

'Viva VZ!' the rallying call in KZN as new blood challenges Buthelezi

NATHI OLIFANT

A WELL-DRESSED Zanele KaMagwaza-Msibi, wearing dark sunglasses, emerged from the Pietermaritzburg High Court this week, hand in hand with her husband, Mandla Msibi, the flamboyant former KZN education spin doctor-turned-businessman.

And the reception from hundreds of supporters was thunderous. Surrounded by police, she clambered on to a concrete plinth where two years ago ANC president Jacob Zuma addressed his supporters during his successful fight against corruption charges.

This week Zuma's former advocate, Kemp J Kemp, was now at KaMagwaza-Msibi's side.

"I just want to touch her," said an elderly man in blue overalls and a shabby cap bearing the IFP logo.

The animated crowd made up of people of all colours chanted "Viva VZ" and held up placards saying "100% VZ", referring to KaMagwaza's first names, Veronica Zanele.

A big banner bore her portrait and the words "From councillor to MPL and next IFP president".

"I thank all who have supported me and those members who were expelled because they were perceived to be with me," she said.

It has been a long road for the 49-

Why Buthelezi and Mangope should quit - See page 16

year-old, who joined the IFP at the age of 13. She was soon branch chairwoman and just over a decade later was serving on the executive committees of both the youth and women's brigades. She went on to lead the IFP Women's Brigade.

Last year, during her bid to become the provincial premier, she said people had always thought of the IFP as a masculine and conservative party, but that she was a living example of feminine success.

Growing up in Babauango near Melmoth in the conservative IFP bastion of Zululand, KaMagwaza-Msibi is credited with regrouping the party in 2005 after tensions over the previous chairman, Ziba Jiyane.

And many will credit her for keeping Zululand IFP in the 2009 general election. A teacher by profession, her roots in the party go deep: she was married to the now late IFP MPL Inkosi Hulumeni Gumede and has two daughters by him. She married Msibi a few years ago. They have no children together.

She served as the mayor of KwaZulu-Natal's largest municipal district for 10 years until she was moved to the provincial legislature early this year.

IFP president Mangosuthu

Buthelezi has lashed out at party chairwoman KaMagwaza-Msibi, who this week publicly declared her bid for the top post, as the party's bruising internal strife continues to hit headlines.

Meanwhile, there is talk that the charismatic chairwoman could go her own way should she not be elected party leader. However, a similar move a few years ago, by the National Democratic Convention (Nadeco), proved short-lived.

"There is much one could speculate on regarding the current situation in the party. It pains me that the IFP's internal ructions have been brought before the courts," said Buthelezi in his online newsletter.

And media reports feed the "delicious lie" that the IFP leadership is persecuting certain people.

"This is a convenient way of shifting the focus away from the indiscipline, violence and selfish ambition that have characterised the present ructions," said Buthelezi.

"I also note that her supporters again lit fires, this time to burn IFP logos. Clearly, in their minds the IFP must be destroyed for their plans to come to fruition. They do not support the party. They support a person, not a cause."

On Wednesday, KaMagwaza-

Msibi tried, through high court action, to stop an IFP bid to discipline her.

It now all depends on the court's ruling on Friday - KaMagwaza-Msibi can force the IFP to hold an elective conference within a month.

If she lost, said a party national council member, it would all be over for her. The elective conference has been postponed repeatedly since last year.

IFP insiders say that's because Buthelezi wanted to secure Musa Zondi as his successor despite a significant swell of support for KaMagwaza-Msibi, who has been making her way through the ranks into the party leadership. The leadership has expelled several of the known members of the "Friends of VZ", who lost a subsequent court bid for reinstatement, and has conducted a wide-ranging reshuffle of local government leaders.

Former KZN lawmaker Wiseman Mcoyi, one of the most vocal proponents of Friends of VZ, said the fight was on. "It's war now, but it should be known we did not start it; we are the unwilling participants in this war. We have been cornered," he said.

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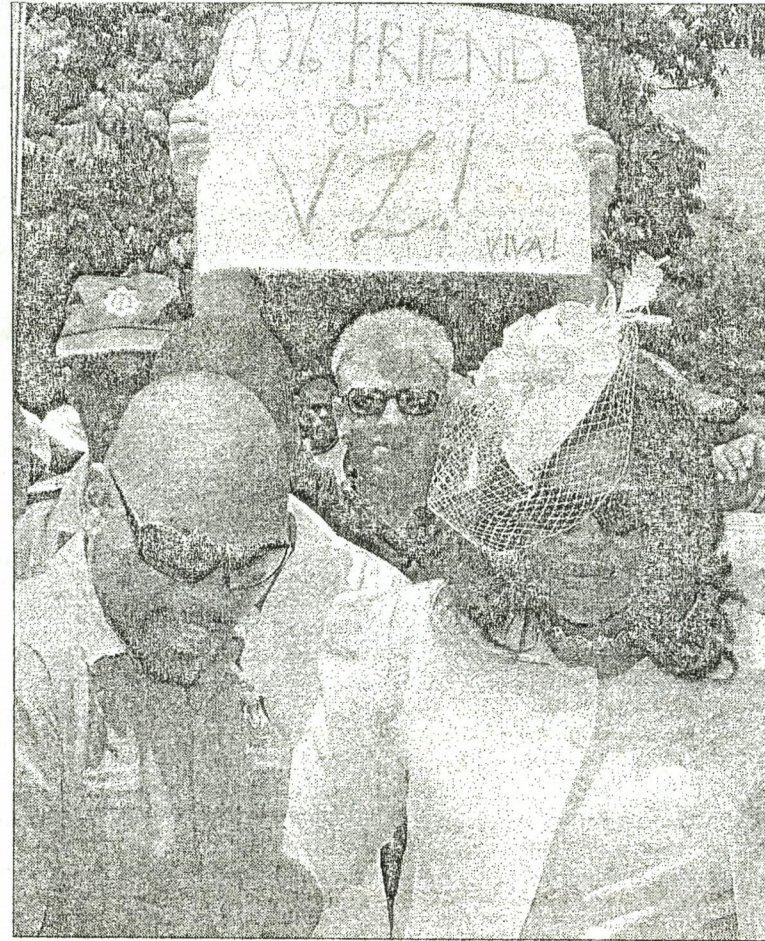
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OVERWHELMING SUPPORT: Zanele KaMagwaza-Msibi is escorted by her supporters at the Pietermaritzburg High Court. PICTURE: S'BONELO NGCOBO

erwise. The ructions have been accompanied by claims of homosexuality and marital infidelity.

Five years ago former IFP chairperson Ziba Jiyane formed Nadeco following a lengthy public spat with Buthelezi. He joined up with then IFP MP Gavin Woods. But the par-

ty did not last long and was moribund before the next election.

While KaMagwaza-Msibi's supporters hint at the establishment of a new party – dubbed Plan B – she has denied this. "I have no intention whatsoever of leaving the IFP to start my own party," she said.

'Ngithandaziseni ukuze kube nobulungiswa ku-IFP'

MDU NCALANE
Ebika eseSahlumbe

KUCACE okwekati elimhlophe ehlungwini ukuthi uSihlalo kazwelonke we-IFP, osefake iqembu lakhe eNkantolo eNkulu, unamaqhinga anzulu enqubekelaphambili ngekusasa lakhe lezombusazwe.

Lokhu kucace izolo eMtshezi, eNtabamhlophe naseSahlumbe ngesikhathi uNkk Zanele Magwaza-Msibi ehambele lezi zindawo ebingelela abalandeli bakhe.

Akukho mihlangano ebihleliwe kumbe ama-rally kodwa bekunabantu abebeyizixuku ezindaweni ezehlukene abezihambela.

Into abeyikhuluma nayo icacele noma ngubani ukuthi ngeke aliphonse ithawula uma imchitha iNkantolo eNkulu yaseMgungundlovu ngoLwesihlanu njengoba efake iNkatha enkantolo eyiphoga ukuba ihlalise ingqungquthela ezokhetha ubuholi obusha kuleli qembu.

UNkk Magwaza-Msibi ucele abalandeli ukuba bamthandazise ukuze

izindlela zakhe zibe mhlophe ngoLwesihlanu futhi babe naye nangezinhliziyi ngoba akwenzayo uthi ukwenzela amalungelo abo okuzikhethelela kuleli qembu.

"Ngidinga ningithandazise ngoLwesihlanu ngoba engikwenzayo ngikwenzela ukuthi kube nobulungiswa eqenjini lethu esilithandayo. Ngikwenziswa wukukhathalela nina ukuba ningahlushwa kodwa kube nentando yabantu, angikwenzi ngoba ngithanda kodwa yingoba sengehlulekile wukubekezela. Ngiyanithanda futhi ngiyayithanda iNkatha, iqembu lethu," kusho uNkk Magwaza-Msibi.

Uthe abalandeli abangalahli ithemba ngokwenzekayo bese beyengeka uma beshelwa ngamanye amaqembu. "Awukho umuzi ongenantuthu yakhona. Nathi sinezinkinga njengamanye amaqembu kodwa bekezelani sekuzolunga. Uma kungalungi-ke ngoLwesihlanu sesobona ukuthi siqhubekele kanjani phambili," kusho yena ngelikhulu iqholo.

UKaMagwaza ukhwele wadilika kubalandeli abebemeseka ababonakale beshisa izikibha zeNkatha ngoLwesithathu enkantolo wathi lokhu kukhombisa ukungalihloniphi iqembu.

"Kunele sibe ngamalungu ahloniphayo nakhombisa ukulikhathalela iqembu noma kunzima



USIHLALO kazwelonke we-IFP, uNkk Zanele Magwaza-Msibi, ekhuluma nabalandeli bakhe ngesikhathi ehambele izindawo ezahlukeni eMtshezi naseWeenen izolo lapho ekhuze khona labo abashisa izikibha ze-IFP
Isithombe: SANDILE MAKHOBA

kangakanani," kunxusa uNkk Magwaza-Msibi.

Ubehamba nojenga lwezimoto ezihola phambili ilandelwa ngobeyiMeya yaseMtshezi osanda kuxoshwa yi-IFP kulesi sikhundla uMnuz Maliyakhe Shelembe, kube ngeyeMeya yasoKhahlambag, uMnuz Vikizitha Mlotshwa, nabanye abaholi bendawo.

Lolu jenga luqale eShell Ultra-City eMtshezi lwabheka eNtabamhlophe lapho lujiqe khona emngcwabeni womunye womaskandi, maqede lwabuyela emuva lwangena edolobheni lwagudla lubheke eSahlumbe emcimbini wokugubha

ukuwina kumaSatma kweqembu likaStanley Dladla Abafana bakaDladla.

■ Khonamanjalo, uShelembe ukhala uyazithulisa ngempendulo kaMengameli we-IFP, uDkt Mangosuthu Buthelezi, ethi nguyena owayegovuzwa abalandeli abashisa izikibha ze-IFP enkantolo.

"Kushiswa izikibha nje mina ngangisengaphakathi enkantolo. Ngangingekho kwalapho kodwa ngaphuma uSihlalo esezokhuluma nabantu sezishiswe zaze zaphela nalezo zikibha. Kuseyishwa lami kwalokho ngoba namanje kuthiwa ngixoshiwe ebuMeyeni kodwa

angikanikwa izizathu ezingixoshayo. Ngezwa kuthiwa umasipala wami angiwuphethe kahle kodwa ngisho noMcwaningi-mabhuku akakaze athole chashazi ngezimali zawo. Yini-ke engingayiphethe kahle?" kubuza uShelembe.

UMengameli we-IFP ucashuwe ethi kuyacaca ukuthi labo abashisa izikibha beseka isiqu somuntu hhayi inkolelo ethile.

Uthe kuyamkhathaza ukuthi izindaba ze-IFP sezinekwazi ezinkantolo, wathi emuva kokuba uSihlalo ebaphose enkantolo akasenathemba lokubuyisana.

THE SUNDAY independent

Time Buthelezi and Mangope made an exit

THERE is a saying that a wise leader knows when it is time to pass the baton. The world is not short of unwise leaders. There are the wise ones too.

Nelson Mandela was a wise leader.

But Inkatha Freedom Party president Mangosuthu Buthelezi and United Christian Democratic Party president Lucas Mangope are clinging to their positions, treating their respective parties as personal fiefdoms.

South African voters would not be far off the mark if they drew similarities between the former homeland leaders and Zimbabwe's Robert Mugabe. The three are in their 80s.

Buthelezi and Mangope are fighting leadership battles within their own parties. They are refusing to quit their positions.

This is notwithstanding the fact that they no longer have ideas to take their parties forward.

There is no better evidence for this than the consistent shedding of voter support since 1994.

These parties are teetering on the brink of collapse.

Lately, Buthelezi has been on a campaign, warning the few party members who still have faith in him about the impending implosion of the party if it did not get its act together. He is right.

But, part of getting its act together should be for him to leave the party.

Buthelezi and Mangope once led powerful parties – one of which was implicated in mass murder – in the 1990s. Both are region-based with an insignificant number of supporters at national level.

They draw their public representatives from their regional base, and often from specific ethnic groups. They are pursuing outdated politics of regional mobilisation.

This strategy has proved devastating for the IFP because the elevation of Jacob Zuma, a Zulu, as a leader of the ANC, has theoretically sounded a death knell for the party that has been led by one person since its formation as a party of narrow Zulu nationalism.

One-leader-for-life-parties pose a serious danger to South Africa's democracy. It is difficult to believe that a leader who thinks he is the only wise man in his party would not be a dictator if elevated to the Presidency of the country.

During election campaigns, many South Africans should be scared of these leaders who believe so much in themselves that they would quash even a rumour about an emerging contender for leadership.

It's the kind of politics South Africans should eschew at all costs. Although the electorate sometimes makes mistakes – and that's a separate matter – they are getting it right with regard to Buthelezi's IFP and Mangope's UCDP.

The continued decline of these parties may well be good for South Africa until, of course, they decide to change leadership, bring in new blood and show respect to the electorate.

A former ANC Youth League leader, Buthelezi would like us to believe that he is a liberal democrat.

To support his claim, he would go to town about his association with former ANC leader Oliver Tambo. He would regale us with stories about meeting the British queen.

He won't forget to mention that his relatives fought noble battles against occupation centuries ago, and were among the first to be imprisoned on Robben Island. That is history, and should stay like that.

It says nothing about how Buthelezi is perceived today. It is evident there is a growing number of people who support Zanele Magwaza-Msibi, the party's chairwoman, to succeed Buthelezi. Buthelezi should encourage her.

A woman and a younger leader will certainly do more good for the IFP, which at some point had a semi-military outlook.

Fortunately, it has shed that image, thanks to the post-1994 political realities. Like the UCDP, the IFP now needs to shed the leader.

Zuma's cabinet reshuffle shows his political genius

MANY moons ago, many were charmed and won over by former president Thabo Mbeki's beguiling mastery of prose, but today President Jacob Zuma has offered, for those not blind to see, a different sort of charm.

This is not the hip-yrating, microphone theatrics nonchalantly associated with Zuma, it is something more valuable that has kept him ahead of those who imagine – and prematurely start celebrating – his downfall, convinced that the less-schooled, unsophisticated, stick-wielding rural leader with a penchant for pushing back his spectacles was about to be shown the door.

When Zuma announced his cabinet reshuffle earlier this week, many celebrated the notion that he was willing to act against wayward ministers and had shown a particular zeal and zest that Mbeki and former president Nelson Mandela never showed. Zuma's chess game, for that is what the reshuffle was about, shows a brilliant mind at work, giving meaning to his Project 2012 Re-election.

Zuma, it appears to me, has decided that he wants a second term in office.

He has also decided that he will not make the same mistakes that Mbeki made ahead of the ANC's Polokwane December 2007 conference. Mbeki took his eyes off the ANC internal dynamics, saying ANC members were not stupid and would do the right thing.

Zuma, meanwhile, has shown through the reshuffle that he knows

that stupid things can happen in politics and must act with speed to curtail any moves to remove him from the Union Buildings.

In deciding who got the chop, Zuma, the genius (and I am not being sarcastic), decided to isolate some and start bringing others closer – depending on their relevance and support they bring to the table. Looking at the political kerfuffle ahead of the ANC national general council (NGC) Durban recently, Zuma would have known that the three key constituencies to deal with would be the youth, workers and Gauteng.

He, of course, need not worry about the SACP. So how does Zuma's survival guide find expression in the cabinet reshuffle?

Zuma, it would appear, has accepted that Cosatu boss Zwelinzima Vavi is a lost cause. He will, for now, not waste energy chasing or trying to charm him. He is worried, though, that Vavi could use Cosatu to start a workers' party – which stands a better chance than what Cope has become. The bizarre rantings of ANC secretary general Gwede Mantashe against Vavi and his civil society friends are shared among the ANC's increasingly paranoid top structure, including Zuma.

In order to frustrate this, Zuma sought instead to affirm Thulas Nxesi, an SA Democratic Teachers Union firebrand who still has deep roots within the labour federation. Should the need arise, Zuma could always call on Nxesi and others like him to fight off Vavi.

The point, though, is not that Nxesi is given the nod without any regard to



his competence. It may well be that there is a confluence of competence and political convenience at a critical time.

By appointing two former presidents of the ANCYL – the self-avowed king-makers – to full ministerialships, Zuma has managed to achieve two things: confuse ANCYL boss Julius Malema and also plant seeds of possible co-operation between them, the pre-NGC bad blood notwithstanding.

There was no love lost between Zuma and Malema ahead of the NGC. Zuma's cabinet appointments have made it difficult for Malema and his other anti-Mantashe/Zuma group not to praise him for appointing Fikile Mbalula as the Minister of Sport and Malusi Gigaba the Minister of Public Enterprises. Indeed, Floyd Shivambu of the ANCYL, in a statement after the cabinet reshuffle, responded accordingly, seeing that their idea of a generational mix, which has been long in gestation, had finally been embraced by no less an authority than the presi-

dent. "It is a plausible gift because the principle of generational mix in the leadership of government is now given practical meaning," said Shivambu.

What Shivambu did not say in that statement is that they would now want to see a generational mix in the ANC top six leadership. Zuma has made it a difficult line for Shivambu to utter.

The appointments have already occasioned a language tone-down. If Zuma acts quickly, the tone-down could soon translate into an enthusiastic embrace. Some have said that Zuma has appointed the former youth league chiefs in order to distract them by keeping them busy ahead of the 2012 elections. I think not.

Mbalula no longer has to contend with an insecure, politically junior minister. His current post is less demanding, allowing him time to work to unseat Mantashe if he wishes. But, increasingly, we will see more of Zuma appearing on stage with Malema at ANC events.

When Malema says Western Cape Premier Helen Zille is a cockroach, for example, expect Zuma to act like he did not hear, or even exhibit some filial affection like he did in Seshego, telling people that Malema is a future leader of the party. This in spite of the fact it was he who told the NGC that juniors must respect seniors and that ANC cadres must act in a disciplined manner!

I insist, then, that some in the ANCYL will remain confused because they know Mbalula did not want a full ministerial post as he wanted to be sent to Luthuli House and fulfil his role as

head of campaigns and organising.

But Zuma *et al* know that Mbalula at Luthuli House would be more dangerous politically. Mbalula supporters say it is important he prepares the party for the municipal polls next year but others say he could use that time to prepare for the real thing: 2012.

The axing of Nyanda will anger Malema, the youth and other nationalists. But if they are honest, they will tell him that he is a spent force because he commands no visible, quantifiable support. Despite how decorated he is as a freedom fighter, Nyanda is a political weakling.

In Gauteng, Zuma tried to dislodge Paul Mashatile by appointing Nomvula Mokonyane premier and setting up a contest between them. She failed. By promoting Mashatile, Zuma has done his political atonement. But trust Mashatile not to see the woods for the trees.

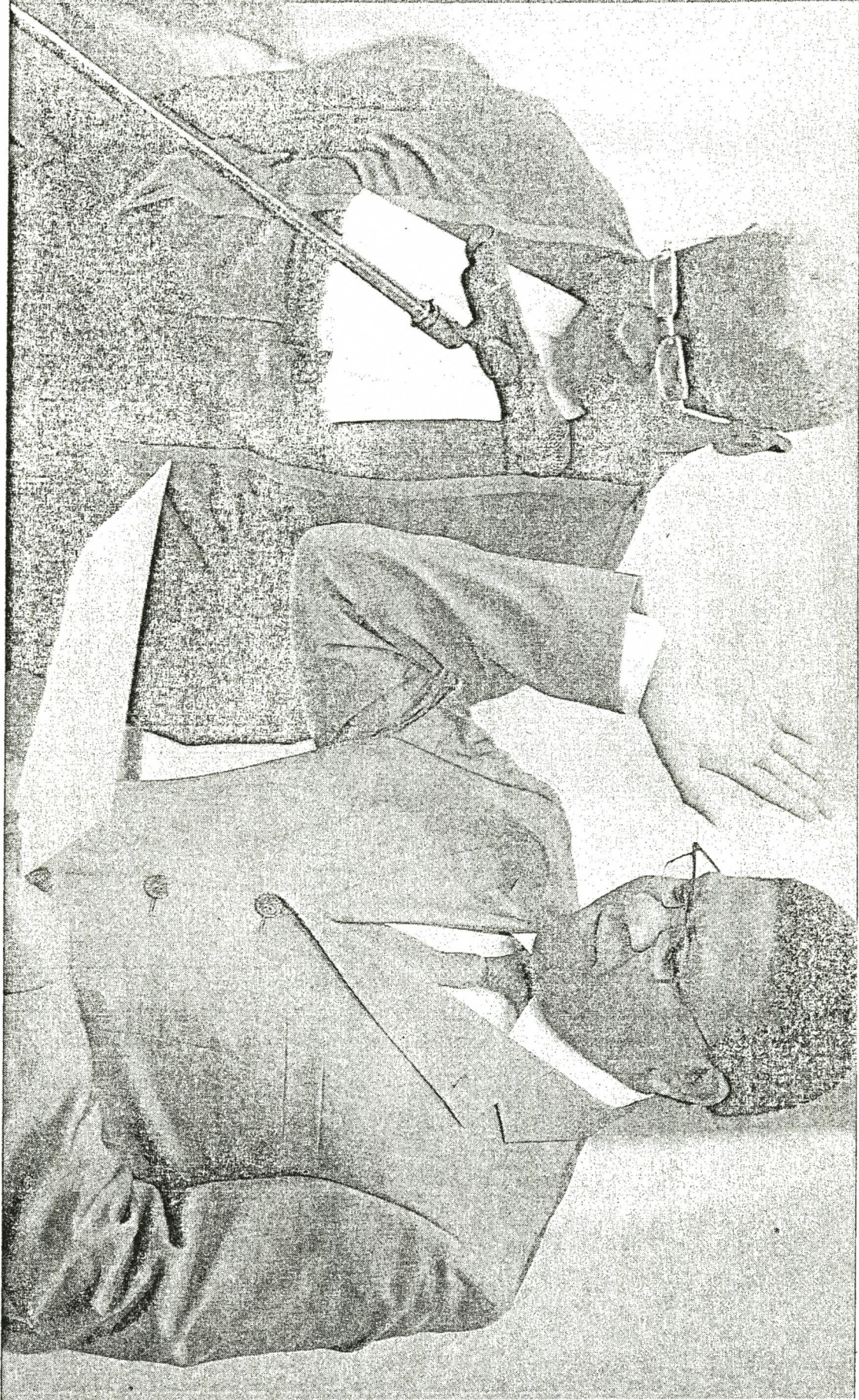
What is important here is that, unlike the prose master who cared little about going out of his way to show the reason why he is politically relevant, Zuma leaves nothing to chance.

The reshuffle helps him isolate Vavi, discard Nyanda, bring closer new power brokers like Mashatile and throw a confusing carrot at the Young Lions.

Mbeki was a wordsmith of note. Zuma is not. He's a tactician of note. He uses skill and guile to outwit his enemies without them realising it. He may not have the words for it, but he does it with panache. At this rate, the genius of Zuma has ensured the second term is well within reach. Or is it not?

A GAME OF CHESS: Chief Justice Sandile Ngcobo sits across from Fikile Mbalia as the new Minister of Sport and Recreation. Through this week's re-organisation of the cabinet, where he elevated two popular former youth league leaders and a unionist - Zuma has shown his intentions of standing for a second term as the ANC president.

Picture: MATTIUS BALON





VIVA VAVI: Zwelinzima Vavi must be admired for his courageous stance to question the ANC, and for speaking his mind.

PICTURE: ITUMELENG ENGLISH

Opinion and Analysis



Last Tuesday, our television screens showed us the spectacle of ANC secretary-general Gwede Mantashe exchanging harsh words with Zwelinzima Vavi, the general secretary of Cosatu.

Are there any implications for us ordinary South Africans in this nasty fight?

Mantashe, on behalf of the ANC, is very angry that Cosatu convened a civil society meeting to declare war on corruption, to combat poverty and unemployment, and to call for an ethical society. The ANC believes it should have been invited.

For his part, Vavi argues that South Africans have a right to assemble and talk about the state of their country without involving political parties or the government, which is what non-governmental organisations did in Boksburg a week ago.

If it was a mere squabble between an angry Mantashe and a perplexed Vavi, few among sober South Africans would be bothered. But this is a fight about whether we as ordinary citizens have a right to meet and evaluate the state of our own nation.

In his wisdom, Mantashe believes that each time civil society meet, the ANC (or the government) must be present. Hopefully, he does remember what the Freedom Charter says: "The law shall guarantee to all their right to speak, to organise, to meet together, to publish, to preach, to worship, and to educate their children."

Why, then, does the ANC allow Mantashe publicly to communicate a message that, in the absence of the ANC or the government, ordinary South Africans do not have the right to speak, to organise, to meet, or to discuss the education of their children?

As a Marxist, Mantashe should be familiar with Rosa Luxemburg's counsel to Lenin: "Freedom only for the supporters of the government, only for the members of one party - however numerous they may be - is not freedom at all. Freedom is always and exclusively freedom for the one who thinks differently."

How, then, could we explain Mantashe's apparent departure from this progressive concept of freedom?

While there could be numerous other explanations, the most compelling seems to be in the dirty politics of post-colonial Africa.

Many things have now occurred to burst the bubble of South African exceptionalism. We are a typical post-colonial African state. In such a society, as Frantz Fanon reminds us: "The state... seeks to impose itself in spectacular fashion. It makes a display, it jostles people and bullies them, thus intimidating the citizen... The single party is the modern form of the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, unmasked, unpainted,

Cry freedom, and let loose the ANC hounds such as Mantashe

Why is it so wrong to meet and evaluate the state of our own nation?

unscrupulous and cynical."

Indeed, this is all too familiar on our continent. It happened in Kenya in the vice-grip of Daniel arap Moi. It was the order of the day in Uganda under that infamous psychopath Idi Amin. Malawi was also not spared under notorious Hastings Kamuzu Banda. And Robert Mugabe is not far from Pretoria.

By demanding that the ANC or the government must always be present whenever ordinary citizens meet, Mantashe may not realise that he is pushing South Africa closer to the single party that Fanon spoke of – a party that bullies and intimidates citizens, and that imposes itself in spectacular fashion.

Mantashe's anger is shocking. It

is as if the delegates in Boksburg were conspirators who convened to topple the ANC government. Those of us who were there can only marvel at Mantashe's capability to manufacture perceptions. Delegate after delegate said, "We are not here to form a political party!" And the organisers of the conference almost sounded like a broken record by repeating this message.

What is wrong with ordinary South Africans meeting to declare war on corruption? Is there something seditious about powerless non-governmental organisations who call for an ethical society? Has the ANC become so insecure that it smells a coup wherever it turns its nose?

In her anti-corruption book, *It's Our Turn to Eat*, veteran journalist Michela Wrong tells a real Kenyan story that perhaps justifies the concerns of the Boksburg delegates: "By the early 1990s, Western executives flying in with plans to invest in Kenya quickly realised that their companies would never thrive... unless a slice of equity was discreetly handed over to a firm owned by a Moi relative, a trusted henchman or a favoured minister."

In South Africa today, do we not know of children or relatives of a politician who occupies a very high office in our government benefiting from lucrative business deals? Or, should civil society keep quiet about it?

Unfortunately, Michela Wrong wrote her book long after Moi had been allowed by the docility of Kenya's civil society to ravage that great African country. Corruption is like cancer; it can best be dealt with before it eats too much into the body of a nation.

Fortunately, Cosatu and civil society did not wait for historians to write: "By the late 2000s, Indian investors flying in with investment plans realised that they could not thrive unless a slice of equity was handed over openly to a Zuma relative, a henchman or a reshuffled minister."

To imagine an anti-corruption meeting of civil society in Kenya, graced by the presence of His

Excellency Daniel arap Moi, would be to mistake a civil society meeting for a diplomatic get-together.

In the same way that the ANC does not invite civil society when it discusses sensitive party matters, civil society should also be accorded the right not to invite political parties when considering what to do about corrupt politicians.

Philosophically, we sometimes need to view South Africa as a moral and ethical society – a perspective that seems alien to many of our politicians.

Those who still have a conscience find it hard to believe the bizarre stories of expensive parties staged by state tender beneficiaries.

Powerful politicians are often

6 -

honoured as "special guests" at such parties where the naked bodies of "hired", poor black women are used as kitchen utensils through which heartless party-goers enjoy their sushi.

Here we witness the dialectic of a corrupt ruling class, the barbarism of ill-gotten wealth and the hollowing out of the essence of humanity.

The continuum is simple: politicians award tenders to their friends, who later invite them as "special guests" to parties where black women are treated as the French treated Sarah Baartman.

To expect that the "special guests" who use poor black women as sushi plates should meet under the same roof with civil society to discuss the construction of an ethical South Africa is as bizarre as it is unbelievable.

Indeed, we know that there are still moral and ethical members and leaders of the ANC. And we are also aware that most of them have been enfeebled by the overwhelming tsunami of factionalism. Suddenly, they can no longer recognise their own organisation.

When the ANC says nothing to condemn evil sushi eaters, why does Mantashe expect civil society to invite political parties into a discussion about corruption and morality?

It is true that the ANC played an important role in the liberation struggle; it is equally true that people do not live in history.

Sometimes an illustrious history can be used by contemporaries to understand the changed character of later-day phenomena. And so should contemporary ANC care never to be different from its former self.

True, what happens to the ANC has little to do with us ordinary folk. We only get concerned when the organisation shows signs that it wants to impose itself on us in spectacular fashion.

When we are told that NGOs are not allowed to meet in the absence of the ANC or the government, we begin to suspect that the organisation is close to making a display, and that it seeks to jostle and bully the people, thus intimidating the citizen.

When we see Vavi being crucified for speaking against corruption, we wonder what happened to the 1955 call for the law to guarantee to all their right to speak, to organise, to meet together, to publish, to preach, to worship, and to educate their children.

When we see Mantashe's angry face on television, we ask if he believes that freedom only for the supporters of the government, only for the members of one party - however numerous they may be - is not freedom at all, and that freedom is always and exclusively freedom for the one who thinks differently.

Hopefully, it will not take long for Mantashe to realise that South Africa belongs to all who live in it, and that we ordinary South Africans believed the ANC when it said it was fighting for our freedom - including the freedom to meet in Boksburg in the absence of the ANC or the government.

■ Mashele is executive director of the Centre for Politics and Research. He is also a member of the Midrand Group

Filthy rich savour sushi at parties, -7- spit in faces of the poor

THE PICTURE of businessman Kenny Kunene enjoying sushi served on scantily clad women epitomises the moral breakdown of a nation. Few will doubt that our high-flying super-achievers have distorted the meaning of freedom and democracy.

We are talking about the state of the soul of a non-sexist and caring nation, here. If that one picture were to be the barometer, it would reveal the elite, especially in the African community, as culturally naked, with no safe moorings or moral compass.

We need to go back to our cultural roots, whatever they are, to nourish our depleted souls and re-energise ourselves.

It was spiritual resilience through prayer and commitment that won us our fledgling freedom and democracy. At heart, we are still a God-fearing and ancestor-worshipping people.

Some of our lucky-to-be-privi-



leged people have been provoked and lured by the Playboy propaganda that exalts hedonistic materialism.

The effect of this has seen some of our leaders propagate the ill-begotten philosophy that "there's nothing wrong with being filthy rich".

When the ordinary folks of this country pursued a very brutal and violent struggle for self-determina-

tion, it was not to worship the gods of hedonistic materialism. The noble struggle led by morally erect figures like Nelson Mandela, Desmond Tutu, Robert Sobukwe, Albert Luthuli, Oliver Tambo, Lilian Ngoyi, Ruth First and thousands of unnamed heroes was not about private opulence while the majority wallowed in poverty.

It is time that we brought the government-sponsored Moral Regeneration Movement campaign and private initiatives like LeadSA to the foreground.

These are moral enterprises that will provide us with tools to steel ourselves against moral corrosion and convince us not to "spit in the face of the poor".

This is the reason why we cannot afford to abandon figures like Zwelinzima Vavi as long as their mission is not to be the next president. At the moment, we have no one to trust but ourselves.

There is some sense of hope that

South Africans have now seen the worst of our society and have had enough.

It is time that we all became agents of what we want to see and resisted the descent into the pursuit of material accumulation where people are judged by the amount of money they carry in their purses.

The remoralisation of South Africa is needed much more now. Let us save both our lost souls and ourselves from moral bankruptcy.

Of course, we did not struggle to be poor. But this does not mean that we desired to be rich in ignorance or indifferent to what the struggle was about: to create a non-sexist, united and inclusive society.

I call this the turning point.

This is what happens in moments when a society is on the brink of moral collapse. This is what necessitates a civil society summit or coalition to reverse the moral breakdown.

To talk about saving ourselves at

-8-

this time means to ask: how do we analyse this present moment to get inspiration and hope that will take efforts to build a non-sexist, non-racial and, above all, caring society to a higher level?

We have to look at what is going on from the vantage point of freedom fighters and defenders of what our democracy should be about.

Money is not everything! Our desire to create a just, non-sexist and morally upright society is what must move us.

It is the ideals enshrined in the Freedom Charter and transcribed into the constitution of the Republic of South Africa that will help create the structures of meaning, feeling and purpose that keep hope and inspiration alive.

As bad as things may seem, we have been through the worst under colonialism and apartheid.

We had socio-economic and political systems that judged people in terms of skin colour or the shape of

their noses. It will be much easier for us to stand up to a society that judges personal worth by the car you drive, the clothes you wear, the address of your home and the amount of money you have in your bank account.

It is a good thing that already we have people who are willing to stand up and speak truth to money power and expose the lies.

We have to bear witness to self-love, justice, equality and non-sexism to build a new cohesive society with improved moral values.

As we face a deeper and deeper moral crisis, the progressives must be heard again.

People are looking to a variety of exemplary actions and voices for moral regeneration and leadership.

For too long, we have listened to people like Phumzile Mlambo-Ngcuka who, as senior cabinet executive, made the chilling claim that "there is nothing wrong with being filthy rich". She was later followed by for-

mer presidential adviser, Smuts Ngonyama, who told us that he "did not struggle to be poor".

Such utterances by former liberation fighters constitute the height of moral irresponsibility that has led to the corrosion of our values.

There has to be a point where this irresponsible speech, especially by political leadership, comes to an end.

It has to stop, now. Or we will all perish as fools.

We have to deal with the advent of a social convention that worships hedonistic materialism.

If we do not, we will end up a house divided against itself where the haves flaunt their riches to the have-nots and the latter desire what they have not and are willing to get what the haves have at all costs.

A future too ghastly to contemplate.

■ *Memela is a civil servant. He writes in his personal capacity.*

Leaders wrangle for power as UCDP

9-

limps into history

GEORGE MATLALA

KNIVES are out for the president of the United Christian Democratic Party (UCDP) Lucas Mangope, who is embroiled in a bitter battle with a group, which includes his sister, over the control of the sinking opposition party.

The fight between Mangope and his sibling, Celia Ditshetelo, spilled into the Mmabatho High Court this week, after the embattled leader fired her and two other senior leaders of the party for refusing to step down as members of Parliament and the North West legislature after their 10-year stint.

Celia, who is the leader of the UCDP Women's League, was booted

out along with the party's chairwoman Sipho Mfundisi and Mavis Matladi, the party's general-secretary.

The trio, who once enjoyed a close relationship with Mangope, is said to be leading a powerful faction that is pushing to oust him. They have challenged Mangope's decision to sack them, saying he had no powers to do so as he had not been democratically elected since 1995. The court reserved judgment on the matter.

The legal battle came after Mangope, 86, dismissed Ditshetelo, Mfundisi and Matladi at the party's all-powerful federal council – which is the highest decision-making body – on October 2. They were accused of refusing to relinquish their posts

as MPs and be redeployed to municipalities where the party has power.

However, the meeting descended into chaos after Mangope's decision was repealed by a substantial number of regional leaders, and saw the embattled leader being escorted by his supporters out of the venue.

Ditshetelo, Mfundisi and Matladi and their supporters then suspended Mangope on October 23 and removed him from the North West legislature at a meeting whose legitimacy is still being contested.

The UCDP, with a strong presence in North West, is one of the country's small opposition parties plagued by leadership battles. It was the official opposition to the African National Congress in the

North West province in 1999 and 2004, but slipped to 4th in the provincial legislature in 2009.

Its internal wrangles come at a time when opposition parties – including the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) and Congress of the People – grapple with leadership battles.

But the similarities between the UCDP and the IFP are striking. They are both regional parties, whose influence is relatively confined to ethnic groups, with the UCDP securing its support base largely from the Batswana, while the IFP has the majority of its support base among Zulus. Their leaders were once powerful figures in the apartheid-sponsored homeland system of Bophuthatswana and

Zululand.

Like Mangosuthu Buthelezi's IFP, the UCDP is struggling to arrest its decline as its leader desperately fights to remain in power.

UCDP administrator Isaac Mahuma, a supporter of Mangope, said the fired trio wanted to remain in powerful parliamentary posts and topple Mangope.

"From the general point of view, they are refusing because they don't want to leave their positions."

Mahuma and Mangope's inner circle believe that the dissenting group wanted Mfundisi to take over the reins as president and Matladi to be his deputy.

But Mfundisi dismissed the assertions that he wanted to take

the throne of the party and insisted that Mangope had no powers to fire him and the other two leaders.

"Mangope has no right as an individual to expel anybody," he said. "Only members of the party can do that."

Mfundisi said Mangope had on three occasions blocked efforts to hold an elective conference in order to remain in power.

"We have been accepting him, but his dictatorial tendencies have resulted in us questioning whether his being there is democratic."

Asked about refusing to leave Parliament, Mfundisi said: "How long has Mangope been a member of Parliament?"

Mfundisi said the party would

11-



CLEANING UP: New minister Bathabile Dlamini says the Department of Social Development is on course to turn the tide on corruption and financial mismanagement. PICTURE: DAMARIS HELWIG

-12-

Travelgate MP vows to fight corruption!

New policy will weed out anyone
making money at taxpayers' expense

THE DEPARTMENT of Social Development is developing a policy which will see its officials being subjected to lifestyle audits as part of a new anti-fraud and corruption drive.

New Social Department Minister Bathabile Dlamini and Coceko Pakade, acting CEO of the South African Social Security Agency (Sassa) – which distributes social grants to the poor – said in an interview that the department wanted to clamp down on officials suspected of accruing wealth at the expense of the department.

“We have included a clause (in the policy) that has to do with lifestyle audits...” said Pakade, adding to Dlamini’s comments that the department had to change

its systems to deal with graft.

Sassa, an important component of the ANC government’s drive to fight poverty, has been plagued by corruption and tender-related fraud.

So much so that President Jacob Zuma earlier this year extended the Special Investigating Unit’s ongoing probe into the agency.

The unit has been at the department since 2005, investigating allegations of procurement related fraud and conflict of interests.

Despite this, last month the auditor-general revealed that the agency had failed to produce supporting documents for the payment of R10.5 billion in social grants in the 2009/10 financial year.

Sassa has also been running

for months without a CEO after the department’s former minister, Edna Molewa, fired Fezile Makiwane in connection with 11 irregular transactions amounting to R10 million in April. The department is yet to appoint a new CEO.

But Dlamini said the department was on course to turn the tide against corruption and financial mismanagement. She said a turnaround strategy had been hedged for the department.

“I am sure in Sassa there are people who want to fight corruption. The Special Investigating Unit has dealt with some people, but not all,” she said.

Pakade said the integrity policy would help root out departmental officials who were linked to suppliers doing business with the department and those who were colluding with suppliers to over-

charge the department for services. The policy will also force departmental employees to disclose their business interests and ensure that they are vetted upon appointment.

“We are still consulting labour unions,” Pakade said, adding that the policy would be taken to the Department of Public Services and Administration once finalised.

Dlamini will be under close scrutiny on how she deals with graft in the department following her involvement in Parliament’s Travelgate scandal.

She, along with other ANC MPs, pleaded guilty to defrauding Parliament of R254 000 in service benefits and mileage claims. She faced a fine of R120 000 or five years’ imprisonment.

Cosatu spokesman Patrick

Craven said the trade union supported the idea of a lifestyle audit, but cautioned that it should not be used to put workers on unpaid leave without solid evidence of wrongdoing.

“We have always supported the idea of lifestyle audits, given the seriousness of corruption. Anything that assists in reducing corruption should be supported.”

Dlamini said the department would introduce a computerised system to recapture more than R14m in applications for grants to detect “ghost” recipients and people who did not qualify to receive grants.

The SIU’s crackdown on fraudulent social grants has already seen the department save R4.5bn and contributed to the removal of more than 130 000 people from the social grants register.

“This is going to be a big project. It could take more than three years,” Dlamini said.

Dlamini said R525m would be needed to turn around the department.

“We want our IT system to pick up the problems... We want our clerks not to create files for spooks,” she said.

Responding to the auditor-general’s finding that the department could not properly account for R10.5bn paid out in grants, Pakade was defensive.

“It is an accounting problem, not financial mismanagement,” he said.

However, Dlamini said the department was hiring accountants to improve accounting standards. “We want to change people’s perceptions about Sassa,” she said.

Fugard lambasts 'betrayal' by Jacob Zuma

MELANIE PETERS

VETERAN playwright Athol Fugard, 73, has lashed out at President Jacob Zuma's government for the high level of corruption and has said he feels "betrayed" and disillusioned by the direction his native country is heading.

He expressed his strong views in a frank interview with a podcast website www.theatrevoice.com which has made headlines in British newspapers.

He was talking prior to the UK premiere of his latest play, *The Train Driver*, at Hampstead Theatre.

Fugard, born in Middelburg in the Eastern Cape, was a key figure in the cultural struggle against apartheid and has often been referred to as "the conscience of his country". His plays are regularly staged here, in the UK and the US.

In the interview he said: "In a sense we have got to start again. It's a very fluid – and a very volatile – situation in South Africa. On my side there's a sense of betrayal.

"I hate to name names but men who I thought would stand up and speak out against the degree of corruption and everything that's going wrong in our country simply concern themselves with getting richer.

"Look at the degree of corruption in high places in South Africa. Desmond Tutu has gone on record time and time again and said to us fellow South Africans that we have lost our way. He is absolutely right."

Fugard is the latest high-profile person to speak out about South Africa's ongoing ills.

He joins the ranks of other influential people who have spoken out on crime, corruption and, more recently, the proposed Protection of Information Bill. These include

Tutu, Nadine Gordimer, Max du Preez, Andre Brink, Pippa Green and Breyten Breytenbach.

Fugard said: "I have to live with an appalling sense of betrayal in terms of the present government in South Africa. When I think of the moment when Nelson Mandela came out of jail, and when I think of that day I stood in a queue a mile long under a blazing sun to cast my vote in our first free general election... when I think of that day and the euphoria that swept through the country that we were going to really get it right and turn our backs on the appalling past and be a truly open democratic society with compassion and a sense of justice – that's not the case."

He said the situation meant he had no plans to retire.

"The new South Africa needs committed playwrights who are prepared to bear witness to what is

going on every bit as urgently as the old one did. The essential responsibility lies with young playwrights and I'm not sure I can see them rising to that challenge – that's what disturbs me."

Fugard described his current play as "perhaps the most important play I've written".

"It's the emotional journey I've travelled in dealing with my inherited legacy of South African prejudice and what you do with that blinkered vision of reality."

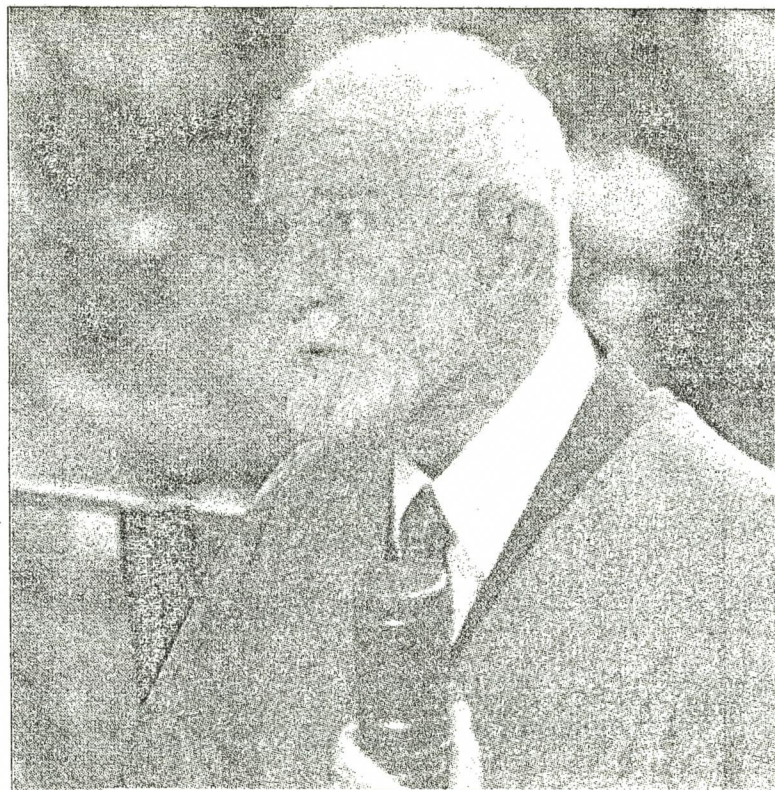
Responding to Fugard's views, writer Andre Brink said he fully endorsed what the playwright had to say. "Athol knows what he is talking about. He is fully rooted and totally loves this country. He, like so many of us, feels betrayed by the present regime."

Veteran playwright and theatre director Nicholas Ellenbogen, however, described Fugard's comments

as "naive". He said Fugard, based in California although he still has a house in the Eastern Cape, had been out of the country and was not fully aware of what was going on. "I understand where he is coming from but I don't concur. Yes, Jacob Zuma is not the finest president and he has a lot to answer for. But we are dealing with our issues in our own slow and ponderous way. I work in the rural areas and the townships and things are happening."

He said there was corruption everywhere, including the US and Britain, at a very sophisticated level. "We have to have faith; there are a lot of young writers but it is not easy to break through. There is a very hard wall. Athol is a profound thinker and I am a great fan but I have a problem when people far away point a finger at us. He is wildly out of touch and that can be seen in several of his latest plays."

-15-



ANGRY: Playwright, director and actor Athol Fugard. PICTURE ROGAN WARD

Ngithandaziseni ukuze kube nobulungiswa ku-IFP'

MDU NCALANE
Ebika eseSahlumbe

KUCACE okwekati elimhlophe ehlungwini ukuthi uSihlalo kazwelonke we-IFP, osefake iqembu lakhe eNkantolo eNkulu, unamaqhinga anzulu enqubekelaphambili ngekusasa lakhe lezombusazwe.

Lokhu kucace izolo eMtshezi, eNtabamhlophe naseSahlumbe ngesikhathi uNkk Zanele Magwaza-Msibi ehambele lezi zindawo ebingelela abalandeli bakhe.

Akukho mihlangano ebihleliwe kumbe ama-rally kodwa bekunabantu abebeyizixuku ezindaweni ezehlukene abezihambela.

Into abeyikhuluma nayo icacele noma ngubani ukuthi ngeke aliphonse ithawula uma imchitha iNkantolo eNkulu yaseMgungundlovu ngoLwesihlanu njengoba efake iNkatha enkantolo eyiphoqa ukuba ihlalise ingqungquthela ezokhetha ubuholi obusha kuleli qembu.

UNkk Magwaza-Msibi ucele abalandeli ukuba bamthandazise ukuze

izindlela zakhe zibe mhlophe ngoLwesihlanu futhi babe naye nangezinhliziyo ngoba akwenzayo uthi ukwenzela amalungelo abo okuzikhethela kuleli qembu.

"Ngidinga ningithandazise ngoLwesihlanu ngoba engikwenzayo ngikwenzela ukuthi kube nobulungiswa eqenjini lethu esilithandayo. Ngikwenziswa wukukhathalela niina ukuba ningahlushwa kodwa kube nentando yabantu, angikwenzi ngoba ngithanda kodwa yingoba sengehlulekile wukubekezelela. Ngiyanithanda futhi ngiyayithanda iNkatha, iqembu lethu," kusho uNkk Magwaza-Msibi.

Uthe abalandeli abangalahli ithemba ngokwenzekayo bese beyengeka uma beshelwa ngamanye amaqembu. "Awukho umuzi ongenantuthu yakhona. Nathi sinezinkinga njengamanye amaqembu kodwa bekezelani sekuzolunga. Uma kungalungi-ke ngoLwesihlanu sesobona ukuthi siqhubekele kanjani phambili," kusho yena ngelikhulu iqholo.

UKaMagwaza ukhwele wadilika kubalandeli abebemeseka ababonakale beshisa izikibha zeNkatha ngoLwesithathu enkantolo wathi lokhu kukhombisa ukungalihloniphi iqembu.

"Kumele sibe ngamalungu ahloniphayo nakhombisa ukulikhathalela iqembu noma kunzima



USIHLALO kazwelonke we-IFP, uNkk Zanele Magwaza-Msibi, ekhuluma nabalandeli bakhe ngesikhathi ehambele izindawo ezahlukene eMtshezi naseWeenen izolo lapho ekhuze khona labo abashisa izikibha ze-IFP

Isithombe: SANDILE MAKHOBA

kangakanani," kunxusa uNkk Magwaza-Msibi.

Ubehamba nojenga lwezimoto ezihlala phambili ilandelwa ngobeyiMeya yaseMtshezi osanda kuxoshwa yi-IFP kulesi sikhundla uMnuz Maliyakhe Shelembe, kube ngeyeMeya yasoKhahlambag, uMnuz Vikizitha Mlotshwa, nabanye abaholi bempawo.

Lolu jenga luqale eShell Ultra-City eMtshezi lwabheka eNtabamhlophe lapho lujiqe khona emngcwabeni womunye womaskandi, maqede lwabuyela emuva lwangena edolobheni lwagudla lubheke eSahlumbe emcimbini wokugubha

ukuwina kumaSatma kweqembu likaStanley Dladla Abafana bakaDladla.

■ Khonamanjalo, uShelembe ukhala uyazithulisa ngempendulo kaMengameli we-IFP, uDkt Mangosuthu Buthelezi, ethi nguyena owayegovuzwa abalandeli abashisa izikibha ze-IFP enkantolo.

"Kushiswa izikibha nje mina ngangisengaphakathi enkantolo. Ngangingekho kwalapho kodwa ngaphuma uSihlalo esezokhuluma nabantu sezishiswe zaze zaphela nalezo zikibha. Kuseyishwa lami kwalokho ngoba namanje kuthiwa ngixoshiwe ebuMeyeni kodwa

angikanikwa izizathu ezingixoshayo. Ngezwa kuthiwa umasipala wami angiwuphethe kahle kodwa ngisho noMcwaningi-mabhuku akakaze athole chashazi ngezimali zawo. 'Yini-ke engingayiphethe kahle?' kubuza uShelembe.

UMengameli we-IFP ucashuwe ethi kuyacaca ukuthi labo abashisa izikibha beseka isiqu somuntu hhayi inkolelo ethile.

Uthe kuyamkhathaza ukuthi izindaba ze-IFP sezinekw ezinkantolo, wathi emuva kokuba uSihlalo ebaphose enkantolo akasenathemba lokubuyisana.

Ushaye omunye uthulamsindo uMsholoji eqhathulula ongqongqoshe

UKUQHATHULULA umuntu kuhlale njalo kuyinto enzima. Noma ngabe wuthekeni osuphushe naye isikhathi, mhlawumbe uscabha wakho uma ungusomatekisi, mhlawumbe umuntu okusizayo edladleni noma i-comrade lakho elingaphansi kwakho ezinhlakeni zamaqembu. Ngingabala ngithini?

Izazi zezokuphatha zithi uma uzokhulula umuntu ongasamdingi kufanele leli thesho elibucayi ulishaye ekuseni lingakaphakami ilanga, ungakenzi lutho olunye.

Le nto abayishoyo futhi inomqondo uma usuyibheka. Cabanga nje usungume waqeda ukuthi kuyaphela namuhla phakathi kwakho noNozibanibani uthi usahlezi ukhokha umoya avele aqhamuke nesiphuzo sakho osikhonzile noma nje akungene ngengevu namancoko. Angithi sekuzoba nzima kakhulu ukuqeda ngaye?

Noma ngabe ubusuzitshelile ukuthi uyamshela namuhla umuntu wakho ukuthi asehwamukile aphela amanzi lapho abemi khona kodwa kuba lukhuni satshe uma uke wawayinda iwashi ulokhu ushaya uzamthilili. Kwesinye isikhathi kuvele kube sengathi kukhona omshelile, avele akugxumele akushaye ngesingasukumi phansi isinqanda lesi. Noscabha uvele aqhamuke neshaga labazalwane ngale nkathi umshayeli ethi uzomgabha athathe omunye. Kungakho-ke kukuhle ukuthi umuntu umkhulule ekuseni.

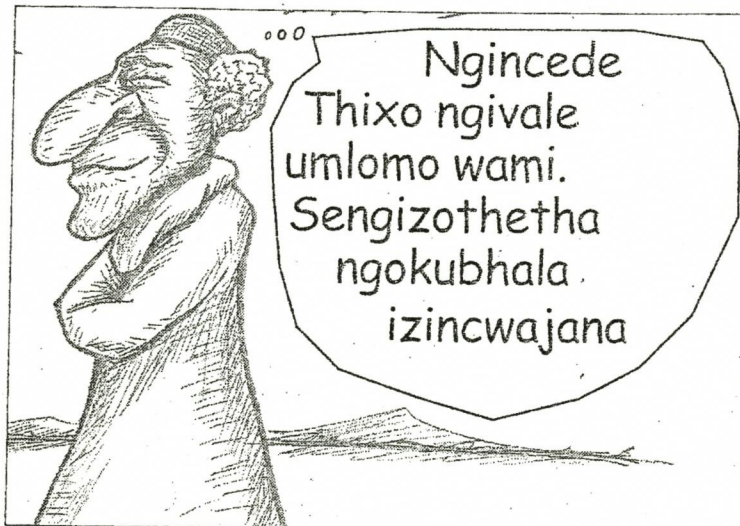
Cishe noComrade JZ uthwale kanzima kanje njengoba bekufanele "abatshale kabusha" abanye osqoko abebengenzi kahle kweminye iminyango kahulumeni. Kodwa-ke bekungekho ukujikela emva kwendlu ngoba phela nantu ukhetho emnyango.

Into exakayo ngokudilizwa komuntu wukuthi thina baThakathi bezindaba beSolezwe zisuke sesizazi kudala lezo zindaba, yize phela izikhulu

kuloba
uShwabs
Shwabada



Umthakathi wezindaba



zisuke zingakathandi ukuziqinisekisa. Lithi liqambe ligcwala umoya endodeni ibhantshi kube sekuyimfihlo eyaziwayo. Abanye-ke baze bathi yithi bantu bezindaba esixosha noma esixoshisa abantu noma esixabanisa izithandani.

Abaholi abaningi namasoka amaningi la emnyango angafunda lukhulu kuJZ. Phela le nkalakatha yesoka ibaqhathulule kamnandi abantu. Ishaye uthulamsindo kwajika kwangathi akwenzekanga lutho. Omunye uMengameli ubezogxotshelwa itoyitoyi kuvumbuke imilindelo nama-Friends of Nozibanibani nezingqungquthela ezivuthayo koPolokwane.

Inkinga-ke esibhekene nayo la eMzansi wukuthi bayanda futhi ngesivini isikhulu kabi abantu bamabhantshi anomoya. Abanye bayazigxumela uma sekushisa estikini bashiye izikhundla abanye bathathe umhlalaphansi wesibili njengalo "mbhishobhi omncane" owabonwa wuComrade Mugabe, uTutu Uma singaya emhlalweni amakhosi angafike

ashaye yena uTutu ngeshoba athi nguye ovimbile ukuthi abantu asebhophelelwe wushatini basixolele bathathe umhlalaphansi wangempela.

UTutu ufike wathatha umhlalaphansi esontweni, kodwa waqhubeka nepolitiki. Kuthe uma isimshisa wase ememezela ukuthi uyasigxuma istiki sezepolitiki. Wazisholo yena wathi usezothula athi tu-tu, azidlele impesheni neshathaphu ngemuva kokusika le khakhe ngosuku lwakhe- lokuzalwa. Kwake kwavuma kodwa ukuthi athule? Cha. Nangu phela esebanga umsindo ngencwadi evuthayo ethi izingane zabantu azingayi kocula kwa-Israel, azigxobe itoyitoyi.

Omunye osanda kungiphuphisa kabi wuComrade T-bos. Uke wathi ukuhoba kancane ngemuva kokugabheka kubuka amehlo omhlaba ePolokwane. Kuke kwangathi ujoyina le genge ehlele iklwebhane yodwa yeShikota kodwa wabuye wazikhuphula esebona ukuthi imoto yezepolitiki ayidumi kanjeya uma izohamba.

Nangu manje esequbuka nespaza sakhe senhlango ehambe eluma epholisa njengendwane elinamadevu angwevu.

Bakhishiwe-ke oComrade Mdladlana nabanye. Ungichazile kodwa ngoba ukuxoshwa kwakhe ukundlalele ngomunye umjitha. Uqale waqhathulula lo Mqondisi wakhe oqhahazayo, uJimmy Manyi, ngaphambi kokuthi naye akhonjwe indlela.

Phela laba bantu uma singabhekile bazogcina sebeshintshana ngeminyango kahulumeni njengabaqegeshi laba abagcogcoma emaqenjini ebhola. Ubhayizane womqegeshi ufike abhacaze bese eyozidlisa satshanyana kwelinye iqembu athembise imilingo yodwa. Lapho-ke thina balandeli kuthi asiqhume wukuthukuthela ngoba phela uma eseqokiwe umuntu, thina singamqhathulula kanjani? Uma sishisa izihlalo noma siphosa amaklabishi enkundleni kuphinde kulimale thina.

Kwezepolitiki-ke kungconywa ngoba ikhona into umuntu angayenza uma engagculisekile ngabaholi kodwa nakho kuncane. Kungcono ukube njengoba kuza ukhetho nje ngonyaka ozayo ikhansela nekhansela lizimele ngokwalo, hhayi indaba yokucasha ngenhlalngano. Abanye obhayizane babaholi bebezozibona ukuthi bafana nobani. Bebezoke bavotelwe wumndeni nezimpintshi zabo abaqhumuza nazo amathenda kuphela.

Inkinga uye uthi uyaqalaza kule nzangane okuvotwa ngayo uvele ungaboni nje ukuthi ungalufakaphi uphawu lwakho uma ungalufaki lapho ujwayele khona.

■ Sengicishe ngiyakhohlwa ukubonga kulo sistaz obesibhalela kamnandi ingosi kaPhola ngeSonto, uLungile Landela. Siyabonga kakhulu ngamagama nezeluleko zakhe ezakhayo nezikhuthazayo. Kodwa-ke okungapheli kuyahlola, besekufike isikhathi sokuquko.