

**From:** ANC Today <anctoday@lists.anc.org.za>  
**To:** "ANC Today" <anctoday@lists.anc.org.za>  
**Date:** 2006/12/15 03:37 PM  
**Subject:** ANC Today 15 December 2006

DOC 2057-35

ANC Today

---

Volume 6, No. 49 . 15-21 December 2006

---

**THIS WEEK:**

- \* Letter from the President: Global challenges demand multilateral solutions!
- \* View of the Editor: Is the Gautrain an ANC gravy train?

---

**LETTER FROM THE PRESIDENT**

Global challenges demand multilateral solutions!

On Wednesday, 6 December, we were privileged to participate in a moving ceremony in Kinshasa, the capital of the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), convened to inaugurate Joseph Kabila as the first democratically elected President of the DRC for more than four decades.

For us, the Africans who witnessed this Presidential Inauguration, having come from North, West, Central, East and Southern Africa, the ceremony represented a proud moment of African achievement and a harbinger of a great future for our continent.

Undoubtedly, all of us understood very clearly that despite the unquestionable fact that President Kabila's inauguration represented a watershed in the evolution of the DRC and Africa, both the DRC and our continent are still faced with major challenges along the road towards the reconstruction of the DRC as a stable and prosperous democracy.

The vitally strategic significance of the inauguration was that it marked a decisive step forward in the consolidation of the necessary foundation on which will be built the stable and prosperous democracy towards which the Congolese people have aspired for many decades, and which Africa needs as a critically essential driving force in the historic effort to unite Africa and achieve its renaissance.

The Presidential Inauguration made the firm statement that the Congolese people have put in place a realistic roadmap for the successful reconstruction and development of the DRC, which derives its legitimacy from the fact that it is mandated by the Congolese people.

It made the statement that all that needs to be done by the Congolese people, supported by the peoples of Africa and the friends of Africa from elsewhere in the world, is to respect and follow the roadmap they have

themselves elaborated, determined to overcome the obstacles they will inevitably come across during their advance towards the realisation of the goal of reconstructing the DRC as the shining African star that it will surely be.

On the same day, 6 December, that the Congolese people presented themselves and our continent with a gift of hope, an important document was issued in an important country across the Atlantic Ocean, the United States of America. This was the Report of the US Iraq Study Group, which had been chaired jointly by the former US Republican Party Secretary of State, James A Baker III, and the former US Democratic Party Congressman, Lee H Hamilton.

It so happened that we, for our part, arrived in Kinshasa, DRC on the morning of 6 December, and then left Kinshasa in the afternoon of the same day, travelling to Washington DC, USA. As we landed at Ndjili International Airport in Kinshasa we knew that ahead of us was an historic occasion that would be characterised by joy and hope. As we landed at Andrews Air Force Base in the USA, not knowing what the Iraq Study Group would have said, we nevertheless knew that its Report would necessarily remind us of the pain and despair that currently defines the lives of the sister people of Iraq.

We had not travelled to the United States to discuss Iraq. We had accepted the important invitation of President George W Bush to meet him and other members of his Administration with the agreed intention principally further to strengthen the good relations that exist between our two governments and peoples, and to discuss what more should be done to promote the African agenda focused on peace and stability, including the urgent resolution of the conflict in Darfur, Sudan, strengthening democracy, and the implementation of the NEPAD programme, to accelerate the development of our continent.

Necessarily, we also reflected on other global issues. These included the issues of the resolution of the Palestine-Israel conflict, the similar resolution of the tension relating to Iran and nuclear technology, the completion of the negotiations relating to the World Trade Organisation (WTO) Doha Development Round, international terrorism, and the restructuring of the United Nations (UN), especially the Security Council.

>From media reports, we were aware that President Bush and the rest of the  
>US Government were involved in an intense internal consultation process  
>relating to the challenging Iraq question. According to these reports,  
>apart from studying the Report of the Iraq Study Group, the US Government  
>would also reflect on proposals that would be made by the US State  
>Department, the Pentagon, and the US National Security Council. Common  
>sense therefore dictated that 8 December, the day we met President Bush,  
>was not the appropriate moment to discuss Iraq.

And yet we knew that our own people, our Government and our continent are deeply concerned about what is happening in Iraq today and what will happen to Iraq tomorrow. Together we are deeply concerned about what is happening in the Middle East and West Asia today, and what will happen to this region tomorrow.

Inevitably, we will have to engage the US Government, the peoples and Governments of the Middle East and West Asia, and the rest of the world about what is happening in this region today, and what will happen tomorrow.

The fact that in a mere fortnight our country will take its seat as a non-permanent Member of the UN Security Council emphasises precisely this imperative, that the future of the region we have mentioned is a matter of vital and urgent importance both to our country and our continent.

In this context, we too must take very seriously the observations made by the Baker-Hamilton Iraq Study Group, which relate not only to Iraq, but also to the rest of the Middle East and West Asia. The stark reality is that our country and continent, like the rest of the world, however geographically distant from the Middle East and West Asia, cannot isolate themselves from any meltdown that might affect this region of our common world.

As a consequence of this, it stands to reason that regardless of what might have happened in the past, and is happening now, affecting the Middle East and West Asia, we, together with the rest of humanity, must position ourselves as part of a sustained, concerted and determined global effort to defuse the extremely dangerous situation currently prevailing in the region.

Together, we must go further and help to create the conditions for the resolution of the fundamental problems that have led to the explosive situation in the Middle East and West Asia identified in the Report of the Iraq Study Group. Among other things, this Report says:

"The situation in Iraq is grave and deteriorating. There is no path that can guarantee success, but the prospects can be improved...

"The challenges in Iraq are complex. Violence is increasing in scope and lethality. It is fed by a Sunni Arab insurgency, Shiite militias and death squads, al Qaeda, and widespread criminality. Sectarian conflict is the principal challenge to stability. The Iraqi people have a democratically elected government, yet it is not adequately advancing national reconciliation, providing basic security, or delivering essential services. Pessimism is pervasive...

"If the situation continues to deteriorate, the consequences could be severe. A slide toward chaos could trigger the collapse of Iraq's government and a humanitarian catastrophe. Neighbouring countries could intervene. Sunni-Shia clashes could spread. Al Qaeda could win a propaganda victory and expand its base of operations...

"There is no guarantee for success in Iraq. The situation in Baghdad and several provinces is dire. The level of violence is high and growing. There is great suffering, and the daily lives of many Iraqis show little or no improvement. Pessimism is pervasive.

"Iraq is vital to regional and even global stability...Because of the gravity of Iraq's condition and the country's vital importance, the United States is facing one of its most difficult and significant international challenges in decades. Because events in Iraq have been set in motion by American decisions and actions, the United States has both a national and a moral interest in doing what it can to give Iraqis an opportunity to avert anarchy...

"Sectarian violence causes the largest number of Iraqi civilian casualties. Iraq is in the grip of a deadly cycle: Sunni insurgent attacks spark large-scale Shia reprisals, and vice versa. Groups of Iraqis are often found

bound and executed, their bodies dumped in rivers or fields.

"The perception of unchecked violence emboldens militias, shakes confidence in the government, and leads Iraqis to flee to places where their sect is the majority and where they feel they are in less danger. In some parts of Iraq - notably in Baghdad - sectarian cleansing is taking place. The United Nations estimates that 1.6 million are displaced within Iraq, and up to 1.8 million Iraqis have fled the country...

"The prevalence of militias sends a powerful message: political leaders can preserve and expand their power only if backed by armed force. Criminality also makes daily life unbearable for many Iraqis. Robberies, kidnappings, and murder are commonplace in much of the country. Organised criminal rackets thrive, particularly in unstable areas like Anbar province. Some criminal gangs cooperate with, finance, or purport to be part of the Sunni insurgency or a Shiite militia in order to gain legitimacy...

"Despite a massive effort, stability in Iraq remains elusive and the situation is deteriorating. The Iraqi government cannot now govern, sustain, and defend itself without the support of the United States. Iraqis have not been convinced that they must take responsibility for their own future. Iraq's neighbours and much of the international community have not been persuaded to play an active and constructive role in supporting Iraq. The ability of the United States to shape outcomes is diminishing. Time is running out...

"If the situation in Iraq continues to deteriorate, the consequences could be severe for Iraq, the United States, the region, and the world. Continuing violence could lead toward greater chaos, and inflict greater suffering upon the Iraqi people. A collapse of Iraq's government and economy would further cripple a country already unable to meet its people's needs. Iraq's security forces could split along sectarian lines.

"A humanitarian catastrophe could follow as more refugees are forced to relocate across the country and the region. Ethnic cleansing could escalate. The Iraqi people could be subjected to another strongman who flexes the political and military muscle required to impose order amid anarchy. Freedoms could be lost.

"Other countries in the region fear significant violence crossing their borders. Chaos in Iraq could lead those countries to intervene to protect their own interests, thereby perhaps sparking a broader regional war. Turkey could send troops into northern Iraq to prevent Kurdistan from declaring independence. Iran could send in troops to restore stability in southern Iraq and perhaps gain control of oil fields...

"Ambassadors from neighbouring countries told us that they fear the distinct possibility of Sunni-Shia clashes across the Islamic world. Many expressed a fear of Shia insurrections - perhaps fomented by Iran - in Sunni-ruled states. Such a broader sectarian conflict could open a Pandora's box of problems - including the radicalisation of populations, mass movements of populations, and regime changes - that might take decades to play out. If the instability in Iraq spreads to the other Gulf States, a drop in oil production and exports could lead to a sharp increase in the price of oil and thus could harm the global economy.

"Terrorism could grow. As one Iraqi official told us, 'Al Qaeda is now a franchise in Iraq, like McDonald's.' Left unchecked, al Qaeda in Iraq could continue to incite violence between Sunnis and Shia. A chaotic Iraq could provide a still stronger base of operations for terrorists who seek to act regionally or even globally...

"These and other predictions of dire consequences in Iraq and the region are by no means a certainty. Iraq has taken several positive steps since Saddam Hussein was overthrown: Iraqis restored full sovereignty, conducted open national elections, drafted a permanent constitution, ratified that constitution, and elected a new government pursuant to that constitution.

"Iraqis may become so sobered by the prospect of an unfolding civil war and intervention by their regional neighbours that they take the steps necessary to avert catastrophe. But at the moment, such a scenario seems implausible because the Iraqi people and their leaders have been slow to demonstrate the capacity or will to act.

"Iraq cannot be addressed effectively in isolation from other major regional issues, interests, and unresolved conflicts. To put it simply, all key issues in the Middle East - the Arab-Israeli conflict, Iraq, Iran, the need for political and economic reforms, and extremism and terrorism - are inextricably linked...

To respond to this eminently difficult situation, the Baker-Hamilton Iraq Study Group recommended that, among other things, the US and Iraq Governments should work to establish an Iraq Support Group. It said that this Group "should consist of Iraq and all the states bordering Iraq, including Iran and Syria; the key regional states, including Egypt and the Gulf States; the five permanent members of the United Nations Security Council; the European Union; and, of course, Iraq itself. Other countries for instance, Germany, Japan and South Korea - that might be willing to contribute to resolving political, diplomatic, and security problems affecting Iraq, could also become members."

This proposal contains the critically important observation that the grave situation in the Middle East and West Asia demands the concerted attention and action of both the countries in the region and the rest of the world. But the question can no longer be avoided - is it not time that the United Nations, genuinely representing all nations, assumes its rightful position and leads a global process to address all the inter-connected challenges facing the peoples of the Middle East and West Asia!

None of us is entitled to succumb to a destructive paralysis by resigning ourselves to the expectation that the sister peoples of the Middle East and West Asia are ineluctably condemned to be consumed by an unstoppable conflagration, foretold by current events as an impending and modern frightening apocalypse, as a result of which mere anarchy would be loosed upon the world. The ominous and deeply disturbing situation described by the Baker-Hamilton Iraq Study Group underlines the point that global challenges that threaten the whole world demand multilateral solutions.

Thabo Mbeki

---

VIEW OF THE EDITOR <Viewpoint - Smuts Ngonyama>

Is the Gautrain an ANC gravy train?

Last week we published a letter from ANC President Thabo Mbeki in which he challenged the serious accusation made by the Sunday Times, the DA, SACP and COSATU that leaders of our movement had positioned themselves and abused their positions in government to enrich themselves.

As they were entitled to, the Sunday Times, the SACP and COSATU have responded to the President's letter, naturally seeking to defend themselves. In turn, our movement issued a public statement responding particularly to COSATU's statement on the President's letter. Below follow further observations we would like to make on this important issue.

The first point we would like to make is that, proceeding from an entirely false basis, the Sunday Times, the DA, SACP and COSATU decided to mount a determined attack against leaders of the ANC and the ANC itself, accusing us of corrupt practice.

The second point is that the President's Letter sought to respond to this attack. If we are now faced with a public controversy, which some, for various reasons, might find uncomfortable, these must understand that the ANC did not start the controversy.

The third point, mentioned in the President's letter, is that even our allies, the SACP and COSATU, made absolutely no effort to contact us to check the veracity of the allegations originally made by the Sunday Times, which consciously and deliberately sought to project some of our leaders, and the ANC as a whole, as a corruptive force deeply embedded in our body politic.

The fourth point is that our movement, from the President downwards, will consistently and with no apology to anybody, defend itself against all attacks by its opponents, who might seek to misrepresent its positions, question its integrity, and alienate it from the masses of our people, which is what the Sunday Times, the DA, SACP and COSATU tried to do at the end of November concerning the Gautrain.

The fifth point is that whatever we might say in this regard, and any other matter in future, including such interventions as our President might make, is not intended to silence anybody. The principle must apply to everybody, without exception, that those who elect to enter into the furnace of robust debate, must not cry foul when they can no longer stand the heat.

We will not accept the thesis that some, as an expression of the vibrancy of our democracy, are perfectly entitled to attack the ANC and the government, while the ANC and the government, again supposedly as an expression of the vibrancy of our democracy, have a duty to shut up, in the face of a concerted attack.

The sixth point is that in the event that a robust debate arises affecting any issue, those involved must not expect that they can unilaterally lay down rules prescribing what constitutes legitimate argument, principally to limit the possibility for the ANC and the government to defend themselves.

The seventh point we would like to make is that, regardless of what others may do, in all instances we will do our best always to respect the truth, refusing to resort to falsehoods and demagoguery to promote the goals of the national democratic revolution.

With regard to this seventh point, relating to the absolute imperative to respect the truth, and in the context of the matters at issue, we would like the Sunday Times, the DA, SACP and COSATU to answer a simple and specific question.

This simple and specific question is - can this grouping, either individually or collectively, cite one instance over the twelve-and-a-half years since our liberation, when ANC leaders and cadres, from the Presidents and Deputy Presidents, downwards through the Ministers, Deputy Ministers and Premiers, to the Directors General, abused their positions in government to enrich themselves?

To make it easy for our accusers, we ask them to cite only one instance, and no more. We ask this important question because all the members of the group that launched a hostile offensive against the ANC at the end of November, charging us with corruption, argued that, to use Tony Leon's words, the ANC is affected by "the taint and the whiff of corruption surrounding everything".

The Sunday Times said: "The Gautrain saga comes amid criticism that large government tenders mainly benefit a well-connected elite." COSATU said: "worryingly growing numbers of ANC and government leaders are in the grip of a culture of personal self-enrichment." The SACP said: "The SACP wishes to strongly condemn this as the worst expression of what we have consistently warned against, parasitic capitalism." The DA said that "part of President Thabo Mbeki's legacy would be the speed with which corruption was allowed to flourish, because of the collapse of the boundaries between the ANC and the state".

We believe we are right to expect that our accusers, having made the serious accusations reported in the preceding paragraph, will have the information at their fingertips showing how the echelon of the ANC leadership cadre in the categories we have mentioned, has acted in a manner that reflects that "worryingly growing numbers of ANC and government leaders are in the grip of a culture of personal self-enrichment".

In this context we must mention that none of our accusers, including and particularly our allies, the SACP and COSATU, have, in the last twelve-and-a-half years, ever approached the ANC to inform us of any instance of abuse of power by any ANC leader or leaders for personal self-enrichment, urging us to act against the individuals they would have identified.

Fortunately, the controversy that has arisen around the Gautrain project provides our Allies with an opportunity to correct this obviously unintended shortcoming. In a spirit of "glasnost" - transparency - and accountability to the people, we would accept that as our accusers provide us with the information we request, they should also make this information generally available to the South African public.

The point at issue is that our accusers allege such widespread and endemic

corruption perpetrated by ANC leaders, that this collective of accusers makes bold to assert that the cancer of corruption can justly be characterised as "a legacy" of the years of freedom, during which the ANC, especially under the leadership of President Mbeki, went on the rampage corruptly to enrich its "elite".

It must surely be that this tendency has become so pervasive, and obviously visible even to the naked eye, that COSATU felt compelled to urge that, "it was important for the ANC to maintain the high standards of governance it had brought with it and not sink to the corruption levels prevalent during the apartheid era."

With regard to all the foregoing, and to repeat, we request that our accusers, severally or collectively, should supply the information about the layer of leadership we have mentioned, which led them to proclaim loudly and publicly, that the ANC has transformed itself into a machinery of corruption.

As editor of this ANC journal, I undertake to publish the evidence they will provide in full, at all costs avoiding any editorial intervention that might seek to change in any way the information that our accusers will provide, to substantiate the charge they have laid at our feet, that we are corrupt.

With regard to the matter originally raised by the Sunday Times, concerning the personal enrichment of particular leaders of the ANC serving in our system of governance, through the Gautrain project, our accusers will have to respond to the specific facts presented in the President's letter.

They have to present specific information to show that the President was wrong in his understanding of the facts relevant to this matter, and not hide behind many words that have no meaning in this regard. To resolve this particular debate, all that is required is the public presentation of the relevant facts.

The editor of the Sunday Times, Mondli Makhanya, has made the absurd assertion that the President's message conveyed in his letter was - "Thou shalt not question that upon which I have put my stamp of approval."

Makhanya knows very well that the President made no such demand, and has never issued any "edict". I know that the President would be very willing to accept that he was wrong, if Makhanya provides facts contrary to those stated in the President's letter.

Our President belongs to, and has grown up in a movement that has always sought to take its decisions by consensus, achieved through open discussion within its ranks. This practice was sustained even during the 30-year period of our illegality, from 1960 to 1990.

That process of discussion has always assumed that our leaders have as much a right to participate in any debate as any other member of our movement. The only time that our leaders issue what Makhanya describes as "edicts" is only when they announce the consensus decisions arrived at through open democratic discussion.

Consistent with this, the President and other leaders of our movement will participate in the national debate on any and all issues of importance to

the future of our country, always respecting the truth as they see it. People holding responsible positions, such as the editor of the Sunday Times, are at perfect liberty to contest any view advanced by our leadership and movement, with absolutely no fear that we will misuse state power to punish those who differ with us.

Makhanya has absolutely no basis to assert that when our President wrote a letter to oppose an unadulterated fabrication propagated by the Sunday Times, which alleged corrupt practice, he was issuing what amounts to a Biblical Commandment. Rhetorical flourish does not absolve Makhanya from the obligation to tell the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth.

It is perfectly clear to me that, like others, Makhanya believes that he has a right to write and say anything he likes about the ANC and our government. He, like others, entertains the very strange and ridiculous belief that the ANC and our government, especially the President of the ANC and the Republic, have no right to speak out in defence of the ANC and the government. Obviously Makhanya believes that he can silence the President and thus exclude him from the national debate by characterising his intervention as "bullying", or some such unacceptable behaviour.

The President has never demanded obedience to himself. He has never asked that anybody should "just shut up" about anything. He has never expected or demanded that every African should have sufficient pride in himself or herself to repudiate the deeply insulting allegation that our cultures condition African men to treat the rape of women as normal behaviour. In this regard he has understood that there might be some among us who have accepted how they are defined by others.

Neither has he done anything that was intended to compromise the independence of the judiciary or the press, contrary to the achievement of these objectives in our democracy, for which members and supporters of the ANC sacrificed their lives.

The fact might have escaped Makhanya's attention that our President was part of the ANC leadership that was responsible for the drafting and adoption of our Constitution that entrenches the independence of the judiciary and the media. If Makhanya does not know this, we would like to inform him that this Constitution could never have been adopted without, at least, the concurrence of the ANC.

And with regard to the communication of ANC and government policies to the masses of our people, and the interaction of both the ANC and government with these masses, which includes the duty and the exercise of the right of the people to "talk back", it does seem that Makhanya does not live in South Africa.

His absence from our midst, wherever he may be as a result, has obviously deprived him of the knowledge that our President, our government in all its spheres and the ANC, occupy the front ranks, globally, in terms of sustained, systematic and systemic interaction with the electorate, during which process the people speak out freely and without limitation, always in the presence of the mass media.

Any President of the ANC, and any ANC President of the Republic, whoever that may be, including President Mbeki, will always speak out to defend the

ANC and any government led by the ANC. Makhanya might think that this constitutes "bullying". It will never be our fault that the likes of Makhanya find it difficult to respond to the rational arguments of our leaders and our movement.

It will not be difficult for the people to see through the fig leaves people like Makhanya construct to hide their bankruptcy when they resort to unfounded allegations such as "bullying", as they fail to present cogent counter-arguments, which prove that our movement is wrong in the positions it takes.

Hopefully, Makhanya will come to understand that the people are not fools. This is demonstrated by the fact that throughout the years of our young democracy, in our successive elections, ever increasing numbers of our people have voted for the ANC to govern our country in all spheres of government, reflecting their confidence in our movement as their tried and tested representative and leader. In this regard, I accept that the obviously learned Editor Makhanya might very well conclude that whereas he is wise, the people are fools.

Clearly, Makhanya wishes that our President becomes "a lonely man". He also wishes that our President is faced with the challenge that he is "unable to control his party", whatever this means. He also imagines that the President is "unsure of his power", whatever this means, and is "fearful of a certain policeman", again whatever that means.

With regard to all this, I would like to remind Makhanya of the English proverb: "If wishes were horses, beggars would ride!" Makhanya is at perfect liberty to ride his horse, and race away to his heart's content to his world of illusions, created by a mirage of wishes.

Makhanya states that the Gautrain "makes no sense". Again he is free to state his opposition to the project, and use the Sunday Times vigorously to campaign against this important project, as some in the media campaigned vigorously against the construction of the Port of Coega/Ngqura. But Makhanya should not rely on fabrications to substantiate his case against the Gautrain project, or any other government initiative.

The hard and naked reality is that, unless they produce facts that prove us wrong, the Sunday Times, the DA, SACP and COSATU have absolutely no factual basis to substantiate the serious allegation they made with regard to the Gautrain, that there was any corrupt government or ministerial intervention of any kind, intended to enrich any of the national ministers and other leaders of the ANC. Put in plain language, when this strange consortium made this allegation, it told a naked lie.

The question remains to be answered - how did it come about that an absolute falsehood could, even temporarily, seem to gain even a veneer of veracity?

We will continue to argue that this happened because of an entrenched racist stereotype that continues to inform much of the public discourse in our country and elsewhere in the world. Simply, as all thinking people know very well, the power of prejudice is sufficient to displace the truth, taking its place as what, ultimately, some journalists, caught in the act of misrepresenting reality, will present as "perception", a category of human understanding of objective reality that is often used to justify the

communication of untruths.

COSATU has argued that in his letter our President used "the race card". It said that our President "throws the race card even against organisations whose membership is constituted mainly by the very ANC members he is leading". It is most instructive, and perhaps by no means accidental, that the standard language of the DA, specifically "the race card", has now found a home in the vocabulary of spokespersons of COSATU.

Of additional interest in this regard is the gross vulgarisation of the message our President sought to convey when he wrote about the racist stereotype of Africans. For our part, we will continue to assert the obvious truth that this stereotyping remains, still, an important feature of our national legacy of colonialism and apartheid.

Some of the ideas of the previously dominant ruling group during the centuries of white minority rule in our country continue to influence the national consciousness, including some among the formerly oppressed - as represented, for instance, by the colloquial expression, "umlungu mdala!" - 'the white people are blessed with the exclusive wisdom of maturity'.

The first point to make about this is that the COSATU statement was not issued by the "membership" to which the COSATU statement referred. Nothing has happened that demonstrates that the masses of our working people who constitute the membership and supporters of COSATU, many of whom are indeed members and supporters of the ANC, agree that their organisation, the ANC, is corrupt.

The second point is that both in 2001 and now, the President referred to the prevalence in our society of a racist stereotype that influences everybody, regardless of their race and colour. To the extent that this is internalised by those who speak for the formerly oppressed, it reflects what the African American leader, Malcolm X, described when he spoke about "the house Negro" and "the field Negro".

In terms of our own political history, we know that the Black Consciousness Movement, as led by patriots such as Bantu Biko, Barney Pityana, Ongopotse Tiro and others, and from which many of us originate, drew attention to the submissive slave mentality among some of our people which Malcom X sought to oppose and repudiate. None of us can therefore pretend that we do not understand how some of us, as black people, can become so enslaved, psychologically, that it becomes possible for us to internalise our "master's" definition of who we are.

If we are wrong in making this assertion, those who say we are will have to explain how it comes about that our leadership gets smeared with the terrible brush of corruption through the abuse of office, when not a single fact can be produced to substantiate this allegation. We are certain that this is entirely a result of pure, unadulterated prejudice.

The leadership of the ANC as a whole, and not just the President, is convinced that this derives from the racist stereotype that as Africans we are inherently corrupt. We know too that the overwhelming majority of our country's workers do not believe that we are corrupt and have never made any such accusation. Similarly, we are certain that, like the ANC, these workers

firmly repudiate the racist stereotype of Africans, and all false conclusions that result from this insulting image of our people.

\*\* Smuts Ngonyama is the ANC Head of Presidency, National Spokesperson and Editor of ANC Today.

**MORE INFORMATION:**

'Letter from the President', ANC Today Vol 6 No 48  
<http://www.anc.org.za/ancdocs/anctoday/2006/at48.htm#preslet>

'It's lonely at the top', Sunday Times 10 December 2006  
<http://www.suntimes.co.za/PrintEdition/Article.aspx?id=338608>

-----  
This issue of ANC Today is available from the ANC web site at:  
<http://www.anc.org.za/ancdocs/anctoday/2006/at49.htm>

To receive ANC Today free of charge by e-mail each week go to:  
<http://www.anc.org.za/ancdocs/anctoday/subscribe.html>

To unsubscribe yourself from the ANC Today mailing list go to:  
<http://lists.anc.org.za/mailman/listinfo/anctoday>

-----  
anctoday mailing list  
<http://lists.anc.org.za/mailman/listinfo/anctoday>

