

New Unity Movement



24th Annual

Presidential Address

Billy Francis Hall

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PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS 2009

INTRODUCTION AND WELCOME

Friends, comrades and invited guests, it is my special privilege to welcome you all here this evening. It is my honour and privilege to read this my fourth successive Presidential Address on the occasion of our 24th annual conference.

I trust that those of you who have travelled here from Cape Town, Johannesburg and Durban have had pleasant and uneventful journeys and that you will enjoy the hospitality of our comrades here in East London.

This conference is historic for us in that it is the first time since 1995 that it is being held outside of Cape Town. Secondly, it is the first time that a national meeting of the New Unity Movement (NUM) is being held here in East London.

That this conference is taking place here is indicative of the fact that the NUM has entered a new growth phase after a number of years of relative dormancy. And for this I wish to say a special word of thanks to the members of our Border branch who despite only being in existence for one year, volunteered to host this important conference here in East London.

Our Border comrades need to be congratulated also, for suggesting and implementing a number of innovations for this conference. One of these was the excellent cultural programme which we have just witnessed. Another innovation will be having two open sessions during conference. This will enable observers and interested parties to engage with us on the various issues touched upon in this address and in the reading and discussion of a paper on the International Situation. We therefore invite interested observers to attend these first two sessions of conference tomorrow, commencing at 09:00.

IN MEMORIAM

Before proceeding with my address this evening I do need to pause and ask you to join me in paying our respects to a number of comrades who passed on during the year. They are; Frankie Fife, Alec Daniels, Iris Dudley, Ernie Steenveld and Cas Kikia.

May we please rise and observe a moment's silence in memory of these stalwarts of our movement.

Thank you.

INTRODUCTION

This conference is taking place against the background of a number of significant, if not momentous events. I will be focussing on some of those which I believe will have a significant bearing on developments both and nationally and globally; as such they will give shape to the challenges that will confront not only ourselves as an organisation, but will to a greater or lesser extent make an impact on the lives of all the citizens of this country but especially those of our compatriots seeking peace, justice and freedom from economic exploitation and political oppression, in the months and years ahead.

The most immediate event that invites our consideration is of course the recently concluded parliamentary elections.

PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS 2009

The outcome of the 2009 parliamentary elections is now history and the ANC has been returned with an overwhelming majority.

Although not disseminated widely enough to have made any kind of impact, we did put forward our own standpoint on the elections. We did so in the form of letters and articles which appeared in the local press in Cape Town, as well as in the form of a pamphlet addressed to the people of South Africa titled, "*What is this vote Worth*". What did we say?

We pointed out the obvious flaws in the parliamentary system and the weaknesses of the parties contesting the elections and advised people to show their rejection of the current dispensation by refusing to vote.

Having recently debated the question of parliamentarism and our attitude to elections within our ranks, we came to the firm conclusion that there was no reason to change our opposition to the present bourgeois parliament or to participating in these elections. Unfortunately time constraints do not permit one to elaborate on the content of those debates.

Suffice to say, our position is determined by our understanding of the nature of the bourgeois democracy that came into being in 1994 as a racist, exploitative, neo-colonial one. We see the various institutions set up after the negotiated settlement in 1992, including the constitution and this parliament, as serving the interests of the still economically dominant "white" minority, imperialism, the black petty bourgeoisie, **and not** that of the workers, the urban and rural poor of this country who are in the majority.

Our lodestar is our Ten Point Programme (TPP) of minimum demands which was updated in 1996. The preamble to the TPP sets out very clearly what our attitude to the "democracy" ushered in by the first parliamentary elections in 1994 is.

With regard to the franchise, point one of the TPP states:

- a) *The franchise: that is, the right of every man and woman over the age of 18 years to elect and be elected to a new democratic national parliament and all other levels of government a) This means an end to all practices based upon ideas of racism, ethnicism/tribalism, chieftainship, minority rights and any form of federalism! Regionalism, "autonomy" and "self-determination" leading to the eventual balkanisation of the country. It means an end to all communal and indirect representation such as exists in the system of chieftainship in each province, and an end to the fraudulent 'local government vote' which favours the wealthy propertied classes at the expense of the poor.*
- b) *All people in South Africa shall enjoy the same universal, equal, direct and secret ballot. We demand a single, independent, non-racial, non-sexist workers' democracy in which the interests of the workers and the rural and urban poor shall be paramount; the sovereignty of parliament shall be exercised through majority decisions which shall be legally binding on all citizens.*

But that is not enough. Because the franchise cannot be seen in isolation from the other nine points. For us having the franchise is meaningless unless all the other demands have been fully met as well.

To explain this point further I can do no better than to refer to the presidential address given by Cde RO Dudley, our Life President, to the 9th Annual Conference of the NUM in 1993.

In his address he brilliantly showed how the franchise was meaningless to the people living in the former Transkei and Ciskei for example, unless it went together with the full implementation of Point 7 of our Programme, which deals with the land question. He pointed out that unless the problem of landlessness, which was the root cause of the extreme poverty that existed in that part of the country, was addressed, voting for the ANC or any other party

would not bring them any relief from their misery. He said that this was so despite the fact that that these homelands had been fully re-incorporated into South Africa but, more importantly, because the ANC had done nothing to address the land question.

Today, 15 years after the attainment of the right to vote by the people of that region, or any other former homeland, nothing has changed!

And to place this in broader perspective, one needs to refer to Point 7 of the TPP which states:

- a) *The land shall be utilised for the economic benefit of all, in particular to eliminate malnutrition, starvation, poverty, and unemployment. A new division of the land in conformity with the existing rural population living on the land and working on the land is the immediate task of a democratic State and parliament. Absentee landlordism, the non-productive use of land, rack-renting and the encouragement of squatting shall be ended and be declared illegal.*
- b) *For the agrarian revolution, which is central to the liberation of South Africa and its people, to materialize and succeed, the land shall be nationalised. All land-barons, who hog ownership of land for personal profit, and multi-national companies.*
- c) *The land, as a vital economic resource, shall be held in trust by the State on behalf of the entire population of South Africa. Individual land tenure would be considered for personal use; no exploitative labour will be permitted in such instances.*
- d) *All mineral rights, mining concessions and exploration rights (land and marine) shall revert to the State to be used for the benefit of all.*
- e) *A planned economy must have a balanced approach to the preservation of the environment and to the utilisation of all land and its resources: water, rivers, dams, lakes, fishing resources game fanning, tourism, etc., in all their ecological aspects so as to enhance the whole South African environment as a habitat for its people and its fauna and flora.*

The founders of our predecessor, the Non-European Unity Movement (NEUM) emphasised the fact that the Land question was central to the national question in South Africa; that the struggle for national liberation had to go hand in hand with the struggle for land. But, more than this, there was a need to emphasise the inextricable link between the struggles of urban and rural workers and peasants. It was for this reason that the Russian revolutionary slogan “Land and Liberty” was adopted and popularised by the NEUM. It reflected their thinking on the prime objectives of the struggle. It was arrived at after an in-depth study of the Russian revolution and was the result of applying the methods of historical materialism and dialectical materialism to our struggles here.

In the address mentioned above, Cde Dudley also had this to say: *“As we move forward to a socialist resolution of our political and economic problems, the nationalisation of the land will be a central part of the agenda”*.

Having the right to vote has served to deflect people’s attention away from the realisation that without free and unfettered access to the land there can be no true freedom. Like the Zapatista Movement in Mexico we must once again popularise this slogan.

As predicted, the ANC has again won the support of the majority of the people. Why is it, some might now ask, that, despite the manifest failure of the ANC to deliver on most of its promises, the poor people of this country still believe it to be the only party that can bring about “a better life for all”? That in fact there is no alternative to the ANC?

The simple answer is that, indeed, in terms of the present parliamentary dispensation none of the other parties that contested this election is able to do so. The poor still have the misplaced belief that despite all evidence to the contrary, the ANC will deliver.

Part of the answer lies in the fact that organisations such as ours have failed to convince them that the ANC cannot deliver on its promises because of the pro-capitalist, pro-imperialist policies that it follows. And perhaps also because organisations such as ours have failed to present the oppressed people of this country with a viable alternative.

It is in that context that we will during the course of this conference examine our strategies and tactics to develop a programme of political action to defeat the ruling class and its allies and to present the oppressed of this country with a viable political and economic alternative.

We ourselves must, as must all other organisations on the Left in this country, embark upon a process of mobilisation, rebuilding a national liberatory movement and organising the oppressed to challenge the hegemony of the ANC/SACP/COSATU alliance.

We need to see it as one of our tasks to again “take the nation to school” as it were and teach them the real reasons for their state of poverty, joblessness and homelessness. Just as the NEUM did in the 1940s, we need to take the nation to school and teach them who their enemy is and what the weapons needed to overthrow them are.

We need to show them that the enemy is Capitalism–Imperialism represented externally by the G8 countries and agencies like the World Bank (WB) the International Monetary Fund (IMF), the World Trade Organisation (WTO), and internally by the local ruling class which consists of: the “white” settler class, big business corporations, including their Black Economic Empowerment (BEE) component, and all political parties represented in parliament, including the ANC.

THE POST- POLOKWANE DENOUEMENT

The pre-election period was dominated by the hype surrounding the split in the ANC that took place after the ANC’s 52nd national conference in Polokwane in December 2007.

The post Polokwane denouement was the resignation of Thabo Mbeki as state president on 24 September 2008, and the subsequent formation of the Congress of the People (COPE) party. These developments are significant and will have a bearing on the nature of the struggles confronting us.

There has of course been much speculation concerning the causes and consequences of events that preceded, took place at, or occurred after the meeting at Polokwane. Suffice to say that this development has brought a new dynamic to the fore and any speculation about the impact that this development would have on the outcome of the parliamentary elections on 22 April has now been answered. Predictions that COPE’s appeal would be largely to the emergent black middle class have been proven to be correct.

It is clear that while on the one hand the reason for the ousting of Mbeki and his clique from the ANC was a revolt against his leadership style, on the other it was a reflection of dissatisfaction at grassroots level at the lack of

service delivery by the government. That the SACP and the leadership of COSATU have opportunistically taken advantage of the rift within the ANC to advance their own agendas is also apparent. And however sceptical we might be of his personal and moral values or of his political acumen, Jacob Zuma enjoys the overwhelming support of the working class membership of the ANC.

The internecine fighting within the ANC has also brought to the fore a phenomenon which Jeremy Cronin of the SACP expressed almost as a kind of wish-fulfilling prophecy: a fear of the “ZANUfication” of the ANC.

THE ZANUFICATION OF THE ANC?

The situation in Zimbabwe has often been reviewed in our conferences and in articles in our Bulletin over the past 10 years. The developments in that country are important insofar as they illustrate very well the final outcome of a neo-colonial, negotiated settlement.

Talk, therefore, of the ZANUfication of the ANC may not be so far-fetched given the trend of developments here. If this is the case then it would have implications for the manner in which events may unfold here. By ZANUfication I mean the emulation by the ANC of Robert Mugabe and ZANU-PF’s practice of subverting all organs of state to promoting their own selfish interests and appropriating the wealth of the nation for the benefit of an elite few.

Pointers in this direction include the following:

The ANC has since assuming power in 1994 implemented a policy of appointing its own cadres, irrespective of their suitability for such appointments, to key positions in the civil service and in parastatal organizations, often sidelining or firing competent incumbents. This includes the practice of “re-deploying” leading members to be Chief Executive Officers (CEOs) of large BEE corporations, thereby creating their very own bourgeoisie. They have implemented a process whereby former comrades in the struggle for socialism have been transformed into business tycoons and multi-millionaires. And it is interesting to note that two such individuals, Tokyo Sexwale and Imbhazima Shilowa, are playing leading roles in the ANC and COPE respectively.

The dropping of criminal charges against Jacob Zuma by the NPA on 7 April was the culmination of a sordid saga that began with the brokering of the arms deal by the ANC government in 1999. After spending more than R100 million of taxpayers’ money on prosecuting him and paying for his defence, the National Prosecuting Authority (NPA) took the decision not to proceed with the case.

Now apart from the question marks hanging over why and how the NPA took this particular decision at this particular time, the saga exposed the extent of corruption existing within the various organs of state. Not only that, it also exposed how those organs of state could be manipulated to advance the interests of certain factions within the ruling class. And, more ominously, the way in which the intelligence services can be utilised by sinister forces to undermine and circumvent democratic processes. This latter revelation should alert all progressive forces opposed to the present dispensation to be on their guard against illegal state-sponsored electronic surveillance.

Quite apart from the large amount of money involved one was dumbstruck as the machinations of the various power groups at play in the new South Africa became apparent. What it all seems to come down to in the end is a battle for control of a portion of the economic wealth of this country which is still predominantly owned by Imperialism.

For this is what it is. Whether it is the Zuma faction which has with the help of the COSATU leadership and the SACP, won control of the ANC, or the Mbeki faction represented by the COPE party, we say: A plague on both their houses!

The Judge Hlope debacle is but another manifestation of the contestation for power amongst the new political ruling class. Quite apart from the fact that this matter places a big question mark over the "independence of the judiciary" it has highlighted the extent to which the basic power struggle alluded to above has permeated all sectors of society.

And on another, more sinister level there is the impending criminal prosecution of Police Commissioner Jackie Selebi which exposes the extent to which the criminal justice system has been infiltrated by mafia-like criminal gangs.

The Carl Niehaus fiasco is yet another example of the corrupt, venal nature of one section of the ruling class in this country.

The controversy around the prosecution, imprisonment and subsequent release of Schabir Shaik on medical parole is yet another example of the sleazy nature of the new ruling class. This gentleman, who is described as the financial advisor to the next president of the Republic of South Africa, was imprisoned for 15 years after being found guilty of fraud and corruption in 2006. However, he got to spend most of the first two years of his imprisonment first in private hospitals and then in the Nkosi Albert Luthuli Hospital in Durban before being released to go home on medical parole by the department of Correctional Services, This was ostensibly on the grounds that he was terminally ill. Whether his early release on medical parole was justified or not, questions have been raised about the favoured treatment he appears to have received when compared to other prisoners.

All of these examples point to the shaky foundations on which the democracy ushered in by the 1994 elections was founded. The parallels with George Orwell's Animal Farm are obvious.

I now turn to another significant or momentous event which will impact on local and global developments namely, the global economic meltdown.

THE GLOBAL ECONOMIC RECESSION

The current economic meltdown which is indicative of the current profound crisis in Capitalism-Imperialism has resulted in the largest downturn in global trade in 80 years. Every country in the world has been affected by what may turn into an economic depression.

Let me attempt to give you a sense of its effects: according to World Bank (WB) prognostications, 46 million people will "stumble" into poverty during 2009 and an additional 200,000-400,000 people are expected to die every year for the next 6 years as a direct result of this worldwide recession.

In Russia alone, for example, where 1.1 million are working short time and more than 6 million are already unemployed, the WB predicts a 4.8% contraction of its economy with a resultant 4.8 million expected to face poverty during 2009. It is estimated that 37 million people in Russia already live near the poverty line

In the light of those chilling statistics, one can well imagine the depths of despair and misery that must have descended on the people of a poor country like Haiti which lies virtually on the doorstep of the wealthiest country in the world, the USA, which has also not been spared.

The front page of the New York Times of 26 March 2009 has a photograph of an encampment of tents and lean-tos occupied by homeless people in an open space outside the city of Sacramento in California. This photograph is said to depict a scene which can be seen outside a number of cities across the USA. This is a phenomenon that has only come to the fore in the past 18 months and it is indicative of the extent to which homelessness and joblessness has become a fact of life for many Americans in the wake of the Fanny Mae and Freddie Mac mortgage crisis that hit that country during 2008. The subsequent collapse of several large multinational corporations like General Motors, banking and other global financial and insurance institutions like Merrel Lynch and AIG together with the loss of an estimated 3.6 million jobs in just over a year, are all indicative of the extent of the crisis there.

The report in the New York Times describes these “tent towns” as being reminiscent of the “Hooverilles” which was the name used for the illegal shantytowns that sprang up during the great depression of the 1920s.

President Barack Obama when questioned about this phenomenon is reported to have said “... it was not acceptable for children and families to be without a roof over their heads in a country as wealthy as ours.” Indeed.

Meanwhile here in South Africa the situation is just as gloomy.

The “Jobless barometer” of the *Mail & Guardian* 3-9 April predicts that 300,000 jobs will be lost this year and that the existing unemployment rate will increase by a further 3%, the main sectors affected being: automotive, mining, clothing and textiles.

Many companies have resorted to working short-time and retrenching workers.

The response to this crisis has taken a number of forms.

All of the G8 countries, led by the USA, have voted trillions of dollars of their taxpayers’ money both to bail out many of the companies which have gone bankrupt and in the form of “stimulus packages” to “jump start” their stagnating economies. The USA alone has spent more than \$800 billion for this latter purpose.

An article in “Workers Vanguard” of 17 February, however, points out that the money for this stimulus package will be financed by deficit spending, that is, by increased government borrowing on international financial markets. Those loans plus interest will have to be repaid by taxes raised from the workers of that country. In other words, the poor who will suffer the brunt of all the negative consequences of the recession will eventually end up paying for it too.

The G20 countries which are comprised of the 19 largest national economies in the world and the European Union (EU) held a summit meeting in London on 2 April. The summit was called to address the global financial crisis in a desperate effort on the part of Capitalism-Imperialism to administer what, in the final analysis, amounts to first aid measures to a mortally wounded system.

The countries represented on the G20 are: Australia, Argentina, Brazil, Canada, China, France, Germany, Indonesia, India, Italy, Japan, Mexico, Russia, Saudi Arabia, South Africa, South Korea, Turkey, United Kingdom, and the USA.

At the meeting each of these countries was represented by its Finance Minister and Central Bank Governor. The EU was represented by its rotating president and the governor of its central bank.

South Africa was represented by the Finance Minister, Mr Trevor Manuel, and the Reserve Bank governor, Tito Mboweni. Predictably, they expressed themselves as being happy with the outcome of the deliberations there.

So what exactly was decided?

Some of the remedies decided upon included: Making more than one trillion dollars available to the IMF to help "beleaguered countries weather the economic storm". The elimination of tax havens and limiting the incomes and bonuses paid to the CEOs of financial institutions were others.

In a commentary on the summit, Eric Toussaint, the president of the Committee for the Abolition of Third World Debt, aptly describes this strategy of the G20 as putting "a fresh coat of paint on a world which is collapsing". In other words, this summit sought merely to ameliorate the situation but not to address its underlying cause namely, what our late Cde Ali Fataar described in his famous essay in 1990 titled "*The Greed and Waste that is Capitalism*". This phrase aptly describes what the root cause of the current global economic crisis is.

What has been the response from civil society to this crisis?

The World Social Forum (WSF) met in Belém, Brazil, in January and called for a week of global action. They resolved to "look for anti-capitalist solutions" to the global economic crisis.

One of the slogans was: "Let the rich pay for the crisis!"

The G20 summit elicited protests throughout the world, in England and Europe particularly.

An article in the *Mail & Guardian* 3-9 April described the protests against the G20 summit as incoherent in that the disparate protesting groups focused on a multiplicity of issues such as: climate change, increasing aid to poor countries, a new world order, etc., whereas the leaders of the G20 were very focused: stop recession turning into a world-wide depression. That was their agenda and not any of the concerns expressed by the protesters. In other words, the protests failed to articulate opposition to the capitalist system as such.

Similarly, Eric Toissaint argues that demonstrations in France on 29 January and 19 March, when three million demonstrators took to the streets, "was evidence that the workers, the unemployed and young people all want other solutions to the crisis than those which consist in bailing out bankers and imposing restrictions on the lower classes". Again there were anti-capitalist sentiments but not a clear expression of the socialist alternative.

He also suggests that a meeting called by the UN General Assembly, of Heads of States and Governments to be held in June, and a commission chaired by the economist Joseph Stiglitz will draft proposals to meet the global crisis. Toussaint feels that although the suggested solutions are "inadequate and too timid", the fact that they will at least be discussed at the UN General Assembly is something of an achievement.

By way of contrast, organisations like the Spartacist League of the USA say: "what is ultimately necessary is the sweeping away of the global capitalist system through a series of socialist revolutions that establish an international planned economy" (Workers Vanguard 13/02/2009).

As far as the causes of the crisis are concerned, one finds the explanation given by Professor Walden Bello of the University of the Philippines and the president of the Freedom from Debt Coalition, to be most persuasive.

He says that the global economy is contracting at a rapid pace and that the world is heading for a global depression that could last for many years.

Applying what he calls "non-orthodox " economic theory he explains the cause of the current crisis as an intensification of the central or fundamental contradiction of global capitalism, namely the crisis of

overproduction also known as over-accumulation on the one hand and stagflation (low economic growth and high inflation), on the other. According to him “the most painful expression of the crisis of overproduction was the global recession of the early 1980’s, which was the most painful to overtake the international economy since the Great Depression, that is before the current crisis”.

He then goes on to explain how capitalism has tried to deal with the conundrum of overproduction and stagnation through three different mechanisms, namely **neoliberal restructuring, globalisation and financialisation**.

When neo-liberal restructuring which took the form of Reaganism and Thatcherism in the North and Structural Adjustment in the South failed to produce global growth and failed to shake off stagflation another mechanism had to be found.

This was Globalisation. It took the form of the rapid integration of semi-capitalist, non-capitalist or pre-capitalist areas into the global market economy. The rationale being to gain access to cheap labour, gaining new markets, gaining new sources of cheap agricultural and raw material products and by bringing into being new areas for investment in infrastructure. This had to go along with trade liberalisation, removing barriers to the mobility of global capital and abolishing barriers to foreign investment.

Bello cites China as being the most prominent case of a non-capitalist area to be integrated into the global capitalist economy in 25 years. As a result by 2005 roughly 40-50% of the profits of US corporations came from their operations and sales abroad, especially China.

The problem with globalisation was that it aggravated the problem of overproduction. Increased manufacturing capacity in China had a depressing effect on prices and profits and by 1997 the profits of US companies had stopped growing.

The Financialisation of the economy was then tried as a means of both maintaining and raising profitability. And, according to Bello, it is the collapse of the financial economy while the real economy is stagnating that is at the root of the current crisis.

As far as solutions are concerned, Eric Toussaint points out, with reference to the fact that most countries in the world including China use the dollar as a reserve currency, that “countries of the South are net creditors to the North, starting with the US whose external debt is over US\$ 6,000 billion (twice the total external debt of all the countries of the South) and central banks in countries of the South buy US Treasury bonds instead of setting up a democratic bank of the South to finance human development projects. They should leave the World Bank and the IMF, which are tools of domination, and develop South-South relations of solidarity such as those which exist between countries that are members of ALBA (Venezuela, Cuba, Bolivia, Nicaragua, Honduras, and Dominica). They ought to audit the debts they are asked to repay and put an end to the payment of illegitimate debts”.

The countries of the South referred to in the above quote are countries like Brazil, India and China which in the last 15 years have become relatively stronger economic actors.

And here in South Africa, what is our response?

Clearly we have to embark upon campaigns to expose the causes of this economic crisis. In doing so we may need to define for ourselves what the WSF’s calls for “another world” or “alternatives to globalisation” mean in practice.

How do we propose to turn the global economic breakdown into political opportunity for propagating socialism as the only alternative to capitalism?

In thinking of alternatives, one is reminded that in the midst of all this economic turmoil and uncertainty, this year sees the 50th anniversary of the Cuban revolution. The achievement of this milestone by the Cuban people has gone by almost unnoticed by the imperialist controlled western media. That Cuba has survived as a socialist state against all odds is a tribute to the resilience of its leadership and the indomitable spirit of its people. While holding no brief for the undemocratic Stalinist nature of the Cuban Communist Party we do need to defend the tremendous social gains of the Cuban revolution and use it as an example for our own struggles here. I would therefore like to use the commemoration of its 50th anniversary to illustrate some of the benefits of socialism.

There are, for example, lessons we can learn from how the Cuban revolution dealt with the question of race and racism, with education policy and with health policy. I will refer to these later on in this address.

And, lest we forget, China, which has been drawn into the Capitalist-Imperialist economy, is also a Socialist state. Developments in this country will be covered in more detail in the paper on the international situation which will be dealt with tomorrow.

ASPECTS OF THE NATIONAL SITUATION

I will now deal briefly with matters pertaining to the national situation

THE ECONOMY

Trevor Manuel's 13th budget speech in March was again hailed by the ruling class press and was generally well received by the business community. He was his usual upbeat self and reassured the nation that the country was not in a recession and that it would weather the current economic storms because of the sound fiscal policies that he and Reserve Bank governor Tito Mboweni had been implementing.

Hiding behind the eloquent words, though, are certain home truths:

He proudly announced that public debt which was 48% of GDP in 1996 had been reduced to 23% of GDP. The public debt amounted to nearly \$900 billion 2008. What he did not reveal was how much of that public debt was Apartheid debt or how much is owed to national as opposed to foreign debtors. One would also like to know how much money in the form of profits and dividends is transferred out of the country by companies like Old Mutual, Billiton and Anglo American to their headquarters which they have relocated "offshore" since 1994. It is this capital flight which largely contributes to the current account deficit which was 8.1% of GDP in 2008.

On the other hand, Manuel also announced that the government intended borrowing a sum amounting to 7.5% of GDP to finance ESKOM's activities. This money would be borrowed from domestic financial institutions, investors and presumably the IMF.

Now, a large part of this debt which Trevor Manuel has been so assiduously paying off on our behalf over the past 13 years is apartheid debt. It is this debt that organisations like Jubilee have called *odious debt* and which they have been campaigning to have repudiated by the government but without any success.

At least the legal battle being waged in the US courts by Jubilee and the Khulumani Support Group since 2002, in terms of the Apartheid Debt and Reparations Campaign has met with some success. The case for reparations to be paid to the victims of Apartheid by twenty US corporations who provided products and technology that helped the apartheid state to maintain its security apparatus was recently ruled admissible by the US Supreme Court.

However, knowing how the legal system operates, it is debatable whether the case will ever go to trial. On the other hand this case has proven to be a huge embarrassment for the ANC government which strenuously opposed the bringing of this matter to court.

Trevor Manuel's crowing over the soundness of the economy belies the fact that its benefits have only accrued to South Africa's creditors, the multinational corporations and the beneficiaries of the government's BEE policy. The majority have had to endure increasing levels of poverty, joblessness, homelessness, the effects of poor service delivery and crisis ridden, broken down educational and health services.

It should be remembered that the ANC justified paying off the apartheid debt, and applying the now generally discredited neo-liberal economic policies imposed by the IMF and the WB, on the grounds that it would simply amount to a question of "short term pain for long term gain". In other words a policy of fiscal austerity at the outset of the life of the new democracy would eventually result in the government being able to provide "a better life for all".

However, after 15 years of democracy that still remains a pipe dream for the majority of the people of this country.

This is again borne out by the following facts gleaned from the United Nations Development Programme's Human Development Statistical Update released in December 2008 and based on 2006 data. The update includes the Human Development Index (HDI) for 179 countries surveyed. The HDI is a comparative measure of life expectancy, literacy, education and standards of living. It is a standard measure of the well-being of people especially children and is used to tell whether a country is a developed, developing or under-developed country. It is also a measure of the impact of economic policies on the quality of life of people.

Now, whereas in terms of its GDP South Africa is ranked 50 out of 179 countries, it was 85th in terms of HDI in 1990 and fell to 121st in 2006.

What this means very simply, is that the lot of the poor majority has gotten very much worse since the advent of democracy

The GINI co-efficient, which is another measure of social inequality where a value of 0 equates to no inequality and a value of 1 equates to gross inequality, was 0,685 in 2006. This value has risen from 0,672 in 1993.

This is the stark reality of the effect the economic policies of the ANC government has had. The SACP is now trying to ameliorate the effects of these policies through talk of getting the new ANC government to introduce policies which will result in a "developmental state". Whether this new mantra will bring about "a better life for all" if it operates within an economic paradigm created by capitalism-Imperialism is highly debatable. But more to the point: will the ANC have the political will to implement the prescriptions for this developmental state?

There are a number of issues which relate to the nature of South African society which are unraveling in the background which need to be analysed and acted upon by us. These include: the breakdown in municipal services, the increasing joblessness, poverty, crime and the housing shortage.

I have chosen to briefly review the state of affairs prevailing in Education Health and the issue of race, racism and xenophobia as matters needing to be addressed during this conference.

Whatever matter pertaining to the national situation is looked at, needs to be analysed in the context of our understanding of the nature of our struggle to-day.

THE EDUCATION CRISIS

The dire situation in our schools, especially those attended by the majority of the black population, and to a lesser extent in our Universities of Technology and our Universities beggars description.

Internationally validated studies have shown that the majority of our school-going children are illiterate and innumerate, even at secondary school level.

Every aspect of the education system including school infrastructure, the provision of learning materials, teacher pupil ratios, school funding, matric results, drop-out rates, etc., has been shown to be problematic at best and a national catastrophe at worst.

On top of all of that, the Outcomes Based Education (OBE) system has proven to be an unmitigated disaster, as has its successor the National Curriculum Statement (NCS).

A respected academic like Prof Jonathan Jansen has through his writings and radio and television interviews painted a dismal picture of the state of all aspects of education in this country. In addition well researched articles have appeared in *The Educational Journal*, a publication of the National Union of Public Service and Allied Workers (NUPSAW), which have shown the pernicious effects of OBE in particular.

By way of contrast I think it is relevant to briefly refer to how Cuba dealt with education after the revolution there in 1959. This subject was well covered in an article that appeared in *The Educational Journal*, Jan-March 2009.

Before the revolution in Cuba education was unavailable to more than half the children of that country.

- Within the first year of the revolution, education was prioritised and the government of Fidel Castro made a commitment to eliminate illiteracy. The resulting literacy campaign was so successful that the literacy rate reached 97%.
- At the same time first a programme for primary and later one for secondary school education was implemented.
- This entailed the building of thousands of schools and the training of teachers.
- All private schools and universities were nationalised.
- Education was made free from pre-school to university and post-graduate level.
- All schools including those in rural areas have computers, television sets and video machines.
- All schools have electricity.

This has resulted in Cuba having one of the best education systems in the world. These achievements were made possible because the government spends 18% of GDP on Education. By comparison, an advanced capitalist country like Canada only spends 6% of GDP on education.

Furthermore, to show the extent of its commitment to education; when faced by the financial crisis of the 1990s the Cuban government cut its defence budget in order to maintain the education budget.

This places the dismal situation in our schools into perspective and highlights the warped sense of priorities of the ANC government. They have been more concerned with creating showpieces for the benefit of the few by, for example, spending billions of Rand on building soccer stadiums for the World Cup, and billions more on arms procurement, rather than investing in the future of the children of this country. Let us say it boldly: the ANC government has betrayed the majority of the children of this country!

THE HEALTH CRISIS

The situation in the health sector continues to be a source of concern, reflecting as it does the incompetence of the ANC government in implementing its own policies. More fundamentally, though, it is the result of the application of its neo-liberal economic policies.

The public health sector is in a state of collapse.

That this is the case can be easily demonstrated by the fact that just reviewing events over the past two years reveals how the sector has been afflicted by one crisis after another, the most recent manifestations of this being the stopping of anti-retroviral treatment to patients with HIV/Aids by the department of health in the OFS because of a lack of funds, and the recent strike by doctors at a number of hospitals in Ga-rankuwa and Gauteng which began on 16 April.

If the incidents alluded to above were not bad enough, the health indicators for the population at large is shocking in the extreme.

The toll that the HIV/Aids pandemic is having on the lives of the people of this country is inestimable. According to World Health Organisation (WHO) statistics for 2005, South Africa had a mortality rate of 675/100,000 which was the 6th highest in the world after countries like Swaziland, Lesotho and Namibia; the *Mail and Guardian's* Aids-related death barometer stood at nearly 2.8 million on 7 April.

The shocking state of health of the South African population is revealed by the following Health Indicators:

- (i) Life expectancy at birth: 50 for males, 53 for females.
- (ii) Probability of dying under age 5 (U5MR): 69/1000.
- (iii) Neonatal Mortality Rate (NMR) - death in first month of life: 21/1000.
- (iv) Infant Mortality Rate (IMR) - death in first year of life: 56/1000

One needs to put these statistics into perspective:

- The average life expectancy of people living in developed countries is more than 75 years.
- For Cuba U5MR is 7/1000 and the IMR 5/1000

The IMR is said to be an accurate measure of prevailing social and environmental conditions in a country and is also a measure of the quality and efficiency of health care services available there.

According to the latest WHO statistics the incidence of Tuberculosis in SA is 940/100,000 which is one of the highest in the world. The WHO regards an incidence greater than 200/100,000 as an emergency situation.

While this is a frightening statistic in itself, it becomes even more so when one considers that most of the people affected are HIV positive and that there has been an alarming increase in the incidence of Multi Drug Resistant TB (MDRTB) and Extremely Drug Resistant TB (XDRTB)

South Africa is a signatory to the Millennium Development Goals (MDG) of the United Nations which was set in 2000. The MDG is meant to reduce poverty and improve health outcomes globally by 2015.

The eight goals are: 1. Eradicate extreme poverty and hunger.

2. Achieve universal primary education.

3. Promote gender equality and empower women.

4. Reduce child mortality.

5. Improve maternal health.

6. Combat HIV/Aids, malaria and other diseases.
7. Ensure environmental sustainability.
8. Develop a global partnership for development.

A study published by People's Health Movement (PHM) states that the target for Goal Number 4 is to reduce the U5MR by two thirds of what it was in 1990 which was 60.

This seems grossly unlikely given that the U5MR is rising rather than declining! A report in the *Mail and Guardian* 6-12 March 2009 stated that a hearing of the Human Rights Commission aimed at interrogating South Africa's progress with the MDG's had to be cancelled because of a "lack of response from state organs". This places a large question mark on the ANC government's commitment meeting the MDGs.

The general state of decline in the health status of the people of this country, not to mention the gross shortage of medical personnel, and the failure of the ANC government to respond adequately to it, is obvious. Therefore the folly of the government in giving priority to spending billions of Rand on hosting the soccer world cup and the Gautrain project is equally obvious.

In looking for solutions to this ghastly state of affairs one can but again refer to the example of Cuba with its much maligned Socialist system. Cuba has one of the best health care systems in the world, which can provide us with some valuable lessons. Speaking from personal experience I can testify to the fact that were it not for the doctors supplied to this country by the Cuban government in a gesture of solidarity with South Africa, the situation in the Eastern Cape would be far worse than it actually is.

The stark contrast in the health indicators for South Africa and Cuba is all the more remarkable when one considers that whereas South Africa is ranked by the World Bank as an upper middle income country, Cuba is a lower income country.

RACE, RACISM, ETHNICITY AND XENOPHOBIA

Despite the ANC's claims to having brought a non-racial democracy into existence in 1994 race and racism continue to be defining features of the current dispensation.

The NEUM pioneered the acceptance of the principal of Non-racialism as a basic essential in the struggle for liberation in this country and to this end it raised the slogan "We Build the Nation".

The recently concluded national and provincial elections again brought home to one the divided nature of the South African nation. Each of the parties which have won seats in the new parliament can be shown to have done so on the basis that it represents one or other racial or ethnic group predominantly. Parties like the ANC, COPE and the DA in particular went out of their way to win the "coloured" vote.

This phenomenon is well illustrated by the case of Mr Christian Martin, an MEC in the ANC government of the Eastern Cape, who, according to a newspaper report, expressed his disappointment at the fact that "his people" in the Northern Areas of Port Elizabeth "betrayed" him by voting overwhelmingly for the DA. According to the report Martin made this statement because there was an expectation that he would retain the "coloured vote" for the ANC.

Leaving aside the fact that the ANC has retained racial classification as a means of identifying the citizens of this country, and the fact that its Black Empowerment (BEE) and affirmative action policies are applied in a racist manner, public discourse has become dominated by groups seeking to establish their constitutional rights in terms of one or other ethnic or tribal identity.

Comrade Neville Alexander in an essay titled "Has the rainbow Vanished?" has in this regard and amongst other things warned against the dangers of the formation of organisations like the Bruin Belange Inisiatief (BBI) whereby people who classify themselves as coloured wish to promote their exclusive interests as they see them.

Furthermore Cde Clive Kroneberg has also alluded to this problem in an essay titled: "Diversity and 'Rainbowism': Apartheid in the new South Africa".

A report in *Die Burger* of 8 March 2009 referred to a meeting where certain spokes- persons for a "San" group were arguing for the term Khoisan to be dropped and for the existence of separate "San" and "Khoi" groups to be recognised. The spokesperson for the SAN group even stipulated that the word san should be in capital letters.

These developments all flow from the policies implemented by the ANC government since 1994 and the provision in the constitution for the promotion of group identity and the right to self determination.

As an aside, I wish to draw our attention to the fact that the world celebrated the Bicentennial of the birth of Charles Darwin on 12 February this year.

It was Darwin who developed the Theory of Evolution which has played such an important role in advancing scientific thought in biology, genetics, biochemistry, and paleontology in particular. For it is the development and the application of his theory that has helped us to understand the origins of man.

The significance of this fact lies herein that the origins of humankind have been found to be in Africa. And we here in South Africa are fortunate in having world heritage sites at Makapansgat in the Limpopo Province and the Cradle of Humankind in Gauteng at which the fossil remains of our ancestors, some as old as nearly 3 million years, are to be found.

It is ironic that having such a heritage site that proves the common ancestry of all mankind, within our borders we should still be dealing with the problem of race and racism. Certainly we should apply this knowledge to our advantage. We need to build on this knowledge and use it to teach our children that all human beings have the same common ancestor and that there is only one race, the human race.

Having referred to the Cuban revolution earlier I think we may learn something from a consideration of how Cuba dealt with the question of racism.

Since racial discrimination was an entrenched feature of pre-revolutionary Cuban society it was seen as being a major hindrance to the transformation of the country.

The views of the Cuban revolutionaries on Non-racialism broadly mirror those of the Unity Movement. (This aspect of the Cuban revolution was reviewed in *The Educational Journal* of January-March 2008.)

After the revolution in 1959 Fidel Castro's government implemented policies that promoted non-racialism practically.

- A proclamation against racial discrimination was one of the first actions.
- Education was seen as the only way in which racial discrimination and racial prejudice could be purged from Cuban society. In other words the question of racism and non-racialism was introduced into the school curriculum.
- A policy of "affirmative action" where black Cubans were promoted in all work and social activities was implemented.
- Ideas of racial superiority were countered by promoting the mass study of culture.
- As a means of breaking down class barriers private education was abolished.

The views of the Unity Movement on race have been set out in numerous publications, the most recent of which was a Memorial Lecture prepared by members of our Cape Town Branch in October 2007. The subject of the lecture was "Racism in South Africa".

A welcome development has been that by the Nelson Mandela Metropolitan University (NMMU), to establish a Centre for the Advancement of Non-racialism and Democracy which will amongst other things conduct basic and applied research on non-racialism and democracy and initiate projects into the critical analysis of the notion of race and the manifestation of racism and its alternatives, within the South African context.

We have undertaken to provide the centre with copies of our publications on the subject of race and racism.

The problem of racism is further bedeviled by the phenomenon of Xenophobia and the xenophobic violence which has become an ongoing reality in our country since 1994.

A study commissioned by The International Organisation for Migration (IOM) by the Forced Migration Studies Programme (FMSP) at Wits University documented at least 21 significant incidents in cities throughout the country in the period 1994 until April 2008.

However, the incidents reached a peak of intensity in May 2008 which resulted in 62 deaths, 670 wounded, dozens of women raped and an estimated 100,000 people displaced. Property worth millions of rands was looted, destroyed or seized from foreign nationals by mobs of South Africans.

These incidents occurred mostly in informal settlements in cities across South Africa.

The study concluded that the attacks on foreign nationals were led by local groups and individuals to further political and economic interests.

Causes identified included:

- (i) Unemployment which was as high as 70% in some areas.
- (ii) Poor service delivery - housing, water, sanitation, electricity, lack of recreation facilities
- (iii) Impunity – This refers to the fact that perpetrators of xenophobic violence felt no fear of being prosecuted, even when charges were laid.
- (iv) Police indifference to foreigners.

This analysis does not take account of the fact that millions of Africans mainly from sub-Saharan countries have since 1994 sought refuge in South Africa to escape the ravages of the economic dislocation caused the economic dislocation caused for example, by WB and IMF imposed Structural Adjustment programmes.

They were also fleeing religious or political persecution in their home countries. Also, that the South African government has not been very welcoming of these refugees, especially those who are here illegally. Utterances by various government spokespersons have generally been of a xenophobic nature, flying in the face of the fact that countries in Africa had generally been very welcoming of refugees from South Africa during the Apartheid era.

The problems of racism and xenophobia therefore represent a major challenge that needs to be addressed by the progressive movement in this country. The Unity Movement's concept of nation building and its policy of non-racialism have therefore become most relevant in this period of our history.

THE INTERNATIONAL SITUATION

I do not wish to encroach too much on what may be covered in the International paper which has been prepared by the members of our Northern Suburbs branch save to say that the Palestinian question was forced back into our consciousness by the murderous attack on Gaza by Israel in December. Coming as it did in the wake of the ongoing occupation of Iraq and Afghanistan by US-led imperialist forces it reinforces our belief that Imperialism will go to any lengths to maintain its hegemony over the peoples of the world.

We need to expose Israel's continued oppression of the Palestinians.

The hype around the election of Barack Obama as the first black president of America has to be exposed as a cynical attempt by the agents of Imperialism to deflect the attention of the oppressed people of the third world away from its oppressive, exploitative nature.

Apart from the developments in Zimbabwe we also need to focus on the significance of those in other countries in Africa like Kenya, the Democratic Republic of Congo, Somalia, and Sudan. In all of these countries we can see the effects not only of the evil machinations of capitalism-imperialism but also the baneful effects of neo-colonialism, tribalism, and religious intolerance.

All of these militate against the realisation of political and economic justice, peace and prosperity in Africa.

THE NATURE OF OUR STRUGGLE: THE ROAD AHEAD

Having set out above what the problems that confront us as an organisation dedicated to overthrowing the very system that is making the lives of millions of our compatriots a living hell, we now have to turn our attention to how we are going to challenge the hegemony of Capitalism -Imperialism and how we are going to tackle the state and the various manifestations of the ruling class in this country.

Proponents of Capitalism say that it is "the most efficient way of assigning scarce resources to meet unlimited needs"; according to Bill Gates, "There are two great forces of human nature: self-interest and caring for others", which manifest as what he calls "Creative Capitalism" (TIME 11/8/08). Contrary to these views we say Capitalism is best described by the late Cde Ali Fataar, a life member of the NUM, in a famous essay penned in 1990, which he titled, "The greed and waste that is capitalism".

People like George Soros and Joseph Stiglitz are also projected by the media as being critics of the capitalist system who wish to give it a kinder, caring façade to the oppressed. However, they merely seek to save capitalism from itself as it were. They seek a solution which from their perspective and very simplistically lies between two extremes, the two extremes being, the collapse of communism due to too much government and the collapse of the Free Market due to too little government. In other words, a return to a new variety of Keynesianism which basically comes down to using public funds to save capitalism.

On the other hand the Marxist writer Harry Magdoff, in an essay titled "*The Limits of International Economic Reform*" in the book *Imperialism without Colonies*, written in the 70s, said that the defining feature of Imperialism was the global capitalist market. He predicted that that any attempts to reform the global economy would fail. He said that it was the whole framework of capitalism that had to be challenged.

We see the application of our policy of Non-Collaboration and Anti-Imperialism as fundamentals in our armamentarium to challenge the hegemony of Imperialism.

With free market economics now thoroughly discredited, having led to the present global economic meltdown, one might think that achieving our objective of building socialism would be easy. However that is not the case.

We have to answer questions like:

- How do we go about convincing people of the merits of Socialism?
- How do we exploit the failures of capitalism?

A major difficulty that we have to contend with is the relative weakness of the working class as a social and political force. We need to find ways and means of developing or increasing the political and social consciousness of workers both in the urban and rural areas.

In considering our tactics and strategies we need to take account of the following realities that have to be faced:

1. The ANC Alliance enjoys the support of the overwhelming majority of the “black” electorate in this country.
2. There is no significant force on the left that can challenge the hegemony of the Alliance, neither from a parliamentary nor an extra-parliamentary perspective.
3. Party political allegiances are very much race-based, that is, the majority of “whites” and “coloureds” support parties like the DA.
4. Party support does not follow class lines.
5. There is no significant International movement on the Left. What there is is located in the WSF.
6. The call for the building of a socialist society has not found an echo except in South America.

RULES OF ENGAGEMENT

How do we engage or intervene in struggle?

Up to now we have restricted our activities to the following:

- (i) The production of literature critical of the present dispensation and advocating the socialist alternative.
- (ii) Support of campaigns like those of the Anti-war coalition, and various social movements like the Anti Privatisation Forum (APF).
- (iii) Building of civil society structures like civics to use as sites to educate oppressed communities about their political disabilities.
- (iv) Building of alliances with like-minded organisations as in the Radical Left Network (RLN)
- (v) Building the organisation by forming new branches.

We need answers to the questions posed and adapt our organisational structures and our modus operandi accordingly.

CONCLUSION

As an organization dedicated to overthrowing the present exploitative Capitalist-Imperialist system we are confronted by truly daunting tasks and challenges.

We hope to identify and deal with some of these during the course of this conference. Our session on Tactics and Strategies will be especially important in this regard. We should strive to leave here with the knowledge that each and every cadre of our organization is imbued with the necessary revolutionary optimism and zeal to tackle the work that we will identify for ourselves.

Dr Mampele Ramphela is reported (*Weekend Argus* 5 April) to have said while addressing a rally in Cape Town, “We must put on our struggle hats”. She was exhorting her listeners to challenge the ANC in the same way that the liberatory movement challenged the Apartheid regime.

I think that call is apt in the context of what one has stated above.

We make a call on all men and women, all workers, students, rural and urban poor to rally to the cause of a movement whose call must be "*For Land and Liberty*"!

While our first priority must be the building of new branches of our own organisation we must at the same time engage in initiatives to build a new movement in this country. One that will unite the oppressed against the forces of Capitalism-Imperialism. This means beginning a process of mobilisation, rebuilding and organising amongst the masses of our people.

One of the obstacles in our way to achieving this objective, however, is the phenomenon of sectarianism.

SECTARIANISM

I would like to address this question in relation to certain tensions that have arisen in our own ranks and also as a warning to those with whom we seek to build alliances.

It is widely recognised that sectarianism is not only the cause of some of the divisions within the ranks of organisations such as our own but it has also bedeviled attempts to build united fronts and solidarity between organisations on the broad Left.

What is sectarianism?

In the preface to his book, "*The Pedagogy of the Oppressed*", Paulo Freire, the noted Brazilian educationalist, contrasted radicalism with sectarianism. He defined sectarianism as being characterised by fanaticism which was a "castrating" ideology that, because it "mythisises" reality, tends to have an alienating effect. The radical shows increased commitment to his chosen positions and is prepared to show greater engagement in the effort to transform concrete, objective reality.

Conversely the sectarian turns reality into a false, unchangeable "reality". He says sectarianism is an obstacle to the emancipation of mankind and points out that sectarians are incapable of thinking dialectically and tend, in a reactionary way, to see the future as pre-established, as determined by "circles of certainty" arising from their analysis of reality. On the other hand radicalism being imbued with a "critical spirit" is a liberating and a creative force.

The radical, on the other hand is prepared to fully enter and engage with reality so that knowing it better he can better transform it. Paraphrasing Rosa Luxembourg he says the radical is not afraid to meet the people or to enter into dialogue with them. The radical, unlike the sectarian, "does not consider himself the proprietor of history or of men or the liberator of the oppressed; but he does commit himself, within history, to fight at their side". Freire says the pedagogy of the oppressed is a task for radicals; it cannot be carried out by sectarians.

Sectarianism whether it manifests within our own ranks or with our engagement with other organisations therefore stands in the way of us successfully pursuing our work. It must be confronted and rooted out.

On the other hand, a vital prerequisite for us pursuing our work is the development and application of a sound theory of the nature of the struggle and the form and content of our organisational structures. And it is in this context that we may need to re-examine the nature of our programme

The NEUM when it was launched in 1943 introduced a new set of ideas and propagated policies which were the result of intensive study and debate inside various forums like the New Era Fellowship (NEF), for example. We need again today to foster the flowering of such forums.

Our Vice-President Cde Pumi Giyose recently said in an address at the launch of a new branch in Cape Town:

“The new ways in which the power of the oppressors has now formulated itself calls for a refinement of our ideas and our organisational development. In 1943 our movement consolidated within its ranks a new united front and also presented the nation with a new political programme. This means that we must do an in- depth study of all the organisational formations that have arisen in the post 1994 period. We must establish what types of organisation actually exist and whether new forms of organization should be established. Do civic organisations for example still have a role to play? What are the strengths and weaknesses of social movements? “

In the address he also set out a programme of action for our branch members which included the following:

- (i) Branches need to deploy their members to civic and social movement structures.
- (ii) Examine the role and output of research organisations based at the various universities which are also putting out a great number of ideas and publications.
- (iii) Develop programmes for the ideological training of our cadres who will have to understand the struggle in this country, its past and its present character.
- (iv) Embark on studies in economic theory.
- (v) Promote and develop our Programme to be, not only a source of political guidance, but above all a practical compass that takes us forward in all the daily marches of the working people in both the rural and urban areas.

Finally comrades, may our deliberations over the next two days be fruitful and constructive. I trust that we will find a new sense of purpose in pursuing our work on all levels.

Let our watchwords be: *Mobilise, Rebuild, Organise*, for a new dispensation, a truly democratic socialist workers republic. For Land and Liberty!!

I thank you for your attention.

Basil Brown

President

1 May 2009