



The Longer Walk to Economic Freedom

By Bryan Britton

Foreword

The start of South Africa's decline, from 'Rainbow Nation' to 'State Capture', can be traced back to the election of Jacob Zuma as President.

In 2007, together with COSATU, the SACP helped anti-Mbeki elements to seize control of the ANC, to have Jacob Zuma appointed as President of the ANC and to subsequently influence the recall President Mbeki.

Together with COSATU, it took the lead in dispensing with President Mbeki's successful GEAR economic policies.

In 2012, the SACP played a leading role in formulating and introducing the radical second phase of the National Democratic Revolution (NDR).

The NDR has become the ANC's guiding ideology and is the fountainhead of government policy. Incredibly, its central element is an ongoing struggle by the ANC controlled state against white South Africans based on their race.

The National Development Plan (NDP), formulated to set development goals for the country to the year 2030, meanwhile gathers dust under the guidance, or lack thereof, of Minister Radebe.

On Wednesday May 17, 2017, former finance minister Trevor Manuel, the Chairman of the National Planning Commission Committee which produced the National Development Plan, asserted that the National Development Plan was no closer to realization than when it was adopted six years ago.



Minister Jeff Radebe (left) is charged with implementing the National Development Plan for the ANC Government

He is married to Bridgette Radebe, South Africa's first black female mining entrepreneur and sister of the billionaire mining magnate, Patrice Motsepe. Radebe studied towards a law degree at the University of Zululand and finished an LLM in International Law at the Karl Marx University in Leipzig in 1981. He was sentenced to a 10-year imprisonment on Robben Island., Radebe was released from prison in 1990.

Jeff Radebe is Minister in the Presidency: Planning, Monitoring, Evaluation.

Dedicated to the memory of Chris Hani

Chris Hani (28 June 1942 – 10 April 1993), born Martin Thembisile Hani, was the leader of the South African Communist Party and chief of staff of Umkhonto we



Sizwe, the armed wing of the African National Congress (ANC). He was a fierce opponent of the apartheid government, and was assassinated on 10 April 1993 outside his home in Boksburg. His murder was a near breaking point which could have resulted in a civil or rather race war and halt the process for reconciliation and the quest for a united democratic South Africa. The assassin Janusz Waluz and his accomplice Clive Derby-Lewis admitted during the Truth and

Reconciliation Commission that they murdered Hani and their intent was to provoke a race war and derail the negotiation process that would inevitably lead to the end of white minority rule.

It was Nelson Mandela who addressed the nation in his capacity as the President of the African National Congress (ANC) and appealed to the nation to use Hani's death to affirm his views of peace and a united democratic South Africa for which he fought.

Mandela's speech helped to keep in check Black anger that could have spilled out after the murder.

Mandela and the ANC also used this tragic death strategically to force the Apartheid government to agree on the election date to appease the angry nation. After his speech, it was quite clear that the then President De Klerk was no longer in charge of country.

Nelson Mandela said 'Now is the time for all South Africans to stand together against those who, from any quarter, wish to destroy what Chris Hani gave his life for - the freedom of all of us. Our decisions and actions will determine whether we use our pain, our grief and our outrage to move forward to what is the only lasting solution for our country - an elected government of the people, by the people and for the people.'

In his lifetime Chris Hani had famously said:

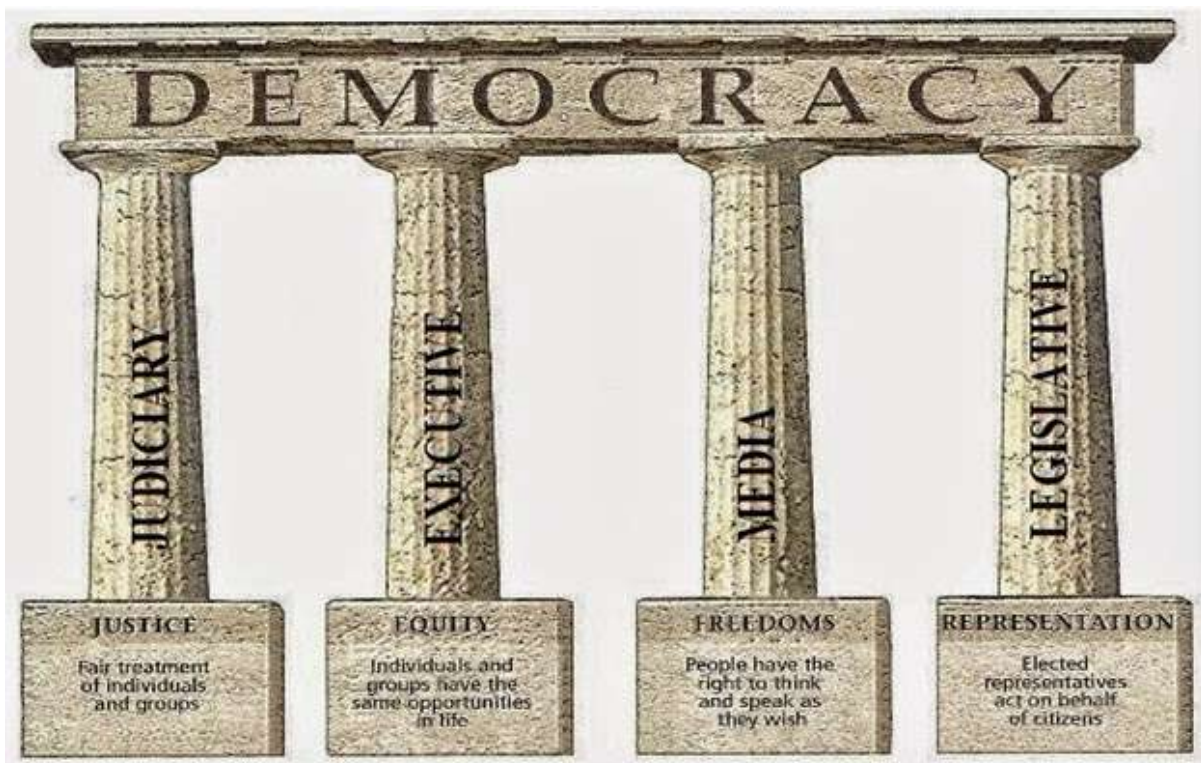
'What we need in South Africa is for egos to be suppressed in favour of peace. We need to create a new breed of South Africans who love their country and love everybody irrespective of colour'.

'What I fear is that the liberators emerge as elitists who drive around in Mercedes Benz's and use the resources of this country to live in palaces and gather riches'.

Prophetic words indeed.

I have dedicated 'The Longer Walk to Economic Freedom' to the memory of Chris Hani who would, with his selfless attitude and love for his fellow man - white or black, have made a substantial contribution to South Africa's progress towards economic freedom.

Once again, my thanks and admiration to the boys and girls of the Fourth Pillar of Democracy. Their fearless efforts, some reflected in this narrative, have held this tatty nation to account where others have failed to do so.



Economic Freedom

Means the freedom to prosper within a country without intervention from a government or economic authority. Individuals are free to secure and protect their human resources, labor and private property. Economic freedom is common in capitalist economies and must incorporate other civil liberties to be deemed as truly free.

On April 27, 1994, South Africa achieved Political Freedom after Nelson Mandela's epic 'A Long Walk to Freedom'



The country had however by 2017, some twenty-three years later, still not achieved Economic Freedom.

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The Democratic Miracle

In 1994, we the cheering minions of South Africa, stood with tear in eye and lump in throat, as Nelson Mandela proclaimed a new and democratically free nation on the African continent.

With the abhorrence of forty-eight years of Apartheid Rule forgotten and with the world in awe of the democratic miracle which had occurred, we South Africans faced a new era of prosperity, freedom and renewal.

The Apartheid Government had almost bankrupted the country to maintain a white only society to the exclusion of people of colour. That endeavour had made South Africa the most disparate nation on earth and had, in the process, incurred the moral wrath and indignation of the free world.

At his inauguration ceremony Nelson Mandela said:

'In the 1980s the African National Congress was still setting the pace, being the first major political formation in South Africa to commit itself firmly to a Bill of Rights, which we published in 1990. The milestones give concrete expression to what South Africa can become. They speak of a constitutional, democratic, and political order in which, regardless of colour, gender, religion, political opinion or sexual orientation, the law will provide for the equal protection of all citizens. They project a democracy in which the government, whomever that government may be, will be bound by a higher set of rules, embodied in a constitution, and it will not be able to govern the country as it pleases.



Democracy is based on the majority principle. This is especially true in a country such as ours where the majority have been systematically denied their rights. At the same time, democracy also requires that the rights of political and other minorities be safeguarded'. – Nelson Mandela

Despite the euphoria of having attained political freedom, the new nation faced an uphill battle to correct the social and economic irregularities of the past. The new government, under the leadership of the forgiving and democratically inclined Nelson Mandela, was equal to the challenge and, under a Constitution reckoned to be one of the most progressive amongst the democratic countries of the world, they began the process of healing the ailing nation.

Half a century of apartheid and a much longer period of legally enforced racial discrimination had left most black South Africans poor and undereducated. The reliance on a low-wage work force, especially in the country's mines but also in other



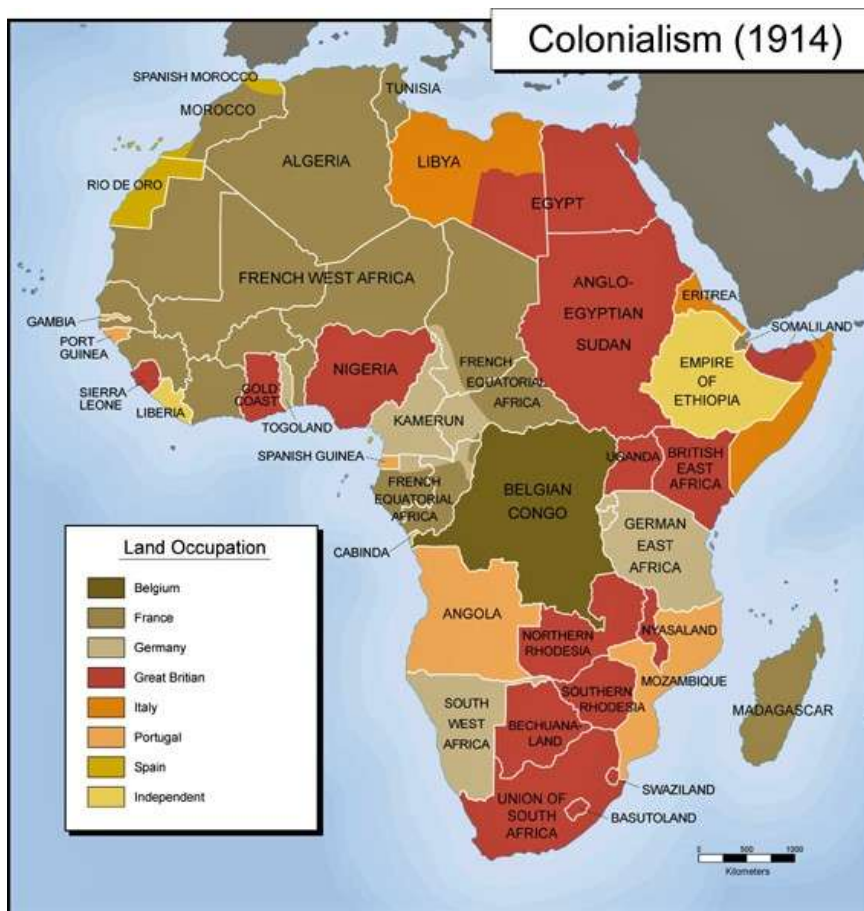
areas of the economy, left South Africa without a significant consumer class among its black majority. Instead, nearly one-half of the population in the mid-1990s lived below internationally determined minimum-subsistence levels.

Nearly fifty years of Verwoerdian "Bantu education" left the country short of skills and unable to generate the sort of labour force that could produce an "Asian miracle" along the lines of the skilled-labour-dependent industries of South Korea or Taiwan.

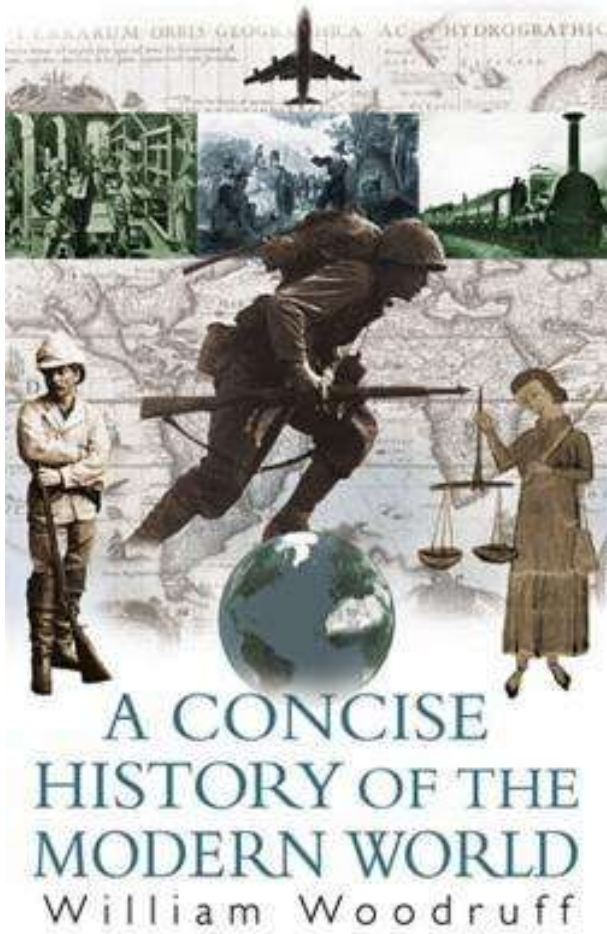
The Historic Background

These encouraging South African political events need to be viewed against the broader developments in Africa and the rest of the world at that time.

South Africa was the last to be decolonized on the African continent and until 1994 was governed by a majority of white only voters. On ascension to full one man one vote democracy, the country became the fifty fourth nation on the African continent to throw off the shackles of colonization. The liberation movement, the African National Congress, was voted into power by a considerable margin in the first fully democratic election.



To put the events of 1994 into context, the decolonization movement prior to then needs examining and a succinct account of this period is found in extracts from William Woodruff's 'A Concise History of the Modern World' and specifically the chapter 'The Decolonization of Africa'.



William Woodruff is Graduate Research Professor (Emeritus) in Economic History at the University of Florida, Gainesville. He holds degrees from the Universities of Oxford, London, Nottingham and Melbourne (honorary).

He says 'The declaration of principles by Churchill and Roosevelt in the Atlantic Charter in 1941, with its promise of self-determination and self-government for all, heralded the end of European colonization in Africa. As the Second World War progressed, a new generation of black leaders, intent on obtaining self-rule, emerged out of the native resistance movements'.

'By and large, the European nations were as glad to surrender political power as the native leaders were to assume it. When one compares the struggle for independence in Asia, African independence – with the exception of Algeria – was won quietly and with relatively little bloodshed; in some cases, it was thrust upon those who sought it'.

'When one considers African traditions, and the desperate economic conditions of so many Africans, it was perhaps foolish to have expected Africa to adopt Western ways. With a tradition of hierarchical tribalism, Africa has never been disposed to democratic politics. While the number of democracies in the world is on the rise, Africa was not much closer to democratic rule in 2005 than it was in 1950. What the West understands as freedom of the individual under the law has still to be achieved. Where the rule of law has gained a foothold, it has often been broken by democratic leaders'.

'In many African countries, free elections and a free press (as the West would define them) are not tolerated; nor is an independent judiciary.

The Western idea of freely held multi-party elections is not widespread. Too many governments do not have a 'loyal opposition'; they have political enemies. Elections are a means of conserving power, not introducing democracy. In a continent where power is personalized, few presidents have ever accepted defeat in an election. Concentrated rather than shared, power is the 'African Way'.

'Having removed the colonial yoke, Africans now bear a yolk of their own making'.

'Independence from colonial powers has not only brought widespread violence; it has brought a deterioration of Africa's economic lot. It is the world's poorest, most indebted continent; the debt repayments of some countries exceed the amount being spent on health and education'.

'By holding the West responsible for the continent's extreme poverty, internal wars, tribalism, fatalism and irrationality, autocracy, disregard for the future, stifling of individual initiative, military vandalism, staggering corruption, mismanagement and sheer incompetence, Africans are indulging in an act of self-deception'

'A similar colonial background has not prevented certain Asian countries from achieving rapid economic development. Africa cannot hope to escape from its present economic and political dilemmas by placing the blame on others'

'If Africa is to play a necessary and constructive role in the world community, it must first rediscover itself. Only Africans really know where they have been and where they might hope to go. They do not have to have Western values and Western goals to become economically viable; their cultural values are too deeply planted for that to happen. Western values and goals may be entirely inappropriate for them. Nor does their performance have to be judged by Western standards. Ultimately, African intrinsic values and goals must prevail. African ideas, confidence and resolve, rather than foreign leadership and foreign aid - much though it is needed - will eventually

determine Africa's future. The continent's human qualities and its rich natural resources offer great hope'.

Before delving into the complex issues of Financial Freedom and the nine priorities identified by the National Development Plan to achieve this by 2030, there exist several overarching priorities which South Africa needs first to resolve, to move forward as a viable nation.

Capitalism vs Communism

South Africa needs to pursue one ideology or the other. The National Development Plan, discussed later in this book, is in danger of derailing as influences within the African National Congress, continue to trumpet the National Democratic Revolution objectives. The NDR is a road to Socialism and ultimately Communism, a failed

ideology. The National Development Plan prescribes capitalist principles adopted by more successful Western economies. It is significant today that the South African Communist Party and the Congress of South African Trade Unions have lately distanced themselves from the ANC under Jacob Zuma and his acolytes.

In December 2007, Polokwane witnessed the most important shift in South African politics since 1994. A coalition led by these two protagonists and others ousted Thabo Mbeki and his capitalistic GEAR policies and set the country on a socialistic NDR path.

Since then SACP members have been influential in both government and trade unions in steering South Africa on a socialist route. At its core, this agenda dictates 'abolishment of individual property rights'.

The NDP conversely focusses on two cornerstones – education and employment.

During the Cold War, there was a contest for influence in Africa, between the US and Western powers on the one hand, and the Soviet Union and Eastern bloc countries on the other. Most of newly independent ex-colonies in Africa received military and economic support from one of the Superpowers.

Despite its racist policies, the South African government was supported by many governments in the West, particularly Britain and the USA. This was because the South African government was anti-communist. The British and American governments used political rhetoric and economic sanctions against apartheid, but continued to supply the South African regime with military expertise and hardware.

Impact of the collapse of the USSR on South Africa

This article was produced for South African History Online on March 22, 2011

There were many reasons why apartheid collapsed. But the collapse of communism in the Soviet Union was a major cause of the end of apartheid in South Africa.

Under apartheid, South Africa was a fascist state with a capitalist economy. The National Party was strongly anti-communist and said they were faced with a '*Rooi Gevaar*' or a 'Red Threat'. The apartheid state used the label 'communist' to justify its repressive actions against anyone who disagreed with their policies.

The collapse of the USSR in 1989 meant that the National Party could no longer use communism as a justification for their oppression. The ANC could also no longer rely on the Soviet Union for economic and military support. By the end of the 1980s, the

Soviet Union was in political and economic crisis, and it was increasingly difficult for the Soviet Government to justify spending money in Africa.

In 1989, President F.W de Klerk, the last apartheid Head of State, unbanned the African National Congress, the South African Communist Party and the Pan Africanist Congress.

He stated that the collapse of the Soviet Union was decisive in persuading him to take this step:

'The collapse of the Soviet Union helped to remove our long-standing concern regarding the influence of the South African Communist Party within the ANC Alliance. By 1990 classic socialism had been thoroughly discredited throughout the world and was no longer a serious option, even for revolutionary parties like the ANC.

At about the same time, the ANC was reaching a similar conclusion that it could not achieve a revolutionary victory within the foreseeable future. The State of Emergency, declared by the South African Government in 1986, and the collapse of the Soviet Union - which had traditionally been one the ANC's main allies and suppliers - led the organisation to adopt a more realistic view of the balance of forces. It concluded that its interests could be best secured by accepting negotiations rather than by committing itself to a long and ruinous civil war.'

Quote source: www.fwdklerk.org.za

Creeping Communism in South Africa

Dave Steward

November 7, 2014

DOES THE NDP OFFER ANY PROTECTION AGAINST CREEPING COMMUNISM IN SOUTH AFRICA?

One hundred and sixty-six years ago, in 1848, Karl Marx wrote in the Communist Manifesto that "A spectre is haunting Europe. It is the spectre of communism".

During the last century communism brought economic devastation and totalitarian dictatorship wherever it was implemented and resulted in the deaths of over 50 million people.

Never in the history of mankind has any political system failed so dismally and brought such suffering to so many people in such a relatively short time.

And yet, unbelievably, the spectre of communism has returned to haunt us here in South Africa.

In 1928 Comintern - the international branch of Soviet Communism - instructed the SA Communist Party *"to transform the ANC into a fighting nationalist organization"* and to develop *"systematically the leadership of the workers and the Communist Party in the organization."*

The SACP has faithfully carried out this instruction. The leadership role that it has developed within the ANC has enabled it to play a central role in all the organization's major ideological initiatives:

In 1956 leading members of the SACP drafted the ANC's core mobilization document The Freedom Charter.

The SACP once again took the lead in 1961 when it persuaded the ANC to embark on its armed struggle - against the wishes of the then President of the ANC, Chief Albert Luthuli.

The armed wing of the ANC, Umkhonto we Sizwe, was throughout its existence under the effective control of the SACP.

In 1962 the SACP developed the concept of 'colonialism of special type' - which presented a Marxist analysis of the political situation in South Africa. The CST analysis - even after 1994 - continues to regard white minority colonialism/capitalism as the cause of persistent black underdevelopment.

Throughout the 1970s and 1980s virtually all the members of the ANC's National Executive Committee were also members of the SACP.

At the ANC's Morogoro Conference in 1969 the SACP once again took the lead by further developing the ideology of National Democratic Revolution (NDR).

In 2007, together with COSATU, the SACP helped anti-Mbeki elements to seize control of the ANC; to appoint Jacob Zuma as President of the ANC and subsequently to 'recall' President Mbeki.

Together with COSATU, it took the lead in dispensing with President Mbeki's successful GEAR economic policies.

In 2012, the SACP played a leading role in formulating and introducing the "second radical phase of the NDR."

The NDR has become the ANC's guiding ideology and is the fountainhead of government policy. Incredibly, its central element is an ongoing struggle by the ANC-controlled state against white South Africans based on their race.

The central task of the NDR is *"the resolution of the antagonistic contradictions between the oppressed majority and their oppressors; as well as the resolution of the national grievance arising from the colonial relations."*

This involves *"the elimination of apartheid property relations"* through the redistribution of wealth, land and jobs from whites to blacks by means of affirmative action, BBBEE and land reform.

The final goal of the NDR is the establishment of the 'National Democratic Society' that will be characterized by demographic representivity throughout government, society and the private sector in terms of ownership, management and employment.

A core element of NDR - from which the SACP derives its vanguard role - is its identification of workers as the main motive force of the ANC. Because the SACP claims to be the political leader of the workers it believes that it is endowed with a vanguard role in determining the direction and pace of the NDR. It is also important to note that COSATU - the other representative of the workers - gives its primary loyalty to the SACP - and not to the ANC.

In June 2011, COSATU President Sidumo Dlamini declared that

"We are a Marxist-Leninist formation not in words but through our commitment to the struggle for socialism and in that context, we encourage our members to fill the front ranks of the SACP and we subject ourselves to the discipline of communists."

This is even though a recent survey indicated that only 6% of COSATU members were also active members of the SACP.

Armed with this mandate the SACP has played a leading role in directing the NDR - except for the period between 1996 and 2007 - when the NDR was captured by what the SACP refers to as "the 1996 Class Project." This arose from the ANC's decision in 1996 to abandon the socialistic RDP and to adopt instead the more orthodox free-market GEAR programme. The GEAR policies under the guidance of Trevor Manuel achieved significant economic successes - including growth levels of

over 5% in 2006 and 2007; a budget surplus and reduction of the national debt to only 22% of GDP.

However, the SACP and COSATU viewed GEAR as a betrayal of socialist principles. They feared that the NDR had been hijacked by capitalists who were intent on moving the revolution in a non-socialist direction. At its 9th Congress in 2006 COSATU decided to launch a battle for the 'heart and soul' of the ANC at the organization's National Conference at Polokwane at the end of 2007. It resolved, among other things, that

"...the working class must re-direct the NDR towards socialism and jealously guard it against opportunistic tendencies that are attempting to wrest it from achieving its logical conclusion, which is socialism;

this decade must be dedicated to a struggle to challenge and defeat the dominance of white monopoly capital, which reproduces itself through the emerging parasitic black capitalists; and that

we adopt an official position that rejects the separation of the NDR from socialism and asserts that the dictatorship of the proletariat is the only guarantee that there will be a transition from NDR to socialism."

In December 2007, this town - Polokwane - witnessed the most important shift in South African politics since 1994.

A coalition led by the SACP, COSATU and others opposed to President Mbeki, won the support of 60% of the delegates - and were thus able to seize control of the ANC. This gave them the power to dismiss any recalcitrant ANC MP from Parliament and *de facto* control of the legislative and executive branches of the state.

The new ANC leadership, in which the SACP and COSATU played an influential role, dictated who should be 'deployed' to which leadership positions - and who should be 'recalled'; which policies should be adopted by Parliament - and which should be set aside; and finally, who the President should be.

The success of the SACP and COSATU in overturning the 1996 Class Project and in securing once again primary influence over the direction of the NDR is of central relevance to the SACP's intention of taking over control of the state. In its view that *"the central question of any revolution, including the South African NDR, is the question of state power."*

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