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# **POLOKWANE CONFERENCE-**

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APDUSA VIEWS P.O. Box 8888 CUMBERWOOD 3235 e.mail: malentro@telkomsa.net website: <u>www.apdusaviews</u> .co.za

#### 1. The Rowdiness Toward Senior ANC members

The rowdiness exhibited by a large section of the ANC conference towards Minister Lekota was a measure of the hostility the Zuma supporters showed towards the Mbeki faction symbolised by Lekota as its chief spokesman in the battle against the Zuma faction.

According to Mbeki, the image that behaviour "conveyed to the country, the continent and the world was a bad image."<sup>1</sup> In his closing speech, Zuma described the behaviour as "a negative".

According to Mbeki: "The matter was addressed and delegates were told that their behaviour was unacceptable and indeed the behaviour improved."<sup>2</sup>

Those of us viewing these "disturbing" scenes on television would have noticed that that behaviour was being exhibited in the very presence of Jacob Zuma. The question on everybody lips is:

#### Why did Jacob Zuma not get up from his seated position and direct/instruct /request his supporters to stop behaving in that unacceptable manner?

There appears to be only one answer: It was orchestrated rowdiness which had the full approval of Jacob Zuma!

#### Postscript.

After Jacob Zuma was served with a very detailed charge sheet and was offered his day in court ( in truth 4 whole months of Court days), the Natal leader of COSATU, Zet Lizipho, made the following inflammatory statement to the "Sowetan"<sup>3</sup>:

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Mail & Guardian online 24th December 2007

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> ibid

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> A daily newspaper with its main circulation in Gauteng

"People are now angry. This time there will be blood spilt in the courtroom...We will not be held responsible for their anger."

The last sentence is a clumsy effort to palm off the blame on unnamed and anonymous "People."

There can be no interpretation of that statement other than it is a threat to the independence of the judiciary. Its purpose is to either instill terror in the judge who tries the case and the prosecution team or to persuade the government to drop the charges.

How does the president of the ANC respond? Does he condemn the inflammatory statement? Does he condemn the maker of the statement and call for discipline to be imposed on him? None of the above. Instead, he appealed for calm on the grounds that "we don't want another Kenya here." Where does Kenya come into the debate? By conjuring the spectre of Kenya Zuma is making an indirect threat. He is in effect saying: "We can have a Kenya here, but we do not want another Kenya here."

One gets the distinct impression that we see being re-enacted before us the old trick of "bad cop, good cop." The "bad cop" threatens to beat up the detainee. The "good cop" befriends the detainee and succeeds in extracting the information!

So Mr Zuma, stop playing the "good cop" in order to garner praise and gratitude. If you are serious, condemn Lizipho in the strongest possible terms and use your position in the tripartite alliance to GET HIM EXPELLED from Cosatu and from the ANC. After all Lizipho is not a child or a novice. He is the leader of Cosatu in the Province of Kwa Zulu Natal.

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# 2. "MY COMRADE, MY FRIEND AND BROTHER, INDEED, MY LEADER!"

These were the moving words uttered by ANC president Jacob Zuma in his closing speech at the Polokwane Conference. They were directed to President Mbeki.

Never have such moving words been uttered with greater insincerity.

This was the "statesmanlike" Zuma showing the ANC, the country and the world that as a mature politician, he was determined to heal the wound that had afflicted the ANC and which divided it from top to bottom. According to him, you cannot have "a Zuma camp and an Mbeki camp. There is only one ANC. No one has won, no one has lost."

As for there being "no Zuma camp" and no "Mbeki camp" and as for saying "no one lost and no one won", once again there is nothing to beat that insincerity.

At the first meeting after Conference to elect the National Executive Committee (NEC), there was a merciless purge of the pro- Mbeki or anti -Zuma members elected at the previous conference. Some 25 cabinet ministers, deputy ministers and premiers were unceremoniously discarded.

Political analysts contend that a fair process would have been to nominate members on the basis of percentage of support each faction had at the conference. The Zuma faction won 60% of the votes and 40% went to the Mbeki faction. The Mbeki faction ought to have received 32 members and 48 for the Zuma faction. The actual position is that the Mbeki faction probably have received only 16 members which is 20% only.

It does not augur well for the country when leaders say what they **do not mean.** There is far too much double talk, far too much dissembling. The ability to engage in complex communication which appears to be unique to human beings is being thoroughly abused. Why cannot people say what they mean? Why must they say things they do not believe in and say it only for the sake of form or to lull their opponents into complacency?

Of course there is a Zuma camp and there is an Mbeki camp. Of course the Zuma camp won and the Mbeki camp lost. All who were at the conference know that, as do all others who watched the news on television or read the newspapers or listened to the radio.

Is it not the truth that when Zuma proclaims: "My comrade, my friend and brother, indeed, my leader" he is *really saying*: "I got you at last you bloody....."

## 3. The purge of the national executive committee

In theory the National Executive Committee of the ANC is the most powerful body in the ANC apart from the once every-five-- years-conference.

In practice matters are more or less decided upon by powerful groups outside the NEC. At the NEC meetings those decisions are either rubber stamped by the NEC or debated if there is more than one power group which has taken decisions.

At the end of the Polokwane Conference there was a scramble to assert that there are no factions in the ANC; that the ANC is one, and that once a leader is elected, members who wanted another leader voted in would then support the person elected. Zuma after humiliating Mbeki at the jousts then in a melodramatic fashion described Mbeki as his friend, comrade, "indeed my leader".

The first test of reconciliation and healing was the voting for the composition of the NEC. If the battle was truly over and that there was one ANC, then the membership of the NEC would be non-factional or at least the Mbeki faction be allocated a percentage commensurate with the votes received by the Mbeki faction, namely 40%! In actual fact they received only 20% of the members of the NEC.

Initially, when the brains were still giddy with victory, there was even talk of a bloody purge. Persons like Trevor Manuel, Joel Neshithenze and Ramaphosa were omitted. Then a measure of sanity was restored. Omitting Trevor Manuel's name was going to do little to calm the already jittery markets.

At the end of the process, there was very little left of Mbeki's people in the NEC. About 30 cabinet ministers, premiers and *long serving influential members were left out.* 

#### 4. IS ZUMA LIKE DUBE<sup>4</sup>?

At a Zuma victory celebration held on the Durban beachfront, Obed Mlaba,<sup>5</sup> the Mayor of Durban made, inter alia, the following statements:

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Dr John Langalibalele Dube the first President of the South African National Native Congress, later renamed the African National Congress.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Readers will recall Mlaba as Chairperson of the Technicon Council of the Mangosuthu Buthelezi Technicon agreeing with the racialism hurled against members of the Indian community by racialist Professor Aaron Ndlovu (See Apdusa Views No 81)

"We just have to celebrate before Christmas because this is our victory."

He went on to say that the event reminded him of the formation of the ANC and the election of its first president Dr John Langalibalele Dube – a liberator, activist and a man of the people.

Then he said: "Zuma is like Dube...."

The question is: What was Dube like?

A liberator, activist and a man of the people?

Let us see!

It is true that he was the first president of a body called the South African Native National Congress (later named the African National Congress) It was formed specifically to plead with British imperialism about the very oppression sanctioned by Britain.

# In 1917 Dr Dube was ousted as president of the SANNC because he accepted *"the principle of segregation as it can be fairly and practically carried out."*<sup>6</sup>

The SANNC or ANC in Natal was "bedeviled by factions". The one faction was part of the national organisation. The other, controlled by Dube, remained **outside** the main body. It was only on Dube's death in 1946 that the Natal Native Congress<sup>7</sup> was dissolved.

In 1935 when Hertzog passed his three bills which sought to disenfranchise the African people, to further impose restrictions on the acquisition of land and to tighten the pass laws, there was nation-wide opposition.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Shula Marks: The Ambiguities of Dependence in South Africa, Ravan Press 1986, page 67

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> See below the "glowing" compliment paid to this body by the oppressors' Department of Justice.

This led to the formation of the **All African Convention** which sought to draw together all existing organisations of the African people. Its first conference in 1935 was the most representative gathering of the African people in South Africa. All known African leaders attended.

The exception was Dr Dube!

#### "Rev. John Dube publicly declared himself in support of the bills."<sup>8</sup> (Our emphasis and italics.)

One final example:

On April 22 1931, an official bulletin on the position in Natal was issued by the **Department of Justice**. We quote the portion relevant to the topic on hand:

"Incidentally, a movement which is not coupled with the activities of communist agitators, but which is doing considerable good among the Natives, is the old Natal Native Congress. This organisation has a membership of some 200 who are led by the Rev John Dube, and who are steady and most law abiding."<sup>9</sup>

Now that is what you would call a handsome compliment by the oppressors!

Does Mlaba really see Zuma as another Dube?

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Edward Roux: "Time Longer than Rope." Victor Gollanz 1948 page 296

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> Ibid pages 259-260

### **5. "UMSHINI WAMI"**

I have always believed that Jacob Zuma did better as a singer than as a platform speaker. I first made this comment to myself when I heard him sing at the funeral of the late Govan Mbeki.

When it comes to making statements, answering questions under cross-examination or to journalists, he performs poorly. He does not have much to say. And when he does say something, he makes a real mess of it. So much so it will haunt him for a long time – like that business about taking a shower.

He is in his element when he sings. It is old knowledge that you do not have to say much or say anything profound in words when you can move people just by music.

"Umshini Wami" assumed prominence after Jacob Zuma was deposed as Vice- President of the country. This was his answer to the very serious allegations made against him by the State during the corruption trial of Shabir Shaik. Instead of rushing to his comrade's assistance by becoming a defence witness and rebutting the serious allegations against Shaik and himself with facts and cogent evidence, he replied: **"Umshini Wami"** 

THE ANC'S "GUERRILLA WAR"

Of all the numerous liberation movements that took to the armed struggle, the ANC performed amongst the worst and was the least effective. If one were to examine the history of the ANC's armed struggle since 1961, very little stands out as successes. That is why what was not and could not be done in real life is now being achieved in the realm of myth-making about the achievements and prowess of the Mkhonto we Sizwe.

The song "Umshini Wami" was nothing more than a call to engage in battle. **It is a battle song.** 

As far as Jacob Zuma is concerned, apart from the military training he received and target practice he would have engaged in, he did not use his machine gun for any other purpose. He was **not involved** in any armed combat with the forces of the oppressive regime. But he sings the song with such feeling and gusto that one may be forgiven into believing that here is a man who has fought so many battles with his machine gun that it has become part of him, a sort of twin brother. Hence when he is trouble he calls for his machine gun.

INCITEMENT TO VIOLENCE

There are growing fears that "Umshini Wami" is being used to incite Zuma supporters to violence. So far it has been used to whip them into a frenzy of hatred leading to the notorious cry: "Burn the Bitch!"

Minister Lekota's criticism that the singing of that song in this day and age made no sense and that people who sang the song were "brainless."<sup>10</sup> That and a few similar worded criticisms won him intense hatred from the Zuma supporters.

There was only one reason and purpose for the composition and singing of that song and that was to engage the oppressive regime in military battle.

Now, as Andrew Mlangeni, one of the Rivonia trialists, asks: "Who are you (now) fighting? Your own people?"<sup>11</sup>

#### APOLOGISTS AND DEFENDERS OF THE SONG

One can understand Jacob Zuma wanting to sing that song as often as he can because he carries the crowd with him with that song. He will say anything to justify continue singing that song.

So he says: "If you erase the songs you erase the record of history." That is clearly a distortion of the criticism. Minister Lekota has not suggested that the song be banned or that it must never be sung. There is clearly a time and occasion for

 <sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> Lekota paid dearly for that criticism at the opening of the conference. The tidal wave of hostility towards him was partly because he called them brainless.
 <sup>11</sup> Mail & Guardian online 23<sup>rd</sup> December 2007.

such songs. There will always be celebrations/ commemorations of Mkhonto we Sizwe on special days when "Umsini wami" can be correctly sung. How then does that erase the "record of history?"

But what can one say of a person like Dr Pallo Jordan, the Minister of Culture? According to him it was wrong to see the song as divisive! Amazing! Here you have a group (very large) demanding for the machine gun! Whether that gun is the real thing or symbolical is not relevant. It is for use against another group. And who is that group? The apartheid rulers? Obviously not! It is against the Thabo Mbeki group and/or its surrogate the National Prosecuting Authority or that unnamed force which is engaged in a campaign to deny Zuma presidency.

By what process of reasoning does Dr Jordan then conclude that it is not divisive?

The other apologist is Dr Zola Skweyiya. He comes up with the defence that the song is about "solidarity"! I have not yet come across a full translation of the song but so far I have not known the song to advocate solidarity! It was never about solidarity. It was about fighting! It was about killing. You do not carry a "machine" gun or an AK 47 rifle to forge unity. There are other mechanisms for that. You carry an AK 47 rifle to KILL! Far from creating solidarity, "Umshini Wami" is fostering disunity.

A triumphant Zuma rounded his closing speech with a rendition of that song literally in the faces of Minister Lekota and President Mbeki. They were not to be spared what can only be described as triumphalist gloating over his defeated foes.

#### CONCLUSON:

According to Isaac Mangena, writer/ reporter of the Mail and Guardian, the national anthem **paled in reaction** compared with "Umshini wami" when both were sung at the conference.

Then he makes an observation which should send a chill down spines:

"Critics of the song not only feel uneasy about the lyrics but also that **Zulus, South Africa's largest ethnic group, have embraced it as their unofficial anthem** *i*n a country where tribalism is frowned upon."<sup>12</sup> (Our emphasis and italics)

This is not the first time there has been an uneasiness about the aspirations of a section of Zulu-speaking people of Natal. In February 2007, APDUSA VIEWS published a detailed review of the persecution of minorities, especially by a section of the Zulu speaking people of this country. In the concluding paragraphs we quoted the thoughts and words of Mbongeni Ngema, noted for, among other things, his hate filled song "Amaindiya". Hereunder are some of his thoughts:

"When Mandela was president, he made the announcement ..that King Zwelithini should not just be the king of the Zulus, he should be monarch of South Africa..

But I don't think that went down very well with other political forces.... After Mandela retired the door was shut – no one wanted to make King Zwelithini the king of South Africa.

Ngema goes on to make reference to internecine strife – "..to ignite the fires of tribal wars." He makes reference to the conflict between Tutsis and Hutus. According to him :

"The Zulu nation is the biggest nation in South Africa, the only one that had a kingdom historically....the ANC was invented here in Inanda<sup>13</sup> by the Zulus. The last time the president of ANC was a Zulu was Chief Albert Luthuli. I think that it is time that the Zulus reclaimed the ANC, to start with." (Our italics and emphasis)

There you have it. The man who has been lionized as a playwright, composer, choreographer etc. by reviewers and critics is one of those who is striving for the supremacy of the Zulus in South Africa.

It is not surprising if this section of the Zulu speaking people adopts "Umshini Wami" as their battle cry for hegemony.

#### 6. MEMBERSHIP OF THE NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE ANC – The number of votes do not count for much.

It came as surprise to all that the notorious Mrs. Winnie Mandela was elected on to the National Executive Committee (NEC) with the largest number of votes. This made headlines. People could not understand her meteoric rise in popularity.

It is my view that too much is being made of the number of votes received. It is certainly not a reflection of the power wielded by that person.

Prior to his expulsion from the ANC, General Bantu Holomisa also received the largest number of votes. Or was it the second largest? The real reason for his expulsion was that he publicly exposed the fact that Minister Stella Sigcau had received a R50 000 gift(?)bribe from arch corrupter, Sol Kerzner. When it came to the crunch, the large number of votes garnered by Holomisa on his election to the NEC did not save him from expulsion!

Popularity is only one of the factors explaining large number of votes. It is most definitely not the only or even the most important reason.

Part of the modus operandi of the ANC leadership to win over a person is through the very potent but morally corrosive tool of *flattery*. Holomisa was a maverick. He had carried out a coup d' etat; he had an army under him and a lot of arms; he offered Transkei as a safe haven for **all** segments of the liberatory movement; he had offered military training to **all** segments of the liberatory movement. He therefore had to be courted and completely won over.

To a much lesser extent the same applied to Mrs. Mandela. She returned from disgrace and the wilderness with a harebrained scheme to save the day at Polokwane. That scheme appealed to the rank and file and certainly to Mbeki who had his back against the wall. But was rejected by the Zuma camp. She must have been viewed as a person who could upset things. Remember that if Mbeki was able to win 400 plus votes from the Zuma camp there would have been a tie or even a victory for Mbeki.

So they chose to flatter her.

The fact of the long list of unconscionable acts against her husband, against the people of Soweto, being involved in acts which led to murder, to fraud and to flaunting her unearned wealth meant nothing to those who voted for her.

We deal with this theme in greater detail in an article "Newly Elected Executive..." printed below.

## 7. NEWLY ELECTED NEC <sup>14</sup>OF THE ANC GIVES PRIDE OF PLACE TO THIEVES AND FRAUDSTERS

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> NEC stands for "National Executive Committee".

Newspapers and their editorials worked overtime writing about, firstly the purge that was launched against the Mbeki supporters and secondly the abnormally large number of thieves and fraudsters which were elected.

Regular letter writer, Ismail M Moolla of Umzinto took the bull by the horn and called them a "Shameless Bunch".<sup>15</sup> He goes on to name certain members of this bunch and their crimes. Though his list is not complete, his point is made.

We believe that that there are about 20 of the newly elected NEC members who are directly or indirectly (mostly directly) involved in some act of corruption or dishonesty, mostly, while in government service.

From this bunch, the person who stands out in full **inglory** is Mrs Winnie Mandela.

Her misdeeds began soon after her husband was arrested and imprisoned.

- There were repeated acts of infidelity which became public knowledge. There is nothing more destructive to the morale of a prisoner than to get to know that his/her spouse is having an affair with another person and what is worse, if that affair is being conducted in public.<sup>16</sup>
- Ultimately it was adultery which led to Mr Mandela suing for a divorce which was an extremely painful experience for him.
- Her populism and craving for acclaim made her make the most irresponsible statement when she told a mass meeting that with "match boxes and necklaces" the country would be liberated. The audience understood her to refer to the gruesome method of killing a suspected informer – the necklace.
- During the 1980s the country got to know of the notorious "Mandela United Football Club" which was a gang of hoodlums who unleashed a reign of terror. The

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup> The Witness of 31 December 2007.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup> We are not for a moment suggesting that spouses of prisoners sentenced for long periods are bound by some sort of chastity or celibacy vow. People have needs which have to be satisfied. But there must be absolute discreetness. If that is not possible, then it is better to sue for a divorce.

Mandela Mansion had become a den of iniquity where murder, torture and kidnapping took place

- Flowing from the Football Club, there was the cruel death of the child-activist, "Stompie"Sepei and the disappearance of two other young activists, Lolo Sono and Siboniso Shabalala and others.
  A strong stench of death trailed Mrs Mandela wherever she went. Her name figured prominently in the circumstances surrounding the murder of Dr Asvat who is alleged to have seen the grievously injured Stompie just before the latter died. Apparently he threatened to publish the fact of Stompie's injuries. Others say that he was killed because he refused to provide her with an alibi.
- She was found guilty of kidnapping Stompie and being an accessory to assault. She was sentenced to six years imprisonment which, on appeal was altered to a fine of R15 000. The whole country knew that the alteration of sentence was politically motivated. The political motivation was that by then it was expected that Nelson Mandela was going to be the next President of South Africa and it would not help the image of the new democracy if its First Lady was sitting in prison.
- Mrs. Mandela engaged in the other obnoxious vice of "conspicuous consumption." She built an expensive mansion and by 1993 she was driving around in a luxury car selling for R20 000 less than a million rand!<sup>17</sup>
- She misbehaved while she was deputy Minister of Arts and Culture and had to be removed from this position
- In 2003 she was found guilty of a large number of acts of fraud and theft which related to "money taken from loan applicants' accounts for a funeral fund from which the applicants received nothing. She was sentenced to five years imprisonment. On appeal, however, she was acquitted of the theft charges and her sentence was altered to three years and six months which was suspended

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup> In 1993 R1 million was a lot of money.

Then she faded from the public view, mercifully for always, many of us thought and hoped. But that was short-lived.

It was a person with this kind of track record who received the highest number of votes for membership to the National Executive Committee the most powerful body of the ANC apart from its Conference.

What does this say of the people who voted for her? Do they have a world outlook which regards as irrelevant virtues of fidelity, of kindness to people, of refraining to hurt people, of honesty and responsibility and finally of simple living, a virtue held very high by many great people through the ages, and among whom feature great revolutionaries like Marx, Lenin, Mao Tse Tung, and Ho Chi Minh?

Are these the people, who voted for her, going to run our democracy?

Make no mistake! Once these people lay their hands on the levers of power and through that the material resources of this rich country, the Paul Mashatiles<sup>18</sup> of this world will look like members of a religious order who have taken and who strictly practise poverty vows!

The National chairperson of the ANC, Ms Baleka Mbete, was found to have engaged in obtaining a driver's licence without passing the required test. She received no punishment. But the whistleblower was hounded and persecuted by the ANC bureaucracy until he was forced to resign and died an early death because of the pressure applied on him. So a fraudster<sup>19</sup> is now the national chairperson of the ANC.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup> He is the Gauteng MEC who had a reputation of being a dedicated senior SACP activist but who gained notoriety for spending R90 000 on a meal in one of those fancy restaurants. Notwithstanding the nationwide criticism, Mashatile did a repeat, but time the bill exceeded R100 000.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>19</sup> Ms Mbete has not yet paid her debt to society.

The president of the ANC is Jacob Zuma. He was so elected notwithstanding the fact that serious charges were hanging over his head.

What does this say for the future of this country?

Is the world to understand that vices like public flaunting of infidelity while your spouse is languishing in prison, murder, torture, kidnapping, fraud, obscene display of wealth, inflammatory and irresponsible statements are **in fact virtues** or character traits much in demand and the person who practises these vices has to be **rewarded** by getting the highest number of votes for the National Executive Committee?

Where are the true and honest democrats of this country? Why are their voices not being heard in loud protest against the abomination which is being inflicted on this country? Were the long decades of struggle, sacrifice and suffering engaged in so that the people may be ruled by people who are so devoid of revolutionary virtues that they hand power to the corrupt and the fraudsters?

All decent minded democrats must ask these questions and find the appropriate responses.

## **8. A PLAGUE ON BOTH THEIR HOUSES**

When the voting at the Polokwane Conference showed that Thabo Mbeki and his faction were decisively beaten by the Jacob Zuma faction, a wave of disbelief swept over millions of citizens of this country. Mbeki seemed so confident (over confident as it turned out) of the stability of his government and the strength of his supporters that many people, including some of the left, were dismissive of Zuma's threat to Mbeki. The sequel to the results was a wave of two powerful feelings which swept over millions of ordinary honest democracyloving people.

Firstly, there was what Germans call "Schadenfreude" a malicious pleasure at Mbeki getting his comeuppance. His faction as represented by him and Essop Pahad sent a very unsavoury message of arrogance to the public. Essop Pahad in particular was notorious for his coarseness and his being foulmouthed. He is Mbeki's twin in many respects. Mbeki, too, can be obscene without uttering obscenities. Readers will recall his unwarranted attack on Charlene Smith. Viewers of television will hang their heads in shame at Mbeki's reaction to E TV's intrepid reporter, Ms Iman Rappiti. She asked him a question on a matter which had become a public scandal. This relates to the scramble to recall the warrants of arrest and search against the National Commissioner of Police Selebi. Mbeki's reaction was outrageous. Instead of giving her a straight and honest answer, he got legalistic and referred her to the National Prosecuting Authority. The whole country watching this incident had no doubt that Mbeki had seen the warrants or at least knew all about them. Would his government have toppled over if he had given her an honest answer instead of an arrogant evasion?

But that was a relatively trifling incident compared with the other abominable abuse of power.

- The Aids denialist position which deprived many thousands of life-saving drugs and thus was responsible for the mass deaths
- The Aids denialist position which gave Dr Tshabalala-Msimang the go-ahead to undermine the best medical treatment by promoting her garlic and beetroot cure and warning about the toxic effect of the anti-Aids drugs.
- The protection of Aids denialist Dr Raath and his kind who were allowed to promote and sell what was in reality quackery when it came to HIV Aids.

- The squandering of some R35 million at Mbeki's second inauguration as president in the midst of widespread poverty and squalor,
- His propensity to get into his fancy jet and fly all over the world in what in truth amounted to a personal public relations exercise to promote himself as Africa's saviour or at least as Mr African Renaissance. After being whipped at Polokwane, Mbeki has spent more time in South Africa than before
- His direct intervention in the arms deal inquiry by preventing former Judge Heath to lead the investigation. He must also take full responsibility for the subversion of the very useful work SCOPA, the parliamentary oversight body on the arms deal. Ironically his hitman was Tony Yengeni who has now switch sides and has his dagger pointed at Mbeki.
- There is enough evidence to support the view that he tampered with the Auditor General's report on the Arms Deal
- He had Pius Langa alter the report of the Langa Commission into the disturbances in Lesotho in 1998. The original report had been critical of the Lesotho government.
- He virtually prevented the wholesale imprisonment of members of parliament who engaged in the fraudulent scheme over the travel allowances. They were all given a slap on the wrist.
- He covered up for the weaknesses of the Health Minister concerning her alleged alcoholism and kleptomania. He persisted in keeping her in his cabinet though she was obviously a sick woman. He responded to the shocking disclosures at Frere Hospital by firing the Deputy Minister of Health Nozizwe Madlala-Routledge.
- He has allowed an absolutely scandalous state of affairs to persist – the publicly announced friendship between the Commissioner of Police, Selebi and the king of the underworld- Agliotti.
- When the head of the National Prosecuting Authority, Mr Vusi Pikoli instructed for the issue of warrants of arrest and search against Selebi, Mbeki promptly suspended

him and places his case before one of his known stooges, Dr Ginwalla, from whom nobody expects any independence or fairness.

• He, while priding himself as a follower of Lenin, completely ignores one of Lenin's greatest humanist teachings. His (Mbeki's) callousness relates to the ordinary people of Zimbabwe.

According to Lenin:

"Working –class consciousness cannot be genuine political consciousness unless the workers are trained to respond to **all** cases of tyranny, oppression, violence and abuse, no matter **what class** is affected."

Tonight I saw the tail end of "Special Assignment". It dealt with the plight of the refugees who come streaming into South Africa for work and means of survival for themselves and their families. The police were totally inhuman in their dealings with the refugees. They are arrested and placed in what is called a "temporary shelter" They are kept over the week-end and then deported. Some of the refugees stated that they did not get food. The Police Officer in charge admitted that at times they did not have enough food to feed all the refugees. One refugee stated that he had been arrested 20 times and deported.

The plight of the people of Zimbabwe, a very proud and dignified people, are now reduced to scrounging for food and undertaking perilous journeys to get into South Africa.

I have not heard Thabo Mbeki on a single occasion express compassion for the plight of these unfortunate neighbours.

So much for Lenin!

One could go on narrating what amounts to a massive betrayal of the struggle of the oppressed people of South Africa. There are no tears for Thabo Mbeki and his faction.

That is fine as it goes. Schadenfreude is all well and good and only human.

But what have we in place of the Mbeki faction?

This where the despondency comes in.

**There could not have been a worse alternative.** It makes one to want the Mbeki faction back, not for any beneficial qualities it has, but because the alternative is infinitely worse!

Is our next president going to be Jacob Zuma who has nothing to show for politically except his ability as a singer to sway unsophisticated audiences? Are we going to be ruled by a man who cannot even manage his personal finances and who was placed under de facto curatorship having his daily financial affairs managed and financed by a Shabir Shaik? He is a man who has displayed a homophobic tendency, an irresponsibility of having unprotected sex with a HIV positive person and who believes that a shower can ward off an Aids infection? Are we going to be told what to do by the hordes of his menacing supporters who have assembled from time to time to pressurise the judiciary into giving Zuma a favourable verdict? Is the nation to learn from Zuma about financial self reliance, i.e. the ability to live within one's earnings, of simple living, of honesty and to regard corruption as the worst scourge which has reduced the population of this continent to penury?

And what about human rights?

Jacob Zuma (and Joe Modise) was found guilty of committing human rights abuse by omission by the Motsuenyane Commission set up by Mr Mandela to investigate violation of human rights by the ANC outside the country. By omission is meant that they knew of the existence of torture of those detained by the ANC and did nothing to stop it. The probabilities are that as head of the security apparatus, they gave the green light for physical torture. "It (the Commission) also found that two high-rankingofficials – Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) commander Joe Modise and deputy secretary-general Jacob Zuma violated detainees rights. At the time Modise was still MK commander and Zuma was chief of security."<sup>20</sup>

It is understandable that people should feel deep despondency.

There are bad times ahead.

The last thing democratic and freedom-loving South Africa needs is the one or other of those factions to rule this country.

Hence our position: A plague on both their Houses!

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup> The Star 24 August 1993