



## JACOB ZUMA QUOTES ARCHIVE

DATE	ISSUE	QUOTE	CONTEXT	IMPLICATION	SOURCE
12.11.1996	Constitutionalism	<i>"...There is no Premier who is a Premier out of nowhere. They are all coming from the political party. They are answerable and accountable to the party, including the President and everybody else. The President of this country is the President of the ANC. <u>No one person can be above the ANC. He can't be.</u>"</i>	<b>Said by: Jacob Zuma.</b> Interview with Padraig O'Malley, in response to the question about the ANC's decision to remove Patrick Lekota as Free State Premier.	<b>The ANC trumps the Constitution.</b>	<a href="http://www.omalley.co.za">http://www.omalley.co.za</a>
17.11.1996	Constitutionalism	<i>"Once you begin to feel you are above the ANC, you are in trouble..."</i>  <i>"[The ANC is] <u>more important</u>" than the Constitution.</i>  <i>"No political force can destroy the ANC - it is only the ANC that can destroy itself..."</i>  <i>"[The Constitution is only there] <u>to regulate matters.</u>"</i>	<b>Said by: Jacob Zuma.</b> Address to delegates at an ANC regional meeting in Durban, KwaZulu-Natal, explaining the decision to remove Patrick Lekota as Free State Premier.  The background to this issue is as follows: In 1996 Jacob Zuma served the ANC as its national chairperson. The party was experiencing considerable internal turmoil in the Free State which revolved, by and large, around Patrick 'Terror' Lekota, the party's Premier in the province at that time. (Lekota had exercised his constitutional right to fire an MEC without consulting the ANC NEC; and whom the ANC NEC, as a result, had removed from office.) Zuma was called in to resolve the dispute. His primary goal was to re-enforce the ANC's policy of cadre deployment and, with it, the principle that party members were accountable first and foremost to the ANC.	<b>The ANC trumps the Constitution.</b>	<u>Eastern Province Herald</u> ; [18 November 1996]; "Zuma warns ANC leaders"  <u>Natal Witness</u> ; [18 November 1996]; "Don't lose touch with grassroots"
25.08.1999	Party and state	<i>"...I think there is nothing wrong, as I have answered, for the ANC to be concerned about people who are employed in the public sector, given the history of this country. <u>There is nothing wrong and it does not, in any way, undermine the provision in the constitution [that no employee may be prejudiced because of their support for a political party].</u>"</i>	<b>Said by: Jacob Zuma.</b> Answering questions in the National Assembly.	<b>Failure to properly distinguish between the ANC and the government.</b>	<u>HANSARD</u> ; [25 August 1999]; Page 45.
20.10.1999	Corruption / arms deal	<i>"No, the President has not taken any steps to investigate the allegations (into</i>	<b>Said by: Jacob Zuma.</b> Answering questions in the National Assembly.	<b>Double standards.</b>	<u>HANSARD</u> ; [20 October 1999]; Pages 1100 –



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		<p><i>irregularities in the arms deal). <u>Government is satisfied that the entire weapons procurement process has been an open and transparent procedure. The negotiating team ensured that every aspect of the negotiations was carried out in a responsible and accountable manner. The team reported to the Minister's committee every step of the way. The committee is chaired by the President who is familiar with the detail of the tender.</u></i></p> <p><i>"... the Minister of Defence did his best [to address this issue]. <u>He addressed the House on the matter and that closed the chapter as far as that matter was concerned.</u></i></p> <p><i>"...In relation to the issue [of whether I should take this up with the President]... I think if we did that, this Parliament would end up with a lot of unnecessary work, because any individual could sit somewhere, anonymously raise any heavy question and then just expect this Parliament to discuss it. How far does one go in investigating all those questions? I think that this Parliament should be saying that such matters should not come to it... I do not think we should <u>follow that route, otherwise this Parliament could end up discussing rumours and allegations that do not exist.</u></i></p> <p><i>"...we are satisfied that the process was <u>transparent every step of the way. Following up those rumours, which is what the hon member is saying should be done, is unnecessary. We cannot stand and follow up rumours, really. I do not know why we should be persuaded to follow up all rumours that may come our way.</u></i></p>	<p>The Strategic Defence Procurement Packages are now being investigated in three countries other than South Africa: England, Germany and Sweden; and, as these investigations unfold an ever-increasing amount of evidence - which suggests that several elements of the deal were fundamentally corrupt - continues to emerge. South Africa's own investigation was marked by interference by the state – first Judge Willem Heath was fired and, later, the joint investigation's report into the deal was edited by the executive. More significantly, perhaps, with the exception of Tony Yengeni, a wide range of prominent role players in the arms deal - from President Mbeki, to Jacob Zuma, to the late defence minister Joe Modise, to the Shaik brothers, to the ANC itself (Andrew Feinstein has alleged that some money from the arms deal was used by the ANC to fund its 1999 election campaign) - have been implicated in one way or another, yet their actions remain unaccounted for and, often, any attempt to investigate further is blocked by the ANC government. On top of this, and with the benefit of hindsight, it is quite clear that the deal itself - the logistics of the bidding and tender process - were manipulated to achieve a desired outcome.</p>		1102.
17.05.20	HIV/Aids	<i>"I believe that until a cure for this disease is</i>	<b>Said by: Jacob Zuma.</b> Answering questions in the National	<b>Double standards.</b>	HANSARD; [17 May



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00		<i>found, <u>no amount of intervention by government will succeed until people of their own accord heed the call for changing behaviour to save themselves.</u></i>	<p>Assembly.</p> <p>In and of itself Zuma's answer is fairly insignificant, however, later - as head of the South African National Aids Council and the Moral Regeneration Movement - Zuma would have unprotected sex with a young girl and then argue that he had subsequently had a shower, to prevent himself from contracting HIV.</p>		2000]; Pg 1673
17.05.20 00	Corruption	<i>"Government will only be satisfied once <u>corruption has been eradicated from the public sector at all levels.</u></i>	<p><b>Said by: Jacob Zuma.</b> Answering questions in the National Assembly.</p> <p>Zuma went on to state: <i>"We know that in the apartheid period, corruption was endemic, but the people of the country knew very little about it because of the suppression of information and the almost total lack of transparency. However, that does not in any way mitigate corruption in our democratic society; it only makes the task much harder."</i></p> <p>Of course Zuma himself is inextricably linked with the idea of corruption and, specifically, the arms deal. He has fought his court appearance every step of the way, has overseen the attempt to disband the Scorpions and was complicit in government's prevention of any full and proper investigation into the arms deal.</p>	Double standards.	HANSARD; [17 May 2000]; Pg 1677
17.05.20 00	The Scorpions	<i>"This government has taken a number of <u>steps to deal with corruption. These include... The establishment of the Special Investigating Unit, the Public Protector and the Office for Serious Economic Offences...</u></i>	<p><b>Said by: Jacob Zuma.</b> Answering questions in the National Assembly,</p> <p>Of course, as set out above, Zuma - as President of the ANC - has overseen government's attempt to disband the Scorpions, which is currently investigating a number of members of the ANC's new NEC.</p>	Double standards.	HANSARD; [17 May 2000]; Page 1677
17.05.20 00	Corruption	<i>"I think it is important to say that public servants, in particular, more than anybody else, <u>ought to be aware that they should be more upright and transparent in so far as the use of public funds is concerned.</u></i>	<p><b>Said by: Jacob Zuma.</b> Answering questions in the National Assembly.</p> <p>Zuma himself is inextricably linked with the idea of corruption and, specifically, the arms deal. He has fought his court appearance every step of the way, has overseen the attempt to disband the Scorpions and was complicit in government's prevention of any full and proper investigation into the arms deal.</p>	Double standards.	HANSARD; [17 May 2000]; Pages 1678/9



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17.05.20 00	Zimbabwe	<p><i>"It is clear that, particularly, the opposition party (the DP) has a particular view of how to deal with the Zimbabwe issue. On has to go to the newspapers, criticise, and make statements.</i></p> <p><i>"The President of this country has taken a stand. Firstly he said that he was engaged in opening up discussion through the diplomatic channels. That was his first statement on the Zimbabwe issue. He has moved to become part of the process of finding a solution in Zimbabwe. He was here, just last week, where he explained this. Now I do not know why we should insist on saying that South Africa has not taken any position.</i></p> <p><i>"In practice, we are, in fact, engaged to defuse and solve the problem. Our President is not about to do political propaganda. He is about to ensure that things are done. He has moved. He was at Victoria Falls in Zimbabwe with three other presidents, discussing the Zimbabwean issue. He has been in contact with other countries in Europe, including England. Now I do not know which other position South Africa and the President are supposed to be taking. I think that to keep on raising the issue, in a sense, exposes some political interest other than the interest of our region."</i></p>	<p><b>Said by: Jacob Zuma.</b> Answering questions in the National Assembly.</p> <p>It is a myth that Zuma was ever opposed to Thabo Mbeki's policy of silent diplomacy towards Zimbabwe or, indeed, the rule of Robert Mugabe. And analysis of his statements both in parliament and in public reveals a staunch support for both, and even a series of attacks on those who opposed the policy.</p> <p>On this occasion, Zuma was responding to a follow up question from the DP, the relevant section of which reads as follows:</p> <p><i>"I would in particular, like to draw to the attention of the hon the Deputy President to an article from the recent addition of the Wall Street Journal, which describes South Africa's foreign policy vis-à-vis Zimbabwe as – "designed more to please than to pursue any agenda; a fetish for compromise; an approach yet able to assuage no foreign investors, expressing their disapproval by shortening the South African currency to records lows." It goes on to say: "many investors say that by not taking a stand, President Mbeki is condoning the events in Zimbabwe and undermining confidence in South Africa's resolve to deal with its own problems." For the sake of our own growth and stability, surely we need to change our attitudes in respect of foreign policy?</i></p>	<p><b>Endorsement of silent diplomacy. Party solidarity trumps commitment to democratic values.</b></p>	<p>HANSARD; [17 May 2000]; Page 1696.</p>
07.06.20 00	Police Commissioner / Scorpions	<p><i>"... I would like to assure the hon member and this house that there is no tension between the National Police Commissioner of the SA Police Service and the National Director of Public Prosecutions. Both have assured me that there is a very good working relationship between their two offices."</i></p>	<p><b>PART 1 .</b> The next three quotes should be read together</p> <p><b>Said by: Jacob Zuma.</b> Answering questions in the National Assembly.</p> <p>Prior to the creation of the Scorpions, a number of reservations were expressed as to who would control them and to whom they would report. During this question and answer section, Zuma gave a number of explicit assurances that the Scorpions would be</p>	<p><b>False assurances.</b></p>	<p>HANSARD; [7 June 2000]; Pages 2126/7</p>



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		<p><i>"Cabinet is in the process of finalising the directorate of special operations Bill, which will provide the legal basis for the Scorpions unit. This Bill will be introduced early in the second half of this year. As with all legislation, the constitutionality of the Bill, in particular its compliance with section 199 (1) of the Constitution, will be considered by the state law advisors."</i></p>	<p>accountably to the department of justice, that there was no chance of them abusing their power – because they would operate "in the rule of the country" – and that, as a consequence there were no tensions between the National Commissioner of Police and the National Director of Public Prosecutions.</p> <p>Zuma himself would later lead the drive to have the Scorpions disbanded a move justified by the argument that they were a law unto themselves.</p>		
07.06.2000	Scorpions	<p><i>"...I can certainly give the assurance to this House that there is no abuse of any regulation, rule or law in the context of the operation of the Scorpions. We do have existing policing rules that they are utilising at the moment, as well as those that determine how the justice department operates. At the moment they are operating within the laws. <u>We should have absolutely no fear that they could be out of bounds and abuse the rules because they are operating within the rules of the country.</u> Certainly, the legislation that I am talking about will, of course, set new parameters that will indicate how the Scorpions operate. But, at the moment, they are operating within the rules that the police are using."</i></p>	<p><b>PART 2.</b></p> <p><b>Said by: Jacob Zuma.</b> Answering questions in the National Assembly.</p> <p>In response to the following question:</p> <p><i>"...arising out of the hon Deputy President's reply, I would like to know in terms of what set of rules the Scorpions are operating at the moment if there is no legislative framework. Can the Deputy President give an absolute assurance to this house that there is no abuse of power and no undermining of constitutional principles? The National Director said the Scorpions are the police, but they get their money from the Department of Justice."</i></p> <p>Compare Zuma's assurance to the current argument put forward by the ANC NEC, perhaps best articulated by ANC chief whip Nathi Mthethwa:</p> <p><i>"The correct mandate of the Scorpions was sacrificed on the altar of the advancement of narrow political agenda by the former apartheid agents, evident in the operational style since its inception. This includes Hollywood-style raids, conducting investigations and trials through the media, authoring the Browse Mole Report to destabilise state security, and entering into controversial plea agreements as a way to undermine those considered historical political adversaries. The ANC's decision on the incorporation of the Scorpions into the SAPS will strengthen the fight against crime by ensuring the integration of all policing functions under a single structure. This is consistent with Chapter 11 of the constitution that "the security services of the Republic consist of a single defence force, a single police service and any</i></p>	False assurances.	HANSARD; [7 June 2000]; Page 2127



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			<i>intelligence services established in terms of the constitution.</i> " (see <u>Cape Times</u> ; [24 April 2008]; "Why Scorpions are still apartheid's child")		
07.06.20 00	Scorpions	<i>"...the department which is responsible for the Scorpions is the Department of Justice. That is where the Scorpions are controlled from at this point."</i>	<p><b>PART 3.</b></p> <p><b>Said by: Jacob Zuma.</b> Answering questions in the National Assembly</p> <p>In response to the question: <i>"... I would like to ask the Deputy President which of the three departments is in charge of the Scorpions. It is the Department of Safety and Security, the Department of Justice or the Office of the President? Who is the person who can say, even today, that he is in charge of the Scorpions, he being the one? Who is he?"</i></p>	False assurances.	HANSARD; [7 June 2000]; Page 2129
04.10.20 00	HIV/Aids / Zimbabwe	<p><i>"All I know is that the President of this country, since his election, has grown in stature in the world. He is the leading President on the continent, and is invited by all international organisations to come and put the views of the country and of the continent."</i></p> <p><i>"In our view, our President today is <u>towering</u>. He is, in fact, at the level of <u>presidents in the developed countries</u>. He has brought innovation in the debates that <u>have taken place</u>."</i></p> <p><i>"...as a result of [President Mbeki's] activities internationally. South Africa, which is what it was before 1994, has gained 100% recognition. Indeed, he has attracted investments to this country, because he has been recognised as a serious thinking President and head of state who knows exactly what he is doing."</i></p>	<p><b>Said by: Jacob Zuma.</b> Answering questions in the National Assembly.</p> <p>By late 2000 President Thabo Mbeki was under siege on two fronts. First, with regards to Zimbabwe and his policy of silent diplomacy, which was widely condemned both locally and internationally and, secondly, with regard to HIV/Aids and his decision to question the link between the HI virus and Aids. The consequence was a sustained series of damaging headlines for the ANC in general and Mbeki in particular. Here Zuma was responding to a question about some of these and the President's preserved lack of credibility.</p>	Defence of silent diplomacy and Mbeki's questioning of the link between HIV and Aids.	HANSARD; [4 October 2000]; Page 3724 - 3726
04.10.20 00	HIV/Aids	<i>"...I am not aware of South Africa losing credibility."</i>	<b>Said by: Jacob Zuma.</b> Answering questions in the National Assembly.	Denial of fundamental problem.	HANSARD; [4 October 2000]; Page 3726



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			In response to the DP question: <i>"Can the Deputy President inform the House what he is doing in his capacity as the chairperson of the SA National Aids Council to help South Africa regain its credibility in the international arena in respect of the HIV/Aids pandemic?"</i>		
01.11.2000	HIV/Aids	<p><i>"I do not know what damage the President has caused. What I know is that the President asked specific questions which were aimed at getting information from those who know, particularly scientists, so that Government could take informed positions as it works out its policies to deal with this matter,</i></p> <p><i>"Instead of getting answers, there has been the kind of excitement which I do not know where it came from, which the hon member calls a damage (sic). I do not know what has to be repaired because the answers had not come. The President went further, when there was this excitement, invited the experts, internationally, who came and met in this country and posed the questions to the real people who deal with the business. They are working on it, in order to help answer the questions that our President has asked.</i></p> <p><i>"I do not know what damage one is causing by asking questions. I do not understand why people would say there has been a damage (sic) that needs to be repaired. There is absolutely no damage."</i></p>	<p><b>Said by: Jacob Zuma.</b> Answering questions in the National Assembly.</p> <p>On 4 May 2000, the full Presidential AIDS Advisory Panel is announced by the Minister of Health. It was made up of 33 AIDS 'experts' from around the world and is roughly divided between 'orthodox' scientists who believe that the collection of symptoms known as AIDS is caused by the virus known as HIV, and the 'dissidents', who believe, to varying degrees, that AIDS doesn't exist, that HIV doesn't cause AIDS or that AIDS is caused by lifestyle factors like drugs, homosexuality or poverty. On 11 September 2000, Mbeki told Time Magazine that <i>"...the notion that immune deficiency is only acquired from a single virus cannot be sustained."</i> And, a couple of weeks later, on 20 September, Mbeki told Parliament that, <i>"We need to look at the question that is posed, understandably I suppose: does HIV cause AIDS? AIDS the acronym stands for Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome. Now I do believe that is a sensible thing to ask: does one virus cause a syndrome? A virus cannot cause a syndrome. A virus will cause a disease"</i>.</p> <p>There is a strong case to made, that Mbeki's Aids denialism peaked in the latter half of 2000. Thus, Zuma's unwavering defence, at the heat of the controversy, constitutes one of the biggest blights on his CV. He was responding to the question, <i>"What programmes are now in place to repair the damage done by the President's conduct in [regard to HIV/Aids]?"</i></p>	<b>Staunch defence of Aids denialism and denial of its consequences.</b>	HANSARD; [1 November 2000]; Pages 4328/9
01.11.2000	Zimbabwe	<p><i>"...it is not in my nature to correct, run and monitor presidents of other countries. It is not the duty of this country to do so."</i></p> <p><i>"If South Africa were to comment on every other president in the world, I am sure we would be a mad country."</i></p>	<p><b>Said by: Jacob Zuma.</b> Answering questions in the National Assembly.</p> <p>One of many staunch defences, provided by Zuma, for the policy of silent diplomacy. It is also constitutes a good example of how Zuma is willing to say one thing to one kind of audience and another thing altogether to a different kind of audience. Consider</p>	<b>Endorsement of silent diplomacy. Party solidarity trumps commitment to democratic values. Double standards.</b>	HANSARD; [1 November 2000]; Page 4334



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			<p>Zuma's address at WITS university, in the immediate run up to Polokwane (in December 2007). There Zuma was perfectly happy to comment on "presidents of other countries":</p> <p><i>"It is even more tragic that other world leaders who witness the repression (in Zimbabwe) pretend that it is not happening or is exaggerated, especially if it does not threaten their strategic interests at a particular time. When history eventually deals with the dictators, those who stood by and watched the deterioration of nations should bear the consequences."</i></p>		
13.06.20 01	Party and state	<p><i>"The ANC-led government distinguishes between party work and government work. The hon member is aware that this is the first time in this country that we have witnessed such a distinct separation of state interests and the interests of the ruling party. <u>The greater transparency in government and the existence of Chapter 9 institutions in our country ensure that sufficient checks and balances are in place to deter abuse of power. Unlike the pre-1994 period, any such deviations by a ruling party are now subject to public scrutiny.</u>"</i></p> <p><i>"There is no contradiction in what the ANC says, because we need to deliver to this country and we need to transform the country on the basis of what we have said to the voters. We ought to be concerned whenever we meet at that high level – it is absolutely no contradiction. It is correct for the ANC to take this position."</i></p> <p><i>"Those parties in our history, which used government for their own interests are gone and will never come back. We have done everything to ensure that the present status quo, as we proceed, remains. <u>No party would be able to abuse its power, because the constitution and these institutions are there as watchdogs in order to ensure that</u></i></p>	<p><b>Said by: Jacob Zuma.</b> Answering questions in the National Assembly.</p> <p>These response represent a series of comments, to different questions – although all around a central question – and thus do not constitute a single consistent speech.</p> <p>Carol Paton recently wrote for the Financial Mail that, <i>"On a strategic level over the past 10 years, Motlanthe was a key player in the leadership collective that conceptualised and drove perhaps the biggest disaster of the transition period: the ANC's bid to place its hands 'on all the levers of power' and deploy its members to all social and state institutions of power."</i></p> <p>Cadre deployment – post 1997, when the cadre deployment policy was adopted by the ANC, the main committee of which Zuma headed up – represents one of the most damaging ways in which the ANC has subverted the constitution to its own will. It effect on Chapter 9 institutions, as well as other state bodies has been substantial and damaging.</p>	<p><b>Failure to distinguish between party and state. ANC trumps the constitution. Subversion of democratic principles.</b></p>	<p>HANSARD; [13 June 2001]; Pages 2253 – 2256.</p>



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		<p><u>nothing goes wrong.</u></p> <p><i>“...no, having a member who serves in the Government and who also belongs to the structures of the party does not retard this particular objective [the separation of party and state]. It does not. I think what we must bear in mind and be clear about, and perhaps something we should complain about, is when that particular person who belongs to a political party of his or her choice and has been given that responsibility because of specific qualifications and is doing his or her job, uses a structure in Government to advance his or her own political party interest, then one has a right to complain.”</i></p>			
13.03.2002	Corruption	<p><i>“...I do not belong to those politicians who make mistakes and believe that that is how politicians operate. I think that politicians ought to be exemplary in what they do. That is what the politicians should strive for, if they are not doing that. I am not among those who condemn politicians. I think that politicians deal with matters and I am sure that even political parties might probably differ, who knows, in terms of how they handle things.”</i></p>	<p><b>Said by: Jacob Zuma.</b> Answering questions in the National Assembly.</p> <p>In response to a question about the moral regeneration summit. It is interesting to compare this sentiment the series of, sometimes veiled, sometimes explicit, attacks on President Mbeki Zuma launched ahead of Polokwane.</p>	Double standards.	HANSARD; [13 March 2002]; Page 335
14.03.2002	Zimbabwe	<p><u>“This election was legitimate, valid, free and fair”</u></p>	<p><b>Said by: Jacob Zuma.</b> In an interview with the Zimbabwe Broadcasting Corporation (ZBC) television.</p> <p>Zuma endorses the Zimbabwean Presidential elections as free and fair. Sent to Zimbabwe as President Mbeki’s emissary, Zuma delivered a message of congratulations to Mugabe from the South African President. Zuma said his country shared the views of other African organisations, such as the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) and the Southern African Development Community (SADC) whose observers “were here” and who “did not get information from the media.”</p>	Endorsement of undemocratic elections. Party solidarity trumps commitment to democratic values.	SAPA-AFP; [15 March 2002]; “Summit in London to weigh Zimbabwe’s suspension from Commonwealth”.



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			<i>"Those discrediting Zimbabwe's electoral process should listen to what the Africans are saying", Zuma told the interviewer.</i>		
15.03.2002	Zimbabwe	<p><i>"Amandla!"</i></p> <p><i>"We sent observers here, who were observing each and every detail. They have reported . . . the elections were legitimate, are valid. They were free and fair and we have got to respect that."</i></p>	<p><b>Said by: Jacob Zuma.</b> Said with President Robert Mugabe, after hugging and exchanging clenched-fist salutes.</p> <p>Sent by President Thabo Mbeki as his emissary to Harare, Zuma embraces Mugabe and congratulates him on his victory. The newspaper which reported on the meeting also stated that British officials had admitted that, <i>"what mattered to Mr Mugabe was South Africa's position. Mr Zuma's endorsement would have delighted him"</i>.</p>	<b>Endorsement of undemocratic elections. Party solidarity trumps commitment to democratic values.</b>	<u>Daily Telegraph</u> ; [15 March 2002]; "South African deputy hails Mugabe victory".
08.05.2002	Zimbabwe	<i>"...what the [South African] Government cannot do is to take any action without discussing it with the government of Zimbabwe. I do not think that there is any government that can go to any country and start interacting with its people without discussing it with their government. That is why we have been saying that we are engaging the government in Zimbabwe on this matter. And, if agreed, we will certainly go along with involving whoever needs to be involved in Zimbabwe to address the problem. There is absolutely no problem with that."</i>	<p><b>Said by: Jacob Zuma.</b> Answering questions in the National Assembly.</p>	<b>Endorsement of silent diplomacy. Party solidarity trumps commitment to democratic values.</b>	HANSARD; [8 May 2002]; Page 857.
11.09.2002	Zimbabwe	<p><i>"We have said that we are involved in quiet diplomacy. We have never said we are not involved."</i></p> <p><i>"The hon member has a problem, a very serious and arrogant problem of thinking that one can move from one country and run the affairs of other countries. That is very arrogant. The South African Government cannot go to some country and say: why are you mistreating this particular farmer? Where has the hon member ever heard that? He can say that if he is not running any country. He has no</i></p>	<p><b>Said by: Jacob Zuma.</b> Answering questions in the National Assembly.</p> <p>These quotes constitutes a collection of responses to a series of back-to-back questions, and do not represent a single speech. They do constitute another defence of quiet diplomacy, this time in the face of the rigged 2002 Zimbabwean Presidential elections. Once again, it makes for ironic reading, in light of some of Zuma's later pronouncements but, significantly, it is also internally inconsistent. For example: Zuma starts by saying no country should comment on the affairs of other countries but then, presented with evidence of other countries doing exactly that, he says South Africa doesn't do that.</p>	<b>Endorsement of silent diplomacy. Party solidarity trumps commitment to democratic values. Double standards.</b>	HANSARD; [11 September 2002]; Pages 3272 – 3276.



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		<p><i>responsibility and that cannot happen."</i></p> <p><i>"...again, we have a problem because the hon member wants us to emulate France and Germany. We cannot do that. We cannot do that. We are South Africa and we will remain South Africa, with our clear policies on how to relate to other countries. We cannot be told by other countries what to do, and what not to do.</i></p> <p><i>"I can tell the hon member that if, one day, any country tries to suggest how South Africa must run its affairs, we would have a serious problem with that country. We cannot do that. That is very clear. We cannot help that hon member. We cannot go to Zimbabwe and tell Zimbabweans to do this and not do that. That is not our duty. That is not what we were elected to do. We were elected to run South Africa not Zimbabwe."</i></p> <p><i>"...South Africa has done something that other countries have not done: it has engaged the Zimbabwean government in quiet diplomacy. The [African Charter on Human Rights] guides us on how we should handle our affairs in the continent. I am sure that it should be left to the country that will take action to reach a point where it feels it is necessary to take that particular action with regards to that charter."</i></p> <p><i>"If South Africa has not reached that point and if it is engaging Zimbabwe, and if it has not come to the point that it should do that, why should it do it? There is no reason why we can do it when we are not convinced we have reached that time. As I say, we have been engaging Zimbabwe and we have not come to a point where we have to look at</i></p>	<p>Bearing in mind that Zuma said this in 2002, another significant point is that he said it was not yet worth consulting the African Charter on Human Rights - "As I say, we have been engaging Zimbabwe and we have not come to a point where we have to look at that charter" – today, six years later, one wonder's if this is still Zuma's position.</p>		



DATE	ISSUE	QUOTE	CONTEXT	IMPLICATION	SOURCE
		<i>that charter. We think that the manner in which we are dealing with Zimbabwe, at the moment, is sufficient."</i>			
11.09.2002	SABC Board	<p><i>"I think that this Government, in itself, called for the independence of the SABC, if the hon remembers – the ruling party in particular. That is why we have that independence. We cannot undermine it. I do not think there should be any worry about that. As the hon members know, it does not just come like a mushroom. It does not mushroom from the ground. There is a process which determines how the board comes about. There is an involvement of Government and there is a minister in charge. And, if there is a Minister in charge it means that independence is relative. It cannot be absolute. Therefore, the interaction between the Government and the SABC will always continue, otherwise what will the Minister be doing?"</i></p> <p><i>"...We certainly cannot do what other governments used to do here in South Africa. They used to wag fingers and tape recorded telephone calls. We are absolutely not about to do that."</i></p>	<p><b>Said by: Jacob Zuma.</b> Answering questions in the National Assembly.</p> <p>This quote is remarkable for a number of different reasons. First, it suggests that the SABC is independent - something which a wealth of evidence to the contrary would later disprove - and, secondly - in direct contradiction to the first point - there is an admission that there is an inherent bias in the way the SABC board is elected and, by implication, controlled.</p> <p>But it is, perhaps, the most recent developments - the concerted drive by Zuma's faction in the ANC to replace the current board (seen as loyal to President Mbeki) with an entirely new one (loyal to Zuma). As Cosatu secretary general Vavi, described Mbeki's decision to confirm the candidates nominated by the communication committee as <i>"not a good signal"</i>. Arguing that Mbeki must <i>"respect the people. They voted for change, not the status quo"</i>. Put another way, Mbeki should appoint a board sympathetic to the views of Jacob Zuma, because he is now the ANC president. (see <a href="#">Sunday Independent</a>; [23 December 2007]; "Mbeki's SABC board: the war goes on" for more).</p>	<b>Double standards. Failure to properly separate party and state.</b>	HANSARD; [11 September 2002]; Pages 3280/1.
13.11.2002	Crime	<p><i>"I am not certain about the ranking of South Africa in as far as crime is concerned. What people miss is the transparency of South Africa. Other countries are not as transparent at all, and they have very high crime rates. I wish that we would not just believe what is said about our country. There are countries where children go to school by helicopters, because if they were to use cars, they would certainly be kidnapped. We have not reached that level yet. I want us as South Africans, when it comes to whatever ranking other</i></p>	<p><b>Said by: Jacob Zuma.</b> Answering questions in the National Assembly.</p> <p>This typifies the kind of denial that has defined the ANC in general and president Mbeki in particular, when it comes to issues like Aids, Zimbabwe and crime and it is significant that Zuma is also perfectly capable of suggesting that the most fundamental problems are exaggerated and inaccurate. Mbeki was notorious for launching scathing attacks on local and international NGOs that produces statistics suggesting South Africa had one of the highest crime rates in the world. Compare Zuma's comments here, for example, with a tirade Mbeki produced earlier in (March) 2002, in ANC Today: <i>"Some among our own people seem quite</i></p>	<b>Denial of a fundamental problem.</b>	HANSARD; [13 November 2002]; Pages 5027/8.



DATE	ISSUE	QUOTE	CONTEXT	IMPLICATION	SOURCE
		<i>institutions give us, not to take it as the truth."</i>	<i>happy to communicate the most horrible image of our country in the belief that we are the worst in the world and an ugly aberration in terms of global society. These people are proud to proclaim things they would never be able to substantiate, such as that South Africa is the crime capital of the world!"</i>		
13.11.20 02	Zimbabwe	<p><i>"We cannot say that if there is a country that does things that other people are not happy about it must be dealt with. Actually, I am not certain why we always want <u>Zimbabwe to be punished even before the rules are in place.</u>"</i></p> <p><i>"...If I were to ask a question, it would be: <u>What is it about Zimbabwe that makes everybody feel so agitated? I do not know. Let us deal with the matters without mentioning Zimbabwe, and mention Zimbabwe when it is necessary. One will find that hon members just want to mention Zimbabwe as if there is somebody keeping score somewhere on how many times Zimbabwe is mentioned. Why?"</u></i></p>	<p><b>Said by: Jacob Zuma.</b> Answering questions in the National Assembly.</p> <p>Another defence of silent diplomacy and Robert Mugabe's rule at the expense of democratic principles and values. It is also evidence of another ANC trait - feigning ignorance in the face of a crisis.</p>	<b>Endorsement of silent diplomacy. Party solidarity trumps commitment to democratic values.</b>	HANSARD; [13 November 2002]; Page 5036.
13.11.20 02	HIV/Aids	<i>"I cannot indicate, right here, how long this will take [the debate about Aids] but we are <u>doing everything we can to encourage people, because people have different views and we do not want to exclude those views from what one will finally come up with as a final decision in moving forward. This is what we are waiting for. We are doing this with the understanding that there is urgency in terms of dealing with issues.</u>"</i>	<p><b>Said by: Jacob Zuma.</b> Answering questions in the National Assembly.</p> <p>On 5 July 2002 the Constitutional Court found against the Minister of health and seven MECs, and ordered the ANC government to rollout the ARV Nevirapine.</p> <p>This comment was made some five months after the constitutional court ruling, as the government simple refused to implement the court order. It is one of many examples – most of which comes from the minister of health herself – of the obfuscation and delays that surrounded government action in this regard.</p> <p>The question was, <i>"How much longer does the Government still need to debate, while millions of people's lives are at stake?"</i></p>	<b>Justifying a refusal to comply with a court order.</b>	HANSARD; [13 November 2002]; Page 5039
13.11.20	Constitutionalis	<i>"One cannot say, when [a person] does not</i>	<b>Said by: Jacob Zuma.</b> Answering questions in the National	<b>The ANC's</b>	HANSARD; [13



DATE	ISSUE	QUOTE	CONTEXT	IMPLICATION	SOURCE
02	m	<p>have the majority that the ANC has, that he needs the same voting power. That is not democratic. When the ANC says blue, it says blue. That is democracy and it is voting.</p> <p><u>"It is the majority view being heard clearly. When the member says red and we do not hear it, it is not our problem. This is democracy in practice."</u></p>	<p>Assembly.</p> <p>Here Zuma was answering question from the ACDP about the fact that minority party's get very little speaking time and his response illustrates the ANC's view on democracy and majority rule. In the ANC's view, your speaking time (that is, your contribution) should reflect the number of votes you received. It runs fundamentally against the principles of open discussion and debate (where ideas are equal) and, perhaps more disturbingly, has consequences for the legislature's ability to hold the executive to account. Zuma conflates voting right with the nature of democratic debate – ro, put another way, outcomes with process.</p> <p>There are many practical examples of the damaging effects of this attitude. The disbanding of the Scorpions is one – it was announced has a <i>fait accompli</i> to Parliament by the Minister of Safety and Security, with little or no consideration for Parliamentary procedure, the essence of democracy.</p> <p>Zuma went on to state: <u>"One may or may not agree, but that is what it is, It might be a mandated position or a logical position, but once the majority says that this is what they say, one should abide by it. That is democracy. One does not complain and say that because his view has not been accommodated, therefore democracy is not good."</u></p>	<p>decisions are beyond scrutiny.</p>	<p>November 2002]; Pages 5050 – 5052.</p>
10.12.2002	Corruption / arms deal	<p><u>"The allegations [that he tried to secure a R500 000 protection bribe from a French arms company] are unfounded and completely baseless".</u></p>	<p>Said by: Jacob Zuma. In a "rushed" interview with the media.</p>		<p>Star; [10 December 2002]; "Corruption allegations are without foundation, Zuma insists".</p>
12.03.2003	Corruption / arms deal	<p><u>"...I think I've denied it in the newspapers which have published this allegation. I don't know whether the hon member reads some newspapers and not others because I did deny that."</u></p>	<p>Said by: Jacob Zuma. Answering questions in the National Assembly.</p> <p>In response to the question: <u>"You are alleged to have solicited a payment of R500 000 per annum from an arms dealer. Instead of staying quiet, now is the moment to protest your innocence before parliament and before the people of South Africa."</u></p>	<p>Obfuscation in the face of evidence of corruption.</p>	<p>HANSARD; [12 March 2003]; Page 291.</p>
02.04.2003	Labour laws	<p><u>"...the labour laws that we have are indeed conducive to job creation. I think that for</u></p>	<p>Said by: Jacob Zuma. Answering questions in the National Assembly.</p>	<p>Double standards.</p>	<p>HANSARD; [2 April 2003]; Page 881.</p>



DATE	ISSUE	QUOTE	CONTEXT	IMPLICATION	SOURCE
		<p><i>the first time we have laws that take into account workers in a very serious manner. I don't think we can fault the laws. There are other factors that relate to the increase in unemployment or whatever, not the labour laws. The labour laws are very user-friendly for the most disadvantaged group of our people, the workers. Therefore they cannot be associated with creating unemployment. If anything, they create better employment for the workers, and that is what they are aimed at doing."</i></p>	<p>One of many staunch defences offered by Zuma in the face of criticism of South Africa's labour laws. And, as with many of his positions, he has contradicted it more recently. Consider his interview with the <u>Financial Mail</u> ("Drawing the BEE sting"; [15 February 2008]), in which he was quoted as saying he believed that labour regulations, including minimum wages, meant to guarantee worker rights had the unintended consequence of "counting out the poorest of the poor":</p> <p><i>"Thus even the minimum wage therefore buys very much high - does not consider the second economy. Even the trade unions that say we stand for the workers but the workers that belong there, the unemployed, can't reach the bar. So that's a contradiction which we need to address because there is no regulation that says "how do we make the two link?" It's not flexibility - that's what we need to deal with. It's not just a question of the trade unions only - the trade unions are a reflection of the first economy and they have to pick up their level to that level so the second economy is in fact neglected by all of us."</i></p>		
02.04.2003	Iraq	<p><i>"South Africa would certainly not persuade Saddam Hussein to leave his country. This would be a wrong move. We cannot determine what happens to the leaders of other countries. It is the people of those countries who have a right to change their leaders. It is important to observe and respect the sovereignty of other countries and to go into exile."</i></p>	<p><b>Said by: Jacob Zuma.</b> Answering questions in the National Assembly.</p> <p>The logic behind silent diplomacy taken to its ultimate conclusion. It is one thing to have the right to vote, quite another when one is prevented from exercising that right.</p> <p>Interestingly, just nine months earlier (in July 2002) Aziz Pahad and the Foreign Affairs Department hosted Iraqi Deputy Prime minister Tariq Aziz (since a convicted war criminal). Tariq Aziz met Mbeki and, significantly, addressed an ANC meeting.</p>	Subversion of democratic principles.	HANSARD; [2 April 2003]; Page 885.
17.04.2003	Corruption	<p><i>"We have set a firm foundation to fight corruption... the most important thing is that we have a system to deal with it and, who comes to the net is not the issue, it could be anyone"</i></p> <p><i>"We're probably the first government in the world to have taken corruption so</i></p>	<p><b>Said by: Jacob Zuma.</b> In an interview with the Sunday Independent newspaper.</p> <p>Of course, it absolutely does matter who is caught in the net and, as Zuma has shown, he will use every means at his disposal to avoid facing criminal charges in a court of law.</p>	Double standards.	The Sunday Independent; [27 April 2003]; "Zuma: HRC report does not give credit where it is due".



DATE	ISSUE	QUOTE	CONTEXT	IMPLICATION	SOURCE
		<i>seriously”.</i>			
21.05.2003	Zimbabwe	<i>“Zimbabwe will not influence the developments in South Africa. Why not? Because it will not.”</i>	<p><b>Said by: Jacob Zuma.</b> Answering questions in the National Assembly.</p> <p>In response to a question about whether or not the situation in Zimbabwe would have any repercussions for South Africa’s hosting of the cricket world cup. It did of course have repercussions – both England and New Zealand refused to play there.</p>	<b>Denialism.</b>	HANSARD; [21 May 2003]; Page 1919.
21.05.2003	Corruption / arms deal	<i>“With regards to myself, well, I don’t deal with rumours. I don’t know what you want me to say on the rumours you say there about my name. <u>How do you answer rumours? If people start rumours, how do you know what is indeed a rumour or not a rumour? I think there is a process that in any sensible country and state is followed. Investigations are done, charges are preferred and people are taken to court, and then people answer. I don’t think you want this country to be engaged in the process of debating any rumour that arises. Anybody can start a rumour about you. Is that reality? I think you should allow a process that is legal and transparent to take its course, and then make your necessary comments.”</u></i>	<p><b>Said by: Jacob Zuma.</b> Answering questions in the National Assembly.</p> <p>In response to a DA questions about “<i>unresolved questions</i>” that still existed about the Deputy President’s involvement with Thales.</p> <p>Of course rumour would soon become fact and, as set out elsewhere in this document, the Constitutional Court would confirm the Supreme Court of Appeal’s finding that Shaik’s payments to Zuma were made “<i>in order to influence Mr Zuma to promote Mr Shaik’s business interests</i>”.</p>	<b>Obfuscation in the face of evidence of corruption.</b>	HANSARD; [21 May 2003]; Pages 1927/8.
24.06.2003	Religion and politics	<i>“I arrived from Jordan this morning just after 5 o’clock... I must say I took advantage of being in Jordan to go to the River Jordan where Jesus was baptised – I was around there. Jericho and Jerusalem were just across the Dead Sea. <u>So, if I look at anyone, he or she will be blessed.</u>”</i>	<p><b>Said by: Jacob Zuma.</b> Answering questions in the National Council of Provinces.</p> <p>In and of itself, this quote comes across as relatively harmless. But, read together with Zuma’s other comments, where he conflates his religion and his politics – such as his pronouncement that the ANC will govern until the end of days, or ANC voters will be blessed, or that he is like Christ – it reads far more ominously, as further evidence of Zuma’s inability to separate properly religion and politics.</p>	<b>Conflation of religion and politics.</b>	HANSARD; [24 June 2003]; Page 347.



DATE	ISSUE	QUOTE	CONTEXT	IMPLICATION	SOURCE
10.09.2003	Corruption / arms deal	<p><i>"...my understanding is that a person has the right to be presumed innocent until proven guilty. In this instance no one has been found guilty of anything. Allegations have been made and investigated. According to the National Director of Public Prosecutions and the senior counsel he consulted, I will not be prosecuted because they do not think there is a winnable case. As far as I am concerned, I know I have not engaged in any immoral activities and therefore do not see the need to relinquish my responsibilities in the moral regeneration movement."</i></p> <p><i>"...The Deputy President has not been weakened by anything because he has committed no crime, and is therefore not going to relinquish, as I said in my first answer, any position or responsibility. There is absolutely no need for that."</i></p>	<p><b>Said by: Jacob Zuma.</b> Answering questions in the National Assembly.</p> <p>The verdict in the Shaik trial (in June 2005) changed that, and President Thabo Mbeki acted to remove the Deputy President from his position. The Shaik trial also confirmed that Zuma did receive a series of bribes from Shaik and which influenced him to act - the Constitutional Court found, in a subsequent hearing in May 2008, in a unanimous verdict, that the State had established "as a matter of fact" that Zuma's former financial adviser had received multimillion-rand benefits "as a result of Mr Zuma's support for Mr Shaik and his companies". In doing so, the Constitutional Court accepted the Supreme Court of Appeal's finding that Shaik's payments to Zuma were made "in order to influence Mr Zuma to promote Mr Shaik's business interests".</p>	<p><b>Double standards.</b> <b>Failure to act against corruption.</b> <b>Poor leadership.</b></p>	<p>HANSARD; [10 September 2003]; Pages 3496 and 3499.</p>
13.11.2003	Death penalty	<p><i>"Therefore the answer is no. The law and government policy on the matter are very clear."</i></p> <p><i>"...There are many issues on which we could call referendums. I don't know where we would end... I think we should exercise a measure of some responsibility."</i></p> <p><i>"...no, I don't think they will accept a referendum on any of the issues. The raising of this issue is very selective and is done deliberately for political convenience. But it also fails to acknowledge is the morality of all of us towards respect for life, something which we respect. That is why I have said that if there were specific issues that we are not dealing with responsibly, we could actually turn this country into a banana republic, because there are so many people</i></p>	<p><b>Said by Jacob Zuma.</b> Answering questions in the National Assembly.</p> <p>One of Zuma's more fundamental contradictions is his about-turn on the possibility of a referendum on the death penalty. As is evidenced here, in 2003, Zuma was quite clearly against the idea, which he described as a "political convenience", raised by opposition parties solely to pander to their supporters.</p> <p>However, in 2008, Zuma did a complete about turn, telling the Financial Mail [6 March] that: "The fact of the matter is that we don't have that penalty in the country. It was abolished by the Constitutional Court, right, for very good, cogent argument. But there are people who argue that, whilst nobody has a right to take anybody's life, criminals do. What do you do with them? And they say, well bring the death penalty. The point I was making was that, if people make that call, we can't stop them, we can't say, look, even if the overwhelming feeling is that we need a referendum for an example, because that's the only thing you could do. And I said, yesterday, if they say we want a</p>	<p><b>Double standards.</b></p>	<p>HANSARD; [13 November 2003]; Pages 4345/6.</p>



DATE	ISSUE	QUOTE	CONTEXT	IMPLICATION	SOURCE
		<p><i>who are not satisfied with certain things. So we have to exercise responsible government in order to lead this country properly."</i></p> <p><i>"...So that is why they [people who are not happy with this government] would be very selective in choosing which issue they would want to highlight, even to want to hold a referendum, but they are silent on other issues which our people are complaining about."</i></p>	<p><i>referendum, we can't stop them. Because we are a democratic country. We can't suppress other people's views, because we feel another way. I say, if there is sufficient majority that says so, we should have a referendum on the matter. Because crime is there, the crime is there and is a problem. And some of the people who say this, they are not saying it from a theoretical point of view, it's because they feel some have been directly affected."</i></p> <p>Suddenly, the idea became legitimate and Zuma's previous position, completely ignored.</p>		
13.11.2003	HIV/Aids	<p><i>"President Mbeki does not need any persuasion. For your memory, it is President Mbeki who launched the partnership against Aids. He has been very active on the issue of Aids, and if you look at the literature you will see this. It is President Mbeki who chairs the Cabinet that has taken very serious decisions, including budgeting for HIV/Aids. So he absolutely does not need any persuasion."</i></p>	<p><b>Said by: Jacob Zuma.</b> Answering questions in the National Assembly.</p> <p>In response to the question: <i>"Would the Deputy President undertake to persuade President Mbeki to play a positive role in the fight against HIV/Aids...?"</i></p> <p>By now, some 16 months had passed since the Constitutional Court had found against the Minister of Health and seven MECs, and ordered that the ANC government provide Nevirapine, yet it still refused to do so.</p>	<p><b>Staunch defence of Aids denialism and denial of its consequences.</b></p>	<p>HANSARD; [13 November 2003]; Page 4351.</p>
25.02.2004	Zimbabwe	<p><i>"With regard to the point you zoomed on in (sic), Zimbabwe, I don't think South Africa could do more than what it is doing in terms of engaging Zimbabweans to discuss the issues that affect Zimbabwe and which, in the final analysis, will have to be resolved by the Zimbabweans.</i></p> <p><i>"We have sought to engage both the Zimbabwean government and the opposition to discuss the issues as we see them and to hear how they feel about them. We believe that progress has been made in that direction. So, insofar as Zimbabwe is concerned, we are certain that perceptions will be dealt with or addressed very soon."</i></p>	<p><b>Said by: Jacob Zuma.</b> Answering questions in the National Assembly.</p> <p>In the run-up to South Africa's 2004 general election.</p>	<p><b>Endorsement of silent diplomacy. Party solidarity trumps commitment to democratic values.</b></p>	<p>HANSARD; [25 February 2004]; Pages 117.</p>
25.02.20	Corruption /	<p><i>"[The arms deal] is another imagined issue.</i></p>	<p><b>Said by: Jacob Zuma.</b> Answering questions in the National</p>	<p><b>Double standards.</b></p>	<p>HANSARD; [25</p>



DATE	ISSUE	QUOTE	CONTEXT	IMPLICATION	SOURCE
04	arms deal	<i>It's just a figment of the imagination, because hon members have not paid attention to what benefits have been brought by the arms deal in terms of the industry of the country. Again, they would be imagining it. I know that they have been chasing to find something. Up to this day, nobody has found anything. They've been chasing it in the sea, in the sky and everywhere. Nothing has been found. What is the problem?"</i>	Assembly.  Tony Yengeni aside, the suggestion that the arms deal has brought benefits to South African industry is a myth. A great many of the industrial participation programmes – a crucial element of the winning bids – have never been properly realised, targets have been missed and goals not monitored or achieved.	Denialism.	February 2004]; Pages 118/9.
25.02.2004	Party and state	<i>"If you are a government official, how can you say: Today I am not a government official and so you resign from your position so that you can campaign? How do you distinguish these two? How do you say that because I am a Minister, well, let me not campaign because some are going to say that I am abusing my position. It's can't be. You have to campaign for your party. The fact that you are a Minister is just hard luck. You are a Minister because you are elected into a position, just as your party was elected by the people of this country."</i>	<b>Said by: Jacob Zuma.</b> Answering questions in the National Assembly.  Responding to a question about government's 10 years of freedom campaign, which conflated the ANC and the government. A powerful illustration of Jacob Zuma's – and the ANC's – inability to properly separate party and state. Not only is this view undemocratic (in the sense that, ultimately, it turns the state into a resource for the ruling party), but in strict terms it is unlawful. Here is what the Code of Conduct for Public Servants requires: "[that a public servant] will serve the public in an unbiased and impartial manner in order to create confidence in the Public Service" and "does not abuse his or her position in the Public Service to promote or prejudice the interest of any political party or interest group."  Another powerful example of this conflation is the ANC fundraising programme: The Progressive Business Forum, which sells time and influence with Ministers and public servants in exchange for donations to the ruling party.	<b>Inability to properly separate party and state. Abuse of state resources for party political gain. Undemocratic principles.</b>	HANSARD; [25 February 2004]; Page 136.
05.03.2004	Religion and politics	<i>"[Those who vote for the ANC will be] blessed on earth and heaven (sic)"</i>	<b>Said by: Jacob Zuma.</b> Said at an election campaign address to a group of celebrities at a restaurant in District Six, Cape Town.	<b>Conflation of religion and politics. The ANC governs by divine right. Opposition is illegitimate.</b>	Sowetan; [5 March 2006]; "ANC voters will be blessed - Zuma"
15.03.2004	Religion and politics	<i>"The ANC will rule South Africa until Jesus comes back."</i>	<b>Said by: Jacob Zuma.</b> Address to the Gauteng ANC special council at the Nasrec Expo Centre.	<b>Conflation of religion and</b>	Business Day; [15 March 2004]; "ANC will



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		<p><i>"I'm wondering who is going to say 'We are not going to go beyond the two thirds majority this time'. The ANC will win, all that we want is to raise the numbers, the percentage."</i></p>	<p>Addressing the council before the 14 April national election, Zuma also said the ANC would secure and outright victory because <i>"we want to prove a point: that we are a unique political party in the world and rule better"</i>.</p> <p>In trying to explain away Zuma's comment, ANC spokesperson Smuts Ngonyama said, <i>"The expression the Deputy President used was a manner of speech which is used in a number of ways in a number of different languages," before concluding, rather ironically, "it is a pity that some political parties in the country are prepared to abuse the political beliefs of some South Africans in an effort to secure votes for themselves."</i> (This Day; [17 March 2004]; "ANC shrugs off criticism of 'Jesus' remark made by Zuma"</p> <p>The second quote is significant given its context. During the 2004 election campaign there were repeated references made by the ANC Presidency to the ANC achieving 100% of the vote. Thabo Mbeki, for example, stated: <i>"I want to hear that here there will be a 100% vote on April 14 for the ANC"</i>. (see Star; [29 March 2004]; "I want a 100% vote for the ANC - Mbeki")</p>	<p><b>politics. The ANC governs by divine right. Opposition is illegitimate.</b></p>	<p>rule SA until Jesus comes back, says Zuma"</p> <p>Star; [15March 2004]; "Zuma says his party wants an even bigger majority"</p>
02.03.2005	Zimbabwe	<p><i>"Our approach now is focused on assisting Zimbabwe to realise its own express commitment to the SADC guidelines."</i></p> <p><i>"...we are not in the business of condemning countries because it is not our business to run other countries."</i></p> <p><i>"...In line with the Zimbabwean commitment to conduct the coming elections free and fair, the Zimbabwean government has invited South Africa to come and observe the elections in five capacities: As part of SADC, as chair of the organ on politics, defence and security, as a neighbouring country of Zimbabwe, as the ANC and as part of the parliamentary forum. This parliament has taken a decision about it."</i></p>	<p><b>Said by Jacob Zuma.</b> Answering questions in the National Assembly.</p> <p>Zuma went on to state, in response to a later question:</p> <p><i>"I really do not know why we think there is going to be such problems in Zimbabwe. In Iraq almost yesterday there were bomb attacks and people died. There was a high incidence of violence as the elections were going on and I never heard the noises that I am now hearing here. Why on Zimbabwe in particular? The hon member is telling me a fairy tale. We must now sit and plan the strategy on what will happen after the elections if there is a problem. We must actually spend resources because we have in our minds that, because this is Zimbabwe, there is going to be a crisis after the election. Why are we prejudging Zimbabwe? How do I answer a question that says: What are the strategies if the economy, etc.? Really, I do not want to tell a fairy tale."</i></p> <p>Perhaps the biggest problem with this view, it obvious bias aside,</p>	<p><b>Party solidarity trumps commitment to democratic values.</b></p>	<p>HANSARD; [2 March 2005]; Pages 54 - 57.</p>



DATE	ISSUE	QUOTE	CONTEXT	IMPLICATION	SOURCE
		<i>"This clearly is an intention of a country that is preparing to have free and fair elections, that wants its neighbours and everybody else to come and observe. I do not know why we should be talking about the elections, that they are not free and fair when they have not happened. I do not know. I absolutely do not know."</i>	is that it completely ignores the series of rigged elections that preceded the 2006 election. The 2002 Presidential election in Zimbabwe was widely condemned as rigged and, indeed, the sudden and accounted inflation of the votes for President Robert Mugabe remains unexplained to this day.		
08.06.2005	Corruption / Oilgate	<i>"With regard to the allegations, the hon member knows that these allegations have been made. I do not have the facts about the allegations. This government has been the first government in this country to wage a war against corruption. Never the in the past was there any government that did that. Whenever there has been a discovery of corruption, it has acted. Where there has been an investigation, at whatever level, it has never interfered. It has allowed the due process of law to continue."</i>  <i>"...we would have a funny government if it chased rumours every day on what appeared in the newspapers."</i>	<b>Said by: Jacob Zuma.</b> Answering questions in the National Assembly.  Both of these remarks were made in response to questions about Oilgate and the allegation that the ANC had effectively funnelled R11 million worth of tax-payer's money through PetroSA, via a subsidiary - (Imvume Management) - into the ruling party's 2004 election coffers. It is a remarkable statement, not only because the ANC government went out of its way on crush any investigation into the matter, from the Public Protector, through to SCOPA, to the police, to Parliament but because, some three years later, outgoing ANC treasurer-general Mendi Msimang told the ANC national conference in Polokwane that the ANC had returned the money: <i>"Indeed we did receive a donation of R11-million in the normal course of our fundraising and, when it appeared, there was a dispute around it... We immediately returned the entire donation to the donor in two instalments..."</i> (See <a href="#">Cape Argus</a> ; [18 December 2007]; "ANC reveals it did pay back Oilgate cash")  Zuma statement that the ANC has <i>"never interfered"</i> in any investigation into corruption is spectacular.	<b>Double standards. Refusal to act against corruption.</b>	<a href="#">HANSARD</a> ; [8 June 2005]; Pages 1403/4.
24.03.2006	Religion and politics	Zuma compares himself to Jesus Christ. In an interview he states he is <i>"like Christ"</i> , that the media and his detractors wanted to nail him to the cross like Jesus and that certain newspapers had sought to <i>"crucify him"</i> .	<b>Said by: Jacob Zuma.</b> The relevant sections of the interview read as follows:  <i>"...Zuma has little affection for the media, newspapers in particular. He says the 'papers' and his detractors want to nail him to the cross, like Jesus Christ."</i>  <i>"He says newspaper were quick to 'crucify' him. 'They have tried me and found me guilty and they say I am a rapist."</i>	<b>Conflation of politics and religion.</b>	<a href="#">Sowetan</a> ; [24 March 2006]; "I'm like Christ - Zuma"



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			Following Zuma's comments to the Sowetan (above) many of Zuma's supporters embraced the parallel – carrying signs which read "Zuma is Jesus" and "Why are you crucifying Zuma?" - as they protested outside the court where he was appearing a charge of rape (on signs and placards). One supporter carried a wooden, home-made crucifix bearing a picture of Zuma with outstretched arms.		
05.04.2006	HIV/Aids	<i>"It [a shower]... would minimise the risk of contracting the disease."</i>	<b>Said by Jacob Zuma.</b> In testimony before the Johannesburg High Court.  Perhaps Zuma's most infamous statement, in which he justifies taking a shower after having unprotected sex. Zuma was once the chairperson of the South African National Aids Council.	<b>Double Standards. Poor leadership.</b>	SAPA; [5 April 2006]; "A person just can't trespass on your bed".
22.09.2006	Corruption	<i>"It's unfortunate that, despite readiness to defend myself and clear my name, the NPA failed to present its case when called upon to do so."</i>	<b>Said by: Jacob Zuma.</b>	<b>Double standards.</b>	SAPA; [22 September 2006]; "Zuma – improper motives drove my prosecution".
26.09.2006	Constitutionalism	<i>"Same sex marriage is a disgrace to the nation and to God. When I was growing up, 'ungqingili' [homosexuals in isiZulu] could not stand in front of me, I would knock him out."</i>	<b>Said by: Jacob Zuma.</b> Said to thousands of supporters at Heritage Day celebrations in KwaZulu-Natal.  Zuma offered an apology, after this comment caused a national outcry, arguing that he "did not intend to have this interpreted as a condemnation of gays and lesbians".	<b>Lack of respect for human rights.</b>	Sowetan; [26 September 2006]; "JZ slams same sex-marriage"
29.11.2006	Constitutionalism	<i>"How can a person live, if not for the ANC?"</i>	<b>Said by: Jacob Zuma.</b> Speaking to a gathering of ANC supporters in the Eastern Cape.  In the same speech, from which this quote is drawn, Zuma reminded the crowd about his intervention in 1996 (above) when he stated that the ANC was "more important" than the constitution.	<b>ANC trumps the Constitution.</b>	Beeld; [29 November 2006]; "Grondwet is nie wapen"
20.12.2006	Crime	<i>"Our media, which is very open and report on really everything, tend to exaggerate the crime issue."</i>  <i>"...This is why one gets the impression that</i>	<b>Said by: Jacob Zuma.</b> In an interview with the German magazine, Der Spiegel.	<b>Denialism.</b>	Der Spiegel; [20 December 2006]; "The West is bent out of shape".



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		<i>we have much more crime than other countries. In our case the media goes too far when it comes to openness."</i>			
20.12.2006	Zimbabwe	<p><i>"The Europeans often ignore the fact that Mugabe is very popular among Africans. In their eyes, he has given blacks their country back after centuries of colonialism."</i></p> <p><i>"...The people love him. So how can we condemn him? Many in Africa believe that there is a racist aspect to European and American criticism of Mugabe. Millions of blacks died in Angola, the Republic of Congo and Rwanda. A few whites lost their lives in Zimbabwe, unfortunately, and already the West is bent out of shape."</i></p>	<p><b>Said by: Jacob Zuma.</b> In an interview with the German magazine, Der Spiegel.</p> <p>Said in response to the following two, respective questions:</p> <p><i>"Pretoria continues to exercise great restraint when it comes to Robert Mugabe, who has turned neighboring Zimbabwe into a dictatorship and has forced whites from their land and driven them out of the country"</i></p> <p>And</p> <p><i>"Mugabe has grown into a dictator, and his country is isolated internationally and economically in ruins. It has more than 1,000 percent inflation."</i></p>	<p><b>Endorsement of silent diplomacy. Party solidarity trumps commitment to democratic values.</b></p>	<p>Der Spiegel; [20 December 2006]; <i>"The West is bent out of shape"</i>.</p>
27.10.2007	Religion and politics	<i>"That is why we believe [the ANC] will be in power forever until the son of man comes back."</i>	<b>Said by: Jacob Zuma.</b> Delivering a tribute to Oliver Tambo in Kimberly.	<b>Conflation of religion and politics. The ANC governs by divine right. Opposition is illegitimate.</b>	SAPA; [27 October 2007]; <i>"ANC 'will be in power forever' – Zuma"</i> .
13.02.2008	Corruption	<p><b>"KEANE:</b> <i>A lot of people think you're a crook ...</i></p> <p><b>ZUMA:</b> <i>Is that so? (laughs). I want to see those people so they can tell me why they think I'm a crook.</i></p> <p><b>KEANE:</b> <i>Well, there's a whole army of prosecutors who clearly think it.</i></p> <p><b>ZUMA:</b> <i>Eh-ha? Is that so? Serious?</i></p> <p><b>KEANE:</b> <i>Are you a crook?</i></p> <p><b>ZUMA:</b> <i>Me? Well, I don't know, I must go to a dictionary and learn what a crook is. I've never been a crook.</i></p> <p><b>KEANE:</b> <i>Somebody who takes money from other people for corrupt purposes?</i></p> <p><b>ZUMA:</b> <i>Have I ever done so?</i></p>	<b>Said by: Jacob Zuma.</b> In an interview with the BBC programme Panorma, interviewed by Fergal Keane.	<b>Obfuscation.</b>	Panorama; [13 February 2008]



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		<p><b>KEANE:</b> I'm asking you.  <b>ZUMA:</b> No, I think that's a mistake you guys have made and I've said, I can't have two trials - trial by the media and trial by court. I'm saying I'm not a crook. I have never been a crook. I will never be a crook."</p>			
06.03.2008	Zimbabwe	<p><i>"...the policy of the ANC is what we have done in Zimbabwe. Because what has been done in Zimbabwe, many people think it was just Mbeki, but we discussed the matters about Zimbabwe and he was implementing what the ANC had decided we needed to do. And I can tell you, nobody in the world can say they have done better on Zimbabwe than us. Because nobody can produce any report of any significance as to what it is they have done to help Zimbabwe out of the problem. Some will tell you they've applied sanctions - have they helped? Some will say, we have condemned him - has it helped? We engaged with Zimbabweans, partly precisely because of that concern that we knew that to us, the Zimbabwean issue was not remote."</i></p>	<p><b>Said by: Jacob Zuma.</b> In an interview with the Financial Times.  Confirmation that silent diplomacy was not President Mbeki's initiative (although he may have been its biggest proponent) but that the ANC as a whole is responsible for it. Remember, of course, that at the time Zuma gave this interview, he had been elected ANC President.</p>	<p><b>Endorsement of silent diplomacy. Party solidarity trumps commitment to democratic values.</b></p>	<p>Financial Times; [6 March 2008]; "Jacob Zuma interview".</p>
04.05.2008	Religion and politics	<p><i>"God expects us to rule this country because we are the only organisation which was blessed by pastors when it was formed. It is even blessed in Heaven. That is why we will rule until Jesus comes back. We should not allow anyone to govern our city (Cape Town) when we are ruling the country."</i></p>	<p><b>Said by: Jacob Zuma.</b> Speech delivered at an ANC rally in Khayelitsha, Cape Town.  Zuma also told the crowd, "We have a huge task as the ANC to lead this country. There is no other political party."</p>	<p><b>Conflation of religion and politics. The ANC governs by divine right. Opposition is illegitimate and must not be allowed to govern. Democratic elections are not legitimate.</b></p>	<p>Cape Times; [5 May 2008]; "ANC to rule until Jesus comes back"</p>