



# HILOMELANG

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## Our Revolutionary Struggle Is Sacrosanct

*“A crop of leadership has emerged from among our ranks, whose allegiance is not to democracy or the rule of law, but to a culture of entitlement to leadership roles and positions. Because they believe they are entitled to lead and to occupy leadership positions, they are not prepared to accept outcomes of democratic processes that do not favour them. They would rather shamelessly drag the entire nation to the abyss of anarchy in pursuit of their narrow self-serving interest.”*

**T**HROUGHOUT HISTORY, democracy holds the promise that a people, with the measure of the majority status as their basic instrument will determine their collective destiny. This is what we fought for in South Africa, our collective destiny as a people and this was no coincidence but was occasioned by the nature of our systemic and systematic oppression. But because some are in the minority, these have then alleged that ours is not democracy, unless there is effectively undue emphasis on minority rights. Indeed our struggle for a democratic order was never meant to suffocate the minority at the tide of a will by the majority, hence our

constitution stipulates a bill of rights whose emphasis on wrong and right is premised essentially on an ideal South African citizen as opposed to a group of people. However, this does not mean the collective does not have a say, after all the resolutions of the different viewpoints by individuals in our country must be the ballot where we test majority support.

Many have then alleged that our movement, the African National Congress is too big and that it must be broken down into smaller parties, because they are afraid that a majority rule would invariably suffocate the rights of minorities.

This viewpoint about the ANC hegemony being a threat to democracy has found new

impetus amongst those members of the ANC who have failed to secure themselves leadership roles in the ANC and subsequently joined in this chorus. Former comrades such as Lekota and Shilowa, have already challenged the logic that a President of our country is elected through the party based system of proportional representation and not through a direct constituency based electoral system. Safe to say that what Lekota and Shilowa are saying smacks of hypocrisy of the worst order, because when they were at the helm of leadership of the ANC and benefited from the current status quo, they never raised this new-found vision about an alternative electoral system.

The challenge remains that of people who seek to contest the revolutionary agenda of the ANC, with arguments premised on the assertions that a strong ANC is not good for democracy and is therefore not good for our country. The consequent logic then becomes that of going about calling for the destruction of the ANC, hoping its social and political hegemony in society will in time be eroded and be replaced by a myriad of smaller parties that have no ultimate say on what agenda that must be followed.

The result of what Shilowa, George and Lekota want, is a framework where smaller parties feed into a neoliberal agenda where democracy exist for itself and not for our revolutionary agenda, where these small parties would have to trade in with each other in order to have a political mandate.

This argument therefore attempts to defeat our historical agenda, by claiming that we were not oppressed in our masses as Africans and as a class and that we are better off when disorganised and fighting our political battles as individuals. Basically these calls are not only to deny our systemic oppression but also to defeat our collective attempts at correcting those historical injustices. It is a challenge against the historic political consciousness as explained through our articulation of the National Democratic Revolution.

We must therefore declare for all to know, that we in the ANC consider ourselves as a revolutionary movement representing the masses of our people who were oppressed as a race and as a class and whose legacy by and large still stands. Therefore our agenda is a revolutionary one, that seeks to reorganise socio-economic relations in a fundamental way,

in a manner that we insist cannot be brought about by the invisible hand of the market. Even the current financial market crisis points at solutions that require concerted efforts by governments, hence the EU and US governments have led other countries in pumping significant amounts of money through billions of Euros and US dollars in a bid to correct the current situation.

What is clear therefore, from the actions of Shilowa, George and Lekota and their followers, is that they are driven by narrow self-serving interests, and consequently believe that their perceived entitlement to leadership is greater than the health of our democracy and stability of our nation. However, we now know that these were charlatans not fitting to lead our movement, for which forever we will remain ashamed for having been associated with or even ever called them our leaders!

What makes their dramatic performance more amazing is the shallowness of their approach based on the belief that the masses will believe them when they claim that the ANC has lost its soul post Polokwane. Polokwane conference was held a mere ten months ago, and any rot in the ANC would have accumulated over a number of years. Ironically Lekota and his lieutenants were some of the highest ranking officials of the ANC for more than 10 years. Surely the rot would have settled in on their watch. Are we then to believe that the rot that was settling in over the last ten years was good, and since there was a change of guard in Polokwane it suddenly turned bad? Lekota and his henchmen must not undermine our intelligence with their lies and half-truths. If they are to present themselves to the nation as messiahs and saviours from an ANC that is allegedly drunk with power, the least they

can do is to tell the truth and take the nation into confidence.

It is no fallacy that the Polokwane conference was a watershed in ANC history and sought to reinstate the timeless traditions that have been eroded on Lekota's watch. The gradual weakening of structures in the movement under the pretext of modernisation of the movement continued unabated over the years, notwithstanding the rejection of this notion by the National General Council in 2005 in Tshwane. What came to pass in Polokwane was a culmination of the sentiment that was expressed by the membership of the ANC at the 2005 NGC when they decried the detachment of the ANC from its mass base and the perceived aloofness of the leadership. It is precisely for that reason that the 52<sup>nd</sup> National Conference in Polokwane, in dealing with organisational renewal unambiguously affirmed

- *“That the ANC was established essentially to serve the people. Thus, the task of all ANC members is to serve the people loyally and selflessly, without expectation of material reward or personal gain.*

- *That the primary task of the ANC remains the mobilisation of all the classes and strata that objectively stand to benefit from the cause of social change. Thus, Strategy and Tactics 2007 elaborates this role as seeking to mobilise all South Africans to contribute to the ongoing transformation of our country, in the process fostering responsibility for our common destiny among all citizens of South Africa, black and white.”*

If we are to believe that the outcomes of Polokwane was an ANC that is a shadow of its former self which merely pays lip service to the ideals of the

Freedom Charter, then the resolution of the 52<sup>nd</sup> National Conference are not worth the paper they are written on. But we all know that Conference resolutions constitute the mandate of the elected leadership and craft the roadmap the ANC is expected to follow until its next elective conference. More importantly, the ANC constitution allows its members to review the performance of the leadership through a mid-term review that is undertaken at a National General Council. These provisions in the ANC constitution underlines the supremacy of the branch in determining the direction of the movement. If the membership is unhappy with the manner in which the leadership leads the organization, then the leadership is voted out of office. This practice constitutes the very basis of democracy and anything to the contrary is nothing short of vulgarisation of democratic practice.

The spectacle that continues to unravel in our country is serious cause for concern. A crop of leadership has emerged from among our ranks, whose allegiance is not to democracy or the rule of law, but to a culture of entitlement to leadership roles and positions.

Because they believe they are entitled to lead and to occupy leadership positions, they are not prepared to accept outcomes of democratic processes that do not favour them. They would rather shamelessly drag the entire nation to the abyss of anarchy in pursuit of their narrow self-serving interest. Their actions constitute a betrayal of everything the ANC stands for and an insult to the liberation struggle and our hard-won democracy for which many laid down their lives. If we as a nation tolerate such conduct, we run the risk of breeding a monster that will take our country to a civil war, because of those who will not accept results of democratic elections.


These are people who think our revolutionary struggle is a special project to get them in power and also get them rich, hence they would fight to death if removed from power. They make dubious allegations that we are “deviating from principles and values of our movement”, when in fact we are deviating from serving their bottomless greedy stomachs!

Since 1994, these former leaders of our movement created a ring of capitalists, wherein they used their access to power to enrich themselves and their cronies, hence some of them

when questioned about their obvious greed had the audacity to claim they “did not struggle to be poor”!

We must state it clearly that there is nothing wrong in aspiring at being a business person or making a lot of money. However, it must not be that that is confused with our historic mandate, which is to ensure that the masses of our people are pulled off from the abyss of abject poverty caused by apartheid. It must not be therefore that when we under go democratic renewal of mandate, people fight like hungry dogs to hold on to power, even disregarding and disassociating themselves with the movement of our people!

The attempts therefore at challenging the hegemony of the ANC and all the reason advanced by the opportunists rejected by democratic processes of the ANC are nothing more than the last kicks of a dying horse!



**Julius Malema**  
PRESIDENT: ANCYL

# Lekota Suffers From Perennial Inconsistency!

*“If Comrade Terror had been a member of the People’ Army, he would have avoided his dalliance with the former SANDF generalship that now controls the SANDF, and would have worked very hard to integrate the MKMVA soldiers who were shortchanged during the integration. In this way his call for peace and security would have been broadened, and cushioned with the respect that our people have for the MKMVA. On the contrary, he emphasized the relegation of the MKMVA to the periphery of our peace and security structures when he disappeared before addressing them at their conference in October 2007.”*

In response to the spreadsheet article in the Sowetan of 9 October 2008 (Opinion and Analysis: 6 (reasons) Lekota: Why I plan to leave), and the coverage by other media of this political episode, there is a need to put the record straight about the poverty of Comrade Terror’s reasons. Although Comrade Terror’s has a litany of political misjudgments and faux pauses behind his name, it would be sufficient for the purpose of this article to refer to only to those he raised in the mentioned Sowetan article.

## 1. The ANC is anti-tribalism

Comrade Terror Lekota, aka Rubberman, spent most of his activist life in the United Democratic Front in Clermont in KwaZulu-Natal. In fact he is much of a fabric of Clermont that a stadium in the township has been named after him. I am laying out a history of the

Comrade in relation to his now Pauline conversion on the tribalistic tendencies he is raising now. This was no coincidence, as he had also spent some of his student life a stone throw away from Clermontville, in St Francis College in Mariannhill. Stories of him being a bully for Rangers F.C., who would try to scare his opponents by taking a goal kick by running from an elevated end outside the goal kick area have been told over and over again in my part of the country. But he was an antithesis of the cultures of the rosary-praying students of his time, ready to pick up a fight with soccer teams from outside the monastery that came to play against Rangers. To those of us who know him, his current tirade against the organization he introduced us to, is therefore not uncommon, but in my language, since he introduced us to the UDF and then to the ANC, the first warning against

his secessionist intentions is to say “Sichathe sichathile.”

Firstly, when he was parachuted to the Free State as Premier simply on the basis that he was a Mosotho who would be better placed to deal with the Free State simply because of he was born a Mosotho, he grabbed the opportunity with both hands without invoking the tribalistic considerations which had led to his appointment. But Terror had done an ideological flip-back on us who had stood by the UDF when the IFP in KwaZulu was intimating that we were led by Indians, Xhosas and Basothos (as a specific reference to Comrade Terror.) We prevailed in our non-ethnic and non-racial approach to our political discourse, but simply on the basis of a sarcastic T-shirt, Terror threatens to leave the party.

Secondly, when Ndaweni Mahlangu was appointed as Premier of Mpumalanga,

without any history in the struggle for the liberation of this country, but quite on the contrary because he had been part of the Bantustan System, and appointed only because he was a Ndebele, he (Mahlangu) would better understand the political intricacies of the Mpumalanga Province. Somebody had given the President bad advice about the suitability of Ndaweni Mahlangu but there was not even a whimper from Comrade Lekota about this tribe-based choice.

Thirdly, when the emails were doing rounds about the need to sort out the Zuluboy, no doubt a sour reference to a Zulu man by the clan name of Msholozzi, Comrade Terror Lekota was conspicuous by his silence. No sooner was the appendage of 100% Zuluboy turned around in favour of Msholozzi, precisely as a retort to those who had started the tribalistic email warfare in the first place, no doubt as a sarcastic back serve to those who had started the emails in the first place, than Comrade Terror started seeing these traces of tribalism.

## 2. Elimination of Internal Democracy

The Secretary-General's pronouncements and Comrade Jeff Radebe's letter in response to Comrade Terror's letter to the ANC are seminal in their revocation of the insinuation that there is no internal democracy in the ANC. Fortunately, the National General Council (NGC) of 2005 was a front seat view of how Comrade Terror, as Chairperson, had tried to stifle debate and advocated a particular line. Even as we speak, Comrade Terror is being invited to come and discuss his

grievances within the party structures, but he has chosen a rather off theatre of engagement – the media, with the emblazoned Radio 702 background behind him. It may be a mute point to raise the tiff between this particular gate crashing station and the Black Journalists Forum (BJF) which had invited Msholozzi, but one cannot help noticing the connection.

The Secretary-General of the ANC is absolutely correct. It is only less than a year since Polokwane, and if there is any discernible elimination of internal democracy, it has come about as a result of the previous incumbent who chaired the critical sessions of our movements, including the silencing of those voices that wanted to defend Madiba against venomous attacks from some members of the NEC. (Well he called all of us who sing Mshini wami, including himself when a video clip showed him singing – izibhanxa) While indeed there has been much progress that has been made by the new leadership in the short space of time since Polokwane, I think Comrade Terror is over generous with his accolades that they, in ten months could have totally turned our organization into something else other than what it was before Polokwane. Overgenerosity is a bedmate of political naiveté, and we are seeing dollops of these in the secessionist tendencies of the Polokwane losers.

But Lekota's conduct of the affairs of the NEC were mimicking those of the Cabinet, where the ideas of one person were elevated to the Solomonic wisdom over and above those of the entire Cabinet put together. If any internal democracy was lost, Comrade Terror should have spoken in Cabinet as well,

but he chose not to, and only served to "Cabinetize" the NEC, rather than doing the inverse. When the decision by the then President to fire Msholozzi was unilateral, Comrade Terror coalesced into the predominant paradigm that it was the President's prerogative to do so, but when the collective of the NEC arrives at a decision through debate, painful as it was, to recall the former President Terror throws his toys out of the court bed.

## 3. Elevation of peripheral issues to national ones

This is Comrade Terror's weakest argument for two reasons. Firstly, when Comrade Terror was a leader of the United Democratic Front, we knew very well that although we were local civil society groups, our focus was national. The UDF never made our local issues peripheral to the national agenda. In fact, the peripheralization of certain issues has got some traces of regionalism and the arrogance of a leadership that has no sympathy for local issues except for those issues they consider to be of national importance. It is therefore no wonder that the preoccupation of the previous Cabinet with international issues while the local streets were literally on fire created an alienated Cabinet. Some in the Cabinet were detached from the branches, and were more known in New York and London where they driven in limousine, and feasted on champagne and caviar than they were by their South African compatriots.

Secondly, I fail to understand what is not national, if the "National" Director of Prosecutions, decides to charge the Deputy and then President of the African "National" Congress, on the flimsy basis of

a “national” procurement of armaments, in the Supreme Court of the Land, after the former Deputy President was relieved off his duties in a “National” Assembly, and the issue was broadcast on “national” television and in a case that has “national” repercussions. I am having a sense that Comrade Lekota negates his aversion for tribalism, for in my mind he intimates that Comrade Jacob Zuma, national and international as he is, should have been tried under a tree in Nkandla, by a tribal chief, and those who have wronged him to pay him in cattle and a couple of goats. The replay of Zuluboy emails could not have been more stalker and display more dishonesty on the part of Comrade Terror to find a *cassus belli* for secession.

#### 4. Violation of Equality Before The Law

The political machinations around the trial and persecution of the President of the ANC does not require a student of Politics 101. Judge Nicholson only confirmed what was generally known and denied by the sycophantic brigade that did not speak when the rights of the Comrade President Zuma were trampled upon and hid under the parapet of presidential protection when the Public Protector found that indeed these rights had been severely compromised.

Comrade Terror insinuates that Comrade JZ is elevated to be more equal than others. But he is very silent when there are challenges to the judgment of Judge Nicholson, ill conceived as they are, and by his silence, indicates that the independence of the judge should be challenged but that Comrade Zuma should not have this right. But even more insidiously,

Comrade Terror considered himself above the law when in Parliament he did not divulge his shareholding in companies, and when the Travelgate MPs were hauled before the courts for having embezzled Parliament travel privileges, he chose a political solution to his non disclosure by pleading for forgiveness in the NEC.

#### 5. Attacks on the Institutions and Agencies of Governance

I have raised the issue of half or non-disclosure to Parliament about his shareholding in certain companies. This represents not only an attack on the integrity of Parliament through lies, but Comrade Lekota chameleon-like movement from respecting the institutions of governance when it suits him, to switching to the political authority of the NEC when it suits him is there for all to see.

When former Minister Pennuel Maduna and former Director of the National Public Prosecutions, Bulelani Ngcuka refused to co-operate with the Public Protector in his investigation of the case of the erosion of Comrade JZ’s human rights, Comrade Terror was silent, and if indeed he had spoken against this undermining of the institutions of governance at the time, I daresay we would not have reached this stage of the political discourse.

It is common knowledge that there is a concern within Government that the trifucal separation of powers will always be terrains of contestations, in much the same way that the antiquated debates of Church versus State dominated that era of politics. This is a dialectical contestation and it will take some time for most of our judges that we inherited from the old order to move away from

their apartheid roots, and to embrace the new order. As we sit, they still refer to themselves as the Transvaal Bench and the Ciskei Bench in much the same way as some conservative Afrikaner farmers still refer to themselves as the Transvaal Agricultural Union. If Comrade Terror wants us to unquestioningly accept the verdict of some of these judges, than he has not read the South African political scenario very well.

#### 6. Peace and Security

Although I cannot fault the President’s prerogative to appoint Comrade Terror as Minister of Defence, I still cannot fathom what made him qualify for this crucial Ministry. But this powerful position made him a member of the Cabinet Security Cluster, and together with his colleagues, should have been at the forefront of the provision of the peace and security that he opines about in his reasons for wanting to leave the ANC. If he feels peace and security is threatened, he should sow programmes and strategies of what he has done as Minister of Defence to deepen this peace and security.

If Comrade Terror had been a member of the People’ Army, he would have avoided his dalliance with the former SANDF generalship that now controls the SANDF, and would have worked very hard to integrate the MKMVA soldiers who were shortchanged during the integration. In this way his call for peace and security would have been broadened, and cushioned with the respect that our people have for the MKMVA. On the contrary, he emphasized the relegation of the MKMVA to the periphery of our peace and security structures when he disappeared before

addressing them at their conference in October 2007.

Bereft of the understanding of the correct understanding of the kill” word in our vernacular, Terror deliberates distorts the word to a mere linguistic interpretation from Zulu to English, and but doing so entrenches the linguistic hegemony of the metaphors that resonate in many of our indigenous languages.

Comrade Terror is a valuable and in fact useful Comrade. The decision by the ANC leadership to engage him is a noble one. But five issues should be borne with these developments.

Firstly if the ANC were a bank, an employee who gives notice that he or she wants to leave the bank is forced to leave immediately with pay lest he uses the resources of the bank to feather nest for future comfort. Terror does not want to reign because he wants to use the ANC infrastructure to undermine it.

Secondly while the logic of the man pissing from inside out is more preferable from the one who pisses inside in, it may well

be that than pissing in causes much more embarrassment to those inside the tent that the foolishness of the person who would piss from outside the tent. The man pissing from outside cannot keep his fly open and have the water flowing from his pipes for longer.

Thirdly, once a person has had the sweet smell of the media and its adoration, the chances of him succumbing to other forms of engagement such as collective decisions are zero. There is no such thing as dangerous as a politician who likes to see himself in front of cameras for wrong reasons – and who seeks all forms of publicity including bad publicity. But the media has a tendency of scoops, and once Terror cannot provide them with the scoops, they will move elsewhere. This is part for the course for the media is the and once that moment comes Comrade Terror will find himself in a very lonely place.

Fourthly, a carnivorous animal cannot be totally tamed, and one day it is bound to bite a chunk of flesh from its owner. In order for it not to turn against

its owner one day, it needs a continuous supply of red meat. Once the ANC does that to satisfy Comrade Terror’s appetite, it may find that his daily consumption of red meat increases.

Lastly, to beg a single leader to stay in the organization undermines the very work of the ANC – that of growing the cadreship. There are thousands who have been groomed by the ANC to be ready for leadership who are ready to fill in the positions that were left by Comrade Terror and his fellow travellers. They are just a phone call away. For Comrade to bring on board his fellow co-conspirators may need far more than understanding Terror’s money’s from his investments, but to examine all the books of the originations that he led and his role in the disappearance of their funds.

In its decision to engage Comrade Terror and in the event that he decides to change his mind (which I think is now pretty made up) it would be prudent to remember these warnings.

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*\*Dr Jabulani Mzaliya is a member of the ANC and writes in his personal capacity.*

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