



Inside Education

Inspiring Minds

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2017 ANC Elective Conference

Zuma: Free higher education for all poor students within five years



President Jacob Zuma. *Siyathuthuka Media*

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Breaking News

Scepticism greets Zuma's free higher education announcement

Thabo Mohlala and IE Reporter

The National Treasury says President Jacob Zuma's announcement of free higher education for poor and working class students will be considered by the Minister's Budget Committee.

This comes after the Presidency released a statement on Saturday morning announcing that government will, from next year, fully subsidise higher education for students from poor and working class households.

Delivering his political report to officially open the 54th ANC Conference at the Nasrec Centre later in the day, Zuma told delegates that the resolution would be implemented in a "fiscally sustainable manner".

The announcement also comes not long after Treasury's long-time budget head Michael Sachs resigned from the National Treasury. He quit reportedly due to concerns that Zuma's push to rush the announcement of free education was tantamount to interference of budgetary processes.

In a carefully worded statement late on Saturday afternoon, the National Treasury also remained mum on where the funds would come from.

"The National Treasury notes the announcement by the Presidency this morning and is in the process of reviewing the details of the higher education proposals, as well as possible financing options.

"The proposal will be considered by the Minister's Committee on the Budget (MinComBud) and the Presidential Fiscal Committee.



Jacob Zuma. GCIS

"Any amendments to existing spending and tax proposals will be announced at the time of the 2018 Budget," the National Treasury said.

With just over 24 hours till ANC delegates votes for a new leader, Zuma dropped what appeared to be a bombshell on Saturday morning by announcing free higher education for poor and working class students.

While the announcement might come as a victory for poor and working class students, the timing of the announcement has raised a lot of suspicion and has been seen as a last gap measure by Zuma to toy with the emotions of students to score political points.

While the conference will run over five days, the voting for the ruling party's top job is likely to take place on Sunday.

Recent media reports have pointed to the fact that the announcement would be used to bolster chances of Presidential hopeful Nkosazana Dlamini-Zuma, whom Zuma endorsed to succeed him after ANC's elective conference.

The call for free tertiary education has been a contentious issue in the country and led to nationwide student protests under the banner #FeesMustFall.

The Heher Commission of Inquiry into Higher Education and Training, which Zuma established in January 2016 to investigate a feasible funding model for the higher education sector, handed over its report to Zuma on 30 August 2017.

The Commission recommended, among others, that all undergraduate and post-graduate students studying at both public and private universities and colleges, regardless of their family background, be funded through a cost-sharing model of government guaranteed Income-Contingent Loans sourced from commercial banks.

Through the cost-sharing model, commercial banks would issue government guaranteed loans to the students that

are payable by the student upon graduation and attainment of a specific income threshold.

But in response to the report, the Presidency said the provision of fully subsidised free education and training will be extended to all current and future poor and working class South African students at all public TVET colleges starting in 2018 and phased-in over a period of five years.

"Noting our nation's staggering levels of income inequality and considering the definition of Poor and Working Class Students that has remained stagnant and outdated despite the escalating cost of living and studying, and in order to maximize the developmental impact of our pro-poor higher education policies, the definition of poor and working class students will now refer to 'currently enrolled TVET Colleges or University students from South African households with a combined annual income of up to R350 000' by 2018 academic year. The Minister of Higher Education and Training shall revise this quantum periodically in consultation with the Minister of Finance.

"Having amended the definition of Poor and Working class students, government will now introduce fully subsidised free higher education and training for poor and working class South African undergraduate students, starting in 2018 with students in their first year of study at our public universities. Students categorised as poor and working class, under the new definition, will be funded and supported through government grants not loans."

The announcement has been met with mixed reaction.

Earlier in the day, Wits University Vice Chancellor Professor Adam Habib took to Twitter and said while the announcement was a positive one, an urgent clarity on how it would be funded was needed.

Economic Freedom Fighters (EFF) has generally welcomed the announcement

saying it is a "historic generational victory of the Fees Must Fall movement.

Said EFF's Mbuyiseni Ndlozi: "Zuma's announcement follows the Fees Commission recommendations which came short and only recommended free education for TVET colleges", adding that "this means the NFSAS scheme will in the main from now on be grants and not loan scheme".

Universities also had their wish granted: government is committing to increase subsidies from 0.68% to 1% of the GDP over the next five years. While university managements decried the delay announcement of government policy on the matter; they hailed it as a significant step given the fact that universities have been underfunded for many years.

Universities South Africa (Usaf) head, Professor Ahmed Bawa, said while they are formulating an official response to the announcement, they broadly support the government's position. "However, we have some serious concerns. We want an assurance from both the Treasury and the department of higher education and training (DHET) to convince us this is a properly thought-out and sustainable funding model. We hope we would not be told few years down the line that there is no further funding. The other concern is that second and third year students are not included in the funding model," said Bawa.

He said this may create some tension as is the question of free education for all which some students may interpret differently.

But president Zuma is mum about how government is going to fund free education, something that has worried most financial and education analysts. They argued that with the mid-term budget already delivered, it is inconceivable to secure additional funding for free education. They said the only way to accommodate the plan is by revising the mid-term budget for 2017/18 financial year and re-allocate departmental budgets.

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CR17 versus NDZ: Who will win and how it all ends

NDZ chances ruined by the company she keeps

Ido Lekota

Nkosazana Dlamini-Zuma political activism started while studying at the University of Natal where she was a contemporary of the likes of Black Consciousness leader Steve Biko and former SABC and ESKOM Chairman Dr Ben Ngubane.

In 1976 she was elected president of the South African Student Organization (SASO). She subsequently went into exile where she joined the ANC and continued her studies at the University of Bristol. Upon completion she worked as a doctor in Swaziland where she met her now ex-husband President Jacob Zuma.

In 1985, Dlamini-Zuma returned to the United Kingdom to complete a diploma in tropical child health from Liverpool University's School of Tropical Medicine. After receiving her diploma, she worked for the ANC Regional Health Committee before accepting the position of director of the Health and Refugee Trust, a British non-governmental organisation.

During the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (CODESA) negotiations in 1992, she was part of the Gender Advisory Committee.

After 1994 Dlamini-Zuma was appointed as Minister of Health in the cabinet of President Nelson Mandela and worked towards desegregate the health system and broaden state anti-tobacco measures.

In August, 1995, she controversially awarded a R14.27-million contract to Mbongeni Ngema, a good friend of hers, to produce Sarafina II to raise awareness on HIV/AIDS.

Investigations into the musical revealed that she had lied to Parliament about funding for the project coming from the EU, and had ignored proper bidding

procedures.

The play was subsequently shelved following widespread criticism and the Public Protector's report. Dlamini-Zuma was also criticised for supporting Virodene, a quack remedy for HIV/AIDS. She served as Minister of Foreign Affairs from 1999 to 2009 during which tenure she was criticised for her quiet diplomacy in response to Zimbabwe's violent political crisis.

She also served in the Jacob Zuma's 2009 presidential cabinet as Minister of Home Affairs from 2009 until 2012. She was lauded for turning around the grossly mismanaged department and achieving its first clean audit in 16 years.

In 2012 she successfully contested the position of Chairperson of the African Union Commission and was eventually elected the first woman to head organisation.

She has been nominated for several top cabinet and leadership positions within the ANC which shows she has always been popular among most ANC supporters. However, her current presidential candidacy has been marred by the people supporting her campaign including President Jacob Zuma, Social Services Minister Bathabile Dlamini and the Youth League as well as the controversial former ANC spokesperson Carl Niehaus.

Her key policy position revolves around radical economic transformation and the expropriation of land without compensation. The issue of radical transformation has been discredited by the perception that those who espouse it are involved in state capture.

Her campaign also suffered major setback following court rulings that excluded delegates and branches from both the Free State and Northwest from the elective conference.

Tried and tested: Ramaphosa has what it takes to lead SA

Ido Lekota

The Soweto-born, Cyril Matamela Ramaphosa (65), is part of the two-horse presidential race with former African Union former Chairperson Nkosazana Dlamini-Zuma as his challenger.

The current ANC and country deputy President has long been considered a potential presidential candidate.

He is said to have been the late former President Nelson Mandela's preferred candidate in 1997 ANC presidential race where he was beaten by former President Thabo Mbeki.

Ramaphosa subsequently moved out of politics and joined the private sector - establishing the Shanduka Group a move that saw him becoming one of wealthiest people in South Africa (his wealth is estimated at 6 billion). He has since resigned from the group after returning to politics.

Ramaphosa launched his current presidential campaign as #CR17 Siyavuma - which has received support from a large chunk of the middle-class (both black and white), big businesses and the majority of ANC supporters in Limpopo, Northern Cape, Western Cape and Eastern Cape. He has also created some division among ANC supporters in provinces such Mpumalanga, KwaZulu-Natal and Northwest - regarded to be support bases for Dlamini-Zuma

Ramaphosa has run an effective campaign that includes what he calls "A New Deal for Jobs, Growth and Transformation" that he believes will turn the economy around and build a more equal society.

According to Ramaphosa the "New Deal" can only succeed if government, business, labour and civil society form a social compact aimed at constructing a prosperous and just society founded on opportunities for all.

Some of the key features of the deal entail:

- creating decent jobs by developing the manufacturing sector (with the objective of creating at least 1 million jobs in 5 years)
- developing a growth plan that brings together the combined resources of all

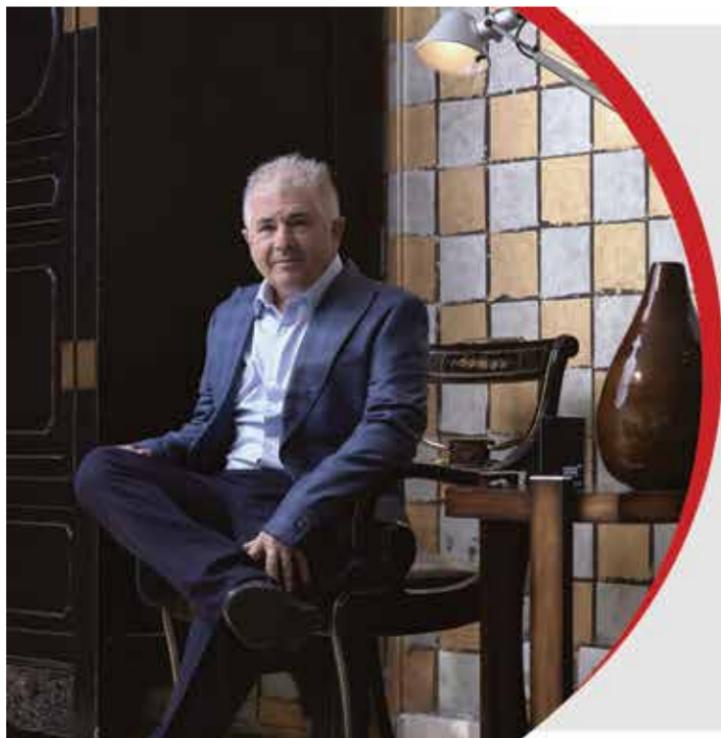
sectors of society (targeting a 3% GDP growth in 2018 and increasing it to 5% by 2013)

- pursuing meaningful economic participation for the poor, the landless and marginalized (This will include the acceleration of land distribution)
- implementing a macro-economic policy that promotes growth and secures the country's sovereignty
- accelerating the transfer of ownership and control of the economy into black hands
- improving access for all to quality education
- accelerate investment in infrastructure
- restoring state-owned enterprises into drivers of economic growth and social development and, most importantly, confronting corruption and state capture.

Ramaphosa started his schooling at Tshilidzi Primary School in Soweto and proceeded to Sekano Ntoane High School. He matriculated from Mphaphuli High School in Sibaqa, Limpopo in 1971. He subsequently registered for a law degree at the then University of the North (now University of Limpopo).

While at University he got involved with student movements such as the Student Christian Movement, the South African Student Organisation (Saso). His activism caught the eye of the apartheid security police leading to his detention in 1974 and 1976. This led to the termination of his academic life. He subsequently became a law clerk for a firm of attorneys in Johannesburg. While working there he continued with his studies at the University of South Africa (Unisa) where he obtained a Bproc degree.

After obtaining his degree Ramaphosa joined the National Council of Trade Unions (Nactu) as a legal advisor. Ramaphosa left Nactu to form the National Union of Mineworkers becoming its first secretary. He was part of the launching committee of the Congress of South African Trade Union in 1985. He was the federation's first general secretary and was part of Cosatu delegation which met the ANC in Lusaka, Zambia. He resigned from Cosatu in 1991 following his election as the ANC General Secretary.



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Political report



President Jacob Zuma. GCIS



Zuma takes swipe at ANC members taking party to court

IE Reporter

President Jacob Zuma has taken a swipe at ANC members who take the organisation to court when they are aggrieved, saying this was eroding the culture of the ANC. “It’s not in keeping with the customs and policies of the ANC that if we disagree on something we no longer allow the structures of the organisation to address that matter. At a drop of a hat then members are in court. I don’t know what it means. “It is gradually eroding the nature of the ANC. We can’t begin to believe that courts are a resolver of ANC problems. We can’t treat the courts as part of the structures of the ANC to address internal matters of the ANC. It’s totally wrong,” he said. Zuma also used the report, his last one as ANC President, to lash out at various sec-

tors including civil society, starting with civil society.

“We have seen in the recent past the sporadic emergence of some civil society groupings that are mobilised on the basis of hostile opinions against the ANC. Some NGOs appear to exist merely to fight the ANC and the ANC government. They appear to be well-resourced and constantly take government to court to fight political battles.

“Other formations appear to exist to protect white privilege and in particular to ensure the maintenance of the unequal economic relations in society, while pretending to be protecting the interests of our people as a whole including the poor and the working class, he said.

He also took a swipe at the ANC caucus in Parliament, saying factional interests were playing out in Parliament to the ex-

tent that the ruling party might even “vote itself out of power if left unchecked”.

Zuma also took on alliance partners, the SACP and Cosatu, describing their calls for him to step down and barring him from addressing their gathering as cooperation with right wing forces.

“In an unprecedented move, we saw in the past few months our alliance partners marching side by side with right wing forces who are historical opponents of our democratic revolution calling on the President of the ANC to step down. A decision was also taken by our allies to bar the President of the ANC from attending and/or addressing any of their gatherings.”

Earlier in the day delegates started trickling into the venue in Nasrec, each singing songs praising their preferred leader. Although the balance of forces at the moment seem to favour Deputy President

Cyril Ramaphosa, supporters of Nkosazana Dlamini-Zuma were in good spirits and seemed unfazed about the elections.

Opening the conference, outgoing ANC chairperson Baleka Mbete said songs or paraphernalia promoting factionalism would not be tolerated.

This call went unheeded, however, as factional songs rang out throughout the plenary hall. Zuma received a lukewarm response from the delegates, with provinces that mainly nominated Dlamini-Zuma giving him a rousing reception, while delegates from other provinces were less enthusiastic.

Zuma told the delegates that he held no grudges against those who have been calling for him to step down as President.

Voting took place last night right into the early hours of Sunday when the results of the new top six will be announced.

Three reasons why the NDZ campaign hangs in the balance

Inside Education Reporters

As the ANC prepares to elect its new leader, and possibly the President of the country in 2019, indications are that the faction favoured by outgoing party President Jacob Zuma is in a serious crisis.

Zuma had personally anointed his ex-wife, Nkosazana Dlamini-Zuma as the next leader of the party, but ANC branches have overwhelmingly vetoed that move, preferring Deputy President Cyril Ramaphosa instead. Add to that a number of court challenges that have gone against ANC provinces and regions that favour Dlamini-Zuma. Last night, more than 5 000 delegates lined up to vote for the new ANC leader, with the announcement expected on Sunday evening.

As ANC Eastern Cape delegates sang victory songs and booed the faction backing Dlamini-Zuma, the signs are becoming clearer that despite the fact that she enjoys support from ANC's women's league and the youth league, she is against the ropes.

While her sympathisers continue to put on brave faces and remain hopeful that they will emerge as victors on Sunday, it is becoming increasingly difficult for anyone to believe that Dlamini-Zuma still stands a chance and here are three reasons why.

1. AGAINST THE ROPES

A few months ago, a Sunday paper reported that President Zuma would use a cabinet reshuffle to appoint the former African Union Commission chair into his Cabinet. The speculation was that she would be made Minister of Higher Education, allowing her to announce free higher education for students from poor backgrounds, a seriously contentious issue in the country. However in a surprising



Nkosazana Dlamini-Zuma and Cyril Ramaphosa. *Siyathuthuka Media*

move on Saturday morning – day one of the ANC's 54 National Conference – President Zuma took it upon himself to announce free higher education, a move that is viewed by many as a bid to buy support from voting delegates. The big question is 'why make the announcement now'? Could this be a sign that they are against the ropes and trying to buy support through a populist stance?

2. DEATH BY ASSOCIATION

Dlamini-Zuma is arguably the ideal candidate that should become South Africa's

first woman. She is a struggle stalwart with a proven track record in the public service under several portfolios – and notably engineered a successful turnaround at the Department of Home Affairs, which was beset with corruption and inefficiency. Her star even rose some more when she was elected to chair the African Union Commission. South Africa had lobbied hard for her, outmaneuvering Western Africa's preferred candidate for the position, Jean Ping. This deployment has significantly raised her stature on the continent, even though many are still divided about

whether it was a success or not.

Her name featured across many media platforms whenever South Africa used the month of August to celebrate women whose profiles signified female excellence and progress to achieve gender parity. But why is a woman of her stature not getting the support she should be getting given her track record? It's because she was endorsed by the wrong faction. She cannot shake off her association to Zuma and his cronies, most notably the hold Gupta family has over him. This Indian immigrant family has become synonymous with corruption involving state funds, and even have one of President Zuma's sons as a business associate. Public opinion has worked against Dlamini-Zuma and the fact that opinion makers who are vouching for her to win are those with ties to the Gupta does makes her ascend to the Union Buildings (South Africa's Presidential office) increasingly difficult.

3. ANC NEC DELIVERS THE DEATH BLOW

Before the ANC kicked off its 54th elective conference on Saturday morning – where a new President will be elected and policy would be agreed upon for the next five years – outgoing ANC Secretary General Gwede Mantashe told journalists that provincial and regional delegates that were affected by recent court judgements would not vote. Several courts in the country have declared that a number of gatherings that chose voting delegates were inappropriately arranged and therefore illegal. These are delegates from provinces that overwhelmingly voted for Dlamini-Zuma to become President.

Mantashe told journalists on Saturday morning: "The decision taken there is that the Free State, KwaZulu-Natal and Bojanala region [in the North West], all the structures that are nullified will not be voting delegates at conference". The implication of this announcement to Dlamini-Zuma campaign is significant. This means that out of about 5 000 voting delegates, around 500 or so have been reduced to mere "observers" and stripped of their voting power. And while Ramaphosa fared well in the overall provincial nominations, President Zuma was not completely satisfied with the KwaZulu-Natal nominations outcome despite winning the majority of the nominations. The announcement by the ANC's national executive committee puts a further dent on Dlamini-Zuma bid.

By Sunday the ANC will have a new President and it doesn't look likely that it will be her.



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Bonile Khanyi

Finance Minister Malusi Gigaba has called for inclusive growth in SA through the ANC policy of radical social and economic transformation.

Gigaba was speaking at a Progressive Business Forum breakfast at the ANC's national conference in Johannesburg on Saturday.

The minister said that the most important task for incoming new leadership in the ANC is to achieve inclusive growth through radical transformation as quickly as possible.

"If I may be so bold I would like to take this opportunity to suggest to the incoming leadership that the most important task for the ANC is to lead the country to achieve inclusive growth through radical economic transformation as quickly as is possible," said Gigaba.

"Inclusive growth is required because all of our social and economic challenges will be easier to address in the context of a rapidly expanding economy."

Gigaba said that given SA's inequality and its alarming unemployment rate, particularly among the youth, the need to transform the economy was necessary.

"Our country still suffers extreme income inequalities, deep poverty and very high levels of unemployment particularly affecting the youth. A call for radical socio-economic transformation is relevant. It is a stepping stone towards inclusive growth," he said.

"There can be no other way forward for our country other than to recognise the social grievance of the majority and to fulfil it."

He also mentioned that there are two elements to radical transformation.

"The first element relates to the need to ensure that the ownership management and worker profile at all levels reflects the racial composition of the broader society,"

"And the second relates to the need to transform the central composition of the economy to reflect a post-apartheid industrial economy built on a large stable and skilled middle class, rather than a capital-intensive economy based on a mineral clarity complex," said Gigaba.

During his address Gigaba highlighted the successes of the ruling party since 1994, but noted that race, class, gender, and social divisions from apartheid continue to bedevil SA.

Speaking on Eskom's woes, Gigaba said the need to turn around the power utility was an urgent matter. He described business confidence as the cheapest form of economic stimulus in uncertain times.

"In relation to state owned companies, particularly Eskom, we need to act decisively to address their governance, management and financial stability," said Gigaba.

He also said the quality and access to education needs to be addressed.

"To make the most of our young population we need to graduate matriculants with core skills in reading and comprehension, mathematics and science," said Gigaba.

He encouraged the incoming leadership to seek opportunities and find purpose in uniting the movement and the nation.

"I'd like to encourage the incoming leadership of the African National Congress rather than to be daunted by the many challenges facing our country to seek opportunities and resolute in uniting the movement and the nation," said Gigaba.

"The new leadership needs to be decisive in speedily implementing the resolution



Malusi Gigaba. *Siyathuthuka Media*

Malusi Gigaba calls for radical economic transformation

adopted by the conference because in many instances uncertainty is created not by the difference of opinion about adopted policies but by mere lack of implementation."

Meanwhile, outgoing ANC treasurer general Zweli Mkhize added that this

We need to graduate matriculants with core skills in reading and comprehension, mathematics and science

year's ANC national conference was not just about electing a new president, but also about discussing policy issues which will be prioritised.

"It's important for everyone to know that we are going to go through processes of discussion in terms of various policies and these policies are going to address a number of issues that have been raised here," said Mkhize.

"We will be focusing on issues of economic policy, its important for us to look at what we need to do to transform our economy so that its able to deal with the problems of poverty, unemployment and inequality."

Mkhize said the national conference will also look at ways in which the economy

can be stimulated to grow at a faster rate to help address the issues of unemployment.

"A whole number of young people are out there seeking opportunities for employment and this has to be addressed and I think a figure of about 50 percent of unemployment rate is in fact alarming," said Mkhize.

"The fact that the unemployment rate has gone up to 20 percent is itself a challenge, but it does not only the government to solve that problem, it means that we have to create a partnership wherein a very strong sense of confidence between business, government and all the other social partners is built so that we can move the economy forward."

Mavuso Msimang

As the African National Congress (ANC) three-day 54th National Conference in Nasrec, Johannesburg got underway on Saturday, uppermost on the minds of its 5 000-or-so delegates will be the question: who will emerge as President of the ANC and how will that outcome affect the prospects of the continued ANC governance of South Africa?

The stakes are very high for the organization. Never so divided before during its 105-year history, the ANC has lost considerable support from the populace: especially within its historically strong urban base; from the 'non-African' population, lamentably referred to as minorities; and from the youth.

The national sentiment, not necessarily shared by a significant percentage of delegates to the conference, favours the election of Cyril Ramaphosa in the hope that this would inspire investor confidence and help boost in the economy. More importantly, the expectation is that it will create conditions for a clean break from the disastrous Jacob Zuma presidency that has been characterized by scandal and untold corruption levels.

The impact of the Zuma administration's misrule has been thorough and pervasive: the economy is in stagnation; the country has received negative credit ratings by international ratings agencies: and there has been concomitant spiraling of unemployment.

There is policy and political uncertainty and unparalleled destabilization and looting of state-owned institutions by persons associated with the President.

Eskom, Transnet, Denel, Petro-SA, several others are but caricatures of their former selves.

Before its recent rescues, the public broadcaster had been reduced to a profligate political instrument.

Irrational security and prosecutorial appointments have merely served to exacerbate the citizens' lack of confidence in these institutions.

Dr Nkosazana Dlamini-Zuma is the other leading presidential contender at the Nasrec conference. Public perceptions of her are negative as is she is thought unlikely to want to rattle her ex-husband's nest of cronies. She has protested this imputation, staking a strong track record in support of her credentials. She would, indeed, bring into the presidential office

Can the ANC reclaim the respect and moral authority it surrendered?



Mavuso Msimang and alongside former Deputy President Kgalema Motlanthe. *GovernmentZA*

Ultimately, it is the delegates, rather than the branches to which they belong who will decide who becomes the next ANC President

solid political, government and international leadership experience. She believes that she is the victim of unremitting paternalism.

What does lend credence to the critique is that Zuma made no secret of his support for her candidature. He started promoting her cause even before electioneering was sanctioned by the ANC. He created platforms for her and often shared the stage during her campaigns.

He mobilized support for her from his followers in KwaZulu-Natal, the ANC youth and women's leagues and in the so-called premier league provinces of Mpumalanga, Free State and North West whose leaders gave her explicit endorsements. For her part, Dlamini-Zuma adopted Zuma's campaign themes and slogans, including railing against 'white monopoly capital'.

On the eve of conference, ANC branches from provinces allied to Zuma have overwhelmingly voted for a Dlamini-Zuma presidency while the rest have staked their preference for Ramaphosa.

One would have to be willfully blind not to see the commonality of interests between the outgoing President and the aspirant one.

Ultimately, it is the delegates, rather than the branches to which they belong who will decide who becomes the next President of the ANC, come 18th December.

It is a sad reality that, despite the existence of a solid core of ANC members among conference delegates, there are many others who will cast their votes for mercenary reasons. Vote buying is an acknowledged feature of ANC leadership elections.

This could have been averted, or at least mitigated, had the leadership of the ANC heeded the Stalwarts' and Veterans' 2016 call for a consultative conference to discuss, inter alia, strengthening the organization's electoral procedures and processes.

This is an exercise that must yet take place if the ANC hopes to reclaim the respect and moral authority it surrendered when it opened its doors to corruption.

• Mavuso Msimang is the chairperson of Corruption Watch and a member of ANC's Veterans and Stalwarts association



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Delegates sing and dance at the ANC's 54th National Conference held at the Nasrec Expo Centre, near Soweto, Gauteng. The ANC is expected to elect its new leadership on Sunday.



Pictures. Siyathuthuka Media