



# ANC TODAY

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Conversations with the  
**President**



## Thank you to the people of South Africa for a historic G20 Presidency

■ By **PRESIDENT CYRIL RAMAPHOSA**

**O**VER the past two days, our country hosted leaders from around the world for the G20 Leaders' Summit in Johannesburg.

This is the first time that the G20 has been hosted on African soil. Recognising the importance of this milestone, we have placed Africa's growth and development at the heart of the G20's agenda.

The G20 matters for South Africa not only to cement our important role in international affairs, but also to support our own growth and create jobs for South Africans. We can only achieve these objectives in an environment of global stability, inclusive growth and a level playing field.

Leading up to the G20 Leaders' Summit, we hosted tens of thou-

sands of delegates for more than 130 meetings in every part of our country, from Gqeberha to George, Cape Town to eThekweni, Hoedspruit to Polokwane. We welcomed visitors from around the world to see and enjoy the beauty of our natural landscapes, the warmth of our people's hospitality and the sophistication of our economy.

Our G20 Presidency has been rooted in the conviction that the world needs more solidarity, equality and sustainability.

While some have sought to create division and polarisation between nations, we have reinforced our shared humanity. We have fostered collaboration and goodwill. Above all, we have affirmed that our shared goals outweigh our differences.

We have prioritised issues that are important for advancing more rapid and inclusive growth in our own country. We reached agreements that will benefit every South African.

We secured a clear commitment from the international community to address the high levels of debt which divert spending by developing economies – including our own – on infrastructure, health and education. We placed this issue firmly on the agenda to increase investment on the continent and seize the unique opportunity that Africa presents.

The G20 leaders agreed on the need for increased global investment for climate action. This will be crucial for South Africa as we undertake a just energy transition to a low carbon economy in

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a manner that protects workers, businesses and communities.

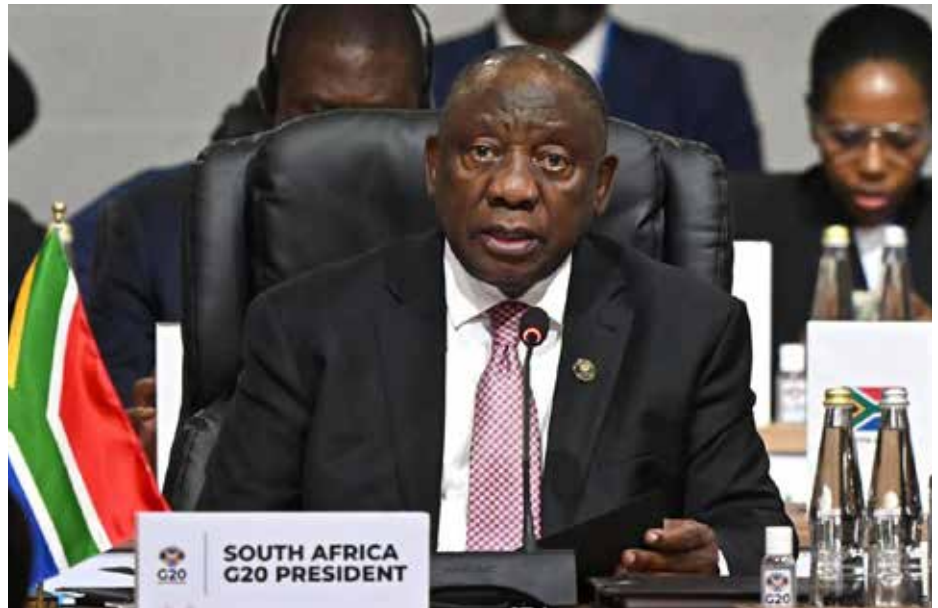
As the G20, we have agreed on the need for scaled up disaster prevention and post-disaster reconstruction to address the rising impact of extreme heat, floods, droughts and wildfires. We raised this issue because a few areas in our country, particularly the Eastern Cape and KwaZulu-Natal, frequently experience disasters.

We have secured international agreement on a new approach to critical minerals so that they become a source of prosperity and sustainable development in the countries that produce them.

This supports our own ambition to use our extensive endowment of minerals to become a leading global player, while ensuring that beneficiation takes place in South Africa and creates jobs in mining areas.

This has been the People's G20. It has given new prominence to engagement groups from across global society, bringing together sectors like business, labour, parliaments, scientists, think tanks, women, young people, start-ups, civil society, mayors and the media.

We can be proud of what South Africa has achieved in hosting a successful G20 Presidency and



guiding countries towards agreement on complex and important issues. This has been the historic effort to which all South Africans have contributed.

We thank the many people who welcomed visitors to our country, and the security services who ensured that the G20 Leaders' Summit and all G20 events took place without incident.

We thank all the members of different social sectors who participated in the engagement groups and in other G20 activities throughout the year.

We thank our Premiers and Mayors for having been such welcoming hosts. We thank our Ministers and Deputy Ministers,

G20 Sherpas and government officials who guided the deliberations with wisdom and purpose.

Above all, we thank each and every South African for contributing to this success, and for showing the world the strength of our values, the generosity of our people and the power of what we can achieve when we work together. Many of the foreign leaders and delegates who came to our country recognised what our Ubuntu spirit is all about.

The success of the G20 Leader's Summit, together with the improving performance of our economy and growing confidence in our reform programme, shows that South Africa is a country on the rise. ■



## ALLIANCE



# A strong COSATU is fundamental to ensuring the success of South Africa's transformation

## COSATU'S 40TH ANNIVERSARY

■ By **COSATU General Secretary SOLLY PHETOE**

**T**HE Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU) will be celebrating its 40th anniversary on the 6th of December at Dobsonville Stadium, Soweto.

This will be an occasion for workers to celebrate their many hard-won gains since the dark days of apartheid, state brutality and absolute misery. It will be an opportunity to honour the many heroes of workers' struggles from Ray Alexander organising clothing and laundry workers in the 1940s to Oscar Mpetha leading food and canning workers in the 1980s.

Most importantly it is a moment to recharge the labour movement to tackle the many challenges workers face today from 1% economic growth to 42.4% unemployment rates.

COSATU, like all other labour

formations, has no shortage of armchair critics who argue that unions are a burden to the economy and society, yet they shamefully choose to ignore the many victories COSATU alongside the broader liberation movement led by the African National Congress, and since 1994 under the ANC led government have helped to achieve. These have benefited workers, society, the economy and the state.

First is to appreciate that the ending of apartheid was not by good luck but the combination of mass struggles, of which COSATU, its affiliates and workers played a leading role, including through strikes in the mining sectors and other key parts of the economy.

It is no accident that two South African Presidents, Kgalema Motlanthe and Cyril Ramaphosa, played leading roles in COSATU as for-

mer General Secretaries of the National Union of Mineworkers, and President Ramaphosa as a founding father of the Federation.

Today South Africa is a non-racial and robust constitutional democracy, anchored upon the rule of law, where Parliament and the judiciary hold the state accountable and where 60% of the budget is invested uplifting working-class communities.

Post 1994, COSATU in partnership with the ANC led government put in place a raft of progressive laws to protect workers, nurture labour market stability, and boost workplace productivity and economic growth.

The Labour Relations Act and the Constitution recognise workers' right to strike and put in place measures to promote labour market stability, including

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through resolving workplace grievances at the CCMA.

The Basic Conditions of Employment Act provides minimum conditions for workers, including how many hours they can work and paid time-off.

The Occupational and Mine Health and Safety Acts guarantee workers the right to work in a safe environment where their health and safety are ensured. This has seen the number of mining fatalities fall from 484 in 1994 to 42 in 2024.

The Unemployment Insurance Act provides paid maternity, parental and adoption leave and relief for workers who've lost their jobs or businesses struggling to pay salaries whilst embarking on turnaround plans. During COVID-19, R65 billion was released from the UIF to help 5.7 million workers take care of their families whilst the economy was under lockdown.

The Compensation of Occupational Injuries and Diseases Fund provides relief to workers who've suffered workplace injuries, illnesses or even death.

The Employment Equity Act requires employers to put in place plans to provide equal opportunities for all workers, irrespective of race, gender or disability and to work towards reflecting the demographics of their communities and the nation.

The Skills Development Act has established a well-funded skills training regime to upgrade workers' skills to help improve their career and earning potential and boost workplace productivity.

In 2019 the National Minimum



Wage Act came into effect raising the wages of 6 million farm, domestic, retail, transport, hospitality, construction and other poorly paid workers; helping to reduce poverty and inequality and boost their ability to take care of their families. Since then the NMW has increased by nearly 50%, acting as an economic stimulus.

COSATU working with government, the UIF and business crafted a R3 billion investment package for Edgars in 2019, saving this South African giant and up to 140 000 direct and indirectly employed workers.

During COVID-19, COSATU working with government and business through Nedlac helped put in place one of the world's most comprehensive health and safety plans as well as economic and social relief packages, saving millions of lives and livelihoods.

In 2019 COSATU initiated the Eskom Social Compact anchored upon the R253 billion debt relief package that played a key role enabling Eskom to end loadshedding which threatened millions of jobs.

COSATU and its Affiliates have played a leading role supporting the buy local campaigns as one of the most important ways to sustain and create local jobs, businesses and value chains.

In 2024 the Two Pot Pension Reforms initiated by COSATU came into effect releasing over R43 billion into the pockets of more than 3.5 million workers easing their debt burden, injecting stimulus into the economy whilst simultaneously boosting long term savings.

Shop stewards have blown the whistle against public and private sector corruption, often paying for it with their lives. Again, it was COSATU that played a key role in bringing the Public Procurement Act to Parliament as a critical intervention to tackle state capture and corruption.

It is the ordinary members of COSATU in the public service who help deliver our children, teach them at schools and keep them safe in communities. It is the members of COSATU in the private sector who produce the food, clothes, cars, minerals and medicine that society depends upon.

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Whilst these and countless other victories that COSATU has achieved over generations are immense, much remains to be done, in particular to ensure the state can provide the public and municipal services that society and the economy depend upon and to stimulate inclusive economic growth that creates decent work for all.

As Vladimir Lenin aptly asked, “*What is to be done?*” This is precisely the question we must ask and answer as the Federation and the Alliance.

Our fundamental challenges are a 42.4% unemployment rate, weak economic growth averaging 1% since 2008, entrenched levels of poverty and inequality, endemic crime and corruption, struggling public and municipal services, and a society increasingly losing faith in the liberation movement.

Key to tackling these are to ensure that frontline public and municipal services have the resources required to fulfill their constitutional and transformation mandates and provide the support that the working class and the economy depend upon.

Secondly, provide the conditions and support for inclusive economic growth by tackling the network and other obstacles, injecting stimulus and making capital affordable and accessible. This includes ensuring that State-Owned Enterprises are supported to play their strategic roles and Eskom is assisted to end its increasingly unaffordable electricity tariff hikes.

Whilst we fix the state and grow the economy, we must continue to provide solidarity with the poor,

the unemployed and the working class by expanding the Presidential Employment Stimulus, internships and artisanships, by ensuring that all indigent households receive their free basic services, and that the SRD Grant be raised to the food poverty line and its recipients linked to training and employment opportunities where possible.

2026 will see the liberation movement face its most difficult elections since 1994.

This necessitates each Alliance partner to have their elections machinery ready and finetuned. It requires us to be on the ground with members, the working class and society, and most importantly addressing their service delivery challenges.

It requires each Alliance partner to intensify the renewal campaign. We cannot expect to win the confidence of society if we are seen to be soft on corruption, aloof from the lived experiences of the masses or complacent

about our leadership responsibilities to respond to these.

It also demands that the ANC, SACP, COSATU and SANCO be united and have a clear platform and programme that will deliver an outright majority at the ballot box for the Alliance.

One of our most important tasks as COSATU and indeed the Alliance, is to defend not only the gains of 1994, but also the building of a non-racial society. We have witnessed over the past year how sacrosanct this responsibility is.

A strong COSATU is fundamental to ensuring the success of South Africa’s transformation from the barbaric days of apartheid when Black, Coloured, Indian and female workers were treated little better than glorified slaves, to a society worthy of the laudable ideals of the Freedom Charter; a South Africa that belongs to all who live in it, where all are guaranteed the dignity of work and a better life. ■



# Environmental Scan and Future Prospects of Economic Empowerment

■ Address by **JOEL NETSHITENZHE** to the **B-BBEE Commission Strategy Session**

**T**HIS strategy session is perhaps among the most consequential in the short history of the Broad-Based Black Economic Empowerment Commission. The policy of economic empowerment is under attack. The Commission is perceived as Accused No 1 for promoting racism and a so-called 'race to the bottom', for worsening inequality, for undermining economic growth, and for encouraging corruption.

I was wondering, personally, whether to respond positively to the invitation because the judges, juries and executioners have made their findings; and one would have expected law enforcement agencies to be at your door, serving papers that should result in long jail terms, and arraiging any associates for common purpose.

From the chambers of parliament to billboards meant to welcome G20 Summit visitors, to meetings and selfies in the White House, and celebrated think tanks in the most powerful country in the world, the battle has been joined. And so, because 'bad, bad things are happening in South Africa', we are all expected to cower in terror; beg for forgiveness and mend our ways.

Whence does this inversion of narratives find its genesis; from



which well do these campaigners imbibe their warped logic; and what do they hope to achieve?

In my view, the starting point of all this is simple: the oppressed people of South Africa committed the original sin of liberating themselves from years of colonial subjugation, then staking their claim as human and deserving of equal treatment; and in line with the injunctions of our Constitution to:

- Heal the divisions of the past and establish a society based on democratic values, social justice and fundamental human rights; and...
- Improve the quality of life of all citizens and free the potential of each person.

In 2020, the Mapungubwe Institute for Strategic Reflection (MISTRA) published a book, *Beyond Tenderpreneurship: Rethinking Black Business and Economic Empowerment*. When the research was conducted, there were serious concerns about a form of 'empowerment' that, at its zenith, had spawned state capture.

And so, in this book, MISTRA set out to trace the history of black entrepreneurship and the legal and extra-legal measures, under apartheid colonialism, to suppress the entrepreneurial impulse among black people. The book deliberately seeks to remove the oog-klappies (blinkers) of cynicism about economic empowerment; dispassionately to critique the praxis in relation to good intentions, and to propose measures that can help improve the policy's impact.

The book examines the endeavours of black entrepreneurs before the formalisation of the South African nation-state at the turn of the last century. It argues that the core essence of attacks they faced was the expropriation of land which made the native 'not actually a slave, but a pariah in the land of his [sic] birth' to quote Sol Plaatjie; and South Africa 'by law ceased to be the home of any of her native children' (Jaffer & Tshabalala: 2021).

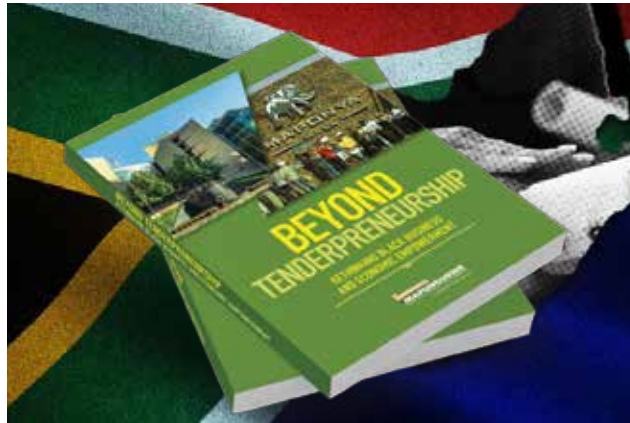
Black people were, by law, prevented from acquiring significant assets; and they were prohibited from skilled occupations. With the introduction of the bantustan system, a 'high fence, small yard' approach was adopted. And later, attempts were made in collaboration with big business to avail some opportunities for a few black entrepreneurs and sections of the middle strata, so they could have a stake in the apartheid system to defend.

I suppose many of us have read the instructive biography of Sam Motsuenyane, **A Testament of Hope** about how his endeavours in NAFCOC and attempts to set up the African Bank were treated by the apartheid regime as acts of defiance and subversion. Many other accounts by Wiseman Nkuhlu, Franklin Sonn, Nolitha Fakude, Lot Ndlovu, Mustaq Brey, Gloria Serobe, Irene Chanley, Reuel Khoza, Nonkululeko Gobodo and other luminaries speak eloquently to such experiences.

Why is it necessary to cite this background? It is because the judges, juries and executioners against black economic empowerment seek to turn that lived experience on its head.

At the centre of their argument is that a privileged few, connected to the ANC, have been the sole beneficiaries of black economic empowerment; and that its detrimental effects are to be found in South Africa's pedestrian rate of economic growth, low investment rates, high unemployment and social inequality.

In a recent article, Investec CEO Fani Titi slays these dragons elo-



*...the progress made over the past 30 years in transforming the management, control, and ownership of an economy dominated by an exclusively white and male elite is nothing short of remarkable."*

And, lest we forget, Fani Titi and virtually all of the other people we have mentioned are not part of the so-called

quently:

*"...economic inclusion, implemented with integrity and in the broad interests of society, is not merely consistent with, but supportive of, investment, business confidence, and productivity."*

*I say this with the personal conviction of one for whom economic inclusion policies afforded a chance to realise my potential and contribute meaningfully to society.*

politically connected 'usual suspects' or 'fab four'.

Let us now briefly cite some facts and figures which confirm what Fani Titi and others have said.

At Top Management level, whites constituted 74.9% in 2006, 64.7% in 2020 and 61% in 2024, while the black cohort has increased from 22.2%, 32.1%, to 36.1% in 2024. In senior management this has shifted from 26.9% black in

**REAL POSITIVE IMPACTS OF B-BBEE**



**ABSA has allocated R10 billion+ for black industrialists and SME financing aligned to B-BBEE principles. Focuses on black women entrepreneurs and youth innovators in manufacturing, logistics, and green energy.**





Issued by the ANC, Chief Albert Lutulu Ncwane, MQ

2006 to 49.7% in 2024. Among the professionally qualified, blacks have moved from 36.5% in 2006 to 69.5% in 2024; and blacks are now at about 84% of skilled technical posts. There has also been progress in relation to gender, though it is still woefully slow (CEE Annual Reports).

A careful analysis of B-BBEE ownership points to the following facts, which debunk the fairy-tale that only 100 people gained R1-trillion from the policy:

- The beneficiary pool in terms black shareholding stands at around 3.4-million people.
- Between 2002 and 2019 the number of black-owned firms has doubled.
- In the past five years the indication is that large and small firms are increasingly implementing Employee Share-ownership Programmes (ESOPs) and community ownership.
- Empowerment has resulted in the growth of the black middle strata, through savings, management positions and skills training from about 1.7-million in 2004 to 4.2-million in 2012 and much higher now – with the public sector playing a leading role. (Paton: 2025)

Of course, these improvements conceal the fact that the asset scores of black people are disappointingly low compared to their white counterparts, with direct ownership on the JSE at 10%, and at 23% when institutional funds are taken into account.

But what is clear is that all this did not happen by accident. The equity laws and scorecards, and the incentives and disincentives attached to them, have all ensured some level of compliance.

Reference has been made to slow economic growth, unemployment, inequality, and poor outcomes in education, health and other basic services as a product of black economic empowerment.

These weaknesses do exist. But it would be the height of duplicity to posit a conceptual expectation that BEE is meant to address all the social ills that we have as a country. BEE, it should be underlined, does not constitute the totality of socio-economic transformation.

Economic redress does improve assets, the skilled population and the consumer base. But it is not expected, on its own, to resolve binding constraints to growth such as infrastructure; poor skills; low fixed capital formation; and international demand for the goods we produce.

What about social inequality? Broad-based elements of empowerment, including ESOPs, community share-ownership, and focussed gender interventions have raised millions of black people higher on the social ladder. Yes, inequality between the races has been reduced. But the Gini coefficient (measuring income inequality) has remained largely unchanged over the past thirty years; and asset inequality is even worse. Between the races, inequality has declined (in part reflecting the impact of BEE); but it has in fact increased within the racial groups, especially among Africans and Coloureds.

It is also illogical to expect BEE to have resolved the challenge of slow rates of employment creation. Worse still, BBEE, as such, cannot be expected to resolve problems of water and other infrastructure, potholes, grass-cutting

REAL POSITIVE IMPACTS OF B-BBEE



Through SAB's B-BBEE Supplier Development Program, more than 500 black-owned small businesses have joined their supply chain.

These include women-led farms, logistics providers, and packaging suppliers.






Issued by the ANC, Chief Albert Lutulu Nkomo, HQ

and public safety.

This then brings to the fore a frank discussion that some find uncomfortable. And this is that post-colonial class formation has to include, as a core element, the emergence – or creation – of a cohort of black capitalists, the so-called *'black capitalist class'*.

Otherwise, we cannot hope to have a stable capitalist system in which blacks are the country's numerical majority and yet a tiny minority among the capitalist and elite social strata. Equitable representation across the hierarchy of the economy is an economic and political imperative. This is even more critical in a system such as ours, in which monopolies hoard virtually all markets, making it difficult for local co-operatives and other small enterprises, even to provide school feeding. As such, opening up entry within established enterprises, through share ownership, has to be an important part of economic empowerment.

There of course are many genuine criticisms of BEE implementation, and it is in the context of addressing these specific weaknesses, that the policy and its implementation can be improved.

At the core of this, is the need for black economic empowerment to be underpinned by strategies that change the structure of the economy. This applies to industrial policy, the proportion of productive sectors and financial services, and between manufacturing and the primary sectors. In the MISTRA book that I referred to earlier, reference is made to developmental states in East Asia, who used their journeys of industrialisation, including foreign direct investments, as a platform



**REAL POSITIVE IMPACTS OF B-BBEE**

**MTN improved to Level 1 B-BBEE by investing heavily in ICT training for youth and women. The MTN Foundation has upskilled more than 4 000 young South Africans in coding and digital skills.**

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

to empower their entrepreneurs.

There are currently unique opportunities for the organic emergence of a 'black capitalist class' in nascent industries, as partly happened with mobile networks some thirty years ago. The green hydrogen economy is one such example. And, indeed, with some support from the state, companies such as Hive, Bambili, Isondo and Mitochondria involved in fuel cell manufacturing and green ammonia are demonstrating that large and successful black-led industrial enterprises can emerge on this basis. The same approach should apply to Artificial Intelligence and cloud computing, the digital platforms economy and other technologies.

Much effort has been placed in recent years on promoting the emergence of black industrialists; and some progress has

been reported in this regard. Yet, in many instances, those who venture into these pursuits, have identified many constraints that require deliberate attention. These include procurement of their products being constrained by existing 'old boys clubs' within both the public and private sectors; the requirement for full 'last mile' funding even from development finance institutions; and problems of timely payment.

There has also been a deserved critique of the tendencies reflected in absentee shareholding, fronting and the off-loading of shares by black beneficiaries – not so much to pursue other entrepreneurial activities, but – to lead unproductive sedentary lives in exotic places across the world. This of course cannot be legislated out of existence, especially given the rights enshrined in our Constitution; but encour-

aging a different culture which scoffs at such tendencies may help stem the tide.

In the overall scheme of things, the emergent black capitalist class should be the midwives of a reformed system of social relations in our economy. They should be at the forefront of successful employee and community shareholding schemes. They should be leaders in ensuring decent work and a living wage. They should be exemplars of reduced income differentials in their enterprises. They should lead in philanthropic activities that go beyond bricks and mortar and social services, to support a think industry that advances the progressive ideals enshrined in our Constitution. In other words, they can, and should, be paragons of excellence. And they should exercise thought leadership on all these matters.

Needless to say, there is an urgent need to confront the litany of illegal activities that some entrepreneurs – both black and white – engage in, which requires strengthened and sophisticated capacity in the law-enforcement agencies. Exposés of corrupt practices in procurement and other activities confront us every day, involving both state employees and the private sector, with so-called ‘*Bermuda (incomplete) projects*’ and poor outcomes dotting the landscape.

At the extreme end, the bureaucratic bourgeoisie or tenderpreneurs, and extortionists mesh with criminal networks in a system of primitive accumulation – at the pinnacle of which was state capture and the heartless malfeasance during the Covid-19 pandemic. This raises fundamental questions about the his-



torical evolution of capitalism as a system across the globe: from slavery to the gringos, the carpetbaggers and chaebols, as well as today’s plutocracy. How to manage these negative tendencies in South Africa’s post-colonial capitalist class formation, is an issue that requires focussed theorisation and practical action.

However, it would be deceitful in the extreme to clutch at these wayward tendencies, to try and discredit the necessary corrective action that Broad-Based Black Economic Empowerment represents.

To reiterate: BEE does not constitute the totality of economic transformation; and therefore, its contribution to social change will only have real meaning if it is combined with policies that address all generations of human rights enshrined in the Constitution. This should encompass comprehensive strategies to reduce poverty, including the creation of jobs, especially for youth and women; supporting micro and informal enterprises; an affordable and sustainable social wage; improved basic services such as health, education and municipal services; and reducing the cost of living.

Critically, it requires a capable and ethical developmental state.

In conclusion, let us return to the question: whence does the inversion of logic in the attempt to discredit black economic empowerment find its genesis?

In part, it is the psychosis of white victimhood: that white people are exceptional and face exceptional threats. But, at core, it is about material self-interest and a sense of entitlement to historical privilege. Undergirded by international white supremacist alliances, the battle to designate post-colonial South Africa as the DEI (diversity, equity and inclusion) incarnate should be expected to intensify.

But for those who question the contrived cost of black economic empowerment, it may be useful to weigh the cost of not having it. Besides betraying the constitutional imperative, failure to implement corrective action – and do it in a proper manner – would delegitimise the democratic polity and entire social system.

And so, those who prefer to shake the hornets’ nest and mock the marginalised for their patience, must beware. Because, even with the backing of the most powerful forces in the world, they will then not be able to prevent Iqbal’s words from coming to pass:

*Rise and arouse the poverty-stricken  
And shake the foundation of the palaces of the rich  
Warm up the blood of slaves with the fire of faith  
And make the sparrow dare to fight the eagle  
The time of sovereignty of the masses has arrived.*

In such an unmanaged and unmanageable clash of base instincts, no one – but no one – shall be the winner! ■



## All roads lead to NGC2025

■ By **LUMKO MTIMDE**

**T**HE African National Congress (ANC)'s 55th National Conference passed resolutions on various issues, including economic transformation and renewal. Mid-term from our last Congress, the ANC will hold the National General Council (NGC) from the 08th to the 10th December 2025. The South Africa economy is on a recovery trajectory, STATSSA reported a positive growth in the 4th quarter, with the Gross Domestic Product (GDP) expanded by 0.6% and the economic outlook indicates that real economic growth forecast will increase to 1.9%, there is improved investor confidence and electricity supply has stabilised.

The 55th Conference was held at the very Gauteng province, where the African soil commanded by President Cde Matamela Cyril Ramaphosa accompanied by African countries successfully hosted a historic spectacular G20 Leaders' Summit, an inter-

national forum of both developing & developed countries which seeks to find solutions to global economic & financial issues, bringing together the countries with the largest economies in the world, and set its agenda on focusing on **Solidarity, Equality, Sustainability**.

This milestone went a long way in affirming the abilities of African leaders in providing leadership to the world, dispelling the white supremacy backwardness led by rightwingers like Donald Trump, Afriforum and other related apartheid mentalities. Cde Ramaphosa has joined the long-standing heroic liberation leadership of our stalwarts Oliver Tambo, Rolihlahla Nelson Mandela, KK Kaunda, Julius Nyerere, Samora Machel, Thomas Sankara, Patrice Lumumba, Dorothy Zihlangu, Albertina Sisulu, Winnie Madikizela-Mandela, Albert Luthuli and many others in telling the world, we will not be bullied. As President Oliver Tambo said on the 22 July 1985 at

Kabwe Conference, **"...let's destroy the old order..."**, the ANC contribute to global change, victory for multilateralism as no nation thrives in isolation.

The ANC's Strategy and Tactics documents since 1997 acknowledged that the South African transition took place in a global context dominated by a neo-liberal ideology, agenda and system of values, which were not conducive to our transformation, the creation of a better Africa and of a more just world. This was not unique to South Africa. Despite this, South Africa presented the Global Inequality Report at the G20 and ensured that the consensus adopted Declaration is informed by a need to change and embraced ubuntu, solidarity and inclusive global development.

Now, as we focus back home, preparing for the NGC, we must remember that ANC electoral support has been on the decline and post the 55th conference has

been extraordinarily significant. In the 2024 elections, the movement faced peculiar challenges, including a huge drop in the electoral support the movement used to enjoy, leading to establishment of the Government of National Unity (GNU).

In its January 8 statement, the ANC declared 2025 as ***THE YEAR OF RENEWAL TO MAKE THE ANC A MORE EFFECTIVE INSTRUMENT OF THE PEOPLE TO ACHIEVE THE VISION OF THE FREEDOM CHARTER: THE PEOPLE SHALL GOVERN! THE PEOPLE SHALL SHARE IN THE COUNTRY'S WEALTH!***

As renewal and rebuilding takes shape, a lot has happened as part of the fight against crime and corruption, several individuals have been found guilty by Courts of Law and others are being probed through further interventions like Zondo and Madlanga Commission. As comrades, like Joel Netshitenzhe warned that *"The beneficiaries of corruption and state capture will not give up without a fight."*, our country could not afford to be complacent, the fight continues, and renewal is non-negotiable and irreversible.

In September 2025, the ANC officially released the NGC's Base Document for structured discussion across all ANC formations. The NGC is a forum between ANC's national conferences, where we reflect, review the execution of our 2024 Manifesto priorities, progress and challenges since the last 55th conference, and thus sharpen the ANC strategic posture. The discussion document looking at state of the National Democratic Revolution (NDR), the balance of forces and challenges ahead was circulated to ANC branches, discussed at



several regional conferences and remain accessible to everyone through the link: [anc1912.org.za/umrabulo-2](http://anc1912.org.za/umrabulo-2). The ANC invited all to contribute to policy formulation of the ANC and ensuring that the ANC remains focused on its mission to better the lives of all our people, Africa and the world. Submissions, inputs and comments on NGC Base Document have been sent to: [ngc@anc1912.org.za](mailto:ngc@anc1912.org.za). These will stimulate discussions at the NGC.

These discussions and public inputs are very important in ensuring the ANC as a leader of society stay on course. Experiences of everyone in the 31 years post the first democratic elections in 1994, must be shared, to inform what is to be done, to do more and improve in its hard work. Our key determinants of development are on shaky grounds, childhood hunger is on the rise; we now have unemployed medical professionals, teachers, etc. The discussion document and resolutions of successive ANC conferences create a framework for the South Africa we want and envision.

In line with Rule 10 of the ANC Constitution, the NGC is a critical moment for self-reflection, self-correction, and renewal, al-

lowing the party to assess its performance, address challenges (such as unemployment, crime, and corruption), and sharpen its capacity to deliver on the aspirations outlined in the Freedom Charter and its broader mission of social transformation. The NGC, as mandated by the Constitution of the ANC, is the largest political school of the party. It is expected to be attended by branch delegates who have completed the ANC Political Education Foundation Course, ensuring, discipline, ideological and political clarity.

To South Africans, the NGC will enable everyone to get unmediated progress report information, contribute to self-correct and focus on organisational improvements. Also, whilst noting challenges such as unemployment, poverty, inequality, high cost of living, disappointing crime and corruption in the security cluster exposed, whilst our securocrats appear before Madlanga Commission, Nkabinde Inquiry and Parliament Adhoc Committee; woman in our country, fear rape, femicide, human trafficking, murder, et al.

It is important to acknowledge great achievements such as our economic recovery trajectory, ongoing onslaught and efforts

to fight crime & corruption and steps towards the right direction, stability and global positioning. Next year, we will be faced with the 2026 Local Government elections – an NGC that does not effectively strategise for these elections, would have failed. This is critical to ensure the road map to the next elections is informed. Together let's accelerate reforms on governance and against corruption, issues central to the SA Presidency G20 agenda. Let us redefine Africa's role in global governance, inclusive global growth, affirm the value of partnerships, deeper multilateral cooperation, global stability, peace, anti-corruption and fair trading.

Let's regain our dimmed spark, renew, rebuild, and the inferno will catch-on and eventually ignite our glorious movement.

It is timely that our NGC theme is *"The Year of Renewal: Making the ANC a more Effective Instrument of the People to Achieve the Vision of the Freedom Charter"*, following the successful hosting and leadership of the G20.

Let's not spare any ounce of energy to rebuild and be the change we want to see. Working together we can find solutions and achieve more. Together, we are One! We have seen during the G20 that this fish can swim, let's swim. ■

**Lumko Mtimde** is an ANC member writing in his personal capacity. He is an award-winning, vast experienced and long serving public service executive and former CEO of different public entities, former Special Advisor, former Chief of Staff and former Chief Director. Former IBA and ICASA Councillor.



## The National General Council is not a Courtroom of Rumours But a Forge of Renewal

■ By **STAN ITSHEGETSENG**

**T**HERE comes a time in the journey of every liberation movement when it must stop, not because it is tired, but because it is faithful to the people who gave it life. It must stop to listen again to the heartbeat of society. It must stop to check its own pulse. It must stop to ask itself a hard question in the mirror of history. Are we still the movement of the people, or have we become too comfortable in the routines of power?

That moment is the National General Council.

For the African National Congress, the NGC is not a fashionable meeting. It is not a social reunion. It is not a stage for egos

to compete for applause. It is a revolutionary instrument built by the movement to help it correct itself while it is still walking. In ANC tradition, the NGC exists for midterm review, to assess our performance as leadership and cadres since the last National Conference, and to sharpen the political and organisational edge of the movement.

Let me say this clearly, because too many whispers are trying to confuse our people. The National General Council is not about any vote of no confidence in the President. That rumour is rubbish. It is political gossip that does not deserve even a chair in the room of revolution. If anyone tries to drag that agenda into the NGC, it will

not see the setting of the sun. The ANC does not gather to entertain destabilisation. The ANC gathers to renew itself for the people.

This NGC comes at a critical time. It comes in the season of preparation for the Local Government Elections. It means the movement must be all hands on deck. Every cadre, every branch, every region, every province must treat this moment as a call to duty. A movement preparing for local elections cannot afford to waste time on circus politics.

We must focus on what the NGC is meant to do: a midterm policy review to assess progress, address gaps, and unify the organisation around a clear programme of action that speaks to the daily realities of communities.

If we do not do that, we betray the very reason we exist.

We must remember that throughout our history, moments of renewal have saved the movement. Morogoro was not a celebration. It was an honest and painful reflection on the character of the struggle, which took place from 25 April to 1 May 1969, that refined strategy and reanchored the movement in the people. Kabwe was not an award ceremony. It was a hard return to revolutionary basics under conditions of pressure and exile. These gatherings were schools of political clarity. They built leaders who knew how to think, not only how to speak.

The NGC must recover that same seriousness.

We must use this NGC to evaluate the ANC as a revolutionary party, not simply as a party in government. Government is one theatre of struggle, but it is not



the whole revolution. The NGC is bigger than performance reports. It is about whether the movement remains morally and intellectually capable of leading society.

And that forces us into a brave question. What kind of cadre have we produced in the democratic era?

Have we built cadres who read deeply? Cadres who understand the world. Cadres who can explain the national democratic revolution without borrowing slogans. Cadres in the mould of Joel Netshitenzhe, Thabo Mbeki, Saki Macozoma, Soviet Lekganyane, and so many others who carried the movement with intellectual courage. If we are honest, we will admit that we have not invested enough in producing that kind of comrade at scale.

We have brilliant pockets of leadership, yes. However, we also have too many comrades who do not read, who fail to keep up with what is happening in their communities, in the country, or in the world. We cannot send delegates to the NGC who are strangers to policy, unfamiliar with facts, and unacquainted with debate. A revolutionary movement dies the day it stops thinking. A governing movement collapses the day it stops learning.

That is why this NGC must not be a tick-box exercise.

It must be a forum of thinkers, organisers, youth, women, workers, veterans, professionals, faith leaders, traditional leaders, and community builders. It must invite intellectual firepower from every corner of society. We should not fear academic voices. We should welcome them. We should bring in Stats SA and other credible research bodies to provide an external, honest, data-driven assessment to every commission, so that we debate based on reality rather than feelings.

We cannot heal a wound we refuse to diagnose.

The ANC has never been afraid of the truth. The ANC was born in truth.

And in truth, we must also acknowledge what we have achieved, including achievements that remind the world of our moral stature.

We are not a minor movement hiding in the shadows of history. Even in this democratic era, South Africa under ANC leadership has demonstrated global courage. We have taken a principled stand at the International Court of Justice in the case against Israel, insisting that international law must protect the oppressed, even when powerful nations dislike it. The ICJ has treated the South Africa case as plausible and issued provisional measures, showing that a country at the tip of Africa can confront global bullying with law, facts, and moral clarity.

That moment shook the arrogance of the powerful. It reminded the world that the African



conscience is not negotiable. It reminded oppressed peoples everywhere that South Africa did not forget the meaning of solidarity.

We should also take pride in our role as a global economic leader. South Africa held the G20 Presidency for the 2024-2025 cycle, the first time a complete presidency cycle is hosted on African soil. Our priorities placed Africa and the Global South at the centre of global decision-making. They focused on disaster resilience, debt sustainability, and fair economic rules for developing countries.

We have been told that global politics may be unstable, even with the return of Trump style protectionism. Despite the boycott of Trump the G20 Leadership Summit was a resounding success, delivering a declaration supported by the overwhelming majority of participants. That is not just diplomacy. That is revolutionary confidence on a global stage.

So yes, we have stones to throw at ourselves for shortcomings. We must not lie about what is failing. We must confront service delivery weaknesses. We must

address unemployment and inequality. We must tighten discipline and fight corruption without mercy. We must rebuild trust at local level. That is why Local Government Elections are not a side note. They are a frontline battle for the soul of the movement in the daily lives of the people.

But we must also refuse the narrative that the ANC is finished. We are not finished. A movement that can still correct itself is a movement that can still lead.

The NGC must therefore be a furnace of renewal. It must create excitement, not through empty songs, but through the rebirth of political clarity. It must produce practical and bold resolutions that sharpen our work in communities. It must restore branch life as a centre of activism and political education, not merely as an election structure. It must rebuild the cadre, morally, intellectually, and organisationally.

This is our duty to the poor, to the working class, to women, to the youth, to rural communities, to township entrepreneurs, to ordinary people who still wake up every day hoping the ANC will be

the instrument of their dignity.

I close by saying this. The ANC was not built by gossip. It was built by sacrifice. It was not carried by shallow minds. It was carried by disciplined thinkers and fearless organisers. The National General Council is our chance to return to that tradition.

Let the NGC be the mirror that tells us the truth.

Let it be the hammer that shapes a new cadre.

Let it be the drum that calls the movement back to the people.

Let it be the fire that makes us ready for local elections and ready again to lead the national democratic revolution with clean hands and sharp minds.

The ANC must live, because the people still need it to live. ■

**Stan Itshegetseng** is a member of the ANC Ward 27, Vuyani Mabaxa Branch in Zone 10 Greater Joburg Region and an NEC member of the Progressive Professionals Forum. He writes in his personal capacity.

# Why water security must be at the centre of ANC policy discussions at the 5th NGC

■ By **MALAIKA MAHLATSI**

**T**HE ANC 5th National General Council (NGC) sitting in just over a week has the potential to rewrite history in ways that have not happened in previous NGCs. Of significance is the decision by the organisation to deliberate on how society can participate in reviewing and fine-tuning ANC policies. This is emphasised on **page 62** of the **NGC Base Document** which speaks to the fostering of civic education, involvement and patriotism, as well as the strengthening of civil society partnerships and activism. This is progressive for many reasons, not least being the recognition by the organisation that members of the public are critical stakeholders in the decisions of the ANC, whether or not they are card-carrying members. It is important, for the future of the ANC, that the voices of South African residents be considered when the organisations makes decisions that will shape our collective fate. As a young South African who is deeply invested in the future of our country, I commend this approach that allows non-ANC members an opportunity to participate in the ideation that will define the NGC.

The two key documents that will be discussed at the NGC, namely, the NGC Base Document on the State of the National Democratic Revolution and the Balance of Forces, and the Mid-Term Report and Review of implementation of 55th National Conference Res-

olutions, necessitate deeper reflection. While the documents are comprehensive in their analysis of the barometer of struggle that has shaped the democratic dispensation, including but not limited to the persistent contradictions that place a great impediment to the realisation of the National Democratic Revolution, both have a glaring omission on an issue that should be considered one of the most urgent of our time – water security. The resolutions on economic transformation from the 55th National Conference are comprehensive, addressing key

economic questions that require attention if South Africa is to successfully re-industrialise while simultaneously strengthening key aspects of its post-productivist economy. And yet, even with the recognition that economic transformation stands at the centre of the radical phase of South Africa's transition from colonialism and apartheid to a National Democratic Society, emphasised in the endorsed key pillars on which all economic interventions must be anchored, there is a glaring omission of the centrality of the water security question. This is



problematic for two reasons.

Firstly, without the prioritisation of water security, many of the proposed economic interventions will not be possible. Increased infrastructure investment, improved energy security, and the provision of access to land with the aim of unlocking farming and agro-processing opportunities and employment in rural areas, all of which are defined as some of the key pillars on which economic transformation rests, greatly depend on water security. Evidence abounds that water security challenges in South Africa cost the economy billions of Rands annually, impacting an already constrained fiscus. Secondly, water security has emerged as one of the greatest threats to social and political stability in South Africa. Across the country, violent service delivery protests have been occurring, particularly in the Gauteng Province that is the nerve-centre of the national and regional economy.

My research analysing the equity dimensions and governance drivers of water security challenges in Hammanskraal indicates that water security is increasingly becoming a key election issue, with communities opting for non-participation in election processes on account of the glacial pace of the resolution of water access.

This indicates that water security is not simply a question of economic growth and development, but one of the key deciding factors in who governs. With local government elections scheduled for 2026, and the reality of an ANC that is haemorrhaging support in urban and peri-urban areas in particular, failing to centre water security in policy discussions is suicidal.



Despite the water security challenges that South Africa is confronted with, it is not all doom and gloom. There are critical interventions being made by water boards such as Rand Water, whose crucial investments in water infrastructure are already bearing fruit. Rand Water recently launched System 5A as part of its augmentation programme.

The said water purification facility will add 600 million litres a day to Rand Water's capacity, of which 150 million litres a day is already in use, with the full commissioning and handover expected by the end of December 2025. This water will be purified at the bulk water purification plant, which can now purify up to 1.2 billion litres of water a day. Other water infrastructure, such as the 210-megalitre Vlakfontein Reservoir in Germiston, which won the 2022 Fulton Award for Engineering Excellence as the largest post-tensioned circular concrete reservoir in the world, are also critical. But without addressing water governance challenges in municipalities, these important interventions could be rendered ineffective.

Thus, when the NGC deliberates

on review of the implementation of the 55th National Conference resolutions, which include the building of an ethical and capable state, governance failures broadly, and water governance failures in particular, must be at the centre of that discussion.

Finally, as part of centering water security and sanitation in the NGC policy discussions, it would be beneficial that delegates deliberate on the outcomes of the Association of Water and Sanitation Institutions of South Africa's (AWSISA) recently held inaugural Africa and Global South Water and Sanitation Dialogue which was addressed by the deputy president of the ANC, Paul Mashatile, and other political leaders in government. This would be a practical demonstration of strengthening civic engagement and co-creating knowledge as envisaged by the NGC Base Document. ■

**Malaika Mahlatsi** is the Director of Research in the Gauteng Provincial Treasury. She holds an MSc in Water Resource Science from the Institute for Water Research and is currently pursuing a PhD in Geography at the University of Bayreuth in Germany.

# South Africa is Recovering, Despite the Noise From Washington and its Local Echoes

■ By **GODFREY NKOSI**

**T**HERE are moments in the life of a nation when external voices become so loud, so insistent, and so deliberately misleading that they threaten to drown out the quieter truth unfolding within the country itself. Over the past week, as South Africa prepared to welcome the world to the G20 Summit, I found myself returning to this idea again. Instead of an atmosphere filled with anticipation for dialogue, cooperation and opportunity, we have been confronted by a chorus determined to portray South Africa as a country stumbling irreversibly towards collapse.

The first act of this familiar drama came from across the Atlantic. The Trump administration announced that the United States would not participate in the G20 Summit hosted on South African soil. There was no diplomatic tact, no graceful explanation, no recognition of the significance of Africa hosting the G20 for the first time. Instead, it was framed in the usual language of grievance politics that has characterised that administration's approach to foreign relations. For those who have been paying attention over the past few years, this snub was not unexpected. The Trump administration has adopted a deeply hostile posture towards South



Africa, one that is not grounded in evidence or the reality of our developments, but in an ideological worldview that casts our democracy as fundamentally flawed.

This worldview does not see a sovereign nation acting in good faith. It sees a political symbol in a global culture war. In that imagination, South Africa is portrayed as a place where white people are under threat, where justice is a zero-sum game, and where transformation is synonymous with discrimination. The administration's attitude is not shaped by the facts of our progress; it is shaped by a narrative rooted in a politics of white superiority. And because this worldview is

ideological rather than empirical, there is nothing South Africa can do to shift it. No amount of reform, stabilisation or improvement will alter a judgement that was made long before any evidence could be evaluated.

Almost on cue, this narrative found an echo within our own borders. Shortly after Trump's announcement, Solidarity and AfriForum erected a massive roadside banner in Johannesburg claiming that South Africa is the most race-regulated country on earth. Their timing was deliberate. Their intention was clear. The banner was meant to reinforce Washington's posture, to suggest that South Africa is a

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country obsessed with race, incapable of fairness, and unworthy of global respect. It was a local chorus harmonising with an international melody that demands a permanently failing South Africa.

This is not a coincidence. It is alignment. The Trump administration's hostility towards South Africa finds ideological companionship in domestic groups who are nostalgic for an old order that denied the majority their dignity. These formations complain endlessly about unemployment, poverty and crime, yet oppose every policy aimed at addressing these problems. They lament the dysfunction of state institutions, yet resist the transformation necessary to make those institutions representative and just. Their politics are sustained by a belief that South Africa must remain in crisis in order for their worldview to hold.

This is why there is little value in seeking validation from those who have no intention of granting it. We do ourselves a disservice when we define our nation through the eyes of those invested in its failure. Instead, we must focus on the work happening within our borders, on the progress that is measurable and real, on the steady recovery that is beginning to take shape across key institutions. When we look closely, we find a country that is not collapsing but quietly rebuilding.

Yesterday afternoon, Governor Lesetja Kganyago announced a reduction in the repo rate by twenty-five basis points. It was not the first cut in recent months, but it came at a time when many South Africans were feeling the heavy burden of high living costs. The Monetary Policy Committee's decision signalled confidence in the inflation trajectory and reaffirmed

the credibility of our macroeconomic management. In a country often accused of recklessness by its detractors, this was yet another reminder that disciplined, rules-based governance continues to guide our most important institutions.

Eskom presents an even more striking example of progress. For years, it stood as the symbol of national despair. It represented the worst of state capture, mismanagement and political interference. But after immense effort to stabilise leadership, enforce accountability and strengthen technical capacity, Eskom has recorded a profit for the first time since 2017. The reliability of the generation fleet has improved. The punishing cycles of load-shedding that defined our collective psychological landscape have eased. We are not yet at the destination, but the direction of travel is undeniably positive. Eskom is no longer the sinking ship many declared it to be; it is an institution slowly steering itself towards recovery.

PRASA has also shown signs of revival that would have been unthinkable just a few years ago. The once-neglected passenger rail system has doubled its com-

muter trips in a single year. Corridors long abandoned to vandalism and decay are functioning again. Millions of workers now have the dignity of more reliable transport, after years of disruption that hollowed out the economy and eroded public trust. The rebuilding of passenger rail is not just a technical achievement; it is a social one, restoring an essential public good to communities that rely on it most.

Meanwhile, South Africa's removal from the FATF grey list stands as a testament to intensive work undertaken across the financial, investigative and prosecutorial sectors. This development reflects a strengthened capacity to combat financial crime and corruption. It signals that our institutions, while still under pressure, retain the ability to reform, adapt and uphold global standards. The Special Investigating Unit continues to recover billions of rand lost to corruption, demonstrating that the state is increasingly capable of both preventing wrongdoing and responding decisively when it occurs.

And when S&P Global Ratings upgraded South Africa's outlook for the first time in nearly two decades, it was not done out of



sentimentality or charity. Ratings agencies are many things, but sentimental they are not. Their decision was based on data: stabilising debt, improving energy availability, effective fiscal controls and credible reforms. It was an acknowledgement that the country is not spiralling into the abyss but is engaged in the slow, difficult work of reconstruction.

This does not mean our challenges have disappeared. Unemployment remains intolerably high. Inequality continues to shape the daily realities of millions. Many municipalities are dysfunctional. Corruption remains a persistent threat. The rebuilding of the state is uneven, fragile and far from complete. Yet denying progress where it exists does nothing to assist those who need change the most. We must resist the temptation to speak of South Africa as if it is singularly defined by hardship, even as we confront that hardship with seriousness and urgency.

Returning to the snub from Washington and the banner in Johannesburg, it becomes clear that their hostility towards South Africa is not a response to our failures but a refusal to acknowledge

## South Africa Gets Its First S&P Upgrade In Nearly 20 Years

Reforms around energy, logistics, revenue collection, and fiscal discipline finally shift sentiment.

S&P lifts South Africa's outlook from B- to BB as structural reforms begin showing measurable progress.



our successes. Their worldview depends on portraying us as incapable of governing ourselves, incapable of reforming our institutions, incapable of building a just and inclusive society. This is why no amount of evidence will matter to them. They have made their judgement, and it has nothing to do with reality.

So we must look to ourselves. We must anchor our confidence in our own progress, not in external validation. Our recovery is

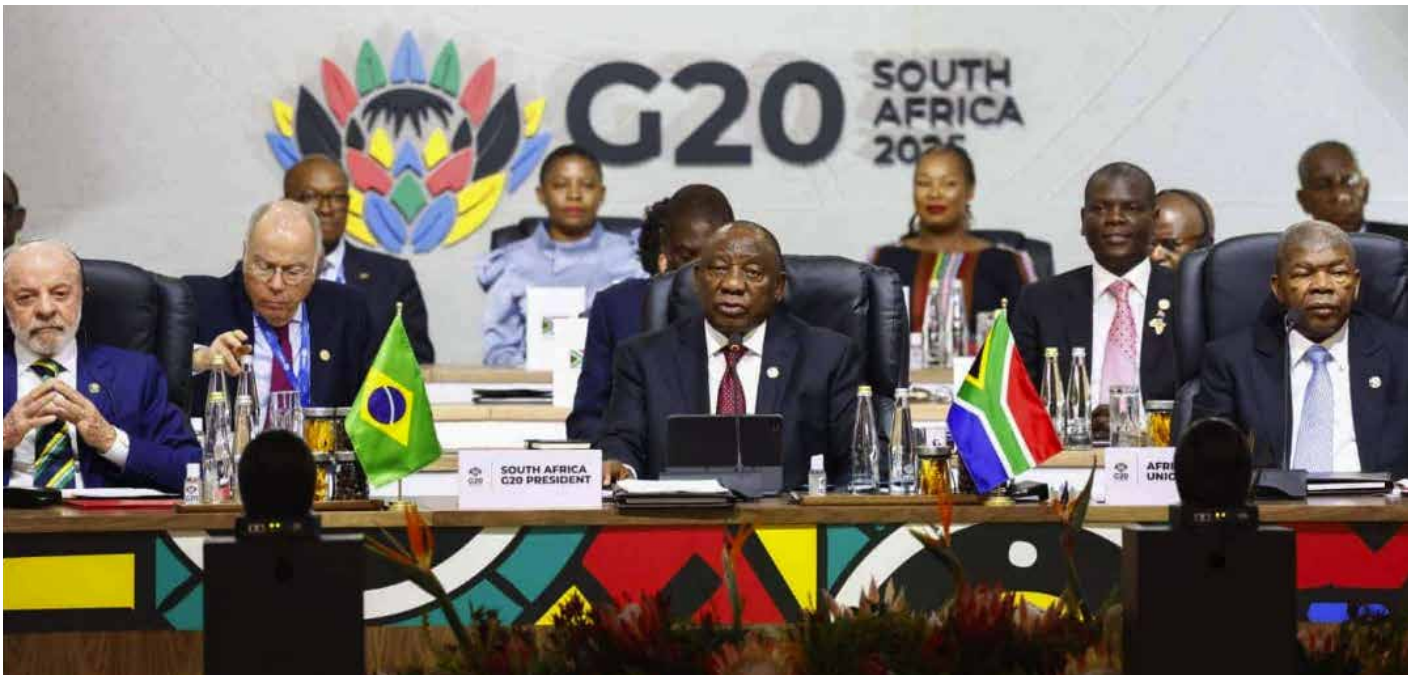
measurable. Our institutions are stabilising. Our democracy, despite its wounds, is capable of renewal. We must not allow those invested in our decline, whether in Washington or in our own suburbs, to define our narrative.

The snub from the United States is not a reflection of who we are. The banner along our roads is not a prophecy. These are the desperate gestures of those threatened by the idea of a successful, democratic South Africa.

The true story of our country is found in the recovering grid, the restored train lines, the improved ratings outlook, the strengthened institutions and the resilience of our people. If we stay the course, continue building and refuse to be distracted by those who gain from our failure, this moment may well be remembered as the beginning of South Africa's long, steady national recovery.

A recovery that is ours. A future that is ours. A country that is ours to define. ■





## President Ramaphosa's Moment of Global Triumph: How he United the World and Redefined Multilateral Leadership

■ By **CORNELIUS MONAMA**

**H**ISTORY will remember the 2025 G20 Summit in Johannesburg not only as the first G20 gathering on African soil, but as the moment the world rediscovered the power of principled, steady and visionary leadership. At the centre of this turning point stood President Cyril Ramaphosa, calm in tone, firm in principle and meticulous in diplomacy. Ramaphosa proved that the world does not need bully-boy tactics to forge consensus. What it requires is wisdom, patience and moral authority. This weekend, Ramaphosa demonstrated all three.

Through tireless astute diplomacy, quiet persuasion and a deep understanding of global tensions,

Ramaphosa brought the world's most powerful and divided nations behind a bold, inclusive multilateral vision. The G20 Leaders' Declaration, deeply rooted in the priorities of the Global South, carries Ramaphosa's unmistakable imprint. Debt sustainability, UN reform, just energy transitions, Africa's economic renaissance, food security, AI governance and the fight against inequality were elevated to the centre of the world's agenda because South Africa insisted that global governance must work for all, not only for a few.

Perhaps the most striking demonstration of Ramaphosa's diplomatic prowess emerged in contrast to the failed theatrics of former U.S. President Donald

Trump. Trump attempted to undermine the summit by snubbing it entirely in a move calculated to delegitimise the process and positioning himself as the gravitational centre of global politics. Instead, the stunt backfired spectacularly. As world leaders rallied around Ramaphosa's steady hand and the Summit surged ahead with unprecedented unity, Trump found himself increasingly isolated, irrelevant and ultimately forced into retreat. His last-minute decision to dispatch a delegation was an unmistakable concession: the world had moved on. The G20 no longer revolved around American political theatrics, but around substance, cooperation and the African-led vision championed by South Africa.

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South Africa's presidency of the G20 marked a watershed moment for the African continent. For the first time, African priorities were not treated as peripheral concerns but as central pillars of global economic governance. Ramaphosa not only raised the stature of our country, but he also elevated Africa's position as an indispensable force in shaping the global future.

In the end, the world witnessed a profound moral contrast: Ramaphosa's diplomacy, humility and principle succeeded where Trump's hatred, bullying and retreat failed. South Africa stood taller, Africa's voice grew louder and global multilateralism found renewed purpose grounded in solidarity, equality and sustainability. The G20 Summit proved that when the world stands at a crossroads, authentic leadership is what can make the difference. In 2025, that leader was Cyril Ramaphosa, the gentle statesman who grew up in the dusty streets of Chiawelo, a stone's throw from NASREC, where he convened global leaders who united nations of the world, shaped the global agenda and reminded humanity that diplomacy anchored in principle still has the power to change the world. This was vintage Ramaphosa!

The 2025 G20 Leaders' Declaration mirrors South Africa's long-standing multilateral priorities: global equity, development-focused reform, African representation, climate justice and the strengthening of rule-based international cooperation. Under Ramaphosa's stewardship, the G20 adopted far-reaching positions on these issues. The consensus achieved, despite geopolitical tensions, underscores how effectively he navigated a divided



international environment.

The negotiation process that produced the declaration elevated Ramaphosa's international stature. He demonstrated a rare ability to broker agreement among major powers while placing African developmental imperatives at the centre of the global agenda. With its emphasis on the UN Charter, peaceful conflict resolution, renewed commitments to Security Council reform and the elevation of the African Union as a full Hosting the first-ever G20 Summit on African soil, and delivering a declaration with strong African content, consolidated South Africa's reputation as a diplomatic bridge-builder and agenda-setter at a time of international fragmentation. The declaration and its adoption signal a new phase of multilateralism: one less dominated by traditional powers and increasingly shaped by Global South priorities. If this trajectory continues, global co-operation will become more inclusive and

developmental - where solidarity, shared humanity and the spirit of Ubuntu reign supreme.

Ramaphosa's triumph unfolded amid loud voices from the beasts that sought to frighten and intimidate South Africa: Donald Trump's boycott threats, AfriForum's drumbeat of racial divisions and Solidarity's childish stunts. These voices, amplified by propaganda and laced with hatred, sought to paint South Africa as a pariah state. However, in the face of all the noise, Ramaphosa continued to walk tall, not with arrogance, but with moral authority.

While detractors snipe from the sidelines, Ramaphosa commands respect on the world stage. South Africa, under his steady hand, stands as a beacon of sovereignty, multilateralism and justice. Advocating for AU reforms, UN Security Council expansion and global debt relief, South Africa embodies the responsibility to protect without suc-

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cumbing to hegemonic influence. In contrast, Trump's G20 posture was a self-inflicted wound. His boycott revealed his disdain for multilateralism. But the G20's triumph reminds us that moral authority is never given, but earned through courage and clarity.

South Africa's policy of non-alignment is not indecision. It is a conscious, principled tradition inherited from Madiba and his generation who understood that a nation emerging from colonialism and apartheid must never again be a pawn in the global power struggles. Non-alignment protects our sovereignty. It ensures we remain free from the rivalries of old and new empires, allowing South Africa to engage global powers as an equal. It allows us to co-operate where interests converge, disagree where necessary and to resist attempts to force us into geopolitical camps not of our choosing.

Far from weakening our credibility, non-alignment strengthens it. Because South Africa does not take instructions from any power bloc, it is uniquely positioned to serve as a fair, trusted and credible mediator in international conflicts. From Russia-Ukraine to Israel-Palestine, from Sudan to Congo, South Africa's voice is respected precisely because it is independent. The world knows we speak not for NATO, BRICS, the United States or China, but for peace, for international law and for the values that guided the anti-apartheid struggle. In an era of polarisation, South Africa's non-aligned posture is necessary for global stability and essential for amplifying the voice of the Global South.

The 2025 G20 Summit did more than elevate South Africa's dip-

lomatic standing. It awakened a deeper truth about who we are and what we can become. Under Ramaphosa's steady and principled leadership, the world rediscovered Africa not as a continent of problems, but as a continent of solutions and a moral compass pointing humanity towards a more just, equal and hopeful future.

Indeed, the world felt the quiet power of a statesman who believes that humility is stronger than dominance and persuasion is more enduring than coercion. Ramaphosa demonstrated that South Africa can lead without shouting. This moment is also a tribute to the resilience of South Africans who rebuilt a broken nation into a moral beacon. Let this moment inspire every South African to walk taller.

As the G20 endorsed principles

rooted in Ubuntu, it was South Africa that held the mirror through which the world saw its own potential for solidarity. And as nations departed Johannesburg carrying the imprint of Ramaphosa's diplomacy, they also carried the hope that multilateralism can still serve humanity and that justice can triumph over domination. They carried a lesson that when leadership is grounded in integrity, even the most divided world can find common ground.

President Cyril Ramaphosa has shown that Africa can lead the world with wisdom, humility and courage. Let us all carry forward this new dawn of multilateral hope. ■

*Cornelius Monama is a public servant and an award-winning government communicator. He writes in his personal capacity.*

**— THANK YOU, SOUTH AFRICA AND G20 NATIONS —**



**We thank President Ramaphosa, the Government of National Unity, social partners, civil society, workers and all South Africans for making the G20 a success.**

**We also thank all participating nations for their constructive engagement and commitment to global solidarity, peace and inclusive development.**





Issued by the ANC, Chief Albert Lutulu House, HQ

# Does the G20 Summit Declaration signal a new chapter for MSMEs and South Africa's township economy?

■ By **PHOSANE MNGQIBISA**

**A**S the 2025 G20 Summit concluded in Johannesburg, a clear message resonated throughout Sandton's convention halls. The message is that inclusive global economic growth is impossible while millions are deprived of opportunities. This summit marks the first time G20 leaders gather on African soil, and their declaration carries significant implications for South Africa's Micro-Small-and-Medium Enterprises (MSMEs) and its extensive, often-overlooked township economy.

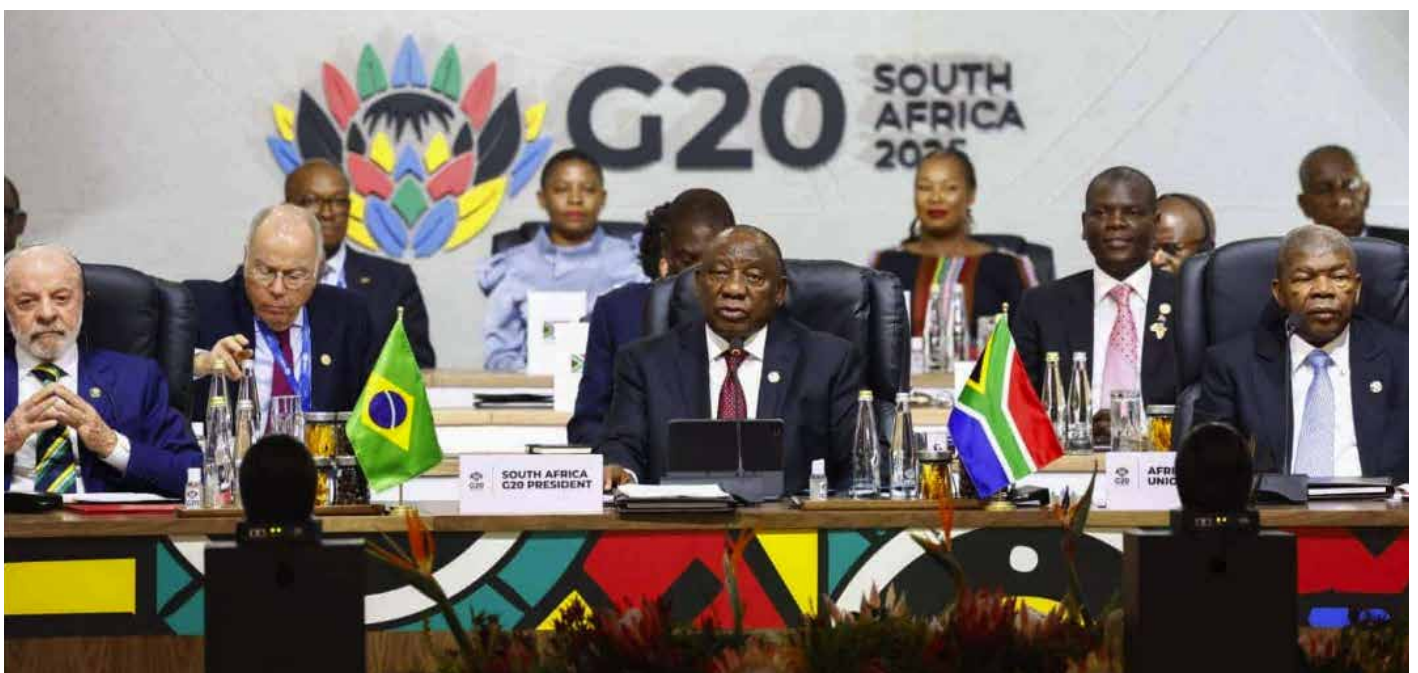
Although the G20 Leaders' Declaration adopts a global outlook, it highlights specific challenges faced by small enterprises. These

include financial exclusion, high interest rates, load shedding, and weak local demand. Such issues are particularly common in South Africa's townships, where over 6 million residents depend on informal and small businesses for their livelihoods.

Clause 38 of the Declaration emphasises the significance of MSMEs and startups in promoting employment, innovation, and economic growth. This acknowledgement is especially relevant for South Africa, where unemployment is at 31.9%, and the Gini coefficient ranges from 0.64 to 0.67. Despite being Africa's largest economy, with a nominal GDP of approximately \$400 billion (R7 trillion) and a relatively advanced

infrastructure, South Africa continues to face the triple challenges of poverty, inequality, and high unemployment more than 30 years after the apartheid era.

Financial inclusion was a key focus at the summit, marking a major milestone for MSMEs and reaffirming the G20's dedication to bridging the small-business financing gap. Clause 71 emphasises the importance of better access to credit, insurance, savings, and secure payments, all aimed at supporting small businesses and building trust in financial systems. Globally, the financing gap stands at US\$5.7 trillion, with Africa's MSMEs facing a subset gap of US\$330 billion. In South Africa, MSMEs and



township enterprises make up only a small portion of the unmet demand. Nevertheless, intense competition and the potential for funding create significant opportunities.

This offers renewed hope for township entrepreneurs and MSMEs. For years, traders in Soweto, Alexandra, Soshanguve, Khayelitsha, and Tembisa have faced high capital costs, strict collateral demands, and exploitative lending practices. This underscores the need for governments and financial institutions, such as development finance institutions (DFIs), banks, and asset managers, to expand access to affordable credit, blended finance options, microinsurance, and digital lending platforms tailored to microenterprises. When implemented locally, this change will reduce the cost of doing business, facilitate expansion, and integrate township enterprises into mainstream economic value chains.

Industrialisation for the People promotes an ambitious agenda focused on inclusive and sustainable industrial growth. Clauses 35 to 37 emphasise that manufacturing is essential for creating decent jobs, increasing productivity, and encouraging economic diversification. It also stresses that industrial policies should deliberately include small businesses and vulnerable communities.

This could be a pivotal moment for township economies, which have traditionally been confined to consumption rather than production for decades. Nonetheless, the potential is considerable. Township entrepreneurs, from backyard mechanics to textile cooperatives, food processors, welders, furniture makers,



and digital creators, are already working in sectors that could serve as the backbone of local industrial clusters.

The G20's focus on inclusive manufacturing causes South Africa to rethink its spatial economic approach. Municipalities will need to better justify initiatives such as creating township industrial parks, providing equipment subsidies, formalising trading zones, and developing micro-logistics networks that allow township-produced goods to compete on a larger scale, both locally and internationally.

Digital transformation took centre stage, with the declaration notably highlighting these areas. For instance, Clauses 44 to 47 outline the AI for Africa Initiative, which aims to expand digital infrastructure, foster AI skills across African nations, and establish sovereign AI capabilities aligned with the continent's development goals.

This milestone is more than just technological; it plays a crucial role in supporting local township economies. Affordable data, digital platform access, and AI-driven

tools are already changing commerce in townships and rural communities. For example, online clothing stores in Gugulethu and food delivery services in Kagiso show how digital innovation helps address long-standing issues. The G20's commitment highlights plans to boost investments in cloud infrastructure, digital public goods, and platforms that help township MSMEs manage inventory, automate bookkeeping, promote products, and reach regional and global markets. In simple terms, AI and digital access could finally allow township entrepreneurs to compete on a level playing field.

**Food Security:** Enhancing Informal Agriculture. Food insecurity continues to be a major challenge for many township households. Clauses 39 to 43 of the G20 declaration highlight the need to modernise agriculture, bolster the local food system, and assist smallholder farmers, particularly women and youth, by providing targeted financing, leveraging digital technology, and building climate-resilient infrastructure. This will open up valuable opportunities for township

agribusinesses.

Additionally, urban agriculture, poultry projects, community gardens, and township-based food processors commonly function outside national food strategies. The renewed global focus on local food production and value chains gives South Africa a political push to grow these initiatives, particularly in townships where food prices, transportation costs, and supply disruptions are most acute.

Infrastructure Investment and Africa Integration Strengthen Township Markets. Clauses 63 and 87 emphasise quality infrastructure, regional trade integration, and the implementation of the African Continental Free Trade Area (AfCFTA) as engines of growth and industrialisation for Africa.

This marks a watershed moment for township traders seeking access to continental and global markets. The G20's support for increased Africa-G20 cooperation indicates that informal and small-scale producers may soon benefit from transport and logis-

tics corridors, cross-border infrastructure, simplified trade procedures, and capacity-building for export readiness. This means that a spaza bakery in Katlehong or a leather workshop in Umlazi could, with the right support, access markets in Botswana, Namibia, Mozambique, or overseas, a prospect once unimaginable.

Women and youth are essential for development. Clauses 101 to 103 strongly emphasise gender equality, youth participation, and addressing disparities in the labour market, including securing equal access to finance and markets for women entrepreneurs. In township economies, where women operate most microenterprises, this marks a significant shift. From childcare providers and hair salons to street vendors and caterers, women play a crucial role in supporting the social and economic life of townships. Offering

them direct access to capital, training, markets, and technology will accelerate progress at both household and community lev-

els. Youth can also benefit from digital skills training, AI capacity building, and employment programmes that support industrial development.

The declaration's commitments on climate, such as just transitions, clean energy, and resilient infrastructure, offer benefits to MSMEs. Sections 24-30 aim to improve energy access, promote clean cooking, and fund renewable projects for small businesses. This could mean better access to rooftop solar, batteries, clean cooking, and green funds for township enterprises, reducing costs for shops, restaurants, welders, tailors, salons, and manufacturers affected by daily load shedding.

**A New Economic Moment for Township Enterprises:** The 2025 G20 Leaders' Declaration should serve as a strategic guide that accurately reflects the realities of South Africa's township economy. It must acknowledge that growth relies not only on large corporations but also on township entrepreneurs such as barbers, mechanics, traders, designers, caterers, manufacturers, and digital innovators, who are critical for inclusive growth across Africa. For South Africa, this declaration offers political credibility, international support, and developmental momentum that policymakers need to recognise.

If South Africa aligns its national policies, provincial development plans, and municipal strategies with these commitments, MSMEs and township economies could shift from merely surviving to becoming central to Africa's next development phase. The G20 has paved the way; now it's South Africa's responsibility to take the opportunity. ■



# This is not what we struggled for: From Shadow State to People's Power Against Mafia Rule

■ By **FAIEZ JACOBS**

**I**N August 2021, as she returned from dropping her daughter at school, Babita Deokaran was shot multiple times outside her home. A quiet, diligent civil servant not a politician, not a millionaire, not a celebrity was executed in broad daylight because she refused to look away from theft in the public health system.

Her spreadsheets, her emails, her warnings exposed how money meant for hospital beds, oxygen, and medicines was being siphoned into a network of shell companies and politically connected fixers. For that, she paid with her life.

At the same time, investigative journalists are uncovering a countrywide map of mafias and cartels in construction, taxis, cigarettes, water tankers, cash-in-transit, illegal mining, even hospital procurement that now function as a parallel state. They extort, rig tenders, sabotage infrastructure, and, when necessary, kill.

We have to be honest: this is not a handful of “bad apples”. It is an emerging dark economy that feeds on our state, our communities, and our democracy.

And we must say it clearly: this is not what we struggled for.



**Babita Deokaran**

## From Commissions to Complicity

Over the past fifteen years, South Africans have watched commission after commission, report after report, press conference after press conference.

We had inquiries into state capture, policing in Khayelitsha, killings in KwaZulu-Natal, looting of PPE funds, corruption in health. We have read thousands of pages of findings. We have heard stirring speeches about renewal and consequence management.

Yet, on the ground, very little changes.

- Construction sites are still shut down by armed “business forums”.

- Kidnappings for ransom have become a middle-class fear and a working-class reality.
- Municipalities remain hostages of waste, water, and security cartels.
- Honest officials like Babita are left exposed.

The public is asking: Is this state ours, or does it belong to criminal syndicates?

When we, as members and leaders of the ANC, shrug our shoulders, hide behind process, or quietly benefit from these networks, we send a devastating message: that our movement has made peace with impunity.

That is betrayal not only of Babita

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and countless other whistle-blowers, but of the generations who marched, went to prison, went into exile, joined Umkhonto we Sizwe, and voted in 1994 and now in the belief that South Africa would never again be ruled by fear and corruption.

### Our Liberation Values vs the Shadow State

The Freedom Charter is unambiguous:

*“The people shall govern. The national wealth of our country, the heritage of South Africans, shall be restored to the people.”*

Today, in too many places, the people do not govern. Mafias do. They control the taxi ranks, the informal settlements, the tender committees, the procurement desks, the depot gates. They tax the poor through protection fees and inflated prices. They control local police stations through bribes and intimidation.

This “shadow state” is the opposite of our liberation values:

- Where we fought for accountability, the mafias demand silence.
- Where we fought for redistribution, the mafias practise

plunder.

- Where we fought for people’s power, the mafias enforce rule by the gun.

We cannot pretend that this is merely an administrative failure. It is a counter-revolution, carried out not from outside our democracy but inside its institutions.

And we must admit, painfully, that some who wear our colours and recite our slogans are part of it.

### The Hard Question: When Will We Say “No More”?

The fundamental problem is not that we do not know what is happening. Babita knew. Investigative journalists know. Honest detectives know. Communities know.

The problem is political will.

We have reached a point where every councillor, MPL, MP, NEC member and branch activist must answer one question in private: Am I prepared to lose position, funding, even personal safety to confront this dark economy?

If the answer is “no”, then all our resolutions, documents, and “renewal” slogans are hypocrisy.

We need to move from knowing to doing. That means:

1. **Stopping the culture of looking away.** When comrades whisper, “You know that tender is controlled by so-and-so, leave it alone,” we must refuse. Silence is complicity.
2. **Breaking with the politics of convenience.** We cannot condemn mafias in public, while accepting their money for campaigns or turning a blind eye when they deliver votes through fear.
3. **Accepting that real renewal will hurt.** Some in our own ranks will be charged, convicted, and jailed if we are serious. There is no painless path.

### What Must Be Done – Especially About SAPS

A central theme in both the Babita case and the broader “Mafialand” picture is the role of the police.

There are thousands of honest, hard-working officers. But there is also a blue-light mafia inside SAPS: officers who sell dockets, leak information to criminals, run extortion rackets, and even take part in CIT robberies and political hits.

We cannot rebuild public trust while pretending this does not exist.

Concrete steps are required:

1. Create a truly independent Anti-Corruption Directorate for SAPS
  - With its own vetted investigators, protected like judges.
  - With powers to investigate any officer, from constable to national commissioner, without political permission.



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- With automatic public reporting to Parliament and the nation.
2. Implement lifestyle audits and vetting for police leadership
    - Senior officers must declare assets, interests, and businesses of close family.
    - Unexplained wealth should trigger immediate investigation.
    - Officers refusing vetting should not hold command positions.
  3. Rebuild specialised investigative capacity
    - Multi-disciplinary organised crime units with forensic, cyber, financial and intelligence skills.
    - Protected from local patronage by national rotation and independent oversight.
  4. Protect whistle-blowers inside SAPS and the public service
    - Emergency relocation, income support, and legal assistance.
    - Criminal penalties for leaking the identity of whistle-blowers.
    - Honour them publicly while they are alive, not only at memorial services.
  5. End cadre deployment into policing structures
    - The police must serve the Constitution, not parties or factions.
    - Appointments should be based on competence, integrity, and community trust, not on political loyalty.

These are not abstract ideas. They are measures that can be written into legislation and implemented within a single term if we choose to act.

### From Outrage to Organised People's Power

However, state reform alone is not enough. The mafias thrive because they have colonised local power especially in poor communities where the state is absent or unreliable.

We need a new alliance between honest state actors and organised communities:

#### 1. Community Anti-Mafia Forums

- Just as we once built street committees against apartheid repression, we can build structures focused on extortion, illegal guns, drugs, and procurement corruption.
- These must be non-party political spaces where residents, religious bodies, businesses, youth, and women's organisations set local priorities and monitor contracts.

#### 2. Social Audits of Public Spending

- Every clinic, school, tarred road, and housing project should have its budget and contractors posted publicly.
- Communities, with support from NGOs and universities, can conduct social audits to compare what was paid for with what was delivered.

#### 3. Public Solidarity with Whistle-blowers and Journalists

- When someone like Babita raises the alarm, the community must respond before it is too late: petitions, media pressure, demands for protection.
- We must make it politically costly to ignore them.

#### 4. Reclaiming Branches as Ethics Schools, Not Patronage Stalls

- ANC branches cannot be waiting rooms for jobs and tenders.
- Political education must reconnect members to the human cost of corruption: the empty hospital bed, the broken tap, the Cape Flats child killed by a stray bullet.

### A Moral Turning Point

Babita's death is not just another crime story. It is a moral turning point.

If we allow her assassination and the mafia system it sought to protect to fade into the background noise of South African tragedy, then we admit that our liberation movement has lost its soul.

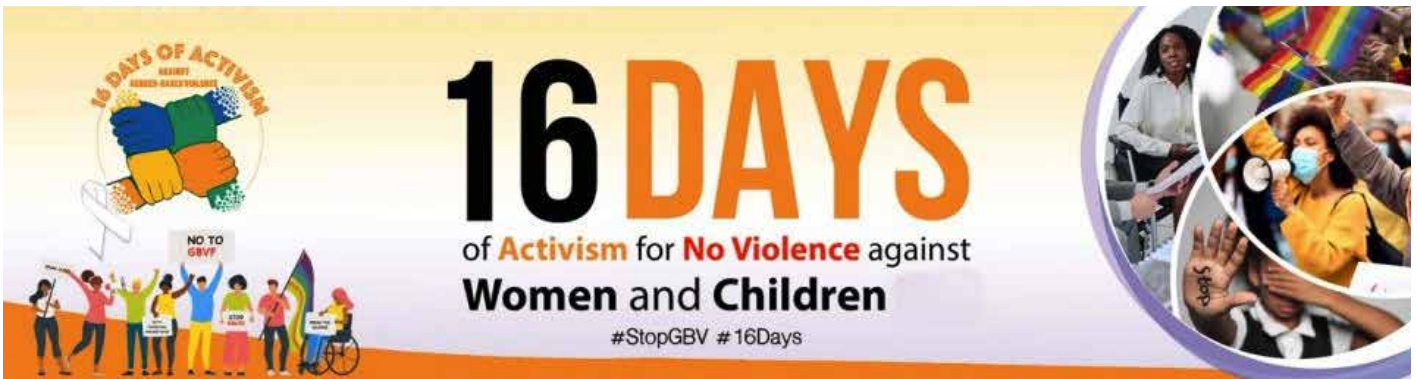
But if we choose the harder path to confront mafias in the state and in our own ranks, to reform SAPS, to protect whistle-blowers, to mobilise communities against extortion then Babita's life and death can help to renew the very values she quietly served.

The choice is ours, but the time is short. Our people are asking: *"Where is the movement that promised that the people shall govern, not gangsters?"*

We must be able to look them in the eye and say:

*"We have heard you. We will act. We will not turn a blind eye. We will not protect thieves in our name. We will honour Babita and every unsung cadre of integrity by fighting, with all our strength, for a state and a society that belongs to the people again."*

Anything less is betrayal. ■



# Letsema, Men, and Women Boys and Girls working together to end Gender Based Violence and Femicide

## FOCUS ON THE 16 DAYS OF ACTIVISM FOR NO VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN AND CHILDREN CAMPAIGN

■ By **GEORGE MAGOMA**

**T**HIS year marks the 27th anniversary of the adoption of the 16th Days of Activism for No Violence against Women and Children Campaign. On the anniversary of this campaign we assess the progress made and weigh the efforts to fight the GBV epidemic, and ask, why this persecution and crime against humanity when the world possess the power to end it?

The 10th of December is International Human Rights Day, the day when the campaign coincidentally ends, but the scourge obstinately persists, the graves of the innocent and defenceless dug every day, lives lost and scars inflicted. In a country constitutionally entrenched in the culture of human rights, South Africa considers the scourge of Gender Based Violence and Femicide

(GBVF) a national crisis enveloping the nation, accounting for many graves and scars which are a blot to the nation, offensive and repugnant to human dignity and respect, and the sanctity of life as guaranteed by the constitution of the country.

The gravity of this malaise was highlighted by society, the church and civil society on the 21 November 2025 through a national shutdown across every inch of the country. On the 20th November 2025, on the eve of the important G20 Summit of global leaders, bravely facing the world, President Cyril Ramaphosa declared GBVF a national crisis, throwing down the gauntlet and sparring no effort to obliterate it, protecting the vulnerable against abuse and torture, and ending an infirmity which has been a feature of our troubled nation for many

years.

In his tone echoed the voices of Amina Lawal, Uyinene Mrwetyana, Malala Yousafzai and many who lie in the graves of shame, and pain.

Again, the nation asks, is GBV so stubborn and stronger than the nation? What have women and children done to deserve this inhumane treatment?

In the 31 years of our democracy, and in many efforts, have we failed in the fight against patriarchy and masculinity? These questions are important in order to identify weaknesses in our systems to overcome GBV.

Underscoring the importance of this national and global campaign, the G20 Positive Masculinity Dialogue deliberated on the

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scourge, committing the world to the fight against GBVF.

True to its commitment to advance and defend women's struggles, the African National Congress Women's League (ANCWL) drew a line in the sand, saying, *"We remain steadfast in our resolve to the voice of the voiceless and defend women and all vulnerable groups."*

From the 25 November to 10 December 2025 South Africa will be joining the world to commemorate this solemn yet sombre days of activism under the theme **"Letsema, Men, and Women Boys and Girls working together to end Gender Based Violence and Femicide."**

Letsema is a community united together to advance a project of community building. In this context, the country is united to work together to end GBV. This is a continuation of the work of the 2020 Strategic Plan on Gender Violence which is indicative of the efforts to fight GBV. The efficacy of this strategy is based in the following pillars which need to be enhanced:

### **ACCOUNTABILITY, COORDINATION AND LEADERSHIP:**

- This unites civil society and government to concertedly collaborate at levels.

### **RESEARCH AND INFORMATION MANAGEMENT:**

- To collate data and manage information to guide and improve effort to combat GBVF.

### **PREVENTION AND REBUILDING SOCIAL COHESION:**

- Social cohesion is an effective tool for prevention, to tackle the root causes to prevent violence.

### **JUSTICE, SAFETY AND PROTECTION:**

- There is a need to strengthen the criminal justice system's response to the GBVF and to ensure the safety and protection of the vulnerable sector of our society.

### **ECONOMIC POWER:**

- To end dependency, financial abuse by addressing the economic drivers of violence and empowering women economically.

To bolster these efforts, and in response to the President's clarion call against GBVF has been declared a national disaster. This is a giant step to end the scourge, unite society and non-governmental organisations, the criminal justice system, men and women in the fight against the malady. This classification calls upon agencies of the state to strengthen their support to existing legislation and strategies to GBVF. To enhance this, men must enlist in the war.

Of importance this responsibilities resides in the hands of communities by virtue of families being the basic units of society and the implementation of the **90 Day GBVF Acceleration Programme** and other pieces of legislation.

As a leader of society the ANC will fulfil its mandate towards the creation of safer and secure communities. This mandate is non-negotiable. In the midst of the debilitating scourge engulfing the nation the organisation will not jettison its leadership role nor veer off the tangent in uprooting the violence. We have made a firm commitment towards a better life for all through the adoption of the National Crime Pre-

vention Strategy which mobilises communities in participating and building Community Policing Forums (CPF) as organs of people's power.

In response to the levels crime in our 55th National Conference we observed that *"crime and violence have become increasingly greater problems for the country. Communities live in fear,...worried about rape and murder."*

The organisation further noted that the *"the scourge of violence against all women has not abated. Instead, it has generated into a crisis of unparalleled proportions."*

The declaration of GBV as a national disaster is in response to this observation. In our lifetime, again, the ANC must declare one year *"A Year of Women"*, consolidating the work and path carved by President Oliver Tambo in the 1984 January 8 statement. The total attainment of people's power and our freedom cannot be attained without women emancipation and ending impediments to women empowerment.

The ANC reaffirms and stresses that the fight for women's emancipation is not a battle for women alone but requires the collective efforts of all South Africans.

As an organisation, our campaign does not end on the 10th December.


Ours is a continuous, integrated, holistic, multifaceted and collaborative programme working together with all sectors of society to end the pandemic. It is a disaster, and the ANC will end it.

**The struggle continues. ■**

# WORLD AIDS DAY 2025

## Overcoming disruption, transforming the AIDS response

■ By **NOMANTU NKOMO-RALEHOKO**

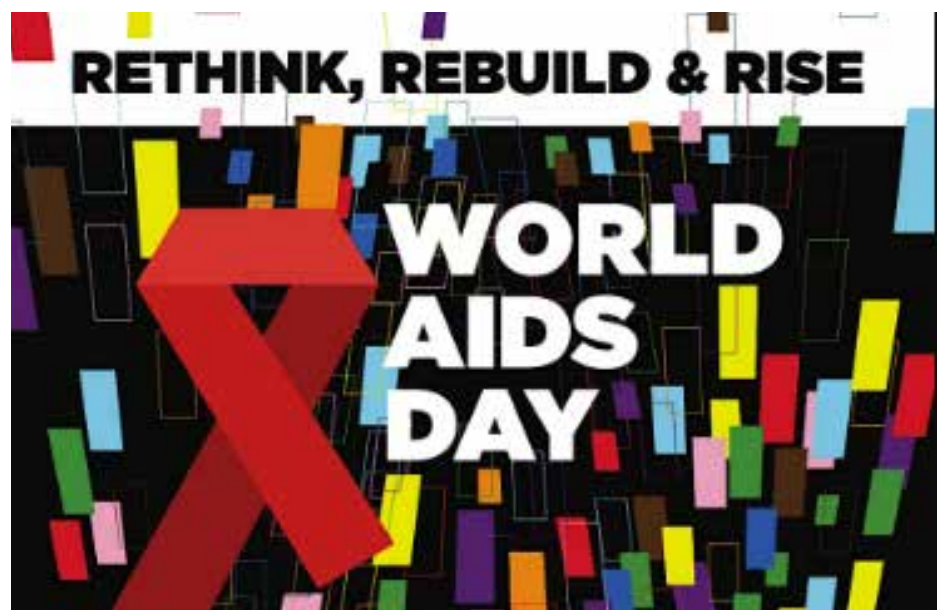
 On the 1st of December the global community under the United Nations unites to celebrate the World AIDS Day under the theme “**Overcoming disruption, transforming the AIDS response**”.

This theme focuses on assessing progress against the HIV epidemic, especially in the face of funding cuts and rising inequalities. It is a call to action to protect and strengthen services, empower communities, and advocate for the political and financial commitment needed to end AIDS as a public health threat by 2030.

The theme highlights the importance of protecting and strengthening HIV prevention services, championing community-led support, challenging stigma and discrimination, demanding political and financial commitment and emphasizes the need for a fundamental shift in how the response is approached, focusing on innovation, community-led solutions, and a rights-based approach.

It is a commitment towards to the fight against a scourge that continue to ravage the world, killing those infected by HIV.

This day is about the collective resolve to explore solutions to end a perilous disease that an-



nihilates humanity, to enhance research, improved treatment and building a strong health architecture, human solidarity, awareness, care and support. It happens as the world steadily gravitates towards an antidote for the treatment of AIDS pandemic.

As the most populous province, Gauteng accounts for 25% of the country’s total population, placing a heavy strain on its resources. Despite these challenges the province has made significant progress in the reduction of infections by 1% among those aged 15-24 and 2.9% among those aged 25-49.

Since 2022 Gauteng had an HIV prevalence rate of 11.9%, which translates to an estimated 1.72

million people living with HIV in the province. At the time key statistics stood as follows:

- Prevalence Rate: 11.9%, making it the third-lowest among South African provinces.
- Number of People Living with HIV (PLHIV): Approximately 1.72 million.
- Antiretroviral Treatment (ART) Coverage: 73.4% of PLHIV in the province were receiving ART, an increase from 56.0% in 2017. This translates to an estimated 1.21 million people on treatment.
- Highest Prevalence by Age Group: The HIV prevalence peaked among residents aged 50 to 54 years old, at 32.2%.
- Lowest ART Use: ART cov-

erage was lowest among adolescents and youth aged 15-24 years (56.4%), and generally lower among males compared to females across all age groups.

- **Knowledge of Status:** A significant number of PLHIV aged between 25 and 49 were unaware of their HIV status.
- **District Variations:** Among the five priority districts, Sedibeng had the highest HIV prevalence at 13.2%, followed by the City of Johannesburg at 12.9%.

Juxtaposed with the 2025 data, these indicate a significant improvement and the work of the Department in the fight against the pandemic. The Department will work with the residents, forge partnerships with strategic stakeholders and role players in the health sector and business and support Non-Governmental Organisation (NGOs) by enhancing their capacity in the field of HIV/AIDS.

However, the province still has a substantial burden, carrying the largest share of the national goal to close the gap for people needing treatment, with 326,346 individuals needing to be initiat-

ed or reinitiated on treatment as of July 2024. The overall prevalence rate is around 17.6%.

Behavioural tendencies are very disturbing as only 30.3% of people aged 15 and older reported using a condom with their most recent sexual partner, a decline from 36.3% in 2017, the proportion of people aged 15 and older reporting multiple sexual partners decreased to 7.8% in 2022 from 12.8% in 2017 and the percentage of adolescents and youth aged 15 to 24 who reported having sex before the age of 15 years was 13.2%, which was lower than in 2017 (14.8%). This weakens efforts to fight the scourge.

### LENACAPAVIR

One of the ground-breaking interventions is the approval and introduction of the lenacapavir to prevent HIV. Lenacapavir is a new long-acting injectable HIV prevention injection that is administered every six months with the rollout is planned to begin in early 2026, with a phased introduction in public clinics starting around April 2026. Adolescent girls and young women are identified as a priority group for this rollout.



This will enhance the province's efforts to address the prevalence of the pandemic.

### ABOUT LENACAPAVIR

#### **How it works:**

Lenacapavir is a long-acting antiretroviral drug given via subcutaneous injection into the fatty tissue.

- **Dosage:** A single dose provides six months of protection.
- **Efficacy:** Clinical trials have shown high efficacy, with one trial showing 100% effectiveness in women and another showing around 96% efficacy in men who have sex with men and transgender women.
- **Initial dose:** When first starting lenacapavir, a person will need to take oral pills for two days to ensure complete protection by day three.

We celebrate this day, joining hands, building collaborations and strong communities by strengthening efforts to fight the pandemic, towards a healthy and caring society. ■

**Nomantu Nkomo-Ralehoko** is a member of the African National Congress. She writes in her personal capacity.

**“When we lend a hand to people living with HIV/AIDS, we build our own humanity”**

President Thabo Mbeki



# Ethical Leadership in the Higher Education Sector

**3RD SIMISO NKWANYANA ANNUAL MEMORIAL LECTURE  
DELIVERED BY AMBASSADOR SBUSISO NDEBELE**

**W**E gather here under a name that still echoes in the corridors of UNISA, not only for its political clarity, but for its unmistakable warmth: Simiso (aka Smiso) Nkwanyana. For many who walked these grounds with him, his laughter arrived before he did—and stayed long after he left. He was not simply a student activist; he was a conscience. A founding member of UNISA's first Student Representative Council in 1996, he helped shape the democratic culture of this institution at a time when the old architecture of exclusion was still firmly in place.

As we honour his memory, we engage a theme he would have embraced with both hands: **Ethical Leadership in the Higher Education Sector.**

This lecture bears his name because he lived its argument.

## **Setting the Moral Frame: What Higher Education Represents**

Higher education is not just the production of graduates. It is the factory of national consciousness. It is the mind of the Republic. What our universities do today becomes the character of our nation tomorrow.

The Freedom Charter, the foundational moral document of our democracy, understood this long before we were free. It declared, in language both simple and revolutionary:

*“Higher education and technical training shall be opened to all by means of state allowances and scholarships*

## **Simiso (aka Smiso) Nkwanyana**



*awarded on the basis of merit.”*

This statement was both a promise and a warning. A promise that the doors of learning shall be open; A warning that those doors will not open by themselves. Every generation must re-open them. Every generation must defend them.

Tonight, we ask: what does that defence look like ethically? What kind of leadership is required to safeguard the intellectual and moral life of the nation?

## **The Meaning of Ethical Leadership**

Ethical leadership is often mistaken for polite behaviour, for being nice, for avoiding confrontation. This is not only naïve – it is dangerous.

Ethical leadership is not the absence of wrongdoing. It is the presence of moral courage.

Ethical leadership in higher education is the sustained practice of making decisions that advance knowledge and justice without sacrificing fairness, dignity, or public accountability. It is evident in budget choices, admission policies, hiring committees, research priorities, residence allocations, and how we listen – or fail to listen – to students.

Ethical leadership is not an optional extra at a university. It is the operating system.

It is the difference between a university that merely teaches ethics and one that actually practices it.

## **Smiso Nkwanyana as a Template of Ethical Leadership**

To understand ethical leadership, we can start with Simiso himself. In 1996, UNISA was navigating the early years of democracy. Many institutions sounded democratic on paper

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but behaved autocratically in practice. It was a time of confusion, suspicion and institutional uncertainty. Smiso stepped into that environment as a young man with an old soul.

He believed that student leadership was not a stepping stone to political careerism, but a commitment to public service. He chaired sub-committees on education transformation, challenged exclusionary cultures, and insisted that the university's governance must include the voices of those who felt its decisions most intimately – the students.

He understood something profound: students are not guests in the house of higher learning; they are co-owners.

Simiso lived the leadership that universities still struggle to teach. He understood that ethical leadership begins with three small habits:

- Show up when it is inconvenient.
- Tell the truth when it is unpopular.
- Do the right thing when nobody is watching.

He practiced these with such consistency that UNISA later named a building in his honour. Institutions do not name buildings after those who merely occupied positions; they name them after those who elevated them.

### How Ethical Leadership is Internalised

Ethical leadership enters an institution through three channels – culture, governance and conscience.

#### A. Institutional Culture: What We Reward

Ethics becomes internalised when it is embedded in the rituals of the institution:

- The transparency of minutes;
- The openness of Council meetings;
- How promotions are granted;
- How conflicts of interest are declared;
- Whether complaints are ignored or acted upon;



- Whether the least powerful – students, contract workers – have meaningful recourse; and
- A university is ethical not because it has policies, but because it has consistent practices.

#### B. Governance: What We Enforce

Even the most ethical leader requires a system that supports integrity. Codes of conduct must be more than framed posters. They require:

- Independent ombuds offices;
- Whistleblower protections;
- Transparent procurement;
- External auditors for transformation and ethics;
- Clear consequences when rules are broken;
- Without enforcement, ethics becomes theatre – beautiful, uplifting, and entirely useless.

#### C. Individual Conscience: What We Choose

Institutions can provide the scaffolding, but leadership is personal. Ethical leadership requires:

- The humility to admit error;
- The courage to reject patronage;
- The discipline to refuse shortcuts;
- The emotional intelligence to listen attentively;
- The willingness to be held accountable;
- You can legislate processes, but you cannot legislate conscience.

And yet, conscience without structure collapses under pressure.

#### Should Ethical Leadership Be Voluntary or Enforced?

This is a false choice. It must be both.

Voluntary ethics gives a leader authenticity. Enforced ethics gives a system credibility.

Voluntary ethics without enforcement becomes hypocrisy. Enforcement without voluntary ethics becomes authoritarian.

A university requires a leadership culture where people want to do good; and systems to prevent them from doing harm.

When the two align, you get an ethical institution. When they diverge, you get a crisis.

#### Ethical Leadership and the Transformation Agenda

Ethics is not a separate project from transformation. Ethics is the engine of transformation.

A transformation agenda without ethical leadership is like a vehicle without fuel: the frame is present, the destination is set, but nothing moves.

Here is how ethical leadership reshapes transformation:

##### 1. It legitimises change

People follow transformation they can trust. Ethics gives transformation credibility.

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### 2. It protects access

Ethical allocation of bursaries and scholarships ensures that the doors of learning truly open to the poor, the rural, the working class.

### 3. It democratizes knowledge

Ethical curriculum reform ensures that the university does not simply reproduce Eurocentric epistemologies but integrates African, indigenous and marginalised knowledges.

### 4. It diversifies leadership

Ethical hiring and promotion create space for black women, working-class scholars, and early-career researchers who have previously been excluded.

### 5. It strengthens student voice

Ethical leadership protects student representation rather than viewing it as an inconvenience.

### 6. It builds public trust

Universities are custodians of public resources. When ethical leadership is visible, the public supports the university. When ethics collapses, so does society's confidence.

### 7. Lessons from Great Ethical Leaders of Our Liberation Tradition

Ethical leadership in education is not a new idea. We have deep roots.

#### Chief Albert Luthuli

In his Nobel Lecture, Luthuli warned that education must never become a tool for indoctrination or oppression. He argued that when education loses its moral centre, bitterness grows and society fractures. This is a warning our institutions must hear today. Education without ethics is not liberation – it is manipulation.

#### Oliver Reginald Tambo

Tambo envisioned a South Africa where people “live and work together as equals in conditions of peace and prosperity.” He understood that democracy is not an event; it is a continuous project of ethical nation-building.

Universities must practise that project every day – in staff meetings, res-

idence rules, research priorities, and in how they treat their most vulnerable stakeholders.

These leaders remind us that ethical leadership is not simply about policy; it is about character shaped by principle and disciplined by conscience.

### The Crisis of Ethical Leadership in Higher Education Today

Let us be honest enough to name our realities. Across South Africa, higher education faces: Funding shortages; Student hunger; Delayed NSFAS payments; Political interference; Nepotism in appointments; Research compromised by corporate interests; Gender-based violence on campuses; Corruption in procurement; Weak internal accountability and Toxic labour relations.

We cannot fix a structural crisis with individual goodwill alone. We need systemic, institutionalised ethical leadership.

But we must also confront a painful truth: some universities have become highly educated but morally illiterate.

There are academics who publish prolifically but behave unethically. There

are administrators who speak transformation but practice patronage. There are councils that preach accountability but avoid scrutiny. Ethical leadership means refusing to be silent when silence becomes complicity.

### A Practical Agenda for Ethical Leadership and Transformation

Allow me to propose concrete actions which institutions can adopt immediately:

#### 1. Establish a three-year Ethics and Transformation Compact

Signed by Council, management, labour, and the SRC — with publicly reported indicators.

#### 2. Create an independent student and staff ombud.

With powers to inspect, investigate and make binding recommendations.

#### 3. Open appointment and promotion processes

Include external civil society representatives on panels for senior appointments.

#### 4. Publish bursary allocations and selection criteria annually

Transparency is the greatest disinfectant.



## VIEWPOINT

### 5. Conduct a curriculum integrity audit every two years

To ensure inclusivity, African scholarship, and academic freedom.

### 6. Protect whistleblowers

Implement safe, anonymous reporting channels.

### 7. Introduce ethics KPIs for senior managers

Measured, monitored, and publicly released.

### 8. Institutionalise regular engagement with students

Not as a favour, but as a governance principle.

These measures do not require ideological consensus – only moral commitment.

### The Human Element: Ethical Leadership as Daily Practice

Ethical leadership is not found in mission statements or glossy brochures. It is found in the everyday, mundane acts of responsibility:

- A lecturer who takes extra time to support a struggling student;
- A dean who admits an error publicly;
- A registrar who refuses an irregular instruction;
- A manager who pays contract workers fairly;
- A professor who refuses to plagiarise or exploit postgraduate students;
- An SRC leader who resists the temptation of patronage;
- A council member who demands clean governance even when unpopular.

Small decisions build institutional character. Ethical leadership is the accumulation of daily moral choices.

### Returning to Smiso Nkwanyana: The Imperative of Moral Consistency

Smiso's leadership was not loud or grandiose. It was steady, principled, and consistent. He demonstrated something that every university needs



to rediscover: Leadership is not about positions; it is about posture. It is not about power; it is about purpose.

His life teaches us that ethical leadership is not a theory – it is a practice. It is the willingness to stand when others sit; To speak when others whisper; To act when others calculate.

His legacy is an appeal to our conscience: Will we lead ethically, even when the cost is personal?

### Closing: A Call to Moral Leadership

Let me close with three reflections.

First, ethical leadership is not an abstract ideal. It is the lifeblood of a university that seeks to transform rather than merely reform.

Second, ethical leadership must be both voluntary and enforced – the soul in the individual, and the spine in the institution.

Third, ethical leadership is the greatest memorial we can build for Smiso Nkwanyana. If we want to honour him, we must not only remember him – we must imitate him.

And so I challenge every leader here today – council members, academics, administrators, SRC leaders, student activists:

- Will you lead ethically when nobody is watching?
- Will you build institutions that future generations will thank you for?
- Will you protect the vulnerable

even when it is unpopular?

Let us hear the words of Oliver Tambo echoing across time: *“The future belongs to those who prepare for it today.”*

And the caution of Albert Luthuli reminding us that education without moral integrity becomes oppression.

And above all, let us hear the silent voice of Smiso, whose life tells us: Transformation without conscience is a parade without a destination. Let our reforms be measured by how they change human lives.

May we lead with integrity. May we teach with humility. May we govern with justice. May we serve with humanity.

### Leading the Alliance

We have tried to stay as close as possible to the given topic of ethical leadership, as it related to Comrade Smiso, needless to say, he's attributes as a leader of the South African Communist Party impacted most positively on the ANC of which he was also a leader. I was elected Provincial Chair of the ANC in 1998 and held that position for 3 terms until 2008. It was my fortune to share the same decade with Comrade Smiso. He was as much a leader of the Communist Party as much as he was a leader of the ANC.

In 1998, our task was clear-cut, firstly make KwaZulu-Natal a peaceful Province, the absence of peace, was an indictment to any leadership, no

matter how it was explained. As Simiso argued, progressive ideas would only thrive under conditions of peace and to fight for peace took courage.

Secondly to win elections or make the ANC a decisive factor in the Province. As it turned out, we succeeded to move the ANC from 26 seats, to controlling 34 seats, while removing the IFP from 41 seats to 34 seats. We were on a clear path to winning the Province which we did in 2004.

Both in the NGC and National Conference Organisational SG's report of 2000 and 2002, KZN was singled out as the most united and effective alliance. It was our fortune to share that decade with Simiso.

### Unisa

We are at the Durban campus of the University of South Africa: The Simiso Nkwananya campus of UNISA. Unisa has played a huge role in providing and affording a higher standard of education for generations and generations, not only for South Africa but our continent. To illuminate this point, let me refer to the Robben Island experience.

As Elinor Sisulu succinctly articulates in the biography of Tata Walter and Albertina Sisulu,

*"For political prisoners, there was nothing better than academic achievement, to raise their morale and make them feel their prison years were not wasted. Education was a major pre occupation of the Robben Islanders at a collective and an individual level. Former prisoners speak proudly of wiping out illiteracy on the island. The appellation 'University of Robben Island' was well deserved - many prisoners arrived there with no tertiary education and left with one or more degrees to their name."*

The warders had watches but we the inmates had the time. How each one used the time depended on ones determination and sense of purpose. The leadership on the island set a good example. There was no such thing as too much or too little education. There was always something

more you could do, not necessarily for certification. Studying was not without obstruction from some authorities. Education had a dual purpose of empowering yourself as an individual but more importantly empowering society.

The opportunity provided by being a registered student afforded one to do more than personal advancement. It was in this context that Tata Nelson Mandela was prevailed upon to write his biography *'No easy walk to freedom'* to be smuggled out by amongst others, Comrade Mac Maharaj in 1975.

Tata Sisulu, was also urged to produce his memoirs. Around 1977, the warders pounced on the Sisulu notebooks.

In 1978, without any notice, the authorities imposed a prohibition on any studies above matric. Only those few who were already registered were allowed to continue. A vigorous campaign was mounted to demand the right to study. Soon enough it became a strong international campaign with several governments weighing in on the South African Government to lift this ban. Which essentially was a ban on studying at UNISA. The ban was finally lifted in 1981, not before we had embarked on an excruciating 7 Day hunger strike. But at last we could once again register to study.

### Dispersal

Early in March 1982, we woke up to the news that not only Mandela but now Sisulu, Govan Mbeki, Ahmed Kathrada, Raymond Mhlaba, Mkwazi, Motswaledi and Mlangeni had been taken away from Robben Island. The headquarters had been taken away. Where were they? What did this mean? The authorities were feeling that Robben Island, not only symbolically, but in effect, was becoming a powerful factor in the unfolding struggle for freedom raging outside. It had to be neutralised. We proceeded to reconstitute ourselves and empowering ourselves through formal and informal study. Different

layers of leadership were emerging.

I completed a BA in 1983, proceeded with honours, suddenly in 1984, we were abruptly transferred from Robben Island. Others similarly transferred, Kgalema Mothlante, Stanley Nkosi, George Mashamba. Together with Mashamba, a former Philosophy lecturer Turfloop, we found ourselves in Johannesburg prison. I had established a very warm relationship with Professor Pierre Hugo and other staff in African politics. Professor Hugo took the trouble to visit me at Johannesburg prison. He urged me to do a masters. The turbulent world I found on my release in 1987 forced me to be involved full time in the unfolding political drama, particularly in a difficult province like KwaZulu-Natal. This left very little time for studies. Even when freedom dawned, I was drawn into government as MEC for Transport for 10 years, then Premier for 5 years. At National Government after Transport, I became the first former prisoner to be Minister of prisons. I hope I made a difference.

Professor Hugo was not done with me, in 2022 while I was High Commissioner for South Africa in India, we again made contact. He still will brook no excuses from me and urged me to complete the Masters, which I finally did last year.

In spite of all the pressures, and his attitude of never leaving any business unfinished, Madiba completed his LLB with UNISA in 1989, before he was released the following year.

At the Rivonia trial, Percy Yutar, had this to say of Sisulu, *"Mr Sisulu, either you revolve around the revolution or the revolution revolves around you."*

Today as we gather here at the Simiso Nkwananya Building, we can say the same of the ubiquitous Simiso, he was here, he was there, he was everywhere, he was at the SACP, he was at the ANC, he was at the UNISA SRC, he was at communities. And your presence here tonight confirms that his thoughts and example are still with us. ■



## Hamba Kahle Sunny Singh: A Pillar of Courage, Discipline, Sacrifice

■ By **JEFF RADEBE**

**O**N the morning of Thursday, 20 November 2025, our nation awoke to the solemn news of the passing of one of the giants of our liberation struggle, Comrade Sunny Singh, a veteran of our broad democratic movement, the African National Congress, a fearless combatant of Umkhonto weSizwe, and a loyal servant of the masses of our people. His departure marks the end of an era, but also the continuation of a legacy that shaped the soul of our movement and the destiny of our country.

Comrade Sunny belonged to that rare generation of patriots who, at the height of apartheid terror, chose courage over comfort, sacrifice over self-interest, and struggle over silence. He was among the first generation of MK volunteers, those brave men and women who stepped forward in 1961 when the ANC, having been banned and brutalised, turned to armed struggle as a necessary form of resistance.

When peaceful protest was violently crushed, when hope seemed dim, when the apartheid state believed it had silenced our people forever, it was cadres like Sunny Singh who reignited the flame of freedom.

Under the command of leaders such as Curnick Ndlovu and Billy Nair, he joined MK units that undertook sabotage operations in and around Durban. These actions were never acts of recklessness, but carefully planned political interventions aimed at shaking the pillars of apartheid and demonstrating that the oppressed would never submit quietly.

That he was arrested with his unit and tried alongside giants such as Shadrack Maphumulo, Billy Nair, Curnick Ndlovu, George Naicker, and Riot Mkhwanazi was not a defeat; it was a badge of honour, a marker of loyalty to the sufferings and aspirations of millions.

Sentenced to a decade on Rob-

ben Island, Comrade Sunny endured the harshest conditions the apartheid regime could impose. Yet, like so many of his comrades, he walked out of prison unbroken, unbent, and undeterred. Robben Island forged leaders; it did not crush them. It sharpened their political consciousness and deepened their love for the people. Comrade Sunny emerged from that crucible of suffering as a disciplined cadre, a thinker, a strategist, and a soldier of the revolution.

I first encountered Comrade Sunny in 1976 during my articles at the law offices of Archie Gumede and Phyllis Naidoo. He, together with other recently released political prisoners, devoted themselves to supporting, guiding, and politically educating young underground operatives. Among those present was my comrade-in-arms, Mdu Guma. Sunny took it upon himself to give us practical lessons in evading physical surveillance, teaching us the art of survival under a ruthless secu-

## TRIBUTE

rity apparatus.

His stories were vivid, humorous, and profound, and always grounded in the political clarity and discipline that defined his generation. He joked about how, upon his release, he did not recognize the fashion shift from mini-skirts to maxi dresses, a small but telling reminder of how imprisonment robbed a generation of even the ordinary rhythms of life.

But his lessons were never trivial. They were preparations for the intensifying struggle of the late 1970s and early 1980s. Our paths would cross again in December 1982 in Maputo, where Comrade Sunny, together with Indres Naidoo, briefed me on the horrific Matola raid of the previous year. That brutal attack by the racist SADF claimed the lives of many of our comrades, including Mdu Guma, and remains one of the darkest stains on the apartheid regime.

Sunny's ability to analyse, interpret, and explain the enemy's operations with precision reflected his growing stature within the ANC's Department of Intelligence and Security, where he later played an indispensable role.

After the democratic breakthrough of 1994, Comrade Sunny continued his service to the Republic, this time in the formal structures of the democratic state. He joined Crime Intelligence as a Colonel, contributing to the development of the new nation's security architecture. He did so with the same humility and dedication that had defined his years in underground work and in MK. He served until retirement with honour and distinction, always maintaining that the true



Comrade Sunny Singh

test of a revolutionary is not only how one fights in times of oppression, but how one builds in times of freedom.

I last saw Comrade Sunny on 20 September 2025, at the launch of Yunus Carrim's book, titled *"Attacking the Heart of Apartheid."* The book recounts the historic operations of the Special Operations Command, including the 1980 bombing of Sasol. Sunny's presence there was fitting, for he was part of the same Special Operations network, providing intelligence support for some of the most daring acts of resistance our movement ever executed. Even in his later years, he remained sharp, engaging, humorous, and deeply committed to telling the story of the struggle with honesty and humility

Comrade Sunny represents the best of the ANC tradition: principled, disciplined, selfless, committed to justice, unwavering in loyalty, and guided by the moral clarity that defined the leaders of his generation. In him, we saw the embodiment of Tambo's quiet strength, Luthuli's moral courage, Sisulu's humility, and Hani's unwavering commitment to the dignity of the

oppressed. His life is a reminder of the calibre of leadership South Africa produced in its darkest hours and the calibre we must strive to reproduce in our own time.

On behalf of the ANC in KwaZulu-Natal, I extend our deepest sympathies to his wife, his children, his family, and all who loved him. We thank them for sharing him with our nation during times when the cost was high and the sacrifices immense. His life enriched our movement; his service strengthened our revolution; his example will guide future generations.

Hamba kahle, Mkhonto.

Your journey continues in the freedom you helped secure.

Your courage lives in the movement you built.

Your memory will remain eternal in the hearts of our people.

May your revolutionary soul rest in peace. ■

**Jeff Radebe** is the ANC's KwaZulu-Natal Provincial Task Team (PTT) Convenor.

# THIS WEEK IN HISTORY

29 November—5 December 2025

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

## 29 November 1776 Transatlantic Slave Trade boom

The most profitable 25-year period for the Transatlantic Slave Trade started, with a record number of over 2 million enslaved Africans shipped to the Americas between this date and 1800.

## 29 November 1781 Zong Massacre

British slave ship Zong, carrying thousands of enslaved Africans drifted off course in the Transatlantic Slave Trade as drinking water ran low. To save water, 130 African slaves were thrown overboard to their deaths. The ship owner later filed a claim with his insurance for the 'losses', a common practice to insure slaves against death at sea.

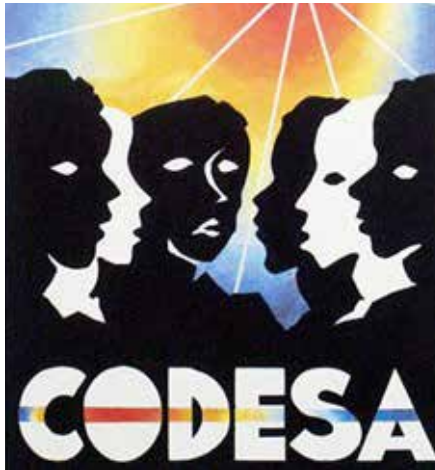
## 29 November 1967 Oskido born



Oscar Sibonginkosi Mdlongwa, musician and DJ is born in Oukasi, Brits. Oskido, as he is known

popularized Kwaito music and became a music mogul.

## 29 November 1991 CODESA starting date set



Delegates from twenty groups agreed after preparatory talks in Johannesburg on a date for the start of substantive negotiations on South Africa's future constitution, a Convention for a Democratic South Africa (CODESA). Its opening session in Johannesburg was going to be on December 20–21. The SA government and the ruling National Party (NP) sent two separate delegations. The CODESA eventually concluded negotiations around an Interim Constitution in 1993, and paving the way for the 1994 first non-racial and non-sexist elections on a common voters roll.

## 29 November 2019 Africa's first GMO mosquitos released

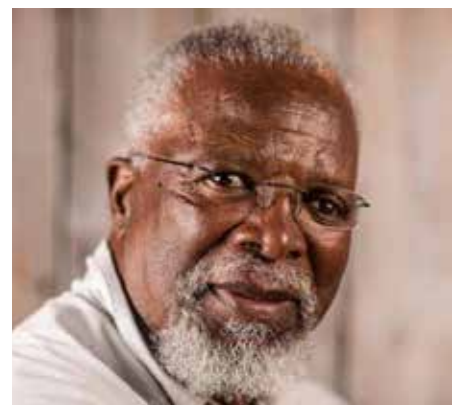
To combat malaria, 10,000 genet-

ically modified mosquitos that are sterile male *Anopheles gambiae* were released in Burkina Faso, with the hope that they would mate with local females and drive down the deadly malaria parasite carriers.

## 30 November 1880 News of Chief Sekhukhune's death reach London

The colonialist and racist London Times, printed a tribute to Sekhukhune, leader of South Africa's Pedi people, whom the British were only able to conquer after some time. "We hear this morning," wrote the Times, "of the death of one of the bravest of our former enemies, the Chief Sekhukhune. The news carries us some years back to the time when the name of Sekhukhune was a name of dread, first to the Dutch and then to the English colonists of the Transvaal and Natal."

## 30 November 1943 Dr John Kani born



## THIS WEEK IN HISTORY

Iconic veteran South African actor and playwright was born in New Brighton, Gqeberha. Rising to fame for his performance in *Sizwe Banzi is Dead*, which he co-wrote with Athol Fugard, he was abducted by the security police, beaten and left for dead. Despite this, he continued to write, direct, perform and advocate for the importance of the arts.

### 30 November 1975 Republic of Dahomey changes name to Benin

Under the policies of young reformist revolutionaries, the government, by changing its name, sought to eradicate tribal divisions and influences. Benin is a politically neutral name, replacing Dahomey, which was associated with the largest ethnic group, the Fon.

### 30 November 2006 Chiliboy Ralepelle first black Springbok Captain



Rugby player, Mahlatshe Chiliboy Ralepelle was born in Tzaneen on 11 September 1986. Ralepelle moved to Pretoria and attended Pretoria Boys High School, where he joined the rugby team. He was selected for the under-15 squad in 2001 and the under-19 squad in 2004. Ralepelle made history in 2006 when he became the first Black rugby player to captain the Springboks. In 2010, his repu-

tation was tainted when he was suspended following a drug test that proved positive. It was later discovered though that an energy drink contained a banned substance. Ralepelle was cleared.

### 1 December 1834. Slavery abolished in the Cape

On 1 December 1834, slavery came to an end in the Cape Colony; a year after the Slavery Abolition Bill of 1833 was passed by the British House of Commons and by the House of Lords. Although the Bill was passed in August 1833 it came into effect on 1 August 1834. On that date slavery was abolished throughout the vast British Empire, with a few exceptions. One was the Cape Colony, where it was delayed for four months until 1 December. The Act apprenticed slaves to their masters for a period of four years. This enabled them to learn trades and afforded a transition period for the owners. A certain amount was granted as compensation to the owners, which they had to collect personally in Britain. No compensation was given to the slaves, ever.

### 1 December 1892 Opening of largest natural history museum

The Transvaal Museum opens in Pretoria on this day. After 1994, its name was changed to the Ditsong National Museum of Natural History, growing to become Southern Africa's largest natural history museum.

### 1 December 1985 COSATU launched

The Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu), which was launched on 1 December 1985, at the height of the struggle against apartheid is celebrating its **40th Anniversary** this year. As a federation, it brought together many of the unions formed after the wave of strikes at the beginning of 1973 which marked a renewal of trade union activity after a decade-long lull. COSATU's launch was preceded by lengthy talks amongst unions, to take forward the principles of one country, one federation – one industry, one union. Unions in different sectors merged to obtain this objective, strengthening their sectoral bargaining powers, but also the overall union move-



## THIS WEEK IN HISTORY

ment. Elijah Barayi was elected as COSATU's first president, and Jay Naidoo as its first secretary general.

### 1 December 1986 Dr Fabian and Florence Ribeiro assassinated



The medical practitioner and political activist, Dr Fabian Defu Ribeiro, and his wife, a teacher turned businesswoman, Florence Barbara Ribeiro, were gunned down in their own courtyard on 1 December, 1986, after several attempts on their lives. It only emerged at the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) hearing in 1997 that they were assassinated by Apartheid state agents, when six policemen (AJM Joubert, PJ Verster, C Naude, N Robey, JJH van Jaarsveld and C Vlietstra) applied for amnesty in connection with their murder. The TRC Amnesty Committee granted amnesty to the perpetrators in 1999. Former Vlakplaas commander Jan Cronje was also granted amnesty for the role he played in the planning of the murder.

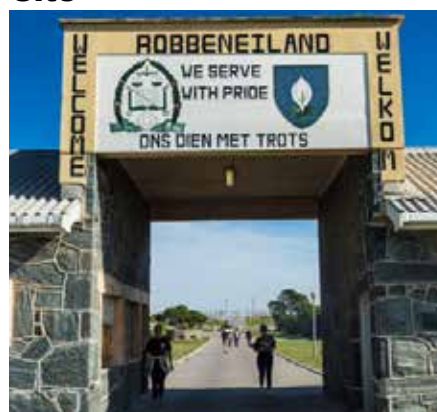
### 1 December 1987 Nyerere addresses ANC conference in Arusha

Julius Nyerere, president of the Chama Cha Mapinduzi (CCM), addressed delegates attending the African National Congress (ANC) conference in the Tanzani-



an city of Arusha. Nyerere called for an end to white rule in South Africa and encouraged the struggle against apartheid to continue, stating in his speech: *“Throughout these long years the struggle has been waged inside South Africa, by the people of South Africa. It has waxed and waned. There have been many setbacks, until sometimes the faint-hearted despaired and occasionally even the courageous retreated for a time into sullen resignation. But never was the flame of resistance extinguished.”*

### 1 December 1999 Robben Island declared UNESCO World Heritage Site



Robben Island is off the coast Cape Town and was named by Dutch explorers who encountered many seals on the island. When the Dutch colonized South Africa in the 17th century, the island was used to isolate people that were considered unwanted ele-

ments in colonial society. Among the first inhabitants were political leaders from the East Indies, such as Pangerau Chakra Denin-grat, the Asian Prince of Madura, who died on the Island in 1754, who were imprisoned on Robben Island as they protested to Dutch rule of their countries. When the British took control of South Africa, a leper colony was started on the island. Since 1961 countless member of the liberation struggle were imprisoned there, most notably Nelson Mandela, who spent eighteen years on Robben Island. Others include, Govan Mbeki, Walter Sisulu and other Rivonia trialists. Political prisoners on Robben Island during the colonial period were Sayed Abdurahman Moturu, one of Cape Town's first imams, and the Xhosa prophets, Nongqawuse and Maqana Nxele. On 1 December 1999, the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO), named Robben Island as a World Heritage Site.

### 1 December 2006. First gay marriage in South Africa

Vernon Gibbs and Tony Halls became the first same sex couple to legally wed in the country, one day after President Thabo Mbeki's government legalized gay marriage. The two are game rangers working in Riversdale, Western Cape and also animal rights activists. This made South Africa the first country on the continent and the fifth country in the world to legalize same sex marriages.

### 1 December 2019. Most uninhabitable place on earth

A survey of biologist and climatologist chose the Danakil Depres-

## THIS WEEK IN HISTORY

sion, located in the Danakil desert that spans Ethiopia, Eritrea and Djibouti. The depression was made by volcanic lava trapping a lake, which evaporated to leave toxic mineral deposits.

### 2 December 1856 Battle of Ndongakusuka

The Battle Ndongakusuka (aka Battle of Tugela) is fought between Cetshwayo, the eldest son of Mpande, and his younger brother, Umbolazi (Mbulazi) on the banks of Mathambo River (place of the bones) and the Tugela River. In one of the bloodiest battles fought in southern Africa – Cetshwayo triumphed.

### 2 December 1876 Reverend Pambani Mzimba ordained

The Reverend Pambani Jeremiah Mzimba, a Lovedale College graduate, is ordained as the first South African-trained black Presbyterian Church minister. He is remembered for his exceptional contribution to and pioneering spirit in the formation of the African independent churches and his role in the development of a new understanding of Christianity among African believers.

### 2 December 1950 Record knockdowns set by the 'Benoni Buzzsaw'

South African world bantam-weight boxing champion Vic "Benoni Buzzsaw" Toweel sets a record for knockdowns in a world title fight against Englishman Danny Sullivan in Johannesburg. Sullivan is floored 14 times in 10 rounds before the fight is stopped. Toweel – described as an instinctive boxer who, at his best, flaunted incredible stamina, perfect balance and a blazing work ethic

as well as the ability to throw non-stop batteries of punches without tiring – is amongst South Africa's undisputed boxing greats.

### 2 December 1977 Police cleared of death of Steve Bantu Biko

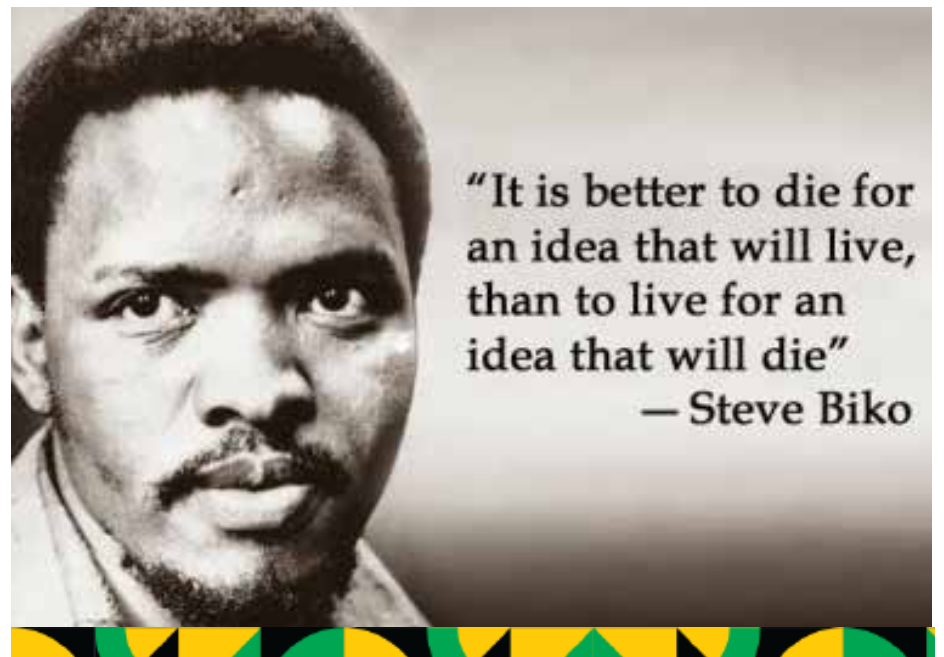
Steve Biko, who died at the hands of apartheid security police on September 12, 1977, is widely seen as one of the greatest martyrs of the anti-apartheid movement. He gave up studying medicine to devote himself to the struggle, and founded the Black Consciousness Movement in 1969. On 18 August 1977 Biko was detained in Grahamstown and brought to the Port Elizabeth police station. During his detention he was always kept in chains, and slept in urine-soaked blankets, often naked and cold. He was finally tortured to death on September 12. Despite the obvious and extensive trauma to the body, an inquest by the apartheid government given by Chief Magistrate Martinus Prins, exonerated the police of any blame in Biko's death. In 1999, South Africa's Truth and Reconciliation

Commission denied amnesty to the former security policemen involved in his custody. Despite the TRC's ruling however, no charges were ever brought against those responsible.

### 2 December 1982 Breytenbach released from prison



Afrikaans poet Breyten Breytenbach, brother of pioneering soldier Jan Breytenbach, is released from prison after serving seven of nine years for treason. His acclaimed works include *The True Confessions of an Albino Terrorist* and *A Season in Paradise*. Breytenbach passed away in November 2024.

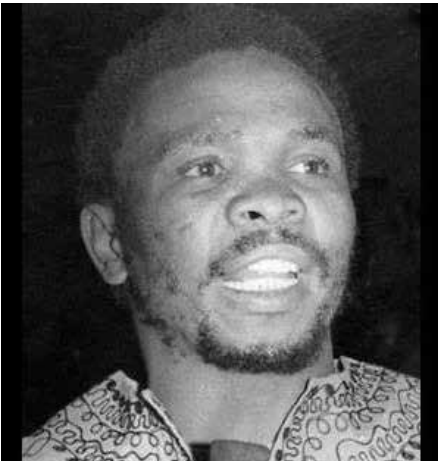


## THIS WEEK IN HISTORY

### 2 December 2017 Lawyer jailed for saying girls wearing ripped jeans should be harassed

Egyptian lawyer, Mohamed Ahmed Bahnasy, known as Nabih al-Wahsh, was sentenced to three years in jail for declaring on a live TV show for girls and women wearing ripped jeans deserve to be sexually harassed and raped, calling it a “national duty.” Wahsh was charged with threatening public order and security, as well as incitement to harm citizens.

### 3 December 1950 AZAPO leader Muntu Myeza born



Muntu Myeza was Secretary General of the Azanian People’s Organisation (AZAPO), an affiliate of the Black Consciousness Movement. He joined the South African Students’ Organisation (SASO) at the age of 22. In 1974, he was elected general secretary of SASO, and organised the Viva Frelimo Rallies in September 1974. The rallies were banned by then Justice Minister Jimmy Kruger. Still hundreds flocked to the 25-September-1974 rally, leading to the arrest of most Black People’s Convention (BPC) and SASO leaders, including Myeza. Myeza died in car accident in 1990.

### 3 December 1955 Comrades Marathon legend, Bruce Fordyce born



Bruce Fordyce, legendary South African winner of the Comrades Marathon, was born in Hong Kong. His parents moved to Johannesburg in 1956 when he was 13 years old. After his first race in 1977, in which he ranked number forty-three, he improved steadily to win the Comrades eight years in succession (1981–1988) and again in 1990. No other runner has achieved this record in the history of the Comrades Marathon race. Fordyce has completed twenty-three Comrades Marathons and was voted 64th in the 2004 Top 100 Great South Africans.

### 3 December 1959 Britain and Egypt agreed on independence for the Sudan

Britain and Egypt agreed on independence for Sudan following years of colonial rule, dating back to the 19th century. In 1823, Egyptians founded Khartoum as their headquarters and developed Sudan’s trade in ivory and slaves. In the 1890s, the British decided to gain control of Sudan. Following a series of campaigns between 1896 and 1898, an Anglo-Egyptian force destroyed the power of the Mahdists, and

agreements in 1899 established the condominium government of the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan. In 1930, the British Civil Secretary in Khartoum declared the “Southern Policy,” officially stating that the north and south, because of their many cultural and religious differences, were to be governed as two separate regions. After a long civil war, South Sudan gained independence from Sudan in 2011, after an AU-led peace process and a referendum, making it Africa’s youngest sovereign state.

### 3 December 1971 King Goodwill Zwelithini installed as Zulu monarch



On his return from exile, King Goodwill Zwelithini was installed as the eighth monarch of the Zulu nation. He took reigns over from Prince Israel Mcwayizeni KaSolomon who acted as regent from 1968 until 1971. The traditional ceremony, which was held at Nongoma, was attended by 20 000 people. His Majesty Zwelithini passed on 21 March 2021, after 50 years as monarch.

### 4 December 1809 Earthquake hits Cape Town

On 4 December 1809, Cape Town was hit by an earthquake

## THIS WEEK IN HISTORY

measuring 6.5 on the Richter scale. It is the biggest recorded earthquake to have hit the area. The quake was caused by the Milnerton fault, running across the Milnerton area, the Cape Flats and right through to the city center. In 1809 there wasn't much infrastructure for the quake to destroy, leaving only fissures on the ground. A quake of that magnitude would be devastating if it hit the area today due to increased population and infrastructure.

### 4 December 1893 AWG Champion born



Trade union leader, political activist and businessman, Allison Wessels George (Mhlongo) Champion, was born at Sans Souci Mission Station at Nonyeke, near Groutville, Stanger district in Natal. He assumed the full-time secretary position of the Transvaal branch of the Industrial and Commercial Workers Union (ICU) when it relocated its headquarters from Cape Town to Johannesburg. During the term of office of J.T. Gumede, Champion became an executive member of the African National Congress (ANC).

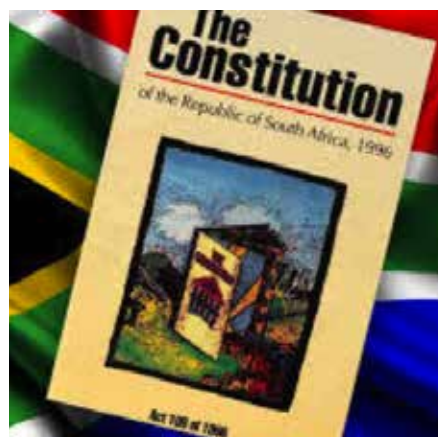
### 4 December 1917 Afrikaans linguist HJ Terblanche born

Dr Hendrik Josephus Terblanche, compiler of several dictionaries and grammar books, was born in Aberdeen in the Eastern Cape. Dr Terblanche was a pioneer of Afrikaans technical language. He died on 23 March 1977 and shortly afterwards his autobiography, *Jare van Storm en Drang*, was published a few months later.

### 4 December 1982 National Union of Mineworkers formed

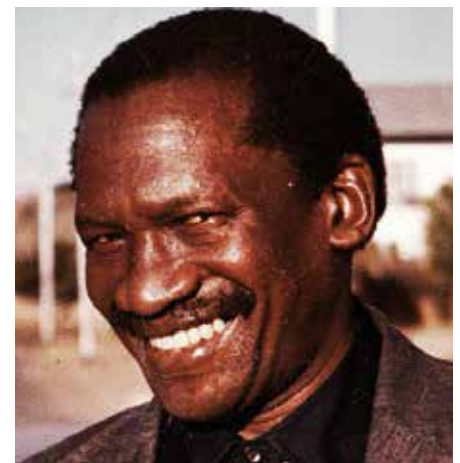
The mining sector played a critical role in the evolution of colonialism of special type, land dispossession and super exploitation, and the evolution of South Africa as a nation-state. Various ways were found, from outright violence to taxes to force black people into the mines from across the Southern African region. After the Wiehan Commission which led to limited recognition for black trade unions, the National Union of Mine Workers was formed on 4 December 1982. For a long time, it was the largest affiliate of COSATU, until the split in the federation.

### 4 December 1996 Constitution approved by the ConCourt



The process of drafting a new Constitution for South Africa started with the CODESA negotiations, and the agreement on an Interim Constitution in 1993. Thirty-four constitutional principles were included and served as a guide to the Constitutional Assembly (CA), which was responsible for drawing up the final constitution. The writing process began in 1994, after the first democratic election. Two years later, Parliament adopted the final constitution, though it still had to be ratified by the Constitutional Court, which held its first hearing in July 1996. The draft constitution was rejected during this hearing as the judges of the court stated that it did not comply with the thirty-four principles that were decided on. Once it was revised, the final draft was accepted and approved by the Constitutional Court on 4 December 1996, as the supreme law in the Republic of South Africa.

### 5 December 1924 Robert Sobukwe born



Robert Sobukwe was founder of the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC), a freedom fighter, Youth Leaguer, teacher and a journalist. During his lifetime, he was considered to be so dangerous by the National Party government that its parliament enacted the "Sobukwe

## THIS WEEK IN HISTORY

clause”, intended to authorise the arbitrary extension of Sobukwe’s imprisonment and used widely with political detainees in the decades to follow. Sobukwe was born on this day in Graaff Reinet in the Eastern Cape. After completing school he went to Fort Hare, where he joined the ANC Youth League in 1948 and became SRC president.

### 5 December 1953

#### The Namibian founder and editor, Gwen Lister born



Gwen Lister is a South African born Namibian Journalist, publisher and anti-apartheid activist, born in East London. After graduating at the University of Cape Town, Lister left for Namibia and joined the Windhoek Advertiser as a political Correspondent. In Namibia Lister focused on exposing the atrocities of apartheid both in South Africa and Namibia. The South African government retaliated by getting the paper banned. The ban was lifted after an appeal but Lister found herself demoted as a result. She resigned from the paper and later started her own newspaper, The Namibian. Lister has received many awards for her work both as an activist and investigative journalist.

### 5 December 1956

#### Arrests of Congress of the People participants leading to Treason Trial

Following the highly successful multi-racial Congress of the People Conference in June 1955, the South African Police started raiding the homes and offices of those who had participated in the conference, seizing a large number of documents. Ten days later, the police had arrested 156 leaders. Among those arrested were Albert Luthuli (president of the African National Congress), Prof. Z.K. Matthews, Ida Mntwana, Yusuf Dadoo, Oliver Tambo, Bertha Mashaba (later Gxowa), Walter Sisulu, Helen Joseph, Nelson Mandela, Ruth First, Alex La Guma, Lillian Ngoyi, Ben Turok, Gert Sibande, Reggie September, Vuyisile Mini and many others, eventually charged in the infamous Treason Trial of 1956–1961.

### 5 December 1999

#### Ernie Els won Nedbank Golf Challenge

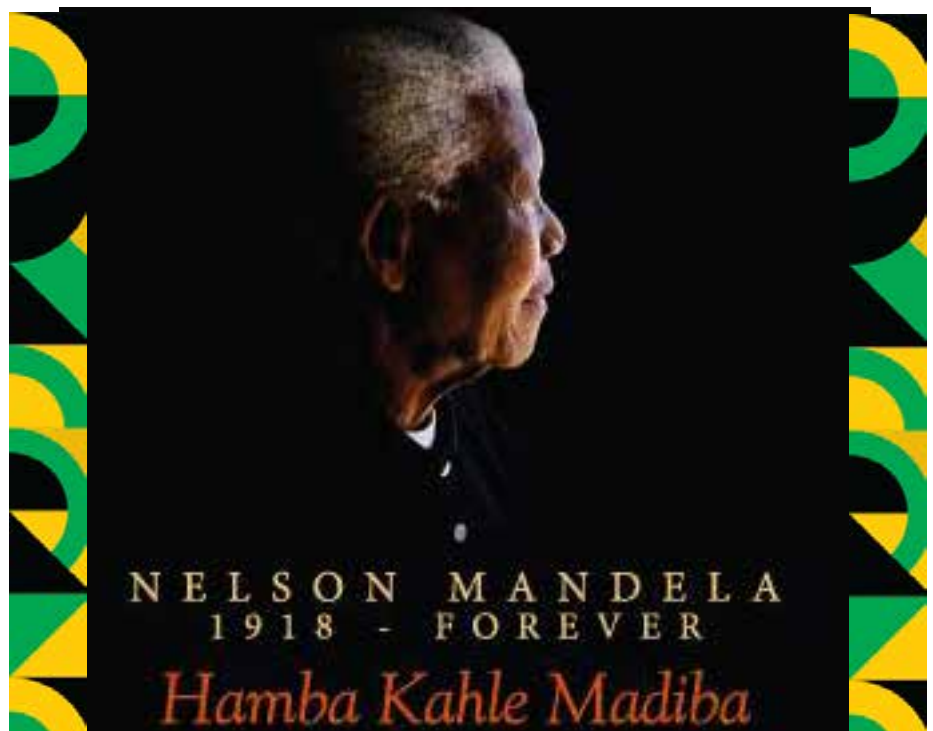
Ernie Els won the Nedbank Mil-

lion Dollar Golf Tournament for the first time in his career on home soil since he turned pro in 1989. The Million Dollar Tournament was played at the Gary Player Country Club Golf Course in Sun City. Els finished the tournament with a remarkable record win of 25-under-par 263, after rounds of 67, 66, 64 and 66. He was ranked in the top five of the official World Golf Rankings and went on to win the cup twice, in 2000 and 2002.

### 5 December 2013

#### President Rolihlahla Nelson Mandela passed away

South African freedom fighter, first democratic president, most famous political prisoner, international icon passed away on this day at the age of 95, after a prolonged respiratory infection. On the days following his death, millions across South Africa, Africa and the world gathered to mourn his death, and watched his memorial service and funeral.



## THIS WEEK IN HISTORY

# INTERNATIONAL AND NATIONAL DAYS

29 November—5 December 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)



### 29 November International day of Solidarity with the Palestinian People



The UN General Assembly in 1977 declared 29 November as the International Day of Solidarity with the Palestinian People, the day in 1947 when the UN General Assembly adopted the resolution on the partitioning of Palestine. On the International Day of Solidarity with the Palestinian People, all UN member states are encouraged to continue to give the widest support and publicity to the human rights of the Palestinian people and their right to self-determination. The African Union has been consistent in its condemnation of Israel's aggression, and the Palestinian Authority is invited to address every Summit

of the African Union. In 2021, the AU Commission Chair Mohamed Faki granted Israel observer status to the AU, a step to which at least 22 AU member states objected to and was reversed. The 2025 day of solidarity takes place in the context of Israel's continued war and genocide in Gaza.

### 30 November International Day of Remembrance for all Victims of Chemical Warfare

The International Day of Remembrance for all Victims of Chemical Warfare is observed on the day that the Chemical Weapons Convention, signed in 1997 by 189 countries, came into effect. The Convention prohibits the use, development, production, stockpiling and transfer of large-scale chemical weapons. It provides opportunity to pay tribute to the victims of chemical warfare, for the elimination of the threat of chemical weapons, and ultimately promoting peace, security, and multilateralism. At the time of the signing of the Chemical Weapons Convention, "eight countries declared chemical weapons stockpiles when they joined the CWC: Albania, India, Iraq, Libya, Syria, the United States, Russia and an anonymous state widely believed to be South Korea. Of

## THIS WEEK IN HISTORY



those eight countries, Albania, South Korea, India, Iraq, Syria, Libya and Russia have completed destruction of their declared arsenals. Syria, however, may not have declared its entire stockpile. The United States plans to complete the destruction of its chemical weapons by September 2023.” ([www.armscontrol.org](http://www.armscontrol.org))

### 30 November

#### International Computer Security Day

The day creates awareness on computer security issues, especially protecting personal and official information stored on computers. So on this day, check basic security of your personal computer and protect all your data from ransomware viruses, identity theft, and more. It also raises awareness of protecting your data through regular back-ups and secure storage in the cloud.

### 1 December

#### World Aids Day

The world has made significant progress since the late 1990s, but HIV remains a major global public health issue. Like with other major health issues during the COVID-19 pandemic, HIV prevention, testing, treatment and care services are disrupted in countries with fragile health systems or where the health systems are overwhelmed by the pandemic.

### 2 December

#### International Day for the Abolition of Slavery

International Day for the Abolition of Slavery recalls the date when the United Nations General Assem-

bly adopted the Convention for the Suppression of the Traffic in Persons and the Exploitation of Others (resolution 317 (IV) of 2 December 1949). The focus of this day is on eradicating contemporary forms of slavery, such as trafficking in persons, sexual exploitation, the worst forms of child labour, forced marriage, and the forced recruitment of children for use in armed conflict. Today, 21 million women, men and children are trapped in slavery all over the world.

### 3 December

#### International Day of Persons with Disabilities



International Day of Persons with Disabilities (IDPD) is a UN day that is celebrated every year on 3 December. The day is about promoting the rights and well-being of persons with disabilities at every level of society and development, and to raise awareness of the situation of persons with disabilities in all aspects of political, social, economic, and cultural life. WHO joins the UN in observing this day each year, reinforcing the importance of securing the rights of people with disabilities, so they can participate fully, equally and effectively in society with others, and

## THIS WEEK IN HISTORY

face no barriers in all aspects of their lives. According to the WHO World Report on Disability, 15 per cent of the world's population, or more than 1 billion people, are living with disability. Of this number, it's estimated 450 million are living with a mental or neurological condition – and two-thirds of these people will not seek professional medical help, largely due to stigma, discrimination and neglect.

### 4 December International Day of Banks

The day recognizes the potential of multilateral development and other international development banks in financing sustainable development and providing know-how. It is also in recognition of the vital role of the banking systems in countries across the world, contributing to the improvement of the standard of living. According to conventional economics *“the banking system plays an important role in the modern economic world. Banks collect the savings of the individuals and lend them out to business – people and manufacturers. ... Thus, the banks play an important role in the creation of new capital (or capital formation) in a country and in this way help the growth process.”* (economics-discussion.net). At the same time, multilateral and other international banks have been criticized for their role in forcing structural adjustment policies

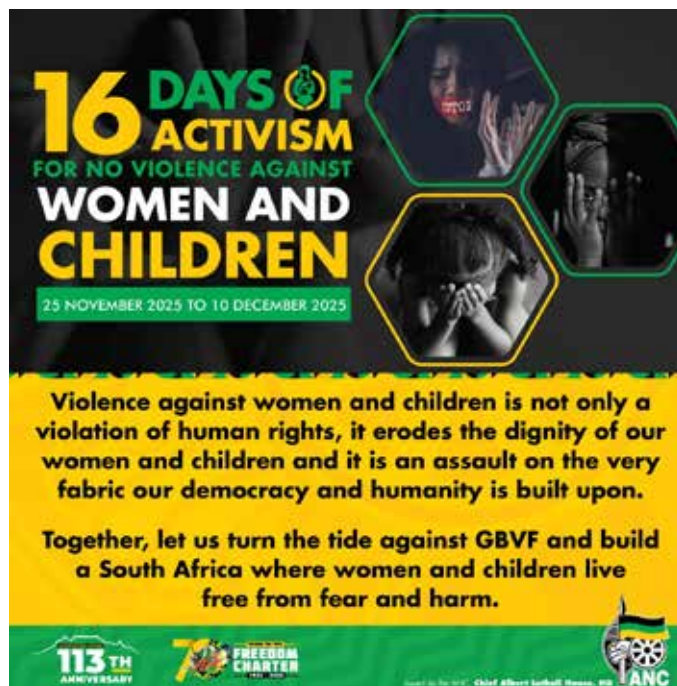
onto developing countries, and crippling national development.

### 4 December International Volunteer Day for Social and Economic Development

The UN Volunteers programme coordinates International Volunteer Day on 5 December every year to recognize and promote the tireless work, not just of UN Volunteers, but of volunteers across the globe. Every day, volunteers dedicate time and effort to ensure the inclusion of those often left behind, drive climate action and advance the Sustainable Development Goals. When people are encouraged to get involved in solving problems, the solutions are more likely to be feasible and lasting. Volunteers engage communities and build a people-centric movement to help build a better and safer future for us all.

### 5 December World Soil Day

Healthy soil are important to our lives, and soil degradation threatens ecosystem, posing challenges at a global level for agricultural production, food security and sustainability in arid and semi-arid regions.



**16 DAYS OF ACTIVISM**  
FOR NO VIOLENCE AGAINST  
**WOMEN AND CHILDREN**  
25 NOVEMBER 2025 TO 10 DECEMBER 2025

Violence against women and children is not only a violation of human rights, it erodes the dignity of our women and children and it is an assault on the very fabric our democracy and humanity is built upon.

Together, let us turn the tide against GBVF and build a South Africa where women and children live free from fear and harm.

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



**16 DAYS OF ACTIVISM**  
FOR NO VIOLENCE AGAINST  
**WOMEN AND CHILDREN**  
25 NOVEMBER 2025 TO 10 DECEMBER 2025

Our struggle was for freedom and human dignity. Today, that struggle continues against the scourge of Gender-Based Violence and Femicide (GBVF).

We call on every South African to stand firm and act decisively, because silence is complicity.

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

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