



# ANC TODAY

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Conversations with the  
**President**



## We must work together if we are to ensure that no person goes hungry

■ By **PRESIDENT CYRIL RAMAPHOSA**

**L**AST WEEK, the **7th Social Justice Summit**, organised by the Centre for Social Justice at Stellenbosch University, reflected on our country's progress towards achieving food security as a key component of social justice.

Government, policy makers, academia and civil society organisations discussed what we must do to ensure that no South African goes hungry and to chart a new course as countries of the world strive to achieve the 2030 Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs). The Centre has developed the

Musa Plan, which aims to use data-driven research and collaborative resource mobilisation to end poverty.

Overcoming poverty and tackling the cost of living for South Africans is one of the strategic priorities of the Government of National Unity (GNU).

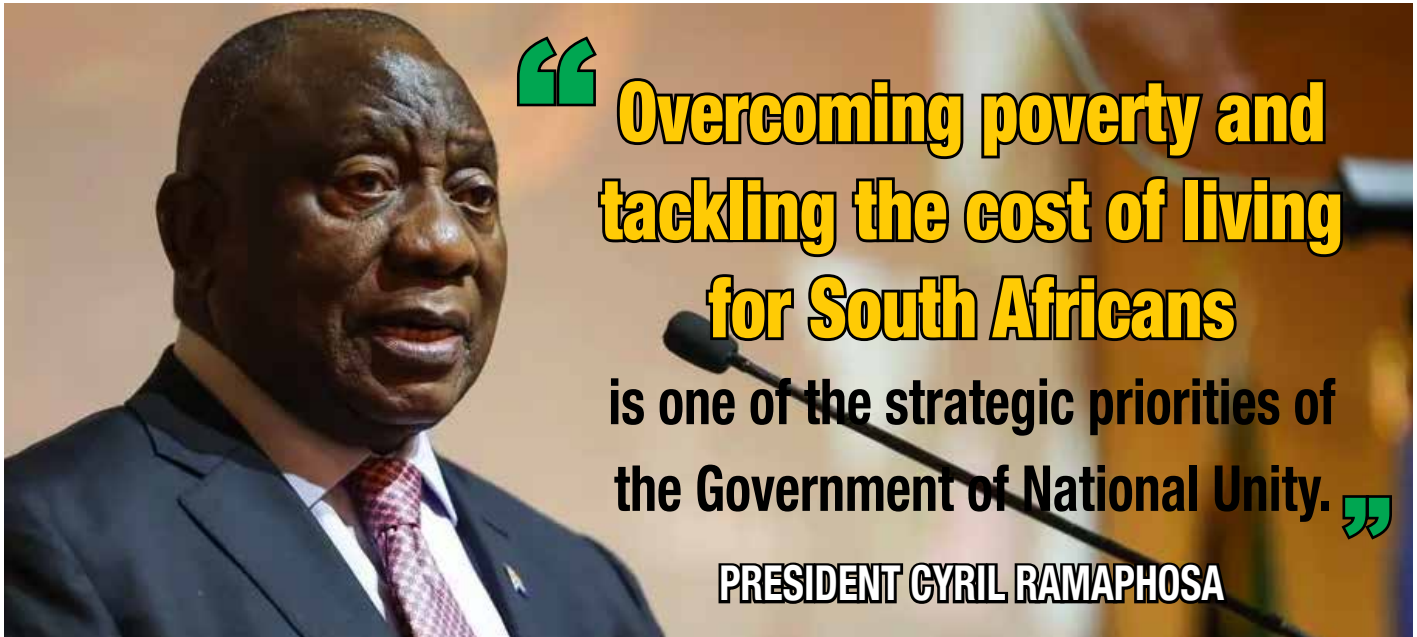
Access to nutritious food directly affects the physical health and development of individuals and societies. Around 15 to 16 million people in South Africa have inadequate or severely inadequate access to food.

South Africa is amongst 29

countries where the right to food and water is enshrined in the Constitution, and where citizens have resource to the legal system to ensure that this right is enforced. Our Constitution imposes a duty on the state to take reasonable legislative and other measures, within its available resources, to progressively realise this right.

Since the advent of democracy in 1994, successive administrations have adopted a multifaceted approach to tackling hunger and food security. This has included legislative and policy reform, nutrition at primary health care level, and

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programmes that deliver nutrition directly to communities and institutions, such as the school feeding scheme.

To further bolster food security, the provision of social grants, free basic services, free basic and tertiary education, and free primary healthcare have freed up money in households to buy food.

In South Africa, the social wage accounts for approximately 60% of spending by Government before interest payments. This is amongst the highest of upper-middle income countries. A 2021 World Bank report noted that South Africa’s system of programmes were “effective, well-targeted and provide sizeable benefits to the poorest households”, and that our social assistance system “effectively reduces poverty and inequality rates”.

The School Nutrition Programme has been one of the most far-reaching and transfor-

mative policies implemented under democracy to address poverty. This programme provides nutrition to more than 9 million learners from poor households on a daily basis. The provision of meals at schools, with nutritious ingredients sourced from school and community food gardens, has had a positive impact on learner attendance, concentration and overall academic performance.

The long-term impact of this programme is evident. Last year, learners from the poorest schools 60% of schools, accounted for 67% of all bachelor passes achieved.

Supporting communities to grow their own food has been an integral feature of Government’s food security strategy. Provincial agricultural departments run programmes across the country to support school, household and community food gardens, providing implements like seedlings, tools and training.

Despite a range of interventions by national and provincial governments, a large portion of South African households are food insecure. In a context of high unemployment and poverty and limited economic growth, many households across the country are finding it difficult to afford nutritious food.

It is, therefore, necessary that together with measures to eradicate extreme food poverty, we have to also look at market factors that are making the cost of nutritious food increasingly out of reach.

According to Statistics South Africa data, annual inflation for food and non-alcoholic beverages continues to rise. Last month, headline consumer inflation hit a 10-month high. Meat and vegetables are more expensive, putting household food budgets under pressure.

Since 1991, the zero-rating of basic food items has helped low-income households to

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cope with rising food costs, and at the same time we are working to ensure that there is both fairness and accountability in food markets.

Although food retailers themselves are under pressure as a result of external factors like rising energy and transportation costs, droughts and global supply chain disruptions, practices like price-fixing that inflate food prices are directly contributing to food insecurity for households.

The Competition Commission has conducted a number of inquiries to enforce accountability in the food market. In February this year, the Commission facilitated a R1 million settlement with an edible oils producer accused of price fixing. The Commission has also conducted inquiries into bread and milling cartels, into the grocery retail and fresh produce markets -

and most recently, into alleged anti-competitive behaviour in the poultry industry.

Delegates to the 7th Social Justice Summit agreed that improving food security for individuals and households is a society-wide effort.

With the majority of South Africans relying on supermarket retailers for their food supply, the private sector has an important role to play. The 'Big Five' retail companies can and must play a far greater role in making nutritious food more affordable for South African households. We acknowledge the efforts being made in this regard by a number of retailers to keep their prices as low as possible, as well as initiatives to keep daily essentials affordable. The Shoprite Group's R5 products line is an example of this.

As retailers work to grow their

market share among low-income households, they have a responsibility to ensure this includes affordable healthy food choices such as plant and animal proteins, fruits and vegetables.

The Musa Plan is a welcome initiative, which will bolster existing government efforts to end food poverty and food insecurity.

Ultimately, the success of all efforts will rely on deeper collaboration between Government, business, labour and civil society. We need to gain a deeper and honest understanding what is driving food insecurity in our society and the measures that need to be taken to overcome them.

The ultimate measure of the success of our democratic dispensation lies in our ability to ensure that no person goes hungry. ■



"Overcoming poverty is not a gesture of charity. It is an act of justice. It is the protection of a fundamental human right, the right to dignity and a decent life"

*Nelson Rolihlahla Mandela*



# The ANC-led Alliance remains the primary political instrument for the realisation of the people's aspirations

## ANC-COSATU POST-BILATERAL MEETING STATEMENT

■ By **ANC SECRETARY GENERAL FIKILE MBALULA**

**T**HE African National Congress (ANC) National Officials met with the National Office Bearers of the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU) in a bilateral meeting on Monday, 20 October 2025, at COSATU House, Braamfontein.

The meeting took place on a day of profound historical significance when we celebrated the centenary birthday of Isithwalandwe/Seaparankwe, Dr Tlou Theophilus Cholo, a stalwart of the liberation movement, a founding member of the South African Congress of Trade Unions (SACTU), the predecessor to COSATU, and a former Commander of Umkhonto we Sizwe, the former military wing of the ANC.

This remarkable coincidence between history and the present mo-

ment symbolised the continuity of the struggle for freedom, justice, and workers' emancipation. In his conversation with the ANC President when he was conferred with the award, Ntate Cholo, an ever a loyal and disciplined cadre of the ANC reminded us that the struggle must continue and reminded us that the revolution remains a living process requiring constant vigilance, unity, and sacrifice.

The meeting was the first formal bilateral engagement between the two historical allies in some time, and was therefore both significant and timely. It reaffirmed the deep bond of comradeship and shared responsibility that the ANC and COSATU hold as partners in the National Democratic Revolution (NDR). Both organisations reflected with honesty and revolutionary maturity on the challenges confronting

the movement and the working class, agreeing that this renewed engagement marks an important step in strengthening and reinvigorating the strategic alliance of the ANC, the South African Communist Party (SACP), COSATU, and the South African National Civic Organisation (SANCO). The alliance continues to bear the historic responsibility of transforming the state and fundamentally changing South Africa to the benefit of all its people.

The bilateral discussed:

- The State of the National Democratic Revolution, including the shifting balance of motive forces and the state of the working class;
- The Reconfiguration of the Alliance to ensure that it remains a united, programmatic vehicle for transformation;
- The Role of the Labour Move-



ment in defending workers' rights, promoting industrial development, and ensuring the redistribution of wealth in line with the Freedom Charter; and

- Progress on decisions taken at previous bilaterals and their impact on the transformation agenda.

The meeting received a briefing on the ANC Local Government Action Plan and ongoing preparations for the 2026 Local Government Elections. Both organisations reaffirmed that local government is the heartbeat of the revolution in action, where the people directly experience the successes or failures of policy implementation. The ANC emphasised the importance of restoring the integrity of councillors, improving governance, and delivering quality services that change people's lives.

The meeting also received a presentation on the ANC's 10-Point Economic Action Plan, which outlines urgent and practical measures to accelerate inclusive growth and job creation. The Plan focuses on restoring energy security, improving the efficiency of freight and logistics, rebuilding the mining and industrial base, and strengthening the capacity of the state to implement major infrastructure projects. It further emphasises support for SMMEs and township enterprises, labour

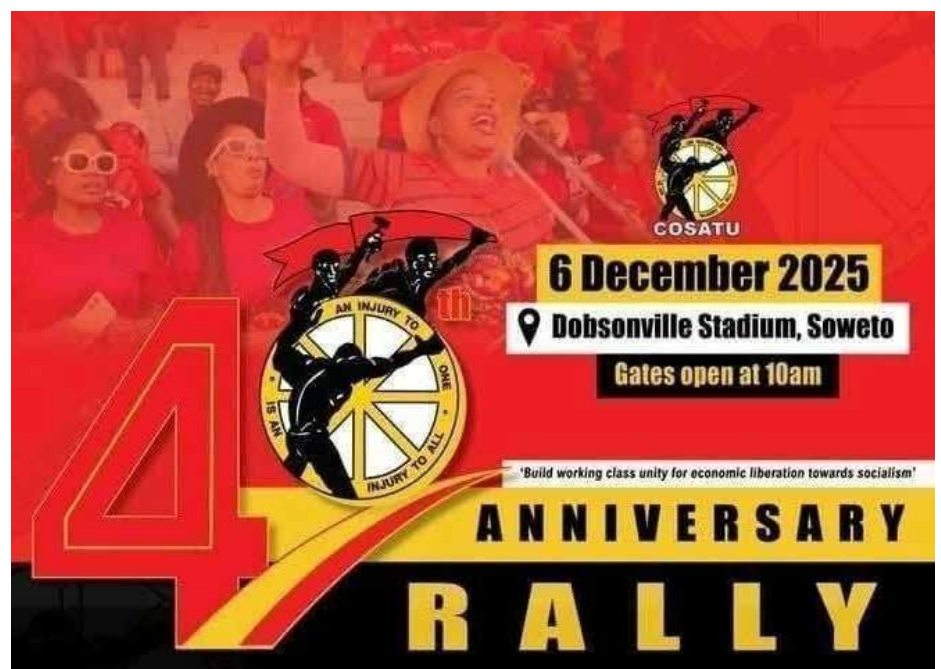
activation initiatives, and balanced regional development that expands economic participation beyond the main centres. Both organisations agreed on further engagements on the implementation of this Plan and that it must be grounded in the values of the Freedom Charter, ensuring that the transformation of the economy directly benefits the working class and advances the struggle for shared prosperity.

Furthermore, the meeting received a report on preparations for the 40th Anniversary of COSATU, to be held on the 6 December 2025 at Dobsonville Stadium, Soweto. This historic celebration will mark four decades of militant working-class struggle and service to the nation. Both the ANC

and COSATU agreed that this anniversary must serve as a moment of reflection and renewal, reaffirming the role of the working class as the leading motive force in the ongoing National Democratic Revolution.

The meeting concluded with a renewed commitment to the unity and strategic coherence of the Alliance, and to the deepening of socio-economic transformation guided by the Freedom Charter.

Both organisations affirmed that the ANC-led Alliance remains the primary political instrument for the realisation of the people's aspirations, and that renewal, discipline, and revolutionary morality must define its cadres in this phase of struggle. ■





# SOLIDARITY IN STRUGGLE AGAINST COLONIALISM AND APARTHEID: USSR/RUSSIA AND THE AFRICAN LIBERATION

ARCHIVAL AND DOCUMENTARY EXHIBITION

**Keynote Address of the ANC Treasurer General, DR GWEN RAMAKGOPA on the Occasion of the Opening Ceremony of the Exhibition dedicated to the Soviet and Russian Role in the Struggle for Liberation in Southern Africa, held at Chief Albert Luthuli House Media Centre**

It is a profound honour to open this exhibition on the bonds between the African National Congress and the USSR, today's Russian Federation, from the dark days of apartheid repression to the dawn of democracy and beyond.

This exhibition's journey is rooted in rigorous archival research, curated by the Russian State University for the Humanities in partnership with our ANC Archives and Heritage Department.

This occasion takes place at the backdrop of an important month when we commemorate the profound contribution to our freedom, giants of our movement, on whose shoulders we stand. October is the month in which we celebrate the internationalist legacy of Comrade Oliver Reginald Tambo, a statesman

of unparalleled moral clarity and the centenary month of Comrade Dr Cholo. He is among the MK combatants trained in the Soviet Union, who carried the struggle forward at great personal risk. This exhibition rightly spotlights that lineage with personal documents, training certificates, and correspondence that weaves individual courage into our collective memory.

The ANC–USSR/Russia story is not a tale that begins in the 1960s and ends in 1994. It has a longer arc, which goes back to the travels of ANC President Josiah Gumede to the Soviet Union in 1927, which prefaced a century of engagement.

That history would take a profound significance when apartheid became an official policy of the State and was institution-

alised after 1948. In the 1950s, faced with bannings, treason trials, and massacres, our movement grappled with the limits of non-violent protest. The Sharpeville massacre of 21 March 1960 was a turning point. It propelled our movement towards the armed struggle, not as an abandonment of moral principle, but as a recognition that the apartheid state had foreclosed peaceful avenues to justice.

In December 1961, uMkhonto weSizwe (MK) was formed, under the political leadership of the ANC, with clear discipline and a strategic doctrine aimed at minimising loss of life while intensifying the liberation struggle in all fronts, both inside the country and internationally to isolate the apartheid regime and bring it to its knees. The ANC sought international support and, crucial-



ly, training for cadres to build a disciplined politico-military capability. It was in this context that relations with the Soviet Union deepened in the early 1960s.

Vladimir Shubin, drawing on declassified Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU) records, recounts how discussions in Moscow with South African leaders, including Moses Kotane and Yusuf Dadoo in 1961, helped shape support for training and the calibrated use of armed struggle alongside mass political mobilisation.

Soviet support for the ANC and allied movements in Southern Africa was not abstract. It was practical, sustained, and often decisive.

Military training and equipment for MK, delivered directly or via socialist allies, formed the backbone of MK's capabilities during key phases of the struggle. Contemporary sources, attest that the *"Soviet bloc provided virtually all the military assistance received by the ANC,"* and that Cuban and East German instructors trained MK recruits in Angolan camps.

The 1986 meeting in Moscow between General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev and ANC President Oliver Tambo, joined by Comrade Thabo Mbeki, publicly affirmed the USSR's support for a "united, democratic and non-racial South Africa." Those encounters, documented in press statements and reported on by the media, were not mere photo opportunities. They fortified the ANC's international standing at a critical juncture.

Beyond arms and training, the Soviet Union and socialist institutions more broadly offered scholarships, safe haven, logistics, and cultural exchange. Universities such as the Peoples' Friendship University (Patrice Lumumba) played a significant role in educating exiled activists, part of a wider Soviet cultural and educational offensive toward the decolonising world.

This solidarity also had faces and names. The exhibition includes personal archival materials of cadres such as Ronnie Kasrils, trained in Odessa in the 1960s, whose trajectory from underground operative to Minister of State in a democratic South Af-

rica epitomises the intertwined destinies of our movements.

The liberation of South Africa cannot be decoupled from regional struggles. Angola, Namibia, Zimbabwe, and Mozambique formed a theatre in which the Cold War intersected with African decolonisation. The USSR and its allies supported the MPLA government in Angola and SWAPO in Namibia. Cuba's extraordinary internationalist deployment is now well-documented.

Nowhere is the regional pivot more debated than the 1987/1988 battles around Cuito Cuanavale. There is broad recognition that the military confrontation, pitting FAPLA and Cuban units, with Soviet advisers, against UNITA forces backed by the SADF, tilted the strategic balance, hastened the Tripartite Accord, and paved the way to Namibia's independence and ultimately, South Africa's democratic breakthrough. South African History Online underscores Cuito Cuanavale as a turning point.

This matters to our story because ANC and MK were embedded in that regional melting pot, bases in Angola, training by Cuban and Soviet advisers, and collaboration with SWAPO and the MPLA. The USSR's material backing, diplomatic cover, and advisory presence were integral to sustaining those fronts until a political settlement became possible.

The 1990s brought two linked processes. The end of the Cold War and South Africa's own negotiated transition. Our movement had always understood that armed struggle was a component, not the sum, of a broader political strategy aimed at achieving a democratic outcome. The

ANC's 1992 policy document, ***Negotiations – A Strategic Perspective***, explicitly reckoned with shifts in the global balance of forces, including changes in Eastern Europe, and framed negotiations as the route to a non-racial democracy.

Multi-party talks (CODESA, the National Peace Accord, and the Multi-Party Negotiating Forum) culminated in South Africa's first democratic elections in April 1994. The Soviet Union itself had dissolved by then, but the political capital accumulated through decades of solidarity did not vanish with the red flag over the Kremlin, it migrated into a new Russia–South Africa relationship built on recognition of that shared past.

Formal diplomatic ties between the Russian Federation and South Africa were established in 1992, followed by high-level visits in the late 1990s. President Nelson Mandela's 1999 visit to Moscow and the subsequent 2006 Treaty of Friendship and Partnership, later ratified, signalled continuity through change. In the 2010s, cooperation widened through BRICS, with joint declarations and economic diplomacy that reflected a multipolar vision many in our movement had advocated since the struggle years.

It is a historical fact that our relationship draws legitimacy from the sacrifices and solidarities forged in the fiery furnaces of the anti-apartheid struggle.

By assembling documents from Russian state archives and the ANC Archives, certificates, diplomas, personal files, photographs, we are enabling young South Africans to engage primary sources, assess multiple narratives,



and understand that history is a contested terrain that demands critical inquiry.

Three lessons stand out:

1. Solidarity is strategic and ethical. The USSR's support was rooted in ideology and geopolitics, but also in a principled stance against colonialism and racism, as Russian and South African scholars have argued over decades.
2. Struggle has many pillars. The ANC's approach combined mass mobilisation, underground organisation, international isolation of apartheid, and armed struggle, each reinforcing the others. Our archives, alongside works like Vladimir Shubin's *ANC: A View from Moscow*, show how external solidarity was always harnessed to a political strategy directed by the ANC.
3. History is multi-perspective. From the debates over Cuito Cuanavale to assessments of MK's operational footprint, the record invites careful study rather than simplistic triumph-

phalism. South African History Online and peer-reviewed scholarship both caution that while symbolism matters, a sober reading of operations, negotiations, and outcomes gives future leaders the tools to navigate complexity.

The beauty of this exhibition lies in the faces and voices that animate the narrative.

- Comrade Oliver Tambo's words in Moscow in November 1986, offering thanks to the Soviet people and affirming shared objectives of a "united, democratic and non-racial South Africa" carry the gravitas of a leader who held our movement together in exile with patience and strategic ingenuity.
- Comrade Ronnie Kasrils's training records from Odessa evoke the daily grind of mastering craft and discipline, the technicalities of engineering and intelligence work that kept our structures resilient under pressure.
- Certificates and diplomas of

cadres whose names may not have occupied headlines – Cde Abisai Mpete, Cde Oliver Mabiza, Cde Mzingaye Wellington Kalipa, Cde Andile Panyana, remind us that liberation is won by countless unsung heroes and heroines who never seek a podium, whose study, training, and modest bravery accumulate into historic change.

These artefacts personalise what scholarly works and declassified documents sometimes abstract. They bridge knowledge locked away in official archives and personal accounts of lived experiences in the battlefield.

Our democratic foreign policy since 1994 has tried to balance historic loyalties with constitutional values and global responsibilities. South Africa's engagement with BRICS, including Russia, has been one expression of our belief in a more plural and rebalanced international order, even as we insist on the primacy of international law, human rights, and peaceful resolution of conflicts. Analyses of South Africa's role in BRICS capture both the opportunities and the paradoxes of this path.

It is in this context of continuity with change that we must endeavour to lift and transform this relationship beyond the political realm to economics. Ideas are important but we must also address the economic fortunes of our peoples including the movements that shape the futures of these peoples.

The ANC extends its hand of friendship and mutual support and benefit to the Russian people as we work to sustain ourselves and drive the project of

democratic change.

The truth is that history neither absolves nor predetermines, it informs. Our gratitude for historic solidarity does not remove the imperative to think critically and act ethically in a complex world.

The very archives we celebrate tonight, carefully curated, translated, and contextualised, equip us to have sophisticated conversations about sovereignty, dignity, development, and peace.

Why does a traveling exhibition shown in Harare, Bulawayo, Dar es Salaam, Maputo, Cape Town, and now Johannesburg matter? Because public history democratizes memory. It takes materials once locked away in Moscow vaults or ANC boxes and sets them before school groups, students, veterans, and diplomats alike. It says, "*Here are the records. Read them. Argue with them. Learn from them.*" That is how democracies deepen.

It is fitting that this exhibition is here at Chief Albert Luthuli House, because Chief Albert Luthuli's own journey, from Nobel laureate and apostle of non-violence to a leader navigating the agonising turn to armed struggle after Sharpeville, mirrors our movement's ethical wrestling and strategic evolution.

Our archives show that the decision to form MK was not easy. It was a change in tactic necessitated by material conditions in the face of state brutality.

Allow me to express, on behalf of the ANC, sincere thanks to the Russian State University for the Humanities and the Institute for African Studies of the Russian Academy of Sciences, for their

scholarship and partnership.

Our ANC Archives and Heritage Department, for stewarding our records and making them accessible, and for sharing invaluable personal collections that humanise our history.

The curatorial team, Dr Alexander Zotin and Dr Daria Zelenova, who will guide us through the exhibition.

The veterans and families whose documents and memories bring depth to this story.

As we conclude – The ANC's relationship with the USSR and with Russia is a thread in a larger tapestry that includes Cuba, the Nordic countries, the frontline states, the broader non aligned world, and millions who marched, boycotted, divested, and prayed for our freedom. Scholars will continue to debate proportions and motives. Such debate is healthy. But the bedrock truth, documented in archives from Johannesburg to Moscow, is that without the solidarity represented in these archives, our road to 1994 would have been longer and darker.

Remember that history is not only about what happened, it is about what we do now with the inheritance of struggle and friendship. To paraphrase one of our movement's most enduring convictions: ***Aluta Continua – The struggle continues***, but its shape changes.

We should carry forward the best of what this exhibition celebrates – disciplined organisation, principled alliances and an unwavering commitment to human dignity.



## 35 YEARS ON: Dr Cholo, the First ANC Soshanguve Branch Chairperson in 1990 and still going strong

■ By **CHINA DODOVU**

**M**ANY of us in the TNT EX-SANSCO/SASCO BRANCH Whatsapp group are eyewitnesses to the historic events that happened in Soshanguve, North of Pretoria in the early 1990s.

The pinnacle of such political moments was the release from prison of Ntate Tlou Cholo who was knighted this year, with the highest honour, **Isithwalandwe-Seaparankoe** by his beloved movement, the African National Congress (ANC).

Isithwalandwe, literally translated, means “*the one who wears the plumes of the rare bird*”. In the ANC, to be conferred with this honour is not an easy feat. Isithwalandwe-Seaparankoe is awarded by the ANC to those who have made an outstanding contribution and sacrifice to the

liberation struggle and traditionally bestowed ONLY on the bravest warriors of the people for their exceptional qualities of leadership and heroism.

The first recipients of the Isithwalandwe-Seaparankoe honour were Chief Albert Luthuli, Dr Yusuf Dadoo and Father Trevor Huddleston at the Congress of the People in June 1955 when the Freedom Charter was adopted.

In 1990, Ntate Cholo became the first ANC Chairperson of Soshanguve Branch immediately after his release from Robben Island where he served 26 years in prison.

Ntate Cholo became our branch Chairperson where most of us formally joined the ANC after its unbanning. For 30 years from 1960, the ANC was declared unlawful by the apartheid govern-

ment and all its political activities were prohibited and its members imprisoned.

Looking back at those historic moments, I am quite certain that most of you my fellow comrades, feel the same as I do that we are immensely proud to be Ntate Cholo’s protégés as we were nurtured and sprinkled under his political tutelage and wisdom.

I feel nostalgic as I remember that every single weekend we would travel from our campus at the Techkinon Northern Transvaal (now Tshwane University of Technology) where we studied to fill the Giant Stadium or to attend political classes where we drank from a fountain of wisdom, Ntate Cholo and many other leaders like Father Smangaliso Mkhathshwa and the late Dr George Mukhari.

In such political teachings, we were taught about the history, culture and tradition of the ANC. Such leaders possessed the priceless wisdom which was so potent and so profound that it always revolutionised the ANC and its cadres.

Celebrating 100 years of his life this week brings the good memories of what Ntate Cholo taught us. Speaking mostly in Sepedi, his teachings remain fresh in my mind as if they happened only last week.

We must forever be indebted to him for militantly confronting the apartheid's ruthless machinery and for articulating the views and aspirations of the black majority, causing his incarceration.

As I watched on television this week President Cyril Ramaphosa honouring Ntate Cholo, I was reminded that one of his finest quality was patience: an inherent ability to listen, to absorb and to offer a point of view based on measured and balanced wisdom. Ntate Cholo never made rash decisions, but thought long and hard before giving advice - sound advice that helped to profoundly shaped the lives of many comrades he led.

Ntate Cholo was an imposing figure of a man – a light skinned and handsome man whose reassuring presence and uniquely powerful voice we all felt in his work especially during difficult times like the 3-million Gangsters who ravaged the Soshanguve hostels.

Looking at him today as a 100 year old with his voice partly muted, tears dropped of my eyes, thinking of how his beloved movement is facing serious difficulties.



We note that his beloved organisation, the ANC – the movement that he sacrificed all his life for, is at a tipping point after it lost the elections last year, garnering only 40% of the electoral votes.

Today, the ANC is riddled with all the wrong and alien tendencies of institutionalized factionalism, crippling divisions, spiraling ill-discipline, despicable arrogance and inexplicable denialism. The ANC has steered off-course like a sinking ship in stormy waters and in deep trouble. Unless it changes course, the ANC is inevitably headed for a calamity of unprecedented proportions.

Ntate Cholo taught us that in times such as these we must refuse to comment from the safety of the sidelines and never be driven by fears of reprisals and

victimization for speaking truth to power. In fact, he taught us that we must expose and deal with the issues that trouble our society irrespective of who is involved.

As we remember his political work, we must raise our hands to express our umbrage at the pervasive silence, prevarication and lack of urgent and serious practical concomitant action to address the appalling state of our nation. In fact, it is absurd and preposterous to bury our heads in the sand in the midst of the scandalous cancers eating up his beloved movement.

If truth is to be told, I feel that his footprints are slowly disappearing as some of those who came after him wreck havoc and destroy his legacy and good work.

As we speak today, the ANC is

increasingly losing credibility and the trust of the people of South Africa because of poor service delivery record, corruption allegations and poor management of public resources among many issues.

The ANC seems to have lost touch with key constituencies and the calibre of many of its leaders are not like him. They lack basic leadership, organising and communication skills, and they are unable to mobilise and motivate the activists, civil society, supporters and voters.

The ANC is running a risk of losing general elections in 2029 and be completely voted out of power if its leadership continues with the current path of degeneracy and doom.

As we salute Ntate Cholo as a freedom fighter who led by example and taught us the true meaning of revolutionary courage and modesty in pursuit of the noble goal of equality and prosperity, we must emulate his virtues and exemplary leadership qualities because we know that he has fully paid a deposit in our moral bank account.


With the current negative developments unfolding in front of our eyes, we can see that a veil of sadness, darkness and pain has covered his organisation. But still, if we are collectively determined to renew and unite the ANC, we know that the rainbow of hope will rise from the clouds to keep our hope burning for a tomorrow that is better than today, and for posterity. ■

**China Dodovu** is a Member of the ANC Adelaide Tambo Branch: Matlosana Sub-region, North West.



## The Anatomy of a Revolutionary Movement – A Response to the Distortions of the National Democratic Revolution

■ By **THAMI NTENTENI**

 ON 23 September 2024 Professor Koos Malan wrote a series of three articles published in Afrikaans in *Netwerk24* and subsequently translated into English and published in *NEWS24*. These articles were published under the heading **“THE ANC’s PARTIAL LOSS OF POWER”**.

In these articles Professor Malan draws certain conclusions, which are a serious distortion and misrepresentation of ANC policy regarding the National Democratic Revolution, Transformation of Society and the Role of the State.

The positions by Professor Malan cannot go unchallenged.

James De Fronzo in his work **“REVOLUTIONS AND REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENTS”** defines a **“SOCIAL MOVEMENT”**, *“as a persistent, organized effort by a relatively large number of people either to bring about social change or to resist it.”*

Revolutionary Movements must always be seen within the context of the environment in which they take root as well as the circumstances and conditions which give rise to them.

Often, revolutionary movements are the products of unbearable conditions imposed upon a group of people by those who exercise power over them. Sometimes people may believe that suffering and living in abject poverty is their lot and there is nothing that can be done about it.

However, a cohort of revolutionary, courageous and visionary leadership emerges from within society to challenge the existing order or status quo and gives rise to hope and the realisation that it is not the correct order of things for people to endure suffering.

The motive force of all revolutionary movements is that the existing order of things is neither immutable nor unalterable but can be changed.

This is true because the oppressive order is the imposition of the will of others over the majority – it only takes the majority to realise that the imposed will can be overturned and be replaced by a more just and egalitarian system.

Naturally the beneficiaries of the old order will organise themselves or distort the intentions of the revolutionary movement in order to maintain and to perpetuate the status quo. They are therefore the representatives of the counter-revolutionary forces whose aim is to defend the prevailing status quo by all means possible.

It is not strange that Professor Koos Malan writes in the manner he does – clearly vilifying the African National Congress and extolling with great admiration the virtues of the DA as the saviour of the people of South Africa.

From his argumentation and his admiration of the capacity of the



DA in government he has placed himself squarely within the category of individuals who would prefer that the apartheid old order and its representatives in whatever form they present themselves should be restored in South Africa albeit under a different guise.

### **Conditions of poverty – inequality and unemployment remain unchanged**

The fact remains that the conditions of poverty, inequality and unemployment remain unchanged which are the legacy that apartheid bequeathed to the new democratic dispensation. The apologists and denials of the atrocities of apartheid are quick to retort that apartheid cannot be blamed forever. Yet they deliberately ignore that the inequalities and institutionalised oppression was the product of centuries of colonial domination.

This, needless to say, cannot be changed in just thirty years of democracy. It is an undeniable historical fact that the majority of the people of South Africa have suffered untold misery under a system that discriminated

against them and deprived them of the opportunity to participate in institutions of power, deprived them of education and job opportunities under the job reservation laws.

It is also an undeniable fact that the system of apartheid is an anti-thesis of democracy and could not be allowed to continue. The objective of the revolutionary movement was and remains the dismantling of these structures and institutions of apartheid colonialism. The democratic dispensation – must transform these structures and institutions of oppression and replace these with democratic institutions whose purpose is to serve the interests of the people. This has been and continues to be the mission and vision of the ANC under the **National Democratic Revolution**.

It is a gross misrepresentation of the National Democratic Revolution policy of the ANC that is presented by Professor Malan when he writes about Transformation and the National Democratic Revolution that:

*"Its declared goal of transformationism, involving centralist*

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*party control over all sectors of society – (the so-called national democratic revolution),” and “The licentious platform of unbridled one-party dominance of the preceding thirty years is no longer available.”*

The insinuation here is that during the past 30 years of its rule the ANC usurped power through “unbridled one party dominance.” This, as everybody knows was an outcome of a democratic process in which the people expressed their support and confidence in the ANC through their vote.

### **The ANC was elected into power**

It is an undeniable fact that the ANC was elected into power during these 30 years through the unwavering support of the masses and it did not impose itself on an unwilling society as was the case with the apartheid regime.

Throughout its existence the ANC has never hidden the revolutionary character of the movement – revolutionary because its aims and objectives as defined in the NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC REVOLUTION were not reformist in character.

Its aims and objectives have been and continue to be the revolutionary transformation of society and bringing about a non-racial, non-sexist and egalitarian society.

In defining the content and revolutionary character of the ANC – once again we borrow from DeFronzo’s definition:

*“A revolutionary movement... is a social movement in which participants strive to drastically alter or totally replace existing*



*social, economic, or political institutions.”* (DeFronzo, James. *“REVOLUTIONS AND REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENTS”* Avalon Publishing. Kindle Edition)

This is truly a distinguishing feature and character of a revolutionary movement. It defines itself completely as an antithesis of the existing order – its ideological orientation is completely different and opposed to the existing order and seeks a complete and irrevocable change of the existing order.

In the case of the African National Congress – its aims and objectives and the aspirations of a new dispensation is clearly spelled out in the Freedom Charter.

By their very nature and content – the demands enunciated in the Freedom Charter place the ANC squarely in the arena of a revolutionary movement because the demands of the Freedom Charter are not reformist but revolutionary. The constitution of the Republic bears testimony to this when it declares in its preamble

that:

*“We, the people of South Africa, Recognise the injustices of our past; Honour those who suffered for justice and freedom in our land; Respect those who have worked to build and develop our country; and believes that South Africa belongs to all who live in it, united in our diversity.”*

It continues to impose this injunction on the democratic state:

*“Heal the divisions of the past and establish a society based on democratic values, social justice and fundamental human rights; (and)*

*Lay the foundations for a democratic and open society in which government is based on the will of the people and every citizen is equally protected by law;*

*Improve the quality of life of all citizens and free the potential of each person...”*

The struggle to achieve these goals are identified as the National Democratic Revolution (NDR).

**'National'** here relates to the fact that the oppressed in the Settler-Colonial State had to fight for their national liberation. The *'national question'* in such a State is resolved by the liberation of the oppressed.

In our case, a seminal moment in the resolution of the national question was the end of white minority rule as signified by the 1994 Elections.

Our own struggle to defeat the Settler-Colonial State consciously sought to defeat two prominent features of this State, these being:

- The systemic oppression of the black majority; and,
- The denial of the democratic rights of that majority.

This is what accounts for **'democratic'** in the National Democratic Revolution (NDR).

In this context, it is very important to understand that, in summary, the strategic task of the NDR is the creation of a democratic, non-racial, non-sexist and prosperous South Africa based on the eradication of the legacy of colonialism and apartheid, both of them an expression of the functioning of the Settler Colonial State.

How Professor Koos Malan comes to the conclusion that *"its declared goal of transformationism, involving centralist party control over all sectors of society – (the so-called national democratic revolution)"* is indeed not only puzzling but mischievous because as a Professor, Malan ought to know better.

But this is by no means accidental. It is the same narrative that seeks to distort the NATIONAL

DEMOCRATIC REVOLUTION and represent it as being inspired by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU) and the ally of the ANC the South Africa Communist Party (SACP).

When he gave evidence at the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC), the former Chief of the SADF, Gen Constand Viljoen said among other things:

*"Most revolutionary wars were thus not only wars of liberation in Africa but also proxy wars for the superpowers...So, in this way the USSR was for us a conventional threat, a real physical conventional threat because they were actually present, and they had their proxy agents present in Southern Africa..."*

In April 2022, the prominent Afrikaner intellectual and rightwing ideologue, Hermann Gilliomee, published an article entitled, **"WHEN THE ANC LOST ITS BRAIN"**.

Unashamedly, Prof Giliomee says that the ANC *"lost its brain"* when the Soviet Union ceased to exist. Here is some of what he wrote: *"The ideology of the SACP was very close to that of the Soviet Union and that the SACP dominated the ANC-SACP Alliance during the years of Struggle..."*

*It is clear that the paralysis that has seemed to grip the ANC government is due largely to the decline of communism as an ideology and the cessation of the flow of expert advice from Moscow...*

*President Cyril Ramaphosa's appeals to his voters sound increasingly like calls to stragglers who are lost and without guidance."*

Lastly the views expressed by

Professor Koos Malan serve to amplify those of another rightwing ideologue, Dr Anthea Jeffery, Head of Policy Research at the Institute of Race Relations, who has written a book entitled **"COUNTDOWN TO SOCIALISM: The National Democratic Revolution in South Africa since 1994"**.

Concerning this book, she said in 2023:

*"With growth stalling, joblessness at crisis levels, and governance unravelling, most South Africans cannot fathom why the ANC does not embark on meaningful reform.*

*The answer lies in what is seldom raised: the ruling party's unwavering determination to take the country by incremental steps from capitalism to socialism.*

*As I explain in my new book, 'COUNTDOWN TO SOCIALISM: The National Democratic Revolution in South Africa since 1994', this transformation is being implemented via a Moscow-inspired 'national democratic revolution' (NDR) dating back many decades.*

*Despite the Soviet Union's collapse in 1991, the ANC/SACP alliance still sees the NDR as offering the 'most direct route' to socialism in South Africa – and hence as its bedrock strategy."*

The ANC warned about this at its 50th National Conference in 1997. In its document on **Strategy and Tactics** it said:

*"In the narrow sense, counter-revolution can be defined as a combination of aims and forms of action that are mainly unconstitutional and illegal, to subvert transformation.*

*These include setting up intelligence and armed networks parallel to and within the state to sabotage change through direct political activity or aggravation of such social problems as crime.*

*They also entail underground efforts to undermine the country's economy, including investor confidence and the currency; deliberate acts of corruption driven not merely by greed; sabotage of the programme for delivery; wrecking the government's information systems; illegal and malicious acts of capital flight and so on..."*

*"Uppermost in the immediate objectives of these counter-revolutionary forces is to disorganise, weaken and destroy the ANC, the vanguard of the NDR, both from within and from outside its ranks. It is in the interest of these elements that the masses of the people should be left leaderless and rudderless and thus open to manipulation against their own interests.*

*In this sense, therefore, the democratic movement will be committing a monumental blunder – a historical error of great proportions – to lull itself into a false sense of security. Maximum vigilance is required.*

*But even more critical, the revolutionary movement needs to act with resolution in transforming the state machinery. It needs to use those centres of power in which it has a foothold to widen and deepen popular power."*

The document of the ANC captures correctly why Professor Koos Malan, and others are so obsessed with the nature of the state and says, "hopefully these parties positively affect the dismal state of governance in South Africa." (and) the warning to the parties in the GNU that "However, at the same time it will serve them well to be keenly alive to the ANC's continued commitment to its harmful politics of transformationism."

It is equally important to repeat the warning of the ANC Strategy and Tactics document. This vilification of the ANC by all these elements is the epitome and an embodiment of a bigger agenda of counter-revolution.

Uppermost in the immediate objectives of these counter-revolutionary forces is to disorganise, weaken and destroy the ANC, the vanguard of the NDR, both from within and from outside its ranks.

It is in the interest of these elements that the masses of the people should be left leaderless and rudderless and thus open to manipulation against their own interests.

In this sense, therefore, the democratic movement will be committing a monumental blunder – a historical error of great proportions – to lull itself into a false sense of security. Maximum vigilance is required. ■



"Colonialism & apartheid have left a sharply polarised society. Until we reduce the wide gaps between the educated & the illiterate, the sheltered & the homeless, & very rich & the poor, we will continue to be deeply divided"

Nelson Rolihlahla Mandela



# The Broad Church, the Beautiful Game, and the Next Chapter for the ANC

■ By **FAIEZ JACOBS**

**W**HEN Dr Patrice Motsepe addressed a gala dinner of the South African National Editors' Forum, he did more than make headlines. For more than hundred minutes he held up a mirror to the state of the movement the African National Congress (ANC) and implicitly mapped a route from its current malaise back to relevance by rediscovering its function as the broad church of national purpose, re-animating its institutional core, restoring trust and reclaiming the economic opportunities, the trillions locked in idle capital because of political will, risk, uncertainty and institutional volatility outweigh return.

*"I'm still an ANC member... and I know this movement still has an enormous role to play,"* he declared. These words, from one of South Africa's most influential citizens, were neither gloating nor nostalgic: they were a formal

summons to renewal. He reminded the movement that leadership isn't only about holding office, it is about doing right when no one sees. As he joked about *"knock knees"* and wealthy presidents, he left no doubt about realisation: the business of renewal demands humility, delivery and systemic reform, not spectacle.

## **The Outsider Who Still Belongs**

Motsepe described his position candidly: *"I'm still not prepared to enter the leadership contest ... I'm not mad enough to join politics,"* he joked. Yet he emphasised contribution over competition: *"All of us have an enormous obligation [to contribute]."*

This paradox matters. He belongs to the movement neither as a conventional insider nor as an external critic but as a moral stakeholder. The message: renewal isn't only about who holds

power; it is about who holds purpose. We need a coalition of purpose, not a battlefield of slates and personality contest.

## **The Broad Church as South Africa's Last Consensus Space**

He reminded the audience bluntly: *"The ANC was a broad church, and it continues to be."* In a society where fragmentation now threatens national coherence, this institutional characteristic is not a weakness it is unique. The ANC once held divergent forces together: workers and intellectuals, socialists and Christians, capitalists and idealists. To abandon that architecture would be to surrender the only space in which our social contradictions still negotiate under one roof. The broad church must evolve into a network of aligned missions: mobilise all especially the motive forces, women, professional, unemployed, rural, urban, small

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business, digital economy, infrastructure-jobs, township localisation, youth enterprise. The platform must hold complexity rather than collapse under it.

### The ANC as the Grammar of the Nation

He offered a striking metaphor: *“You can’t develop football without Kaizer Chiefs... the ANC also had a pivotal function in South African politics.”* The message is simple: the ANC is more than party it’s political grammar. It is THE BASE. When its coherence erodes, the national conversation fragments. But words alone won’t restore trust. The challenge is rewriting the political grammar: dignity, duty, delivery, honesty.

The renewal imperative: re-teach the country how to speak hope again. Bring all of us together.

### The “Few Bad Apples” and the Crisis of Moral Imagination

Acknowledging crisis, Motsepe confided: *“Many of our people are enormously disappointed, [and] with a lot of justification. But I have no doubt in my mind the ANC still has an enormous role to play.”*

This isn’t just defence it is diagnosis. It’s about restoring moral imagination: the belief that public service can still change lives.

The ANC must rebuild its value circuit: the idea that holding office is a sacred duty, not a prize; that money is delivered, not hoarded; that power is exercised with accountability, not entitlement. A baby sits in the bath, and yes, the water is dirty but renewal means cleaning it, not discarding the baby.



### Beyond Factions: The Return of the Centrist Idealist

Despite calls from senior leaders for him to contest the leadership, he was resolute: *“I will support whoever the ANC chooses... and we will work together.”* Leadership, he implied, is shifting from personality to institution. Renewal demands a centrist idealist: leaders driven not by faction but committed to substance, ethics and service rather than patronage and spectacle. Let the people and the organisation be the focus, centre the movement and avoids the cycle of hero-worship. The trust remains in systems, in the collective, the promise remains in capability.

### Rediscovering the Alliance DNA

Motsepe defended the historical pact: *“Whether we accept it or not, the workers must unite. You [also] can’t have an ANC without the Communist Party.”* The alliance remains central. Our future depends on reinvigorating the ecosystem: labour reclaiming voice, the ideological partner modernising people cen-

tred socialism, and the movement mediating between state, market and society and our best national objectives and interests. The call isn’t for paper unity but outcome-based compacts: jobs, prosperity, productivity, living wages, skills, investment.

Publicly release an alliance scorecard. Missed targets trigger corrective mechanisms. The alliance becomes a governance pillar not a ceremonial tribute.

### From Cadre to Citizen: The New Mode of Contribution

Again he reiterated: *“All of us have an enormous obligation [to make a contribution].”* Politics is evolving beyond office-seeking. Every South African entrepreneur, activist, elders, community-worker has an agency. The ANC leaders cannot deliver on their own and must mobilise citizen-builders: 10 000 micro- community based projects, youth enterprise hubs, ward innovation labs. Turn politics into service production. Because for most South Africans, the movement will be judged not in conference halls but in clinic queues, schools, safe communi-

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ties, workplaces, basic services like clean water, electricity, affordable housing, streetlights, library openings.

### The Silent Endorsement: Faith in the Institution

By stating his support for whomever the ANC chooses, the billionaire businessman modelled institutional faith rather than messianic leadership. Motsepe signals we must depersonalise power: away with members of members, no-slate codes, blind evaluations, independent performance boards. Movements survive when they trust their own systems not only their icons. The ANC's durability depends on governance cultures, not superstar figures. When people believe the game is fair, they mobilise behind it. When they think it's rigged, abstention becomes the norm.

### Football as a Mirror of Politics

Re-visiting his metaphor: *"You can't develop football without Kaizer Chiefs... the ANC also had a pivotal function..."* Poli-

tics, like football, needs systems: rotation, meritocracy, referees, good infrastructure. It teaches: team sheets, rotation, referees, pipelines. The ANC must mimic the logic: a Ward XI model our selection based on merit, performance, substitution for non-delivery, promotion from development squads. Publish a **team sheet per ward: roles, targets, timelines, stats**. Because victory in politics, like sport, comes from systems, working effectively as teams not only star players.

### Reimagining the Broad Church as a Coalition of Purpose and Inclusion as Strategy

Invoking the broad church again, Motsepe signalled the next frontier: internal pluralism as a driver of renewal. Imagine an ANC where feminist voices, youth innovators, digital entrepreneurs, social democrats and Pan-Africanists collaborate under one purpose. Institutionalise difference. Harness it. Remember the ANC, a home for all. Women, youth and migrants are not tokens they are renewal multipliers. Diverse

teams solve faster, spot risk earlier. Bake Inclusion KPI Grids into budgets and leadership promotions. When we engineer for inclusion, we build for strength.

### Humility and Humour as Political Assets

He joked: *"I've never liked people who say, 'We don't want a president who's got knock-knees.' Now when I walk around and look at my knees, I see that they are knocked all the time, so that rules me out."* This levity matters. Trust is rebuilt not only by policy but by human connection. The ANC must recover the tone of service not spectacle.

### The SANEF Moment: Business, Media, and Moral Authority

Delivering this address at a media-business forum is no accident. Renewal cannot be party-only. It must involve the press, business, civil society. Motsepe's presence symbolised cross-sector partnership essential if the movement is to rebuild moral authority.





### The Post-ANC Future: Evolution, Not Erasure

Motsepe closed with clarity: *“The country still needs the ANC... I have no doubt in my mind the ANC still has an enormous role to play.”* He wasn’t office-seeking but offering a strategic horizon. The future rests not in discarding the movement but evolving it. The cocoon must transform for the butterfly to fly.

### A Practical Playbook for Renewal

From his remarks and our synthesis, I propose a **“Renewal Triangle”** for the next chapter:

- **Moral Axis** Reclaim integrity and humility as leadership currencies.
- **Organisational Axis** Reform structures without losing soul.
- **Societal Axis** Reconnect with citizens through service, culture and enterprise.

Together, these axes mirror sport’s logic: fitness, formation and fairness. The team worth saving still wears the colours of hope but only if it plays with discipline, humility and accountability.

Motsepe bridges philanthropy and business. But the ANC must ensure that wealth does not capture politics. Create Foundation–Municipality Compacts with open-book rules, no procurement from donor-linked companies, independent audits. Publish a Prosperity & Ethics Code. The poor should never pay for the rich to look generous.

Finally, the doctrine that unites all of this: quiet competence. The ANC must become an institution where doing right when no one watches is ordinary. No ribbon-cuttings for street-sweeping; just results. Celebrate maintenance teams internally. Publish integrity logs, not pressers. Eventually, public faith will be restored not by one speech but by thousands of unnoticed acts.

### Closing Reflection

Motsepe’s address is both mirror and map. It reflects our broken knees, our bruised ambitions and it directs us toward a terrain of purposeful renewal. If the ANC honours this call, it can reclaim its role as the grammar of the nation, the broad church of our de-

mocracy, and the platform for our future. If not, we risk becoming a museum piece instead of a living movement.

The trillions of capital waiting to invest in South Africa will only enter when trust, systems and delivery meet. The broad church must become a broad network of purpose. The rhetoric must mature into grammar. Institutions must outlast personalities. And politics must return to craftsmanship.

We are not rebuilding a party. We are renewing a nation. The next chapter will not be written in slogans or campaigns. It will be written in boardrooms, procurement offices, village clinics and stadium stands by those who do right when no one sees, and so earn the right to be seen.

In the beautiful game of national reconstruction, it is not the name on the jersey but the values in the playbook that count. The playbook has been rewritten. The team is still on the field. ■

**Faiez Jacobs** is the Former ANC Western Cape Provincial Secretary.

# Can the African National Congress discipline itself within the South African framework, and how?

■ By **DENIS MATWA**

**A**FTER the disastrous performance in the 29 May 2024 elections, we need to answer very deep and difficult questions. As we are fast approaching the local government elections in the coming year, 2026, we must grapple with the problems that are facing our august and glorious movement. We argue that the challenges that are facing the movement are, by and large, self-inflicted. For some different reasons, we have become arrogant and have failed to correctly analyze the reality that is facing our movement. We have allowed forces of counter-revolution to be triumphant.

This article seeks to suggest an analysis of the current situation that is facing our movement. We are going to look at how we have been dealing with these challenges in the past so that we can predict the future. We will try to locate and formulate correct responses to our challenges as a movement. Fortunately, the ANC is endowed with vast literature on how we approach the balance of forces within our country. We are going to look at the historical context, that is, how have we grappled with difficult questions in the past. We are going to look at how we have correctly understood

the subjective and objective conditions that our movement has faced over the years. How do we deal with reactionary and counter-revolutionaries in the present situation?

The ANC remains the authentic voice of the people of South Africa. Since our legality in the early 90s, we have found ourselves vulnerable to a wide range of people who have used the ANC as a vehicle to advance their opportunistic and criminal deeds. Our capturing of state power in 1994 has brought us many challenges. Forces of counter-revolution, corrupt and reactionary 'leaders'

have become our nightmare. For the first time in our history, books have been written about these so-called leaders for all the wrong reasons. Fortunately for us, these so-called leaders are now openly in opposition political organization or, have decided, to form dissidents' organisations opposed to our movement. Lastly, this article will look at the current animosity within the alliance. Are we going to let the alliance with the South African Communist Party (SACP) to die? What are the implications for the liberation movement as led by the ANC? How do we engage progressive civil society organisations in this context?



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### Locating the ANC in historical context

It is imperative to first understand what is the African National Congress, without digressing from the task at hand. People sometimes join the ANC for genuine, and at times, nefarious reasons.

The view that the ANC is a 'broad church' is sometimes abused by those who join our movement for nefarious reasons. Accordingly, the African National Congress (ANC) is the spearhead of the national democratic revolution. The ANC was formed in 1912 to unite the African people in the struggle against colonial oppression. It has since developed to represent and lead all the oppressed and democratic forces in militant struggles.

Today, despite many years of illegal and underground existence, the ANC as head of the revolutionary alliance occupies a virtually unchallenged place as the popular vanguard force in the liberation struggle. It has attracted growing allegiance and support from the overwhelming majority of the struggling masses. It is very important and appropriate to understand the ANC as such.

This movement, over the years, has produced a variety of leaders such as Dr Pixley ka Isaka Seme, Oliver Tambo and Nelson Mandela, to mention just a few. The ANC is a friend of the working and oppressed masses of our country. The ANC therefore recognizes the leading role of the working class. Workers' participation in its ranks is one of the important ways in which our working class plays its role in the democratic revolution. However the ANC is not a workers' vanguard political party. The detractors of the ANC, both from the



right wing and the ultra-left, fail to understand this role of the ANC. Our history speaks for itself. We don't need the so-called experts to tell us more.

The ANC has evolved over many years to be what it is today. Our history of struggle speaks volumes. We are very proud of our history. Over the years, we have faced many challenges. These challenges were there even during the formative years, however, our forbearers navigated through these storms to make the ANC what it is today.

As our Strategy and Tactics document correctly puts it, "for the ANC to be an effective instrument and a powerful vehicle for fundamental transformation or radical change, its members must distinguish themselves as the most loyal, ethical, committed and capable servants of the people of South Africa and agents for change in the struggle to build a better Africa and a more equitable global order..." This is not

something new. We are a revolutionary movement that seeks to ameliorate our people from the hundreds of years of oppression and exploitation. It is not by accident that we are in alliance with the South African Communist Party (SACP). Our alliance is born out of struggle.

Writing during the dark days of apartheid colonialism, Francis Meli says "there are important reasons for dealing with this question of the genesis of the relationship between African nationalism and socialism in South Africa. First, our enemy – whatever form or color it takes – has always deliberately distorted the relationship between the ANC and the Communist Party. The ANC is portrayed as a brainless organisation, without independent thought or initiative, "controlled" by communists who are white. The reasoning behind this distortion is clear: they are trying to tell our people that whether you are inside or outside the ANC it is the same – "white control" is

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everywhere. They are trying to demoralize our people, disarm them and instill a sense of hopelessness preventing them from joining the ranks of the freedom fighters.”

We have quoted at length from Meli for the fact that this thinking is still prevalent in some quarters of South African society, many years after liberation.

### State of the Alliance

The alliance between the ANC, SACP, the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU) and SANCO needs to be advanced and protected. Our detractors know that the death of this alliance will mean the death of the ANC. We do not want to see a weak, and an ultimately dead ANC! As our Strategy and Tactics document points out, *“the ANC since its inception has been a revolutionary movement and an agent for change, always seeking to act with and in the interests of the people, that adapts to external and internal challenges and changes. Few political organisations and parties survive for more than a century, weathering local, continental, and global changes, but its ability and resilience to adapt to external and internal changes stood it in good stead. This resilience has characterized the ANC over the decades of struggle and into laying the foundations for a new democratic order.”*

We cannot abort the ANC at this juncture. For the ANC to become resilient and much stronger, we need to strengthen the Tripartite alliance even more. It is not by accident that the ANC is the leading force of the alliance. To paraphrase Oliver Reginald Tambo, the alliance with the SACP is



not an alliance that was signed by leaders. It is an alliance born out of struggle.

As OR Tambo correctly pointed out, *“the relationship between the ANC and the SACP is not an accident of history, nor is it a natural and inevitable development. For, as we can see, similar relationships have not emerged in the course of liberation struggles in other parts of Africa. To be true to history, we must concede that there have been difficulties as well as triumphs along our path, as, traversing many decades, out two organisations have converged towards a shared strategy of struggle. Ours is not merely a paper alliance, created at conference tables and formalized through the signing of documents and representing only an agreement of leaders. Our alliance is a living organism that has grown out of struggle. We have built it out of our separate and common experiences.”*

We need not allow “peacetime armchair revolutionaries” to derail us. It is abundantly clear that these new-found revolutionaries want to see a very weak and disoriented revolutionary alliance.

We are not arguing that we shouldn’t jealously guard the gains of our revolution. Each member of the Tripartite alliance should ask themselves, what are

we going to gain from a weakened ANC? Do we want to see the ANC out of power, and therefore, the rolling back of our democratic gains?

Even in contemporary South Africa, thirty years after the advent of democratic rule, there are still elements that look at the alliance with awe. These elements do not want to see a strong and progressive alliance. As pointed out earlier in this article, the rightwing sees the SACP as having too much control over the ANC. As recently as 2021, haters of the alliance between the ANC and the SACP are still adamant that the SACP is controlling the ANC.

In his book *“The ANC’s Last Decade”*, Ralph Mathekga writes that, *“controversially, some authors point to the influence of the South African Communist Party (SACP) on the ANC following the Morogoro Conference. Ellis, for example, blames the SACP for ‘infiltrating’ the ANC and instilling a Stalinist model of leadership. It decrees that leaders are not to be challenged, as this would undermine the discipline of the organisation.”* Mathekga is also not very happy to see a strong tripartite alliance. He has already written the obituary of our glorious movement. We must point out that Mathekga and fellow-travelers in the media (both print and otherwise), want to see

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a very weakened alliance, therefore a dead ANC. For the mere fact that the reactionaries are worried about the relationship between the ANC and the SACP, shows that the alliance is strong and effective.

### The albatross around our necks

The recent acrimonious relationship between the ANC and the SACP needs to be obliterated. We need to contextualize our relations. We cannot allow the alliance to disintegrate during this critical period. Karl Marx warns us that, *“men make their own history, but they do not make it just as they please; they do not make it under circumstances chosen by themselves, but under circumstances directly encountered, given and transmitted from the past. The tradition of all the dead generations weighs like a nightmare on the brain of the living. And just when they seem engaged in revolutionizing themselves and things, in creating something that has never yet existed, precisely in such periods of revolutionary crisis they anxiously conjure up the spirits of the*

*past to their service and borrow from them names, battle cries and costumes in order to present the new scene of world history in this time-honored disguise and this borrowed language.”*

This is exactly what is taking place in the relationship between the ANC and the SACP. The public spat and insults need to stop. It is very unfortunate for the SACP to decide to contest the elections independently of the ANC. This situation is forcing the erstwhile members and supporters of both the ANC and the SACP to choose sides. This, of course, will have the negative impact on both parties. We cannot afford to have the ANC out of power. If the ANC gets much less votes as a result of the SACP's decision to contest the elections on its own, this will have dire effects on both organisations.

Even senior SACP cadres understand the difficulty of this position. Jeremy Cronin points out that, *“on the subjective front, regarding the capacity of the SACP and more broadly of our key working-class constituency, the Special National Congress (SNC)'s resolution on “Party Building*

*and the 2026 local government elections” provides honest, if sobering, pointers. It speaks of many “administrative shortcomings” in the Party, “poor implementation” abilities, and “leadership gaps”. It also notes a lack of Party capacity to effectively influence the trade union movement. Critically, from the perspective of local government elections, the SNC further notes that “branches of the Party, the basic organisational units, lack visibility and integration into working-class communities.”*

Of course, the ANC should respect the decision of the Party to go it alone in the 2026 Local Government elections. However, the Party and the ANC should take into account what this will do to the national democratic revolution. We must put emphasis on the fact that, a weak ANC, or an ANC that is out of power will mean the defeat of the national democratic revolution project.

We must also emphasize that the ANC is, indeed, a disciplined organisation that strives to ameliorate millions of South Africans in general, and the black people in particular. The agents of counter-



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revolution are ululating when they see these fundamental problems within the alliance. This (the SNC decision) is not helping the situation. Clearly, this will make, we must emphasize, our detractors to rejoice.

Cronin continues and argue that, *“there is a danger that our resolution on standing independently gets reduced to irritations with the ANC, that we are an aggrieved “battered” partner and not a revolutionary party. There are many good reasons for the Party to be upset at the way in which the ANC leadership has treated us around proposals on reconfiguring the Alliance, or on consultations around the formation of a government of national unity. While these issues all have an impact on the class struggle, on their own they are essentially in the domain of palace politics. They are not the basis of a popular electoral platform for instance (we are not suggesting that anyone believes them to be). We have always asserted that we will not win or even effectively influence these palace politics decisions without having effective power on the ground.”*

Clearly, there need to be a robust debate between the SACP and the ANC about the dangers of having the SACP contesting elections on its own. We should remember the setback of the May 29 elections, where the progressive forces lost ground. We must avoid a repeat of this quagmire. It is not too late for the SACP and the ANC to iron out their differences before it is too late.

### Where to from now?

We believe that the ANC is the only authentic voice for the masses of our people. The ANC should

remain the voice of the voiceless. However, the ANC needs to self-correct and rid itself of elements who join the movement for their nefarious ambitions. We see foreign behaviors within our ranks. There are people who join our movement simply because they want to use our organisation as a stepladder to resources and access to tenders. This is totally against the principles that are a foundation of our organisation.

Political education is needed at our branches and other sectors where we find our people. The branch remains the most important part of our organisation. When branches are malfunctioning, this becomes a serious problem for our movement. Our branches should conduct themselves in an orderly fashion that is not foreign to our movement.

Our movement has rich literature that can become helpful in this regard. This does not mean that cadres of our movement should not do their best to advance the national democratic revolution. Every member of the ANC has the right to vote for, and be elected into, leadership positions. Like all rights, this goes along with the obligation to understand and pursue the objectives of the ANC. Further, in order to ensure that leaders are elected for their track record in serving the people, qualifications apply in relation to leadership positions.

The ANC should rid itself of the tendency to have members who belong to other members. When you join the ANC, one joins the movement voluntary. We need to be vigilant against people who join the movement for counter-revolutionary purposes. As our Strategy and Tactics document succinctly puts it, *“in order*

*to defeat counter-revolution and guarantee the continuity of our National Democratic Revolution, we must pay serious attention to the socio-economic reality of the people and prioritize the fundamental renewal and re-invigoration of the ANC alongside strengthening state capacity to meet the socio-economic needs of the people.”*

We must at all times take our people with us. The movement should do away with the tendency of going to the people only when elections are around the corner. Our movement should be rooted firmly amongst the masses our people.

Members of the ANC should always play a leading role in the implementation of our policies. Our members should understand the basic policy documents of our movement. We, as members of the ANC, should be proud of the history and fundamental principles that are keeping us together. We are the cutting edge of our revolution. As such, *“the conceptual understanding of the contradictions in our society from the ANC’s point of view, has always been premised on the perspective that our struggle was against colonialism of a special type in which the liberation of blacks in general, and of Africans in particular, was its strategic intent. This is the premise from which the ANC anchored South Africa’s transformation project.”*

We need to understand the project of counter-revolutions, be it on the far-right or ultra-left. Counter-revolution is not just an empty threat. It is a reality that continues to face the liberation movement. We should rally all our people in defense of the gains of the 1994 breakthrough. ■

# Competition legislation is essential for inclusive growth

■ By **DR KHWEZI MABASA**

**E**CONOMIST Dawie Roodt published an article on the 12th of October calling for the Competition Commission to be shut down. He argues that this regulatory entity is stifling growth and it should be closed so that South Africa can transition towards a purely market-led economy. Roodt justifies his proposition by stating that economic policy-makers should rather focus on removing restrictive labour laws, addressing poor service delivery and improving what he describes as a “*dangerous policy environment*”. This market fundamentalist perspective is not based on evidence or serious engagement with researched literature on structural socio-economic inequality in the country.

The evidence on market structure trends and competition policy developments since the early 1990s challenges his view on the following grounds. Firstly, several competition commission investigations and market inquiries reveal that companies’ violation of competition legislation has had adverse effects on consumers and smaller enterprises. The negative outcomes include exorbitant basic goods price increases, creating market access barriers for small companies, undermining localisation and cementing market concentration in different sectors. Both domestic



and international market competition trends literature sources highlight how these violations are deepening inequality in the economy.

Secondly, Roodt’s articulations are based on a limited conception of economic competitiveness. He reduces competition law and policies to creating deregulated markets where private actors can collude and operate freely with minimal regulation. This is not in line with international pol-

icy practice or even the country’s constitution. Competition policy is used to achieve broader positive socio-economic outcomes, which extend beyond Roodt’s proposition. These include lowering the costs of basic goods, ensuring fair market access, increasing localisation, supporting racial redress, employment creation or protection and addressing collusive behaviour by dominant large companies. Hence, the South African Competition Act contains detailed public in-



terest clauses that appreciate a wider conception of economic competitiveness. Recent market inquiries such as the ones undertaken in the health and grocery retail sectors illuminate how competition legislation can be used to achieve the public policy interests stated above. The narrow conception articulated in Roodt's view is not conducive for addressing the country's structural socio-economic inequalities.

Thirdly, Roodt advances a case for minimal interference in private sector economic activity. He believes that this will automatically stimulate enhanced economic growth and efficiencies. The market-led paradigm expressed in his perspective has not produced the desired human development goals in South Africa and abroad. Trickle-down economic policy orientation has deepened inequality, joblessness, poverty and exacerbated the ecological crisis across the world. Even proponents of market primacy in development planning such as the World Bank and International Monetary Fund (IMF) conceded that their Structural Adjustment

Programmes (SAP) imposed on several countries produced negative socio-economic impacts. These economic policy reforms were based on the same logic articulated in Roodt's proposition.

There has been a shift in development policymaking that appreciates the centrality of states roles in addressing market failures and externalities. Government regulation, policy support, ownership and fiscal expenditure are accepted as key growth drivers. Additionally, there are several cases that illuminate why government

regulatory oversight is essential for preventing economic crises. A stark example is the global financial crises that emerged as a result of minimal regulation in property markets.

In summary, unfettered market-led development leads to concentrated ownership, increased market access barriers, higher living costs, unemployment, as well as collusive behaviour. The call for dismantling the Competition Commission overlooks these outcomes, which reproduce economic inequality in several ways. ■



# The People Shall Share In The Country's Wealth: Exposing the DA's Anti-Transformation Agenda

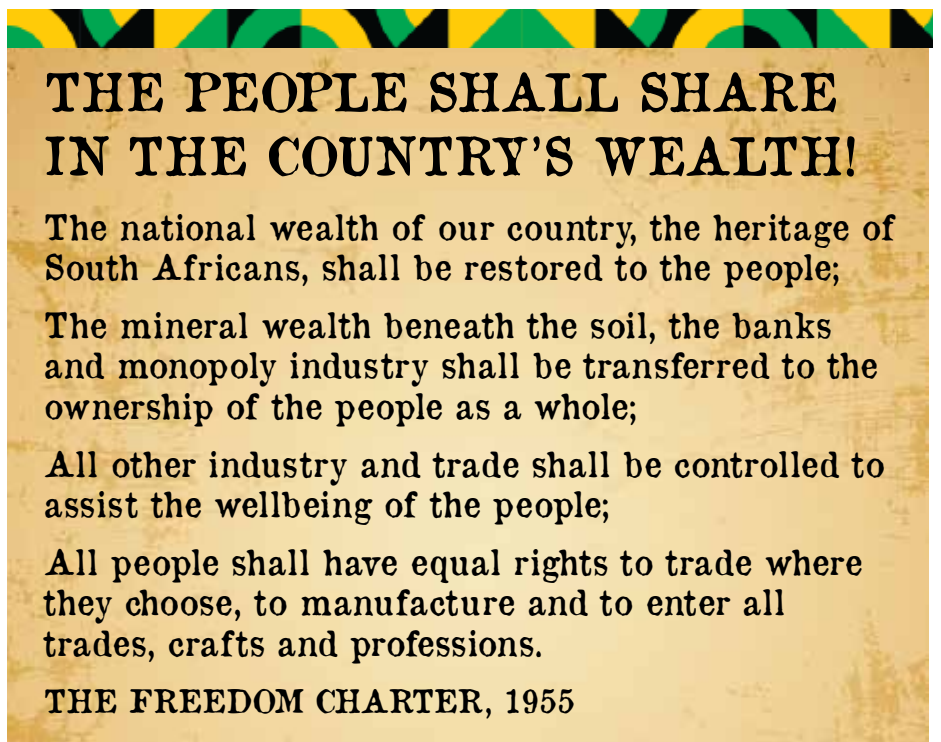
*The Democratic Alliance's attack on Broad-Based Black Economic Empowerment (B-BBEE) reveals its enduring hostility to transformation, its protection of inherited privilege, and its disregard for South Africa's constitutional project of equality and redress.*

■ By **GEORGE MAGOMA** and **MANGALISO 'STALIN' KHONZA**

## A Renewed Assault on Transformation

**F**OR nearly thirty years of democracy, South Africa has walked a difficult path of transformation, dismantling the deep structures of inequality that apartheid created. The democratic state has introduced progressive legislation aimed at building an inclusive, equitable and just society. From the National Health Insurance Act (NHI) and Basic Education Laws Amendment Act (BELA) to the Expropriation Act and the Employment Equity Amendment Act, these instruments give effect to the constitutional promise of redress and equality.

Among these pillars stands the Broad Based Black Economic Empowerment (B-BBEE) Act, a catalytic policy born of South Africa's moral duty to ensure that political freedom is matched by economic justice. B-BBEE seeks to broaden participation in the economy, shift ownership patterns, and affirm that democracy is hollow if economic apartheid remains untouched.



Yet this very policy, conceived to democratise economic power, has come under constant and renewed attack by apartheid apologists and conservative forces such as the Democratic Alliance (DA) and their right wing counterparts in AfriForum and Solidariteit. The DA's stance exposes its enduring hostility to transformation, its nostalgia for minority priv-

ilege, and its laissez faire comfort in the face of deep structural inequality.

## Behind the DA's Neoliberal Mask

The DA's opposition to B-BBEE is not new, nor is it principled. It stems from an old ideological script of a neoliberal worldview



that preaches “non-racialism” in abstraction while refusing to confront the material consequences of racial injustice, from apartheid spatial planning to segregated opportunities. This worldview insists on “equal opportunity” while ignoring that millions of South Africans begin life on profoundly unequal footing.

By attacking B-BBEE, the DA seeks to repackage privilege as fairness and exclusion as efficiency. Its call for so called “race neutral” empowerment is a coded defence of the status quo, a system in which economic power remains concentrated in the hands of a few, while the black majority continues to be spectators in an economy built on their labour.

This opposition is not limited to B-BBEE. It is part of a wider anti transformation agenda, visible in the DA’s resistance to the NHI, its obstruction of land reform, and its attempts to dilute employment equity. In every instance, the underlying motive is the same: to preserve privilege under the banner of liberalism, equal opportunity and forgetting the past.

### **B-BBEE: The Economic Face of Freedom**

The Freedom Charter remains the moral compass of South Africa’s journey toward freedom and justice. It envisioned an economy in which “the people shall share in the country’s wealth.” B-BBEE is one of the concrete vehicles for that vision, enabling black South Africans to transition from consumers to producers, from wage earners to owners, and from the periphery to the centre of economic life.



It is through B-BBEE that small and medium enterprises, cooperatives, and black industrialists have found pathways into industries historically closed to them.

It is an economic development tool, not merely a political instrument, aimed at creating broad based prosperity and sustainable growth.

The DA’s attempt to scrap this progressive law is therefore not just anti ANC; it is anti-democratic, anti-historical and anti-redress. It insults those who endured generations of economic dispossession and engaged in struggle for a free South Africa. Its attempt fundamentally undermines the moral essence of the South African Constitution.

### **An Uneasy Partner in the GNU**

In forming the Government of National Unity (GNU), the ANC extended its hand in good faith to unite society across historical divides and to forge a shared developmental vision. Yet it is increasingly evident that the DA’s participation in the GNU is not

guided by the spirit of transformation and ubuntu.

Instead, it uses its presence as leverage to dilute or derail the very foundations of redress. To treat transformation as a bargaining chip is to betray the millions who still live on the economic margins. Unity cannot come at the cost of justice, and national stability cannot rest upon continued exclusion.

The ANC must be firm and vigilant in defending the democratic state's transformation mission. The DA's agenda clothed in liberal language represents the enemy within the GNU, seeking to arrest the transformative march of history.

### **The Struggle for Economic Freedom Continues**

Transformation is non negotiable. It is not a favour to the majority; it is the essence of democracy itself. The B-BBEE Act is not reverse discrimination, it is the envisioned restorative justice. It is the bridge between political emancipation and economic freedom, between the ballot and the bread.

South Africans must reject any attempt to erase the instruments of redress in the name of convenience or coalition. The democratic project demands courage to confront entrenched privilege, to dismantle inherited inequality, and to fulfil the Freedom Charter's promise that ***the people shall indeed share in the country's wealth.*** ■

**George Magoma and Mangaliso 'Stalin' Khonza** are members of the African National Congress, writing in their personal capacities.



## **DA Theatrics and So-Called “Economic Inclusion For All” Bill Must Embolden The Pursuit of Social Justice and Equality In Our Country**

■ By **ISAAC MAHLANGU**

**H**ARDLY three days after the world observed the United Nation's International Day for the Eradication of Poverty (17th October), and our President Cde Ramaphosa addressed the Social Justice Summit, the Democratic Alliance (DA) decided to embark upon an attention-seeking attack on Black Economic Empowerment (BEE) and the introduction of a misleadingly-named “*Economic Inclusion for All*” Bill.

This opinion piece seeks to unpack the DA's antics. We argue that through its actions and the proposed Bill, the party once

again shows that it remains opposed to much needed and targeted policies that aim to achieve redress and equity by promoting black participation in the SA economy.

Instead of backing down or ditching BEE the ANC should be emboldened to continue in its historic mission to deliver a better life for the downtrodden masses- the majority of whom are Black Africans.

**The DA's flawed and “ahistorical” attack on BEE**  
The DA's Alternative to Race-Based Public Procurement and

The Economic Inclusion Scorecard are presented in one document available on the DA's website.

According to the DA, *"this BEE system has resulted in a millionaire class of a few well-connected insiders"*, and furthermore, *"previous ANC-led administrations have failed to address the root causes of inequality by implementing procurement policies based on racial preferences, which violate the DA's constitutional commitment to non-racialism"*, leading to the DA *"introducing a Private Member's Bill (the Public Procurement Amendment Bill, also referred to as the Economic Inclusion For All Bill) to amend the Public Procurement Act, 2024, to repeal all race-based preferential procurement provisions and replace them with a new, non-racial, outcomes-based empowerment framework."*

Disappointingly, the DA has an aversion to presenting solid facts to back up its claims and seems to be playing to the gallery. Otherwise, it would show us proof of the millionaire class that has benefitted from BEE and demonstrate how public procurement policies are to blame for all manner of social ills alluded to in their document, and other public statements aired loudly this past Tuesday (20th October 2025).

When the long night of Apartheid was over the democratic movement, under the leadership of the ANC, found itself faced with a society with a long history of explicitly privileging a small minority of its population and explicitly disadvantaging the vast Black majority in every aspect of its socioeconomic development.

Broad-Based Black Economic



Empowerment (B-BBEE), and preferential public procurement, are among the policies advanced by successive ANC-led governments in order to promote equality. There may be debates about their design and impacts but no credible case has been made for their complete overhaul.

These policies now facing attack were never intended to work alone but were part of a comprehensive policy package that included higher social spending or the *"social wage"*. This was evident in cash grants rolled out for millions of pensioners and children, targeted expenditure on housing, access to water, and electrification that saw rapid improvements in access to these assets. Education policies were also critical and led to increased levels of educational attainment among our population.

It needs to be recognized that the DA constantly misrepresents the true nature and objectives of B-BBEE, in order to set it up as an easy target for attack.

For example, DA representatives

at the infamous Tuesday 20th October presser are reported as stating;

*"The DA's approach to empowerment fundamentally differs from that of the ANC. While the ANC's policy is only for cadres, the DA's policy demands no political connections."*

*Under the ANC, race is the sole criterion, whereas the DA emphasises needs-based empowerment."*

*The ANC encourages a fronting culture, while the DA promotes social impact and value-for-money in procurement."*

Not only are these DA statements patently false but they also seem to associate the ANC (as an organization!!!) with illegal or criminal actions. For example, fronting is illegal and frowned upon. In addition, any use of empowerment for the benefit of only ANC members, to the unjustifiable exclusion of other non-ANC individuals, can be legally challenged.

The DA seems to have a problem with B-BBEE, and preferen-

## VIEWPOINT



tial public procurement policy, for its “explicit” targeting of the Black majority for redress.

B-BBEE’s intention is essentially the viable economic empowerment of all black people, in particular women, youth, people with disabilities and people living in rural areas, through diverse but integrated socio-economic strategies.

Similarly, the use of public procurement to implement other policies or achieve social objectives

is accepted around the world. Preferential public procurement policies have been used to advance environment, labour, economic growth, industrial development, and other policy objectives besides the “*value for money*” that the DA is obsessed with (not to say it is not important but a balance must be achieved).

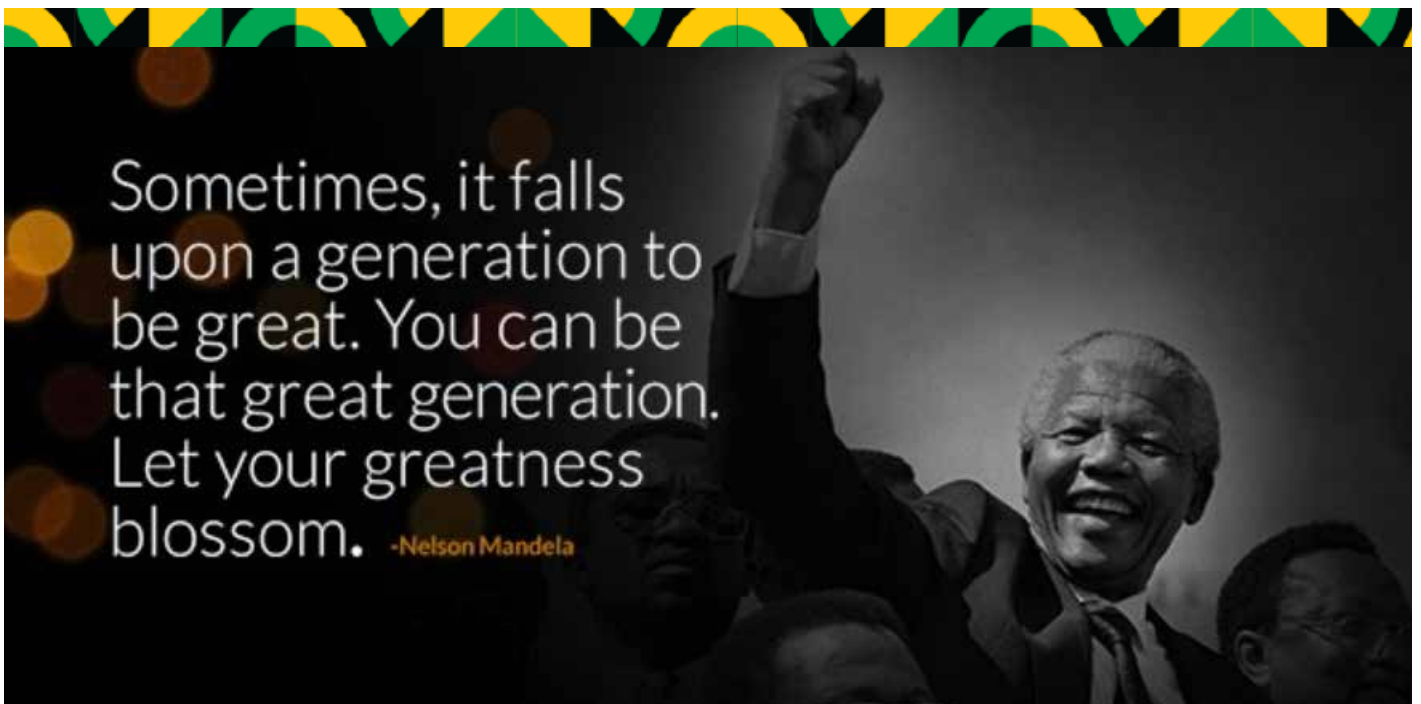
The DA is suddenly fascinated with aligning our country’s policies with the UN Sustainable Development Goals (SDG’s). We need to educate them more

about SDG 10 which speaks to reducing inequality “within” and “among” countries. The DA must join the ANC in seriously responding to the stubbornly high levels of inequality where research has shown that, by far, the most prominent driver of income inequality in South Africa is wage inequality (Statistics South Africa SDG Report, 2023). B-BBEE elements that advance opportunity in the labour market and employment equity remain relevant as ever before.

From the Freedom Charter to the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP), the ANC’s pursuit of social justice and equity has stood the test of time. Levels of destitution and inequality such as those that prevail in South Africa today are unsustainably high and need an appropriate response.

However, the time has not arrived for an end to B-BBEE or significant changes to its form. Increased compliance and continuous assessment make sense and not the theatrics from the DA! ■

Sometimes, it falls upon a generation to be great. You can be that great generation. Let your greatness blossom. -Nelson Mandela



## THIS WEEK IN HISTORY

# THIS WEEK IN HISTORY

25–31 October 2025

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

### 25 October 1900 Nigerian activist Funmilayo Ransome Kuti is born



Funmilayo Ransome Kuti was born on 25 October 1900 in Abeokuta, Nigeria. One of the first girls educated in her community, she became a teacher. Founder of the Nigerian Union of Teachers, Nigerian Union of Students, West African Students' Union, and Nigerian Youth Movement, she tirelessly fought for education for all, but especially for women. Kuti also founded the Abeokuta Women's Union with over 20 000 active members; an organization globally recognized as "one of the most important women's movements of the twentieth century." The organisation organised a rally of women against price controls, which were hurting female merchants of the Abeokuta markets. This was just the first of many campaigns for the benefit of women, including their right to vote and to education. Kuti had three sons Fela Anikulapo Kuti

(musician), Beko Ransome-Kuti (doctor), and Professor Olikoye Ransome-Kuti who followed in their mother's footsteps to become activists. In 1978, Funmilayo Kuti was thrown out of a second floor window by military men that had invaded her son, Fela's compound. She went into a coma and died two months later. The struggle for women's rights in Nigeria is still far from over, Nigeria has amongst the lowest representation of women in the political sphere in Africa, declining from 5% to 4% in the last elections. (<https://en.unesco.org/womeninafrica/funmilayo-ransome-kuti/biography>)

### 26 October 1948 Artist George Msimang is born



George Msimang was born in Lamontville Durban. His interest began at school although art was not offered as a subject. He studied at the Evangelical Lutheran Art and Craft Centre, Rorke's Drift and was offered a study grant by

the Italian government. He went to Rome on two occasions, once to the Accademia di Belle Arti where he spent a period from 1971 to 1975 and another year in 1986 at the Accademia di Belle Arte, Perugia. With his evocative images, Msimang captured urban township life in all its humour and valour. In the years before his death in 2004, Msimang was prolific, sometimes staging as many as three solo exhibitions a year. Msimang's work challenged the negative social issues caused by social injustices. (*Gabi Ngcobo*, <http://revisions.co.za/biographies/george-msimang/#.XamZi2Q1QI>)

### 26 October 1983 Register of Cultural Boycott breakers published by UN

The UN and Organisation of African Unity Special Committee against Apartheid published the first Register of Entertainers, Actors and Others who have Performed in South Africa, breaking the Cultural Boycott.

### 27 October 1808 Anti-slavery march to Cape Town

One of the first recorded mass action against slavery and oppression in the Cape Colony, influenced by stories about uprisings in America, Ireland and the Caribbean, as well as the recent abolition of the slave trade started on this day. The mixed band

## THIS WEEK IN HISTORY



of conspirators: slaves Louis of Mauritius, Jephtha of Batavia, Abraham and Adonis, only known by their first names, and two Irishmen, James Hooper and Michael Kelly were later joined by another Indian slave and two Khoi men. Their plan was to march from the rural districts gathering slaves on the way and then to enter Cape Town, seize the Amsterdam Battery, turn the guns on the Castle and then negotiate a peace to establish a free state and freedom for all slaves. On the evening of 27 October 1808, on a farm north of Malmesbury, Louis arrived on horseback dressed as a visiting Spanish sea captain. Hooper and Kelly rode up by his side, disguised as British officers. They convinced the absentee farmer's wife to hand over all their slaves into their hands. The next morning they went from farm to farm, persuading slaves and Khoi servants to join them. However, a march of some hundreds of mutinous slaves and servants was a difficult secret to keep. News soon reached the Governor of the Cape, who ordered Infantry and Cavalry to lie in wait for the insurrectionists at Salt River just outside the city, which rounded up and captured 326 of the marchers. Of these 47 were put on trial including the leadership. Nine were found guilty of treason and sentenced to be hanged. A further 11 were sentenced to death for

'active participation'. Many others were given sentences including imprisonment on Robben Island.

### 27 October 1917 ANC President Oliver Tambo born

On 27 October 1917, Oliver Tambo was born at Bizana, Eastern Cape. During the 1940s, he enrolled at the University of Fort Hare where he became active in politics. Tambo was among those who led the student boycott at Fort Hare, calling for the formation of a democratically elected Student's Representative Council (SRC). Subsequently, he was deregistered from the institution and could not complete his Bachelor of Science honours degree. The son of Nzimeni and Julia, Tambo dedicated his entire life to the ANC and the struggle for liberation. It was Tambo who played a tremendous role in shaping Thabo Mbeki's political career and played a fatherly role in exile.

During the formation of the ANC Youth League in 1944, Tambo became the first Secretary General. He became the acting President of the ANC after the death of ANC president Chief Albert Luthuli in 1967 and was elected

President in 1969 after the Morogoro Conference. He led the ANC through the difficult years of exile, keeping the movement together, united around four pillars of mass struggle, armed struggle, underground activities and international isolation of the regime. In the early hours of 23 April 1993, Tambo suffered a massive and fatal stroke. He was honoured with a state funeral. The ANC dedicated October month as OR Tambo Month, in celebration of the life and times of our late President.

### 27 October 1990 Orlando Rally hails re-establishment of ANC Youth League

The African National Congress Youth League (ANCYL) was re-established at Orlando stadium in Soweto after an absence of thirty years from the political arena in South Africa. The Youth League was effected through the amalgamation of two youth structures, the South African Youth Congress (SAYCO) and the ANC Youth Section, with the participation of student organisations. The Provisional National Youth Committee (PNYC) was set up to spearhead the rebuilding process of the Youth League nationwide.



## THIS WEEK IN HISTORY



The PNYC launched ANC Youth League branches and regions across the continent, and defined in the draft Constitution the 'twin tasks' of the Youth League: to champion the interests of youth in society and to mobilise young people behind the ANC. The PNYC also developed the discussion document on the "*Autonomy of the ANC Youth League*", still guiding the relationship between the ANC and the Youth League today.

The Youth League established contacts with various youth and student organisations locally and abroad, embarked on recruitment drives in townships, high schools and tertiary institutions, and set up different departments and programmes to engage different sectors of the youth. The rebuilding of the Youth League was seen as key to the rebuilding of the African National Congress (ANC).

### 27 October 2020 Banana Beer goes industrial

A staple of rural and urban life in East Africa, banana beer for the first time is successfully produced commercially, as drinkers no longer have time to do it themselves. Known as mubisi in Uganda, kasiksi in the DRC, mbege in Tanzania, urwaga in Kenya, and

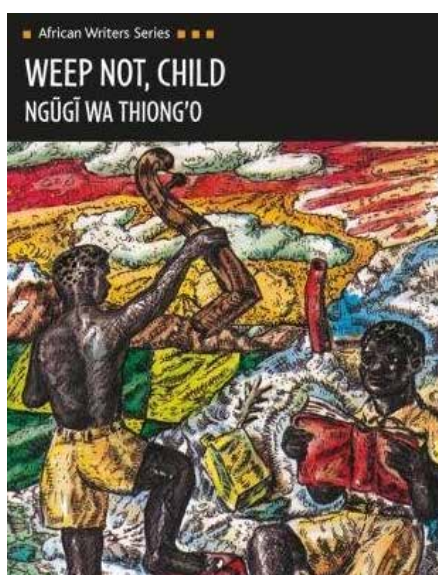
urwagwa in Rwanda and Burundi, the drink has previously defied commercialization.

### 28 October 1948 Seydou Keita starts photographic studio in Bamako

Pioneer photographer Seydou Keita (1921-2001) set up his photographic studio at his family home in Bamako, where he preserved his negatives, eventually numbering over 30,000. He became Mali's most famous photographer, known for his portraits, street and cultural life in Mali, and creating an artistic and historic record of his country and people that span four decades.

### 28 October 1964 Weep Not, Child published

On this day Kenyan author Ngugi wa Thiong'o's first novel *Weep Not, Child*, was published, the first in English by an East African. It was set during the tumultuous struggle of the Mau Mau against colonial rule.



### 28 October 2008 Literary giants honoured

On this day, two of South Africa's literary giants, Keorapetse 'Bra

Willie' Kgositsile and Peter Abrahams, were awarded the Presidency's Order of Ikhamanga in recognition of their contributions to the written word and positive impact on society.

### 29 October 1899 Treaty of Constantinople signed without Egypt

The treaty declaring the Suez Canal a neutral zone which ships from all countries may use in war or peace, was signed by the United Kingdom, Germany, Austria-Hungary, Spain, France, Italy, Netherlands, Russian Empire and the Ottoman Empire. Built by Egypt and surrendered to Britain due to debt issues, although the canal ran through its territory, Egypt was not invited to the negotiations and did not sign the treaty. The snub backfired because the treaty did not bind Egypt and in 1956 Abdel Nasser nationalized the Suez Canal.

### 29 October 1905 Nama Chief Hendrik Witbooi dies

Hendrik Witbooi was born into a prominent Nama family in 1830. Witbooi's grandfather and father were both chiefs of the Nama group, a title that Hendrik inherited upon the death of his father. He was educated at a Lutheran Mission and was fluent in a number of European languages, as well as his own Nama language. Witbooi led the Nama group to the north of the country, which became known as South West Africa (now Namibia) with the German colonization of 1885. A number of rebellions were staged against German rule, one of which resulted in the Herero Genocide of 1904. Witbooi's Namias initially served as soldiers under the Germans for three

## THIS WEEK IN HISTORY

years during the Herero Revolt, but eventually rebelled. On 29 October 1905, Hendrik Witbooi died in a skirmish with the Germans near Keetmanshoop. The rest of the Witbooi Namas surrendered in 1908. (*A different source gives 28 October 1905 as the date of his death.*)

### 29 October 1983 Ongoye university massacre

Five people were killed and many others injured at the University of Zululand (Ongoye) after the outbreak of political violence at the institution on 29 October 1983. Five of those killed were students who were supporters of the United Democratic Front (UDF). The violence between an estimated 500 Inkatha Freedom Party supporters and a group of UDF aligned students highlighted the rising political tensions in the province.

### 30 October 1906 AC Jordan born



Author, activist and linguist, Archibald Campbell Mzoliza Jordan, was born at Mbokothwana Mission, Tsolo district, Transkei. After several years as teacher and having obtained an M.A. De-

gree at the University of South Africa in 1944, he was appointed to the Department of African Languages at Fort Hare. In 1946 he accepted a post as lecturer in the School of African Studies at the University of Cape Town, the first African to occupy that position. Jordan was also the first African to receive a PhD degree at the University of Cape Town.

### 30 October 1931 First Woolworths store opens

Woolworths, often locally referred to as Woolies opens its first store in Cape Town, located in the site of the former restaurant in the Royal Hotel. The Woolworths chain expanded throughout Southern Africa, and by 2023 had around 1,400 stores and over 45,000 employees.

### 30 October 1954 Football great Mahmoud el Khatib born



Considered one of Africa's great footballers, Mahmoud el Khatib was born on this day in Karkira, Egypt. Khatib was CAF Footballer of the Year in 1983, led his Al Ahly football club to ten victories in the Egyptian Premier League, five Egypt Cups, two African Cup of Champions and three African Cup Winners Championships. He

led the Egyptian national team to its 1986 Africa Cup of Nation championships.

### 30 October 1974 Rumble in the Jungle

George Foreman vs. Muhammad Ali, billed as *The Rumble in the Jungle*, was a heavyweight championship boxing match fought on October 30, 1974, at the Stade Tata Raphael in Kinshasha, DRC between undefeated and undisputed heavyweight champion George Foreman and Muhammad Ali. The event had an attendance of 60,000 people and was one of the most watched televised events at the time. Ali won by a knockout in the eighth round.

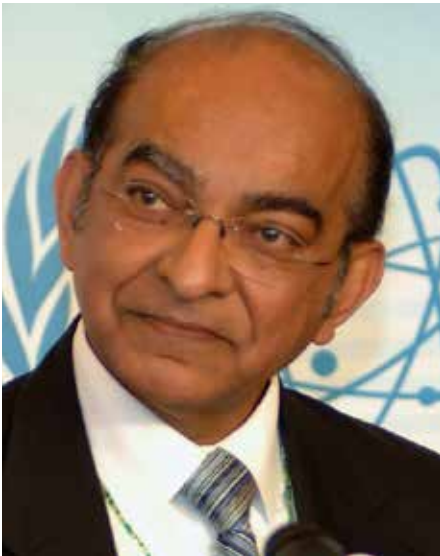
### 30 October 1997 South Africa completes destruction of anti-personnel landmines

South Africa announced that it had completed destroying its stock pile of anti-personnel mines; a total of 261 423 destroyed, while 18 000 retained for training in demining. Anti-personnel mines are mine explosives designed to injure personnel or people rather than equipment. South Africa supported the 1996 United Nations General Assembly resolution entitled "An international agreement to ban anti-personnel landmines". It pushed for the resolution to become a convention, which happened in 1997 as the Convention on the Prohibition of the Use, Stockpiling, Production and Transfer of Anti-Personnel Mines and to encourage their destruction. The Convention was ratified by 81 States and signed by 133 States. South Africa began destroying its stockpile of anti-personnel mines before signing the Convention in December

## THIS WEEK IN HISTORY

1997. Mozambique and Angola are two of Southern African countries most affected by landmines that were largely supplied by the apartheid government to the rebel movements they sponsored to destabilize the region.

### 31 October 1939 Abdul Minty born



On 31 October 1933, Abdul Samad Minty was born in Hartebeesfontein, and left the country in 1958 for Britain to further his studies, graduating with an MSc in Economics and International Relations at the University College in London. A tireless campaigner against apartheid, Minty worked for the International Defence and Aid Fund for Southern Africa, which provided support, especially legal defense to liberation movements from the region; and between 1962 and 1995 he was the Honorary Secretary of the British Anti-Apartheid Movement. Minty played an important role in lobbying the International Olympic Committee in 1963 for the suspension of the South African Olympic Committee from the Olympics. In 1969 he published his study on the defence strategy of the apartheid government in South Africa; which helped

the Anti-Apartheid Movement to campaign for the termination of the Simonstown Agreement between South Africa and Britain on the defence of the seas around Southern Africa. After 1994, Minty was appointed as the Deputy Director-General for Multilateral Affairs in the Department of Foreign Affairs, a position he held till 2004 during which he steered South Africa's new membership of the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM) and the Commonwealth. On 12 September 2008 South Africa nominated Minty for the post of Director-General of the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) and his nomination was endorsed by the African Union, although he did not garner enough votes for the position. Ambassador Minty continued to represent South Africa on the board of this body, including serving as a member of Troika Group until May 2009.

### 31 October 1939 Ali Farka Touré born



Malian musician and amongst the best African instrumentalist, Ali Ibrahim "Farka" Touré was born in Timbuktu on this day. He is a trailblazer of Desert Blues genre that combines North African folk music with other contemporary

styles. Touré toured the world and won his first Grammy for his 1994 collaboration, Talking Timbuktu with Ry Cooder. He then retreated to his home town of Nifunke, on the banks of the Niger river in north-west Mali, where he devoted his time to farming and his role as the local mayor, spending the money he earned from his albums on irrigation and development schemes that transformed the region, making it self-sufficient for food. The musical icon passed away from bone cancer in 2006.

### 31 October 1959 First television station goes on air in Nigeria

The first television service in sub-Saharan Africa, the Western Nigeria Television goes on air in Ibadan, Nigeria on this day. South Africa only got television on air in 1976.

### 31 October 1996 Choice on Termination of Pregnancy Act passed

The South African National Assembly passes the *Choice on Termination of Pregnancy (CTOP) Act*. The law gives women a choice to terminate pregnancies on request within the first twelve weeks of pregnancy. It also provides for abortion under specified circumstances within the thirteenth week through to the twentieth week, and under very limited circumstances beyond that point. The Act, a critical milestone for gender equality, secured all South African women the right to make decisions about reproduction and according to their individual beliefs. Review of national data indicates that abortion mortality dropped by more than 90% between 1994 and 2001.

**THIS WEEK IN HISTORY**

# INTERNATIONAL AND NATIONAL DAYS

25–31 October 2025

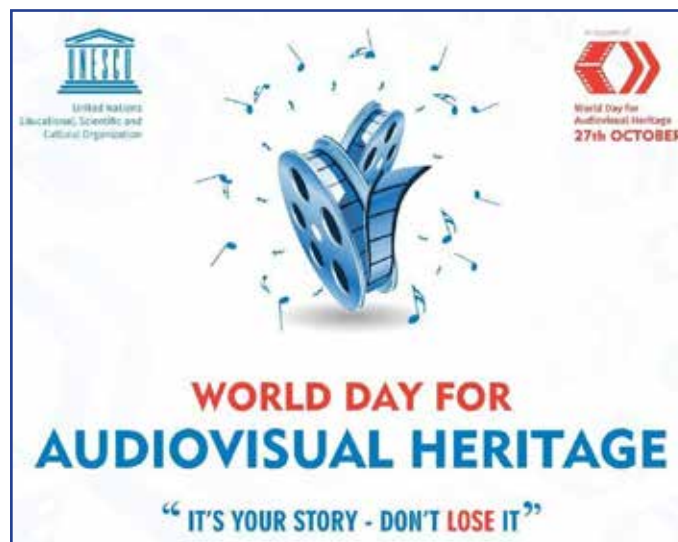
 Source: [www.un.org](http://www.un.org), [www.au.int](http://www.au.int), *The Africa Fact Book (2020)*, [www.daysoftheyear.com](http://www.daysoftheyear.com)

**25 October**  
**International Artists Day**


International Artists Day on October 25 honors artists and all the contributions they make. The day also celebrates one of the most famous artists, Pablo Picasso who was born on October 25th, 1881. Artists work hard to create their work. They add beauty to the world around us. Most artists work with many different mediums. Not only that, but the word artist encompasses painters, photographers, sculptors, musicians, dancers, writers, actors, digital artists, and more. When one is born with a creative gift, that creativity flows into many different areas.

**27 October**  
**World Day for Audiovisual Heritage**

The World Day for Audiovisual Heritage is a commemoration of the adoption, in 1980, of the Recommendation for the Safeguarding and Preservation of Moving Images. The World Day provides an occasion to raise general awareness of the importance of audiovisual material. Audiovisual archives tell stories about people's lives and cultures from all over the world. They represent a priceless heritage of our collective memory and a valuable source of knowledge, reflecting the cultural, social



## THIS WEEK IN HISTORY

and linguistic diversity of communities and our world. Audiovisual materials as documentary heritage objects provide a window to the world. We watch and participate in events we cannot attend, we hear voices from the past that can no longer speak, we craft stories that inform and entertain and help us to engage with our fellow beings. (UNESCO)

### 28 October International Animation Day

Popular animation includes cartoons and anime, and is the technique of photographing successive drawings or positions of puppets or models to create an illusion of movement when the film is shown as a sequence.

### 29 October International Internet Day



The internet has become an integral part of our world, and has transformed many aspects, providing fast access to information, connecting our world, providing entertainment, shopping, markets, banking and access to education. International Internet Day commemorates the significant impact of the internet on our lives and serves as a reminder of our collective responsibility to promote a safer and more inclusive online environment for all users. The theme for International Internet Day 2024, **“Together for a Better Internet,”** emphasizes the collective responsibility we share in making the online world a safe, inclusive, and positive space for everyone.

### 29 October International Day of Care Work and the Care economy

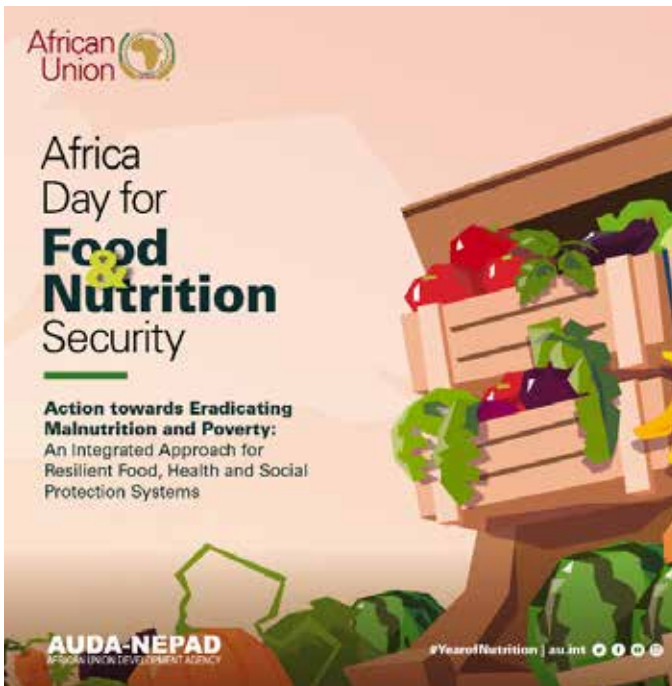
Care work, both paid and unpaid, is crucial to the future of decent work. Growing populations, ageing societies, changing families, women’s secondary



status in labour markets and shortcomings in social policies demand urgent action on the organization of care work from governments, employers, trade unions and individual citizens. If not adequately addressed, current deficits in care service provision and its quality will create a severe and unsustainable global care crisis and increase gender inequalities at work. Care work consists of two overlapping activities: direct, personal and relational care activities, such as feeding a baby or nursing an ill partner; and indirect care activities, such as cooking and cleaning. The care is growing as the demand for childcare and care for the elderly is increasing in all regions. It will thus create a great number of jobs in the coming years. However, care work across the world remains characterised by a void of benefits and protections, low wages or non-compensation, and exposure to physical, mental and, in some cases, sexual harm.

### 30 October Africa Day for Food and Nutrition Security

The African Union Summit in Addis Ababa in 2010 designated 30 October as the first of the Africa Day or Food and Nutrition Security in Africa. The AU resolution also set the target to eliminate hunger on the continent by 2025, a goal extended to 2030 as part of the global Sustainable Development Goals. A number of strategies have since been put in place towards the achievement of this goal, including the



Comprehensive African Agricultural Development Programme (CAADP), with its target of increasing public expenditure on agriculture to 10% and 6% annual growth in agriculture GDP. Report by the Food and Agricultural Organisation in 2018. At the same time, the importance of addressing food security and nutrition was brought once again into sharp relief with the AU Cost of Hunger in Africa report of the same year, which shows the impact of hunger on children: with over 1 million children suffering from severe acute malnutrition, and 38% with stunted growth as a result of malnutrition; hence the call for more countries to introduce school feed-

ing schemes in all schools. 2025 signifies the 16th commemoration of Africa Day for Food and Nutrition Security (ADFNS) and 21st CAADP Partnership Platform. ([www.au.int/en](http://www.au.int/en))

### 31 October World Cities Day



World Cities Day is designated by the UN to promote global awareness of urbanization and sustainable cities. For the first time in history, there are more people living in urban areas (55%) than in rural areas; and this figure is set to rise to 68% by 2050. The world's most populated cities are Tokyo (37.4 million), Delhi (29.4 million) and Shanghai (26.3 million) inhabitants. Cairo, Egypt is the most populated African city, with 20.4 million inhabitants, followed by Lagos, Nigeria (14.36 million) and Kinshasa, DRC (14.34 million) inhabitants.

## Remembering OLIVER REGINALD TAMBO

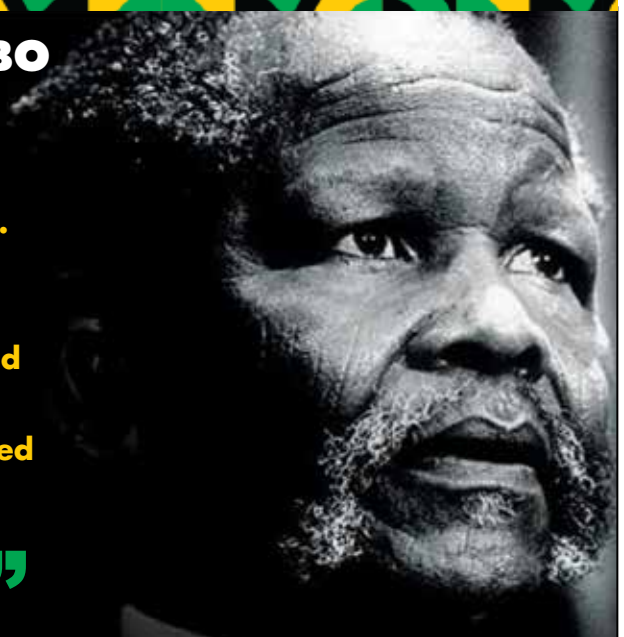
27 October 1917 – 24 April 1993

“ Oliver lived, not because he could breath.  
He lived not because blood flowed  
through his veins...

Oliver lived because he had surrendered  
his very being to the people.

He lived because his very being embodied  
LOVE, AN IDEA, A HOPE,  
AN INSPIRATION, A VISION.

Nelson Mandela



# **POLICY, MONITORING, EVALUATION & RESEARCH (PMER)**

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Issued by the ANC, Chief Albert Luthuli House, HQ







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