

Monday, 8<sup>th</sup> February 2010

Page 294 – 337

<b>A. Business Day</b>	<b>Page</b>
1 Zuma is simply kicking for touch on nationalisation of mines	294
2 'Sorry' Zuma tried to calm storm ahead of key speech	295
<b>B. Citizen</b>	
1 'The struggle set Madiba free'	296
2 What the future may hold for Msholozzi now	297
3 'Zuma's last chance to behave himself'	298
4 Zuma patron may be released	299
<b>C. Mercury</b>	
1 We've Spoken, Baba	300
2 KZN officials still benefit from contracts	301
3 ID fraud becomes more sophisticated	302
4 Zuma's sex life still in spotlight	303
5 Officials mum on Cwele's work status	304
<b>D. Sowetan</b>	
1 Zuma's actions don't do SA's image any good	305
2 Sock it to 'em, sir	306
3 Zuma calls the shots on pardons	307
4 Magwaza-Msibi's staunch supporter dismissed	308
5 Public should engage in political affairs	309
<b>E. The Star</b>	
1 'It wasn't FW who freed Madiba'	310
2 Education needs a boost	311
3 Madiba and media freedom	312
4 Madiba and media freedom... <i>continued</i>	313
5 Cope's Shilowa under attack over 'lacklustre performance'	314
6 Cope's Shilowa under attack over 'lacklustre performance'... <i>continued</i>	315
<b>F. The Times</b>	
1 Zuma second-term campaign on ropes	326
2 Zuma second-term campaign on ropes... <i>continued</i>	327
3 Why not try the road less travelled, Mr President?	328
4 Cops probe 'hit list' claim	329
5 'We are not at war with Youth League'	330
6 A selfish, predatory practice	331
<b>G. The Witness</b>	
1 President in a pickle	332
2 A bankrupt mindset	333
3 ANC lekgotla plans recruitment drive	334
4 SRUGGLE, NOT DE KLERY, TO THANK FOR MANDELA RELEASE, SAYS ZUMA	335
5 Northdale brothers release Indian cookery DVD	336
6 District gets clean audit	337



**H. Ilanga**

- |   |  |     |
|---|--|-----|
| 1 | UTHI NGEKE AXOSHWE YIHEMPU KAZONDI             | 33  |
| 2 | Iyiphi indoda ongayethemba uShange noMsholoji? | 339 |
| 3 | Kwenzeka kwasebemidwayidwa lokhu               | 340 |
| 4 | UmkaCwele ubexwayisa ngezidakamizwa            | 341 |

**I. Isolezwe**

- |   |  |     |
|---|--|-----|
| 1 | Sazigwaza ngowethu kule ndoda            | 342 |
| 2 | Umaskandi usela owe-IFP                  | 343 |
| 3 | Akisenzi mehluko ukuxolisa kukaMengameli | 345 |
| 4 | Waeyiphthe ngezikhwama eyebhelili uCwele | 346 |
|   |  | 347 |

**J. Financial Mail**

- |   |                          |     |
|---|--------------------------|-----|
| 1 | An unlikely hero         | 348 |
| 2 | Falling back on ceremony | 349 |



MONDAY 8 FEBRUARY 2010 **BusinessDay**

## Zuma is simply kicking for touch on the nationalisation of mines

**I**RATE myself as something of a connoisseur of the overblown abuse tossed out by the African National Congress Youth League, but surely its assaults on De Beers chairman Nicky Oppenheimer and Mineral Resources Minister Susan Shabangu are a bridge too far.

Its latest claims go beyond civil discourse. In response to the mildest rebuke from a mild man,

the youth league claimed Oppenheimer was a criminal and had "sponsored" a murderous regime — ie, the company paid tax.

The league is positioning itself as a fifth column within the ANC, and intends to force out of office anyone who opposes its bullying, outdated, discredited, half-formed ideas about mine nationalisation.

In case you have not been following it, Shabangu said there

would be no nationalisation in her lifetime. Oppenheimer, completely without ire, welcomed her statement and noted that talk of nationalisation was worrying to business — a comment so innocuous it almost goes without saying. In response to Shabangu's slap-down, the league absolutely threw its toys out of the cot.

This is all par for the course, you might say. The rewriting of

history is also par for the course; politicians always do that. Just ignore them, many argue.

Yet what worries me is not so much the league's tantrums when it does not get its way, but President Jacob Zuma's response.

In Davos, before the argument broke out, it must be said, he was asked about mine nationalisation. His response was that there were no proposals before the party.

This is just kicking for touch, in the conflict avoidance tradition for which his administration is becoming known. If he cannot support his own minister, he is conceding ground to any faction with a particular axe to grind.

If Zuma cannot declare with any precision the organisation's policy, then really he is not leading the country; it's just wafting from one argument to the next.



# 'Sorry' Zuma tries to calm storm ahead of key speech

After defiance last week, president changes tune — but some are not convinced

**WILSON JOHWA**  
Political Correspondent

**PRESIDENT** Jacob Zuma's apology to the nation for his latest sexual indiscretion appeared in danger of backfiring yesterday, as analysts and political opponents dismissed it as contrived and lacking substance.

Zuma's apology came ahead of a crucial week for him, as he prepares for Thursday's state of the nation speech amid accusations that his administration is in a state of torpor as a result of in-fighting in the African National Congress (ANC), and between the party and its allies.

Analysts said yesterday that Zuma had no choice but to apologise for fathering a child out of wedlock with the daughter of soccer boss Irvin Khoza, as there was great danger the scandal would overshadow Thursday's key speech, which has been moved to the evening to allow to allow maximum television viewership.

ANC officials are due this week to commemorate the 20th anniversary of former president Nelson Mandela's release from prison at various ceremonies in

the Western Cape, culminating in Zuma's state of the nation speech on the actual day Mandela was freed in 1990.

After vigorously defending himself, Zuma bowed to pressure at the weekend and apologised — his second apology in recent years for similar acts.

Siphamandla Zondi, a researcher at the Institute for Global Dialogue, said it was "correct and unavoidable" for Zuma to have apologised, not just because it was expected but also to allow the focus to shift to more pressing national and international issues. The concern in the Presidency was that the attention being given to Zuma's sexual indiscretion would detract from his state of the nation speech.

The head of the Centre for Politics and Research, Prince Mashele, said Zuma wanted to have "something to hide behind so that he can say: 'I've apologised and we're moving forward.'"

However, Mashele said South Africans should not accept the apology, which was insincere, coming as it did after his initial defensive and "arrogant" statement. "This is a plastic apology



Jacob Zuma

and should not be accepted at all," Mashele said.

Mcebisi Ndletyana of the Human Sciences Research Council said the apology was not a bad thing, but it was disconcerting that it appeared to have come reluctantly. "He did not think he had done anything wrong, and that is more worrisome. Why would anyone not apologise for making a woman pregnant out of wedlock, more so a president who wants to discourage promiscuity?"

Zuma's apology came four

days after a defensive statement in which he acknowledged fathering a four-month-old daughter with Sonono Khoza but largely blamed the media for publicity over what he said was a private matter.

Speculation was that the apology followed pressure from ANC leaders who feared Zuma's action would cost them support, amid public anger at his lifestyle.

Zuma had initially chosen not to say sorry, most likely fearing a comparison with the apology he made in 2006 when he was acquitted for rape. At the time, he admitted to having unprotected sex with the HIV-positive daughter of a former struggle comrade.

After two days of unplanned leave last week, Zuma was to meet party members in Paarl yesterday, to attend commemorative events in honour of Mandela. The matter was likely to be on the agenda of the party's national working committee meeting today.

ANC spokesman Jackson Mthembu said the commemorative programme would continue throughout the Western Cape until Thursday. "We will be having a beehive of activities door to door, including cadre forums."



The Citizen Monday 8 February 2010

# 'The struggle set Madiba free'

CAPE TOWN – It was the intensity of the armed struggle, and not a decision by former President FW de Klerk, that led to Nelson Mandela's release 20 years ago, President Jacob Zuma said yesterday.

Zuma, apparently rejuvenated by a break from his schedule in the wake of publicity over the birth of his 20th child, was addressing an ANC Boland region meeting in Paarl.

He said that among the things he would be likely to talk about on the 11th, the anniversary of Mandela's release and the date of his state of the nation address, was what it had taken for Mandela to "come out of prison".

"Don't be misled by people who might say today, we slept, we thought we must now release this man. No. It was the struggle, the intensity and

depth of the struggle that led to Madiba being released."

Mandela's release, announced by De Klerk on February 2 1990, will be commemorated on Thursday by an event at Groot Drakenstein prison near Paarl at which Mandela and Zuma will be present.

The prison, formerly called Victor Verster, is where Mandela was held in the run-up to his release, a move that paved the way for a negotiated settlement and the first democratic elections in 1994.

"It looked like a dream that this man who had been in prison for 27 years was being released," Zuma said. "We must remember him and thank him."

He said that after the commemoration and his state of the nation ad-

dress, it would be down to "hard work". He intended to make a number of commitments in the address, which for the first time ever was being delivered in the evening so working South Africans could watch and listen.

Zuma also used yesterday speech to appeal for unity in the troubled Western Cape ANC. Currently the province, the only one not controlled by the ANC, is being run by a task team appointed by ANC national.

Zuma said unity was the key to the ANC's success, according to Mandela, it was the rock on which the ANC was founded. Every province, region and branch was equally important when it came to this.

"Therefore our focus should be to unite our organisation." – *Sapa*.



The Citizen Monday 8 February 2010

## What the future may hold for Msholozzi now

**CEDRIC MBOYISA**

PRESIDENT Jacob Zuma's love-child scandal has provided ammunition to his opponents who may be plotting to oust him at the ANC's elective conference in 2012.

Zuma has for the first time in his presidency come close to being rebuked by the ruling party, which in the past always presented a united front in defending his actions.

Political analyst Daniel Silke said: "Zuma is not guaranteed to be elected for the second term (as the leader of the ANC). Any misdemeanour or indiscretion will be used by his opponents in the ruling party to unseat him."

He added that Zuma's extra-marital affair with soccer boss Irvin Khoza's daughter did not do his image any good, but it would not bring his ability to govern into question.

According to *Saturday Star*, by fathering a child out of wedlock Zuma had broken a pact with the senior leadership of the ANC that he would not again embarrass the party after his much-publicised rape trial.

Some senior ANC officials are said to be incensed by Zuma's latest scandal.

Silke said prominent leaders like Zuma would face increased scrutiny

over the next few years.

University of Johannesburg's Centre for the Study of Democracy director Professor Steven Friedman differed with Silke on the issue of Zuma's love child and the ANC 2012 conference. "Not at all," was his reply when asked whether the scandal would have adverse or negative ramifications for Zuma in 2012. If Zuma chose to stand he would be retained "unopposed", Friedman said.

Despite the ruling party calling on its members and tripartite alliance partners to desist from engaging in the succession debate, contestation has begun in earnest, well ahead of 2012.

Cosatu and ANC Youth League president Julius Malema have all backed Zuma for a second term, which will mean that Zuma will also be South Africa's president for two terms.

The ANCYL is understood to be waging a war against ANC secretary general Gwede Mantashe, who it wants replaced by national executive committee member and former league leader Fikile Mbalula.

ANC heavyweight Tokyo Sexwale, who seems to enjoy the backing of the young lions, is also known to be eyeing a top six position, come 2012.

— cedricm@citizen.co.za



# 'Zuma's last chance to behave himself'

**'INSINCERE':** *ACDP slams the President's apology*

**CEDRIC MBOYISA**

SHOULD President Jacob Zuma mess up again, it would mean an own goal which must see him booted out just like former England captain John Terry, whose extra-marital affair led to his fall from grace.

This is a warning from African Christian Democratic Party (ACDP) leader Kenneth Meshoe, who told *The Citizen* yesterday that this was "Zuma's last chance to behave himself".

At the same time, Democratic Alliance leader Helen Zille warned: "The South African public will not be so forgiving next time around."

Although Meshoe welcomed Zuma's apology for fathering a child with soccer boss Irvin Khoza's daughter out of wedlock, he said it had been insincere as it had come about due to



Zuma should apologise for undermining the government's fight against the HIV/Aids pandemic by having 'multiple partners and ... unprotected sex', says the ACDP.

pressure from the ANC and public.

"It's not from his heart. I don't think his apology will suffice. We need assurance he won't do it again," he added.

According to Meshoe, Zuma should have come clean on all his children when he apologised for his extra-marital affair scandal.

He called on Zuma to apologise for "undermining" the government's fight against the HIV/Aids pandemic by having "multiple partners and en-

gaging in unprotected sex".

It was clear, he pointed out, that Zuma had a "sex problem" and should seek professional counseling.

"The President really needs help," he added.

Zille said that Zuma should match his words with actions.

"Words are not enough – he must now focus on repairing the damage he has done to the fight against HIV/Aids. Leadership is as leadership does."

Both the ruling party and the Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu) welcomed and accepted Zuma's apology.

"It is good the President realises that he erred and did not seek to take our people for granted. The apology was the right thing to do," said Cosatu spokesman Patrick Craven.



The Citizen Monday 8 February 2010

# Zuma patron may be released

CITIZEN REPORTER AND SAPA

THE ANC will not discuss presidential pardons with President Jacob Zuma or try to influence him in any way.

That was the message from ANC spokesman Jackson Mthembu.

"Many issues are the President's prerogatives. We try to separate these matters from any ANC discussions so that we don't influence the President on any matter as the ANC," he said.

Yesterday the *Rapport* newspaper reported that new legal grounds were considered for the release of

**GET OUT CLAUSE:** *Selective prosecution is cited*

Eugene de Kock and Schabir Shaik.

It has been claimed that De Kock, an apartheid-era killer dubbed "Prime Evil", was in line to be pardoned for his crimes, as an exchange that will also grant a pardon to Zuma's former financial benefactor, Shaik.

The newspaper quoted an anonymous ANC source as saying that "selective prosecution" would be cited as grounds for pardon.

**snip**  
Schabir Shaik was in hot water again last year after spending three nights at a luxury game lodge. His parole officer had allowed it on health grounds.

According to this principle, it is unfair that the individuals were convicted alone even though they

acted with accomplices, and they should therefore be released.

It was further claimed that not everyone in the ANC was happy with the potential pardons.

Mthembu denied that behind-the-scenes discussions were being held.

"It would be inappropriate for any ANC leader or person to discuss the prerogative of the President."

But the newspaper quoted consti-

tutional expert Professor Pierre de Vos as saying that the "selective prosecutions" argument was weak.

"It is completely true that there was selective prosecution, but that means the alleged accomplices also have to be prosecuted - not that everyone should be freed," he said.

"In this case the answer is to prosecute President Zuma (in Shaik's case) and De Kock's commanding officers."

National Prosecuting Authority spokesman Mthunzi Mhaga said he was not aware that the issue had been discussed.



## We've Spoken, Baba

IT HAS been a week in which South Africans have proved that they are not sheep. Some of our political leaders may have thought we were, but by the weekend they were singing a different tune.

Citizens from all walks of life were prepared to tell President Jacob Zuma he had erred and were not swayed by the stance that they should butt out of their president's affairs.

For the people have indeed spoken and Zuma has had to apologise – yet again.

Despite attempts to bring us into line with the view that the king can do no wrong, especially in the private sphere, Zuma had little choice but to climb down in the face of public outrage, disgust and opprobrium.

No matter how hard his spokesmen tried, few South Africans, including men and women of integrity in the ANC, seemed prepared to accept that Zuma's licentiousness was a private matter.

Those who publicly tried to defend him knew they would be hard pressed to justify Zuma's actions if they were asked but one question: "And what if it was your daughter, comrade?"

Let us be clear; Zuma's penchant for sleeping around, including with his friends' daughters, raises legitimate questions about whether he is fit to rule.

The fact that ordinary South Africans were prepared to speak up is indeed positive.

It shows our leaders that they should not take us for granted and that are capable of thinking for ourselves.

The days of "killing for Zuma" and viewing him as the victim are long gone.

And if citizens can take the stand they did this past week against a popular president whose conduct had become an embarrassment, nothing should stop them from becoming equally demanding about the true state of our nation and its challenges.

On Thursday Zuma will address a joint sitting of Parliament to make his first meaningful State of the Nation speech after nearly a year in power.

For a nation faced with empty promises, alliance infighting and presidential peccadilloes, we expect the hard proof that he is indeed the right man to govern.



## KZN officials still benefit from contracts

CARIEN DU PLESSIS  
& SIBUSISO MBOTO

PUBLIC servants in KwaZulu-Natal who had companies getting government contracts were likely to continue receiving such contracts until a directive was issued by the Public Service and Administration Department.

This was the response from acting KZN director-general Roger Govender to a performance audit of the provincial government by the auditor-general, which found that KZN had the highest number of public servants benefiting from government contracts.

Companies belonging to civil servants had earned more than R135 million from the KZN government between April 2005 and March 2007.

"They should disclose their interests and also ensure that they do not sit on the committees that award contracts," said Govender.

The auditor-general found that 308 provincial employees had companies that did business with the departments for which they worked. The total payout to the 349 companies amounted to R25.9m between April 2005 and March 2007, the report said. Also, 69 employees' spouses did R34.9m worth of business with their partners'

departments through 70 companies during the same period, while 539 civil servants were involved in 538 companies that did business with provincial departments other than those they were employed by, leading to payouts amounting to almost R75.5m.

The departments of health and education were among the biggest problems. The extent of the problem could be much wider, as the auditor-general's probe was limited to contracts worth more than R100 000.

Last year, the auditor-general reported its findings after an investigation in the other eight provinces. It showed that contracts worth more than R600m had been concluded between state departments and companies linked to about 2 000 civil servants and their spouses.

Scopa chairman Themba Godi said it was "shocking". He said yesterday that KZN had not been dealt with in the first report because the provincial government had not supplied the necessary documents to the auditor-general. Godi, who had yet to see the report, said the KZN figures seemed particularly bad.

The law does not require civil servants to declare the business interests of their spouses, but this could change.



# ID fraud becomes more sophisticated

ANGELIQUE SERRAO

**I**DENTITY theft has increased so much that a major retailer is thinking about installing photo-recognition or fingerprint scanners in their stores.

The chief operating officer of the JD Group, Johan Kok, said identity theft had become much more sophisticated in the past five years. The JD Group which has Bradlows, the Hi-Fi Corporation, Incredible Connection, Joshua Doore, Morkels and Russells as part of their brand, sees five- to six-million cases of fraud a month.

"It's rife," Kok said. "Five years ago we saw the odd opportunistic fraud. It was clumsy. But now it's far more professional."

He said it was impossible to quantify the fraud, but the group was not alone in dealing with this problem.

"I get what I call a reality check every day. It's an incident report from our stores," Kok said. On Thursday last week his list had at least six cases of fraud in Gauteng, amounting to hundreds of thousands of rands. He said that normally the fraud took place in metropolitan areas, but recently he has noticed the footprint had widened into small towns because staff in urban areas had become wiser to the theft.

"You can buy an ID for R300.

It's so easy. It's reaching the stage where you might as well use a postage stamp for identification. It has the same meaning as an ID book."

Unfortunately, customers have realised this is happening, so Kok says some of them are now saying their identity was stolen to get out of paying for purchases.

Kok said the group was exploring the options of getting photo or fingerprint recognition scanners to try to curb the crimes.

## Faked

One of the ways that identity is stolen is through payment slips.

Last year, a group of teachers from a primary school in Lenasia did not receive their October salary advice slips.

They never thought anything of it, until they realised they had been used to fake their identity.

Four of the teachers were debited for purchases made at Bradlows in Joburg. Their pay slips had been used, fake identity documents were used and their bank details were given to the store to make the purchases.

About R200 000 was spent at the store under the four teachers' names. The crooks bought high-end lounge suites, a 50-inch TV, a top-loading

washing machine, an oven and a home theatre system in their names. Delivery addresses were given, one of them in Meadowlands, Soweto.

But Kok says the fraudsters don't stay in these addresses. They often rent the premises or have someone waiting and they load the furniture on to a bakkie and drive away.

One of the teachers found she owed the shop more than R60 000 – half of it for the purchase of a lounge suite.

"They put it on hire purchase and took out all this insurance. How caring of them. They gave me until 2012 to pay it off," said the teacher incredulous at the audacity of the crime.

A principal from another school said there was a rumour that this had happened to a few schools. She said they were told by the district office they would stop the courier services that delivered the slips to schools because of this.

The Gauteng Department of Education said six teachers had reported that their personal information had been used to commit fraud. The two schools were Sharicrest Primary School and Tiisetso-Bekezela in Orange Farm.

Spokesman Charles Phahlane said records showed that all but one teacher signed acknowledgment of receipt of their salary advices.



# Zuma's sex life still in spotlight

CARIEN DU PLESSIS  
POLITICAL BUREAU

**T**HE FURORE over President Jacob Zuma's sex life is likely to cast a shadow over a gathering of his party's top brass in Cape Town today ahead of his State of the Nation address on Thursday.

ANC spokesman Jackson Mthembu yesterday confirmed the meeting would be taking place, but refused to divulge any details of the agenda.

However, an ANC national executive committee member told The Mercury the leadership was likely to demand answers after Zuma admitted to fathering a child with a woman who was not one of his three wives, soccer boss Irvin Khoza's daughter Sonono.

Yesterday in Embekweni township in Paarl, Zuma was welcomed as a hero by hundreds of ANC members.

Zuma arrived three-and-a-half hours late for his first public appearance since issuing an apology to the nation for fathering a child out of wedlock. Thunderous applause, cheers and repeated loud hails of his name greeted him and his entourage including Deputy Police Minister Fikile Mbalula.

When he took to the stage, Zuma made no mention of Saturday's apology.

After initial attempts to defuse the row by insisting it was a private matter between the president and the child's mother, both the ANC and the Presidency did a U-turn and Zuma issued a formal apology to the nation at the weekend. Zuma said he was sorry for "the pain that I have caused my family, the ANC, the (tripartite) alliance and South Africans in general".

The apology came after a massive public outcry, with South

together with spokesman Nomfundo Mcetywa, whose first day in her current position was last Monday, the day after the revelations stunned South Africa.

But by the end of the week journalists were referred to media liaison head in the Presidency Zingaphi Jakuja, who yesterday referred all queries about Zuma's communications strategy to the Presidency's communications head, Vusi Mona, whose cellphone was switched off.

Zuma's apology did not address the criticism that by having unprotected, adulterous sex he was disregarding the ABC of his own government's message on HIV/Aids – to Abstain, Be Faithful and to Condomise. It emerged during his 2006 rape trial – where he was acquitted – that he had had unprotected sex with an HIV-positive woman.

Cosatu, which had initially held off commenting until Zuma himself had spoken, said it welcomed his apology.

The SACP, which had also kept its silence on the matter, said it "accepted" Zuma's apology.

So did DA leader Helen Zille. She said she was initially reluctant to issue any statement on Zuma's love-child after being attacked by the ANC last year for saying Zuma was putting his wives' health at risk by having sex outside of his marriages without a condom.

## NOW READ

ZUMA SPEAKS OUT: P2  
WE'VE SPOKEN BABA: P7

Africans from all walks of life largely united in condemnation, while opposition party leaders called on him to resign and to seek therapy for "sex addiction".

The Mercury understands that senior members of the ANC's national executive made it clear that an apology was in order.

Zuma's spokesman in the ANC, Zizi Kodwa, refused to discuss the matter further, insisting that "the chapter about the baby is closed".

Asked what that meant, he said: "We have said all we wanted to say on the matter."

Kodwa, who is not employed by the government, initially featured on a Presidency press release as Zuma's spokesman on the matter,



THE MERCURY  
Monday February 8 2010

## Officials mum on Cwele's work status

YUSUF MOOLLA  
& BRONWYN GERRETSEN

OFFICIALS of the Hibiscus Coast municipality were mum yesterday on whether Sheryl Cwele, the director of health and community services, would return to work today following her release on R100 000 bail on Friday.

Hibiscus Coast mayor Nolwazi Shusha said she did not know if Cwele, who faces drug-dealing charges, would return to work, adding that she did not deal with administration issues.

"I cannot tell you what will happen, I am not sure if arrangements have been made between the municipal manager and Cwele,"

Shusha said last night.

Several attempts to contact the municipal manager, S'bu Mkhize, failed.

Cwele and her alleged accomplice, Nigerian Frank Nabolisa, face charges of dealing or conspiring to deal in drugs.

Cwele and Nabolisa would appear in court again on Friday.

## EVEN ZUMA'S SPIN DOCTORS CAN'T DEFEND HIM

APOLOGY is cheap, Nxamalala, Mr President. The spin doctors of Jacob Zuma have advised him to apologise again.

Seeing that the tide is turning against their chauvinistic president, his lieutenants, Zwelinzima Vavi and Blade Nzimande, persuaded him to apologise. To them this blunder opens a loophole for Toyko Sexwale and Kgalema Motlanthe to

present themselves as better presidential material. A weaker Zuma is good for Cosatu and the SACP.

Many people in the ANC, embarrassed by Zuma's sugar-daddy behaviour, are unwilling to support him. Even his spin doctors, like Zizi Kodwa and Jackson Mthembu, were finding it hard to defend Sonono Khoza's "boyfriend", the president, 68.

If this is a private matter, why did Zuma apologise? For how long must he apologise for having condomless sex? Not only that, but for many mistakes – like the promise of 500 000 jobs and the many populist statements he makes.

Zuma is a mistake of the ANC lynch mob – especially Nzimande, Vavi, Zweli Mkhize, Bheki Cele, Fikile Mbalula, Jeff Hadebe, S'bu Ndebele and Motlanthe.

When Motlanthe was secretary-general, he allowed Zuma to be a loose cannon. He knew that he would benefit when Zuma failed to control his "active snake". The others used him for patronage. It is widely reported that Zuma defied his elders, who warned him to control his sexual activity.

Here we are today, we have a president who sleeps with young women. At 70, his last-

born will be three.

What is the need for me to join the ANC Women's League that is vocal against humiliation of athlete Caster Semenya and IFP national chairwoman Zanele Magwaza-Msibi, but silent when the head of the state values women as sex objects?

PHUMELELE  
MDHLALOSE

Maphumulo



## Zuma's actions don't do SA's image any good

LIVING in a true democracy where government leaders are held responsible by the public for their words and deeds, it is with sadness that I observe how people from developed countries view South Africa.

President Jacob Zuma, many senior government leaders, the ANCYL and so on do not do us as a country any good.

Some have the perception that Zuma is a comedian but don't want to be too critical since he is black. Clearly, and sadly, black leaders are held to a lower standard in the eyes of the world and are not disappointing it. Most observing the antics of Zuma question the logic, not the culture, of the man.

How in a time when overpopulation is a major problem in Africa can a man have more than 20 children? How can a man who could not manage his personal finances support his family financially without, apparently, turning to crime and corruption? How can a man have unprotected sex with multiple partners in the age of HIV and unplanned pregnancies?

The question most asked is: "What kind of role model is this leader to the people and youth of South Africa?"

Sadly, these questions are glossed over by those in the First World because they apply to black African leaders who, according to history, are irresponsible, self-centred poor leaders who cannot be expected to conform to the norms of modern, progressive democracies.

Tivani Makondo  
Mdavula



**BAD EXAMPLE:**  
Jacob Zuma

## We must remember Sobukwe

THIRTY AGO years on February 27 1978 Robert Mangaliso Sobukwe passed away. The celestial and majestic simplicity of this great man is awe-inspiring.

As a nation we cannot afford the luxury of amnesia. Far too often we forget how privileged we are to live in a country where democracy prevails, where citizens' rights are enshrined in a constitution and workers' rights in legislation.

We forget that in our daily lives many things we take for granted were brought to us on the backs of those who went before and were won with blood, sweat and tears.

Sobukwe was immensely gifted and used every bit of his talent to address, improve and dignify the conditions of human life. He left the South African people a powerful legacy of commitment to freedom and integrity.

Sobukwe won the reverence of the people with the simplicity and austerity of his life, and with his infinite confidence he moved the masses to break away from fear

and oppression.

We record our homage and deep admiration for Sobukwe and others who in our hours of peril forsook the shelter of their homes and with unfailing courage and endurance stood shoulder to shoulder with others to defeat oppression.

We cannot simply forget and move on. As a nation we have to cherish those remembrances that have become our history. We need the foundation that is our collective memory of who we are, what we are and whence we came.

We cannot let Sobukwe go into some dark night, pretending that he has not left a void or pretending that the void he left will be filled by distractions of the present.

So far have we come and so much have we forgotten, that most of us would not willingly conceive of any system in which the right to vote is reserved for the rich, privileged and powerful. The peace was won by valiant and brave men of Sobukwe's ilk.

Farouk Araie, Benoni



## Sock it to 'em, sir

ONCE in a while a messiah lands in our midst. For thousands who have reached the end of their tether in a bid to get a driver's licence, David Thulare is such a Godsend.

The Gauteng magistrate says after all their troubles, he will never convict these tortured souls for driving without licences.

After all, it is the system that has failed them. They have tried several times to get appointments at various traffic departments for driver's tests but to no avail.

Eighteen months on and the temporary licences expire, making them illegal and liable for prosecution.

Thulare is ready to get them out of jail. The government cannot criminalise people because of its own shortcomings, he says.

Sock it to them, sir.

The citizenry has been complaining for far too long about lax, incompetent and rude public servants.

Home Affairs, Social Development or Human Settlement ... they are littered with fraud that creates nightmares for the people they are supposed to serve.

Ministers, including President Jacob Zuma, have become Kid Promises after countless threats to act against these swindlers.

It seems nothing will persuade them to do a decent day's work.

That is why we can only sing Thulare's praises. He is throwing the book right back at civil servants.

We hope Transport Minister Sbu Ndebele and his colleague in the Justice Department, Jeff Radebe, are listening.



## Zuma calls the shots on pardons

THE ANC does not discuss presidential pardons with President Jacob Zuma, it said yesterday.

"The ANC doesn't inform the president's decisions," said ANC spokesperson Jackson Mthembu.

"Many issues are the president's prerogatives. We try to separate these matters from any ANC discussions so that we don't influence the president on any matter as the ANC," he said.

The comment follows a Sunday newspaper report that new legal grounds were considered for the release of killer Eugene de Kock and fraudster Schabir Shaik.

An ANC source told the newspaper that "selective prosecution" would be cited as grounds for pardon.

According to this principle, it is unfair that the individuals were convicted alone even though they acted with accomplices. They should therefore be released.

The paper further reported that there is considerable division within the ANC over both De Kock's and Shaik's pardons.

But the "selective prosecutions" argument was weak, the paper quoted constitutional expert Professor Pierre de Vos as saying.

"It is completely true that there was selective prosecution, but that means the alleged accomplices also have to be prosecuted — not that everyone should be freed," he said.

"In this case the answer ... is to prosecute Zuma (in Shaik's case) and De Kock's commanding officers," he said. — Sapa



# Magwaza-Msibi's staunch supporter dismissed

**Canaan Mdletshe**

ANOTHER staunch supporter of IFP national chairperson Zanele Magwaza-Msibi has been given the boot by the party.

Former IFP eThekweni chairperson Muzi Simelane was expelled on Friday.

Other IFP youth leaders expelled for supporting Magwaza-Msibi are Skhumbuzo Khanyeza, Irvin Barnes and Simphiwe Buthelezi, who has since died and was buried on Saturday last week.

IFP eThekweni regional chairperson Mduduzi Nkosi said the party had decided to expel Simelane after he refused to appear before the party's disciplinary committee.

Simelane was given a three-year membership suspension by the eThekweni leadership in November last year after he was

found guilty of contravening the IFP constitution.

His crime was that he contravened a resolution of the party's national council by publicly nominating Magwaza-Msibi as his preferred candidate to replace party leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi and for "disrupting the IFP meeting in uMlazi".

Nkosi said the disciplinary committee of the IFP had no option but to expel Simelane with immediate effect.

"We were hoping that he would see his mistakes and repent. Unfortunately, he continued to do the very



**FOUGHT OVER:** Zanele Magwaza-Msibi

things for which he had been suspended – making provocative and irresponsible public statements that showed disrespect to

the party and its leadership."

He said as a result of his behaviour the disciplinary committee summoned him to answer the new charges.

"Unfortunately, he refused. Then the DC met in his absence and, having deliberated on his case, arrived at a verdict that he should be expelled."

Simelane came out with guns blazing, saying he will not accept the ruling.

"I can't be expelled from the party by a few individuals who are (Musa) Zondi's friends.

"Last year I was also expelled but the district council, which elected me, convened a meeting and said I should continue serving them and I did that.

"So it will be the members who will decide my fate and not these individuals," he said.

## ANC out to get back in!

**Zukile Majova**

THE ANC kicked off its campaign to wrest control of Western Cape from the DA, with President Jacob Zuma addressing various communities in the province at the weekend.

The party said it was pulling out all the stops to "ensure a resounding success" in its commemoration of the 20th anniversary celebrations of former president Nelson Mandela from political prison.

Leadership wrangling between African and coloured ANC leaders in the province has resulted in party secretary Gwede Mantashe putting a task team in place to investigate ways of strengthening the organisation. The DA took 51,46 percent of the Western Cape vote last year while the ANC sank to 31,55 percent.

Mantashe also blamed Cosatu and SA Communist Party members for voting for the DA. "If you look at African areas in Western Cape, our support has been constant in most areas and increased marginally in others, but in coloured areas, our support has been cut by half."

Zuma and Mantashe will today address a meeting of the ruling party's national working committee meeting in Western Cape.



Monday February 8 2010 SOWETAN

# Public should engage in political affairs

COLLEAGUE Dudu Busani-Dube tells an interesting story. She went out on the streets of Johannesburg last Sunday to hear what ordinary South Africans thought of President Jacob Zuma's love child.

Dudu says an extraordinary number of people declined to comment on the issue. Very few were willing to have their names and faces in the paper talking about the number one citizen.

Dudu's observations are not out of the ordinary. South Africans are gradually drifting away from the public space. We no longer want to engage. Civil society in general is silent.

Those who ordinarily tell men *Yenza Kahle*; the gender movement and traditionalists alike, have opted to pretend that nothing has happened.

Their silence has helped apologists of this sorry state of affairs to create a self-deluding picture that it is the media and not the people of South Africa

who are outraged by the revelations of the circumstances surrounding the president's 20th child.

It is under these conditions that the media are called "brave" or reactionary when they do what their colleagues in open and democratic societies all over the world do as a matter of routine – place public representatives under scrutiny and ask some tough questions about their conduct. But we should not let the embarrassment Zuma has visited on the country go to waste. There are lessons aplenty going forward.

One of the first lessons should be that ordinary citizens should reclaim their rights and voice to express ourselves in public and political affairs. This right is no less than what the ruling party and its members were willing to die and kill for – long before

Fikile-Ntsikelelo Moya

E-WORD

some juveniles wanted to do so for some individuals.

We should remember that public representatives work for and are accountable to us, and not the other way round.

We should avoid the mistake that many of those who sought to defend Zuma thought that the public outrage was about him when it was really about the office he holds.

Zuma's supporters and defenders cannot have it both ways.

They cannot demand of everyone else to respect the office of the president and believe that the incumbent has no similar responsibilities to that office.

The dignity of this office should survive any incumbent. Our expectations of it should be the same even after Jesus has come and the ANC is no longer in power – if the president's prediction proves true.

We have to ask at this point of our democracy what it is that public representatives owe those they represent? It is not enough to argue, as some have, that we owe the head of state respect. That is a given. What we need to ask the head of state is what, if anything at all, is it that he thinks he owes those who elected him.

Does a ruling party owe its first loyalty to the people it leads or its leader? And when other than in terms of constitutional

requirements is it permissible for the public to ask that a head of state must step down?

We have to ask these questions not because we like or dislike an incumbent president but because we care about our state more.

We have to refuse to believe that there are things we are "allowed" to say and those that we are not. Twenty years after what was the watershed speech of February 2, 1990, there should still be many of us who remember the bitter taste of bondage to voluntarily shackle and gag ourselves.

We cannot survive PW Botha, Magnus Malan and Louis le Grange and bow before Julius Malema and Floyd Shivambu, however fiery their rhetoric might sound. That is not what the heroes of our struggle fought for.

We cannot afford to be silent. To misquote Greek philosopher Plato: The price of indifference and fear in public affairs is to be ruled by evil men.



## 'It wasn't FW who freed Madiba'

IT WAS the intensity of the armed struggle, and not a decision by former president FW de Klerk, that led to Nelson Mandela's release 20 years ago, President Jacob Zuma said yesterday.

Zuma, apparently rejuvenated by a break from his schedule in the wake of publicity over the birth of his 20th child, was addressing an

ANC Boland region meeting in Paarl.

He said that among the things he would be likely to talk about on February 11, the anniversary of the release and day of his State of the Nation address, was what it took for Mandela to come out of prison.

"Don't be misled by people who

might say today 'we slept, we thought we must now release this man'. No, it was the struggle, the intensity and depth of the struggle that led to Madiba being released.

"Today, in a time of peace, everyone one is making claims about the release ... We led them. Because the ANC succeeded, they also succeeded." – Sapa

## President's sex life up for discussion in ruling party

CARIEN DU PLESSIS

PRESIDENT Jacob Zuma's sex life is likely to come under the spotlight as his party's top brass meet in Cape Town today, just days before the State of the Nation speech on Thursday.

ANC spokesman Jackson Mthembu confirmed the meeting would be taking place but refused to divulge details of the agenda.

An ANC national executive committee member said, however, that the party's leadership was likely to demand answers after Zuma acknowledged fathering the infant of soccer boss Irvin Khoza's daughter Sonono.

After initial attempts to defuse the row by insisting this was a private matter between the president and the child's mother, the ANC and the Presidency did a U-turn, and Zuma issued a formal apology to the nation on Saturday.

Zuma said he was sorry for "the pain I have caused my family, the ANC, the (tripartite) alliance and South Africans in general".

The apology came after a public outcry in which South Africans from all walks of life were largely united in condemnation, and opposition party leaders called on Zuma to resign and to seek therapy for "sex addiction".

It is understood that senior members of the ANC's national executive made it clear that an apology was in order.

Zuma's spokesman in the ANC, Zizi Kodwa, yesterday refused to discuss the matter, insisting that "the chapter about the baby is closed".

Asked what this meant, he said: "We have said all we wanted to say on the matter."

Kodwa, who is not employed by the government, initially featured on a Presidency press release as Zuma's spokesman on the matter with media liaison officer Nomfundo Mcetywa, whose first day in the job was last Monday – the day after the press revelations stunned South Africa.

But by the end of the week, journalists were being referred to the

media liaison head in the Presidency, Zingaphi Jakuja, who yesterday referred queries about Zuma's communications strategy to the Presidency's communications head, Vusi Mona. Mona's cell-phone was switched off.

Zuma's apology did not address the criticism that by having unprotected sex outside marriage, he was disregarding the ABC of his government's message on HIV/Aids – Abstain, Be Faithful and Condomise.

It emerged during his 2006 trial on a rape charge – on which he was acquitted – that he had had unprotected sex with an HIV-positive woman.

Cosatu, which held off commenting until Zuma had issued a statement, said it "unconditionally" welcomed the president's apology.

"It is good that the president realises that he erred and did not seek to take our people for granted," said Cosatu spokesman Patrick Craven.



## Education needs a boost

**W**HEN no less a personage than acting basic education director-general Bobby Soobrayan puts it as bluntly as he did in Parliament last week, it is time to be very concerned.

Soobrayan presented a document on the quality of schooling in South Africa to the National Assembly's portfolio committee on basic education. His verdict: basic education, which covers the period from Grade R to matric, is in crisis.

"We are at a point now in the country, politically and otherwise, where there is a huge consensus that we face a crisis in basic education that requires urgent remediation. We recognise that, in terms of the primary objectives, too many schools do not have the conditions required for achieving learning outcomes."

According to Soobrayan, teachers are key to helping the department solve the challenges it faces. He confirmed, for instance, that in many schools that had matric pass rates of 20 percent and below, absent teachers and principals, or clashes between them, had greatly contributed to poor performance. This proves beyond doubt that the improvement of the quality of educators is a critical factor if we are to improve the state of our education.

Poor literacy and numeracy levels in our schools are well documented, but the scary part is that many teachers cannot pass the tests they set for their own pupils.

Amidst all this gloom, the department says not all is lost and has drawn up a plan to face the challenges. For instance, it wants to increase the number of literate and numerate Grade 3s and Grade 6s to 60 percent in 2014. It also aims at having 175 000 matrics qualifying to enter a Bachelor's degree by 2014 – a 10 percent increase a year.

But the need for the department to work with other education stakeholders, including teacher unions, to ensure the delivery of quality education, cannot be over-emphasised.



## Madiba and media freedom

**N**ELSON Mandela has a soft spot for journalists. He often took their advice during South Africa's liberation struggle and his presidency, always accepting their sometimes disturbing right to reveal the truth.

When facing the death penalty for treason in 1964, he asked British journalist Anthony Sampson to help him write the speech he gave from the dock before being sentenced to life imprisonment.

Thirty years on, at a private lunch to celebrate the 80th birthday of his friend Yusuf Cachalia in 1995, British hack John Carlin was astonished when Madiba raised a glass in honour of his journalistic excellence.

Some of us thought the toast endorsed a rumour that it was Carlin who suggested Mandela wear a number 6 jersey alongside Springbok captain Francois Pienaar during the Rugby World Cup that year, although Carlin makes no such claim in his book.

A year or two later, journalist David Beresford got an accolade from Madiba after his editorial in the Mail & Guardian recommending Mandela serve only a single term in the presidency as an example to despotic African leaders who tended to linger at the helm. Following a subsequent speech on the subject, Mandela was asked why he was so determined to step down after only one five-year term. He replied jauntily: "The Mail & Guardian told me to."

Mandela had the wisdom to realise that he could not muzzle the media. Having tried once to silence a journalist, the late Ruth Bhengu of the Sowetan, who told me the story, Mandela recognised his mistake and went out of his way to endorse the reporter's integrity later on.

Ruth was a stropky individual but a first-class reporter. Shortly after Madiba's release, her newsdesk sent her to the original Mandela home in Vilikazi Street, Soweto, where Winnie had just fallen out with one of her dodgy football team chums and was noisily throwing the woman's belongings out of a garden room. The street was littered with papers while Ruth scribbled in her notebook – when Mandela suddenly appeared beside her. Thrilled to meet him yet mindful of her deadline, the reporter exchanged a few pleasantries before getting back to work.

But after Madiba approached Ruth a second time to say Ma Winnie was engaged in a private matter that ought not to be reported, Ruth muttered that she was doing her job – and legged it. On arrival at the Sowetan's offices to file her story, she was diverted to the boardroom, where boss



## Madiba and media freedom

Aggrey Klaaste told her he'd had a request for "co-operation" from the "old man".

Ruth flew into a rage. "You call this a newspaper," she yelled, reminding the embarrassed executives of their professional undertakings. They glanced collectively at their watches and ushered her back to the newsroom to write the story.

At Amina Cachalia's 70th birthday bash in 2000, I was seated opposite Madiba when he asked if Ruth Bhengu was among the 100 guests. She was. I went to get Ruth, who was privately congratulated on her journalistic integrity by the former president.

At the time of Mbeki's Aids denialism, Mandela engaged with concerned journalists knowing he had not worked exhaustively on the Aids front while president and could make up for it by challenging Mbeki's position – a difficult call for an ANC leader in Mbeki's autocratic rule. (Mbeki reacted

furiously to Mandela's criticism).

The ANC had historically taken full advantage not only of worldwide opposition to apartheid but the Western media's repugnance for racist South Africa. Arguably, the liberation movement owed as much to support from international journalists as to the revolutionary skills of its armed wing, Umkhonto weSizwe. Mandela readily acknowledged the media's role in helping his organisation defeat tyranny, though many in today's government appear to fear or despise journalists rather than recognise their contribution to a just society.

Recollections of Madiba's respect for journalists on the eve of the 20th anniversary of his release from 27 years of imprisonment come as "South Africa faces a challenging year as far as media freedom is concerned," according to media law expert Dario Milo. Legislation that could restrict

press freedom is on the cards, including the Protection of Information Bill, which will regulate state secrets, and the Protection of Personal Information Bill, which does not adequately exempt media from the obligation to process personal information in accordance with restrictive principles.

Yet freedom of expression is enshrined in the constitution. Slapping subpoenas on e.tv and its reporters in breach of the sacrosanct principle protecting journalistic sources is a negation of our hard-won liberation. A threat by the ANC Youth League in Mpumalanga that "our machine guns are ready" to use against City Press should it continue to expose a league leader's wrongdoings is another ugly symptom of the intolerance facing investigative journalism.

Sadly, today's rulers risk squandering the Mandela legacy of embracing journalists in the interests of a healthy democracy.



MONDAY FEBRUARY 8 2010 The Star

# Cope's Shilowa under attack over 'lacklustre performance'

CARIEN DU PLESSIS

THE DECISION by Cope's interim leadership to hold the party's elective conference in May has been claimed as a victory by supporters of Cope deputy president Mbhazima Shilowa, especially its youth wing.

The party's congress national committee decided at a weekend strategy and planning meeting to hold the conference at the earliest possible date, before the end of May, rather than in mid-December.

While some have interpreted the decision as a vote of no confidence in Cope leader Mosiuoa Lekota, the party's

boss has rebuked the Cope youth movement for claiming that the decision was brought about by its campaigning, saying the decision on the May deadline had nothing to do with pressure from the youth wing.

Meanwhile, Shilowa's detractors in the party have attacked him over his lacklustre performance as an MP.

A copy of Cope's record of parliamentary questions asked by each MP, leaked to The Star, showed Shilowa, in his almost 10 months in Parliament as the

party's chief whip, as having posed no questions to cabinet ministers – one of 13 of the party's MPs not to have done so, including former Eastern Cape premier Nosimo Balandela, trade unionist Willie Madisha and the chairwoman of Cope's women's caucus, former ANC MP Kiki Rwexana.

Western Cape MEC Leonard Ramatlakane, with 73 questions to his name, is reflected as the most active when it comes to asking questions of the executive.

Shilowa's detractors argue that, as chief whip, his office should be giving the party strategic direction in holding the government to account.

A source with close links to the party said that some within Cope were seeking ways of getting Lekota back onto Parliament's benches. He was on the party's electoral list before he decided to work at building the party from outside Parliament.

But Shilowa said yesterday the allegations were "simply not true".

He said he had put a number of written parliamentary questions to the Presidency, and in the National Assembly he had been responsible for asking questions and for various interpolations, and had also given several interviews.

Asked whether there was a smear campaign against him, Shilowa said: "I am not worried about that."

He said his record in Parliament would speak for itself.

There were also reports of complaints from within his



# Cope's Shilowa under attack over 'lacklustre performance'

party that he did not attend any portfolio committee meetings, but Shilowa said he had attended meetings, but that his responsibilities in Parliament and in the party kept him from attending all the meetings.

A senior Cope source said the performance of the party's MPs came under the spotlight during its meeting at the weekend. The source said some in the party felt Shilowa should choose what he wanted to do if he indeed had difficulty keeping up with all his work.

"We are looking at ways of evaluating all our public representatives and telling our 1.3 million voters what value they got out of voting for us," the Cope source said.

It remains to be seen whether the leadership elections will indeed take place before the end of May. There are serious concerns among Cope leaders that branches will not be up and running in time.

Party spokesman Phillip Dexter said in a statement that

Cope's inaugural congress held in Bloemfontein in December 2008 had given the congress national committee a mandate to convene a national congress within 18 to 24 months.

The party felt that the World Cup, due to kick off in South Africa in the second week of June, meant it would "not be a desirable time to hold an event of this historic magnitude".

September was also discussed as a possible date, but some felt this would allow too little time to organise ahead of next year's local government elections.

The elective conference will be preceded by a policy conference in April.



# Zuma second-term campaign on ropes

But ANC says  
succession to be  
settled in 2012

DOMINIC MAHLANGU, NKULULEKO NCANA,  
NKOSANA LEKOTJOLO and LAUREN COHEN

PRESIDENT Jacob Zuma is facing mounting dissent within the ANC with growing numbers of members now calling for him to serve only one term in office as head of state.

Despite Zuma's belated apology to the ANC and the nation on Saturday for fathering another child out of wedlock, a debate is raging — at all levels of the ANC — about his suitability for a second term.

Senior ANC members in Gauteng, North West, Mpumalanga and Eastern Cape who spoke to *The Times* yesterday said while they accepted Zuma's apology, there was a growing call within party structures for him to step down as president of the party when his term ends in 2012.

"Look, what assurances do we have that we are not going to be hit by another scandal involving our president?" asked a senior ANC official in Gauteng.

An Eastern Cape-based official said: "The discussions that he should serve one term

'We cannot  
always be  
removing  
people  
from  
positions  
every time  
there are  
mistakes'

are not without merit under these circumstances. He will do the ANC and the country a big favour if he were to step down in 2012."

This position — confirmed by several other ANC members who spoke to *The Times* yesterday — is in sharp contrast to the situation after Zuma was elected president last April.

Shortly after his inauguration, ANC national executive committee member Tokyo Sexwale

called on Zuma to serve two terms — a position supported by the Congress of South African Trade Unions, and some members of the ANC Youth League.

But yesterday the revelation of Zuma's affair and four-month-old love child with Sonono Khoza, daughter of soccer boss Irvin Khoza, appeared to have severely damaged the second-term campaign within the ANC.

ANC members across the country who spoke to *The Times* said Zuma, who has three wives and a fiancée, "must face the music", while others said it was too early to talk of removing him from office, saying he must be supported.

Zuma, who last week tried to play down the scandal, caved in on Saturday, saying "I deeply regret the pain that I have caused to my family, the ANC, the alliance and South Africans in general".

The *Sunday Times*, which broke the story



# Zuma second-term campaign on ropes

of Zuma's extramarital affair and love child, reported yesterday that he made his apology after senior ANC leaders threatened to publicly criticise his behaviour if he did not.

The newspaper said there were fears within the ANC that "unless something was done" to defuse the scandal, Zuma's actions could cost the ANC in the next election.

In his first public appearance since the scandal erupted, Zuma yesterday visited ANC structures in Paarl in the Western Cape. He appeared jubilant on stage, cheering and dancing after telling ANC members that they needed to work hard to win back the province from the DA.

But some party members at the gathering said they were still not convinced — despite his apology. Nomhle Titana said she was "very embarrassed".

"At his age, I didn't know you could make a child," said Sara Block.

Mzimkulu Khohlakala of the Witzenberg branch said he had not received the apology from Zuma that he was waiting for: "It's a problem for the nation, the president needs to lead by example and condomise."

ANC spokesman Brian Sokutu told *The Times* that any decision about Zuma serving only one term would be settled at the party's

national conference in 2012. He said any ANC member had every right to speak out and have opinions about leadership, but that protocol would have to be followed.

"The ANC will never stifle debate, in fact we encourage our members to debate any matter on the table. Their views about the state of the organisation and its leadership will be settled in 2012 when we hold our national conference," Sokutu said.

ANC Youth League spokesman Floyd Shivambu said the scandal should not be turned into a crisis: "Zuma remains our president. We cannot elevate this into a succession battle. He has apologised and we must move on."

Cosatu, which played a critical role in Zuma's ascendancy to the presidency, yesterday said it still supported him.

Its national spokesman, Patrick Craven, said Cosatu's position on Zuma serving two terms has not changed.

SA Communist Party spokesman Malesela Maleka said the party would not justify "non-existent" positions in the alliance.

He said the SACP would not fall into the "trap" of responding to individuals' peddling of and testing the "popularity" of their ideas.

Other ANC leaders said it was too soon for the ruling party to be talking about

leadership changes. "We came from a painful past that led to [Thabo] Mbeki being recalled. We cannot always be removing people from positions every time there are mistakes. This [Zuma's latest scandal] will pass."

A member of the ANC's Free State provincial executive committee told *The Times* that the ANC and its alliance partners in the province still supported Zuma for second term: "His issue is not a constitutional issue but a personal one."

Zuma will today address the ANC's national working committee meeting in the Western Cape.



# Why not try the road less travelled, Mr President?

ROBERT Frost wrote of two roads that diverged in the woods and how opting for the one less taken made all the difference.

As a beleaguered President Zuma applies the finishing touches to his state of the nation speech one hopes he will use the opportunity to take the people of South Africa into his confidence and deliver something which accurately details the state of our nation without needless rhetoric and sugar-coating.

It is not too late to change course and steer his government towards the light.

Even a cursory reading of documents such as the ANC's 2009 election manifesto and January 8 statement make it clear that much has been done since 1994.

A glance at any street in South Africa will attest that we have come far from where we were, yet on that very same street is evidence of how vast a distance remains to be travelled.

It is on the road ahead that we must focus, despite how tempting it may be to dwell on past achievements or failures.

Since his inauguration, Zuma's performance can, at best, be described as symbolic in nature. He has, among other things, flown on the national carrier, held mass meetings with police officers and school principals, stepped onto the scene of service-delivery protests and ambushed a truant mayor and he has set up a presidential call centre, going so far as to take a call in person.

His Cabinet is rather large and some of the departments have new names, most notably the ministry of police. He argues it is an attempt to attack crime.

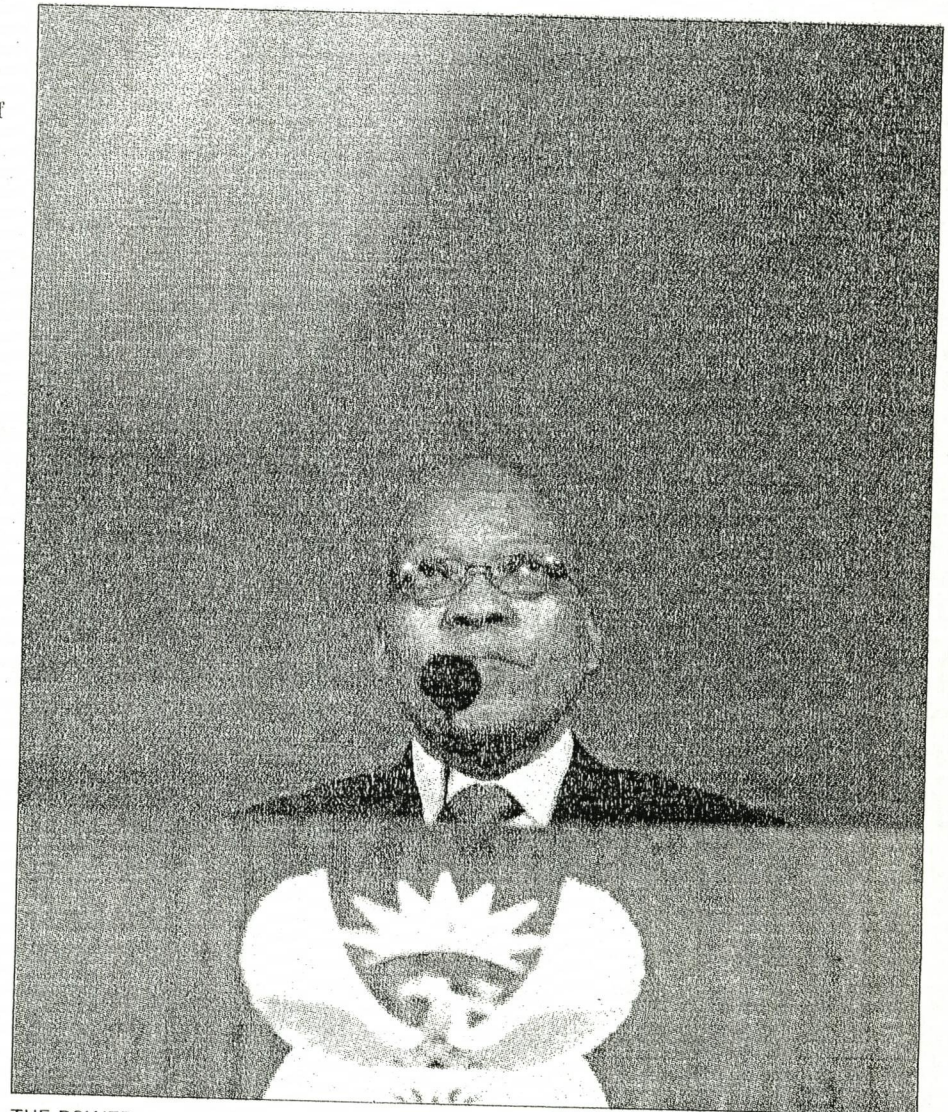
He has imposed night-shift duty on MPs by deciding to deliver the state of the nation address in the evening.

But has all of this made a tangible or discernible difference in the way that services are delivered to South Africans? For let us not forget that the core task of the state is to serve people.

The ruling party has correctly identified the pressing challenges that hinder our country, namely job creation, education, health, rural development and crime.

What they have not done successfully is to defeat these challenges or at least present coherent strategies of how they intend to do so.

There have been certain glaring errors made by the ruling party and their obstinate refusal to concede where they have erred or accept constructive



THE POWER: A reader urges President Jacob Zuma to accurately portray South Africa in his upcoming state of the nation address  
Picture: ELIZABETH SEJAKE

criticism suggests the interests of South Africans are not foremost in their minds.

The president may easily deliver a flaccid speech which promises everything but offers nothing, and take comfort in knowing that he has failed those who depend upon him the most by not giving the desirable leadership to ensure that

civil servants raise their game.

Alternatively, he may come out with his guns blazing. After all, what is the point of being president if one doesn't use one's power occasionally.

Whichever route he elects to take, he cannot say he did not know what was at stake. — Lungelo Magubane, La Lucia



# Cops probe 'hit list' claim

But ANC says that it does not kill

NKOSANA LEKOTJOLO

POLICE in Mpumalanga have interviewed "individuals" following allegations that a senior ANC member hired a contract killer to "remove his opponents".

Yesterday the *Sunday Times* reported that the 25-year-old contract killer was hired by a powerful ANC provincial leader to kill government officials blocking access to tenders linked to the 2010 World Cup.

Mpumalanga police spokeswoman Superintendent Sibongile Nkosi said although no one has come forward with any information regarding the alleged contract killer and "hit list", the police are investigating the allegations.

"We have interviewed a few people, but we have not had anyone come to us with information. We are following the leads," she said.

The ANC said if any of its members are found to be linked to the "killings", they will be removed from the party and jailed.

Party spokesman in the province Paul Mbenyane said he was shocked to hear of the alleged contract murders and condemned the killings.

"The ANC does not kill," he said.

An investigation by the *Sunday Times* revealed that the senior ANC leader in the province, whose name is known to the newspaper, is said to be behind the killings of senior politicians in Mpumalanga.

According to the report, at least 12 local leaders have been murdered or have died in suspicious circumstances in Mpumalanga since 1998, but no one has yet been arrested.

The alleged assassin confessed to the newspaper that he had been offered R100 000 and a comfortable government job if he poisoned government officials who were on his "hit list".

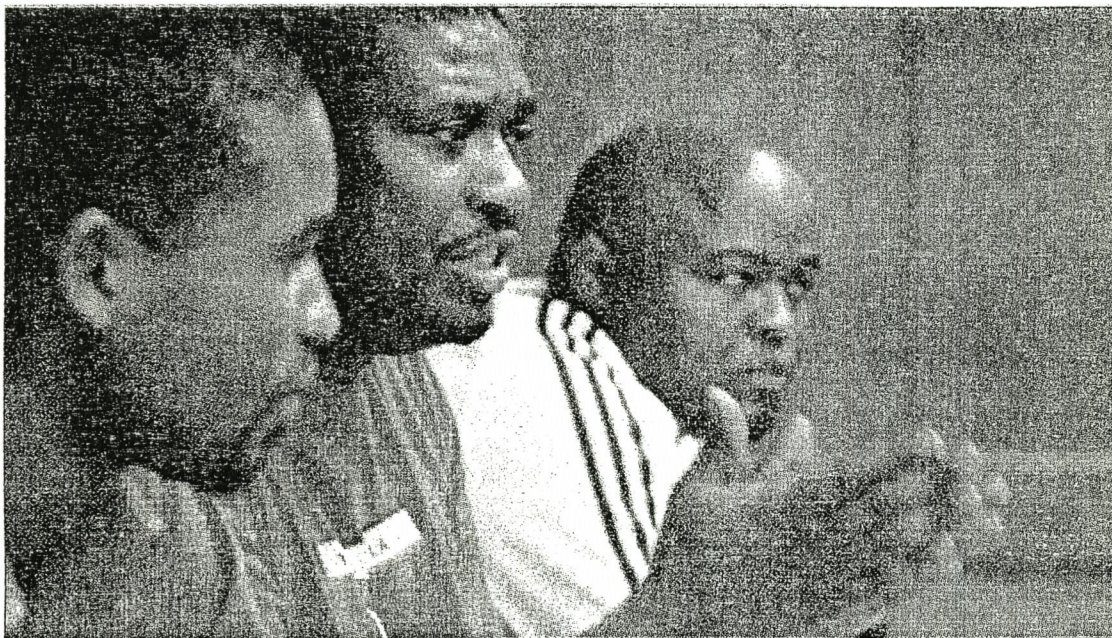
The *Sunday Times* interviewed some senior ANC members in the province, municipal officials and National Intelligence Agency sources, some of whom said they knew about the alleged "hit list".

Mpumalanga Premier David Mabuza was yesterday slammed by the DA in the province for his silence on these revelations.

Mabuza's spokesman, Mabutho Sithole, said the province will only institute a commission of inquiry once it had been approached about the matter.

A





YOUNG COMRADES: Members of the SACP Young Communist League Khaye Nkwanyana, Buti Manamela and Sifiso Gwala address journalists in Pietermaritzburg yesterday

Picture: ROGAN WARD

## 'We are not at war with Youth League'

NIVASHNI NAIR

ANC Youth League president Julius Malema has publicly called for the ousting of one of the SA Communist party's top leaders, Gwede Mantashe, and has insulted its deputy general secretary, Jeremy Cronin.

But the Young Communist League yesterday downplayed the tension between the two youth leagues.

"There is no war. We need to

appreciate that we have differences of opinion but that should not be regarded as war within the alliance.

"Whoever is looking at it as war is at war with themselves," Young Communist League secretary Buti Manamela yesterday said.

The recent public spat between the two leagues comes after SACP leaders booed Malema at an SACP conference in December.

Malema labelled Cronin a "white political Messiah" when he

took a different position on the nationalisation of mines, and Malema announced that he would campaign for Mantashe to be ousted as ANC secretary-general in 2012. It was a hot topic at the YCL's national lekgotla which ended yesterday in Pietermaritzburg.

Manamela said that he was not calling for Malema to "tone down" but could not disguise his opinion of the ANC Youth League president's habit of insulting those who disagree with him.



Monday February 8 | 2010 **The Times**

# A selfish, predatory practice

## Culture offers no defence for the practice of polygamy

LET us not beat about the bush here. The issue is not who President Jacob Zuma sleeps with and how many times he does so. That is not what necessitates an apology.

What he should apologise for is the fact that he has opened the door for our democracy to be hijacked by people who want to hide behind culture to justify their selfish and predatory practices.

A patriarchal society benefits and flowers from women being oppressed, uneducated and disempowered. We know now that it is precisely because we used to live under patriarchal rule that men could indulge in the selfish act of sleeping with and marrying as many women as they like, without a care.

That was then. This is now. Today all of that is rubbish and a defence of it only perpetuates the oppressions of the past. To all those who have been defending polygamy over the past week, here is the bottom line. It may well be that many, including Zuma, still practise polygamy. It may also be that

polygamy is something that is allowed in our constitution.

That, however, does not make it right and it is not defensible under the guise of culture. Polygamy is inherently undemocratic and oppressive of women. It is a practice for men who hate women.

The position has been common cause in the ANC since its formation in 1912. Not once under its first president, John Dube, or successive presidents did the party feel the need to defend practices like polygamy or the use of muti — another fashionable addition to today's ANC. Unique in this respect, the many cultures our ANC claims to defend are alien to its very nature. At heart, the party is non-sexist, scientific, progressive, non-racial and democratic.

The core of the ANC does not believe in the deification of individuals. When Nelson Mandela was adored by the world and our nation, the ANC very early on in

the 1990s released a statement warning against the culture of deifying the man. The defence of "uBaba" Zuma, which borders on idolisation, is alien to the very nature of the ANC.

So this is an alien ANC we see today. This is an ANC lost, an ANC

### South African ladies are saying that Zuma is revolting

foundering. That is for the ANC to sort out. What needs to be kept in mind is what South African ladies in taxis are saying of their president: "*LoBaba uya Nyanyisa*" (this man is revolting).

But what does the rest of the country want? The rest of us want a nation that does not hate women, a country that — even if it accepts that some among us do not appreciate the contradiction of speak-

ing about a non-sexist country while practising a fundamentally sexist institution — wants to systematically remove all barriers and practices that lead to the denigration, discrimination, victimisation and ultimately rape of women in our country.

Statistics show that a woman is raped every 23 seconds in South Africa. When we talk about South African culture, what we are actually saying is that we hate women, hence it is okay to "acquire" as many of them as possible and say this is our culture. Our culture perpetuates gender oppression.

However, last week also demonstrates that this is not what South Africa wants. The ladies in taxis and the men who load and unpack merchandise are disgusted with a president who — for the second known time — has slept with the child of one of his friends. These people are aware that most of the rapes that happen in our country

are committed by relatives or male friends of the family.

The thought makes them feel sick and the revelations about the president affect them in the same way. The *Sowetan* was absolutely right in its front-page editorial last week: in any other democracy the president would have been forced to resign. Are those ladies in the taxis so disgusted that in 2014 they will look at the ballot paper and say "Enough is enough"?

Zuma now has some time until the ANC's 2012 conference to clean up his name and his game. He has an extra two years to make disillusioned South Africans believe in him again. My view is that Zuma can and will win the 2014 election. He will do it on a populist vote and he will do it largely because the opposition remains weak, despite the vigorousness of the Democratic Alliance parliamentary machine.

But the ANC's 2014 victory is already sounding hollow. A hundred years after its formation, the party is a moral shadow of its proud self, choosing to hate women.



# President in a pickle

## Zuma's popularity was his strongest asset

For once I am at a loss for words. I have no idea how the government moves forward after President Jacob Zuma's latest *faux pas*. At the heart of the matter is a crisis in confidence. Take the State of the Nation address to be delivered on Thursday. How will ordinary South Africans pay attention to the words of a philandering president? Will minds wander to such trivia as how he manages to keep all the women in his life happy? Will thoughts be about fiscal and fiduciary matters when he discusses the economy? And, as so many have said, how can Zuma's pronouncements on HIV and Aids be taken seriously?

The president has apologised for his recent affair, which involves Sonono Khoza, the daughter of soccer supremo Irvin Khoza, but judging from the public fury over his latest indiscretion, his apology is not being warmly received. People are upset because they sincerely want Zuma to succeed as president of the country. He has been extremely careless with this public trust.

Where do we go from here? There have been widespread calls for Zuma's resignation. From past experience, we know that this is not going to happen. However, what is becoming increasingly clear are the warnings by commentators that Zuma was chosen as presidential candidate not for his leadership skills, but because of his popularity. He was seen as the person who could defeat former President Thabo Mbeki. Journalists who were present at

NALINI NAIDOO



**“ PEOPLE ARE UPSET BECAUSE THEY SINCERELY WANT ZUMA TO SUCCEED AS PRESIDENT OF THE COUNTRY. HE HAS BEEN EXTREMELY CARELESS WITH THIS PUBLIC TRUST ”**

Polokwane got the impression that Zuma was being carefully stage-managed by the party elders. *The Independent on Saturday* has reported that after Polokwane, the elders had told Zuma to “make a full and frank disclosure of all relationships, sexual dalliances and children, illegitimate or otherwise”.

The paper reports that he had to promise not to embarrass the ANC with other sexual revelations. Zuma was warned unequivocally that the ANC cannot afford a repeat of his controversial 2006 rape trial and acquittal.

Zuma enumerated his wives — those he has married and those he was about to marry — and 19 chil-

dren, the latest count being 20. However, there remains an uneasy fear that there could be more. Reading Zuma's story reminded me of a documentary by film-maker Dumisani Pakathi entitled *Don't Fuck with Me I Have 51 Brothers and Sisters*. Pakathi's father was a talent scout for a soccer team and considered a minor celebrity. At his funeral his son discovered that his father had 11 wives and 52 children. The film-maker travelled around South Africa documenting his meetings with his unknown siblings, giving a glimpse into the complexity of South African life.

There is often the belief that black South Africans have a blind, unswerving allegiance to the ANC. A positive aspect of this debacle is knowing that this is not the case. People have reacted to Zuma's lapse in judgment.

However, there will be an expectation that the elders within the ANC step up and show leadership in providing guidance on the way forward.

A lot will rest on his State of the Nation address, especially as it is being presented on the 20th anniversary of Nelson Mandela's release from prison. What a slippery slope we have traversed since then. We were so hopeful as a na-

tion poised on the brink of greatness. South Africa represented all that was good in the world. We were a country that had forsaken violence for a peaceful transition. The ANC demonstrated sterling leadership and were the key crafters of a world-class constitution that pointed South Africa towards becoming a model of constitutional democracy.

Before delivering the State of the Nation address, Zuma should read the speech Mandela delivered on his release. It starts with the words: “I stand here before you not as a prophet but as a humble servant of you, the people. Your tireless and heroic sacrifices have made it possible for me to be here today. I therefore place the remaining years of my life in your hands.”

Perhaps this message of service to the people is already being reinforced. The ANC's two-day provincial strategic planning ended at Fernhill in Howick yesterday. Provincial chairperson Zweli Mkhize outlined a rigorous action plan that will see all ANC members becoming active and visible in the communities they serve. There will be no room for slackers because there will be regular report-backs on progress. So if you're thinking about becoming an ANC councillor to drive a big car, be surrounded by bodyguards and get the inside track on the latest tenders, think again.

By all accounts, being an ANC member is hopefully going to be about hard work and genuine service to the community.



## A bankrupt mindset

SIMPHIWE Mkhize (*The Witness*, February 3) is living in the same fool's paradise as I was, believing that the African National Congress would prove the naysayers wrong and deliver. The reality is unfortunately inescapable and it totally refutes the notion that Chris Hlabisa's reasoning is informed by such noble ideals as concern for the rural poor. Fat salary cheques, bodyguards, posh houses, expensive cars, golden handshakes, supplementary income, parties, overseas trips, World Cup soccer tournaments and such are a far higher priority for our pampered and indignant government officials.

Poorly built homes, contracts for cronies, roads for cabinet ministers, wasted revenues, poorly equipped and staffed schools and a lack of jobs, all topped by arrogant denial, are what are inclined to be prioritised.

The revenue base of this country depends on its wealth generators, not on some indigenous tree or tooth fairy. It is crucial that the substantial investment in infrastructure and government services that was inherited

by the ANC government is protected and grown. Potholed roads are evidence of a total ignorance of the benefits of meritorious employment policies over cadre deployment and of intelligent and timely maintenance policies. A stitch in time saves nine is a well-known English axiom.

Ever-bursting water mains show the same bankrupt mind-set. Poorly qualified maintenance staff and contractors lay pipes badly; and they inevitably fail, are patched badly, and they inevitably fail again. Electricity cables blow up. Rates departments do not function. Exorbitant salaries and overtime payments are made to unproductive employees. The list is endless.

All of these problems are evidence of government officials who don't understand how an economy works, or how a healthy society works. You get out what you put in, or the system goes bankrupt. You must employ skilled and qualified people, or everything crumbles around you.

RICHARD KELLAND  
Montrose, Pietermaritzburg



## ANC lekgotla plans recruitment drive

NALINI NAIDOO

A TWO-DAY lekgotla of ANC leaders in KwaZulu-Natal ended with the adoption of a rigorous action plan that will see members of the party actively working in communities.

ANC provincial chairman Zweli Mkhize said the plan is two-pronged. One will see party members actively en-

suring that government programmes are being implemented. The other will be aimed at consolidating the structures of the ANC and ensuring that the organisation works at branch level.

He said there will be an active drive for members, in keeping with the pledge made at the ANC national conference in Polokwane that the party recruits a million members by 2012, the year the ANC

will hold its centenary celebrations.

Mkhize added that the recruitment drive will go hand in hand with a strengthened and structured programme of political education. "Our members will be inducted to understand the character, history, traditions and theoretical considerations that underpins the organisation," he said.

The party is also accelerating its volunteer corps movement. Mkhize said every branch will have a corps of volunteers that will be the hands, legs, feet and eyes of the ANC. He added that this is the only way the party can make sure it stays in touch with people on the ground and it will help to become aware of and deal early with any tensions that may arise. "Without our people the ANC won't exist," Mkhize said.

He added that the second aspect of the action plan is an outline of how members will support government in its service delivery programme and to ensure that at all times the government is fully in touch with the concerns of communities.

Mkhize said the two days had deepened the unity among party members, the leagues and alliance partners.



## STRUGGLE, NOT DE KLERK, TO THANK FOR MANDELA RELEASE, SAYS ZUMA

CAPE TOWN — It was the intensity of the armed struggle, and not a decision by former president F.W. de Klerk that led to Nelson Mandela's release 20 years ago, President Jacob Zuma said yesterday.

Zuma, rejuvenated by a break from his schedule in the wake of publicity over the birth of his 20th child, was addressing an ANC Boland re-



PHOTO: PHOTO24

'It was the struggle, the intensity and depth of the struggle, that led to Madiba being released,' a rejuvenated President Jacob Zuma said.

gion meeting in Paarl.

On February 11, the anniversary of Mandela's release, Zuma will deliver his State of the Nation address. He said he will talk about what it took for Mandela to "come out of prison".

"Don't be misled by people who might say today, we slept, we thought we must now release this man. No. It was the struggle, the intensity and depth of the struggle, that led to Madiba being released."

Today, in a time of peace, he said, everyone is making claims about the release, even those who were on the opposite side of the liberation struggle.

"No, no. These are all our people. We led them. Because the ANC succeeded, they also succeeded."

The release, announced by De Klerk on February 2, 1990,



THE WITNESS, MONDAY, FEBRUARY 8, 2010

## Northdale brothers release Indian cookery DVD

JERUSHA SUKHDEO

FOLLOWING the success of their website, [www.proudlyindian.co.za](http://www.proudlyindian.co.za), three brothers have launched a cookery DVD.

Jeremiah, Jude and Josiah Padayachee of Northdale launched the DVD in December last year. According to Jeremiah, the idea for the DVD came from the website's success.

"Part of the website is cooking and baking," he said, "most searches are for cooking."

The boys realised just how much they appreciated Indian food when they were left to source it themselves.

"When my mum and dad were on holiday, we tried cooking," Jeremiah said. "We had to keep phoning to find out what goes in next!"

Wanting to give their parents a peaceful break, the brothers turned to technology for help.

"We searched the net for how to cook curries," Jeremiah ex-



Jude Padayachee and his brothers have created a step-by-step cooking DVD. *Learn To Cook Indian Curries* costs R35.

PHOTO: IAN CARBUTT

plained. There they discovered a variety of Indian cooking styles.

"People in India cook very differently to Indians in South Africa," said Jeremiah, "South African Indian cooking is unique."

The trio took a hands-on approach in creating the DVD: Jude filmed the footage, Josiah worked on the layout and Jeremiah headed the marketing.

Working with family wasn't

difficult for the boys. "We get along well," said Jude.

Jeremiah added the only problem was that "our mum kept answering the phone while we were filming".



THE WITNESS, MONDAY, FEBRUARY 8, 2010

# District gets clean audit

## AUDITOR-GENERAL: 'Well done, Umgungundlovu'

NALINI NAIDOO

THE Umgungundlovu District Municipality has managed to maintain its clean audit record for the second year in a row.

There were congratulations all round in the council chamber on Friday when the Auditor-General (A-G) presented his report. The council received an unqualified audit with certain matters of emphasis.

The A-G's office noted the dramatic turnaround within the municipality, pointing out this clean bill came barely two years after the municipality had received a disclaimer in the 2006/07 financial year. A disclaimer means that the financial records of the municipality are in such a poor state that the A-G cannot make any findings about it.

The district municipality has emerged from a controversial past in which funds were completely run down. In the end there was no money to buy basics such as toilet rolls or paper for the fax machines. There were numerous examples of wasteful expenditure, such as councillors getting cellphone allowances as well as cellphones whose bills were paid by the municipality. There was no paper trail to show how money was being spent.

The former municipal manager, Monica Mngadi, resigned after being exposed for having questionable qualifications, notably a one-day master of business adminis-

tration degree.

The ANC leadership in the province replaced the executive of the municipality. Within five months, when the next audit was due, the municipality received an unqualified report in 2007/08. The team members at the time were municipal manager Sbu Khuzwayo, who was seconded from the provincial Local Government Department, acting chief financial officer Walter Muwandi, who was seconded from KZN Treasury, and Yusuf Bhamjee, who had moved from the provincial legislature to become mayor.

Khuzwayo decided to stay on as municipal manager. The current clean audit was achieved under his watch, that of mayor Bhamjee and acting CFO Busani Ndlovu.

Opposition parties added their congratulations. The IFP's Patrick Bhengu said his party is very happy at the news of the unqualified audit report in light of the past financial chaos within the municipality.

"We need to sustain this good record and as members in this

council we are willing to play our part," he said.

Mike Bond of the Democratic Alliance said the report shows the municipality's commitment to clean governance is being handled with care. He noted the emphasis by the A-G on key performance indexes and expressed concern that the municipality has not yet addressed this.

Bhamjee welcomed the criticism, saying this will inspire the team to raise the bar.

In his closing remarks, the A-G's representative, Poobalan Govender, said "well done" to the municipality for its achievements. He called on councillors and administration staff to achieve an unqualified audit with no matters of emphasis before the national government's 2014 clean audit goal.

The celebratory mood at the district municipality was in sharp contrast to disappointment at the Msunduzi Municipality, which has received a qualified audit from the A-G after receiving clean audits for two years in a row.



## UTHI NGEKE AXOSHWE YIKHEMPU KAZONDI

### SAZI kaSIPHO MAJOLA

NGEKE nginake ikhempu kaZondi (Mfu Musa Zondi) evelé ihlale inqume izinto bese ithi kuhlale iKomiti eliQondisa iziGwegwe.

Usho kanjena uMnu Muzi Simelane obenguSihlalo weNkatha Freedom Party Youth Brigade (IFPYB), eThekwini obemiswe iminyaka emithathu kuleli qembu eselinqume ukumxosha unomphela.

Ngokwesitatimende esikhishwe wubuholi be-IFP eThekwini ngesandla sikasihlalo wayo, uMnu Mdu Nkosi, uMnu Simelane uxoshwe ngoba enqabe ukuvela phambi kwekomiti eliQondisa izigwegwe ngamacala abhekene nawo.

"Siyikomiti eliQondisa izigwegwe kakukho esesingakwenza ngaphandle kokumxosha uMnu Simelane. Njengoba kwayiwa ukuthi ubemisiwe kusukela ngoLwezi (Nobember) wangonyaka odlule ngokunyathela umthethosisekelo weqembu. Besithi uzoguquka awabone amaphutha akhe. Ngeshwa uqhubekele nokwenza lezi zinto abemiselwe zona - okuwukukhombisa indelelo eqenjini nasebuholini balo," kusho uMnu Nkosi esitatimendeni.

Uthi ngenxa yale mikhuba yakhe uMnu Simelane, ubiziwe ukuba azobhekana namatwayitwayi akhe kepha wala. NgoLwesibili olwedlule ikomiti eliQondisa izigwegwe likhiphe isinqumo sokuthi

axoshwe.

"Kuzomele kucace ikakhulukazi kwabazindaba ukuthi uMnu Simelane akasahlangene ne-IFP futhi ngeke esakhuluma lutho ngayo," kuphetha uMnu Nkosi.

UMnu Simelane utshele **ILANGA** ukuthi abakhiphe lesi sinqumo badidekile, balwa nokuhlakaza ikhempu kaNkk Zanele Magwaza-Msibi okuyinto engelula ukuthi yenzeke ngoba bayiqale emuva kwesikhathi.

"Umzabalazo ngizowuqhuba. Ngeke kuvele kuhlale abantu nje bathi bayangixosha. Ngizozwa ngabantu abangikhethele. Uma kusho bona-ke ngiyohlamba ngedela ngehlele ngezansi," kusho yena.

sazim@ilanganews.co.za



# Iyiphi indoda ongayethemba uShenge noMsholozzi?

MHLELI, siqinisile uma sithi uMntwana waKwaPhindangane (iNkosi Mango-suthu Buthelezi) nguyena yedwa indoda ongayethemba. UShenge uneminyaka yobudala engama-82 kodwa kanikaze nizwe kuthiwa ubishe kulolu daka abishe kulona uMnu Jacob Zuma.

UNxamalala ngumfundisi ogco-tshiwe, uShenge uzikholelwa e-Anglican Church.

Maningi amaZulu avotele uMsholozzi. ENkandla uthathwa njengenkosi. Leli voti enililahle abanye benu bangaya kovota, likhona ithuba lokulibuyisa ngonyaka wezi-2011.

Thina esingamalungu eNkatha Freedom Party (IFP) sihlukumezekile ngomZulu wakithi osekuhlekiswa ngaye kuthiwe makubalekiswa abesifazane uma kuzoba khona yena.

UShenge usahlonishwa ngenxa yesimilo sakhe. Akakhokhobi uShenge, unjengoMnu Nelson Mandela neNkosi Albert Luthuli. Ungumuntu wesintu

saKwaZulu uShenge kodwa ngeke umbone ephethe isihlilingi eshaya amantiyane, amaqola namaphothwe.

Nangu uMadiba uhlala eQunu, nike nimbone ezingela?

Ubenabantwana abayisi-8 uShenge, bonke kabafundiswanga yimali kahulumeni. Ujulukile uShenge, wazifundisa izingane zakhe. Ngisho edelelwa nguMnu Julius Malema, engumZulu enjalo, uMsholozzi akazange akhuze.

Uma ezothatha amakhosikazi angaka ingabe uhulumeni uzofaka malini? Ukondlelwa wuhulumeni yisiko?

Sixabene eNkatheni kodwa sizwa i-African National Congress (ANC) ophikweni lwabesifazane isikhuluma ngodaba lukaNkk Zanele Magwaza-Msibi, iyaluyeka "olomshini" othunaza isizwe esinsundu.

Lena yimizamo yokususa amehlo esizwe kulolu daba ukuze kunakwe izinkinga ze-IFP.

Iphutha libe kuShenge, wasuke

wamhlonipha kakhulu uMnu Zuma njengomZulu.

Uqale nini uMnu Zuma ukuba wumZulu othanda amasiko?

Uyawaphendukezela namasiko ethu.

Iyiphi indoda ongayethemba kula madoda amabili? Iphi imisebenzi eyizi-500 000 esithenjiswa yona?

Simmisile futhi waziyekela uMnu Narend Singh, naye engazifakanga izicathulo eyohamba ehlathini angalazi.

Buphi ubuqotho Nxamalala? Sengiyabona ukuthi kungani uMnu Thabo Mbeki ebevimba nesitulo.

Uthini uDkt Ben Ngubane uma uza kwabo enza kanje?

Sengiqala ukuzibuza ukuthi yini eyenza uMnu Irvin Khoza anikezwe iziqu zokumhlonipha oNgoye lapho uMnu Zuma eyiShansela khona.

Nomcebo Ngema  
EMLAZI

## UXOLISA ESIZWENI UMENGAMELI ZUMA

UMENGAMELI waseNingizimu Afrika, uMnu Jacob Zuma uxolisa esizweni ngokuba ngumqambi wendlela angayihambi, mayelana nodaba olusematheni lobudlelwano bakhe nendodakazi kaDkt Irvin Khoza onguSihlalo we-Orlando Pirates FC asenengane nayo.

UMnu Zuma uthi uyabazi ubuhlungu abuzwise abantu bakuleli, umndeni, abangani nabe-African National Congress (ANC) abaphazamisekile ngodaba lwakhe noNkz Sonono Khoza (39) futhi uyakuqonda ukuthi akwenzile kuliphutha elehlisa isithunzi.

"Ngixolisa ngobuhlungu enginizwise bona, umndeni wami, i-ANC nawo wonke amadlelandawonye ayo no-

mphakathi jikelele waseNingizimu Afrika. Ngephule imithetho yeqembu yokuziphatha nesithunzi sayo, ukuhlonipha umndeni nobuholi bokushumayela ivangeli eliyilo ngaso sonke isikhathi," kusho uMnu Zuma.

Lesi sitatimende usikhiphe emuva kokuthi ethathe ikhefu emsebenzini ecabanga futhi elulekwa ngalolu daba. Lokhu kulandela ukugxekwa kakhulu ngamaqembu aphikisayo ethi makaxolise esizweni asifaka ehlathini njengomholi.

Kuthiwa lesi sinqumo usithathe ngenxa yengcindezi abeyithola kubaholi abaphezu-lu kwi-ANC nasemphakathini emagunjini amane omhlaba.  
SAPA



# Kwenzeka kwasebemidwayidwa lokhu

UMSINDO ogubuzele igama likaNkk Zanele Magwaza-Msibi kawenzeki nje komafikizolo kwipolitiki, wenzeka kubaholi asebensondonzima kulo mkhakha, futhi hhayi eNingizimu Afrika kuphela.

Lo msindo ungafaniswa nokwenzeka ezingqungulwini. Ukungenelela kophiko lwabesifazane be-African National Congress (ANC) kulolu daba, bezwelana naye nje ngomuntu wesifazane, kungubufakazi bokuthi izinkinga abhekene nazo zingaphezulu kwegembu elilodwa lezombusazwe. Umhlaziyi wezombusazwe ozimele, uDkt Funokwakhe Cedric Xulu, uthi kakugali ngalo leli tlewedlwele leNkatha Freedom Party (IFP) okwenzeka kulona.

UNKK Magwaza-Msibi ungomunye wabesifazane abasezingeni eliphezulu emhlabeni kwezombusazwe njengoNkk Winnie Madikizela-Mandela, Baneza Butto, Indira Gandhi, Margaret Thatcher nabanye abampilo zabo zinqwamane nezinsalelo zalolu hlobo.

Ekuhlaziyeni kwami kwaphambili (kulo leli phephandaba) ngike ngasho ngathi iningi labesifazane abakwipolitiki namhlanje, nangesikhathi esedlule, bangene kule nkundla ebuswa ngabesilisa, ngenxa yabangani noma ngokukhumana okuthile nabesilisa.

Abanye bagqame kwezombusazwe ngenxa yokuthi bangamakhosikazi abaholi abavelele, bangamadodakazi abo, abanye ngenxa yokuhlobana nabesilisa abasekhundleni zamandla.

Ukwenza isibonelo, uNkk Madikizela-Mandela ubengunkosikazi kaMnu Nelson Mandela, uNkk Adelaide Tambo - engokaMnu Oliver Tambo, uNkk Albertina Sisulu eshade noMnu Walter Sisulu, uNkk Graca Machel egane uMengameli Samora Machel, uDkt Nkosazana Dlamini-Zuma ubegagce noMengameli Jacob Zuma, u-



UDKT Funokwakhe Xulu

Indira Gandhi ehlobene noMahatma Gandhi, uNkk Hillary Clinton ugane uMnu Bill Clinton, nabanye.

Umbuzo okudingeka sizibuze woma ngothi: kwenzekani kwabesifazane uma sebefuna ukudlondlobala kwezombusazwe? Yisiphetho sini esitholakala kulezi zibonelo eziningi njengoba noNkk Magwaza-Msibi ebonakala esephenduke esinye sezisulu zalolu hlobo kwi-IFP?

Ukuvulwa imilomo kwezinhlangano ebezinyamanambana embusweni wobandlululo ngesikhathi somzabalazo wenkululeko, kufike nomzabalazo wokulwela ukulinganiswa kobulili.

Bekuqala emlandweni wakuleli ukuthi nabesifazane babe neqhaza ekubunjweni komthetho-sisekelo lapho nabo behlomule khona.

Amaqembu ezombusazwe akwazile ukucacisa iqhaza labesifazane, laze labekwa ngembaba kumthetho-sisekelo, kwathi

nalokho abebafunela kona kwaziwa ezweni lonke. Umphumela wezingxoxo zezomthetho-sisekelo, phakathi kokunye, kube yisigaba esicacisa ngezokulingana kobulili (equality clause) ekusomqulo wamalungelo abantu, esiqinisekisa ukuthi kuyoba nokulingana kubantu bonke bakuleli.

Ngaphezulu kwalokho, kubunjwe iKhomishini yezo-kuLinganiswa kokuLili, engenye yezinsika eziyisithupha ezeseke inqubo yentando yeningi kuleli.

Umsebenzi wale khomishini wakuleli uzisebenzisile.



ISITHOMBE: YINGOLOBANE YELANGA  
UNKK Zanele Magwaza-Msibi

ePhalamende nasezishayamthetho uma sekufika ezindabeni ezithinta abesifazane. Ngenxa yalesi simo, iNingizimu Afrika ikleliswe namazwe asathuthuka kodwa ahamba phambili emhlabeni ekukhombiseni ukuzibophezela ekwenziweni ngcono kweqhaza labesifazane emiphakathini.

Ubufakazi balokho yisitativimende esithunyelwe kwabezindaba esikhishwe wuphiko i-United Nations Women's Anti Discrimination Committee zingama-24 kuNhlangulana (June) 1998.

Ngonyaka we-1995 kube nengqugquthela okuvunyelwane kuyona ukuthi mayisimbulwe nezingxabo zayo yonke imithetho yangesikhathi sobandlululo, ebicwasa abesifazane. Izincomo ezivele engqugqutheleni yabesifazane bamazwe ebiseBeijing, uhlumeni wakuleli uzisebenzisile.

Emuva kwalokho kwande isibalo

labesifazane bengena ezikhundleni eziphezulu emazingeni kahulumeni wakuleli.

Uhulumeni kaMengameli Zuma uyifake umqhelu le ndaba usungula uMnyango Wezabesifazane, ezeziNgane nezabaKhubazekile.

Iningi lamazwe asethuthuke ngokwanele kalilaboni elidlayo kwiNingizimu Afrika uma sekuyiwa ngasezinhlelweni ezenziwe nguhulumeni wakuleli ukwenza ngcono iqhaza labesifazane empilweni.

Isibonelo salokho yi-Office of the Status of Women (OSW) okuyisakhiwo esibhekele ezabesifazane esikhona kuyona yonke iminyango kahulumeni. Senziwe ngenhloso yokudidiyela izinhlelo ezithinta ezabesifazane nokuqinisekisa ukuthi baba yingxenye yayo yonke into eyenziwa wuhulumeni.

Lezo zinhlelo zilandela ezo-kwenziwa ngcono kwezinga lempilo yabesifazane ezisungulwe ngo-Ncwaba (August) 1996.

Ngendlela engibona ngayo, yize abesifazane baseNingizimu Afrika kunemihlomulo abayitholile eku-mthetho-sisekelo wezwe kodwa baseyizisulu zokuqinisekisa ngabesilisa okusakhala izicathulo zabo phezu kwabo.

Ngezinkundla zezingxoxo zezomthetho-sisekelo ebezibizwa nge-Codesa 1 ne-Codesa 2 abesifazane kabazange basebenzise lelo thuba ukuphusha i-ajenda yabo ngezinguquko ezithinta bona.

Esikhundleni salokho balwele obekufunwa ngamagembu abo.

Ngakolunye uhlangothi, abaholi bomdabu bakhulume ngazwi linye, yize bebephuma ezinhlanganweni zezombusazwe ezahlukeneyo. Ukulwa kwabaholi bomdabu beyimbumba, kuholele ekutheni babe nesa-khiwo esibizwa ngeleNdlu yaba-Holi boMdabu esisePhalamende nakwiziShayamthetho ezifundazweni.

Iyaghutshwa ngokuzayo

Izincomo ezivele engqugqutheleni yabesifazane, uhlumeni uzisebenzisile.



## Siyayibona imisebenzi kaZuma kodwa...

**MHLELI:** Ngithi ake ngiveze owami umbono ngokuziphatha kabi kukaMengameli Jacob Zuma qede abhace ngesiko.

Siyayibona imisebenzi yakhe nokukhathalela kwakhe abahlwempu okwakudala abantu bameseke, kodwa konke lokho kuzoshabalala uma nje ehlulwa wukuqinisa ibhande lesimilo njengendoda eqotho enguMengameli

wezwe. Okumangazayo, i-ANCYL isingena ezintangeni ithi ayizikhulumi izindaba zabadala. Kanti abanjani laba enihlale nibachapha ngenhlamba?

Noma ngabe nimthanda kangakanani umuntu kodwa uma engenzi kahle phumelani obala ngalekho.

**Nhlanhla Mfeka  
ENDWEDWE**

## Sazigwaza ngowethu kule ndoda

**MHLELI:** Ngivumele ngikhiphe amangwevu ngolukaMsholoz, kwelakho lomhla ka-4 Febhuwari ngaphansi kwesihloko esithi: umbono weSolezwe. Umbhali akaqondakali ukuthi uyavumelana nokwenziwa uZuma noma uyaphikisana nakho.

Yebo kuliqiniso ukuthi maningi amadoda anenqwaba yezingane ezikhala ezintabeni. Ngabe sithi-ke lokho kulungile ngoba noZuma uyakwenza? Ihlazo yihlazo nje kwaphela.

UZuma akasona nje isakhumuzi njengami nawe kodwa unguMengameli wezwe, umele zonke izinhlanga zabantu bakulelile. Ngakho-ke ukwenza nenkambo yakhe kumele kube ngokugqondile nokungahlazi isizwe.

Kuyezwela ukuthi sinoMengameli ongaliboni iphutha ekuyeni ocansini ngaphandle kwekhondomu nomuntu ongesiyena umkakhe kodwa yena ebe etshela isizwe ukuthi asiziphephise obhubha-

neni oluqeda isizwe – ingculazi.

Sekukaningi uMsholoz enza izinto ezingaphusile njengokulala “nomngani womndeni”, ukuya ocansini olungaphephile, ukuzihlanganisa nabantu abenza inkohlakalo, njll. Kukho konke lokhu uyaxolisa kodwa ebe eqhubeka.

Sayigxoba lapha eMphithi simlwela ukuba abe nguMengameli kodwa sengathi ukuvala uziphu kuyamehlula okaNxamalala, inhliziyo yakhe ingaphandle esifazaneni. Angidingi ukwenaba ukucacisa lokhu, nengane iyakubona. Izinyanga ziyisishiyagalombili esesikhundleni kodwa asiboni lutho oluyintuthuko ngaphandle kwakhe eshada mihla namalanga nokuklwebhanya okukhona ngaphakathi ku-ANC ne-SACP neCosatu. Izethembiso azifezwa njengenhlalayenza.

Singeze sathula sibuke uMengameli wezwe enza lokhu akwenzayo. Kancane kancane uzozikhipha ebantwini abambeke

lapho ekhona. Singabekezela kodwa kukhona lapho sizokhathala khona. Sinenqwaba yoNgqongqoshe kule Khabhinethi yakhe kodwa yini nje esingathi iyancomeka ekhombekayo abayenzayo? Ngaphandle-ke mhlawumbe kukaDkt Nkosazana Dlamini-Zuma. Kuyakhulunywa nje kunkantwe kushiwo lokhu nalokhuya.

Anginxuse kubaluleki bakaMsholoz ukuthi bamtshele ukuthi akusahambi kahle-ke manje, useyaphuma emgqeni. Loluxhaxha lwabafazi ubhekephi nalo? UZuma akayeke ukucasha ngesikolethu ebe enza imisebenzi yakhe yokugculisa izinkanuko zakhe. Impela siyoyicela ivuthiwe. Ingathithi sazigwaza ngowethu ukubeka le ndoda kulesi sikhundla. Kuyacaca ukuthi ayizazi ukuthi inguMengameli wezwe noma yisoka nje elihamba libhabhalala.

**Mdu Mzulwini  
EMPHITHI**



# Umaskandi useka owe-IFP

**MDU NCALANE**

Epika esoLundi

**I**SIHLABANI sikamaskandi sesiphumele obala ngokweseka uSihlalo we-IFP uNkk Zanele KaMagwaza-Msibi, njengoba esakhungethwe yifu elimnyama esikhundleni sakhe sobuMeya.

UBuselaphi Buthelezi, ocula yedwa abuye ahole iqembu lniithente, useze waqamba ingoma ezophuma kwi-albhamu yakhe elandelayo encoma imisebenzi kaMagwaza-Msibi. Le ngoma ilibeka ngembaba elokuthi yena "nabangani" bakaMagwaza-Msibi bayomeseka kuze kube sekugcineni. Ibuye ituse imisebenzi yoMntwana wakwaPhindangene Inkosi Mangosuthu Buthelezi njengoMengameli weNkatha.

UBuselaphi ubekade edlala mahhala ngeSonto eledlule epaki yasoLundi ngasePhalamende lapho bekubuthene khona izinkumbi zabalandeli beNkatha abahambisana nokaMagwaza-Msibi kulolu thuthuva oluqhube kayo eNkatheni.

Le ntokazi edabuka eNgolotshe KwaNongoma, ithi iyofa lapho kufa khona okaMagwaza-Msibi. "Ubaba yisakhamuzi esingaphansi kukaMagwaza-Msibi, nami ngikhulele ekhaya. Manje sesiphuza amanzi ageleza ngamapayipi, sikhanyisa ngogesi ngenxa yemisebenzi kaMagwaza-Msibi. Asibona abangani kangako kodwa siyazana

ngokuhlanganiswa yimisebenzi. Yingakho ngithe nami angizokhombisa ukumeseka ngokuzojabulisa abantu ngale kokubheka inkokhelo," kusho uBuselaphi.

Le ntokazi, eyaziwa ngezwi eliqinile nelinamandla emkhakheni kamaskandi, isashisa izikhotha kulezi zinsuku nge-albhamu yayo esihloko sithi *Umeno*. Ithi kuyiphutha ukuhlukumezeka kukaMagwaza-Msibi njengomuntu wesifazane kudinga ukuthi esekwe kulesi sikhathi esinzima abhekene naso.

UBuselaphi ubekhuluma ngezinguquko ezikhona zakamuva ku-IFP njengoba isithathe isinqumo sokumtshala eSishayamthetho saKwaZulu-Natal esikhundleni songasekho Inkosi Nyanga Ngubane. Kumanje i-IFP ayikaphumeli obala ngokuthi ngubani ozothatha isikhundla sikaMagwaza-Msibi aye yiMeya yaseZululand.

Kwayena uMagwaza-Msibi wayengabonwa kulo mbungazo, wakhonjwa eNewcastle emisebenzini yeKwanaloga, ngesikhathi "abangani" bakhe bemhlelele umkhuleko. Usadla lubi namanje umbango wesikhundla sozoba nguMengameli waleli qembu uma uMntwana waKwaPhindangene oselihole kusukela lasungulwa, esethi khumu. Yize lokhu bekubhekeke ukuba kube ngo-Ephreli nonyaka, kwabuye kwahlehliswa ukuze kulungiswe isimo sangaphakathi eqenjini.



## Akusenzi mehluko ukuxolisa kukaMengameli

**U**SUKU lwangoLwesine esiya kulo, umhla ka-11 Febhuwari lubaluleke ngezindlela eziningi eNingizimu Afrika. Phela ngalolu suku kuzobe kuhlanguka iminyaka engama-shumi amabili uMengameli wokugala wentando yabantu kuleli, uTata Nelson Mandela, anyathela ezweni ngokukhululeka ngemuva kokugqunywa nguMbuso wobandlululo ejele nabanye ababelwela inkululeko iminyaka engu-27.

Ukugubha lolu suku kuthathwe isinqumo esingajwayelekile sokuthi inkulumo kaMengameli wezwe yokuvula iPhalamende ibe kusihlwa futhi ikhonjiswe bukhoma kuthelevishini ngalesi sikhathi abantu abaningi sebenethezeke emakhaya abo.

Kuyishwa nokho ukuthi kungase kube nzima ukugxila enkulumweni kaMengameli Jacob Zuma ungacabanganga ngechilo asanda kuzifaka kulo ngokuzalisa owesifazane ongacagcile kwaZuma phezu kokuthi enamakhosikazi amathathu. Ngempelasonto iHhovisi likaMengameli likhiphe isitatimende lapho uMengameli ebexolisa khona kulandela ukuthi ezivumele mathupha ukuthi nguye uyise wengane enezinyanga ezinye ezalwa nguNksz Sonono Khoza, oyindodakazi yesikhulu sebhola esaziwayo kuleli uDkt Irvin Khoza.

Okuhlalukayo wukuthi uMsholozzi ubengabonanga phutha elitheni ngasohlangothini lwakhe ekuqaleni ngoba isitatimende asenza kuqala wathi abezindaba

abeyekele ingane yakhe nonina bangaphazanyiswa ngenxa yokuthi yena yise wengane ukuleli hhovisi akulo.

Kube ngumcabango wakamuva kuMengameli ukuthi makaxolise ngokuphoxa ikakhulu labo abamvikela bathi bayofa naye ngesikhathi ebekwe amacala okudlwengula owesifazane azi ukuthi unesandulela ngculazi engazivikelile. Waxolisa ngobudedengu necala lamthetha. Usengene esikhisini esithi asifane futhi, nakhona uyaxolisa.

Imvunge ehambisana nokwezwe nzeleka phansi kwabalandeli bakaZuma iyezwakala yize igubuzelwa. Abaningi bathi cha, Mengameli, waze wasijivaza phezu kokuzinikela kwethu sikulwela kuyo yonke inhlobo yezinkinga owawukuzo, ezinye owawungazigwema.

Ngeke ubasole ngokusho lokhu, ngoba nesigameko esamfaka enkantolo esolwa ngokudlwengula uMsholozzi senzeka ezinsukwini lapho izinkulungwane zazidela ubuthongo zinomlindelo enkantolo lapho ayezobekwa khona amacala enkohlakalo.

Kuyishwa ukuthi inkulumo ebaluleke kangaka kaZuma izogubuzelwa yileli chilo lokungaziqoqi kwakhe nosekuvela ukuthi ukuvikelwa ngabalandeli bakhe ukubonga ngokubaphahleka ngechilo elifana nalelo inkantolo eyamkhipha phambili kulo. Lokhu kuxolisa kukaMengameli cishe akusenzi mehluko ngoba abaningi sebethe yethelale.



ISOLEZWE, UMSOMBULUKO, FEBHUWARI 8, 2010

# Wayeyiphethe ngezikhwama eyebhelili uCwele

**VUYOLWETHU BALENI**  
Ebika eseMgungundlovu

**U**NGQONGQOSHE wezobuNhloli kuleli, uDkt Siyabonga Cwele, uyishaye yaphelela imali yebheyili engu-R100 000 kankosikazi wakhe, uSheryl ngoLwesihlanu enkantolo enkulu yaseMgungundlovu.

UCwele ungene nezikhwama zemali zasebhange lakwa-Absa ephelezelwa ngonogada bakhe ngemuva kwehora ijaji uJaji Sharmaine Balton linike unkosikazi wakhe ibheyili. Umthombo

ongaphakathi kule nkantolo ongathandanga ukudalulwa, uthe ufike wayichitha phezu kwe-counter yabalwa kwase kudedelwa unkosikazi wakhe.

Lo mthombo uthe baphume sebehamba bobabili beqashwe ngonogada bangena emotweni kaCwele kwasuka amaphepha.

Ngaphambili kuke kwanemibiko yokuthi uCwele nowakwakhe sebeneminyaka emihlanu bengahlali ndawonye futhi abasezwani.

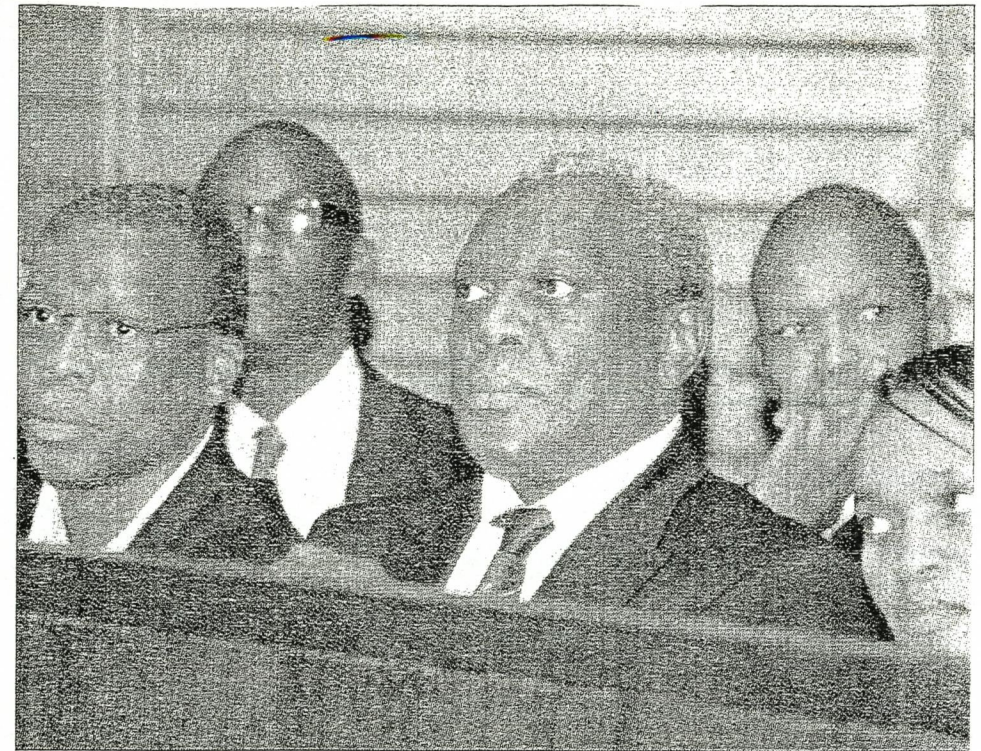
UNkk Cwele usolwa ngokuba wungqondongqondo

wokushushumbisa izidakamizwa esebenzisana nomlisa waseNigeria, uMnuz Frank Nabolisa ozovela okokuqala enkantolo ngoLwesihlanu kanye naye uCwele.

Ijaji uBalton limdedele ngoba likhala ngokuthi umbuso awazi ukuthi lizoqulwa nini leli cala futhi angeke aze abalekele ukushushiswa ngoba unomuzi nezingane ezine, umyeni futhi uyasebenza kuleli.

Umbuso uthi unobufakazi obunzulu ngobudlelwano bukaNkk Cwele noNabolisa.

Ngokolunye uhlangothi uNkk Cwele uphika uma



**UNGQONGQOSHE** wezobuNhloli kuleli, uDkt Siyabonga Cwele, ekakwe ngamalungu omndeni ngoLwesihlanu ngesikhathi kulalelwe isicelo sebheyili sikankosikazi wakhe, uSheryl Cwele

ngentaba ukuthi wazana nezidakamizwa kodwa ubuye athi ufuna kuvezwe ubufakazi balokho. Uthi yena wayazi ukuthi uNabolisa unenkampani yokwakha ngakho wabe edinga abasebenzi abamhlophe abazokwenza

umsebenzi. Umbuso ubuye uveze ukuthi kunezikhawu ezingu-16 uNkk Cwele evakashela phesheya kodwa asheshe abuye, okusolisa kakhulu. Kwasetshenziswa kwe-akhawunti yasebhange yakhe yakwa-ABSA

kuthengwa amathikithi ezindiza.

Amaqembu aphikisayo ePhalamende azwakalisa okukhulu ukukhathazeka ngokuphepha kwaleli zwe uma unkosikazi kaNgqongqoshe esolwa ngamacala abucayi kanje.



## An unlikely hero

**It is, I suppose,** incumbent upon us — our duty almost — to reflect on the momentous events unleashed this week a mere 20 years ago, which ushered in a society so many had sacrificed, even died for, but few had any hope they would live to see.

Two decades later, we're still in awe as to how we pulled it off. The world had thought, and we had come to believe, that we weren't equal to the task. It is a story that gets tastier by its retelling. For the events triggered by FW de Klerk's speech on February 2 1990 constitute by far the most delicious part of our history, when tears suddenly signified joy, not pain, when darkness broke into a glorious dawn and the only dream that had mattered for centuries was finally realised. Miracles, perhaps; but we demean the contributions and sacrifices of so many if we ascribe their achievements to accident or happenstance.

Some have tended to claim more credit than they deserve. But credit surely belongs to Nelson Mandela and De Klerk, leaders of the two major opposing forces. It is ultimately their leadership and foresight that saw us through. It takes two to tango.

Mandela was playing true to type. Leading his people to freedom had been his lifetime's ambition. And he paid dearly to achieve it. De Klerk, on the other hand, was an unlikely hero. He acted completely out of character — a right winger who won the leadership of his party precisely because he was seen as the man to preserve, not destroy, apartheid. Five years earlier he had effectively stopped PW Botha's tepid attempts at reform; only to unleash what can only be described as a revolution when he succeeded Botha.

There are those who, for political reasons, would want to minimise De Klerk's role in the transformation of SA. But to put De Klerk's role in its proper perspective does not in any way diminish the significant role played by icons of the struggle in our liberation. De Klerk's role was pivotal. He held the key. He could have easily postponed our freedom and lengthened our pain, especially as the ANC's much vaunted armed struggle

was nowhere near overthrowing the state. As one wag opined at the time, to howls of protest, the ANC could hardly run a tap. Few would argue with that assessment today.

De Klerk opened the sluice gates. He must have thought, like Mikhail Gorbachev in the Soviet Union, that he could control events. They overtook him, instead. The genie was out of the bottle.

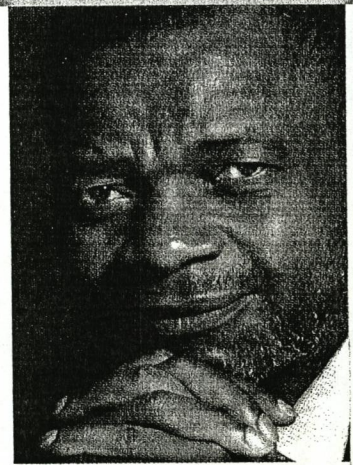
Like a married couple, prisoner and president marched together, often squabbling, but mindful of the fact that the destiny of an entire nation depended on them co-operating. And thank God they pulled it off.

I remember Joe Modise telling a puzzled press corps in Dakar, Senegal, that no, the ANC could not accede to calls to break off talks with the ruling National Party in the wake of the horrific Boipatong massacre. De Klerk may be an adversary, Modise said, but he was also the ANC's only partner for peace.

Both sides had to walk that fine line, appeasing their supporters while at the same time keeping their eyes on the prize. Mandela did it better than most. He was master of the genre. The least we can do as an expression of our gratitude is to stay true to his ethos, his legacy to us. De Klerk, after committing political hara-kiri for the national good, seems content these days to busy himself with the mundane aspects of life, like saving Afrikaans from extinction.

But it is Mandela's party that we should now worry about. We wouldn't bother if our future didn't lie in its reckless hands. A movement that once inspired religious zeal among its supporters has in 15 years in power morphed into nothing more than a freeloaders' paradise.

How we wish we can recapture the spirit of those golden years! There's one important quality missing: leadership. ■



It is ultimately De Klerk's and Mandela's leadership and foresight that saw us through. It takes two to tango



## Falling back on ceremony

**Queen Victoria** was known as the "Grandmama of Europe", partly because of her long reign (1837-1901) and partly because so many of her children married into other royal families. Perhaps it is time for us to refer affectionately to President Jacob Zuma as the "Father of the Nation", following reports that he has been blessed with his 20th child. Of course, Victoria had only nine children, but then she was married only once.

Zuma does seem to have this capacity to make people feel good, while remaining cheerfully unconcerned by what anyone might say and think about him. It is a useful combination of qualities in a politician — to be both engaging and thick-skinned. The sun seems to shine most of the time in his presidency, regardless of what is happening in the country.

Perhaps, then, it is time to restore the purely ceremonial position of head of state that was abolished by P W Botha in the early 1980s. *Die Groot Krokodil* combined the offices of prime minister and president into a new executive presidency, partly to feed his own greed for power and partly to accommodate his disastrous tricameral constitution. Thus was lost the tradition of the state president (and before that the governor general, and before him the British monarch) being the representative of the nation rather than of the government of the day.

Zuma does that sort of thing rather well. He is a natural entertainer and good with crowds, large or small. Not many leaders would risk public song-and-dance acts, but he carries them off. He seems equally at ease with rural villagers and hard-bitten delegates at the World Economic Forum. Even Zuma's bitter political opponents concede that in Davos last week, he was a persuasive ambassador for the country.

Like a good constitutional monarch, he steers away from awkward policy debates and uncomfortable choices; he seems to have no political vision or views of his own, but appears to be a good listener. Like US president Franklin D Roosevelt, he has the art of making everyone think that he agrees with them. This makes argument and unpleasantness difficult to sustain, while causing executive actions to dam up dangerously.

That is why we expect nothing more than vagueness when Zuma gives the traditional state of the nation address next week in parliament. His idea of a break with the past, a bold gesture, is represented in his decision to move the address to the evening. It is typical of the man — he is concerned with appearance, not substance.

It's hard to imagine how Zuma might persuade us, even if he was inclined to try, that he is a president with a sense of direction and purpose, and a firm executive grip. Looking at the big picture, he is unlikely to clear up the confusion over who is in charge of economic policy, simply because he almost certainly doesn't know. If he tries to get down to practicalities, he runs the risk of making promises that will never be kept (remember the 500 000 jobs that would be created?) or repeating targets that become meaningless as they are missed.

Thabo Mbeki's state of the nation addresses were often described as "workmanlike" because he liked to focus on a list of things that government was doing — yet, apart from fiscal and monetary management, the Mbeki administration also failed spectacularly in meeting even simple targets.

Twenty years to the week after President F W de Klerk announced the imminent release of Nelson Mandela from prison, Zuma is unlikely to suddenly crack the whip on feuding within the ANC, and between it and its partners. Open and disrespectful disputes in the alliance have become the norm. Mandela's assertion on his release that he remained a "disciplined member" of the ANC now seems quite bizarre. Is there still such a thing as a disciplined ANC member?

For months now, the organisation's real energy has been diverted to internal bickering, while its governance of SA increasingly seems merely ceremonial — a role for which, as we have pointed out, Zuma is eminently suitable. ■

## Sending the right signals

**There is so** much that needs to be built in SA that we can hardly afford to neglect and destroy sound assets that we already have. Thankfully there are signs that government, in the form of Transnet, is beginning to understand this.

The national rail network was established as a matter of economic necessity in the first three decades of the 20th century. Many rural towns and farming areas were served by branch lines, many of which were always going to be uneconomic. Indeed, until the 1980s, the railways enjoyed substantial permit and tariff protection against road hauliers. That changed, but the deregulation was so rapid that rather too many babies were thrown out with the bathwater.

Spoornet, the predecessor of Transnet Freight, pursued the closure of many lines with no less zeal than it had shown in defending protectionism, while objecting in principle to any form of public-private partnership. The first privatisation (in 1987) — the Alfred Country Railway from Port Shepstone to Harding — was delayed to the point of being made unviable, and then continually obstructed by bureaucrats. In other cases, lines that might have been saved instead lay decaying for so long that privatisation ceased to be an option. When the Eastern Cape government managed to reopen the link between East London and Mthatha two years ago, it cost taxpayers over R40m just to rehabilitate the track.

In KwaZulu Natal, two long timber-carrying branch lines have been closed (see page 48) to Transnet trains, but this time the utility is apparently seeing a bigger picture. It is said to be working with local stakeholders to at least create the conditions for preservation of the line, and so help grow tourism and therefore jobs.

Much has already been lost, but with this evident departure from centralised, blunt decision-making, much may still be retained. ■