

THE RE-AWAKENING OF A PEOPLE

1. INTRODUCTION

IB Tabata's *"Awakening of a People"* first published in 1950 was intended as clarification of the real issues facing the oppressed as well as a guide to new methods of struggle. Tabata's seminal work today still provides a key to the political position that is to be taken by the oppressed majority in South Africa. In addition, 2017 marks the centenary commemoration of the Bolshevik Revolution. These two occurrences, seemingly unrelated, cultivate fertile ground for the *"Re-Awakening of a People"*.

The nature of South African society and the nature of our struggle must of necessity first be understood and clearly defined in policies and a dynamic political programme that is embedded in demands that sets the nation on an unfolding revolutionary road to freedom and socialism. RO Dudley at the 1983 *Preliminary Conference* of the New Unity Movement (NUM) in setting the political landscape for understanding the nature of the South African society and pointing the way in which the trajectory of the struggle should follow, says,

..... The resources of the country were regarded as raw materials for the factories of Europe and the country a market for the manufacturers of Europe. The terrible land wars, the murder pillage and aggressive crushing of the peoples' social structure all contributed to the matrix of social conditions that existed at the next phase of development, namely the discovery of gold and diamonds. From that time, we see the growth of a highly commercialised agriculture, secondary industry and the infrastructure of transport, communication and banking together with a savage legal system. The history of a hundred years between 1850 – 1950 is one of the most unbridled pillage of the natural wealth of the country and the plundering of its human resources to enrich that bloc of conquerors and exploiters whom we term capitalists and imperialists.

The fundamental struggle as conceived by the NUM is against a completely exploitative and oppressive system as outlined in the revised TPP including its preamble, as adopted in December 2012. The following quote from the preamble indicates the extent of our struggle:

In the era of capitalist parliamentary democracy following the abrogation of apartheid legislation in South Africa, our struggle continues to be both the national and class struggle of a people dominated by imperialism. It is a struggle by the entire working class of this country for nothing less than total emancipation – emancipation from all forms of deprivation and discrimination, from all forms of enslavement and victimisation. It is an anti-capitalist

struggle; it is a struggle for the socialist transformation of society. Our struggle is based on a transitional programme, one that raises demands for the immediate transformation of society such that the disabilities of the working class are immediately addressed, as well as one that raises demands that will lead to the democratic transition of society to a post-capitalist order.

And because capitalism is globalised, the anti-capitalist struggle must be globalised. Our struggle therefore transcends national boundaries and is part of the worldwide struggle of oppressed and exploited people against the capitalist system.

2. Political Economy Post 1994

The International and local economic crises that faces South Africa, impacts directly on our methods of struggle and the strategies we employ.

The leadership of the post 1994 ANC government was fêted by governments to both the right and left of the political spectrum, by liberals, international bankers, the WB and the IMF.

South Africa had an external debt of \$25million in 1994 and an internal debt of R753 billion. The two combined formed the SA national debt. This was debt amassed by the previous regime. This was debt raised despite the political and financial sanctions imposed on SA. Most of this money was used to enhance the military force of the government in the oppression of the people of South Africa in their legitimate demands. Instead of denouncing this debt, the post-1994 government accepted the apartheid debt and made massive loans from the World Bank (WB) and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) to offset these debts! This debt was at one stage being serviced at R30 billion a year, which was sorely needed to build houses, schools, decaying infrastructure and to ensure that everyone has a home and a decent income.

During this year, the drought and the resultant price increases in basic foodstuffs, transport, fuel and paraffin have impacted negatively on the lives of the poor. With the recent unemployment figures escalating to an unprecedented high of 27.7% (more than one in four), a massive 30.4 million of South Africa's 55 million people are poverty stricken with more than 12 million citizens living in extreme poverty.

1994 Saw the introduction of the 1) Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) that purported to address the socio-economic consequences of apartheid and encompassing alleviating poverty (note not eradicating).When faced with a number of constraints, the ANC government introduced its macro-economic policy, 2) Growth, Employment and Redistribution (GEAR) strategy in 1996 to stimulate faster economic growth to meet social investment needs.

Despite some success with GEAR, during a Global Economic Boom, job creation and growth indicators were unable to contribute to reduction in unemployment and consequently reduction in poverty levels.

GEAR was replaced in 2005 by the 3) Accelerated and Shared Growth Initiative for South Africa (ASGISA). ASGISA envisioned that poverty reduction will be achieved by 2010 and that unemployment would be cut to 14% by 2014. This was meant to be built on the RDP goals of building a non-racial, non-sexist, and democratic society in a "single integrated economy".

In 2008, the Global Economic Meltdown occurred when Capitalist greed and exploitation resulted in major economic institutions failing spectacularly and ordinary citizens around the world suffering irreversible economic hardship. In South Africa, poverty levels reached alarming levels, squatter camps were increasing daily and unemployment levels were unacceptably high.

With upheavals in the ruling elite and Thabo Mbeki no longer the president, ASGISA died a natural (if not unexpected) death.

In 2010, Zuma announced amongst much fanfare at the state of the nation address that ASGISA would be replaced by the 4) New Growth Plan (NGP) or New Development Plan (NDP). The NDP, seen as the "cornerstone" and the Mangaung "blueprint" for economic and socio-economic development is allegedly was believed to be the answer to assist in overcoming structural challenges and to contributing to higher levels of economic growth, as well as reducing poverty levels and eliminating inequalities by 2030.

In his State of the Nation Address in 2010, President Zuma produced his 5) "9-Point Plan" for Social Recovery and Economic Revitalisation.

In May 2017 newly appointed Finance Minister Malusi Gigaba unveiled his 6) 14-point Plan. Basically this plan was to stave off further ratings downgrades. This is meant to induce higher growth rate in government revenue. It also means that it will counter the trend of rising public debt. Thirdly, the 14-point plan also limits the risks posed by State-Owned Enterprises, like SAA and ESKOM and reliance on bailouts. Finally, the 14-point plan is meant to address low business and consumer confidence.

Therefore, we have seen a succession of "Plans" by the ANC government, none of which has had the ability to concretise economic reform that affects the employment rate or poverty levels significantly! Millions have been spent on Planning Commissions and Consultants, without significant results.

How successful can recovery plans be?

Present rising levels of unemployment, poverty and degradation in South Africa's sprawling townships and squatter camps as well as social infrastructure deficiencies negates what is documented and envisioned in the NDP. The recently released auditor-

general's report on poverty levels and inequality is adequate evidence of its imminent failure. Political commentators have characterised the NDP as a "vision" rather than a "plan".

The ANC had been ensnared into this trap. In their 2003 book, *Unfinished Business: South Africa Apartheid And Truth*, Terry Bell and Buhle Ntswbeza alleges that before Mandela had been elevated to 'sainthood' (*á la* Clements Kadalie) by capitalism-imperialism, he had been "softened up", totally disarmed and after his release in 1990 the course of SA in the clutches of capitalism-imperialism had already been determined. Successive ANC governments have been obsessed with neoliberal dictates that have served to maintain apartheid inspired economic structures. Gigaba is conforming to neoliberal policies despite the utterances emanating from Zuma and some of his henchmen.

The neo-liberal approach assumes that economic growth is the sole criterion to put the country back on the right track. This obsession with growth means that the focus is on short-term fiscal and monetary issues to gain the confidence of investors in the economy. SAs obsession with growth is unlikely to assist in economic recovery.

3. Party Politics and Parliamentary Chaos - dealing with the factionalism and splits in the ruling party, the Tri-partite Alliance, the decline of COSATU, myths of 'White Monopoly Capital' and "Radical Economic Transformation", State Capture and the State Owned Enterprises.

During the apartheid era workers and the trade unions representing them were important participants in the United Democratic Front (UDF). Many unions, student organisations, community organisations and worker organisations formed the UDF. With the support of the unions and community organisations, the UDF had many successful well-supported actions against the Apartheid regime. Worker unity and solidarity was very strong and unified. At the time, the ANC was banned and the trade union movement had very strong leadership.

Since 1994, the ANC/COSATU/SACP has been in an ever-decreasing party political alliance majority. The 1993 Constitution has been euphorically called the best in the World, but its crucially weak link is the Proportional Representation Electoral System, which has resulted in a "party political bosses charter with unaccountable politicians and a top-down single-party government" according to RW Johnson.

ANC Splits have spawned Cope and the EFF; COSATU splits have spawned NUMSA and SAFTU. This has resulted in a weakened Labour Movement, not supportive of worker and community interest, but seeking political footholds to gain parliamentary privileges and patronage.

Many ANC Regional Conferences have been held against the bitter background of intimidation and violence, (30 shootings in KZN in the last 5 years). Calls for Electoral reform from within the ANC (Omro Makgoale from the Eastern Cape and a member of the Stalwarts and Veterans) and the formation of groups like the SAVE SA, are indications that there is much dissent and dissatisfaction within the Tri-partite Alliance. Numerous calls for resignation and impeachment of Zuma have been common in the parliamentary space over the last 12 months. The ANC Presidential succession race has also led to further personality and cult factions all trying to get a head start in the race for power.

The mantra of "White Monopoly Capital" was quickly ditched by the ANC when revelations of the Gupta employed Bell Pottinger PR firm were publicly revealed. They did not mind "Black" or "Brown" fraudulent Capital, but were righteously indignant of any "White" Capital when speaking to their own supporters and the party faithful!

Is the use of the words *Radical Economic Transformation* a dramatic shift in policy or mere rhetoric? This is the latest catchphrase used by the ANC clique to hoodwink the oppressed into thinking that what's in store for them is a "*better life for all*". Zuma mentioned this in the state of the nation address. A number of ANC bigwigs have since bandied it about.

What is actually meant by *radical economic transformation* is increasing the middle class, the elite in South Africa. Despite two decades of dominance, the ANC believes that Black people have not gained enough access to the economy. These are the people that are keeping them in power.

Radical Economic Transformation has become to mean RACIAL ECONOMIC TRANSFORMATION!

The neoliberal imperatives imposed by the WB and the IMF have constrained the ANC. The malfunctioning SOEs which [will](#) open patronage for more cadres of the ANC are in such debt that another bailout of massive proportions (R100 billion) is needed.

What is being planned?

Business ventures to open in the townships and the rural areas with BEE groups cashing in on the profits, with franchise owners eventually becoming owners of properties, companies and financial institutions. Whilst this may be a change in emphasis, this is certainly not a change in the fundamentals of economic reality. "Entrepreneurship" is being touted as the solution to Employment.

Further, the 2017 Mining Charter stipulates that a new mining right must have 30% of its members as shareholders. This 30% to be shared amongst communities, entrepreneurs and employees. (See Addendum)

The patronage lobby will drastically change the fundamentals of the above to suit their own ends and so gain control of every single venture as has already happened in the case of the current BEE mining magnates.

Whilst Radical Economic Transformation may ruffle a few feathers, it isn't even radical in a market economy. The only thing "radical" about Radical Economic Transformation is thus the word "radical".

STATE CAPTURE, CORRUPTION & THE GUPTAS

State Capture is seen as the systemic political corruption in which private companies/interests influences the decision making of the state to the advantage of the company. In South Africa, this not only pertains to the national government but to all tiers of government.

According to *Africa Check*, it has been stated that South Africa has lost R700 billion in public money to corruption since the 'advent of democracy' in 1994.

Two forms of corruption are particularly prevalent in South Africa:

(1) Tenderpreneurism where individuals enrich themselves through corrupting of government tenders based on personal political connections and corrupt relationships and is often accompanied by inferior workmanship and overcharging, and

(2) BEE fronting which is an abuse of the rules governing Black Economic Empowerment. This is where a person is given a seat on the Board of Directors of a company whilst having little or no decision-making power. Related to this there is very often a situation of ANC members being given a foothold in the finances of major companies.

Former Public Protector's (Madonsela) report which initially exposed corruption by Gupta and Zuma listed a number of cabinet ministers, deputy ministers, chairpersons of Boards, CEOs of State Owned Enterprises (SOEs) and other individuals and called for a judicial enquiry into state capture.

The Guptas' close friend Zuma, as well as two ministers implicated in the report, went to court to stop its release. But it was finally released in Nov. 2016 after protests and a court battle. Zuma and his allies are conceived as a criminal network that has captured the state.

No action was initially taken on Vytjie Mentor's (a sitting member of parliament), allegations that she was offered a Cabinet post by the Guptas, which could be a violation of the Constitution. However, Pravin Gordhan and Mcebisi Jonas were fired as Finance and Deputy Minister as they allegedly posed a stumbling block to the looting of the public purse.

According to reports from the previous Public Protector, Ministers, Deputy Ministers were hired and fired in the Guptas Saxonworld home. International companies, Bell Pottinger, Mckenzie and KPMG (Auditing firm - SA) have fallen in the wake of the GUPTA/Zuma scandal.

Business Leadership South Africa (BLSA) has suspended the membership of Eskom and Transnet. This follows allegations that at best have been described as corrupt behaviour in awarding of tenders. Bonang Mohale CEO of BLSA in a statement said that, until and unless an experienced and permanent Chairman and Board are appointed – who in turn appoints an experienced and honest executive team – Eskom will loom large over the economy as a threat to stability and economic growth. At the same time, the rich coffers of the PIC will continue to tantalise the greedy appetites of the likes of Malusi Gigaba and a pack of other scoundrels who want to complete the process of looting the state. As if unprepared to be outdone by the others in the stakes of villainy, Fikile Mbalula, the current police minister has been exposed as a typical fat cat, who was bankrolled by sports company Sedgars on a family Christmas trip to Dubai. Evidently, the Democratic Alliance would like Mbalula to be the late police minister for his holidaying crimes. Truly, the jostling for self-enrichment among the crowd of ANC glitterati will make Jacob Zuma proud.

4. The Rise of Nationalism_- dealing with the effect and aftermath of the "Fees Must Fall" movement and an examination of the trends towards Nationalism from organisations like BLF, transformation and de-colonisation movements. Service delivery Protests, Racism, Xenophobia and First Nations People movements.

Dealing with the effect and aftermath of the 'Fees Must Fall' movement

South African University Students continue to push for Quality Fee Free Higher Education – something that may only be fully realizable in a re-organized economy. So Socialism in terms of Education and Society were put firmly on the Agenda from 2015 onwards – despite there being a 'Strategic Retreat' in 2018 (Meth & Seabe).

The Fallist Movement of 2015-16 exposed serious fault lines in terms of 'Race' and Class in SA. WEB du Bois famously noted that 'The problem of the twentieth century is the problem of the colour-line'. We could add even for the 21st Century. As WEB du Bois portends, our Colonial, Segregationist and Apartheid legacies continued to haunt us in the 21st Century as there was no TRC in Higher Education (or Sport for that matter) with a seamless pre and post-Apartheid transition in the Academy – Business As Usual!

It took a new generation of 'woke' students to comprehensively challenge the status quo and for university Management and Senior Academics to reflect on how much they had been co-opted 23 years into the 'new South Africa'. While much soul searching is taking place, the difficulty of 'The master's tools will not dismantle the master's house' (Audrey

Lorde) prevails. What is needed when working with 'untransformed' academics to deliver a decolonized curriculum? This as students demand, "*Free Quality Decolonised Education NOW!*" Sometimes 'African-centred' is added to the depiction of the envisaged curriculum. The redistribution of Ben Kies' seminal 'The Contribution of the Non-European Peoples to World Civilization' may be opportune.

The Unity Movement and especially the TLISA and CATA had been working tirelessly for true decolonisation of education since the mid-20th Century.

We should embrace the momentum this new #FMF movement presents.

However, the degeneration into naked Black Nationalism (not even the nuanced 'Black Consciousness' of Biko) by some of the Fallists requires an appropriate theoretical response. We often spoke in the past about 'taking a nation to school' (in the broadest sense). That time is once again upon us. We are required to stand up and speak boldly about the intersection of 'Race', Class, Gender and Sexual Orientation in our struggle. We need to assist in educating new cadres about the primacy of class in terms of contradictions in society.

Otherwise, the 'politics of the skin' will prevail as non-racialism is being stripped of any radical legacy and is conflated with "rainbowism", colour-blindness and worse.

First Nations People movements

The failure of the 'new democratic' state to solve the 'National Question' (*The Unresolved National Question: Left Thought Under Apartheid: Ed Webster & K. Pampallis*) has had many perverse consequences. The most dangerous is the prospect of 'ethnic cleaning' á la Uganda under Idi Amin or the more recent Rwanda genocide (*'Afrophobia and the racial habitus in the new SA'*; Neville Alexander 2013).

Alienated communities have retreated into the narrowest definition of culture – with a burgeoning industry spawning a myriad 'identities' that require not only acknowledgment but lauding.

In this milieu, we find some genuine peoples movements (modelled on First Nations Peoples in Canada; USA; Australia – Aborigines; New Zealand – Maori etc.) that seek to counter and re-write centuries of colonial onslaught. Social Linguist, Bradley van Sitters, provides a 'counter narrative' at the Colonial Castle in CT. He notes that 'Growing up on the Cape Flats of SA, I was, misguidedly, stereotyped a 'amalawu' – a term depicting people with no culture and no language of their own ... (www.khoekhoegowab.wordpress.com)

However, we need to problematise this rise in ethnic, 'race' and culture thinking in the present period. There are clearly elements wishing to be appointed Royalty as Chiefs, Princes and Princess to garner remuneration (in keeping with the CONTRALESA system).

Some opportunistic First Nations tribal elements are also imagining that since their forefather KHOISAN 'were here first' their descendants are the rightful owners of land

(‘The Promise of Land: Undoing a Century of Dispossession in SA by Hendricks, Ntsebeza & Helliker).

There seems to be a meeting of minds with “Brown” and “Black” tribalists wishing to control resources (land etc.) and maintain authority including archaic patriarchal gender relations that fly in the face of an avowed national democratic state. This situation has been bolstered, as the ANC needs to rely on the ‘rural vote’ to retain power.

Essential reading is Rudolph Rucker’s ‘Nationalism and Culture’ (1937) written in the aftermath of the Nazi Party rise to power in Germany.

Interestingly the Liberal Institute of Race Relations in their ‘What the rise of racial nationalism means for SA’ notes:

“Our conclusion was that the rise of rampant racial nationalism would lead SA into a scenario where, ‘in what would have seemed almost unthinkable a decade previously, SA became a façade democracy with an authoritarian ruling party presiding over a mismanaged and crashing economy. Worse still, citizens had only limited means of resistance as the media were cowed, civil society had no resources, the independence of the judiciary had been undermined, and the private sector bent to the will of the state”.
(Frans Cronje May 2015)

An examination of the trends towards nationalism from organisations like BLF, transformation and decolonisation movements

Does the divergent nature of the society that constitutes South Africa allow any one movement to claim to be striving for true nationalism? The Black First Land First (BLF) movement of Andile Mngxitama is an offspring of an offspring of the ANC, a movement purportedly striving towards nationalism, but which had, distracted by the lure of capitalism, veered off that course. Furthermore, tribalism and a fallback to apartheid style racialism/racism have lately become the hallmark of ANC policy, which are also generally reflected in the kind of utterances the BLF are making themselves guilty of. The term “African Black”, has currently replaced “Black”, the umbrella term for the oppressed masses prior to 1994 to distinguish from the “less oppressed” groups. There is therefore an increasing trend by the ruling party and, by extension broader society, to highlight and acknowledge the racial tags with which the apartheid regime saddled this country. The fight for the share of the economy, that little which is left that is not under imperialist control, is furthermore bedevilled by a Black economic policy which generally favours only the few Black elites and politicians. The latest attempts by sections within the ruling party distinguish between “African Blacks and ‘Coloureds’, ‘Indians’ and Chinese” in formulae to calculate BEE points during the tendering process are further indications that we are edging towards an apartheid-style classification of races in this country.

Before one can therefore claim that there is a trend towards nationalism from groups like BLF and indeed the ruling party, one must first look at the definitions of nationalism in the modern society. Although there seem to be different, interpretations of nationalism,

depending on the perspective of the viewer, the central theme that runs through the various perspectives include:

- The concept of one nation
- Self-governance and full sovereignty
- A single ethnic group
- Ethnic symbolism
- Self-sustainable industrial economy
- Nationalism as a natural phenomenon

The opening remark and question can therefore, based on the above, not be answered in the affirmative, since at least of the key requirements for nationalism to be successful, are absent from the societal structure of this country. A primitive, and at times, warped form of nationalism, however, has been prevalent within the South African society for the past century at least. It can be generally accepted that citizenship under the previous regime could not be limited to one ethnic, cultural, religious, or identity group, and therefore a system of "multi-racialism", wrongly identified as "multi-nationalism" by the regime, was propagated. It sought to justify that "multi-nationalism" in a single state should necessarily comprise the right to express and exercise national identity, particularly by minorities. The development of a "national identity" in terms of historical development has commonly been the result of a response by influential groups, unsatisfied with traditional values due to inconsistency between their defined social order and the experience of that social order by other groups, resulting in a situation of anomie, a breakdown of cohesive social structure. The 19th century trek to the north and the establishment of the Boer republics of Transvaal and Orange Free State was the culmination of a desire by the European settlers of nationhood separate from the British colonists and the indigenous peoples of the Cape. One can therefore conclude that it was a narrow form of nationalism based on culture and race, and it was to be forerunner to a similar kind of Afrikaner nationalism ruthlessly practised by the apartheid regime. It was a kind of ethnic nationalism, propped up by racist system of oppression that flourished amongst the 20% minority of Whites at the exclusion of the vast majority of oppressed Black people.

The genuine attempt to foster true nationalism was a faction of the ANC thwarted the establishment of a non-racial All African Convention in the mid-1930s when it split from the AAC in 1936 to collaborate with the Hertzogh government. This placed the ANC on a path of African tribal nationalism still prevalent within the ruling party today. The question whether the ANC can engender a culture of nationalism, given its Freedom Charter propagating the notion of tribalism is a moot point. If one considers the emphasis lately being placed on highlighting ethnic differences (when in fact there are none) then the notion of a movement towards nationalism in a diverse society as ours is bound not to be successful. From a different perspective, however, Marx and Engels declared that nationalism as a 'false consciousness', which prevented the working class from rising up and ending their oppression by the capitalist class.

The legacy of colonisation, currently the target of movements like BLF and student movements at universities is entrenched within our society and the removal of offensive symbols is merely scratching the surface of an underlying stumbling block to the creation of a unitary non-racist society which we should be striving for. The parliamentary system, crafted at CODESA by the apartheid regime and assisted by the current one, is based on the remnants of a Westminster system introduced by erstwhile colonial masters. Not only is it a system of winner-takes-all, it also is not representative of the people, who, despite through their votes directly and indirectly elected members of parliament, cannot demand accountability from parliamentary "representatives".

The transformation is intrinsically linked to the decolonisation of society, systems of governance, education, economy, sports and culture. Our history needs to be re-written in order for us to understand why we need to transform, what needs to be transformed and what kind of transformed society we would like to be. Transformation in its current form and application is but a façade, a futile and unsuccessful attempt to plaster over the real inequalities so prevalent 22 years after so-called liberation. It is a fallacy to claim that transformation can be successfully implemented from top down, since it will only advantage those who have access to the benefits it offers, widen the gap between rich and poor and exacerbate the plight of those worst affected by apartheid regime and the corruption and ineptitude of the current regime. The transformation façade is urban society with its professional Blacks in "mixed" middle-class residential areas, the creation of job and business opportunities assisted by BEE policies, access to educational institutions by those who can afford it and taking over from Whites as the big spender in the retail industry. The "real" face of society, however, is on the outskirts of urban areas, in apartheid-created townships from where transport to the workplace and back requires a sizeable portion of income, where currently some communities have no access to water-borne sewer reticulation, and where service delivery is virtually non-existent. Astonishingly, urban planning by the current regime allows for the development of residential areas for so-called RDP housing even further from the central business districts, escalating the burgeoning cost in transport of those who can least afford it. The "real" face of society is life in an informal settlement where it has become the norm not to have running water, ablution facilities, recreational facilities and where daily lives of women and children are constantly under the threat of rape and violent crime. The "real" face of society is makeshift homes catching fire, where grannies and children die and it is treated as just another fire.

The "real" face of society is in the forgotten outposts in the rural areas of our country, where the word "transformation" takes on an entirely different meaning for our forgotten fellow citizens. Electricity, a commodity we all take for granted, is slowly making its way into rural villages, vast areas, though have no access to electricity and gathering wood by women and children is the only source of energy at their disposal. The "real" face of society is to see elderly women stoking fires and cooking meals outside their dwellings, come rain or sunshine.

“Transformation” in the rural areas is when government proclaims progress to be the replacement of a dilapidated pit latrine with a “modern, ventilated” pit latrine, but still a pit latrine, some twenty to thirty metres away from dwellings, even though schoolchildren are still exposed to unsafe and unhygienic pit latrine systems. Progress is proclaimed, accompanied by accolades and fanfare, when potable water finally reaches communities, even if communal taps are still the norm and some families need to draw water from taps up to 200m from their dwellings, all under the guise of transformation.

The emphasis on and the efforts to transform sport has largely played itself out in the public domain, hence the big debate about so-called quotas and the composition (racial breakdown) of national and provincial sports teams. The transformation of society, though has received scant attention, and was seldom the topic of discussion on public platforms and social media. As a result that the festering sore of racism, seemingly dormant immediately post-1994, is now increasingly rearing its ugly head.

Genuine transformation and decolonisation of the social order in our country under the current regime seem distinctly remote, nationalism even more so.

XENOPHOBIA

In May 2008, 62 people were killed in a wave of xenophobic attacks across townships in Gauteng. Foreign nationals, mostly migrants from Somalia and Ethiopia, were dragged through the streets of Alexandra, and even a “necklacing” incident was recorded. This generally was the start of a wave of xenophobic attacks that spread throughout the country, the focus mainly on shop owners of foreign descent that also included Pakistani and Bangladeshi foreign nationals. South Africans were perceived by other countries, particularly in rest of Africa, as ungrateful in view of the roles certain African countries played during the struggle for liberation. However, is this really a phenomenon limited to South Africa?

It's not all that different to what was happening in other countries in Europe where those in power have been creating an understanding of who the nation is. People who migrate from elsewhere, even from countries whose economies have been destroyed by their imperialist policies, are outsiders who come to steal, including apparently their democracies. It is within that context that we have to understand this rise of xenophobic violence and attitudes more generally. The violence couldn't take place if the attitudes were not there, and we have to insist on the fact that xenophobia is not a problem of the poor, even the rich are threatened by having to get with less should foreigners start sharing in the economy.

It is quite clear, surveys through the years show, that in fact xenophobia is widespread throughout all racial and ethnic groups, all gender groups, all political parties throughout the country. In other words, xenophobic attitudes are prevalent irrespective of who you are talking to. The difference is that those faced with the perceived threat to their livelihood by foreigners are more likely to act in the manner in which these violent acts

are played out currently. And there is racism and differences in culture to consider. When various individual politicians or those in authority speak, they do not simply address the issue in manner to resolve matter, they use inflammatory language, like King Goodwill Zweletini, sparking the type of violence we experienced in KwaZulu-Natal recently.

The media, of course play a major role in the systematic targeting of immigrants, generally those from western Africa, and particularly Nigeria, as criminals and drug dealers. This culture was created in the mid-1990s, shortly after free access to this country by fellow Africans was made possible, and may have been the birth of the xenophobic culture we are currently experiencing. Xenophobia in South Africa, therefore, is not new, and according to Michael Neocosmos, Director of Global Movements Research at the University of South Africa (UNISA), anti-migrant sentiment emerged in the early 1990s, when the new government was in the midst of planning new economic policies and politicians of all stripes began drumming up anti-immigrant sentiment. He said:

“It is important to recognise that xenophobia can exist without violence. And it’s not sufficient to simply recognise it when people start killing each other,”

Contrary to popular belief, xenophobia in South Africa is not just a problem of the poor. A national survey of the attitudes of the South African population towards foreign nationals in the country by the South African Migration Project in 2006, found xenophobia to be widespread: 59% of South Africans do not want it to be easier for foreign nationals to trade informally with South Africa, while 61% are opposed to them starting small businesses in South Africa, Staggeringly a further 68% of South African are against foreigners obtaining South African citizenship.

Despite the violence meted out to foreign nationals, as many as 60 000 to 80 000 per year continue to seek asylum in SA. According to the United Nations Refugee Centre, UNHCR, there were almost 310 000 refugees and asylum seekers in the country as of July 2014. This number is now well over 400 000

The South African government, for its part, refused to label the violence as ‘xenophobic’. President Thabo Mbeki, at the very end of his second term in office in typical denialist fashion, said those who wanted to use the term were “trying to explain naked criminality by cloaking it in the garb of xenophobia”. The government furthermore attempted to reduce the perception of the terror meted out on foreign nationals as benign, unexceptional acts of criminality. If they were orchestrated attacks, they said, ‘a third force’ was behind the violence.

Xeno or the tendency to fear the stranger is inherent in human nature. It becomes a problem, however, when there is something that perpetuates that fear, the feeling that this person is bad. And that is where the social construction comes in. And from that perspective in South Africa, we see the legacy of the past, for instance where the movement of people was perceived as a threat to residents and their livelihoods.

Therefore, in South Africa, the main explanations are the legacy of apartheid; this legacy has not been addressed. And even the current leadership keeps using that kind of rhetoric: by calling immigrants or outsiders, particularly Black Africans, criminals, bringing diseases, and blaming them for all sorts of socio-economic ills we face. It is a perception that was created in the mid-1990s that today, twenty years later, has been reinforced within the South African society and used as an excuse by the current regime for its ineptitude to provide for the basic needs of its citizens.

Xenophobia is closely linked to racism, and although it is a global phenomenon not only peculiar to South Africa, the racial construct of our society is indeed fertile grounds for this scourge to grow, with the distinct potential of polarising a society that can barely come to grips with its recent racist past.

RACISM

Racism can only exist where the notion of different races is accepted. Scientifically, however, the existence of any other race but the human race, has never been proved, and therefore the concept of different races is a manufactured one by those who wanted themselves to be seen as different from others, solely based on physical appearances, to put it more bluntly, White versus Black. One can assume that an element of superiority was key to the formulation of that superior notion and highlighting the perceived differences there may have been justification for that. There are scant records, if any, of Black on White racism and one must therefore assume that racism is mainly perpetrated by Whites with Black people being the victims. An attitude of inherent superiority naturally flows from this notion. This is a global phenomenon that paved the way for imperialism and colonisation by Europe of rest of the world, and in particular, Africa. Southern Africa therefore had always been subjected to some form of institutionalised racism, more harshly so the last 40 years under the apartheid regime.

The new Constitution, accepted by parliament in 1995, sought to eliminate racism from the statute books and, whether we agree with its entire contents or not, it generally succeeded in doing so. Twenty-two years after the adoption of a non-racist constitution, we are still a society inherently plagued by racial classification and association in the social sphere, sports, entertainment and the workplace. The ANC government with its obsession with tribalism and "Africanism" even went so far as to adopt the crass racial categories invented by its former oppressor in order to monitor their distribution in the workplace and sports fields. Attitudes of racism and superiority, although frowned upon in certain quarters gradually increased after a relative period immediately after 1994 during the presidency of Nelson Mandela. The less than slap-on-the-wrist punishment meted out by the Truth and Reconciliation Commission for those accused of committing atrocities on behalf of the apartheid regime emboldened racists and removed any fear they may have had of being prosecuted, resulting in an increase of acts of racism and the expression of racist diatribe.

The Zuma presidency triggered a wave of public criticism of the ANC in general, and himself in particular and rightly so. However, it also allowed the racists to jump on that bandwagon to increasingly air their narrow vitriol, even to the point where they demand their rights as a White minority to be restored. The ANC offered them that platform.

We seem to be a more integrated society, as reflected by schools, (in some cases) the workplace and the sports fields, but are we really, or is it just another façade? The latest incidents at KFC and the recent “coffin case” seem to confirm the latter. The TRC as a platform for those who voluntarily wanted to confess and seek atonement for their misdeeds clearly did not have the desired effect. In certain quarters, it is now whispered that Nuremberg-type trial would have been more effective.

5. Poverty and Unemployment – Analysis of empirical data on levels of Poverty and Unemployment, Capitalist strangle-hold on Economic Development, Land Misuse and Natural Resources exploitation. The effects of Corruption, the skewed economy, resource wastage and State inefficiency on the Health, Education and Living conditions of the poor and Working Class.

Poverty and unemployment is the natural consequence of the capitalist system, a system that has no intention to eradicate unemployment as it acts as a form of threat to workers. With the endemic rate of unemployment in South Africa, unemployment is one of the bases of poverty. 55,5% of SA’s population live below the poverty line in 2017 (in 2011 it was 53%) which is 34 million people.

The poverty line varies between the food poverty line (R531), the lower-bound poverty line (R758) and the upper-bound poverty line (R1138)].

In SA 25% of the population survives on less than R531 a month and cannot afford to buy enough food to keep healthy. This proportion has risen from 20% in 2011. With this increasing poverty, there has been a rise in the Gini Coefficient from 0,6 to 0,7 (even though some observers feel that the rise has been much greater). One of the features of the SA economy has been the growing inequality among Africans, with the Black elite becoming increasingly rich while the great majority of people, especially in the former homelands, continue to live in poverty. The increase in poverty points to the fact that in terms of income, wealth, housing, education, resources, health and wellbeing, there is a trend towards increasing inequality and even more entrenched poverty. If one looks at the decline in living standards – people are begging more, substance abuse is increasing, violent crime is reaching unimagined heights, education, health and other services are either not being delivered or have deteriorated.

The question must be posed: Why? Why do we have this escalation in hardship and vulnerability in a land that can spend millions on rugby world cup bids and other sporting

codes? How is it possible that SA can spend billions on rescuing the SAA but cannot afford to provide jobs for its own people?

Do we have a mismanaged system in an unfriendly Global Economic Climate, or do we have a system that would deliver more to the poor in a friendly Global Economic Climate? The government spin-doctors have been telling us that the latter has been the case since the Global Economic downturn of 2008! We have heard lately of more spin-doctoring about "White Monopoly Capital" and "Radical Economic Transformation" as reasons for and solutions to our economic demise, yet the revelations of State mal-administration and in-efficiency continue to be revealed daily (See Gupta leaks, Public Protector's reports, SAICE Reports, numerous Auditor-General reports, Scopa reports etc.).

This "Global Economic Downturn" has been the background against which all other developing countries have been forced to operate, so we are not unique; but we have failed dismally in creating a solution that benefits working class people across the country. The Government's acceptance of economic "norms" and its inability to initiate basic economic reforms and employment opportunities has resulted in us being victims of Capitalist Investment dictates rather than the creators of our own economic destinies.

Too many times, Big Business (Mining, Fishing, Agriculture etc.) has been allowed to determine and cherry-pick its operating fundamentals by merely complying with BEE laws and minimum wage agreements.

Let us look at some of the prime economic cable-ties that have hobbled and restricted the Government's ability and performance:

The answer must be found in the negotiated settlement of 1994, where horse-trading between the corporate world, mainly the Minerals-Energy Complex (MEC), and the new Black elite ensured that post-1994 economic structures would remain the same as pre-1994 economic structures. The new Black elite promised the MEC that private property would be protected and that no nationalisation would occur. In turn, the MEC would pay reparations to a select few via Black Economic Empowerment. During the CODESA II negotiations (the secret horse-trading), the primary objective of leaders of the MEC was to ensure the preservation of the MEC. The quid pro quo for representatives of the Black upper middle class, the ANC politicians, who agreed to the preservation of the MEC, was the creation of BEE. The second aim of the economic leaders was to persuade the emerging Black political elite to agree to the use of globalisation to maintain the system of cheap labour required by the MEC. (In this CODESA II, labour and manufacturing were excluded due to reasons explained below).

There are many ways to keeping down the costs of labour – brute force as in the past, recruiting unskilled labour from the SADC countries, but these options were no longer possible due to trade unionism and independence. The new way of keeping labour cheap

was to import wage goods from cheaper producers in the global economy, especially China. By importing cheaper products, the cost of the products that the working class consumes is kept down and wages are therefore kept low. Using globalisation to provide cheap consumer goods for the working class not only kept wages low but also resulted in the destruction of the non-MEC manufacturing sector.

The clothing, textile and footwear industry has been almost totally obliterated by these cheap imports. This is why capitalists in the manufacturing sector and organised labour were excluded from the CODESA II deliberations. The destruction of the manufacturing sector is at the root of the growing impoverishment of South Africans, leading to increasing structural unemployment. The MEC is immune to global competition as it sells minerals and metals that are largely unique to SA. Manufacturing industries do not have such natural protection and after 1994, employment in SA's private sector declined steadily, fuelling the growing impoverishment of many South Africans. At the same time, the top 10-20 per cent of the population become even richer, benefitting from BEE wealth redistribution programmes and, in the early 2000s, also from steeply increasing commodity prices.

At the same time that BEE was being introduced and the commodities boom peaked in the late 1990s, the ANC government started to increase public spending on welfare. The increase in social grants from 2,5 million people in 1999 to 12 million people in 2012 and to 17 million in 2017 is an indication of the dire need of the poorest of the poor and the high levels of unemployed people in the country. This large -scale social welfare expenditure is due to income derived from the rich natural resources of SA. This largesse of course is to buy the vote of the poor and to placate the poor so that they do not rebel. At face value, the social wage paid to 17 million impoverished, unemployed South Africans is commendable. This social wage was initially a short-term measure to address poverty, but has increasingly become a source of livelihood in SA and has played an important role in reducing poverty levels. However, without mineral wealth to redistribute, the government would have to work harder about finding solutions to unemployment and poverty. Resource wealth makes it possible for the government not to have to put in an effort into redeveloping the economy for more jobs. ¹

Our over reliance on our mineral wealth has led to skewed economy with an emphasis on primary products. Due to climate change and fluctuating prices, agricultural exports and mineral exports have respectively varied in value and therefore our national income has fluctuated almost annually. Furthermore, very few minerals are beneficiated but are exported in its raw unprocessed state. Unbelievably, labour costs in China are so low that it is not economically efficient to manufacture and produce some finished products locally! Mineral resources are finite, i.e. they are exhaustible. What happens when they become depleted or when the ability to pay for this welfare system is severely strained as it today due to a sluggish economy, high government debt and new demands for

¹ Architects of Poverty, Moeletsi Mbeki, 2009, pp 86-87

bailouts from state-owned enterprises and universities? Social protection (social grants, free primary health care, no-fee paying schools, RDP housing) is projected to increase to R209,1 billion by 2019/ 2020. Social protection is already the third fastest growing spending category after post-school education and health. How long will our economy be able to carry this burden, in other words, how long is this system of BEE and social protection sustainable?

What is clear is that the present government appear to have run out of ideas on how to implement changes in the economy that will benefit the population. The latest StatsSA "Poverty Trends in South Africa" report shows that poverty levels rose in 2015. Nowhere has there been any meaningful response from the government and ruling party to this report; instead, party politics and fighting for positions has been the response by the ANC to this report. What BEE and social welfare programmes have done is entrench the inequalities inherited from the past and exacerbate new inequalities among the Black population. Instead of assisting and developing the country's core manufacturing sector, the government replaced the manufacturing sector with cheap imports, literally destroying this sector as well as job opportunities, further impoverishing the greater part of the population.

Land redistribution on socialist principles is fundamental to the liberation of the people of South Africa. At present, the ANC government has focussed on what they term the "Land Reform Process" which is concentrated on three aspects; Restitution, where the state grants monetary compensation to affected parties, Land Tenure Reform, which is a system of recognising people's right to own land and Land Redistribution. The emphasis thus shifts to Land Redistribution.

Despite all these various plans, implementation of any one of them is doomed to failure. South Africa remains an unequal society with the oppressed communities still dispossessed, with the majority still homeless. The ANC model based on the Market-led Agrarian Reform approach will not improve matters for the landless and impoverished.

At present land reform procedures, which includes expropriation eventually allows the courts to set the price of the land. However, this process will mainly rely on the Valuer-General; a recently created government office will set the price of land earmarked for reform.

The ANC Government has commendably allocated large portions of the Fiscus to *Social Services* since 1994. The largest portion of our Annual Budget (60%) is dedicated to Health, Education, Housing and Social Security and Welfare, yet we still see major deficiencies and very few success stories in these crucial areas of service delivery. Earlier we have dealt with the burgeoning impact of Social Grants on the economic system.

Health

Key indicators like Infant Mortality rates, Life Expectancy, Doctor/Patient Ratios, have not improved over this prolonged period. Spending has continued to rise with the same

pace as corruption and inefficiency. Claims against the State are at an all-time high, forcing government now to try to change legislation in order to “pay-off” patients or claimants in the distant future! Primary Health Care is in no better a state than it was 20 years ago.

Education

Education is in a similar mess, but billions have been spent of the South African Taxpayers money. Literacy and Numeracy Rates are WORSE now than 20 years ago! Government has continually focused on the Matric Pass Rate, which only measures roughly 50% of learner intake. School Infrastructure is a breeding ground for corruption, with numerous Education Department officials found guilty of theft, fraud and corruption. Promises of FREE EDUCATION are mere political slogans with no comprehensive economic plans in place to deal with the consequences thereof!

Housing

Housing or “Human Settlements” has suffered a similar fate with a merry-go-round of Ministers and Policies that has seen the housing delivery DROP over the last ten years. Amidst a vague and unclear statistical record in this crucially responsible portfolio of government which should have been a golden opportunity to grow employment and community involvement, there has been a litany of broken promises, corruption scandals, “ghost” schemes, housing-list manipulation and outright thievery!

Therefore, it can be seen that the State has failed the poor and working class miserably when it comes to actually delivering as opposed to allocating.

The ANC has successfully changed a Racially Exploitative System into an Economically Exploitive one with the Middle Class skimming off all the benefits of State expenditure.

6. Wither the Left and the Labour Movement? – we look at the state and relationships between Labour and the Left; the NUMSA Moment, the rise of SAFTU, Five Years After Marikana, methods and strategies of Unity, Organisational Imperatives, Motivational Tools for Political Inspiration and Action. The role of a Constituent Assembly, alternatives to proportional representation. A call for the “Re-Awakening of the People”

In South Africa, the assignation “Labour” has been understood in recent history to refer to organise unionism. Since the most organised group of unions were those that belonged to COSATU, COSATU came to be understood as the short hand for labour. That was before the expulsion of Vavi from the position of General Secretary in COSATU. From the 30th April 2016, however Vavi altered the complexion of labour. On that date, he was responsible for bringing together 52 independent unions existing outside of COSATU. These unions were brought together into the South African Federation of Trade Unions (SAFTU). On that date, they met together with 22 civil society organisations in a

national summit that pronounced the formation of the new federation. In this sense, the idea of labour in South Africa today includes a categorisation of all the labour unions (both COSATU and SAFTU) together with the civil society organisations, which have a left orientation. It is difficult to verify the strength of the new federation based on shop floor or factory internal organisation. The reality of the new federation is bureaucratised side by side with and in the same manner as COSATU. The old bureaucracy in COSATU has undergone a split from top to bottom on a basis averred by union avowals. It seems to be nothing more than an internal split in COSATU that is being inferred by the old labour bureaucrats on to two different federation structures. One is named COSATU and is led by Sidumo Dlamini. The other is named SAFTU and is led by Zwelinzima Vavi. Politically SAFTU has borrowed the established language of the existing union federations - independent; not appropriated by any political organisation; democratic; with socialist aspirations etc. etc. In the coming period it will still be possible that the separation of the labour bureaucracy into two different federations will ultimately verify itself on the shop floor.

What complicates political analysis here is what has happened to NUMSA and the much-acclaimed NUMSA moment. The leadership of NUMSA had distinguished itself by the bold move of splitting itself from COSATU. Since COSATU unions had operated as gatekeepers into the general Congress Alliance, no labour organisation had dared to pretend an existence outside of COSATU. However when the NUMSA leaders dared to make the break in 2013 they appeared to carry with them a political radicalism that would substantiate in terms of working class numbers. In particular, two principal resolutions of the Special NUMSA Conference of December 17-20 2013 stand out. These were the resolutions for building a United Front in the country and the resolution for constructing a movement for socialism. The portended turn to the left would shift South African politics on an organic basis in order to construct linkages with left politics in general. This would be salutary to the whole question of working class numbers on the left. Different factions on the left glided onto the fold of NUMSA each attempting to find expression within a genuine working class organisation. Apart from old left formations such as those in the Unity Movement, others with a background in Pan-Africanism and Black Consciousness also moved in in order to take advantage of the promise heralded by the NUMSA moment. However, it soon became clear that the NUMSA moment was a mirage. NUMSA failed to uphold a general working class standard defining a new working class politics. A chimeric moment in South African politics had happened with NUMSA representing a revolutionary morrow that would never arrive. What is especially troubling about the confusing NUMSA situation was that it could not have happened at a more difficult time for the working class. In 2012, workers had been butchered on a notable occasion on the Wonderkop koppie near Marikana. In the evening of 16th August 2012, 34 workers corpses lay strewn all over that fateful koppie - casualties to volleys of police bullets. It should not be forgotten that behind the police stood the avaricious officials of a Company known as Lonmin against whom the butchered workers had gone on a wildcat strike. At that moment, union organisation stood at a premium. It was imperative that all the union federations should stand together like one man and

organise a worker fight back of historic proportions. This was not to be. Neither COSATU nor NUMSA were equal to the task. It was left to a brand new union federation known as AMCU (the Association of Mineworkers and Construction Union) to pick up the pieces and begin its own painful march into history. In the aftermath of the Marikana massacre Lonmin had made an appreciable number of promises, whose aim was both a rehabilitation of social life in the mining community and the payment of compensation to the families of the butchered miners. Today, five years after Marikana, it can be recorded that all the promises made by Lonmin have strictly been kept in breach than in fulfilment. The families of the miners are still fighting for the application of the very first promise, namely the building of a housing project - the very beginning in the construction of a genuine mining town. Clearly many battles will still have to be fought in order for the blood of the miners of Marikana start to see a payback. Another national imperative that has been handed to us by the blood of the workers at Marikana is the building of a genuine national unity of the liberatory forces in this country during the current phase of the conflict.

The march forward

What are the watchwords of our political movement during this period? For a clear answer to this question, we shall have to derive the motivating energy from the opening words of the 18th Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte - a historical essay written by Karl Marx.

“Hegel remarks somewhere that all facts and personages of great importance in world history occur, as it were, twice. He forgot to add; the first time as tragedy, the second as farce. Caussidière for Danton, Louis Blanc for Robespierre, the *Montagne* of 1848 to 1851 for the *Montagne* of 1793 to 1795, the Nephew for the Uncle. And the same caricature occurs in the circumstances attending the second edition of the eighteenth Brumaire. Men make their own history, but they do not make it just as they please; they do not make it under circumstances chosen by themselves, but under circumstances directly encountered, given and transmitted from the past. The tradition of all the dead generations weighs like a nightmare on the brain of the living. And just when they seem engaged in revolutionising themselves and things, in creating something that has never yet existed, precisely in such periods of revolutionary crisis they anxiously conjure up the spirits of the past to their service and borrow from them names, battle cries and costumes in order to present the new scene of world history in this time-honoured disguise and this borrowed language”.

The fundamental achievement of the French Revolution was the creation of economic and political conditions in France and elsewhere that made it impossible for the *ancien regime* to re-generate. To be sure, it made certain that the prospects of the *new life* would grow apace all the time on an all-round basis. In practice, it created fertile circumstances for the class of moneyed people to multiply in the cities together with the

early foundries of the stock market. In the countryside, it put an end to the manorial system. Socially it established a liberation of human ideas opening up the possibilities of experimentation leading to the growth of modern towns, cities, universities and modern schooling systems. It ruthlessly removed the Bible as the fountain of knowledge, putting to the sword the notion of "the fear of God", and especially the dictum; "the fear of God is the beginning of wisdom". A new society was in the making throughout France all the way to the Alps in the south, to the Elbe River in the east and to the southern border of Holland in the north. To the west, the English Channel segregated France from England. This was not all. A series of Bonapartist Republics were set up in the south, in the north and in the east that performed two functions. They acted as a political buffer between France and the reactionary regimes all around. They served to introduce the new ideas to the surrounding world of reaction. In England Cromwell had anticipated the French Revolution. The agency of the Ecclesiastes had ended. The sun had risen, bright and crystal on a new day that ushered in the agency of the bourgeoisie. History itself was now throwing its ultimate challenge to the toiling masses of the world and to the men and women of science and universal knowledge: *Hic Rhodus, hic Salta!* (*Here is the rose! Here the moment to dance*). In other words - show us the marvels of the new world! Demonstrate to us the particulars of your superiority. Such was the open challenge put before the new ideas of revolution by the very conditions themselves clothed in the robes of the ancient world. This particularly poignant assignment is presented to the idea of the revolution. Why? The dominant features of the surrounding world of reaction reveal themselves day in and day out and especially in the present day as the credo of barbarism. Allow us to select three typical calls to the past in contemporary society.

Socialism or barbarism

Thanks to a decision taken by Qendani Mahlangu, a number of psychiatric patients have recently been transferred from Life Esidimeni Hospital to facilities owned by unlicensed and ill-equipped NGOs. This process has had the effect of finding out how the "civilised society" of today is treating its most vulnerable members who are wholly dependent on the virtues of civilisation. In the arbitration hearings conducted by retired Justice Dikgang Moseneke, the following incredible facts were revealed.

In Gauteng Professor Malegapuru Makgoba has explained how 143 psychiatric patients have recently died both during transfer to and after they had been transferred to a number of NGOs in Gauteng who were required to take over these patients from the public system. Note that the transfer had to be effected for *saving money* (around R320 per patient in the public system to R112 per patient in the hands of the NGOs). The method of effecting the transfer was itself so brutal that 10 patients died in transit. In the hands of the NGOs the conditions of sustenance, particularly food and other forms of upkeep were so poor that they put paid to the lives of 131 patients. What kind of society is so incapable of taking care of the ill among its weakest members? Has modern society inaugurated conditions of primitive cruelty, not to animals (as the SPCA would have come up in defence) but rather to fellow humans themselves? The modern system of scientific care to the sick has placed all the current resources of money, knowledge and

love into a system of universal medicine that should easily take care of all the ailments of the sick together with their comforts. Gone is the day when man is no more than a wolf to fellow human. And how much more the situation of those who have been placed squarely and solely in the universal system of human caring? Moreover, it is astounding to recall that when the Democratic Party, more out of shame than out of honour, made a motion in their parliament that all the members should stand up and observe a minute of respect to the dead, the motion was ruthlessly rejected and vetoed by the African National Congress majority. Truly, the ANC majority has neither shame nor honour.

The second case is what has been happening in Vanderbyl park. Here it has been revealed that a group of Nigerian drug dealers, as part of a malady that has infected the whole community there, have actually made themselves guilty of going out to attack the police. Of course, this is in defence of their precious loot. The first salvos in the attack opened up against a unit of six police officers. When these police officers showed some resistance and every intention of wanting to impound the drugs in the hands of these desperadoes, the drug dealers opened up a broader assault. The current problem has tendered to be that of police brutality. If anything this was typified by what the police did to workers on a now notorious *copy* in Marikana in 2012. The situation is indeed brand new that the roles became reversed and the police came under a pre-emptive attack. The employment of unbridled violence in these kinds of situations is itself barbaric. But how much more is this the case when the violence is pre-emptively meted out by criminals against the justice system? And from the police, who will be the next target of the criminals- the magistracy, or the judges or both? Truly, the barbarism of this development is taking things many notches lower in the scale of the uncivilised.

The third situation truly makes the mind boggle. At the A.B Xuma School in Soweto, human experience has been transferred to unimaginable depths. A 56-year-old security guard whose job it was to protect the young wards under his care apparently understood his function from the predatory point of view of a jackal. When this sad and distasteful turn of things began has not been revealed. However, it is now known that the teachers at the school have been aware since February 2017 that this security guard has been carrying out a systematic sexual pillaging of the young children in the school. The victims range from grade R to grade 7, that is to say from ages 5 - 13. The average age of these victims would therefore be about 9 years. The man has actually established a bedstead in his guardroom from which he has been carrying out his primitive sexual assaults on the children. What kind of human type at the age of 56 would derive pleasure in the one-sided sexual encounters with a body of virtual babies with his victims now grown into a total of 87? We cannot help ringing out repeatedly the refrain: What dastardly behaviour! What primitive conduct! What barbarism! What barbarism! What barbarism!!! What the school authorities will do to the teachers will be a matter of record. What the justice system will do to the character who was only arrested on October 11 will again be a matter for the law courts. How society will treat these children and ensure that they have received appropriate medical and psychological care will again depend on the level of civilisation now extant in our society.

These things we are uncertain of at this time. However, the three cases we have cited above concerning 1. the psychiatric patients, 2. the drug dealers in Soweto and 3. the very young children at AB Xuma School - are all indicative, not just of the frightening level of barbarism in our society, they are in fact indicative of a far more troubling challenge before us all today. At the beginning of the 20th century, Leon Trotsky already observing the alarming degree to which society in Russia and in Europe had degenerated at that time was convinced that the challenge before humanity is stark: either socialism or barbarism! With the international socialist revolution now delayed by another century since that time, how far worse is the crisis of human civilisation? The general sociological review covered in this paper is indicative of all agonies from which our society suffers. What we have done with the three examples we have finally cited in our concluding remarks is to put into clear relief all the problems whose subject matter is the broader review in this paper. We wish to conclude these observations by putting up the bold poser - *Kangakanani*? How much more shall the poor have to suffer and grovel all for the pleasure of the human ravens who are ruling our society?

And why do we fall back on socialism as the final answer to current human decadence? We are comforted by the superior social values contained in the socialist system. Here the antitheses to the vulgarities and decay of old social systems have given way to a world in which science, knowledge and kindness take precedents in all the affairs of human kind. It is in the essence of our civilisation, for that matter in the very economic system where socialist principles show the dominant arch type ruled by "the milk of human kindness" as opposed to the demands of necessity. Need is driven not by want and hunger but by plenty and human satisfaction.

More on the driving forces towards socialism. We would like to review these drivers of social development by casting a glance at the monumental contribution made by IB Tabata. In his "*Awakening of a people*" he reviews the history of the struggle for liberation in South Africa throughout the first half of the twentieth century, that is to say from 1909 - 1950. He is convinced that this history is divided into two parts. The first part is dominated by the politics of Cape liberalism; early trade unionism (the ICU) and African nationalism. The second part consists of the history of a principled political development where the social struggle is maturing towards a revolutionary cataclysm. This refers to the situation after 1943. Now the conditions for the making of a successful revolution are building up towards their fulfilment. Throughout this period, IB Tabata is clear that the principal drivers of social change are the landless peasantry and the urban working class. It is the specific task of the intelligentsia to understand these social struggles and derive a theory for them. He calls his work "*The Awakening of a People*". It is that theory which was elucidated by both IB Tabata and BM Kies in the insightful addresses to the Non-European Unity Movement which these writers elucidated in "*The Basis and Building of Unity*" in 1945. It is not lost to that theory and strategy that in the hands of liberalism and African nationalism the South African revolution is bound to be aborted and will not flower into revolution. Indeed that expectation was fulfilled in 1994 when the betrayal of the liberals and African nationalist resulted in a restatement of bourgeois revolution in *partibus*, so to say in the hands of imperialism. These are the

conditions that cry aloud for the conversion of 1994 into a socialist revolution *and since the attainment of any revolution is dependent on the intellectual and political energy of the toiling masses, these new tasks of revolution will demand the re-awakening of the people of this land.* What are the intellectual and political tasks of the socialist revolution, which must now be borne by the toiling masses? And what class forces need to stand in the forefront of the revolutionary movement?

In 1953, BM Kies published his scholarly work, *the contribution of the Non-European Peoples to world civilisation*. This work covers the civilising effort of human kind in the valley of the Nile, especially the Egyptian sector. It goes on to look at the civilising mission of *Homo sapiens* in Mesopotamia in the Near East, proceeding to the valley of the Indus on the Indian sub-continent. Going on to China, it comes back to Africa examining early civilisations on the Sudan, Mwana-Mutapa in the South, Dahomey and some other parts of west Africa onto the Magriep; crossing the Mediterranean onto the Iberian peninsula covering Arabic and Moorish centres of learning in Spain and Portugal. It entered Europe through the Alps proceeding down the valley of the Po into Italy covering the old Greek cities of Genoa, Venus and Florence. Access into the rest of Europe was made via the great movements' struggles against Catholicism of the Renaissance and the reformation. Gunpowder was an essential ingredient in the distraction of the feudal system and the erection of the modern cities, centres of commerce and citadels of learning. The cyclical movement that griped continental Europe where a cultural movement whose power and tempo would not be spent until the great revolutions of the 19th and early 20th centuries. By now, it was no longer possible to arrest and segregate from the Caribbean and the New World the forces of modern civilisation. In America, these storms linked up with the foundries of the specific culture of the Red Indian scholars among the Aztecs and Incas. This worldwide review of human civilisation principally in the hands of the non- Europeans was specifically geared to dethrone the false notion of a western civilisation and the superior "western mind" that dwarfs all else. It was principally designed to show that civilisation is a common pool of experiences, knowledge and ideas from which all of humanity has derived an immeasurable degree of value in equal measure irrespective of whether the human types were white in colour or black. This was a stupendous task.

The collective intellectual contribution of human thought is contained in the scholarship of all the pupils of the political South. To this is added the mental energy of the pupils in the political North even though they are controlled by imperialism. The critical factor is that the modern working class is the decisive force in the advance of history. The combined power of all these efforts moves ineluctably into a socialist resolution of the affairs of humanity. If the Russian revolutionaries of the early 20th century were convinced that such a resolution could only be *socialism* or *barbarism*, the Cuban revolutionaries in the middle of the 20th century however had no doubt that the energy of the toiling classes would end in no less a social conclusion than *socialism or Death!* And for this we shall need nothing less than the re-awakening of all the people of the world.

WORKING PEOPLE OF ALL LANDS, UNITE!!

Eastern Cape branches
New Unity Movement
23 October 2017

Addendum:

4.1 PRESCRIPTS OF THE MINING CHARTER

OWNERSHIP

1. Minimum 30% BEE for all mining rights
 - 1.1 8% employees
 - 1.2 8% mine communities
 - 1.3 14% Black entrepreneurs
2. Right-holders already at 30% not required to apportion
3. Minimum 50% plus 1 Black Person shareholding for all new prospecting rights; must include voting rights
4. Right-holder to pay 1% of annual turnover to the 30% BEE prior to any distributions to its shareholders. (Provisions of Companies Act 71, 2008 will apply)
5. A holder who claims a Historical BEE Transaction (transaction that achieved 26% prior to 2017 Charter) must top up to 30% within 12 months. Applies even where the Black person shareholding is no longer 26% due to either a BEE partner exiting or the contract with the BEE partner lapsing or the transfer of shares by the BEE partner to non-BEE persons.
6. A holder who has maintained 26% Black person shareholding is required to top up its Black person shareholding to 30% within 12 months of the 2017 Charter coming into effect.

EMPLOYMENT EQUITY

1. Board level: 50% Black; 25% to be women
2. Executive/Top Management: 50% Black; 25% to be women
3. Senior Management: 60% Black; 30% to be women
4. Middle Management: 75% Black; 38% to be women
5. Junior Management: 88% Black; 44% to be women

PROCUREMENT

1. 70% of all mining goods to be from BEE entities
2. 80% of all services to be from BEE entities
3. 100% of mineral samples to be analysed by SA-based firms
4. Foreign suppliers to pay 1% of their annual turnover to the Mining Transformation and Development Agency.

BENEFICIATION

1. A maximum offsetting of 11% against BEE shareholding; must meet the following criteria:
 - 1.1 Invested in beneficiation since 2004;

- 1.2 the beneficiation must be in line with the definition of Beneficiation contained in the MPRDA;
- 1.3 the Department of Mineral Resources must approve such beneficiation;
- 1.4 11% offsetting will not apply to beneficiation that \ started after 2004 but has since ceased or that has been terminated; and
- 1.5 11% offsetting can only be claimed if the beneficiation is still ongoing.

HOUSING AND LIVING CONDITIONS

1. Principles, as set out in the Housing and Living Conditions Standards for the Mining and Minerals Industry, developed in terms of section 100(1)(a) of the MPRDA which includes:
 - 1.1 decent standards of housing;
 - 1.2 centrality of homeownership;
 - 1.3 provision for social, physical and economic integrated human settlements;
 - 1.4 involvement of employees in the housing administrative system;
 - 1.5 affordable, equitable and sustainable health system; and
 - 1.6 proper nutrition requirements and standards.

HUMAN RESOURCE DEVELOPMENT

1. 5% investment of the Leviable Amount on skills development, apportioned as follows:
 - 1.1 2% on essential skills development activities such as artisanal training, bursaries, literacy and numeracy skills for employees and non-employees (community members);
 - 1.2 1% towards South African Historically Black Academic Institutions; and
- 2% towards the Mining Transformation and Development Age.