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President Mbeki's Departure Was Inevitable

“President Mbeki’s latest adventure to appeal the Nicholson judgement both in his personal capacity and as head of state does nothing for either himself or our society, and it only serves to confirm the correctness of our position. “

At its first meeting, the National Executive Committee of the ANC Youth League resolved to ask for the recall of Thabo Mbeki as President of the Republic of South Africa. This is a resolution we took seriously and worked relentlessly to ensure that its realization sees the light of the day. Contrary to what those who have arrogated themselves the task of being our conscience have said, this resolution was not driven by any personal vendetta against President Mbeki, but by principle.

The never-ending persecution of the ANC President, Cde Jacob Zuma is a blemish that will forever characterise President Mbeki's term as a President of the Republic. Not only was Zuma

subjected to an unbelievably protracted investigation that spanned almost 8 years, he was humiliated and subjected to the court of public opinion and a trial by the media. Long before he had his day in court, he was charged, tried and found guilty in a well-orchestrated court of public opinion. This is a grave injustice that has never been part of the ANC's vision of the nation-state envisaged by the national democratic revolution.

Indeed, we have made the assertion that President Zuma's prosecution has nothing to do with the arms deal as we have been made to believe, but everything to do with a political campaign to block his ascendancy to the highest office in the land. State resources were been used shamelessly in

order to advance partisan political ends.

It is instructive that President Mbeki saw it fitting to dismiss Cde Zuma as a Deputy President of the Republic merely on the basis of association with Shabir Shaik. It is clear, President Mbeki had concluded at that time that the ANC President was guilty and was therefore not deserving of public office. When Glen Agliotti was found guilty of serious criminal activity and the National Police Commissioner, Jackie Selebi was directly implicated in his shenanigans, the President did not hesitate to protect his own by suspending Vusi Pikoli in a bid to stop the investigation on Selebi. As if that was not enough, he went further to extend Selebi's contract for another year while a cloud of a

serious criminal investigation was hanging over his head. The Ginwala Commission proceedings have laid bare this convoluted conspiracy and lent credence to our assertion that state resources have been used in unprincipled political campaigns.

In a strange twist of irony, President Mbeki and his Cabinet lambasted the judgement handed down by Justice Nicholson as drawing inferences on the President and his Executive while they were not cited as a party to the trial. If it was correct for him to dismiss President Zuma on the basis of mere inferences and association, why should the rules change when it comes to him?

The Scorpions have been the principal instrument in this political campaign whose mandate was to deal the ANC President, Jacob Zuma, a debilitating blow to his political career. So desperate were they to please the master they committed glaring mistakes and “limping from one disaster to another”, borrowing analogy from Justice Qedusizi Msimang when he struck the Zuma case off the roll. The Browse report, which went to the extremes of intelligence gathering, is yet another piece of the puzzle that confirmed this desperation to destroy the ANC President. If we are to believe that this was not part of the conspiracy against Zuma, why is it that nobody was ever held accountable and dismissed for their role in the compilation of the Browse report? Vusi Pikoli in this instance is simply cannon fodder and a distraction from the real issue.

In an unprecedented move, President Mbeki honoured a sitting Chief Justice, Pius Langa, when he awarded him the Order of Baobab for outstanding service well above and beyond

the call of duty. While we do not question the Chief Justice’s bona fides, the act of granting him a national order while still in office is clearly inappropriate. The fact that this honour was awarded on the eve of the Jacob Zuma trial makes it extremely difficult for anyone to brush this off as a mere coincidence. It reinforces our belief that the campaign to eliminate Jacob Zuma from South Africa’s political landscape has not left the judiciary unscathed. It had become clear that judges were being lobbied to assume a particular posture in relation to the Zuma trial. When comments such as those attributed to Dikgang Moseneke are made by judges, no less a judge of the Constitutional Court, we must be very afraid. Afraid that the project to build a nation-state where all its citizens are equal before the law may be sailing in troubled waters.

The power President Mbeki wielded as a head of state placed him in a unique position where, in providing leadership, he was able to make decisive political interventions where he believed such interventions were in the interest of the country. He chose not to make such interventions in relation to Jacob Zuma and acted in a manner that suggested that he had no intention to do so.

Our call to the ANC to recall President Mbeki was premised on the belief that his latter-day actions as a head of state were no longer consistent with the mandate he derived from the ANC, but rather served to undermine the very ANC he supposedly serves.

In his judgment, Justice Nicholson wrote, “*If there was a prima facie case of serious corruption against the Deputy President there were, in my view, no reasons of public policy why he should not have been*

prosecuted simultaneously with Shaik. Its failure to do so brought justice into disrepute. The NDPP should either have charged the applicant or made no mention of a prima facie case of corruption...” This pronouncement by the learned judge goes right to the heart of our contention and the basis of our unstinting support of the ANC President. An important organ of state allowed itself to be used as a pawn in an elaborate political chess-game and in the process circumvented the very principle of the rule of law it is mandated to uphold.

President Mbeki’s latest adventure to appeal the Nicholson judgement both in his personal capacity and as head of state does nothing for either himself or our society, and it only serves to confirm the correctness of our position.

Notwithstanding, President Mbeki’s outstanding leadership in many other areas of our socio-political and socio-economic life cannot be wished away, and we similarly acknowledge his contribution in building a nation-state that seeks to respond to the ideals of the national democratic revolution. He was a leader of the movement, whose role and contribution is firmly ingrained in history, alongside his fatal flaws that were to be his undoing. It is not up to us to pass judgement on him, but history will be the ultimate judge.

We must express our profound appreciation to the Ministers of the Cabinet who heeded the call of the ANC to remember that their primary allegiance is to the movement rather than individuals and rose to the occasion when the ANC re-affirmed its desire to see them continuing their work where they are deployed as Ministers. Trevor Manuel’s

disciplined resistance to attempts to project him as bigger than the ANC leadership is worth our appreciation. At a time when he could have allowed the media to flirt with him and inflate his ego, he remained loyal and steadfast to his deployment.

It is now time to get down to work and heal the wounds that have been inflicted by this

most painful episode in the life of our glorious movement. Let us make a firm commitment to the unity and cohesion of the ANC and work towards rebuilding the movement steeped in the values and traditions of its founding fathers.

As we approach the 2009 general elections, we must rally behind our glorious movement and return it to power with an

overwhelming majority in order to ensure continuity in the task to improve the lives of our people.

Julius Malema
PRESIDENT: ANCYL



Sudan's Sovereignty Must Be Respected

“The Members of the UN Security Council and the Prosecutor are well aware of the steps taken by the Sudan to quell the flames of war in Darfur when it signed the comprehensive Peace Agreement with the Southern Sudan and the Darfur Peace Agreement in Abuja, the Eastern Sudan Peace Agreement in Asmara and the Cairo Agreement, all with the view to save the blood of the Sudanese people.”

The last few months have witnessed an escalation by ICC Prosecutor Luis Moreno-Ocampo against the Sudan when he asked the judges of the pre trial Chamber to issue an arrest warrant against Sudanese President Omar al-Bashir on allegations of genocide and war crimes in Darfur during the past five years. Ocampo continues to plot against the Sudan since the UN Security Council asked him to deal with the Darfur question in accordance with the UN Security Council Resolution No 1593. Last year he made accusations against two Sudanese nationals accusing them of committing war crimes and crimes against humanity in Darfur. One of the two Sudanese nationals is a minister in the Federal Government.

UN Resolution 1593 was based on the report of a fact finding commission formed by the United Nations Secretary General at the time, Kofi Annan, to investigate into allegations of mass killing in Darfur. The commission concluded that there was no systematic

targeting based on race with the view to eradicate and that being propagated on genocide in Darfur. Thus the allegations made by Ocampo upon which he accused President al-Bashir of a crime that did not take place in the first place, become nothing more than hearsay and since the adoption of the Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court, Sudan viewed the issue with an eye of suspicion, particularly after the US exempted itself from it and guaranteed that its citizen, soldiers and officials would not stand before that court. Therefore the Sudan has not ratified the Rome Statute and thus Sudan is not a party to the court membership.

The demand of the ICC prosecutor is considered a serious infringement of the sovereignty of the Sudan as a member of the United Nations and is a serious precedent in the International law, which guarantees the sitting head of the state immunity against such a farce. This is why the Sudan has taken a clear stand rejecting

this attempt and called on all countries to condemn such a conduct that undermines its sovereignty and incite anarchy. Which also our own country South Africa has done well to defend Sudan's sovereignty in this regard.

The Members of the UN Security Council and the Prosecutor are well aware of the steps taken by the Sudan to quell the flames of war in Darfur when it signed the comprehensive Peace Agreement with the Southern Sudan and the Darfur Peace Agreement in Abuja, the Eastern Sudan Peace Agreement in Asmara and the Cairo Agreement, all with the view to save the blood of the citizens of the same homeland. Those efforts have been crowned with the signature of the General Elections Act that shall guarantee the peaceful exchange of power. These developments clearly demonstrate that the allegations of Ocampo will only serve to undermine and put all these efforts as well as the

security and stability of the country and the region at risk.

We have been following with great concern attempts by some of the members of the Security Council such as Britain, France and USA, to issue such an indictment seeking to humiliate Sudan and its people who have refused to succumb to western pressures. It

is to be noted that the United State of America has done everything in its power to ensure that its citizens are exempted from the jurisdiction of this court, because it is painfully aware the court will not be immune from politics. However it is still pressing ahead to implicate Sudan and its President in this important court,

whose credibility is undermined by its very actions.

However numerous brotherly and friendly countries around the world have expressed their concerns, their denunciation against such attempts and expressed their rejection for the move taken by the ICC persecutor.

**Andile Lungisa is the Deputy President of the ANC Youth League*

Free Education Is No Pipe Dream

Former President of the ANC Comrade Nelson Mandela had this to say on importance of education “Education is the great engine of personal development. It is through education that the daughter of a peasant can become a doctor, that a son of mineworker can become the head of the mine, which a child of farm workers can become the President of the great nation. It is what we make out of what we have, not what we are given, that separate one person from another”

On 15 August we had with delight participated in Kliptown, in the Launch of education and health as to be the priority of ANC for the next upcoming five years, the most striking feature was the actual venue of the Launch in that 53 years ago Congress of the People consolidated the demands of the whole and crafted the society which we all strive for in the very same venue we were launching priority of education and health. Among the content of People Congress was their resolve that doors of learning and culture must be opened; higher education and technical training shall be opened by means of state allowances and scholarships awarded on basis of merit, they said this because they had understood very well that educated and cultured nation is the prosperous nation and that education and culture

are the cornerstones of developmental state and the most critical heritage we need if we were to meaningfully participate in the economy and economical transformation of this country, they knew that education and culture was the arsenal our society needed if masses of our people were to be their own liberators and crafters of their future.

The venue was striking in that as a social agent of change we are compelled to demand critical assessment of the extent and commitment in not only realizing the above mentioned clause of the Freedom Charter; but further to interrogate as to how far we are in realizing fundamentals of creating an educated nation that crafts its own future and is prepared to liberate itself beyond access to political rights.

We should then agree that this cultured and learned nation can only be built if and only if doors of learning are opened and accessed by the whole regardless of their race; class. As a result we call for free education up until undergraduate level because it is consistent with the expression of the whole in People’s Congress. However; this discussion of free education warrants careful consideration as it has become common (even in our ranks) to come across statements such as; “free education is not physical

or sustainable,” some only throwing slogans or songs without concrete program of realizing free education. We have also seen some of us avoiding at all costs the discussion on realizing free education without adequately engaging the ramifications of failing to equip the generations to come.

The appropriate entry point is to agree as we should at ideological, political and organizational level that higher education or FET qualification has become a primary liberation in the 21 century as compared to a grade 12 certificate as it was 53 years ago. We should further agree that denial of education amounts to trapping the majority of our people whom remain black and poor into permanent circle of poverty as they are not either skilled or educated, continuity to deny them education on the basis that they are poor literal translate into subjecting them into permanent dependence into state and further subjects them into mentality that they are second class citizens whom are destined to be poor and must accept their under-development and hope that someone would come and rescue them from poverty.

If we are convinced that education has become a necessity and therefore knowing concrete conditions of our people it can only be accessed if

it is made accessible and free, the next level is to then develop a programme as to how we are to educate our nation. It would be reckless therefore to premise this discussion by saying we do not have enough money for reason that if this mentality is to be allowed, then we also be told that better life for all is not possible we do not have money; apartheid would have not been defeated if we thought that we did not have enough machine guns; women on 1956 would have not marched against pass laws on thinking that government is to unleash state repressive machinery. We are required as we have always done to pursue a revolutionary action with a revolutionary theory with must contain a bold concrete program not without its risks. We are convinced that if we invest the same zeal on combining brains and energy as we have done on collapsing Scorpions and invest same resource as we have done on arms deal, 2010 projects and Gautrain free education can be attained. The above mentioned projects were realized not out of excitement but for reason that they were viewed as being important and therefore prioritized at this instance we argue that the same priority must channeled in realizing free education and the historic conference of ANC in Polokwane agreed.

It is equally imperative that freeing of education must also mean freeing of its content for we know that South African higher education from its own conception was created to be one institution which is to entrench the legacy of oppression, discrimination, marginalisation by white capitalist elite over Africans in general and blacks in particular and this was not by accident of history but in contrary it was

human engineered as to suppress the accumulation of information, knowledge and education among black people.

Certain exclusive institutions were enacted to produce the white intelligentsia and few black elite, in order to perpetuate the social imbalances. These were centers of knowledge production to sustain the neo-liberal capitalist agenda, while on periphery existed the institution which were established in order to cater for students who are from poor and working class background it was deliberately designed to be that their curricular be Euro centric and never to be to be responsive to communities where they were situated and to create and sustain cheap and vulnerable labours for white capitalist elite. These institutions were to instill dogmatic mentality that Africans are incompetent, violent, corrupt and unable to manage their own affairs. These institution were closely guarded to produce certain type of graduates, just enough in order to be on permanent labour of neo-liberal capitalist regime and collaborate in sustain the inhuman system of the day.

Among the immediate of “we want free education now” campaign content is an overhaul of the curriculum into creating a curriculum that is responsive into the needs of the South African community. This curricular must be responsive, creative and innovative it should be able to produce economist that understand the relation between politics and economy, quality surveys that understand the housing shortage and living conditions of South Africans, a teacher that teaches the history of resistance to colonialism and apartheid and not how Jan Van Riebeeck brought civilization in the Cape. This curricular must

produce employers and not only employees it must compel every student to undergo a compulsory community work before his or her qualification can be recognised.

We must not shy away into saying that part of transforming higher education is naming of our institution consistently with society we seek to create. It can never be correct to say we want to create a caring, transformed, prosperous and progressive society yet name institutions whom are tasked to pioneer the very same project to be named after those who were diagrammatically opposed to creating such society as it the case with Cecil John Rhodes University; the argument that this name has become a brand must be rejected we cannot be named after terrorist that butchered our people. Who went further to say; “I will lay down my own policy on this Native Question? Either you receive them on an equal footing as citizens, or call them a subject race. Well, I have made up my mind...that we have to treat the natives, where they are in a state of barbarism, in a different way from ourselves. We are to be lords over them; the native is to be treated as a child and denied the franchise.”

We also cannot whether how much it is tempting afford to reserve the truth, the truth cannot be reversed, we cannot apologise for this because it is true that Mangosuthu Buthelezi was an apartheid imbecile and collaborated with apartheid government in oppressing our people. He was further funded by blood monies to keep our people away from centre of production and confine them on bantustan and reserves therefore he does not deserve an institution of higher learning to be named after him, in fact he must answer in International

Court of Justice for crimes against humanity.

It must also be recorded that struggles of transforming higher education and free education campaign cannot be viewed as SASCO struggle but it must be effort of all forces of

change struggle, matched with this is to understand that student's struggles cannot be detached or isolated from objective realities that confront our broader societal struggle in particular youth struggles. The dialectical link of student

struggles with youth and societal struggles should be understood hence our strategic perspective is that we seek to transform society in general and higher education in particular

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