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**ANC NATIONAL CONFERENCE 2017**

**Ramaphosa  
leads but  
DD aces it**

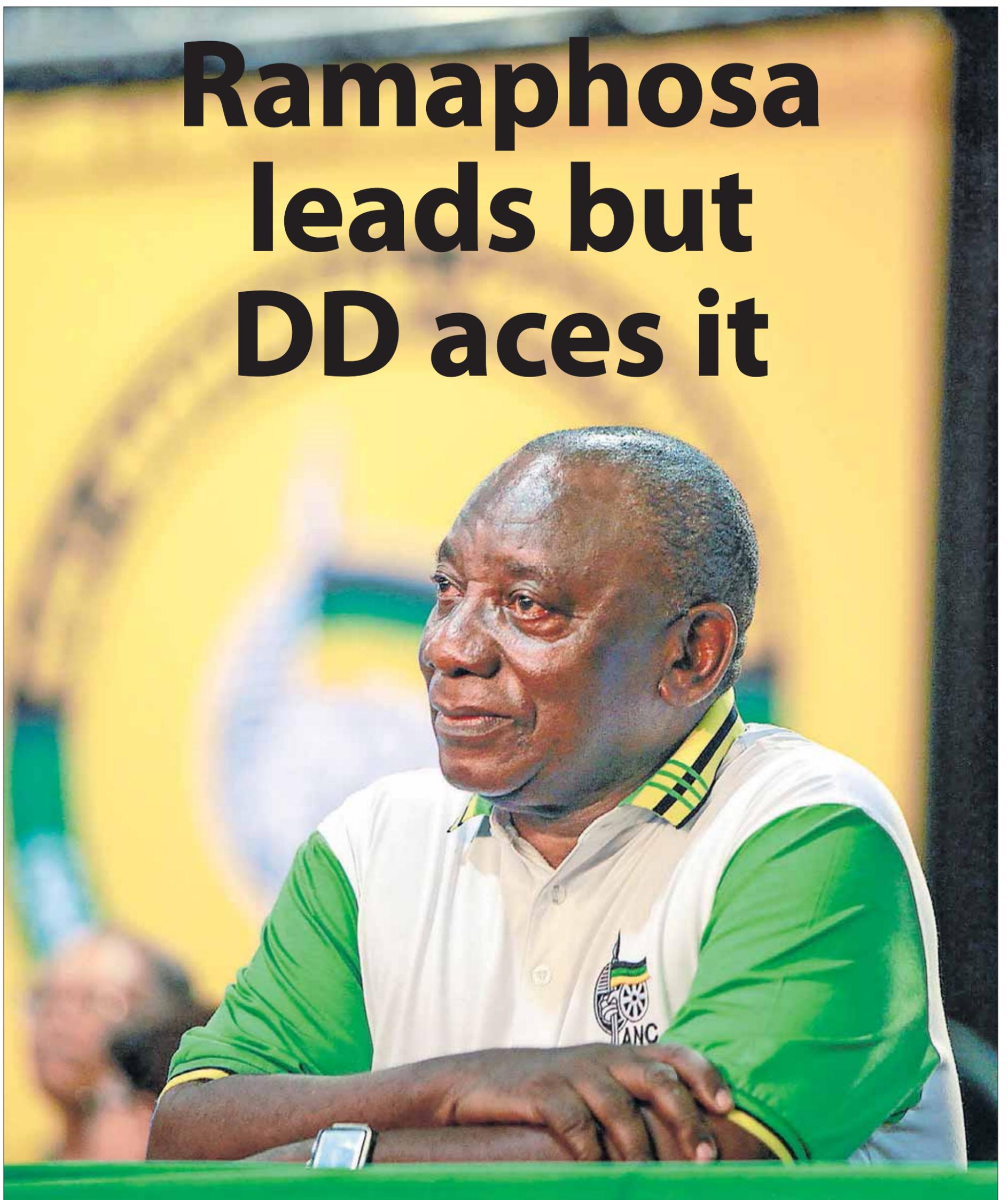


PHOTO: OUPA NKOSI



## ANC National Conference

## Slates dashed in top-six election

Some see the election of the top six as one of unity that will solidify the ANC but others fear links to state capture have been retained

M&G Political Reporters

**C**yril Ramaphosa has been elected ANC president in a dramatic election for the party's top six officials in which its branches appear to have rejected slate politics.

But the failure to elect a woman as either president or deputy has been described as a setback for achieving gender parity in the party's — and the country's — top office.

The ANC Women's League president Bathabile Dlamini, secretary Meokgo Matuba and Small Business Minister Lindiwe Zulu were locked in a meeting immediately after the results were announced. The league's leadership was deliberating on how to respond to the election of only one woman to the top six.

Ramaphosa was elected along with two members of his slate — national chairperson Gwede Mantashe and treasurer general Paul Mashatile. Secretary general Ace Magashule, deputy secretary general Jessie Duarte and deputy president David Mabuza were all on the same slate as Nkosazana Dlamini-Zuma. Ramaphosa received 2 440 votes compared with Dlamini-Zuma's 2 261.

Mabuza and Mashatile are understood to have played a key role in convincing branches to elect across slates — and the two emerged as the most popular figures with the voting delegates. They secured the highest number of votes, with Mashatile getting 2 517 votes and Mabuza 2 538 votes.

Enoch Godongwana, the ANC's former head of economic transformation and a key figure in the Ramaphosa campaign, said the way branches voted showed that they had rejected slate politics.

"The good thing is that the branches have not elected a slate. This is a very positive development," he said. "There was no consensus. It did not go according to slates in the way they voted. We hope we can sustain this unity."

The rand gained some ground on the dollar in response to Ramaphosa's election, who campaigned on an anti-corruption and anti-state capture ticket.

But the election of Mabuza, Magashule and Duarte, all of whom have been linked to either state capture by the influential Gupta family or other corruption scandals, may thwart Ramaphosa's corruption-busting agenda.

In contrast, Eastern Cape chairperson Oscar Mabuyane said it would be "impossible" for the three to block initiatives by Ramaphosa. "There is no ANC president that can be neutralised by any office. That is the highest office in the ANC. We need a very strong, effective ANC president to do his work and marshal all the other forces of the ANC."

KwaZulu-Natal ANC chairperson Sihle Zikalala said the branches had broken away from slate politics in their voting patterns.

"This is not a slate. This is a balance," he said. "For me, the mem-



**Victorious:** The top six members (from left to right) are Jessie Duarte, Ace Magashule, Gwede Mantashe, Cyril Ramaphosa, David Mabuza and Paul Mashatile. Supporters cheered as their preferred nominees took to the stage — with one, (left) having got one of two of his preferences. Photo: Oupa Nkosi



bers of the ANC have rejected slates. They've embraced all."

He said the outcome was an indication that the branches were unhappy with the divisions in KwaZulu-Natal, caused by the extended conflict between himself and former chairperson Senzo Mchunu.

Mchunu lost the battle for secretary general to Magashule by only 24 votes.

"For us in KZN, we believe that it is not a sad day but it's a good lesson. It's a lesson that divisions undermine your strengths. In 1997, when we were united, we ensured those who we nominated are elected. In 2002, the same happened. And in Polokwane we were united and ensured our views emerge. And in 2012, at Mangaung, we ensured that those we nominated emerged," he said. "But today, because of that divisions, we were unable [to have our views emerge]. If you come [to conference] divided, this is what you [get]."

ANC Youth League president Collen Maine said the youth wing, which supported Dlamini-Zuma, would not challenge the outcomes of the election.

"We support the elected leadership and Ramaphosa is part of that collective. It's a collective," he said. "We are

a democratic organisation and we have always said that we will accept any outcome."

Before announcing its preference for Dlamini-Zuma in June the youth league had made it clear that it wanted a woman as the next ANC president, saying it believed the move would bring much-needed change in the party.

But not only had the ANC failed to elect a woman to lead the party, it also had one less woman among the top six.

Maine remained measured on whether he found the minimal representation of woman disappointing.

"We accept the outcomes as they

are. The constitution of the ANC is very clear about its composition [of the national executive committee, NEC] being 50-50, so we are confident that the composition will be reflected because it's a constitutional matter," he said.

Former ANC president Jacob Zuma looked shocked and horrified when Ramaphosa's victory was announced, his face contorting as he sat dead still without clapping. He had earlier kept the delegates entertained with his trademark songs while they waited for the electoral commission to announce the result.

The announcement was delayed for some time while a recount was carried out, apparently at the request of provincial employees to the commission from the provinces supporting Dlamini-Zuma.

Dlamini-Zuma sat quietly when the result was announced, remaining in her seat while clapping gently. But she jumped to her feet in jubilation, clapping furiously, when Magashule's narrow victory over Mchunu was announced.

Mchunu's supporters started carrying him on their shoulders

to the stage, mistakenly thinking that he had won. A stony-faced and clearly embarrassed Mchunu found Magashule waiting for him. He then walked off stage.

The *Mail & Guardian* has seen a copy of Dlamini-Zuma's planned acceptance speech, in which she would have announced the immediate establishment of the long-awaited judicial commission of inquiry into state capture.

"The president of the Republic will be drawing up terms of reference, which will include spelling out that this investigation should date back to the apartheid government," the speech read.

Earlier this year the ANC took a resolution to have Zuma establish the inquiry but soon found itself frustrated after what appeared to be delay tactics on his part.

Labour federation Cosatu welcomed Ramaphosa's election in the face of "naked attempts to stop him from ascending to the presidency", it said in a statement.

"This new leadership collective has a mammoth task of healing the deep divisions that have widened over the last 10 years.

"We expect them to work hard to rid the organisation of factionalism and corruption that has threatened to collapse this more than a century old organisation and ultimately derail our revolution.

"We also expect the new leadership collective to revive our revolutionary alliance."

Some of Ramaphosa's supporters are already pushing for a resolution in the new year to have Zuma recalled as president of the country.

The battle will now move to the 80-member NEC, the highest decision-making body between ANC conferences.

## The voting by numbers

**President**

Cyril Ramaphosa 2 440  
Nkosazana Dlamini-Zuma 2 261

**Deputy president**

David Mabuza 2 538  
Lindiwe Sisulu 2 159

**National chairperson**

Gwede Mantashe 2 416 votes  
Nathi Mthethwa 2 269

**Secretary general**

Ace Magashule 2 360  
Senzo Mchunu 2 336

**Deputy secretary general**

Jessie Duarte 2 474  
Zingiswa Losi 2 213

**Treasurer general**

Paul Mashatile 2 517  
Maite Nkoana-Mashabane 2 178

## ANC National Conference



Working-class hero: The residents of Kanana Park attribute the fortune of having four walls for their families to call home to the outgoing president of the ANC, Jacob Zuma. Photos: Oupa Nkosi

# Not all rejoice over Zuma's departure

To the people of Kanana Park, he is a father who liberated them from a miserable shack existence

Lucas Ledwaba

**E**lizabeth Lihloka weeps quietly and wipes the tears from her eyes with a cloth. "I'm crying because of Zuma. He helped us."

After a long pause she says: "Bye Zuma, because you gave us houses." She is sitting in the lounge of her two-bedroom RDP house in Kanana Extension 3 near Orange Farm, south of Johannesburg.

Zuma delivered his final address as ANC president at the opening of the 54th national conference of the ANC at the Nasrec Expo Centre near Soweto on Saturday.

He leaves office with his reputation in tatters and a dismal track record that is arguably the worst of an ANC president since the party came to power in April 1994.

Under his leadership the party lost a large number of supporters — and three metros — in the 2016 local government elections. The tripartite alliance has all but crumbled. The divisions in trade union federation Cosatu led to the formation of a breakaway rival federation and the South African Communist Party finally lived up to its long-held threat to contest elections on its own. The ANC itself has become deeply divided and warring factions are increasingly going to court to settle internal disputes.

But in Kanana Extension 3, Zuma is hailed as a hero. It all started in May 2010 when he made an unannounced visit to Sweetwaters, a poverty-stricken informal settlement.

He later told the President's Co-ordinating Council he had been moved close to tears by the squalid, deplorable conditions. He didn't stop there. He promised to change conditions there by providing housing and services.

On Saturday, when Zuma delivered his swan song, Lihloka was in the home she has occupied since 2013. The Gauteng provincial govern-



ment and the City of Johannesburg developed the Kanana Park housing project after Zuma's visit. The project, which includes the building of 3101 houses, incorporates the Thulamntwana, Sweetwaters, Doornkuil and Bhekaphambili informal settlements.

Colourfully painted houses have replaced the ramshackle structures made from cardboard, corrugated iron and wooden boards.

To the residents, the shadow of Zuma's dodgy friends the Guptas,

his hand in the collapse of the state-owned enterprises and the downgrading by international credit rating agencies mean nothing at all. To Lihloka, he saved them from the indignity of life in shacks.

"When it rained, we could not sleep because our shacks leaked. Life is good now," says an emotional Lihloka, who heard the news of Zuma's stepping down on the radio.

Timothy Qiqimani, 59, never believed he would ever have a house of his own. He lived in a shack in

Thulamntwana with his four children for nearly 20 years. He had lived in a single-sex men's hostel during the apartheid years. But, in the late 1980s, he joined other migrants to set up shacks in Thulamntwana. Later his children joined him from the Eastern Cape.

Now he lives in his own RDP house not far from his daughter Ntombekhaya's own RDP house in Extension 3.

"This is my first house," says the 35-year-old mother, who has three

**Sweet, my man: Timothy Qiqimani (above right) never imagined that he'd have a home of his own and now he lives in an RDP house not far from his daughter, Ntombekhaya Qiqimani (above left). Elizabeth Lihloka (left) is mourning the end of Jacob Zuma's leadership of the ruling party because he helped her to move from a shack to her own house in Kanana Extension 3. Photos: Oupa Nkosi**

children. "I never believed I would ever own a house of my own. Zuma has helped us."

Qiqimani says life is better now but he is worried about reports of corruption in government. "He [Zuma] has delivered even though there is corruption. We support the ANC no matter what. We know they are messing up and they are eating alone. But we support them."

Ntombekhaya, who survives on income from piece jobs and social grants, says her greatest wish is that the ANC conference can bring jobs.

Qiqimani says it doesn't matter who becomes president, he just wants to see the ANC continuing to lead.

Although Zuma will go down in history as the weakest, worst and most destructive president in the history of the 105-year-old liberation movement, in Kanana Extension 3 he will always be revered because of the houses that were built.

"He is our father. He gave us houses," says Lihloka. — Mukurukuru Media

## ANC National Conference

## 'Anarchy is on the rise in the party'

The former secretary general criticised the ANC for using its members as voting tools

Govan Whittles

**T**he ANC's membership has been corrupted by rapid increases come election time and declines during the remaining period, and is being used by recruiters to bolster support for factions competing for national positions.

This was the assertion by Gwede Mantashe in his final organisational report as secretary general.

A creeping phenomenon of the losing faction collapsing a conference once it appears to have lost has entered the ANC, and this led to chaos in the organisation, he said.

"In most cases, this tendency is supported and co-ordinated at a national centre where the core of the

faction resides. The incoming NEC [national executive committee] must make concerted efforts to deal decisively with [this] and stamp out this problem. Anarchy is on the rise and tends to be rewarded."

The party has 989736 members, an increase from the 769870 it recorded at its national general council in 2015.

"A trend that should concern is that of membership recruitment being intensified towards conferences, mostly as a mechanism for provinces to garner more delegates. Hence membership fluctuations that makes our membership look suspect in terms of the basic understanding of the organisation," Mantashe said in his report, delivered to the conference at the Nasrec expo

centre in Johannesburg on Monday.

"The trends indicate that our membership picks up around conferences and drops around national general councils. Literally, it means membership is treated as a tool for voting. Such membership, in the main, has no political life in the ANC. This accounts for why branches battle to form a quorum," Mantashe added.

This is the first time the ANC has admitted that its members are being used by their leaders to get votes. Mantashe also acknowledged the high-handed control of the organisation by the "dominant faction".

"A common feature of factionalism is that a dominant faction behaves as owners of the ANC that does everybody else favours. This reduces the organisation into a bargaining platform for factions. The word 'majority' gets factored into the vocabulary of the movement although no voting takes place. Every meeting, in this

situation, becomes a shootout," said Mantashe.

In his diagnostic report delivered at the national policy conference in July, Mantashe lamented the political bankruptcy of ANC members and poor political education. He said this political bankruptcy was caused by the presence of "bulk membership recruitment" and the absence of "bulk political education".

In the first organisational assessment of the social media campaigns undertaken by the presidential hopefuls in the run-up to conference, Mantashe stressed the urgency of developing a social media policy, saying ANC members were at each other's throats.

"It is in this space that comrades attack and insult one another. We forget that beyond the conference we will need one another."

His report also warned that if the ANC leadership failed to manage

succession, and insisted on everyone's right to contest for any position, the party would start to emulate the United States's electoral system.

"Americanisation of campaigning, with full regalia and big cash flows, is beginning to take root. T-shirts bearing preferred candidates abound across the provinces, seriously impairing the organisation in the process. The culture and tradition of the leadership of the movement managing succession to the benefit of the ANC, instead of individuals, is dying. Comrades tend to opt for the narrow approach of advocating for the rights of individual members to elect and be elected. In the long term we are going to end up with a system of primaries with all its anomalies."

The solution to this, Mantashe said, is to develop "strong policies on internal democracy, rather than hoping to subject those who disagree to disciplinary processes".



Final words: In his last press briefing as the ANC secretary general, Gwede Mantashe joked about his healthy, though tense, relationship with the media. Photo: Oupa Nkosi

## Gwede's last mantash as secretary general

Govan Whittles

Gwede Mantashe's 10 years as secretary general of the ANC was defined by ill-disciplined members who didn't follow the party rules, a breakdown in collective responsibility and a tumultuous relationship with President Jacob Zuma, he said on Monday.

Mantashe's biggest headache, however, was dealing with party members who launched court actions against the mother body without first consulting the ANC's leaders, he said when he spoke to journalists in his final address as secretary general.

Later, on Monday evening, Mantashe was elected national chair-

person at the ANC's conference at the Nasrec expo centre in Johannesburg.

In a wide-ranging question and answer session about the ANC's future and his relationship with Zuma, Mantashe remained true to form — dodging difficult questions and refusing to reveal any details of how his relationship with the president broke down.

"Don't compile a diary of disagreements. We have come to this conference as outgoing leaders of the ANC, both myself and President Zuma," Mantashe fired off at a journalist when asked how his relationship with Zuma deteriorated to strictly professional engagements.

"As we work, it's not a personal relationship — it's a professional

relationship. You try to keep it at that level because, if you don't, you are likely to make more mistakes trying to appease each other on a personal level," he said.

"You can have all the problems with President Zuma but he will not have a problem in talking to the masses of the people. That's a rare gift; sometimes you can be an intellectual and lose that aspect. It's very critical," he added, refusing to be drawn into criticising Zuma.

His remarks were a U-turn on his comment to the *City Press* newspaper, where he explained in detail how he only communicates with Zuma on ANC matters, despite a long, friendly history of working with him.

Mantashe accepted personal

responsibility for the decline in discipline among ANC members and the increased tensions between competing factions but stressed that collective leadership had to shoulder most of the blame.

"I'm serving in a team, so I also take personal responsibility for anything and any failure that happens in that team. Every leader brings personal attributes to the collective. Your personal activism as an individual should have helped you contribute more. So I'll take that blame," Mantashe said.

He also had advice for his replacement, saying that his office needs to frequently interact with journalists. He explained that the secretariat was not only tasked with administrative

duties but also with responding on behalf of the entire organisation to the public.

"I said: sometimes, if a journalist writes an incorrect story, call them and ask them about it. It's important to engage with the media at all times," he said.

As for the future, Mantashe said that he was well aware that the national chairperson position is not a full-time one, leaving him with more free time.

But Mantashe will probably stay out of the government. He described himself as a party political person.

"When I step out of that ANC conference I will be unemployed. So if you're looking for an editor, I'm available," he joked.

## ANC National Conference

# We need to talk about Jacob

Zuma's legacy after his 10 amoral years at the helm of the ANC is one of distrust among comrades and the destruction of integrity, democratic processes and the ability to self-reflect

Vukani Mde

**T**he tenure of Jacob Gedleyihlekisa Zuma as president of the ANC has come to an end. His presidency of the country will continue to limp along for a while — weeks, maybe months — but probably not the 18 or so months our electoral schedule allows him to stay for.

His fate in that arena will be decided in the next few weeks by a combination of factors — including the new ANC leadership, the party's electoral prospects, various court processes and whatever still has to slither out of the ethical sewer that is the #GuptaLeaks emails.

For the ANC, however, the reckoning is here. The circle that was opened in Polokwane closes this week at Nasrec. The ruling party must now assess the legacy of Jacob Zuma as its president. It doesn't have far to look. All around us at Nasrec, the ruinous inheritance of Zuma's 10 years at the head of the ANC lies bare for all to see. The mess that the conference itself descended into is testimony to this.

Before the conference had even convened, it was obvious something unprecedented had happened to the integrity of internal ANC processes. Two of the party's provincial executive committees (PECs) — representing the Free State and KwaZulu-Natal — had their status stripped by courts of law, which denied them the right to govern over ANC structures and barred them from participating in the Nasrec conference. In addition, the largest region in a third province, North West, was also asked to stay away.

This was up from just one PEC barred from participation in the last conference in 2012, and zero back in 2007.

Interestingly, all the successful court challenges were brought in the so-called "premier league" provinces, where the provincial party bosses are allies and cronies of Zuma, and were expected to corral provincial delegates to support former African Union chairperson — and his ex-wife and handpicked successor — Nkosazana Dlamini-Zuma. This is not coincidence. It is a sign of the destructive approach of the Zuma cabal to basic democratic norms, more evidence of how little they care for laws, rules and processes. That applies as much inside the ANC as it does in the state.

The court judgments barring the two Dlamini-Zuma PECs came close to the start of conference and thus attracted the most attention, but they are only the latest in a trend that has become established during Zuma's second term in office.

Everywhere one looks, ANC inter-

nal processes are beset by problems and challenges to their legitimacy, and court judgments are as likely a final arbiter of leadership contests as conference voting. This trend points to a significant deficit of trust. Increasingly, members of the party do not trust their own comrades, their leaders or even the rules of engagement for settling internal disputes.

In his political report to the conference, Zuma referred to this trend but, of course, in a manner in keeping with his tenuous hold on the reality that most of us take for granted.

"We also frown upon the subjection of our internal organisational matters to court processes. ANC members should use internal dispute resolution processes. Judges should not be asked to dictate ANC organisational processes and the direction of the movement," said Zuma.

He further pointed to a previous decision the ANC had made — albeit at a time when there was less distrust of ANC process than there is now — that members who took the party to court in effect "defined themselves outside the ANC", whatever that was originally intended to mean, and berated the party for its failure to "implement" this resolution.

There was little or no attempt to understand what the constant legal challenges meant for the perceived legitimacy of ANC rules, or that of those charged with enforcing them.

**O**f all the deleterious aspects of Zuma's legacy in the ANC, this is perhaps the most significant: in 10 years of disastrous and amoral leadership, the ruling party has lost all capacity for self-examination. This is why most have waited in vain for the start of the party's mythical and supposedly inevitable "self-correction".

Self-correction is a result of self-criticism, and self-criticism itself results from self-examination. Under Zuma, the ANC has become the hapless victim of malign forces, foreign powers, enemies, fifth columnists, the media, and every other external influence you can think of. Nothing is of its own doing; no problem is ever self-inflicted. This is pretty much Zuma's personality, which has imprinted itself on the ANC. And it is not obvious whether this unfortunate trait will cease to be a part of the ANC's DNA when Zuma is gone.

One of the paradoxes of Zuma's time as ANC president is that a man who came to power largely through the efforts of the South African Communist Party (SACP) and labour federation Cosatu was, in the final analysis, the catalyst for the decisive collapse of the tripartite alliance. This is because in office Zuma pur-



What's new? When Jacob Zuma became the ANC's president in 2007, there were calls to halt the criminal probe into him. As he ends his rule, he still faces the 18 charges of corruption. Photo: Mujahid Safodien

sued a deeply sectarian and factional programme that had little to do with the ideological aims of the ANC and its alliance and everything to do with Zuma's need for maximum wealth accumulation and the consolidation of narrow patronage networks.

The blame for this — or at least for the failure to foresee this inevitable outcome — lies with the alliance partners.

In the rush to get back at Thabo Mbeki for his marginalisation of the alliance, neither Cosatu nor the SACP bothered to commit Zuma — at the time the only viable path to defeating the Mbeki third-term project — to a minimum policy programme with measurable outcomes and clearly defined consequences for deviation. It would prove to be the biggest and most expensive blank cheque the alliance has written in favour of the ANC since the dawn of democracy.

It is instructive that the ANC's two main allies have chosen to play a more muted role in the party's 2017 succession — the bitter lessons of 2007 have sunk in.

Cosatu did endorse Cyril Ramaphosa as their preferred successor to Zuma but it expended none of the overt energy it invested in the latter's campaign 10 years ago. This is surely a deliberate strategy as well as the predictable result of Zuma's

efforts to weaken and neutralise the alliance partners.

Zuma understood better than his allies that the path he would follow as president would inexorably drive a wedge into the heart of the alliance. He moved stealthily to neuter the power of the two organisations to hold him in check and to impede his ability to control the succession in a way that served his interests. Stealthily, because as recently as three years ago Cosatu was still doing his bidding, happily destroying the unity of the organised workers' movement to rid it of all resistance to the Zuma project.

Today the federation is a shadow of its former self; weakened, divided and unable to help Ramaphosa even if it still had the will to be a significant player in the palace politics of the ANC.

**F**or its part, the SACP refused to even endorse anyone. It also took the unprecedented step of contesting the ANC in elections (the Metsimaholo by-election), something the party had steadfastly resisted doing for a decade in the hope that the ANC could still be relied upon to pursue a pro-poor governance agenda.

Perhaps Zuma's most significant legacy for the ruling party has been on its electoral fortunes. It is here

that the wrecking ball has been at its most destructive.

The 13th president of the ANC took a party that commanded 70% of voter support (in the 2004 general election) down to 62% in 2014, and 54% just two years later in the 2016 local government polls. As part of the bargain, he lost the party a large chunk of its urban base, leading to the loss of most of the country's biggest cities.

It is a matter of great doubt whether the ANC can regain the trust of these urban voters. I am not even persuaded that electing Ramaphosa would be enough on its own to reverse the tide. Urban voters aren't just merely angry about Zuma's malevolent rule. They have been failed by the ruling party quite apart from Zuma's ruinous stewardship of the state, not least of which is its failure to halt his wicked advance through our politics.

Ramaphosa or Dlamini-Zuma, the urban working class is all but lost to the ruling party.

It is my prediction that the breaking of their relationship with the ANC will be Gedleyihlekisa's longest-lasting legacy.

Vukani Mde is a founder and partner at LEFTHOOK, a Johannesburg-based research and strategy consultancy

## ANC National Conference

# 'We were lied to'; 'It was cooked'

Lobbyists on either side of the CR17 and NDZ campaigns describe their emotions, exhaustion and their view of the conference

### Athandiwe Saba

**T**he factions have finally become one but not everyone is happy with how the chips fell. Behind the scenes for months, lobbying and deal-making has been the order of the day for the CR17 and NDZ factions. After three days at the 54th ANC conference the votes were finally tallied and the horse-trading either paid off or has left them burnt.

The *Mail & Guardian* spoke to delegates (who preferred anonymity) on both sides who ran the machines that were the Cyril Ramaphosa and Nkosazana Dlamini-Zuma campaigns.

### Nkosazana Dlamini-Zuma's lobbyist

The ANC MP was defeated despite her team travelling the length and breadth of the country lobbying,

making promises and bargaining for her to be the first woman president of the ruling party.

One of her lobbyists said: "I'm super fine, there is nothing that we did not do. We believed in her and we don't feel we backed the wrong horse."

He said there were numerous sleepless nights, especially in the last two months, but the exaggerated proximity to former president Jacob Zuma was her Achilles heel.

"Throughout her career she was never a proxy for Zuma and all of a sudden the media made this a central part of her campaign."

But he conceded that KwaZulu-Natal and the "premier league" were not the best partners in NDZ's campaign.

He highlighted the difficulty in raising money. "Provinces like the 'premier league' guys had just enough money for their own provinces and not enough for the

central campaign. That dealt us a blow."

But the past 24 hours, he said, were the worst, with extreme highs at the beginning to hearing rumours that the Ramaphosa camp was to interdict the conference.

Time dragged on. Credentials were finalised and voting had to finally begin. His spirit, he said, was still high at that point.

The feeling of fear started creeping in about seven hours before the final announcement was released.

"By that time I began feeling scared and I was really unsure what was going to happen. At times I thought my stomach was going to start running. Anything could happen," he said.

He started suspecting they had lost when he saw "creepy smiles" on the faces of Ramaphosa's supporters.

"The messages with numbers were being passed around but I needed the official announcement. I had people quite high up saying we had lost. But people lie all the time."

When the final announcement was made he said he understood and, though disappointed, was looking forward to seeing how the new "mix

masala" top six was going to work out.

"DD [David Mabuza, the new deputy ANC president] sold us out and lied to us and so did Ace [Magashule, the new secretary general]. They know what uMama had in store for them but they have no idea what Cyril will do to them."

### Cyril Ramaphosa lobbyist

Though Ramaphosa won the election, the backroom lobby is not happy with the top six outcome. One Gauteng delegate, who has been lobbying for CR17, explained that he had attended many conferences and this, the 54th, "was cooked".

He said Ramaphosa's campaign message was simply to save the ANC.

"Cyril has a particular posture that he has communicated to us in the country and to the international community. He has shown that he is the best candidate, incorruptable and truthful.

"Our campaign has strictly been to renew the ANC and bring back the honour of the party," he said.

After months of work and lobbying, especially at branch level, at least two of the supporters' main candi-

dates were voted into the top six.

"We wanted Paul [Mashatile, the new treasurer general] and Cyril. We got them but they can't lead alone, so we will have to make do with the combination we currently have."

But the relief that came after the announcement has not evaporated the 24 hours of panic and sleeplessness he experienced.

"We were here all night and I still haven't slept. It was one of the most gruelling voting processes, with so much running behind schedule. Naturally in any process in a campaign there is a point where you think that you are winning and then you see the other side smiling and dancing and then you feel scared again."

He said they constantly had to do head counts to make sure they had the numbers. "It was an extremely stressful and worrying process."

Even though the ANC president is Ramaphosa, the lobbyist is very concerned about how the swing votes seemed to fluctuate.

"This conference was arranged. This outcome arranged. There is nothing like this in the history of the ANC."

## Top six mix 'will bring a downgrade'

### Lynley Donnelly & Lisa Steyn

News that Cyril Ramaphosa had been elected president of the ANC on Monday evening pleased the currency markets at first, with the rand/dollar exchange rate improving slightly after the announcement.

But it quickly lost some of its gains as the market digested the other appointments for the top six, to which only two of Ramaphosa's preferred candidates made the cut.

Some analysts have called the make-up of the ANC's highest officials "a disastrous combination" and "good news for the opposition", while others believe unity has won out.

The rand to the dollar had improved to R13.10 over the weekend in anticipation of a Ramaphosa win. On Monday, while votes were being counted, it improved to 12.80 and upon announcement of the win, it went to 12.60. But, within half an hour it had weakened to 12.75.

It is yet to be seen how the stock and bond markets will react upon opening on Tuesday morning.

Economic strategist at Argon Asset Management, Thabi Leoka, said the market was clearly anticipating a Ramaphosa win, given that the rand/dollar exchange was at a six-month low in the run-up to the announcement, and so had positioned itself well.

"I think the outcome is a strike of genius for the ANC ... I guess unity happened," Leoka said. "It will be interesting to see if Cyril Ramaphosa will be able to push through policies he wanted to push through with a unity top six ... policy is determined by the ANC and not by individuals."

Azar Jammine, chief economist at Econometrix, said the combination of leaders in the top six was a "disastrous combination" despite Ramaphosa's win. "It is a recipe for continued paralysis and I think we

can now definitely expect a credit ratings downgrade."

Although the rand had rallied on the results, Jammine did not expect this to be sustained.

It could be argued that taking the leader position was the most important win, but the role of secretary general — now held by Ace Magashule — was a very powerful position in the ANC, said Jammine. Similarly, having David Mabuza in the post of deputy president meant that there was likely to be little action on corruption, he said.

Both members of the "premier league" are seen as controversial. Magashule is the long-standing premier of the Free State — presiding over the province when the Gupta family allegedly fleeced a dairy farm project to fund a lavish Gupta family wedding at Sun City. Allegations of corruption and other wrongdoing have also dogged Mabuza, the premier of Mpumalanga.

It was now highly unlikely that Jacob Zuma would leave his position at president of the country before his term ends in 2019, said Jammine.

"Opposition parties — both the EFF [Economic Freedom Fighters] and the DA [Democratic Alliance] — are probably rubbing their hands in glee," said Jammine. "This is terrible for the ANC."

Political analyst Ralph Mathekga argued that this conference was, in reality, won by Mabuza, who got more votes than Ramaphosa. Mabuza won his post with 2538 votes.

Ramaphosa narrowly won the presidency with 2440 votes against opponent Nkosazana Dlamini-Zuma's 2261 votes.

The return of "very problematic" members of the top six such as Jesse Duarte and Gwede Mantashe, who have presided over the deterioration of the ANC under Zuma, meant it was going to be very hard for



**Pointing the way:** Cyril Ramaphosa's supporters celebrate his election as ANC president but analysts, economists and business leaders' views were a mixed bag. Photo: Oupa Nkosi

Ramaphosa to convince voters that the top six had changed, according to Mathekga.

To make it worse, he argued, controversial figures such as Magashule and Mabuza had been added to the mix.

"This is just good news for the opposition," Mathekga said. "We have to ask ourselves who, on this top six, controls the levers of power in the ANC, and David Mabuza has more power than anyone else."

Ramaphosa, who has been seen as a "market friendly" candidate, was now likely to face resistance when it came to driving economic policy. He "would be seriously moderated" when it came to policy formulation, argued Mathekga.

"This means radical economic transformation is going ahead. It will be in moderation but it is going ahead," he said.

George Herman, director of Citadel Investment Services, said Ramaphosa's key challenge as ANC president will be to deliver economic policy certainty to regain investor confidence.

Business organisations responded positively to the announcement of the ruling party's leaders.

Business Unity South Africa (Busa) chief executive Tanya Cohen said in a statement that business stood ready to work in partnership with the newly elected leaders. But, she said, they would need to take decisive steps to build business confidence and to have a practical plan of action to address economic woes.

Business Leadership South Africa congratulated the top six and called on them to provide regulatory certainty and policy stability that would accelerate and deepen transformation.

The South African government bond yield — the benchmark interest rate the government pays to borrowers — also improved, reaching 8.85% by the time the bond market closed at 5pm. Trade will open again on Tuesday morning.

Certain stocks with higher exposure to the economy, such as retailers and banks, also saw share prices increasing before the market closed on Monday.

**"This is just good news for the opposition. We have to ask ourselves who, on this top six, controls the levers of power in the ANC"**

## ANC National Conference

# uBaba's left us two Dark Lords

The *Mail & Guardian's* series of satirical first-hand accounts of the ANC's national conferences through the eyes of insiders continues with another delegate update, this time from a Gauteng Cyril Ramaphosa-supporting delegate, **Hennessy Tabane**

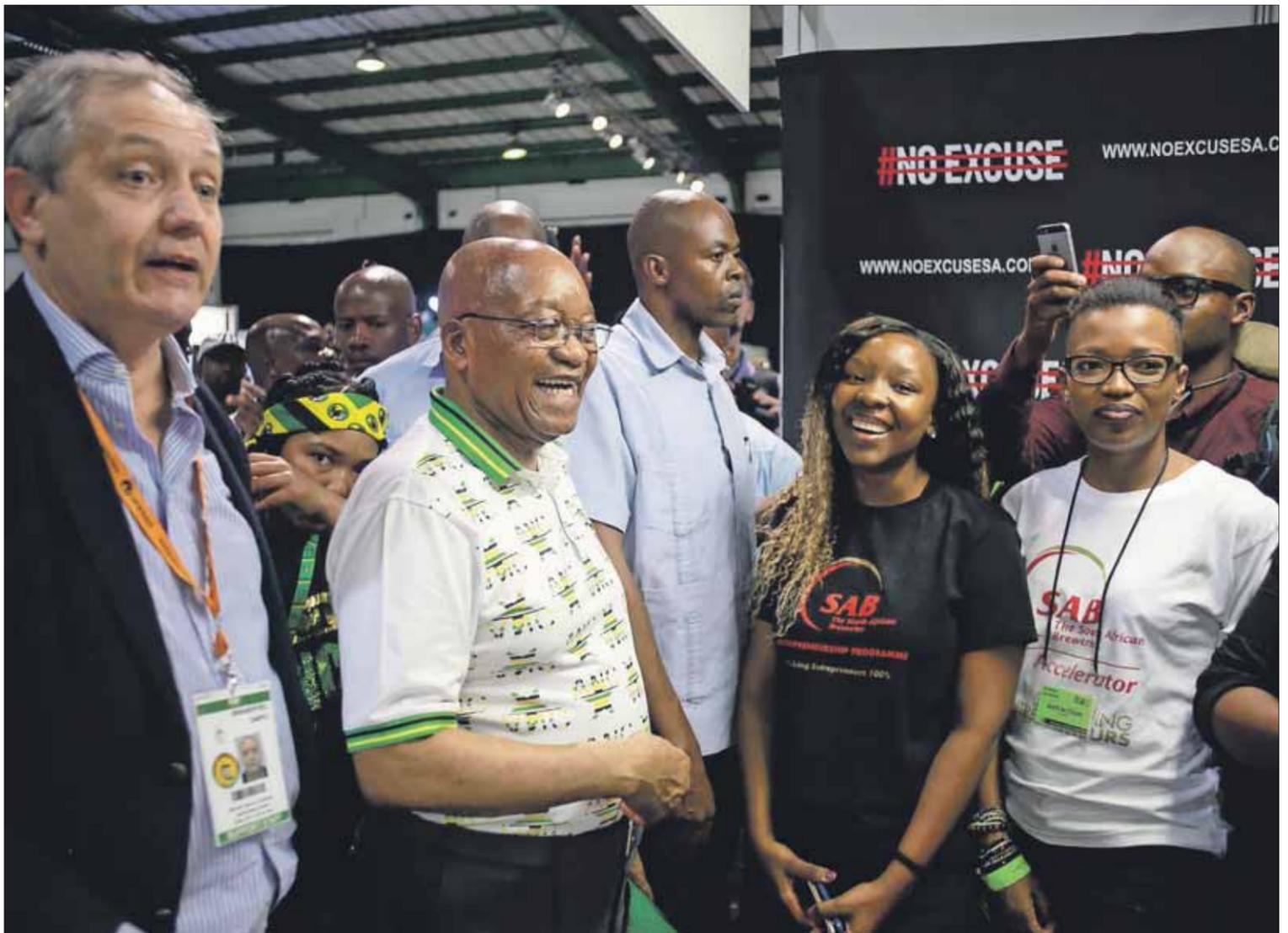
**T**hings are getting tense at the ANC's national elective conference. Comrades are suffering finger-fatigue from the continuous number-crunching that accompanies all the backstabbing and double-crossing that passes as lobbying before the party's "top six" vote.

None more so than Enoch Godongwana, the Cyril Ramaphosa lobbyist and ANC national executive member. The comrade has been permanently peering at his smartphone calculator because of all these rumours of double-back-flip-cabrioles to the other side by various sections of delegates running through the conference rumour mill.

Just when you think you've nailed down a voting bank someone goes and doubles their airtime and triples their blessings. The ANC is becoming less Albertina Sisulu and more Khanyi Mbau by the day. If only it ran like a canary yellow Lamborghini instead of a battered Citi Golf on bricks.

Which is why it's time to end the Zupta control of the ANC and start a new Oppenheimer dawn for the country. Our Man from Marikana must become president of this august movement – even if he doesn't read transformation reports and calls for the police's "concomitant action" against protesting citizens while drawing some fat pay cheques.

I hope Godongwana's tendons won't snap before he has the opportunity to stick the middle finger to uBaba after the votes have been counted. The comrade deserves that satisfaction after all the hard work he



Yesterday's man: ANC president Jacob Zuma had 18 presidential guards and 10 spooks with him for his walkabout on day three. Photo: Oupa Nkosi

has been putting into the CR17 campaign of late. He is a serious cat and it would halve the collective IQ of the current ANC national executive committee if he were to be purged.

Our man in the CR17 accounts department assures me that some Mpumalanga delegates may have skinned their own cat, provincial chairperson DD Mabuza. If the dark Lord Voldemort of Barberton is running out of lives, that leaves me concerned about driveway drive-bys and poisoned kisses of death at Nasrec.

But it may explain why Free State not-chairperson Ace Magashule was looking so glum, sitting slumped and alone on a park bench in the conference laager earlier.

The votes are still being hand-

counted while I write this on my copy of the organisational review before making a paper jet and sending it off hopefully towards the media compound where the *Mail & Guardian* sub-editors have been incarcerated in a newsroom shack. So I'm still on edge about the results.

Everybody's paranoid. Including uButternuthead, who had 18 presidential guards plus another 10 plainclothes spies clotheslining the media mob during his presidential walkabout of the progressive business forum earlier today. Couldn't have happened to a nicer lot, mind you, but Nxamalala better realise that he is so yesterday's news that South Africans are already hoping to use him to line the parrot cage.

Perhaps he needed the bodyguards

to stop his businessman-blesser Roy Moodley from photo-bombing one of these choreographed flesh-pumpers. Moodley was lingering in the background with the expectant look of a brown envelope in the back pocket on his face.

It is because of Msholozzi and his dodgier-than-thou ways that we are contemplating a "top six" with Mabuza as deputy president and Magashule as secretary general. Which is a bit like imagining Pablo Escobar running government business while Al Capone does the same at the ANC.

If there is an enduring memory of the conference it will not be Zuma's final political report to the ANC. Nor will it be his crocodile tears at the end of this conference.

It will be, rather, the sight of a driver slumped asleep at the wheel of his car, which was waiting for the robot to change at the busy intersection leading into Nasrec. Hooting didn't wake him up, neither did the earnest tapping of his mates on his window. Eventually two traffic cops with too much to do managed to rouse the slumber-bunny. The traffic cops motioned for the comrade to pull over and sleep away his drunkenness. He nodded in groggy agreement. But as the coppers turned their attention towards a blue lights looking for a thoroughfare, the driver with smart handbrake turn, jigga'd.

That, in a nutshell, is how Nxamalala has been doughnutting his route away from the law.

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