



ANC Whip

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NO CONFIDENCE MOTION DEBATE I:

Parliament abused for sixpense worth of media spotlight

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MINISTER OF JUSTICE & CONSTITUTIONAL DEVELOPMENT

From the onset, let me restate the historical fact that the real Congress of the people is the African National Congress.

As a majority party, it is therefore through the African National Congress that the people will speak of their representation in the Executive.

At our 52nd Conference in Polokwane in December 2007, delegates overwhelmingly elected Mr Jacob Zuma as President of the African National Congress.

We did not release any white smoke into the Limpopo University chimneys because we were clear in our minds that we had not elected a Pope, but a human being who has human strengths and human frailties like all of us.

On 22nd April 2009, 11 650 748 voters, what we consider to be a broad spectrum of South Africans, and nearly 70% of the electorate, voted for the African National Congress, led by President Zuma to be the Government of South Africa. One million more people voted for the African National Congress in 2009 than in 2004. Today, the arrogance of 30 people in this House, is trying to tell us that those millions of people were wrong. The collective minds of these millions of people are convinced that our movement and its President are fit and proper to run this country.

This motion goes contrary to the recent findings of the IPSOS

Markinor survey of February 2010, which has the following to say: "At the start of 2010, President Zuma is in an enviable position in terms of his public rating. He begins the year with 77% of the population agreeing that he is doing his job fairly well, or very well. This is the highest rating for a President since May 2006..." This means that the President of the African National Congress at 77% is more popular than the African National Congress at 70%. We have never wavered from our understanding that each President of the African National Congress, from Reverend John Langalibalele Dube to Jacob Gedleyihlekisa Zuma, would come and go, but each one of them would leave an indelible mark in the character of our movement, responding to the particular challenges of their tenure and the challenges of the stage of our revolution. I am therefore surprised that we are gathered here today to entertain the views of a few, who are driven by motives other than those of honesty, particularly with regards to majority rule. I venture to say that had we been alive to the current challenges of our communities, and were it not for the permissiveness of our constitutional democracy, for which we, the African National Congress take full credit, such a motion would not have been tabled. As we deliberate this issue,



P R E F A C E

Parliament passes a vote of confidence in the President

DR. MATHOLE MOTSHEKGA

ANC CHIEF WHIP

Parliament has reaffirmed its confidence in the leadership of President Jacob Gedleyihlekisa Zuma. As the supreme tribunal of the people, parliament threw into the rubbish bin the mischievous and baseless proposal for a motion of no confidence in the President by Cope.

In its motion of confidence in the stewardship of the President Zuma since coming into office in May last year, Parliament's National Assembly declared that it has "full confidence in the President of South Africa and appreciated his leadership of the government and the nation".

Parliament's decision supports the view by our debaters, comrades Jeff Radebe, Lindiwe Sisulu and Ngoako Ramatlhodi, that the motion by Cope was frivolous, baseless and was done merely to attain cheap publicity.

The systematic abuse of legitimate Parliamentary processes in pursuit of blinding personal hatred for the President has exposed Cope as well as its sister party, the Democratic Alliance, as politically bankrupt.

In this edition, we publish the arguments put forward by our speakers to crush the nonsensical motion ■

we are inadvertently being made partners in throwing a lifeline to an entity that is drowning under the inconsistencies of its own power hunger.

As I speak I do not know to whom, among the three, my eyes should be fixed, because my action may be misunderstood to mean my endorsement of the one I am looking at. This is the gravity of this leadership squabble I am talking about.

This house is being roped in to be fellow sojourners in a journey of a disgruntled few who have not come to terms with the realities of democratic politics of winning or, and losing. I rise not because I am a Member of Parliament who is expected to defend the integrity of the President of the African National Congress. I rise because many of us are angry that the proposers have done so knowing very well that their motion will not see the light of day but they will get their cheap publicity all the same.

If we, as Honourable members of this august body, do not rise, this new tendency to grandstand will continue unabated while the mockery continues to erode the credibility of our democratic institutions. On two occasions we have seen the same group of people using Parliament for cheap publicity. Firstly, when they proposed a candidate for contesting the Presidency of the Republic, they knew very well that it would be easier to win the Powerball and Lotto than the Presidency.

Secondly, when they tried to precipitate a crisis by walking out of these Chambers last month because they disagreed with the ruling of the Deputy Speaker, they may have got their sixpence worth of media spotlight but the wheels of democracy continued, thanks to the political parties that stayed behind and fulfilled the mandate which they have been given by the electorate.

The track record of COPE seems to border on anarchy from Polokwane, to their internal problems to the current motion.

COPE has displayed characteristics of being a party of failures. For

instance:

- COPE failed to launch itself as a Party in the hastily organized meeting in Bloemfontein in December 2008;

- It cannot bring unity even among the arbitrarily self-appointed leadership;

- It deceived the electorate by promising a manifesto but they did not have a policy upon which to base their Manifesto on;

- The party deceived the electorate by promising them to be the next Government but later changed tune by claiming they will be the next official opposition;

- They claimed they will be an effective opposition but the Deputy leader is never seen in the corridors of Parliament.

- South Africans have expressed a vote of no confidence in them.

I say this because this group has on two occasions, in Polokwane and in the April 2009 national general elections, dismally failed to get political recognition through democratic processes and are now using this House to win what they failed to win democratically.

I have observed that the timing of this motion is not fortuitous. There are three clear indications that the timing was carefully considered:

- Misled again by some sections of the media that hyped their earlier existence, the Congress of the People labours under an illusion that the ANC-led alliance is about to unravel.

Many of our detractors have, since time immemorial, wished for this unraveling but it has not come and is not about to come any time soon. We have noted that after trying to postpone the inevitability of an elective conference since the 16th December 2008, the Congress of the People has finally succumbed to the pressures of its youth wing to hold one in May 2010.

There is a direct relationship between the tabling of today's motion and the jostling for leadership positions for this elective Conference.

After a long courtship, there is now a mooted multi-matrimonial

relationship amongst some opposition parties.

Having been made aware that they are not abrasive and robust enough in parliamentary questions and motions, COPE now seeks to impress with a new make up.

It is my considered view that the tabling of this motion today will not stem the haemorrhaging of COPE's trumped up membership which, though unsubstantiated and undocumented, was standing at 428 000 in December 2008.

Let me highlight just a few examples why we in the African National Congress and the majority of South Africans, think that the President of the Republic is a fit and proper person to lead this country, and that the motion of no confidence is a spurious allegation.

- The President facilitated the end to the Burundian conflict after taking over as facilitator from our iconic former President Mandela who in turn had taken over from the great late President Julius Nyerere of Tanzania.

On 12 November 2009, the African Consciousness Leadership Awards awarded President Jacob Zuma the title, the "Best African President" for his role in our country's liberation and his contributions to the African continent.

- Our country has, regrettably, been involved in service delivery protests in certain areas.

While we agree that this is a matter, which all of us as Parliament and as government should be seized with, we cannot overlook the fact that these communities almost always call for the President Zuma to come and listen to their complaints.

- Two weeks ago, Her Majesty the Queen of Great Britain invited our President on a state visit as one of the two world leaders who are invited annually by her. Except for one racist tabloid indiscretion of one Stephen Robinson of the British Daily Mail among many media in the United Kingdom, this state visit was among the most successful State visits ever undertaken by a South African



President.

■ The President has called for a debate on a moral code for South Africa. We call on all South Africans of goodwill to take part in this debate. But we call more on those who had climbed the soap boxes of morality to join this debate with an intention of making South Africa a better for our children to grow.

■ In December last year, at the Copenhagen Climate Change Conference, our President, together with the leaders of the United States, China, Brazil and India, saved the day by providing a Work-in-Progress, broke the impasse by drafting the Copenhagen Accord. Admittedly it was not what we had hoped for, but this document, which has already been endorsed by the African Union, forms the basis for further climate discussions in Mexico towards the end of this year.

■ As I speak, today, the 18th of March 2010, the President is facilitating the Global Political Agreement in Zimbabwe, and on his shoulders rests the hopes and aspirations of all Zimbabweans.

■ Government has been restructured so that Ministers are monitored on the basis of Outcomes-Based Performance Agreements.

Allow me as I conclude, to borrow words of wisdom from the Holy Scriptures Matthew 7:1-5, NRSV: "Do not judge, so that you may not be judged. For with the judgment you make you will be judged, and the measure you give will be the measure you get. Why do you see the speck in your neighbor's eye, but do not notice the log in your own eye? Or how can you say to your neighbour, 'Let me take the speck out of your eye,' while the log is in your own eye? You hypocrite, first take the log out of your own eye, and then you will see clearly to take the speck out of your neighbour's eye." I hope I will be understood not to have abused the wise words of the Holy Scriptures to bolster my defence of the President, but to highlight the fact that from those who counsel us on the Good Book, much more is expected.

NO CONFIDENCE MOTION DEBATE II

Review of rules required to deal with such frivolities

LINDIWE SISULU

MINISTER OF DEFENCE & MILITARY VETERANS

The vote of no confidence in President Zuma as proposed by COPE is fatally flawed.

The claim that the President has failed to live up to the expectations of a broad spectrum of our society is nothing more than a desperate grab at some publicity by a bunch of media hyped people.

It provides no specificity on what this "expectation" is in relation to the Constitution.

Neither does it provide any evidence of the support it claims. But such hallucinations and reckless ambitions are to be expected from the leadership of COPE.

It is the same party, as members will remember, that claimed that it would win the Eastern Cape outright and co-govern in at least 4 provinces.

Such delusions of grandeur are not uncommon.

That is the stuff of which these people are made of.

This is a frivolous motion that is an outright waste of our time. It begs the question: why are we even debating such silliness? How do we come to even have it on our order paper? But importantly: How do we as parliament deal with such frivolity in future?

Section 102 of the Constitution, from which I assume this motion is based, provides for a motion of no confidence.

This Constitutional provision indicates:

"if the National Assembly, by a vote supported by a majority of its members, passes a motion of no confidence in the President, the President and the other members

of the Cabinet and any Deputy Ministers must resign."

For this motion to pass it requires 50% plus one of the Members of this House.

It should be obvious for anyone who is numerically literate that for this motion to pass in this House, it will require the endorsement of the ANC, the majority party with 65.9% of the vote.

How did COPE think they could pass a motion with only 7.4%? For those who are numerically challenged, it is important to note that at this stage of the debate, COPE's motion only has the support of 25% of the total Members in the House, made up of COPE, the DA (16.6%), the ID (0.92%) and UDM (0.85%).

Should parliament be entertaining a motion whose prospect of success is so hopeless?

To protect themselves from such frivolity, a democracy require a threshold against which support can be measured.

There ought to be a threshold not only of support, but also substance for a motion of this nature to even find its way on to a debate.

It is this kind of stupidity we should not accept.

Albert Einstein once said, "the definition of stupidity was doing the same thing over and over and hoping for different results". COPE only managed 7.4% of the vote and the result is not going to change.

By entertaining frivolous motions of this nature, this house may be elevating ridiculous political



immaturity to an undeserved status.
 We carry an absolute majority mandate in this House – a mandate bestowed on us by the electorate.
 The chances of a no confidence motion against a President being successful, unless emanating from the ANC itself are so remote as to be ridiculous and silly. I have had occasion to scrutinise the rules of Parliament and consulted on the matter. I have found no reference in our rules to how Parliament can deal with such a waste of time and resources.
 No rules could be found on a vote of no confidence.
 We in the ANC would want to call for a review of the rules of Parliament, a matter which is long overdue.
 Specifically in this matter, the onus should be on a party proposing such a motion to show that it has a reasonable opportunity to carry through the Constitutional provision of majority vote.
 This will also ensure that there is no abuse of the Constitution for silly purposes, especially by the same people who always grandstand on the basis that they are protectors of the Constitution. We must stop this abuse.
 Calling for a motion of no confidence of a president is a serious business.
 It is not something to be taken lightly or used as a mere political gimmick.
 The Constitution has a very serious provision intended to allow Parliament to use, should the President fail on those matters that he is constitutionally bound by. These are clearly spelt out in sections 83 and 84.
 The allegations raised are not even remotely connected to these constitutional stipulations and have nothing to do with the President's constitutional obligations.
 Even if we were to grant a most generous interpretation to the motion, the main matter predates his ascendancy to office.
 You can start counting backwards!

COPE's latest publicity stunt comes as no surprise.
 It is common knowledge that COPE has its own leadership challenge. The current parliamentary leadership has been accused of ineptitude.
 It has to resort to theatrics to respond to accusations that it has been upstaged and outmaneuvered by the DA. It is still being upstaged by the DA even in this debate.
 They want to abuse parliament to address their leadership squabbles.
 Most embarrassing for them is that their former deputy leader has joined the ANC.
 She discovered what we have always known, that COPE is made up of motley of individuals that have lost out in a democratic contest. For them it has always been about leadership.
 Play the game, not the man.
 That is what has been so flawed with your politics, you have been playing the man and that has completely blinded your vision, you are obsessed with President Zuma.
 One would have thought that the leadership of the various parties who spoke here would have heeded the stately advice of the leader of Inkatha Freedom Party in his response to the President's State of the Nation address, whose words are worth repeating as they are steeped in wisdom and democratic tradition.
 "I respect the President, warts and all, because behind him, rightly or wrongly lies the will of the democratic mandate of 66% of the South African people.
 I could not hinder or oppose without opposing the South African people....I cannot afford to see the President and his government fail. If they fail, my own country fails. If the President and his government fail, I will not applaud and rejoice but weep.
 For if they fail, our liberation fails."
 In an act of clutching at the straws, and consumed by a vengeful spirit, COPE leadership tries to exploit the

president's willingness to accept where he might have erred.
 The President is not beyond criticism.
 He is the last to suggest that. Where he failed us, he is the first to acknowledge and apologised and we, who constitute almost 66% of this House, have forgiven him. Here is a bitter pill for COPE to swallow.
 Using last year's April general election as a starting point, the TNS Research survey showed Zuma's approval level rose from 40% at the beginning of 2009 to 52% at the time of the election and stepped up to 58% in November in the same year. And yes, this is despite their serious reservations concerning Zuma's practice of polygamy leading Neil Higgs (TNS) to argue that "it is clear that many ordinary citizens separate their approval of Mr Zuma as President from his private life."
 We are pleased with the latest report compiled by the Bureau for Economic Research and which was published last week. It found that the business confidence index (BCI) "had risen 15 points to 43 in the current quarter – the single biggest increase in 16 years. Also, at 43 points, the BCI was back to the level before the financial market crisis erupted about 18 months ago".
 Economic projections for the coming financial year are encouraging.
 But what galls us now, is the sheer hypocrisy of his detractors. For some he was the worst nightmare to become a president. COPE's anger is corrective in that it calls for better and enhanced support.
 It is motivated by the understanding that more could be done. As such, they do not identify or associate themselves with those who harbour a passionate and ideological dislike for Zuma. It is the same masses that supported him when all manner of abuse was thrown at him.



At the time, the privileged amongst us were deafeningly silent when state organs were used to malign and violate his constitutional rights. They are aware that these same forces have emerged from the crevices where they have taken refuge.

To COPE, you are a bunch of sore losers, sour at democracy. Turn your attention to yourselves. Check with your erstwhile friend, the Honourable De Lille how her media hyped support very quickly dwindled to 0.92%.

It is in the nature of politics that the media can make you out to be more than you could ever be. Even as she is busy drumming up support for her coalition of the disgruntled, she will tell you how damaging it is to lose a Deputy President of an organisation. It happened to her.

And now we have your treasured former Deputy President, Lynda Odendaal – she has seen the light. This is not only because she discovered what we have always known, that COPE is made up of permanently angry individuals who have lost out in a democratic contest – but more importantly because she knows it is only the ANC that will address our challenges as a nation.

In COPE, old destructive forces have emerged from the crevices where they have taken refuge. We stand ready to defend hard-won freedoms from opportunism of short-term irrational impulses. The hypocrisy is so sickening. Which one of the Honourable Members sitting in your individual glass houses would throw a stone. Honourable Dandala, Shilowa, Botha, Ngonyama. Should I go on?

Honourable Dandala, get out of COPE while you can. It is a destructive energy over positions, legitimized under your bishops cloth.

Get out and go and serve the church.

NO CONFIDENCE MOTION DEBATE III

Motion will go down in history as a tragic error founded on illusion

NGOAKO RAMATLHODI

JUSTICE & CONSTITUTIONAL DEVELOPMENT
PORTFOLIO COMMITTEE CHAIRMAN

I stand here, in front of the country and the world to speak to the suitability of the President of the Republic of South Africa to continue hold the high office of the President.

As the house is aware, this sad episode is occasioned by the unfortunate and adventurous tabling of the so-called motion of no confidence in the President. This being a party based system of government; a motion of no confidence in the President becomes a motion of no confidence in the African National Congress.

Those who seek to displace an elephant must be prepared to climb a mountain and be good mountaineers at that. We reserve the right of self defence and we are now called upon to exercise that right. We are exercising that right in defence of our revolution and in defence of our future as a people.

Accordingly, we are tabling a motion of confidence in the President of the Republic.

In doing so I wish to remind the country as to whom Jacob Gedliyhlekisa Zuma is.

In the President we have a peasant boy who joined the army of the working people at a tender age. This background shaped and formed his political consciousness.

That is why he continues to be biased in favour of the rural and urban poor and the working class. This biasness is reflected in the structure and programmes of the government he leads with distinction.

He is the son of the black people of South Africa.

He is a warrior prince born of the proud Zulu people who distinguish themselves as true patriots throughout the torturous period of wars of resistance which ended with the defeat of Chief Bambhata in the Inkandhla forests in 1902. His participation in the national liberation struggle is born of the direct experience being an African under apartheid South Africa.

As a freedom fighter he is generally acknowledged as one of the most dedicated, fearless and exemplary soldiers and leaders of the people's army Umkhonto We Sizwe.

In the regard, he worked in the underground, was captured and served ten years on Robben Island. On his release he went into exile and there rose through the ranks to be head of the ANC Mkhoko and member of the NEC.

It was in this capacity that he became the first member of the NEC to legally enter South Africa in order to prepare for formal negotiations.



He is a proud Zulu man who fiercely defends his culture and way of life. His elevation to high office has not alienated him from his way of life and the people of Inkandhla have him as an active participant in the affairs of the village whenever time permits.

He observes and practice traditional rituals together with his people, and he is not ashamed of who he is.

He refuses to be judged according to standards of non-Africans, who continue to insist that theirs is the only acceptable culture, fifteen years after our liberation.

History will remember our President as a dedicated and highly successful peacemaker. In exile he was part of the team that initiated contact between the ANC in exile and the apartheid regime. In the 1990s as chairperson of ANC KZN, working together with Prince Mangosuthu Buthelezi, they established peace in KZN and gave South Africa a rare gift of peace. We are most grateful for this.

As the Deputy President of the Republic he led negotiations that gave Burundi its own peace.

He continues with the mission to restore and consolidate peace on the continent and in the world in general. President Zuma is a great reconciler.

He has introduced a new style of governance which does not criminalise opposition but rather seek to find common national interests that bind us together as a nation. In this regard, he has opened dialogue with leaders of South Africa in all spheres, political, economic, cultural and everywhere else.

He is not grievance driven and that makes him a great forgiver.

Someone in his place would have gone after those who persecuted

him in recent times, using state organs to fight political fights. He has not done so.

All these attributes and many more are found in abundance in our great movement the African national Congress.

The movement that seeks to build a humane and caring society that recognises and accords human dignity to all, without regard to race, class, colour and gender.

A movement that has been at the forefront of the struggles to create a better life for all.

A movement that continue to promote reconciliation based on political and social justice, sometimes even in the face of insolent provocation by the defenders of the grave of apartheid and their lackeys.

As this movement we unashamedly champion the interests of victims of apartheid, that is black people in general and Africans in particular.

We are not apologetic, in this regard, and we are ready to fall by our sword in defence of this principle.

We are determined to build a new South Africa that is founded on a solid foundation of social justice, political, economic and cultural equality. We have forgiven those who have enslaved us over centuries, we now insist on being equals.

On this, we shall give no quarter, there shall be no retreat.

We expect no mercy or favours as we never did over all these years.

There is no easy walk to freedom, mdala said. Many gave up and many betrayed us, as we unflinchingly and relentlessly pursued the struggle. We are not about to give up now.

There has been moments when anti people deviants have found themselves at the helm of our great movement. Whenever they got

caught, we either expelled them or they walked out. Many of those who walked away soon discovered the grim truth of the loneliness of the wilderness. It is bitterly cold out there as they endure a solitary existence akin to that of the prodigal son.

In recent years we confronted this phenomenon which sought to own the ANC as a personal property of a tiny clique, failing which it was determined to destroy the ANC from within.

Happily the people recaptured their movement in Polokwane. The tendency conducted public affairs and political discourse with unprecedented arrogance. There were no boundaries of restraint.

Those who tried to offer wise counsel would be rebuffed with the might of Samson. Not only would their advice be rejected, they would be subjected mob lynching. Our own icon, President Mandela was not spared the wrath of a tendency running amok.

It was this tendency that embarked on a determined struggle to stop the then Deputy President Zuma from becoming the next leader of the ANC and the country. Elaborate plans were put in place, to retain the ANC as a personal fiefdom of the tendency.

They wanted to impose their chosen leader upon us in order to consolidate their anti people agenda.

Zuma became an obstacle that stood firm between the greed driven insanity and the restoration of our movement to its members. He had to be stopped at all costs. His persecution was unrelenting, even in the face of it provoking a possible civil war.

In those bleak and dark days, I was one of those who defiantly sang the



song, ' Ba sithatha phe, isibindi e singaga, sa guthathi ANC be enze yabo so ku thathi lanc be enze yabo.'

We went to Polokwane and the people spoke and elected President Zuma.

The tendency was shell shocked and confused. As the reality of defeat began to sink in, shock turned into fierce fury against itself and against the ANC. At last but finally, the tendency had fallen from the high horse of folly and the house of cards began to collapse into a heap of broken illusions and shuttered ambitions.

The boasting came to an abrupt halt. Some of the leaders of the tendency walked out with the sole aim of defeating the ANC, regardless of the political cost to the majority of our people whose hopes and dreams remain firm behind the movement.

They formed an organisation and arrogantly called it the Congress of the People, in a way to spite the real Congress.

We went to elections under the leadership of President Zuma, the ANC won with overwhelming majority and the world did not collapse. In fact, the sun still rose and it continues to do so today. Prophets of doom have been silenced.

But they are bitter and are consumed by incomprehensible hatred of the person of the President of the Republic. They suffer the curse of obsession of a stalker who pursues his prey with the single mindedness of a zealot.

Hatred has become the defining feature of this tendency and the sole reason for existence. All above explains the genesis of the so called motion of no

confidence in the President. It is contrived, it is spiteful and has nothing to do with good governance.

It has everything to do with diverting us from working together for a better life. As a result, it will stand out in history as a tragic error founded on the shifting sands of illusion, by those driven by personal agenda to derail a historic mission of liberation and nation building.

I now call upon this house to protect our future and the future of our children and grand children by expressing full confidence in our President.

Those who play delinquent games with our future should be taught a bitter lesson by you the people's representatives. You have a mandate to do so, invoke it, deploy it.