



Numsa Media Monitor

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A daily compilation of local, national and international articles dealing with labour related issues

Workers Summit and May Day

A first ever workers summit planned for month end

EWN, 28 April 2016

EWN reporter Govan Whittles reports from Numsa House where announcements are being made about the future of a new worker federation.

“South Africa will have its first ever workers' summit at the end of the month, and this will see the representation of 50 unions from across the country take part in a one day rally with a view to launch a set of principles on May Day.”

Former Cosatu General Secretary Zwelinzima Vavi is the summit convener. Though he says Cosatu has been invited, but they will not be attending.

The organisers say the launch of a new federation is not an attempt to compete with Cosatu.

“They said there is nothing to compete with, as the number of workers unionised is decreasing every year.”

Whittles says the unions which had left Cosatu seem to be returning to the fold.

The new federation has expressed interest rather in appealing to the loyalty of remaining splinter unions.

“They believe Cosatu is too loyal to the ANC and want to form a formation with no political affiliation...independent and apolitical...they still think there will be mass walkouts from Cosatu, though this has proven not to be the case in the past.”

Political analyst Ralph Mathekga spoke to Stephen Grootes about whether this summit and new federation will develop into the workers party that has been discussed for the past few years.

“The momentum is dying...the hesitation they have shown seems to indicate little thinking about what has to be done.”

Mathekga says he thinks they are being careful and in the face of criticism after breaking away from Cosatu, they are struggling to decide what entity they should form.

“They had far more gravitas when they were within Cosatu.”

Political alignment will also be a thorny issue says Mathekga whether it be EFF or DA.

“Vavi cannot squander his political capital on a party like the DA. ...but if they remain independent they will face a backlash from other political parties, saying they are dividing opposition in SA”

But, he says, there is space in South Africa for a workers party if it takes on the concerns of working class families, and is spearheaded by people with credibility.

<http://www.capetalk.co.za/articles/13171/a-first-ever-workers-summit-planned-for-month-end>

Trade unions ready for anti-job loss campaign

Karl Gernetzky, Business Day, 29 April 2016

TRADE unions gearing up for the launch of a new federation later this year are expected to announce a campaign against job losses this weekend.

Up to 3,000 delegates from 50 unions are due to meet at a summit on Saturday to discuss the possible formation of a new trade union federation, with the broadest possible participation being sought, summit convenor Zwelinzima Vavi, former leader of the Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu) said. Mr Vavi said there was an urgent need to put job losses and socioeconomic conditions back on the agenda. He panned what he saw as the cosy relationship of some union leaders with employers including the state.

Unemployment had reached catastrophic levels, wages had been falling "and if this was not bad enough, we are currently witnessing a new job-loss blood bath that is threatening to worsen our already disastrous political and economic circumstances", he said.

While the list of participating unions and their membership would not be released before the summit, Mr Vavi said the unions expected to take part had been given 20 delegates regardless of size.

All trade union federations had been invited to attend the summit including Solidarity and the Association of Mineworkers and Construction Union (Amcu). Themba

Makeleni, a spokesman for the National Council of Trade Unions (Nactu), said Amcu would participate as one of the federation's 21 affiliates represented.

Solidarity general-secretary Gideon du Plessis said on Thursday the union would use the summit to present some of its research.

"This is the ideal platform to show that despite the perceived differences we have, there are things we have in common, and one of the main things is job losses."

On Sunday, both the nascent workers' platform and Cosatu will hold May Day rallies in Gauteng, with both expected to place a heavy focus on the state of labour and the rapidly rising cost of living.

<http://www.bdlive.co.za/national/labour/2016/04/29/trade-unions-ready-for-anti-job-loss-campaign>

Vavi's May Day call: New labour federation set for weekend launch

Greg Nicolson, Daily Maverick, 29 April 2016

In what is described as a historic meeting, about 50 unions are set to meet this weekend to form a federation that could rival Cosatu and unite workers. They hope to rally the majority of South African workers who aren't union members, while Cosatu has called the Workers Summit a self-serving sideshow.

On Thursday, Zwelinzima Vavi was adamant that a new workers' federation would not be competing with Cosatu because the country's largest labour federation has failed to unionise and unite the labour force. "We are not in competition with Cosatu because there is nothing to compete with. We are competing with ourselves to set up new standards to reach out to the 7-million workers who are not in any union," Vavi told EWN.

The former Cosatu general secretary is the convenor of the Workers Summit, which will see 50 unions representing over a million workers meet on Saturday in Johannesburg, and will probably lead to the establishment of a new trade union federation. Forming a new trade federation has been an option since the expulsion of the National Union of Metalworkers SA (Numsa) and Vavi from Cosatu led to a partial split within the federation.

"Our overriding priority must be to take up the fight for a strong, proactive, independent and united workers' movement. That is why we have resolved to convene a Workers Summit, to which the broadest possible number of representative workers' federations and unions must participate," Vavi read from a statement on Thursday.

Explaining the rationale for the summit, the statement says workers and unions have long called for greater labour unity but the movement has been divided by expulsions for political reasons.

"The shocking truth is that 76% of workers remain unorganised, and most of them are in the most vulnerable sectors. In addition, 54% of all wages received by workers are determined by the employers without any negotiations. Only 23% of workers'

wages are determined through collective bargaining with only 9% determined through centralised bargaining,” says the statement. It also notes ongoing poverty, inequality, unemployment and threats to South Africa’s democracy, such as attacks on Chapter 9 institutions.

The Workers’ Summit has four objectives: to assess the trade union movement; identify common concerns and a common approach to working class unity; to consider the possibility of forming a new federation; to develop proposals, and to prepare for the following May Day rally. On Sunday the unions will hold a May Day rally at Mehlareng Stadium in Tembisa, which holds 20,000 people, and launch a campaign targeting retrenchments.

The summit comes after 26 unions met last year to work towards developing a new platform for labour unity. They stressed the values of union independence, worker control, financial sustainability, socialist orientation, effective organisation, and fighting for the poor. They said unions should be independent of political parties, but all of the principles will be up for debate this weekend. Certain union leaders aligned to the summit have expressed a desire to see a workers’ party contest elections, but that hasn’t come to fruition, and it seems unlikely that a new federation would declare support for an existing political party for fear of alienating members. Expected at the summit are unions such as Numsa, Solidarity, the South African State and Allied Workers Union, and the National Council of Trade Unions.

Cosatu has said it will not take part in the summit and warned its workers from being distracted by “sideshow”.

“Because our unions are led by elected leaders, we know what workers want discussed in any summit. We have monopoly capital to defeat and the only summit workers want is a jobs summit to talk about the ongoing job losses. Workers want a summit to discuss the rising cost of living and that will ensure that they are able to put food on the table and feed and clothe their families,” Cosatu said in a statement. The federation will host May Day events across the country but its national event will be held in Pretoria and be addressed by Cosatu President Sdumo Dlamini, President Jacob Zuma, and Communist Party leader Blade Nzimande.

“We reiterate our call for the workers to close ranks and defend the federation from its enemies. We are clear that monopoly capital remains our number one enemy; but we also know that a tiny minority of discredited and expelled former Cosatu leaders have since declared themselves the enemies of the federation. They meet in dark corners with racist unions such as Solidarity, and the DA, EFF to plot against Cosatu,” said a statement from the federation on Monday.

“We have also noted that they are planning to form a new federation and that they have been trying to divide our unions. We are not threatened by these discredited and expelled former leaders because we know them. They can never build anything because they have versatility of convictions and also do not want to be led. They have no time for democratic centralism and they only are there to look after their interests.”

This weekend will be the first test of whether Vavi and his colleagues can draw mass support for a new federation. If successful, it will be the latest example of Tripartite Alliance organisations expelling leaders who come back to haunt them. It could also

change the face of the labour movement, but that, like the process of just organising the Workers Summit, will take time.

<http://www.dailymaverick.co.za/article/2016-04-29-vavis-may-day-call-new-labour-federation-set-for-weekend-launch/#.VyMVSE3IrlU>

Cosatu slams formation of new federation

Angela Bolowana, SABC, 28 April 2016

The Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu) has lashed out at the organisers of a new labour federation to be launched this weekend, accusing them of wanting to divide Cosatu.

The workers' federation is expected to be announced this weekend when 50 unions meet in Boksburg. The unions, led by trade unionist Zwelinzima Vavi, will discuss the formation of the federation which they say will focus on the needs of workers and not involve itself in politics.

Vavi says they have invited Cosatu to join the federation, but Cosatu President Sdumo Dlamini has denied this.

Dlamini says the federation is building itself on small breakaways. "I have seen the list and they (those forming the federation) include some of the comrades who have splintered away from some Cosatu unions in groups of about 1000 (members) or 500 or 5000 per union. These comrades have been trying to divide Cosatu unions."

Vavi, however, is optimistic about the formation of the federation and says over a million workers will be represented.

"For the first time in the history of South Africa, labour movements consisting of 50 unions representing well over 1 million workers will come together. They will forge a unity of workers across their different organisational traditions and backgrounds, their political and ideological differences and racial and historic differences."

<http://www.sabc.co.za/news/a/ef4cde004c91454c914e9fa10755317a/Cosatu-slams-formation-of-new-federation-20160428>

Vavi: Cosatu has a lot to answer for

Govan Whittles, EWN, 28 April 2016

JOHANNESBURG – Organisers of South Africa's first-ever workers summit says the decrease in the number of people joining unions every year is the biggest tragedy facing South Africa's labour movement.

The workers summit will be held this weekend where 3,000 delegates from 50 unions will discuss the need for an independent labour federation to unite the country's workforce.

Only 26 percent of South Africa's workforce is currently unionised, while there are already 187 registered unions, and 300 more waiting for approval from the Labour Department.

Convenor of the workers summit Zwelinzima Vavi says fragmentation of the labour force is the biggest threat to worker unity.

"All of them in search of unity that can means we can reach out to that seven million plus as soon as we can."

Vavi says Congress of South African Trade Union (Cosatu) is responsible for the public's negative perception of unions.

"Unions have been discredited by the biggest association in the country by its association with political parties."

The summit has invited worker federations Nactu, Fedusa and Cosatu as well as a host of other independent smaller unions.

<http://ewn.co.za/2016/04/28/Vavi-says-Cosatu-has-a-lot-to-answer-for>

SA Unions

SA mining industry is 'most dangerous' sector to work in: Fedusa

SABC/ANA, 28 April 2016

Fedusa's Dennis George says government needs to enforce strict measures of compliance to the regulations of the Occupational Health and Safety Act.(SABC)

The Federation of Unions of South Africa (Fedusa) said that South Africa's mining industry was "considered the most dangerous to work in", this as the International Day for Occupational Health and Safety was marked on Thursday.

Fedusa General Secretary Dennis George said that "many cases of occupational accidents and related deaths" occurred in the mining industry.

Singling out the tragic incident at the Lily Mine in Mpumalanga where three miners remain trapped underground since February,

George said: "It is important for government, business and organised labour to focus attention on participating actively in securing a safety and health culture in workplaces in terms of the Occupational Health and Safety Act."

George added: "It is therefore important to strengthen the existing culture of health and safety in the mining industry through promoting learning and building capacity to make the workplaces safer and healthier."

He said Fedusa remained committed to promoting better working conditions for workers and to raising awareness about "the magnitude of the problem of occupational or work-related fatalities, diseases and injuries".

George said the government needed to “enforce strict measures of compliance to the regulations of the Occupational Health and Safety Act”.

He said ground and transportation accidents were “still major causes of fatalities, despite a gradual decrease over recent years”.

George called on all employers and social partners to play a role in building a safer, healthier working environment at all levels.

He said they should implement a “preventive safety and health culture” in their workplaces through education, training and issuing safe work gear where needed, so employees could safely perform their work.

George also appealed to employees to comply with the health and safety regulations in their workplaces.

<http://www.sabc.co.za/news/a/316b9e804c9154bf99099fa10755317a/SA-mining-industry-is-most-dangerous-sector-to-work-in:-Fedusa-20160428>

Parents try to oust teacher

Chris Ndaliso, Daily News, 27 April 2016

Durban - Angry parents, including school governing body (SGB) members, have vowed to “shut down” a KwaZulu-Natal school unless action is taken against a teacher who they say has spent “most” of the past three years out of the classroom, away on union business.

The governing body at the ML Sultan Primary in Ladysmith has given the Education Department until Friday to remove Rama Ramdewo and replace him with a “more capable” teacher.

If it fails to meet the ultimatum, the SGB, in a memorandum delivered on Monday, warned the school would “be locked”.

The SGB also accused Ramdewo, a South African Democratic Teachers Union (Sadtu) representative, of being a disruptive influence at the school, abusing his leave and said he had “deprived our children” of their right to education.

Parents said the department had failed to act against the teacher because it was controlled by Sadtu, which had close ties with the ANC, and that the union’s needs were being met at the expense of children desperate for education.

Commenting on the row, an education expert has said absenteeism was high among teachers in the province, who were “too unionised”, and this was reflected by poor results.

According to the ML Sultan school register, purportedly signed by Ramdewo, which the Daily News has seen, from April 2013 to November 2015 he would often leave school before 11.30am.

On some occasions he would spend only 10 minutes at the school after signing in at 7.30am.

And in May last year, according to the register, the grades 4 and 5 Life Skills teacher left work between 8am and 9.30am.

Reasons given when signing out early included: attending the department's short-listing of potential employment candidates as a union representative; Sadtu's branch executive committee mobilisation campaigns and other union duties.

According to the SGB, other teachers had to look after Ramdewo's pupils during his absences, until the department sent a teacher from another school in the middle of last year to fill the void.

But according to SGB chairman, Peter Mabaso, Ms Zuma stayed only two months before submitting a letter saying she was leaving. "She left, saying that she felt she was used. Her letter is in the principal's office. She went back to the school she was taken from," said Mabaso.

In a memorandum of demands to the department's Ladysmith District Office, the parents said: "We... are frustrated that this educator has placed his union activities above our children's education.

"We are giving you five days to remove Mr Ramdewo from this school or... we have the right to make the school ungovernable." An irate parent who requested anonymity to protect his child, said Ramdewo was entitled to hold office with a union, but by law, labour or union matters may not exceed 15 days a year.

"His frequent absence from school is doing our children no good," said the parent.

"With all the available evidence against him at the school, for three years now, no action has been or will be taken against him. This calls for parents to show the department, the union and its members that we will not be held to ransom for political interests at the expense of our children..."

"The problem is that Sadtu... tends to overlook its members' crucial role, which is to educate our children, so we don't see the past repeating itself," said the parent.

The parent said that in the past apartheid had been blamed for depriving black communities of development and giving their children an inferior education.

"What's different from what was done then to what Ramdewo is doing now? Despite our efforts for the department's intervention, the man has continued doing this for the past three years. We are prepared to blockade the school like other parents in various parts of the country, to secure education for our children. His union or the department must call him to order," the parent said.

Contacted for comment, Ramdewo said the matter was under investigation by Sadtu and the department.

"I don't want to comment on the matter and if you publish it, then it will be at your own peril," he said.

Section 8 (2) of the South African Schools Act stipulates a code of conduct must be established, aimed at establishing a disciplined and purposeful school environment, dedicated to the improvement and maintenance of the quality of the learning process.

Mabaso said: "The department is lenient to Sadtu members. If we must respect your right to affiliate to a union, you must also respect our children's rights to education. Because of the parents' anger we wrote to MEC (Peggy) Nkonyeni early this year informing her of the situation."

On Tuesday eNCA reported that various schools around the province have not been teaching pupils for two weeks after parents locked the gates for various reasons.

Sadtu confirmed the lock-out at two primary and two high schools for two weeks in various parts of Estcourt and Ladysmith.

Sadtu deputy provincial secretary, Bheki Shandu, said local business people believed tender processes were not followed when appointing businesses to provide nutrition at the schools.

Professor Labby Ramrathan of the University of KwaZulu-Natal's School of Education said the nature of learner performance in the province was very low.

"Research tells us 10% of teachers in our schools are absent for two months and above annually. We have to guard against how unions encroach teaching.

"The (education) department has to be more efficient in dealing with trouble teachers. If there's evidence of transgression, then punitive measures must be taken.

"Our teaching profession is too unionised in that unions become more involved in many aspects of education. There's lack of professionalism in the relationship between the department, unions and its members," he said.

Reaction

Sadtu provincial secretary, Nomarashiya Dolly Caluza, said the "educator as a leader" was allowed by law to have time off for union activities.

"In most of the activities our leaders are invited by the department," she said in a written reply to questions from the Daily News. Caluza did not respond to questions which sought to establish the number of hours in a year a teacher was entitled to for attending union affairs.

Education MEC, Peggy Nkonyeni, said the matter was under investigation, but she was not familiar with the details.

The chairwoman of the education portfolio committee, Linda Hlongwa, has called for the education of pupils to be given priority in the relationship between unions and the department.

Matakanye Matakanya, general secretary of the National Association of School Governing Bodies, said absenteeism did not seem to be a wide problem because

there was an application process when teachers needed time off to attend union duties.

Spokeswoman for Equal Education, Nombulelo Nyathela, said teacher absenteeism was a problem. She said spending more time outside the classroom for union work than inside teaching was wrong and tantamount to fraud.

<http://www.iol.co.za/dailynews/news/parents-try-to-oust-teacher-2014812>

AB InBev makes new offer to clear European antitrust hurdles in SABMiller deal

Business Day, 29 April 2016

ANHEUSER-Busch InBev, the world's biggest brewer, has offered to sell all of acquisition target SABMiller's central and eastern European assets.

The brewer on Friday announced the updated package of remedies intended to "proactively address potential regulatory considerations" that could hamper its more than R15bn takeover of its nearest rival.

The latest proposal is in addition to the sale of Peroni, Grolsch and Meantime and their related businesses, the company's statement said.

AB InBev last week agreed to sell those three brands to Japan's Asahi for €2.55bn.

In China, SABMiller is selling its 49% stake in CR Snow to joint-venture partner China Resources Beer.

The deal faces hurdles other than antitrust issues — empowerment concerns in SA need to be addressed too.

The Food and Allied Workers' Union (Fawu) is unhappy about the way the Zenzele Employee Trust empowerment vehicle is being treated in the deal.

<http://www.bdlive.co.za/business/retail/2016/04/29/ab-inbev-makes-new-offer-to-clear-european-antitrust-hurdles-in-sabmiller-deal>

South Africa

Untrusted and Unpresidential: How low can the Zuma presidency go?

Ranjeni Munusamy, Daily Maverick, 29 April 2016

On Friday, judgment will be delivered in the Pretoria High Court on whether the decision to drop corruption charges against President Jacob Zuma in 2009 was unlawful. The judgment, whichever way it falls, is likely to set off another chain of events that will drag the presidency and the country through more complex legal action and more muck. The Office of the President, through its incumbent, could be edging closer to being put on trial. As he has done with all his scandals, Zuma is

likely to pretend this has nothing to do with him and continue to go through the motions of running the country as a hollowed out leader. By RANJENI MUNUSAMY.

On Wednesday, there was yet another unsuccessful attempt to stage mass demonstrations against the president in the country's main cities. The "Zuma Must Go" campaign, initiated by religious and civil society leaders after the Constitutional Court ruled that the president had violated the Constitution, did not live up to the initial hype of a mass uprising against South Africa's elected leader. The protest leaders say this is just the start of a mass action campaign to ensure that Zuma leaves office, but clearly South Africa is not heading the way of its BRICS sister Brazil's mass rebellion against the president, Dilma Rousseff.

While the small protests were taking place in Johannesburg and Cape Town on Wednesday, Zuma was leading the official Freedom Day celebration in Giyani, Limpopo, at an event attended by thousands of people. Although this was a state event, the attendance was seen as affirmation of Zuma's leadership. Arts and Culture Minister Nathi Mthethwa boldly declared that Zuma would complete his term in 2019 despite calls for him to step down.

"No one is going to remove President Zuma from office... President Zuma and his government have been elected and are expected to go out and renew the mandate of 2019 and it is going to be so," Mthethwa said.

Zuma also referred to the matter in his speech, but appeared to be giving advice to someone else. "What is important is that we should humble ourselves. If you were elected at one point and people no longer want you, humble yourself," Zuma told the crowd, according to News24. "Accept it so that change will come if people believe we need change now."

It could not have escaped Zuma that the calls to step down or "do the right thing" are directed at him so he has not explained why he is not taking his own advice. It was important however to follow proper procedures to remove a leader and to ensure that democratic institutions are respected, Zuma said without a hint of irony, even invoking the Constitution he was found to have violated. "Our citizens' faith in our Constitution [and] democracy has never been stronger. We have deepening our understanding of democracy with time," Zuma said.

Then on Thursday, Zuma bestowed national orders on people who had done exceptional service to the country and humanity. He did so as "Grand Patron of National Orders". This should be a moment of pride for the nation, when citizens and foreign nationals who played an outstanding role in society are recognised through the bestowal of the country's highest honours.

Although there were many worthy and notable recipients, including Winnie Madikizela-Mandela, struggle stalwarts and the President of Chile Michelle Bachelet Jeria, the event was a low-key affair. The lack of public interest could not be a reflection on the recipients but perhaps the charade entailed in a person who brought dishonour on the country bestowing the awards as the "Grand Patron".

Again Zuma seemed not to see the irony in uttering the following words: "By the power vested in me in terms of Section 84 of the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, I now confer the Order of Mendi, the Order of Ikhamanga, the Order of

the Baobab, the Order of Luthuli, the Order of Mapungubwe and the Order of the Companions of OR Tambo to the distinguished persons indicated.”

But what is Zuma supposed to do under the circumstances? He has ignored the chorus of calls for him to act in the interests of the country and step down, and the ANC has shut down discussion on the matter. He therefore has to perform his duties, as the Constitution requires him to do. According to his schedule of public engagements announced by the presidency, Zuma will address the national Workers’ Day celebrations in Mamelodi, Pretoria, attend the Presidency budget vote debate in Parliament on Wednesday and Thursday, and undertake a state visit to Qatar later in May. He is also scheduled to answer questions in the National Assembly on 17 May.

Zuma’s appearances in Parliament have been full of commotion since he begun fobbing off accountability on the Nkandla matter two years ago. They now require high-level security operations and almost always result in shouting matches between the presiding officers and opposition MPs. After the Constitutional Court hearing, Economic Freedom Fighters (EFF) leader Julius Malema declared that his party no longer recognised Zuma as president and would “physically remove him” should he try to address Parliament. It therefore remains unclear how the EFF will handle Zuma’s upcoming appearances in the National Assembly.

It is not a desirable situation for a legitimately and democratically elected president to be threatened with violence and to constantly face condemnation. It is also not desirable for a president to be distrusted as he is accused of acting in the interests of his friends and family rather than that of the country. It is perhaps inappropriate to view Zuma’s state visits with suspicion following allegations that he had transported money out of the country on behalf of the Gupta family and after military co-operation between South Africa and Saudi Arabia was confirmed only after images of the president touring a weapons factory emerged.

But the country also does not know what next to expect of our president. Who could have believed that he was capable of sabotaging our economy until he offhandedly did so in December when he fired Nhlanhla Nene as finance minister? And how is it possible that even now Zuma does not appreciate how devastating his actions were and continues to blame the fall of the currency and financial losses on the markets?

With Zuma’s immunity to criticism and self-reflection, and his lack of awareness of his ruinous conduct, there is always the danger that he can act irresponsibly again. And there are always questions that will hang over him.

Why is he suddenly so interested in visiting the Gulf? What and who is transported on his jet? Where does it stop? When will he make his next Cabinet reshuffle? Who will be removed and why? Who will be appointed and why? What is the president negotiating on our behalf? With whom? Who has Zuma’s ear? How much does his Cabinet know?

On Thursday, South Africa started its 23rd year of freedom yet our young nation seems fatigued and weather-beaten. Instead of lauding our progress and achievements, the national dialogue remains centred on the travails of one person.

On Friday he will be in the news again when judgment is delivered in the spy tapes case. Zuma's relationship with his financiers will again generate debate and his compromised reputation will continue to tarnish the Office of the President.

If Zuma faces the prospect of a corruption trial again, the nation goes on trial with him as he is our elected leader. If he again evades accountability for his actions, we remain burdened with a leader we cannot dare to trust for the next three years.

Unpresidential, undaunted, impervious – Jacob Zuma remains our Number One liability, threat and shame.

<http://www.dailymaverick.co.za/article/2016-04-29-untrusted-and-unpresidential-how-low-can-the-zuma-presidency-go/#.VyMaLE3lrIU>

Comment and opinion

I will not stay silent any more

Philip Dexter, Daily Maverick, 28 April 2016

I have been biting my tongue ever since I resigned my ANC membership forms in 2012. But I have had enough now. I won't accept the lying and the conniving, the spinning and the bullshit any more.

The statements recently from senior ANC leaders that we can't recall President Jacob Zuma because this will divide the ANC even further are true. However, that's not where it starts and ends. Those making these statements now are the very same people that recalled President Thabo Mbeki. They expelled Julius Malema. They purged Willie Madisha as the then President of Cosatu. Now the remnants of this gang stands here telling us that if President Jacob Zuma is recalled, the ANC will be divided even further.

Should have thought about that then, but I guess the call of office was too strong.

The issue is not about recalling Jacob Zuma. It's about uniting the ANC. In this respect there is nothing, no leadership, no vision, no imagination, from these "leaders".

I have no issue with the statement that a recall of President Jacob Zuma will divide the ANC. It's obvious. But why did those who say this now not apply this logic when they recalled President Thabo Mbeki? I did not support President Thabo Mbeki on his stance on HIV and AIDS, or on GEAR. But I could never, in my wildest imagination, short of him committing treason, think of his recall as being a good thing. This along with the purging of the then President of Cosatu, Comrade Willie Madisha, over a credit card debt of R29,000 owed by an official to the federation, are the shameful facts about how a small group of factionalists almost destroyed the ANC and its allies. The SACP was not spared this treatment. In defence of the

misuse of resources by an official, the party was prepared to throw itself behind an individual and tag along on his agenda at the expense of its independence, its programme and its responsibility to the working class. The further purging of Julius Malema and his cohort of leaders in the ANCYL is the same. The actions of these “leaders”, who drove a bus through the ANC, SACP and Cosatu, wrecking these organisations, may still be our undoing.

Willie Madisha was the worker leader at the helm of Cosatu. Yet he was removed to protect a paid employee of the federation. So much for worker leadership. Even Julius Malema, as rude as he sometimes is, should never have been dealt with in the way he was. The leadership of the youth that rebuilt the ANC in the 1950s was not that different from Comrade Malema. Walter Sisulu put up with and developed an angry young Nelson Mandela to make him the leader he became. Sisulu worked with him, groomed him through love and patience. So did Ahmed Kathrada and others. Govan Mbeki, Harry Gwala, Andrew Mlangeni, Raymond Mhlaba, Wilton Mkwayi, Ruth First, Dora Taman, Ray Alexander, so many great, heroic leaders, put up with each other's egos, pettiness, foibles, fahribbels, indiscretions and so much more. Such is the nature of revolutions and political movements.

If these great leaders, giants of the ANC, could do this, who are we, who are these people who lead us today who stand up on platforms and say, “you can't do this, you can't do that, you can't say this, you can't say that”?

As the song by Die Antwoord goes, “who f*cking said so!”

I have been biting my tongue ever since I resigned my ANC membership forms in 2012. But I have had enough now. I will not stay silent any more. I won't accept the lying and the conniving, the spinning and the b*llshit any more.

The problems we have in the ANC come a long way. The divisions in the SACP, Cosatu and the ANC are not new. But there is a convention of how to manage these. First, we cannot purge each other because we don't agree. It took years of efforts by President Oliver Tambo and others to try to deal with the Gang of Eight and the Marxist Workers tendency before they were expelled. Never did the ANC expel or purge anybody lightly.

Yet, over a personal issue, we witnessed the removal of a president from office in government. The issue of whether President Jacob Zuma, the then Deputy President, did or did not receive bribes from somebody is not simply an ANC issue. It's complex. Where does organisational responsibility begin and end? The same with personal responsibility. But it has nothing to do with the National Democratic Revolution. Whether he did or did not build Nkandla with state resources will not house people, create jobs, build the economy, so why do we have to spend so much time and money and energy on this issue? And the Guptas! They are not even South African. They don't actually give monkeys about whether we build houses or not.

Yet all day long, it's the Guptas.

Second, leadership must lead, not by telling us what we can't do, but what we must do. What is the programme? It can't be to defend Nkandla, to defend Oakbay. It has to be about growth, development, jobs, housing, and education. Frankly speaking, the President's housing, the Guptas' shares, and similar issues, are just not mine or any other citizens' issue, unless they are using our money. If they are, they must pay it back. That's easy to determine. Investigate. If it warrants it, prosecute. But it can't be a conspiracy all the time! We can't hear about the counter-revolution, who seem not to be interested in stopping socialism but are rather interested in stopping the president from having a fire-pool/swimming pool.

Personally, I think global capitalism has far bigger fish to fry.

Comrades, as a friend said the other day, in response to my tongue-in-check question about our nation, paraphrasing the Deputy Speaker of the National Assembly, who asked Comrade Ndlozi of the EFF, "are you not well?", she said, "We are not well at all. We are unwell in our bones, our marrow, our identity. Our hearts have been broken by those we trusted."

This is the truth. Our truth.

Comrades in the ANC NEC, the SACP CC, the Cosatu CEC. Our organisations are in tatters. Yet, you sit there telling us what we can't do. We need you to tell us what to do.

Here is my small contribution:

1. We need to start a process in the ANC and its allies, similar to the TRC. We need to allow all to speak and tell the truth about what has been done to these structures and the individuals in them and what they have done individually. None of us is blameless. I am willing to be first. We cannot go forward and heal this nation if we don't heal ourselves as an organisation.
2. We need to have an honest discussion about our policies and our programmes. Because while we have changed much for so many, we are not where we want to be as a country. Our policies are just not radical enough. The gap between rich and poor is getting wider. Public services are not what they should be. People are not safe. None of these is the ANC's fault, but it's our responsibility to fix it.
3. Let us call activist forums, where we do not allow gatekeepers and those who pay for someone else's membership to determine who is in the meeting. Let's have real Imbizos, so that we can all speak and be heard.
4. Then let us take the necessary corrective action to resolve these contradictions in our organisations and to start from the bottom up, to build branches that represent the people who belong to them, elect leaders who are for the people and not for their

bank accounts, elect a national leadership who can project a vision that places us where we should be as a country — at the top and not the bottom.

If the ANC leadership does this, it can take us forward.

Our founding fathers gave us the ANC, the Freedom Charter and this Constitution. Let's honour them by treating these with the respect they deserve.

You can purge me again for saying this. You can sideline me. You can do whatever you want. But I, like so many others, am Black, Green and Gold in my bones, in my marrow, in my blood and in every part of me.

You may change the ANC, but you can never change that.

Che Guevara is credited with saying that, "A true revolutionary is guided by great feelings of love."

I am not feeling any love from those we have entrusted with our future, our hopes, our desires, our children's interests.

<http://www.dailymaverick.co.za/opinionista/2016-04-28-i-will-not-stay-silent-any-more/#.VyITkE3lrIU>
