



APDUSA VIEWS

NO. 99

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- 1. REPLY OF MRS JEAN PEASE TO
APDUSA VIEWS NO. 98**

- 2. OUR RESPONSE**

- 3. REPLY OF NEW UNITY
MOVEMENT TO APDUSA VIEWS
NO.98**

- 4. OUR RESPONSE**

RESPONSE TO APDUSA VIEWS BY JEAN PEASE

I agree with the writer that corruption is a major factor in this country's failure to address the human rights of its citizens, but differ fundamentally in that I would maintain that corruption is merely a SYMPTOM of the blatant greed which characterizes Capitalism everywhere. Also, there appears to be a case made for the Democratic Alliance, as the 'better of two evils', in the sense that apparently this party has a better service delivery record than the ANC. Relatively speaking, perhaps it has – certainly in a very limited sense and with immense discrepancies in the Western Cape. This is a very particular environment in which brilliant political opportunism by the Democratic Alliance has, and is, being evinced. To contextualize briefly, the Western Cape is one of the wealthier provinces, it has not had to overcome the decades of corruption and impoverishment of a 'Bantustan' and it could capitalize on the post 1994 reinforcement of the apartheid labels of 'Coloured' and 'African' and the imperialist ploy of divide and rule. The DA plays to a large audience in Mitchell's Plain in particular where it has deliberately and carefully nurtured the 'Coloured vote' by greening parks and sweeping streets (not seen in many other Cape Flats areas, or Khayelitsha - numbers is the name of the game). It already has the vote in more affluent areas of the city. And it has shown its true violent and legally correct colours whenever (constitutionally correct) property rights are threatened – as in Hangberg (Hout Bay) or other attempts to occupy especially prime land. Informal settlements, as elsewhere in the country, remain confined to marginalized, marshy dumps – and on these previous landfills RDP houses are built. Has the DA ever challenged this policy? Of course not – it governs in the interests of the rich!

The looting of the state coffers is not through corruption per se. Corruption is merely the symptom of the abuse of power by a parasitic and bloated military-bureaucratic apparatus – the structure and functioning of the State itself. From the highest echelons of government to the lowest : the position of the municipal councillor (who bears the brunt of the wrath of the people, at the coalface – as it were): all these POSITIONS of POWER are upheld by the force of the law, police and army. These positions are the levers through which patronage, nepotism and cronyism are extended, which we experience as corruption. These red carpet, privileged and grossly overpaid positions in the bureaucracy advocate a lifestyle of blatant over consumption (hence the fight over positions) and because this is seen as the envied norm, bribery and other corrupt practices flourish. Therefore it is not the symptoms which must be

weeded out, as if corruption were some disease emanating from nowhere but the minds of greedy people. **It is a disease endemic to the bureaucratic apparatus which spawns it. Whether that bureaucratic apparatus be Capitalism or Stalinism.**

Let us look at the DA as the champion of 'fighting' corruption, or providing 'better' service delivery, as Abdusa Views asserts. Assuming even that it wins power in this democracy (deformed as it is), it has not said a single word, or demonstrated in a single action (except championing a very bourgeois Constitution) as to how it would do things differently from the ANC. In my opinion, the DA fails in moving even one iota in a progressive direction precisely because it has not uttered ONE WORD of how it would change the bureaucratic apparatus, in structure or functioning. All it has promised is 'better (less corrupt?)' or 'more efficient' representatives – but all within the same socio-economic framework. Will they be more efficient at oppressing the poor within the same system which favours the interests of the rich? Has the DA uttered a single word about equalizing resources between rich and poor – perhaps one system of education or health for the country instead of the two tier systems we currently experience? All the parliamentary parties canvass the poor (the rich do not want fundamental change) and promise the same thing – that of bettering the lot of the poor WITHOUT TOUCHING RICH PRIVILEGE - but not one has criticized the economic and structural political framework in which that service delivery has to be carried out. The political economy will not change, nor the state structure. Where in the best run, efficient capitalist democracies (e.g. USA, Britain, Germany) or even in capitalist but bureaucratically- run Communist China has the State delivered to the poor? There the rich are still growing richer and the poor growing poorer. And we aspire to those models? Without changing the framework in which resources are prioritized and dispensed as public services, will the DA be steadfastly ensuring still a capitalist trickle-down effect, but perhaps just a slightly faster trickle (by cutting down corruption), or a few more crumbs? Will stopping only corrupt practices (by legislation?) provide more jobs, a decent living wage, an end to violent oppression, abuse of human rights and dignity?

The question then is WHAT CAN BE DONE at this point in time, given the balance of forces and within the limited constitutional and negotiated democracy which was won at the end of the struggle against apartheid.

The struggle on all fronts in communities for a deeper and more equal democracy must continue. In effect we should struggle for a PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY', for true PUOPLE'S POWER as the way forward to real equality and freedom. As yet, people have not taken power – they have

vested it in a Parliament overseen by party representatives, to whom is given a blank cheque every few years, at election time.

Therefore, the **FIRST STEP IN THE DIRECTION** of People's Power is to extend democracy to Parliament and its functionaries. Let us listen to the demands of the people. The very people currently being wooed by political parties such as the ANC and DA. In all the communities where there have been protests, the call has been for representatives chosen by the people. Often even the party lists are in conflict with the representatives people elect. Other disillusioned voters say that there is no-one of integrity to vote for and abstain.

Our demands therefore should be:

- Representatives elected directly to Parliament by local communities or wards: surely this is at least more democratic than putting forward names for a political list and the party deploys the representative as and where it likes; and he/she is accountable to the party, not the people. **Direct representation, and directly accountable to the people who elected them.**
- The community protests have also highlighted the fact that the representatives are not accountable to them – are they accountable at all? By being accountable means they **must be recallable and should be replaced at any time between** elections if they fall down on their jobs. Why do the Labour Laws not apply to them too – are they not workers?
- And, of course, to get rid of the scourge of corruption, all state officials should be paid a decent wage i.e. a **WORKMAN'S WAGE**. But let us be crystal clear – they must not be paid for simply talking in Parliament or occupying offices – they must actually do the work of delivery and be paid accordingly for the work done – no bloated salaries and perks and red carpet treatment, as if they are 'above the public'. Public servants should live up to the name. That would immediately stop the fight over 'privileged positions' instead of competing for work.

If the elected, accountable and recallable representatives of the people, earning a decent living wage commensurate with what they DO rather than talk about, deliver services – then the people will be taking the first step towards a People's Parliament, eradicating positions of corrupting power in favour of positions of service – and the people just might begin to have a much better say in how the country should be run! A very small

first step towards greater democracy and equality! ALUTA CONTINUA!
FORWARD TO A PEOPLE'S PARLIAMENT!

Jean Pease

RESPONSE TO MRS JEAN PEASE'S CRITIQUE OF APDUSA VIEWS POSITION ON MAY 2011 ELECTIONS.

A Note on Polemics

It is a long time since I have engaged in a polemic with a member of the Unity Movement family. Polemics are not pleasant. They are a form of war in which missiles and bombs are replaced with words. Like war, the idea is to demolish your opponent's viewpoint. The process of engaging in a battle of ideas can be quite painful. It is a matter of verbal thrust and parry. Contestants in a polemic are well advised not to regard *as personal* any sharp criticism or attack. It is a debate; it is an argument. As intellectuals steeped in Movement politics, we do not personalize the process. **We fight ideas with ideas** is the old slogan of the Society of Young Africa. The purpose is to reflect and clarify and thus advance the struggle.

Introduction

I have known Mrs Jean Pease since 1983 when the first substantial move was made to revive the Unity Movement. It was at Isipingo Beach on the South Coast of Natal.

Over the decades contact was maintained at varied frequency. Then contact was lost for ten years and renewed only in 2009.

The renewal was warm and comradely and persisted until the publication of Apdusa Views on the May Elections and Mrs Pease's response to it.

What struck me on opening her e-mail was the disappearance of the customary warmth and comradely greetings at the beginning of her response. Her conclusion was abrupt and lacked the usual warm farewell. The cause of change of attitude soon became apparent when I made a quick perusal of her response.

Apart from a *section* of her first sentence where she says that she agrees with us, the rest of her response was an all-out attack on the position of Apdusa Views on the issue of the May Local Govt elections.

Mrs Pease raised a whole lot of issues like a dust storm, and as happens frequently in dust storms, items of importance vanish. This is what happened. The principal issue raised by Apdusa Views, which was the

failure by NUM to participate in the local elections, disappeared. One would have thought that Mrs Pease would deal with issue from the outset and show that NUM and she, as a member/supporter of NUM had strong and politically valid grounds to abstain from participation either as voter and /or as a contesting party. But instead ***not a single word was said on the issue***. When the situation cries out for a response on a particular issue and NOTHING is said, one can be excused for believing that that person ***in truth has nothing to say***.

If the intention of the article by Mrs Pease was not to defend the position of NUM in deciding to abstain from participating in the elections, then what was the true purpose?

The first purpose was to challenge the claim that corruption was the dominant contradiction politically. She has sought systematically to whittle down the importance of corruption until in the end she, in effect claimed that it was *a non contradiction*.

We assert that corruption and inefficiency, its corollary, is the direct cause of the failure to deliver basic services to the population and thereby causing the ANC to fail in executing its duty as a ruling party. It is this conflict or contradiction which is uppermost in the minds of a very substantial section of the population. It is this contradiction which has caused a high degree of agitation and stir in the minds of the people. It is this issue around which one can mobilize people because there are highly receptive minds waiting for direction. Thus corruption is what is dominant in the minds of the people. It is the conflict or contradiction which looms the largest.

The second purpose was to launch a massive attack on the DA

Lastly, it was to attack Apdusa Views for giving credit to the DA in the fight against corruption and thereby performing a useful function.

We shall deal with each purpose.

1. CORRUPTION

One gets the overwhelming impression that Mrs Pease is on a mission to reduce corruption from the description of a dominant contradiction to a mini contradiction of little consequence. Much effort is spent in pursuing this agenda and in doing so, corruption is referred to in dismissive terms.

For a start we are told that corruption is *merely a symptom* (Our italics) of “blatant greed”. This approach shows a marked failure to appreciate what

corruption is all about. In Apdusa Views No 98, we give examples of the kinds of things which make up corruption.¹

There should be no mistaking the disease for the symptom. According to Mrs Pease corruption is a symptom of blatant greed. *It should be the other way round.* Blatant greed is one of the manifestations of corruption. Corruption is an all embracing phenomenon of numerous vices. Greed is just one which describes an over acquisitive individual who craves more than is really required. Gluttony is a good example.

Symptoms are no more than an indication of something far more serious. Hence when I get a fever rash, a symptom of fever, I can have it cured within a day or so by the use of that effective ointment named “Fenivir”. Yet, when it comes to corruption there is *no fenivir* which is capable of curing this so-called symptom!

The reason is simple. Corruption is the godfather of one of the most pernicious social and psychological malformations. It is the king of social diseases! For this reason every government in the world, whether it likes it or not, is compelled to publicly take a stand indicating a zero tolerance towards it. For the reason of its world-wide presence, resilience and deadliness, NGOs committed to combatting corruption have formed an international coalition against corruption.² Nobody in their right senses will form an international coalition to fight what is “merely a symptom.”

Mrs Pease then goes on to tell us that the looting of state coffers is not done through corruption per se, since corruption is “merely the symptom of abuse of power” of a bureaucracy.

“Abuse of power” is itself a manifestation of corruption and later itself can spawn acts of corruption. But it must be remembered that the all-embracing social disease is corruption.

For power to be abused there needs to be a corrupt mind at work in the first place!

The levers, according to Mrs Pease, through which patronage, nepotism and cronyism (“which we experience as corruption”) are extended are the “Positions of Power”

“Positions of Power” have a source. They do not materialize from the air. That source is *the political organisation* which has the power to nominate or make the appointment. Corruption is therefore directly connected with the political organisation. It is the political organisation which dishes out positions in the State apparatus. That organisation is the ANC together with its allies.

¹ See pages 5 and 6

² Transparency International

Mrs Pease concludes by stating: “ It is not the symptom (i.e. corruption) which must be weeded out.. but the minds of greedy people.”

The truth is finally out. Mrs Pease does not want a struggle against corruption. So now we have the situation where what we believe is the dominant contradiction is now not even a mini contradiction. It has become *a non contradiction*. This will explain why when the whole country is aflame in its abhorrence for corruption, Mrs Pease and her ilk were absent from that struggle.

Mrs Pease locates the site of corruption in the minds of greedy people. Which greedy people? Do they have an identity? Why are they not named except as a nameless “bureaucratic apparatus”. Might it be the ANC elite? The bourgeoisified unionized workers? The bloated civil service? Why are they not named?

And more importantly, how does Mrs Pease propose to get rid these “greedy people” without launching an all-out war against corruption?

Not a word on this aspect.

THE DEMOCRATIC ALLIANCE

Considerable space is allocated to a very strong attack on the DA. The series of rhetorical questions asked about the DA are best directed to the DA. Where however the pursuit of truth and fairness calls out for intervention we shall do so.

We are not defenders of the DA. We focused attention on the very powerful anti-corruption stand taken by the DA and their track record of clean and effective governance. The DA took the lead in confronting the dominant contradiction, while the Unity Movement sat back and did virtually nothing!

That is the crux of our criticism. Instead of dealing with our criticism, Mrs Pease has sought to create a massive diversion by introducing a large number of attacks on the DA as if those attacks would cancel out the good work done by the DA in the aspects referred to above. It is also done in the hope that one gets bogged down in the large number of controversial issues raised.

It is also Mrs Pease’s intention to turn the tables. Instead of the ANC, SACP and COSATU being put in the dock for the crimes they have

committed against the people of South Africa, it is the DA which is the accused, thereby hoping to allow the Tripartite Alliance of Thieves, led by the ANC, to escape being pilloried for the shameless betrayal of the struggle.

Let us not forget that it is not the DA which wields the political power in the country. It is not the DA which formulates and applies an economic policy. It is not the DA which has plunged the country into chaos and bankruptcy. It is not the DA which has unleashed mobs of adult-youth to keep the people in fear and on tenterhooks by their numerous and repeated threats. It is not the DA which controls and directs mobs of unionized members to run amok amongst the population. It is not the DA that has proudly put up as President of South Africa a man who has 783 charges, most of which involve dishonesty, hanging over his head.

As against the enormity of the crimes of the Alliance, just what is it that the DA has done to earn the hatred and rage from a full spectrum of political views. Mrs Pease's detailed assault of the DA is contrasted by her silence about the crimes of the ruling party and its shameless allies. Worse still, there is complete silence on the issue of the spectre of fascism in this country. Aspects of fascism are already among us and Mrs Pease behaves as if it does not exist! The people of Germany and the world paid a heavy price for ignoring Trotsky's passionate plea for action to be taken against rising fascism in Germany.

The DA is being targeted by the Alliance of Thieves for obvious reasons. It does not want the DA to have political power because it wants the power for its own nefarious ends. But why does Mrs Pease attack the DA with such venom?

The reason is simple. By challenging the ANC in what the latter considered to be "no go areas", the DA has made people ask the logical question: If the DA can do it why didn't we? By making corruption and clean and efficient government, the main platform of its campaign in the local government elections, the DA instantly resonated with the views of large a number of people. Hence the marked increase in its popularity amongst especially with the youth and intellectuals from the African sector. The DA succeeded in doing what people like Mrs Pease had failed to do. In this manner they stood exposed as people who stood with hands in their pockets while the country went up in flames. This would explain why the DA came in for such a great deal of condemnatory attention, while the real political criminals were hardly merited a mention.

The pathetic effort to negate the importance of corruption by tortuous semantics makes the position of Mrs Pease ludicrous. The whole world knows what CORRUPTION is. There is nothing ambiguous about the meaning of the word. Neither is there anything ambiguous about the political position of Mrs Pease and Co., - fold your arms when you come across corruption since it is “merely a symptom.”

We have no intention of being diverted save and except where Mrs Pease has made grossly unfair/untruthful allegations.

1. The alleged failure of the DA to say “a single word or demonstrate in a single action as to how it would do things differently from the ANC”

This is an absolute shocker! The media are full of the achievements of the DA in municipalities it controls. The DA itself has not been shy to broadcast its achievements. Then the DA has published and made available to the public at least two documents which set out in detail its achievements to show how greatly different it has been from the ANC. These documents are:

- a) The Cape Town story
- b) The DA Track Record

The favourable reports by the Auditor General and international agencies on municipalities run by the DA points to the veracity of the above documents.

2. Then Mrs Pease makes another shocking allegation to the effect that the DA “has not uttered one of how it would change the bureaucratic apparatus...”

Apart from public statements condemning cronyism, jobs as a reward in recognition of party loyalty and cadre deployment, the DA has actually put its policy to practice in municipalities it controls. It was in strict adherence to the policy forbidding cadre deployment that Ms Cynthia Jefferies, sister of Patricia De Lille, had to terminate her employment with the Cape Town City Council when Ms De Lille joined the DA.

3. “Championing a very bourgeois Constitution”.

a) I was under the impression that we had outgrown the immature “revolutionary’s:” contempt for anything “bourgeois.”

b) Depending on time, condition and place “bourgeois” can be very revolutionary. The Ten Point Programme of the Unity Movement was a bourgeois democratic programme which was revolutionary for decades.

c) According to Lenin:

“The bourgeois revolution is precisely an upheaval that most resolutely sweeps away survivals of the past, survivals of the serf-owning system and most fully guarantees the broadest, freest and most rapid development of capitalism.

That is why a bourgeois revolution is in the highest degree advantageous to the proletariat.”³

The South African Constitution of 1996 is a very carefully crafted document. The best legal brains in the country had a hand in its drafting. Its legal effect is to abolish the feudal rule by the Nats and usher South Africa into the modern industrial world.

There are many human rights enshrined in the Bill of Rights of our constitution, many precious and invaluable rights for which people have fought over the centuries and for which they courted harsh reprisals in the form of persecution, imprisonment and death.

In their memory let us be slow before we rubbish what they fought and died for.

Many aspects of the Ten point Programme are to be found in the Constitution.

The Constitution stands between an intolerant and Stalinist ANC and the citizen. The Constitution is the law. The ruling party cannot make any law it wishes to with impunity.

³ Lenin: *Selected Works: Two Tactics of Social Democracy*, page 452, Progress Publishers Moscow, 1977

If for example, that political hoodlum Malema takes a liking for Mrs Pease's house and invades it. Where are Mrs Pease's remedies to be found? They will be found in the Bill of Rights of that "very bourgeois Constitution"!

It is the Constitution which enabled the Constitutional Court to render unlawful and invalid the disbanding of the Scorpions and directed the Parliament to pass legislation for the creation of a crime fighting unit which is not liable to be manipulated by the party in power

It is true that the Constitution protects private property and thus perpetuates the existence of a capitalist society. But at no stage was it ever claimed that the Constitution reflects the laws and property relations befitting a socialist society. The abolition of private property is not what the struggle for national liberation was all about. The "permanence" of the revolution always depended on the "alignment of forces". The "alignment of forces" did not favour the pursuit of a socialist agenda. Hence the 1996 Constitution protects private property.

Those who wish to see the removal of the protection of private property must wage the struggle for a socialist agenda and the abolition of private property.

From the very earliest of times when human beings began living in groups, they formulated rules to govern their behaviour. Without such rules there would have been chaos and destruction.

In a modern complex society, the need for rules governing conduct and behaviour is even greater.

Or would Mrs Pease and Co prefer South Africa to be without a constitution and live in a lawless jungle with the Malemas singing "Shoot the Boer", with Mbongeni Ngemas appealing in his notorious song "*Amaindiya*" to the legendary Zulu warriors to sort out South Africans of Indian origin and with the Jimmy Manyis plotting to "redistribute" the so-called coloured population from the Western Cape so that Africans can be in the majority there?

“People’s Democracy”- the solution to the problems of the country?

There are a number of other matters raised by Mrs Pease. Those matters which we consider to be spurious we shall deal with at the appropriate time in Apdusa Views.

What we need to focus on now is the solution proposed by Mrs Pease in respect of the problems raised by the people.

1. Representatives to be chosen by the people.

According to Mrs Pease : “In all the communities where there have been protests the call has been for representatives chosen by the people”.

Linked to this demand are a series of further demands/proposals which are simply stated by Mrs Pease but not elaborated upon. These are:

- Direct representation
- Accountable to people who elected them
- The right to recall⁴
- Workman’s wage
- Decent wage
- A People’s Parliament
- Representatives to be elected by local coal communities or wards.

In all the euphoric pronouncements, Mrs Pease has not given consideration to the role and function of a party of skilled, trained and committed freedom fighters in politicizing and guiding the population through a minefield of dangers and traps.

The degree of influencing, guiding and politicising by that party depends on the level of the political culture of the people involved.

In South Africa, it was/is only in those areas in which cadres of the Unity Movement worked that there was a an elevated level of political understanding. That was to be expected because it was a strategy of utmost importance of the Unity Movement to politicise the population. Otherwise we have had to contend with a population which is quite backward,

⁴ All three leading imperialist countries (US, UK and Canada) have the right to recall MPs and governors. Nothing dramatic has emerged even after Tony Blair’s shameless lie about the danger of war to the UK by Iraq.

being steeped in tribalism, superstition, enslaved by tradition, gullible (Notice how many people are taken in by pyramid schemes and scams), (Notice how many babies have been raped because the perpetrator believed that having sex with a baby would cure him of HIV-Aids or vaccinate him against the scourge)

Zuma has not scrupled to stoop to the level of blackmailing people into voting for the ANC upon pain of offending their ancestors. This to a people who worship ancestors!

It will, therefore be seen how absolutely futile and in fact irresponsible all the sloganising about direct representation and right of recall and all the rest is without the direct and active intervention of a vanguard organisation to channelise and direct the militancy of the population.

Let us not forget the warning by Lenin about not bowing to political spontaneity failing which one becomes a *tailist*.

It is well to remind ourselves not to idealise the demand for “own representatives”. Unless one lives in the community which makes that demand and has knowledge of persons calling themselves “representatives”, there is the obvious danger of falling prey to persons claiming to have interests of the people but who in truth are self-seekers and see councillorship as the way to instant affluence.

Apart from bandying a number of slogans about representativeness, Mrs Pease does not take the reader into her confidence as to how she proposes those demands be met. Is she suggesting that the masses of the people be mobilised (rolling mass action?) throughout the country to back that demand? If so, which organisation or organisations does she believe ought to take the lead in mobilizing the population?

And while she enlightens us on this matter, will she also explain to us how does she propose removing that rapidly growing parasitic elite who have ensconced themselves in positions of luxury and who can rally armed formations to support them?

And lastly, will Mrs Pease tell us what is to be done in the meantime about the corruption and gross inefficiency which is forcing this country on to its knees?

I bring in corruption for an additional reason because in the first line of the penultimate paragraph of her criticism of Apdusa Views, Mrs Pease promotes corruption to a “*scourge*”!

THERE WAS A TIME

There was time when everything was simple and straightforward, like pure colours. There was no mixing and therefore no complications. There was an answer to everything. There was a place for each thing, neatly categorized and stacked.

I recall the time when I first joined the Movement. It was in 1951. We spoke glibly about fighting at the barricades and dying with a glimpse of that attractive bare-chested woman carrying a massive flag on the barricade. We thought that we all could be like Gavroche, that doomed but delightful character of Victor Hugo who nimbly darted around the barricade reciting inflammatory couplets.

We learnt later from Engels that the days of the barricades were over because the advanced artillery of those times could blow barricades to smithereens.

We also learnt with deep shock that bullets did not always make neat holes in a body. During the massive demonstration in Berea Road Durban in 1960, we saw the awful damage a bullet can inflict to skin, muscle and bone, not to mention nerves and blood vessels.

There was a time when we advocated abolition of private property including nationalization of land, industries, banks and properties without batting an eyelid. There was a time when we defended Stalinist Russia⁵ and sang its praises as the ideal new society which was a model of what would replace capitalism. We defended most vigorously what we were taught to call “Peoples Democratic” Republics of the Warsaw Pact countries which were a shield for Russia.

We swore at Tito and Yugoslavia as hirelings of imperialism.

⁵ The Unity Movement leadership viewed Russia as the bulwark against imperialism and the leader of the anti-imperialist bloc. For strategic reasons, there was no public examination of the internal affairs of Russia during Stalin’s rule, the idea being not to create divisions in the anti-imperialist bloc.

Then came the time when we began to learn differently. The scales began falling off our eyes and we looked at these political matters in a different light. Russia, that paragon of “socialist virtue” crumbled like mummies are said to, when exposed to air. So did the Peoples Democracies and East Germany⁶.

We painfully learnt that there was not much socialism in Russia and as for those Peoples Democracies, there nothing more vile and repressive as those countries. The worst of these countries was East Germany ruled by one of most repressive, cruel and morally degenerate persons in modern history – Erich Honnecker and his secret police, the Stassi.

So when we speak about societies that practice socialism which countries do we have in mind? When Professor Jane Duncan advocates a society which practices social justice which model has she in mind? Is there a country in today’s world or in the recent past which has practiced “social justice” successfully?

There are no models; there are no examples to follow. The road is uncharted.

“It is only the creative application of Marxist principles to the novel situation as it actually exists in reality that will enable us to plot the way forward. This will require a certain boldness. Only the ultra left will try to squeeze the reality into inflexible and rigid boxes.”

Lenin took the giant step with the New Economic Policy, the essence of which was proposed by Trotsky earlier. China has taken its own giant step, many million times greater than the New Economic Policy of the Bolsheviks – “Market Socialism with Chinese characteristics”. Cuba is now taking its first tentative steps in that direction by, inter alia, releasing 500 000 workers into the economy to make their way in life without state interference.

In a matter of some thirty five years China has been transformed into an industrial giant and a world power. The ignorant and the ultra- left will rail against the large chunks of Chinese economy which has become capitalist.

Interestingly, the explanation for this phenomenon is almost the same as found in Trotsky’s exposition of the dilemma facing underdeveloped countries which have chosen the path towards socialism.

What do the Chinese say?

⁶ On Robben Island if a prisoner spoke of East Germany, he was swiftly “corrected” the Stalinists by being told that the correct name was GDR or German Democratic Republic!

"Socialism in China was born out of a semi- colonial and semi-feudalistic society, and its level of productivity greatly lags behind that of industrialized capitalist nations. Therefore, China must go through an extremely long primary stage⁷ so that it can achieve the industrialization and the commercialization, socialization and modernization of production that other countries have secured through capitalistic means."⁸

Both expound the Marxist approach that for socialism to be applied successfully, the productive forces of that country must be high enough to satisfy the reasonable needs of the public. It is hard and complex economics which determine whether socialism is a viable. Not simply one's desires and preferences!

ON PEOPLE'S CHINA

One final word.

In her response to Apdusa Views, Mrs Pease slanders People's China by describing it as "capitalist but bureaucratically-run Communist China."⁹ The statement reveals a woeful ignorance on the part of Mrs Pease as to what has been happening in China

As far as the bureaucracy is concerned, let us be realistic and understand that all modern countries are run by a bureaucracy which is made up of persons who are employees of the government. Not every bureaucracy is identical or similar to Stalin's bureaucracy which was given full backing by the Stalinist controlled Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

Is there a country in the world which does not have a bureaucracy?

Can a modern industrial country function without a bureaucracy?

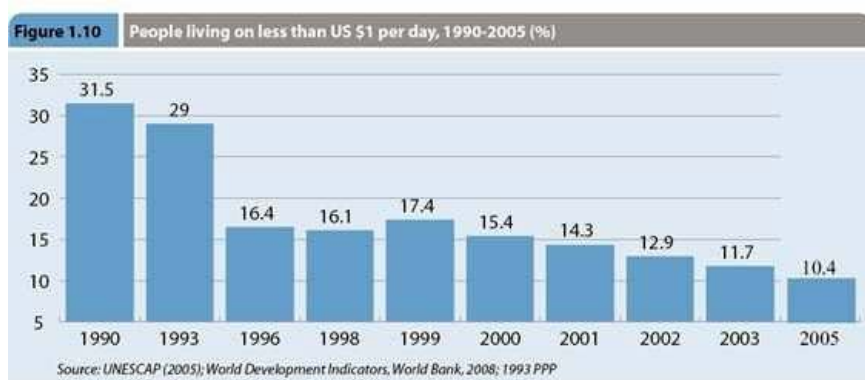
Set out below is an excerpt from an article by Reihana Mohideen who is the director of Transform Asia, Gender and Labor. The article first appeared in Ms Mohideen's blog which is *Socialist Feminist*

⁷ The Chinese estimate this period to be about 100 years!

⁸ Zhao Ziyang at the National Party Congress in 1987

⁹ The Chinese refer to their country as "People's China" and not "Communist China"

“The left cannot ignore China's achievement in poverty reduction”



Source: UN Human Development Report, 2007/2008.

By **Reihana Mohideen**

October 15, 2010 –

China's achievements in reducing poverty have been outstanding. From 1978 – when the restructuring of the Chinese economy began – to 2007 the incidence of rural poverty dropped from 30.7% in 1978 to 1.6% in 2007. The biggest drop took place between 1978 and 1984 when the number of rural poor almost halved, from 250 million in 1978 to 125 million in 1985. During this period the per capita net income of farmers grew at an annual rate 16.5%. Urban poverty, measured by an international standard poverty line of US\$1 per day, reduced from 31.5% in 1990 to 10.4% in 2005. No other Third World country has achieved so much and made such a significant contribution to reducing global poverty, as China has, over this period.

Between 1978 and 2007 per capita income has increased significantly. Inflation adjusted per-capita disposable income of urban residents grew at the average annual rate of 7.2% for urban residents and at 7.1% for rural residents. While the gap between the rural and urban areas still continues (and has even increased across some development indicators), the fact remains that virtually the entire population has been able to greatly increase its consumption of food, clothing and shelter. According to the United Nations “China now has largely eliminated absolute poverty and is meeting the food and clothing needs of its 1.3 billion people”. And despite the significant gaps between rural and urban areas, between richer and poor regions, migrant and other workers and the increasing class divisions, there is a degree of equalisation of income growth which even has many capitalist commentators bewildered. Higher household incomes has allowed for improvements in nutrition, clothing and housing.....

From *Links International –journal of socialist renewal*.

REPLY OF THE NEW UNITY MOVEMENT TO APDUSA VIEWS NO. 98 ON THE LOCAL GOVT ELECTIONS

Many of the conclusions we have arrived at is the result of many years of debate within our ranks since 2000.

Our considered response is therefore:

ON CORRUPTION

- According to Apdusa Views, corruption is the root of all evil. Thus, if only the ANC would solve the corruption problem, all would be well in the world of service delivery. After all, isn't this the case with the DA? This kind of highly simplistic reasoning dangerously overlooks a number of issues:
 - Corruption itself is not a cause but an effect – an effect of the neo-liberal policies which the ANC has adopted (and which the DA espouses and will not get rid of if they should come to power)
 - By laying the blame for our miseries at the door of this single cause – “corruption” – Apdusa Views conveniently absolves all other causes, including neo-liberalism (indeed, the article goes on to excuse neo-liberalism) and the system of proportional representative parliamentary democracy that results in the political disempowerment of the masses
 - According to Apdusa Views, the panacea to all our woes is a corruption-free administration – such as we would have under the DA. This same corruption-free DA rules in the Western Cape, yet this region is no different in terms of its appalling service delivery record than anywhere else in the country. Clearly, Apdusa Views is not aware of the crisis in health and housing service delivery in the Western Cape. It also cannot have heard of a place called Hangberg, or be aware that the DA expects people to use open-air toilets.
- The DA seems to be the stick that Apdusa Views is using to beat the ANC. This is a dangerous ploy, as (whether this is intended or not) Apdusa Views ends up giving out a clear message that it supports the DA, and that voters should vote for the DA.
- By seeing the municipal elections as a DA vs ANC contest based on service delivery, Apdusa Views falls straight into the trap set by the ruling class, i.e. to view the event in subjective terms. In other words, all attention is diverted from the root cause of the South African malaise, which is the system of capitalist domination.

ON THE NUM BEING ABSTENTIONISTS:

APDUSA VIEWS is aware that over many years we have been accused of being abstentionists but that has always been from our detractors and

our enemies. We think that this has been a very unfortunate choice of words.

We have actively participated in the activities of the electoral process – shared a platform with the DA and ANC in East London and by doing so sharing our views with the students of WSU and members of the public, addressed a number public meetings on “*Peoples Democracy*” in Cape Town. Appeared on local Radio and TV several times, both in Cape Town and East London, and issued our statement to a number of national newspapers, countrywide.

Our involvement in the electoral process certainly does (although not participating in the voting process) not make for us to be labelled as “abstentionists”.

ON THE QUESTION OF THE CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY

NUM makes clear its rejection of the current dispensation, in which “we are being deceived into the fraud of another empty election.” NUM is posing the alternative of “people’s power” as we have described it. We are saying to the working masses that self-empowerment and self-organisation at a local level should be enjoined with mass unification of people’s organisations at a national level. This then will form the basis of moving rapidly to a constituent assembly. This way a constituent assembly will avoid being hi-jacked by elements hostile to a genuine people’s democracy. Thus, a constituent assembly will arise out of conditions in which the working masses are actively transforming the political landscape “from below.”

Apdusa Views infers from our statement that we “see the salvation of the oppressed and exploited in the convening of a Constituent Assembly.” As can be seen from the point we make above, this is another oversimplification/distortion.

THE BOURGEOIS DEMOCRATIC SYSTEM

- The current form of parliamentary democracy that obtains in this country is the product of a settlement negotiated pre-1994. It was *consciously crafted* to disempower the masses. Their only role in it is to cast their votes every four or five years, and in so doing, to hand a mandate to this or that party to rule over them. In other words, we have an entrenched oligarchy – rule by a tiny elite – masquerading as democracy. **THE NUM EMPHATICALLY REJECTS THIS SYSTEM.**
- Ways in which the masses remain in a state of powerlessness in terms of this system include the following:

- In almost 100% of cases, the voting public is confronted by a choice between parties, not individuals – and certainly not individuals that communities themselves would have put up for office
- “Representatives” are not answerable to their constituencies. They are answerable to their parties (in effect, their employers). Thus, only their parties can recall or replace them, if in the opinion of their party bosses, they are not performing
- The relatively high remuneration packages paid to these so-called representatives act as an incentive for them to toe the party (not the people) line
- The representatives/parties are not obliged to seek a mandate from their constituencies, nor are they obliged to report back at regular intervals
- It is well-known that even if a particular party won 100% of all the seats in a council, it would not “rule” that municipality, as real power lies with big business in the town or area
- The parliamentary system is part of a bigger toolset used by capitalism-imperialism to perpetuate its class rule. A second major component is the neo-liberal economic system, which (via mechanisms such as deregulation and privatisation) ensures our economy lies docile and prostrate to be raped by the capitalists. A third component of this toolset is the promotion of a culture of individualism, a culture in which the capitalist system thrives and flourishes.

THE NUM POSITION

- APDUSA VIEWS appears to have a curious eye defect; the author was not able to see the word “*alone*” in any place that we stated that a vote *alone* will not result in meaningful change. Perhaps if it were re-read and this time actually saw the word *alone* a concession of a misunderstanding of the point we are trying to make would be made. If not, would the author then not be guilty of “corruption” (which, in their definition, includes lying)?
- The NUM is not so naïve as to not be aware that even bourgeois parliaments could become a meaningful site of struggle – but this must not be assumed dogmatically or uncritically. The key question is one of timing.

- In the current situation, we see as the number one priority – indeed, as the historical mission of the left at this time – to raise the class consciousness of the working class masses. This purpose is best served *among* the people, raising awareness of the causes of their oppression, and participating in the process of building “people’s power” (that is, community self-empowerment that will lead to the organised masses acting to secure their own liberation from capitalist-imperialist oppression)
- We think that any comrades on the left who support participation in the bourgeois democratic process at this time are under a delusion, and that they are misunderstanding their objective role. A time will come when we – the parties of the left, the parties of the masses – will sweep into parliament, not to take it over from the current incumbents, but to smash and transform it
- We are not advocating that people boycott the elections, as a number of other leftwing and peoples groupings are doing. We are saying that the vote ALONE will not change things

OTHER

What is the point of the dire warning at the end, on the question of fascism? We, in fact are all too aware of the possibilities of fascist tendencies emerging in our situation. We have had a foretaste, for example, in the recent manifestations of xenophobia. Thus, all the more reason for leftwing organisations to be active in communities, building a working class consciousness. The alternative would be to leave the terrain open for ruling class elements to stoke up racial and other prejudices among the masses.

Kind regards

HJ Petersen
(Joint Secretary)

A RESPONSE TO NUM’S REPLY TO APDUSA VIEWS NO 98

Introduction

My first reading of NUM’s reply left me with a sinking feeling. It said: Here we go again. It is going to be a dreary trudge dealing with numerous misreadings, inaccuracies, diversions and obfuscations. And the contents of the reply is as a result of debate going on since 2000. I wish a good portion of that time was spent in research! Then the trudge would not be too dreary. Well, let us get going.

ON CORRUPTION.

1. NUM, claims that according to Apdusa Views corruption is the root of all evil.
2.
 - a) That which is attributed to Apdusa Views will NOT be found in Apdusa Views. The only reality it has is in the minds of NUM. I will not attribute this faux pas to any ophthalmic cause or moral deterioration. I believe it to be case of a little over-zealous wish-fulfillment on NUM’s part. How convenient would it have been for NUM if Apdusa Views really *did say* it!
 - b) Also attributed to Apdusa Views is the conclusion that if only the ANC would solve the corruption problem “all would be well in the world of service delivery”. Again Apdusa Views has NOT said this. For a start we do not believe that the ANC has the capacity or capability to rid itself of corruption. But if by some miracle it did, then the quality of service delivery would, in all probability undergo a great improvement which can only be a source of joy. After all corruption (including inefficiency) constitutes the major portion of the obstacle (not the only) to effective service delivery. Does NUM have other obstacles in mind?
3. Corruption is “not a cause but an effect.” Has this categoric statement been reflected on? Corruption is classified as an “effect” of neo-liberal policies!
 - a) We will learn from a little reflection that corruption can be **both** a cause and an effect, not just an effect. Like the children of Adam who “begat” endlessly, corruption is also prolific in producing other acts of corruption.

b) As for attributing corruption to the neo-liberal policies adopted by the ANC, NUM could not be further from the truth. We have said in the past that the first official act of corruption in the democratic South Africa was the acceptance by Mandela of an annual salary of R750 000. He had spent almost 30 years in prison. For most of that time he lived in a cell which was 8 feet by seven feet and ate the simplest of food, wore the simplest of clothes. Why did this old man need R750 000 a year?

c) Mandela chose that salary which was a recommendation of the Melamet Commission, a commission appointed by De Klerk to counter the strong (in the end not so strong) position in the left that politicians employed fulltime as such ought to accept no more than the socially determined wage of a skilled worker!! This is the Marxist-Leninist position.

d) While neo-liberalism, the ideology of globalization, is no more than about 25 years old while corruption in its manifold manifestation is thousands of years old.

e) I am not aware that the DA has adopted the policy of neo-liberalism as its policy in shaping the society it governs. Is there a pronouncement by the DA to that effect?

My impression all along has been that the DA considers itself bound by the Constitution of the country which enshrines the Bill of Rights which contains many clauses which will make a neo-liberal frown in disapproval! When Judge Nathan Erasmus ordered the City of Cape Town to enclose those toilets, he used the “Right to Dignity” clause in the Constitution as his authority.

f) “blame our miseries at the door of a single cause” Has Apdusa Views really said that? Please show the reference! We made reference to corruption in relation to a SINGLE issue, viz., the failure of service delivery! We are accused of absolving all other causes including neo-liberalism. What other causes are there? Let NUM set out those other causes and then attack Apdusa Views for absolving them.

g) Does Apdusa Views *really* absolve and or excuse neo-liberalism? What we did do was to dismiss with contempt the excuse that shoddy houses built and potholes allowed to develop are caused by neo-liberalism! Neo-liberalism has now been conceived as an almighty arch-evil force which is responsible for **ALL** the wrong things that people do. There were shoddy houses and potholes long before the birth of neo-liberalism. Who does NUM blame for those?

The kind of argument that NUM is putting forward defies credulity. It is akin to the theory of predestination in terms of which “everything is already destined to occur in a specific way. That doesn’t exactly leave any room for free will or randomness.” Why is it not possible for

NUM to attribute a common human weakness of irresponsibility in the absence of supervision and punishment? Why drag in neo-liberalism? Why complicate a straightforward matter?

h) I find it difficult to understand how proportional representative democracy disempowers the masses. Under the Westminster system, the winner took all. Let us illustrate. If the wards or constituencies number 100 and let us then say that Party A beats Party B by just one vote in each constituency, Parliament will have 100 members who will belong to Party A. This situation is plainly unfair. Party B had one half less 100 voters and yet does not have a single MP. Under proportional representation democracy, and depending on the agreement reached, Party A will have about 51 of its members as MPs while Party B will receive 49. As I see it, in this instance, proportional representative democracy is far more democratic insofar as representation is concerned.

How does proportional representative democracy disempower the masses when *it is the very act of the masses*, i.e. of voting in favour of parties which determine the number of representatives? If you do not trust a particular party when it comes to nominating representatives, then do not vote for that party. You must rally support and vote for the party you trust. And if there is no party you trust, then form and build a party of your own.

- i) It is claimed that “according to Apdusa Views the panacea to all our woes is a corruption-free administration.” Where and when has Apdusa Views said that? NUM is challenged to provide the evidence.
- aa) There can be no doubt that there will be greater progress in providing service delivery in a corrupt-free administration than in a corrupt ridden one. Or does NUM contest that?
 - bb) “All our woes”? Who has spoken about ALL our woes? We are talking about service delivery. Since when does service delivery become “all our woes”?
 - cc) Again the DA has come under attack and again we say that those questions about housing and health should be directed to the DA.
 - dd) NUM is being presumptuous in blandly assuming that we have not heard of the conflicts around Hangberg or about the toilet issue.
 - ee) We have read about the problems surrounding the conflict in Hangberg. What is immediately clear is that the issue is a highly complex one and there were many stakeholders some of who with hidden agendas and ulterior motives. There are also matters relating to the environmental issues. The central consideration is the right to housing and in particular, the rights of the people occupying Council houses for a very long time and the development of amenities for the residents of Hangberg.

- ff) Happily, the first steps towards a resolution of the conflict have already been taken.
- gg) It has been reported that the City Council of Cape Town has formally agreed to grant ownership of sixty row houses to the occupiers.¹⁰
- hh) While housing is a basic human right and must be made available to those who need it we must emphasize that that right must not be made at the expense of a sensitive and vulnerable environment. The earth does not belong to human beings only. All other life-forms have a right to life and existence and in this the environment looms very large.
- ii) Let us not be opportunistic and beat the populist drum.
- jj) We know enough about the “Open toilet Saga” to say to NUM: “This is unworthy of you”! In spite of the facts surrounding the saga being repeated on numerous occasions, you have chosen to join the gang of ANCYL thugs, the national kleptocrats and corruptocrats of the ANC and the shameless populism of the Ehrenreichs and COSATU in seeking to slander the DA. And what is worse is that you seek to influence us to accept the slander on the assumption that we were not aware of the facts!
- kk) If one is to attack corruption as a cause for the failure of service delivery, it is quite permissible to compare the performance of the ANC with another organisation engaged in municipal administration. My own preference would have been to compare it with municipalities under the control of NUM and to use NUM as a sjambok to flog the ANC. But alas!
- ll) The gist of Apdusa Views was at no stage a directive or appeal to the reader to vote for a particular organisation. That was NEVER the issue. The ONLY issue was why did NUM stand aloof and do nothing while the country was gripped by an unprecedented large wave of reaction of the people against the absence of service delivery and the ANC-led alliance which betrayed the struggle for liberation.
- mm) Since corruption and service delivery failure was the central issue, does speaking the truth that it is possible to have corrupt-free administrations as is evidenced by the DA controlled municipalities, mean that we are asking the people to vote for the DA? How ridiculous! We are doing no more than stating a fact. If by stating this fact, people hearing it will undoubtedly be favourably disposed towards the DA. Does that make us canvassers for the DA? Would NUM rather deny or expect us to suppress that truth? As a microscopic group our disclosure will make little or no impact on how people will react. From NUM’s

¹⁰ Politicsweb of the 14th June 2011. “We are making peace in Hangberg”- De Lille

point of view it would be far more meaningful for it to take steps to prevent the media from publishing the truth! (Shades of Nceba Faku!). It will thus be seen where this kind of blind labelling can lead to.

nn) “Trap by the ruling class”

We are told that by looking at the elections as a DA vs. ANC contest is to fall into *a trap* laid by the ruling class.

Are we in all seriousness being told that the local government elections are being held to make us shift our attention away from the root cause of our suffering? Is NUM seriously suggesting that at the time the Constitution was being drafted, the parties involved actually formulated the sections dealing with Local Government, devised elections to mislead the population? Will that thinking apply to the rest of the world?

NUM ought to have learnt by now that no person or organisation thinks about capitalist domination *all the time*. That would be an impossibility. There are many other issues which eclipse the principal contradiction from time to time. Hence the harsh reality of national oppression eclipsed economic exploitation as the root cause of all the people’s suffering. In fact there were political people who asserted that economic exploitation was a determinant of racial oppression!

The local government elections focus on corruption and service delivery because that is what they have to contend with day in and day out. Only those who live in well laid out areas with all the daily facilities provided can afford NOT to think about local issues. There are two ways of looking at the nature of the contest in these elections.

On the one hand it is a contest between the ANC and its large retinue of parasites against the rest of the population which suffers because of flagrant dereliction of duty of those who control the municipalities.

On the other hand the reality of South African politics has resolved itself as a two party contest. This is how the rest of the country and the world view that reality. The question is how does NUM view it?

I think the whole country and the world following the elections would be entitled to look at these elections *by and large*, as a contest between these two parties since these parties are the largest and are most prominent in the media. In truth the contest is much wider. It is between a corruption-ridden ruling party with its train of parasites and beneficiaries, i.e. the ANC, and the rest of the whole country who suffer from the misrule and plundering of the public treasury.

Talking about “capitalist domination” 24 hours a day will chase people away. When you have sewage seeping into your sitting room, you are not interested in a learned exposition about capitalist domination. You want that seepage stopped. If the NUM member feels compelled to mention capitalist domination then that member must show the relevance and the direct link between the two.

ON NUM BEING “ABSTENTIONISTS”

Resorting to history or what is believed to be history will only assist if the reference is accurate. The opponents of the Unity Movement leadership maligned it by calling it “armchair theorists; armchair revolutionaries or armchair politicians” because invariably in debates the members of the various Congresses and the Communist Party were given a thrashing. I have not heard of the leadership of the Unity Movement being referred as “abstentionists”. Furthermore, the epithets were used to describe what the opponents considered as being the *general* attitude of the Unity Movement of not engaging in what they called action and what we called stunts.

Our reference to “abstentionist” was adjectival, describing a noun. It was in relation to a *single* incident, viz., the municipal elections. Not a general designation. In any event why would it be wrong to describe a position of abstaining from an important event as an “abstentionist position?” How does that become unfortunate? Does NUM have a better or more appropriate word in mind?

NUM’s participating in what it quaintly calls “electoral process” does not qualify it to escape the description of adopting an “abstentionist position”

Incidentally we have not called NUM “abstentionists”. That is NUM’s own formulation of how it believes we saw them.

THE CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY

Let us raise initially certain concepts and phrases used by NUM.

1. The fraud of another empty elections:

NUM is obliged to explain why these elections are:

- a) Fraudulent.
- b) empty.

Labelling them as a fraud and empty is not proving that they are so. The overwhelming evidence is there to establish the contrary.

2. What is the meaning of *people’s power*. We know that it is a catchy slogan. As a serious political organisation we need to move beyond that. Let the slogan of people’s power be fully

spelled out and explained. And then justified theoretically and in terms of long term objectives.

3. What is the meaning of “self-empowerment” and “self-organisation”
4. Does a vanguard party committed to Marxism/Leninism have any role in people’s power, self-empowerment and self-organisation. What is the relationship between the vanguard party and these slogans?
5. Why is there no mention of a vanguard party? Does it not feature at all in NUM’s thinking?
6. It is not going to help to try and wriggle out of a position taken by resorting to accusations of “oversimplification/distortion.”

What was NUM’s position?

“Instead of being deceived once again into the fraud of another election, we demand of our present rulers the *immediate convocation* (Our emphasis and italics) of a new constituent assembly so his nation can construct a new democratic path.”

Is not the construction of a new democratic path the path to *salvation*, according to NUM?

Where then is the distortion or oversimplification?

We notice that the demand is for the *immediate* convocation of a new constituent assembly.

The question then rises: What will NUM do with it if the immediate convocation does take place? Relative to the physical size of the ANC, NUM is very small. It will invariably be swamped. Apdusa apparently has a powerful incantation which will supposedly disarm the ANC. What does NUM have?

WHO RULES THE MUNICIPALITY?

According to NUM it is the “big business in the town or area.” This is a most absurd proposition. It is common sense that the party which won the most votes rules the municipality. Big business and investors can wield influence on matters of rates for business premises, keeping the town neat and trim, requiring regular refuse removal, making roads user-friendly, ensuring a functioning sewerage system and the like.

It is common knowledge that the area within most municipalities is going to wrack and ruin. According to NUM it is the businesses of the area who are responsible for this state of affairs since they are supposed to rule the municipality. But how does the wrack and ruin benefit the businesses? There is no logic here.

Businesses could also be partners in unlawful transactions with the officials and employees of the Municipality. But it is the Municipality which calls the shots. It is probably the biggest buyer of goods and services.

In Natal, it is the notorious Regional Executive Committee of the ANC which takes all important decisions in municipalities controlled by the ANC.¹¹

“THE VOTE ALONE”

NUM takes the position that the vote alone for all practical purposes is worthless. It also means that only if something else is added to the vote that the vote will have meaning. What is that something else?

At first it is *power*. Power is not defined.

Then it is *genuine democracy*. This too is not defined. But we are told that it can be formed by creating our *own democracies*. This phrase is also not defined. The function of own democracies (after they unite) would be to take forward the demands of the people. WE are not told to whom these demands are to be taken to. Then out of the blue we are told NUM is to ask the large number of people’s organisations to convert their demands into local democracies! ***Convert demands into local democracies!!*** How does one convert demands into local democracies? And then further out of the blue ***“and a new system of self government”!!*** A self government in reality or just a symbol? Would this “self government” constitute a duality of power?

There are unanswered questions:

1. Will these “own democracies” have a principled programme like the Ten Point programme?
2. Will there be a single programme for all the “own democracies” or will each “Own democracy” have its own programme?
3. What if there is a conflict in aspects of programmes? For example what if one unit advocates a new division of land with private ownership while another advocates nationalization of the land?
4. Is there a draft programme in existence?
5. Will all the “own democracies” have a single policy or will there be a policy tailor-made for each unit?
6. Will there be a central leadership for all the units or will each unit rotate in its own orbit?
7. What if there is a conflict between policies?

OBLIGATION ON LEADERSHIP TO PUT FORWARD VITALLY IMPORTANT PROPOSALS IN CLEAR AND UNAMBIGUOUS LANGUAGE.

¹¹ Nalini Naidoo’s penetrating analysis of the powerplay: “Oil on troubled waters” The Witness 15th June 2011

It is not my intention to belittle the manner in which the “Vote Alone” idea has been formulated. It is vague, undefined and lacking in clarity. One is left with more questions than answers.

If the real intention is to found another organisation on a local and national level, then this formulation by NUM is lacking in the required communication and language skills.

To make my point, allow me to compare the formulation of the founding documents of the Non European Unity Movement. I refer to those classic documents “The Building and Basis of Unity” which cannot possibly leave any reader in any doubt as to what is being proposed. The Programme of demands is read out virtually clause by clause by B.M. Kies and explained. The viewpoints of opposition are anticipated and answered. Tabata does the same as far as the organisational structure is concerned. To enhance the presentation, a large diagram of the federal nature of the organisational structure is shown!

THE EFFECT OF “VOTE ALONE”.

In a circuitous manner NUM uses “The Vote Alone” to convey to the reader that to vote without the accompaniments of “power” “genuine democracy”, “own democracy” and “self government” is WORTHLESS. The irresistible conclusion is a message of DON’T VOTE! In other words it is a call for a BOYCOTT of the elections!! But NUM curiously denies that it is calling for a boycott. It clings to the “vote alone” formula.

But that does not change the basic question: To vote or not to vote! That is what is required to be told to the public. Does a member of the public put his/her cross on to the ballot paper or not? It is of little use to equivocate and seek shelter behind words.

That is not the Unity Movement way of dealing with political questions.

It is our belief that NUM would very much like to call for a boycott of the elections. But such a call has consequences. The call for a boycott means displaying your support. A weak organisation calling for a boycott will get a poor response and will therefore simply publicise its weakness. Using the “*vote alone*” tactic will shield NUM from ridicule and shame of a poor response after being in the political field for almost seventy years.

The people are crying out for a lead and guidance. Their cries get louder and more heartrending. When there is no succour, they then explode. That is when fighters like Andries Tatane get killed and are reborn as martyrs.

Take a place like Pietermaritzburg. It was once the pride of the people of Natal with a fine track record of being well managed delivering effective services. That prevailed until the ANC laid its grubby hands on the treasury. In no time it began facing ruin. Like the biblical prodigal, the ANC leadership and its cronies squandered the assets of the people in record time. Zanele Hlatswayo had to slink out at night after taking down her mayoral portrait. She stayed out of the public gaze for months.

Mrs Hlatswayo has now returned. A reborn and a redeployed cadre of the African National Congress. She has been given a position in the Department of Health at an annual salary of R685 000 a month.

There is an outcry from within the ranks of the ANC about the re-election of persons in the City Council, persons who were directly responsible for its bankruptcy.

This scenario is replicated in most of the ANC controlled municipalities.

The people who are going to pay the heavy price are the toiling masses.

Does NUM not believe that it has a duty to defend the people against a predatory ANC?

WARNING ABOUT FASCISM.

When we send out a warning about fascism, we are told with some irritation that “we are all too aware of the possibilities of fascist tendencies.” We are then given an example of xenophobic manifestations.

1. We do not equate fascism with xenophobia. The instigators of xenophobia are owners of spazas and tuck shops people in the informal settlements and townships who have been beaten to their knees by hardworking and astute foreigners. The looters and criminal elements fuel the situation. The inflammable material is the mass of unemployed and impoverished population who are driven by anger, frustration and envy into attacking foreigners.
2. While xenophobia and pogroms are tools used by fascism to direct murderous anger, they are not the same.
3. The fascism we have in mind is far more serious and sinister and capable of much greater harm to society. It emanates from the ANC leadership which has its training in Stalinism. It also emanates from the newly parasitic very rich who want nothing more than to be left in peace to wallow in corruption without nousey newspapers unearthing and making public all their vile, dirty and underhand conduct. The obnoxious Jimmy Manyi is their representative in government. It also emanates from the thousands of teachers, especially members of SADTU, who would like to teach only when they feel like it and who otherwise

would like nothing better than to devote teaching time in the shebeens or at SADTU meetings and marches. Bring to mind Zuma who was one of the security chiefs of the ANC abroad and who, amongst others, was responsible for the tortures and human right violations in camps like Quatro in Angola. Look at the two fascist bills designed to bring the media to heel and to suppress any information adverse to the ruling class and members of the corruptocracy. Can you imagine a society where a person faces 25 years imprisonment for divulging information which is in the *public interest*?

4. We have mentioned elsewhere the daily acts and threats of violence and intimidation the population faces from the police and a section of unionized workers. At the background are the paramilitary prison service members, most of who belong to POPCRU and who are issued with automatic rifles.
5. Have a good look at the antics of a Malema who can utter the crudest and utterly criminal statements with ANC top leaders sitting right next to him and not saying a word! That is because Malema is saying all the things the *ANC wants to say* but cannot for a variety of reasons like investor confidence, having to answer for it in Parliament etc. So they get Malema to say it for them.
6. Malema fears no reprisal from the ANC when he damns all the whites in the country as “criminals”! That is because the ANC wants them to know that he, as a highly placed ANC member, says this on behalf of the ANC.
7. Then there is the case of Nceba Faku, former mayor of former Port Elizabeth and the leader of ANC in the Eastern Cape. This creature has a heavy stench of corruption clinging to him. The Kabuso Report (completed in 2010 but suppressed to this day) narrates a long list incidents of Faku’s corruption. All this was reported fully in “The Herald” a highly reputable newspaper. Being unhappy at the election results, i.e. the high number of votes won by the DA, probably through the exposure of Faku’s misdeeds, enraged the latter. At an ANC election victory rally he incited ANC members with the following words:

“Burn Herald. Burn”, “Pasop Herald Pasop” “We will fight bullet with bullet”

8. He threatened to drive the whites into the sea as well as those blacks who voted for the DA. This highly inflammatory rant came not from just a drunken rank and file member of the ANC *but from its provincial leader*. The ANC’s official response was that Faku’s words were *unacceptable*. This kind of mild response

simply lends credibility to the accusation that the contents of such a rant are in fact *acceptable* to the ANC!

9. Faku is the kind of material that fascism thrives on. Conversely, fascism is the system that the Fakus of this world would embrace with both arms.
10. Police brutality has reached frightening proportions. The members of the police force know that the Commissioner stands behind them. Look at the murder of Andries Tatane! In full view of the television camera, an unarmed man is killed in cold blood! Look at the video clip of the police raid on a nightclub in Gauteng where they unrestrainedly use their boots on a fallen person who offers no resistance.
11. The COSATU leadership has realised, belatedly, that the draconian clauses of the Protection of Information Bill could be used against them when people like Vavi, even with tongue in cheek, condemn corruption involving ANC members.¹²
12. Amongst the stragglers who finally realise the danger of fascism is the Communist Party of South Africa. In the “Times” of the 13th June 2011, both its Secretary, Blade Nzimande and its perpetual Deputy Secretary, Jeremy Cronin, have frantically rung the alarm bells. According to Nzimande:

“This demagoguery¹³ constitutes the *greatest threat*, (Our emphasis and italics) not just to our electoral performance, but also to our hard-won democratic achievements.”

13. Whenever the law courts pass judgments which are unfavourable to the ANC, the most scurrilous remarks are made against the judiciary, calling it counter-revolutionary with the innuendo that a firing squad would have to resolve the matter. Please do not forget the “**Kill for Zuma**” threats by Malema and Vavi. No charges have been preferred to date.
14. The kind of fascism we are warning about is the kind that Trotsky predicted would occur in Germany: “..it will ride over your skulls and spines like a terrific tank.”
15. If there is any truth in our prediction, then the advice of Trotsky becomes invaluable. He advised the working together of anti-fascism forces. This meant that the Communist Party should close ranks with the Social Democratic Party to confront and defeat fascism.

¹² We say “tongue in cheek” because COSATU left no stone unturned in an effort to help the corrupt ANC win the local govt elections.

¹³ Indirect reference to Malema’s ranting

16. Tragically for Germany and for the rest of the world, Stalin targeted Social Democracy as the base of social fascism, The Communist Party erroneously believed that it could defeat both fascism and Social Democracy and spurned Trotsky's earnest appeals to form a united front with the Socialists.
17. Sceptics may dispute the validity of specific examples set out above, but it is not possible to ignore or dismiss the **whole picture** that emerges from **all the points** made.

THE UNITED FRONT OR BLOC FOR SURVIVAL

1. The reasoning is both simple and elementary. If you face a deadly enemy which is bent on your destruction, you take all necessary measures to avert your destruction. Survival is paramount.
2. If you are weak and know beforehand that you will not on your own be able to defeat that enemy, you look for other forces which also wish to fight the enemy for survival. The formation of a bloc or united front for the specific purpose of defeating the enemy is the most logical thing to do.
3. Trotsky advocated to the German Communist Party a bloc or front with the socialists or Social Democratic Party on the basis of "***March Separately; Strike together!***"
4. Translating the German experience and lessons for our benefit, it means, amongst other things:
 - Identifying the existence and source of the threat of fascism
 - Surveying all organisations which have a genuine interest in preventing the victory of fascism
 - Identifying factions or sections of the ruling ANC which are opposed to fascism in any form and working with them
 - Adopting and applying the Bolshevik slogan of "**Marching separately but striking together.**"
 - Retaining the right to criticise members of the United Front in respect of policy, programme or deeds.
5. To those sections of the liberatory movement who view neo-liberalism and the DA as the real and immediate enemies, we share with them the analogy used by Trotsky which we found helpful:

“When one of my enemies sets before me small daily portions of poison and the second, on the other hand, is about to shoot straight at me, then I will first knock the revolver out of the hand of my second enemy, for this gives me the opportunity to get rid of my first enemy.”

What is left unsaid is that if I do not knock out the gun, I will, in all probability never get the chance to get rid of my first enemy.

ANC ABOVE REPROACH?

Throughout the initial statement by NUM and in its reply to Apdusa Views, there has been no analysis, criticism and condemnation of the most deplorable behaviour by the leadership of the ANC and the ever growing army of kleptocrats.

The question is WHY? Does it mean that its actions and statements are above reproach?

Or are there other reasons which will not stand the daylight?

Like we said to NUM's hillbilly cousins, Wilcox and Co. we say to NUM:

“BRAVO!”

THE CRUX OF NUM'S POSITION

The “Vote alone” stance was in truth a call for the **boycott** of the elections. NUM chose not to call it a boycott for tactical reasons. To call for a boycott you will have to counter-electioneer. You will have to work just as hard, if not harder, when you electioneer. But like electioneering, the efficacy of calling for a boycott is *measurable*. NUM believed that it did not have the strength, resources, both human and material, to launch a boycott campaign. It was difficult enough to call for an effective boycott of institutions which were thoroughbred dummies, how much more difficult when people know that there is real power.

NUM also got cold feet and sought refuge in terms like “Vote alone”, “power”, “own democracy”, “self government”, “constituent assembly” etc.

NUM has had 17 years to define all these concepts; it has had 17 years to give substance to these concepts. There is no evidence that it has done so.. When NUM realised that the 2011 elections were not going to be like the previous ones and could not be ignored, it offered a plethora of new terminology as a smokescreen.

Is NUM doing justice to its claim to be true heir of the glorious fighting spirit and reputation of the Non-European Unity Movement?

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