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ANC NATIONAL CONFERENCE 2017



ANC National Conference

#SLICEOFLIFE

Cyril, he's a man of the people

I've been a driver for 15 years. I started in 2002 because I wanted to travel.
 I've travelled through the whole SADC region and even now I am still travelling.
 I have had a lot of memorable trips in this job and worked with many different people.
 During the 2010 Soccer World Cup I transported the Korean team as well. We didn't speak much because English was a bit of a problem.
 Even Cyril Ramaphosa, I have worked with him. Every year he has a gathering with all the students on his scholarship at his game reserve in Bela Bela and this year I transported them there.
 He's a very interesting guy and he cares about people. He's the kind of person who won't just pass you by without acknowledging you.
 We thought because we were just drivers he would just pass us. But I was surprised when he came to us directly and shook hands with us.
 He wanted to know who we were and where we came from. He asked about our journey of bringing his students there.
 It's not often that people who are in his position of status do something like that.
 Actually, let me say they don't do it at all. They will see you and think, "Argh he's just a driver", and it ends there.
 But he took it upon himself to come to us.
 To come to us.
 Not that we go to him.
 I'm not into politics so I can't say much about him winning the presidential election.
 What I do understand is that he's a good person in and of himself. I think he can take that goodness that he applies in his personal life and spread it to the country. That would be alright. — *Thabo Mashile as told to Tebogo Tshwane*
 Photo: Delwyn Verasamy



The best of Twitter from day three

Sam Mkokeli @msmkokeli Follow

#Nasrec DD Mabuza's benefactor Robert Gumede must be the happiest person on earth right now especially because his guy got the #2 spot and at the same time helped CR defeat NDZ. Gumede lost a govt tender when NDZ was home affairs minister.

8:17 PM - 18 Dec 2017

11 Retweets 9 Likes

Songezo Zibi @SongezoZibi Follow

Cyril has precisely 3 chess moves. If he forfeits even one or makes a bad move he's finished. Those are the NDPP appointment; the terms of reference and presiding judge of the state capture commission and what to do about Jacob Zuma's presidential tenure.

5:16 PM - 18 Dec 2017

369 Retweets 495 Likes

Ranjeni Munusamy @RanjeniM Follow

Because the SG result is being challenged, Mantashe is having to deal with the matter, not Aaaaacccee. When Mantashe said: "I'll be back!" he meant it. Uncle G on some Terminator trip 🤖 #ANC54

7:07 AM - 19 Dec 2017

38 Retweets 28 Likes

Thando @tdo_ka_Ndaba Follow

#ANCWL failed her from the word go!!! Anyway she still remains Bae!

#ANC54

9:38 AM - 19 Dec 2017

Lester Kiewit @lesterkk Follow

Cape Town reporters at #ANC54 distracted because it looks like it's raining.

8:01 AM - 19 Dec 2017

4 Retweets 14 Likes

1 Reply 4 Retweets 14 Likes

Tweet your reply

No nonsense @JeanetteSnyma11 · 17m
 Replying to @lesterkk 🤔🤔

Denzil Taylor @DenzilTaylor Follow

Who remembers this ...

← Tweet

RSA Minister of Police @MbalulaFikile

Ace Magashule a definite no no no the man will finish what is remaining of our movement he will kill it infect #Thinkingaloudbeyond

12:16 PM · 15 Jun 17

Mondli Zondo @MoZondo Follow

6 days ago... #ANC54

Jackson Mthembu @Jackso... · 6d

I fully agree with @bhkicele that having @AceMagashule as @MYANC SG will relocate its #HQ to #Guptaworld and kill the ANC.

Ranjeni Munusamy @RanjeniM Follow

To be honest, I'd rather have a flock of hadedas represent my interests as a woman. #ANC54

8:35 AM - 19 Dec 2017

ANC National Conference

Nasrec 68 turn election on its head

The contest is back on as David Mabuza fights for delegates left off the voters' roll, which probably secured Ace Magashule a place among the top six

M&G Political Reporters

With the "Nasrec 68" seemingly holding the fate of the ANC secretary general post in their hands, newly elected ANC deputy president David Mabuza sprung a surprise when he reportedly came out in support of former KwaZulu-Natal premier Senzo Mchunu.

The *Mail & Guardian* has learnt that during the ANC national conference steering committee meeting to find a solution for the "Nasrec 68", Mabuza supported those who had called for their votes to be included in the tally of all candidates who contested the top six positions.

The steering committee failed to resolve the impasse, instead leaving it up to the main plenary with ordinary delegates to decide.

The 68 were initially part of the more than 500 delegates disqualified during the vetting of credentials. Soon after, the 68 were cleared as legitimate delegates and categorised as special voting delegates because there was not enough time to put them on the voters' roll before elections took place.

The lawyers for the Nasrec 68 are understood to have given the ANC until 6pm on Tuesday to include the votes or face legal action. It is not clear whether the party met the deadline, but voting for the NEC additional members was delayed last night after only 400 delegates had cast their votes. At the time of writing, provincial secretaries had been called into another steering committee meeting by the top leadership. An SMS message circulating among delegates claimed there had been mistakes on the ballot papers.

The committee consists of the party's secretariat and chairpersons of provinces and leagues. The debate about the 68 delegates was the first sign of division in the newly elected leadership, which comprises three members from each faction's slate. It delayed NEC voting for most of Tuesday.

Mabuza was supported by treasurer general Paul Mashatile, national chairperson Gwede Mantashe and several other provinces. The Mpumalanga ANC chairperson was thought to be closer to Nkosazana Dlamini-Zuma, Free State Premier Ace Magashule and North West Premier Supra Mahumapelo in the run-up to the conference.

Mchunu was on newly elected ANC president Cyril Ramaphosa's slate and was instrumental in splitting KwaZulu-Natal's vote.

But in the steering committee meeting Mabuza disagreed with Mahumapelo, who was pushing for a re-election if the 68 votes were to be included. Mahumapelo, who was backed by Water Affairs Minister Nomvula Mokonyane, has warned the Ramaphosa supporters that if they continue pushing for inclusion of the 68 votes, his province will demand a re-run of the election. The KwaZulu-Natal leadership has dug



Mixed signals: Nkosazana Dlamini-Zuma supporters sing and dance (above), former KwaZulu-Natal premier Senzo Mchunu (left) sits amid a group of CR17 supporters and a delegate (below) indicates his belief in the need for unity in the ANC. Photo: Delwyn Verasamy

in even further, demanding that the credential process be re-run along with the election.

"We are in support of the entire top six of the ANC. If these were to be included, credentials will have to be done all over again as they are not on legitimate voters roll," said KwaZulu-Natal ANC Youth League chairperson Kwazi Mshengu.

On Tuesday the ANC Women's League accused Mabuza of "using" Dlamini-Zuma's campaign to secure senior positions in the party.

The majority of the 68 votes are from KwaZulu-Natal and appear to favour Mchunu. If added they could swing the outcome for the secretary general's position, given that the difference between votes for Mchunu and Magashule is 24.

Magashule's supporters refused the proposal, demanding a re-election of the top six if the 68 votes were to be added to the final tallies.

Mchunu's supporters argued that



the 68 delegates were legitimately mandated to attend conference and were left off the voters' roll through a technical mistake by the elections agency, EleXions.

Denying them the right to vote, one of Mchunu's supporters said, would be subverting the internal democ-

racy of the ANC.

"The NDZ guys were resisting the proposal to count the [Nasrec] 68's votes and add them because they know the result. Most of those guys left out are from the Abaqulusi region, which is Senzo's stronghold," a provincial leader told the *M&G*.

The error allegedly arose from the revision of credentials on Saturday. The 68 members were among the KwaZulu-Natal branches disqualified during the dispute and verification period a week before the conference. They were readmitted when the credentials committee confirmed their legitimacy on Saturday.

The EleXions agency also recommended adding the 68 delegates' ballots to the results, the leader said, but it had left the final decision up to the committee.

Mabuza's about-turn in Tuesday's meeting was not the first time he has broken ranks with what used to be known as the "premier league" — an alliance between the chairpersons of KwaZulu-Natal, Free State, North West and Mpumalanga.

At the policy conference, Mahumapelo and KwaZulu-Natal chairperson Sihle Zikalala led the debate on land redistribution without compensation. Mabuza argued that land should only be redistributed within the parameters of the Constitution.

He was also accused by Dlamini-Zuma's backers at the conference of instructing 353 delegates from 223 branches in Mpumalanga, who nominated "unity" on their ballot papers, to vote for Ramaphosa.

With Mabuza's intervention failing in the steering committee, Ramaphosa's supporters geared up to win the debate in the main plenary.

"We have the numbers to push this in plenary," said a Ramaphosa supporting delegate from KwaZulu-Natal. "The branches want Senzo and we are ready to deal with this on the floor."

ANC National Conference

Jong-un is NDZ's homie

Nkosazana Dlamini-Zuma rubbed shoulders with representatives of the US's sworn enemy

Govan Whittles

Threatening your friends with "fire and fury" is not nice. Calling them "short and fat" is even worse. It's the kind of thing that, well, may leave your friends wanting to unfriend you. Or maybe even sentence you to death.

Thus fares the relationship between United States President Donald Trump and North Korea's Kim Jong-un.

If only they could follow the example of former African Union Commission chairperson Nkosazana Dlamini-Zuma, who was in a decidedly chipper mood and shared a chuckle with the Supreme Leader's representative attending the ANC's 54th congress.

The ANC extended an invitation to the entire diplomatic corps in South Africa, which also included the US, but it was the North Korean officials who gained access to the upper echel-

ons of the party when delegates met to discuss policy.

The North Korean government's foremost representative in Southern Africa, Yong Man-ho, has spent the last week in discussions with the ANC's top leaders, including Dlamini-Zuma and senior international relations department officials.

Seated at a table at the Nasrec expo centre with Dlamini-Zuma on Friday afternoon, Yong was accompanied by three other embassy staff and laughed during his discussion with the former African Union chairperson, an official in the ANC's international relations sub-committee said.

South Africa established bilateral relations with North Korea in 1998 after hosting the Non-Aligned Movement Summit and, in 2013, international relations deputy minister Ebrahim Ebrahim travelled to the country to strengthen the ties.

But the US believes that North Korea is systematically depriving



Going ballistic: North Korea's supreme leader Kim Jong-un celebrates a recent missile launch. His envoy to South Africa, Yong Man-ho, attended the ANC national conference. Photo: KCNA/via Reuters

its citizens of democracy — calling on the ANC to join its campaign to isolate the government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea.

"It is, of course, up to ANC leaders to invite whomever they wish to an internal party event. That said, isolating the North Korean regime is a top priority for the United States, and a key element to maintaining peace and stability worldwide," acting US embassy spokesperson Caroline Schneider told the *Mail & Guardian*.

She added that the US government looks forward to "working with all the new ANC party leadership on this and

other issues of common interest".

"As the ANC celebrates this week's exercise in democracy, we note that democracy has been systematically denied to the people of North Korea, as have their basic freedoms and human rights," the US embassy spokesperson noted.

In response, the ANC's former international relations sub-committee chairperson, Edna Molewa, said it "regularly invites the diplomatic corps to its programmes and events" and "continues to monitor developments in North Korea".

ANC spokesperson Khusela Sangoni said "the US will not dictate to us who our friends will be" and

that the ANC "continues to monitor developments in North Korea".

Sangoni added that the December conference would be the perfect place for decisions on North Korea to be made.

Yong Man-ho flew to Mozambique in October when a North Korean embassy official was arrested there after being found in possession of rhino horn.

Two years before that, in December 2015, a high-ranking North Korean diplomat was expelled from South Africa for allegedly using his diplomatic bag, supplied by the embassy, to smuggle rhino horn out of the country.

Good times – and good business – outside Nasrec

Thulebona Mhlanga & Tebogo Tshwane

No accreditation? No problem. There's another world outside the Nasrec expo centre where a huge number of ANC branch members, local business people and residents have found their own way to be part of the conference frenzy.

The arrival of 4776 delegates, for the 54th ANC national elective conference on Saturday, has changed the face of Rand Show Road to black, green and gold.

The young boys of Ormonde View, who would normally spend their days loitering on street corners, have turned into car guards for the fleet of cars, taxis and buses that have come from all around the country.

The high demand for parking has turned front lawns into prime real estate where parking spots go for R100 a pop, even if it is only for two minutes.

"We make over R1000 a day," said Sabelo Mzulwini.

He said they aren't the only ones benefiting. Traffic marshals ensure that the roads are not congested and residents are not inconvenienced.

The mood is festive as ANC struggle songs in the background compete with the sounds of Anita Baker's *You Bring Me Joy* from a recently-opened chill-out spot called Nasrec Gate 5 Chillas at the corner of Albertos and Rand Show Road.

A leaflet put out by the owner, Fezile Nondonga, reads: "Will be running for the duration of the ANC conference."

He says he's not open the whole year but "I saw an opportunity to offer entertainment to cadres and from yesterday morning we have been very busy, about 250-plus people have been coming in. They start coming after 6pm."

Nondonga would not disclose how



Trading places: Rand Show Road, outside the Nasrec centre where the ANC national conference is taking place, has been transformed into a hub of business activities, including food stalls. Photo: Oupa Nkosi

much money he has spent on operations, but said he had "put a serious investment, you know high investment and we're hoping to get a return on our investment".

As it happens the ANC conference coincides with his birthday and he has decided to share his special day with the comrades who will be visiting his spot.

Not far from Gate 5 Chillas, Phindile Nyandeni mans her sister's stall, which is piled with ANC regalia and merchandise.

"I am selling from outside because my sister could only pay for two people and she is the third one in Nasrec. It cost R1500 for my sister and two

other ladies to be at the business expo."

One can wear ANC branded gear from head to toe for R100. Unisex T-shirts are sold for R300, leather jackets and tracksuits will set a tenderpreneur back R600 and the caps are a cheap R100 or R150.

"I may give those who buy more than two items a discount but we will see as the week goes," said Nyandeni.

Advocate Maile Nngake, an ANC delegate from Pretoria, has spent more than R2000 since Saturday on collectables for himself and other comrades who want to remember the historical conference.

"This is one of the best — if not the

best of them all — and highly contested and highly businesslike and everyone is interested in the outcome," said Nngake.

Describing the mood he said: "I think it's quite phenomenal. We are seeing small businesses getting what is due to them and surely they will leave here having benefited greatly."

Local businesses such as the Sasol petrol station also got themselves a slice of the sales pie. Manager Lungile Gwala said sales had doubled since the conference started.

Ice, cold drinks, water and energy drinks have topped sales.

"We were prepared for the confer-

ence. But we did run out of ice twice and we had to order around six times our normal stock on Saturday. The one machine we use to produce ice was not enough" said Gwala.

The garage is not only a refuge for hungry, thirsty comrades but also eager branch members who have come to watch from the side-lines.

"We are ready for Nkosazana" is the background chant for motorists filling up their cars at the garage, which has become the camping spot for Nkosazana Dlamini-Zuma supporters.

Gladys Nkosi, member of the Zone 4, Meadowlands, women's league, said she came to witness Dlamini-Zuma take her "God-given" position as the leader of the ANC.

"God chose her while she was still in her mother's womb so that she can deliver the people of South Africa out of the poverty that they are in to the Promised Land," said Nkosi.

Seemingly God had other plans — Cyril Ramaphosa snatched the position of ANC president.

Nkosi said they were determined to stay at the garage until the results were announced — "even if they came out at 3am, we are used to it".

The American fast-food chain Burger King also made a killing and its Nasrec supervisor, Josephine Mokedile, said that sales figures doubled since Saturday.

"The Double Whopper with cheese, costing R71.90, has been the most popular meal followed by the Big King XXXL at a R20 less cost."

She says the bottomless cold drink at Burger King was a hit and so were desserts, with delegates loving the Fusion Oreo.

Thulebona Mhlanga and Tebogo Tshwane are Adamele Trust trainee financial reporters at the *Mail & Guardian*

ANC National Conference

Assault sparks journalists' boycott

The forceful eviction of a reporter from Nasrec unleashed the pent-up frustrations of those trying to report on the ANC's conference

Ra'eesa Pather, Phillip de Wet & Bongekile Macupe

Cyril Ramaphosa's first media appearance as ANC president was boycotted by journalists on Tuesday in protest over Bloomberg journalist Sam Mkokeli being thrown out of the ANC's elective conference.

He was forcibly removed from inside the Nasrec security cordon after he complained about the poor treatment of journalists.

His colleagues described it as an assault and it unleashed an avalanche of pent-up complaints by the many journalists covering the ANC's elective conference, where the media coverage has been more restricted than at any ANC event since 1994.

One journalist said his prosthetic leg had come loose after he was pushed by security guards who would not listen when he explained why he could not move as quickly as they wanted him to.

Several women reported inappropriate touching when guards supposedly reached out to check the badges displayed on lanyards. Two journalists said they had been warned that their accreditation would be removed for speaking to ANC delegates.

One journalist was threatened with eviction for walking around the plenary venue in search of a strong cell-phone signal and others had to beg marshals for escorts to be allowed to go to the bathroom.

On Tuesday, journalists were left waiting for 40 minutes to cross a security barrier built to separate them from delegates to reach the venue where they had been invited to cover a walkabout by Ramaphosa.

Security guards initially insisted that, instead of walking a few hundred metres, journalists should



Harassed: Bloomberg journalist Sam Mkokeli (above centre) was forcibly removed from the Nasrec security area by police (left) after he complained about the poor treatment of journalists at the conference. Police (left) also blocked photographers' cameras

General Tankiso Moshoeshe, manhandled Mkokeli while Mkokeli kept his hands in the air.

When told his actions amounted to assault, Moshoeshe told other journalists that Mkokeli should then "open a case".

During the incident, a uniformed officer briefly attempted to cover two cameras with his hand simultaneously to prevent the incident being filmed.

Mkokeli later said the approach to journalists had been determined by the ANC before the conference had begun.

"It started with the fence, as if we are barbarians to be kept outside because, if we talk to delegates, we may interfere with their election or with policy," he said. "That is a new thing."

The new approach also extended to the ANC calling the shots on what parts of its conference proceedings independent broadcasters were allowed to show.

As has become standard practice,

the ANC provided broadcasters with a feed from its own cameras inside its plenary hall, produced by its own staff. That feed was supposed to be a back-up to their own cameras. But when satellite station eNCA arrived on Friday with the two cameras it had been told it would be allowed to set up in the space, it was turned away.

"Pool feed arrangements are not a new thing," said eNCA editor-in-chief Mapi Mhlangu, "but in the past we were allowed to bring a minimum of two of our own cameras in. It was rather disturbing that, in this conference, at the last hour, they said we can no longer have that."

The lack of independent cameras meant ANC production managers decided what would be shown live and could pull the plug if proceedings turned rowdy.

Sanef leaders held an emergency meeting with the ANC's communication team after the Mkokeli incident.

"There was an apology that we received, which was quite important to us because they have said that they do not want to make our jobs difficult; there are restrictions that they have but they are trying to work around them as best as possible," said Sanef chairperson Mahlatse Mahlase.

"They have also raised, of course, that there has also been incidences where journalists have breached security and obviously we would condemn that as Sanef."

In one case earlier in the week, the ANC complained that broadcasters had continued to carry a live feed after its plenary had gone into closed session. It learned about that when the eNCA alerted it to the fact that it was still supplying its live feed to the broadcasters.

PowerFM host Iman Rappetti, who was there when Mkokeli was evicted, said the media had been managed by the ANC every step of the way.

"We're coming into their space and we're playing by their rules, whether we like it or not, but this is a step beyond that, beyond what is acceptable."

The aggression and tight management of the media reflected the levels of paranoia within the party, she said.

travel several kilometres around the outside of the Nasrec venue so that they wouldn't come into contact with delegates.

After waiting for a shuttle to arrive, Mkokeli held a meeting with journalists and proposed that the walkabout be boycotted because of how long journalists had been made to wait for briefings at the conference. All the journalists agreed with the proposal.

Mkokeli is the chairperson of the South African National Editors Forum's (Sanef's) subcommittee on media freedom.

In the face of the boycott, journalists were allowed through the security barrier — with an escort — but not before a camera caught one security official explaining: "We don't know demo-crazy, we

just know security. If you go out of our way, you are just in our sights."

After the walkabout, Ramaphosa was due to make a five-minute, no-questions stop for impromptu remarks to the media. But he had not arrived after an hour and the journalists were kept corralled in the sun and told they could not leave without an escort.

Mkokeli again raised a complaint about the way journalists had been treated at the conference, which is when the security members removed his accreditation and forcefully evicted him from Nasrec.

Shoeshe Qhu, a journalist from Kaya FM, recorded the incident, during which a plainclothes police officer, later identified by News24 as police commander Lieutenant

Lamola: DD's 'Damascus moment'

Given Sigauqwe

New ANC deputy president David Mabuza's ascension to power is comparable with the apostle Paul's Damascus moment, says former ANC Youth League leader Ronald Lamola.

On his way to Damascus from Jerusalem, Saul was renamed Paul after a sudden conversion to Christianity.

"I want to congratulate DD [Mabuza], he has reached his Damascus moment," Lamola told the *Mail & Guardian* on Tuesday.

Following Cyril Ramaphosa's triumph over Nkosazana-Dlamini Zuma in the race for party president, and the landslide victory of Mabuza as his deputy, Lamola emerged as one of the favourites to be elected on to the ANC's national executive committee (NEC). He received the second highest number of nominations — 1171. Minister of Police Fikile Mbalula received the most, with 1204 nominations.

Lamola said the election of Mabuza

as deputy president would be the catalyst that ensures that there is a break from the old guard.

"He was the one comrade we all witnessed calling for unity. He has foresight and ... understood that in the ANC we need unity. We need to do away with slate politics and we need members to participate freely," he said.

"There is an itch for a decisive break away from the shenanigans of the past. The ANC needs an urgent break from the old guard to rejuvenate itself. If you look at the composition of the new top six his message clearly reverberated," he said.

An elated Lamola also told the *M&G* that the inclusion of younger members in the NEC would hasten the rejuvenation of the party.

"I am not a minister, I am not an MP ... I am just an ordinary member of the ANC. But the branches see that there is a need for younger people to lead in order to preserve the history of the organisation," he said.

"We have always maintained that

most ANC members across the country are young people and it is young people that are the biggest participants and foot soldiers of the ANC. So, it is in that regard that we came up with the policy of generational mix in 2011. Today we see it come into life," said Lamola.

"The incoming NEC will be ripe with young people. We want to participate in the ANC. This is in preparation for the 2022 elective conference. Then we will break completely from the old guard.

"There will be a new generation altogether taking over the ANC. That then will represent a clear renewal."

In other NEC results, ANC veteran Joel Netshitenzhe received 1145 nominations, Home Affairs Minister Ayanda Dlodlo got 1103 nominations and Finance Minister Malusi Gigaba 1075.

Nkosazana Dlamini-Zuma, her campaign manager Carl Niehaus, former finance minister Pravin Gordhan and party spokesper-



Man of faith: An overjoyed Ronald Lamola emerged as one of the favourites to be elected on to the ANC's national executive committee, second to Minister of Police Fikile Mbalula. Photo: Oupa Nkosi

son Zizi Kodwa accepted their nominations.

But Minister of Trade and Industry Rob Davies, Minister of Public Enterprises Lynne Brown, Limpopo chairperson Stan Mathabatha, Gauteng deputy chairperson David Makhura declined their nominations.

Lamola, in another biblical reference, said Ramaphosa's victory

was an act of God. "I was ridiculed by analysts and journalists alike when I said CR would emerge as president. But Jesus carried the different delegates to the voting booth and told them to vote for CR, and they did. Now he is president and we are ready to be led," he said.

Ramaphosa received 2440 votes to Dlamini-Zuma's 2261.

ANC National Conference



Beware: Cyril Ramaphosa enjoys his moment of victory as the newly elected president of the ANC. The markets have responded positively to his election but analysts warn that the markets have not yet appreciated the fact that Jacob Zuma is still president of South Africa. Photo: Oupa Nkosi

Markets only have eyes for Cyril

Lisa Steyn

Although the ANC is said to be deliberating over who the rightfully elected secretary general of the party is, the market seems to have eyes only for newly elected ANC president Cyril Ramaphosa, with little to no interest in the finer details.

Geoff Blount, the managing director of Bayhill Capital, warned in a statement on Monday night that the markets have not priced in the mixed political leadership and will retrace some of its steps as the reality sinks in.

But that has not happened yet. The rand did lose a few cents in gains but it remained low at a virtually constant R12.75 to the dollar on Tuesday.

On the bond market, the government's benchmark cost of borrowing improved from 8.85% to 8.66% during Tuesday's trade and on the JSE, SA Inc — stocks exposed to the South African economy, such as retailers and banks — performed phenomenally, even after gaining in the days leading up to Ramaphosa's win.

Jordan Weir, a trader at Bayhill Capital, said SA Inc ran all over the show on Tuesday. Trades on the JSE on the day totalled R55-billion, more than double the R24-billion or so traded on an average day. "One trader likened it to a reverse market crash, some of the moves so crazy big."

The likes of Foschini saw stocks grow 13.9% on the day, Barclays share was up 11.5% and Mr Price's stock jumped just over 10%, Weir said. All dual-listed stocks, often earning most or all of their money outside of the country, were "majorly hammered", he said.

Susan Booysen, a school of governance professor at the University of the Witwatersrand and author of *Dominance and Decline: The ANC in the Time of Zuma*, said the markets didn't appear to fully understand the nuances of South African politics.

"Because if they understood the nuances, the market should be dropping because [Jacob] Zuma is in power, there is a stalemate and there is an uncertain outcome of the NEC [national executive committee]. Those three combined for me do not ring well," she said.

Weir said foreign buyers were more optimistic. They were less *au fait* with the political nuances but were also trying to take advantage of the currency strength.

Tinyiko Ngwenya, an economist of the Old Mutual Investment Group, agreed that the market movements reflected the positive sentiments of foreign investors, and local investors were being more sceptical about the developments.

"Once bitten, twice shy," she said. "We are more likely to wait for February's budget to see if fiscal consolidation is back as a plan, and how government will address the questions around state-owned entities."

Eskom's financial sustainability is a major issue for local investors, she said. "We would have to see strong evidence of policy being implemented."

Can Ramaphosa deliver on his promises?

Not only are the ANC's top six officials divided, Jacob Zuma remains the state president and dictates the role of his deputy

Lynley Donnelly

The hope for a Cyril Ramaphosa victory was pinned on his ability to put South Africa's economy back on solid ground with financial prudence and stability, and a commitment to reforming floundering and costly parastatals.

But it remains to be seen whether he will be able to deliver on the campaign promises of his "new deal".

By Tuesday afternoon, speculation was continuing that the ANC's top six could change after a disputed vote, which is most likely to affect the post of secretary general. Free State Premier Ace Magashule beat KwaZulu-Natal's Senzo Mchunu for the post by a narrow 24 votes.

As it stands, the top six are split down the middle between Ramaphosa and his allies, Paul Mashatile (treasurer general) and Gwede Mantashe (chairperson), and Nkosazana Dlamini-Zuma's allies Magashule, Jesse Duarte (deputy secretary general) and David Mabuza (deputy president).

If the line up remains unchanged, Ramaphosa will face intense negotiations and trade-offs when it comes to policy, particularly economic policy, say analysts.

They also warn that the power

he holds as deputy president of the country remains constrained because Zuma still runs the country and dictates his deputy's reach.

In the run-up to the conference, Ramaphosa announced a 10-point plan for South Africa, cast as a "new deal" for the economy. It included a focus on growth by introducing measures to "achieve policy certainty, improve institutional stability, restore the credibility of the criminal justice system and demonstrate the political will to turn around the economy".

He called for a macro-economic policy based on fiscal discipline and reducing debt to ensure future generations do not pay for the current mismanagement of the economy.

He also promised to provide free higher education for the poor but it came with the caveat that "to sustain free post-school education for the poor will require a growing economy and a stronger fiscus".

He also committed to overhaul the governance of state-owned enterprises (SOEs) and "immediate steps to confront corruption and state capture".

If the top six remain unchanged, "there is a perfectly institutionalised conflict", said political analyst and author of *When Zuma Goes*, Ralph Mathekg. "That in itself means they

will have to negotiate hard with each other. You are going to have to have trade-offs regarding policies."

This is likely to be felt in the ANC's sectoral commission deliberations, scheduled to be held during the conference, on the policy proposals put forward at the July policy conference.

The debates will include the additional proposals put by delegates in July that were not incorporated in the party's policy documents, such as land expropriation without compensation.

Other contentious issues will be the nationalisation of the Reserve Bank and the mining charter.

"The relatively strong representation of the opposition faction in the ANC leadership will likely complicate policy negotiations and could delay agreement on key reforms," said Zuzana Brixiova, a senior analyst of credit ratings agency Moody's.

Ramaphosa also has to face the practical realities of an economy plagued by poor growth, a fiscus with a R50-billion shortfall, massive exposure to floundering SOEs such as Eskom and Denel, and now an unfunded, free higher education plan, revealed by Zuma on Friday.

He announced the plan against the advice of the treasury and without input from the national executive committee (NEC).

Education will be a "clear area of tension", Brixiova said. "While all

recognise the need for reform to enhance human capital and reduce inequality, it remains to be seen how that will be achieved without further undermining already stretched public finances."

Despite his position as the new leader of ANC, Ramaphosa cannot backtrack on this promise, Mathekg said, and described the situation as "a grenade with the pin off".

Susan Booysen, a school of governance professor at the University of the Witwatersrand and author of *Dominance and Decline: The ANC in the Time of Zuma*, said Ramaphosa's role for the next 18 months can only go as far as ANC policy allows, or in terms of what will be adopted at the conference.

"If they get to adoption of policy, that is debatable," she said, referring to the delays on Tuesday after it emerged that there was a dispute about the vote count for the secretary general position.

The make-up of the NEC will be critical. "There is so much, on even those more radical sounding policies, that depends on application and that final interpretation of what is radical," Booysen said.

As president of the ANC, but deputy to Zuma in government, Ramaphosa has very limited power, she added. "As deputy president in and of the government, it really depends on allocations of functions by the president and it is a very ambiguous, tentative power balance between the two. — *Additional reporting by Lisa Steyn*

ANC National Conference

NDZ can't play a patriarchy victim

The women's league failed to promote gender equality and, as a minister, Bathabile Dlamini used Zuma's patronage to survive her disasters

COMMENT

Colleen Lowe-Morna

In a trailer for the ANC's 54th conference, the eNCA news channel interviewed a broad spectrum of South Africans on what they know about Nkosazana Dlamini-Zuma (NDZ), who this week lost narrowly to Cyril Ramaphosa in the race for president of the ruling party.

Almost all of them referred to her as President Jacob Zuma's ex-wife. One or two said they thought she was connected to the United Nations (she served as chair of the African Union Commission). No one mentioned her having been South Africa's minister of health, foreign affairs and then home affairs. Her claim to fame remained in the public mind her association to Zuma, whom she divorced more than 20 years ago.

The trailer is a telling reminder of one of South Africa's biggest, unmet

challenges — the patriarchal ideology that permeates every facet of society and relegates even the most prominent and successful women to an appendage of a man.

On the face of it, the ANC elections are a victory for democracy. Simmering internal discontent with Zuma and his association with the billionaire Gupta family that have "captured the state" expressed itself in Ramaphosa's win, though he inherits a crown of thorns with three out of the new top six officials (deputy president David Mabuza, secretary general Ace Magashule and deputy secretary general Jessie Duarte) in the Zuma camp.

But with only one woman (Duarte) in the line-up, serious questions must be asked about what has gone wrong with the ANC's feminist agenda, if ever there was one beyond the policy positions on gender parity in all its ranks and endeavours.

Just as the Guptas have captured

the state, patriarchy has captured many in the ANC, including many of its women cadres.

First to answer should be NDZ herself. In one telling interview with Independent Newspapers, she expressed her frustration with the constant association with her polygamous ex-husband. She noted that they share children and have conversations beyond politics but she had no special place in his sprawling Nkandla home (another source of the corruption charges hanging over him when he vacates the presidency in 2019).

Yet in her campaign NDZ failed dismally to distance herself from Zuma after he publicly endorsed her, and happily drew on all his support bases, notably in their KwaZulu-Natal home province that became a litmus test for the heart and soul of the ANC.

Dlamini-Zuma, the seasoned minister who banned smoking in public places in South Africa, led the South African delegation to the Fourth World Conference on Women in Beijing, cleaned up the messy home affairs ministry, and profiled South

Africa on the African and global stage, had the perfect opportunity to make a clean break from the family dynasty politics that worry this young democracy.

Yet she carefully side-stepped the issues in former public protector Thuli Madonsela's State of Capture report.

The burning issues of corruption that featured ever more prominently in the Ramaphosa campaign barely featured in hers.

In response to criticisms that she seemed to have no clear agenda, NDZ came out blazing in the final days of the race on "radical economic transformation" that seemed more a call to populism than a well-thought-through agenda. Gender equality, it must be said, was not a prominent feature in the campaign of the first would-be woman president of South Africa.

Also needing to introspect are NDZ's enthusiastic backers in the ANC Women's League, found huddled in a meeting in the media centre after the announcement of the top six. They are led by Bathabile Dlamini, the minister of social devel-

opment, on whose watch there have been many scandals relating to mental health and social grants. She has survived in the past thanks to Zuma's patronage, and despite several calls for her removal.

Not so long ago the women's league announced that South Africa was not yet ready for a woman president. The women's league changed tack after Zuma publicly endorsed Dlamini-Zuma.

One of the greatest ironies of the ANC's claim to the high ground on gender equality is that its women's league has been among the most enthusiastic backers of Zuma — who was acquitted of a rape charge but found sorely wanting in his behaviour towards women shortly before he became president in 2009.

So vitriolic was the response to his accuser (Fezekile Ntsukela Kuzwayo, dubbed Khwezi, who died recently) that she spent most of her remaining years in exile, with no support from the struggle organisation that she grew up in, let alone its women.

It must be concluded that the only reason the women's league supported Dlamini-Zuma was the Zuma name, not the promise of a woman president.

Indeed, if that were the agenda, why did the women's league not equally support Lindiwe Sisulu for deputy president?

Crying over spilt milk is not useful; to quote respected analyst Justice Malala, "it was never a principled campaign".

Ramaphosa, who in all likelihood will become the fourth president of a democratic South Africa in 2019, also has some reflection to do.

Nelson Mandela's favourite to succeed him (put aside as a result of party pressures to make Thabo Mbeki his deputy), Ramaphosa is a seasoned trade unionist, chief architect of the Constitution and a negotiator turned businessman. But he comes with his own baggage — the Marikana massacre in which 34 striking miners were gunned down at Lonmin Mines where he was a nonexecutive member of the board, and leaked emails of alleged inappropriate relationships with women students he is said to be sponsoring.

Much as the latter were probably politically motivated, Ramaphosa failed to use the platform to put forward a clear agenda on appropriate conduct of powerful men towards less powerful women, the heart of the #MeToo campaign that has taken the world by storm.

There are examples globally of new age men presidents who have put forward feminist agendas — Justin Trudeau in Canada, for example. Amid the minefield that Ramaphosa must walk to restore South Africa's democratic values, there is an opportunity for the new ANC leader to go beyond numbers in the ANC's gender equality agenda. With the new deputy president of the ANC (Mabuza) also being a man, we seem to be further than ever before from a woman president.

Is it too much to hope, in the short term, for a feminist president who will begin to get gender discourse back on course?

Colleen Lowe Morna is chief executive of Gender Links, a nongovernmental organisation that promotes gender equality and justice

Women's League believes men used NDZ

Dineo Bendile

Tuesday's blistering rebuke from ANC Women's League president Bathabile Dlamini for the party not electing Nkosazana Dlamini-Zuma as president has been met with scepticism — largely because of Dlamini's own track record on gender.

After Monday's announcement that Cyril Ramaphosa had been elected the ANC's president, the women's league did not hide its disappointment during a press briefing on Tuesday afternoon at Nasrec, Johannesburg.

Dlamini-Zuma was used by the men in the ANC to fulfil their own leadership ambitions, said the league.

"Men did not lift the candidate up, they used her as a ladder — that one we are not shy to say. They used her as ladder for themselves. It's our demonstration to you, to say this is how patriarchy has reared its ugly head in our society," said women's league spokesperson Toko Xasa.

Shortly after the announcement of Ramaphosa's victory, Dlamini looked distressed when she marched out of the plenary hall, flanked by Small Business Minister Lindiwe Zulu, who was attempting to calm her.

Though Dlamini-Zuma was snubbed, three of the candidates who had appeared on her slate made it to the top six: Mpumalanga Premier David Mabuza as deputy president, Free State Premier Ace Magashule as secretary general and Jessie Duarte as deputy secretary general.

Dlamini and the women's league national executive committee (NEC) had been accused of imposing Dlamini-Zuma on league members. Despite championing the need for more representation of women in the national NEC, the league was also



Patriarchy rules: Nkosazana Dlamini-Zuma did protest that she's more than an ex-wife but she accepted and used President Jacob Zuma's endorsement of her for the ANC presidency. Photo: Gulshan Khan/AFP

questioned about its failure to support other women candidates such as Lindiwe Sisulu and Baleka Mbete.

But Dlamini defended the decision, saying women were "not homogenous".

"An unfair question is coming out ... why didn't we support comrade Lindiwe. We don't want to talk about the fact that all this time in the ANC we have had women freely standing for the position of president, so that is a nonissue, the issue is to try to push us into a corner and crush us," Dlamini said.

Despite claiming to accept that women were not "homogenous", the women's league lashed out at its former president, Angie Motshekga, for allegedly organising pro-Ramaphosa rallies under the women's league banner.

Motshekga is believed to have been a refuge for league members who did not agree with the endorsement of Dlamini-Zuma. Dlamini and her administration, however, accused her of attempting to rule the organisation from the grave.

But Dlamini's own stances on gender have seen her accused of not fully grasping the extent of patriarchy in the party.

She drew criticism when she failed to take a firm stance against former higher education deputy minister Mduzuzi Manana after he assaulted a woman in August.

"I don't want to be part of those games of saying ... [should] he resign or not. Even in other parties there is sexual harassment and it's not treated the way it's treated in the ANC. And I refuse that this issue be made a political tool. It's not a political tool," she said in an interview with the *Sunday Times* at the time.

The league later released a statement saying it would always stand with victims of abuse regardless of who their abusers were.

In August last year Dlamini was among a group of women ANC leaders who were outraged by the "Remember Khwezi" protest at the Independent Electoral Commission results centre where President Jacob Zuma was delivering an elections

address. The protesters silently stood up in front of Zuma holding posters stating "Remember Khwezi" and "10 years later". The protesters were referring to the trial where Zuma was accused of raping Fezekile Kuzwayo. He was acquitted; she fled the country.

The incidents have seen Dlamini accused of defending men in the ANC even to the detriment of women.

In her address on Tuesday, however, she said the ANC's failure to elect Dlamini-Zuma was an example of patriarchy "rearing its ugly head".

She also said the ANC had regression on issues of gender parity. "The ANC indeed has regressed on the issue of women. As we celebrate the life of OR Tambo, who championed the emancipation of women, we can't be proud of this outcome."

The women's league said it would reflect on what had gone wrong in its strategy to deliver the ANC its first woman president and convene a general congress according to its planned calendar.

ANC National Conference

Bathabile beleaguers women

The *Mail & Guardian's* series of satirical first-hand accounts of the ANC's national conference through the eyes of insiders continues with another delegate update, this time from ANC Women's League member **Rejoice Magashule** (no relation)

UBaba appears to be getting a taste of his own bitter medicine. When the ANC electoral team announced that Cyril Ramaphosa was the new president of the party on Monday, the "outgoing" president looked like he had just received a load of curdled cupcake icing in his mouth. Or maybe a set of artistic nude pictures of departing ANC secretary general, one Samson Gwede Mantashe.

Jacob Zuma struggled to swallow the outpouring. His lips pursed upwards as if he had just sniffed an unwashed pimp taking a shit in the communal toilet of an overcrowded awaiting-trial jail cell. Gagging on defeat's bile must have caused his life, replete with prison bars, to flash before his eyes faster than an Emirates A-380 plane.

Having stuck sour notes in peoples' mouths for so long, it's no surprise that uBaba was hanging, white-knuckled, on to the table until Ace Magashule and DD Mabuza were announced, respectively, as ANC secretary general and deputy president.

Ace will probably try to marshal the new national executive committee to stop any recall of Mkhandakhandanda and stymie attempts to clean up the party's branches. Voting banks and membership manipulation made the ANC messier than the hourly rooms at a Midrand brothel.

Ace is supposed to be mopping this up, but is more likely to add to the litter mound with used condoms and unused copies of *Through the Eye of the Needle*.

After all, the courts have twice



No cry: Women's league leader Bathabile Dlamini wouldn't say whether she voted for David Mabuza or Lindiwe Sisulu. Photo: Oupa Nkosi

found that his election as Free State ANC chairperson was illegal because branches were being manipulated like an elastic band.

The NDZ lobbyists were sweating it out just before the election results were announced. I had wandered over to the KwaZulu-Natal section of the conference hall to pick up a blessing when the ghostly features of provincial chairperson Sihle Zikalala and provincial secretary Super Zuma "left me cold".

uBaba's tokoloshe was scratching his bald pate, on the verge of tears, staring incomprehensibly at a piece of paper where he may, or may not, have been scratching off the names of former friends. Super looked like a mere mortal without any of the powers that allowed him, for a moment, to erase former ANC treasurer general Zweli Mkhize's party membership and grow the ANC membership as magically as Jack's beanstalk.

It's been a tough time for women at this conference. From being chatted up by leery stick insects with the tenderpreneur strain of kwashiorkor — all red meat, single-malt whisky and no-exercise diets — to comrade Nkosazana Dlamini-Zuma losing out to Ramaphosa. We are not winning.

Apparently there is this thing called "patriarchy" that is holding us back.

I googled what it means in between plenary sessions today, expecting to see a photograph of Comrade President of the ANC Women's League and Queen Regent of the Nyaope-induced News Conference Bathabile Dlamini.

Apparently it actually means that the men have been back-alley bugging us from even before uBaba's tenure as president, for free no less.

I was expecting Ramaphosa to bow out of the race for the ANC presidency after Dlamini had reportedly intimated she would "call people

who are prepared to speak about [Ramaphosa's] history" as an alleged abuser of women to speak up. Bua, sathane! Surprisingly, there were no smallanyana skeletons popping out of the closet to scare the bejeezus out of Cupcake before he was elected.

But I have been confused by the women's league's approach to this election. Why did we wait for uBaba and DD to tell us to support Dlamini-Zuma before deciding that we should? Why did we support Dlamini-Zuma for the presidency, but not Lindiwe Sisulu for the deputy presidency?

Poor Sis Sisulu had looked all lonesome on the dais where the national executive committee sit. This was even before the results confirmed that she was, indeed, alone.

If the women's league had supported her, she would be in line to become the party's first woman president.

I didn't get any answers from Comrade President Head Girl of the Women's League Bathabile Dlamini and Lumka "Mr T" Oliphant when we caucused or during their news conference the morning after the night before.

In between ranting how the election result — five out of the top six are men — was a defeat for women, she refused to answer a question about whether she had voted for DD or Sisulu.

"The issue", it would appear, was the "unfair question being asked": "That is a nonissue," said Dlamini. "The issue is to push us in a corner, the issue is to crush us ... No, we are not going to allow that. That is an unfair question."

It's answers like these that leave me with questions about feminism, patriarchy and how the fuck did we end up with an idiot like Dlamini to lead our movement?

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