



# ANC PARLIAMENTARY Caucus

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# BALANCING FISCAL DISCIPLINE WITH TARGETED GROWTH AND SOCIAL PROTECTION

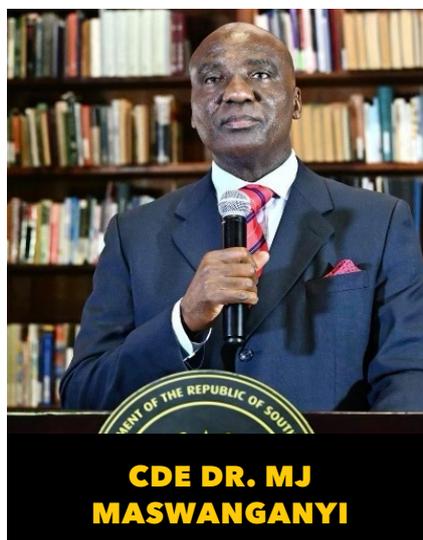
## Introduction

The 2026 Budget confronts the same central challenge: how to restore and maintain fiscal sustainability while also supporting economic growth and protecting vulnerable households. While we accept the 2026 Fiscal Framework and Revenue Proposals, it must also be made clear that South Africa still faces weak growth, very high unemployment, debt pressures, and deep social needs.

Fiscal discipline remains necessary. The Budget projects that the consolidated budget deficit will narrow over the medium term, while the main budget primary surplus remains positive and gross loan debt is expected to stabilise at about 78.9 per cent of GDP in 2025/26 before easing gradually thereafter. This is welcomed as an important development after many years of rising debt pressure.

## Conceptual Framework

But fiscal discipline cannot be understood narrowly. It cannot mean restraint without purpose.



It must mean responsible public finance management that protects the state's ability to invest, deliver services, and respond to the country's long-term development needs. This is also consistent with the Money Bills Amendment Procedure and Related Matters Act, which requires Parliament, when taking decisions on the fiscal framework, to ensure an appropriate balance between revenue, expenditure and borrowing, to ensure reasonable debt levels, and to consider long-term growth and development.

At the same time, the growth outlook remains a major concern. It must be noted that GDP growth was 1.1 per cent in 2025, stronger than in the previous two years, but still far too low for a country with South Africa's unemployment crisis. The Parliamentary Budget Office warned that the fiscal framework is unlikely to achieve the growth targets in the National Development Plan and the Medium-Term Development Plan, and that progress in reducing unemployment, poverty and inequality is likely to remain marginal.

This means fiscal discipline must be balanced with targeted growth. South Africa cannot cut its way to prosperity. Growth must be supported through focused and efficient investment in infrastructure, public services, productive sectors, and institutional capability. The Financial and Fiscal Commission and the Parliamentary Budget Office both stressed the need for faster structural reform, the elimination of wasteful and duplicative expenditure, and a



reallocation toward productive investment and industrial development.

We support the Budget but do so on the basis that South Africa must use the current period to deepen reform, improve infrastructure delivery, support local economic activity, and strengthen implementation. That is the correct balance: fiscal discipline must create space for growth-enhancing expenditure, not close it down.

The second part of the balance is social protection. We welcome the fact that the 2026 Budget maintains the social wage over the medium term. That is important in a country where millions of households continue to depend on public services, grants, and other forms of state support. Social protection is not separate from fiscal policy. It is central to social stability, dignity, and inclusion. In the South African context, any credible fiscal framework

must therefore protect poor and vulnerable households while also building a path toward employment and opportunity. That is why the balance matters so much. Fiscal discipline without social protection would deepen hardship. Social protection without growth would become increasingly difficult to sustain. And growth without fiscal credibility would be unstable and short-lived.

#### **Budget Imperatives**

The revenue side of the 2026 Budget also reflects an attempt at balance. The Budget withdrew the previously proposed R20 billion tax increase and instead adjusted personal income tax brackets and medical tax credits for inflation, adjusted thresholds and limits for inflation, increased the compulsory VAT registration threshold to R2.3 million, and increased the annual tax-free savings account limit from R36 000 to R46 000. Recorded concerns note that some of these benefits may be skewed

toward higher-income groups and that fairness and inclusion must remain central to tax policy.

Parliament has called for stronger action against illicit trade, closer attention to municipal distress, better support for infrastructure implementation, and stronger accountability in public finance. This reminds us that fiscal discipline is not only about numbers on a balance sheet. It is also about state capability, revenue administration, spending quality, and oversight. Our acceptance of the fiscal framework should therefore not be read as a passive endorsement. In terms of section 8(4) of the Money Bills Act, we state clearly whether it accepted or amended the fiscal framework and revenue proposals, and the choice was to accept them. But there are clear observations and recommendations that point to the work that still needs to be done.

The message for us is that South



Africa must avoid false choices. We do not need fiscal discipline, growth or social protection. We need all three, held together in a practical and coherent developmental framework.

We need fiscal discipline so that debt levels and debt-service costs do not erode the state's ability to act.

We need targeted growth so that the economy can generate jobs, expand the revenue base, and reduce long-term dependence.

We need social protection so that the burden of adjustment does not fall on those who can least afford it.

### Social Spending

The 2026 Budget shows that balancing fiscal discipline with targeted growth and social protection is not an abstract idea. It is the central policy challenge of our time. The task is to ensure that public finances remain sustainable, that growth-enhancing investment is protected and accelerated, and that the social wage continues to shield the poor and vulnerable. Social spending must be reframed as a long-term investment in human capital and household resilience rather than a mere cost. Viewing social spending primarily as a cost rather than a long-term investment into development leads to underfunding, which erodes the social wage, threatens social cohesion and undermines the realisation of socio-economic rights. The SRD grant should be transitioned into a basic income grant (BIG) and increased. Recent research by Kohler et al (2024) shows that



the BIG does not discourage work; it modestly improves labour market participation and has distributional impacts within households.

The Child Support Grant (CSG) remains below the food poverty line (R855), meaning it does not cover the minimum cost of meeting basic nutritional needs. Many children remain below the food poverty line despite receiving the grant. The Department of Social Development has argued for an increased CSG.

Grants have significant fiscal multipliers. They also play an important role in household consumption, which is a significant proportion of GDP. Importantly, all grants contribute to VAT collection, so some 15% of the expenditure is recuperated directly through revenue

collection and thus grants self-finance to some extent.

### Conclusion

Our definition of fiscal discipline should focus on ensuring that the expenditure of the government is well-directed and not wasted. Putting in place measures to prevent waste and corruption at different levels of government and in state entities could be an alternative approach to fiscal discipline than cutting expenditure to balance the budget or to run a primary surplus to pay off debt. The government will have to take the lead and spend more on reducing the social and economic instability caused by inequality and unemployment, and spend more on economic infrastructure •



# THE MYMZANSI DIGITAL TRANSFORMATION ROADMAP

## ADVANCING A CAPABLE DEVELOPMENT STATE THROUGH DIGITAL PUBLIC INFRASTRUCTURE

**T**he 2026 State of the Nation Address reaffirmed a central task of our democratic project: the building of a capable, ethical and developmental state that works for its people. The MyMzansi Digital Transformation Roadmap must be understood within this broader political commitment. It is not simply a technical reform. It is a strategic intervention into how the state exercises its responsibility to restore dignity, expand access, and drive inclusive development.

For far too long, many South Africans have experienced the state not as an enabler, but as a site of frustration. Nowhere is this more visible than in frontline service departments such as Home Affairs. Long queues, system failures, and administrative inefficiencies have become normalised. This is not merely a governance issue; it is a question of dignity. It reflects a gap between the constitutional promise of equality and the lived reality of our people.



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Digital Public Infrastructure (DPI) presents an opportunity to close that gap.

At its core, DPI is about building the foundational systems that allow the state to function in an integrated, efficient and responsive manner. This includes secure digital identity, interoperable data systems, and platforms that enable seamless service delivery across departments. If implemented with clarity and discipline, DPI can fundamentally transform the relationship between the citizen and the state, reducing

bureaucratic fragmentation and improving access to services.

The proposed Digital ID system is central to this transformation. It offers the potential to ensure that every South African can verify their identity across multiple platforms in a secure and efficient manner. In doing so, it can unlock access to social services, economic participation, and public goods, while strengthening the integrity of state systems and reducing opportunities for fraud and corruption.

However, as the African National Congress, we must approach this process with both ambition and vigilance.

Firstly, the question of data sovereignty must be non-negotiable. The data generated through Digital ID systems is among the most sensitive in the state's possession. It speaks directly to identity, citizenship, and national security. The custodianship of this data must remain firmly within the state, governed by clear legislative



and regulatory frameworks that protect citizens' rights and prevent exploitation. The outsourcing of core state functions in this domain would undermine both sovereignty and accountability.

Secondly, and critically, digital transformation cannot be divorced from the question of state capacity. The developmental state we seek to build cannot be outsourced. It must be constructed through deliberate investment in public sector skills, leadership, and institutional capability. Persistent vacancies in strategic positions, particularly in ICT leadership, weaken the state's ability to drive and sustain transformation. Over-reliance on private contractors not only raises cost concerns but also erodes internal capability over time. Building human capital within the state is therefore not a secondary consideration; it is the precondition for success.

Thirdly, we must ensure that this transformation is inclusive and aligned with the realities

of our society. South Africa remains characterised by deep structural inequalities, including a significant digital divide. A developmental approach to DPI requires that we do not reproduce exclusion through technology. Digital platforms must be complemented by accessible physical services, and investment in digital literacy and connectivity must form part of the broader strategy.

Importantly, this moment also presents an opportunity to advance key economic priorities of the movement, including localisation and industrialisation. The development of digital infrastructure must be leveraged to build local capacity, support South African innovation, and reduce dependency on external providers. In this way, digital transformation becomes not only a governance reform, but also an economic intervention.

Ultimately, the success of the MyMzansi Digital Transformation Roadmap will not be measured by the sophistication of its systems,

but by its impact on the daily lives of our people.

Does it restore dignity in how citizens access services?  
Does it reduce inequality in access to the state?  
Does it strengthen trust between the people and their government?  
These are the questions that must guide our work.

As Parliament, and as the ANC, we have a responsibility to ensure that this process is anchored in transparency, accountability, and the values of our Constitution and the Freedom Charter. The digitisation of the state must deepen democracy, not weaken it. It must empower citizens, not render them vulnerable.

If we are deliberate in our approach, Digital Public Infrastructure can serve as a cornerstone of a renewed social contract, one in which the state is capable, the people are empowered, and development is both inclusive and sustainable •



# REAFFIRMING AND CELEBRATING

## THE FOUNDING PRINCIPLES OF THE UNITED NATIONS AS THE BEDROCK OF SOUTH AFRICA'S INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS POLICY

**T**he 2026 State of the Nation Address by his Excellency, President Cyril Ramaphosa coincided with the evolving fundamental shifts in the global political economy and international relations. As stated by the President in his State of the Nation Address, at the core of this crisis are, among other things: the deepening levels of inequality between the rich and the poor countries, the proliferation of geo-political rivalries and conflicts, and the renewed upsurge of rightwing populist nationalism in the global body politic.

The persistence of this crisis has precipitated renewed interest in global and domestic policy research about the efficacy and effectiveness of the current international order and its institutions, especially the United Nations Organization. The formation of the United Nation Organization is itself a crucible of global human solidarity and co-operation against the twin dangers of Fascism and Nazism that precipitated the outbreak of the Second World War.

It is therefore not an exaggeration that, its declaration and the founding principles of the United Nations are written in blood, sweat and tears of millions of combatants who laid down their lives in the battle trenches, and innocent civilians, especially children and women who were caught in the crossfires of the



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war. Among the fundamental principles articulated in its declarations are the establishment of binding institutions, systems and structures for collective co-operation to promote and protect the sovereignty of nation state, international peace, security, and justice by mediating disputes among the nation states.

This includes the establishment of the International Court of Justice as an international institutional mechanism to adjudicate the cases of crimes against humanity and the violation of the founding principles of the United Nations, established by the UN Charter on 24th October 1945. In his 2026 State of the Nation Address, President Cyril Ramaphosa, joined by members of the African National Congress, and other members from other left leaning political parties, reiterated the key pillars of the South African foreign policy as:

- A nation that is at peace with

the world,

- Respect for sovereignty of South Africa as a nation and country,
- Global peace and justice, equality and solidarity,
- The African continent as the focal point of the South African Trade and Foreign policy, and,
- South Africa's support and solidarity with all the nations of the world that continue to face colonial domination and injustices, in particular the people of Palestine who have been under many decades of Israeli colonial aggression.

These fundamental principles are articulated in the Freedom Charter and the Constitution of South Africa as the supreme law of the country. They are at the core of South Africa's post-apartheid colonial social contract for state formation, nation building and class formation. As articulated in the preamble of the Constitution of South Africa.

As President Ramaphosa has stated in the State of the Nation Address, South Africa will never be bullied nor deterred in its mission of support and solidarity to the people of Palestine. It is the mission for international peace and justice, equality and freedom which is supported by the overwhelming majority of South Africans across political spectrum, as evidenced by daily pockets of solidarity pickets, demonstrations and marches in every part of South Africa •

# WHY SOUTH AFRICA'S ACCESSION TO AFREXIMBANK

## IS A TURNING POINT FOR CONTINENTAL ECONOMIC INTEGRATION

On 4 February 2026, South Africa formally acceded to the African Export – Import Bank (AFREXIMBANK) through the signing of the Instrument of Accession by President Cyril Ramaphosa, a long-overdue, strategic breakthrough for industrialisation, export growth, and economic sovereignty. With South Africa becoming a full sovereign member (Class A shareholder) on this day, it closed the final gap in Afreximbank's membership, giving the bank 100% continental coverage.

### African National Congress

The African National Congress, having strenuously advocated for this strategic intervention both in government and in Parliament, sees this as a progressive milestone, which gives South Africa a seat on the board and greater decision-making power in African trade finance.

The ANC-led Cabinet endorsed the accession, triggering a domestic legal process under



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Section 231(2) of the Constitution culminating in the signing and marking South Africa as the 54th state to join. Through the ANC's rallying support, Parliament approved the accession in late 2025, enabling the conversion of shares held by state entities like the Export Credit Insurance Corporation (ECIC) and the Public Investment Corporation (PIC) into sovereign Class

A shares. Under ANC Minister of Trade, Industry and Competition Parks Tau, the government integrated the accession into the National Development Plan (NDP) 2030. The move is designed to support the ANC's industrial

policy, specifically focusing on decarbonisation, diversification, and digitisation.

The accession to AFREXIMBANK is part of the commitment to building a developmental state, reindustrialisation, advancing inclusive growth, and deepening continental economic integration underpinned by the African National Congress's core political principles of solidarity, self-reliance, and shared prosperity. South Africa's growth and development trajectory

Over the past two (2) decades, South Africa's growth and development trajectory have been constrained by over-reliance on an oligopolistic, uncontrolled domestic financial sector heavily skewed towards short-term lending and money market activity.

Low economic growth and unemployment have been some of the country's most pressing challenges. Over the years, the government has put policies in place to address these challenges;



however, the lack of access to finance has been a barrier to the effective implementation of these policies. The country has also relied on

external financing from global multilateral financial institutions, whose lending frameworks have often promoted a set of orthodox policy prescriptions as well as universal/ conventional solutions to developing countries like South Africa. These frameworks have historically suppressed the development, discouraged active industrialisation, limited expansionary fiscal and monetary policy, sustained a decline in Gross Fixed Capital Formation (GFCF), and prioritised 'price stability' and 'business confidence' at the expense of the much-needed employment creation and structural transformation.

#### Full Membership

South Africa's full membership in the AFREXIMBANK provides the country with a sensible, credible, and progressive alternative, capable of being a catalyst for the country and the continent's economic development. As an African multilateral financial institution, AFREXIMBANK expands South Africa's access to development-oriented finance that is critical for growth. In doing so, it strengthens South Africa's economic sovereignty, enhances economic policy autonomy, and supports access to development finance, allowing the country to implement measures in line with its priorities of promoting industrialisation, strengthening regional trade and driving inclusive economic growth. AFREXIMBANK will allow South Africa to unlock high-impact financial and strategic facilities,

thereby making significant contributions in these priority areas.

The AFREXIMBANK provides South Africa with a variety of financing instruments, including long-term project finance, guarantees and blended instruments, which are essential to unlocking industrial development and trade growth that will contribute to addressing these challenges. Additionally, South Africa's full membership allows it to leverage the Bank's favourable investment grade rating and Preferred Creditor Status. This enables more competitive export insurance for exporters and boosts investor confidence in South African projects. Consequently, these contribute to increasing exports to the continent, as well as allowing for the expansion of South African companies through investment in the rest of Africa.



## The \$8bn country programme

The \$8 Billion (approx. R128 billion) Country Programme is the primary industrial component of Afreximbank's \$11 billion commitment to South Africa. This funding is strategically aligned with the National Development Plan (NDP) 2030 and the National Industrial Policy Framework to boost export-led growth and regional trade. It will provide funding to industrial projects, export diversification, infrastructure development and transformation initiatives. This programme represents a decisive intervention to channel long-term finance into strategic sectors of the economy, such as manufacturing, agro-processing, infrastructure, the green economy, and export-oriented industries.

Beyond the core \$8 billion programme, Afreximbank announced further financial support and highlighted existing interests. An additional \$3 billion has been set aside for the Transformation Fund to support small and medium-sized enterprises (SMEs), township economies, and black-owned businesses and aims to contribute to inclusive economic participation.

It will unlock real opportunities for black-owned enterprises, women-owned enterprises, and enterprises owned by persons with disabilities, who continue to face systemic exclusion from credit markets dominated by an oligopolistic financial sector.

Through the Transformation Fund, black-owned enterprises get a fair chance to improve their productive capabilities, meaningfully participate in strategic sectors of the economy, including the beneficiation of critical minerals for clean energy technologies, and contribute to job creation, as envisioned in the ANC's agenda of broad-based economic participation and radical socio-economic transformation.

## Existing Pipeline

Prior to its formal accession on 4 February 2026, Afreximbank had already cultivated a robust project pipeline in South Africa exceeding \$6 billion (approx. R96 billion). These projects, many of which are already in advanced stages of review or active development, demonstrates the bank's deep commitment to our country even before our transition to a sovereign Class A shareholder. Many of the projects cover healthcare, transport, and financial services.

Since 2018, Afreximbank has operated the South Africa-Africa Trade and Investment Promotion Programme (SATIPP), a \$1 billion initiative with the ECIC (Export Credit Insurance Corporation) designed to boost trade between South Africa and the rest of the continent. This program laid the groundwork for this more expansive \$8 billion Country Programme.

## Partnership

This partnership will also improve regional value chains and deepen South Africa's integration with other markets in Africa as the country seeks new markets

to offset trade volatility with traditional partners. The move also strengthens Afreximbank's role in implementing the African Continental Free Trade Area (AfCFTA), particularly as South Africa is the highest regional contributor to intra-African trade, accounting for 19.1% of the continent's total trade in 2024.

South Africa's partnership with Afreximbank complements the work of domestic Development Finance Institutions (DFIs) such as the Industrial Development Corporation (IDC), the Development Bank of Southern Africa (DBSA), Export Credit Insurance Corporation of South Africa (ECIC), and the National Empowerment Fund (NEF). Together, these DFIs can help reverse the effects of financialisation by redirecting capital towards investments in productive sectors, localisation, industrial upgrading, and a Just Energy Transition (JET) that protects vulnerable workers and communities.

South Africa's accession to AFREXIMBANK is therefore not a rhetorical response to a shifting global order. Rather, it is a strategic, political, and developmental response that reflects the ANC's long-standing vision of an economy that is industrialised, inclusive, export-oriented, and anchored in African solidarity. It affirms the principle that development finance must serve the people (especially the poor and working-class) and ensure inclusion in the strategic sectors of the economy rather than serving the narrow interests of financial capitalists •



# CLEANING UP THE STREET

## HOW OPERATION SHANELA AND EXPANSION OF THE DETECTIVE SERVICES AIMS TO TACKLE EXTORTION SYNDICATES

**E**xtortion syndicates in south Africa has become a threat to the people of south Africa most particularly business in the construction and those in retails, This also affect institution of government on daily basis as they repeatedly receive this threats and intimidations , day in day out reports are coming in on how the extortionists are terrorizing the people in the street, closing projects and threatening officials of government in order to succumb to their demands.

The Initiative of operation Shanela and the expansion of detective services came in handy in tackling some of the extortion syndicates, Extortion refers to the extraction of money, goods or services using force, sometimes extortion appears as a forced payment made by an individual or organization in either money or services in response to the threat of physical violence.

We should note that for extortion



to succeed as a criminal activity, a person or group must be able to demonstrate willingness to instill violence. Ramashu (2024) further state that, extortion relies on periodic and often symbolic violence to ensure compliance and demonstrate what the individual extortionist is capable of. This creates an environment of fear among communities and victims targeted by extortioners. Extortion operates in both legal



and illegal markets and in some cases extends beyond economic activities. Extortion is territorial, the criminal groups who imposes it sometimes uses their control over a certain area to operate other criminal enterprises.

Operation Shanela it is indeed making impacts in tackling crime, especially extortion syndicates, the south African police services has arrested thousands of suspects, including those involved in serious and violent like murder, rape and extortion related cases in just one week, they arrested 53000 suspects, with 10 844 of them being wanted for serious crimes, they have recently just killed at least 20 extortionists during shooting with the police in the past months.

This is a clear indication that the detectives services is stepping up its game with dedicated teams and forensic experts working to gather evidence and bringing this perpetrators to book, this effort is augmented by the intensive support that is coming from the community, with cooperation agreements between the SAPS, Provincial government and the Municipalities to address the this challenges, some notable success of this work recently the Police made 17054 arrests in organized crimes and high impact offences including 266 for rape and 155 firearms seized

This notable success of extortion takedowns has recently been noticed in Gauteng where six suspects have been arrested in Gauteng for collecting 42000 from foreign shop owners, the seizures of 113 firearm has been

confiscated and 3607 rounds of ammunition recovered, all this is the effort that the SAPS is putting to bring this syndicates to justice, These extensive police work is coming in handy for policing in South Africa more so that the service has been in the spotlight both in the Madlanga commission and the Ad Hoc Committee with witnesses testifying on how the service has been captured and eventually compromised from the top.

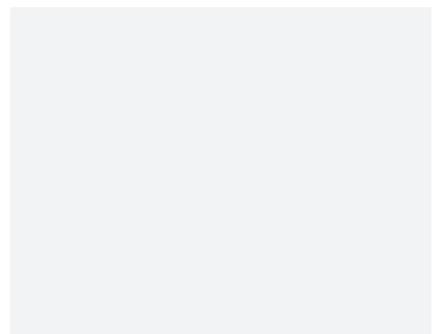
This success proves much that no matter how much this has been happening, there is still excellent police work that we can draw from, with this successes that I have already alluded to, the SAPS should invest more in bringing in more detectives so that they can continue to close all the backlog and fight criminal syndicates as they put them to book,

Operation Shanela aims to disrupt criminal networks through proactive policing and high-visibility actions, we have seen this on targeting hotspots areas, this well thought operations are mainly operations focused on provinces identified as extortion hotspots, including the Eastern Cape, Western Cape, Gauteng, and KwaZulu natal disrupting the syndicates The operations target organized crime, including extortion at construction sites, mining areas, and businesses.

Most efforts that have been done to deal with this matter was to focus on establishing this interventions to deal decisively with the extortion cases, extortion investigations teams, re-enlistment

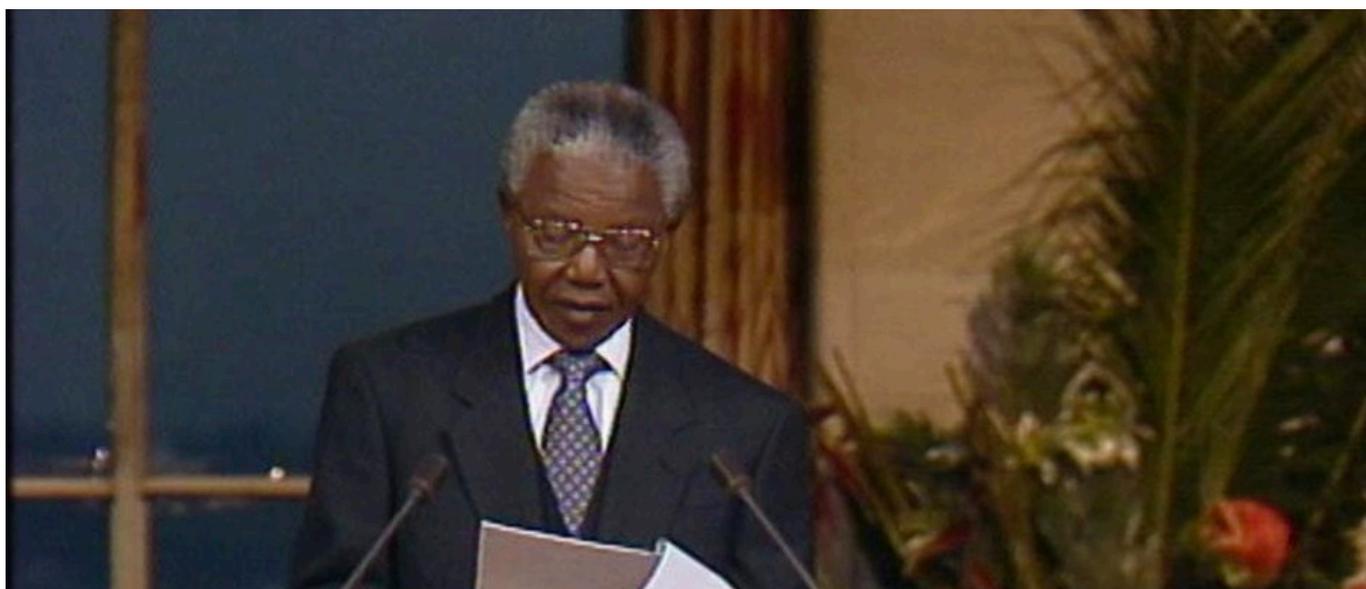
of former and experienced detectives to come and assist embarking in this program, intelligence led investigations to track and trace syndicates members rather than just conducting random searches, this have also led to joint operational centers as I have alluded to earlier, a dedicated national hotline and joint operations centers have since been established to prioritize extortion cases and to ensure coordinated response between national and provincial authorities

As I conclude I want to indicate that this approach will lead to successful operations which will bring about public confidence in policing in South Africa, we must also draw lessons from the recommendations that will be given from the Madlanga and the Ad Hoc committee. The allegations made by Maj Gem Mkwanzazi will assist with reforms that will aim to re-engineer the justice system in its entirety and most particularly policing which is find to be at the Centre of the Justice system, operation Shanela played a very big role in combating this criminal cartels network that are not only affecting our people but they are also disturbing service delivery in our municipalities and delay services that should be rendered to our people •





# NELSON MANDELA HELD HIS NOBEL LECTURE ON 10 DECEMBER 1993, IN THE OSLO CITY HALL, NORWAY.



*Acceptance and Nobel Lecture, 10 December 1993*

**Y**our Majesty the King,  
Your Royal Highness,

Esteemed Members of the Norwegian Nobel Committee, Honourable Prime Minister, Madame Gro Harlem Brundtland, Ministers, Members of Parliament and Ambassadors, Fellow Laureate, Mr. F.W. de Klerk, Distinguished Guests, Friends, Ladies and Gentlemen,

I extend my heartfelt thanks to the Norwegian Nobel Committee for elevating us to the status of a Nobel Peace Prize winner.

I would also like to take this opportunity to congratulate my compatriot and fellow laureate, State President F.W. de Klerk, on his receipt of this high honour.

Together, we join two distinguished South Africans, the late Chief Albert Lutuli and His Grace Archbishop Desmond Tutu, to whose seminal contributions to the peaceful struggle against the evil system of apartheid you paid well-deserved tribute by awarding them the Nobel Peace Prize.

It will not be presumptuous of us if we also add, among our predecessors, the name of another

outstanding Nobel Peace Prize winner, the late Rev Martin Luther King Jr.

He, too, grappled with and died in the effort to make a contribution to the just solution of the same great issues of the day which we have had to face as South Africans.

We speak here of the challenge of the dichotomies of war and peace, violence and non-violence, racism and human dignity, oppression and repression and liberty and human rights, poverty and freedom from want.



We stand here today as nothing more than a representative of the millions of our people who dared to rise up against a social system whose very essence is war, violence, racism, oppression, repression and the impoverishment of an entire people.

I am also here today as a representative of the millions of people across the globe, the anti-apartheid movement, the governments and organisations that joined with us, not to fight against South Africa as a country or any of its peoples, but to oppose an inhuman system and sue for a speedy end to the apartheid crime against humanity.

These countless human beings, both inside and outside our country, had the nobility of spirit to stand in the path of tyranny and injustice, without seeking selfish gain. They recognised that an injury to one is an injury to all and therefore acted together in defense of justice and a common human decency.

Because of their courage and persistence for many years, we can, today, even set the dates when all humanity will join together to celebrate one of the outstanding human victories of our century.

When that moment comes, we shall, together, rejoice in a common victory over racism, apartheid and white minority rule.

That triumph will finally bring to a close a history of five hundred years of African colonisation that began with the establishment of the Portuguese empire.

Thus, it will mark a great step forward in history and also serve as a common pledge of the peo-

ples of the world to fight racism, wherever it occurs and whatever guise it assumes.

At the southern tip of the continent of Africa, a rich reward in the making, an invaluable gift is in the preparation for those who suffered in the name of all humanity when they sacrificed everything – for liberty, peace, human dignity and human fulfillment.

This reward will not be measured in money. Nor can it be reckoned in the collective price of the rare metals and precious stones that rest in the bowels of the African soil we tread in the footsteps of our ancestors.

It will and must be measured by the happiness and welfare of the children, at once the most vulnerable citizens in any society and the greatest of our treasures.

The children must, at last, play in the open veld, no longer tortured by the pangs of hunger or ravaged by disease or threatened with the scourge of ignorance, molestation and abuse, and no longer required to engage in deeds whose gravity exceeds the demands of their tender years.

In front of this distinguished audience, we commit the new South Africa to the relentless pursuit of the purposes defined in the World Declaration on the Survival, Protection and Development of Children.

The reward of which we have spoken will and must also be measured by the happiness and welfare of the mothers and fathers of these children, who must walk the earth without fear of being robbed, killed for political

or material profit, or spat upon because they are beggars.

They too must be relieved of the heavy burden of despair which they carry in their hearts, born of hunger, homelessness and unemployment.

The value of that gift to all who have suffered will and must be measured by the happiness and welfare of all the people of our country, who will have torn down the inhuman walls that divide them.

These great masses will have turned their backs on the grave insult to human dignity which described some as masters and others as servants, and transformed each into a predator whose survival depended on the destruction of the other.

The value of our shared reward will and must be measured by the joyful peace which will triumph, because the common humanity that bonds both black and white into one human race, will have said to each one of us that we shall all live like the children of paradise.

Thus shall we live, because we will have created a society which recognises that all people are born equal, with each entitled in equal measure to life, liberty, prosperity, human rights and good governance.

Such a society should never allow again that there should be prisoners of conscience nor that any person's human right should be violated.

Neither should it ever happen that once more the avenues to peaceful change are blocked by



usurpers who seek to take power away from the people, in pursuit of their own, ignoble purposes.

In relation to these matters, we appeal to those who govern Burma that they release our fellow Nobel Peace Prize laureate, Aung San Suu Kyi, and engage her and those she represents in serious dialogue, for the benefit of all the people of Burma.

We pray that those who have the power to do so will, without further delay, permit that she uses her talents and energies for the greater good of the people of her country and humanity as a whole.

Far from the rough and tumble of the politics of our own country. I would like to take this opportunity to join the Norwegian Nobel Committee and pay tribute to my joint laureate. Mr. F.W. de Klerk.

He had the courage to admit that a terrible wrong had been done to our country and people through the imposition of the system of apartheid.

He had the foresight to understand and accept that all the people of South Africa must through negotiations and as equal participants in the process, together determine what they want to make of their future.

But there are still some within our country who wrongly believe they can make a contribution to the cause of justice and peace by clinging to the shibboleths that have been proved to spell nothing but disaster.

It remains our hope that these, too, will be blessed with sufficient reason to realise that history will not be denied and that the new society cannot be created by

reproducing the repugnant past, however refined or enticingly re-packaged.

We would also like to take advantage of this occasion to pay tribute to the many formations of the democratic movement of our country, including the members of our Patriotic Front, who have themselves played a central role in bringing our country as close to the democratic transformation as it is today.

We are happy that many representatives of these formations, including people who have served or are serving in the "homeland" structures, came with us to Oslo. They too must share the accolade which the Nobel Peace Prize confers.

We live with the hope that as she battles to remake herself, South Africa, will be like a microcosm of the new world that is striving to be born.

This must be a world of democracy and respect for human rights, a world freed from the horrors of poverty, hunger, deprivation and ignorance, relieved of the threat and the scourge of civil wars and external aggression and unburdened of the great tragedy of millions forced to become refugees.

The processes in which South Africa and Southern Africa as a whole are engaged, beckon and urge us all that we take this tide at the flood and make of this region as a living example of what all people of conscience would like the world to be.

We do not believe that this Nobel Peace Prize is intended as a commendation for matters that have happened and passed.

We hear the voices which say that it is an appeal from all those, throughout the universe, who sought an end to the system of apartheid.

We understand their call, that we devote what remains of our lives to the use of our country's unique and painful experience to demonstrate, in practice, that the normal condition for human existence is democracy, justice, peace, non-racism, non-sexism, prosperity for everybody, a healthy environment and equality and solidarity among the peoples.

Moved by that appeal and inspired by the eminence you have thrust upon us, we undertake that we too will do what we can to contribute to the renewal of our world so that none should, in future, be described as the "wretched of the earth".<sup>3</sup>

Let it never be said by future generations that indifference, cynicism or selfishness made us fail to live up to the ideals of humanism which the Nobel Peace Prize encapsulates.

Let the strivings of us all, prove Martin Luther King Jr. to have been correct, when he said that humanity can no longer be tragically bound to the starless midnight of racism and war.

Let the efforts of us all, prove that he was not a mere dreamer when he spoke of the beauty of genuine brotherhood and peace being more precious than diamonds or silver or gold •

Let a new age dawn!

**Thank you.**



# BOOK REVIEW

**Cde Saul Pelle**

## The Road to Democracy in South Africa Volume 1 (1960 - 1970)

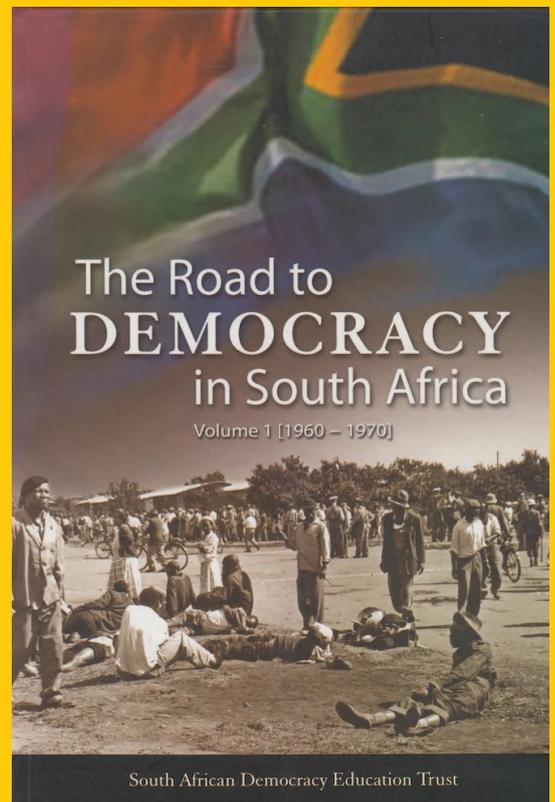
By the South African Democracy Education Trust (SADET)

**I**n his foreword to this voluminous work (757 pages), Former President Thabo Mbeki remarked: “On 21 March 2001, the anniversary of the Sharpeville Massacre and now our Human Rights Day, we launched the South African Democracy Education Trust. This is the research organisation that is responsible for the preparation and publication of this book and its future companion volumes.”

41 years earlier, on 21 March 1960, 69 peaceful demonstrators who had gathered to protest against the pass laws were murdered in cold blood at Sharpeville, and two others were killed at Langa in Cape Town. The Sharpeville Massacre defined the moment in our history when the two opposing forces that had confronted each other for centuries, the one standing for white minority domination, and the other for freedom from oppression, decided that they had no choice but to fight to the finish.

Yet, says Mbeki, history was to produce yet another paradoxical outcome. In the end, the moment of defeat of one force by the other never came. Neither did the eventuality materialise that both should perish, locked in an embrace of death. Rather, these two opposing forces sat down in conference and negotiated an historic compromise that gave the oppressed their freedom and the former oppressors their immunity from retribution by the victorious majority.

South Africa’s road to democracy is littered with the remains of those who fell along the way, marked by the milestones of a struggle that began with peaceful protest and escalated into angry confrontation on the streets of shanty towns and in the corridors of power. As the international community kept a weather eye on the Cold War, the menacing cloud of apartheid sought to dampen the fire of liberation that burned in the hearts of millions. But





neither the use of deadly force, as applied at Sharpeville and Langa in March 1960, nor the silencing of leaders would extinguish the flame of freedom.

SADET's task, according to its editors, is to record the history of this struggle, to track the road to democracy, and to celebrate the heroes and heroines who have built and walked along this difficult road. This, the first of a series of volumes, records the history and the voices of some of the individuals and organisations that laid the foundation for a new South Africa, who carried the people's quest with boldness and bravery "from Kwazakhele to Kongwa, Tembisa to Tanzania, Langa to London, Soweto to the heart of the Soviet Union and, ultimately, to the steps of the Union Buildings, where Nelson Mandela was inaugurated as the country's first democratic president on 10 May 1994.

Chapter 1, written by Bernard Magubane, explains how the National Party came to power in 1948 and examines the nature of its apartheid rule during the 1950's and 60's, with particular attention to the premiership of HF Verwoerd (1958 – 66).

Chapter 2, with contributions from Phil Bonner, Bernard Magubane, Jabulani Sithole, Peter Delius, Janet Cherry, Pat Gibbs and Thozama April, deals with the ANC turning to armed struggle after the banning of the key liberation organisations in early 1960.

Chapter 3 deals with studies of the rural uprisings at Ga Matlala and Zeerust.

Chapter 4 covers Mpondoland and Tembuland.

Chapter 5, describes the events and circumstances that led to the formation of the African Resistance Movement (ARM), its underground sabotage organisation; outlines the evolution of the ARM Strategy and Tactics on a year by year basis; compares what the ARM actually did by way of sabotage with what was done by Umkhonto we Sizwe, the other major sabotage unit of the time; and evaluates the assessments of critics and commentators.

Two chapters, 6 and 7, are devoted to the activities of the PAC and Poqo. Brown Maaba looks at the PAC's militant activities in Langa and Nyanga near Cape Town, the Transkei and other parts of the Eastern Cape.

Chapter 8, Robin Kayser and Mohammed Adhikari examine the history of the PAC in general during the 1960's.

Chapter 9, Madeleine Fullard examines the various legislative and institutional counter measures developed by a state faced with sustained and evolving militant forms of opposition.

Chapter 10, Noel Solani and Noor Nieftagodien use the experiences of prisoners on Robben Island as an example of political imprisonment in South Africa between 1960 and 1970.

Chapter 11, written by Sifiso Ndlovu, examines the ANC in exile.

Chapter 12, written by Moses Ralinala, Jabulani Sithole, Gregory Houston and Bernard Magubane, covers Umkhonto we Sizwe's first

major military campaign in the Huange and Sipolilo areas of the then Southern Rhodesia.

Chapter 13, Sifiso Ndlovu turns attention to one of the main pillars of the ANC's revolutionary strategy – attempts to marshal international support for its struggle against apartheid.

Chapter 14 is on why and how the ANC resolved to transform the NEC and to build a new leadership cadre, not only to replace those incarcerated, but also to deal with the internationalisation of the South African struggle.

Chapter 15 examines what survived of Umkhonto we Sizwe, the ANC and SACP underground in South Africa in the years between the Rivonia arrests and 1970.

In Chapter 16, Martin Legassick and Chris Saunders deal with the contributions of individuals, various sectors of society and organisations (such as the Liberal Party, the Progressive Party, Black Sash, NUSAS and the Coloured Labour Party) to internal resistance.

This volume is largely based on the collective memories and views of veterans of the struggle.

It was published by Zebra Press, an imprint of Struik Publishers in 2004•