projects is governed by the PFMA and MFMA, along with supply chain regulations issued by National Treasury and dozens of instruction notes, practice notes and guidelines issued by both National Treasury and the Construction Industry Development Board.



Some of these practice notes and guidelines are open to interpretation. If the Auditor General has a different interpretation to the Department's bid adjudication committee, there could be a finding that the procurement is irregular. This means that all the expenditure related to the procurement is deemed to be irregular, and National Treasury will usually only agree that the expenditure can be regularised if disciplinary action is taken against the members of the bid committee, even if the committee members acted in good faith.

This has resulted in a situation where it is becoming increasingly difficult to get good, honest public servants to agree to serve on departmental bid committees. In addition, procurements are often delayed for months as debates regarding the interpretation of the regulatory frameworks rage back and forth between the line function unit, the supply chain management unit, the legal services

unit and the bid committees.

Often, in an effort to improve execution, public servants are sent on project management courses, where they learn about project management methodologies commonly used in the private sector, including GANTT charts, critical paths and dependencies, for example. However, sending officials on these courses rarely results in improvements in execution.

This is because the utility and effectiveness of these project management methodologies is limited in the government environment. Simple basic tasks which are assumed to be done quickly as a matter of course in the private sector are often very difficult to implement in government, due to the rigidity of the regulatory frameworks and the hierarchical decision-making of government.

Successful project management in government is more of an art than a science. It requires

a particular type of character, someone who is willing to cross crocodile-infested rivers to single-mindedly ensure that the project is delivered timeously and effectively.

The implementation of large projects in government requires many different actions to be implemented by different people, often located in different branches of a department or even in other departments or spheres of government. The project manager is located in one branch of one department and does not have any formal authority over many of the people who need to implement key actions.

When one of these people does not do what they are required to do, the project can come to a halt. To address this, an effective government project manager will escalate the non-performance, firstly to the supervisor of the non-performing official, and then up the hierarchy, if necessary to the relevant Director General or Minister, to ensure that the action is implemented.

This requires courage on behalf of the project manager – escalating non-performance of other officials is not a good way to make friends in government – and can be career limiting. More often than not, project managers in government do not escalate when someone else who is not under their direct authority does not implement the required action.

This is not to say that the whole body of knowledge related to project management is not applicable in government. One of the fundamental tenets of this body of knowledge is the principle of single-point accountability, and lack of application of this principle



is one of the common reasons for poor execution in government. While task teams or committees can play useful coordination roles, they cannot replace the need for a single person to be assigned ultimate responsibility and accountability for the successful implementation of the project.

Improving execution in government requires a culture change in government. One of the cultures that needs to change is the belief amongst some top managers that it is beneath them to become involved in operational issues. However, projects and programmes are often delayed because of operational challenges, and this culture needs to change so that all senior managers understand that fixing operational challenges is part of their responsibility. Operational issues that block execution become strategic issues until they are resolved.

Finally, successful execution is

dependent on thorough planning. Too often, government programmes are well intentioned but inadequately thought through, with insufficient attention to potential unintended consequences, the strength of the logical links between programme activities and intended outcomes, and the depth and range of resources and work required for effective execution. The adage 'less haste, more speed', for which all good, experienced project managers have great respect, is often not followed. Again, this requires a change in culture, towards a culture which values careful and thorough planning, in addition to a sense of urgency. ■

**Dr Sean Phillips** is the Director General of Water and Sanitation. He has more than 20 years of experience as a senior manager across the three spheres of government, managing programmes and projects.

# A QUESTION LEFT HANGING

■ By **GODFREY NKOSI**

**T**HIS week, I took the trouble to carefully study the discussion documents prepared for the forthcoming National General Council of the African National Congress. They are weighty texts, filled with reflection on the state of the National Democratic Revolution, the balance of forces in society, and the urgent need for renewal of our organisation.

They speak, with admirable candour, about the crises that confront both the ANC and the nation: the decline of our electoral support, the corrosion of state capacity, the persistence of inequality and poverty, the weakening of the Alliance, and the steady erosion of the ANC's standing in society. They do not shy away from admitting that factionalism, careerism, and corruption have eaten deep into the marrow of our movement.

Yet, in reading these documents, I was left with a heavy heart. For amidst the many pages on renewal, there is one subject that the movement skirts around, one question that remains dangerously unresolved: how the ANC manages leadership succession.

## The Missing Framework

The documents acknowledge that the failure to manage succession with care has in the past undermined the organisation.



They warn that unless leadership transitions are deftly handled, the ANC could be plunged into deeper crises. But beyond this recognition, there is silence.

Instead of outlining a concrete framework by which the ANC could approach leadership transitions, be it through consensus processes, agreed protocols, or some form of institutionalised mechanism, we are presented with exhortations to values such as humility, discipline, and through the eye of the needle. Noble though these are, they do not answer the practical question of how the movement will avoid the paralysis that succession battles bring.

The ANC prides itself on being a movement of ideas, of vision, of long term planning. Why then do we accept that the most import-

ant question, the transition of leadership, should be left to the uncertainties of factional lobbying and last minute manoeuvres?

## Why Succession Matters

The management of succession is not a matter of internal housekeeping. It is not merely about who leads the ANC. It is about whether the ANC, as the governing party, is capable of leading the nation with clarity and stability. Each time succession becomes a battlefield without rules, the state itself suffers. Programmes stall, appointments are distorted, governance is weakened, and the people whose hopes we carry lose faith not just in the ANC but in democratic politics altogether.

In a time of profound national difficulty, when our people are weighed down by poverty, unemployment, and disillusionment, the ANC has a duty to remove every source of uncertainty that lies within its own control. Chief among these is how it chooses its leaders.

This is not an abstract question. Other liberation movements have long recognised the centrality of succession in ensuring stability. Chama Cha Mapinduzi in Tanzania, for example, has for decades institutionalised a system of consensus that ensures the transition of presidents occurs without destabilising the party or the state. SWAPO in Namibia, too, has avoided

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paralysing succession battles by managing transitions with discipline, ensuring that unity of the movement takes precedence over individual ambition. FRELIMO in Mozambique, through conscious planning, has maintained an orderly process of leadership renewal while holding on to its standing as a governing party.

These examples are not without their imperfections, but they stand in stark contrast to the ANC's unresolved succession question. It is not enough to remind ourselves of values. What is needed is a principled, transparent, and binding process for leadership succession.

### **Renewal Without Succession Certainty**

The documents insist, rightly, that renewal is a matter of survival. They call for ethical leadership, organisational discipline, and ideological clarity. But renewal without a clear plan for succession is a hollow promise. We cannot continue to leave leadership transitions to unregulated contestation, knowing full well that this has been the seedbed of division and paralysis.

The Freedom Charter declared that "The People Shall Govern." That noble aspiration is betrayed when the governing party stumbles into its own conferences uncertain of who shall govern it. The ANC should, by now, have developed a mechanism to ensure that when it enters conference, it does so not as a battlefield of competing factions but as a forum to renew the covenant between the movement and the people.

The longer we postpone this question, the deeper the damage. Every cycle of unregulated

succession weakens the ANC, erodes public trust, and diminishes the organisation's ability to govern. Renewal will remain a slogan unless succession is brought under the discipline of principle.

### **A Call to Responsibility**

It is not enough to speak of the qualities of leaders we desire. We must give form to the process that produces such leaders. A principled framework for succession would not abolish contestation. Rather, it would ensure that contestation does not degenerate into factional warfare. It would legitimise leadership outcomes by ensuring that all parts of the movement understand the rules, respect them, and see themselves reflected in the process.

By failing to provide this framework in the NGC discussion documents, the ANC has missed an opportunity. An opportunity to restore confidence not only within its ranks but in the broader society that looks to it, still, for leadership.

This is particularly urgent at a time when our people are losing confidence not in the ideals of liberation, but in the ANC as the vehicle to realise those ideals. That distinction is critical. It tells us that hope in justice and equality remains alive, but that the ANC risks being abandoned as its custodian if it cannot rise to the challenge of renewal.

### **Lessons from Elsewhere**

Liberation movements elsewhere on the continent remind us of what is possible. CCM, for instance, managed transitions from Nyere-re to Mwinyi, from Mwinyi to Mkapa, from Mkapa to Kikwete, and from Kikwete to Magufuli, without

the kind of paralysing factionalism that tears at the fabric of the ANC. They did so because the process was never left to chance. It was managed, disciplined, and guided by principle.

SWAPO, despite facing pressures of its own, has similarly ensured that the question of who leads does not fracture the movement. FRELIMO, for all its internal debates, has avoided the kind of destructive succession battles that have become the norm in the ANC.

Why then should the ANC, which has prided itself as the oldest liberation movement on the continent, not hold itself to the same standard? Why should it accept that the very question of who leads must always produce crisis rather than stability?

### **A Sobering Thought**

The ANC has carried the hopes of our people for more than a century. But it must face the fact that hope is now fraying. Renewal requires more than words. It requires decisive institutional reforms. Among them, none is more urgent than resolving the question of succession.

If we do not confront this matter with honesty and courage, then the lofty calls to renewal will remain unfulfilled. And history will not be kind to a movement that could name its illness but refused to administer the cure.

The NGC had the chance to grasp this nettle and chart a new path. It has chosen, instead, to pass by in silence. And so the question of succession remains hanging, unresolved, a shadow over the future of the ANC and the nation. ■

# From Office to Outcomes: Why Our Leadership Must Deliver Where It Matters Most

■ By **FAIEZ JACOBS**



**S**OUTH Africans are tired. Tired of slogans, speeches, and ribbon-cuttings that never change their daily reality. Tired of waiting for jobs that don't come, taps that run dry, clinics that don't heal, schools that fail our children, and streets that remain unsafe. They are not wrong. Democracy was never meant to be a ritual of elections every five years. It was meant to be a discipline of delivery.

And that discipline lives or dies in the conduct of those we elect: the councillor at the ward level, the mayor, MPL, MEC, premier, MP, minister, and ultimately the President. Each role is a link in the delivery chain. When one link fails, the whole chain breaks.

Reflecting, we have walked this

road, sat in council chambers and committee meetings and have carried the responsibilities of oversight, budgets, and executive office. One lesson remains constant: the public does not experience our speeches, they experience our outcomes.

### **The diagnosis: why people are angry**

We have created a political culture that rewards rhetoric more than results. We confuse being visible with being effective. We confuse spending money with achieving outcomes. We confuse plans with progress.

Too many projects collapse because of weak preparation, shoddy contract management, lack of accountability, and our collective allergy to measurement. Good in-

tentions drown in systems that are not built to deliver.

When the lights go off, when water leaks for weeks, when ambulances don't arrive, our people don't see "*capacity constraints*" they see indifference. And in their frustration, they lose trust in the very idea of government.

### **A delivery system, not just a dream**

The cure is not another summit or resolution. It is a practical delivery system built on three principles:

- **Line of sight:** Every rand we budget must connect directly to a measurable public outcome whether it's reducing travel time, lowering maternal mortality, cutting crime, or creating jobs.
- **Role clarity:** Each elected office has a distinct responsibility representation, oversight, authorisation, execution, or integration. When roles blur, accountability evaporates.
- **Learning cadence:** Leaders must adopt a rhythm of weekly problem-solving, monthly reviews, and quarterly course corrections. Delivery must become a habit, not a hope.

### **Councillors: the frontline of trust**

The councillor is the face of government in our communities. Yet too often councillors over-promise and under-deliver.

The real work of a councillor is simple, but demanding:

- Keep a ward service charter visible at schools, clinics, and libraries so residents know the standards, turnaround times, and escalation routes.
- Run a community clinic day weekly, where residents can log issues, with every case tracked to resolution.
- Maintain a ward problem board digital or physical that shows the top ten service issues and their progress.

If a councillor can halve the backlog of “aged” complaints in 90 days, that ward begins to feel dignity again. Not because of a speech, but because the bin was collected, the streetlight fixed, the leak repaired.

### **Mayors: making the system work together**

A mayor is not a super-councillor. Their job is integration.

Every week, mayors should chair a Mayoral Delivery Room with city managers and utility heads.

On the wall: ten key metrics water supply hours, electricity downtime, waste collection on schedule, permits processed, housing units delivered, crime hotspots addressed.

Every major project should have a capital readiness pipeline designs complete, permits cleared, operations plan ready before a tender is even advertised.

When a mayor does this well, residents see change: permits issued faster, fewer water cuts, better roads, improved satisfaction. The city feels governed, not abandoned.



**Executive Mayor of the Greater Johannesburg Municipality  
Dada Morero**

### **MPLs and MECs: oversight and execution**

At the provincial level, MPLs must link budgets to outcomes. In every vote speech, ask: What bottleneck are we removing this year? And then verify it through unannounced visits to schools, clinics, and projects.

MECs, on the other hand, carry the weight of execution. They must:

- Produce 90-day delivery plans with clear owners and deadlines.
- Fill the five most critical posts CFO, supply chain head, engineers, M&E leads with competent people, and protect them from interference.
- Publish transparent dashboards and act decisively on slippage.

When an MEC does this, it shows in real indicators: ambulance response times, school readiness scores, road quality. It is leadership measured by the lives of ordinary people.

### **Premiers: missions that mobilise**

A premier cannot fix everything. But they can set the direction of

a province.

Choose five missions jobs from investment, safer communities, functioning clinics, stronger schools, stable municipalities. For each mission, select two headline indicators. Then hold MECs and mayors to performance compacts reviewed quarterly.

A premier’s credibility lies in visible progress in at least two flagship corridors or districts. When citizens see multiple services improving together roads, clinics, policing, housing they begin to believe again.

### **MPs and Ministers: the national stage**

MPs must lift the value of Parliament. That means oversight grounded in evidence, not theatre. Committees should track the percentage of recommendations implemented, ensure that laws have working regulations, and hold quarterly town halls where constituency issues are resolved not just discussed.

Ministers must move from policy clutter to policy clarity. Choose three big bets. Deliver them.

Clean up outdated regulations. Fix one broken system end-to-end. Align vertically with provinces and horizontally with peers.

A minister's success is not in press conferences but in two service standards measurably improved within 12 months.

### **The President: coherence at the top**

The President's role is not to do everything. It is to make the whole government cohere.

That means:

- Defining a national mission portfolio five priorities that unify the country, each tracked by a single, public number.
- Running a Presidential Delivery Council that escalates bottlenecks until they are solved.
- Appointing leaders on merit and defending them from political turbulence.
- Communicating progress like an operator: honest about problems, clear about owners, precise about deadlines.
- Guarding integrity through lifestyle audits, conflict-of-interest registers, and full transparency on contracts.

If the President does this, the whole state moves in rhythm. Citizens feel it in jobs, in power supply, in safer streets, in better schools.

What we must stop doing

- Procurement theatre: celebrating tenders awarded instead of projects completed.
- Pilot addiction: endless pilots with no plan to scale.
- Announcement inflation: promises detached from budgets or capacity.
- Committee evasion: meetings



that never assign a responsible owner or a date.

These habits breed cynicism. They must end.

### **Trust: the heartbeat of delivery**

In the end, delivery is not only technical it is moral. When government responds, people respect bylaws. When clinics work, families keep faith in the system. When schools deliver, parents stay engaged. When communities trust police, safety improves.

Citizens are not passive recipients they are co-producers of outcomes. But they will only play their part if they believe government is serious about playing its own.

So each of us, whatever office we hold, must ask weekly:

What did I fix?

What did I learn?

What did I change?

Publish the answer.

### **From office to outcome**

South Africa does not demand perfection. It demands seriousness. With numbers, with timelines, with contracts, and with consequences.

The work ahead of us is not mystical. It is managerial, moral, and measurable. And it begins with role clarity, daily discipline, and the humility to be judged not by our titles but by our outcomes.

If every councillor, mayor, MPL, MEC, premier, MP, minister, and President adopts this discipline, democracy will redeem its promise. Dignity will return to daily life. Leadership will once again mean something real something people can feel on their street, at their tap, in their clinic, along their commute, and in the futures of their children.

Let us move, together, from office to outcomes. ■

**Faiez Jacobs** is a member of the ANC Gaby Shapiro Branch.

# Mabuyane urges scientific approach in debate on the Party contesting state power

■ By **THABANG MASEKO**

**F**ORMER ANC NEC member Joel Netshitenzhe has written an analysis on State and Revolution. He argues that revolution is a process of resolving antagonisms in society. The National Democratic Revolution contributes to this through the pursuit of a national democratic society, as elaborated in detail in the Strategy and Tactics document adopted at the ANC's 52nd National Conference in December 2007.

In the section dealing with the vision of our collective effort, the Strategy and Tactics document states that the society we seek to create should, among other things:

- Promote unity in diversity among South Africans, recognising the common interests that bind them as a nation.
- Ensure a growing economy which benefits all, including through the creation of decent jobs.
- Be led by a state that is efficient in providing services and that gives leadership to the programme of national development.

This is the context within which the question of state power must be approached. The critical matter is that the state does not exist for its own sake, but as a vital instrument for realising the strategic objectives of the liberation movement.



## Theory of state and revolution

What key principles should guide our approach to state and revolution, an issue that has occupied revolutionaries for centuries?

Karl Marx and Frederick Engels captured it succinctly in their 1872 preface to the German edition of the **Communist Manifesto**, reflecting on the failed proletarian revolution of the Paris Commune: *“One thing especially was proved by the Commune, that the working class cannot simply lay hold of the ready-made state machinery and wield it for its own purpose.”*

Vladimir Lenin, in **State and Revolution**, added: *“The working class must break up, smash the ready-made state machinery and*

*not confine itself merely to laying hold of it.”*

Their approach was premised on the understanding that the state is a class instrument to pursue and defend class rule and class interests. However, in *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte*, Marx and Engels also observed that the state, as a superstructural phenomenon, can enjoy some autonomy from the economic base or from the main classes an observation relevant to understanding some developmental states in the 20th century.

Antonio Gramsci further developed this approach, emphasising that the state is not only a coercive force but also a cohesive

one, exercising ideological hegemony in society.

The post-Polokwane era created space for more interaction and improved coordination within the Alliance, providing room for significant ideological and political debates. This is a positive development, as the Alliance as a living organism depends on its ability to harness class contradictions inherent in our revolutionary project.

The critical challenge facing us today is how we manage the Alliance and harness its effectiveness as an instrument for attaining the National Democratic Society, the ultimate goal of the National Democratic Revolution.

Clearly, navigating the treacherous waters of our journey towards this ideal society will not be plain sailing.

From branch chairpersons to the President of the ANC, the responsibility remains the same: to lead, articulate, defend, and actively participate in the programme of government. The ANC is committed to transforming the state in a way that benefits the people. There is no room for using the

state's resources for self-enrichment or narrow self-interest. Selfishness is alien to the values of our movement.

#### Mabuyane's intervention

Speaking at the ANC Eastern Cape's National General Council preparation workshop in East London, provincial chairperson Oscar Mabuyane said the SACP had "nothing to lose" after securing only 1% of the national vote.

He reminded members that when Cosatu experienced a breakaway in 2016, exemplified by NUMSA's departure the ANC suffered, even losing Nelson Mandela Bay Metro. He noted that Irvin Jim's decision to form a rival Socialist Party in the belief it would attract mass votes ended up weakening rather than strengthening the broader progressive movement.

Mabuyane cautioned: "It is probably the right time for all independent allies to understand themselves within the Alliance. We are not leaving out the Tripartite Alliance."

As a revolutionary movement, the ANC has always regarded the Alliance as a living organism

within the stream of the National Democratic Revolution. "The Alliance is not a museum, static and unchanging," said Mabuyane. "It is a strategic point of convergence of forces."

On the SACP's call to contest state power, he argued that the National Democratic Revolution, under ANC leadership in government, is not being properly guided if such a proposal is entertained. "We may not have an interest in socialism, but the ANC's role and responsibility is to protect the interests of the poor and the working class, as the disciplined force of the Left," said Mabuyane.

He warned that if the ANC mishandles this debate, "the biggest loser will be the African National Congress." Mabuyane encouraged branches to host debates on these questions. He emphasised that in the Eastern Cape, there are no fundamental difference with the Tripartite Alliance. Drawing from his own background, he reminded members that he was once a member and organiser of the SACP during his time as a student at the University of Fort Hare, under the leadership of SACP branch secretary Broos. ■



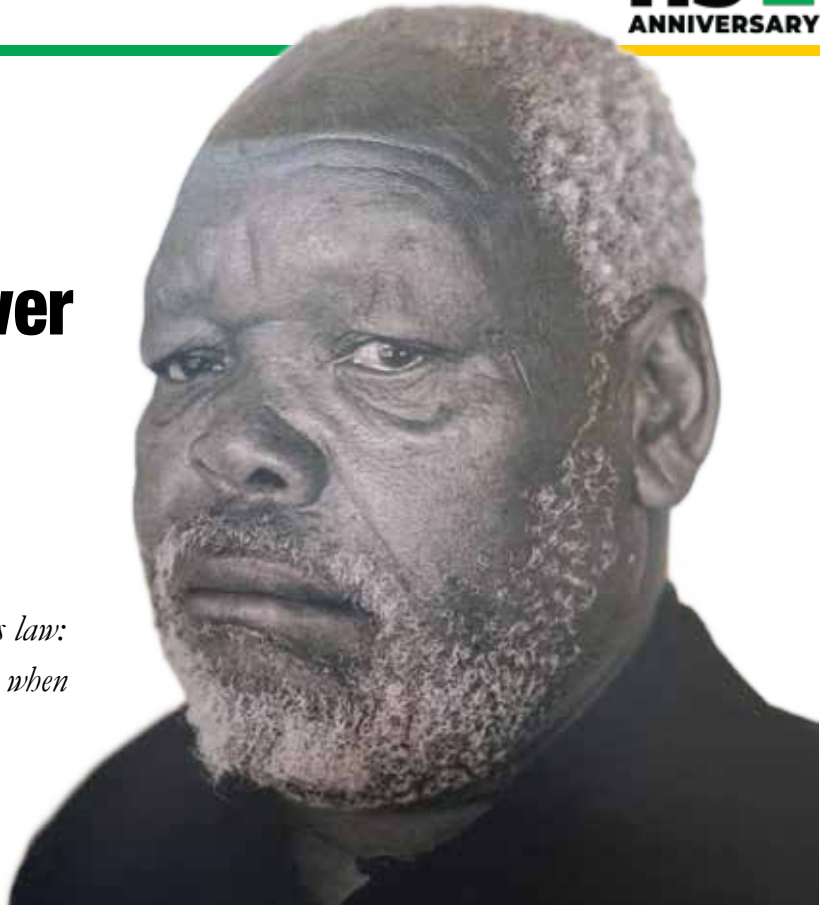
# A King Who Chose His People Over Power

By **KARABO TEBOGO MAGAGANE**

“

*We were called to Rustenburg to hear about this law: 'Why do you try to persuade us to sign this Act when already you have passed it in your Parliament?'*

**Kgosikgolo Abram Ramotshere Moiloa,**  
1950



**O**n Saturday, the 6th of September, we bowed our heads and lifted our hearts in honour of a man whose courage still echoes through the valleys of Dinokana, Kgosikgolo Abram Ramotshere Moiloa on what would have been his 115th birthday.

Born in Dinokana, this young boy ascended the throne in 1932 at just 22 years old. But his story was never simply about wearing a crown, it was about carrying the weight of his people's dreams, fears and hopes during one of the darkest chapters in South Africa's history. At a time when silence would have been safer, he chose defiance. At a time when compliance meant comfort, he chose his people.

## The Courage to Say "No"

Under the suffocating grip of apartheid, Kgosikgolo Moiloa refused to be a silent witness to injustice. His resistance to oppres-

sive laws, particularly the Bantu Education Act and the Bantu Authorities Act, became a rallying cry for freedom.

In March 1957, he was ordered by the Native Commissioner to instruct the women of Dinokana to collect their reference books, the infamous passes designed to control and humiliate Black South Africans. But Kgosikgolo Moiloa stood firmly with the women. Instead of enforcing the apartheid state's will, he chose to amplify their defiance.

Imagine the courage it took. In a time when opposing the regime meant risking everything, your throne, your home, your freedom, even your life, this young leader looked power in the eye and said, *"Not my people. Not here. Not ever."*

This was not his first act of resistance. In 1955, he had already closed the Lutheran Church and boycotted its centenary celebrations, refusing to endorse insti-

tutions that bowed to apartheid laws. With every bold step, he became what the regime feared most: a symbol of unshakable resistance.

## The Price of Defiance

But courage often comes with sacrifice. Kgosikgolo Moiloa became, in the apartheid government's own words, *"a thorn in the flesh"*. By 1958, he faced 18 charges of misconduct not for crimes, but for refusing to betray his people. On 27 February 1958, he was forcibly deposed and banished to a remote corner of the Cape.

The state's own documents reveal the cruel truth: he was not banished for wrongdoing, but as a *"matter of policy."* In their chilling words: *"Once a Chief, always a Chief."*

They feared him. They feared his influence. They feared the fire he had lit in the hearts of his people.

## VIEWPOINT

### A Legacy of Freedom and Resistance

His banishment could not silence him, nor could it break the spirit of the Bahurutshe people. Inspired by his bravery, many went into exile, joining the broader fight for liberation alongside the African National Congress (ANC). Kgosikgolo Moiloa's leadership bridged the gap between rural resistance and the national liberation movement, playing a role in shaping the very struggle that would one day free us.

His actions marked a turning point at a time when leaders like Albert Luthuli and Nelson Mandela realised that petitions and peaceful protests alone could no longer dismantle apartheid. His defiance helped lay the foundation for a movement that refused to be silenced.

### Honouring His Memory

Today, when we look at our Constitution, we see the reflection of his sacrifice. It is more than just a document; it is a promise carved into history by leaders like Kgosikgolo Moiloa.

Section 42(3) guarantees that *"the National Assembly is elected to represent the people and to ensure government by the people under the Constitution."* This right, this freedom, is one he fought for but never lived to enjoy.

Kgosikgolo Abram Ramotshere Moiloa was not just a king.

He was a servant leader.

He was a fighter for women's rights.

He was a defender of dignity and freedom.



And today, his story calls out to us: to remember, to honour and to continue his work of building a South Africa where justice and democracy are not privileges, but rights.

May his courage inspire us.

May his sacrifices humble us.

And may his legacy remind us that the price of freedom is eternal vigilance. ■

**Karabo Tebogo Magagane** (A Proud Daughter of Dinokana) is ANC Ngaka Modiri Molema Deputy Regional Secretary and Deputy Chief Whip. She writes in her personal capacity



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113<sup>TH</sup> ANNIVERSARY | 70<sup>TH</sup> FREEDOM CHARTER ANNIVERSARY | ANC

Issued by the ANC, Chief Albert Luthuli House, HQ



## ANC Veterans and the Freedom Charter | Part 3

# Interview with **General Andile Apleni** on the **Importance of the Freedom Charter to an MK Combatant**

**Comrade Andile Apleni (AA)** joined MK in 1980 and spent six years in Russia on various military training courses – all in the Russian language. In the late 1980s, after years of training in Angolan camps, he was deployed to the MK Military Headquarters as a Personal Staff Officer to the late Chris Hani.

These are excerpts from an intergenerational conversation with **Cde Calvyn Gilfellan (CG)**, who spearheads a partnership-based oral history project at the Castle of Good Hope in Cape Town. The full interview will be published as part of a podcast series.



**CG:** *Today, we are going to focus on the Congress of the People that gathered in Kliptown to draft the Freedom Charter. What are your views of the Freedom Charter and the events that contributed to it?*

**AA:** The Freedom Charter is that torchlight in the Congress movement that brought together the Congress movement like a blueprint. You see, our goal was always to fight for all the goals outlined in the Freedom Charter. The ANC adopted the Freedom Charter as its main programme of action, ensuring that it was its political focus and strategic document.

The Freedom Charter has lived among our people, and our president, former President Nelson

## FREEDOM CHARTER

Mandela, and his partner, Oliver Tambo, were tasked with establishing foreign missions using the Freedom Charter as a tool to mobilise international solidarity.

I can recall when we arrived in the camps in Angola. It was emphasised that we would be trained not only in the use of firearms but also politically. The Freedom Charter was the tool used to ensure that we understood the reasons and direction of the armed struggle.

Our late national commissar, Andrew Masondo, would often bump into you walking in the camp and ask for a Clause of the Freedom Charter. We would then jump up and respond. He would even give you the number of the clause. He wanted this document to live within us. It teaches us.

Now that we are celebrating its 70th anniversary, it's important to use the Freedom Charters as our guiding tool. That's why the UDF was also built on the Freedom Charter.

The Freedom Charter can again be that tool, take housing, for instance. There is a clause that says **“There shall be houses, security, and comfort”**. Security and comfort? Now we are faced with the challenges of crime and gangsterism.

Next, **“The doors of learning shall be open to all!”** We are faced with those challenges for the young people. The fees are there, and the government has got policies, proper policies, but are we implementing them?

**CG:** *You said that the Freedom Charter was a product of the Congress movement, what was*



*the Congress movement?*

**AA:** The African National Congress itself was made up of, as you know, the Indian Congress, White Democrats and so-called Coloured comrades. They formed the Congress movement. If you see in the Freedom Charter itself, you will see the wheel. In the Freedom Charter itself, the wheel contains all those organisations in one circle.

**CG:** *What was your personal involvement in Freedom Charter activities?*

**AA:** The closest I recall coming into direct contact with the Freedom Charter was in the early 1979 or the 1980s, when I was at Gugulethu Fezeka High School.

We first went on a campaign against higher school fees. Out of this struggle, we were introduced to the underground of the ANC.

Given the Freedom Charter and the focus, the doors of learning and culture were closed, and we struggled to open the doors of learning. So, we used that in our campaigns.

Then we had older people like Cde Mildred Lesia who was my neighbour. She was behind us to make sure that we understood the Freedom Charter and that we focus on that Clause **“The Doors of Learning and Culture Shall be Opened”**. The women organised themselves behind us and called their organisation the United Women's Organisation (UWO).

**CG:** *General, before I thank you, is there one lesson you want to share with today's youth?*

**AA:** Education is your future, and technology is key. Let's not forget our history and the past. I thank you. ■

# Commemorating UN South-South Cooperation Day – 12 September 2025 – From Bandung to Today

■ By **ALVIN BOTES**

On 12 September, the United Nations marks South-South Cooperation Day. For the peoples of the Global South, this is not ceremonial – it is political. It is a reminder of a living tradition of struggle, solidarity, steadfastness and the right to self-determination. It affirms that those long oppressed by colonialism, imperialism, and apartheid have always insisted on shaping their own destiny.

In April 1955, leaders from Asia and Africa gathered in Bandung, Indonesia, to chart a path beyond colonial domination and Cold War rivalry. South Africa was represented by the liberation movement. Moses Kotane, ANC and SACP leader, and Dr Yusuf Dadoo, another SACP leader and President of the South African Indian Congress, represented the



Congress Alliance and carried the voices of the oppressed majority. Their interventions helped secure an early international condemnation of apartheid.

The conference adopted the Ten Bandung Principles, affirming:

1. Respect for human rights and

the UN Charter.

2. Respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity.
3. Equality of all races and all nations, large and small.
4. Non-intervention in internal affairs.
5. Respect for each nation's right to self-defence under the UN Charter.
6. Refraining from aggression or threats of force.
7. Peaceful settlement of disputes.
8. Promotion of mutual interests and cooperation.
9. Respect for justice and international obligations.
10. Abstention from collective defence serving big powers.



Leaders at the Bandung Conference

These principles echoed and complimented the Freedom Charter, adopted in Kliptown

## INTERNATIONAL

that same year, which declared: “South Africa shall strive to maintain world peace and the settlement of all international disputes by negotiation – not war.” It further proclaimed: “There shall be peace and friendship.” The ANC thus tied the domestic struggle for democracy to a vision of international solidarity.

For newly independent nations, South-South Solidarity and Cooperation was born out of necessity. Colonialism left fragile economies and weak institutions. Global resources were directed to rebuild Europe, while Africa, Asia, and Latin America were told to wait. Independence often came tied to unequal treaties and financial and economic conditionalities that entrenched economic dependency with the North.

Cooperation was survival – pooling resources, building alliances, and resisting exploitation. However over time, it became strategy: demanding the Right to Development, linking peace to prosperity, and insisting on global governance reforms so that the majority of humanity could not be silenced by a powerful minority.

Seventy years later, Bandung’s vision is need more than ever and resonates in a world that is experiencing a poly crisis. A world which is volatile, uncertain, ambiguous, anarchic, turbulent and combustible. A world of shifting regional alliances which are no longer premised on ideology or principle as well as being fractured by great-power rivalry. The North preaches cooperation while hoarding vaccines, subsidising its green transition, but expecting the South to carry the burden of climate change without resources. The world is multipolar but unstable. Some Northern



**Alvin Botes**  
ANC NEC Member

powers pursue transactional policies, weaponising finance and trade. Europe instrumentalises Africa as a resource provider. China rises as both partner and competitor. Russia, under sanctions, turns to the South.

For the South, these dynamics are both opportunity and threat. The opportunity lies in diversifying partnerships and resisting dependency. The threat lies in being reduced to pawns. The Bandung lesson endures: our unity, not alignment, is our greatest shield. Thus without South-South solidarity, there is no future for the Global South.

Multilateralism, a principle of progressive internationalism, is under siege. The UN Security Council is paralysed by veto powers. Treaties are weakened by selective compliance. Unilateral sanctions and interventions bypass the UN, threatening to unravel the post-1945 order. Nowhere are these contradictions and this crisis clearer than in Palestine. The genocidal war waged by apartheid Israel – starvation as a weapon, bombardment of civilians, and unilateral illegal attacks on neighbours – continues with impunity. The North demands the South respect international law, while many in the North shield its allies such as Israel

who disregard international law.

It is within this context that South Africa’s case before the ICJ is not symbolic – it is a defence of international law itself. If the Genocide Convention can be violated without consequence, then no treaty is safe. Palestine is the litmus test of whether international law or raw power governs the world today.


South-South Solidarity and Cooperation is not nostalgia – it is progressive internationalism in action. It is the indispensable instrument of liberation, development, and justice. On this South-South Cooperation Day, we must recommit to the Bandung spirit.

Just as leaders in 1955 refused to be silenced by colonial powers or divided by Cold War blocs, so too must we refuse to be fractured by today’s rivalries. As Kwame Nkrumah declared in 1961: **“We face neither East nor West; we face forward.” That forward march – of unity, sovereignty, and self-reliance – is the essence of South-South Cooperation.** ■

*Alvin Botes is a Member of the ANC NEC and NEC Subcommittee on International Relations. He writes in his personal capacity*

# Uhuru Moiloa's Activism was Drawn from the Heroic Acts of Bahurutshe People in the Struggle for Liberation.

■ By **LAZARUS KAGISO MOKGOSI**

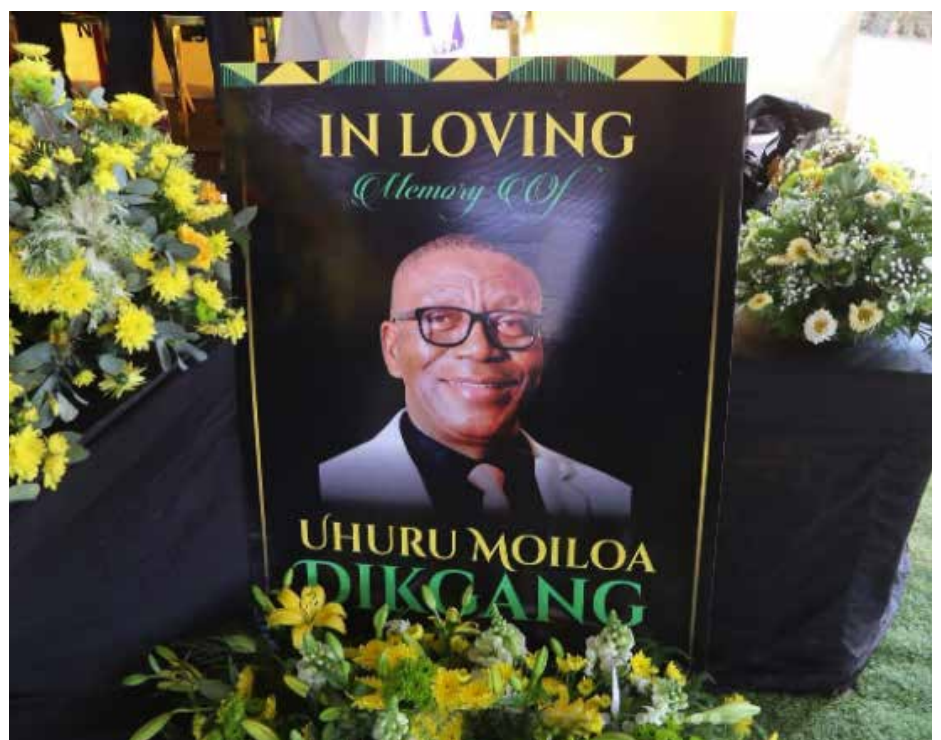
 On Saturday, 06 September 2025, we braved the scorching heat of Dinokana Village near Zeerust in North West, to bid farewell to an exemplary leader and servant of the people, Prince Dikgang Uhuru Moiloa. As the people of this province, we are saddened by his passing, but, we are comforted by the extraordinary contribution he made in the liberation of our country. Comrade Dikgang Moiloa was born on 09 August 1958 at Dinokona Village a year after the Apartheid government introduced reference books in Zeerust. A unit responsible for the full implementation of this law descended to this town and moved to Dinokana and surrounding villages. At the time Dinokana was under the jurisdiction of Kgosi Ramotshere Moiloa.

He was subsequently instructed to accept the reference books and compel Bahurutshe women to carry passbooks. He refused and supported the women's tenacity not to carry the documents. This decision put him in a collision course with the Apartheid government resulting in being deposed and banished from his ancestral land. This marked the beginning of a turbulent political period for Bahurutshe as Kgosi and many of his subjects were forced into exile in the early 1960's.

Despite this setback, His Majesty kept the wishes and aspirations of his people for a free and democratic country intact, as they stood steadfast in opposition to Apartheid and its draconian laws. He continued to be active in the struggle for liberation and acted as a conduit by assisting and recruiting young people to undergo political and military training, linking up with the ANC in intensifying the struggle against Apartheid whilst in exile. It was under Kgosi Ramotshere Moiloa that Bahurutshe Men were among the first cohort of ANC's fully-fledged military wing under the Luthuli Detachment.

The story of the Luthuli Detachment has a unique place in South Africa's struggle for liberation. During the ensuing battles with the Rhodesian security forces in what is known as **Wankie and Sipolilo Campaigns**, the Luthuli Detachment fought bravely against tremendous odds and served to inspire South Africans during a dark period marred by racial exclusion and human rights abuses. It is these acts of bravery which would later inspire the generations of the 1970s and 1980s.

**These developments will herald a turning point in Comrade Uhuru Moiloa's political life.**



## TRIBUTE

Like many activists of his time he cut his teeth in the Congress of South African Students (COSAS). This sharpened his activism and culminated in his full participation in the United Democratic Front (UDF). In 1979 he was arrested and trialled for a march in honour of struggle activist Solomon Mahlangu. After his release in the 1980's he joined the ANC's underground machinery as an operative, becoming an active member of the Kagiso Resistance Organisation.

He played an instrumental role in defending the Kagiso Community against the violent attacks of hostel dwellers during a period defined as "Third Force". Townships had become a fertile ground for clandestine operations for some individuals and organisations believed to be working in cahoots with elements of the Apartheid security forces. Their sole objective was to derail and undermine the country's transition to democracy.

Like many who came before him, he grew up under harsh economic conditions which were engineered by the Apartheid regime to subjugate and trap Africans into a cycle of poverty, cheap labour and landlessness. He witnessed the dehumanising and discriminatory effects of racial oppression and its devastating impact on his people.

Through the commitment championed by Comrade Uhuru Moiloa in the struggle for liberation, we must not relent in our advocacy for a just global order by advancing the African agenda through promotion of human rights, democracy and supporting international peace and security through multilateralism and in this regard the freedom of Palestine and its people. This includes



the call by the AU's Agenda 2063 programme, to silence guns by ending all wars and conflicts on our beloved continent by 2030.

We must equally live up to the ideals and objectives espoused by our forebears in our continued endeavours of a united, non-racial, non-sexist, prosperous country which has placed job creation, poverty eradication, sustainable growth and development as well as ethical leadership as its apex priorities.

As we mark heritage month we can proclaim that in this village of Dinokona lies a true servant of the people whose roots can be traced to Ka-Di-Tshwene, a thriving Bahurutshe City which contributed immensely to our ci-

vilisation. We can also proclaim to the people of our continent and beloved country that this small village birthed a true African man, a compatriot who was ethical, humble and incorruptible.

Today we are proud to be associated with his legacy. We will remember his wisdom and we believe that through his teachings we will turn the tide against a number of challenges afflicting the developmental trajectory of our people.

***Robala Ka Kagiso Motshweneng!*** ■

**Lazarus Kagiso Mokgosi** is the Deputy Chairperson of the African National Congress in North West.

## THIS WEEK IN HISTORY

# THIS WEEK IN HISTORY

13–19 September 2025

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

### 13 September 1984 UDF leaders seek refuge in British Consulate

Six activists – Archie Gumede, Mewa Ramgobin, MJ Naidoo, Billy Nair, George Sewpersad and Paul David – hunted by police in a security clampdown on this day entered the British Consulate in Durban. Police had been trying to rearrest the six, leaders of the United Democratic Front and the Natal Indian Congress, following their release from detention last Friday on the orders of a judge.

### 13 September 1985 WHO declares AIDS a global pandemic

It is unknown when AIDS emerged. However, the first reported cases were in the early eighties and it is now believed that the disease first emerged as far back as the 1960's. On 13 September 1985, the World Health Organisation (WHO) declared the disease a worldwide epidemic. South Africa has amongst the highest infection rate in the continent, and has the largest ARV treatment programme for people living with HIV/AIDS.

### 13 September 1995 Bev Palesa Ditsie, first Lesbian woman to address UN

Beverley Palesa Ditsie made a statement at the historic Beijing Women's Conference in 1995 about including lesbian rights in



discussions about the empowerment of women. She was the first openly lesbian woman to do so and it was the first time that the United Nations was addressed about LGBT people in the protection of human rights. In her address, Ditsie argued that a focus on women's rights should include the struggles of lesbian women, saying that *"if the world conference on women is to address the concerns of all women, it must similarly recognise that discrimination based on sexual orientation is a violation of basic human rights"*. Born in Soweto in 1971, Ditsie was an anti-Apartheid and LGBT rights activist. She was one of the founding members of Gay and Lesbian Organisation of the Witwatersrand (GLOW), South Africa's first multiracial and political lesbian and gay rights group. During the drafting of South Afri-

ca's constitution, Ditsie was at the forefront of arguing for protecting people from discrimination on the basis of sexual orientation - the first constitution in the world to do so. Her participation at the conference was a first for the United Nations and was an opportunity for Ditsie to represent and speak to the intersectionality of race, gender and sexual orientation. Despite GLOW's mandate of non-sexism, Ditsie's participation at the conference was not welcomed by GLOW, who felt that spotlighting women was a 'distraction' from GLOW's focus on LGBT issues. Ditsie went to the conference despite this, saying that *"lesbians are women. Lesbian rights are women's rights"*.

### 13 September 1988 Three UDF leaders escaped from prison, seek refuge in US Consulate

Three leading anti-apartheid activists, Mohammed Valhi Moosa, Murphy Moroke, and Vusi Khanyile, escaped from detention and sought refuge in the American Consulate in Johannesburg.



## THIS WEEK IN HISTORY

### 13 September 2024 ANC and SACP stalwart Pravin Gordhan passes on



Pravin Gordhan was born on 12 April 1949 and grew up in Durban, Kwazulu-Natal. After attending Sastri College he obtained a Bachelor of Pharmacy from the University of Durban-Westville and completed his postgraduate studies in Human Resource Development. He also completed a postgraduate diploma in Economics at the London School of Economics. During the apartheid years Pravin Gordhan played a prominent role as an anti-apartheid activist. He was an executive member of the Natal Indian Congress between 1974 and 1990, secretary and later chair of the Durban Housing Committee. Between 1977 and 1990, he was an active member of the ANC/SACP underground. Involved in uMkhonto weSizwe's Operation Vula, he was tortured and detained for four months. He chaired Codesa in 1992, and the following year he co-chaired the Transitional Executive Council as well as the Multi-Party Negotiation Process. He became a member of the first democratic Parliament in 1994 and kept the position until 1998. He was appointed Deputy Commissioner of the South African Revenue Service (SARS) in Pretoria in March 1998 after being de-

ployed from parliament as part of government's drive to transform the public service. In November 1999, he became Commissioner of SARS. His foremost task was to transform South Africa's customs and revenue administration. He brought about significant improvements in the performance of the organisation, such as a marked improvement in revenue collections, radical tax policy changes, a visible enhancement of the tax and customs compliance culture, enhanced status and capacity of the customs component of SARS. Cde Pravin served in various ministerial positions: Minister of Finance (2009), Minister of Co-operative Governance and Traditional Affairs (2014); re-appointed to the Finance portfolio in December 2015. He served as Minister of Public Enterprises from May 2019 until 19 June 2024.

### 14 September 1918 Spanish Flu hits South Africa

The first cases of an unusually severe and deadly strain of influenza, popularly called Spanish Flu or 'Great Flu', were diagnosed on this date in Durban. This started the worst pandemic ever in South Africa. Of a total population of just over 6 million at the time, nearly half contracted the disease, while close to 140,000 died within a few weeks. The disease spread throughout the entire country and often whole families were ill or dying, with nobody left to care for them. Doctors and nurses did their best, but were too few to treat the ill. The Black and Coloured sections of the population were most severely affected, especially the mineworkers, who suffered dreadfully. The epidemic peaked in October. The virus caused the death of 25 to 40 million people throughout the world.

### 15 September 1901 Educationist George Molefe born

Mbanga James George Benjamin Molefe, clergyman and headmaster, was born in Mbulwana, Lady-smith, Natal. Molefe was one of the first black Presbyterian ministers to graduate at Fort Hare College in 1932. He was ordained in the same year in the Bantu Presbyterian Church and inducted to the Spookmill Church, Newcastle. After obtaining an MA degree at Columbia University in New York, Molefe accepted an appointment as minister of religion in New Brighton, Port Elizabeth in 1939. As a result of his tireless efforts to improve the quality of schooling and general living conditions, he received the 'Freedom of Port Elizabeth's African Townships' in 1973 in recognition of his efforts to better the position of its residents. Molefe received many accolades during his lifetime that were firsts for Black South Africans. He died in 1986 and is survived by his wife and two children.

### 15 September 1972 DJ Fresh born

Thato Sikwane (aka DJ Fresh) disc jockey and producer was born in Maseru, Botswana on this day. Working in South Africa, most notably on Y-fm, he became a popular radio personality and released a series of house music compilations.



## THIS WEEK IN HISTORY

**15 September 1977**

**Chimamanda Ngozi Adichie born**



The renowned African writer and feminist was born in Enugu state, Nigeria. Her second book, *Half of a Yellow Sun* (2006) telling the story of the Biafra War, catapulted her to fame. Adichie has become one of the voices of a new generation of African authors, a feminist and known for her TED talk on *The Danger of the Single Story*.

**15 September 1985**  
**Machel hosts Frontline states against apartheid**

As resistance to apartheid became more militant in South Africa, Mozambique President Samora Machel hosted a summit of Frontline state leaders in Maputo, to discuss the situation in South Africa. Present at the summit were Presidents Masire (Botswana), Kaunda (Zambia), Dos Santos (Angola), Nyerere (Tanzania) and Mugabe (Zimbabwe). Also present was Sam Nujoma, President of the exiled SWAPO.

**16-18 September 1983**  
**Venezuela hosts conference against Apartheid**

Latin American Regional Conference for Action against Apartheid, Caracas, was organised by the Special Committee against Apartheid in cooperation with the Government of Venezuela.

heid in cooperation with the Government of Venezuela.

**16 September 1985**  
**South Africa Defense raids into Angola with Namibia**

South Africa and Namibian Security Forces crossed into Angola in pursuit of SWAPO forces. The 'border war' against Angola continued until the peace process in 1991, with South Africa exercising trusteeship over South West Africa (now Namibia) and SWAPO leading the fight for national liberation from apartheid.

**16 September 1986**  
**Kinross Mine Disaster kills 177**



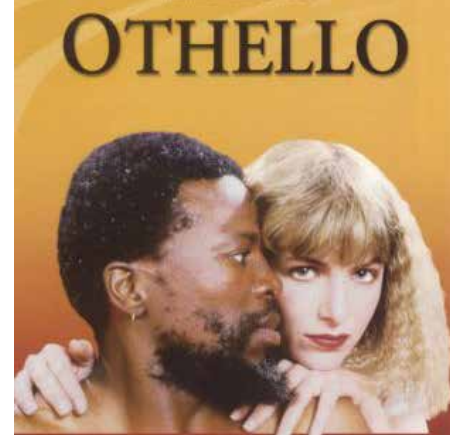
On this day in 1986, 177 miners lost their lives and another 235 were injured in what would be remembered as one of South Africa's worst mining disasters, when a lethal fire in a goldmine caused this disaster. The tragic incident forced greater focus on health safety in the South African mining sector.

**16 September 1986**  
**Europe finally imposed sanctions against South Africa**

The European Economic Community (EEC) imposes sanctions against South Africa, coal being the exception.

**16 September 1987**

**First Black Othello on SA stage**



A production of Shakespeare's "Othello" in which the Moor is played by legendary actor, John Kani, was staged at the Market Theatre on 16 September 1987. The play was produced by actress Janet Suzman, who is also the co-founder of the Market Theatre. She defied the racist apartheid regime by staging Othello in Johannesburg with a mixed cast of both white and black actors.

**17 September 1919**  
**German South West Africa becomes SA protectorate**

The World War I Treaty of Versailles, German South West Africa was declared a mandate of the League of Nations and put under South African administration. Since the late 1940s the South West Africa (SWA) issue was debated year after year with increasing animosity at the United Nations (UN), successor to the League of Nations. On 18 July 1966, the judges in the International Court of Justice gave verdict in favour of South Africa in a case brought before them by Ethiopia and Liberia. In 1960, the South West African People's Organisation (SWAPO) was formed to fight for the independence of the country from South African apartheid rule, and in 1990, Namibia gained independence.

## THIS WEEK IN HISTORY

### 17 September 1922

#### Agostinho Neto born

Angolan first president (1975-1979) and a renowned poet Agostinho Neto was born in Icolo e Bengo on this day. On 27 April 2014 Neto was awarded the Order of the Companions of O.R. Tambo in Gold by the South African government.

### 17 September 1979

#### District film director born

South African film director Neill Blomkamp was born in Johannesburg. His 2009 science fiction film, *District 9*, became a global box office hit.

### 17 September 1983

#### Methane gas explosion in Vryheid mine

Sixty-eight mine workers were killed after an underground methane gas explosion at the Hlobane coal mine near Vryheid, KZN. The gas explosion was caused by poor safety standards. A week before the explosion a miner who also died in the explosion discovered methane underground. The mine captain scratched out his report about underground methane to give the mine a good safety record. The mine owners were fined R400 for contravening the Mines and Works Act.

### 17 September 1992

#### SADC formed



Ten Southern African countries met in a summit in Windhoek to form

the Southern African Development Community (SADC), replacing the Southern African Development Coordination Conference set up in 1980 to reduce Southern African countries' dependence on apartheid South Africa.

### 17 September 1995

#### Pope John Paul II Papal mass in SA

On 17 September 1995, the Roman Catholic's Pope John Paul II celebrated a papal mass in South Africa as he began his six day tour of Africa. His visit to the country came seven years after the cleric angered the apartheid government when he refused to kiss the ground in 1988 when the papal plane he was travelling in was forced to land in the country because of bad weather conditions. During his visit in 1995, the Pope said: *"Today my journey brings me to a new South Africa, a 'rainbow nation,' indicating the diversity of races, ethnic groups, languages and culture which characterize it."*

### 17 September 2009

#### University of Seychelles established

The first national university on the island state (UniSey) is established, small with only 300 students and 50 professors, it is considered essential for development and identity of Seychelles.

### 18 September 1873

#### Slaves start constructing Capitol Hill

Work started by enslaved Africans in the USA on the construction of the Capitol Hill building that will house the US legislature. The slaves are loaned to the US government by slave owners. The building took seven years.

### 18 September 1961

#### Dag Hammarskjöld killed in plane crash



United Nations (UN) Secretary General Dag Hammarskjöld was killed with twelve other people when their plane crashed at Ndola airport, Northern Rhodesia (now Zambia). Hammarskjöld was on his way to meet with President Moïse Tshombe of Katanga Province in Congo in an attempt to end the fighting in Katanga. UN officials in Elisabethville were stunned when they received reports that Hammarskjöld had not arrived in Ndola. Associated Press reported that the lone survivor, Harold M. Julian, a United Nations security guard, said that a series of explosions had preceded the crash. He also said that the plane had turned away from landing, apparently on Mr Hammarskjöld's orders. His death was a terrible blow to hopes for peace in Katanga.

### 18 September 1971

#### World Council of Churches barred from South Africa

During a meeting with representatives of the World Council of Churches (WCC) in South Africa, Prime Minister John Vorster reaffirmed that he would not consider allowing a WCC delegation to come to South Africa under any conditions.

## THIS WEEK IN HISTORY

### 18 September 1992 Sarafina! Released



The movie *Sarafina!* is released on this day. The movie is based by the award-winning musical by Mbongeni Ngema by the same name, about South African students involved in the 1976 uprisings. The movie stars actresses Leleti Khumalo and Whoopi Goldberg.

### 18 September 1983 Zozibini Tunzi born



South African model and first black African to be crowned Miss Universe in 1999, was born in Tsolo, Eastern Cape. Because of the COVID-19 pandemic, the 2020 contest was cancelled, so she became the longest reigning Miss Universe, until May 2021.

### 18 September 2017 Lesotho legalises the herb

Lesotho becomes the first African country to legalise marijuana, when government grants a license for the cultivation of marijuana for medicinal use.

### 19 September 1905 Egyptologist Pahor Labib born

Pahor Labib was Director of the Coptic Museum, Cairo, Egypt, from 1951 to 1965 and one of the world leaders in Egyptology and Coptology. He was the first Egyptian to obtain a Ph.D. in Egyptology, in 1934.

### 19 September 1953 Jessie Duarte born

Jessie Yasmin Duarte was born in Coronationville, where she grew up and completed her schooling. She became actively involved in politics at a very early age and over the years she developed a reputation as an activist and an advocate for equality. She was recruited by Mme Albertina Sisulu in 1979 to establish women's structures throughout the country, and by 1981 the ANCWL had nine (9) functioning women's structures in the Eastern Cape, Western Cape, Transvaal and others. She was also serv-

ing at that time as the provincial secretary of the Federation of Transvaal Women (FEDSAW), which was a UDF Affiliate. Comrade Duarte started her professional career as a Management Accountant at Anglo American Properties Limited, and later Raven Press. She was with the latter when she was served with a restriction order. During this period, she worked with Beyers Naude to set up and administer a scholarship fund to educate and skill ANC and UDF activists, progressive crop of public servants. She was detained without trial in 1988, released and placed under restriction orders until the State of Emergency was lifted. Following the unbanning of the ANC in 1990, she was appointed to serve on the Interim Leadership Core. During South Africa's negotiations for democracy, from 1991-1994, Duarte was a member of the Regional Executive Committee of the ANC; she subsequently served as a special assistant to Nelson Mandela (1990-94); was on the ANC National Executive Committee (1997-1999); a member of the provincial cabinet (MEC, Safety and Security) for Gauteng (1994-1998); and was ambassador to Mozambique (1999-2003). Upon her return as Ambassador, she was appointed as the National Spokesperson of



the ANC before being deployed as Chief Operations Officer in the Presidency, South African Government until she resigned in April 2010. Duarte was a member of the ANC's National Executive Committee since 1997. Comrade Jessie Duarte was elected Deputy Secretary-General of the ANC at the 53rd National Conference in Mangaung in December 2012, a position she was re-elected to at the ANC's 54th National Conference in Nasrec in 2017. She served as Deputy Secretary General until her passing on 17 July 2022. Comrade Jessie was an internationalist, a fighter for the rights of oppressed peoples everywhere, especially women and children. Her commitment to the cause of the people of Palestine, Western Sahara and against the Cuban Blockade remained unwavering.

### 19 September 1956 African writers and artists meet

The first International Conference of African writers and artists is held in Paris.

### 19 September 1997 Halima Aden born



Somali fashion model Halima Aden was born in Kakuma Refugee Camp, Kenya on this day, and grew up in the USA. She was the first pageant contestant and model to wear the hijab on the catwalk.

### 19-28 September 2004 South African Paralympic team excels in Athens

The South African Paralympic team to the 2004 Paralympics games in Athens, Greece did very well, winning a number of medals. They were then called, rather unfortunately, Amakrokrokro. George Teboho Mokgalagadi, with his hair dyed golden, won a Paralympic world record gold medal in the 100m sprint in his first international competition on 22 September 2020. Mokgalagadi, a cerebral palsy athlete from Jagersfontein in the Free State, capped his performance at the games by also winning the 200m in 26,80sec on 26 September, another Paralympic record. On 20 September, 17 year old sprinter of Pretoria Boys' High, Oscar Pistorius, fell coming out of the start of his 200m heat for leg amputees, then showed mind-blowing speed and tenacity to surge from last to victory in a world record 23.42sec for double-amputees at the Athens Paralympic Games, securing him a place in the finals. A 23-year-old Pretoria girl, Beverly Mashinini, who competed in discus and javelin, won a bronze medal in javelin. By the closing of the Athens Paralympics 2004 games, South Africa's Paralympic Team ended in thirteenth place with 15 gold medals, 13 silver and 7 bronze.

### 19 September 1983 Yusuf Dadoo passed away

ANC and SA Indian Congress activist, and Chairperson of the South African Communist Party died on this day. ANC President Oliver R Tambo spoke at his funeral, and Dadoo was laid to rest according to Muslim rights at Highgate Cemetery, a few metres away from the grave of Karl Marx. Dadoo was born on 5 September



1909 in Krugersdorp, Gauteng and played an active role throughout his life in the struggle against oppression. In June 1955, at the historic Congress of the People, Yusuf Dadoo, Chief Albert Luthuli and Father Trevor Huddleston, were awarded *Isitwalandwe/Seaparankoe*. As a result of their banning orders only Huddleston was able to attend and receive the award in person. After detention and bannings, Dadoo left for exile, where he continued to lead and participated actively in the ANC and SACP, until his passing in 1983.

### 19 September 1985 Rapists sentenced to death

Two White men, Schalk Burger and George Scheepers, were sentenced in Klerksdorp to be hanged for the rape and murder of a Black woman, Ginny Gotsoine in February 1985. Two other White men in the same case were found guilty of rape. All four pleaded not guilty, even though there was DNA evidence and witnesses caught the four rapists and murderers in the act. Since 1984, 115 people were hanged, and only two of these were Whites. The death penalty was abolished in 1995.

# INTERNATIONAL AND NATIONAL DAYS

13–19 September 2025

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

## 15-19 September National Wills Week

If you die without leaving a valid will, your assets will be distributed according to the provisions of the Intestate Succession Act. The provisions are generally fair and ensure that your possessions are transferred to your spouse and children, and where applicable, to siblings, parents. If required, then to the extended family in terms of degrees of relationships and those that were dependent on you for financial support. BUT, the problems may arise if you die without leaving a will: your assets may not be left to the person of your choice; it can take a long time to have an executor appointed and may be somebody you may not have chosen yourself, there can be extra and unnecessary costs; and there can be unhappiness and conflict among members of your family because there are no clear instructions on how to distribute your assets. During National Wills Week members of the public will be able to get a basic will drawn up free of charge.



**DO YOU HAVE  
A WILL ?**

This year National Wills Week will take place from  
15-19 September 2025.

## 15 September World Afro Day

This is a day dedicated to celebrating and learning about Afro hair, a hair type that grows out in coily shapes, with various types of curls and twists. The day was started by Michelle De Leon, to ensure that all children learn about and feel positively about their hair types. World Afro Day was started in 2017 as a way of celebrating the variety of natural Afro hair and hairstyles that are unique to Black culture and recognising its significance as part of peoples' heritage and identity.

## 15 September International Day of Democracy

In its resolution A/RES/62/7 establishing the day, the United Nations noted that "*while democracies share common features, there is no single model of democracy*" and that "*democracy does not belong to any country or region*". The International Day of Democracy is meant both to celebrate democracy and to serve as a reminder that the need to promote and protect democracy is as urgent now as ever.

Democracy is not just a system of government; it is a way of life that respects the dignity and worth of every individual. It is a way of life that promotes tolerance, understanding, and cooperation. It is a way of life that recognizes the inherent value of every human being.



## THIS WEEK IN HISTORY

### 16 September

#### International Day for Interventional Cardiology

Cardiovascular diseases are a group of disorders of the heart and blood vessels. An estimated 17.9 million people died from it in 2019, representing 32 per cent of all global deaths. Of these deaths, 85 per cent were due to heart attack and stroke. The key to cardiovascular disease reduction lies in the inclusion of cardiovascular disease management interventions in universal health coverage packages.

### 16 September

#### International Day for the Preservation of the Ozone Layer

The ozone layer, a fragile shield of gas, protects the Earth from the harmful portion of the rays of the sun, thus helping preserve life on the planet. In the late 1970s, scientists discovered that humanity was creating a hole in this protective shield, they raised the alarm. The hole – caused by ozone-depleting gases (ODSs) used in aerosols and cooling, such as refrigerators and air-conditioners – was threatening to increase cases of skin cancer and cataracts, and damage plants, crops, and ecosystems. The global response was decisive. In 1985, the world's governments adopted the Vienna Convention for the Protection of the Ozone Layer, to cut out 99 per cent of all ozone-depleting substances. This is an example of impactful global action, the ozone layer is healing and expected to return to pre-1980 values by mid-century. The Kigali Amendment (2019) will work towards reducing hydrofluorocarbon (HFCs), greenhouse gases with powerful climate warming potential and damaging to the environment.

### 16 September

#### International Day of Science, Technology and Innovation for the South

Science, Technology, and Innovation are important in all spheres of human life. As science and technology rapidly advance, some developing nations are seizing the opportunity to leapfrog stages of development. Yet, for many others, this swiftly changing landscape presents significant challenges, particularly in the Global South, with the Global North dominating and protecting their innovations, even where it originates in the South. This created a persistent gap in technology access between industrialized and developing countries. The International Day of Science, Technology, and Innovation for the South represents an important step in reaffirming

our commitment of leaving no one behind. It underscores that advancing science, technology, and innovation is essential not only for achieving the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) but also creating a fairer, more participatory, and inclusive world.

### 17 September

#### World Patient Safety Day



The Day brings together patients, families, caregivers, communities, health workers, health care leaders and policy-makers to show their commitment to patient safety. The resolution WHA 72.6 '*Global action on patient safety*' recognizes patient safety as a global health priority and endorses the establishment of World Patient Safety Day to be observed annually on 17 September.

### 18 September

#### International Equal Pay Day

International Equal Pay Day, celebrated for the first time in 2023, represents the longstanding efforts towards equal pay for work of equal value. Across all regions, women are paid less than men, with the gender pay gap estimated at 23 per cent globally. This is but one way in which patriarchy disadvantages women, along with unpaid labour and other forms of discriminatory practices, that continue to undermine women's economic emancipation.

