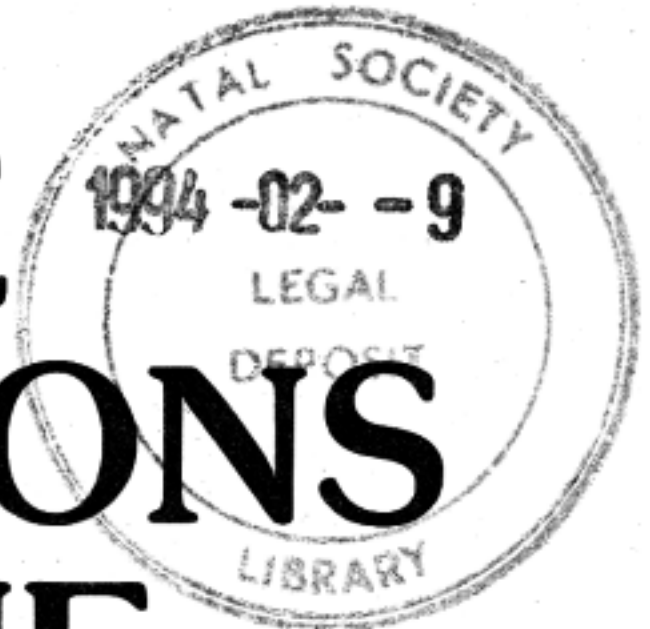


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THE SKELETONS IN THE ANC ELECTION CLOSET



INTRODUCTION

The long-awaited list of candidates of the ANC for the National Assembly was published in the third week of January 1994. There has, since, been various reactions to that list. The press of the liberal bourgeoisie has been agitated by the number of Communist Party members placed high on the election list. They feel that they have been cheated or tricked by the Communist Party despite the fact that all those who had eyes to see would have known that the ANC and the Umkhonto weSizwe are heavily dominated by the members of the Communist Party in all organisational areas of importance.

The Indian members of the ANC are divided in their reaction to the Election List. There are those honest members who have been outraged at the nomination of the sellouts from the Solidarity Party and have resigned from the ANC in protest. Prominent in this is the 80-year-old Dr Goonam, a member of the Congress Movement for over half a century. There are others, no less outraged because they or their friends have been omitted from the List. And finally, there are those hacks and apologists who will slavishly repeat justification for the scandal which has erupted over the nomination of sellouts and crooks to represent the ANC in the National Assembly.

An election list of candidates published by an organisation is a reflection of the nature and character of that organisation. By compiling the list referred to above, the ANC has, in effect, announced to the country and to the world at large:

The persons, whose names appear on this Election List have been chosen by us. They are the accredited representatives of the ANC. Henceforth, when they speak and act, they do so on our behalf.

The Election List consists of the ANC's first choice of proposed members for the National Assembly. The majority of persons whose names appear on the list will be elected to the National Assembly and will, therefore, constitute the key component of the next government of this country.

It is in the vital interests of the oppressed, exploited and all others who truly believe in democracy that the election list be examined carefully and to publicise the results of that examination. In the interests of transparency, people must know who exactly they will be voting for when they vote for the ANC. Such an examination will also give us a good glimpse of the nature and character of the new government.

SOME OF THE "SKELETONS"

1. "EVERYTHING IS NEGOTIABLE"

NELSON MANDELA heads the list and in all probability he is going to be the new president of South Africa. Mr Mandela's basic approach to politics is, as he formulated it in a television interview on 14 February 1990:

"I have pointed out to you that everything is negotiable which is of importance. Otherwise we ought not to talk about negotiations."

This approach by its very nature cannot co-exist with principled politics which always have a set of non-negotiable demands and positions.

For the short while that he has been out of prison, he has shown what the politics of "Everything is Negotiable" is all about. He started off by bestowing the title "MAN OF INTEGRITY" on F.W. de Klerk and continued paying the latter handsome compliments from time to time. At other times he has castigated De Klerk as the head of a racist regime and as a person who does not value black lives. He has lashed out at

Gatsha Buthelezi, Lucas Mangope and Oupa Gqozo as creatures of the apartheid regime. Yet he embraces, as comrades, persons like Holomisa, J.N.Reddy, Ramodike, Ramushwana and others - also creatures of the same apartheid regime. We saw him promise that the homes of Indian people at Wiggens Estate which were taken over by homeless Africans, would be returned to them. And then we saw him wash his hands off the whole matter.

The man's failure to adopt non-negotiable or principled positions makes him UNPREDICTABLE. One cannot, therefore, know what next he is going to say and do.

His approach to politics suits the ANC to the tee. That is why he is its president.

2. DYED IN THE WOOL STALINISTS

High powered members of the Stalinist Communist Party, who are also leading members of the ANC Executive, occupy prominent positions on the Election List. Most of these members have spent the greater part of their political lives propagating, defending or white-washing STALINISM. The latter has earned a notoriety for violation of human rights and civil liberties and mega-mass murders, all of which equalled or even surpassed the holocaust perpetrated by Nazism under Hitler.

Much of the terrible intolerance which pervades sections of the liberatory movements emanates directly or indirectly from this source. We need very much more than pious declarations of commitment to democracy which go side by side with the carnage which has become an everyday affair in the lives of the African oppressed. We regard this as no more than posturing as their fellow Stalinists did in Spain in the 1930's and in Czechoslovakia in the post war years before they struck with the steel fist against all opponents.

3. SELLOUTS FROM THE BANTUSTANS AND THE TRICAMERAL CIRCUS

The move to befriend the sellouts goes far beyond the formation of the so-called Patriotic Front which compelled AZAPO to withdraw because of the latter's insistence that the sellouts in the Patriotic Front be made to resign from the Bantustans and the Tricameral Circus.

In 1991, we saw a public display of affection and friendship between Mandela and the sellouts. Others like Louis Skweyiya followed suit. It was in response to this disgraceful conduct that we wrote an article entitled: "ANC BEFRIENDS SELLOUTS" in APDUSA VIEWS No 43 (November 1991).

A large number of names of these sellouts appears on the Election List. Some of these are Gabriel Ramushwana of Venda, Nelson Ramodike of Lebowa, J.N. Reddy, D.S. Rajah, Llewellyn Landers and Peter Hendrickse.

The people want to know why are the names of the sellouts on the List?

We don't recall any of the sellouts making a public repentance of their sordid betrayal of the cause of liberation. Nor do we recall any of the sellouts offering to return to the public money which they received by way of salaries and perks and business deals made possible because of their special access to information and opportunity.

4. TORTURERS AND VIOLATORS OF HUMAN RIGHTS

The ANC, which engaged in activities resulting in loss of life and immense suffering on the part of its members and their families and also members of the public, justified the suffering and sacrifice on the moral ground that it strove for liberation which would give the fullest expression to human rights and civil liberties.

You can imagine the horror which gripped the people when reports came flooding in about the torture camps set up by the ANC in Zambia and Angola.

So serious were the allegations that no less than four Commissions of Inquiry were set up to investigate the allegations. Two of these were set up by the ANC itself.

All four Commissions of Inquiry confirmed allegations of executions without proper trials, torture, solitary confinement and general brutality against helpless detainees.

One of those Commissions, the MOTSEUNYANE COMMISSION OF INQUIRY, (set up by the ANC) was the most comprehensive one. At least four high-ranking officials of the ANC were named as having been involved in the atrocities. These were Jacob Zuma, Joe Modise, Mzwai Piliso and Andrew Masondo.

This Commission of Inquiry recommended, *inter alia*, that:

The culprits be punished in accordance with the ANC's Code of Discipline;

There be a public apology to the victims;

The victims be given monetary compensation.

In response to the Report and the recommendations, Mr Mandela stated that the ANC was taking both seriously. Just how seriously the Report and recommendations were taken will be seen from what appears below.

Of the four persons mentioned:

Jacob Zuma was elected to be the ANC regional presidential candidate for the Natal/Kwa Zulu region;

Joe Modise appears as number 24 on the ANC Election List;

Mzwayi Piliso appears as number 139 on the same list;

Andrew Masondo is the commander of the MK trainees in Uganda.

WHAT TERRIBLE PUNISHMENT!!!

5. CORRUPT POLITICIANS AND ABUSERS OF PUBLIC FUNDS

At a quick glance, there are a number of persons on the ANC Election List who fit the description of "Corrupt Politicians and Abusers of Public Funds". Two of the more notorious are:

- (a) Nelson Ramodike, the ruler of Lebowa, had his Bantustan invaded by the auditors from the South African government when it was discovered that there were massive misappropriations of funds. Ramodike's government exceeded its R180 million overdraft by R60 million. There were frenzied salary increases for the corrupt politicians. Ramodike gave himself a salary increase so that his annual salary reached R358 152.
- (b) Gabriel Ramushwana is the military ruler of Venda. He got started with his military training in the South African Police where he was a member of the Security Police. He and six government employees became millionaires overnight as a result of what the SOWETAN describes as a "pension scam". The Pension Fund of the civil servants of Venda, totalling in the sum of R40 million has been "privatised", i.e. put in the pockets of Ramushwana and his cronies. Ramushwana, personally, "owes" the Pension Fund R580 000.

6. SUSPECTED POLICE INFORMER AND RABID RACIST RABBLE-ROUSER

Peter Mokaba was investigated by the ANC as a Police informer. The press reported that he was found by the ANC to be an ANC member of good standing, though there was no categorical finding that he had not been an informer. Mokaba attracted the mass media as the aging youth league president who was reluctant to relinquish that position and who popularised the slogan "KILL THE BOER, KILL THE FARMER!"

7. CONVICTED FELON

Mrs Winnie Mandela had been convicted and sentenced to six years imprisonment for her involvement in charges of aggravating assault and kidnapping. As a public figure, her private life has been one which will not qualify her as a role model for the damsels of our nation.

8. BANDWAGON CLIMBERS AND CAREERISTS

It is a well-known phenomenon in history that when there is about to be a change in government, a certain breed of people known as bandwagon climbers and careerists swing into action. This breed cares little for loyalty to cause, organisation and principles. All these they jettison with no compunction or backward glance.

Such persons desert for a variety of reasons. There is the glory of being with the victors; there is often the expectation of lucrative jobs and positions and there is also the fear of reprisals for being political opponents.

Some of the more notorious of the bandwagon climbers are Dullah Omar, Ramaphosa, Alec Erwin, John Copelyn, John Samuels, Dave Dalling, Momberg and Van Eck.

9. POLITICALLY IGNORANT

One name which appears on the ANC List is that of Miriam Makeba, the well-known singer. To justify election to a parliament, the candidate needs to have certain qualifications. The most important of these is a sound working knowledge of politics. If it is a democracy the organisation is striving for, then that candidate ought to know at least the difference between a democracy and an autocratic dictatorship.

As it happens, Miriam Makeba does not appear to know the difference. She honestly believes that the military dictatorship of Togoland is a good example of a democracy and she therefore heaped praise on the Togolese dictator, Lieutenant General Etienne Gnassingbe Eyadema.¹

Miriam Makeba is not a politician. She is an artist. She has been used by the ANC because of her fame. In politics, she is clearly out of her depth.

10. DESCRIPTION DEFIED

How does one describe a person like Randall van der Heever, the secretary of the teachers' organisation, SADTU, who, while doing everything in his power to ensure the success of the teachers' strike in August 1993 (and thereby denying vital education to the children of the oppressed) made certain that HIS OWN children were enrolled in a predominantly white private school which was teacher-strike-free?

¹ According to the Amnesty International Report of 1993: "Massive human rights violations have been committed by security forces in Togo over the past year, with dozens extrajudicially executed..." (Sunday Times Extra 30th January 1994)

AN OPEN LETTER

To those members of the ANC, both recent and of old, who have waged a consistent struggle against oppression and who are not tainted with Stalinism or any other disgraceful conduct of the kind described above, we address these questions and remarks:

- a. What is it that you have in common with the Stalinists, crooks, racists, violators of human rights, sellouts and bandwagon climbers?
- b. Why have you agreed to the placing of the names of these persons as your representatives?
- c. Are these hated and despised creatures of your own free choice or have they been foisted on you by a shamelessly opportunistic section of your leadership? What has happened to the much vaunted demand of: "THE PEOPLE SHALL GOVERN! Has that demand now been altered to read: "THE LEADERS SHALL DECIDE AND THE PEOPLE SHALL MEEKLY OBEY!"?²

WARNING TO THE READER!

Let the reader be warned that the way the new constitution is framed, the voter no longer votes for PERSONS. When a voter exercises his vote, he votes for an ORGANISATION or a PARTY. And voting for a party or organisation means that he votes for those persons whose names appear on the Election List of that party or organisation.

². Jacob Zuma, whose name has been mentioned in connection with the Motsuenyane Commission, is reported to have responded to the mounting criticism of the choice of names on the Election List as follows: "Once the leadership takes a decision, it is our culture that the decision has to be implemented." (Daily News 27\1\1994)

In the present case, a vote for the ANC would mean voting for ALL the names which appear on the ANC Election List, including the names of the crooks, sellouts, violators of human rights.

CONCLUSION

Daily people are being urged to exercise their vote in the April elections. People are being told that they MUST vote. Why must people vote as an absolute necessity? What if the people do not like the candidates? It is our view that while democracy gives people the right to vote, it also gives them the right NOT TO VOTE if there is no party which has an acceptable list of candidates.

NOTES TO THE READER

1. Mrs Winnie Mandela had her six year sentence altered, on appeal, to a fine of R15 000.00. The lowering of her sentence has been criticised as a poor example of justice.



2. While we support the condemnation by members of the Indian Congresses of the nomination of Sellouts J.N. Reddy and D.S. Rajah, we believe that the NIC-TIC people have fallen into the ethnic and racist thinking of confining their condemnation to Sellouts who are Indian. They should condemn ALL Sellouts whose names appear on the ANC Election List, regardless of "race", colour, creed or sex.

**DON'T VOTE
FOR
ANY
PARTY
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