

# **EXHIBIT**

**V1**

**AFFIDAVIT**

**&**

**ANNEXURES**

**Trevor Manuel**



**JUDICIAL COMMISSION OF INQUIRY INTO ALLEGATIONS OF STATE CAPTURE,  
CORRUPTION AND FRAUD IN THE PUBLIC SECTOR INCLUDING ORGANS OF STATE**

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# **AFFIDAVIT**

**Trevor Manuel**



**IN RE: JUDICIAL COMMISSION OF INQUIRY INTO ALLEGATIONS OF STATE  
CAPTURE, CORRUPTION AND FRAUD IN THE PUBLIC SECTOR INCLUDING  
ORGANS OF STATE**

**AFFIDAVIT**

I, the undersigned,

**TREVOR ANDREW MANUEL**

do hereby make oath and state that:

1. I am an adult male, living in Johannesburg.
2. The facts contained in this affidavit are within my personal knowledge, except where the context indicates otherwise, and are both true and correct.
3. I served as the Minister of Trade and Industry from 1994 until 1996 and subsequently as the Minister of Finance from 1996 until 2009, during the presidencies of Nelson Mandela, Thabo Mbeki and Kgalema Motlanthe. I was the Minister in the Presidency for the National Planning Commission from 2009 to 2014 under President Jacob Zuma. I am currently the Chairperson of Old Mutual Limited.
4. I have served on the National Executive Committee ("NEC") of the African National Congress ("ANC") for 21 years from 1991 to 2012.
5. On 1 October 2018, the Secretary of the Commission, Mr Khotso De Wee, contacted me to provide insight into statements made by Mr Fikile Mbalula ("Mr Mbalula") at an ANC NEC meeting in 2011.
6. I attended the ANC NEC meeting in 2011 at which we discussed the influence of the Gupta family on government affairs, amongst other matters.

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7. At this meeting, Mr Mbalula tearfully recounted that he had been summoned to the Gupta residence in Saxonwold, Johannesburg, where he was informed by Mr Atul Gupta that he would be promoted from Deputy Minister of Police to Minister of Sport and Recreation.
8. Mr Mbalula recounted that Mr Zuma's announcement of the Cabinet reshuffle and his appointment as Minister of Sport and Recreation was made after his meeting with Mr Atul Gupta at his Saxonwold residence. I recall that he was visibly disturbed that Mr Atul Gupta had been the person to inform him of the ministerial appointment.
9. In 2017, Mr Mbalula and I engaged in a robust exchange of correspondence. I wrote an open letter to Mr Mbalula, published in the *Daily Maverick* on 7 June 2017, in which I recounted his statements as:

*"Odd, because I have a clear memory of an incident that may be at the heart of why you have responded to me in the manner you have. That memory goes back to an ANC NEC meeting in August 2011. There, the Fikile Mbalula we once knew wept as he spoke. He explained he'd been called to Saxonwold by the Guptas in May 2009 and was told that he was being promoted from the position of Deputy Minister of Police to Minister of Sport. A few days later the President confirmed this change. The weeping was about the fact that he, Fikile, was happy that he'd made it into Cabinet but that it was wrong to have learnt this from Atul Gupta. That weeping was then, and this is now. Perhaps there are still a few debts to be called in by Saxonwold."*

I annex a copy of the open letter as TM1.

10. As far as I am aware, Mr Mbalula has never publicly denied my account of his tearful confession. On 17 June 2017, Mr Mbalula responded to my description of his contribution at the NEC meeting as follows:

*"Manuel decided not to deal with the substantive issues I raised in my opinion but carry on at a tangent about me crying after the Gupta family got to know possibly from someone close to the president that I was to be nominated to be*

*Sport Minister, we can all make guesses as to how this information may have been leaked to them. Newspapers too usually get these sort of leaks and announce or speculate about them before the president does.*

*Manuel did not understand what my tears were about. He did not get the point then. I am on the record as stating that I have fundamental problems with the way capitalists operate and the Gupta family show us just how ugly capitalism is. Indeed, they abused privately learnt information to try to position themselves somehow. I was not about that, which is why I was the first to report this to the open NEC. I am still not part of that; I do not stand for that. On the other hand, Manuel was one of the people who at that NEC meeting did not agree with my stance on the Gupta family."*

11. I attach Mr Mbalula's full response, published as an open letter in the *Daily Maverick*, as **TM2**.
12. When consulting with my legal representatives in preparation of this affidavit, I noted in my open letter (TM1) that Mr Mbalula met Mr Atul Gupta in May 2009. However, having regard to the sequence of events, this was in error as the visit must have taken place in October 2010, shortly before Mr Mbalula's appointment as the Minister of Sport and Recreation on 1 November 2010.
13. I have nothing further to declare regarding Mr Mbalula's statements at the NEC meeting and confirm that I am available to assist the Commission when called upon to do so in future.

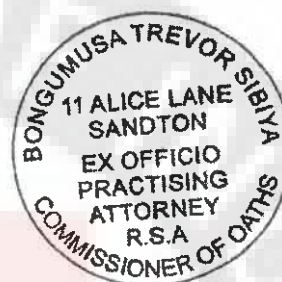
  
TREVOR ANDREW MANUEL

B. TS

I HEREBY CERTIFY that the deponent has acknowledged that he knows and understands the contents of this affidavit, which was signed and sworn before me at SANDTON on the 11<sup>th</sup> day of **OCTOBER** 2018, the regulations contained in Government Notice No R1258 of 21 July 1972, as amended, and Government Notice No R1648 of 19 August 1977, as amended, having been complied with.



**COMMISSIONER OF OATHS**





TM1

Opinionista • Trevor Manuel • 9 June 2017

## Fikile, do you remember the tears you shed over the Guptas?

2043 Reactions

**I have tried, unsuccessfully, to understand the purpose of the article that was first published in your name in the Daily Maverick. You clearly did not understand what I said in the recent panel discussion about Nelson Mandela's economic legacy.**

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Dear Fikile,

The drafters of your letter to me try, unsuccessfully, to weave a story that drifts from Andre Odendaal, Moeletsi Mbeki, Anton Lembede and Martin Luther King, to lies about our household income. The only result is absolute confusion.

I stand by what I said at the Nelson Mandela Foundation: the term "White Monopoly Capital" was conjured up by Bell Pottinger on behalf of the Guptas, and filtered into the political discourse to serve their agenda. Since then I have become aware of the specificity of the facts. As Ranjeni Munusamy reminds us, the term was developed by Bell Pottinger's Victoria Geoghegan, who in an email to Duduzane Zuma styled "White Monopoly Capital" as a narrative and filtered it into the discourse via Collen Maine, Andile Mngxitama and Mzwanele Manyi.

R.S.

The idea of 'White Monopoly Capital' (WMC) is a ruse to draw attention away from our pressing policy priorities. It is for this reason that I asked what the alternative is:

"Is it Indian Monopoly Capture out of Saxonwold?"

In case you haven't understood my initial statement, this is a specific reference to the wheeling and dealing of the Guptas. It goes without saying that the scandalous conduct of this particular family must be separated from the significant contributions to the liberation struggle of many thousands of people of Indian origin.

To recast for your benefit, WMC is an instrument of propaganda that draws attention to one issue in a manner that ignores the realities confronting us. I must assume from your implacable belief in its existence that you have consumed the idea – hook, line and sinker.

I agree with the views of the SACP, as expressed in their recent statement following the Central Committee meeting of 2-4 June, that one of the "features of the Gupta parasitic-patronage network" is "a diversionary populist ideological platform". Amongst other insightful points the SACP makes, which you would do well to read carefully, it says:

"In the face of growing public exposure of their misdeeds, there have been a number of ideological interventions from the parasitic-patronage faction."

If you also took the trouble to read the Economics Resolutions of each ANC Conference since the 49th in 1994, you will not find the language of 'White Monopoly Capital' in any of them. This is because WMC is not part of the lexicon of terms used in ANC policy. It was conjured up as a red herring to obscure the misdeeds of the Guptas and those who benefit from their patronage network.

Words are important, and in the political economy terms such as monopoly have a distinct meaning. The tasks at hand remain enormous. I would welcome a rational policy discussion with you but that depends on your getting facts right. To use terms such as "neoliberal sleeper" to describe me obfuscates the real issues. Extensive research, including by international economists, has established that South Africa has the most redistributive

B.7s  


income tax system in the world, and that its social expenditure is largely progressive. But our ongoing challenge is of course economic growth to sustain this, the creation of jobs to improve the standards of living for our people, and the dramatic reduction of inequality by improving public education, and changing the apartheid landscape of our cities.

The National Development Plan placed its central focus on how to eliminate poverty and reduce inequality. These remain cornerstone challenges. They will not disappear simply because some new nefarious slogan has been dreamt up by Bell Pottinger and the Guptas. Our problem is that too many people are left behind, excluded from access to good quality education, better quality public service and an investment in skills. Of course, 23 years on, the exclusion of so many still bears all of the dimensions of race, class, gender and geography. These challenges are not wished away; we need action, measurement and communication with all South Africans.

You would recall that the ANC's 53rd national conference in 2012 adopted the National Development Plan as a policy of the governing party. The NDP also makes a series of recommendations about *policing* to deal with the realities of poverty, and I would advise you to scrupulously examine these.

Unfortunately, it is as though the NDP has been abandoned as people who occupy senior positions of State appear more focused on demonstrating that it is their turn to eat.

It is odd, Fikile, that a mere five years ago you described President Zuma as a "politically bankrupt" leader who married "every week". Odd, because I have a clear memory of an incident that may be at the heart of why you have responded to me in the manner you have. That memory goes back to an ANC NEC meeting in August 2011. There, the Fikile Mbalula we once knew wept as he spoke. He explained he'd been called to Saxonwold by the Guptas in May 2009 and was told that he was being promoted from the position of Deputy Minister of Police to Minister of Sport. A few days later the President confirmed this change. The weeping was about the fact that he, Fikile, was happy that he'd made it into Cabinet but that it was wrong to have learnt this from Atul Gupta. That weeping was then, and this is now. Perhaps there are still a few debts to be called in by Saxonwold.

On the questions of service to our country and people, I will leave history to

B.F.  
/

judge my contribution.

Regards,

Trevor **DM**

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**Trevor Manuel**

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A

TM2

Opinionista • Fikile Mbalula • 11 June 2017

Trevor, Ithi Awazi

1611 Reactions

**The ANC policy of “the eye of the needle” seems to have been mostly needed on a few of those who joined the ANC in the mid-1980s from the glorious UDF, like Trevor Manuel. The ANC simply mopped up all sorts; that is why we have the Terror Lekotas who deny land was grabbed by whites and are now fervent supporters of black exploitation. Trevor Manuel has come out boldly from his sleeper cell group within the movement.**

Follow

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Amilcar Cabral in *Unity and Struggle* says, “Do not confuse the reality you live in with the ideas you have in your head”.

This instructs us to avoid at all costs being unprincipled, ideologically dissonant and susceptible to turncoats. Painfully, the Congress Movement has seen a lot of this since 1912, indeed prior to 1912, many among our forefathers joined with one or the other Boer or English company against their own. This is particularly painful to see happen after our political liberation, as there is no valid survival reason why this ideological betrayal should occur.

In 2002 ANC Umrabulo – Colonialism of a Special Type, the ANC wrote that; “... because the concept of colonialism does not specify the nature of class relations it was important to move beyond the form of the social formation to its content. Colonialism of a special type was found to be perpetrated by a capitalist class. This class came to be known as “white monopoly capital”.

B.75



In my opinion piece, which the editors of *Daily Maverick* styled as a letter to Trevor Manuel, I pondered on the question of when exactly Manuel had turned against the poor masses to be a client of minority capital. Indeed, with proper analysis, we can easily track Manuel's sidetracking from his push for abandonment of the RDP for policies cemented on a neo-liberal framework that has left the masses in severe economic devastation and as pariahs with a vote. Manuel also caused the first wave of capital flight as he authorised many outside listings of South African companies without any usable conditions. This capital flight punished the rand value.

We continue to fail to call on those more powerful and remain extremely powerful like Manuel to stick to the truth of our realities. Cabral taught that only through principled study of prevailing realities can the theory of revolutionary change be integrated with practical solutions.

Our reality is that the economy of South Africa is owned and controlled by a monopolising class of capitalists who happen to be, in the main, white male Afrikaners. This is an undeniable principle and a first point of departure. The ANC lexicon as far back to its founding located this analysis as a central issue from the voyages to London led by president Langalibalele Dube up to the development of African Claims. Central to the Congress movement was the issue of white monopoly over our land; this monopoly exists today.

Nelson Mandela's own lips uttered the words "white monopoly capital" or "minority capital" more than I can count. Mandela embodied the ANC lexicon and Manuel has never been the authority on ANC policy; instead he was always a spoiler.

Do I find myself at all surprised that Manuel denies this lexicon today? No. Manuel shares this exact thought and exact phraseology with one Johann Rupert, the son of Antonj Rupert who amassed his wealth through apartheid corruption via the secret group Afrikaner Broerdebond that chose who presidents and ministers in the Nationalist Party governments would be. At a wine auction I attended years ago at one of Rupert's own grand farms, he came over to me and in the discussion he said, "White Monopoly Capital does not exist, Fikile." Hearing the exact words repeated by Manuel explains a lot.

R.P.

It was indeed not my intention to have a public back and forth with Manuel but to make the point that the ANC has always identified White Monopoly Capital as a key enemy of the people. Nelson Mandela spoke at length on this subject using exactly that phrase. Ben Turok and Oliver Tambo have used the words, or as Manuel says, "lexicon"; White Monopoly Capital.

Manuel decided not to deal with the substantive issues I raised in my opinion but carry on at a tangent about me crying after the Gupta family got to know possibly from someone close to the president that I was to be nominated to be Sport Minister, we can all make guesses as to how this information may have been leaked to them. Newspapers too usually get these sort of leaks and announce or speculate about them before the president does.

Manuel did not understand what my tears were about. He did not get the point then. I am on the record as stating that I have fundamental problems with the way capitalists operate and the Gupta family show us just how ugly capitalism is. Indeed, they abused privately learnt information to try to position themselves somehow. I was not about that, which is why I was the first to report this to the open NEC. I am still not part of that; I do not stand for that. On the other hand, Manuel was one of the people who at that NEC meeting did not agree with my stance on the Gupta family.

I do not have aversions to Manuel's criticism of the Gupta family or even President Jacob Zuma or any other ANC leader or member for that matter. My opinion is pointed on Manuel's White Monopoly Capitalism denialism, the ideological dissonance and betrayal.

As for the mud over the supposed utterances I made about the president's private life, I must take strong exception to this dirty trick. I am an African, I come from the veins of polygamy and I do not look down upon my people and myself. Any utterance attributed to me as disparaging over President Zuma's marital status is a lie and aims to only cause deliberate trouble or cast me above my own people's traditions. Indeed there is no way one can intellectually connect supposed marital status comments with the issue of whether White Monopoly Capital exists in South Africa or not. The mischief in bringing this up is naked as Manuel's selling out is.

B.T.



It is a fact that the Manuel-Ramos clan has amassed great wealth. This family business clearly started at Treasury and has worked itself at the financial institutions of this country.

Perhaps we were supposed to raise moral and ethical issues when Manuel recommended his then mistress to be Director-General of the Treasury – this was a corrupt and gross abuse of one's power. Indeed, with hindsight, the nakedness of questionable dealings in particular in the deal approval of the Absa-Barclays transaction arises.

Manuel has fingerprints in our people's hunger and lack of fair economic participation. The issue of income and wealth inequality is located squarely in Manuel as the chief architect. Today he opines from the shadows as a person who has the answers. He has no answers but a further neoliberal agenda to fatten the Ruperts of the day. He boasts that the tax system is regarded as the best in the world in terms of redistribution. Yes, indeed we are providing free ARVs and social wages, free water and housing and so on. But why is this the case? Manuel controlled policy direction for over 15 years in government and his final years were left with him institutionalising the NDP. He is the course (sic) of all the economic malaise of our people. He has fattened his friends and family. They have thanked him with untold wealth gained through his access to power.

Manuel sold state assets to his friends and comrades; these friends were in turn given money to finance by Manuel himself through the public workers' pensions. Today, Telkom is a classic example of how Manuel instituted unethical conduct.

The government-owned tourism operator company sale was a similar disaster. Key to Manuel's design was to maintain a façade of stable fiscus management for credit ratings and impressive growth numbers. This ended up with growth that propped up Manuel's current employers and his wife Maria Ramos's. The growth and stable credit ratings Manuel chased led South Africa to have 17-million social wage earners as he devastated the manufacturing sector.

It is Manuel's legacy that we are dealing with. It is his personal doing, his ideas, that have trapped our people into poverty and today he fashions himself as the best thing since sliced bread. It is his devastating austerity programme that

D. T. A.



destroyed our hopes. He alone plunged South Africa into darkness and enabled his friends to collude and rob the state on various tenders including the FIFA 2010 build programme.

This current government found a mess plastered in beautiful wallpaper. Manuel's mess. We are taking all the blame and it is acceptable because we agreed when he forcefully made his points. Never again!

The devastation on our people did not end there. Infrastructure spending was about (sic) halted; neither power stations nor dams were being built. This led to South Africa missing riding the commodity boom cycle that saw countries like Brazil and Australia gaining great development while South Africa was plunged in the dark over load shedding. This all occurred under Manuel. As workers were stripped of their jobs, they were also not being taken care of in our hospitals as courts had to compel him to budget for the HIV pandemic, an issue he was against. Today, we are lectured by the same people that we are clueless and bad, all this while we are dealing with their legacy.

Rupert and bankers got wealthier. They have rewarded him and even crowned him our master himself, except it's all delusions of grandeur. A selected black elite alongside Manuel also enjoyed the good times. It took this current government to look at how far transformation laws have gone; we discovered only a small dent had been done.

From the construction industry to food production, from mining to manufacturing and tourism, white male Afrikaners have the monopoly and this cannot be denied. One company controls the alcohol market, a couple of construction firms control the built industry leading to corrupt collusion; today, there is not a black-owned bank in the top five banks, they are all owned by a small clique of white Afrikaner males or foreigners. Manuel designed all this and it is his legacy.

We have over 80% of our tax revenue dependent on whites; this is a monopoly itself. It talks to earnings and who earns what. Who earns what talks to income inequality. This inequality comes from an economy monopolised by white males. This is the ideological issue we cannot find agreement on. The Gupta family did not create the inequalities in South Africa but Manuel sold policies of appeasing the very white monopoly capital he today defends so passionately. Manuel has effectively sold out.

BTS  


As Minister of Police, I am not interested in weighing in on issues; before public servants I am responsible, this is why I will not be drawn into the issues around the Gupta family except to reiterate that capitalists like them and Manuel do all sort of things we cannot agree with. This includes Manuel's wife's visit on (sic) the ANC in December 2015 to demand who their preferred Minister of Finance is. The Chamber of Mines does the same over the Minister of Mineral Resources. I have called for regulation of lobbyist like the Guptas, Manuel's wife, Chamber of Mines, Bankers, and others like them.

I have asked before, where were all these people when Trevor Manuel appointed or accepted Ajay Gupta as Cabinet Adviser on Economy and an "ambassador" of brand South Africa during his term? Where were they when millions were infected with HIV and not given proper medical care by their great Manuels? When what mattered was credit ratings and not human development?

Do people know that the nuclear build that we are castigated over is a Manuel brainchild? Does it matter that a part of the reason we run a high budget deficit is because we care for our people – students in higher education and civil servants' wages? Wealthy politicians like Manuel who in a very sophisticated manner enriched themselves in the most unethical and potentially corrupt ways ever imaginable must not fool South Africans.

Let us be clear, it is not our intention to replace one monopoly with another. The economy of the country must be equitably owned and the majority must participate in direct ownership. Manuel can discuss names; we will stick to discussing lived principles in their reality, as Cabral teaches.

The typical Manuel style of undermining fellow comrades and thinking that he alone knows best makes him think I cannot write what I always talk about. Well, the son of the capitalist class can always make these silly aversions but I will continue to "write what I like" and say what I like whether he and his mightier Stellenbosch best friends forever drink wine over it or not. **DM**

*Fikile Mbalula is an ANC NEC member and Minister of Police*

*The opinions expressed are not necessarily those of Daily Maverick.*

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**Fikile Mbalula**

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Fikile Mbalula is the Minister of Police. See his Wikipedia profile.



BZ

# **SUPPLEMENTARY AFFIDAVIT**

**Trevor Manuel**



**JUDICIAL COMMISSION OF INQUIRY INTO ALLEGATIONS OF STATE  
CAPTURE, CORRUPTION AND FRAUD IN THE PUBLIC SECTOR INCLUDING  
ORGANS OF STATE**

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**AFFIDAVIT**

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I, the undersigned,

**TREVOR ANDREW MANUEL**

do hereby make oath and say:

**THE PURPOSE OF THIS AFFIDAVIT**

- 1 On 12 October 2018, I submitted an affidavit to the Commission explaining my recollection of Mr Fikile Mbalula's confession at an ANC National Executive Committee ("NEC") meeting in August 2011, concerning the first time he heard of his appointment as the Minister of Sport and Recreation.
- 2 The Commission subsequently requested me to give an account of my recollection of the practices and procedures followed under the successive presidencies of Nelson Mandela, Thabo Mbeki, Kgalema Motlanthe and Jacob Zuma for the appointment of cabinet Ministers. I have always understood that the power of the president to appoint Cabinet ministers is a constitutionally protected prerogative. Accordingly, Cabinet ministers serve at the pleasure of a sitting president.

 MT

- 3 I wish to emphasise that my knowledge of ministerial appointment practices and process is limited to my personal experience of having been appointed as a Minister on several occasions under successive presidencies. Because I was never dismissed as a Minister, I cannot comment on the practices of any of the presidents in this regard. I also cannot say whether my own experiences constituted the norm.
- 4 I begin by providing an overview of the positions I have held in government and in the ANC, before turning to my recollection of the appointment process followed by each President under whom I served.

#### **THE POSITIONS I HAVE HELD IN GOVERNMENT AND IN THE ANC**

- 5 I served as a Member of Parliament and as a cabinet Minister from 1994 to 2014.
- 5.1. From 1994 until 1996, I served as the Minister of Trade and Industry, during the presidency of Nelson Mandela.
- 5.2. From 1996 until 2009, I served as the Minister of Finance, during the presidencies of Nelson Mandela, Thabo Mbeki and Kgalema Motlanthe.
- 5.3. Thereafter, from 2009 to 2014, I served as a Minister in the Presidency for the National Planning Commission under Jacob Zuma.
- 6 With the exception of Kgalema Motlanthe, each of the aforementioned presidents was the President of the ANC and, upon election by Parliament, became the President of the Republic.



MTT



- 7 I served on the ANC NEC from 1991 until 2012. The NEC is the highest decision-making body of the ANC.
- 8 From 1991 until 1994, I also served on the National Working Committee ("NWC"), a sub-committee of the NEC responsible for implementing the decisions of the NEC. It is the second highest decision-making body of the ANC. At any point in time the NWC can consist of up to 20 people, including the core leadership and representatives of the Veterans League, the Women's League and the Youth League, amongst other recognised ANC structures.
- 9 The top leadership of the ANC, commonly referred to as the "top six", comprises the President, Deputy President, National Chairperson, Secretary General, Deputy Secretary General and Treasurer General. I have never been a member of the top six.
- 10 I can confirm that, to the best of my recollection, for as long as I served on the ANC NEC, it was never consulted by a President prior to the appointment or dismissal of a member of his Cabinet. This is unsurprising. Many, if not all, of the approximately 80 NEC members would have aspired to serve government in a ministerial role. It would only have stirred controversy for a president to have raised such a matter with that body.

#### **MY APPOINTMENT PROCESS UNDER EACH PRESIDENT**

##### **President Nelson Mandela**

- 11 On 7 May 1994, four days prior to his inauguration, Nelson Mandela met with the NWC to discuss his choices for Cabinet. It was clear that Mandela had already decided on certain positions, and that others still required negotiation

with the smaller political parties, which enjoyed support from more than 10 percent of the electorate.

- 12 Mandela informed the NWC that Thabo Mbeki would become the Deputy President alongside FW De Klerk. Among other ministerial appointments that I cannot recall, he also announced that I would take up the position as Minister of Trade and Industry.
- 13 Approximately six to eight weeks after Mandela was elected President, he phoned me to ask if we could meet at his Pretoria residence. Upon arrival, I was greeted by then Deputy President Mbeki, and fellow Cabinet Ministers, Mr Tito Mboweni (then Minister of Labour) and Mr Alec Erwin (then Deputy Minister of Finance).
- 14 Mandela informed us that Derek Keys, who had served as Minister of Finance from 1992, wanted to resign, and that a replacement was needed. Mandela advised that he thought that Chris Liebenberg should be the new Minister of Finance, because he was concerned that some sectors of business were not ready for an ANC appointment.
- 15 Liebenberg eventually took up the position of Minister of Finance on 16 September 1994.
- 16 In 1995, less than a year after Liebenberg was appointed, he tendered his resignation. Again, Mandela called me to a meeting with then Deputy President Mbeki and informed me that I was to succeed Liebenberg, after his resignation took effect on 4 April 1996.



- 17 Mandela requested that I keep the news of my impending appointment confidential and advised that I use this time to acquaint myself with the Finance Ministry. Therefore, for approximately seven months, Liebenberg was the only other person who knew of my forthcoming appointment.
- 18 In March 1996, Mandela informed me that Gill Marcus would serve as my deputy, with Alec Erwin taking over as the Minister of Trade and Industry. Mandela gave me permission to speak to Marcus about the appointment.
- 19 After Liebenberg presented his 1996 budget speech, Mandela made a public announcement that I would succeed Liebenberg as the Minister of Finance, with Gill Marcus as my deputy. Mandela also announced that Alec Erwin would take over my former position as the Minister of Trade and Industry, with Phumzile Mlambo-Ngcuka serving as his deputy. I was not aware of the latter appointment until it was publicly announced.

**President Thabo Mbeki**

- 20 Shortly after the national elections in 1999, and the election of Thabo Mbeki as President, I was invited to the presidential guesthouse in Pretoria after a late evening gathering after a cultural event. The invited guests proceeded to the main lounge area, and, one by one, we were called into the President's private study in an adjacent room. I was one of the first to be called.
- 21 Upon entry into the study, I was greeted by President Mbeki and Kgalema Motlanthe – then the Secretary-General of the ANC. The discussion was very brief; Mbeki asked me if I would continue to serve as the Minister of Finance, and I readily accepted. Thereafter I was requested to depart for home immediately.

MT

22 When President Mbeki was re-elected in 2004, a similar procedure took place.

**President Kgalema Motlanthe**

- 23 Following the 2007 ANC elective conference in Polokwane, Jacob Zuma was elected as the new ANC President. Cyril Ramaphosa succeeded Kgalema Motlanthe as Deputy President of the ANC and Gwede Mantashe was elected as Secretary-General.
- 24 In the early hours of 20 September 2008, the NEC resolved to recall President Mbeki. In order to maintain stability in government, it also resolved that its Members of Parliament should nominate Kgalema Motlanthe as the interim President for the remainder of Mbeki's term.
- 25 On the same day that the NEC took this decision I submitted my resignation from Cabinet to President Mbeki before he agreed to step down. Having done that, I shared a copy of the letter with both Zuma, as President of the ANC and Motlanthe, who at the time was the Deputy President of the ANC.
- 26 Zuma reacted by requesting me to withdraw my letter of resignation. However, because I felt duty-bound to serve at the pleasure of the sitting President, I informed Motlanthe that I would be available to serve, in any capacity, if called upon to do so in a Cabinet of his choice.
- 27 On 21 September 2008, Mbeki resigned as President of the Republic, after being recalled by the NEC.
- 28 I was abroad when these events took place. I returned on 24 September 2008. That evening, Motlanthe phoned me and asked whether I would be available to serve as the Minister of Finance.

- 29 On 25 September 2008, Parliament held a special session to elect Motlanthe as the interim President of the Republic. Baleka Mbete was elected as the Deputy President. On the very same day, Motlanthe announced his Cabinet, in which I was appointed Minister of Finance.

**President Jacob Zuma**

- 30 I was nominated by the ANC to serve as a Member of Parliament. Nominees are expected to sign an acceptance form in the ANC. At the time, the ANC's practice was to elect MPs through an internal nomination and election.
- 31 I delayed signing in February 2009, which then resulted in a meeting at Luthuli House with Zuma and Mantashe to discuss my delay. The discussion led to my request to be relieved of the responsibility of Finance Minister. I declined the nomination because, having been the longest serving Minister of Finance, I felt that a change in the leadership of Finance ministry was necessary.
- 32 Zuma accepted my stance, but asked whether I would nevertheless avail myself for a different position in government. He explained that he had been considering a new portfolio, but that he could not say anything about it given the highly sensitive and political nature of Cabinet appointments.
- 33 On 10 May 2009, very soon after the national elections, I was invited to the presidential guest house in Pretoria. President Zuma was accompanied by the Secretary-General of the ANC, Gwede Mantashe. He asked whether I would serve in his Cabinet as a Minister in the Presidency. I agreed.
- 34 Those in attendance at the presidential guest house were asked to return the following day for a press conference, where Zuma announced his Cabinet.

*MT*  
7 MT

35 I was officially sworn in on 11 May 2009 as Minister in the Presidency for the National Planning Commission, a role that I occupied until 2014.



**TREVOR ANDREW MANUEL**

I HEREBY CERTIFY that the deponent has acknowledged that he knows and understands the contents of this affidavit, which was signed and sworn before me at SANDTON on the 14<sup>TH</sup> day of **FEBRUARY** 2019, the regulations contained in Government Notice No R1258 of 21 July 1972, as amended, and Government Notice No R1648 of 19 August 1977, as amended, having been complied with.



**COMMISSIONER OF OATHS**

Max Taylor  
EX OFFICIO  
COMMISSIONER OF OATHS  
PRACTISING ATTORNEY  
REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA  
11 ALICE LANE  
SANDTON

# **RULE 3.4 APPLICATION**

**AJAY KUMAR GUPTA**



**IN THE JUDICIAL COMMISSION OF ENQUIRY TO ENQUIRE INTO  
ALLEGATIONS OF STATE CAPTURE, CORRUPTION AND FRAUD IN THE  
PUBLIC SECTOR IN ORGANS OF STATE**

**AJAY KUMAR GUPTA**

*Applicant*

---

**NOTICE OF APPLICATION IN TERMS OF RULE 3.4 OF THE RULES OF THE  
COMMISSION**

---

Take notice that the Applicant hereby makes application to the Commissioner for leave to cross-examine the witness, Mr. Trevor Andrew Manuel, in relation to the whole of the contents of his affidavit. The respects in which the witness's statement is disputed and denied and the grounds for the disputes and denials are self-evident from the annexed statement of Mr. Ajay Kumar Gupta.

In considering this request to cross-examine the witness, the Commissioner is asked to consider and indeed reconsider the following:—

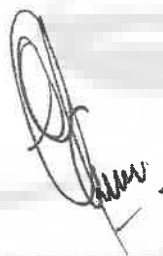
1. The function of the Commission is to establish the truth in relation to the areas of enquiry referred to in terms of reference.
2. Although the Commission's work is that of an enquiry and the process of the Commission is not the same as a civil or criminal trial, it is nevertheless so that

cross-examination has historically been shown to be the best mechanism for testing the reliability and veracity of evidence tendered by a witness.

3. Without cross-examination, and more particularly adequate and effective cross-examination, of contentious evidence the Commission would be deprived of this essential tool for the testing of the reliability and veracity of evidence placed before it.
4. The statement of Ajar Kumar Gupta raises clear disputes of fact and underpinned by his own evidence and demonstrates the need to test the reliability of the witness that is to give evidence before the Commission.

Be pleased to find annexed the sworn statement of Ajay Kumar Gupta together with annexures which supports this application to cross-examine.

Dated at Johannesburg this 13th day of November 2018.



---

**BDK Attorneys**  
**David H Botha du Plessis & Kruger Incorporated**  
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Ref: Mr R C Krause/mv/Gupta

**TO:**

**THE COMMISSION**

The Secretary

2<sup>nd</sup> Floor, Hillside House

17 Empire Road

Parktown

Johannesburg

**C/o Mabunda Incorporated**

2 Protea Road

Bedfordview

Tel: 011 450 2284

Fax: 011 450 1565

Email: [busani@mbundainc.co.za](mailto:busani@mbundainc.co.za)

Ref: Mr. P. B. Mabunda



---

**STATEMENT BY AJAY KUMAR GUPTA**

---

1. As will be seen from the contents of this statement I hotly dispute the accuracy of the contents of Mr Manuel's statement, even though the contents are to a large extent hearsay as to the core events in any event.
2. I must point out that there appears to be an error in the notice in terms of Rule 3.3 addressed to my brother, Mr. Atul Kumar Gupta, in that in paragraph 3 thereof it is said that the allegations set out in the evidence of Mr. Manuel implicates or may implicate him in that he is alleged unlawfully to have interfered in the appoint of Mr. Fikile Mbalula as the Minister of the Police. Even on a reading of Mr. Manuel's affidavit he mentions Mr. Mbalula as being made the Minister of Sport and Recreation. I believe this simply is an error and I do not seek to take advantage of that error. I will respond to the contents of Mr. Manuel's affidavit in its terms.
3. At the outset let me state categorically that my brother, Mr Atul Gupta, has never met Mr Fikile Mbalula and has never had any discussion with him whatsoever, never mind one in which the possibility of him becoming a Minister of State was discussed. At best, they may have greeted on another in passing.
4. It is indeed I, Ajay Gupta, that had a discussion with him about his potentially becoming a Minister. I refer to a few annexures hereto which are newspaper articles from the time in October 2010 when Mr. Fikile Mbalula was in the Cabinet



reshuffle by the then President Jacob Zuma was made the Minister for Sport and Recreation. I recall reading in the press articles leading up to President Jacob Zuma's cabinet reshuffle and picking up from the press the likelihood that Mr Mbalula would become a full minister. In this regard I refer for example to an article published on the 24<sup>th</sup> October 2010 in the publication Fin 24 which date naturally occurs prior to the 31<sup>st</sup> October 2010 when President Zuma reshuffled his cabinet. I quote from the Fin 24 article annexed hereto marked "AG1". *"The weekend Argus reported that deputy Police Minister Fikile Mbalula was set to take up a full cabinet post as a reward for leading the campaign that saw Zuma elected ANC President in 2007".* I think I read of this in a Sunday newspaper but I am not entirely certain which newspaper carried the article.

5. I annex a further extract from IOL.co.za, marked "AG2", in which that publication reports the weekend Argus newspaper having reported on possible key changes to the cabinet of President Zuma and where in that publication reports the weekend Argus' having reported that *"Deputy Police Minister Fikile Mbalula was set to take up a full cabinet post as a reward for the leading the campaign that saw Zuma elected ANC President in 2007."*
6. I annex a further article marked "AG3" from the publication, IOL, which in turn also quotes the weekend Argus newspaper as saying that there was several "possible key changes" to the cabinet and in which the newspaper is reported that Deputy Minister Fikile Mbalula was set to take up a full cabinet post as a reward for leading the campaign that saw Zuma elected ANC President in 2007.



7. I did indeed meet with and have a conversation with Mr. Mbalula, but it was not at my house in Saxonwold and it did not involve my brother Atul. In fact it took place at my office at Sahara Computers when Mr. Mbalula paid me a visit. Having picked up from the newspapers that he was highly likely to be appointed a full Minister I jokingly congratulated him on his apparently imminent appointment as a full Minister. I did not know this as a fact. I also did not know which Ministry he might be appointed to.
8. If the Commission takes the trouble to trawl through the newspapers and other journalistic work of the time it will find that an imminent cabinet reshuffle was very much debated in the newspapers and my experience is that in this regard there is very often no smoke without a fire.
9. I do not know what Mr. Mbalula may have said at a National Executive Committee Meeting but it would have been wrong and inaccurate of him to have said that I had congratulated him on becoming or being about to become the Minister of Sport and Recreation. The newspapers did not report at that time. The newspapers carried only a report of the possible elevation of Mr. Mbalula to a full ministerial post.
10. There is further speculation in the newspapers, post the announcement, where somehow erroneously it is reported that this joking congratulation of mine to Mr. Mbalula which took place prior to the 31<sup>st</sup> October 2010 was done by Atul Gupta. This is not correct.



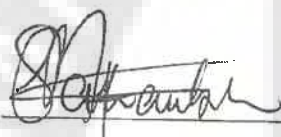
11. I believe that Mr. Trevor Manuel has become completely confused and that his memory seems to be linked to and been affected by some spat which he has had historically and politically with Mr. Mbalula.
12. I would suggest that the Commission hear from Mr. Mbalula himself as to whether I in fact congratulated him on the fact or told him that he would be a Minister or indeed the Minister of Sport and Recreation. I am sure he will confirm my version in this regard. Indications are that he will. In this regard I refer to an article which appeared in the Business Day of 9 November 2018, marked "AG4".
13. In conclusion I must observe that the Notice in terms of Rule 3.3 given to my brother indicates in paragraph 3.1 thereof that he unlawfully interfered in the appointment of Mr. Fikile Mbalula as the Minister of Police. As I say I am sure it is a mistake to have referred to the appointment of Mr. Mbalula as the Minister of Police but there is an even greater point and that is nothing in that which Mr. Trevor Manuel has to say amounts to an allegation that I "*unlawfully interfered in the appointment of Mr. Mbalula*". Nothing in that affidavit comes anywhere near close to making that averment.

**THUS DONE AND SIGNED** at DUBAI, UNITED ARAB EMIRATES, on this the 13<sup>th</sup> day of November 2018.

  
AJAY KUMAR GUPTA



I certify that this affidavit was signed and sworn to before me at DUBAI, UNITED ARAB EMIRATES, on this the 13<sup>th</sup> day of November 2018 by the deponent who acknowledged that he knows and understands the contents of this affidavit, has no objection to taking this oath, considers this oath to be binding on his conscience and uttered the following words: 'I swear that the contents of this affidavit are both true and correct, so help me God.'



**COMMISSIONER OF OATHS**

*Ex Officio*

**ENOCH MATHAMBOLE**  
(Vice Consul Administration)

Name:

Address:

Capacity

**SOUTH AFRICAN CONSULATE GENERAL**  
Khalid Bin Al Waleed Rd,  
New Sharaf Bldg. 3rd. Floor  
DUBAI - U.A.E.

**Commissioner of Oath**  
South African Consulate General  
Dubai, United Arab Emirates

Date: 13 NOV 2018

13 NOV 2018

DUBAI



11/12/2018

Trevor Manuel gets new role

441

# fin24 archives

## Trevor Manuel gets new role

2010-10-24 22:23

Fin24, Reuters and Sapa

Johannesburg – Government announced on Sunday night that Minister in the Presidency responsible for the National Planning Commission, Trevor Manuel, will take on a new role assisting President Jacob Zuma with a Pan-African infrastructure development programme.

While a spokesperson denied media reports that the pro-business Manuel might leave his job, no indication was given whether Zuma is preparing a cabinet reshuffle.

The Weekend Argus newspaper reported on Sunday that Zuma was set to make several "possible key changes" to his cabinet, which was holding a special meeting on Monday on a new economic growth strategy.

The Sunday Independent newspaper also reported that Zuma was poised to rearrange his cabinet, and that Manuel might be among those to depart.

"Only the president knows whether or not there will be a reshuffle," cabinet spokesperson Themba Maseko said in an emailed statement.

Government spokesperson Dumisa Jele said Manuel would stay in his current position while also taking on the new role.

"It's not to replace his job," Jele said of Manuel's new role. "He still is head of the National Planning Commission."

### Speculation

Manuel, a former finance minister, has publicly disagreed with the left-leaning allies of the ruling ANC. His departure could have dented investor confidence in the ANC.

Government said in a statement that Manuel will assist Zuma "to fulfil his new responsibility as the African Union champion of the North-South infrastructure development corridor in the continent".

The African Union has designated Zuma as a "political champion" of road and rail links between the continent.

"We have the enormous task of promoting tangible action, and have to mobilise resources for the development of infrastructure in the continent. The time has come to move beyond conceptualisation to concrete projects. We trust that we will be able to mobilise the private sector to work with us on this massive but very important project," Zuma said in a statement.

Newspapers speculated on Sunday that Manuel could take up a senior position either at the World Bank or in the New Partnership for Africa's Development.

Another rumour was the replacement of State Security Minister Siyabonga Qwelo, whose wife Cheryl is on trial on drug trafficking charges, with Defence and Military Veterans Minister Lindwe Sisulu.

Deputy Arts and Culture Minister Paul Mashatile was set for a full cabinet post, possibly replacing Arts and Culture Minister Lulu Xingwana.

The Weekend Argus reported that Deputy Police Minister Fikile Mbalula was set to take up a full cabinet post as a reward for leading the campaign that saw Zuma elected ANC president in 2007.

Other ministers in precarious positions included Correctional Services Minister Nosiviwe Mapisa-Nqakula and Water and Environmental Affairs Minister Buyelwa Sonjica and Mining Minister Susan Shabangu.

### Unfair

Minister in the Presidency Collins Chabane has stayed mum on reports that President Jacob Zuma is set to reshuffle his cabinet.

Chabane told journalists at a press conference in Pretoria that ministers were continuing to do their work as usual and that a question on the reshuffle was "unfair".

"The question is unfair," Chabane said. "We are used to it. Rumours about a Cabinet reshuffle have been around since the Cabinet was formed."

"Ministers are doing their work as usual."

### Comments

chris - 2010-10-24 23:40

...The African Union has designated Zuma as a "political champion" of road and rail links between the continent. Isn't that interesting? With the road conditions in SA deteriorating rapidly and Transnet shutting down rail services across the country, what skill does Spyker (JZ) bring to the provision of this infrastructure across the continent?

jarg - 2010-10-24 23:55

nice, sounds like something positive here, better roads for africa, mr manuel is a wise guy lets hope him and JZ get onto something good here

wayne - 2010-10-25 01:36

Sorry.... Chabane ? What work is that...??? corruption...nepotism...cronyism ??? or just plain lack of service delivery ???





11/12/2018

Cabinet reshuffle 'just rumours' | IOL News

A42



## Cabinet reshuffle 'just rumours'

POLITICS / 24 OCTOBER 2010, 2:13PM /



*Performance Monitoring and Evaluation Minister Collins Chabane pledged his support to Jimmy Manyi as calls mounted for the beleaguered government spokesman's head. Photo: Independent Newspapers*

Minister in the Presidency Collins Chabane has stayed mum on reports that President Jacob Zuma is set to reshuffle his Cabinet.

Chabane told journalists at a press conference in Pretoria that ministers were continuing to do their work as usual and that a question on the reshuffle was "unfair".

"The question is unfair," Chabane said. "We are used to it. Rumours about a Cabinet reshuffle have been around since the Cabinet was formed."

"Ministers are doing their work as usual."

The Weekend Argus newspaper reported on Sunday that Zuma was set to make several "possible key changes" to his Cabinet, which was holding a special meeting on Monday on a new economic growth strategy.

One possible change was the departure of Minister in the Presidency for Planning, Trevor Manuel, to take up a senior position either at the World Bank or in the New Partnership for Africa's Development.

Another was the replacement of State Security Minister Siyabonga Cwele, whose wife Cheryl is on trial on drug trafficking charges, with Defence and Military Veterans Minister Lindiwe Sisulu.

Deputy Arts and Culture Minister Paul Mashatile was set for a full Cabinet post, possibly replacing Arts and Culture Minister Lulu Xingwana.

<https://www.iol.co.za/news/politics/cabinet-reshuffle-just-rumours-688387>





11/12/2018

Cabinet reshuffle 'just rumours' | IOL News

The newspaper reported that Deputy Police Minister Fikile Mbalula was set to take up a full Cabinet post as a reward for leading the campaign that saw Zuma elected ANC president in 2007.

Other Ministers in precarious positions included Correctional Services Minister Nosiviwe Mapisa-Nqakula and Water and Environmental Affairs Minister Buyelwa Sonjica and Mining Minister Susan Shabangu. - Sapa



11/12/2018

Reshuffle rumours rife for Zuma's cabinet | IOL News

A43



## Reshuffle rumours rife for Zuma's cabinet

KWAZULU-NATAL / 24 OCTOBER 2010, 08:06AM / CHRISTELLE TERREBLANCHE, GAYE DAVIS AND CARIEN DU PLESSIS



Minister in the Presidency, Planning Commission, Trevor Manuel. Photo: Phill Magakoe

In a week that could turn out to be a watershed moment for South Africa, the cabinet is set to adopt a New Growth Path strategy – aimed at setting the stage for the creation of a developmental state and conditions that will allow the ANC to make good on its promises of jobs and closing the equality gap.

It is understood that President Jacob Zuma is poised to reshuffle his cabinet, despite emphatic denials from the Presidency.

Sources say Minister in the Presidency for Planning Trevor Manuel "threw a tantrum" when the cabinet committee on economic affairs was finalising the draft policy on Wednesday for adoption at a special cabinet meeting tomorrow.

He apparently suggested the new strategy would ensure that South Africa's economic resilience and stability would "go down the drain". The plan is understood to include the extent to which macro-economic policy should be amended.

Manuel as finance minister presided over the years when Gear ruled, fuelling resentment in the labour movement and the left due to jobless economic growth.

The cabinet's adoption of the new policy could see the "left shift" demanded at the ANC's Polokwane conference.

Manuel is rumoured to be planning an exit from the government, with sources variously indicating he could take up a position at the World Bank in the long term, or be involved in the New Partnership for Africa's Development (Nepad) in the short term.



11/12/2018

Reshuffle rumours rife for Zuma's cabinet | IOL News

He is steering the National Planning Commission, which has until next November to produce a long-term strategic plan for the country. Yesterday, Manuel – through chief government spokesman Themba Maseko – said reports about his departure were “nothing but a fishing expedition”.

“There is no truth to any rumour that he has resigned or intends to resign,” Maseko said.

Manuel would not respond to queries about losing his temper during discussions on the New Economic Growth Path strategy.

A week ago, before his state visit to Egypt, and last week on his return, he was engaged in meeting ministers one on one to discuss delivery agreements.

These meetings involved checking to see that corresponding agreements had been signed between ministers and top department officials, and to find out what was needed to get the job done.

Zuma hinted during his Egypt state visit last week at a potential reshuffle – and also that Manuel was up for a Nepad job.

It is understood this involves setting up an agency to co-ordinate Africa's infrastructure investments, and does not mean he would have to relinquish his duties as minister for planning.

However, there were also strong suggestions last week that a top post at the World Bank looms in Manuel's future.

Before he made way for Pravin Gordhan last year, Manuel was the world's longest reigning finance minister, having held the position for 13 years from 1996. He is highly respected in international finance and banking circles.

Some suggested an announcement as soon as last week, but Finance Minister Pravin Gordhan is due to make a major budget policy announcement when he delivers his medium term budget policy statement in Parliament on Wednesday.

Presidential spokesman Zizi Kodwa said yesterday he was not aware of any minister bowing out.

He reiterated that Zuma's consultations with ministers on delivery agreements – the targets and outputs that need to be reached in key areas such as housing, health, and education – had “nothing to do with a cabinet reshuffle”.

“Reshuffling (the cabinet) is occasioned by specific reasons, and it is not on the cards or plans of the president,” Kodwa said.

There was talk that if Manuel were to leave, his planning position would go to National Assembly Speaker Max Sisulu, who was less than enthusiastic about being deployed to the legislature in the first place.

Sisulu, who is on a week-long official visit to China, has headed the ruling party's national executive committee's subcommittee on economic transformation for a decade.



11/12/2018

Trevor Manuel expected to testify about Mbalula's Gupta confession

Global Solutions for  
South African investors

Schroders

National

## Trevor Manuel expected to testify about Mbalula's Gupta confession

Former finance minister, in an open letter in 2018, said Fikile Mbalula told the ANC NEC that Atul Gupta informed him he would be appointed sports minister

09 November 2018 - 05:09 Karyn Maughan



Former sports minister Fikile Mbalula. Picture: GCIS/ELMOND JIYANE

Former finance minister Trevor Manuel is expected to implicate Atul Gupta at the state capture inquiry with testimony that suggests the middle Gupta brother played a role in the appointment of Fikile Mbalula as sports minister.

But on Thursday, Mbalula told *Business Day* that it was not Atul Gupta who appeared to have foreknowledge of his 2010 appointment, but rather his brother Ajay.

"It was not Atul who congratulated me about getting the position of sports minister. It was Ajay. The commission has asked me about this, but I haven't given it a statement. I'm not running away from this inquiry. I've answered all their questions to the best of my ability and I'm willing to testify," Mbalula said.

The Guptas, who have close relations with former president Jacob Zuma and his son Duduzane, have come under scrutiny at the Zondo commission, where several witnesses have testified about their attempts at political influence for their commercial benefit.

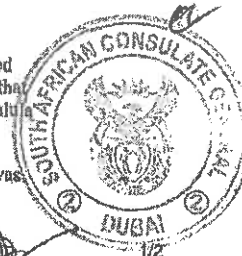
The Guptas' lawyers, meanwhile, have reiterated that Atul "has never met Mr Fikile Mbalula" — and say that Ajay had congratulated Mbalula as a result of "positive and public media speculation" that he would be appointed as sports minister.

Manuel, who is expected to testify at the Zondo commission on November 27, detailed in an open letter published by *Daily Maverick* in June 2017 how Mbalula had made a tearful confession to the ANC's national executive committee (NEC) at a meeting in 2011 about his interaction with Atul Gupta.

The influence of the Gupta family on government affairs were discussed at the meeting, where Mbalula recounted being summoned to the Gupta compound in Saxonwold. According to Manuel, Mbalula told the NEC members that Atul Gupta told him ahead of time that he would be appointed minister of sport and recreation. At the time, Mbalula was the deputy minister of police.

Mbalula reiterated to *Business Day* that he would not deny what he had said at the ANC NEC meeting, "which was witnessed by 80 people, including [then] president Jacob Zuma".

<https://www.businesslive.co.za/bd/national/2018-11-09-trevor-manuel-expected-to-testify-about-mbalulas-gupta-confession/>





11/12/2018

Trevor Manuel expected to testify about Mbalula's Gupta confession

"I was the first one in the ANC to raise concern about the Guptas. Mine was a principled statement that I made to the ANC as a warning."

Mbalula said he had met with Ajay Gupta over his statement to the meeting, as "Ajay said I misunderstood him". He said he would detail this meeting fully if and when he was called on to testify.

It is unclear whether the Guptas will apply to cross-examine Manuel, given that they have been refused the right to cross-examine other witnesses unless they agree to return to SA to give evidence.

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