



ANC TODAY

VOICE OF THE AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS

27 March–2 April 2026

Conversations *with the* President



Excellent medical care must be available to all

■ By **PRESIDENT CYRIL RAMAPHOSA**

LAST week, surgeons at Mankweng Hospital in Limpopo completed a remarkable operation. A team of doctors, nurses and other health workers successfully separated conjoined twins in a complex operation that demanded extraordinary skill and precision. We owe the medical teams that performed the operation, that helped deliver the twins and that are now caring for them our deepest admiration and gratitude.

This achievement is more than a medical milestone. It is proof of what our public health system is capable of. It is a reminder that South Africa possesses world-class medical expertise, not only in the private hospitals in our cities, but also in public facilities serving communities that have

historically been neglected and underserved.

It is also the visible outcome of sustained national investment in cultivating medical excellence. This includes heavily subsidising the country's medical schools, providing study bursaries for needy medical students, and providing on the job training through the Internship and Community Services Programme.

And yet, for every story of excellence like Mankweng, we know there are too many South Africans who cannot access the quality healthcare they need and deserve. Our Constitution guarantees every person the right of access to healthcare services. That right cannot depend on where you were born, how much

you earn or where you live. A child in rural Limpopo has the same right to quality healthcare as a child in the suburbs of Johannesburg or Cape Town.

Closing the gap between the constitutional promise of healthcare and the daily lived reality is precisely what motivates the National Health Insurance (NHI).

The NHI is more than a funding mechanism. It is a commitment, grounded in our constitutional values, that every South African will have access to quality health services without suffering financial hardship. It is the instrument through which we will ensure that the skills and dedication on display at Mankweng are available to all our people, regardless of their ability to pay.

To realise this vision we need genuine and sustained partnerships between the public and private health sectors, as well as academic institutions, medical professionals, pharmaceutical companies, non-governmental organisations and communities.

South Africa has a well-equipped and well-funded private health-care sector, with some of the finest hospitals, specialists and medical technology on the continent. Yet only around 16% of South Africans have access to these facilities. By contrast, the majority of the population, some 84%, uses public health facilities. On average, the amount of money spent each year on a person who uses private health care is around five times what is spent on someone in the public sector.

These two parts of our health care system cannot continue to operate in parallel, as if serving two separate nations. They must work together in service of one nation.

There are few people in South Africa who can disagree with this view, and there are a great many role-players who are eager for collaboration. They recognise



that there is both a great need and much opportunity to build stronger partnerships in health care.

We should be doing more to share skills and knowledge across the public-private divide, as happens when private specialists contribute time to public hospitals. It means investing in the training and retention of healthcare workers so that public facilities do not continue to lose their best people to private employers or to opportunities abroad.

As we prepare to implement the NHI, we are already mak-

ing significant investments to strengthen our public health infrastructure. We are building and refurbishing clinics and hospitals, expanding our community health worker programme, working to ensure the availability of essential medicines, introducing digital systems and improving the management of facilities.

At the heart of all of this are the women and men who dedicate their lives to healing others. The surgeons at Mankweng did not separate the conjoined twins for recognition or reward, but because they understood their responsibility as health professionals. We owe it to every healthcare worker to give them the support, tools and working conditions they need to do their vital work.

The great achievement at Mankweng Hospital has shown us what is possible. It has also reminded us of what is necessary: a health system that serves every South African with excellence, compassion and dedication. Equal access to quality health care must be the standard we set and the constitutional promise that we keep. ■



STATEMENT OF THE PEOPLES MARCH IN DEFENSE OF SOUTH AFRICAN SOVEREIGNTY, SOLIDARITY AND DEMOCRATIC GAINS

21 March 2026. Constitution Hill, Johannesburg

WE the People, South Africans from all walks of life, young and old, black and white, men and women gathered today – in Johannesburg and Ethekwini, in BuHalo City and Cape Town – in defense of our country's hard-won freedom, national sovereignty and inalienable right to self-determination.



We gather at Constitution Hill, the place where freedom fighters were incarcerated for their commitment to the liberty of all, and the seat of our Constitutional Court.

We live in a constitutional democracy because of the sacrifices of many generations. They fought countless wars of resistance against colonial dispossession, and a national liberation struggle for centuries, until we won our liberty.

As we gather here on Human Rights Day, in defense of our sovereignty and democratic gains, we remember the blood, sweat and tears of those massacred on this day in Sharpeville and Uitenhage.

We remember the countless generations of South Africans and patriots who laid down their lives so that our country can be free.

As the current generations of patriots – men and women, young and old, regardless of the race and class – we have a historic responsibility and gener-

ational duty to fully realise the ideals of freedom and a better life espoused in the Freedom Charter and the Constitution of our Republic.

We have a duty to build a South Africa where all citizens live in dignity, peace and harmony as equals.

We have a duty to redress and correct the centuries of

historical injustices that millions of our people have suffered and to heal all the divisions of the past.

Fellow Citizens,

And yet, the world is experiencing rising geopolitical conflicts and wars of aggression that pose an existential threat to humanity as a whole.

These are in addition to the reality of climate change that already threatens the future of our planet.

Countries are targeted, their leadership eliminated or removed and punished for adopting independent domestic and foreign policies in the interest of their own national development and the use of their natural resources.

As we march, we are mindful that our rise in defense of our nation takes place, when many men and women, including children across the world – in Palestine and Western Sahara, the Sudan and Cuba, Venezuela and Iran, Ukraine and Russia –



face the brutality of war, genocide, illegal blockage, attacks on their sovereignty and liberty, causing immense suffering to ordinary citizens of these nations.

We have returned to an era – like the centuries of slavery, colonialism and apartheid – without international law and where might is right.

The United Nations and the system of international law and collective security, developed after two devastating world wars, is undermined by those who want to cling to a world of unilateral and unipolar dominance.

We reject the profoundly undemocratic idea that a few countries with more economic, technological and military might have the right to bully the rest of the world.

We, the people of the Global South, know fully well that our people, our economies and our natural resources were exploited to build the economies and sustain the standard of living, overconsumption and economic development of the Global North.

South Africa's national sovereignty is under pressure. Lies are repeated and blatant falsehoods spread to smear countries in the crosshairs for foreign intervention and regime change, to justify acts of aggression and undue pressures.

These lies include falsehoods such as “the white genocide” in South Africa. The underlying goal of foreign intervention is to have unfettered control over the natural resources of targeted countries.

Sovereign equality and self-determination were always an integral to the objectives of anti-colonial and national liberation movement in Africa, Asia, Latin America and the Middle East.

Independence has always meant, among others, that a liberated country has the sole and sovereign right to decide its future and its relationship with the world and that no country has the right to bully others.

Fellow Citizens

This Peoples March is a call to action to all our citizens – in their trade unions and political parties,

faith-based and disability formations, youth, women, civic, business, LGBTQI+, student, cultural, and professional organisations – to defend South Africa's hard-won freedom, sovereignty and democracy.

Our enduring national sovereignty and socio-economic success can only arise from the combined actions of an effective state and active citizenry.

The democratic state needs to ensure our national sovereignty is premised on restoring the dignity, safety and capabilities of every citizen of our republic.

Sovereignty becomes strong when it is in the hands of people, empowered to share in the wealth of the country. Everything must be done to demonstrate that the resources of the country are for the collective benefit of the people as a whole.

Sovereignty becomes resilient when it is rooted in the dignity and national pride among all South African citizens. We must continue to build a country in which no one is left behind; no one goes to bed hungry; no child is left without education and no youth without economic opportunities; no citizen is left without access to health.

Our national sovereignty is stronger when it is rooted in Pan-African unity and international solidarity. This is precisely because we don't believe in the vulgar idea of "*survival of the fittest*" as the highest

ethical ideal. As Africans we believe in the African humanist philosophy of Ubuntu (I am because you are!) as opposed to crass individualism.

We call on the workers and their trade unions to advance and defend a national sovereignty that promotes local industrialisation, control of our mineral resources, employment equity and jobs.

We call on women and their organisations to organize in defense of the many rights women of South Africa enjoy today. These gains can easily be reversed if the policy direction of our country is changed through foreign interference.

We call on progressive professionals and business to mobilise in support of the transformative laws of our country for an inclusive, growing economy and empowerment to redress the imbalances of the past. These laws are under threat if we allow foreign interference in the affairs of our country.

We call on the youth and the students – like the generation of 1976 and others – to organize and mobilise. Without national sovereignty, the national wealth and natural endowments of our country will be expropriated by the bullies and aggressors. Transformation will be halted and reversed.

The future belongs to children and youth, Defend it today.



National sovereignty is not a slogan. It is about dignity. It is about self-respect. It is about a people deciding their own future. It is about peace and friendship with all, in a spirit of respect of sovereign choices and commitments.

Every generation must protect this right. Our forebears fought for political freedom and peace.

Our responsibility today is to protect the economic, political, and democratic independence of our country.

We Shall Not Be Bullied!!

Solidarity Forever!!

Our Sovereignty is Sacrosanct!!

Let there be Peace and Friendship!! ■

The ANC Dismisses **AfriForum's** **Desperate Attacks** and **Defends** **South Africa's Sovereignty**

■ By **MAHLENGI BHENGU, ANC NATIONAL SPOKESPERSON**

THE African National Congress rejects with the contempt it deserves the so-called “*Mbalula Dossier*” released by AfriForum. This document is not a pursuit of justice, but a politically motivated smear campaign to isolate the Secretary-General by a reactionary organisation that has long positioned itself as an enemy of transformation, non-racialism and the democratic will of the South African people.

AfriForum has once again ex-

posed its true character as an imperialist aligned pressure group that routinely seeks intervention from foreign powers against a democratic sovereign nation and its citizens. Its call for the United States to impose punitive measures against a South African, who is a leader of the democratically elected governing party is not only reckless, but an affront and direct attack on our sovereignty. This is the conduct of an organisation that has abandoned any pretence of patriotism and has chosen instead to act as a

proxy for external interests that are hostile to South Africa's transformation agenda.

It is no coincidence that this desperate offensive follows the resounding success of the People's March in defence of sovereignty and democratic gains held on Human Rights Day. That mobilisation of the masses has shaken AfriForum and its backers and demonstrated that when the people rise to defend their rights and freedoms, counterrevolutionary forces always panic. ■



This so-called dossier is a response to that panic, a clumsy attempt to shift the narrative and discredit the leadership of the ANC and its Secretary-General.

AfriForum's posture is consistent with its long-standing record as an apartheid apologist organ. It has defended racist narratives, undermined land reform, opposed Broad-Based Black Economic Empowerment, and resisted every meaningful effort to dismantle the structural legacy of apartheid and colonialism in South Africa.

It has exported falsehoods about South Africa to international platforms and amplified divisive propaganda designed to portray transformation as persecution of one race by another despite the contrary views of life in South Africa. Today's actions are part of the same agenda to delegitimise the democratic state, leaders of the liberation movement and all progressive forces and preserve historical privilege.

The ANC will not be intimidated by organisations that seek to weaponise foreign policy instruments such as the Magnitsky Act to settle domestic political scores. The ANC and its leaders like President Nelson Mandela were labelled terrorists during apartheid for the same characterisation of imperialists and oppressors, and alignments the movement has today, and only in 2008 were they removed from the list by President Bush.

South Africa is a constitutional democracy with functioning institutions. Matters of law enforcement are handled within our legal framework, not outsourced to foreign governments at the behest of lobby groups with a clear ide-

ological and separatist agendas.

The ANC reaffirms its full confidence in the Secretary General and the leadership of the movement. The ANC remains focused on the real tasks at hand, which is defending national sovereignty, advancing economic transfor-

mation, and improving the material conditions of our people. No amount of noise from counter-revolutionary forces will distract us from this historic mission. The people of South Africa will not be misled and they have defeated greater forces than the backhand agendas at play.

ANC CALLS ON THE CITIZEN TO WITHDRAW MISLEADING ARTICLE AND ISSUE IMMEDIATE APOLOGY

THE African National Congress has noted with serious concern the article published today, 25th of March 2026 by The Citizen titled "*Court blocks Eastern Cape ANC conference amid internal disputes*", which presents a fabricated and misleading account of ongoing legal proceedings relating to the Eastern Cape Provincial Conference.

While the publication creates the false impression of a final determination on the matter, the reality is that the court process remains sub judice, with judgement reserved and proceedings continuing. Any suggestion of a conclusive outcome is both premature and irresponsible.

The ANC views this reporting as a reckless departure from the basic principles of ethical journalism, including accuracy, context, and fairness as prescribed by the Press Code. By presenting a misleading narrative, The Citizen has not only misinformed the public but has also sought to create unnecessary confusion around the inter-



nal democratic processes of the organisation.

The ANC therefore calls on The Citizen to immediately withdraw the article in its current form; issue a full and unreserved public apology; and correct the record to reflect that the matter remains before the court and that no final ruling has been made. The ANC is seriously contemplating necessary action to ensure that this newspaper is held accountable.

The ANC remains confident in its organisational processes and will continue to engage the matter through the appropriate legal channels. We urge media institutions to act responsibly and uphold the highest standards of journalism, particularly in matters that are still before the courts. ■

ANC EXTENDS **CONDOLENCES** ON THE **PASSING** OF ANTI-APARTHEID ACTIVIST **TERRY BELL**

THE African National Congress mourns the passing of veteran anti-apartheid activist, journalist, and educator, Terry Bell, who passed away at the age of 84. We extend our heartfelt condolences to his family, friends, and comrades across South Africa and the international progressive movement. His passing marks the loss of a principled voice whose life was dedicated to the pursuit of justice, equality, and human dignity.

Terry Bell belonged to a generation of activists who understood that the struggle against apartheid required courage, sacrifice, and international solidarity. From his early years as a journalist helping to establish the non-racial South African Journalists' Union, to his underground work on the publication **Combat**, and his detention under apartheid laws, Bell consistently placed himself on the frontlines of resistance. His years in exile, including his work in Zambia, the United Kingdom, and New Zealand, as well as his contribution to the development of education at SOMAFCO in Tanzania, reflect a life committed not only to opposing injustice but to building the foundations of a democratic future.

Throughout his life, Terry Bell remained an independent and critical thinker, guided by a deep commitment to workers, the marginalised, and the oppressed.

Even where his political path diverged, his contribution to the broader liberation struggle and to public discourse in a democratic South Africa remained significant.

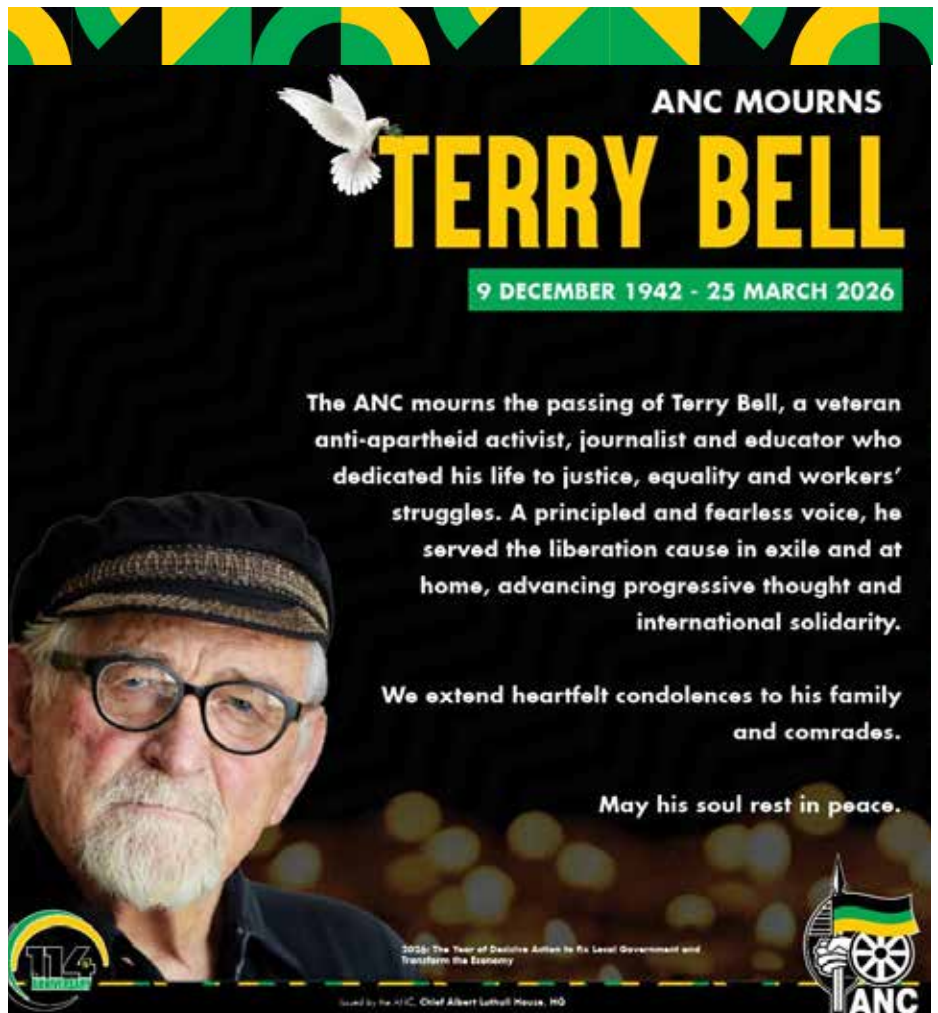
His work as a journalist and commentator continued to challenge inequality, amplify the voices of working people, and promote progressive internationalism.

The ANC recognises and hon-

ours Terry Bell's role in the global anti-apartheid movement and his lifelong dedication to justice.

His legacy reminds us that the struggle for a more equal and humane society did not end in 1994, but continues in new forms.

May his life inspire future generations to remain steadfast in the pursuit of freedom, solidarity, and social justice. ■



ANC MOURNS
TERRY BELL
9 DECEMBER 1942 - 25 MARCH 2026

The ANC mourns the passing of Terry Bell, a veteran anti-apartheid activist, journalist and educator who dedicated his life to justice, equality and workers' struggles. A principled and fearless voice, he served the liberation cause in exile and at home, advancing progressive thought and international solidarity.

We extend heartfelt condolences to his family and comrades.

May his soul rest in peace.

2026: The Year of Decisive Action to Fix Labour Government and Transform the Economy

Issued by the ANC, Chief Albert Luthele House, HQ

CUITO CUANAVALÉ: THE BLOODLINE OF LIBERATION AND THE DUTY OF OUR TIME



Reflections by the 1st Deputy Secretary General of the ANC,
NOMVULA MOKONYANE, on the **Occasion of the Day of Reflection on
Liberation Heritage Commemorating the Battle of Cuito Cuanavale**,
at Freedom Park, Pretoria, 23 March 2026

INTRODUCTION

I bring you revolutionary greetings on behalf of the African National Congress.

We gather here today in the presence of a history too profound to be handled casually. We gather before a chapter that did not merely record a battle but altered the political destiny of Southern Africa. Cuito Cuanavale was not simply a military confrontation. It was a declaration. It was the moment when the arrogance of apartheid power collided with the organised courage of the oppressed. It was the moment when history stopped speaking in whispers and began to answer in the thunder of liberation.

There are events that pass into the past and remain there. Cuito Cuanavale is not one of them. Its meaning is still alive. Its lesson is still alive. Its debt is still alive. Even today, the soil of Angola still carries the memory of war. The earth itself still bears the residue of aggression. That alone should teach us that domination never ends neatly, and that the wounds of war outlive the speeches of those who started it. That is why we approach this occasion not as a routine commemoration, but as a sacred political duty.

We stand here because Angolan blood was shed there. Cuban blood was shed there. Namibian blood was shed there. South

African blood was shed there. The wider bloodline of Southern African liberation runs through that ground. And when a people forget the ground on which their freedom was defended, they begin to forget themselves.

THE MEANING OF CUITO CUANAVALÉ

Let us be clear. Cuito Cuanavale mattered because it changed the balance of forces. Not emotionally alone. Not symbolically alone. Materially. Politically. Strategically. The road to Cuito ran through the Lomba, through Mavinga, through Jamba, and through a wider architecture of destabilisation designed to keep

Angola weak, Namibia occupied and South Africa trapped under apartheid rule. The enemy believed that military superiority would guarantee political control, that superior weapons would preserve regional domination, and that fear would remain the organising principle of Southern Africa. At Cuito Cuanavale they encountered another reality. They encountered organised peoples. They encountered disciplined liberation movements. They encountered internationalist solidarity. They encountered a region that had decided it would not kneel forever.

That is why President Oliver Reginald Tambo understood Cuito Cuanavale as he did. That is why President Nelson Rolihlahla Mandela called it a turning point in the struggle to free Southern Africa and our own country from apartheid. That is why President Fidel Castro located it among the decisive chapters of Africa's modern history. They understood that this was not merely about troop movement or battlefield positioning. It was about what became politically irreversible afterwards. Cuito Cuanavale announced that Pretoria could no longer stride across the region with the same impunity. It announced that Namibia's independence could no longer be indefinitely delayed. It announced that South Africa's liberation struggle had entered a new strategic hour. It announced that the old order had begun to lose its power to define the future on its own terms.

It also teaches us something of enduring value about how power operates. Domination is never sustained by weapons alone. It is sustained by myth. By narrative. By the cultivation of fear. By the manufacturing of inevitabil-



ity. Apartheid power did not rely only on guns and armour. It relied on the belief that it could not be beaten. Cuito Cuanavale shattered that illusion. It broke not only military momentum, but psychological momentum. It told the oppressed that the mighty can be forced backwards. It told the oppressor that history does not belong permanently to those who command the skies, the borders or the propaganda of the age. That is why Cuito Cuanavale remains larger than itself. It is a lesson in how arrogance begins to collapse when justice acquires organisation, courage and strategic clarity.

ANGOLA, PRESIDENT AGOSTINHO NETO AND FAPLA

For the ANC, Angola is not a foreign chapter in someone else's story. Angola is part of the bloodstream of our own liberation. Angola gave our movement space to breathe, regroup, train and prepare at a time when apartheid wanted to suffocate every possibility of resistance. Under the

leadership of President Agostinho Neto and the MPLA, Angola did not merely defend its own sovereignty. Angola defended the regional possibility of freedom itself.

And when we salute Angola, we must salute with historical seriousness. We salute President Agostinho Neto, that poet of revolution, that architect of national dignity, that son of Africa who understood that the freedom of Angola was inseparable from the freedom of the region. We salute FAPLA, the People's Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola, whose courage on the battlefield helped alter the destiny of Southern Africa. FAPLA did not fight for Angola alone. FAPLA stood on a front line where Angola's sovereignty, Namibia's independence and South Africa's liberation converged.

And because names matter, because history must never become faceless, let us honour Angola through President Agostinho Neto, Hoji ya Henda, Deolinda Rodrigues, and the known and

unknown Angolan revolutionaries who accepted death so that nations might live. Their blood did not disappear into the dust of war. Their blood entered the bloodstream of freedom.

South Africans did not become free alone. We did not walk to freedom on a road built only by our own feet. Angolan revolutionaries helped carry us. Angolan mothers buried sons for a freedom that would not stop at Angola's borders. Angolan villages endured the cruelty of aggression because the enemies of liberation knew that to weaken Angola was to wound the future of the whole region. That is why Angola deserves not only remembrance, but reverence.

NAMIBIA, PRESIDENT SAM NUJOMA AND PLAN

The same must be said of Namibia. Namibia's freedom was not handed over by a suddenly softened oppressor. It was won.

It was won through endurance, sacrifice, organisation and revolutionary discipline. President Sam Nujoma stands among the giants of African liberation be-

cause he understood that the struggle of Namibia could never be separated from the struggles of Angola, South Africa and the wider region. He did not merely lead a nation to independence. He helped enlarge the moral horizon of Southern Africa.

We must therefore salute SWAPO and its military wing, PLAN (People's Liberation Army of Namibia). PLAN turned exile into organisation, hardship into discipline and hope into armed determination. It helped ensure that Namibia's demand for independence could not be buried beneath occupation. It carried the military edge of a people who had decided that colonial domination would not become permanent.

And because heroes and heroines must be called into the air of memory, let us honour Namibia through President Sam Nujoma, Tobias Hainyeko, Peter Nanyemba, Dimo Hamaambo, and the revolutionaries of SWAPO and PLAN who marched, fought and endured until freedom became irreversible. Their victory enlarged the dignity of the whole region. Their courage strengthened all of us.

So, to Namibia we say this with sincerity and affection. Your freedom lives inside our freedom. Your revolutionaries did not struggle in isolation. They struggled for a Southern Africa in which no people would remain forever under the boot of occupation and racial arrogance.

CUBA, ITS REVOLUTIONARIES AND THE BEAUTY OF INTERNATIONALISM

And then there is Cuba. There are some debts in history that cannot be measured in diplomatic phrases. Cuba's contribution to the liberation of Southern Africa is one of them. Cuba did not come to Africa to conquer. Cuba did not come to Africa to extract. Cuba did not come to Africa in search of wealth. Cuba came because it understood internationalism not as decoration, but as duty. President Fidel Castro understood that the cry of the oppressed in Angola was also a summons to the conscience of revolutionary humanity.

That is why Cuba sent not only words, but people. Not only sympathy, but sacrifice. Not only statements, but revolutionaries.



What a magnificent thing that was in the moral history of our world. That a small island under blockade would cross oceans to help alter the destiny of a continent. That Cuban revolutionaries would give their lives not for territory, not for tribute, not for minerals, but for dignity. There is beauty in that. There is greatness in that. There is an ethical splendour in that which the world must never be allowed to forget.

And because names matter, let us salute President Fidel Castro, Ernesto Che Guevara, Celia Sánchez, Vilma Espín, Melba Hernández, and the Cuban revolutionaries of Operation Carlota who translated principle into sacrifice. Let us salute, too, the 2,070 Cuban internationalists whose names are inscribed here at Freedom Park. Those names are not there to decorate stone. They are there to discipline memory. They are there to remind us that solidarity is not poetry. Solidarity is sacrifice.

We also salute the Venceremos Brigade, one of the enduring symbols of organised international solidarity with the Cuban Revolution.

Cuba gave the oppressor something he could neither understand nor easily defeat, people willing to die for the freedom of others. That is why Cuba occupies a sacred place in the political memory of the ANC and of Africa. And because history is not dead, let us also say this with moral clarity: Cuba needs solidarity now, not in the sentimental language of yesterday, but in the organised political language of the present. The pressure continues. The punishment continues. The attempt to bend a sovereign people through hardship continues. Our gratitude



must therefore become action, voice and living solidarity.

RUSSIA, SOVIET INTERNATIONALISM AND HISTORICAL HONESTY

To our Russian comrades, we extend a greeting shaped by historical honesty. Liberation movements cannot survive on selective memory. We know who stood with the oppressed when it was costly to do so. We know who trained, armed and politically supported the anti-colonial cause in Southern Africa. We know that Soviet internationalism formed part of the broader camp of liberation that helped shift the regional balance against apartheid power.

So let us say it plainly. The ANC does not erase history to suit the fashions of the present. We remember the anti-fascist inheritance of the Soviet people. We remember the political, material and strategic solidarity that helped strengthen liberation movements across the region. We remember, too, the Soviet and Russian heroes and heroines whose names are honoured here at Freedom

Park, and whose sacrifices form part of the wider story of Southern Africa's freedom.

History becomes smaller when people become afraid of the truth. We will not make our history smaller. We know our friends. We know our allies. We know the architecture of solidarity that helped bend the future toward freedom. And because we know it, we honour it without apology.

THE ANC VIEW OF VICTORY, RECONCILIATION AND TRUTH

Comrades, our youth must never be fooled into believing that the oppressor suddenly became kind and offered us freedom. No. Freedom was not donated. Liberation was not gifted. We defeated them. Let that truth stand in full dignity. We defeated them through struggle, through sacrifice, through mass mobilisation, through underground work, through Umkhonto we Sizwe, through international solidarity, and through the courage of ordinary people. Angola helped defeat them. Cuba helped defeat them. Namibia helped defeat



them. The ANC and the democratic masses of South Africa helped defeat them.

That truth matters because a people that does not understand how it became free can easily be manipulated into dishonouring its own inheritance. A generation that is taught that freedom arrived through the kindness of the oppressor will never fully understand what it means to defend freedom when it is under pressure. Our youth must know that liberation has authors, and those authors were revolutionaries.

And yet the greatness of our movement lies in this, that when victory came within reach, we chose reconciliation. We chose reconciliation not because we were naïve, not because we were weak, and not because we had forgotten. We chose reconciliation because ours was a movement of moral depth. We understood that beyond liberating ourselves, we also had to liberate the oppressor from themselves, from the poison of racism, from the prison of domination, from the spiritual corruption of believing that another human being exists to be ruled and diminished.

Reconciliation was not the language of the defeated. It was the discipline of the victorious. It was the confidence of a movement that knew it had defeated apartheid without surrendering its own humanity. We defeated apartheid, but we refused to inherit its soul. That is the grandeur of the ANC. That is the stature of our liberation ethic.

But let nobody misunderstand reconciliation. It does not mean silence in the face of pressure. It does not mean historical amnesia. It does not mean a free peo-

ple must lower their head before new forms of coercion. We do not seek conflict. We do not worship war. We know too much about the price of blood to romanticise suffering. But precisely because we know our history, we know what must never again be negotiated away, our dignity, our sovereignty, our memory and our voice.

THE ROLL CALL OF REVOLUTIONARIES

At a moment such as this, history demands names. It demands that we speak our debt aloud. So let us bow our heads before President Agostinho Neto, Hoji ya Henda and Deolinda Rodrigues of Angola. Let us bow our heads before President Sam Nujoma, Tobias Hainyeko, Peter Nanyemba and Dimo Hamaambo of Namibia and PLAN. Let us bow our heads before President Fidel Castro, Ernesto Che Guevara, Celia Sánchez, Vilma Espín, Melba Hernández and the 2,070 Cuban internationalists whose names are inscribed here at Freedom Park. Let us bow our heads before the Soviet and Russian heroes and heroines honoured in this same sacred place. And let us bow our heads before President Oliver Reginald Tambo, President Nelson Rolihlahla Mandela, Chris Hani, Joe Modise, Albertina Sisulu, Winnie Madikizela-Mandela, Dorothy Nyembe, Adelaide Tambo, and the known and unknown cadres of Umkhonto we Sizwe who poured their lives into the freedom of our people.

These names are not ornaments of speech. They are pillars of our moral world. They remind us that history is not carried forward by abstractions alone, but by women and men who accepted loneliness, exile, prison, danger and

death so that future generations might stand upright. If we speak their names properly, we will not become smaller. We will become worthy.

ALUTA CONTINUA

This then is the lesson for our generation. The struggle did not end. It changed form. Yesterday the bully came with columns, occupation forces, proxy armies and artillery. Today the bully often comes with sanctions, embargoes, financial suffocation, disinformation, diplomatic intimidation, economic blackmail, technological gatekeeping and the punishment of sovereign choices. Yesterday they mined the ground. Today they seek to mine sovereignty itself. Yesterday they wanted territorial domination. Today they want strategic obedience. The methods evolve. The appetite for domination does not.

We are living in a moment in which old imperial habits have learned new language. Power now hides behind the vocabulary of order, stability, humanitarian concern and democratic guardianship, while pursuing the same old objectives of control, extraction, intimidation and regime manipulation. The instruments have become more sophisticated. Pressure is now exerted not only through armies, but through financial systems, energy vulnerability, information warfare, cyber influence, selective outrage, legal asymmetry and the coordinated manufacture of consent. In our time, narrative has become a weapon. Perception has become a battlefield. Media has become a theatre of ideological struggle.

Technology, finance and diplomacy are increasingly being used not merely to communicate power,

but to discipline those who refuse to bow before it.

That is why a serious reading of the present must move beyond surface events and see the pattern. From the continued suffocation of Cuba, to the devastation of Gaza, to the destruction of Sudan through externalised interests and proxy calculations, to the punishment of states that refuse to surrender their independent voice, we are witnessing not isolated crises, but a broader contest over who gets to be fully human, who gets to be fully sovereign, and who gets to define the moral grammar of the world. The struggle of our age is no longer only about who holds territory. It is also about who controls meaning, who controls legitimacy, who controls memory, and who controls the political imagination of the oppressed.

And that is why Cuito Cuanavale still speaks with such force. It reminds us that no domination is permanent. It reminds us that the weak are not weak when they are united, politically clear and historically grounded. It reminds us that the balance of forces can shift. It reminds us that solidarity is not a sentimental reflex, but a strategic necessity. It reminds us that the oppressed must learn to read the world not through the language of empire, but through the lived experience of struggle. Above all, it reminds us that what appears invincible in one era can become vulnerable in the next when confronted by courage, discipline and organised principle.

This is why the ANC must continue to speak with moral clarity in a world that increasingly rewards confusion. We must reject the lie that neutrality in the face of domination is wisdom. We must reject

the pressure placed on African nations to dilute their convictions in order to appear respectable to those who never respected our humanity in the first place. We must reject the idea that sovereignty is negotiable when great powers are inconvenienced. We must reject the manipulation of public discourse that seeks to criminalise resistance, sanitise aggression and rebrand coercion as diplomacy. That is not international order. That is hierarchy dressed up as principle.

Let Angola hear us. The ANC remembers. Let Namibia hear us. The ANC honours your struggle. Let Cuba hear us. The ANC stands in living solidarity with your dignity and endurance. Let Russia hear us. The ANC does not forget those who stood with the oppressed. Let the youth of South Africa hear us. Freedom was won. It was not donated. And let those who still imagine that sovereign peoples can be intimidated into silence hear us clearly. We do not seek conflict. We seek peace, friendship, justice and dignity among nations. But no nation that knows the cost of its freedom should ever be expected to bow before pressure,

to apologise for its sovereignty, or to trade its memory for comfort.

That is why we stand where history has always instructed us to stand, on the side of dignity, on the side of sovereignty, on the side of liberation, and on the side of peoples who refuse to be disciplined into submission.

Solidarity continues. And victory, as always, belongs not to the arrogant, not to the aggressor, not to the bully, but to the steadfast, the disciplined and the free. We come from a movement shaped by the courage of Bernie Molokoane, Ruth Mompoti, Marion Sparg and Geraldine Fraser-Moleketi, and by countless revolutionaries who carried this struggle on their backs. They did not sacrifice so that free people could one day tremble before pressure. They did not endure so that a sovereign nation could lower its head before arrogance. This land was not won by fear, and it will not be governed by intimidation. **WE WILL NOT BE BULLIED.**

Amandla.

Aluta continua. ■





Development and the fight for Africa's Resources:

Why South Africa's participation at the OECD Global Anti-Corruption and Integrity Forum matters

■ By **MAROPENE RAMOKGOPA, ANC Second Deputy Secretary-General & Minister in the Presidency for Planning, Monitoring and Evaluation**

AT a time when developing countries are under immense fiscal pressure, South Africa's participation in global governance platforms is not a matter of ceremony – it is a matter of national interest, continental solidarity, and developmental necessity.

It is in this spirit that I undertook an important working visit to Paris, France, from 23 to 25 March 2026, representing South Africa at the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) Global Anti-Corruption and Integrity Forum, and a series

of high-level bilateral and multi-lateral engagements.

This visit was significant not only because it placed South Africa at the centre of international debates on anti-corruption, integrity, and illicit financial flows, but because it affirmed a deeper truth: the struggle for development in the Global South is inseparable from the struggle to defend public resources, strengthen state capacity, and reform the international financial system.

Why this forum mattered

The 2026 OECD Global Anti-Cor-

ruption and Integrity Forum was convened under the theme, *The Integrity Advantage: Powering Competitiveness and Prosperity*, and focused on a critical global question: how can countries build economies that are not only competitive, but also ethical, transparent and developmentally capable?

For South Africa, this question is not abstract.

Our democratic state has had to confront the deep consequences of corruption, institutional weakening, and state capture. At the

same time, we are tasked with financing a long-term programme of national transformation – including industrialisation, employment creation, social protection, infrastructure development, and the implementation of the National Development Plan (NDP) Vision 2030.

In this context, South Africa's intervention at the forum was both principled and practical, emphasising that integrity is not a side issue in development, but it is central to the developmental state.

South Africa's message to the world: corruption is a development issue

Corruption and illicit financial flows are not merely legal or technical issues – they are structural barriers to development.

Every rand lost to tax abuse, profit shifting, trade misinvoicing, procurement fraud, money laundering, or opaque financial networks is a rand that cannot be invested in schools, clinics, rail, roads, industrial development, or jobs.

This is especially true for African and developing economies, where rising debt, volatile capital flows, climate vulnerability, and uneven access to concessional finance already constrain fiscal space.

In this regard, South Africa used the Paris platform to make a broader political and developmental case: the fight against corruption must be understood as part of the fight for economic sovereignty, domestic resource mobilisation, and inclusive growth.

That is the correct position – and it reflects the historic orientation of the ANC as a movement committed not only to political freedom, but to economic transformation and accountable public power.

Placing illicit financial flows firmly on the global agenda

One of the most important dimensions of our engagements at the Forum was South Africa's continued advocacy on the issue of illicit financial flows (IFFs), which has been of profound significance to the African continent.

IFFs continue to drain billions of dollars out of developing countries every year through channels such as:

- Aggressive tax avoidance and profit shifting;
- Trade mis-invoicing and customs fraud;
- The concealment of wealth in offshore jurisdictions;
- Corruption and the laundering of stolen assets;
- Abuse of shell companies and opaque ownership structures; and
- Emerging digital and crypto-enabled financial channels.

South Africa's intervention correctly situated this problem within a broader global justice framework: developing countries cannot be expected to finance their own development while the international financial system continues to permit large-scale leakages of public wealth.

This is where the ANC's perspective remains vital: economic justice requires both domestic reform and international reform. It is not enough to tell African countries to improve governance while leaving the global structures that facilitate secrecy, capital flight, and regulatory arbitrage intact.

A continuation of South Africa's reform and governance agenda

South Africa's participation at the OECD Global Anti-Corruption and Integrity Forum also reflected South Africa's domestic reform trajectory.

In recent years, South Africa has undertaken significant efforts to rebuild institutions, improve financial oversight, strengthen enforcement, and restore confidence in the state's integrity. These efforts have included a re-





newed focus on:

- Strengthening revenue collection and tax administration;
- Improving anti-money laundering and counter-financing of terrorism systems;
- Enhancing beneficial ownership transparency;
- Reinforcing procurement oversight and public sector accountability;
- Improving cooperation between tax, customs, law enforcement, and financial intelligence institutions; and
- Ensuring that governance systems are capable of supporting development rather than undermining it.

These are not merely administrative matters. They are political and developmental tasks.

A capable state cannot exist without institutional integrity. A developmental state cannot function if public resources are captured, diverted, or leaked through weak governance systems.

In this regard, South Africa has demonstrated in these discussions that it is not a passive ob-

server, but a country engaged in serious state reform, institutional rebuilding, and developmental governance.

The ANC and the politics of ethical governance

For the ANC, the significance of this engagement also lies in the ideological terrain it occupies.

The movement has long understood that the legitimacy of democratic governance depends on whether the state serves the people, protects public resources, and advances social justice.

That means the struggle against corruption must not be reduced to slogans or selective outrage. It

must be linked to a larger project of state transformation – one that combines:

- Ethical leadership;
- Developmental planning;
- Accountable institutions;
- Inclusive economic policy; and
- Rebuilding public trust.

This is why the Ministry in the Presidency for Planning, Monitoring and Evaluation plays such a strategic role. Its function is not only to coordinate plans and assess implementation, but to ensure that the state remains focused on delivery, accountability, and measurable developmental outcomes.

Our engagements in Paris, therefore, spoke directly to the ANC's long-standing commitment to building a state that is both capable and ethical.

From Paris to Pretoria: why this matters for ordinary South Africans

It is easy for international forums to appear distant from the daily realities of our people. But the truth is that these issues are deeply local.

When money leaves the economy illicitly, communities feel it.

They feel it in underfunded municipalities.



They feel it in broken infrastructure.

They feel it in limited industrial expansion.

They feel it in unemployment.

They feel it in reduced fiscal space for social and economic investment.

That is why South Africa's message in Paris was not simply about compliance or reputation. It was about protecting the material basis of transformation.

The ANC understands that the struggle for dignity, jobs, inclusion, and equality cannot be separated from the struggle to ensure that the country's resources – and those of the continent – are used for the people.

A broader Global South message

South Africa's participation at the OECD Global Anti-Corruption and Integrity Forum also held broader significance for the Global South, at a moment when many developing countries are calling for:

- Fairer tax rules;
- More inclusive financial governance;
- Stronger multilateralism;
- Greater transparency in cross-border finance; and
- A development-oriented international system.

South Africa's voice in Paris helped to reinforce an increasingly important political position: The world cannot speak seriously about sustainable development while ignoring the systemic extraction of wealth from developing economies.

This is the same logic that in-

forms South Africa's positions in the G20, the African Union, the United Nations, and other multi-lateral platforms.

The challenge before the world is not only to condemn corruption rhetorically, but to confront the institutional and financial structures that reproduce inequality between nations.

Conclusion: Integrity must serve transformation

South Africa's engagements in Paris were therefore more than a diplomatic engagement. They were a strategic intervention in one of the defining policy and political struggles of our time: how developing countries defend their resources, build capable institutions, and finance their own transformation in an unequal global system.

For the ANC, the lesson is clear.

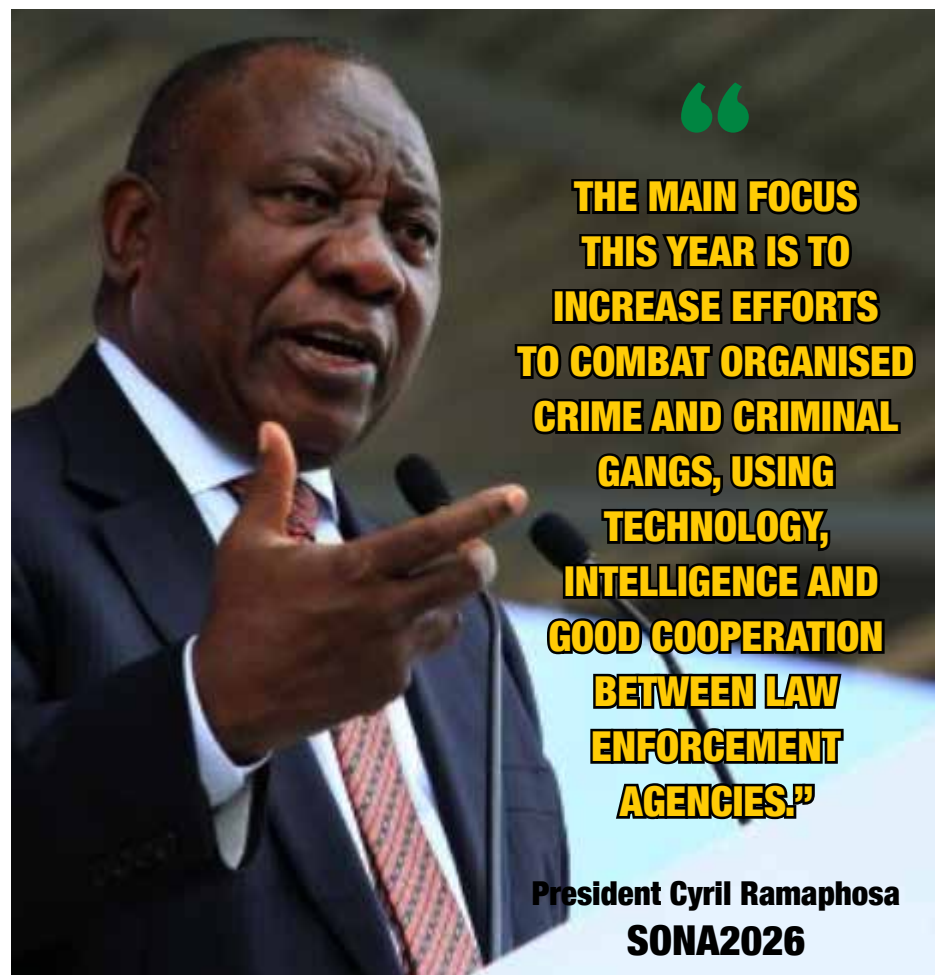
Integrity is not a technocratic issue.

Anti-corruption is not a branding exercise.

And governance is not an abstract administrative concern.

These are central questions in the struggle to build a democratic, developmental and inclusive South Africa.

As the movement for national liberation and social transformation, the ANC will continue to support efforts to strengthen the state, defend public resources, deepen accountability, and advance a development path rooted in justice, sovereignty, and the material improvement of our people's lives.



Team Majodina **Advances the People's Right to Dignity** with 22 Water and Sanitation Projects Handed Over in Matjabeng on **World Water Day**

IN a powerful demonstration of the ANC's unwavering commitment to restoring dignity, advancing social justice, and deepening service delivery to the people, Minister of Water and Sanitation, Comrade Pemmy Majodina, on 22 March 2026 officially handed over 22 water and sanitation infrastructure projects in Matjhabeng Local Municipality.

This historic handover, which coincided with World Water Day, National Water Month and Human Rights Month, stands as a living expression of the democratic state's responsibility to progressively realise the constitutional rights of all South Africans, especially the poor and working-class communities who continue to bear the legacy of apartheid spatial neglect and infrastructure underdevelopment.

The projects, implemented across Welkom, Thabong, Odendaalsrus, Virginia, Allanridge, Ventersburg and Hennenman, mark a decisive intervention by the ANC to reverse years of infrastructure decay, operational failure, vandalism and neglect that had left communities exposed to unacceptable sewer spillages and unreliable sanitation services.

Addressing community members and leaders from all spheres of government, Minister Majodina reaffirmed that access to water and dignified sanitation is not a privi-



lege, but a constitutional imperative and a cornerstone of human dignity, public health, environmental justice and gender equality.

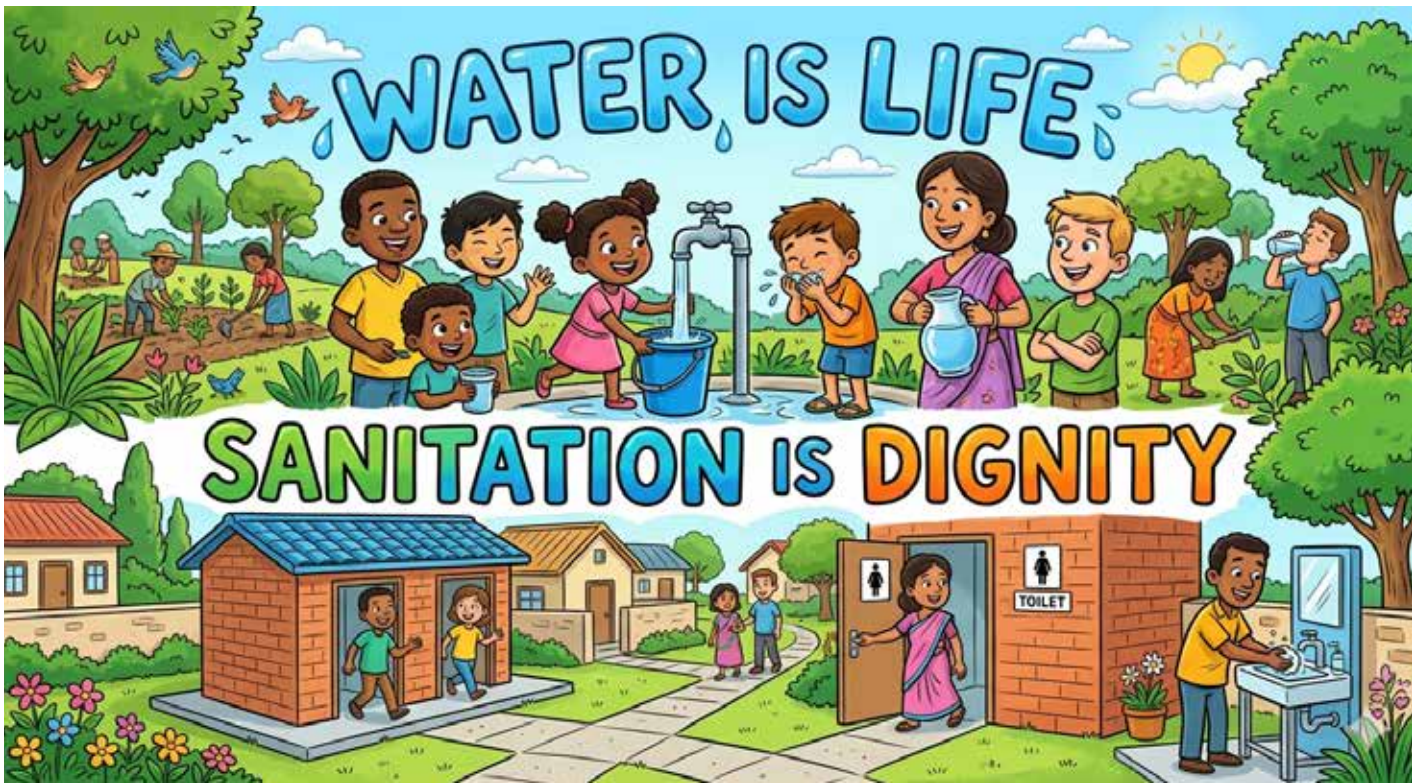
“These projects are not merely infrastructure assets. They are instruments of social transformation. They restore dignity to our people, protect public health, uphold the rights of women and children, and affirm the caring character of a democratic state that works for the people,” said Minister Majodina.

Delivered through the Regional Bulk Infrastructure Grant in partnership with the Vaal Central Water Board, the interventions included the refurbishment of wastewater treatment works, pump stations and sanitation

networks. This forms part of the broader programme of the ANC-led government to build a capable and developmental state that is responsive to the needs of communities and resolute in addressing historical backlogs.

Minister Majodina stressed that the struggle for reliable and sustainable services does not end with project handovers. She called for strengthened municipal accountability, proper maintenance, skilled technical operation and active community participation in protecting public infrastructure from vandalism, cable theft and illegal dumping.

She further emphasised that improved water and sanitation services have far-reaching develop-



mental benefits such as reducing disease, supporting school attendance, improving environmental conditions and easing the disproportionate burden carried by women and children when systems collapse.

Concluding the event, Minister Majodina reaffirmed government's determination to ensure that no community is condemned to live without dignity. "Where water flows, dignity is restored. Where sanitation works, equality is advanced. Today's handover is a clear signal that the democratic government remains hard at work to build a better life for all and to ensure that our people enjoy the full fruits of freedom," she said.

The handover of these 22 projects represents a significant milestone in the ongoing work of the ANC-led government to transform lives, protect the constitutional rights of the people, and build resilient, people-centred infrastructure in pursuit of a more equal, just and caring society. ■



Report **water leaks** and **burst pipes** to your **municipality** or contact the ANC Hotline on the tollfree number:

0800 301 912.



Water Security is the foundation of South Africa's sustainable future

■ By **DAVID MAHLOBO**

AS South Africa and the broader African continent engage more seriously with the future of sustainability, one truth that must anchor every discussion is that there can be no credible sustainability agenda without water security.

Water is not a secondary issue in the green transition nor a technical footnote to climate adaptation, industrial development or social progress. Water is life, water is dignity, water is development, and water is resilience. Without it, there can be no sustainable cities, no food systems worth defending, no meaningful economic growth, and no just transition worthy of the name.

That is why the sustainability debate must move beyond broad

declarations and confront the lived reality of millions of South Africans.

For ordinary households, water security is measured not by policy documents, but by whether taps run, whether schools and clinics function, whether wastewater systems protect public health, and whether communities can trust the institutions meant to serve them.

South Africa's water challenges are serious and must be named honestly. We face ageing infrastructure, climate variability, pollution of rivers and wetlands, operational weaknesses in some wastewater systems, rapid urbanisation, rising demand and persistent inequality in access, particularly in rural and historical-

ly marginalised communities.

Yet we must also be evidence-based in our assessment. South Africa is not running out of water at a bulk resource level. Our dams and transfer systems remain largely secure. The real challenge lies in how water is managed, distributed, maintained and sustained within local systems. In other words, the crisis is not simply one of scarcity. It is also one of governance, infrastructure performance and institutional capability. That is why our water challenges, while severe, are not beyond our ability to solve. They are not a reason for despair. They are a call to urgency, discipline, innovation and partnership.

No single institution can solve this

challenge alone. No municipality, no department, no company and no country can carry this burden in isolation. Water security requires what I would call a coalition of capability – a whole-of-government and whole-of-society – approach that aligns communities, municipalities, water boards, regulators, researchers, financiers, business and international partners.

At the local level, sustainable water management begins where people live. It begins in communities, schools, catchments and municipalities. For too long, development has too often been done to communities rather than with them. That model has reached its limit.

Communities are not passive beneficiaries. They are co-creators of resilience. When communities are organised, informed and included, they help protect infrastructure, strengthen accountability, support responsible water use, defend ecosystems and identify failures early. If we want resilient systems, we must build resilient relationships between the state and society.

At the national level, the challenge is one of coherence and execution. South Africa has no shortage of policy ambition. But policy ambition without implementation discipline becomes deferred disappointment. The era of silo governance, fragmented mandates, weak maintenance cultures and infrastructure built without operational sustainability must come to an end.

We must confront non-revenue water with far greater seriousness. Billions are lost every year through leaks, illegal connections, infrastructure failure and billing inefficiencies. That is money that



should be preserving assets, expanding access and improving reliability. Water security therefore requires not only new infrastructure, but also maintenance, refurbishment, professionalised utilities, stronger procurement systems and institutions that are both financially sustainable and publicly accountable.

The public does not judge government by the sophistication of our plans. They judge us by whether water flows, whether systems work, and whether institutions can be trusted. That is the correct standard. This is also why the age of “trust me” sustainability is over. In the 21st century, water governance must be evidence-led, performance-driven and transparent.

At the same time, resilience requires a more diversified water future. Greater use of groundwater, wastewater reuse and integrated urban water systems must become part of how we reduce pressure on traditional sources and prepare for climate uncertainty. International coop-

eration is equally indispensable. Water does not respect borders. Droughts do not need visas. Floods do not stop at customs posts. Pollution upstream can damage livelihoods far downstream. In this context, partnerships are not symbolic; they are strategic.

South Africa’s collaboration with countries such as the Kingdom of the Netherlands and Japan demonstrates what practical co-operation can achieve. Through initiatives such as the Blue Deal Programme, we are seeing how local government ownership, national institutional support and international knowledge exchange can work together to improve wastewater treatment performance, strengthen sanitation, improve water quality in rivers and dams, and expand the effective use of water for domestic, agricultural, industrial and ecological needs.

These partnerships are already yielding practical lessons. From the Crocodile River and Msunduzi catchment initiatives to the

Vredefort Dome and Blesbok-spruit rehabilitation efforts, the message is clear: sustainability is not only about environmental repair. It is also about livelihoods, local enterprise, inclusion and building climate-resilient communities.

This is the sustainability Africa needs, not sustainability as elite compliance, and not sustainability as public relations, but sustainability as transformation, capability and shared prosperity.

We must also remember that infrastructure alone does not secure the future. Pipes matter. Pumps matter. Dams matter. Treatment works matter. But institutions matter just as much. Without capable people, ethical leadership, technical competence, maintenance discipline and accountability, even good infrastructure can fail. With them,

even difficult systems can be turned around.

That is why investment in skills, research, innovation and the next generation of water professionals is non-negotiable. The future of the sector depends as much on people and institutions as it does on engineering.

South Africa must now move from insight to action. We must strengthen partnerships across communities, municipalities, business, academia and international partners.

We must invest in maintenance, refurbishment and modernisation with greater urgency. We must embrace science, data and innovation as central pillars of water governance. We must scale what works. And we must place poor and vulnerable communities at the centre of our sustainabil-

ity agenda, because any model of sustainability that leaves the poor behind is fundamentally incomplete.

Above all, we must restore trust. Trust is built when water systems work, when institutions respond, and when government, business and communities solve problems together. The future will not remember how eloquently we described the crisis. It will remember whether we solved it. It will remember whether we repaired what was broken, protected our rivers, restored our wetlands, strengthened our municipalities and used partnership not as a slogan, but as a method of transformation. ■

David Mahlobo is a member of the ANC National Executive Committee and Deputy Minister of Water and Sanitation.



Five million jobs are not enough: South Africa needs **an employment war plan**

■ By **FAIEZ JACOBS**

SOUTH Africa does not have a normal unemployment problem. It has a national emergency.

That is the first truth that must frame this week's debate at the "On The Record" Summit in Cape Town, where President Cyril Ramaphosa is expected to address the jobs crisis. Any serious platform that puts unemployment at the centre of national discussion is welcome. The country needs that conversation. But let us be frank from the outset: if the summit's headline ambition is to create five million jobs in ten years, then it is starting from a target that is politically attractive, mathematically inadequate, and strategically underpowered.

Five million jobs sounds big. It is not big enough.

That is the uncomfortable but necessary warning contained in the argument advanced by Duma Gqubule and Neil Coleman which I support. Their intervention matters because it forces us to confront the arithmetic of our crisis, not just the language of aspiration. South Africa has become too comfortable with slogans that sound ambitious but do not survive contact with reality. We have mastered the rhetoric of urgency while avoiding the policy rupture



that urgency requires.

The key point is simple. If South Africa creates five million jobs over ten years, but the labour force expands by roughly seven and a half million over the same period, then the country is still moving backwards against the scale of need. In plain language: we would be creating fewer jobs than the number of people entering or seeking entry into the labour market. That means unemployment remains structurally entrenched. It may shift at the margins, but it is not decisively broken.

This is what too many economic elites still fail to grasp. South Africa's unemployment crisis is not a public-relations problem. It is not

a communications problem. It is not a problem that can be massaged through selective indicators, upbeat investor language, or quarterly narratives that tell us we are "turning the corner". It is a structural failure of the economy to absorb people into dignified, productive work.

And it is getting normalised.

That is perhaps the greatest danger of all.

A society with millions of jobless people, millions more discouraged from even looking for work, and entire communities surviving on fragile informal hustle, social grants, family remittances and debt, cannot behave as if this is

merely one policy issue among many. Unemployment sits beneath crime, violence, social despair, fractured households, declining trust in democracy and the combustible anger of a generation that sees no credible route into economic life.

This is why Duma's statistics matter. They are not just economic numbers. They are a warning about the political future of the Republic.

The argument can be simplified for ordinary South Africans. If we add around 500,000 jobs a year, that sounds impressive. But if around 750,000 people are entering the labour market annually, then every year we are still falling behind. That is why a target of five million jobs in ten years does not fundamentally alter the crisis. It is not that five million jobs would mean nothing. It is that they would mean too little relative to the scale of exclusion.

Put differently: South Africa does not only need more jobs. It needs a far higher rate of labour absorption. It needs an economy deliberately designed to pull people in, not one that grows in narrow enclaves while leaving the majority outside the gate.

This is where the real debate must begin. For too long, our policy establishment has relied on a shallow formula: fix electricity, improve logistics, reduce red tape, reassure investors, stabilise inflation, control debt, and growth will eventually create jobs. Some of this is necessary. None of it is sufficient. A better functioning supply side is important, but it does not amount to an employment strategy. It does not answer the central question: what kind of growth, in which sectors, at what



labour intensity, under what state direction, and with what social floor for those excluded?

South Africa needs to stop treating unemployment as a side effect of growth policy and start treating employment as the central purpose of economic policy.

That requires a direct challenge to the current priorities of National Treasury and the South African Reserve Bank.

Treasury's dominant instinct remains fiscal restraint, debt stabilisation, and the pursuit of budget credibility through narrow deficit management. The Reserve Bank's dominant instinct remains inflation control, credibility signalling, and macroeconomic conservatism. These are not irrelevant concerns. Inflation hurts the poor. Unsustainable debt can crowd out future choices. But in a country with mass unemployment, it is no longer enough for the core economic institutions to say, in effect: *"Our job is stability; jobs are someone else's problem."*

No. Jobs is OUR central problem and it must be their problem too. National Treasury should be

targeting not merely fiscal consolidation, but employment-rich public investment. Its key question should not only be: how do we reduce the deficit? It should also be: how do we deploy the fiscus to crowd in production, local procurement, labour-intensive infrastructure, and mass employment? It must shift from passive bookkeeping to strategic economic engineering.

The Reserve Bank, without abandoning price stability, should support a broader employment-led development framework. It should ask how monetary conditions, credit flows and institutional coordination can help expand productive sectors instead of simply disciplining inflation expectations. South Africa cannot monetary-policy its way into social peace while millions remain economically redundant.

So what should these institutions target instead?

First, they should target employment intensity of growth. Every percentage point of GDP growth must be measured not only in output terms, but in jobs created, sectors expanded, youth absorbed,

women employed, and local value chains deepened.

Second, they should target sectoral job multipliers. The question is not just whether investment rises, but whether investment goes into sectors that absorb labour: agro-processing, housing, public transport, early childhood development, care economy services, green maintenance, food systems, waste recycling, township manufacturing, tourism, digital business services, local construction materials, and public-interest technology.

Third, they should target developmental credit allocation. South Africa cannot leave productive transformation solely to the balance sheets of cautious commercial banks. The IDC, DBSA, Land Bank, commercial lenders and blended finance instruments should be aligned toward sectors with high employment potential.

Fourth, they should target counter-cyclical demand support. In a highly unequal economy, cash transfers, social protection and public employment do not simply relieve suffering; they sustain demand in local economies, support micro-enterprises, and prevent collapse in poor communities.

Fifth, they should target regional and township economic restructuring. Employment policy must not be abstract or placeless. It must be spatial, local and territorial. Jobs must be built where people live, not only where capital already concentrates.

Once we understand this, Duma's statistics stop being depressing and start becoming clarifying. They tell us that under the current structure of growth, even a seemingly large jobs number



can fail to break the crisis. That means one thing: we need additional employment scenarios, not one weak national target.

South Africa should be debating at least three scenarios.

Scenario one is the conservative path: five million jobs in ten years. This mostly accommodates new entrants but leaves the unemployment mountain largely intact. It is better than stagnation, but it is nowhere near victory.

Scenario two is a labour-absorbing transformation path: seven to eight million jobs and work opportunities over ten years. This would require stronger growth, but more importantly, growth with a much higher employment multiplier. That means aggressive industrial policy, labour-intensive infrastructure, expanded public employment, township enterprise ecosystems, care economy investment, and stronger localisation.

Scenario three is a national employment mobilisation path: ten million or more work opportunities over ten years, combining formal jobs, public employment, social economy expansion, community works, service cooperatives, green transition jobs, youth service, and digitally enabled local production. This is the scale at which South Africa begins to

meaningfully push unemployment down, restore hope, and rebuild the social contract.

That is why I argue for a National Employment and Structural Transformation Pact, built around five shifts.

The first shift is from stability-first economics to employment-centred macroeconomic coordination. Inflation and deficits matter, but jobs, production and inclusion must sit at the centre of macroeconomic decision-making.

The second shift is from growth in the abstract to labour-absorbing growth in practice. We must stop celebrating growth that enriches balance sheets while bypassing households. The economy must be judged by how many people it pulls into work.

The third shift is from a spectator state to a developmental state. The state must shape markets, direct procurement, discipline monopoly power, finance new sectors, and build economic ecosystems that employ people at scale.

The fourth shift is from residual public works to a serious public employment system. Public employment should be permanent in design, dignified in condition, developmental in purpose, and

linked to training and transition pathways. Caring for children, the elderly, communities, schools, clinics, public spaces and the environment is not “lesser work”. It is nation-building work.

The fifth shift is from a mineral-export, low-value, semi-colonial growth path to diversified productive transformation. South Africa cannot continue exporting raw advantage and importing finished dependency. Industrial diversification, beneficiation, localisation and domestic demand expansion are not optional. They are central to any real jobs strategy.

This is the real choice before us. We can continue with polite summits, cautious targets, and the familiar sermon that only the private sector can save us if government behaves itself. Or we can finally accept that mass unemployment requires the policy equivalent of a wartime mobilisation: coordinated macroeconomic action, industrial deepening, public employment expansion, social protection, local production and a state willing to lead.

South Africans do not need another summit that tells them to be patient. We are tired of being unemployed.

They need a state that understands the scale of the emergency, an economy designed around human absorption rather than exclusion, and leaders willing to admit that yesterday’s economic thinking cannot solve today’s social catastrophe.

Five million jobs in ten years is not a plan equal to the crisis. South Africa needs an employment war plan.

And it needs it now. ■



AfriForum Wants Foreign Powers to Judge South Africa. **We Must Refuse!**

■ By **STAN ITSHEGETSENG**

THERE is something deeply offensive about being told that your country must be disciplined from outside because some among you have lost the political argument at home.

That is exactly what AfriForum has done.

Its so-called dossier on ANC Secretary General Fikile Mbalula is

not an anti-corruption document in any serious legal sense. It is a political export file. It is written not for South Africans, not for our courts, not for our institutions, but for foreign audiences who are already primed to view this country with suspicion.

It asks them to act. To punish.

To intervene. To sit in judgment over a sovereign democracy.

And that is where AfriForum crosses a line that no responsible organisation should cross.

Let us not be distracted by the noise inside the document. Strip it down and the structure becomes obvious. Allegations are mixed with ideology. Political speeches are treated as evidence. Foreign policy positions are smuggled into a corruption narrative as though disagreement with Western power is itself a form of guilt.

This is not the law.

This is theatre.

At one point, AfriForum even admits that it does not claim to have a full grasp of the Magnitsky legal framework, yet it confidently calls for sanctions under that very regime. One must pause and ask what kind of seriousness is this. You do not ask the world to punish a South African leader using a law you openly admit you do not fully understand. That is not accountability. That is opportunism dressed in borrowed language.

And then comes the most dangerous move of all.

AfriForum asks foreign powers to impose consequences on South African political leadership.

Not after conviction.

Not after due process.

Not after a completed judicial finding.

But through a politically constructed narrative packaged for external consumption.

That is not whistleblowing.

That is outsourcing domestic political battles to a foreign authority.

South Africa is not a province of anyone. It is a sovereign constitutional democracy. Our Constitution is not a suggestion. It is the supreme law. It establishes institutions, processes, and safeguards for testing allegations. Section 179 gives the National Prosecuting Authority the mandate to prosecute without fear or favour. Courts exist to determine guilt, not lobby groups.

If AfriForum believes there is a case, it must be pursued through

law, not through geopolitical theatre.

Because once we accept that foreign pressure must replace domestic process, we open a door that will not close easily.

Today it is Mbalula.

Tomorrow it is anyone whose politics offends those with access to international platforms.

And let us not pretend that AfriForum is an innocent messenger in all this.

This is the same ecosystem that has, for years, helped push the fiction of a so-called white genocide onto the global stage. A narrative rejected by courts. A narrative contradicted by police data. A narrative that painted South Africa as a lawless, anti-white state to mobilise external sympathy and pressure.

That narrative travelled. It shaped perceptions. It fed political agendas abroad.

Now we are presented with another document, again directed



outward, again calling for action.

South Africans are not fools. We see the pattern.

This is not about clean governance alone.

This is about political contestation that refuses to remain within democratic boundaries.

Yes, corruption is a serious problem in this country. It must be confronted without hesitation.

No leader must be shielded. No institution must be beyond scrutiny. But the fight against corruption must be anchored in evidence, law, and due process.

Not in dossiers that collapse ideology into alleged criminality.

Not in documents that try to convert foreign policy disagreement into sanction-worthy conduct.

Not in appeals to external power to discipline internal political life.

And certainly not in conduct that raises legitimate questions about whether domestic actors are inviting foreign intervention into matters that belong within our constitutional order.

That question must now be asked clearly and without fear.

When an organisation operating within South Africa systematically packages internal political disputes and presents them to foreign pow-

ers intending to trigger punitive action, does that remain ordinary activism?

Or does it cross into territory that demands legal scrutiny under the principles of sovereignty, national security, and constitutional integrity?

That is not a rhetorical question.

It is a legal one.

And it must be answered.

Because a country that cannot defend the boundary between internal democratic contestation and external interference will soon find that it has neither.

AfriForum wants the world to believe it is defending South Africa.

In truth, it is inviting others to sit in judgment over it.

We must refuse.

Not because we fear accountability.

But because we understand something AfriForum appears to have forgotten.

South Africa belongs to its people.

Not to foreign arbiters.

Not to ideological exporters.

And certainly not to those who would rather escalate political battles abroad than fight them honestly at home.

AfriForum has made its move.

Now the country must respond.

With law.

With clarity.

And without apology. ■

Stan Itshegetseng is a member of the Ward 27, ANC Vuyani Mabaxa Branch, Zone 10, Johannesburg, and PPF NEC member. He writes in his personal capacity.





■ By **GODFREY NKOSI**

It is perhaps necessary, at this juncture in our national life, to reflect with sobriety on a matter that presents itself not in the form of a single crisis, but as an accumulation of developments whose implications, if left unattended, may prove far-reaching.

South Africa's challenge with crime is well documented. It is visible, measurable, and deeply felt in the daily lives of our people. Yet, to focus only on the manifestations of crime without interrogating the underlying architecture of security in our society is to engage only with symptoms while neglecting causes.

There is emerging within our midst a phenomenon that requires careful consideration. It is the gradual, and in many respects unexamined, migration of organised coercive capacity from the democratic state into an expansive private domain.

This is not an event, but a process. It is not dramatic in its unfolding, yet it is consequential in

its implications.

The recent arrest of Matipandile Sotheni, a former member of the Special Task Force of the South African Police Service, in connection with the murder of Marius van der Merwe, a witness before the Madlanga Commission, has brought into sharper relief questions that have long lingered beneath the surface of public discourse.

The issue at hand is not the guilt or innocence of any individual, which is properly the domain of the courts. Rather, it is the broader question that arises from such developments. What are we to make of a situation in which individuals trained by the state in the most specialised aspects of security and force find themselves operating outside the direct authority and supervision of that state?

To pose the question in this manner is not to cast aspersions on all who have transitioned from public service to private employment. Such transitions are neither un-

usual nor inherently problematic. Indeed, many continue to serve society with professionalism and integrity.

However, it would be a mistake of some significance to treat this as merely a matter of individual career movement.

The private security industry in South Africa has grown to a scale that demands attention. It now constitutes a substantial repository of organised capacity, one that, in numerical terms, surpasses that of the public police. This reality compels us to ask whether we are dealing with a supplementary function or with the emergence of a parallel system of security provision.

The distinction is not semantic. It is fundamental.

The democratic state, by its very nature, claims a monopoly over the legitimate use of force, exercised within the confines of the Constitution and subject to public accountability. This principle is not

an abstraction. It is the basis upon which the authority of the state is constructed and maintained.

When significant elements of that coercive capacity reside outside the direct control of the state, questions inevitably arise. Who exercises authority over such capacity? In whose interests is it deployed? And to what extent is it subject to oversight that aligns with the imperatives of a constitutional democracy?

These questions acquire added urgency when one considers the nature of the skills involved. The training provided to members of specialised units of the police and defence force is not of a generic character. It involves the acquisition of capabilities that are directly related to the management and application of force in complex and often high-risk environments. Such capabilities are, by definition, sensitive.

When they are transferred into a private sphere that is shaped by market dynamics, contractual obligations, and, in certain instances, actors whose interests may not always align with those of the broader society, the matter ceases to be one of routine economic activity. It becomes, rather, a question of national security in its most substantive sense.

It is worth recalling that concerns about the trajectory of the private security industry are not new. They have been raised in various forums over the years, informed by an understanding that the regulation of such an industry must be commensurate with the nature of the functions it performs. The existence of a legislative framework is not in dispute. What merits closer examination is the extent to which this framework is effectively implemented and



enforced. Indications of gaps in compliance, including the presence of unregistered operators and individuals whose legal status is uncertain, suggest that the relationship between law and practice may not be as coherent as it ought to be.

This, in itself, is a matter of concern.

A state that does not possess a clear and accurate account of who is operating within its security environment, under what conditions, and with what level of training and authorisation, is a state that must reflect seriously on its capacity to exercise oversight.

At the same time, the persistence of violent crime in forms that exhibit planning, coordination, and tactical sophistication invites further reflection. The intention here is not to advance unfounded assertions about the origins of such capabilities. It is, rather, to insist that the question itself cannot be dismissed.

How are such capabilities acquired, developed, and deployed within the criminal economy? What interfaces, if any, exist between formal training and informal or illicit application? And what does this suggest about the broader ecosystem within which security operates?

These are questions that call for analysis, not conjecture.

The broader context within which these developments occur further complicates the picture. The demands placed on the South African Police Service, coupled with the utilisation of the South African National Defence Force in support of domestic security operations in certain instances, point to pressures within the public security apparatus that cannot be ignored.

It would be neither accurate nor helpful to characterise this as a failure. It is, however, indicative of strain.

In such circumstances, the expansion of private security may be understood, in part, as a response to gaps in public provision. Yet, if this response is not accompanied by commensurate strengthening of oversight and regulation, it may give rise to new challenges even as it addresses existing ones.

The matter before us, therefore, is not one that admits of simple conclusions or easy remedies.

It requires, above all, a recognition that security in a democratic society is not merely a function of numbers or deployment. It is a function of authority, accountability, and

alignment with constitutional principles.

If we are to navigate this terrain effectively, we must be guided by a clear understanding of the role of the state as the primary custodian of the instruments of force. This does not preclude the existence of private security. It does, however, impose an obligation to ensure that such security operates within a framework that is robust, transparent, and firmly anchored in the public interest.

To do otherwise would be to risk a situation in which the boundaries between lawful authority, private coercion, and criminal activity become increasingly difficult to discern. That is not a prospect that any society committed to democratic governance can regard with indifference.

In the final analysis, the question we are called upon to consider is not whether private security should exist, nor whether individuals may pursue lawful opportunities within it. It is whether the state retains sufficient command, in both a practical and conceptual sense, over the totality of organised force within its domain.

A failure to answer this question with clarity would not manifest immediately as a crisis. It would present itself gradually, in the erosion of oversight, in the diffusion of authority, and in the emergence of spaces within which power is exercised without adequate accountability.

It is precisely such gradual developments that demand our most careful attention.

For it is in the quiet accumulation of unresolved questions that the foundations of a state may, over time, be tested ■

The Crisis facing the ANC in KwaZulu-Natal: Causes and Prospects for Renewal

■ By **SIFISO SONJICA**

THE African National Congress in KwaZulu-Natal (KZN) is currently confronting a crisis that demands not only reflection but urgent and decisive action. Electoral trends over recent years, particularly following the 2016 and 2021 local government elections and the 2024 national and provincial elections, indicate a rapid erosion of the party's support base. In key urban centres such as eThekweni, projections suggesting a potential decline to levels as low as 10 percent should not be dismissed as speculative but rather understood as a critical warning signal.

This moment requires the movement to sound the alarm more

clearly and to move beyond incremental adjustments toward a comprehensive strategy of renewal and mobilisation.

At the centre of the current challenge is the question of whether the ANC can rebuild its social base before the decline becomes irreversible. This requires a deliberate and inclusive mobilisation strategy that seeks to re-engage constituencies that have historically formed the backbone of the movement. These include disillusioned members and supporters, particularly those who have migrated to the MK Party (MKP), as well as young people and traditional leadership structures. The erosion of support is





not only electoral but also organisational and emotional. Many former supporters have not necessarily rejected the values of the ANC but have become alienated from its current practices, leadership, and internal culture. Rebuilding this trust requires more than slogans; it demands genuine engagement, listening, and responsiveness to the concerns of communities.

An important dimension of the current crisis lies in its historical roots. While immediate factors such as leadership challenges and socio-economic conditions are significant, it may be necessary to trace aspects of the problem to earlier turning points within the organisation, particularly the 2007 ANC Polokwane Conference. This conference marked a significant shift in the internal dynamics of the ANC, intensifying factional contestation and reshaping leadership alignments. One of the unintended consequences of this period appears to have been a transformation in

the character and motivations of membership. There is growing concern that the movement has experienced an influx of members who are insufficiently oriented in its values and traditions, and who increasingly view the organisation as a vehicle for personal advancement rather than collective service.

This shift has contributed to a broader crisis of organisational culture. The ANC's historical strength lay in its ability to cultivate disciplined and politically conscious cadres committed to the ideals of the liberation struggle. However, the weakening of political education and ideological grounding has undermined this tradition. Membership recruitment has, in some cases, prioritised numbers over quality, leading to the proliferation of non-functional or manipulated branch structures. These developments have eroded internal democracy, weakened grassroots engagement, and contributed to the perception that the organisa-

tion has become inward-looking and disconnected from the people it seeks to represent.

The consequences of these internal weaknesses have been compounded by broader socio-economic challenges, particularly the persistent problem of youth unemployment. Young people in KZN, as in the rest of South Africa, face limited economic opportunities and often feel excluded from meaningful participation in political processes. This has created fertile ground for alternative political formations that present themselves as more responsive and relevant. At the same time, the continued influence of traditional leadership structures in rural areas underscores the need for the ANC to strengthen its engagement with these constituencies in a respectful and collaborative manner.

In this context, the urgency of mass mobilisation cannot be overstated. The ANC must actively seek to reconnect with

those who have become disillusioned, including supporters who have shifted their allegiance to the MKP. This process should avoid antagonistic rhetoric and instead focus on shared history, values, and a common commitment to improving the lives of the people. Similarly, targeted efforts must be made to engage young people through initiatives that address unemployment, promote skills development, and create opportunities for meaningful participation in leadership and decision-making. Engagement with traditional leaders should also be prioritised, recognising their continued role in community governance and social cohesion.

However, mobilisation alone will not be sufficient without addressing the structural and organisational challenges facing the movement. Immediate strategic priorities must include stabilising the organisation by reducing factional tensions and fostering unity. This may require reconsidering the timing of internal conferences, as such processes, if poorly managed, can exacerbate divisions rather than resolve them. At the same time, rebuilding

credibility through decisive action against corruption is essential. Public trust can only be restored if the organisation demonstrates a clear commitment to accountability and ethical leadership.

Effective communication is another critical part of renewal. The ANC must adopt a more honest and transparent approach, acknowledge its challenges while articulating a coherent vision for the future. Defensive or dismissive messaging is unlikely to resonate with an increasingly critical electorate. Instead, the movement must demonstrate humility, responsibility, and a genuine willingness to change. This should be complemented by a stronger emphasis on evidence-based decision-making, including the use of research and data to inform strategy and policy.

The path to renewal requires a pragmatic and disciplined approach that prioritises action over rhetoric. This includes rebuilding grassroots structures through genuine community engagement, restoring ethical leadership, and focusing on socio-economic issues that directly affect people's

lives. Most importantly, the ANC must reclaim its core identity as a movement dedicated to serving the people, rather than one perceived as an instrument of personal or factional advancement.

In conclusion, the ANC in KwaZulu-Natal stands at a critical juncture. The current crisis is both deep and multifaceted, reflecting long-standing organisational, political, and socio-economic challenges. While the situation is serious, it is not beyond recovery. However, success will depend on the willingness of the movement to confront its weaknesses honestly, implement meaningful reforms, and reconnect with the people it represents. Sounding the alarm is necessary, but it must be accompanied by decisive and collective action. The future of the ANC in KZN will be decided not by its past achievements, but by its ability to adapt, renew, and lead in the present moment. ■

Sifiso Sonjica is an ANC Branch member in Ward 13, Mtubatuba Subregion, Nokuhamba Nyawo Region, KZN. He writes in his personal capacity.



“The Lost Grave of My Brother”

■ By SELLO SHAI-MORULE

“**T**HE *Lost Grave of My Brother*” is a poignant metaphor for the atrocities endured during apartheid. It represents the countless lives lost, brutally silenced, and hidden from the world. The story echoes the cries of those who were murdered, assassinated, and buried in secret, their remains swallowed by the earth. It echoes the anguish of families torn apart by solitary confinement, indefinite detention, and forced exile. The discovery of the grave shall forever symbolize the unveiling of truth, long suppressed and denied. It’s a beacon of hope for justice, accountability, and healing. The day that grave is uncovered, we’ll finally be free – free from the shackles of oppression, free from the weight of unspoken truths, and free to mourn, remember, and heal

The shallow grave was leveled, a path trodden by all, as the secret beneath lay hidden. They came to our land, murdering us, as if we were less than human. They took our land, pushing us to the margins. The day my brother vanished, his garments were torn by rocks, his blood soaking the earth, his worn shoes bearing witness. In that moment, his bond with Africa’s land was sealed with blood.

I have elected to borrow few stanzas of a painful poem I authored years ago.

“The Lost Grave of My Brother”
*In the shadows of our nation’s past,
 A story unfolds, forever to last,
 A brother lost, a hero true,
 A freedom fighter, with a dream anew.*

*His footsteps echoed, through the land,
 Fighting for justice and human rights, hand in hand,
 With Rolihlahla, Ngoyi, Nchabeleng, Tambo, Biko,
 First, Sobukwe, Hani, Mbeki, Sisulu too,
 He fought for freedom, with a heart that’s true.*

*But now, his grave is lost to time,
 A mystery shrouding, a hero’s prime,
 The winds of history, they whisper low,
 Of a brother, a father, we don’t know.*



*Oh, where did they take him, our fallen star?
 Did he die with dignity, or in chains so far?
 The earth has secrets, it keeps so tight,
 But our hearts remember, the morning light.*

*He left behind, a legacy so bold,
 A nation free, where his spirit unfolds,
 We search for answers, for a grave to find,
 For the lost bro...*

*A virtual grave, a monument unseen,
 A symbol of sorrow, a legacy of pain.*

Police brutality, disappearances, assassinations, arrests without trial, and massacres were rampant in South Africa during apartheid. The Sharpeville massacre in 1960, where 69 people were killed, is a notable example. Other incidents include the Soweto uprising in 1976, where between 176 to 700+ children were killed by adults. Over 40 detainees died in police custody in the 1970s, with cases like Steve Biko and Ahmed Timol highlighting police brutality. Around 2,000 people disappeared due to political violence between 1960 and 1994. Incidents like the Langa massacre (1985), Duncan Village massacre (1985), and Boipatong massacre (1992) resulted in significant loss of life there also thousands were detained without trial under apartheid laws, with many subjected to torture.

The legacy of these atrocities continues to impact South Africa, with ongoing efforts to address impunity and seek justice for victims and their families. Apartheid's legacy continues to shape South Africa, particularly for Black South Africans. The system of institutionalized racial segregation, which was officially in place from 1948 to 1994, had far-reaching impacts on education, economy, and social structures.

Today, South Africa is considered the most economically unequal country in the world, with a significant wealth gap between the rich and the poor. The legacy of apartheid has resulted in limited economic opportunities for Black South Africans, with many still struggling to access quality education, employment, and healthcare.

The Bantu Education Act of 1953, which was designed to prepare Black students for menial jobs, has had a lasting impact on the education system. Many Black South Africans still face barriers to accessing quality education, leading to high unemployment rates and limited economic mobility. The difficulty of experienced by black people this day because of forced removals and land dispossession that occurred during apartheid have led to ongoing struggles with land ownership and spatial segregation. Many Black South Africans continue to live in poverty-stricken areas, with limited access to basic services like water, sanitation, and electricity.

Since 1994 there were efforts to address inequality by the South African government which implemented policies like the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) and the Black

Economic Empowerment (BEE) an initiative to address inequality and promote economic inclusion. However, progress has been slow, and many argue that more needs to be done to dismantle the institutionalized racism that persists.

As the ANC, we've struggled to transform government institutions into tools for change since taking over. The time to ensure that, the poor access justice is now or never. The Department of Justice should develop funding models to support those in need. Cases like Black people killed being mistaken for baboons, dogs, or victims of brutal violence in the farms, highlight the need for effective Legal Aid. Empowering Legal Aid could help address these injustices. When the government prioritizes justice for Black people, maybe then we'll be marching towards finding the lost grave of my brother.

Progressive initiative like Truth and Reconciliation Commission was a move towards the right direction which helped us to acknowledge past injustices and provide a platform for victims

to share their stories, and don't have any reason not to implement its findings. Initiatives like Black Economic Empowerment (BEE) which aimed to address economic disparities by promoting Black ownership and employment need to be legally strengthened. Free Education and Skills Development with programs focusing on quality education and skills training would obviously help to bridge gaps in opportunities.

Efforts to address landownership disparities are crucial for redressing historical injustices and cannot be a by-the-way issue and lastly local Community Development with focused investment in infrastructure, healthcare, and social services in affected communities can help alleviate poverty and inequality. Sooner or later, the lost grave of my brother shall be found. ■

Sello Shai-Morule is an ANC Branch Chairperson of WARD 17 Branch in Mbombela Sub-Region, Ehlanzeni Region in Mpumalanga Province and a social activist. He writes in his personal capacity.



THIS WEEK IN HISTORY

THIS WEEK IN HISTORY

28 March–3 April 2026

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

28 March 1656

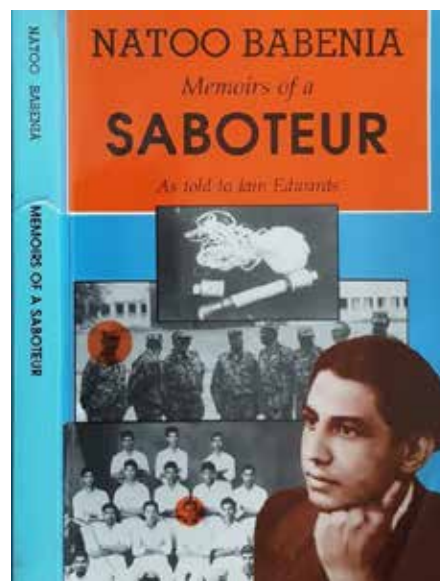
First slaves arrive in Cape Town

The first 174 slaves arrived in Cape Town – hardly four years after Van Riebeeck landed at the Cape of Good Hope to establish a halfway station for the Dutch East Indian Company (VOC). The slaves arrived on a VOC company ship, the Amersfoort. They were part of a contingent of 250 Angolan slaves originally destined for Brazil, but stolen by the Amersfoort from the Portuguese slave traders. The rest died during the trip, before landing in Cape Town, where they were sold. The slave trade in the Cape colony officially lasted until 1822, with slaves captured from Angola, Ghana, India, Mozambique, Madagascar, and what is now known as Indonesia and Malaysia. When slavery was finally abolished in 1834 by the British, nearly 200 years later, the Cape had a population of over 38,000 slaves.

28 March 1924

Natoo Babenia was born

Natvarlal Dayalji “Natoo” Babenia, a political activist first in India, resisting British rule and later in South Africa against the Apartheid government, was born at Coedmore Road, Belair, Durban. In 1936, faced with economic hardship, his family returned to India, where the struggle against British colonialism was being waged. Babenia played an active role in the Indi-

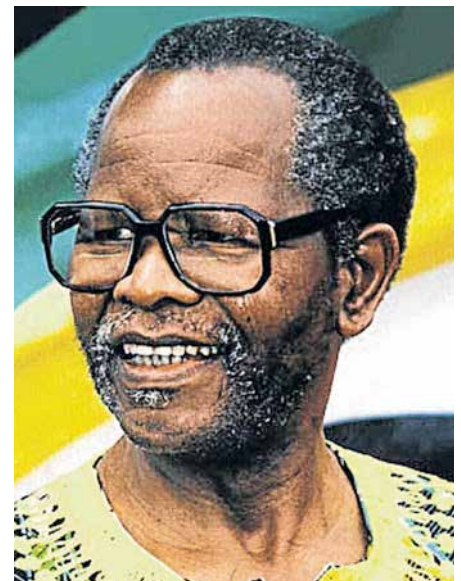


an Congress movement in Baroda, and served several terms of imprisonment, before returning to Durban in October 1949, settling in Beatrice Street, Durban. In South Africa he was a member of the National Indian Congress, the African National Congress (ANC), South African Communist Party (SACP) and Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) and served sixteen years on Robben Island. In 1995, Babenia released his biography, which was titled “*Memoirs of a Saboteur*”. Natoo Babenia passed away on 1 January 1999 at the age of 75.

28 March 1960

Oliver Tambo leaves South Africa

Oliver Reginald Tambo was sent by the ANC to establish the ANC outside of South Africa, and to mobilise support for the struggle against apartheid. He left South

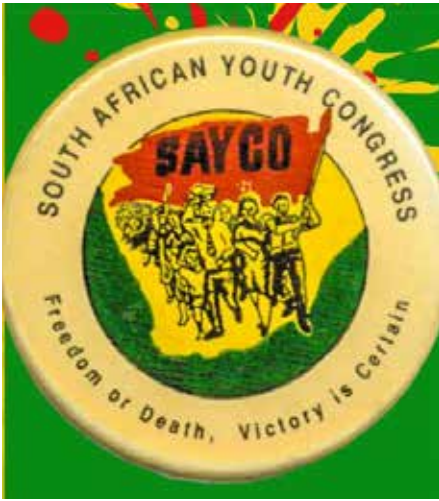


Africa illegally, became ANC President and led the movement, returning only 30 years later in 1990.

28 March 1987

Launch of the South African Youth Congress (SAYCO)

SAYCO was the most significant youth organization to emerge during the 1980s. Initiated by COSAS, it focused on organizing the non-student youth, unemployed youth and young workers who shared the interests and aspirations of COSAS but could not belong to it. In 1982, a COSAS Commission was established to investigate the formation of a national youth organization. It was decided that individual townships and regions establish their own youth congresses that would work in close cooperation with COSAS and AZASO. By



1983, 20 new youth organizations were launched and by 1986 more than 600 youth congresses were launched across the country. 28 March 1987 saw SAYCO launched amidst great secrecy, with representatives from nine regional structures elected to the national executive, at the University of the Western Cape (UWC). It adopted the Freedom Charter, pledged itself to work closely with COSATU and the NECC, and was affiliated to the UDF. Its principle objectives were to unify and politicize all progressive youth irrespective of race; to encourage young workers to join trade unions; and to ensure that women participate fully in the activities of the youth movement. At the outset SAYCO focused on the organization of all youth in order to tackle their problems through united and collective action and to develop a role for young people in their communities and in the broader democratic struggle.

28 March 1988 **Dulcie September** **assassinated**

Dulcie September, ANC chief representative in France, Luxembourg and Switzerland was assassinated on this day. An activist who dedicated her life to freedom, she was born on 20 August



1953 in Athlone, Cape Town.

28 March 1996 **Trevor Manuel appointed** **as Finance Minister**



Trevor Manuel appointed as first black Finance minister, after the resignation of Chris Liebenberg, a position he served from 1996-2009). On the same day, the Reconstruction and Development (RDP) office in the Presidency was closed. Manuel unveiled the Growth Employment and Redistribution plan (GEAR) in June of the same year. He served as Finance minister from 1996 to 2009, and subsequently as Minister in the Presidency for the National Planning Commission from 2009-2014.

29 March 1933 **Dr Stanley Mogoba born**

Dr. Stanley Mogoba, future president of the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) in 1997, was born in Polokwane on this day. He

was detained on Robben Island during the 1980s and was appointed as the presiding Bishop of the Methodist Church of South Africa in 1988.

29 March 1945 **Mathematician Josephine** **Guidy-Wandja born**

The mathematician was born in Cameroon, the first African woman to earn a PhD in Mathematics (1991) and first female mathematics professor at the University of Abidjan. As president of the International Committee on Mathematics in Developing Countries, she worked to spread the teaching and appreciation of mathematics worldwide. Guidy-Wandja published the children's mathematics comic book Yao crack en maths (1985), in collaboration with illustrator, Jess Sah Bi.

29 March 1974 **Terracotta Army** **discovered in China**

The famous collection of some 8000 soldier sculptures, depicting Emperor Qin Shi Huang's army, was located by local farmers when they were digging a water well.

29 March 1982 **Journalist Selby Msimang** **passed on**

Journalist, farm manager, clerk, interpreter and political activist, Henry Selby Msimang, died on 29 March 1982 in Edendale, Pietermaritzburg. Msimang was a founding member of the South African Native National Congress (SANNC). He was a staunch labour organiser, and with Clements Kadalie formed the national Industrial Commercial Union (ICU). Due to differences between the two, Msimang resigned as president of

the ICU, but rejoined after Kada-lie's resignation in 1929. Msimang was editor of the newspaper *Morumioa-Inxusa* (Messenger) and author of numerous articles. He was a founder member of the Liberal Party of South Africa (LPSA), formed in 1953.

29 March 1994 Rwanda refugees start trek to Tanzania, fleeing genocide

Thousands of Rwandan refugees fleeing violence in Burundi began a two-day trek toward Tanzania. In 1994, according to the UN High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR), an estimated 1.3 million Rwandans fled genocide to eastern Zaire (now the Democratic Republic of the Congo, or DRC), and more than half a million escaped to Tanzania. Hundreds of thousands went back to Rwanda from both DRC and Tanzania in 1996.

30 March 1951 Group Areas Act comes into effect.



The Group Areas divided the country into separate residential and business areas for whites, Africans, Indians and Coloureds. This act completed the process started with the 1913 and 1926 Land Acts, which set aside 80% of land for white ownership. To enforce the separate development policy, forced removals became the order of the day. By

1982, over 3.5 million people were forcefully removed, including high profile cases such as Sophiatown and District Six.

30 March 1957 Marie-Christine Koundja born



Chadian writer and diplomat Marie-Christine Koundja is born in Iriba. She became the first woman of Chad to publish novels. Her first novel *Al-Istifakh, ou, L'idylle de mesa mis* (2001), tells the story of two young people who decide to marry despite their parents withholding consent because of their tribal and religious differences. Her second novel *Kam-Ndjaha, la dévoreuse* (2009), deals with the themes of poverty, infidelity and friendship.

30 March 1970 Leleti Khumalo born



South African actress, dancer and singer was born in Durban on this day. Khumalo gained fame for her performances in musical *Sarafina*, first on stage in 1987 and then in the 1992 movie adaptation. She also acted in other films such as *Cry the Beloved Country* (1995), *Hotel Rwanda and Yesterday* (2004), *Invictus* (2009), *Winnie Mandela* (2011), *Free State* (2016) as well as series *Uzalo* and *Imbewu*.

30 March 1976 Thousands of Palestinians protest against Israeli land expropriation

Thousands of Palestinians protested against Israel's massive land expropriation. In the event, which is annually commemorated on Land Day, 6 protesters were killed and scores injured by Israeli police. Since then, the violent expropriation of Palestinian land has continued unabated.

31 March 1694 Sheik Yusuf arrives in Cape

Sheik Yusuf, Islamic leader and brother of the sultan of Macassar, was banished to the Cape by the Dutch East India Company (DEIC). He arrived on board *De Voetboog* and with his family and retinue; they were forty-nine people in total. In order to minimise his influence on enslaved people at the Cape, he was housed by the Dutch East India Company on the farm *Zandvliet*, located outside Cape Town. Although he died in 1699, just five years after his arrival at the Cape, after more than three centuries his memory lives on and *Zandvliet* is a noted place of pilgrimage for Muslim people in South Africa. Although there were already some Muslims at the Cape before the arrival of Yusuf,

THIS WEEK IN HISTORY

he is regarded as the founder of the Islamic faith at the Cape.

31 March 1964

As the Rivonia trial drew to a close, with possibility of death penalty for Nelson Mandela and other trialists; the United Nations Special Committee on Apartheid published a report recommending that the UN Security Council call on South Africa to refrain from executing people sentenced to death for political offences, to end political trials in process and grant amnesty to all political prisoners.

31 March 2000 Jazz Festival starts in Cape Town

On this day, the North Sea Jazz Festival started in Cape Town. It was the first time a jazz festival on four simultaneous stages took place in SA. The jazz festival, now known as the Cape Town International Jazz Festival takes place annually.

1 April 1940 Wangari Maathai born

Wangari Muta Maathai was born in Nyeri, Kenya in 1940. The first woman in East and Central Africa to earn a doctorate degree. Wangari Maathai obtained a degree in Biological Sciences from Mount St. Scholastica College in Atchison, Kansas (1964). She subsequently earned a Master of Science degree from the University of Pittsburgh (1966). She pursued doctoral studies in Germany and the University of Nairobi, obtaining a Ph.D. (1971) from the University of Nairobi where she also taught veterinary anatomy. She became chair of the Department of Veterinary Anatomy and an associate professor in 1976 and 1977 respectively. In both cases, she was the first



woman to attain those positions in the region. Wangari Maathai was active in the National Council of Women of Kenya in 1976-87 and was its chairman in 1981-87. It was while she served in the National Council of Women that she introduced the idea of planting trees with the people in 1976 and continued to develop it into a broad-based, grassroots organization whose main focus is the planting of trees with women groups in order to conserve the environment and improve their quality of life. However, through the Green Belt Movement she has assisted women in planting more than 20 million trees on their farms and on schools and church compounds. Wangari Maathai is internationally recognized for her persistent struggle for democracy, human rights and environmental conservation. She has addressed the UN on several occasions and spoke on behalf of women at special sessions of the General Assembly for the five-year review of the earth summit. She served on the commission for Global Governance and Commission on the Future. She and the Green Belt Movement have received numerous awards, most notably The 2004 Nobel Peace Prize.

1 April 1955 ANC launches boycott against Bantu Education



The African National Congress (ANC) launches mass boycott of Bantu Education. This introduced high levels of inequality in expenditure on education of white and black children, resulting in highly unequal infrastructure, student-teacher ratios, access to text books, libraries, science facilities and sport fields. Bantu education came into effect in 1955 after the government had passed the Bantu Education Act. The call for the boycott of Bantu education was accompanied by the formation of alternative schools in communities, which were harshly suppressed by the apartheid government.

1 April 1960 Banjo Timothy Masele born

Motswana guitarist singer and songwriter is born on this day in Kanye, Botswana. Touring with bands he led like the Kalahari Band, he also recorded with musicians like High Masekela, Peter Gabriel and Jonas Gwangwa.

1 April 1960 First UNSC resolution on Apartheid South Africa

The Security Council, in its first action on South Africa, adopted resolution 134 (1960) deploring the policies and actions of the South African Government which had given rise to a loss of life of so many

Africans and led to international friction, and called upon that Government to abandon its policies of apartheid and racial discrimination. It requested the Secretary-General, in consultation with the South African Government, "to make such arrangements as would adequately help in upholding the purposes and principles of the [United Nations] Charter." The vote on the resolution was 9 in favour and 2 abstentions (France and the United Kingdom).

1 April 1977

Pik Botha appointed as Foreign Minister

Pik Botha appointed as Foreign Minister, a position that he served in until 1994, when as part of the Government of National Unity, he served in the Cabinet of Nelson Mandela as Minister of Minerals and Energy.

1 April 1990

Cheetah Conservation Fund established

Namibia's Cheetah Conservation Fund is established, with the global cheetah population dropping from 100,00 a century ago to just 7000. The institute uses artificial insemination to achieve successful pregnancies for the big cats, the world's fastest land animals, capable of running up to 120 kph.

1 April 2016

PAC president Clarence Makwetu dies at age 88 years

Makwetu became active and joined the ANC Youth League in the 1950s and was part of the breakaway group from the ANC that formed the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) in 1959. He was imprisoned and banned for the next three decades. After the

unbanning of the PAC and other political movements in 1990, Makwetu was elected as PAC President, which formed the Patriotic Front with the ANC during the negotiations and was elected as a Member of Parliament of the PAC, to the first democratic parliament in 1994.

2 April 1912

George Pemba, renowned artist and playwright born in Port Elizabeth

South African artist George Mnyaluzza Pemba (also documented as Mnyala, Milwa), was born in Korsten, Port Elizabeth. His father encouraged him to paint as a child and he received rudimentary training from his brother. He went to become one of the celebrated South African artists, and managed to make a good living out of his art, despite indifference from the mainstream art world. Pemba was also a good writer and wrote two plays, one of them the well-known *Nonqause*. He later produced paintings to illustrate the play. Pemba passed on in 2001.

2 April 1928

Dolly Rathebe born



South African singer and actress Dolly Rathebe is born in Randfontein, Gauteng. In 1949 she was offered the female lead in the film *Jim Comes to Joburg*, regu-

larly gracing the cover of *Drum* magazine, part of the illustrious cast of *King Kong* in 1962. She toured the country as a member of the Elite Swingsters in the 1960s, she received the Order of Ikamanga in Silver in 2004, in the same year that she passed on.

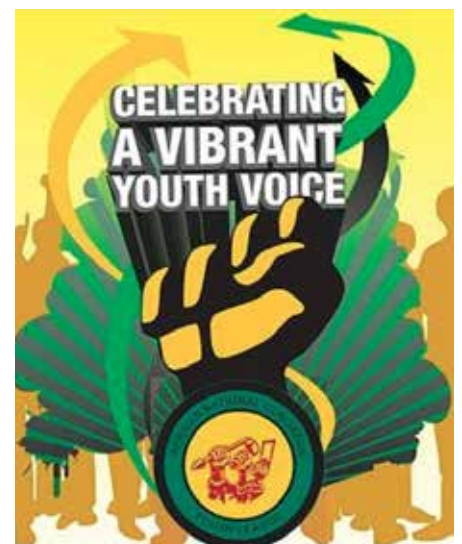
2 April 1930

Empress Zewditu passed on

The Empress of Ethiopia, Zewditu, the only woman head of an African country in the 20th century and Ethiopia's only female Empress Regent, passed on in Addis Ababa. She was regent since 1916 until her death in 1930, taking over from her father Emperor Menelik II, who passed on in 1913, her cousin, Tafari Mekonnen served as her prime minister.

2 April 1944

ANC Youth League formed, with Anton Lembede as first President



The African National Congress Youth League (ANCYL) was founded on 2 April 1944, by Anton Lembede (who became the League's first President), Nelson Mandela, Ashby Mda, Walter Sisulu and Oliver Tambo, joined by Duma Nokwe, B Masekela, Ida

Mtwa, Lillian Ngoyi, James Njongweni, William Nkomo and Dan Tloome. The Youth League's manifesto was launched at the Bantu Social Centre in Johannesburg in March 1944 ahead of its inaugural meeting. It promoted African nationalism (Africans should struggle for development, progress and national liberation to occupy their rightful and honourable place among nations of the world); and that the African youth should be united, consolidated, trained and disciplined, because from their ranks, future leaders would be recruited. Their motto was: *"Africa's cause must triumph"*.

2 April 1997

Ellen Kuzwayo receives Wits Honorary degree

Author of *Call me Woman*, educationist and social worker and later ANC member of parliament, Ellen Kuzwayo, becomes the first Black woman to receive an honorary degree from the University of the Witwatersrand.

2 April 2018

Passing of Mme Winnie Madikizela Mandela

Anti-apartheid and global icon, Winnie Madikizela Mandela passed on from natural causes in Johannesburg. A social worker by profession, Nomzamo Winifred Zanyiwe Madikizela was born on 28 September 1936 in Bizana in the E Cape and moved to Johannesburg, where she became involved in the ANC and resistance to apartheid. She married Nelson Mandela in 1958, and after his sentence to life imprisonment in Robben Island in the 1960s, continued to keep the flame of resistance alive, and also to care for their family. A militant, she suffered imprisonment, harassment, torture and banishment to Brandfort by



the regime, but her defiant spirit remained resilient throughout the 70s and 80s. She was president of the ANC Women's League and member of the National Executive Committee of the ANC. She was also a Member of Parliament from 1994-2003 and from 2009 until her passing in 2018.

3 April 1930

Haile Selassie coronated as Emperor of Ethiopia

Prime Minister Tafari Makonnen is proclaimed Emperor Haile Selassie I of Ethiopia, succeeding Empress Zewditu as ruler. He continued his modernization of Ethiopia's systems of governance, education, industry and public service, having already abolished slavery whilst serving as prime minister. Emperor Haile Selassie was one of the proponents for the formation of the Organisation of African Unity, and hosted the founding conference of the OAU in Addis Ababa in May 1963. Selassie ruled Ethiopia as emperor for thirty-seven years, until he was overthrown by Mengistu Haile Mariam in 1977, who formed the Derg socialist regime.

3 April 1968

Vorster announces establishment of five 'Black Colleges'

Apartheid South African Prime Minister BJ Vorster announced the separation of five black university colleges, hitherto under the auspices of UNISA, after their reduction to satellites of UNISA (especially Fort Hare, which was in existence as the SA Native College, already in 1916). This led to separate and racially segregated black universities – the University of Fort Hare, University of the Western Cape, University of the North (Turfloop), University of Durban Westville and University of Zululand.

3 April 2022

Angélique Kidjo wins Best World Album

Benin's singer-songwriter Kidjo won a Grammy Award for Best World Album for her album, *Mother Nature*, with a diversity of collaborators including Yemi Alade, Burna Boy, Mr Eazi, Zeynab, Shungudzo, Sampa the Great and Salif Keita.

THIS WEEK IN HISTORY

INTERNATIONAL AND NATIONAL DAYS

28 March–3 April 2026

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



1-30 APRIL 2026 SOUTH AFRICAN FREEDOM MONTH

29 March

World Piano Day

Piano day takes place on the 88th day of each year, as a piano has 88 keys. *“Celebrate the piano and everything around it: performers, composers, piano builders, tuners, movers and most important, the listener.”* (Nils Frahm)

30 March

World Bipolar Day

The day is observed each year on the occasion of the death of great artist, Vincent van Gogh, who was diagnosed as being bipolar after he passed on. Bipolar is a mental illness, characterized by extreme shifts in moods, resulting in mania and depression.

30 March

International Day of Zero Waste

The 2026 observance of International Day of Zero Waste, under the theme **Zero Waste Starts on Your Plate**, focuses on the environmental and social impacts of food loss and waste. It highlights

the critical need to reduce food waste – which accounts for up to 14% of global methane emissions. The world wastes food on a staggering scale. Every year we throw away about 1 billion tonnes of edible food, nearly one-fifth of all food available to consumers. This impacts both people and the environment. Around 60 per cent of food waste happens at the household level. The rest comes mostly from food service and retail, the result of inefficient food systems – including production, distribution and consumption. Tackling this issue requires redesigning



these systems, transitioning towards a more sustainable, circular approach grounded in efficiency, resilience and sustainability. A zero-waste future is possible when we all work together – do your part by consuming thoughtfully, recovering surplus food, and working to build circular food systems. Let's ensure our food is valued, not wasted.

31 March

Wear a Hat Day

Have fun by wearing a hat, and raise awareness for people with brain tumors.

1 April

April Fools' Day

Although the origin of the day is not known, it is observed through hoaxes and pranks, nowadays perpetuated through media, including social media, mainly to see how easily we are all fooled into believing outrageous things, outright lies and misinformation.

1 April

Reading is Funny Day

Reading a book of jokes, funny stories or comedies show children that books don't all have to be serious. "Knock Knock! Who's There? Peas. Peas Who? Peas open the door for me."

2 April

World Autism Awareness Day

World Autism Awareness Day is an annual event that highlights the need for increased awareness and understanding of autism spectrum disorder. Autism affects millions of people worldwide, impacting their social, communication, and behavioral skills in varying degrees. The day serves as a platform to address the misconceptions and stigma surrounding autism, to promote early diagnosis and intervention, and to support the rights and well-being of



individuals with autism. It is also a time to celebrate the unique perspectives and talents that people with autism bring to their communities.

2 April

International Children's Book Day



Reading is one of the most powerful tools we can give our children. It opens doors to new worlds, builds empathy, and lays the foundation for lifelong learning. Finding the time to sit down with a good book can sometimes feel difficult, but dedicating a specific day to this activity helps make it a priority. International Children's Book Day offers the perfect moment to pause and celebrate the magic of storytelling. This annual event encourages families, schools, and communities to come together and share the joy of reading. It is a reminder that books provide comfort, spark curiosity, and help children understand the world around them. International Children's Book Day theme for 2026 is: *The small is big in a book.*

2 April

Geologist Day

Geology is the study of rocks, and the day was started in 1966 by a group of Soviet geologists. It is the primary Earth science and looks at how the earth formed, its structure, composition, and the types of processes acting on it. It studies the history of the earth over the course of its 4.5 billion year life.

3 April

World Aquatic Animal Day

This refers to any animal, whether vertebrae or invertebrate that lives in water for most or all of its life. They are of special concern, because of the fragility of their habitats to human intervention.

THE PEOPLE'S MARCH

*South Africans from all walks of life took to the streets on Human Rights Day, 21 March 2026 in the **People's March in Defence of Our Sovereignty and Democratic Gains.***



THE PEOPLE'S MARCH



THE PEOPLE'S MARCH





LOCAL GOVERNMENT SERVICE PLAN PILLAR 1



**For all your service delivery issues,
call toll free number or send an email or
WhatsApp to:**



basic.services@anc1912.org.za



+27 81 698 8522 / +27 81 698 8523



080 030 1912 (Toll free number)

**Issues will be escalated to the relevant department,
municipality, or province.**



**2026: The Year of Decisive Action
to Fix Local Government and
Transform the Economy**

Issued by the African National Congress, ANC Headquarters, 54 Pixley ka Isaka Seme Street, Johannesburg, 2001. www.anc1912.org.za



Connect with ANC Today and be part of the conversation via our social media platforms.

CONNECT WITH US

Communications@anc1912.org.za
011 376 1000
www.anc1912.org.za

Visit our interactive ANC Website
www.anc1912.org.za

- Follow us on @MyANC
- Follow Us @MyANC Twitter page
- Follow @myanc_ on Instagram
- View @MyANC on YouTube