

THE DOTS, CONNECTED

Who is really being targeted — and why it is not, in the end, about race

1

**Whites targeted**  
the visible starting point



2

**"Colonialism"**  
white South Africans re-cast as  
"the colonisers"



3

**Western values**  
who claimed to be defending  
"Western Christian civilisation"



4

**Christianity**  
the underlying target (on this reading)

It **begins** with race — but it does not **end** there. The laws that follow are race-neutral and fall on **every** true believer in Christ. Black, Coloured and Indian South Africans who hold the same Biblical faith have taken on the very "colonial" values the doctrine condemns, and are caught in the same net. **This is religious persecution — not a racial dispute.**



1921

THE ROOTS — COMMUNIST PARTY ESTABLISHED

EVENT

**CPSA Founded — 1921**

Communist Party of South Africa established; reconstituted underground as the SACP in 1953 after banning.

AGENDA

**The long game begins**

Marxist-Leninist ideology embedded in the liberation movement. The SACP would co-author the ANC's strategy documents for the next 70 years.

THE DOCTRINAL ROOT — MARX & ENGELS, 1848

**"The theory of the Communists may be summed up in the single sentence: Abolition of private property."**

*The ideology embedded in 1921 has one defining aim. Every later plank — the Freedom Charter's nationalisation, the SACP's "abolition of private ownership of the means of production" — traces back to this founding sentence.*

Karl Marx & Friedrich Engels, The Communist Manifesto (1848), §11

Source: Communist Manifesto, 1848 ↗



1955

FREEDOM CHARTER — THE BLUEPRINT ADOPTED

Congress of the People, Kliptown

EVENT

**Freedom Charter adopted**

Congress of the People, Kliptown, 26 June 1955. Communist-influenced document adopted as the foundational policy of the liberation movement.

Source: Freedom Charter, 1955 (in court/gov submission) ↗

PRIMARY SOURCE — THEIR OWN WORDS

**"The mineral wealth... shall be transferred to the ownership of the people as a whole."**

*"The land shall be shared among those who work it." — the two core communist planks, embedded in the Charter from the start.*

Freedom Charter · 26 Jun 1955 (primary source)

Source: Freedom Charter, 1955 (in court/gov submission) ↗

PRIMARY SOURCE — THE EXPLICIT GOAL, IN THEIR OWN PROGRAMME

**"...abolishing private ownership of the main means of production..."**

*The Charter spoke of "nationalisation"; the Party's own programme named the full Marxist goal. The SACP's The Road to South African Freedom (1962) set out to end capitalism by "abolishing private ownership of the main means of production and placing them under public ownership" — restated in The Path to Power (1989), which "sets out to abolish private ownership of the means of production and all forms of oppression."*

SACP, "The Road to South African Freedom" (1962) & "The Path to Power" (1989) — primary sources

Source: SACP, Road to SA Freedom, 1962 ↗

Source: SACP, The Path to Power, 1989 ↗

WHAT WAS BEING TARGETED

**Private ownership & economic freedom**

State ownership of the means of production. The Charter became the template that every subsequent ANC government document would reference.

Source: Freedom Charter, 1955 (in court/gov submission) ↗

## EVENT

**"Colonialism of a Special Type" adopted as SACP doctrine**

## doctrine adopted

The SACP's 1962 programme defines white South Africa as an *internal* colonial power — "colonialism of a special type" (CST). Because the settler order it targets cast **itself** as the defender of "Western Christian civilisation," the doctrine reclassifies Western institutions and the established Church not as faith or heritage but as **colonial structures to be dismantled**. (This is on the record: South Africa's own Truth and Reconciliation Commission found that apartheid's defenders believed they were "defending ... Western Christian values against the atheistic Communist onslaught" — TRC Final Report, Vol. 1, p.17.) CST is the theoretical root of the National Democratic Revolution adopted seven years later.

Source: SACP, Road to SA Freedom, 1962 ↗

## SACP, "THE ROAD TO SOUTH AFRICAN FREEDOM"

**The Afrikaner nationalist movement: "always corrupted by white chauvinism"**

## 1962 — explicit naming

*The 1962 programme uses the word "white" as both label and accusation throughout — "White ruling class," "White domination," "White chauvinism." The Afrikaner nationalist movement is specifically identified as the vehicle through which colonial power is exercised inside South Africa's own borders, and that movement is characterised as one "always corrupted by White chauvinism." The doctrine then performs the decisive move: it absorbs the Afrikaner's own self-description and turns it into a target. White → Afrikaner → defender of Western Christian civilisation: they become one and the same. Dismantling "white colonialism" therefore means dismantling Western Christian civilisation — not as a side-effect, but as the stated logic of the programme.*

SACP, "The Road to South African Freedom" (1962), §5 "The National Democratic Revolution," p.26 — primary source · TRC Final Report, Vol. 1, p.17

Source: SACP, Road to SA Freedom, 1962 ↗

## WHAT WAS BEING TARGETED

**"Western Christian civilisation" — re-labelled as colonialism**

Once the West and its Christian values are defined as "the coloniser," dismantling them becomes "decolonisation," not persecution. The movement's **own word** for carrying this out is **"transformation."** The ANC's standing programme of **"Radical Economic Transformation"** and the constitutional duty of "transformation" are the operative, self-applied terms under which Western institutions and the public place of Christianity are restructured — persecution re-described as progress. The same logic resurfaces in the SACP's 1989 programme and in today's "decolonise" agenda.

Source: SACP, The Path to Power, 1989 ↗

## THEIR OWN WORDS — SACP, 1962

**The target reaches "everywhere, from the schoolroom to international opinion."**

*The doctrine sets out to overturn the entire inherited cultural order of the settler society — its schools, its institutions, its self-understanding — as "colonial."*

SACP, "The Road to South African Freedom" (1962), §"Colonialism of a Special Type" — primary source

Source: SACP, Road to SA Freedom, 1962 ↗

## THE EXTENSION — FROM RACE TO VALUES

**The chain ends at Christianity — every true Christian is a target, regardless of colour**

The doctrine's target is a *value system*, not a skin colour. The chain runs in one direction: **white settler society → branded "colonialism" → because it cast itself as the defender of "Western Christian civilisation" → so the real object is Western values, and at their core, Christianity.** It *begins* with race, but it does not *end* there. Once that definition is in place, the logic extends automatically: a Black or Coloured South African who holds to Biblical Christianity — who meets in an unregistered home church, preaches sola scriptura, refuses state licensing of faith — has, in the programme's own reasoning, taken on the values of the coloniser. They are not allies of the revolution; they are obstacles to it. The laws that follow are race-neutral in application — the COVID worship bans, the Hate Speech Act and the CRL registration regime fall on **every** true believer. The CRL's own Section 22 chair resigned over the body's hostility toward "entire sectors of Christianity, particularly Pentecostal and Charismatic churches" — congregations that are overwhelmingly Black — and COVID enforcement fell, in the annex's words, "against every colour." The instrument is race; the destination is every true Christian. Apartheid was a grave injustice and rightly abolished. But dismantling Christianity under the banner of "decolonisation" is not justice for a racial wrong — it is the persecution of a religion in apartheid's name.

Source: SACP, Road to SA Freedom, 1962 ↗

## EVENT

**NDR adopted at Morogoro**

The ANC formally adopts the National Democratic Revolution as its strategic framework — explicitly framed — in the SACP's own words — as "the most direct route to socialism," to be carried out incrementally over 30–40 years.

## THEIR OWN WORDS — SACP, "THE PATH TO POWER" 1989

**"The most direct route to socialism... and ultimately communism."**

*The NDR is not the end goal — it is the staged path to a fully socialist state, to be completed in phases over decades.*

SACP, "The Path to Power" (1989), §"The NDR and the Transition to Socialism," p.33 — the SACP's own programme

Source: SACP, The Path to Power, 1989 (in court/gov)

## EVENT

**Tripartite Alliance formalised**

1990

**ANC + SACP + COSATU** officially constitute the Tripartite Alliance upon unbanning. The SACP is not merely an influence — it is a formal governing partner. Most ANC leaders, including Mandela, hold dual SACP membership. The Alliance becomes the vehicle through which the NDR is executed from inside the State.

submission) ↗

PRIMARY SOURCE — MANDELA'S OWN WORDS

"How to be a Good Communist"

Mandela authored this document as an SACP Central Committee member. The SACP later confirmed his leadership role. This is not allegation — it is their own record.

Nelson Mandela, handwritten manuscript (62 pp., Croxley pad) · seized at Lilliesleaf, Rivonia, 1963 · State exhibit, Rivonia Trial (State v. Mandela & Others) · NMF/NIA Archive, Collection 163

Source: Rivonia Trial exhibit — NMF/NIA Archive, Collection 163 ↗

EVENT

Slovo defends Marxism 1990

SACP chair Joe Slovo publishes "Has Socialism Failed?" — defending Marxism "within the framework of democracy" even as the USSR collapses. The agenda survives the Cold War's end.

Source: Joe Slovo — Has Socialism Failed? (1989) ↗

WHAT WAS BEING TARGETED

The constitutional order — a 30-year plan

The NDR is a multi-phase strategy: Phase 1 = political power; Phase 2 = economic transformation; Phase 3 = full socialism. Each phase "dispenses" with the prior phase's constraints.

CONTINUITY OF THE AGENDA

The NDR was never abandoned — it is reaffirmed at every ANC conference, and every single year

1969 → 2025

This is not a Cold-War relic. The ANC formally re-adopts the National Democratic Revolution at every National Conference — 1969 Morogoro · 1997 Mafikeng · 2007 Polokwane · 2012 Mangaung ("second, radical phase") · 2017 Nasrec · 2022 (55th, Resolution 1) — and re-commits to it annually in its January 8th Statement. In January 2025, now governing only in a coalition, the ANC stated plainly: "The strategic task of advancing the National Democratic Revolution does not change year after year." And this is not the ANC alone: the SACP's own current programme — The South African Road to Socialism (adopted at its 13th National Congress, 2012) — restates "Colonialism of a Special Type" and the National Democratic Revolution as live, present-day doctrine.

ANC 55th Conf. Strategy & Tactics (2022), Res. 1 · ANC January 8th Statement (2025), p.12 — both ANC official primary sources

Source: ANC, Jan 8 Statement 2025 ↗

Source: ANC 55th Conf., 2022 (Res.1) ↗

Source: ANC S&T, 2017 ↗

Source: SACP, SA Road to Socialism (2012) ↗

1986–89

EVEN US INTELLIGENCE CONFIRMED IT — DECLASSIFIED REPORTS DOCUMENT THE SACP'S GRIP ON ANC LEADERSHIP

CIA SNIE 73-86 · US State Dept §589 Report

US INTELLIGENCE

CIA Special National Intelligence Estimate: the SACP-ANC alliance is real, old, and enduring

CIA · July 1986

The CIA's own SNIE 73-86 — "The African National Congress of South Africa: Organization, Communist Ties, and Short-Term Prospects" (declassified 2013) — traces the Party's ties to the ANC back to the 1920s, formalised in the 1969 alliance, and assesses they would continue. This is the same fusion this briefing describes — confirmed not by critics of the ANC but by US intelligence.

Source: CIA SNIE 73-86, 1986 (FOIA) ↗

US STATE DEPARTMENT

"Roughly half" of the ANC's governing committee were "known or suspected" Communist Party members

1987 · §589 Report to Congress

Mandated by §589 of the Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act, the State Department reported that roughly half of the ANC's ~30-member National Executive Committee were known or suspected SACP members — while cautioning the SACP was "only one element, although a very important one," of the ANC coalition.

US State Dept., "Communist Influence in South Africa" (1987); reported in The Washington Post, 10 Jan 1987.

Source: Washington Post, 1987 ↗

WHY IT MATTERS

Not a fringe claim — a documented US-government assessment

scope note

Scholars still debate whether the SACP controlled the ANC or merely shared its leadership; this briefing claims only what the declassified record shows — heavy SACP representation in, and authorship of strategy for, the ANC. That penetration is what carried the SACP's Colonialism-of-a-Special-Type doctrine into government policy after 1994.

Source: CIA SNIE 73-86, 1986 (FOIA) ↗

1994

ANC TO POWER — DE-CHRISTIANISATION OF STATE INSTITUTIONS BEGINS

Verified: CS Monitor Jun 1994 · GG 25459 · 1996 Constitution

EVENT

Christian prayer removed from Parliament 1994

The daily Christian prayer that had opened every parliamentary session is abolished. Speaker Frene Ginwala replaces it with a minute of silence. (Christian Science Monitor, Jun 1994.)

EVENT

The Constitution's opening invocation of God dropped 1996

Every prior constitution — 1961, 1983 and the 1993 interim — opened "In humble submission to Almighty God," placing God as the authority over the State. The 1996 Constitution drops that opening invocation and begins instead "We, the people of South Africa..." Its preamble still closes with a national blessing ("May God protect our people... God bless South Africa," in all official languages) — so the shift is from God as

LAW

Equality Act §8(d)

2000

Religious practice that "impairs the dignity of women" or "undermines equality between women and men" is declared unlawful — hauled before a statutory Equality Court.

Source: Equality Act No. 4 of 2000 (in court/gov submission) ↗

Source: Christian Science Monitor, 1994 ↗

the authority over the State to a closing blessing, not a removal of God from the text.

Source: SA Constitution preambles 1961–1996 ↗

#### EVENT

### Christian education abolished 2003

Minister Kader Asmal's National Policy on Religion and Education — determined under the National Education Policy Act 27 of 1996 — ends Christian National Education. Faith-specific teaching "can't be part of a school programme." (GG 25459, 12 Sept 2003.)

Source: Religion-in-Education Policy, 2003 (in court/gov submission) ↗

#### WHAT WAS BEING TARGETED — THE DE-CHRISTIANISATION SEQUENCE

### The public square, the school, the conscience

Each step removes Christianity from a sphere of public life — the legislature, the founding document, the school system. The sequence is methodical. By 2003 the state-Christian settlement of every prior constitution had been fully dismantled.

#### EXTERNAL WESTERN PRESS

### US press noted Parliament prayer removal within weeks June 1994

The *Christian Science Monitor* reported the abolition of Parliamentary Christian prayer within weeks of the ANC taking power — an independent US source documenting the immediate removal of Christianity from the state's opening ceremony.

Source: Christian Science Monitor, June 1994 ↗

#### US STATE DEPT

### US government formally recorded the de-Christianisation steps

#### IRF Reports 2004–2007

The 2004 IRF Report documents the 2003 Religion-in-Education policy: "The Government does not allow 'religious instruction,' or advocating the tenets of a particular faith, in public schools." The 2007 report noted: "The Constitution is deliberately religion-neutral." Both changes confirmed in US government's own words.

Source: US State Dept IRF 2007 ↗

## 2012

### SECOND / "RADICAL" PHASE OF THE NDR — THE CONSTRAINTS REMOVED

Project E archive

#### EVENT

### The "second transition" announced

2012

ANC head of policy Jeff Radebe presents the "second transition" — the ANC's stated shift from political to economic transformation. The 1994 negotiated settlement, in his framing, was "appropriate for political emancipation" but "inadequate and inappropriate" for the economic phase now to come.

Source: ANC, "The Second Transition?" (2012) ↗

#### THEIR OWN WORDS

### "Our first transition ... has proven inadequate and inappropriate for our social and economic transformation phase."

Jeff Radebe, 2012

*The 1994 settlement — "political emancipation" — is recast as inadequate: a constraint to move beyond, not a celebrated achievement.*

Jeff Radebe, ANC head of policy — presenting "The Second Transition?", March 2012

Source: ANC, "The Second Transition?" (2012) ↗

Radebe's words (FW de Klerk Foundation record) ↗

#### EVENT

### CRL Chair appointed; churches summoned

2015

Thoko Mkhwanazi-Xaluva appointed CRL Chairperson. Summons 80+ religious leaders. Begins push for state regulation of religion.

#### EVENT

### RET & CRL "Commercialisation" report

2017

Zuma's "Radical Economic Transformation" programme. CRL publishes its "Commercialisation of Religion" report — the first systematic case for state intervention in church affairs.

#### ANC OFFICIAL

### "We will crush any individual who stands in the way of nation building"

April 2017

ANC Ekurhuleni Mayor Mzwandile Masina, with Finance Minister Malusi Gigaba present, warned at the Chris Hani memorial lecture: "It is very important that we send a very very strong warning that... we will crush any individual who stands in the way of the project of nation building and social cohesion in South Africa." He added: "those that sided with you in 1994, they won't be here in five years" and "we are many, this is not a threat... it might be very very rough." Four complainants filed formal SAHRC hate speech complaints. Masina signed a settlement agreement April 2018. He faced no ANC disciplinary action.

Mzwandile Masina · ANC Mayor of Ekurhuleni · Chris Hani Memorial Lecture, Boksburg Civic Centre, 10 April 2017

Source: News24 · 10 Apr 2017 ↗

SAHRC Settlement · Apr 2018 ↗

#### WHAT WAS BEING TARGETED

### The Bill of Rights itself

The constitutional protections for property, religion, and expression that had been concessions in 1994 are now re-framed as obstacles to "transformation."

EVENT

**Worship banned by regulation**

2020

Levels 4 & 5: in-person worship, singing, baptism, and the Lord's Supper all banned. Attendance or convening = up to 6 months' jail.

Source: COVID Enforcement Annex ↗

EVENT

**465,098 arrested**

2020–21

Lockdown arrests under the Disaster Management Act reached **465,098 by 29 June 2021** (Minister Cele, SAnews) — up from 298,252 by August 2020. Among the highest of any country; most for gathering breaches — the same category as church services.

Source: Minister Cele — SAnews (gov.za), 29 Jun 2021 ↗

Source: COVID Enforcement Annex ↗

EVENT

**Rubber bullets & stun grenades on a church**

Jan 2021

Sebokeng: ~250 congregants; police deployed rubber bullets and stun grenades. Three leaders (aged 47, 62, 69) arrested.

Source: COVID Enforcement Annex ↗

MINISTER CELE — 14 AUG 2020 CRIME-STATS BRIEFING

**~300,000 citizens left facing criminal records**

At his Q1 crime-statistics briefing, Police Minister Cele said the nearly 300,000 people (298,252) arrested under the disaster-management regulations would probably emerge with criminal records — adding that it was "not the aim" to criminalise South Africans. The same gathering offences that fell on worshippers; the records followed regardless.

Minister Bheki Cele — Q1 2020/21 crime-statistics briefing, 14 Aug 2020 (reported: The Citizen, EWN)

Source: Cele briefing — The Citizen, 14 Aug 2020 ↗

Source: COVID Enforcement Annex ↗

WHAT WAS BEING TARGETED

**Assembly, communion, baptism — the core acts of the faith**

COVID regulations did not merely restrict gatherings. They specifically banned the acts that define Christian worship: assembling, singing, baptism, the Lord's Supper. Force was used to enforce this against every colour.

Source: COVID Enforcement Annex ↗

THE SAME FORCE, OFF THE LEASH

**115 deaths in custody — the state's own watchdog logged the abuse**

2020

The machinery that criminalised worship operated without restraint. In six lockdown weeks (26 March–5 May 2020) the Independent Police Investigative Directorate received **828 complaints** against police — up 200 on the prior year: 589 assaults, 32 deaths from police action, 16 deaths in custody, 25 reports of torture and eight rapes. Across the lockdown overall, Amnesty International recorded **at least 115 deaths in police custody**. The US State Department found police used "lethal and excessive force, including torture." Around **76,000 soldiers and police** were deployed; after lockdown killings the North Gauteng High Court ordered the state to issue use-of-force guidelines respecting human rights.

Source: US State Dept Human Rights Report 2020 ↗

Source: Amnesty International 2020/21 ↗

EVENT

**Pastors and congregants arrested for holding services**

April 2020

Across the country, worship itself was the offence. In Limpopo an Apostolic Church pastor, his wife and eight members were arrested mid-service; a KwaZulu-Natal pastor was arrested over a 150-person service; Eastern Cape churches were raided and a preacher arrested. Christians were criminalised under the Disaster Management Act for the act of gathering to worship.

Source: Pastor & congregants arrested — SowetanLive, 20 Apr 2020 ↗

A STATE THAT CANNOT PROTECT THOSE IN ITS HANDS

**"Harsh and life-threatening" — and deaths dressed as "natural causes"**

Prison conditions were "harsh and life-threatening" — overcrowding, poor sanitation, inadequate medical care, tuberculosis and inmate-on-inmate rape. The Department of Correctional Services required doctors to sign inmate-death reports specifically "to lessen the incidence of deaths caused by neglect being reported as due to natural causes." A government unwilling or unable to protect even those entirely in its care.

Source: US State Dept Human Rights Report 2020 ↗

Source: DCS Annual Report 2023/24 ↗

ANC OFFICIAL DOCTRINE

**"Resistance to transformation must be crushed by the combined force of the people and the democratic state."**

December 2022

The ANC's 55th National Conference — its supreme decision-making body — adopted this as binding party doctrine in Strategy & Tactics §8, one year before the legislative wave began. "Resistance to transformation" is broad enough to encompass any institution — including a church — that

declines to conform to the NDR agenda. The state itself (police, courts, regulations) is named as the instrument of enforcement. Not the rhetoric of one official: official doctrine.

ANC 55th National Conference · Strategy & Tactics, December 2022, Page 6 §8

[Source: ANC S&T 2022, §8 \(on file\) ↗](#)

LAW

### Hate Speech Act

Signed 6 May 2024

Criminalises communication promoting "hatred" on 18 grounds including religion. "Hatred" is undefined. Up to 5 years' imprisonment. FOR SA: little protection for traditional Biblical convictions.

[Source: Hate Speech Act 16 of 2023 \(full text\) ↗](#)

LAW

### NHI Act

Signed 15 May 2024

State healthcare monopoly. Private cover for NHI-covered services prohibited once implemented. No alternative permitted.

[Source: NHI Act 20 of 2023 \(full text\) ↗](#)

LAW

### BELA Act

Signed 13 Sep 2024

Compulsory homeschool registration; state curriculum comparability; "best interests" veto. Up to 12 months' imprisonment. Registration deniable at an official's discretion.

LAW

### Employment Equity Amendment

In force 1 Jan 2025

Binding racial quotas across 18 sectors. Minister prescribes workforce composition. R1.5m–R2.7m fines or 2–10% of turnover. Exclusion from all government contracts.

LAW

### Expropriation Act

Assented 23 Jan 2025

Nil compensation for property seizure where a court deems it "just and equitable." The prior constitutional amendment to explicitly authorise nil compensation failed in Parliament (2021); this Act achieves the same result by statute. Applies to all property — homes, meeting halls, businesses, and intellectual property. No owner consent required; the state applies to court. FOR SA: the constitutional safeguard in section 25 is effectively bypassed.

## THE CRL: CHRISTIANITY TARGETED BY NAME

The Chair's own words name the specific target — and reveal the compliant architecture built to enforce it

CRL CHAIR — VERIFIED

### "This thing called Christianity needs to be regulated. This thing called Christianity."

BBC (~Feb 2016) · *Zambian Observer* (8 Sept 2025)

"We are saying this thing called Christianity needs to be regulated as well." Her reasoning: "We've found that other religions such as Islam and the Jewish religion are systematised for disciplinary codes and monitoring — but Christianity, because of its volatility in terms of anyone being able to start up their own church, we feel there is a need for regulation." The dismissive phrase "this thing called" — repeated for emphasis — treats Christianity as a management problem, not a constitutionally protected identity. Islam and Judaism are already regulated; Christianity is the specific gap to be closed.

Thoko Mkhwanazi-Xaluva · CRL Chair · BBC interview, ~Feb 2016 (Whisper-verified transcript); extended quote: *Zambian Observer*, 8 Sept 2025

[Source: BBC transcript \(verified\) ↗](#)

CRL CHAIR — THE ADMISSION

### Her own figure: "only 5%... doing the wrong thing" — used to regulate the 95%

same BBC interview

Asked why the CRL doesn't simply act against the actual offenders, the Chair conceded: "What we discovered in terms of the random sample... it's maybe only 5% of people who are doing the wrong thing" — then, in the same breath: "This thing called Christianity needs to be regulated." A 5% problem, by her own count, is the justification for licensing the entire Christian sector. The interviewer's challenge — "Why don't they just go straight to that person and stop calling everybody as if everybody is breaking the law?" — goes unanswered.

Thoko Mkhwanazi-Xaluva · CRL Chair · BBC "This Thing Called Christianity" (Whisper-verified transcript)

[Source: BBC transcript \(verified\) ↗](#)

CRL CHAIR — SECTION 22 LAUNCH

### "For now we are focusing on the Christian family."

Oct 2, 2025 · verified

"We gather here to launch what we call a Section 22 Committee for Christians... I should stress that we'll be going to other religions after this. **For now we are focusing on the Christian family.**" The Christian sector is named as the first target.

Thoko Mkhwanazi-Xaluva · Section 22 launch keynote · Rhema Bible Church, Johannesburg, 2 Oct 2025

[Source: Section 22 launch transcript ↗](#)

REGULATORY PUSH

### CRL Registration Framework

Section 22 launched Oct 2025

Section 22 Committee formally launched Oct 2, 2025. White Paper already drafted — creates Religious Peer Review Council (RPRC) with investigative, disciplinary and sanctions powers. Pathologizes separation as "isolation," repentance as "abuse." Explicit BRICS/China alignment. Chair re-appointed Dec 2024 for 5 more years.

SECTION 22 COMMITTEE — WHO IS INSIDE

### Eight umbrella bodies hold the 19 committee seats — independent evangelicals excluded

Oct 2025

On camera at the October 2025 launch: **ZCC · SACC · TEASA · Rhema Bible Church · CAIC · Great Commission · Shembe / Nazareth Baptist · Moral Regeneration Movement.** All are large, named, hierarchical, and state-legible. The committee chair claimed they represent "over 45 million Christians." *Excluded from the launch:* FOR SA, IFCC, Assemblies of God, Apostolic Faith Mission, Full Gospel Church — the independent evangelical sector. Unregistered independent Christians — no institutional name, no umbrella body, no clergy to licence — are the structural opposite of every body on the

THE COMPLIANCE TEST — COVID 2020–2022

### Every Section 22 member complied; ZCC exceeded the law by two days

**ZCC** cancelled its annual Easter pilgrimage to Moria on 13 March 2020 — two days before the National State of Disaster was declared. President Ramaphosa personally led a ministerial delegation to Moria to thank the bishops. ZCC stayed closed when Level 3 permitted gatherings; branches reopened only with proof of vaccination or PCR test, no singing, and 45-minute service caps. **SACC:** "caution and openness" — full compliance. **Rhema:** full compliance and remote services. The state is building its regulatory architecture from these same compliant bodies. Christians who meet in homes — no hierarchy, no public building, no compliance channel — cannot participate in this cooperative framework even if willing.

committee. The framework is designed by, and for, churches the state can already reach.

QUOTES-REGISTER Part 10 · MDNtv Section 22 launch video, 6 Oct 2025

COVID-Compliance-Backup-Research.md · Sowetan, 17 Mar 2020 · TimesLive, 22 May 2021

[Source: COVID Enforcement Annex ↗](#)

#### THE STATE'S PREFERRED CHRISTIANITY

##### The state accepts a Decolonised Christianity — it targets the Western orthodox form

ZCC & Shembe

**South Africa is majority-Christian by identity; the persecution at issue concerns *orthodox Biblical Christianity — not every body that uses Christian language.***

The two churches that set the compliance standard — ZCC and the Nazareth Baptist / Shembe Church — are both African Independent Churches that developed within African cultural and traditional religious frameworks: ZCC through healing practices, prophecy, **ancestor veneration** and a distinctly African communal spirituality; Shembe through Zulu traditional dress, music, **ancestor veneration**, and the veneration of its founder as a prophet. Neither holds the Western doctrinal positions the CRL framework targets — sola scriptura, a male-only lay ministry, no state-licensed clergy, no institutional registration. President Ramaphosa personally attended ZCC's Moria Easter gathering to thank its bishops for COVID compliance. The state is not hostile to religion. It is hostile to a specific Christianity: orthodox, Western-rooted, Scripturally defined, and beyond its institutional reach — **the very Western values the NDR's "decolonisation" treats as colonial.** This is doctrinal, not racial — the orthodox Christians most exposed include Black Pentecostal and Charismatic believers; the CRL's own Section 22 chair resigned over hostility to those very sectors.

South African academic literature on African Independent Churches · Sowetan, 17 Mar 2020 · MDNtv Section 22 launch, 6 Oct 2025

#### CRL CHAIR

**"It's not business as usual in churches anymore."**

November 2025

*"Parliament must pass the relevant regulation... your church has to be registered, secondly, you should be registered and vetted." — re-asserting the full agenda, post re-appointment.*

CRL Chairperson Mkhwanazi-Xaluva · November 2025

#### CRL CHAIR — ON CAMERA, VERIFIED TRANSCRIPT

**"You have to be registered or else you'll go to jail... irrespective of your calling."**

*"Will definitely do that irrespective of your calling." — asked whether someone with a genuine calling from God would still be prevented from ministry without a state licence. Confirmed: yes.*

Thoko Mkhwanazi-Xaluva · SACD documentary transcript 01:21, 27:05, 27:41

#### SECTION 22 COMMITTEE CHAIR — INSIDER RESIGNATION

**"Predetermined agenda of State control of religion... personal hostility toward particular Christian faith and traditions."**

January 2026

*The CRL's own appointed Section 22 Committee chair resigned: "The existence of which is being used as a front to disguise a predetermined agenda of State control of religion, driven in part by personal hostility toward particular Christian faith and traditions." He also alleged private meetings between the CRL Chair and selected members, and that "entire sectors of Christianity, particularly Pentecostal and Charismatic churches, were treated with open suspicion and hostility."*

Rev. Prof. Musa Xulu · Mail & Guardian, 16 Jan 2026

#### SECTION 22 CHAIR — SWORN AFFIDAVIT

**The State's security services allegedly enter the picture: "...how dangerous it becomes when ideological disagreement is treated as a security problem."**

17 May 2026

*Months after resigning, the same chair swore an affidavit: on 14 May 2026 he was contacted by a person claiming to act for the **National Intelligence Agency / State Security Agency**, and that Christian bodies opposing the CRL — including FOR SA and the SA Church Defenders — had allegedly been referred to the State's security structures for investigation and surveillance. He noted that the 2024–2028 National Security Strategy reportedly treats the "mushrooming of charismatic churches" as a national-security concern. (Sworn allegation; the deponent states he cannot independently verify the caller's identity.)*

Rev. Prof. Musa Xulu · sworn affidavit & press statement, 17 May 2026

[Source: Xulu sworn affidavit ↗](#)

#### WHAT WAS BEING TARGETED — THE COMPLETE PICTURE

**Every sphere of Christian life: speech · healthcare · education · employment · property · church**

In three years, the SA government enacted laws that together criminalise: preaching Biblical convictions (Hate Speech Act), homeschooling children in the faith (BELA), hiring according to conscience (Employment Equity), holding property (Expropriation Act), and now — the final move — existing as an unregistered church (CRL framework). This is not coincidence. It is the completion of the 100-year programme.

### US RECOGNITION — THE PERSECUTION, FORMALLY RECOGNISED ABROAD

What the United States government has already said and done in response

#### US IRF RECORD

**US State Dept IRF Report 2023**  
Released Jun 2024

Official US record confirms SA's religious registration bill and notes opposition from FOR SA, SACBC, and IIRF. The first formal US government documentation of the CRL's regulatory push against Christianity.

[Source: US State Dept IRF Report 2023 ↗](#)

#### US RECOGNITION

**E.O. 14204 — "Mission South Africa"**  
Feb 2025

Refugee program launched Feb 2025 (E.O. 14204). First 59 Afrikaners at Dulles, 12 May 2025. **Separately**, 67,000+ South Africans registered interest via **SACCUSA** (the SA Chamber of Commerce in the USA, a private body) — its list handed to the U.S. Embassy.

[Source: U.S. Presidential statement \(E.O. 14204\) ↗](#)

[Source: SACCUSA 67,000 registrations \(BusinessTech\) ↗](#)

#### US RECOGNITION

**Trump's Statement on Communism and SA**  
Nov 2025

Presidential declaration explicitly recognising the communist nature of the SA regime. Anti-Communism Week proclamation issued.

[Source: U.S. Presidential statement \(E.O. 14204\) ↗](#)

#### US RECOGNITION

**State Dept — SA doxing of US officials**  
2025

Official statement documenting the SA government's doxing and harassment of American officials. SA government's own DIRCO statement (Oct 2025) provides contrast.

[Source: State Dept — SA doxing of US officials ↗](#)

#### US RECOGNITION

### "An unforeseen emergency refugee situation now exists... grave humanitarian concerns."

May 21, 2026 — Emergency Presidential Determination No. 2026-14

President Trump declared a refugee emergency under §207(b) of the INA, raising the FY2026 ceiling from 7,500 to **17,500** (10,000 additional slots). Grounds stated: "*recent increases in the incitement of racially motivated violence*" by SA government officials and "*new disruptions of United States Refugee Admissions Program operations in South Africa.*" Admission of South Africans declared "*justified by the grave humanitarian concerns and is otherwise in the national interest.*" Published: Federal Register, 27 May 2026.  
*Presidential Determination No. 2026-14 · Federal Register Vol. 91, 27 May 2026*

[Source: Presidential Determination 2026-14 \(Federal Register\) ↗](#)

#### CABINET MINISTER

### "Treasonous acts cannot be left unpunished."

Parliament, 14 May 2025

Active government treason investigation confirmed by Communications Minister Khumbudzo Ntshavheni — targeting AfriForum and Solidarity for supplying information about South Africa to the US government. A true believer in Christ who provides information to the U.S. government faces the same legal climate.

*Ntshavheni · IOL, 14 May 2025*

#### SA MEDIA FRAMING

### US/European religious influence cast as "a risk and a threat" 2025

"The religious right influences from places like the US and Europe have really posed a risk and a threat to... constitutional rights... here in South Africa." — said on the CRL Chair's own broadcast panel. US-linked religious influence is publicly framed as hostile foreign interference — the climate into which appeals to US religious-freedom bodies land.

*Pontsho Pilane · journalist, on a panel with CRL Chair Mkhwanazi-Xaluva*

[Source: CRL-panel interview transcript ↗](#)

#### THE STRUCTURAL TRAP

### Seeking refuge = the act of treason 2025–present

*MK Party charged AfriForum with treason (10 Feb 2025) for informing the US government. Mayibuye Mandela filed treason against the individual refugees themselves (12 Jun 2025). To seek protection abroad, Christians fleeing persecution must testify to foreign officials about SA conditions — the exact act SA now criminalises as treason.*

*TimesLive · Newsweek · IOL*



Now →

## THE SHORTCUT — CIVIL UNREST COULD LET THEM IMPOSE ALL OF THIS OVERNIGHT, WITHOUT THE CRL BILL EVER BECOMING LAW

Forward-looking risk analysis · grounded in the 2020 precedent

#### THE GAP THEY STILL HAVE TO CLOSE

### The CRL church-registration regime is not yet law — the slow route is still incomplete

*For all five laws already passed, the final move — compulsory church registration and vetting — still depends on the CRL framework completing a slow legislative and regulatory path that can be challenged in court. That is the one lever the churches still have. An emergency removes it.*

#### THE TRIGGER

### Civil unrest is escalating — and 2021 showed how fast it can detonate

2021 precedent → 2025–26 escalation

The July 2021 unrest killed more than 350 people in days — the worst violence since apartheid. Since then: fatal service-delivery protests (Diepkloof, 2025), new waves of xenophobic violence (May 2026), a collapsing power grid, and contested 2026 elections. Risk analysts forecast a "disruptive 2026." A single large detonation is the pretext an emergency needs.

[Source: HRW World Report 2026 — South Africa ↗](#)

#### THE MECHANISM

### Emergency powers let the executive rule by regulation — no Act of Parliament required

Constitution s37 · Disaster Management Act

Under a State of Emergency (Constitution s37) or a declared national disaster (Disaster Management Act), the executive can criminalise gatherings, worship and movement by regulation, overnight, without passing a single new law. Several rights may be suspended for the duration.

#### WHY THIS IS NOT SPECULATION — IT HAS ALREADY HAPPENED ONCE

### COVID was the dress rehearsal: worship banned overnight, 411,309 arrested — under emergency regulation, with no church law on the books

In 2020, under the Disaster Management Act, the SA government banned assembling, singing, baptism and the Lord's Supper, and arrested 411,309 people — **without the CRL Bill, or any church law, ever passing.** The same emergency machinery that did this for "public health" could be turned on the churches for "public order" the moment unrest provides the pretext. The slow legislative route and the fast emergency route converge on the same end-state — and the fast one needs no court, no Parliament, and no warning.

[Source: COVID Enforcement Annex ↗](#)

#### WHY NOW — THE US GOVERNMENT HAS ALREADY DECLARED THE EMERGENCY

### Presidential Determination No. 2026-14: "An unforeseen emergency refugee situation now exists... grave humanitarian concerns."

On 21 May 2026, President Trump formally declared a refugee emergency under §207(b) of the INA — raising the South Africa ceiling from 7,500 to **17,500** overnight. The stated grounds were "recent increases in the incitement of racially motivated violence" by SA government officials and "new disruptions of United States Refugee Admissions Program operations." The President concluded admission was "justified by the grave

humanitarian concerns and is otherwise in the national interest." **The emergency this community faces and the emergency the US government declared are the same emergency.**

Presidential Determination No. 2026-14 · Federal Register Vol. 91, 27 May 2026

[Source: Presidential Determination 2026-14 \(Federal Register\) ↗](#)

## THE NEXUS — CLOSING VISE

Every Christian distinctive practice meets a specific law · penalties escalate card by card to treason

Read down: each card steps inward · the penalty badge darkens with every card · cards 8 and 9 at the vise's throat

<b>EQUALITY ACT §8(d)</b> 2000	Religious practice that "undermines equality between women and men"	<i>Male ministry &amp; headship (1 Tim 2:12; 1 Cor 14:34)</i>	<b>EQUALITY COURT — church must justify its doctrine to the State</b>
<b>COVID WORSHIP REGULATIONS</b> 2020	Gatherings, singing, baptism, Lord's Supper — banned by law	<i>Assembling &amp; "this do in remembrance of me" (1 Cor 11:24–25)</i>	<b>UP TO 6 MONTHS' JAIL · 411,000+ arrested · rubber bullets used</b>
<b>HATE SPEECH ACT</b> Signed 6 May 2024	Communication on 18 grounds incl. religion; "hatred" undefined	<i>Sharing our faith; stating Scripture's convictions publicly</i>	<b>UP TO 5 YEARS' IMPRISONMENT</b>
<b>NHI ACT</b> Signed 15 May 2024	Private healthcare: state monopoly eliminates private cover	<i>Stewardship of our bodies (1 Cor 6:19–20); care of our own</i>	<b>PRIVATE COVER PROHIBITED — no alternative lawfully permitted</b>
<b>BELA ACT</b> Signed 13 Sep 2024	Homeschooling: compulsory registration; "best interests" veto	<i>Teaching our children the faith (Deut 6:7; Eph 6:4)</i>	<b>UP TO 12 MONTHS' IMPRISONMENT · deniable at official's discretion</b>
<b>EMPLOYMENT EQUITY AMENDMENT</b> In force 1 Jan 2025	Binding racial quotas across 18 sectors set by the Minister	<i>Hiring without respect of persons (Acts 10:34)</i>	<b>R1.5M–R2.7M OR 2–10% TURNOVER · barred from government contracts</b>
<b>EXPROPRIATION ACT</b> Assented 23 Jan 2025	Property of any kind, for "public interest"	<i>Our homes and the halls we meet in</i>	<b>NIL COMPENSATION — seizure with zero payment, by court order</b>
<b>CRL REGISTRATION FRAMEWORK</b> Section 22 launched Oct 2, 2025	Every church & practitioner: register, be licensed, submit to state oversight	<i>THE FINAL CARD: we take no name, register with no state, license no clergy, own no arbiter of doctrine but Christ</i>	<b>"REGISTERED OR ELSE YOU'LL GO TO JAIL... IRRESPECTIVE OF YOUR CALLING" — CRL Chair, on camera</b>
<b>THE TREASON CLIMATE</b> 2025 – present	Those who seek refuge or speak to the U.S. government are branded traitors — charges filed against the individual refugees themselves	<i>Seeking protection: even seeking protection abroad carries risk in the current political climate</i>	<b>TREASON · ARREST ON ARRIVAL — "treasonous acts cannot be left unpunished" · Min. Ntshavheni, May 2025</b>

**"Five laws, one direction — and the last is aimed at any Christian who would live in separation. Under this regime, such communities cannot lawfully exist. They need protection now."**

*The apparatus to criminalise our community is virtually complete.*

Independent legal opinion (Aug 2025): "a clear and credible threat of religious persecution." — Enclosure 1

*South Africa's constitution protects religious freedom on paper — this entire apparatus operates beneath it.*

# Substantiation — law-by-law mapping · treason record · verified quotes · Rwanda model

Package: legal opinion (Encl. 1) · NDR evidence (Encl. 2) · COVID enforcement annex (Encl. 3) · Rwanda model annex (Encl. 4) · June 2026

## 1 · LAW-BY-LAW MAPPING

Source documents ↗

Mind map ↗

The Law	Date	What it targets	Christian practice it strikes	Penalty	Status & source
<b>Equality Act §8(d)</b>	2000	Religious practice that "undermines equality between women and men"	Male ministry & headship (1 Tim 2:12)	<b>Equality Court; church bears legal burden</b>	In force.
<b>COVID Worship Regulations</b>	2020–22	Worship, singing, baptism, Lord's Supper — banned	Assembly; breaking of bread; baptism	<b>Up to 6 months' jail; 411k arrested</b>	Repealed. Demonstrates enforcement will. Encl. 3.
<b>Hate Speech Act</b>	Signed 6 May 2024	Communication on 18 grounds; "hatred" undefined	Preaching; Biblical convictions on sexuality/gender	<b>Up to 5 years' imprisonment</b>	Enacted; not yet in force (no commencement proclamation; regs in draft). GG 50652.
<b>NHI Act</b>	Signed 15 May 2024	State healthcare monopoly; private cover eliminated	Stewardship of our bodies (1 Cor 6:19–20)	<b>Private cover prohibited when implemented</b>	Suspended by court order Feb 2026. ConCourt May 2026.
<b>BELA Act</b>	Signed 13 Sep 2024	Homeschooling: compulsory registration; "best interests" override	Teaching children in the faith (Deut 6:7)	<b>Up to 12 months' imprisonment</b>	Fully in force. HSLDA.
<b>Employment Equity Amendment</b>	1 Jan 2025	Racial quotas across 18 sectors	Hiring without respect of persons (Acts 10:34)	<b>R1.5m–R2.7m or 2–10% turnover; no govt contracts</b>	In force. DA challenge pending.
<b>Expropriation Act</b>	Assented 23 Jan 2025	Any property for "public interest"; nil compensation	Our homes, meeting halls, businesses, intellectual property	<b>Nil compensation by court order</b>	Assented; unproclaimed. Challenges pending.
<b>CRL Registration Framework</b>	Section 22 launched Oct 2, 2025	Mandatory church registration; state-issued pastor licence	We take no name, register with no state	<b>"Jail... irrespective of your calling" — Chair, on camera</b>	Pursuing via Section 22 Cttee. FOR SA: "unconstitutional."
<b>Treason climate</b>	Feb 2025–present	Seeking refuge or speaking to US government	Writing to officials; going to Washington in person	<b>Criminal treason; arrest on arrival</b>	MK Party 10 Feb 2025; Mandela 12 Jun 2025; Ntshavheni May 2025.

## 2 · TREASON RECORD — THREE CONFIRMED INCIDENTS

Source documents ↗

Mind map ↗

### 10 February 2025

**MK Party** (3rd-largest in Parliament) filed criminal treason against AfriForum — for "misleading the U.S." leading to E.O. 14204.

[The Citizen · M&G, Feb 2025 ↗](#)

### 12 June 2025

**Mayibuye Mandela** (Nelson Mandela's great-grandson) filed treason charges against **the individual Afrikaner refugees themselves**, plus AfriForum and Solidarity. Called for Trump to deport them.

[Newsweek, Jun 2025 ↗](#)

### May 2025

**Minister Ntshavheni** confirmed in Parliament that both AfriForum and Solidarity face a **government treason investigation**:

"Treasonous acts cannot be left unpunished."

[IOL, 14 May 2025 ↗](#)

## 3 · VERIFIED QUOTES

Source documents ↗

Mind map ↗

"If someone tells you that God was talking to me, tell them to go to the psychiatric ward."

CRL Chair Mkhwanazi-Xaluva · verified transcript · JOY! News; SACD

"This thing called Christianity must be regulated." / "...this thing has been allowed to go on for [too long]."

BBC (ACDP-cited) / Newzroom Afrika Apr 2025

"You have to be registered or else you'll go to jail... irrespective of your calling."

SACD documentary transcript 01:21, 27:05, 27:41

"The mineral wealth... shall be transferred to the ownership of the people as a whole."

Freedom Charter · 26 Jun 1955 (primary source)

"Our first transition ... has proven inadequate and inappropriate for our social and economic transformation phase."

Jeff Radebe · ANC head of policy · 2012

## 4 · THE MODEL — WHAT THE CRL IS COPYING, AND THE REGIMES THE ANC CHOSE TO FOLLOW (ENCL. 2, 4)

Model annex ↗

NDR sources ↗

Mind map ↗

**What happened when Rwanda regulated religion:**

- **Rwanda 2018:** Over **7,700 churches** closed in a single weekend; 2,000+ unregistered churches forced to close; by Aug 2024, over **9,800 prayer houses + 7,000 "illegal" churches** shut — Pres. Kagame: "a den of bandits"
- **Angola Nov 2018–May 2019:** ~2,308 places of worship closed as Communist-aligned government enforced registration laws
- Both models: theology degree required; house-church & open-air preaching banned; state "patriotic associations" — Bitter Winter compares to China

**Significance:** The CRL Chairperson has cited the Rwanda model approvingly. Christians who take no institutional name — no hierarchy, no registered institution, no state-approved clergy — would be among the first affected.

**The regimes the ANC chose to copy — the same states that crush independent churches:**

- **Vietnam:** the 1978 ANC delegation to Hanoi produced the **Green Book (1979)**, rebuilding ANC strategy on the Vietnamese revolution. *Vietnam's 2018 Law on Belief & Religion punishes unregistered churches.*
- **Soviet Union:** the source of the **NDR / two-stage theory**; SACP 1962 & Path to Power 1989 hail "the world socialist system." *The original state-control-of-religion model.*
- **Cuba:** Mandela in Havana, 1991 — "Long live comrade Fidel Castro!"; Castro drew the biggest ovation of any guest at Mandela's 1994 inauguration; **imported** via the Mandela–Castro medical brigades. *Cuba's Communist Party licenses religion; unregistered membership is a crime.*
- **China (CCP):** a **2008 ANC–CCP cadre-training MoU**; the ANC leadership school modelled on the CCP's CELAP academy; Gwede Mantashe (2021): the ANC must "learn from communist China or die from corruption." *China's "Sinicization": register with the state church or be illegal.*

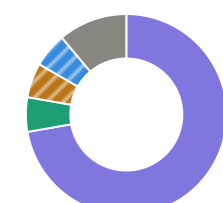
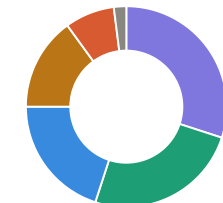
**The loop:** the regimes the ANC and SACP most admire — USSR, Cuba, Vietnam, China — are the same one-party states that force churches to register or be illegal. The CRL is building the same system; the party driving it is openly schooled in the very governments that built it.

Sources: [Green Book 1979 \(Vietnam\) ↗](#) [SACP: Path to Power \(USSR\) ↗](#) [Mandela in Cuba, 1991 ↗](#)  
[ANC–CCP training, Brookings \(China\) ↗](#) [NDR sources ↗](#)

**4B · THE SECTION 22 COMMITTEE — AND WHY "SOUTH AFRICA IS A CHRISTIAN COUNTRY" MISSES IT**

[Launch roll-call ↗](#) [CRL statement ↗](#)  
[Full roster ↗](#) [Mind map ↗](#)

South Africa is nominally Christian, but the conflict is not with every church that bears the Christian name. The state tolerates and empowers churches that are hierarchical, registered, culturally integrated and state-cooperative. The pressure falls on **true believers who hold to orthodox Biblical Christianity**: Scripture as final authority, no mixing of other traditions into the faith, no state licence over ministry, no surrender of conscience. This is not a Black-versus-white church dispute. Many of the Christians most exposed to the CRL's hostility are **Black Pentecostal and Charismatic believers**; the CRL's own Section 22 chair resigned over hostility to those very sectors. The line is doctrinal and institutional, not racial. *Eight umbrella bodies hold the seats; constituted as 19 (Oct 2025) under founding chair Prof. Xulu. Xulu resigned Jan 2026 (→ whistle-blower); the committee's original Evangelical Alliance member, Rev Dr John Maloma, was elevated to chair (deputy Lizwi Ncwane, Nazareth) — leaving 18 current members. The CRL has not published a revised roster. All COVID-compliant.*

Member body	Seats	What it holds / incorporates	What it did during COVID	The Section 22 Committee vs the Christian Sector
<b>Nazareth Baptist (Shembe)</b>	9	African Initiated Church; documented (SAHO/scholarly): <i>ancestor veneration</i> , veneration of founder Isaiah Shembe as a prophet, Zulu ritual	All factions stayed closed; refused to reopen when legally permitted	<p>18-member committee (exact) · sector = illustrative estimate (Census 2022 + Pew)</p> <p><b>Who sits on the committee</b></p>  <p>■ AIC 13                  ■ Pent./Charismatic 1                  ■ Evangelical 1 — repudiated                  ■ Ecumenical 1 — distanced                  ■ Network / civic 2</p> <p><b>South Africa's Christian sector</b></p>  <p>■ AIC ~30%                  ■ Pent./Charismatic ~25%                  ■ Mainline ~20%                  ■ Evangelical ~15%                  ■ Catholic ~8%                  ■ Other ~2%</p> <p>13 of 18 seats AIC vs ~30% of the sector; the two hatched (mainstream) seats are repudiated/distanced by their own bodies.</p>
<b>Zion Christian Church (ZCC)</b>	3	SA's largest church; African Initiated Church; documented (SAHO/scholarly): <i>ancestor veneration</i> , prophecy and healing as doctrine	Closed before the law required; refused Level 3 reopening; bishops publicly vaccinated	
<b>SA Council of Churches (SACC)</b>	1	Ecumenical mainline body. Its rep Madlala was the "original nominee" — but the <b>SACC has publicly distanced itself</b> , approaching the regulations "with caution"	Helped <i>design</i> the compliance framework; "first to call for a lockdown"	
<b>Evangelical Alliance (TEASA)</b>	1	Evangelical alliance (~4.4m). Its rep <b>Maloma now chairs</b> — yet major member denominations (Apostolic Faith Mission, Assemblies of God, Full Gospel) <b>formally repudiated TEASA's participation</b>	Published its own compliance guidelines; required compliance officers	
<b>Council of African Independent Churches (CAIC)</b>	1	Umbrella for African-Independent churches — many incorporating traditional, non-scriptural elements	Complied throughout the lockdown	
<b>The Great Commission (W. Cape)</b>	1	Ministers' network — registered, state-cooperative	Complied; no record of defiance	
<b>Moral Regeneration Movement (MRM)</b>	1	<b>ANC-aligned</b> civic body — not a church; aligns churches with party doctrine	Compliance never in question	
<b>Rhema Bible Church</b>	1	Charismatic megachurch (McCauley) — mainstream doctrine; tolerated as state-cooperative	Closed immediately; stayed shut 7 weeks past reopening; <b>hosted the launch</b>	
<b>Founding chair · Prof. Rev. Musa Xulu</b>	—	Founding Section 22 Chairperson — seat now vacant	Resigned 15 Jan 2026 → whistle-blower (sworn affidavit); chair role passed to	

Member body	Seats	What it holds / incorporates	What it did during COVID	The Section 22 Committee vs the Christian Sector
			Maloma, an original EASA member	
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>18</b>	18 current members (constituted as 19; founding chair Xulu's seat vacant since his resignation) · all COVID-compliant · 13 of 18 African Independent Churches (Shembe 9 · ZCC 3 · CAIC) — 12 of them (Shembe & ZCC) documented with ancestor veneration · independent-evangelical & traditional churches excluded		

**By contrast, orthodox Biblical Christianity** — Scripture as final authority, **no mixing of other traditions into the faith**, no state licence over ministry, no surrender of conscience — has **no seat**. The committee is built from churches the state can register and work with; the believers who cannot submit their doctrine or worship to state control are the ones under pressure.

**Sources:** on-camera delegate roll — CRL Section 22 launch (Encl. transcript 74), corroborated by Bitter Winter & The Cape Independent reporting; member organisations confirmed in the CRL launch statement (6 Oct 2025); per-body COVID compliance — COVID-Compliance research (Encl. 9); AIC classification — SAHO (ZCC) + Religions (MDPI) 2023.

## 5 · PRESIDENTIAL SACP AXIS — THE PRESIDENCY ITSELF AS AN NDR INSTRUMENT

[Source documents ↗](#)

[Mind map ↗](#)

Every president since 1994 has been an SACP member, a former member, or the SACP's closely aligned candidate. The ANC's own 1997 Strategy & Tactics: "ANC representatives must fulfil the mandate of the organisation in all centres of power, including the executive."

President	Term	SACP Status	Key evidence	Cabinet SACP members
<b>Nelson Mandela</b>	1994–1999	<b>CENTRAL COMMITTEE</b>	"was not only a member... but also a member of our Party's Central Committee" — SACP, 6 Dec 2013. Hidden for 51 years. Authored "How to be a Good Communist" (handwritten ms.). <a href="#">File ✓</a>	~6 confirmed: Slovo (Housing), Kasrils (Defence), Tshwete (Safety), Mufamadi (Safety), Jordan (Posts), Naidoo (RDP) <a href="#">Pub. record</a>
<b>Thabo Mbeki</b>	1999–2008	<b>MEMBER IN EXILE</b>	SACP member (London exile, late 1960s–1970s); resigned on SACP legalisation c.1990; maintained Tripartite Alliance as governing framework throughout. <a href="#">Pub. record</a>	~4 confirmed: Kasrils (Water→Intelligence), Tshwete (Safety, d.2002), Nqakula (Safety), Jordan <a href="#">Pub. record</a>
<b>Kgalema Motlanthe</b>	Sep 2008–May 2009	<b>SACP SEC. GENERAL 1996–98</b>	Served as SACP Secretary General before moving directly to ANC Secretary General (1997), then ANC Deputy President, then Acting State President. <a href="#">Pub. record</a>	Inherited Mbeki cabinet intact; no reshuffle during caretaker term <a href="#">Pub. record</a>
<b>Jacob Zuma</b>	2009–2018	<b>SACP'S CHOSEN CANDIDATE</b>	SACP's preferred candidate vs Mbeki at 2007 Polokwane. M&G (7 Jul 2015): "five out of its six top [SACP] leaders are deployed by the ANC in government." SACP later admitted Zuma was a "mistake." <a href="#">File ✓</a>	5 of 6 SACP top leaders in cabinet: Nzimande (Higher Ed), Cronin (Dep. Public Works), Patel (Economic Dev.), Davies (Trade & Industry) <a href="#">File ✓</a>
<b>Cyril Ramaphosa</b>	2018–present	<b>PUBLICLY ALIGNED</b>	Sang "I'm a Communist" at ANC conference (Dec 2017). SACP Red October rally (Nov 2017): "It is the aim of the SACP to build socialism today in preparation for the attainment of a communist world." <a href="#">File ✓</a>	Nzimande (Higher Ed), Patel (Employment), Mantashe (Mineral Resources) continued. Signed Hate Speech Act, NHI, BELA, Expropriation Act — 2024–25. <a href="#">File ✓</a>

[File ✓](#) confirmed from source documents on file · [Pub. record](#) confirmed public record (not in these files) · Primary files: SACP statement on Mandela (6 Dec 2013); M&G July 2015; Ramaphosa Clips & Transcripts; ANC Strategy & Tactics 1997.

## 6 · PEOPLE'S WAR — HOW THE MOVEMENT REMOVED OPPOSITION BEFORE (1984–94)

[Background ↗](#)

[Mind map ↗](#)

The "people's war" the ANC adopted from Vietnam (Green Book, 1979) was applied at home: the deliberate removal of anyone who would not conform to the revolution. Tactics below are documented by the Truth and Reconciliation Commission; the "people's war" framing follows A. Jeffery, *People's War* (2009).

### 1984–85 · The order

O.R. Tambo's call on Radio Freedom — "**Make South Africa ungovernable**" (ANC NEC, 25 Apr 1985). The Vietnamese "people's war" doctrine, now turned on the country itself.

[SAHO; ANC NEC 1985 ↗](#)

### 1985–90 · The method

State authority driven out; township **councillors and police forced to resign** as "collaborators"; "**people's courts**" imposed summary punishment — lashes, public humiliation, and **necklacing** (a burning tyre) of informers.

[TRC Report, Vol. 2 Ch. 4 ↗](#)

### 13 Apr 1986 · Endorsed at the top

Winnie Mandela, Munsieville: "...with our boxes of matches and our necklaces we shall liberate this country." TRC testimony: taken as permission to wipe out informers.

[TRC; SAPA, 28 Nov 1997 ↗](#)

### The targets

Councillors, police, moderates — and rival movements, above all **Inkatha (IFP)**. The logic of a people's war: it **tolerates no neutral ground and no independent institution**.

[TRC ↗](#); A. Jeffery, *People's War* (contested)

**Why this matters now — they have done it before.** When this movement last set out to remove what stood in its way, it deliberately collapsed the order and eliminated those who would not conform. That is why the emergency-powers shortcut (Page 1) is not speculation — it is a **return to a proven method**: the same party now building a church-registration regime has shown it will make the country ungovernable to achieve its objectives.


**Package enclosures:**

[Encl. 1 ↗](#) Independent legal opinion (Aug 2025) — "a clear and credible threat of religious persecution" [Encl. 2 ↗](#) NDR documentary evidence (Mar 2025)

[Encl. 3 ↗](#) COVID enforcement — 411k arrests, worship bans, force on every colour [Encl. 4 ↗](#)

Rwanda model — 7,700 churches closed, theology degrees, evangelism bans

*South Africa's constitution protects religious freedom on paper — this entire apparatus operates beneath it.* · June 2026

 [Full sources index — all 39 documents with searchable readers ↗](#)