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Contradictions Between Party and Man: Student Perceptions of Julius Malema

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Contradictions between party and man:

Student perceptions of Julius Malema

Annie Elise Shapiro

Bastienne Klein with Academic Mentoring

In partial fulfillment of the requirements for South Africa: Multiculturalism and Human Rights

School for International Training, Cape Town: Fall 2011

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Glossary:

- 1) **African National Congress (ANC)** = the ruling party in South Africa. Formed in 1912 to fight Apartheid. Won the first democratic elections in 1994.
- 2) **African National Congress Youth League (ANCYL)** = the branch of the ANC that is led by the youth of the country, whose president is/was Julius Malema
- 3) **Cape Peninsula University of Technology- Cape Town (CPUT-CT)**
- 4) **Coloured**= the term used in South Africa for “mixed race” peoples. Also includes the indigenous Khoisan groups and the Muslim population here.
- 5) **Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU)**= the largest federation of unions in South Africa that is intricately linked to the ANC through its Tripartite Alliance.
- 6) **Democratic Alliance (DA)** = the opposition party to the ANC. The DA is currently lead by Helen Zille and is the provincial ruler of the Western Cape.
- 7) **Freedom Charter**= a document created in 1955 calling for a non-racialized South Africa. It has become the standing platform of the current ANC
- 8) **Langa**= a township located outside Cape Town where the black South Africans lived during Apartheid
- 9) **Nationalization**= when the government buys the majority of shares in corporations, such as for oil, mines, and factories.
- 10) **New South Africa**= the term used for the nation following the Apartheid regime
- 11) **Pan Africanist Congress (PAC)**= a former South African liberation movement and current political party
- 12) **Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK)**=the armed branch of the ANC fighting against Apartheid
- 13) **University of Cape Town (UCT)**
- 14) **University of the Western Cape (UWC)**

Abstract

In many democratic nations around the world, a large degree of opinions exist in terms of the political parties and leaders. In South Africa, though, for the past 17 years since the end of Apartheid, the same party has ruled the national government, the ANC. In the most recent provincial elections, however, the citizens of the Western Cape voted to elect the DA to represent them. This study, therefore, seeks to explore the views of university students in the Cape Town area, which is the biggest city in the Western Cape, of politics in South Africa. More specifically, this paper investigates the contradiction between support for the ANC and for its Youth League President Julius Malema. It also looks at specific support or opposition for Malema and his particular agenda goals. The main questions this paper looks to answer are: do students who like the ANC also like Malema? Also, do university students agree with his policy and agenda ideals?

The primary research for this project occurred at UCT, UWC, and CPUT-CT. The interviews of eleven students from the three schools, four at UWC and CPUT-CT and three at UCT, along with speeches and documents from both the ANC, ANCYL and Malema combined to make-up the primary research utilized in this paper. In addition, secondary sources were also utilized to obtain an understanding of the ANCYL and Julius Malema's history, as well as for additional information.

This paper will illustrate a trend that was different from the one assumed by the researcher. Instead of finding that a large variety of opinions towards Julius exist, this research paper will show that not one of the participants actually like Malema even if they support the ANC. This shows the growing divide between the ANC party in general and the ANCYL. It also means more research should be done looking at educated youth's views of politics.

Introduction

In 1994, after a long struggle to topple the Apartheid government and with the release of Nelson Mandela and other members of the ANC and the PAC, South Africa became a democratic government represented by all members of society, not only the white persons. Following the negotiations and the creation of the new Constitution, the ANC has since run the government for the past 17 years. The third President of the New South Africa, excluding an interim president, is Jacob Zuma. His time in office has been fairly successful with the distribution of Antiretroviral drugs for persons affected with HIV/AIDS and his attempt to stimulate economic growth; however, his time in office has been smudged by the continual presence of Julius Malema, the ANC Youth League (ANCYL) President. The media, and even the ANC party, has focused in on the rhetoric and actions of Malema in recent years for supposedly being offensive and, at points, discriminatory. However, he continuously has a large contingency of supporters, especially among youth. Therefore, when I came to South Africa, I expected almost every youth I met to support Malema. However, the first weekend I was with my host-family in Langa, I found out my twenty year-old sister and her friend, who both are university students, despise the man and would vote for the DA over the ANC.

This created the focus of this research, which is whether students in university in the Cape Town area positively or negatively view politics as a whole in the nation and Malema in particular. In doing so, I will assess the impact education has on students' perspectives of politics and, more specifically, the growing divide between support for the ANC and for Malema. Ultimately, I argue that although it would seem students would have a wide variety of views towards Malema, many whom I interviewed actually are dissatisfied or even disgusted with his politics, showing the ever-growing gap between him and his party.

Originally, the objectives of this research were to look at on what lines those who support and oppose Malema are divided and if support or opposition for Malema is linked to party affiliation with the ANC. However, upon completing further research and interviews, I realized these objectives were unobtainable. The split amongst the differing party lines amid the people I interviewed are barely present; many of the students were unsure of their party affiliation and the party they would choose to vote for did not necessarily follow the assumptions I had prior to my research. I had thought, before I began my research, that primarily the black students in South Africa would support the ANC while the coloured and white populations would prefer the DA, since much that I had learned stated this would be the case. However, this did not appear in my own primary research findings. As I continued to research and investigate this issue, I realized that support for parties, at least amongst those I talked with, does not necessarily follow racial lines. My entire idea of different races and their support for Malema in university became void. I had thought prior to beginning my research that the black students who supported the ANC would be much more apt to also like Malema than the white students who endorse the DA. However, new patterns arose following my interviews, which included blurred lines of party support and no clear connection between support for the ANC and Malema. These issues will be looked at more in-depth throughout this paper. First, this paper will look at the actual party students would vote for if they had to vote. Does party politics influence one's view of Julius Malema? Second, this paper will look specifically at one issue that Julius Malema discusses in great detail, the nationalization of mines. In what way is the support or opposition of nationalization of mines linked to support of Malema, if at all? Do students who support Malmea also support nationalization of mines? Finally, this paper will look at the possible future of Malema and him as the iconic man he has now become. To what extent do students feel that this man has an extended future in politics?

This paper will investigate the points illustrated above and will show how the students I interviewed have views regarding politics that seem to go against the over-arching trends in the country. I will try to show that the educated youth population will represent a new grouping in South African democracy. For students who learn and study everyday, such as the students I interviewed, these youth are no longer going to just sit and wait for the country to change. They are tired and impatient. The parties in politics should be aware of this group of voters and the impact they will have in the coming years. This is obviously not necessarily true for all university students in the country, but at least is true for the opinions represented in this paper.

To begin, I will present background information on both the ANC and Julius Malema and the policies they represent. I will examine the rhetoric and key platform issues each discusses. In doing so, I will also look at whether the supposed split between the ANC party and its Youth League President actually exists. I will then examine the views of students in relation to the party politics and to Julius Malema. My findings show there is no correlation between support for the ANC and support for Malema. In fact, all eleven students I interviewed are intricately linked because not a single one, even those who support the ANC, actually believes Malema is a good influence on South African politics or supports him. Next, I will closely examine one of Malema's platform ideals, the nationalization of mines. I found there is actually no link between support for nationalization and support of Malema. In fact, some students who would vote for the DA over the ANC still believe nationalization is necessary for South Africa. Finally, I will look at the future of Julius Malema in the ANC following his court trials and the talk of his supposed bid for presidency. What I will show is that students do see Julius Malema as somewhat of an iconic figure in South African politics today but not in a positive manner. They feel that, overall, his political career will not go anywhere unless he uses his power to garner support in a more positive way.

Literature Review

The ANC has become a household name worldwide as the organization that helped put an end to Apartheid. Scholars and writers have analyzed this political group to a great extent to try and figure out its successes and shortcomings. The following texts illustrate the various opinions regarding the rise of the ANC, the ANC in power now, and more specifically, on the rise to power of two of the current leaders of the party.

The ANC in the present: its policies and split

Two main aspects of literature already exist regarding the ANC; the first being about the constitution and policies of the party, and the second about the split that has been occurring throughout the party for the past few years. This section of the paper will first look into the analysis done by scholars and academics on the Constitution and policies of the ANC. Following the negotiations of 1994, the nation witnessed a relatively peaceful and democratic election, the first incorporating all persons of the nation in its history (Reddy 2010, 187). Since these elections, the ANC has been the political leader of South African society, not only of its supporters (de Jager 2009, 280). The ANC had its first large success in 1996 with the creation of the nation's new Constitution, firmly creating a policy of non-racial society (Goodsell 2007, 109). This Constitution seemed to illustrate a strong democracy and civil society (Reddy 2010, 186). Some scholars argue that the biggest success of the Constitution was the gender equality achievements built into the document. According to Natasha Erlank (2005), the ANC considers one of main achievements to be the inclusion of women in the Cabinet, Parliament, and provincial governments (199).

More important to this paper, though, than the success of the Constitution, is the academic literature written on the recent split within the ANC. At the 2007 Polokwane Conference, the ANC had 620,000 members around South Africa, a substantial increase from

its 416,000 membership in 2002, illustrating a thriving political party (Dlamini 2010, 188). However, these numbers mask the serious problems faced by the party and the issue of party members who do not actually exist in real life, known as “ghost-members” (188). What happened between 1994 and 2009 to create such issues within the party?

As Thiven Reddy (2010) examines, the ANC membership greatly shifted between the years of 1990-1994 and those after 1994. He states that the ANC party as a whole seems to have “lost its moral compass and has steadily unraveled organizationally,” and that the party that once focused on the poor members within the party and nation switched to a group that was self-serving and tried to economically better itself, not the people (201).

James Hamill (2010) argues the elections of 2009 and the ANC’s still overwhelming dominance does not prove the ANC has the same power it did following Apartheid; instead, the ANC could only garner around 50 percent of the votes, which for South Africa is an epic low (4). He considers this could be a manifestation of a new black opposition force, the Congress of the People (COPE), with the DA continuing to flourish as well (4). COPE is actually a break-off organization from the ANC. Mosiuoa Lekota, the former defense minister under Thabo Mbeki, states he did not form COPE because Mbeki lost the election for the ANC presidency in 2007; instead, for him, the dismissal of any charges against Zuma regarding the Arms Deal was an issue of principle he could not live with (Booyesen 2009, 88). Those in opposition to COPE within the ANC state the break-away party just dismissed the entire democratic process of the party; however, in the lead up to the 2009 elections, COPE seriously shook the ANC at its roots (88). According to Susan Booyesen (2009), during the campaign, COPE “moderated the ANC, revitalized it and pushed it into self-correction (88). The ANC should worry about this new in-party opposition because as long as the ANC remains cohesive, blacks will continue to vote for it and not an opposition party; this may not be the case following a split within the black coalition (Habib and Taylor 1999, 262).

The Leaders of the ANC: how they got to where they are today

The ANC has had three presidents, plus one interim, run the country. The question many have asked since the 2009 elections is how Zuma came to power. Zuma, who had at one point been the Deputy President of the ANC under Thabo Mbeki, was forced to resign. What occurred to allow this to happen is actually essential to understanding this topic of Malema. Malema also rose to power with Zuma. These two leaders, and understanding how they got to where they are today, is a key component of this literature review because it is a vital to understanding the current issues within the parties today.

President Zuma has a long history of ANC activism starting from his time in Robben Island. After his release from Robben Island in 1973, Zuma became the Head of Intelligence of the ANC's operation in Swaziland (Mueller-Hirth 2010, 2). Zuma played a vital role in the MK during Apartheid and created strong connections in the ANC. As a Zulu man, he was able to help rectify the issues between the Ikatha Freedom Party (IFP), or the ethnically Zulu party, and the ANC before violence broke out between the two during the period of negotiations in the 1990s (2). Following the 1994 elections, Zuma pushed for Mandela to appoint his friend Thabo Mbeki to the position of Deputy-President; at the same time, Zuma was awarded the post of provincial premier of KwaZulu Natal (Lodge 2009, 126). Due to his successes in KwaZulu Natal, in 1997 at the next ANC convention, the ANC elected Zuma to the post of Deputy-President of the ANC, with Mbeki winning the post of President (126).

His time as Deputy-President under Mbeki proved pivotal to the rise of Zuma. During this time, the conflict between Mbeki and Zuma officially began. Tom Lodge (2009) argues a few essential steps occurred to cause the actual deterioration in the relations between them. Zuma, as Deputy-President, was appointed to work with COSATU and the South African Communist Party (SACP); these two left-wing ANC organizations saw Zuma as an ally in

the government (127). The next obvious issue is the Arms Deal. Mbeki, as he learned more about the scandal and Zuma's role in it, grew to distrust his Deputy-President to the point that he thought Zuma would run against him at the 2002 ANC National Convention for the presidency (Lodge 2009, 128). Following the judgment of Shaik in 2005, which to some extent implicated Zuma, Zuma lost his position as deputy-president of the nation; however, Zuma emerged from this conspiracy as a populist alternative to the "elitism" of Mbeki and his supporters (Mare and Waetjen 2010, 52).

As the Polokwane Conference approached, the anti-Mbeki campaign grew and Zuma continued to gather support from the left. The SACP and COSATU did not approve of the dismissal of Zuma, as he represented the left and the poor (Suttner 2009). Therefore, leading up to the Conference, COSATU and the SACP "purged" their high-ranking pro-Mbeki officials (Lodge 2009, 130). Additionally, as the conference drew nearer, Mbeki decided to exploit the difference between the ANC Constitution and the nation's: he knew he could not run for South African President again, as a two-term limit exists, but he wanted to try and run for ANC President for a third time, leaving him with behind-the-scenes power following the 2009 national presidential election (Southall 2009, 3). This actually helped Zuma win the Presidency; the convention delegates were left with the choice of Zuma or electing Mbeki and going against the Constitution (Lodge 2009, 131).

As President Zuma was rising to power, so was Julius Malema. Few academic works look at Malema's rise to power other than Fiona Forde in her 2011 book *An Inconvenient Youth: Julius Malema and the 'new' ANC*. Supposedly, Malema was a member of MK. This is a hard fact to prove due to the differing stories of what occurred; however, Ramaphakela told Fiona Forde he recruited Malema to join his child soldier branch of MK in the late 1980s (44). This, though, is at odds with the memories of almost every other high-ranking official of MK, who do not recall the use of children in the armed conflict (45). Regardless, Malema

was involved in the ANC branch in Limpopo as a youth; after his ninth birthday, he was drafted into the children's branch of the ANC (48). Malema truly pushed himself into the politics in 1993, when he snuck away from his family to attend Chris Hani's funeral (49).

Following his start in the ANC, Malema continued to rise through the ranks of politically active youth. In primary school, he joined the Congress of South African Students (COSAS) and, at the age of 14, the ANCYL (Forde 2011, 52). Then, in 2000, Malema ran for national president of COSAS; he ran against Kenny Morolong, who had much more support than Malema (56-7). However, right before the election, COSAS accused Morolong of raping his girlfriend, leading to the election of Malma (57-9). Mololong, in discussions with Fiona Forde, stated he and his girlfriend both knew he was not guilty of the rape but COSAS would not listen (57). Thus begins a scary trend of disposing of those who oppose Malema.

Malema lead COSAS for a few years but, in 2003, he was called back to Polokwane, Limpopo by his friends in the ANC to run for a provincial seat in the ANCYL (Forde 2011, 63). Lehlogonolo Masoga stated they wanted to shake up the provincial ANCYL branch and thought Malema was the man to do it because "he stands by what he believes in. And he is never afraid to put words on his views" (63). Throughout his time as the provincial chair of the ANCYL, branches that disapproved of Malema's reign quickly were dismantled (69). Malema truly rose in politics, though, only after Zuma was dismissed from Deputy-President.

During the time between Zuma's dismissal and his election as the President of the ANC, a fierce battle raged between Zuma and Mbeki. Malema, at only the age of 25, joined the small group of those in the ANC fighting for the resurgence of Zuma (71). At one point, Malema said he would even "Kill for Zuma," although this was later changed to "die for Zuma" (Butler 2009, 69). Following his strong support of Zuma, Malema was asked to run for the presidency of the ANCYL in the upcoming 2008 election; however, his opponent had

much more support from a variety of provinces than he did (Forde 2011, 73). Malema, ended up winning but by less than 200 votes, causing concern of fraudulent elections (73). One election delegate believes the pro-Malema delegates went to the front of the voting line and, after they cast their ballots, those in charge closed the voting and did not allow the opposition delegates to vote (73-4). It is impossible to know if Malema fairly won the vote or not but, either way, he became a “for the people” leader.

The overall factor to be understood is both Zuma and Malema have gathered public support. Both can be seen as populist leaders. Ari Sitas, in his 2010 article entitled “Populism and the national democratic revolution in South Africa,” looks into the reasoning behind the rise in populism under Zuma in particular. He states that the rapid democratization, the loss of power of democratic and socialist leaders in the nation, and a lack of core people to lead the revolution has caused the rise in populist energy within South Africa (45). He hypothesizes people needed hope in a strong leader and “Zuma has stepped into that role as if his entire life was designed for it” (45). Zuma and Malema rose to power together following the fall of Mbeki. They have used the issues of that regime to bolster their own support but now are each at odds with one another.

Therefore, this study is a necessary one for the academic world. Although the media covers the actions and rhetoric of Malema on a consistent basis, there has not been something written solely from research based findings on him. The amount of academic literature that focuses solely on him is slim. Additionally, those who have examined Malema, such as Fiona Forde, solely state he has support from a large variety of students; however, no one can back their statement with significant research. This paper will use research to look at his support from students and how this contradicts with support for the ANC. It will add to previous literature about the split within the ANC and look at a part of literature that is completely missing from the academic literature available now.

Methodology

The primary research I conducted for this paper consisted of a series of 11 formal interviews over a total of five days combined spent at UCT, UWC, and CPUT-CT. Before beginning the interviewing process, I read news articles regarding Julius Malema and his views. I wanted to specify a specific platform issue of his to focus on in my research and came to the conclusion that nationalization of mines is the most controversial. I also read a number of academic reports on the ANC in general in order to develop a more working knowledge of the political atmosphere here in South Africa.

Before interviewing, I developed a short list of standard questions for each of my interviewees. I knew that the interviews would have to be extremely formal and focused due to people's passion for politics; without a standardized interviewing process, people would have discussed whatever they chose with no reason. I also knew interviewing was the most suitable research method for my topic. I wanted to get the opinions of specific students on the current politics in South Africa without having what they considered the norm affect their opinions. Therefore, one-on-one formal interviews were necessary. I tried not to stray from my standardized interview questions in order to obtain information without adding more variables.

The people I chose to interview were a completely random selection of people. I wanted to find students who were willing to talk about the politics of their country because that showed they had some sort of interest in the topic; therefore, I walked up to youth at each campus who were sitting outside and not studying. Because it was the time for writing exams while I was interviewing the students, I did not want to disturb anyone who was studying and therefore generally asked students who were either eating or just sitting without books. I went around lunchtime to each place because I thought it would be a time of more relaxation and

willingness for discussion. Also, I did not approach groups of students generally for two reasons. First, I wanted all interviewees to feel comfortable and safe telling me as they actually feel without having the presence of their friends influence their answers. Second, I did not think interviewing more than one person at a time would be conducive to the formal interviews I wished to conduct.

My actual interviewing process, as was stated above, was completely random. At the same time, though, this study also tried to utilize a Maximum Variation Sampling, which attempts to cut across a variety of demographics in an explicit manner to gather data from a variety of groupings. According to Corrine Glesne in her 2006 book *Becoming Qualitative Researchers: an Introduction*, the reason a researcher should use randomized sampling is for quantitative research that tries to generalize a population and make suggestions about the group looked at as a whole, while, at the same time, trying to shrink a larger population and gain a more holistic view (34). This paper does not try to make these overarching suggestions of population trends because of the qualitative aspect to the research; however, I did want a somewhat holistic view of the students at the three schools. It would have been impossible to talk to everyone and therefore a random group of people, while also taking into consideration different demographics, was the best way to approach such a topic. It removes all biases, as would be the case if I had only chosen Political Studies students, and also makes me feel as though it is acceptable that there are no differing views towards Malema. I did not choose people who do not support or rally behind Malema; instead, it just happens that the eleven people I randomly asked to be interviewed do not like him. This actually accredits this stance to a greater extent. Additionally, although I did a random selection of students, I also tried to get a variety of races and ethnicities. This is where the Maximum Variation Sampling aspect comes into play. I did not base my entire selection of students on their race; however, it was a minor part.

Additionally, regarding my interviewing process in general, all of the interviews were kept very short due to the exam-writing period during the data collection process. I was able to meet with a large variety of students studying different majors at different schools and, to some extent, made personal connections with the people I spoke with. However, no student was interviewed more than once, not because it was an unnecessary step but because many of the students were worried about time constraints during the exam period and therefore did not want to lose precious studying time to be interviewed. All of the interviews were completed on campus and lasted only about ten to fifteen minutes at most. This was necessary because many students only agreed to be interviewed because they knew it would be a short amount of time. However, this is acceptable because of the large amount of participants used.

Interviewees (all names have been changed)

1. Robert (2 Nov, 2011): is a First-Year medical student at UCT. He is a black male. He was interviewed on UCT's Upper Campus during lunch outside of the Leslie Social Sciences Building.
2. Lizzie (2 Nov, 2011): is a Master of Film Studies student at UCT and is from Cape Town. She is a white female. She was interviewed on UCT's Upper Campus outside on the stairs leading up to Jameson Hall.
3. Daisy (3 Nov, 2011): is a First-year Bachelor of Science student at UWC studying Geology. She is from Worcester, Western Cape. She is a black female. She was interviewed outside of the Student Centre in the Student Quad on UWC's campus.
4. Zoe (3 Nov, 2011): is a Fourth-year Law student at UWC who is from Cape Town. She is a Coloured Muslim Woman. The interview occurred in the Student Quad on UWC's campus.

5. Eric (3 Nov, 2011): is a First-year Information Systems student at UWC and is originally from the Eastern Cape but now lives in Langa, Cape Town. He is a black male. He was interviewed on the stairway outside of the Student Centre at UWC's campus.
6. Ben (3 Nov, 2011): is a Third-year Psychology student at UWC who lives in Cape Town. He is a Coloured male. He was interviewed outside the Student Centre at UWC.
7. David (4 Nov, 2011): is a Third-year African Music and Film major at UCT who is originally from Durban. He is a white male. He was interviewed outside of Jameson Hall on UCT's Upper Campus.
8. Samantha (7 Nov, 2011): is a First-year Public Relations major at CPUT-CT and is originally from Bloemfontein in the Free State Province but now lives in Rosebank. She is a black female. She was interviewed at CPUT-CT.
9. Gavin (7 Nov, 2011): is a Second-year Chemical Engineering student at CPUT-CT. He was born in Gabon but has lived in South Africa for over ten years and is a naturalized citizen. He lives in Cape Town and calls it his home. He was interviewed on CPUT-CT's campus.
10. George (10 Nov, 2011): is a Third-year Industrial Design major at CPUT-CT from Durban. He is a white male. He was interviewed on the quad of CPUT-CT's campus.
11. Fredrick (10 Nov, 2011): is a Second-year Engineering student at CPUT-CT. He is a coloured male from Bishopscourt. He was interviewed on CPUT-CT's Campus.

Limitations of the study:

As with any interview-based research, a variety of limitations exist in this project. The first, and probably largest, is the small scale of this research. Because I only interviewed eleven students at three schools in the Cape Town area, I did not get a very comprehensive view of how all students feel about Malema. I actually did not talk to a single person who is a fan of Julius Malema the person. A few people I talked with support some of his platform issues or are indifferent; but not a single one thought he completely represents them as youth or that he is using his leadership powers to cause positive change. I interviewed a completely random selection of people. My process above shows that I did not attempt to find students who did or did not like Malema. Therefore, this is to some extent a limitation because there is no variety but it also adds new depth to my research. Because the study was done completely randomly, this actually adds to the validity of this study. The random selection of students makes it acceptable that not one likes Malema and strengthens the paper as a whole.

Another limitation of the study is the ever-changing news relating to Julius Malema. Due to the current events regarding Malema's suspension from the ANC and the possible court trial regarding his racist Indian slur, it was impossible to ask students all of the questions relevant to Julius Malema. As I interviewed students, the news was changing. This means that although all of my data is relevant to the topic at hand, not all students were available to answer questions about all current events related to Malema. The students, due to exam period, were unable to be interviewed on multiple days. However, because I interviewed 11 students over a period of about one and a half weeks, when much of the news regarding Malema occurred, this is actually not such a limitation because of the variety of students and the period of time of the interviews.

Background of the ANCYL

This section of the paper will briefly examine the history of the ANCYL and the role it has played in South African politics. This will help to understand later on why the ANCYL is such a hot-topic now and also some of the influences on the organization and Malema today.

The ANCYL was officially created in 1944 following years of pressure from the younger African leaders (Feit 1972, 182). Anton Lembede became the figurehead of the ANCYL and helped the group move towards a more militant background; he wrote about racial exclusivism and declared Africa as a “black man’s country” (de Jager 2009, 277). Following his death in 1947, Lembede was seen as a martyr by the rest of the organization, which continued to abide by his philosophy and rhetoric (Feit 1972, 182). Therefore in the 1940s after the Second World War had finished and the ANC was considering joining forces with the South African Communist Party (SACP), the Youth League greatly contested this decision saying SACP did not actually understand African nationalism (Feit 1972, 185). After the Nationalist Party came to power in 1948, the Youth League introduced its *Programme of Action*, which informed the ANC of the youth’s concept of African nationalism and its own reaction against white extremism (183). The Youth League did not want ANC President Alfred Xuma to retain his position any longer because he would not back him on their paper; therefore, at the 1949 ANC elections, Xuma was voted out and James Moroka was elected with help from the ANCYL after promising to endorse their programme (Forde 2011, 117). This is the year the Youth League claims as its victory, the year they gained control of the party and created the “new ANC” (118). Due to their successes, the *Programme of Action* was adopted, leading to the development of mass action

campaigns including the 1952 Defiance Campaign, which was the first step to rejecting any obligation or allegiance to the Nationalist Apartheid government (Suttner 2009).

Throughout this entire time, the Youth League and the ANC elders and party members were consistently at odds with one another. As the ANC annual conference approached in 1950, the ANC and Xuma were determined to “fight the Youth League” and were on a warpath with the ANCYL; in response, the Youth League promised to highlight to the public Xuma’s “dirtiest political washing” (Feit 1972, 187). The youth were not scared to criticize the older members of the ANC; however, through all of their political bickering, the ANCYL’s loyalty was undeniable (Forde 2011, 110).

There is little more regarding the history of the ANC Youth League because much of it had to go underground. However, the ANCYL is once again a strong body in South African politics. Much of what occurred during the formation and early years of this group is repeating itself again today. The ANCYL is at odds with the mother group and is pushing for stronger and more radical agendas as it did in the past. As Fiona Forde says in her book *An Inconvenient Youth: Julius Malema and the ‘new’ ANC* (2011), the ANCYL has not been as prominent as it is now since the years 1990-1993 and the death of Chris Hani (106).

Another important background aspect of the ANCYL to understand in order to comprehend the current issues faced between the ANC and the ANCYL is the actual linkage between the two groups. The ANCYL is obviously connected to a great extent to the ANC, as it is its youth organ within the larger body; however, the ANCYL, according to its Constitution, is supposed to be an autonomous organization within the framework of the ANC as a whole (ANCYL Constitution 2011, 6). The ANCYL should follow the overall political structure and beliefs of the ANC and shall align itself closely with the mother-body but, at the same time, ANCYL members may not attend ANC events without permission of a

full member of the ANC (6). Finally, ANCYL members, upon turning 18, are obliged to join the ANC (6). However, the induction manual of the ANCYL states this is not as simple as solely being an autonomous organization. This manual stipulates there must also be an independent relationship between the two in order to maintain the revolutionary soul of the ANC (ANC Youth League Induction Manual 2011, 1). The ANCYL must be able to formulate novel political ideas of its own if it is to thrive as a youth league; it discusses this relationship and autonomy to the fullest with its statement that “the autonomy of the ANCYL is a political matter” (2).

This section of the paper is supposed to give a little bit of background on how the ANC was created and how that has merged into the current relationship of the ANC and the ANCYL now. This actually lends itself to the understanding of the ANC and the ANCYL today. The ANCYL was created by the youth to make a more revolutionary branch of the older ANC and succeeded in militarizing the mother organization; this has now lead to the necessity of autonomy and independence displayed by the ANCYL today, and maybe even Malema, that has come to odds with the ANC in recent months.

Findings:

As stated above, I sought to examine the differing views of university students regarding Julius Malema, their representative in the ANC. My research question focused on the split between the ANC and the ANCYL, the overall view and opinion of Malema, and a case study of one of Malema's platform issues. As I began my primary research, though, I learned that at least within the students that I interviewed a range of views towards Malema does not exist. In fact, even those who support the ANC completely do not support Julius Malema. I did not expect this. In addition, I thought every student would have a very passionate allegiance to one party or the other; however, in actuality, many students admitted they would not vote because they do not like either party. The government and the other political parties should be aware of the apathy of the youth; this group is just too fed up to trust any party with their livelihoods.

This paper will look at the how the issue of race plays into the issues regarding Julius Malema and political parties here. This will set the basis for the rest of the paper due to the issues and assumptions the researcher had prior to beginning the interviewing period. This will then lead into party politics and support of Julius Malema and how these two differing ideals intersect. In order to best understand this intersection and how differing opinions of Malema exist and are formed, the paper will then investigate the views of the students and their opinions towards a specific agenda item of Malema. Finally, in order to conclude all students' views of Malema, the paper will look at the possible future of Malema and if students think he will succeed in expanding his career.

The problem of parties: race and apathy today

This section is essential to create a basis for the rest of the findings and the understanding of differing support for Malema. Race is an essential part of South African society to this day. During Apartheid, there were four main racial categories that the population was divided into: white, Indian, Coloured, and black. In politics today, race still plays a huge role in who is able to win which elections. The ANC, as extrapolated on previously in this paper, won its first national election in 1994 following the end of the Apartheid regime. The ANC represented the black South African party, lead by Nelson Mandela, and therefore was able to win the election because the black South Africans, the largest racial demographic in the country, wanted to have more representation and freedom in the national government than they had under Apartheid. The ANC has since had three presidents, and one interim president, govern this nation. In almost every election, the ANC has also won the provincial elections as well. However, in the 2009 elections in the Western Cape, the DA took control of the province under the leadership of Helen Zille. In the Western Cape, we learned the DA was able to win based on its support from the large Coloured community in the area, which does not approve of the ANC because their community has been left out of the new government. From what I have learned and my own assumptions, I thought this showed that there was a definitive distinction between the voting patterns of different races. Scholars, as well, have argued the same idea that I held as true. The idea of a “political racial consensus” was proven true after the 2004 elections when the state acknowledged that blacks are voting for “black parties” and whites for “white parties,” forming a voting system based on race and ethnicity instead of ideals and beliefs (Habib and Naidu 2006, 82-3). I thought, therefore, that also in my specific case of participants the same racial standards would hold true in the political sphere of voting by parties based on race. Therefore, when the races of the students I interviewed did not match up with my

preconceived notion of which party I thought they would vote for, I realized there was much more to the party a person would vote for than one's race.

This idea of race is also vital to understanding this paper and the connections between Malema and the ANC. For instance, due to my prior assumptions, I had thought that it was more likely for black students to support Malema solely based on their support for the ANC, while other races would definitely not support Malema or the ANC. What I found, though, was that no student, regardless of race, supports Malema and that party lines are not nearly as drawn along race as I so wrongly assumed. I feel ashamed that I assumed the races could be so split along party lines. But this is now essential to discuss in this paper in order to understand the actual issues between Malema and the ANC.

The ANC: the party against Apartheid

Of the eleven students I interviewed, five students said they would vote for the ANC if they had to vote tomorrow. These five students gave reasons differing from the successes of the ANC in the past to the necessity of voting for the ANC in order to acknowledge all the party did to end Apartheid and to prevent Apartheid from reoccurring. What is interesting is the differing races of the students who truly like and appreciate the ANC.

The first reasons given by the students for their undying support of the ANC related to the thankfulness of the persons interviewed for all the party had done to end Apartheid and the opportunities the end of Apartheid has given to the non-white majority of the nation. Ben believes he would vote for the ANC if he were to cast his ballot tomorrow because "it is part of the struggle. It is because of that opportunity that I can study. I am still thankful for that even though they have their downfalls." For Ben, the elections are not necessarily about the current situations or whether the ANC is the best party, but that he is able to study and live his life in freedom due to its sacrifices. Zoe agrees almost exactly to the points made by Ben

regarding voting. She would most likely vote for the ANC because “they are quite a democratic party. They are the ones who struggled through Apartheid.” These two arguments were given by two of the Coloured students I interviewed, but others agree with their reasoning. For instance, Eric also concedes his vote is intricately linked to the opportunities the ANC has afforded him today, saying “They are the reason why I am here. They have done a lot for me.” These students agree that their votes are not necessarily about the past record of the party or its potential for change in the future but, instead, about all the ANC has done in total for the country.

The other reason the students would vote for the ANC tomorrow is because it has accomplished so much for them and actually is good for the country, or at least these students, in the current. Daisy feels the ANC best represents her as a black woman in the country. She said “me voting for them is as though my needs would be met as a black person in South Africa. I think they have done a lot for me, like in terms of my education. If it wasn’t for them, I would not be where I am today.” However, she also expressed some concern with aligning completely with the ANC. She “is still assessing. I am trying to read as much as I can. I think I am just ANC but they are really disappointing me. The DA does some good too. I guess I am not sure.” Robert also would vote for the ANC due to all it does for him and its platform as a political party. He stated “despite their shortcomings, they have achieved so much in such a short amount of time.”

Overall, the students who would vote for the ANC would do so both because of its past and its present goals. They understand all the ANC can do for them now and all it did for them in the past. Additionally, the students who stated they would want to vote for the ANC consisted of Coloured and black persons I interviewed, which surprised me to some extent.

The DA: anything but the ANC

For the students who would vote for the DA, they see the DA as not only the best party, but also the best party to oppose the ANC. Before beginning my interviewing process, due to some of the conversations I had with my host-sister in Langa, I had thought that maybe some of the black students from the Cape Town area might want to vote for the DA. However, this did not prove true for the students I interviewed. All the students who stated they would want to vote for the DA were either Coloured or white.

The main reason the students gave for wanting to vote for the DA over the ANC was due to the success of the DA and the promises the party makes. Lizzie would vote for the DA because of its success in the Western Cape since it “is probably known as the best running province in South Africa. Also, I generally believe in their politics.” Similarly, Fredrick agrees that the DA is the best because, as their slogan states, “we deliver.” Fredrick and Lizzie both think the DA can best deal with the issues facing the country, and the Western Cape.

On the other hand, though, George represents a different patented political thought. He thinks the DA is “the largest realistic option in terms of opposition for the ANC. I have nothing against the ANC but they’ve got enough votes and they do not need a majority rule. I do not think they are doing a bad job, I just wouldn’t give them more power than they need.” George’s opinion is extremely interesting because he just wants to prevent a one party rule to occur or possibly to continue in South Africa. Many scholars as well have considered the idea of a one-party state in South Africa, not just George, and worry about this occurring.

Apathy: the new party of South African politics?

In recent years, there has been, in my opinion, a scary rise of apathy in the knowledge and care for politics in South Africa. People have grown tired of the party politics here and the lack of overall progress the nation has seen since the end of Apartheid. According to Collette Schulz-Herzenberg (2009), there has been a decline in the proportions of registered and actual voters between 1994 and 2009 even though the electorate results have seemed stable; she hypothesizes that this could be a manifestation of voter volatility or increasing political alienation, disaffection or complacency (29). Voters in South Africa no longer cast their votes even though they now have that right and ability, and the same holds true for some of the students I interviewed.

For three of the youth I spoke with, they are so tired of the politics they continue to see in the nation that if they had to vote tomorrow, they just would not show up to cast a ballot. These students are very opinionated and, to me, care about politics and the future of the nation; they just no longer feel there is a party to vote for or that their vote even matters. David would “not vote for any party because I don’t feel any of them reflect the kind of changes I want to see happen.” He, however, did not seem to be against the voting process, more that he just could not find a party for him to vote for which would actually represent him and his values. Gavin and Samantha, though, actually would not cast ballots. Gavin considered his options, stating “I would vote for... I wouldn’t even vote for any party because the party that is running now hasn’t done much. I just would not vote.” His hesitation seems to convey an overall frustration toward the politics in the nation. Samantha agrees with Gavin and adamantly said “I would not vote at all because I just feel it is useless. The people in control don’t do anything to benefit others, just themselves.” For me, these students should not be viewed as apathetic. Instead, they should be seen as frustrated, even downtrodden maybe, or just over the politics here. They all care a lot about this nation and where it is

going, I feel, but they are just not sure that their voting would even change anything. They are disillusioned with the politics in the country. This is not a trend I was necessarily expecting when I began my research; however, it is very important to understanding the views of students today and also their views of Malema and the ANC. If you do not think the ANC is doing much to help better the nation, you probably also will not support Julius Malema, at least according to the students with whom I spoke.

The ANC vs the ANCYL: a terrible split

As shown in the section describing the history of the ANCYL, the Youth League and the overarching governing body have had their share of differences since the league was created back in 1944. The youth league today is still much at odds with the ANC as a whole. The ANCYL is supposed to be an independent representative of the ANC at the youth level, not a governing body. This is one of the main issues that caused the ANC to bring charges against Julius Malema in court. Fiona Forde describes Malema as a strong-headed man who does and says things he truly believes in and knows he can do things his way; but, according to the elders of the ANC party, he represents the ANC in a negative light. This is just one of the many splits occurring between the ANC and the ANCYL and will be the one examined closely in the next section. The actual reasoning for the trial against Malema and the outcome are also vital to understanding the students' views on this subject. This section will examine the difference between support for the ANC and for Malema in the eyes of the participants. In addition, this section will look at the feelings of those I interviewed regarding whether Malema is a representation of them as youth. Overall, the goal of this section is to examine the polarizing effect Malema has on the ANC and the country's politics in general.

The trial and the aftermath

As David Smith wrote in his November 10, 2011 article “Julius Malema Suspended from ANC for five years,” the ANC disciplinary hearing ruled that Julius Malema was guilty of causing divisions within the party and bringing the party disrepute; therefore, he was suspended from the party for five years. The charges were directly linked to Malema calling for regime change in Botswana, comparing Zuma to his predecessor Thabo Mbeki, and also storming into an ANC elder meeting unaccompanied and uninvited (Smith 2011). This sentence has already caused concerns for a political backlash because Malema still has a strong support base throughout the nation (Cowell and Eligon 2011). Because of this, different theories and ideas regarding the suspension have already begun to arise from all aspects of society. Illustrating in Toivo Ndjebela’s November 14, 2011 article in *New Era*, trade Unionist Evilastus Kaaronda stated that the suspension was politically motivated in order to rid the party of opposition to Zuma.

The entire situation regarding Malema and the trial is actually quite complicated. The sentencing seems to imply that Malema is no longer the leader of the ANCYL. However, the weekend following the ruling, Malema defied the court order and attended and led a Youth League meeting, which was supposedly discussing the league’s view of the verdict. Due to all the controversy around the Malema trial and the ruling, I wanted to know what students think about the ANC taking him to court. Mainly, I wanted to understand the split between the ANC and Malema through the eyes of my participants. In all honesty, not a single student thought the ANC was in the wrong for wanting to stop Malema by taking him to court; in fact, many thought the ANC waited too long to take such a vital step.

One of the main veins of reasons the students gave me regarding their feelings on the trial was the inadequate leadership skills of Malema in regards to his divisive and

inappropriate rhetoric. They feel Malema is an ill-representation of the direction the nation should be going and therefore the ANC had every right to charge its youth leader.

Some of the students feel Malema's never-ending discussion of race is unacceptable. For many of them, they do not approve of nor want such a leader for the nation. Daisy thinks the way Malema is leading is reason enough for the ANC to bring disciplinary action because:

I do not like how Julius Malema is doing things in our country. I feel he is separating the blacks from the whites from the coloureds. I think he is very toxic and unprofessional as well. I feel the country is trying to take a certain direction and he opposes that. Because of this, the ANC does have this right.

Many students repeated this idea of his unacceptable behavior and unwanted actions. Zoe feels "every person should account for their actions. Just because Julius Malema is black does not mean he can just discriminate, which causes the President to be seen in a different light." She feels that Malema is actually making the rest of the ANC, the party she supports, look bad in the eyes of the country and the world, which is unacceptable. Gavin also feels Malema sheds a poor light on the nation because "this kind of behavior does not correspond with the New South Africa, the South Africa everyone wants." These three all feel Malema is not contributing to the idea of the Rainbow Nation of South Africa. He is not part of the movement, and to them is actually bringing the nation steps backwards instead of forward, and therefore should be punished.

This anger and frustration towards Malema's rhetoric was seconded by every student in this paper. They all find some issue with what Malema proselytizes to the youth of the nation. However, although they all feel this way, they do not all agree the ANC should have halted his actions or words. Some students mainly think that although the ANC undoubtedly

has the right to discipline its members such as Malema, it did not do it in the right manner or for the right reasons this most recent time. These students worry about the censorship of those who possess views and opinions at odds with the general public. For Robert, “they do have the right to do that, but he has the right to speak his mind. People might not like what he says but it is his view. The only reason they can take him to court is if what he does is against the constitution.” He feels that solely rhetoric, even filled with hatred and discrimination, does not constitute an issue large enough to warrant such actions. Additionally, David also thinks about the issue of free speech in regards to this court case. He struggled deciding how he feels about the right of the ANC to take Malema to court, saying:

“I guess so, but maybe not actually. Those opinions should be expressed and even if it is going against politically correct values, it is still a thought. Julius Malema represents a patent political thought and if it is not expressed, it will find subversive ways of coming out.”

David does not necessarily agree with Malema’s rhetoric but he thinks the ex-ANCYL president actually has ideas recognized in the nation and he should be able to say them. Without allowing for such ideals to be said will still allow them to exist in society, they just will be dealt with in a much more underground, and possibly dangerous, manner.

The split between the ANC and its youth league undoubtedly exists. In a South African Press Association (SAPA) article in the *Mail & Guardian* on November 14, 2011, the ANC continued to state they see no divide within the organization and has come out telling the media to avoid such accusations because it is disrespectful to President Zuma. However, in this article, it also states the party was very disappointed with the comments in support of Malema by Tokyo Sexwale, the Human Settlements Minister. Tokyo felt so much pressure from the party to not support Malema that he said he did not testify in favor of

Malema at the court case because he supports Malema but because he supports the Constitution and felt he had no other choice (SAPA 2011a).

Even with these defensive statements, it is clear that within my own research, a divide exists between the main party and its youth league. Both Zoe and Daisy would vote for the ANC if they had to vote tomorrow in a national election; however, they also both argued strongly in favor of a court case against Malema due to his racist tendencies and his conflict-ridden stances on politics. These two understand the difference between the man and the party. They distinguish between the actions and the rhetoric of the ANC as a whole and that of the man the party is ever-trying to push away from the main body. These two show, on a small scale, the split within the ANC as a party. The ANC is becoming factionalized because those who support Malema no longer fit in with the main, and elder, division of the ANC. The ANC will have problems in future elections if it cannot regroup and remerge into one cohesive group. This is not an overgeneralization. The 2009 elections should have been a scare enough to the party; COPE took away votes from the ANC. Although COPE may no longer be a true threat to ANC, the divisive nature of Malema and the ANC could prove to be detrimental. But, again, this is based off the views and opinions of eleven students.

Julius Malema: a leader or a divider?

According to the ANCYL 2011 Amended Constitution, in the section entitled *Aims and Objectives*, the organization shall “promote unity and patriotism among the youth,” and defend the “general rights of the South African Youth [. . .] in the socioeconomic and political life of the country” (ANCYL Constitution, 5). The job of the President, therefore, is to help further these goals and truly make the general youth in the nation feel represented. The ANCYL President now, though, is not promoting unity and the students I met with do not think he is the champion of their rights. The ANCYL Constitution explicitly states the

ANCYL will represent all youth, but the youth I talked to feel Malema does not represent them. They feel they actually must distance themselves from Malema to protect their own identities as non-racists.

As with their understanding and desire for the charges and trial against Malema, the students also feel as though the things Malema says and does go completely against their ideal of what a leader should say and how a leader should act. The students overwhelmingly think Julius Malema is portraying South Africa poorly to the rest of the world and, for this, he is not representative of them. For these students, who were just babies during the late 1980s and early 1990s, Malema's racist rhetoric is unacceptable in their eyes and extremely conflict-ridden. The students see him as a part of the "old South Africa," the nation that supposedly died following the years of Apartheid. They feel that as educated youth, they no longer can stand for such ideals and values because the nation, in order to truly succeed in its post-conflict state, must move beyond the lines of race to some extent.

This racial exclusivism makes the students feel as though they must move far away from Malema and his leadership and, in no way, can be represented by him. Ben understands that not everyone can like Malema's ideas because "he is a politician. However, the way he goes about getting his view across is sometimes not the most justifiable way." Ben then jokingly stated Malema embodies him only about 10% of the time because "He doesn't meet the needs of other nationalities in our country. He only sees to the needs of one racial ethnicity over other nationalities," a vein of thought that Ben does not align with. David also agrees that Malema's representation of him is low at best. He, however, seems to feel that instead of trying to separate himself from Malema, Malema has pushed him away. He feels "he's not speaking for me. In fact, he would probably be speaking against me just on the fact that I am a white man and not taking into account the perspectives I may have on things." Gavin agrees that Malema's racist tendencies influence his image of the youth leader; but he

goes even goes even further to distance himself from his so-called youth representative saying, “The youth of the new South Africa cannot behave like him, this racist behavior. Clearly Julius Malema is a racist. I do not see a connection with him because I am not a racist.”

His racism, for the students I spoke with, is giving the youth a bad name to South Africa and the world at large. The youth feel Malema has left them in the dust, whether because of racism or otherwise, and therefore he can never be representative of them. These students feel as though he has never asked them about his actions nor what they, as the actual youth of the nation, want. Eric, when asked the question, adamantly proclaimed “First of all, I am not a fan of Malema. Second, him representing the youth, I don’t know. I don’t like the fact that he represents us as the youth. He doesn’t consult the youth. I don’t understand the way he thinks.” Fredrick agrees with Eric, saying “ I feel misused. He should be a leader and he is giving our youth a bad name.” Regardless of what these students see as the actual reason Malema has harmed the name of the youth, racism or otherwise, they see fault in his leadership abilities and the image he creates of South African youth.

The students interviewed for this research want to distance themselves as far as possible from the leader of the Youth League and disown him to some extent as their leader. They feel that now that they are educated youth, they no longer can associate with a man who makes such crass and discriminatory statements. Many argued that because they are educated, they understand that racist rhetoric no longer has any place in what they call the “new South Africa.” Daisy feels that “he is doing everything the old way. We are becoming educated now and we don’t want to hear this anymore. His ideas don’t take us anywhere; they just cause a lot of conflict in the country.” Because of this, the students represented in this paper feel their education and his views are in complete conflict.

Obviously, the views I found regarding the Malema's leadership are only representative of the students I interviewed. But, it is quite interesting to see such a trend occurring. Many of the students were surprised that Malema even represented them as a youth and said they had never thought about that before I posed my questions. They, even if they see the ANC as their party of choice and the governing body at the national level, do not see Malema as their representative of the youth or South Africa. This actually creates another contradiction between the ANC and the ANCYL.

Case Study: Nationalization of mines

Julius Malema has a variety of issues he discusses on a regular basis. I wanted to see if opposition to Malema also meant opposition to his ideas. I chose to look at his issue of nationalization of mines because it is a well talked about issue and is also very controversial. What I found is that although some students both oppose Malema and his nationalization program, others surprisingly support this issue even if they do not support Malema. I was surprised by the variety of students who were unsure about their feelings on the matter or actually supported this plan.

In September 2010, at the Sandton Convention Center, Malema gave a speech to the *Mining for Change* conference that clearly outlined his plan for nationalization of the mines and the reasoning behind his desire to do this. Malema stated that he wants to nationalize the mines for two reasons: first, the people of the country have never properly benefited from the mines, and second, South Africa is the most lucrative mining territory in the world (Malema 2010). In addition, the Freedom Charter states that under a democratic government all of the minerals under the soil would be transferred to the people as a whole, which is where Malema got his idea of nationalization (Malema 2010). The method Malema wants to use to

nationalize the mines is to amend the Minerals Act; he stated that the State Owned Mining Company should have 60% ownership and control of all profitable mines (Malema 2010). This would also require an amendment to Section 25 of the South African Constitution to empower the State to expropriate in the public interest and help create a State Bank to finance all mining operations and development projects (Malema 2010). Malema ended the speech with a bang saying:

If we do not do anything to transfer Minerals to the ownership and control of the people as a whole, we will be left with big hole, diseases and dysfunctional communities because we would have been scared to take decisions on how we shape our future for the better. (Malema 2010).

The students' opinions regarding nationalization were extremely split between supporting and opposing his idea of nationalization of mines. An important factor to consider is that all of the students interviewed actually knew the proposal Melama continuously makes about the mines. All the students I spoke with have a very strong opinion on the matter, meaning they all know about this issue and are somewhat educated on it. To begin, this section will look at the students who support this nationalization programme.

The most common reason for support of the nationalization of mines is due to the history of Apartheid and the inequality of land distribution. David put it fairly bluntly:

“ The history of the mines is pretty fucked up anyways. Maybe I just don't know but maybe it is a good thing to nationalize them. The mines, to an extent, run the economy, especially during Apartheid. Because of the history of migrant labor and the mines in South Africa, I can see why he would want to nationalize. It is a very sensitive issue.”

Gavin agrees with David but thinks Malema needs to recognize the longevity of such an issue. He “think[s] it is a workable process but it’s going to take a long time. It is a process. There will be bad consequences because they should make sure there are black South Africans qualified to run the mines.” Zoe also considers the land issues under Apartheid as one of the most compelling reasons for the government to adopt the idea of nationalization of mines. She thinks the “land was distributed unequally in previous years because everything revolves around Apartheid and skin colour. But, nowadays, you get people and it is not really their fault. Do you punish them for the actions of their forefathers?”

Zoe’s unsure opinion was repeated by many of the students. These students feel as though the nationalization of mines could create a lot more issues in the future for this country and its economy, regardless of the history of the mines. The uncertainty of what could happen following such a drastic change makes a lot of students extremely uncomfortable with the issue as a whole. As Lizzie states,

“it scares madly. I think it is going to run the nation into the ground. It stems from Malema’s Communist views but, at the heart of the matter, he does not actually want to benefit the country, just himself. Even if it comes from a smarter person, I am against that. I think we should move towards privatization.”

George also feels the mines should be private, leading to more competition, money, and human rights. He does not think “our government will be able to handle such an operation.” Eric agrees with the thoughts of George. He does not feel that the government should nationalize and create more duties for itself because “the government is failing to provide services to the people and now they want to nationalize? How are they going to cope? It will be the same, or even worse.” George, Eric, and Lizzie all feel nationalization will lead to

more issues, but not one of them stated the actual fear that many South Africans have regarding nationalization, a repeat of the situation in Zimbabwe. Daisy, though, attributed her dislike of Malema's desire to nationalize the mines to the history of Zimbabwe when, in 2000, Robert Mugabe redistributed land in a method that actually caused a continuation of hatred and bigotry.

What is so interesting about the responses of the students is the great variety in concerns and beliefs in nationalization. Not one of the students actually supports or likes Julius Malema, but they have extremely mixed views on nationalization of mines. They do not agree. This shows that there is a difference between support of the man Julius Malema and support of his agenda items, just as there is a difference between support of the ANC and support of its youth league leader. Students do not necessarily need to support both, as shown by the students I interviewed. They can separate the man from his ideas. This is quite the interesting case study. The idea of the nationalization of mines is a polarizing one and actually had quite different and unique responses from the students I interviewed than originally I had thought. Although not a single student supports Malema, a good number of the ones I interviewed actually like the idea of nationalization.

The future of Julius Malema

On November 10, 2011, as shown in the above portions of this paper, the ANC banned Julius Malema for the next five years. Malema may appeal this ruling but, either way, he will continue to acquire support until his suspension has elapsed. The question, though, is what will happen to him following his suspension. Will he continue to be a leading force in the ANC or will he fade into the background? Will he be seen throughout the party as a revolutionary leader who has become iconic due to his consistent backing of his beliefs or will he just be another man? I wanted to know what the students thought about the future of

Malema and the responses were pretty unbelievable; not a single student thinks Malema will have a long-lasting future in the ANC and he is undoubtedly not a memorable leader who will be idolized, at least not in a positive way.

Some of the students see the potential for Malema's career in politics to continue if he changes the manner he rules from a negative to a positive way. As Robert said to me:

“I think he definitely needs to make some changes if his future is to be secure in politics. Some of the things he does are too extreme. But I also believe we do need him but we do not because he does not cover up things. He is very free spirited. He needs to understand that if you are a good leader you also consider other's feelings.”

Samantha agrees that Malema “can be a power of influence, however he is not using his power of control in the right way.” These two understand that the support base Malema does have throughout the country is not to be discounted. He is able to garner incredible amounts of support from people throughout the nation and therefore possibly should continue in politics. However, they both also feel he will have to drastically change his mannerisms and political approaches in order to overcome many of the negative connotations associated with him.

Other students, though, feel as though the negative image Malema has already created for himself will be too much for him to ever overcome in his political career. This negative image will, in the opinions of these students, prevent him from ever creating a more long-lasting time in politics. For Lizzie, Malema reminds her of other leaders who have just been made fun of due to their poor choices. She thinks “he might be an example such as George W Bush. This is an example of what not to do. He is not becoming a role model.” She feels his image as a lame-duck leader will cause him to never get any further in politics than his

position that he just was suspended from. Others adamantly agree with her. Zoe laughed at the thought of Malema as an iconic figure and feels “that because of his ignorance and the things he says he will never be an iconic leader more than he is now. He is more of a mockery than an icon.” Ben agrees with Zoe, stating “Whoever oversees his speeches should check them because they are filled with too much hatred. Because of this, Malema is becoming a clown.” David and Gavin both go a little bit further on why Malema will not continue to be a force in South African politics. For David:

Julius Malema has, in a sense, become an icon for a particular way of thinking, but in a negative way. He is somewhat supported. But I would not call him a revolutionary. He is not looking to change things fundamentally, only superficially based on skin colour.

Gavin thinks Julius Malema has no future in the ANC because he “would send Julius Malema to prison because he is a racist. There is no place for Julius Malema in the new South Africa.” These students feel that Malema’s already divisive leadership methods and the image he has created for himself will halt any possibility for longevity in politics.

I thought it would be interesting to see what words the students would have for Julius Malema if they were to see him tomorrow once I began finding that not one of the students approved of him as a person. I thought this could show the overall opinion of the man and also the future he could have and the role he could play in the nation. Most students said they would just ask him why he has chosen to run the ANCYL the way he has or if he actually believes all of the things he says. However, the best answer came from Fredrick. He said if he ever came face-to-face with Julius Malema “I’ll be speechless. I would laugh in his face.” These students see no future for Malema. He has become a joke, a laughingstock, and a game, not a person to be taken seriously.

Conclusion:

The goal of this paper was to see whether students who are in university in the Cape Town area of South Africa support Julius Malema and if this matches with their party politics. However, throughout the entire research gathering process for this paper, the objectives and the goals of this research quickly changed. For this paper, it is no longer just about the man Julius Malema; it is much more related to the difference between who Malema is and what he stands for. Malema is not just the ANCYL President, or ex-president at this point, he is much more than that. He is the symbol of the ANC for the world to see, he has power and influence, and he is a voice for the youth. But, the youth I interviewed do not see him in this light. They may see the ANC as a powerful political party for good in the world but they do not think Malema is this representative or at least that he should not be. They see such a difference between him and the party itself, and even between him and themselves.

The eleven students interviewed for this research understand this difference between the ANC and Malema. Some support the ANC but not Malema and some do not support the ANC but actually like and appreciate the platform issues the man has brought to the forefront of public knowledge. These students see politics less divided as possibly the rest of the country. For instance, these eleven students would vote for parties based on reasons other than solely race. As shown in the Findings section of this paper, the students who would vote for the ANC were not all black but included Coloured students as well. In addition, some of the students who do not support the ANC, or would not even vote at all, do support the idea of nationalization of mines that Malema strongly believes in. These students do not see the connections between the man and the party as essential; they also have begun to see politics as a more complicated issue than just racially or ethnically created. At least for the people interviewed for this study, politics will be examined for them in the future as specific issues.

The political parties in this nation need the support of the youth, especially the educated youth, since they represent the next generation of voters in this nation; if they ostracize them now, there will be no chance for success. The youth I interviewed want to see change in this government and they strongly believe the ANC and the national political parties in general need to start representing them or their votes will discontinue. Additionally, the ANC needs to recognize that if leaders are placed into power who do not represent the voters actual beliefs, those who elected them into power will not be happy and will not recast their ballot. These youth are the next strong generation of voters. The parties better take more care to be aware of what they want. This is obviously only for the eleven students interviewed in this paper, but it is still a viable concern.

Recommendations for Further Study:

The researcher feels that more research on the history of the ANCYL is necessary in order to understand the current ANCYL and the issues it stands for. I struggled to find much background information on the ANCYL between the years of 1955 and 1991. This is almost a forty-year period where no history exists. Although the ANCYL was not active during that entire time-span, the youth in the nation still played a great role in the struggle to end Apartheid. These youth set the foundation for the ANCYL today and must be understood in order to fully comprehend the patterns within the organization and the youth as a whole.

Additionally, this study solely looked at the views of students in the Western Cape. Because the Western Cape is the only province in all of South Africa to have a DA lead provincial government, this could undoubtedly have affected the results of this research. The students here have much less of a connection with Malema, as he is not based here; however, students in other provinces greatly support Julius Malema. It would be interesting to do a similar study at University of Witswatersrand in Johannesburg and compare it to the results of this study to see the provincial differences in support for the man. Also, it would be quite interesting to see if the students in Johannesburg who support Malema also support the ANC or if they too only support one and not the other.

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Appendix A: Sample Consent Form

I, _____, agree that I am participating willingly and voluntarily in an interview with Annie Shapiro on this day _____ at _____.

I understand that these interviews form part of a research project on Politics in South Africa for Annie Shapiro, a student at School for International Training (SIT) in Cape Town.

I understand the rationale and nature of the research and I understand the costs and benefits of my participation for myself.

I understand that I will participate in one or two half-hour interviews.

I understand that Annie Shapiro may use the information from these interviews.

I understand that I will be given a pseudonym and that my identity will remain anonymous, as far as possible.

I understand that the interview will be recorded so that Annie Shapiro may more accurately reflect my views in her thesis.

I understand that Annie Shapiro will share the findings with me. I understand that I need to give Annie Shapiro my phone number or email so that she can contact me when the findings are available. I also understand the findings will not be available immediately.

I understand that I may discontinue my participation at any stage of the research.

I understand and agree to the above terms and conditions.

Signature (Participant) _____

Date _____.

Signature (Researcher) _____

Date _____.

Appendix B: Interview Questions

- 1) If you had to vote tomorrow in a national presidential election, which party would you vote for, if you would vote, and why?
- 2) Recently, the ANC took Julius Malema to court over specific things he had said and done to repute the ANC. How do you feel about this? In your opinion, what is the right, if any, of the ANC to charge Malema and take him to court?
- 3) Julius Malema, as the ANCYL President, to some extent represents you as a youth. Do you agree or disagree? In your opinion, is Julius Malema a representation of you?
- 4) One of Julius Malema's well-known agenda issues is nationalization of mines. How do you feel about this issue? Do you have an opinion, if at all, on whether it is a workable policy or not?
- 5) Some people have insinuated Julius Malema is going to try to run for ANC President. For you, is this a possibility? What do you see as Malema's future?
- 6) Malema has become, to some extent, an iconic South African politician. To what extent do you agree or disagree with this statement?
- 7) If you met Malema tomorrow, what would you say to him?