

**The National Democratic Revolution (NDR) in a post- 1994  
South Africa: A reconstruction, interpretation and evaluation  
of this revolutionary ideology**

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## DECLARATION

I declare **“The National Democratic Revolution (NDR) in a post-1994 South Africa: A reconstruction, interpretation and evaluation of this revolutionary ideology”** to be my own work, that all sources used or quoted have been indicated and acknowledged, and that this thesis was not previously submitted by me or any other person for degree purposes at this or any other university.

.....  
Signature

.....  
Date

## A WORD OF GRATITUDE

I would like to express my heartfelt gratitude to Professor André Duvenhage who has inspired this thesis and its author; my mother and Anel for keeping me sane, Gérard for his help and friendship, Simone for camaraderie, artistry and technical support, and Kate, Anneke and Lisl for the language editing. **Above all I wish to say, Soli Deo Gloria and thank YOU.**

## ABSTRACT

The National Democratic Revolution (NDR) is the central ideology of the governing tripartite alliance consisting of the ANC, the SACP and COSATU. In this class alliance that was formed in the struggle against apartheid, Communists, Socialists, (black) nationalists, Neo-liberalists and Pan-Africanists were to a certain degree united against the enemy of “colonialism of a special type” (apartheid in the vernacular of the NDR) and its exploitative economic legacy. From 2005 onward serious divisions within the once monolithic broad liberationist church became evident, and in 2007 at the Polokwane conference neo-liberalism (the “1996 class project”) was purged in favour of a more stringent and more socialist interpretation of the NDR. In 2012 the call went out for a “national democratic society” in South Africa in accordance with the basic principles of the NDR which will rely on an active citizenry, incorporated on all levels in (political) party structures and functions. This party (the ANC) and its associated activities are seen to be the gateway to development, health care, education and sustainable and safe communities. This principle is borrowed from Mao Zedong’s China where the “Mass Line” principle was first developed, and so the “cadre deployment strategy” that has such an impact on every bureaucracy in South Africa actually comes from Vietnam of the 1950s. As such the NDR is a “compendium of ideological principles.”

It is vitally important that this ideology and its antecedent ideologies and theories, as well as the various schools of thought within the NDR, be analysed in order to provide insight into the decisions the government of South Africa takes, as well as into tripartite alliance politics, faction politics within the broad liberationist church, and policy decisions ranging from Southern Africa to the UN; from economic policies and possibilities of nationalisation of mines and other industries to military decisions and arms scandals. It is therefore the goal of this thesis to present a reconstruction, interpretation and evaluation of the National Democratic Revolution as ideological framework in the post-1994 South Africa. In support of this problem statement the central theoretical statement presented by this thesis is that the NDR forms the fundamental ideology of the ANC, the tripartite governing alliance in South Africa and the associated broad church. Herein a vision of the unjust past, the unacceptable present and the utopian future is developed, consisting of a hard core of fundamental assumptions and an adaptable context of application which, like a living organism, adapts all the time to a changing environment that will eventually dominate South Africa politically in theory and practice.

The problem statement of this thesis is investigated in Chapter 2 by the reconstruction of radical thinking as an ideological framework; In Chapter 3 by the reconstruction of the ideologies and theories that contributed to the formulation of the NDR; in Chapter 4 by the reconstruction and interpretation of the development of the NDR within the South African historical context; in Chapter 5 by the reconstruction and interpretation of the NDR and its analytical dimension; in Chapter 6 by the reconstruction and interpretation of the NDR and its normative dimension; in Chapter 7 by the reconstruction and interpretation of the NDR and its strategic dimension, and in Chapter 8 through the provision of an evaluation of the ideology of the NDR as well as short scenario perspectives on the future of the NDR.

During the investigation described above several important factors came to light. Arguably the most important of them, described in Chapters 4 and 8, deals with paradigm shifts and the possible future(s) of the NDR. In this regard it is

important to note Blade Nzimande's (2006) assertion: "the character, content and direction of the NDR are of fundamental importance to our alliance". This thesis proposes that the character, content and direction of the NDR are of fundamental importance to all having a substantial interest in South Africa.

## OPSOMMING

Die Nasionaal-Demokratiese Revolusie (NDR) is die sentrale ideologie van die regerende drieledige alliansie bestaande uit die ANC, die SAKP en COSATU. Binne hierdie klasse-alliansie, wat in die stryd teen apartheid gevorm is, is Kommuniste, Sosialiste, (swart-) Nasionaliste, Neo-Liberaliste en Pan-Afrikaniste, verenig teen die vyand genaamd “kolonialisme van ’n spesiale soort” (of apartheid soos dit deur die NDR gedefinieer is) en dié stelsel se nalatenskap van voortslepende ekonomiese uitbuiting en ongelykheid. Sedert 2005 het ernstige divisies binne die eens monolitiese breë bevrydingsbeweging na vore gekom, en tydens die Polokwane-konferensie van 2007 is die Neo-liberaliste oftewel “die 1996 klasprojek” ten gunste van ’n strengere, meer sosialistiese interpretasie van die NDR verwerp. In 2012 is optrede vir ’n “nasionaal demokratiese samelewing” in Suid-Afrika, in ooreenstemming met die grondbeginsels van die NDR, die wekroep. Dié samelewing sal berus op ’n aktiewe burgerskap, ingelyf op alle vlakke by (politieke) strukture en funksies. Dit word in die vooruitsig gestel dat die party (die ANC) waarby die inlywing sal plaasvind en sy geassosieerde werksaamhede die poort tot ontwikkeling, gesondheidsorg, onderwys, en volhoubare en veilige gemeenskappe sal wees. Hierdie beginsel is ontleen aan Mao Zedong se China waar die (“Mass Line”) Massalinie-beginsel aanvanklik ontwikkel is, en aan “kaderontwikkelingstrategieë” wat so ’n invloed op elke burokratiese instelling in Suid-Afrika het. Laasgenoemde beginsel is afkomstig uit die Viëtnam van die 1950’s. As sulks is die NDR ’n versameling van verskeie ideologiese beginsels.

Dit is noodsaaklik dat die ideologie en sy voorafgaande ideologieë en teorieë, asook die verskillende denkskole binne die NDR, ontleed word ten einde insig in die besluite wat die regering van Suid-Afrika neem, te verskaf, asook in drieledige alliansie-politiek, faksie-politiek binne die breë “liberationist-church” beweging, en van beleidsbesluite voortstuwend vanuit Suidelike Afrika na die VN; ekonomiese beleide en die moontlike nasionalisering van myne en besighede, militêre besluite en wapensskandale. Dit is daarom die wetenskaplike oogmerk van hierdie proefskrif om ’n rekonstruksie, interpretasie en evaluasie van die Nasionaal-Demokratiese Revolusie as ideologiese raamwerk binne die post-1994 Suid-Afrika te bied.

Tot steun van hierdie probleemstelling is die sentrale teoretiese verklaring wat deur die proefskrif aangebied word, dat die NDR die fundamentele ideologie van die ANC, die drieledige alliansie in Suid-Afrika en die geassosieerde breë bevrydings organisasies vorm. Binne die ideologie word ’n visie van die onregverdigheid van verlede, die onaanvaarbare hede en die utopiese toekoms vervat, bestaande uit ’n kern van fundamentele onveranderlike norme en ’n aanpasbare toepassingskonteks wat, soos ’n lewende organisme, deurlopend by ’n veranderende omgewing aanpas wat uiteindelik die Suid-Afrikaanse politiek in teorie en in uitvoering, sal domineer.

Die probleemstelling van die tesis word in Hoofstuk 2 ondersoek deur die rekonstruksie van radikale denke as ’n ideologiese raamwerk; in Hoofstuk 3 deur die rekonstruksie van die revolusionêre tradisies en teorieë wat tot die formulering van die NDR bygedra het; in Hoofstuk 4 deur die rekonstruksie en interpretasie van die historiese ontwikkelingsgang van die NDR binne Suid-Afrika; in Hoofstuk 5 deur die rekonstruksie en interpretasie van die NDR en sy analitiese dimensie; in Hoofstuk 6 deur die rekonstruksie en interpretasie van die NDR en sy normatiewe

dimensie; in Hoofstuk 7 deur die rekonstruksie en interpretasie van die NDR en sy strategiese dimensie en in Hoofstuk 8 deur die evaluering van die ideologie van die NDR asook deur perspektiewe op die toekoms van die NDR te bied.

Gedurende die studie hierbo beskryf, het verskeie faktore aan die lig gekom. Stellig van die belangrikste is in Hoofstukke 4 en 8 beskryf, en handel oor paradigmatverskuiwings en die moontlike toekoms- ontwikkelings van die NDR. Dit is belangrik om in die opsig kennis te neem van die woorde van Blade Nzimande (2006): “die karakter, inhoud en koers van die NDR is van fundamentele belang vir ons alliansie”; dié tesis argumenteer dat die karakter, inhoud en koers van die NDR van fundamentele belang is vir almal wat ’n substansiële belang by Suid-Afrika het.

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## CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION, PROBLEM STATEMENT AND METHODOLOGIES

### 1.1 ACTUALITY

Thabo Mbeki (1998:6) described South Africa as “a country of two nations”: “One of these nations is white, relatively prosperous, regardless of gender or geographic dispersal. It has ready access to a developed economic, physical, educational, communication and other infrastructure. The second and larger nation of South Africa is black and poor, with the worst affected being women in the rural areas, the black rural population in general and the disabled. This nation lives under conditions of a grossly underdeveloped economic, physical, educational, communication and other infrastructure. It has virtually no possibility to exercise what in reality amounts to a theoretical right to equal opportunity, with that right being equal within this black nation only to the extent that it is equally incapable of realization” (Mbeki, 1998:6). The reason for the existence of these two nations in South Africa, according to the ideology of the National Democratic Revolution (NDR), is colonialism of a special type (apartheid) and the legacy of this imperialist, colonialist system realised today especially in persisting exploitative economic relationships.

These relationships originated from a European “ideology of racism”<sup>1</sup> which contained elements of social Darwinism, whereby Blacks were placed on a lower hierarchical tier than whites. “It [apartheid as a type of racial capitalism<sup>2</sup>] encompassed actual structural relations between the colonizers and the indigenous people, as well as cultural and psychological justifications and attitudes which sought to explain these structural relations” (ANC, 2000b). This system has left South Africa according to the SACP (2002) with the triple legacy of 1) colonial dispossession, 2) the prolonged colonial fostering, perversion and aggravation of traditional coercive patriarchy, and 3) a negative dependency on capitalism. The ANC (2012a:12) defines this legacy as: “the three basic and inter-related contradictions of Colonialism of a Special Type – race, class and patriarchal relations of power...” that have to be resolved. The means by which this is to be accomplished is through the ideology and subsequent efforts of the National Democratic Revolution that identified the nature of colonialism of a special type, which led to the formation of the alliance between the South African Communist Party, the African National Congress and the trade Union COSATU.

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<sup>1</sup>See Chapter 5 section 5.5.2 for more detail.

<sup>2</sup>According to the ANC (1998), apartheid had two components, white political supremacy and racial capitalism, which concentrated wealth in the hands of a white minority.

Together they saw to the formal political dissolution of apartheid in 1994 and the formation of democracy in South Africa, and have, from 2012 onward, to chart a new phase of social and economic transformation in this country (ANC, 2012a:12).

According to the ANC (2000a), the national character of the NDR was and still is therefore concerned with the resolution of the antagonistic contradictions between the oppressed majority and their oppressors, as well as the resolution of the national grievance arising from colonial relations, defined by the ANC as: “A process of struggle that seeks to transfer power to the people and transform society into a non-racial, non-sexist, united, democratic one, and change the manner in which wealth is shared, in order to benefit all the people” (ANC, 2007a:21). The SACP (steadfast partner in the governing alliance) agrees with this definition and adds: “The attainment of the objectives of the NDR is something that is of fundamental importance and in the deepest interests of the working class. The total liberation of the African people in particular, and blacks in general, is an important objective in itself, that ensures that the working class itself is completely freed from the burdens of colonialism of a special type. However, at the same time, as the SACP we know that we can never attain the total liberation of Africans and black people under capitalism”<sup>3</sup> (SACP, 2007b).

Another erudite description of the nature of the NDR was provided by Blade Nzimande (2006): “...the character, content and direction of the NDR are of fundamental importance to our alliance, since the deepening and consolidating of the national democratic revolution is the glue that holds our alliance together”. This content character and direction of the NDR is expressed in the policy discussion documents and policy documents of the ANC, SACP, ANC Youth League and others of the “broad liberationist church” in South Africa. Eventually it becomes government policy and the law of the country and impacts on every sphere of everyone’s existence in South Africa and to a large degree, in Southern Africa. Thus questions of importance surrounding the post-1994 South Africa and the nature of the “National Democratic Society”, the developmental state, Zimbabwe, why South Africa is a member of BRICS, ANC, SACP and COSATU alliance politics, economic policies, nationalisation, factionalism, health policies, South African international policy and many more have their foundation in the character, content and direction of the NDR.

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<sup>3</sup> This brings into contention the debate between the National Democratic Revolution and its cousin the National Socialist Revolution, sections 6.6.3 and 6.11.2 of Chapter 6 of this thesis deals with this debate. In short however for the SACP the last stage of the national revolution is towards socialism and ultimately communism (SACP, 2011b).

## 1.2 THE PROBLEM STATEMENT OF THIS THESIS

From the above it is clear that the National Democratic Revolution is a central concept within the “broad liberationist church”/tripartite alliance, National Democratic Movement, and Government of South Africa. As a concept it is well used by the ANC and its various alliance partners. In the Strategy and Tactics document of the ANC (ANC, 2007a:21) the NDR is for example defined as a “process of struggle...” (this definition is quoted in full on the previous page). Blade Nzimande (2006) of the SACP however challenges the latent context of “a” national democratic revolution and continues by saying that “...divergent views on the NDR have become self-evident.” According to Nzimande (2006), the content and direction of the NDR have changed since 1994 with the introduction of neo-liberalist, pro-western (pro-capitalist policies) such as GEAR (Growth, Employment and Redistribution Plan). He states that for the SACP the struggle has always been for a native republic as stage to a socialist South Africa.

It is clear from the tripartite alliance’s internal literature that the concept National Democratic Revolution, though vital to all, is defiantly not common in meaning to all. Before 1994 a (politically expedient) consensus existed as to the *goal* if not the application of the NDR. After 1994 the ANC became more neo-liberal and the SACP, COSATU (and their subsidiaries) became more dissatisfied (Johnson, 2009:76). These differentiations are primarily reflected in the internal literature of the various organisations<sup>4</sup> and books such as Johnson’s *South Africa’s Brave New World; the Beloved Country since the end of Apartheid*. With regard to the topic of literature,<sup>5</sup> it is interesting to realise that, despite the fact that the NDR is vitally important in the modern South Africa, only a few scholars have attempted studies in this direction. John Kane-Berman, chief executive of the South African Institute of Race Relations authored several essays on the NDR such as *Revealing the Master plan: What the ANC has in store for South Africa* (2011), all of which are enlightening. In his work he mentions three other scholars that have done work on the NDR, namely Irina Filatova, formerly of Moscow State University, Dave Steward, executive director of the F.W. de Klerk Foundation, and Professor André Duvenhage of the North-West University. (The

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<sup>4</sup> “These differences thus manifested themselves in rocky relations in the Alliance, with disagreements on strategic and tactical matters of socio-economic transformation –the GEAR policy, restructuring of state assets, rightsizing of the public sector, the role of public sector unions, our approach to HIV/AIDS and on-going battles on macro-economic policy, including inflation targeting – culminating in questioning the ANC’s position as the political centre of the NDR” (ANC, 2012a:8).

<sup>5</sup>A thorough discussion of the literature will follow later in the chapter.

author of this thesis has co-authored several articles on the NDR with Professor Duvenhage and follows this paradigm.) Another author who has also written on the NDR is Anthea Jeffery who deals with the topic in her book *Chasing the Rainbow* (2010). None of these authors however dealt with, or had the time and space to deal with the NDR as thoroughly as this thesis does with regard to the ontological and epistemological frames of reference of this ideology.

Furthermore there are very few academic articles dealing with the NDR; the most recent studies dealing explicitly with this phenomenon are the 2012 article by Irina Filatova entitled *The Lasting Legacy: The Soviet Theory of the National-Democratic Revolution and South Africa*, in which the author explores the Soviet origin of the ideology; an article written in 2011 by R.W. Johnson, entitled *The denialism of the NDR*; an article in 2010 by David Moore, entitled *A Decade of Disquieting Diplomacy: South Africa, Zimbabwe and the Ideology of the National Democratic Revolution, 1999–2009*, in which the author explores the (ideological) relationship between South Africa and Zimbabwe, followed in 2009 by scientific journal articles by Moore, De Jager and Duvenhage, as well as the 2005 article of Butler. No books, doctoral or Master's studies providing more than a historical account of events, as exemplified by the books of Jeffery, Johnson (mentioned above) and Andrew Feinstein's (2007) *After the Party* that deals in a latent way with the NDR, could be found.

David Moore's (2009:14-21) article *South Africa's depression/recession, the national democratic revolution and the developmental state a development studies perspective*, deals with the NDR from a one-sided economic perspective with scant attention paid to the epistemology of the political philosophy of the NDR. De Jager's (2009:275-288) article *No "New" ANC?* concerns itself with the post-Polokwane epoch and what De Jager describes as the constants in the ANC, despite the changes in leadership. Chief amongst these is the NDR which she explains within a historical context, describing its unchanging influence within the ANC regardless of a changing leadership. In Duvenhage's (2009:705-727) article *Die ANC en die Nasionale Demokratiese Rewolusie: Polities-strategiese perspektiewe*, he analyses the NDR as the *leitmotif* of the National Democratic Movement, also focusing on the various ideological catchment areas of the NDR. The lack of knowledge, scientific and otherwise, about this most profound and important ideology endemic to the ruling party and its alliance partners is brought to light along with certain predictions regarding the future of the NDR and South Africa.

Anthony Butler's (2005:719-736) article "*How Democratic is the African National Congress?*" explores three dimensions of the ANC of which the NDR is one. This results in a cursory examination of the historical perspectives on the NDR as it applies to the SACP, COSATU and the ANC. Not one of these articles<sup>6</sup> comes close to a demonstration of the importance of the NDR, a seminal definition of this concept, a reconstruction and evaluation, or an interpretation of what is essentially the ideology of the governing alliance in South Africa. Such an analysis of the ideology of the governing alliance is at this stage more vital than ever.

Therefore, as the "broad liberationist church" asserts the importance of the NDR, as the government seeks to build the vision of the next thirty to fifty years on the NDR, and as divisions appear in the NDR, it becomes vitally important that this ideology be studied. Ideology is defined as "a belief system by virtue of being designed to serve on a relatively permanent basis a group of people to justify in reliance on moral norms and a modicum of factual evidence and self-consciously rational coherence, the legitimacy of the implements and technical prescriptions which are to ensure concerted action for the preservation, reform, destruction or reconstruction of a given order" (Seliger, 1976:120).<sup>7</sup> As such, an ideology provides a systematic, well-developed and comprehensive set of ideas and beliefs about politics consisting of: 1) a reconstruction of the current unacceptable situation (analytical dimension); 2) a reconstruction of an ideal situation in conflict with the unacceptable status quo (normative prescriptive dimension), and 3) a socio-political programme of change that will remould the unacceptable present into the ideal future (strategic dimension)<sup>8</sup> (Duvenhage, 2007a:377-403; Newton & van Deth, 2005:242; also compare Seliger, 1976.) Historically the unacceptable reality for the former liberation movements and their alliance partners in South Africa was the repressive system of apartheid.

The ideal situation described by the NDR still is (more than 18 years after 1994) "...the transfer of power to the people and the transformation of society into a non-racial, non-sexist, united, democratic one, and changes the manner in which wealth is shared, in order to benefit all the people". This goal was reaffirmed at the watershed Polokwane Conference of the ANC in 2007

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<sup>6</sup>Although Duvenhage [2009] writes very credibly on the subject, a study that is both broader and deeper in scope is called for.

<sup>7</sup>This definition will form the core of one of the elements used later in the reconstruction and interpretation of the NDR, see Chapter 2 for more detail.

<sup>8</sup>The definition of ideologies and the various dimensions as well as the role these dimensions fulfil in the reconstruction and interpretation of the NDR are described in the section on methodology in this chapter as well as in Chapters 2 and 5 of this thesis.

(ANC, 2007a:21), in the General Elections of 2009, the Municipal Elections of 2011 and again as masses of people protest against low wages, lack of service delivery and increasing instead of decreasing poverty. The goal is situated centrally in the division between the ANCYL and the ANC (Malema versus Zuma) and as both the SACP and the ANC towards the end of 2012 claim to represent the purer form of the NDR.

The revolution is thus not complete and the 1994 formation of the miraculous Rainbow Nation was just a step on the way (Nzimande, 2006). Joe Slovo (1992) described this as follows: "There was certainly never a prospect of forcing the regime's unconditional surrender across the table. It follows that the negotiating table is neither the sole terrain of the struggle for power nor the place where it will reach its culminating point. In other words, negotiations are only a part, and not the whole, of the struggle for real people's power...". In the past, especially after the Sharpeville massacre in 1960, the agenda embodied in the NDR was forced into the public domain by an armed struggle, civil disobedience, violence and death, or in short by revolution defined by Skocpol (1979:4) as "rapid basic transformations of society's state and class structures... accompanied and in part carried through by class-based revolts from below". Legassick (2007:77) defines the revolutionary process in South Africa and other "so-called developing countries" as a "permanent revolution". He continues: "The condition of combined and uneven development is the material basis for the theory of permanent revolution...", and it is this uneven distribution of access to goods, work, water, health care, sanitation, in short socio-economic safety as promised by governments since 1994, that is at present driving the social unrest in South Africa.

The only ideology accessible to the poor masses in South Africa that brought about change in the past is the NDR. The main custodians of this ideology are currently the ANC, COSATU and the SACP. The origins of the various streams and interpretations of this revolutionary concept in South Africa are complex; the idea of the permanent world revolution for example first originated with Marx and permeated to Leon Trotsky, while for example prominent academic and community leader Mamphela Ramphele (2008:14) articulates a need for change that is revolutionary in scope, but not revolutionary in nature. The recent question is what the meaning of the NDR as ideology, product of different schools of thought, open to various interpretations, and source of actions ranging from clemency for apartheid functionaries to calls for "purges" and "killing" entails for the future of South Africa. This, in view of the events described above and the deficiencies in the

scientific literature on the subject, is the central problem on which this study will focus and the question arising may be formulated as follows:

**The central problem to be addressed in this thesis is to arrive at a scientific reconstruction, interpretation and evaluation of the National Democratic Revolution as ideological framework in the post-1994 South Africa.** Thus through methodologies that will be discussed in detail below, the NDR will be analysed in the post-1994 South African environment. This central problem is for the purposes of this study devolved into several research questions that will be discussed hereafter.

### 1.3 RESEARCH QUESTIONS

This study will answer the following research questions:

- In what manner does radical thinking as an ideological framework provide an ontological and epistemological frame of reference (heritage) for the NDR?
- In what manner do revolutionary traditions and academic theories (forthcoming from radical philosophy and ideologies) contribute to the formulation of the NDR?
- How did the NDR develop within a South African historical context and what paradigm shifts occurred?
- How can the NDR be reconstructed and interpreted according to its analytical dimension?
- How can the NDR be reconstructed and interpreted according to its normative dimension?
- How can the NDR be reconstructed and interpreted according to its strategic dimension?
- How can the NDR be evaluated as ideology and what future perspectives can be offered?

These research questions represent the study goals that follow.

### 1.4 STUDY GOALS

According to Babbie and Mouton (2008:79), the most common purposes of social research are exploration (the provision of basic familiarity with a topic), description (the provision of an accurate portrayal of the characteristics of a particular individual, group, situation or event), and explanation (the indication of causal relationships between variables and events).

In order to put the problem statement into operation and to test the central theoretical statement of this study the following goals have to be attained:

- The reconstruction of radical thinking as an ideological framework in order to identify the ontological and epistemological frame of reference (heritage) of the NDR.
- The reconstruction of the revolutionary traditions and theories (forthcoming from radical philosophy and ideologies) that contributed to the formulation of the NDR.
- The reconstruction and interpretation of the development of the NDR within a South African historical context.
- The reconstruction and interpretation of the NDR as a revolutionary ideological framework – the analytical dimension.
- The reconstruction and interpretation of the NDR as a revolutionary ideological framework – the normative dimension.
- The reconstruction and interpretation of the NDR as a revolutionary ideological framework – the strategic dimension.
- The macro-evaluation of the NDR as ideology and the provision of a perspective on the future.

The study goals as explained above lead to the following central theoretical statement of this thesis.

### **1.5 CENTRAL THEORETICAL STATEMENT**

Thus the central theoretical statement of this study is that the NDR forms the fundamental ideology of the ANC, the tripartite governing alliance in South Africa and the associated broad church. In this a vision of the unjust past, the unacceptable present and the utopian future is developed, consisting of a hard-core of fundamental assumptions and an adaptable applicable context which, like a living organism, continuously adapts to a changing environment (historically defined) that will eventually dominate South African politics ideologically and practically; in theory and execution.

The methods and procedure by which the central theoretical statement will be explored will be delineated below.

## 1.6 METHODS AND PROCEDURES

As the stated goals of the thesis are reconstruction, interpretation and evaluation, these methods have to be further analysed. Reconstruction is a descriptive function used “to determine whether certain variables are mutually associated” and “to describe views, beliefs, attitudes, values” (Duvenhage & Combrink, 2006:65). Interpretative and evaluative<sup>9</sup> methods are “exploratory in nature and are used to gain new insight into phenomena, to explain concepts, constructs and paradigms and to develop hypotheses with regard to specific phenomena” (Duvenhage & Combrink, 2006:65). In other words, the methods that this study will employ to achieve its goal will be descriptive and exploratory.

The study design will be qualitative, which means that the research will be more epistemological, focusing on the dynamic and evolving nature of social reality rather than only on that which can be counted (Marsh & Stoker, 2002:201). Within this epistemological tradition, alongside qualitative methods, interpretative theories will also be used as they explain meaning in the form of logical progression, dispositions of individuals and structural links between concepts. According to Marsh and Stoker (2002:131), “interpretative approaches study beliefs as they perform within, and even frame, actions, practices and institutions. Interpretative theory applies to all of political studies.”

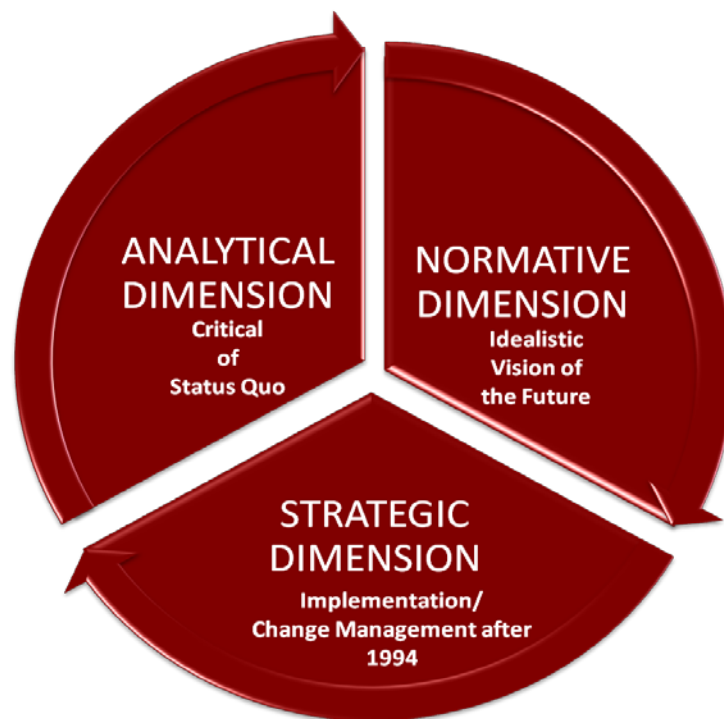
Theory and constructs will be used in a deductive manner. Deduction is the process of logic where that which is held to be true is used as basis for the explanation of the new or unexplored. In other words, theory concerning the important concepts and phenomena regarding revolution in general and the NDR specifically will first be reconstructed in such a manner that the remainder of the study can draw from it as a framework for explanation. The various chapters will then build on each other providing inductive conclusions and constructs that will be used as part of the deductive basis in the following chapters. Information and data for this process will be sourced indirectly. Indirect sources include all manner of printed material, from pamphlets and books to the electronic media. These methods will be used in a mutually supportive manner and form a definitive part of the qualitative method employed in this study (Babbie & Mouton, 2008:270).

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<sup>9</sup>Evaluation according to Babbie and Mouton (2008:345) is the science of valuing “because it [society] requires a science of valuing because it requires systematic unbiased means of knowing if its products, personnel and programs are good.” What specifically will be evaluated about the NDR and how this evaluation will be designed will formally be discussed in Chapter 1 of the study. For now it can be stated that the evaluation criteria will be provided by the theories used in the study and that which will be evaluated will reveal itself as the study progresses. The method will be rigidly scientific.

Another important methodological aspect that has to be introduced in this section is the analytical framework that will be used to reconstruct and interpret the ideology of the NDR. This construct consists of two parts: first, from the definition of ideology by Seliger (1976) as explained in Chapter 2 it is clear that every ideology consists of three dimensions, illustrated in Figure 1 below:

**Figure 1: The Dimensions of Ideology**



Secondly, in Chapter 4 it becomes clear that the ANC government in the most recent incarnation of the goals of the NDR highlights five “pillars”, namely: the State, the Economy, Organisational Work, the Ideological Struggle, and International Work (ANC, 2012b:2). When these “pillars” are broadened in accordance with the historical development of the NDR as reconstructed and interpreted in Chapter 4, six distinct clusters in which the NDR functions can be identified. When the ideological dimensions and the six clusters are combined, an analytical framework for the NDR can be developed. This framework as used for the purposes of this thesis which is a reconstruction, interpretation and evaluation of the NDR is represented in Table 2 below and explained in detail in Chapter 5.

**Figure 2: The analytical framework for the analysis and understanding of the NDR**

DIMENSIONS OF IDEOLOGY	HISTORICAL CLUSTER	POLITICAL CLUSTER	ECONOMIC CLUSTER	SOCIAL CLUSTER	INTERNATIONAL CLUSTER	IDEOLOGICAL CLUSTER
<p><b>ANALYTICAL DIMENSION</b></p> <p><b>(CRITICAL OF STATUS QUO)</b></p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>History of colonialism (of a special type) and apartheid.</li> <li>Patterns of under-development and super exploitation.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Political suppression and super exploitation.</li> <li>Institutionalised formal racial discrimination.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Colonial and apartheid production relations</li> <li>Critique against capitalism.</li> <li>Rich (white) versus poor (black).</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Social inequality.</li> <li>Loss of human dignity and super exploitation of some in society.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Apartheid as crime against humanity.</li> <li>Rich (North) vs. Poor (South).</li> <li>Colonialist vs. Non-colonialist nations.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Critique against apartheid, and colonialism (worldwide).</li> <li>Colonialism of a special sort (SA), exploitation and capitalism as a form of exploitation.</li> </ul>
<p><b>NORMATIVE DIMENSION</b></p> <p><b>(IDEALISTIC VISION OF THE FUTURE)</b></p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Mythologising and demythologising (Functional).</li> <li>Historical paradigm shift in 1994 and ongoing transition from liberation movement to political party.</li> <li>Dialectical stress between past, present and future (ANCYL).</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Political equality and Freedom (Social Democracy).</li> <li>Representative, just and inclusive state and society.</li> <li>Redress in the form of an "acceptance of guilt", the TRC, a wealth tax.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li><i>Second phase of revolution</i>: Economic transformation.</li> <li>Sustainability in for example economic growth and inclusivity.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li><i>Second phase of revolution</i>: Social transformation.</li> <li>An equalising society</li> <li>National identity and social cohesion.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Transformation: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>SADC.</li> <li>Africa.</li> <li>International order</li> <li>UN.</li> <li>International monetary structures (especially the way aid is distributed).</li> </ul> </li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Non-racial, non-sexist, democratic and developmental framework as a remedy.</li> <li>Differences between the ANC, SACP and ANCYL.</li> </ul>
<p><b>STRATEGIC DIMENSION</b></p> <p><b>(CHANGE MANAGEMENT – POST-1994)</b></p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Mythologising and demythologising (Strategic).</li> <li>Legitimisation of struggle history.</li> <li>The importance of the "class alliance" between the ANC, the SACP and COSATU.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li><i>First phase of revolution</i>: Establish political control.</li> <li>Relationship between party and state (With party ahead of state)</li> <li>"Organisational renewal" as priority</li> <li>Developmental state</li> <li>"Good governance" (see dimensions)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li><i>Second Phase of the Revolution</i>: Economic Transformation.</li> <li>Black Economic Empowerment.</li> <li>Job creation (see dimensions).</li> <li>Affirmative Action.</li> <li>Transformation of patterns of ownership of the means of production (Land, Industry and JSE. i.e. Wealth).</li> <li>Nationalisation.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Dimensions: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Creation of jobs/ sustainable livelihoods.</li> <li>Poverty reduction.</li> <li>Social security.</li> <li>Rural development.</li> <li>Education.</li> <li>Health.</li> <li>Housing.</li> <li>Fight against crime.</li> <li>Fight against corruption.</li> </ul> </li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Political alignment with progressive (left wing) powers.</li> <li>Consolidation of powerbases.</li> <li>Building and maintenance of high moral ground.</li> <li>Achievement of 1994 settlement "sold" internationally.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Defines moral high ground.</li> <li>"The battle of ideas."</li> <li>Revolutionary symbols</li> <li>"Strategy and tactics revisited."</li> </ul>

The analysis of the clusters above provides and defines (reveals) not only the epistemology (incorporated knowledge framework, core assumptions and goals of the NDR) but also its (intended) actions in the past, present and future. It also provides an ontological relational order between the various clusters and the subjects grouped under each, especially when tabulated with the dimensions of an ideology, namely the analytical, normative and strategic. The literature that will be used in this study will hereafter be examined in further detail.

## 1.7 REVIEW OF LITERATURE

Except for the literature dealt with as part of the problem statement, the source material for this study as explained above consists of the following:

- The core literature applicable to this study is made up of primary sources from within the Mass Democratic Movement and in particular the ANC, the SACP and COSATU and their subsidiary organisations such as the ANC Youth League. Foremost amongst these will be documents such as the Freedom Charter and the Strategy and Tactics documents of the ANC (especially the strategy and tactics of the Morogoro conference in 1969 and the Polokwane conference in 2007<sup>10</sup>); the various ANC policy discussion documents, COSATU and the SACP's reactions to these documents and philosophical documents such as on the origins of the "ideology of racism" by Oliver Tambo and the Two Nation speech by Thabo Mbeki which became NDR canon.
- The ANC, SACP and COSATU web pages and various publications of the ANC, SACP and COSATU such as *ANC Today*, as monitored constantly. The same is done with the web pages and publications of other members of the tripartite alliance and/or their subsidiaries. This is augmented by requests for original documents and information from the various role players.

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<sup>10</sup> Both these conferences represent watersheds in the history of the ANC, "the struggle" for liberation and the NDR.

- Another part of the core literature is found in books such as Vladimir Shubin's *ANC, A view From Moscow* (2008), Pippa Green's *Choice, not fate* and *The life and times of Trevor Manuel* (2008), Brian Pottinger's *The Mbeki legacy* (2008), Martin Legassick's *Towards Socialist Democracy* (2007), R.W. Johnson's *South Africa's Brave New World* (2009), Mamphela Ramphele's *Laying Ghosts to Rest* (2008), John Foran *et al.*'s *Revolution in the Making of the Modern World* (2008), Andrew Feinstein's *After the Party* (2007), Jeremy Gordin's *Zuma* (2008) and other recent biographical and autobiographical material. These books are augmented by relevant and new insights gleaned from open source media in electronic and printed form.
- A second category of relevant literature is found in books such as David Priestland's *The Red Flag: A history of Communism* (2009), Bratton and Van de Walle's *Democratic Experiments in Africa* (1998), Thompson's *Introduction to African Politics* (2003), and Marais's *South Africa, Limits to Change* (2001). It was expected that these books would provide an interpretative reference for the theme of this study. This should provide a practical level to which will be added the insights of recognised authorities in their field such as Sartori's *Parties and Party Systems* (1976), Michels's *Political Parties* (1959), Duverger's *Political Parties* (1955), Huntington's *Political Order in Changing Societies* (2006) and *Third Wave* (1991), Toffler's *Power Shift* (1991), Brinton's *The Anatomy of Revolution* (1965) and Seliger's *Ideology and Politics* (1976).

A final category of literature that will be examined consists of books such as the *Blackwell Dictionary of Political Science* (2003), the *Oxford Concise Dictionary of Politics*, Hoffman's *Glossary of Political Theory* (2007), and methodological literature such as Marsh and Stoker's *Theory and Methods in Political Science* (2002) and Babbie and Mouton's *The Practise of Social Research* (2008).

The chapter demarcation of the study is described below.

## **1.8 CHAPTER DIVISION**

- Chapter 1: Introduction, problem statement and methodology
- Chapter 2: The reconstruction of radical thinking as an ideological framework
- Chapter 3: The reconstruction of the revolutionary traditions and theories that contributed to the formulation of the NDR
- Chapter 4: The reconstruction and interpretation of the development of the national democratic revolution within the South African historical context
- Chapter 5: The reconstruction and interpretation of the NDR, the analytical dimension
- Chapter 6: The reconstruction and interpretation of the NDR, the normative dimension
- Chapter 7: The reconstruction and interpretation of the NDR, the strategic dimension
- Chapter 8: Conclusions; an evaluation of the ideology of the NDR and future perspectives.

Lastly the significance of this study must be elucidated.

## **1.9 CONCLUSION: THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THIS STUDY**

A search of all relevant databases revealed no registered MA or PhD studies on the topic as explained above, only shorter articles. Due to this fact, this study will be a valuable addition to the body of knowledge concerning revolutionary theory and thought, the driving forces behind “the struggle” against apartheid and the ideological background of the governing alliance and the current government. The NDR is a deterministic factor for every South African citizen, the country, Southern Africa, and the ideal of democracy in Africa. It is vitally important that the interaction of this ideology with these bigger realities be examined in order to understand the South Africa and indeed the Southern African we are living in, as well as the reality of the future. The significance of this study can thus be found on three tiers:

On the first tier the contribution will be in the understanding of revolution and revolutionary theory as well as ideologies (and their accompanying mythology), especially in South Africa. On the second tier this study will provide an insight into the

ideology of the government of South Africa and the political groupings that represent the majority of this country's people. In doing so the third tier, the NDR as motive force for past and future politics in South Africa, will be explained. With these tiers successfully formulated the political ideology of the government of South Africa would be reconstructed, leading to the understanding of the ANC dominated government and the future direction of our country as well as possible deviations. This thesis is the most comprehensive analysis of the NDR up to the present and the first to offer a substantial theoretical analysis of the NDR, the first to analyse the NDR against the background of other revolutionary ideologies and the first to analyse the post-1994 application of the NDR in South Africa. This being so, the project is extremely relevant in terms of the current political debates and may yield an instrument for possible prediction.

## **CHAPTER 2: THE RECONSTRUCTION OF RADICAL THINKING AS AN IDEOLOGICAL FRAMEWORK**

### **2.1 INTRODUCTION**

The 9/11 attack, the subsequent “War on Terror”, the “Arab Spring”, the elections in the USA (among many other events) and closer to the South African cultural, historical and political fabric, Afrikaner Nationalism and “the struggle” are all actions, acts or programmes of political action based on an ideology or ideologies. “Ideology is present wherever policy making is present, and policy making is the attempt to solve problems” (Seliger, 1976:105). Seen as such, ideology is a nearly omnipresent motivator of human action, influencing the daily fabric of life itself. When described in this way it is useful to define ideology as: “sets of political beliefs involving programs of political action which draw on large-scale views about human nature and/or historical development” (Browning, 2002:252). In South Africa the National Democratic Revolution (a progressive ideology with radical origins) is the ideology of the governing alliance. Blade Nzimande, General Secretary of the South African Communist Party, testifies to this: “The character, content and direction of the NDR are of fundamental importance to our Alliance [the ANC, COSATU and the SACP] since the deepening and consolidating of the national democratic revolution is the glue that holds our alliance together.” In order to proceed with an investigation of this ideology it is necessary to discover its roots.

The definition of ideology given by Browning and similar definitions, although useful, firstly illustrate the fact that the word “ideology” has been the victim of a transformative logic that produced various avatars that differ in substantial meaning, rendering the concept [deliberately] vague. Secondly, ideology is a discursive concept which has been used by different people at different times for different ends, each for the purpose of argument or discussion, defining and using the concept as a tool to suit the problem rather than as a clarifier or arbiter. Thirdly, the very notion of ideology seeks to grasp the changing aspects of history and focuses itself on continuous reassessment as well as dissent and contest (Bauman, 1999:109). This leads to the myriad of definitions spoken of previously, as well as actual uncertainty as to the core meaning of the

concept of ideology. This leads Seliger (1976:13) to conclude: “despite the numerous studies which deal directly or inter alia with ideology...no generally accepted definition of the term exists” (a problem he himself addresses later on in his work). When laden concepts such as “radical” or “revolutionary” and “ideological” are combined, uncertainty predominates and (ironically) it is seldom an academic standard that gives meaning, but rather a personal opinion resulting in a utilitarian vagueness. Revolution is one of Seliger’s “problems” remarked on above. Callinicos (2008:152) defines a revolution as a “rapid and forcible transfer of state power that contributes to a decisive acceleration in a process of broader social transformation. This arguably defines the act of revolution, which radical ideologies to a lesser or greater extent see as the way to attain the broad societal transformation they want to achieve. A revolution or at least revolutionary change is thus a definitive component of a radical philosophy” (Baradat, 2009:18).

Methodologically the structure of this chapter will be deductive, starting with the epistemological building blocks necessary for the rest of the thesis. The goal of this chapter is therefore to provide a conceptual toolset for subsequent use since, as will be shown, the ontological and epistemological heritage of the NDR is found within radical philosophies, it is however necessary to first provide the basic conceptual ordering (building blocks) for this study. In order to accomplish this, in the first section of this chapter the ontology of the ideology will be broadly discussed, ideology will be differentiated from philosophy, the various ways in which the ideological spectrum can be illustrated and used will be introduced, and the various groupings on the spectrum will be discussed. In the second section radical ideologies will be reconstructed as they form the natural antecedents of the NDR, as will be shown later in the thesis. It is very important to note that even the minor sections of the chapter noted above contain whole fields of study that cannot be replicated and analysed in full in the present thesis and as such only the basic toolset that is necessary for the rest of the thesis is provided in this chapter.

## 2.2 THE ONTOLOGY OF IDEOLOGY

In this section a short overview concerning the ontology of the concept of ideology will be given. The goal is not for this to be an exhaustive anthology, but rather a short introduction to the development of one of the central concepts that will be dealt with in this thesis. Etymologically the word ideology denotes the “science of Ideas” which came into being in the Age of Enlightenment. This was a period of revolutionary change bringing about economic and social upheaval, and thereby creating the conditions for the Industrial Revolution and the Age of Reason. Antoine Destutt de Tracy, a founding member of the French Institut National, which in the aftermath of the French Revolution was given the task of spreading the ideas of the enlightenment, regarded ideology or the science of ideas as contributing to the creation of a world built and ruled by reason: “We exist only through our sensations and our ideas. No things exist except by ideas that we possess of them” (De Tracy as quoted by Bauman, 1999:109-110).

The idea was considered as absolute and could be refined through a rational scientific process; the method for doing this was through the use of a basic set of assumptions: Human conduct is guided by ideas, ideas are formed by processing sensations, “this processing” is governed by laws, and laws can be discovered by observation and experimentation. Once discovered, the laws can be used – like other known laws of nature – to improve reality in a rational way (Bauman, 1999:110). In this manner Ideology could have become a precise science making sure that only true ideas pass the test of reason and are adopted. In this way an Ideologist can become a watchdog, a builder and a steward of an enlightened society.

This optimism quickly ran counter to the practical needs of Napoleon Bonaparte whose interest lay not in the rationality of the idea but in the rationality of empire. Two other ideological critics, Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, wrote in *German Ideology* that human conduct has indeed to be changed according to the standards of reason, but ideas cannot be correct as long as the world which supplies those ideas is wrongly built (Bauman, 1999:111; Browning, 2002:253). According to Marx and Engels, the omnipotence of ideas is one of the many illusions the wrongly constructed world is

turning out on a massive scale. Instead of fighting wrongly constructed ideas, the material world has first to be reconstructed. This debate raged within the broad Enlightenment<sup>11</sup> and German Ideology remained an unpublished manuscript.

After the French and Russian Revolutions and the First World War, with the tension of the Second World War brewing, the meaning of the concept Ideology changed. It then denoted not supreme knowledge, but merely belief, not based on fact. Europe was by then entering the era of political division, political inspired violence and the self-doubt of the knowledge-elite that cast shadows over the victory of scientific reason (Bauman, 1999:113).

The language of Ideology at that stage began to look like ideological (philosophical) debate and mere discourse. Marx and Engels were opposed to injunctions on a moral, religious and legal basis within societies they diagnosed as harbouring structural inequalities. Minogue wanted to persuade scholars to accept a limited style of politics and rejected radical change. Marx and Engels argued against structural material inequality of power but Minogue argued for the rule of law and limited politics (Browning, 2002:254). These debates, as exemplified above, led to a growing tendency among scholars to speak of ideology in broad terms that encompass a wide variety of styles of thought and thus uncertainty and less exactness. (This led to the vagueness or variety in definitions spoken of in the first paragraphs of this chapter.) Ideologies nowadays represent (in the common mind) frameworks of thoughts about politics in which large-scale ideas about human beings and society support more specific ideas about politics and constitute the basis for considered political action (Browning, 2002:254). Ideologies (note the plural) can be contradictory, are sometimes (mostly) at odds with one another and represent different kinds of beliefs, the character and validity of which are questioned, not least by other ideologies and philosophies. This, according to Seliger (1976:105), is part of what defines Ideology. In order to further demonstrate this point it

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<sup>11</sup>Also known as the Age of Reason centred in the 18<sup>th</sup> century which founded the cultural, philosophic, intellectual and scientific spheres where the dominion of the church of the dark ages was replaced by the acceptance of reason and scientific methods.

is necessary to differentiate between ideology, philosophy and worldview. This will also bring Seliger's core definition of ideology to the fore.

### **2.3 IDEOLOGY VERSUS PHILOSOPHY**

A worldview is a fundamental assessment regarding questions a person asks about himself (Stoker, 1961:113). According to Davey (2006:700) a Weltanschung (worldview) is subjective acts [interpretations] dependent upon and giving expression to a fundamental state of being. The answers to Stoker's questions or Davey's interpretations inform his or her philosophy and as such penetrate deeper as they try to find meaning in the human experience through introspection.

The goal of philosophy in its broadest sense is not to act, but rather to understand. Once understanding has been achieved and, according to Seliger (1976:106-107), mobilisation into action toward the accepting and rejection of ideas has occurred, philosophy becomes ideology. Philosophy and ideology are not synonyms although they are sometimes used as such, and the one does not always beget the other. In the words of Seliger (1976:114) "Ideologists [and a few political theorists and scientists] confuse...the difference between the spheres of philosophical and scientific meta-fundamentals and the domain of ideological fundamentals". Yet to insist on the distinction between meta-ideological and ideological is to deny that they interact.

Ideology shares with political philosophy the structure of formal content and in most cases it depends for its fundamental principles on the specific content of political philosophies. Ideology comprises, according to Seliger (1976:106), the following fundamental components: Descriptions, analysis, moral prescriptions, technical prescriptions, the ways of implementation and rejections. "As joined together in an ideology, fundamental principles assume a less disinterested and less objective complexion than their philosophical models. This difference is due to the immediate action-orientation of ideology" (Seliger, 1976:120). According to Baradat (2009:10), this action is usually addressed towards "huge numbers of people...as ideology is the theoretical base upon which each modern nation is founded".

When ordered, the fundamental components mentioned above interact, according to Seliger (1976:106), in the following manner (he does concede that reality is more complicated than this abstraction): Phenomena are first noticed and described, then analyzed, then decisions are taken according to moral norms in view of technical possibilities as to what to do about them and what not to do (this is implementation and rejection).

A further point has to be made now that the components of ideology have been described. Ideology inevitably bifurcates into two dimensions of argumentation. Seliger calls the first the dimension of fundamental principles, and this dimension determines the “goals” and “grand vistas” of the ideology. He calls the second dimension the “dimension of argumentation” or “operative ideology”. Each is ideology but with different emphases. “As against the continued assertion of principle in the dimension of fundamentals, there develops a line of argument whose purpose is to devise and justify the policies executed or recommended by a party, whether or not they deviate from the fundamental” (Seliger, 1976:109).

Incorporating all that was said above, Seliger (1976:120) provides what he calls his core definition of ideology: “An ideology is a belief system by virtue of being designed to serve on a relatively permanent basis a group of people to justify in reliance on moral norms and a modicum of factual evidence and self-consciously rational coherence, the legitimacy of the implements and technical prescriptions which are to ensure concerted action for the preservation, reform, destruction or reconstruction of a given order”.

Seliger defines ideology as a “belief system” in reliance on moral norms. (This will be dealt with in more detail in Chapter 6.) It is nevertheless at this stage necessary to note that the legitimacy of an ideology to issue technical prescriptions is deeply and ultimately enshrined in the quality of its moral appeal or norms that it formulates, and this is distilled from within the essence of the history of the ideology, the history of a particular culture and the history of a group that ultimately cultivates its right of existence. This history is more than a mere chronology. It is a belief about history and

therefore a mythology (not an untruth, but a trustworthy, extremely relevant, true or sacred account. Herein lies justification and legitimacy. (More about this in sections 6.3 and 6.4 of Chapter 6.)

From this core definition of Seliger to the distilled definition of ideology: “An Ideology is a more or less coherent set of ideas that provides a basis for political action, whether this is intended to preserve, modify or overthrow the existing system of power relationships. All ideologies therefore offer an account of the existing order... provide a model of a desired future...and outline how political change should be brought about” (Heywood, 2007:45, with reference to Seliger, 1976). This definition can be broken down into the three main dimensions inherent in ideology:

- A dialectical analysis of a malign historical process and undesirable present, the Analytical dimension;
- A normative model for the desirable future, the Normative dimension;
- A strategy for achieving that future by way of change, the Strategic dimension.

These dimensions will be the main tools whereby the NDR will be analysed in Chapters 5, 6 and 7. Thus the NDR will be reconstructed and interpreted in Chapters 5, 6 and 7 after the development of the ideology has been charted according to its analytical, normative and strategic dimensions.

To return to the differentiation of Ideology and Philosophy: these two concepts are therefore closely related and share many components, except ideology’s orientation towards mass action. Functionally on a practical level ideology consists of descriptions, analysis, moral prescriptions, technical prescriptions, implementation, and rejections of ideas and strategies. Importantly, ideology thus becomes a battleground for persuasion on fields where core (fundamental) principles are held (holy and wholly) valuable but obscured, but are yet achieved by way of obscurity in an “operative,” “double dealing” and “double talking” way (Seliger, 1976:110). This then might be the ultimate difference

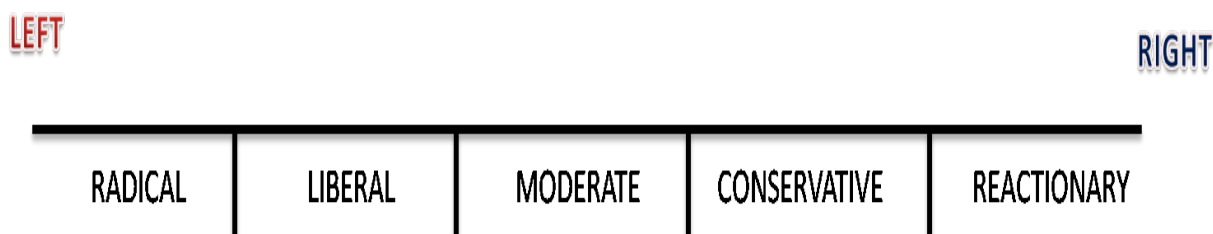
between ideology and philosophy; philosophy is more honest and less involved in politics.

In conclusion, it is clear from the section above that ideology is part of the structure and variety of society. Ideology is no longer the implement of De Tracy's rationality but rather the tool of argument and persuasion. It follows that ideologies have multiplied as the motivations for political argument have multiplied and the arguments according to Seliger have bifurcated. In the following section attention will be given to the various motives (or incentive factors) for ideology as well as to the way ideologies are analytically ordered.

## 2.4 THE IDEOLOGICAL SPECTRUM

The ideological spectrum is a categorisation of the broad motive forces or political attitudes (Seliger's methods of problem solving) for ideology. The spectrum is a way to plot associations and assign meaning (and a way of making sense) of the myriad of ideologies that have come into being since the science of ideas was first conceptualised. As such it is also a substantial simplification. The spectrum is usually represented in a linear fashion, as in Figure 3 below, but other representations are also possible and sometimes preferable, one of which will follow later.

**Figure 3: The Linear Representation of the Ideological Spectrum**



**Baradat, 2009:14**

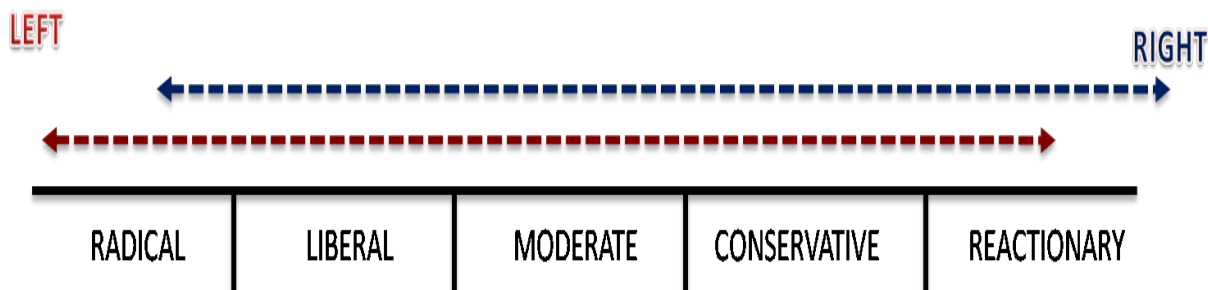
The explanation for the arch ideological labels of left and right is rooted in history. The "left" in the figure above, supported, in the era of the French Revolution, the new

progressive order (at a certain stage in a revolutionary manner). Those in the French parliament who were opposed to the French monarch, thus those that were pro-change, were seated on the left while those who supported his policies were seated on the right. The “right” by definition is thus more opposed to change although they sometimes will also resort to revolution and violence in order to force their will on society (Baradat, 2009:14; Browning, 2002:256).

Radical, Liberal, Moderate, Conservative and Reactionary Philosophies are collectives for groups of ideologies that are more or less similar. Radical philosophies are close to the left and wish for immediate and profound change; liberal philosophies view people in collective terms and emphasise human rights. Moderate philosophies find little wrong in society, conservative philosophies revere sanctified tradition, and reactionary philosophies would see society retrace its steps and adopt former policies and norms (Baradat, 2009:130).

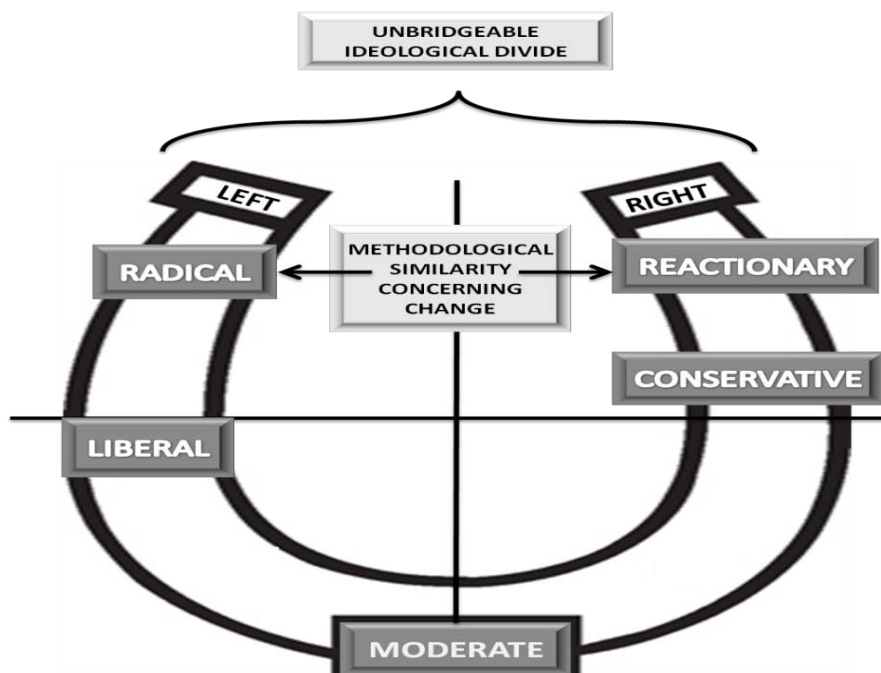
The status quo according to this model is constantly in flux. Any (contentious or non-contentious) subject, such as the right of women to participate in politics by voting, will in the course of time shift along the continuum. A given subject may also shift in a certain direction in different societies, given the values and norms of those societies. The right of women to vote was a contentious issue in the 19<sup>th</sup> century and a very radical proposition in Western civilisation at that time. By 2005 the Western world however saw universal suffrage as the norm, while in Kuwait women only received the right to vote in 2005. The proposal of universal suffrage had during the decade prior to 2005 in Kuwait thus been seen as radical. Nowadays any opponent to universal suffrage in Kuwait and the Western world would either be conservative or reactionary. A reactionary faction such as the Taliban may however hypothetically come to power in Kuwait and abolish the right of women to participate in politics. The idea of a fixed black line in Figure 3 above is thus a fallacy and the constantly oscillating nature of the status quo should rather be represented by possibilities of movement in both directions on the continuum as in Figure 4 below.

**Figure 4: The Status Quo and the Political Spectrum**



Before the groups of philosophies in the spectrum are defined in greater detail another method of ordering the ideological diversity needs attention. According to the Horseshoe theory, the linear spectrum is bent in the form of a horseshoe as in Figure 5 below. Schoeman (1994:17) refers to this as the Cyclical model.

**Figure 5: The Horseshoe Theory or Cyclical Model**



Schoeman, 1994:17

This brings the Radical philosophies demanding revolutionary progressive change, and the Reactive philosophies demanding revolutionary retrogressive change, into perspective (and closer together) concerning their attitude about the method of change

they prefer. Instead of occupying two opposite ends they occupy two spaces that will never meet as to the ideological content, but are close to each other concerning operative strategy, such as the ends of a horseshoe. This delineation and description will become clearer when the different ideological groupings are defined hereafter.

### **2.4.1 Radicalism**

“In general terms a radical is a person who is extremely dissatisfied with the society as it is and therefore impatient with less than extreme proposals for changing it” (Baradat, 2009:18). All radicals favour revolutionary change to the foundation or fabric of society, although not all radicals favour violence. According to Hoffman (2007:154) and McLean and McMillan (2003, 455), radicals can be right wing or left wing. (This validates the argument postulated by the Horseshoe/Cyclical theory.)

In the writings of the abovementioned authors the radical element in the political spectrum in Europe and America has largely been absorbed by the desire of the liberal establishments to accommodate leftist goals (Baradat, 2009:19). Nowadays Mohandas Gandhi and Martin Luther King Jr. are revered icons of the radical and liberal movements. The examples of contemporary radical parties given by Baradat, Hoffman, and Mclean and McMillian, include the “Green parties” and Feminist parties. These examples are either very American or very Eurocentric. True radicalism does however still exist.

Radicalism will be reconstructed in full later in this chapter. To give a preliminary indicator of Radical thought an example of Nihilistic Revolutionary Anarchism can be cited: “Nihilism is Anarchism, and Nihilism is revolutionary although it is an aberration of Anarchism. Like all other modern revolutionary tendencies, it is based philosophically on the Hegelian axiom: Negation of Negation, which Friedrich Engels approvingly resolved with Goethe’s words: All that exists is worth perishing...” (Bergman, 1989:9-10).

More mainstream radical thought would include texts by Lenin: “Even in the most democratic bourgeois state the oppressed masses at every step encounter the crying

contradiction between the formal equality proclaimed by the democracy of the capitalists and the thousands of real limitations and subterfuges which turn the proletarians into wage slaves. It is precisely this contradiction that is opening the eyes of the masses to the rottenness, mendacity and hypocrisy of capitalism. It is this contradiction that the agitators and propagandists of Socialism are constantly exposing to the masses, in order to prepare them for revolution!" (Lenin, 1965:19-27). Of course, for the Anarchist or the Leninist, who finds the condition of society and the world abhorrent, he/she is not a radical, only a realist. The academic criterion for the classification of an ideology however takes into account the manner in which it proposes change.

#### **2.4.2 Liberalism**

Liberalism is essentially the ideology of the industrialised capitalist Western nations. Francis Fukijama has suggested that modern Western history has to be told in such a way that it recognises the triumph of the Liberal Capitalist Regimes and that the collapse of Soviet Communism in some way represents the end of a dialectical ideological struggle or the "End of History" (Browning, 2002:256-262; Goodwin, 2007:35-63; Heywood, 2007:45-48).

The essential elements of liberalism are: the freedom of the rational individual, a contract between state and individual, or social contract whereby society is ordered and the powers of the state are curtailed and the individual is protected by a constitution formed as the supreme law, guaranteeing political, economic and social freedom of choice, recognising equal opportunity in the abstract (to vote and/or to become rich), without the existence of actual equality (intelligence and wealth), and so realising social justice based on merit.

The argument for meritocracy is that those being rewarded with power, money and other accolades are the most deserving; all people having [supposedly] equal opportunity. Those who make the most of their talents and opportunities deserve the most reward. Liberals also believe in the value of tolerance, which is the willingness to allow others to speak, think and act in ways which they themselves disapprove of. They

believe that pluralism (moral, cultural and political diversity) is healthy and promotes debate and intellectual progress. Liberalists do however wish to maintain strict boundaries between private (the economic and social) and public (or political) life.

This suggests a very large sphere of privacy where the individual can act without the interference of government, and a small sector in consideration of matters of public concern where government has sovereignty (Browning, 2002:256-262; Goodwin, 2007:35-63; Heywood, 2007:45-48).

This focus on extreme individualism is largely associated with Classical Liberalism. This perspective looks at human beings as egotistical, self-seeking and self-reliant; proprietors of their own capacities, owing nothing to society or other individuals. According to this perspective government is seen as a necessary evil and the State is there purely to fulfil the position of a night watchman, there to protect in times of great peril (Browning,2002:256-262; Goodwin, 2007:35-63; Heywood, 2007:45-48).

The primary spokesman for this kind of liberalism was John Locke. An example of his thoughts: "Men being as has been said, by nature are all free, and independent, no one can be put off this estate and subjected to the political power of another without his own consent, which is done by agreeing with other men, to join and unite into a community, for their comfortable, safe, and peaceable living one amongst the other, in a secure enjoyment of their properties..." (Locke, 1962:164-179). In this quotation the emphasis on property as the basis of wealth is evident.

Modern or Neo-Liberalism has a more tolerant and cooperative view of the state. The more interventionist state (or "Big government" as it is called in the USA) is less focused on the private sphere and incorporates public responsibility. The goal is to raise individuals to levels where they can take responsibility for their own moral choice by narrowing material inequalities through measures of redistribution, i.e. the provision of welfare and progressive taxation (Browning, 2002:256-262; Goodwin, 2007:35-63; Heywood, 2007:45-48;).

### **2.4.3 The Moderate Point of View**

According to Wehmeier (2006:945), a moderate is a person not having or showing opinions of (especially) politics that are in any way extreme. In the context of the Horseshoe model a moderate would fall neatly in the middle of the ideological divide, with some moderates more conservative, some more liberal, but never extremely anything.

The moderate position on the political spectrum thus has no philosophical foundation other than that a person might be moderately liberal or moderately conservative. A moderate is mostly satisfied with society and is of the opinion that change should occur gradually. Being a moderate on one issue does not guarantee moderate views on all issues, although this is very likely (Baradat, 2009:22). George Lackoff even argued that there is no such thing as a moderate as everyone should have an opinion.

### **2.4.4 Conservatism**

Conservatism is not an explicit or self-proclaimed ideology, rather a practical attitude. According to Goodwin (2007:155) “there are no essential conservative texts, although many texts are conservative”. Conservatives have taken issue over the past two centuries with radicalism, liberalism and socialism in their effort to conserve (hence the name conservatism) what they regard as important. This, its opposition to change, is the most obvious characteristic of conservatism. Conservative ideas and doctrines emerged in the late 18<sup>th</sup> century as a reaction to the pace of economic and political change which was symbolized by the French Revolution and the Enlightenment (Browning, 2002:262-266; Goodwin, 2007:155-174; Heywood, 2007:48-51).

The key elements of conservatism are the perceived virtue of tradition and a dislike of change. Conservative thinkers place value in experience and history. “We procure reverence to our civil institutions on the principal that Nature teaches us to revere individual men: on account of their age, and on account of those from whom they are descended” (Edmund Burke as quoted by Goodwin 2007:161). Conservatism has thus

long been a prominent ideological position. It was however not until Edmond Burke (1729-1797) that it gained a philosophical basis. In his work the pre-eminence of tradition and the reluctance to transform are evident: "Society is indeed a contract. Subordinate contracts for objects of mere occasional interest may be dissolved at pleasure - but the state ought not to be considered as nothing better than a partnership agreement in a trade of paper and coffee, calico or tobacco, or some other such low concern...it is to be looked on with reverence; ...it becomes a partnership not only between those who are living, but between those who are dead, and those who are to be born..." (Burke, 1968:192-195). According to Burke the sanctification of the state is something everlasting reaching from the generations that have gone before to the generations that are still to come. This is an example of the "reverence" he speaks of above.

Conservatives also see humans as unequal with some innately more superior. The result is a class-stratified society where inequality and the resulting hierarchy negate the imperfection of the human condition where people are unable to steward their own lives and are dependent on authority, tradition and institution. The result of this pessimistic and un-egalitarian view of human nature is an expectance of either authoritarian government or authoritarian leadership (Browning, 2002:262-266; Goodwin, 2007:155-174; Heywood, 2007:48-51).

#### **2.4.5 Reactionary**

A true reactionary (a person on the far right side of the political spectrum) and a true radical (a person on the far left side of the political spectrum) are equally frustrated by the society they are confronted with and are just as eager for change. The Horseshoe representation [in Figure 5] of the ideological spectrum again shows the closeness of the never meeting ends of these two extremes. The Marxists on the left might wish to change through peaceful means while for the Fascist on the right war is an end in itself (Baradat, 2009:29). Examples of reactionary parties or groups are Neo-Nazis, and Survivalist (or militant) Militias such as the one to which Timothy (James) McVeigh

belonged when he detonated a bomb at a federal building in Oklahoma City in 1995, killing 168 people and injuring a further 450.

In conclusion there exists a plethora of motive forces and political attitudes stemming from the worldviews of the multitude of humanity in its diversity. These worldviews have through the ages been ordered into philosophies and ideologies where people organise and align themselves together with like-minded fellows; to work towards the persuasion of others, the attainment of office, or the achievement of goals that have to do with the gathering of power, and in the words of Seliger, thus achieving ideological goals through analysis, normative prescription or rejection and strategic action.

The linear and the horseshoe representations of the ideological spectrum and the competing ideological motive forces are considerable simplifications when representing the complexity of the modern ideological debate. They are however useful tools for the academic representation of the diversity of ideologies. The linear spectrum gives an overview of the variations between the right and the left in the spectrum; the constantly oscillating status quo concept, aligned to the linear spectrum, gives an idea of the mobility of specific contentious subjects along the continuum, and the horseshoe diagram reflects the similarity of the left and right of the spectrum regarding the modus of change, although the differences in ideologies remain. This concludes the first half of this chapter. In the following section the radical philosophies as the natural antecedent philosophies of the NDR will be examined in detail. (Methodologically it is important to note that, as will be shown in Chapter 4, there are a few lesser ideological influences on the NDR. The radical philosophies are by far the most dominant and, as it is impossible in this thesis to accurately reflect on all minor influences and streams, only the radical ideologies will be singled out for further explanation.)

## **2.5 RADICAL PHILOSOPHIES**

Radical philosophies hold the values of a current state and its society in complete contempt and would see radical or fundamental changes in the economic, social and political makeup of that society (Baradat, 2009:18). The term Radicalism is derived from

the Latin word for root, *radix*, which is used to describe a trend of drastic reform (Bealey, 2003:278). The preferred instrument of radical philosophies for the fundamental transformation of society is revolutionary change. The following philosophies have two elements in common, namely a vision of a radically altered society, and secondly the method for achieving this is an immediate and fundamental change to the root of that society. Not all radicals favour violence, though some insist on it, but all of them favour revolutionary change<sup>12</sup>. Methodologically, the development of Socialism will be described and the historical development of various branches (traditions and philosophers) will be examined. Other radical philosophies standing further apart from socialism will then be described, as well as relationships between various branches. Lastly the description will be represented graphically.

### **2.5.1 Socialism**

In the first place Socialism, Marxism and Communism are not synonyms (Goodwin, 2007:102). To this family of non-synonyms can be added Maoism, Trotskyism, Leninism, Stalinism, “Fidelismo”, Anarchism, and others. Socialism is to most of these ideologies the theoretical genus while the others are the species (Goodwin, 2007:101). The goal of this section is to render a portrait of the development and relationship of these various ideologies.

Socialism as a coherent set of ideas began coalescing shortly before the French revolution through several ideas of Jean Jacques Rousseau, although he himself never was a socialist. The first true socialist was François-Noël Babeuf (1760-1797), who lived during the first half of the French revolution. He foresaw that the revolution for Liberty, Equality and Fraternity (the French Revolution proper) would not create the utopian ideal of Robespierre, namely national unity and the creation of a regime of virtue while rebuilding the French citizenry in the image of moral perfection (Baradat, 2009:161; Magstadt, 2006:445). Robespierre and the Jacobins (although their revolution in many ways provided revolutionary archetypes for centuries to come) were also sowing the seeds of their own destruction by promoting the abovementioned virtues through terror:

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<sup>12</sup>More about the definition of revolution in Chapter 3

“If the basis of a popular government in peacetime is virtue, its basis in time of revolution is both virtue and terror – virtue, without which terror is disastrous, and terror without which virtue has no power...Terror is merely justice, prompt severe and inflexible. It is therefore an emanation of virtue, and results from the application of democracy to the most pressing needs of the country” (Robespierre as quoted by Priestland, 2009:13).

The result of course was the execution of nearly 40 000 people, including Robespierre himself along with the “defeat” of the revolution, the almost dictatorial rule of Napoleon Bonaparte and after that, the return of the monarchy, albeit a constitutional one (Magstadt, 2006:446). After Robespierre’s death Babeuf was released from prison where he had been sent for disagreeing with the leaders of the revolution. He called for yet another revolution (that never came) and criticised Robespierre for betraying the peasants and artisans – by then an important economic group in France (Priestland, 2009:18).

Two more important socialist movements could however be discerned after the French Revolution. The first was the oldest Socialist tradition, Humanitarian socialism. This tradition is based on the sincere conviction that human equality demands that people share in the work and in the fruit of their labour. It is thought to be perverse that some people prosper, while others suffer in a society that produces enough for all to satisfy their needs (Baradat, 2009:161). This vision was fed by the dystopia of early capitalism and the industrial revolution. (It is very important to note that this same dystopia was also the environment in which many other distinct ideologies came into being. Some of these ideologies are intimately related; some share the same origins and then move apart, while others remain mortal enemies. These facts will later become clearer.)

During the industrial revolution cottage industries were replaced by factories, manual labour was replaced by machines and family ownership was replaced by stock market ownership with professional managers. This brought a new way of life. People began to live in overcrowded cities, where housing was cramped and sanitation inadequate.

Pollution increased, everything was steam and coal powered. Asthma, tuberculosis and other social, mental and physical diseases that thrive in foul conditions where people, mostly women and children, live and work long shifts, proliferated (Baradat, 2009:154).

In the words of Marx: "It is not uncommon in Nottingham to find 14 to 20 children huddled together in a small room of perhaps not more than 12 feet square, and employed for 15 hours out of the 24, at work that of itself is exhausting, from its weariness and monotony, and is besides carried on under every possible unwholesome condition..." (Marx,1906:511). "The beds – and in that term I include any roll of dirty old rags, or an armful of shavings – have an average of 3.3 persons to each, many have 5 and 6 persons to each, and some people...are absolutely without beds; they sleep in their ordinary clothes, on the bare boards - young men and women, married and unmarried, all together. Many of these dwellings are dark, damp, dirty, stinking holes, utterly unfit for human habitations; they are the centres from which disease and death are distributed amongst those in better circumstances, who have allowed them to fester in our midst" (Marx,1906:728).

"Children of nine or ten years are dragged from their squalid beds at two, three, or four o'clock in the morning and compelled to work for a bare subsistence until ten, eleven, twelve at night, their limbs wearing away, their frames dwindling, their faces whitening, and their humanity absolutely sinking into a stone-like torpor, utterly horrible to contemplate.... We declaim against the Virginian and Carolina cotton planters. Is their black market, their lash, and their barter of human flesh more detestable than this slow sacrifice of humanity which takes place in order that veils and collars may be fabricated for the benefit of capitalists?" (Marx, 1906:268-269).

From this socio-economic environment and Marx's subsequent search for answers and explanations arose the second groups of influential socialists that would eventually include Scientific Socialism, Marxism, Communism, Marxist-Leninism, Stalinism, Trotskyism and several others.

Prior to Marx, socialist theories differed in detail and structure, the basis of the proposed socialist societies had been humanitarian and utopian in nature and socialist development was not considered as inevitable. Marx's theory postulates laws that govern human behaviour and proposes the inevitability of socialism. Engels declared at Marx's funeral: "Just as Darwin discovered the law of development of organic nature, so Marx discovered the law of the development of human history" (Priestland, 2009:18). And so according to Baradat (2009:161): "Marx's scholarship was far superior to the rest of the socialist movement and he captivated socialism until his death in 1883."

### **2.5.2 Scientific Socialism, Marxism and Communism**

Scientific Socialism is the term Friedrich Engels used to describe the work of Karl Marx. A reason for this is the fact that Marx and Engels decried all other forms of socialism as utopian, this term being a vulgar form describing an undeveloped non-scientific (unreliable) and non-deterministic body of pre-science. The body of socialist theory produced by Engels and Marx is nowadays more commonly described as Marxism. Marx himself used the word Communism in the Communist manifesto and described his ideal post-capitalist, *post-socialist* society as communist. Modern Communism, as will be shown later, is actually more readily (and more accurately) associated with Marxist-Leninism (Bealey, 2003:74).

The basic tenets of Scientific Socialism, from now on referred to as Marxism, are:

- a) *Economic Determinism*: "The materialist conception of history starts from the principle that production, and with production, the exchange of its products, is the basis of every social order; that in every society which has appeared in history the distribution of the products, and with it the division of society into classes or estates, is determined by what is produced and how it is produced, and how the product is exchanged. According to this conception, the ultimate causes of all social changes and political revolutions are to be sought, not in the minds of men, in their increasing insight into eternal truth and justice, but in changes in the mode of production and

exchange; they are to be sought not in the philosophy but in the economics of the period concerned” (Engels, 1900:294).

Marxism postulates, and this axiom is difficult to deny, especially in capitalist societies, that every action is motivated by an economic *leitmotif*. According to Marx, history is a process of change (evolutionary and revolutionary) that is sparked or provoked by “changes in the mode of production and exchange”, thus the economy of the day. He continues to write in the *Poverty of Philosophy* that the economy of the hand mill gave us the feudal lord, and after a change in the mode of production the steam mill gave us the industrial capitalist. Change is thus the result of that which is determined by economy.

- b) *Foundation and Superstructure*: “Morality, religion, metaphysics, all the rest of ideology and their corresponding forms of consciousness have thus no longer the semblance of independence. They have no history, no development; but men, developing their material production and their material intercourse, alter along with this, their real existence, their thinking, and the products of their thinking. Life is not determined by consciousness but consciousness by life” (Marx & Engels, 1939:13-14).

According to Marxism, society consists of a foundation and a superstructure. The superstructure, consisting of religion (the opium of the masses), morality, metaphysics, art, law, tradition, education etc. “that has no history” are the means by which the ruling class assures its own dominance over the relations of production – the social classes and the means of production – the resources and the technology. The basis of society is thus a fundamental conflict between superstructure, that is essentially meaningless, and the foundation where all the value of life subsists. This conflict results in a perpetual class struggle.

- c) *The class struggle*: “The history of all hitherto existing society is the history of class struggles. Freeman and slave, patrician and plebeian, lord and serf, guild-master

and journeyman, in a word, oppressor and oppressed, stood in constant opposition to one another, carried on an uninterrupted, now hidden, now open fight, a fight that each time ended, either in a revolutionary reconstitution of society at large, or in the common ruin of the contending classes” (Marx, 1992:3).

Marxism views history as a dialectical process (dialectic materialism), where the struggle between classes brought about by economic determinism, produces the next evolution in the development of man. The idea of the dialectic is traceable to ancient Greece; the Marxist version is borrowed from Georg Hegel. His self-developing Spirit or Idea is however substituted for a system of productive forces. Hegel believes the dialectical process to be guided by God; Marx believes it to be guided by Materialism or more specifically, economic determinism.

- d) *The dialectic nature of history.* “According to Hegel, the dialectical development apparent in nature and history, that is a causative, connected progression from the lower to the higher, in spite of all zig-zag movements and momentary setbacks, is only the stereotype of the self-progression of the Idea from eternity, whither one does not know, but independent at all events of the thought of any human brain. This topsy-turvy ideology had to be put aside. We conceived of ideas as materialistic, as pictures of real things, instead of real things as pictures of this or that stage of the Absolute Idea. Thereupon, the dialectic became reduced to knowledge of the universal laws of motion...” (Engels, 1941:43-44).
- e) The existing state of affairs is *the thesis*, eventually the thesis is challenged by the *antithesis*, for example the tensions of the class struggle. The period of struggle and conflict between the thesis and antithesis is called the dialectic process. The result will, according to Hegel, be the *synthesis* or the resolution of conflict as the best parts of the thesis and antithesis amalgamate. This then becomes the new thesis to which a new antithesis develops and so history is a process of struggle but also of continual improvement.

Other important concepts are the bourgeoisie or the owners of capital, in other words the capitalists and the proletariat or the wage slaves. The bourgeoisie were the class (thesis) that perpetually exploited the proletariat (antithesis). Out of this dialectic process a new synthesis will (in a historically deterministic sense) result in socialism and eventually communism. Marx further postulated the idea of a “world revolution” where all countries in the world will eventually be involved in a revolution on a permanent basis that will herald the abovementioned coming of communism, as true communism cannot solely exist in one country.

### **2.5.3 Marxist Leninism and Communism**

In Russia where the Tsarist regime ruled in 1896, “Versailles relived”, the principles of Marxism provided an alternative to the tsarist hierarchy and promised along with a new vanguard, the working class, a way out of poverty. The basis for the “Russian Marxism” was laid by novelist and philosopher Nikolai Chernyshevskii. His influence was not unlike the influence of Rousseau before the French Revolution.

Another influence was the Second International (conference), an organization of socialist and labour parties that was formed in Paris at the 100<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the storming of the Bastille in July 1880. The figure who synthesised these influences and adopted Marxism to Russian conditions was Vladimir Ilyich Ulyanov, later V. I. Lenin. In accordance with the Second International, Lenin was a modern Marxist and was always more concerned with the speed of the revolution (more revolutionist) and so always willing to advance the (pace) of the revolution.

According to Lenin the desire for fundamental political change had to be brought to workers from the outside by a revolutionary intelligentsia schooled in Marxist ideology. This group had to be professional revolutionaries, ideologically conscious and acting conspiratorially and, in secret, bringing Western efficiency to Russian radicalism (Priestland, 2009:52-77).

“The Party” – the Communist party – had to be centralised, bringing along a unique culture that was foreign to the ideas of Marx. Lenin’s idea of politics was militant, sectarian and hostile to compromise; this led to a split in the movement with Lenin’s faction becoming known as the Bolsheviks. His more moderate rivals were labelled the Mensheviks. By then Lenin had alienated most other prominent Marxists, such as Kautsky and Rosa Luxemburg.

On 23 February 1917 bread shortages led to riots, strikes and soldier’s mutinies in Russia, the word “comrade”, a socialist form of address, began to appear, various forms of the Marseillaise, including the workers’ Marseillaise which exhorted the listeners to “kill and destroy the parasites, the dogs and the rich”, became popular. The Socialist red flag was flown and for the first time the hammer and sickle – the symbols for the rural and urban masses – were added (Priestland, 2009:82).

According to Lenin, an uncompromising revolutionary who came to rule Russia due to a Bolshevik insurrection in the midst of a popular uprising, “State Socialism” where the state controlled all elements of the economy would result in a future workers’ paradise. A more liberal alternative had no chance of success as the mass population was too wedded to the idée of the radical redistribution of property and power. They did however not realise how authoritarian Lenin would be and how far he would drift from the original ideas of Marxism. As Lenin and the communist party came to power, opposition parties were outlawed, trade unions were brought under state control, and the party became more bureaucratically minded. Lenin did not adapt Robespierre’s reign of terror, but replaced it with “war communism”; a system of spying and surveillance, the Cheka (forerunner of the KGB) playing a major role in the censoring of letters to gauge public opinion (Priestland, 2009:95). Eventually State Socialism turned out to be ineffective and large sections of the economy were returned to private hands under the New Economic Policy. This period was one of relative cultural liberalism that was deeply resented by a new “proletarian party elite” bemoaning the influence of the old bourgeois intellectual elite whom Trotsky called “fellow travellers”. In this conflict the leadership

struggle that ensued after Lenin's death came into being, the two arch rivals being Leon Trotsky and Joseph Stalin.

#### **2.5.4 Trotskyism and Stalinism**

Leon Trotsky (1879-1940) crossed swords with both Lenin and Stalin, but Stalin's dislike of Trotsky was incomparable. The reason for this was the fundamental difference in their visions. According to Trotsky the foremost tasks of the Russian Revolution were those of the bourgeois (fellow travellers') revolution, but the bourgeois were incapable of these, so the workers had to take charge and end capitalism. He anticipated a fusion of the bourgeois and proletarian revolutions in accordance with Marx and Engels, resulting in a permanent revolution. Trotsky summarised the theory of a permanent revolution as follows:

“First it embraces the problem of the transition from the democratic revolution to the socialist. This is the essence of the historical origin of the theory... The second aspect of the permanent theory has to do with the socialist revolution as such. For an indefinitely long time and in constant internal struggle, all social relations undergo transformation. Society keeps changing its skin. Each stage of transformation stems directly from the preceding...Revolutions in economy, technique, science and the family, morals and everyday life develop in a complex of reciprocal action and do not allow society to achieve equilibrium...The international character of the socialist revolution...constitutes the third aspect of the theory of the permanent revolution...The socialist revolution begins on natural foundations...Viewed from this standpoint, a national revolution is not a self-contained whole: it is only a link in the international chain. The international revolution constitutes a permanent process, despite temporary declines and ebbs” (Trotsky as quoted by Legassick, 2007:80).

Trotsky did not reject the idea that a revolution needed to progress through stages, he was simply more pragmatic, suggesting different conditions such as relations of forces and the class consciousness of different classes (Legassick, 2007:80). He also had a

broader perspective, aiming at a flexible permanent revolution not only within one country but eventually throughout the world.

Stalin absolutely rejected the idea of the permanent revolution, and launched an ideological offensive against the theory and tried to portray Trotsky as a deviant from the ideals of Marx and Engels (Legassick, 2007:80). Ioseb Djughashvili (1878-1953), later Joseph Vissarionovich Stalin, associated closely with Lenin. They were both revolutionaries, both saw the party as a conspiratorial vanguard organisation and both were prepared to use violence. Stalin however was the more brutal of the two and stressed ideological or emotional commitment above organisational commitment. Stalin's vision of the future was militaristic and a combination of the communist manifesto and chivalric romance. He based his leadership on a strong personality cult idolizing "comrade Stalin" as the invincible, iron leader.

What eventually enabled him to manoeuvre his enemies out of authority was his willingness to use Russian nationalism as a powerful tool to promote "socialism in one country". The goal of this was to make Russia impenetrable to the perceived threat from capitalist countries. Russians, by then weary of revolution, war and unrest, supported his initiatives. In 1924 the Kremlin launched the Bolshevisation of the Comintern (Second Communist international, also known as the third international) Congress of 1920. In practice it meant that communist parties were increasingly transformed into tools of Soviet foreign policy. According to Stalin an internationalist is one ready to defend the USSR without reservation, without wavering, for the USSR is the base of this revolutionary movement. Stalin's model of communism was thus both revolutionary and nationalistic (Priestland, 2009:122-124). Part of this revolutionary ethos was industrialisation at any cost. "Industrialization was a semi-military campaign designed to defend the USSR against the aggression of the imperialists. This was done according to Stalin's 'Five Year Plans' – the term 'plan' however being a misnomer, figures and targets were often plucked out of thin air by Stalin himself. According to Stalin and his cadres the old bourgeoisie-science no longer applied and the new proletarian science which took account of the willpower of the masses would replace it. This was a

militarized command economy based on theory, not on genuine plans. The result was famine and death on an unprecedented scale” (Priestland, 2009:148).

These fathers of radical ideology brought forth several revolutions, with their own permutations of existing ideologies. In this regard “the Chinese Revolution of 1948-49 was second in importance only to the 1917 Russian Revolution as a liberating moment in the history of humanity” (Legassick, 2007:293).

### **2.5.5 Maoism**

According to Legassick (2007:298), the Chinese revolution is an example of what Trotsky would have called a permanent revolution. Mao’s theory consisted of both democratic and socialist phases. According to Mao: “However it is a utopian<sup>13</sup> view rejected by true revolutionaries to say that the democratic revolution does not have a specific task and period of its own...they do not understand that our revolution is divided into stages...” (Mao as quoted by Legassick, 2007:299).

Another important distinction of the Chinese revolution was the fact that the revolution was not accomplished by the urban working class but by a rural peasant guerrilla army. Mao actively encouraged the communists to abandon the cities for the countryside and laid the foundation for Maoism with his Report on the Human Peasant Movement. This led to the development of a distinct brand of Marxism in China, different from that of the USSR. The Long March (a 6000 mile retreat from Central and South China) brought Mao and his guerrilla army, pursued by the forces of Chiang Kai-shek, to the mountains around Yen-an from where they could not militarily be dislodged. From there the towns and cities were re-infiltrated and Mao took over power in 1949 (Legassick, 2007:295-296).

From the start the Chinese state was ruled by a bureaucracy modelling itself on the USSR (and more specifically the red army), although China had its own national

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<sup>13</sup> Remember, from Marx onwards “Utopian” became a word used to describe everything untrue, fanciful; in fact it became a word of derision.

interests [nationalism], and a clash between the nationalistic USSR and the nationalistic China seemed inevitable. The Sino-Soviet split of 1960 therefore occurred not because of dissimilarities but rather because of similarities (Legassick, 2007:297).

Mao however differed from Stalin in several important aspects. He assimilated Trotsky's permanent revolution, and he embraced the rural peasantry and formed a rural guerrilla army that provided him with a powerbase. Other characteristics of Maoism included *populism* (which was forced on the non-believers by various programmes of mass participation). Mao realised that he needed the peasants, therefore he let them have a leading position in society (in fact he criticised Stalin for not trusting the peasantry enough. Through the mass line, encompassing philosophy (read ideology), strategy, tactics, leadership and organisational theory, Mao, time and again tried to reinvigorate the people by mobilising the masses over and over under new programmes, one after the other (Baradat, 2009:205-209). In Mao's words: "For over twenty years our Party has carried on mass work every day, and for the past dozen years it has talked about the mass line every day. We have always maintained that the revolution must rely on the masses of the people, on everybody's taking a hand, and have opposed relying merely on a few persons issuing orders" (Zedong, 1948:1). "The Mass line" or the "Correct mass line" is in fact an all-encompassing organisation-wide strategy for organised participation in ideology. A not too dissimilar revolution was about to take place halfway around the world, the *infant terrible* of the socialist revolutionary ideology was about to be born.

### **2.5.6 The Cuban Revolution and Fidelismo**

Of central importance concerning this revolution was Ernesto (Che) Guevara, a doctor by training and a leftist by heart, who endorsed Stalin's position on the legitimacy of violence. For him inequality was the result not only of race and class but of imperialism and colonialism. By then Moscow was starting to lose control of international communism and the Chinese example showed that other possibilities existed (Priestland, 2009:372).

Cuba suffered abuse at the hands of Fulgencio Batista y Zaldívar, a petty dictator serving at the behest of the United States. Allowing organised crime and US economic interests to dominate the Cuban populace resulted in the Cuban revolution led by Fidel Ruiz Castro. It is however doubtful if Castro would have become a Marxist had it not been for the influence of his compatriot Che Guevara, at that stage a committed Marxist revolutionary, and Castro's brother, Raul. The Western policies toward Cuba, especially that of the United States (for instance the Bay of Pigs invasion), hardened Castro's resolve to be a Marxist-Leninist after he came to power.

Similar to Mao's, Castro's brand of Marxism is replete with nationalistic sentiments. Castro also tried to compete (against the older communist regimes) for the hearts and minds of the Third World countries in Latin America and Africa, as these countries either struggled to free themselves from colonialism, or fought civil wars (Priestland, 2009:369). Other elements of "Fidelismo" include: the fact that, compared with other Latin American countries, Cuba did relatively well in providing literacy and health care for its population. Secondly, Castro is very popular and is the centre of a substantial personality cult. Thirdly, the belief exists that the current situation is better than the exploitation under the previous regimes, and fourthly, Castro successfully and violently weeded out opposition (Baradat, 2009:213-218). The "eccentric" Cuban revolution therefore is nationalistic, revolutionary, allows room for violence, is built around a personality cult and the injustices of colonialism and imperialism, and has been an active exporter of its revolution. This is the last of the major radical Marxist ideologies. The ideologies that follow, share some but not all of the precepts of Marxism.

### **2.5.7 Anarchism**

The roots of Anarchism lie in the same conditions of the same time period that Marx so much abhorred (see 2.5.1). The basic tenet of the anarchists is the abolition of authority in all its forms, in particular the legal-bureaucratic state parasitic on economic inequality (Goodwin, 2007:128). They consider the origin of the current society as a deception perpetrated by the strong against the poor and the weak; this makes government exploitative by nature. Such a broad repudiation of all governmental and political parties

as other forms of government (man above man) differentiates Marxists and Anarchists. The last group nevertheless agrees with the Marxists about the paradoxes of early capitalism and traces the evil in society to the institution of private property and capital accumulation which enables the capitalist to exploit the worker. Both parties (Anarchists and Marxists) agree on the necessity of the revolution and the destruction of all capital institutions, although Anarchists disagree with Marxists over the use of unions (again organised power) and political parties, and over what form the revolution should take (Goodwin, 2007:129-131).

This disagreement grew into a split between Marx and Bakunin one of the founding fathers of anarchism, and eventually between the ideologies of Marxism and Anarchism as evident at the First International where the influence of Bakunin and Proudhon (the Anarchists) was strong. "Bakunin described Marx as head to foot authoritarian and his scientific socialism was designed to give power to a numerically small aristocracy of genuine or sham scientists" (Priestland, 2009:41). Marx retorted by calling Bakunin "a monster. Perfect blockhead. Stupid. Aspiring dictator of Europe's workers" (Priestland, 2009:41). The relationship between the ideologies is nevertheless not that simple. According to Schoeman (1994:17), the variants of Anarchism are Pacifism, Revolutionary Anarchism, Communistic Anarchism, Anarchic Capitalism, Nihilism, and Anarchic Syndicalism. Some of these branches of the radical anarchist tree have strong ties to revolutionary ideas and to socialism; the most important influence in these affiliations however is either anarchist or socialist and so the relationship is seldom symbiotically cooperative.

### **2.5.8 Social Feminism and Radical Feminism**

Social and Radical Feminism are two of the many branches within feminism as a broad ideology. Social or Socialist feminists argue that women's liberation is part of the class struggle and will be realised as socialism is achieved. These theorists (by voice of Juliet Mitchell in *Women's Estate*, 1971) link capitalist class oppression to the oppression of women and criticise Radical Feminists for concentrating too much on male domination at the expense of a true enemy in capitalist exploitation. Mitchell argues that the family

role traps women outside the capitalist economy as they cannot participate in the workforce, so they cannot gain class consciousness. Radical feminists argue for a revolutionary reconstruction of society, extending for some, to separatism and lesbianism. This group believe that men are useless as partners for change and to force change on society, in fact they want to forge a society based upon the values of women (Baradat, 2009:295; Goodwin, 2007:199-201).

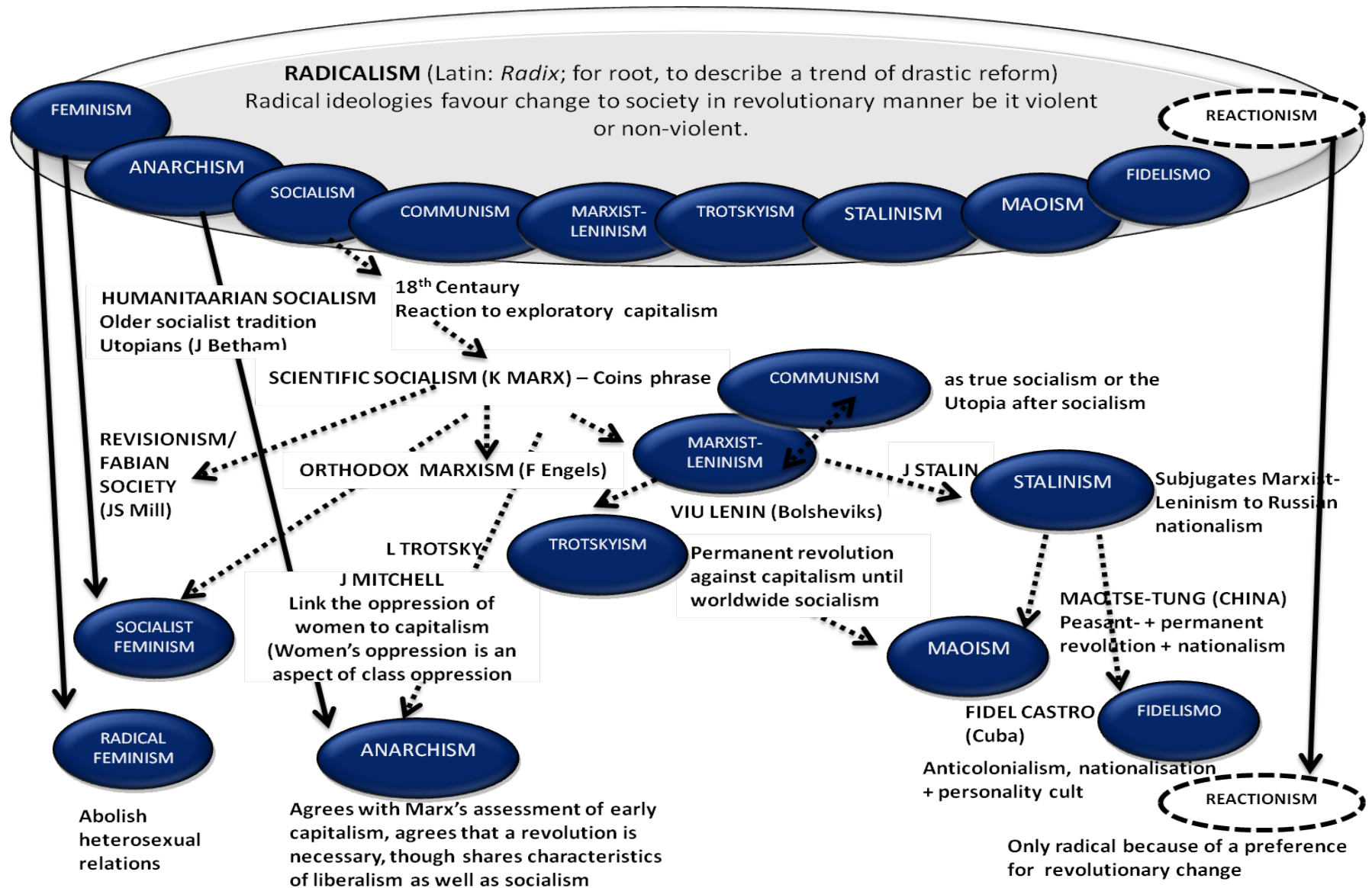
### **2.5.9 Reactionism**

Reactionism is associated with extreme conservative politics and Nationalism. Neo-Nazism is an example of a reactionary philosophy, as exemplified by the militant militias referred to above. These reactionistic ideologies appear on the extreme right of the political spectrum while the other ideologies discussed above appear on the left of the spectrum. The reason for the inclusion of reactionism is the fact that a reactionist would also insist on changing society in a revolutionary manner and would also realise the necessity of violence. Most reactionary ideologies would be diametrically opposed to the tenets of any if not all of the ideologies discussed above.

In conclusion the Radical Ideologies discussed above and their underlying relationship can be graphically represented as follows in Figure 6. Importantly, the position of the NDR and its relationships to the various ideologies will be added in Chapter 8 after the conclusions of the other chapters, especially 3 and 4, have been collated as well.

Various contributions of the ideologies identified in Figure 6 have vastly influenced the formulation of the NDR. (See Chapters 3 and 4 for details.)

Figure 6: The Relationships between Radical Ideologies



Radicalism has the revolutionary transformation of society as a goal. With the onset of primitive capitalism in the 18<sup>th</sup> century many were shocked by its exploitative nature. The radical ideologies that originated in this period were Anarchism and Scientific Socialism or Marxism. Marx also coined the phrase Communism which later denoted Russian Socialism (Bolshevism or Lenin's version of Marxism). An older form of Socialism is Humanitarian Socialism, also equated with the Utopian Socialism that Marx and Engels refer to in a derogatory way. After Marx's death Engels became the leader of the Orthodox Marxist movement; other branches include the Fabians and the Revisionists, both of whom have had a negligible influence within radicalism.

At the end of Lenin's life Trotsky and Stalin competed for the leadership of the USSR and the Socialist world. Stalin outmanoeuvred Trotsky for the leadership of the state but both ideological visions survived. In China, Mao incorporated what he needed from the galaxy of radicalism and added his own visions, and so did Fidel Castro in Cuba. Meanwhile Anarchism and Feminism divided and subdivided with some schools of thought breaking away from Marx as a person or Socialism as an ideology, while others joined to a greater or lesser degree, with certain ideas in common and others contradictory. In some instances only the method for achieving change remained identical as is the case with reactionism.

Some of the schools of thought not represented in this Figure are: Religious Socialism, Islamic Socialism, Regional Arab Socialism, Irish Republican Socialism, Eco-Socialism, National Socialism, Baathism, Social Democracy and Democratic Socialism – the last two are excluded because they are not radical although their roots lie in the Humanitarians, the Revisionists and the Fabianists.

## **2.6 SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS**

In this chapter the ontology of ideology was discussed, some of the differences between philosophy and ideology have been identified, the various types of ideologies as represented by the Linear and Horseshoe (or Cyclical) models have been identified and radical ideologies have been reconstructed in greater detail. It is again at this point

necessary to remember that this chapter is merely an overview over vast fields of knowledge intended to provide the thesis with basic epistemological and ontological building blocks and in doing so, also placing the NDR within its own philosophical and ideological context. In this regard, the following findings are important:

- As to the ontology of ideologies: ideology was to be the ultimate tool of reason guarding the entrance and making sure that no falsehood entered the pantheon of the enlightened world. This vision soon decayed in the harsh light of war and revolution, and ideology, loaded with hidden and operative aspects, became a tool for organising the masses.
- At the same time that the course of human history was changing, new ideologies developed in order to deal with the various complexities, philosophies and worldviews.
- Marx offered a scientific (empirical) way of describing the course of human history. (In a way he obviated other forms of socialism.) Central to his works are several deterministic theories, which to some degree have been adopted by his successors.
- Lenin used Marxism to revolutionise Russia and introduced his own form of Marxism; after him Trotsky and Stalin vied for power, each with his own ideas and interpretations.
- Stalin became the leader of the Soviet Union, but the ideas of Marx, Trotsky and Stalin lived on in the minds and ideologies of people such as Fidel Castro and Chairman Mao of China.
- The revolutions in these countries added to the pantheon of ideologies comprising Radicalism.
- Some branches of other ideologies such as Anarchism and Feminism agree with some of the mainstream ideas of the main socialist or Marxist ideologies, while others declare a total discontinuity with each other.

Most importantly: Some of the ideologies discussed above flowed (or were brought) together and eventually formed the NDR. Thus the Mass line from Mao, the Dialectic of Marx and the loathing of capitalism and imperialism from Lenin, as well as the idea of women as the most exploited class in society became the NDR. (This fact will be

analysed in Chapters 4 and 8.) In common with other radical ideologies on the left of the political spectrum, the NDR does not regard much to be in order in society. Radical ideologies chart ways to correct this perceived “incorrectness” and will resort to strategies of revolution and radical extremely fast-paced change to force conformity to their way of thinking, a point that will be clearly illustrated in the following chapter where the radical theories and traditions that directly contributed to the NDR will be further examined.

## **CHAPTER 3: A RECONSTRUCTION OF THE REVOLUTIONARY TRADITIONS AND THEORIES THAT CONTRIBUTED TO THE FORMULATION OF THE NDR**

### **3.1 INTRODUCTION**

Definitions of revolutions vary; Trotsky for instance speaks of a permanent revolution that he defines as follows: "First it embraces the problem of the transition from the democratic revolution to the socialist. The second aspect of the permanent theory has to do with the socialist revolution as such. For an indefinitely long time and in constant internal struggle, all social relations undergo transformation. Viewed from this stand point, a national revolution is not a self-contained whole: it is only a link in the international chain. The international revolution constitutes a permanent process, despite temporary declines and ebbs" (Trotsky as quoted by Legassick, 2007:80).

Mao echoes some of the stoic, phlegmatic practicality of Trotsky when he defines his version of revolution as: "The national revolutionary struggle of the Chinese people has a history of fully one hundred years counting from the Opium War of 1840, or of thirty years counting from the Revolution of 1911. It has not yet run its full course, nor has it yet performed its tasks with any signal of success; therefore the Chinese people, and above all the Communist Party, must shoulder the responsibility of resolutely fighting on" (Zedong, 2009a:125-126).

Another perhaps less pragmatic approach, yet also emphasising history, is described by Nzimande (2011b): "As we go into the local government elections it is absolutely important that we remind ourselves of the best of the best of the Congress revolutionary traditions and responsibilities placed on us. As Oliver Tambo, Nelson Mandela, Chris Hani, and many of our men and women leaders, have said, ours was never a struggle to replace the white elite with a black elite. Nor was our struggle to replace a white capitalist class with simply a black capitalist class. Instead, our struggle was for the total destruction of all the conditions and instruments of oppression of one group over another. These words...captured the essence of the national democratic

revolution...they were true yesterday, as they are true today, and shall remain relevant for a long time to come”.

In the previous chapter radical ideologies as the natural habitat for revolution as method of change have been described. As can be realised from the quotations above the concept of revolution and revolutionary change might be opaque and hidden in (even hundreds of) years of effort and when revolution becomes an ideology it might even become (according to Seliger; Chapter 2 section 2.3) obscured in the folds of fundamental versus argumentative levels. This leads to the question of the specific meaning of this concept. According to Cohan (1975:1), “...ever since Aristotle first described to us ‘the very springs and fountains of revolution’, the theorists who followed have raised more questions concerning the nature of such occurrences than they have been able to answer”. Brinton (1965:1-4) agrees, calling revolution a “looser word” that “troubles the semanticist not only because of its wide range in popular usage, but also because it is one of those words charged with emotional content.”

The goal of this chapter is to show how the National Democratic Revolution drew from the revolutionary thought in the radical ideologies explained in Chapter Two. In order to do this the discussion as to the academic definition of the concept of revolution has firstly to be reconstructed and the concept of revolution has to be defined. Secondly, the contribution of the various thinkers within the Radical ideologies to the concept and ideas of revolution has to be reconstructed. Thirdly, to this have to be added the various contributions of leading academics (authorities) in this field. During this process the revolutionary ideas serving as precursors to the NDR can be finely dissected in the following chapters so that links can be established concerning the origin of the NDR.

The methodology that will be employed in this chapter will be to (through an analysis of relevant literature):

- Develop an analytical base for the definition of the concept of revolution through the deconstruction of various widely accepted definitions; to
- conceptualise a new inclusive definition of revolution;

- compare the contributions of the thinkers of the Radical tradition (these contributions will for the purposes of this thesis be differentiated from theoretical contributions as they stem from an ideological perspective);
- reconstruct various other academic traditions (provide a theoretical perspective), and
- to formulate conclusions.

The methodology in this chapter differs from the methodology of the other chapters in the thesis as this chapter is primarily concerned with the (meta-) theory of the NDR and thus the meta-theory or the theoretical building blocks of the thesis. As a logical starting point for this, an analytical base for a definition of revolution is provided in the following section.

### **3.2 THE DEVELOPMENT OF AN ANALYTICAL BASE FOR THE DEFINITION OF THE CONCEPT OF REVOLUTION**

Revolutions, as applied to matters political, begin in the mind of man; the origin of the word however is derived from the *revolution* of an astronomical body. This metaphor was used by the early philosophers to illustrate a cyclical process in human events and it was not until after the French Revolution that the word entered the mainstream vernacular (Greene, 1990:13).

Three main traditions exist that offer definitions of the concept 'revolution': the Marxists with scholars/practitioners such as Lenin, Mao and Marx in this category, the Functionalists with scholars such as Huntington, Brinton and Pettee, and a third group (with sub-groups) offering Psychological explanations. An adjunct group affiliated to the Functionalists is the school of Mass Society (Cohan, 1975:1-3). The two main analytical groups are those that confine the study of revolutions to Great Revolutions such as the French or the Russian revolutions, and the Marxists who confine their study to the manner of change.

It goes without saying that the various definitions generated in these various categories do not place emphasis on the same principles and that there are some degree of

confusion as to what a revolution is vis-à-vis revolutionary change, vis-à-vis non-violent yet extremely dramatic economic, social, and political transformation.

In order to post a marker for the rest of this thesis and because the author is in accordance with Greene (1990:13) that the dispute over the meaning of revolution is in part the result of the confusion of the ends of revolutionary movements with their particular techniques, an analytical base will now be designed according to which a definition of revolution will then be synthesised.

### 3.2.1 The Dimensions of Revolution

The analysis of the various dimensions of a revolution will be done through the deconstruction of various definitions and arguments of the various schools of thought concerning revolutions that have proffered definitions. As such this represents a formidable field of literature which will not (cannot) be represented here *in toto* as this is not the goal of this study. The ultimate goal in this instance is a synthesis representing a definition not too exclusive; an accusation levelled against the “Great Revolution school”, and not too two-dimensional; an accusation against the Marxists, as they tend to look only at the manner of change (Was it violent? And was it legal or not?) (Cohan, 1975:3).

Firstly various definitions chosen for their wide acclaim:

- An example of a Functionalist definition: “A revolution is a rapid, fundamental, and violent domestic change in the dominant values and myths of society, in its political institutions, social structure, leadership and government activity and policies” (Huntington, 2006:264).

Most non-Marxist scholars agree with Huntington. To a functionalist, conflict (revolution) is seen as common, even endemic but not necessary or desirable. Fortunately violence and revolution constitute only one of the many ways in which social change can develop. Revolution is thus the exception, not the norm. The Mass Society theory argues that the presence of certain structural characteristics

in society provides inbuilt stability. If these traditional structures for some reason disengage, the probability of mass revolution increases.

- An example of a Marxist definition: “The history of all hitherto existing society is the history of class struggles. Freeman and slave, patrician and plebeian, lord and serf, guild-master and journeyman, in a word, oppressor and oppressed, stood in constant opposition to one another, carried on an uninterrupted, now hidden, now open fight, a fight that each time ended, either in a revolutionary reconstitution of society at large, or in the common ruin of the contending classes”(Marx,1992:3).

For Marxist scholars revolution is the locomotive of history, it is the law of nature. Revolution will occur, although as becomes clear from the works of Lenin and Mao (Chapter 2 section 2.5) a revolutionary must strategise, keep secrets and operate undercover to promote certain desirable outcomes. The revolutionary process is not necessarily an open process; it will however be a strategised one, reliant on move and countermove. Secondly, the process of revolution is not necessarily a process that will be completed rapidly. Mao speaks of a “hundred years” for the Chinese revolution and Trotsky of a “permanent revolution”<sup>14</sup>.

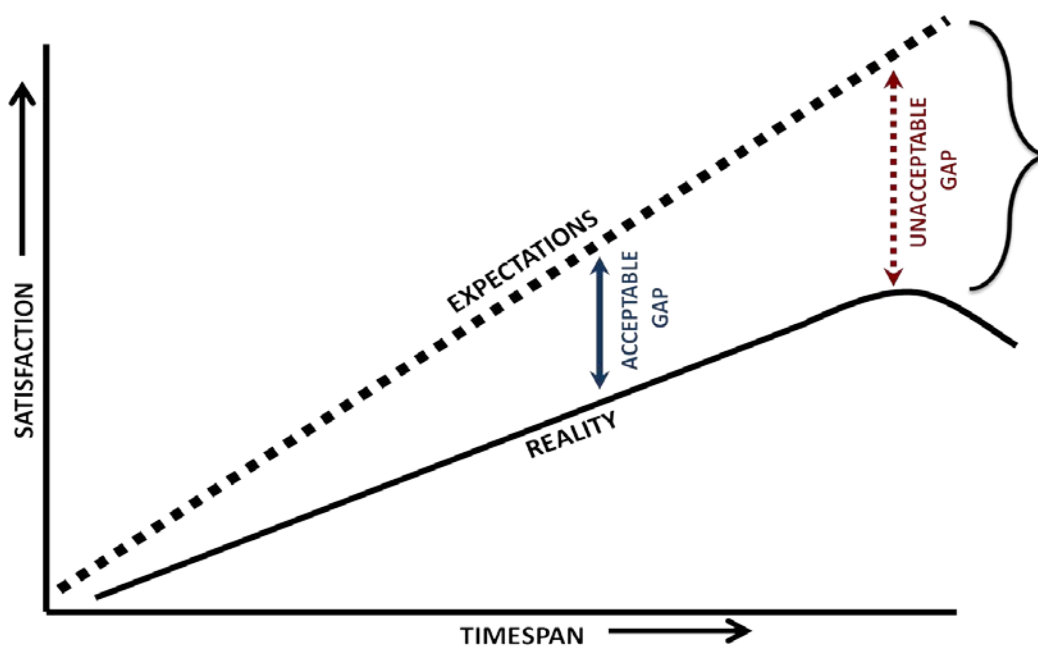
- An example of a Psychological Explanation: “A revolution will occur when a population concludes that its situation is so undesirable that it can stand it no more. In order to alleviate its situation it rises up and destroys its oppressors. Or, a population have some idea of what they ought to be receiving during the general course of their lives. When they find themselves confronted with a situation in which the gap between what they think they ought to be getting and what they are getting is growing, is getting wider and wider, they are likely to rise up. The work of Davies(1962:6) and his J-curve serves as an example of this last group” (Cohan, 1975:3).

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<sup>14</sup>Fanon (1963:42) adds a valuable insight into the permanent nature of a revolution: “The Native is always on the alert...He is overpowered but not tamed; he is treated as inferior...He is patiently waiting until the settler is off his guard to fly at him...You can’t say he is terrorised, or even apprehensive. He is patiently waiting...”

According to the J-curve, people's expectations rise over time due to modernisation<sup>15</sup> or democratisation. If reality does not keep track with expectation the gap between the two becomes larger and larger and the revolutionary potential increases as illustrated in Figure 7. This, according to Cohan (1975:193), is one of the theories of rising expectations.

**Figure 7: Davies' J-Curve**



(Davies, 1962:6)

These general explanations and theories can be divided into four categories: 1) studies dealing with individual revolutionaries; 2) studies dealing with repression of instincts; 3) the theory of rising expectations as exemplified by the J-curve above, and 4) the theory of relative deprivation (Cohan, 1975:199).

<sup>15</sup>See section 3.5 of this chapter concerning the work of S. P. Huntington on the impact of modernization on political stability.

Combining these definitions, explanations and their broader associated academic frameworks, Cohan postulates that a definition of revolution should encompass the following dimensions:

- an alteration of values or the myth of a particular system;
- alteration of the social structure;
- change in the political institutions;
- legality or illegality of the change;
- elite alteration, and
- violence.

These dimensions need to be further clarified. The *alteration of values* or dominant myths according to Huntington is a universally accepted dimension of revolution. Neumann, Arendt and Kuhn also mention the fact that a revolution is a new beginning, an overthrow of a prior way of thinking. *Structural alteration* too is a fundamental characteristic of a revolution as it is a transition from one historical epoch to another. Hence a revolution is a transformation of an entire system. *Institutional change* may be the abolishment of an institution or the abolishment of some of the functions of an institution; it may also create new institutions or new functions for an institution. Pettee (1938:22) suggests a reconstitution of the state, to such an extent that, in accordance with Huntington, not only are the institutions redesigned but also the myths and values that underpin them. *Elite alteration* may be as simple as a personnel change or as complicated as an elite transfusion by drawing a new elite from a different class and eradicating the old elite or class. *Legality or illegality* has to do with the fact that at some point the revolution is designated illegal by the regime, and upon success the previous “terrorist rebels” become the new legal government if they have *legitimacy* in the eyes of the citizens and the international community. *Violence* is a key ingredient in the Huntington definition; it is also a key concept in the Marxian notion of revolution. Mao famously noted that revolution is not a tea party; it is thus safe to assume that a revolution will entail some sort of violence if not outright *terror* and terrorism (Cohan, 1975:14-27; Marek, 1969:121).

A perspective that has to be added to the six already discussed is that a revolution is a process (Mao, Trotsky and Marx – surely the dialectic is a process?); it is not a single event, so the process involves many techniques ranging from general strikes to coup d'états to revolutionary wars to even peaceable events such as “democratic breakthroughs”,<sup>16</sup> the so-called Bourgeois revolution/democracies of Trotsky, and negotiations, yet the revolution continues until its final goals are met<sup>17</sup> (Greene, 1990:14). “There is no reason to consider guerrilla warfare separately from national policy” (Zedong, 2009b:5). “When the enemy advances we retreat. If the enemy’s forces were weaker than ours, he would not dare advance...When the enemy retreats we pursue” (Zedong, 2009a:11).

From the above it is therefore possible to deduce two other dimensions that have to be added:

- revolutions pragmatically ebb and flow, and
- revolutions seldom are single events; they are processes and need time to fulfil all their goals.

Both Greene and Cohan state that the revolutions that have been studied in the past have been the so-called “Great Revolutions”. Four of these great revolutions are studied by Crane Brinton (1965) in his book, *The Anatomy of Revolution*. There are also a myriad of incomplete revolutions or unsuccessful revolutions that, according to Greene (1990:14), if studied, can contribute not only to the study of revolution as a process but also to the fact that revolution should be understood along the lines of a continuum of patterns of *collective behaviour* (Greene, 1990:14).

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<sup>16</sup>(Nzimande, 2006:1)

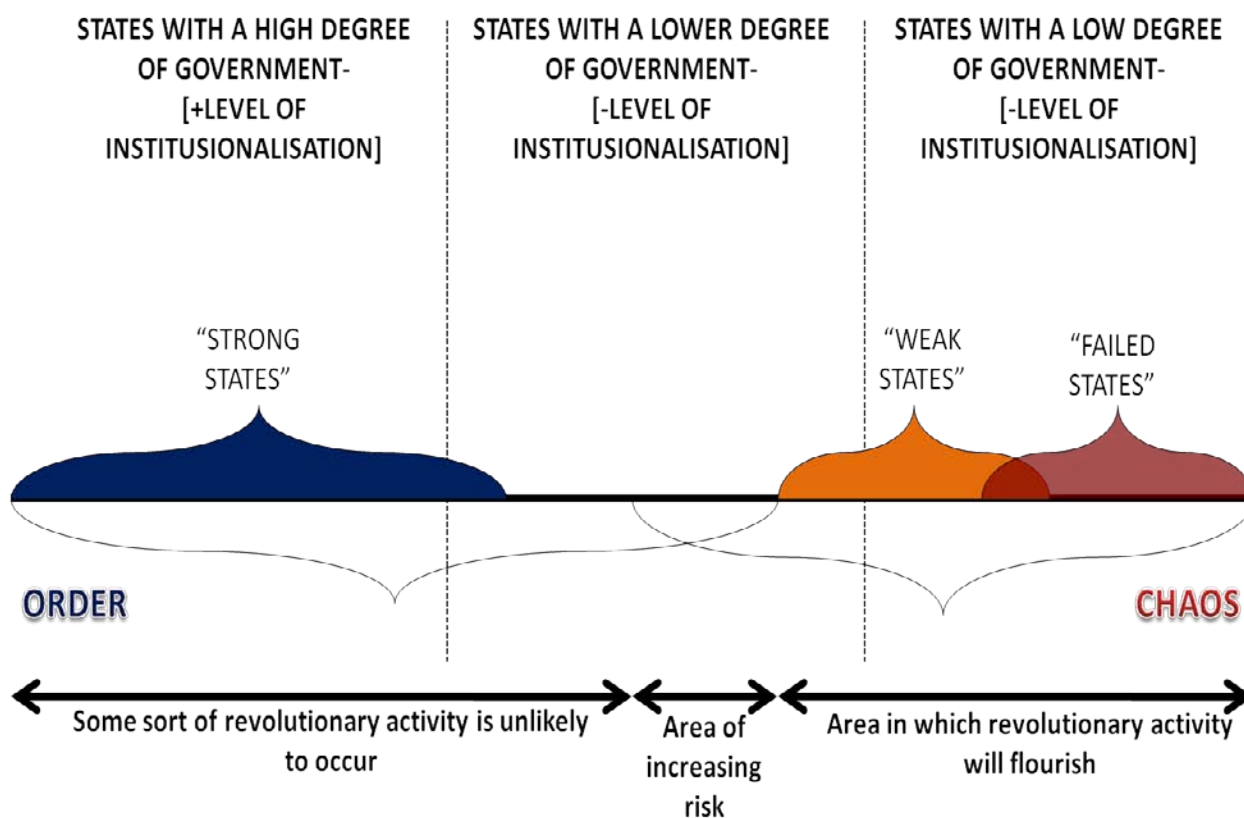
<sup>17</sup> “The fundamental contradiction in the process of the development of a thing and the essence of the process determined by the fundamental contradiction will not disappear until the process is completed...” (Zedong, 2009(c):65).

If it is understood that revolution is thus not conducted in isolation or by individuals or even by small groups, a ninth dimension becomes discernible:

- Revolution is a pattern of collective behaviour (Greene) that needs the support of the masses (Mao and Giap).

Huntington (2006:1) states that the most important distinction between countries is their *degree* of government. It seems that he and Greene are essentially in agreement with the view of complete order at one end of a continuum, and revolution somewhere toward the other end on the same continuum which is illustrated below.

**Figure 8: Understanding the Revolutionary Continuum**



Revolution is thus not a single “point”, it is “a scale” of intensity of conflict, and only one alternative with *intensity-levels* that may fluctuate, due to for instance the monsoon (extreme rain making terrain impassable), rebel strength, or strategy, and the degree of government in a state. A revolution is thus unlikely to occur in a state where there is a

high degree of government (legitimate institutionalisation) such as in Switzerland, Germany or the United Kingdom, and more likely to occur where people are aware that they are deprived (Davies's J-Curve) or trying to modernise (Huntington and Brinton<sup>18</sup>).

This leads to a tenth dimension:

- Revolution has to be understood along a continuum.

The abovementioned dimensions provide an analytical base for a concept of revolution and can now be combined to form a definition.

### **3.2.2 A Conceptualisation of a New Inclusive Definition of Revolution**

Theoretical concepts are rich in connotations, fields of meaning or family resemblances - this led Brinton to lament the vagueness of the concept revolution. Within a given field of meaning, certain shades of meaning are more closely related than others. A function of theoretical definition is to arrange and systematise the most important dimensions of meaning of theoretical concepts logically. This means that the rules of mutual exclusion and exhaustiveness have to be adhered to (Mouton & Marais, 1994:63). Thus conceptualisation is the process of assigning specific meanings to terminology (Babbie & Mouton, 2008:111). According to Marsh and Stoker (2010:300), some concepts have been defined so often that they have reached a level of generality that leads to what Sartori calls "conceptual stretching". Sartori (1970:19) argues that a concept has to be a collection of specifics or observables that can be tested.

As such, a combination of all of the observed dimensions of revolutions described above form an inclusive and testable description (a definition being shorter and more concise) without becoming a mere generality because it now has identifiable characteristics:

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<sup>18</sup> Our revolutions, then, clearly were not born in societies economically retrograde; on the contrary, they took place in societies "economically progressive" (Brinton, 1965:32).

*A process of collective behaviour fundamentally affecting the degree of government of a state that is a phased process consisting of the following elements: an alteration of values or myths of a particular system, including a fundamental alteration of the social structure; a fundamental change in the political institutions which at some point will be illegal and will be followed by a legalisation process where an elite alteration (supplanting) will take place that will include violent acts (even of guerrilla or revolutionary types of war), including a (pragmatic) ebb and flow of more than one (type of) event (even elections), that will take time to fulfil all its revolutionary goals, however articulated.*

From this inclusive and precise description, for the purpose of this dissertation revolution is thus defined as:

*A phased, flexible, process of collective behaviour aimed at fundamental societal change, the alteration of elites, social structures, and societal myths and values that will take time to fulfil all its goals.*

In conclusion the exhaustive description and definition of revolution constructed above is a synthesis of traditional western thought, notably from the Great Revolution School, the Functionalists and from the Marxist scholars/practitioners. As such they are neither exclusive nor one-sided, and according to the high specific value in observable characteristics both the description and the definition are testable. Accordingly the extended description above can be devolved into a framework consisting of the following (testable) analytical elements:

- a process of collective behaviour in a phased process;
- affecting the degree of government of a state;
- an alteration of values or myths of a particular system;
- including a fundamental alteration of the social structure;
- a fundamental change in the political institutions which
- at some point will be illegal and will be followed by a legalisation process

- where an elite alteration (supplanting) will take place
- that will include violent acts (even of a guerrilla or revolutionary type of war)
- including a (pragmatic) ebb and flow
- of more than one (type of) event (even elections)
- that will take time to fulfil all its revolutionary goals, however articulated.

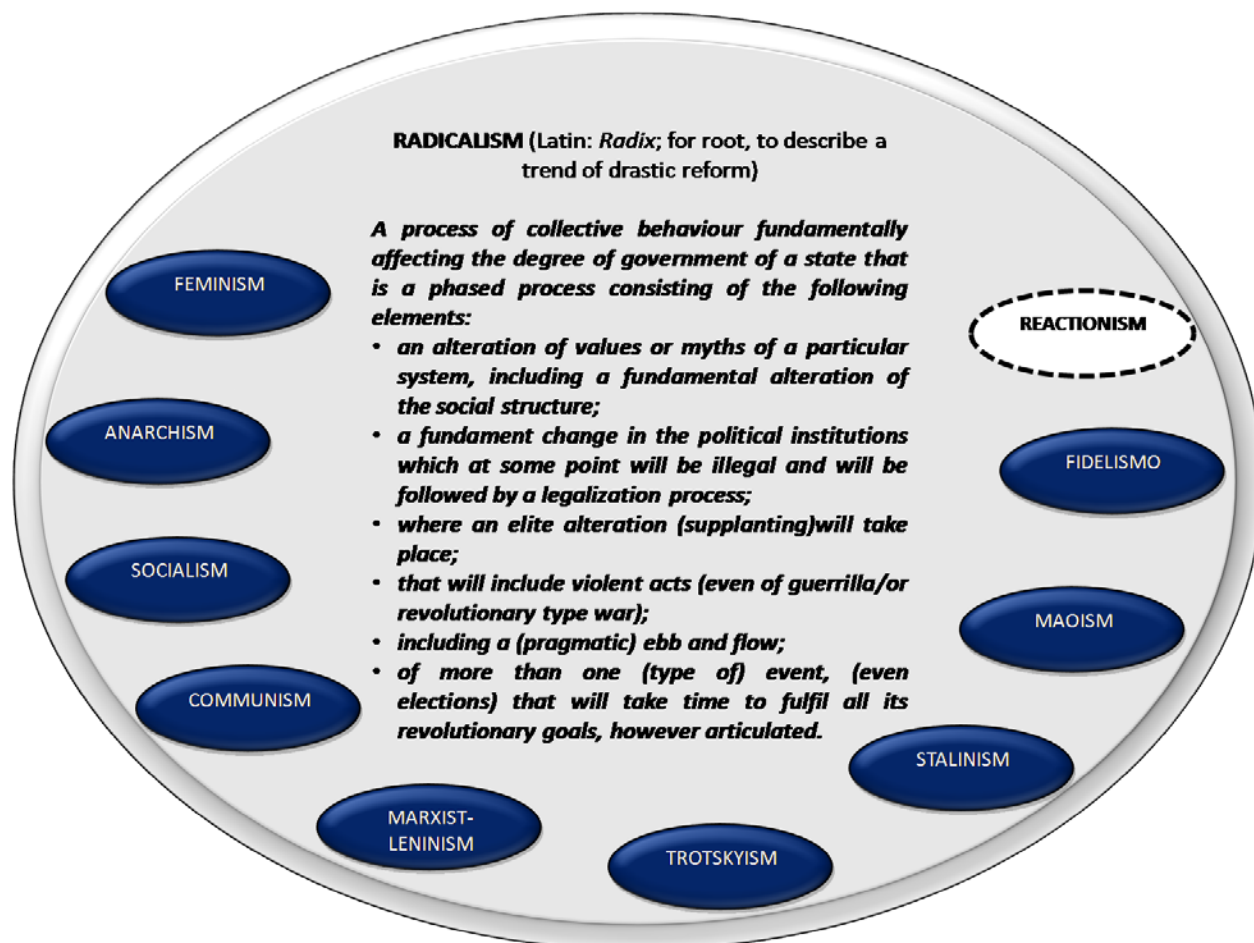
In the following section the contribution of the radical theorists toward the understanding of revolution will be further examined. The basis for the reconstruction of their contribution in this section is not ideological but theoretical and practical – as it was in the section on the definition of revolution.

### **3.3 THE CONTRIBUTION OF REVOLUTIONARY THEORISTS: A THEORETICAL AND PRACTICAL ANALYSIS**

In Chapter 2 radical ideologies and their relationships were described. This resulted in Figure 6 (Chapter 2) in which the results of this description were graphically illustrated. The goal of this section is to build on that illustration and to present the theoretical and practical contributions of the ideological thinkers regarding their understanding of the ideas and the concept of revolution. In Chapter 2 the focus was on ideology, while the focus here is on theory and practice.

The major revolutionary thinkers and ideologies as represented in Chapter 2 are indicated as follows:

Figure 9: Radical Ideologies: Their Theoretical Contribution



To this Figure is added the description conceptualised in section 3.2.2. In the following section the theoretical and practical contributions of these ideologues (or as Cohan (1975:17) calls them “these scholars/revolutionary theorists”) will be examined. At the end of this section these contributions will be tabulated to aid comparison of the various schools of thought. Each school will also be check listed against the analytical framework arrived at in section 3.2.3 to determine which elements of the framework are prominent in what school of thought.

As was evident from the section on the definition and description of revolution the integration of these views can contribute a great deal to the understanding of revolution. It has to be mentioned again that these works represent a formidable amount of

literature which (unfortunately) cannot be recounted here in full. As a result some theoretical contributions will be summarised, while other works of a more theoretical but less<sup>19</sup> ideological nature will be added.

### 3.3.1 Socialist Feminism

Some of the earliest feminist thoughts were articulated by Mary Wollenstonecraft (1759-1797): “The preposterous distinctions of rank, which render civilization a curse, by dividing the world between voluptuous tyrants, and cunning envious dependants, corrupt, almost equally, every class of people, because respectability is not attached to the discharge of the relative duties of life, but to the station, and when the duties are not fulfilled the affections cannot gain sufficient strength to fortify the virtue of which they are the natural reward. Still there are some loopholes out of which a man may creep, and dare to think and act for himself; but for a woman it is a herculean task, because she has difficulties peculiar to her sex to overcome, which require almost superhuman powers” (Wollenstonecraft, 1975:144-146). In this early writing (and this was done well before feminism became an organised movement) the beginning of a class association can be discerned. J.S. Mill also argued for the rights of women in the eighteenth century, yet it was not until Socialist Feminism as part of Socialism described women as *the most exploited class* (a description that will later echo in the National Democratic Revolution) that the liberation of women became part of the revolutionary agenda. Part of the understanding of a modern revolution is therefore that women must be liberated from capitalist exploitation and from subservience in a male dominant society. Because of this dual exploitation they are in a sense the most exploited class. Radical feminists with their “separate revolution” (whose tenets include the abolition of sex and lesbianism) do not have a mainstream tract in society (Goodwin, 2007:199-207).

### 3.3.2 Anarchism

Anarchism dates back hundreds of years but truly came into existence at the same time as Marxism, in the era of the Enlightenment, witnessing the same exploitation of

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<sup>19</sup> These works include inter alia; Che Guevara, *On Guerrilla Warfare* (1962); Frans Marek, *Philosophy of world revolution* (1969) and Lass H., *Die Grondleggers van Revolusionêre Oorlogvoering* (1976).

primitive capitalism. Anarchism thus agrees with Marxism that exploitative capitalism has to be destroyed. (Goodwin, 2007:129-131). “The anarchist then conceives a society in which all the mutual relations of its members are regulated, not by laws, not by authority, whether self-imposed or elected, but by mutual agreements between the members of that society...No ruling authorities, then, no government of man by man” (Kropotkin, 1923:45). Anarchism, although having a complex internal structure with various thinkers taking different roads, some of which move nearer to socialism while others move nearer to capitalism, tend to argue against all forms of rule, organisation and government, including the traditional tools of Marxism, namely the party and organised labour. Any large scale cooperation between mainstream anarchism and any revolutionary organisation is fundamentally very difficult.

### **3.3.3 Socialism (and the Contribution of Marx)**

The term socialism was first used after the French Revolution. Karl Marx gave coherence and status to Socialism and brought the distinction between Scientific Socialism and Utopian Socialism. Out of Marxism (Scientific Socialism according to Engels) various variations grew. Engels was regarded as the word of orthodoxy after Marx’s death; Trotsky, Stalin, Lenin, et cetera built on (perverted?) the Marxist tradition into other ideologies. Marx formulated laws and theories according to which socialism and communism, as an exalted form of socialism, would be inevitable after the demise of capitalism.

Frans Marek (1969:117) describes this inevitability: “Marx’s model [see section 2.5.5 Chapter 2], enriched and modified by Lenin’s theory of revolution[see Marxist-Leninism and Communism, section 2.5.3, Chapter 2] and by the conclusions to be drawn from the anti-imperialist revolutions in the colonial countries, can still be summed up in the idea ‘socialism follows capitalism just as capitalism followed feudalism...’. Marx and Engels took over from Hegel the conviction that history is not a collection of imaginary actions of imaginary men, nor a mass of bare facts, nor a meaningless succession of unconnected happenings...Marx and Engels founded this idea upon the law of motion of history by which they explain the succession of the various forms of society” (Marek,

1969:15). This dialectical process is driven by the conflict between classes (the oppressed and the oppressor) and the conflict can only be resolved by some form of revolution leading to the end of worldwide capitalism and imperialism. Important to note is that Marx was the first ideologue to formulate this idea of “worldwide” or constant revolution that would later echo in Trotsky’s work.

### **3.3.4 Communism**

“The Bolsheviks (Marxists under Lenin) have a very definite programme for achieving communism - a programme that has been set forth by Lenin” (Russel, 1949:100). This programme revolved along the following lines: Lenin proposed a class (or the concept) of professional revolutionaries that should operate in secret and conspiratorially and create the desire for political change amongst the workers. “First Workers are to form labour organizations and, if possible, Communist parties, operating openly, legally, and as publically as conditions allow. Side by side with such organizations there are to be small groups of professional revolutionaries, patterned after the army and the police, highly select and entirely secret...the organization of the professional revolutionaries must be highly disciplined and centralized...and must constantly supervise the communist led economic and political associations - the labour unions, the party and the rest” (Ebenstein, 1973:29-30). Lenin also advised the infiltration of all social, economic and political structures by these professional revolutionaries. The Communist party had to be centralised, and the masses had to be educated in a revolutionary manner.

It is worth noting that Lenin was dealing with a practical situation and that his was a particular solution to the Russian problem of that time (Cohan, 1975:90). Nonetheless, Bolshevism/Communism, especially Lenin’s understanding of the weak social cohesion and low organisational energy of undeveloped societies, has marked his programme as one of Russia’s great export successes and of which Lenin’s single most important contribution is:

“...our primary and imperative practical task to establish an organization of revolutionaries capable of lending energy, stability, and continuity to the political

struggle... in connection with organization, I mean professional revolutionaries, irrespective of whether they have developed from among students or working men. I assert: (1) that no revolutionary movement can endure without a stable organization of leaders maintaining continuity; (2) that the broader the popular mass drawn spontaneously into the struggle, which forms the basis of the movement and participates in it, the more urgent the need for such an organization, and the more solid this organization must be (for it is much easier for all sorts of demagogues to side-track the more backward sections of the masses); (3) that such an organization must consist chiefly of people professionally engaged in revolutionary activity; (4) that in an autocratic state, the more we confine the membership of such an organization to people who are professionally engaged in revolutionary activity and who have been professionally trained in the art of combating the political police, the more difficult will it be to unearth the organization; and (5) the greater will be the number of people from the working class and from the other social classes who will be able to join the movement and perform active work in it" (Lenin, 1902:79).

Lenin formulated the practical guide for the attainment (by various means) of communism (victory). (It seems it would no longer be a solely natural process as was claimed by Marx when he postulated the dialectic, but rather a process that can be/has to be engineered). Ultimately the centralised party incorporating all the various structures would be the vanguard formation for the revolution and also for the period thereafter, encompassing all social activities into party structures. This centrally controlled structure would then act against its ideological adversaries consisting of bourgeois ideologists and opportunists.

### 3.3.5 Trotskyism<sup>20</sup>

According to Marek (1969:82) Trotsky seized on the idea of the Permanent Revolution to fight against the ideal of true socialism. Priestland (2009:98) describes that Trotsky did indeed come under attack from the far left of the Communist party for his more

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<sup>20</sup> A most important work in understanding Trotskyism is Martin Legassick's *Toward Socialist Democracy* (See the bibliography). From this work it becomes clear how and why Lenin and Stalin marginalized Trotsky's ideas.

tolerant stance towards the bourgeoisie. Trotsky himself asked “to close ranks, to establish discipline of labour and Socialist order, to increase the productivity of labour, and not to be baulked by any obstacle” (Trotsky, 1919:153). This he aimed to achieve through the application of military methods throughout society as a whole in peacetime. He set demobilised soldiers to work on economic projects and took over the railways, seeking to apply top-down military organisation and discipline (Priestland, 2009:98).

His most important contribution however (and he also was dealing with the same practical situation as Lenin) was always the idea of the Permanent Revolution as defined at the beginning of this chapter, that is primarily a permanent/all-encompassing revolution, also on the international level without distinct stages. It is important to note that Trotsky did not want to skip stages in the revolution as his enemies claim, but rather due to his more tolerant view of the bourgeoisie as “fellow travellers”, he saw the two revolutions, the democratic and the proletarian, flowing into one. This one revolution will be constant on all societal levels until socialism is achieved not only in one state but in every state in the world (Legassick, 2007:80). - Perhaps Trotsky foresaw that the inevitability of a communist “victory” predicted by Marx would not be so soon in coming? One state achieving Socialism would thus be only a minor event on the way towards the ultimate goal of International Socialism.

### **3.3.6 Stalinism**

In many ways Stalinism is the inverse of Trotskyism. Stalin believed in the two-stage theory of revolution, thus the first revolution is that of the bourgeoisie (a democratic revolution), followed by the socialist revolution. Stalin focused his version of Marxism inwards towards the USSR, and combined it with a feverish Nationalism, added militarism, peasant romanticism and a leadership cult; the result was “socialism in one country” (his slogan) with the USSR as the motherland, Eastern Europe as the satellites, Africa and Latin America as the client states (or the proxies) and the whole system with capitalism and the United States on the opposing-enemy side, becoming the Bipolar World Order (Priestland, 2009:122-124).

Trotskyites refer to this era under Stalin as neither socialist nor communist; just bureaucratic or “Barracks communism”, and to some degree this is true. The administration required to police the nationalistic programmes, the romantic notions of loyalty enshrined in everyday life and the various economic programmes led to communism by commission.

Stalin tried to turn the revolutionary political energy towards the economy and tried to “industrialise” on a massive scale, with disastrous results: “We are fifty to a hundred years behind the advanced countries. We must close the gap in ten years. Either we achieve this or they will do us in” (Stalin as quoted by Priestland, 2009:148). To achieve this goal Stalin forsook the old bourgeoisie (real) science and relied on the new proletarian science with as cornerstone the belief that great revolutionary leaps are possible. Unfortunately for many, revolutionary zeal does not feed a population and mass death occurred especially in the Ukraine. This forced industrialisation was referred to as revolution from above.

### **3.3.7 Maoism**

“Few Revolutionary movements anywhere in the world have succeeded so rapidly and none has achieved the magnitude of the Chinese Communist revolutionary mass movement” (Cohan, 1975:94). China had been in a state of continual turmoil since 1851 and out of this Mao Tse Tung (Mao Zedong) created “a strategy and tactics” for the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) that sounded familiar and acceptable to his countrymen by writing in familiar Confucian style filled with traditional allegory and precedents from Chinese history. Mao’s great contribution was to bend Marxism to the particular situation, not the situation to Marxism. Mao for instance describes the goals of the revolution as “to change the objective world and, at the same time their own subjective world – to change their cognitive ability and change the relations between the subjective and objective world. Such a change has already occurred in one part of the globe, in the Soviet Union. There people are pushing forward this process of change. The people in China and the rest of the world either are going through a stage of change, who, in order to be changed, must go through a stage of compulsion before

they can enter a stage of voluntary, conscious change. The epoch of world communism will be reached when all mankind voluntarily and consciously changes itself and the world” (Zedong, 2009c:38).

Even more than Russia, China was underdeveloped, even feudal, so Mao depended on the peasantry and formed a guerrilla army to conduct the revolution. “When we see the enemy, simply because he has a weapon in his hands, we must not be frightened to death like a rat who sees a cat...And if we do not fear death, then what is there to fear about the enemy? So when we see the enemy, whether he is many or few, we must act as though he is bread that can satisfy our hunger, and immediately swallow him... When it is not advantageous for our mainland army to meet the enemy in large-scale engagements and we therefore send out commando units or guerrilla units which employ the tactics of avoiding strength and striking at weakness, of flitting about and having no fixed position, and of subduing the enemy according to circumstances, and when we do not oppose the enemy according to the rules of tactics, this is called employing guerrilla tactics” (Zedong, 2009a:4-5).

Thus in a country where there was no working class, another class, in this case the rural peasants, became not only the revolutionary class but also the revolutionary army. A prime motivator for the peasant class was a new Chinese Nationalism, empowering them to see themselves as the equals and indeed as superior to their various oppressors and part of a socialist destiny. Another feature of Maoist thought is the Mass Line concept according to which the loyalty and continued vigour of the populace must be ensured again and again as the people are the central revolutionary motive force. As additional benefit through continued government regulated participation in the Mass Line it is insured that possible antagonisms towards the party, government and party officials will dissipate. Mass Line techniques include rallies, small group studies, campaigns of different sorts and self-reform” (Cohan, 1975:106-107).

Another revolution in Asia occurred along Maoist lines. In Vietnam the Vietnamese revolutionaries were engaged in an all-out war against the French. Apart from adopting

Mao's "new Democracy", an interesting aspect of this revolution was that the 1930-31 revolt had shown the Indochina Communist Party (ICP) the danger of alienating the wealthy peasantry and the landlords by prematurely emphasising class issues, and of alienating the peasantry generally by taking a dogmatic attitude towards traditional culture. The Viet Minh therefore was initially conceived as purely a national liberation movement. The ICP was at that stage officially dissolved, however in secret continuing to dominate (Christie, 2001:94-95). The policies pursued at this stage were a campaign for literacy, universal elementary education and the recognition of the equality of nationalities and equality of the sexes.

The war in Vietnam as in China was primarily a guerrilla war. From his mountain redoubt General Vo Nguyen Giap<sup>21</sup> organised a vast intelligence network along the lines prescribed by Mao Zedong, relying on peasant support. Giap stated that his revolution was a national people's democratic revolution against feudalism and imperialism and just like the Chinese revolution had two dimensions: the ideological and the national; the revolution against feudalism representing the national frontier, with the revolution against imperialism representing the ideological frontier (Lass, 1976:139).

Concerning the relationship between the armed and the political struggle: "Armed struggle has developed on the basis of political struggle brought to a higher level; these two forms of struggle developed simultaneously in a vigorous manner and stimulate each other. Armed struggle which becomes more and more vigorous does not make political struggle decrease in intensity but, on the contrary, gives it a stronger impulse; together they pursue the aim of annihilating and dislocating enemy armed forces, striking vigorously where the enemy is basically weak, on political ground"(Giap as quoted by Lass, 1976:139).

The main contribution of the Vietnamese revolution was the Leninist (secret and conspiratorial) practicality with which the true role of the communist party, the

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<sup>21</sup> No mention of Vo Nguyen Giap and his revolution was made in Chapter 2 as the Vietnamese revolution does not represent a separate ideology. Giap's thinking however does represent a distinct contribution in revolutionary thinking.

implementation of Mao's principles and the singularity of purpose in the armed and political struggles were made obvious, to such a point that the one cannot exist without the other.

### **3.3.8 Fidelismo**

The Cuban revolution's importance stems from various factors, not least of which is its virulent anti-colonialist, anti-imperialist and internationalist nature. These factors led to the defeat of Batista, the defeat of the United States in the Bay of Pigs fiasco, and the wholesale export of Fidel Castro's revolution especially to Latin America. The close relations between Cuba and Russia also proved to be a constant thorn in the side of the US (Lévesque, 1978:iv).

The revolution presented ideological problems for the Soviet Union as well. Soviet Ideology was burdened with formulas and dogmatism and scientists in the USSR were searching for ways of comprehending and explaining the evolution of the international system in general and the social and revolutionary processes in the Third World in particular. The study of Cuba was one way in which the Academy of Sciences of the USSR was looking at for enriching Marxism-Leninism. The result of this process was the designation of Cuba as initially a Revolutionary Democratic State (this term would later be revised) and later a National Democratic State. These terms were never used before to describe a state, only the revolutionary movements of the colonial world. In the light of the Cuban example, a National Democratic State (this term will echo later in the National Democratic Revolution) did not require Communist leadership, yet was superior to all non-socialist states (Lévesque, 1978:48-55). Cuba thus became the first Socialist State without a socialist party in control; that was of course because Castro was not an outspoken socialist at first, just fiercely nationalist. (This point can also be made about the ANC, which is firstly a nationalist party.)

An important factor and influence in the broader aspect of Fidelismo was the thinking of Che Guevara. He was a socialist and a Stalinist and, with a greater tolerance for violent action than Castro, he was also a guerrilla fighter and strategist. According to Guevara,

“the guerrilla is a crusader for the people’s freedom who, after exhausting peaceful means, resorts to armed rebellion. He aims directly at destroying an unjust social order and indirectly at replacing it with something new” (Guevara, 1962:30). Yet these guerrilla soldiers are only the armed centre of the masses themselves. The army is thus dependent on the broad support of the people.

Guevara likened the guerrilla to a crusader but in order to attain this “status” he had to “display impeccable moral conduct and self-control. He must be an ascetic. At first he will not stress social reform, acting more as a big brother to the poor farmer...He bothers the rich as little as possible. Then, little by little, the issues sharpen, people are forced to take sides, and conflict breaks out. At this point the guerrilla emerges as the people’s standard bearer, justly punishing any betrayal of the cause, taking from the rich, and giving to the poor...the guerrilla provides ideology for social reform by personal example...guerrilla leaders are not men bowed down by daily farm labour...they personally set the example of armed rebellion” (Guevara,1962:30-32).

In various books Guevara (1962:43) continues to give practical instruction in guerrilla warfare in a similar vein as “Combat is the climax of guerrilla life” and in greater detail up to the conduct of ambushes and the structuring and organisation of guerrilla organisations. He based his thoughts upon three fundamental principles:

- Popular forces can win against an army.
- One does not necessarily have to wait for a revolutionary situation to arise, it can be created.
- In the underdeveloped countries of the Americas, rural areas are the best battlefields for revolution (Guevara, 1962:3-4).

Guevara influenced Castro and in 1962<sup>22</sup> Castro publicly announced the socialist nature of the Cuban revolution, denounced his enemy Annibal Escalante as sectarian and

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<sup>22</sup> The political elimination of Escalante and the socialization of the Cuban revolution formed an interplay in the complex Sino-Soviet conflict at that time, with Escalante getting support from China (Lévesque, 1978:54-63).

dogmatic and proclaimed himself a socialist (Lévesque, 1978:54-63). Castro also built a substantial cult around his own person, which he had little trouble in achieving because of his unrivalled popularity as the liberator of Cuba and the victor in the Bay of Pigs affair. He was also popular throughout the wider Latin America. On the whole Cubans had the sense that Cuba belonged to them, and while the Soviet Union provided monetary and other aid, life in Cuba was better than in other Latin American countries.

### **3.3.9 Reactionism**

Reactionist ideologies are usually on the right side of the political spectrum, but can also denote opposition to Marxist ideology. During the Russian civil war the White Russians who fought against the Bolsheviks were called reactionary. The term in the Marxist idiom thus has a pejorative connotation relating to feudalism, capitalism and nationalism. Reactionist governments usually are authoritarian, nationalistic and anti-Marxist, thus any non-Marxist might be labelled a reactionary by a Marxist. This is not correct as a reactionary holds not only anti-Marxist views but wishes a return to the status quo ante as he or she defines it. The reason for the inclusion of this collection of ideologies in this thesis is the fact that most reactionaries prefer violent revolutionary action to gain their objective. Some anarchists are reactionary, thus there is a wide overlap in motivation for the primary method that remains revolution – of some kind. The Fascist regime of Mussolini with his wish to return Italy to the magnificence of Rome can be regarded as a prime example of reactionism. Some also regard National Socialism (Nazism) as reactionary. More positive and more contemporary examples of reactionism are the various Skinhead and Neo Nazi movements in Europe and America (Baradat, 2009:29). A prime example of this is the excerpt from the 25 points of the National Socialist Movement of America:

“We demand the union of all Whites into a greater America on the basis of the right of national self-determination. We demand equality of rights for the American people in its dealings with other nations, and the revocation of the United Nations, the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, the World Bank, the North American Free Trade Agreement, the World Trade Organization, and the International Monetary Fund. We demand land and

territory (colonies) to feed our people and to settle surplus population. Only members of the nation may be citizens of the state. Only those of pure White blood, whatever their creed, may be members of the nation” (NSM, 1974).

This way of thinking described in the quotation above is easy to relegate to the realm of the impossible, but a single man driving a truck loaded with a homemade bomb, armed with primarily a conviction that his beliefs were worth the lives of many, inflicted huge damage in Oklahoma City on 19 April 1995. This is what makes a reactionist ideology dangerous, a propensity for violence and revolution, where the revolutionary in the words of Guevara does not have to be part of an army; he has to be a crusader, even a single one.

In conclusion the goal of the section above was to elaborate and compare the contributions of various thinkers and practitioners within the radical ideologies as to their theoretical and practical understanding (theoretical/practical proposition) of revolution. The goal was further to try to summarise their main contribution into a short yet overall comprehensive framework, given the perspective on the radical ideologies provided in Chapter Two. In order to fulfil this goal it is necessary to tabulate the results, as is represented in figure 10 under the following headings:

**Figure 10: Summary and Comparison of Ideologies**

Areas in red (above on the right) indicate dimensions of the definition of revolution that are extremely evident within the indicated ideological context. (This table will eventually in Chapter 8 include the NDR.)

### ANALYTICAL FRAMEWORK FOR REVOLUTION

A process of collective behaviour in a phased process affecting the degree of government of a state. An alteration of values or myths of a particular system; including a fundamental alteration of the social structure. A fundamental change in the political institutions which at some point will be illegal and will be followed by a legalisation process wherein an elite alteration (supplanting) will take place that will include violent acts (even of guerrilla/revolutionary type war); including a (pragmatic) ebb and flow; of more than one (type of) event, (even elections); that will take time to fulfil all its revolutionary goals, however articulated.

RADICAL IDEOLOGY	MAJOR CONTRIBUTION OF THE IDEOLOGY TO THE THOUGHT AND THEORY OF REVOLUTION	MAIN POINTS OF COMPARISON	DIMENSIONS OF REVOLUTION (AS PER DEFINITION) APPLICABLE IN EACH CONTRIBUTION
SOCIALIST FEMINISM	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Considers women as the most exploited class.</li> <li>• Women will be liberated by the socialist revolution.</li> <li>• Radical feminists want to completely restructure society, by means of an independent revolution (and even separatism and the sensation of the heterosexual sexual act).</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Women as the most exploited class.</li> <li>• Women will be liberated by Socialism.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Collective behaviour.</li> <li>• Phased process.</li> <li>• Alteration of values and myths of systems.</li> <li>• Fundamental alteration of social structure.</li> <li>• Fundamental change in political institutions.</li> <li>• Can be illegal.</li> <li>• Can include an elite alteration.</li> <li>• Includes a pragmatic ebb and flow.</li> <li>• Includes more than one type of activity.</li> <li>• Takes time.</li> <li>• Depends on Socialist programme followed.</li> </ul>
ANARCHISM	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Agrees with Marx that a revolution is necessary to rid the world of capitalism (exploitation).</li> <li>• Regards any form of government as exploitative.</li> <li>• Disagrees with a central organisation, the use of organised labour and a party system.</li> <li>• Most radical groups are militaristic, individualistic and uncontrollable.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Agrees with Marx that Capitalism is evil.</li> <li>• All organisations are exploitative.</li> <li>• Socialist Anarchism is described as "left of politics".</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• (Some form of) collective behaviour.</li> <li>• Fundamentally affecting the degree of government of the state.</li> <li>• An alteration of the values and myths of a system.</li> <li>• Fundamental alteration of the social structure.</li> <li>• Fundamental alteration in the political institutions.</li> <li>• Can be Illegal.</li> <li>• Can include an elite alteration.</li> </ul>

			<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Can include violence.</li> </ul>
SOCIALISM	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The genus from which most of the other ideologies are the species.</li> <li>• Marx is the most influential thinker; from his ideas of Scientific Socialism which resulted in Communism, Trotskyism, Stalinism and others.</li> <li>• According to Marx history (the development of man) is a process of conflict between classes driven by economic reality resolved by revolution.</li> <li>• The end result of this process will be the end of worldwide capitalism followed by a second tier (true) socialism or communism.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Marx (the father) provides basis for Socialism and the science of Socialism.</li> <li>• Science is driven by Class conflict, Dialectical materialism, Economic determinism and other "laws".</li> <li>• Capitalism is the enemy and will be supplanted by socialism with its perfect form called communism.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• A process of collective behaviour</li> <li>• In a phased process.</li> <li>• An alteration of values or myths of a particular system,</li> <li>• including a fundamental alteration of the social structure;</li> <li>• A fundamental change in the political institutions.</li> <li>• An elite alteration (supplanting) will take place;</li> <li>• includes a (pragmatic) ebb and flow;</li> <li>• More than one (type of) event.</li> <li>• Will take time to fulfil all its revolutionary goals, although articulated.</li> </ul>
COMMUNISM	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Communism is Lenin's interpretation of Marxism (also known as Bolshevism).</li> <li>• Lenin proposed a class of professional revolutionaries, acting in secret and conspiratorially who could bring the desire for political change to the workers – a class of intellectual agent provocateurs schooled in Marxist ideology.</li> <li>• According to his belief the Communist party had to be centralised and form a vanguard for the revolution.</li> <li>• The environment in which Lenin formed these ideas was repressive, he was thus almost an insurgent in his own country.</li> <li>• Lenin encouraged violence during December 1917 and declared "a war to the death against the rich".</li> <li>• Yet Lenin did not go to the extremes of Robespierre. He was however the father of the Cheka (the forerunner of the KGB) repressive secret service.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Lenin articulates a practical guide for the revolutionary attainment of Socialism/Communism through the use of <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>— professional revolutionaries;</li> <li>— secrecy;</li> <li>— conspiracy, and</li> <li>— illegal acts.</li> </ul> </li> <li>• Vanguard groupings.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• A process of collective behaviour.</li> <li>• A phased process.</li> <li>• Affects the degree of government of a state.</li> <li>• Alteration of values or myths of a particular system</li> <li>• Including a fundamental alteration of the social structure.</li> <li>• A fundamental change in the political institutions.</li> <li>• At some point will be illegal and will be followed by a legalization process.</li> <li>• An elite alteration (supplanting) will take place.</li> <li>• Will include violent acts (even of guerrilla/or revolutionary type war).</li> <li>• A (pragmatic) ebb and flow.</li> <li>• More than one (type of) event, (even elections).</li> <li>• Will take time to fulfil all its revolutionary goals, although articulated.</li> </ul>
TROTSKYISM	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Trotsky favours a twofold revolution: a bourgeoisie or democratic revolution followed by a proletarian or socialist revolution.</li> <li>• He however regards the twofold as one permanent revolution (the big political processes mentioned above are important steps in his permanent revolution) where each phase of the revolution stems directly from the preceding one and revolutions occur in the economy, science, family, and within morality not allowing society to achieve equilibrium.</li> <li>• A national revolution is not a self-contained whole but has external linkages forming an international chain.</li> <li>• This national and international process is continued despite declines and ebbs - this is thus a very pragmatic approach with the ultimate success of worldwide socialism as its goal.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Permanent revolution,</li> <li>• on all societal levels</li> <li>• until Socialism is achieved throughout the world.</li> <li>• More tolerant, more international and more inclusive.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• A process of collective behaviour.</li> <li>• A phased process.</li> <li>• Affects the degree of government of a state.</li> <li>• Alteration of values or myths of a particular system;</li> <li>• Including a fundamental alteration of the social structure.</li> <li>• A fundamental change in the political institutions.</li> <li>• At some point will be illegal and will be followed by a legalization process.</li> <li>• An elite alteration (supplanting) will take place.</li> <li>• Will include violent acts (even of guerrilla/or revolutionary type war).</li> <li>• A (pragmatic) ebb and flow.</li> <li>• More than one (type of) event, (even elections).</li> <li>• Will take time to fulfill all its revolutionary goals, although articulated.</li> </ul>
STALINISM	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Stalinism is based on a strong leader or the perception of a strong leader.</li> <li>• This fact and image are maintained through brutality.</li> <li>• Stalinism stresses ideological and emotional commitment.</li> <li>• The strongest force however is Nationalism and the slogan "socialism in one country" led to the fortification of the USSR.</li> <li>• Introduced a militarised Industrialisation and a planned economy through 5 year plans.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Nationalist with a</li> <li>• (narcissistic) Personality Cult built upon</li> <li>• terror and brutality.</li> <li>• Bureaucratic and</li> <li>• tries to Industrialise through a "new science" built on socialist idealism and megalomania.</li> <li>• "Socialism from above".</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• A process of collective behaviour.</li> <li>• A phased process.</li> <li>• Affects the degree of government of a state.</li> <li>• An alteration of values or myths of a particular system;</li> <li>• Including a fundamental alteration of the social structure.</li> <li>• A fundamental change in the political institutions.</li> <li>• At some point will be illegal and will be followed by a legalisation process.</li> <li>• An elite alteration (supplanting) will take place;</li> </ul>

			<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• will include violent acts (even of guerrilla/or revolutionary type war).</li> <li>• A (pragmatic) ebb and flow.</li> <li>• More than one (type of) event, (even elections).</li> <li>• Will take time to fulfil all its revolutionary goals, although articulated.</li> </ul>
MAOISM	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The support base for the Chinese revolution was primarily rural with a peasant guerrilla army as its vanguard.</li> <li>• The brand of communism in China in the rural areas was organisationally modelled after the army of the USSR - because of the fact that the "peasant army" was "the party".</li> <li>• From a rural base the towns were infiltrated and party structures were established.</li> <li>• Maoism is nationalistic (as key motivator) and populist with special positions for key supporters.</li> <li>• Special programmes were designed to reinvigorate the revolution over and over.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Peasant support.</li> <li>• Peasant army.</li> <li>• Guerrilla tactics.</li> <li>• Nationalistic.</li> <li>• Reinvigoration of revolutionary energy.</li> <li>• Vo Nguyen Giap:</li> <li>• Disband communist part to operate under cover.</li> <li>• No difference between armed struggle and political struggle.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• A process of collective behaviour.</li> <li>• A phased process.</li> <li>• Affects the degree of government of a state.</li> <li>• An alteration of values or myths of a particular system;</li> <li>• Including a fundamental alteration of the social structure.</li> <li>• A fundamental change in the political institutions.</li> <li>• At some point will be illegal and will be followed by a legalisation process.</li> <li>• An elite alteration (supplanting) will take place.</li> <li>• Will include violent acts (even of guerrilla or revolutionary type war);</li> <li>• A (pragmatic) ebb and flow.</li> <li>• More than one (type of) event, (even elections).</li> <li>• Will take time to fulfil all its revolutionary goals, although articulated.</li> </ul>
FIDEALISMO	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Castro's revolution is anti-colonialist, anti-imperialist and fiercely nationalistic.</li> <li>• Che Guevara influenced the doctrine and introduced Stalin's tolerance for violence and clampdowns on dissidence.</li> <li>• Che Guevara three key principles: 1) Popular forces can win against an army. 2) One does not necessarily have to wait for a revolutionary situation to arise; it can be created and 3) In the underdeveloped countries of the Americas, rural areas are the best battlefields for revolution.</li> <li>• Castro built a substantial popular (unlike Stalin) personality cult.</li> <li>• Cuba became an exporter of revolution to Latin America and Africa.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Nationalistic.</li> <li>• Anti-colonialist.</li> <li>• Anti-imperialist.</li> <li>• Popular personality cult.</li> <li>• Che Guevara</li> <li>• Regards the guerrilla fighter as an ascetic relying on the support of the masses.</li> <li>• A revolutionary situation can be created (Lenin?).</li> <li>• Cuba became an exporter of revolution.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• A process of collective behaviour.</li> <li>• A phased process.</li> <li>• Affects the degree of government of a state.</li> <li>• An alteration of values or myths of a particular system;</li> <li>• Including a fundamental alteration of the social structure.</li> <li>• A fundamental change in the political institutions.</li> <li>• At some point will be illegal and will be followed by a legalization process.</li> <li>• An elite alteration (supplanting) will take place.</li> <li>• Will include violent acts (even of guerrilla/or revolutionary type war).</li> <li>• A (pragmatic) ebb and flow.</li> <li>• More than one (type of) event, (even elections).</li> <li>• Will take time to fulfil all its revolutionary goals, although articulated.</li> </ul>
REACTIONISM	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Ideologies on the right side of the political spectrum.</li> <li>• May also rely on a cult figure as leader.</li> <li>• Chooses elements of revolution as preferred method of effecting change.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• On the right side of the political spectrum.</li> <li>• The preferred method of change is revolutionary.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Affects the degree of government of a state.</li> <li>• An alteration of values or myths of a particular system;</li> <li>• Including a fundamental alteration of the social structure.</li> <li>• A fundamental change in the political institutions.</li> <li>• At some point will be illegal.</li> <li>• Will include violent acts (even of guerrilla/or revolutionary type war).</li> <li>• Will take time to fulfil all its revolutionary goals, although articulated.</li> </ul>

In the above table, column one represents the ideology as identified in Chapter Two, column two provides the main characteristics of that ideology, column three presents the summation of the practical contributions to the understanding and practice of revolution and the fourth column presents the elements (highlighted in red) of the analytical framework that are present in the specific contribution. Since the description/definition of revolution and hence the analytical framework is partly deduced from definitions stemming from the work of the various ideologues under analysis in this table, it is not surprising to find a consistency in the appearance of the various elements. To a certain extent this points to the veracity of the definition. As a whole this Table can be used to compare the various ideologies and the various contributions on a practical as well as ideological level. From this perspective some of the elements that are extremely prominent in a contribution have been highlighted in red.

Concerning a comparison, it is most interesting to note that Marxism as the foundational ideology presents the scientific, historic inevitability of socialism as a process of a natural system (almost like the tides of the ocean). Yet all the ideologies after Marxism, and especially Leninism, starting with communism, advance strategies and programmes that include duplicity for the advancement, contribution to and assistance of the inevitable tidal system of dialectical Marxism.

Little is to be said for the period of early capitalism; it was exploitative, both the Anarchists and the Feminists recognised this and joined the Marxists in their condemnation of this new societal organisation. Only the Feminists proved to be valuable allies as the Anarchists frequently leave themselves out of formal politics and organisation. Lenin can be described as the other father (the other being Marx) of the Marxist family: Marx provided the science; Lenin provided the guile and the streetwise action plan. Trotsky was a man out of sync with the revolutionary ambitions of Lenin and Stalin. Trotsky's ambition through the permanent revolution was for worldwide socialism through ideology, not direct confrontation and conquest; perhaps he had the more far-seeing vision and a view that could have been more successful.

Stalin had neither the vision nor the intelligence to tolerate views much different from his own. The result was the Cold War that arguably made the infiltration of Marxism difficult, as it became a standing item on the western agenda to combat the spread of this ideology as it could only be perpetrated by a monstrous champion like Stalin.

The result was that China and Cuba became involved in wars of liberation. Mao Zedong, a master of philosophy, guerrilla warfare and penmanship, massed the peasantry behind him and formed a cohesive army of a new class of revolutionaries. He too had to create the conditions for revolution by skilfully manoeuvring his forces and building his strength and support. In Vietnam Vo Nguyen Giap considered Mao as a mentor and based his war against the French upon the one in China; his innovations included the disbandment of the communist party in order to advance the communist agenda - a unique way to procure a cover for the party's leadership role in the National Liberation movement - (Lenin would have been proud) and a comment on the "unnaturalness" of the historical dialectic in Vietnam with both the poor peasantry and the landed peasantry rejecting the communist agenda. Another innovation was the way in which Giap regarded the armed and political struggles as part and parcel of the whole; according to his thinking there could actually be no differentiation.

In Cuba Fidel Castro led the revolution against imperialism and rampant capitalist exploitation on the basis of fierce nationalism. This was the basis for his popular personality cult (unlike the contrived personality cult of Stalin). Che Guevara, a Marxist, regarded the guerrilla fighter in an exalted position, he also realised that a revolutionary situation could be created and also built a peasant army, but above all he realised the importance of the support of the masses. This is perhaps what made the Cuban revolution so successful; the genuine bad faith embodied by Batista; the United States and the American mob all bent upon the exploitation of the Cuban people.

In conclusion it seems that various men at various times in various situations used the ideas available to them to build "a revolution of the moment", building a body of thought out of the past with internal consistencies; the most important norm however being

pliable practicality. The edition of the analytical framework shows which elements of the definition of revolution each emphasised to this end.

In the next section other theoretical schools of thought will be reconstructed. At the beginning of this chapter the academic works on revolution were divided into Marxist, Functionalist, and those offering a Psychological explanation. These groups were divided into the main analytical groups of the Great Revolutions School and the Marxists. Having dealt with the Marxists, in the following section the areas of literature to be examined will be the Great Revolutions School exemplified by Crane Brinton and the Functionalists exemplified by Samuel Huntington. To these the contemporary Marxist perspective will be added.

### **3.4 THE GREAT REVOLUTIONS SCHOOL**

The Great Revolutions School according to Cohan (1975:13) has an exclusivist view of what a revolution is. According to this school, a revolution has enormous consequences for the given society, thus the end state no longer resembles the original state or system. In his book *The Anatomy of Revolution* (1975) Crane Brinton analyses four revolutions, namely the English (1640-1660), the French (1789-1799), the American (1775-1783) and the Russian (1917) revolutions, all extensive or grand milestone revolutions; not one of the countries concerned was in any aspect ever the same after its revolution (Brinton, 1965:23-24).

The goal of Brinton's comparison is "to see whether there are not in these four revolutions uniformities which can be grouped together...What evidence have we here that we are dealing with a process which has definite and common stages" (Brinton 1965:78). The results of his comparison produce remarkable insights, firstly concerning the old regimes.

### **3.4.1 The Old Regimes**

When studying the “old regimes” (the regimes against which the revolution is aimed), Brinton (1965:39) looks for signs of the impending breakdown. One of his findings was that all the revolutions were preceded by an inept ruling class: the Tsar of Russia ignorant of the majority of the peasants’ plight; the aristocracy in France, the monarchy in Britain, ignorant of the power and plight of their new colony in America; and Charles I of England suspending parliament. Implicit in this ineptitude but not explicitly stated by Brinton, is the fact that a small privileged minority absolutely lost cognisance of not only the wishes of the masses but also their relative socio-economic deprivation or their perception thereof and their (the masses) thinking about the issue – the masses were not going to endure it any longer and in the minds of the ruling class the perception remained that this could be dealt with, usually by way of arms (Brinton, 1965:53).

Another factor Brinton (1965:39) identifies is the transfer of the allegiance of the intellectuals. The masses’ perception of their situation or their actual situation usually brings about a distancing between groups (the oppressor and oppressed in the Marxist vernacular). As soon as the intellectuals, usually a more privileged group, switch their allegiance two things occur. The masses start getting organised and their opinions are getting expressed more clearly, while the opposition loses the ability to generate new thinking (ideology).

### **3.4.2 The First Stages of the Revolution**

According to Brinton, it is difficult to determine exactly when a revolution started (or when it ended). Perhaps that is why he chooses not to “entangle” himself with the exact definition of revolution, nor with the distinction between revolutionary change and other kinds of change (Brinton, 1965:24). For Brinton (1965:86) the most important uniformity he discerned in his comparison of the revolutions was that at one point or another in the first stage of revolution the constituted authority was challenged (refer to the fourth dimension of the definition of revolution) by the illegal acts of revolutionists. “In such instances the routine response of any authority is to have recourse to force, police or military” (Brinton, 1965:86).

According to Brinton the results of this recourse were, in his case studies, unsuccessful, therefore the first stage ends with the victory of the revolutionists and the beginning of a short honeymoon period. "But poets in a dozen languages set to work to celebrate the regeneration of France and Mankind. And not only poets. Sober businessmen, professional men, country gentlemen, people who in the twentieth century tend to regard revolution with horror, joined in the rejoicing"(Brinton,1965:90-91).

### **3.4.3 The Rule of the Moderates**

After the victory the business of government and governing by the victorious revolutionaries start. At first the moderates ascend into positions of primacy. These people have been the primary opposition and it seems only natural that they form the new government. It is however difficult to provide for all the needs of the people, and it is equally difficult not too seem similar to the previous elite or even to assimilate the previous elite, some of their priorities and some of their goals. "At this stage in the revolution, the moderates in control of the formal machinery of government are confronted by the extremists, or if you prefer, merely by radical and determined opponents, in control of machinery devised for propaganda, pressure-group work, even insurrection" (Brinton, 1965:122).

Faced by the opposition of the more radical groups (that might have been alliance partners against oppression) organised in the network of "the illegal government", the moderates have three choices: they may try to suppress the illegal government, they may try to get control of it or they may try to ignore it. In reality, according to Brinton (1965:137), policy usually varies between these alternatives resulting in a fourth option that only serves to encourage their enemies.

### **3.4.4 The Accession of the Extremists**

The accession of the extremists "is marked by a series of exciting episodes: here street fighting, there forced seizure of property, almost everywhere heated debates, attempted repressions, a steady stream of violent propaganda. Tempers are strained to the breaking point over matters that in a stable society are capable of an almost instant

solution. There is an almost universal state of tension” (Brinton, 1965:148). The extremists gain control of government because they secure control over the network of the illegal government. They oust any and all active and effective opponents from all organisations within the illegal government, thus the centralisation, authority, discipline and single-mindedness of the successful extremists are first developed within the realm of the network of the illegal government. These characteristics remain when the illegal government becomes legal.

### **3.4.5 The Reigns of Terror and Virtue**

According to Brinton (1965:177), the reign of terror is not limited to only the significant things such as the guillotine, or the hangman’s noose, it also occurs in everyday life. In fact politics become everyday life during the reign of terror. Political indifference becomes impossible, and has different meanings for the insider and the outsider. For the outsider, defined as not actively hostile, the average person not directly involved and not on the bandwagon, life becomes complicated. He has to prove himself to be above suspicion and in line with the new thinking and vernacular. He also has to prove enough distance between himself and the old erroneous thinking. He or she is uncomfortably aware of the new instruments of political correctness such as the secret police, the police, informers of various types, party structures, clubs, secret societies, and policies aimed at the prevention of counter revolutionary activity. Missteps can lead to social alienation, loss of work, detention and death.

For the insider, a person part of the new epoch, the new revolutionary calendar can be very exciting; there will be festivities, programmes and memorials to attend. Choices also have to be made: which elite grouping within the elite should be supported? What if the latest memorial does not meet the general expectation? Should the insider not make appropriate choices, he/she might face the same prospects as the outsider. Essentially everyone is confronted by the fact that “If there is only one truth, and you have that truth completely, toleration of differences means an encouragement to error, crime, evil, sin. Indeed toleration in this sense is harmful to the tolerated, as well as very trying on the tolerator...it is a positive benefit to the obstinate heretics to kill them because the longer

they live the more damnation they heap upon themselves” (Brinton, 1965:194). The pressure on the individual to do the common thing is immense.

### **3.4.6 Thermidor**

Brinton (1965:205) calls thermidor a convalescence from the fever of the revolution. He is quick to add that this period is firstly not benign and that it is secondly not easy to determine when the rule of the extremist subsides into thermidor. According to Brinton, this period is primarily characterised by the establishment of a tyrant or an unconstitutional leader. There is also a return to the church in one sense or another and an observable search for pleasure. “With the abandonment of price fixing and in the inflation that followed [?], a class of newly rich speculators, war profiteers and clever politicians arose” (Brinton, 1965:219). Along with sexual perversion, prostitutes, and the “gilded youth” the revolutionaries all at this stage seem intent on spending money, seemingly forgetting the past.

In conclusion Brinton’s contribution by way of comparing the four revolutions has at its core the various stadia into which he places various aspects of the revolutions. In each of the stadia unique events common to all revolutions occur, from which Brinton makes certain generalisations. The most valuable contribution is the systematic process, the fact that stages can be delineated (although in an abstract manner), and the fact that certain characteristics can be allocated (although there is flexibility enough for the addition or subtraction of such characteristics).

Brinton’s perspective lends fluency to the phenomenon of revolution and finer intonation and detail to each of the stages he describes. In reality, and this might be what Brinton aims at by not including fixed chronological lines, everything might be happening simultaneously.

## **3.5 THE FUNCTIONALISTS**

Functionalism is the school of thought that proposes to explain institutions and practices in terms of the functions they perform (Mclean & McMillan, 2003:214). Thus, according

to Cohan (1975:120), functionalists concern themselves with a conflict potential in society that may or may not be realised (there are many ways in which developments can eventually play out). This is in direct opposition to the Marxist proposition that conflict is endemic and inevitable in society. According to Fukuyama (2006:xi), S.P. Huntington's work *Political order in changing societies* (2006) had an enormous influence and as such has to be included in this perspective on revolution.

### **3.5.1 Degree of Government**

According to Huntington (2006:1), the most important distinction among countries concerns not their form of government, but their degree of government. The higher the levels of institutionalisation in a state, the better are the chances of that state's survival during times of internal upheaval. Institutionalisation or the legitimisation of the processes and structures of state organisations and power reflects the relationship between political institutions and the social forces (ethnic, religious, territorial, economic and/or status group) within the geographical boundaries of the state (Huntington, 2006:8). The lower the levels of institutionalisation, the higher the risk of instability; countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America suffer from low levels of institutionalisation and at extremely low levels this will result in political decay.

In states where a high degree of government exists, such as America and Germany, revolution is thus less likely to occur than in countries where a low degree of government exists. Modernisation (an attempt to gain a higher degree of government through capital investment), as was happening in the Third World during the 1950s and 1960s, produced political disorder. "If poor countries appear unstable, it is not because they are poor, but because they are trying to become rich. A purely traditional society would be ignorant, poor and stable. By the mid-twentieth century, however, all traditional societies were also transitional or modernizing societies. It is precisely the devolution of modernization throughout the world which increased the prevalence of violence about the world" (Huntington, 2006:41). This instability is caused by a cascade of events set in motion by the effort to modernise.

### **3.5.2 The Impact of Modernisation**

According to Huntington (2006:55), modernisation leads to the introduction of new ideas and values; this leads to social mobilisation. Because there is no concurrent economic development (refer to the J-curve of Davies) to satisfy demand, social frustration accumulates. People search for opportunities of socio-economic mobility, which are also limited. The people themselves have become (politically) mobilised (active) and want to improve their destiny, they are dissatisfied with the government and its institutions (which are also developing slowly) and this leads to unchannelled political participation. Unfortunately no legal or legitimate structures (institutions) exist in which this, up to now unknown level of participation can be handled in a positive manner. This leads to political instability. If such a situation is left uncontrolled two types of revolution might result.

### **3.5.3 Types of Revolution**

Huntington (2006:266-267) identifies two “patterns of revolution”; a western and an eastern revolution. According to the western pattern the political institutions of the old regime collapse as a first step and then a mobilisation of various groups occurs with political benefit in view. The eastern revolution on the other hand begins with the mobilisation of new groups and the building of parallel structures, the goal of which is the destruction of the current order. It ends with the violent overthrow of the political institutions of the old order. (With regard to this type of revolution Huntington frequently refers to Lenin.)

In the case of the western revolutionary model it is important to note that the mere collapse of the old regime is not always followed by a full-scale revolution.

“In terms of our twin concerns of institutions and participation, the Western revolution moves through the collapse of the established political institutions, the expansion of participation, the creation of new institutions...the pattern of the Eastern revolution is quite different. The expansion of political participation and the creation of new political institutions are carried on simultaneously and gradually by the revolutionary counter

elite and the collapse of the political institutions of the old regime marks the end rather than the beginning of the revolutionary struggle” (Huntington, 2006:271).

In a western revolution the revolutionary elite first comes to power in the capital and gradually expands control to the countryside, with the struggle being primarily between the moderates and the radicals. In an eastern revolution they withdraw from the central areas and establish a base area in a remote section with the struggle occurring between the revolutionaries and the government. All revolutions involve the expansion of political participation, the organisation of that participation and the destruction of the established order. According to Huntington (2006:417), prolonged struggles for national independence have similar results. The nationalist leaders initially function on the outskirts of imperial administration, which usually is only one amongst many alternatives. In due course issues coalesce and a unified nationalistic movement develops with a broad appeal. According to Huntington it is only rarely possible for the nationalist leaders to mobilise nationalistic support from rural areas, China and Vietnam being the exceptions.

#### **3.5.4 Complete versus Incomplete Revolutions**

According to Huntington (2006:335), the contribution of communism (especially Leninism) is the “complete revolution”. This is a revolution where the chaos of dramatic social change (revolution) is followed not by anarchy but by the institutionalisation of political structures. “Before the Bolshevik revolution no revolution was politically complete because no revolutionary leaders had formulated a theory explaining how to organise and to institutionalize the expansion of political participation which is the essence of revolution. Lenin solved this problem”. Without institutionalisation a revolution will remain incomplete and thus a circle of political decay. In view of this Huntington regarded Lenin as less of a disciple of Marxism. Marx, according to Huntington, espoused an antiquated theory of economics and was a mere precursor to Lenin who formulated the theory of the strong vanguard party guided by intellectual revolutionaries.

### **3.5.5 Praetorian Politics**

Praetorianism, in a limited sense, refers to the intervention of the military in politics (Huntington, 2006:195). In modernising societies politics lacks autonomy, complexity, coherence and adaptability; all sorts of social forces become directly involved in general politics. Countries with political armies also have political clergies, political universities, political bureaucracies and political labour unions (Huntington, 2006:195). The problem with a praetorian system is that confrontation of power occurs nakedly, without the mitigating effect of institutions such as the court systems, laws, and/or powerful government structures. Therefore no agreement exists among the groups as to the legitimate and automotive methods for resolving conflict. Each group employs the means which reflects its peculiar nature and capabilities, the wealthy bribe, students riot, workers strike, mobs demonstrate, and the military coup (Huntington, 2006:196).

In conclusion, Huntington presents the field of study of revolutions with a vast richness of concepts that fit into his broader perspective and theory on political decay. It is regrettable that this whole area of knowledge cannot be represented here. However, as an example of functionalist thought about revolution the Huntington example has to be sufficient. Brinton discusses the stages of revolution; Huntington pays attention to the causes. In its patterns of revolution the western revolution equates to inter-systems politics and the eastern revolution to the illegal government that Brinton speaks of and that Lenin describes in such precise detail. The fact of the matter is that when all these theories and their various perspectives and concepts are brought together, their whole becomes the gateway to a greater perspective.

### **3.6 THE CONTEMPORARY MARXIST PERSPECTIVE**

More recent theorists classified in the Marxist tradition because of their acceptance of the Marxist model of revolution are theorists and philosophers such as Herbert Marcuse, Franz Fanon and Régis Debray (Cohan, 1975:110-111). Each has made a major contribution to revolutionary analysis generally and to modern Marxist Analysis in particular. It is however once again impossible to reconstruct whole fields of study. As an example of contemporary Marxist thought about revolution, the work of Herbert

Marcuse will be examined. Marcuse, along with Max Horkheimer, Theodor W. Adorno, Erich Fromm and Walter Benjamin, is one of the earliest members of the so-called *Frankfurter Schule*. (This name refers to a school of thought amongst dissident Marxists affiliated with the Institute for Social Research at the University of Frankfurt am Main.)

### **3.6.1 The Role of Class**

In Marcuse's work on the role of class in revolution, he rejects the working class as a group with revolutionary potential. According to Marcuse mobilisation of the population in the advanced industrial societies has tended to militate against the type of conflict that Marx foresaw. There has been a unification of former opposite classes that bears on the possibilities of social change. The revolutionary classes now are the outsiders, the exploited, the persecuted by other races as the unemployed and the unemployable (Cohan, 1975:111; Woddis, 1972:294). This kind of thinking has led to Marcuse's Marxist critics calling his thinking "muddled" and "inconsistent" (Woddis, 1972:280). This is untrue, the basic Marxist analysis is still present; one class exploits and one class is exploited, the only alteration is the composition of the classes and this more accurately reflects the complexity of the modern society long after Marx. In later writings Marcuse broadened his perspective still further by arguing for an "extension of exploitation" under contemporary capitalism as an objective condition to salaried employees, technicians, scientists and specialists of all sorts (Marcuse, 2001:127).

### **3.6.2 The Cultural Revolution**

Marcuse also focuses on the totality of modern radicalism, what he calls "subversion of the not only established economic and political structure, but also (and even primarily) of the entire established culture which the radicals define as the bourgeois culture" (Marcuse, 2001:123). It may, according to Marcuse, be that this all-encompassing "cultural revolution" not only precedes the political revolution but at a certain stage absorbs the more traditional revolution. Under modern capitalism basic economic institutions and relationships reproduce themselves in all spheres of society. This total integration has to meet its total negation through the total claim of the Cultural

Revolution (Marcuse, 2001:124). The all-encompassing nature of modern capitalism has thus created the total and radical modern revolution.

### **3.6.3 Freedom**

According to Marcuse, freedom exists only as a desired goal; there is no freedom in reality. That is the base from which all revolutions have to start as the continuum of history allows no break and every new society holds something from the previous. "This substratum [the old society] continually shapes the consciousness of men, their mental structure in its rational and sub-rational dimensions. The rupture, the leap into the new, takes this heritage along: it is bound to reassert itself - it is bound to continue the inherited unfreedom unless the process of change finds, in the substratum itself, a base for the total transformation. And this base must itself be the antithesis of the given reality - its definite negation...This desideratum is fulfilled in Marxism...dialectical theory designates this relation between old and new as definite negation..." (Marcuse, 2001:123-125). As Marcuse continues it becomes clear why stoic Marxists such as Woddis would criticise him. Firstly his argument is difficult to understand and secondly he debunks the religious nature of Marxism even as he upholds the theoretical and practical value: "It must be emphasised that the Marxian base is...a human base...they are particular historical forces in a particular historical situation, how can they possibly embody and represent universality which is the essential feature of freedom?...and their theory claim objectivity, general validity for man as man, for humanity..." (Marcuse, 2001:125).

### **3.6.4 The Role of the State**

According to Marcuse, the societal tendency towards state socialism is anti-revolutionary. "Power over the means of production has been transferred to the state, which exercises this power through the employment of wage labour. The state has also assumed the role of the direction of capital as a whole. The direct producers do not control production (and with it their destiny) any more than they do the system of liberal-democratic capitalism. They remain subordinated to the means of production" (Marcuse, 1998:222). In this way state socialism maintains the foundations of a class society. The

implication of this is far-reaching; a socialist state organised in this way is no longer the solution but the object of revolution.

### **3.6.5 Marcuse's Dilemma**

Because Marcuse lived in different times from the original Marxist theorists he evolved with the theories of Marxism: "Intellectual opposition to the prevailing form of life seems to become increasingly impotent and ineffective. The aim of this opposition: man's liberation from domination and exploitation, has failed to materialize although the historical conditions for its realization have been attained...Revolutionary social and political theory remains academic...The exposure of concentration camps, of the continuing liquidation of anti-fascist forces throughout the world makes best sellers or movie hits. Revolutionary art becomes fashionable...the intellectual opposition is thus faced with the apparent impossibility to formulate its task and goal in such a manner that the formulation breaks the spell of total assimilation and standardization..." (Marcuse, 1998:201). This to a certain extent was the problem of the neo-Marxists; they represented an intellectual opinion that was assimilated (in some cases in a fashionable way) without their thought being truly as revolutionary as that of their intellectual forefathers.

In conclusion, Marcuse's most important contribution was made in the new way he thought about class and the way the various classes were mutating in the era of modern capitalism. History and especially capitalism were not quite evolving as Marx had predicted. Class and exploitation were still driving forces but the traditional workers were now being co-opted into the privileged class, thereby negating their revolutionary potential and creating a new revolutionary class below the workers, the unemployed, those discriminated against (on the basis of race), the people Marcuse calls "the outsiders" outside the system.

A second point of extreme interest is the fact that, according to Marcuse, the modern capitalist system projects itself into sectors where it has not formerly been, outside of

the mere political and economic environments. Thus the modern radical revolution, to negate this phenomenon, has also to be a total or “cultural” revolution.

Thirdly, for Marcuse the way out of the historical dialectical process of history that is a relation of human bondage, is situated in the theories of Marxism, although this body of knowledge is not a religious structure. This allows him and others to build on and even to criticise some of the basic tenets of these theories. This leads to his perception that state socialism merely supplants the capitalist as exploiter with the state as exploiter. Thus the state is perceived as unfair, or, as the reason for injustice (even if socialist in name) can become the target of revolution.

### **3.7 SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS**

In order to show how the National Democratic Revolution drew from the revolutionary thought in the radical ideologies explained in Chapter Two, definitions of revolution from the various schools of thought were taken and deconstructed. This was done so that the various dimensions of the definitions could be laid bare. These dimensions were then explained. It was also shown that the definitions as they exist are contentious, and that there is confusion as to the exact meaning of revolution, at least between what the method of revolution is and what the outcome of revolution is. By the deconstruction of various definitions into the various dimensions and then finding common ground, several dimensions were found and synthesized into a new inclusive definition, comprising functionalist and Marxist dimensions, that serves as the basis for this thesis.

Following upon the first section, the contributions of the various thinkers within the Radical ideologies about the concept and theory of revolution were reconstructed and compared. In the third section an example of the Great Revolution School was analysed by way of Crane Brinton, followed by an example of Functionalist thinking on the basis of the example of S.P. Huntington. During this process the concept revolution was precisely defined, ideas serving as precursors to the NDR were thoroughly dissected and theoretical perspectives were added.

Concerning the definition of revolution, the new multi-dimensional definition of revolution is an inclusive definition leaning on the Huntington definition and various Marxist perspectives, the point of which is to incorporate the ideas of Trotsky and Mao that a revolution is not a single line event. It is in fact filled with the guile that Lenin brought to Marxist theory. In this regard the example of the Vietnam is extremely illuminating; the revolution continued under communist auspices even though the communist party was officially disbanded and the National liberationist agenda was almost neo-liberal. According to the Huntington definition that period could hardly be classified as full-scale revolution, yet it was most probably one of Giap's best revolutionary stratagems.

Concerning the various contributions of radical thinkers, only Marx and Trotsky seemingly believed in the inevitability of the dialectic. The role of the agitator as the priest or rather the inquisitor of the dialectic soon became clear. It is hard to imagine that Stalin and Lenin would ever have achieved much without this shadowy yet extremely powerful and violent figure spreading and compelling their gospel. Mao, Castro, Guevara and Giap had to do with a different beast altogether; they fought wars of national liberation and revolution as well as ideology, and perhaps the ultimate truth about them is that they bent Marxism to the situation and not the situation to Marxism.

Brinton provides analytical stages (a slow-motion) for the revolution. He however distances himself from chronologic lines and says that it is difficult to pronounce on dates or specific events. Some of his stages might actually blend into each other and given the definition of the first section, this is more than likely. Huntington looks at revolution from the perspective of a broader theory and gives indications as to why revolutions occur. His wide-ranging analytical concepts and theoretical constructs bind into the Psychological explanations for revolution, an example of which is the work of Davies as well as the work of Greene that postulates the fact that revolutions have to be understood as a point along a continuum.

Marcuse's contribution rephrases the concept of class as more inclusive by adding white collar workers into the class of the alienated and exploited, and by stating that the

situation of the worker under modern capitalism has improved to such an extent that this group might have lost their revolutionary potential. The pervasiveness of capitalism in all societal structures has also led to the mutation of revolution into a more total cultural revolution to which even a socialist state, if that state only supplants the capitalist as exploiter, is vulnerable. According to Marcuse, the way forward is through a clean break with the past, and that is only possible through Marxist theory.

## **CHAPTER 4: A RECONSTRUCTION AND INTERPRETATION OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC REVOLUTION WITHIN THE SOUTH AFRICAN HISTORICAL CONTEXT**

### **4.1 INTRODUCTION**

An ideology is a philosophy in (political) action; it is therefore also a process over a period of time. This chapter will chart the chronological development of the ideology of the NDR over a period from its inception until the recent past. In order to find a starting point the view of a media release of the South African Democratic Teachers Union (SADTU,2009), an affiliate of the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU), and member of the ruling tripartite alliance as well as the Communist University (2011b), is taken: “The NDR is a product of a class alliance [this class alliance is the governing alliance in South Africa plus various other affiliates such as SADTU] against an oppressor class, which works to extend democracy to the whole national territory and population, overcoming non-class contradictions such as those of race and gender. The NDR is always historical in the sense of being a practical piece of work. When we look at the entire story of the NDR, we find that the theoretical pattern was set very early (c. 1920). The communists know that history will insist on moving on towards the revolutionary end of class conflict and the concomitant withering away of the state” (SADTU, 2009). According to SADTU (2009), the challenge is to learn how to carry out the National Democratic Revolution to its utmost possible extent, and then to be able to conceive of an even greater degree of freedom, “a freedom that is beyond democracy and which is more than the mere crushing of a minority by a majority, which is the essence of democracy”(SADTU, 2009).In this process class protagonists have allied and clashed in all possible permutations, alliances holy and unholy, strategic and tactical, marriages of convenience and marriages made in heaven. “These classes were the feudal aristocrats; the peasants; the bourgeoisie; and the proletariat”(SADTU, 2009). The quotations above reveal the following points that are manifestly important in the context of this chapter:

- The origin of the NDR in South Africa can be traced back to 1920.

- Democracy is seen only as “the crushing of a minority by a majority”.
- The NDR is rooted in the class struggle.
- To understand the class struggle and thus the NDR, precursors and scholarly interpretations of history which are mainly Marxist or Leninist need to be understood.

With regard to these points the following: The first point is that historically and chronologically the history of the struggle against racial marginalisation by the black communities in South Africa can be dated to either the arrival of the Dutch settlers at the Cape as is done by Ngculu (2010:238), or to pre-Union politics (1882-1909), or the establishment of the ANC as was done in the work *Protest and Hope* of Karis and Carter (1972:vii-ix). The SADTU (2009) document however states: “The living history of the NDR is the African National Congress”. This chapter and this dissertation will consequently reconstruct and interpret the development of the NDR in South Africa, from the beginnings of the ANC, thus from the period 1910-1920 as described by authors such as Karis and Carter (1972), Legassick (2007), SADTU (2009), The Communist University, abbreviated CU (2011b) and others.

Concerning points two to four above, as this thesis argues, the NDR cannot be understood without understanding its frame of reference and its familial context, in other words its paradigm. This paradigm is largely embedded in the broad history of the ANC and the struggle through different periods of history.

For Thomas Kuhn (1973:1) “History, if viewed as a repository of more than anecdote or chronology...” is also a repository for a paradigm or paradigms as well as for revolutionary paradigm shifts and so the paradigm of the NDR has in part been described by the previous two chapters. Kuhn regards a scientific paradigm as a shared worldview providing a common vocabulary and knowledge, and thus understanding (Hung, 2006:5). Therefore, by applying Kuhn’s perspective and looking for shared paradigms – shared theoretical, philosophical and ideological constructs – as well as

possible paradigm shifts or radical changes in a paradigm<sup>23</sup> within the history of the NDR, a second level of analysis becomes possible. It will be possible to identify crises in the NDR and predict possible future tendencies. (See Chapter 8.) Therefore the goals of this chapter will be to:

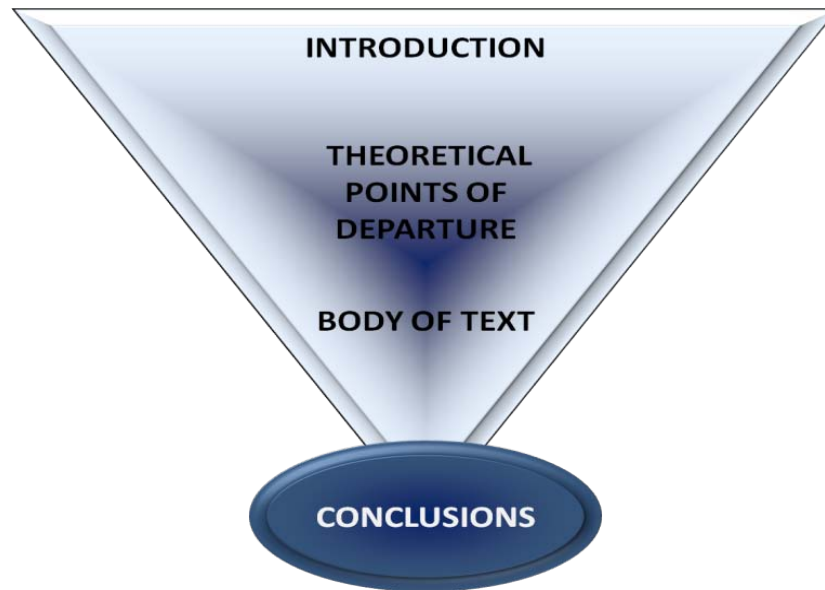
- Reconstruct and interpret in a chronological and contextual manner the paradigm of the NDR in certain demarcated periods of time from the inception of the ANC until the present and so:
  - chart the development of the NDR;
  - illustrate changes in the developmental path of the paradigm of the NDR, and
  - show major paradigm shifts so that a view on the future of the NDR can be developed in the last chapter of this thesis.

Methodologically the structure of this chapter will be deductive and will comprise the following points: an introduction (above), theoretical points of departure, focusing on Kuhn's concepts of paradigm and paradigm shift, and the body of the text in which various periods of the history of the NDR will be chronologically reconstructed. At the end of each period notes will be offered on the paradigm of the NDR in which changes in the paradigm will be shown. The chapter will finish with summative and concluding remarks. This structure is graphically represented in Figure 11 below:

**Figure 11: Chapter Layout**

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<sup>23</sup> For extended conceptualisations of Kuhn's concepts as used in this dissertation see the following section.



## 4.2 THEORETICAL POINTS OF DEPARTURE, PARADIGMS AND PARADIGM SHIFTS

According to Kuhn<sup>24</sup> (1973:1-2), normal science [he refers to all scientific effort, especially effort in the natural sciences] is a process of accumulating knowledge by building blocks of knowledge (theory, concepts and structure), one upon the other. In this process bits of knowledge are disregarded that are anomalous until at a certain point a crisis of discontinuity occurs. This building of knowledge operates within a large framework of proven thought that Kuhn calls a paradigm whose working (self-maintenance) has just been described. In order to utilise this trusted source of previously accumulated knowledge (in other words, the paradigm) the scholar/scientist (and in the case of this chapter's implicational context, the ideologue) must be thoroughly schooled in the precepts and antecedent knowledge of the paradigm so that he/she can progress. "What a man sees depends both upon what he looks at and also upon what his previous visual-conceptual experience has taught him to see" (Kuhn, 1973:113). Some of the building blocks the NDR received were described in the previous two chapters. A paradigm thus is a constellation of received beliefs to which a certain group of scientists are committed. These received beliefs reside in history (a

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<sup>24</sup>Kuhn wrote his seminal work on the development of paradigms in a research environment. In this thesis his ideas are applied to paradigms in an ideological context as he explains changes in sets of organised complicated knowledge.

chronology of time) or the history of that group or person. “Effective research scarcely begins before a scientific community thinks it has acquired firm answers to questions like the following: What are the fundamental entities of which the universe is composed? How do these interact with others and with the senses? What questions may legitimately be asked about such entities and what techniques are employed in seeking solutions? At least in the mature sciences, answers...to questions like these are firmly embedded in the educated initiation that prepares and licenses the students for professional practice” (Kuhn, 1973:4-5). “Because he there joins men who learned the basis of their field from the same concrete models, his subsequent practise will seldom evoke overt disagreement over fundamentals. Men whose research is based on shared paradigms are committed to the same rules and standards for scientific practise. That commitment and the apparent consensus it produces are prerequisites for normal science...” (Kuhn, 1973:11). The functions of a paradigm are problem identification, the accumulation of facts, the negation of problems through the synchronisation of theory and data, prediction, and the articulation and refining of current theories. According to Kuhn (1973:16), no natural history can be interpreted in the absence of at least some implicit body of intertwined theoretical and methodological belief that permits selection, evaluation, and criticism.

#### **4.2.1 Discontinuity and Paradigm Shifts**

According to Kuhn, normal science, the process described above, is a pursuit not aimed at novelties, it is rather aimed at the suppression of that which is contra to the paradigm. “The decision to reject one paradigm is always simultaneously the decision to accept another, and the judgement leading to that decision involves the comparison of both paradigms with nature and with each other....This implies that an anomaly or anomalies have been present for a long time. Though they [the holders of the paradigm] begin to lose faith and then consider alternatives, they do not renounce the paradigm that has led them into the crisis ... [It] is declared invalid only when an alternative is available to take its place.” (Kuhn, 1973:77). In other words an anomaly occurs and when it, or enough anomalies, cannot possibly be ignored, or as Kuhn suggests, when a new or unorthodox scientist such as Copernicus, Einstein or Newton appears on the scene, a

new way of thinking comes into existence and a shift in the paradigm, or that which was regarded as normal, happens.

This implies a period of pronounced uncertainty and crisis before a new paradigm again provides structure. Crisis often proliferates discoveries (Kuhn, 1973:88). Paradigms also provide a non-cumulative developmental episode in which an older paradigm is replaced in whole or in part by an incompatible new one (Kuhn, 1973:92). This means that there occurs an event when the accumulation of building blocks is stopped, discarded in part or in total and restarted on a different foundation; in the terminology of Kuhn a revolution has occurred and the paradigm has been changed. It is important to note that Kuhn states that not everything of the old paradigm is thrown away; although everything (even some old things) are interpreted in terms of the new paradigm. In the following paragraph a methodological note will be offered as to how Kuhn's concepts will be applied to the study of the NDR.

#### **4.2.2 The Application of Kuhn's Concepts in This Thesis**

This paragraph is a methodological explanation on the application of Kuhn's concepts in this thesis. The concept 'paradigm' in this thesis denotes a "business as usual" scenario where the historical chronological developmental trajectory is continued. A crisis of discontinuity is a minor change in the developmental trajectory, while a paradigm shift implies a radical change in thinking, to almost a structural and fundamental new direction. With these concepts as tools the chronology of the development of the NDR can commence.

### **4.3 THE HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF THE NDR IN SOUTH AFRICA**

The history of the NDR has to begin with a contextualisation. The following quotation from the already mentioned SADTU (2009) document applies:

"Exactly when the term National Democratic Revolution (NDR) was coined, we do not know. But the origin of the specific type of class alliance that is referred to by the term National Democratic Revolution can be precisely located in the Second Congress of the

Communist International (2CCI), in the discussion on the National & Colonial Question, reported by V.I. Lenin on 26 July 1920". This class alliance referred to above is in South Africa the ruling alliance of the ANC, COSATU and the SACP.

**Figure 12: The Class Alliance**

(This collection of images appears in the Communist University (2011b) document when it explains the class alliance. SANCO is the South African National Civic Organisation<sup>25</sup>).



SADTU: 2009

SADTU (2009) continues with regard to the origin of the NDR: “The founding Congress of the Communist International (“Comintern”) took place a little more than a year after

<sup>25</sup> SANCO describes itself as a progressive, revolutionary civic movement that is constituted by the residents of South Africa and is founded on the basic needs, aspirations and expectations of the masses of the people, with the guiding motto of “People-Centred and People-driven” (SANCO 2008).

the October 1917 Russian Revolution, in March, 1919. In his report to the 2CCI on the National & Colonial Question, Lenin says: “We have discussed whether it would be right or wrong, in principle and in theory, to state that the Communist International and the Communist parties must support the bourgeois-democratic movement in backward countries. As a result of our discussion, we have arrived at the unanimous decision to speak of the national-revolutionary movement rather than of the ‘bourgeois-democratic’ movement” (Lenin as quoted by Communist University<sup>26</sup>, 2011a). According to CU (2011a); SADTU (2009) and Nzimande (2006), the origin of the NDR is situated in this. Lenin calls it “national-revolutionary”, but he makes it very clear that he is talking of a class alliance with anti-colonial, anti-imperialist elements of the national bourgeoisie in colonial countries.

Just before these events in South Africa, around the turn of the nineteenth century, the Anglo-Boer war had ended and the factions were ready to discuss terms that would result in the Union of South Africa. In those times, according to Karis and Carter (1987:10), “the British government’s desire to reduce its responsibilities and to achieve reconciliation with the Boers overrode its solicitude for African interests”. The South African Native Convention held in Bloemfontein in March 1909 was the most broadly represented African convention to date. The convention, while endorsing the principle of the Union, declared that the imperial government was obliged to provide equitable rights to all South Africans regardless of their colour, and strong protests were raised against those terms in the draft Act of the Union aimed at the arrestation of the advance of non-racial politics and those that would legalise the disenfranchisement of non-white voters in the Cape and Natal. These appeals went unheeded. The British passed the South Africa Act and the Union of South Africa as a new independent state was constituted (Karis and Carter, 1987:11).

This consequently brought the ideology against colonialism and imperialism and for liberation articulated by Lenin (and others), and the white minority dominating the black majority in South Africa together. “Within South Africa, bourgeois domination and

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<sup>26</sup>Communist University or CU.

capitalist relations of production, which emerged within the context of colonialism, have been developed and maintained since 1910 through a specific variant of bourgeois rule, colonialism of a special type. It is a variant of capitalist rule in which the essential features of colonial domination in the imperialist epoch are maintained and even intensified. But there is one specific peculiarity: in South Africa the colonial ruling class with its white support base on the one hand, and the oppressed colonial majority on the other, are located within a single country” (South African Communist Party, 1989). The Struggle was against colonialism of a special type: “From its inception, the ANC has been involved in struggle to end the system of white minority domination and to create a democratic and non-racial society. Through the 88 years from its foundation in 1912 to the elections in 1994, the ANC and other formations of the movement for national liberation have pursued this strategic objective by whatever means were necessary and possible” (ANC, 2000a).

#### **4.3.1 From 1910 Onward**

As the South Africa Act was passed by both the British and South African parliaments, groups representing black interests, precursors to the ANC, such as the Natal Native Congress, the Native Vigilance Association of the Orange River Colony and the Transvaal Native Union sent a delegation to London to protest the South African Bill before parliament. Although sympathetic, the British government did nothing (Norval, 1990:2). It was obvious to many blacks that their interest had been ignored in the formation of the Union; moreover the well-educated Blacks realised that the black community needed an organisation of their own which could speak on their behalf.

While many of these leaders and associate groups were going their separate ways, two were striving for unity, namely Pixley ka Isaka Seme and Solomon T Plaatje. In 1911 Seme, Plaatje and other black leaders met in Johannesburg to plan a national black representative organisation. On 8 January 1912 the South African Native National Congress came into being in Bloemfontein (Norval, 1990:3). In 1919, six years after Bloemfontein, the constitution of the Congress was approved. It is important to note in the charter of this organization, Chapter 4 paragraph 13, Methods or Modus Operandi:

“The work of the Association shall be affected and advanced (a) by means of resolutions, protests and a constitutional and peaceful propaganda; by deputations and other forms of representations; by holding enquiries and the investigation of grievances and other matters; and by passive action or continued movement; (b) by means of education, lectures, and distribution of literature on the objects of the Association; (c) by means of united action and when time is ripe for this method to secure the election to all legislative and administrative bodies of candidates, who shall form a group of members and shall primarily stand and promote the interests of the Association so far as it is practicable and expedient, without identifying themselves with any political party or section. Such candidates to be under the control of the Association” (ANC, 1919). The congress saw itself as a consolidated pressure group continuing and expanding the tactics of the various African organisations that preceded it; thus formulating a uniform policy of African affairs for presentation to government, while educating Whites as to African concerns and Africans as to their rights and obligations (Karis & Carter, 1987:62).

#### **Notes on the paradigm of the NDR:**

These notes will be presented at the end of each chronological reconstruction in semi-tabulated form, presenting a dynamic (therefore changing) summary of the development of the paradigm of the NDR at that point. A paradigm is by nature a constructivist concept, thus nothing is left behind and all blocks build cumulatively on the other until a paradigm shift occurs. This implies a radical break with the past and old blocks are discarded in favour of new ones or old blocks are interpreted in a new light. Discarded blocks will be shown as those that have been struck through. As will be seen old blocks will be reused at different times. These notes on the paradigm of the NDR will thus show where a paradigm shift occurred and how relatively major or minor it was with reference to the import of new ideas and the reinterpretation of old ones. In the period discussed above the paradigm of the NDR consisted of the following:

- Non-violent aggregation of black interests;
- The Congress operating as a “pressure group”, and

- Black Nationalism.

The paradigm of the NDR in the period discussed above is relatively simple and consists mainly of a reaction to a hostile environment.

#### **4.3.2 1920 Onward**

In the 1920s organised labour came to the Black community in South Africa in the form of the Industrial and Commercial Union, and in 1921 the Communist Party of South Africa (CP, later the SACP) was formed. This was the result of a split from the Labour Party by ten (white) officials led by Bill Andrews, who at first formed the International Socialist League (ISL). After a process of amalgamation of various Marxist movements the Communist Party of South Africa (CPSA) was founded on 21 July 1921. Within six months a series of strikes erupted across the Witwatersrand. Andrews, then Secretary of the Communist Party, urged the mineworkers to regard the strikes as part of the global class struggle and to accept the natives [Blacks] as allies (Norval, 1990:7-15).

Colonial tradition and legislation allotted skilled, highly paid positions to white workers, most of whom were English immigrants. The majority of unskilled Africans were restricted to poorly paid positions. Faced with rising costs the mining bosses hinted that the colour bar should be breached so that Africans could advance into the skilled positions, albeit at wages well below those of Whites. White labour reacted with acrimony. Another factor contributing to the complexity of the situation was the influx of poor white Afrikaners into the city [mainly mining towns such as Johannesburg] due to prolonged drought and the economic aftermath of the British policies of concentration camps, the burning of farms and extermination of cattle adopted during the Boer war.

A section of the striking workers on the Witwatersrand, including English speaking socialists and Afrikaner militants, resorted to violence in 1922 and the Smuts government invoked martial law. "The Smuts government ordered out troops and open warfare broke out between the troops and the striking miners. There were battles in Benoni, Boksburg, Brixton and Langlaagte that left 230 dead including 50 policemen"

(Norval, 1990:14). This ended the “Red Revolt” and also led to a unity of purpose between the moderate Socialists of the Labour Party who saw in Smuts an agent of the Chamber of Mines, and the Afrikaner Nationalists who saw in Smuts an enemy of their republican ideal. Smuts survived this potential alliance by coming to an agreement with the South African Labour Party, thereby sanctifying segregation in South Africa, and sacrificing Republicanism and Afrikaner Nationalism whose core still hated all things English, including the British Commonwealth of which Smuts was an ardent supporter. In 1923 the Smuts government passed the Natives Act of 1923 (Urban Areas Act) whereby municipalities could regulate the African settlement within their boundaries (Esterhuyse & Nel, P, 1990:11; Karis & Carter, 1987:143).

In the Black community members of the South African Native National Congress, which name would later be changed to the African National Congress, addressed the ISL. After this Sidney Bunting started a programme of bringing Blacks into the Marxist fold of the ISL and later the Communist Party. In 1921 militant young communists started the Young Communist League (YCL), and this grouping under Bunting and Edward Roux, after being directed to do so by the Headquarters of the Young Communist International, adopted pro-black policies. The next step was to persuade the Communist Party to accept the YCL policy at its next conference. These measures were opposed by the conservative group led by Andrews and C.F. Glass, who felt that the European workers were the group with the true revolutionary potential. They were defeated and the liberation of the black man became the most important task of the Communist Party (Norval, 1990:32).

At that time there were no formal links between the ANC and the Communist Party, but there would soon be a change. In 1927 E.J. Khaile, a member of the Communist Party, was elected as General Secretary of the ANC and later in the same year J.T. Gumede, president of the ANC, travelled to Moscow. J. La Guma, a member of the Communist Party, accompanied him. At that time “Moscow thought that organising liberation movements in the various British colonies, including South Africa, would greatly hasten the demise of capitalism” and the ANC fitted perfectly in Lenin’s construct of National Liberation movements (Norval, 1990:32).

Moscow decided to court the ANC and fêted Gumede who, upon his return to South Africa, told supporters that he had seen the New Jerusalem. Gumede (ANC) and La Guma (Communist Party) also brought back a message: "it must be explained to the masses that the black and white workers are not only allies, but are leaders of the revolutionary struggle of the native masses against the white bourgeoisie and British imperialism. A correct formulation of this task and an intensive propagation of the chief slogan of a native republic will result not in segregation of the natives, but, on the contrary, in the building up of a solid united front of all toilers against capitalism and imperialism. The Party should pay particular attention to the embryonic national organisations among the natives, such as the African National Congress...Our aim should be to transform the African National Congress into a fighting nationalist revolutionary organisation against the white bourgeoisie and the British imperialists, based on the trade unions, peasant organisations". The quotation above is an abridged version from Norval (1990:33); the full text is part of the Resolution on "The South African Question" adopted by the Executive Committee of the Communist International following the Sixth Comintern congress of 1928. Martin Legassick (2007:157-182) also deals with this matter. (Eventually the ANC would become the first liberation movement in Southern Africa with direct ties to the Communist Party of the Soviet Union [Shubin, 2008:36]).

Concerning the Sixth Comintern Congress held in September 1928: "The thesis on the revolutionary movement in the colonies and the semi-colonies contained a section on South Africa which inter alia, required the CPSA [the Communist Party of South Africa, hitherto the Communist Party in this text and later the South African Communist Party, the SACP] to put forward the slogan of the creation of an independent Native Republic..." And further this native republic "would be a stage on the way to a workers and peasants republic" (Legassick, 2007:157-158). This resolution paved the way for the forging of an alliance between the Communist Party and the ANC that Norval (1990:29) calls the "takeover" of the ANC by the SACP and that mobilised the masses of the South African people for struggle (Legassick, 2007:159). "Indeed today the two-

stage policy still forms the mode of discourse in the Tripartite Alliance of the ANC, COSATU and the SACP. Democracy, in the form of a universal franchise constitution, has been achieved...nevertheless, for all three elements of the Alliance, this is still a “stage” of the national democratic revolution – therefore for them the struggle for workers’ power and socialism continues” (Legassick, 2007:160).

**Notes on the paradigm of the NDR:**

- Non-violent aggregation of black interests;
- the Congress operating as a “pressure group”, and
- Black Nationalism.
  - Communist interest in Black politics, and
  - Native republic and Stage theories.

The paradigm of the NDR in this period has gained much of its theory and background from various communist sources. The articulation of the NDR is becoming more complex gaining theoretical and ideological impetus from the Soviet Union, the International Communist Movement and the Communist Party in South Africa.

**4.3.3 1930 Onward**

During the early 1930s the growing communist influence on the ANC alarmed the old guard and a backlash developed. After 1937 the ANC began reassessing its trends of policy and sought more effective forms of anti-government action. At that time an influx of black intellectuals into the organisation also occurred. These people at first did not participate in politics, but were becoming disenchanted with the then moderate leadership of the ANC and the discriminatory laws of government. These radical intellectuals drawn into politics included Anton Lembede, Nelson Mandela, Oliver Tambo and Walter Sisulu. They were well equipped to take over the leadership of the ANC and to reform the organisation from within.

By then the Communist Party (CP) had degenerated into small inward-looking factions, fighting each other with denunciations and expulsions, leading, according to Legassick (2007:193), to the failure of the CP to build a mass workers’ political organisation. This

void was filled by the ANC, with many members of the ANC also being members of the CP. The Programme of the ANC was however markedly more nationalistic than a strong CP would have preferred and the Sixth Comintern resolution had advised.<sup>27</sup> The reason for this, amongst others, was the fact that the CP deliberately interfered against the struggle. The CP initially supported the Stalin-Hitler pact, but when Hitler invaded Russia, the party called upon all South Africans to support the government, exactly the same government of Smuts who was pro-British, which government was for its part imperialist, in order to support the Allies in World War II. [This is not so bizarre when cast in the words of the NDR concerning alliance across class lines: “Practical politics is always a matter of alliance, and in different circumstances, different alliances are called for. Communists commonly regard an alliance between workers and peasants as normal. But rightly or wrongly, proletarian parties have in the past attempted class alliances with the bourgeoisie” (SADTU, 2009)].

This lapse of the CP however presented the ANC with the opportunity to assume the prominent leadership role in the struggle for the decades to come. This leadership itself however was in the eyes of many far too moderate and akin to the passive resistance of Martin Luther King and Gandhi: “The approach of the old middle class ANC leadership had been and remained, to rely on a change of heart on the part of the white population. Because they did not experience life as black workers experienced it, at the sharp end of the system of exploitation...They imagined that racism could be overcome by moral persuasion of whites and by appeals to goodwill and common humanity. Hence they looked naturally towards white liberals – to the liberal wing of the capitalist class, together with its intellectuals, clergymen, etc...” (Legassick, 2007:193-194).

### **Notes on the paradigm of the NDR:**

- *Non-violent aggregation of black interests;*
- *The Congress operating as a “pressure group” and*

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<sup>27</sup>In fact in 1947 Mandela and Oliver Tambo tried to adopt a measure that would have forbidden dual membership of the ANC and SACP. This proposal was unsuccessful (Norval, 1990:38). Both these men’s minds would later be changed.

- *Black Nationalism*
  - *Communist interest in Black politics and*
  - *Native republic and Stage theories;*
    - *Decline in Marxist influence and*
    - *Moderation in Black Nationalist politics.*

The theory and background of the paradigm remained the same. The communist influence at that time was however preoccupied with the Second World War.

#### **4.3.4 The 1940s and 1950s**

“The younger generation of radical ANC leaders took a more militant line” (Legassick, 2007:195). Nelson Mandela later stated that the Programme of Action that would lead to the Defiance Campaign of the 1950s was not going to rely on the change-of-heart principle; it was rather going to compel the authorities to grant its demands. In 1944 the ANC Youth League was formed; amongst its members were Nelson Mandela, Walter Sisulu and Oliver Tambo, who based their ideas on African Nationalism and initially were anti-communist (ANC, 2011c). Norval (1990:38) states that the Youth League was formed in 1943 under the leadership of Anton Lembede who was a Black Nationalist. When Moses Kotane replaced Dr Alfred Xuma as head of the ANC, attitudes changed. Kotane was also the General Secretary of the Communist Party and allayed many fears about communism being a foreign ideology. Henceforth Kotane and the Youth League by way of Lembede cooperated closely. Oliver Tambo later admitted that it was Kotane who changed his mind about communist participation in the ANC (Norval, 1990:39).

During 1949 the Youth League drafted a programme condemning the National Party’s apartheid programmes and called for action in the form of strikes and civil disobedience. South Africa was again racked by riots and demonstrations and the new government (Smuts being defeated in 1948 by DF Malan and the National Party) was determined to do something about it. In the early 1950s when the Communist Party and the ANC

decided to hold nationwide demonstrations the government banned those protests. The Communists ignored the ban and widespread violence occurred on 26 April 1950. Eighteen people were killed and many were injured. On 6 May 1950 the Minister of Justice, C.R. Swart, introduced the Suppression of Communism Bill, and the Communist party, constituted as the Communist Party of South Africa, became illegal. African communists naturally turned to the ANC; in most instances they had already been members of this organisation and they saw it as the best outlet for their energies. Thus the Communist Party went underground and finally sealed its pact with the ANC (Norval, 1990:41).

According to Legassick (2007:201), the state's [the National Party government's] vicious response to the defiance campaign did cause serious activists in the ANC to rethink their earlier belief in "the almost magical power of unorganised mass action: The Congress [ANC] realized that these [repressive] measures created a new situation which did not prevail when the campaign was launched in June 1952...From now on the activity of the Congress must not be confined to speeches and resolutions...You must make every home and every shack and every mud structure where our people live a branch of the trade union movement, and you must never surrender...Here in South Africa, as in many parts of the world, a revolution is maturing..." (Nelson Mandela as quoted by Legassick, 2007:201-202<sup>28</sup>).

After 1950 members of the Communist Party were to continue working in the national organisations, the trade unions and other bodies and brought about the Congress Alliance headed by the ANC. One of these alliance partners was formed in 1955 as the South African Congress of Trade Unions (SACTU). Although the 19 affiliated member unions of SACTU in 1956 had only 20 000 members the potential was 2 million. According to Legassick (2007:208-214), although SACTU could have been a fighting Trade Union it rather settled in as an organiser for the middle class interest of the ANC. This position of the ANC was the result of the abdication of the leadership by the Communist Party (Legassick, 2007:203). According to the biographer of Moses Kotane:

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<sup>28</sup> Original Text: "No Easy Road to Freedom" speech by Nelson Mandela, September 21, 1953

“Whatever the Communists did was done through the channels of the Congress” (Legassick, 2007:203-204). The Communist Party did however remain an independent Marxist-Leninist party, both to fulfil its long-term mission of winning a socialist South Africa based upon workers’ power, and to ensure the success of the immediate fight for liberation and democracy (Legassick, 2007:204). For this purpose the South African Communist Party was (re)launched in 1953, primarily functioning underground. Albert Luthuli, president of the ANC since 1952, had no qualms about communism in either South Africa or the ANC (Norval, 1990:48).

At the provincial congress of the ANC held in 1953 in the Cape Province, Prof. Z.K. Matthews proposed the summoning of a national convention at which all groups were to “consider our national problems on an all-inclusive basis to draw up a Freedom Charter for the democratic South Africa of the future. The idea was endorsed by the ANC’s annual conference in September. On 23 March 1954 the executives of the ANC, the South African Indian Congress, the South African Congress of Democrats and the newly formed South African Coloured People’s Congress, met in Tongaat near Durban to discuss plans for a national convention” (South African History Online, 2011a). The resulting Congress of the People held on June 26 and 27 was seen as a means of raising the pressure on the white government by showing the unity of support behind the ANC’s demands. Arguably the most significant result of the Congress was the adoption of the Freedom Charter.

Of special interest is the following paragraph: “The national wealth of our country, the heritage of South Africans, shall be restored to the people; The mineral wealth beneath the soil, the Banks and monopoly industry shall be transferred to the ownership of the people as a whole; All other industry and trade shall be controlled to assist the wellbeing of the people” (Department of Education, 2005:12-13). Norval (1990:49) regards this as an example of a Marxist solution to a South African problem and an example of a Marxist World View. Legassick (2007:206-207) seemingly agrees and recounts how difficult it was to get the “nationalisation clause” into the charter. “Then, once the delegates to the Congress of the People had returned home, the leadership began to

reinterpret the Charter publicly and denied its anti-capitalist character. Luthuli and Mandela took this line and publicly said that they were not in favour of the abolition of private ownership of the means of production. Mandela repeated this statement in the Treason Trial<sup>29</sup> in 1960, and as part of his defence the SACP leadership affirmed that the Charter did not call for public ownership of the means of production, and adhering to the Two-Stage concept of Stalin, Marxism could be expected to work for a bourgeois democracy” (Legassick, 2007:208). The SADTU (2009) document describes the Freedom Charter as follows: “The Freedom Charter was much more than a list of demands. It was an integral part of a kind of conscious nation-building which had real revolutionary content and which demonstrated real democracy in action.” Legassick’s (2007:208) interpretation is simple; the Freedom Charter speaks of the nationalisation of the major industries.

#### **Notes on the paradigm of the NDR:**

- *Non-violent aggregation of black interests;*
- *The Congress operating as a “pressure group” and*
- *Black Nationalism*
  - ***Communist interest in Black politics and***
  - *Native republic and Stage theories;*
    - ~~*Decline in Marxist influence and*~~
    - ~~*Moderation in Black nationalist politics*~~
      - *Greater cohesion between the ANC and SACP and*
      - *Growing acceptance of radicalism.*

The decline in the communist influence as well as the moderation in the paradigm of the NDR of the previous period has been replaced by closer cohesion between the ANC and the SACP and an acceptance of (political and economic) radicalization and even activism. This constitutes a crisis of discontinuity not a paradigm shift and in a very real way, a natural progression.

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<sup>29</sup> This trial is not to be confused with the later Rivonia Trial.

#### 4.3.5 The 1960s and 1970s

The Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) split from the ANC in 1958 amidst allegations that the ANC had a leftist (socialist) inclination and was blind to African nationalism. According to the ultra-nationalist Africanists, the ANC had committed the ultimate sin in being nothing but Soviet stooges under the leadership of the “white” SACP (Norval, 1990:56-57). Robert Sobukwe started the PAC as a Black nationalistic organisation run by Blacks, for Blacks with the aim of installing a Black government. The ANC decided to start a campaign against the pass laws commencing on 31 March 1960, the PAC in response started a similar campaign commencing on 21 March of the same year. The PAC immediately took a militant stance towards the government and the ANC were forced to follow suit. Following protests wherein several protesters were shot by police the PAC and ANC were banned and it became clear that protest alone would not force the regime to change. The ANC went underground and continued to organise secretly. Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) was formed in 1961 to hit back by all means. According to Legassick (2007:261) it soon became clear that the hopes of the leadership of the ANC “were pinned, no longer on political mass organisation, but on MK.”

In its founding manifesto little is said about MK, it is rather a letter of response to the circumstances that brought the ANC to the point where the armed wing became necessary. As such MK would be “at the front line of the people’s defence. It will be the fighting arm of the people against the government and its policies of race oppression. It will be the striking force of the people for liberty, for rights and for their final liberation”(ANC, 2011a).

Much more elucidating are the political courses that the June 16 Detachment of MK underwent. The cadres of this detachment were instructed in the fundamentals of Marxism and Marxist-Leninism, the writings of General Giap and Ho Chi Minh, the examples of Vietnam, Cuba and the USSR, the application of dialectical materialism in Soviet military theory, Soviet and Vietnamese army writings and, amongst others, books by Karis and Carter used in this thesis, Woddis, Lenin, Marx etc. (Ngculu, 2010:238-251). Eventually “direct involvement of soviet officers [involved in the training of MK]

helped raise the level of combat readiness of armed ANC units and especially of the organisers of the armed underground” (Shubin, 2008:141).

But the underground organisation was no match for the regime which began to use even harsher methods of repression (ANC, 2011b). Laws were passed to make death the penalty for sabotage and to allow the police to detain people for 90 days without trial. In 1963 the police raided the headquarters of MK, arresting the leadership. This led to the Rivonia trial during which the leaders were charged with amongst others, attempting to cause revolution. The accused were Nelson Mandela, Walter Sisulu, Dennis Goldberg, Govan Mbeki, Ahmed Kathrada, Lionel Bernstein, Raymond Mhlaba, James Kantor, Elias Motsoaledi, Andrew Mlangeni and Bob Hemple. Together they represented a who’s who of the ANC and the SACP (Norval, 1990:73-74). After the Rivonia trial the underground structure of MK was all but destroyed in South Africa (ANC, 2011a).

The ANC Conference of 1969 held in Morogoro, Tanzania, wanted to address this problem and subsequently called for an “all round struggle”. The four pillars of this struggle would from then on be: **1)** the armed struggle and **2)** mass action; **3)** the building of ANC underground structures and **4)** the campaign for international support and the securing of assistance (ANC, 2011b).

According to the ANC (2011b), workers and students of the 1970s fought back against the system that wounded the ANC during the 1960s: “Their struggles changed the face of South Africa. Spontaneous strikes resulted: workers walked off the job demanding wage increases. The strike began in Durban in 1973 and later spread to other parts of the country. Student anger and grievances against Bantu education exploded in June 1976. Tens of thousands of high school students took to the streets to protest against compulsory use of Afrikaans at schools. Police opened fire on marching students, killing thirteen year old Hector Petersen<sup>30</sup> and at least three others. This began an uprising

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<sup>30</sup> The family request that the name actually be spelt Pieterse not Peterson. As the name here is part of a quotation the original spelling is kept.

that spread to other parts of the country leaving over 1,000 dead, most of whom were killed by the police”.

With regard to these strikes (and the mass action of the previous decades) Legassick (2007:225) quotes Trotsky: “By means of a strike, various strata and groups of the proletariat announce themselves, signal to one another, verify their own strength and the strength of their foe. One layer awakens and infects another. Only through this strike, with all their mistakes, with all their excesses and exaggerations does the proletariat rise to its feet, assemble itself as a unity, begin to feel and conceive of itself as a class”. Trotsky wrote the pamphlet on the role of strikes in a revolution in 1931 with regard to the situation in Spain. Strike action in South Africa was becoming an impressive tool in the hands of the people as they took the liberation struggle to new heights in the 1980s (ANC, 2011b). Oliver Tambo led an ANC delegation to Hanoi in 1976 with the purpose of seeing if any of the lessons the revolutionaries there were learning could be applied to South Africa. From this study the ANC concluded that the armed struggle had to be a combination of political actions to attack South Africa’s military, economic and social strengths (Norval, 1990:119). This lesson was going to be applied in the future. During this visit much of the ideology and practicality of the Vietnamese revolution were transfused into the NDR.

#### **Notes on the paradigm of the NDR:**

- ~~Non-violent aggregation of black interests;~~
- ~~The Congress operating as a “pressure group” and~~
- *Black Nationalism*
  - **Communist interest** in Black politics and
  - *Native republic and Stage theories;*
    - ~~Decline in Marxist influence and~~
    - ~~Moderation in Black nationalist politics;~~
      - *Greater cohesion between the ANC and SACP and*
      - *Growing acceptance of radicalism;*
        - *The acceptance of the armed struggle and*

- *The inception of MK (Military influence from Vietnam, Cuba and the Soviet Union.)*

During this period the nature of the NDR changed from predominantly non-violent to violent. This represents the first change of course or paradigm shift for the NDR. The NDR became a fully-fledged revolutionary ideology complete with a military wing and military alliances abroad.

#### **4.3.6 The 1980s**

The mass struggle that had ground to a halt in the 1960s was reinvigorated by the industrial strike of 1972-1974, the Durban strike, the Soweto Youth Revolt (during which Hector Pieterse died) and the three general strikes of 1976. In 1979 and 1981 the movement again resurged; this revolutionary fervour was grounded not on the exile-based armed struggle but on the internal popular struggle (Legassick, 2007:397-398).

The ANC looked upon the state with P.W. Botha as head of government, as more repressive than ever: “They could use greater force and repression against people and organizations that were considered revolutionary. Through the State Security Council and a network of other structures, the military also gained control over the most important decisions of government. However, the reforms proposed by the government, such as the Tricameral Parliament and Black Local Authorities in African Townships, were totally rejected and only gave rise to greater resistance” (ANC, 2011b). Various community organisations, civic, student, community, youth, and women’s structures began to spring up all over South Africa. This was a rebirth of the mass movement and led to the formation of the United Democratic Front and later COSATU (ANC, 2011b).

The founding declaration of the UDF reads as follows:

“We, the freedom-loving people of SA, say with one voice to the whole world that we cherish the vision of a united democratic South Africa based on the will of the people. We will strive for unity of all people through united action against the evils of apartheid ... and in our march to a free and just South Africa we are guided by these noble ideals, we stand for the creation of a true democracy in which all South Africans will participate

in the government of our country, stand for a single, non-racial, unfragmented South Africa, a South Africa free of Bantustans and Group Areas. We say that all forms of oppression and exploitation must end” (NelsonMandela.org, 2012).

The UDF however did more than this declaration proclaimed: “From its birth, the UDF had the support of the banned liberation movement, the African National Congress (ANC). The UDF organisations became a way to link with the ANC’s internal underground structures, and to establish contacts with the ANC in exile...” (NelsonMandela.org, 2011). As had been shown, there existed a substantial overlap in membership between the ANC and SACP, thus the UDF rendered (by necessity covert and) overt assistance to most if not all banned organisations.

In 1985 the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU) was formed and drew together independent unions that had begun to grow in the seventies (ANC, 2011b). Soon after the formation of this trade union, it met with SACTU and the ANC. The following are excerpts from their joint communiqué regarding that meeting:

- Concerning the task of COSATU: “The COSATU delegation explained that the principal tasks facing their federation are to consolidate their membership and affiliates, rapidly effect conversion of the general unions which are part of COSATU into an industry-based union, within each industry bring about mergers in order to realise the principle of one industry, one union and to unite the entire working force of our country under the banner of COSATU” (ANC, 2011c).
- The tasks of the ANC: “The delegation of the ANC also reported to the meeting on its policy, its programme, its strategy and tactics. The ANC emphasised the need for the greatest possible mobilisation of all the people of our country to join in united political action against the apartheid regime, equally and in combination with the mass political struggle” (ANC, 2011c).
- The relationship between COSATU and SACTU: “In the discussions between COSATU and SACTU, both agreed that the widest possible unity of trade unions in our country is of utmost importance in our people’s struggle against the apartheid

regime and the bosses. Both agreed that there was no contradiction whatsoever arising from their separate existence” (ANC, 2011c).

- The most important outcome was the inclusion of COSATU into the resistance structures: The meeting resulted from the common concern of all parties arising from the fundamental and deep-seated economic, social and political crisis into which the Botha regime and the apartheid system of national oppression and class exploitation had plunged the country. “There was common understanding that the Pretoria regime and the ruling class of South Africa are powerless to provide any real and meaningful solutions to this general crisis, that lasting solutions can only emerge from the national liberation movement, headed by the ANC, and the entire democratic forces of our country, of which COSATU is an important and integral part” (ANC, 2011c).

At that time a debate developed within the ANC and SACP, in part intellectually motivated by the so-called “Marxist Workers Tendency”, a Trotskyite faction eventually expelled from the ANC which is according to Legassick (2007:414) predominantly a Stalinist organisation. Another part of the debate was prompted by Tambo’s visit to Vietnam in 1976. The debate had at its core the disagreement over the use of force. Both parties in this debate agreed to the necessity of force and guerrilla action. The Trotskyites however always wanted to rely on mass action and so also wished at that stage to arm the masses. The ANC on the other hand opted only to arm MK and other selected cadres.

Despite this decision the situation in South Africa was tenuous. “In 1985, the ANC called on township residents to make townships ungovernable by destroying the Black Local Authorities. Councillors and police were called on to resign. Municipal buildings and homes of collaborators were attacked. As the administrative system broke down, people established their own democratic structures to run the community, including street committees and people’s courts<sup>31</sup>. An atmosphere of mass insurrection prevailed in

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<sup>31</sup> A famous proponent of the People’s Courts was Winnie Mandela who in a speech in 1986 said: “Together hand-in-hand, with our boxes of matches and our necklaces, we shall liberate this country”. The necklace is a method of

many townships and rural towns across the country during 1985 and 1986. Mass struggles and the armed struggle began to support one another. Troops and police who had moved into the townships at the end of 1984 engaged in running battles with youths – armed with stones and petrol bombs” (ANC, 2011b). In Natal a virtual civil war raged between Inkatha, the Zulu faction of Mangosuthu Buthelezi, and the ANC. In 1985 the situation had deteriorated to such an extent that a state of emergency was declared in many parts of the country. The state of emergency lasted for six months, and after that a national emergency was again declared by Botha in June 1986, which would last until 1990.

### Notes on the paradigm of the NDR:

- ~~Non-violent aggregation of black interests;~~
- ~~The Congress operating as a “pressure group” and~~
- *Black Nationalism*
  - **Communist interest** in Black politics and
  - *Native republic and Stage theories;*
  - ~~Decline in Marxist influence and~~
  - *Moderation in Black nationalist politics;*
    - *Greater cohesion between the ANC and SACP and*
    - *Growing expectance of radicalism;*
      - *The acceptance of the armed struggle and*
      - *The inception of MK;*
        - *Continued radicalisation and*
        - *Mass mobilisation and organisation.*

In that period the paradigm of the NDR was continually radicalised. The NDR self-regulated to move away from Trotskyism and choices were made as to the manner in which the armed struggle was to be conducted. These choices reflected a pro-stage theory (Stalinist, SACP) choice in the continuing support of MK.

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execution where the victim is doused with petrol and a burning tire is place around his or her neck. (South African History Online, 2011b).

### 4.3.7 The 1990s

In its own histories the ANC describes the events that led to the unbanning of the various organisations, the negotiations and the 1994 elections in an almost neglectful way with liberal use of revolutionary poetic licence: “In spite of detentions and bannings, the mass movement took to the city streets defiantly, with the ANC and SACP flags and banners. The people proclaimed the ANC unbanned. After its unbanning the ANC began to establish branch and regional structures of its members. Regional and national membership was elected. At its first national conference inside the country since 1959, the ANC restated its aim to unite South Africa and bring the country to free and democratic elections. At the 1991 National Conference of the ANC Nelson Mandela was elected President. Oliver Tambo, who served as President from 1969 to 1991 was elected National Chairperson. Tambo died in April 1993 after serving the ANC his entire adult life. The negotiations initiated by the ANC resulted in the holding of historic first elections based on one person one vote in April 1994. The ANC won these first historic elections with a vast majority. 62,6% of the more than 22 million votes cast were in favour of the ANC. On the 10th of May 1994 Nelson Mandela was inaugurated as the President of South Africa” (ANC, 2011b).

Legassick (2007:427) gives a more detailed version: “With its [the State’s] social base still intact, from 1985 onward the state began to support and promote black vigilante groups in the townships...Counter-revolution with a black face came from outside South Africa [UNITA in Angola and RENAMO in Mozambique<sup>32</sup>]...MK had no answer to this: a guerrilla strategy was unable to defend the mass movement.” This is of course contrary to the assessment of many in the ANC.

Thus when the ANC, the SACP and the PAC were unbanned, many “strugglers” (in the words of Legassick [2007:428]) were surprised. The peaceful settlement process was further formalised in 1990 by the Groote Schuur Minute that heralded the start of formal meetings between the ANC and the government, the Pretoria Minute in which the ANC

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<sup>32</sup> The ANC calls these South African proxies “Bandit organizations” (ANC, 2011b).

suspended the armed struggle, and the National Peace Accord of 14 September 1991 that was signed by 27 political organisations and homeland governments to prepare the way for the CODESA (Convention for a Democratic South Africa) negotiations.

A further surprise (one that will remain a bone of contention) was that the negotiated settlement left a capitalist system in place (Legassick, 2007:428). Despite what the ANC said above "...UDF leaders sensed that the armed struggle wasn't very successful and that the people were becoming tired. They had seen terrible violence in the townships, many had been locked up or restricted for years with no light on the horizon" (Green, 2008:284). Johnson (2009:4) agrees: "the ANC's thirty year guerrilla war against apartheid had never seriously dented white power". Legassick (2007:249) continues: "It was not the ANC's strategy of the armed struggle which helped to bring things to a point, though ironically the ANC was to inherit the credit for the transition brought about by the masses. At the same time, the mass upsurges were not decisive. The capitalist class still controlled a coherent white based state". According to Legassick (2007:429-430) the settlement was the result of the accumulation of various factors:

- Major Corporations in South Africa's fear of what they saw as an impending revolution that they could not quell by either repression or reformation (read the failure of the Botha regime);
- overtures to Nelson Mandela in prison from Government;<sup>33</sup>
- the refusal of American banks to roll over South African loans, and
- South African major corporations' visit to the ANC in Lusaka to sound out the ANC on an alternative to the Botha government and the ANC as to their policy on nationalisation.<sup>34</sup>

From the ranks of the ANC Joe Slovo wrote: "We are clearly not dealing with a defeated enemy and an early revolutionary seizure of power by the liberation movement could

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<sup>33</sup> In Mandela's *Autobiography, Long walk to Freedom, a different version of events is described.*

<sup>34</sup> What is Legassick saying here? Was there a conspiracy to get rid of Botha? And why does he not take his argument further? People who might know: ANC intelligence, National intelligence Agency, Old high-level National party operatives in the F.W de Klerk regime.

not be realistically posed. This conjuncture of the balance of forces (which continues to reflect current reality) provided a classical scenario which placed the possibility of negotiations on the agenda and we correctly initiated the whole process in which the ANC was accepted as the major negotiating adversary” (Slovo, 1992). According to Legassick (2007:433), this represented a series of compromises made by the ANC/SACP leadership based upon the fact that MK forces were too weak to secure an alternative. Another decisive factor at that time was the collapse of the Soviet Union and the radical mutation in what was then the Bipolar World Order. Small confrontations between “communists” and “pro-western states” were rapidly going out of vogue and both sides were running out of (secret) money. Joe Slovo (1992), subscribing to the two-stage revolution, explained the situation at that time: “But what could we expect to achieve in the light of the balance of forces and the historical truism that no ruling class ever gives up all its power voluntarily? There was certainly never a prospect of forcing the regime's unconditional surrender across the table. It follows that the negotiating table is neither the sole terrain of the struggle for power nor the place where it will reach its culminating point. In other words, negotiations are only a part, and not the whole, of the struggle for real people's power”. This then was the strategy of the negotiations leading to the 1994 elections which the ANC won in alliance with the SACP and COSATU, which resulted in the 1996 constitution. (The tripartite alliance formally consists of the ANC, COSATU and the SACP and describes its goals as: “a common commitment to the objectives of the National Democratic Revolution, and the need to unite the largest possible cross-section of South Africans behind these objectives” (ANC, 2011d).)

The Constitution of South Africa is universally lauded as one of the most progressive in the world. Even Legassick (2007:432) describes the South African constitution as being created by the process of negotiation with a result of it being as democratic as any in the world – against a history of colonial conquest, white minority rule, segregation and apartheid. (Johnson, 2009:13) describes the constitution as liberal and not as what the ANC ideally would have wanted. The framework for the ANC's negotiations was

provided by a 1989 document called the Constitutional Guidelines for a Democratic South Africa.

The document and the subsequent negotiations are anchored by the freedom charter: “The Freedom Charter remains today unique as the only South African document of its kind that adheres firmly to democratic principles as accepted throughout the world. Amongst South Africans it has become by far the most widely accepted program for a post-apartheid country. The stage is now approaching where the Freedom Charter must be converted from a vision for the future into a constitutional reality” (ANC, 1989).

This conversion process was however not without difficulty; the (re)interpretation of what Legassick called the nationalisation clause was about to restart. According to Green (2008:340), the Constitutional Guidelines expressed support for a mixed economy. The root of this type of economy in the ANC goes back to discourse by discussion groups among the exiles on the freedom Charter from 1976. The thinking in these discussion groups was that the Freedom Charter in effect was not pro-nationalisation. (As has been seen, others interpreted the Freedom Charter differently.) The result of this was that at first, Mandela, only hours out of prison, endorsed nationalisation; this reflected that the ANC’s economic policy was at that time a work in progress (Green, 2008:341). “In the middle of it all that, we then had to begin to make sense of what is meant by a mixed economy. And the thinking, more and more, was directing us to these models in Scandinavia, to Scandinavian social democratic thinking” (Mboweni as quoted by Green, 2008:341).

#### **Notes on the paradigm of the NDR:**

- ***Non-violent aggregation of black interests;***
- ~~*The Congress operating as a “pressure group” and*~~
- ***Black Nationalism***
  - ***Communist interest in Black politics and***
  - ***Native republic and Stage theories;***
  - ~~*Decline in Marxist influence and*~~

- **Moderation in Black nationalist politics;**
  - **Greater cohesion between the ANC and SACP and**
  - Growing expectance of radicalism;
    - The acceptance of the armed struggle and
    - The inception of MK;
      - ~~Continued radicalization and~~
      - **Mass mobilisation and organization.**
- *Negotiations, Policy formulation and **reinterpretation** of the Freedom Charter and*
- *The signing of the peace accord.*

This period realised a major paradigm shift from which the NDR still struggles to recover. Radicalisation had not only to be stopped, it had to be abandoned, and armed groups had to be transformed into structures for democracy; liberation texts had to be translated into government policy. Much of the previous policies had (seemingly) to be abandoned.

#### **4.3.8 Mandela's Government, 1994-1999 (The Conciliator)**

When Mandela became president in 1994 the battle between what Maria Ramos called the ideology they felt close to, and a range of really tough choices, had on the surface largely been sorted out. (The debates would however resurge time and again, notably at the ANC's policy conference held in Midrand in 2012.) Trevor Manuel in 1996 became custodian of the economy as Minister of Finance after Chris Liebenberg, and Nelson Mandela (Madiba) and Desmond Tutu spoke of the dream of the Rainbow Nation and nation building and reconciliation. The Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) was to be the main implement of redress and the economy was market related. In 1995 South Africa won the Rugby World Cup, and Madiba was dressed in the rugby jersey of the then Springbok Captain, François Pienaar.

Things were however not well in the tripartite alliance; the "1996 class project" derailed the NDR: "The emergence of the 1996 class project has seen our historically shared perspective on the NDR, especially its broad socialist orientation being challenged in

favour of a capitalist-oriented National Democratic State. The rise and domination of the 1996 class-project in the ANC and government has displaced the working class as a leading motive force of the NDR, in favour of other class forces, in particular the emerging black capitalist class. Policies such as GEAR, Black Economic Empowerment, etc. have ensured that the elite, including the black and white petty-bourgeoisie and capitalist class are the main beneficiaries since the 1994 democratic breakthrough". This according to NEHAWU (2006), therefore they and the SACP resolved to give concrete expression to the NDR "as a revolution towards socialism."

This happened while, according to Andrew Feinstein (2007:45), the adage that runs through politics ("it's about the economy stupid") prevailed at that time in government. In fact it prevails all the time, also according to Marx's economic determinism - Feinstein continues: "The ANC mainstream, including perhaps two thirds of the senior leadership, was committed to the continuation of the National Party's orthodox [economic] policies". He continues to describe how COSATU at the time "of rampant new liberalism" championed the RDP, supported by a group of progressive international economists, the Macroeconomic Research Group (Merg) which propagated a more expansionist approach to fiscal and monetary policy. Proponents of the RDP cite advances made by this programme in the areas of housing, the provision of clean water, land reform, electrification, healthcare and Public works. Many these programmes associated with the RDP have however subsequently been seen as fraught with corruption and have proved less than the ideal solution. The RDP could also not provide a macroeconomic framework that would satisfy domestic and international bankers in order to return investment capital to a financially ailing South African economy, the result of capital flight during apartheid. Thabo Mbeki's office was tasked to coordinate the economic policy and in 1995 a team started working on the policy that would later become known as the Growth, Employment and Redistribution policy or GEAR. According to Feinstein (2007:67), the long-term vision of GEAR was a virtuous circle of prosperity within which the South African economy would be open to competitive international pressure and foreign investment which would bring with it technology and foreign exchange. "Higher productivity through technology and better training and competitive exchange rate would

improve the competitiveness of manufactured exports. Together with a more flexible labour market, these measures were expected to lead to increased, more substantial job creation and a healthier balance of payments". Government would reduce spending, positive capital inflows would increase the level of saving available for investment, the cost of [lending] capital would be decreased and inflation would be lowered (Feinstein, 2007:67). This indeed was capitalism and a red flag to the bull of the SACP and COSATU.

### Notes on the paradigm of the NDR:

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  - **Black Nationalism**
    - **Communist interest** in Black politics and
    - **Native republic and Stage theories;**
      - ~~— Decline in Marxist influence and~~
      - **Moderation in Black nationalist politics;**
        - **Greater cohesion between the ANC and SACP and**
        - Growing expectance of radicalism;
          - The acceptance of the armed struggle and
          - The inception of MK;
            - ~~Continued radicalization and~~
            - **Mass mobilisation and organization.**
  - **Negotiations, Policy formulation and reinterpretation of the Freedom Charter and;**
  - **The signing of the peace accord;**
    - **RDP, the beginning of GEAR,**
    - **economic neo-liberalism and**
    - **Reconciliation and nation building.**
- } This would later form part of what is called by opponents the "1996 class project" and this is labelled contra to - and in opposition to the NDR.

The economic policies of that time that were market orientated left, according to critics, the colonialist, imperialist economy unaffected by the political transition, with the result that the Blacks were still on the outside, in fact “un-liberated.” This and reconciliatory policies of this era would later be denounced as contra to the NDR and would necessitate in the vision of the ANC a proposed “Second Transition” focusing on fundamental, social and economic transformation (ANC, 2012a:1). The wording of this proposal was subsequently changed at the 2012 policy conference of the ANC to “second phase of the transformation”. (If terminology is left out of account, “second transition” or “second phase” still implies the second phase of the Stalinist Revolution started in 1920, as explained above by Joe Slovo.)

#### **4.3.9 Mbeki’s government (The technocrat)**

The premise of GEAR had been that job creation and sustainable economic growth would redress the inequalities of the past and deracialise the economy (Feinstein, 2007:67). It was initially pushed largely by Thabo Mbeki, followed by Alec Erwin, Maria Ramos, André Roux, Iraj Abedian, officials from the Department of Trade and Industry, officials from the Reserve Bank, and the Labour Department (Green, 2008:437).

Mbeki, aside from being involved in GEAR, was also involved in what Green (2008:438) calls the “Mbeki strategy”. This strategy was a many-faceted project that later involved a bitter (and corrupt) succession struggle for the loyal heart of the ANC with his deputy and now president of South Africa, Jacob Zuma. Pottinger (2008:13) describes this strategy that Green spoke of as follows: “Under the guise of what was called the national democratic revolution,<sup>35</sup> Mbeki carefully and skilfully consolidated his power through the constitution and all the institutions of state. His objective was control of the political process in South Africa, and he set out to eliminate and marginalize the opposition. His was not a democratic project. It was a power grab”. Feinstein (2007:86-87) describes Mbeki’s mantra as “leadership knows best”, and together with a growing awareness of an exclusive “African-ness” in the Mbeki government, many in the ANC

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<sup>35</sup> What is meant here by Pottinger with the term National Democratic Revolution is not clear. He does not offer an explanation or definition. The idea is presented as if it was an Mbeki programme which is definitely not the case.

who held to its non-racial, nationalist values began feeling troubled (and later left the party, as Feinstein did). This, together with the undermining of the powers of parliament, the dispensing of patronage and poor decisions of the incumbents of important parliamentary offices “effectively ceded power to the party at the expense of Parliament” (Feinstein, 2007:89).

The arms deal followed, together with the acquisition of billions of rands worth of new equipment for the army, navy and air force. Though Mbeki was continuously and intimately involved, his office later claimed he had forgotten about it and when it came to the investigation Mbeki subverted the independence of every institution connected with such inquiry (Johnson, 2009:515). “In a pattern which was to become all too familiar a steady stream of leaks to the press from the Scorpions and the National Prosecuting Authority built the pressure on Shaik and Zuma”. Zuma by then had been fired as deputy president and Mbeki had decided to remove him as political adversary.

#### Notes on the paradigm of the NDR:

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  - **Communist interest** in Black politics and
  - **Native republic and Stage theories;**
    - ~~Decline in Marxist influence and~~
    - **Moderation in Black nationalist politics;**
      - **Greater cohesion between the ANC and SACP and**
      - Growing acceptance of radicalism;
        - The acceptance of the armed struggle and
        - The inception of MK;
          - ~~Continued radicalization and~~
          - **Mass mobilisation and organization.**
- Negotiations, Policy formulation and **reinterpretation** of the Freedom Charter and
- *The signing of the peace accord;*

} This would later form part of what would be called by opponents the “1996 class project” and would be labelled in opposition to the NDR.

- *RDP, the beginning of GEAR and*
- *Reconciliation and nation building;*
  - *GEAR in full motion,*
  - Political** { – *Personalization of power and*
  - decay** { – *Increased patrimonialism*
  - and factionalism.*

The paradigm of the NDR was still in chaos and new, even more dangerous phenomena appeared (indicated at left); patrimonialism, personalisation of power and factionalism (symptoms of political decay) were being experienced. During the conference of the ANC in Midrand in 2012 candidates could not resolve phraseology, which led Zwelinzima Vavi to remark: “We will be sitting in our conferences, dancing and divided and playing factional games...the poor will enter the conference halls in their broken shoes and with their broken hearts and ask what have we been doing about their future and about all the broken promises” (Vavi as quoted by Naidoo, 2012).

#### **4.3.10 The Zuma Presidency (The Populist)**

While Mbeki was ratcheting up the pressure on Zuma, who is a born and bred (and proud of the fact) Zulu, the latter decided to stand and fight. This was an unexpected development for Mbeki, and even more unexpected was the huge amount of popular support for Zuma<sup>36</sup> (Johnson, 2009:517). According to Mo Shaik “Journalists never, never understood the enormous fury that swept through ANC members when Mbeki fired J.Z. [Zuma]” (Shaik as quoted by Gordin, 2008:231). The popular support spoken of here was deep-seated: “COSATU was already annoyed with Mbeki’s economic policies and attitude and wanted him out and Zuma in” (Gordin, 2008:119). This developing alliance would eventually swell to include Blade Nzimande of the SACP, Fikile Mbalula of the ANC Youth League, and Zwelinzima Vavi of COSATU and,

<sup>36</sup> For a detailed account of amongst others the incestuous relationships that included the Kebbles, Agliotti and Selebi read R. W. Johnson’s most excellent book, *South Africa’s brave new world, the beloved country since the end of apartheid*. For a detailed account of the arms scandal, corruption and the erosion of oversight read Andrew Feinstein’s book *After the Party*.

according to Gordin (2008:210), countless others within the leadership of the ANC. These people would later be called the “coalition of the aggrieved” for at one time or another they were either slated by Mandela and/or especially Mbeki.

From 16 to 20 December 2007 the coalition of the aggrieved took control of the government of South Africa at the 52nd conference of the ANC held at Polokwane. Amidst much humiliation for Mosiuoa (Terror) Lekota (who was heckled off the stage) and later for Thabo Mbeki, Jacob Zuma became president of the ANC (Gordin, 2008:238-239). The Strategy and Tactics document as accepted at that 52<sup>nd</sup> ANC National Conference at Polokwane, which was considered a victory for the popular forces within the ANC, currently forms part of the NDR<sup>37</sup> (SADTU, 2009).

Following this defeat, Mbeki was dealt another staggering blow when on 12 September 2008 Pietermaritzburg High Court Judge Chris Nicholson held that the latest (and last) charges against Zuma, including racketeering and fraud, were unlawful on procedural grounds. In effect Nicholson’s ruling mentioned nothing about Zuma’s guilt or innocence; the ruling explained that the NPA, that is supposed to be independent, worked together with the executive, in the person of Mbeki (this collusion of government branches was something that in the past occurred under the apartheid regime). This ratified Zuma’s theory that there was a political conspiracy against him. On 20 September 2008 Thabo Mbeki was “recalled” (a euphemism for removed from office) by the ANC. Kgalema Motlanthe became a caretaker president until Zuma ascended to office in 2009. According to Johnson (2009:639) it was immediately evident how much Zuma differed from Mbeki: “flanked by the intemperate Julius Malema...a Marxist-Leninist...one more sign of the “dumbing down” of public life in line with the general de-skilling of society...” which also led to the purging of all the Mbeki loyalists from civil and government service; the result being an acute skill shortage.

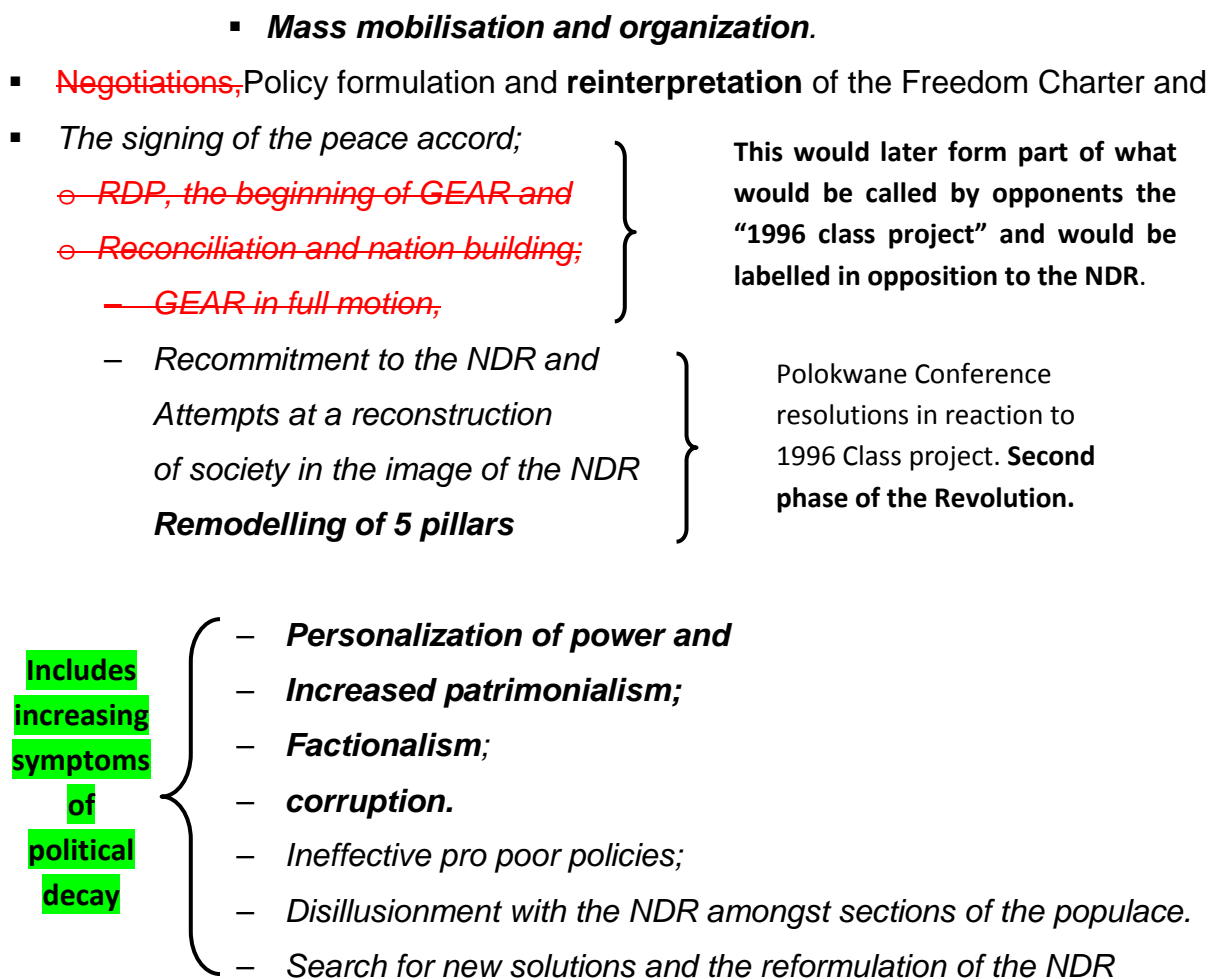
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<sup>37</sup>SADTU (2011b) feels that although Polokwane was a victory, this latest Strategy and Tactics is a dilution of the original published in Morogoro in 1969.

Another difference was the realisation that the benefits in society tended to percolate upward. The assumption of both Mandela and Mbeki was that the ANC as vanguard was somehow superior to society and as such could remodel society. Zuma at first believed likewise, yet the Moral Regeneration Campaign of the ANC did not in the face of poverty, disease (read AIDS) and corruption create a “new man”. “The whole public sector was now seen as part of a gigantic spoils system...The collapse of the police and the criminal justice system meant that there was a desperate need for enforcers...so recourse to heavy-mob tactics became common... today’s ANC is a federation of warlords, sub-lords of patrons and clients...there has been a huge criminalization of the state” (Johnson, 2009:645). In reaction to this, part of the Zuma government’s addition to the NDR is a proposal to fundamentally transform and revive five pillars in South African society in line with the heart of the NDR. These pillars are: the State; the Economy; Organisational Work; the Ideological Struggle, and International Work (ANC, 2012c:2). (These five pillars will form a cornerstone, along with the definition of ideology provided by Seliger, for the analytical construct by which the NDR will be reconstructed and interpreted in the following three chapters.)

#### Notes on the paradigm of the NDR:

- **Non-violent aggregation of black interests;**
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- **Black Nationalism**
  - **Communist interest in Black politics and**
  - **Native republic and Stage theories;**
    - ~~Decline in Marxist influence and~~
    - ~~Moderation in Black nationalist politics;~~
    - **Greater cohesion between the ANC and SACP and**
    - **Growing acceptance of radicalism;**
      - ~~The acceptance of the armed struggle and~~
      - ~~The inception of MK;~~
      - **Continued radicalization and**



The ANC and others (especially the SACP) tried to remedy what they perceived as wrong in their movement and to recommit to their ideology (the NDR/SDR) at Polokwane in 2007. The paradigm of the tripartite alliance, especially the ANC, is characterised by the institutionalisation of personal power, patrimonialism and factionalism with resulting high levels of corruption. Some corrupt politicians (“tenderpreneurs” in the vernacular of the SACP), try to benefit from their position, garner support among the disenfranchised and fan the flames resulting in widespread disillusion and factionalism. All of these are symptoms of political decay.

The semi-diagram above represents a (partial-<sup>38</sup>) dynamic historical reconstruction and interpretation of the NDR from 1920 until the middle of 2012. (An analytical

<sup>38</sup>The diagram has to be read and understood with the chapter as background.

reconstruction and interpretation will be formulated in Chapters 5, 6 and 7.) This concludes the reconstruction and interpretation of the historical development of the NDR. The development of the ideology was charted and the deviations of the ideology were illustrated. The following section will deal with the conclusions of this chapter.

#### **4.4 SUMMATIVE AND CONCLUDING REMARKS**

The goal of the section above was to describe the development of the NDR in South Africa in a historical context and thus in a chronological manner. To this end the following have been ascertained:

- According to the National Democratic Revolutionary Alliance, consisting of the ANC, COSATU, the SACP and others, the term National Democratic Revolution was coined by V.I. Lenin at the Second Congress of the Communist International in 1920 (SADTU, 2009).
- The NDR refers to a class alliance against colonialism and imperialism. South Africa is regarded as a state in which colonialism of a special type exists; a variant of capitalist colonialism in which the essential features of colonial domination in the imperialist epoch are located in a single country (SACP, 1989).
- In 1912 Sol Plaatjie and others began an organisation for the peaceful aggregation of black interests and to present a unified front to government (Karis and Carter, 1987:62). In 1920 the SACP and organised labour came into existence, as did the Young Communist League.
- These organisations, together with central planning from the Young Communist International and the Sixth Comintern Congress and Moscow, moved the ANC and SACP closer to each other.
- A cornerstone of the NDR is the creation of a native republic on the way to a workers and peasant (Socialist) republic (Legassick, 2007:157-158).
- The 1930s witnessed the receding influence of the SACP due to the war in Europe as well as the policies of the communist alliance in practice. When Hitler and Stalin were deemed friends, the Black people were to be liberated, but when Hitler invaded Russia, everyone had to support the government who fought against Hitler. At that

stage the ANC was moderate, anti-Marxist and open to overtures from the white community.

- In the 1940s the ANC Youth League was formed and after the SACP was banned the communists went underground, mostly within the ANC and trade unions (Norval, 1990:41).
- Due to the harsh repressive measures by the Apartheid regime moderate black leaders became radicalised (Legassick, 2007: 201).
- In 1954 the Congress of the People accepted the Freedom Charter which according to some interpretations is a Marxist solution to South African problems (Norval, 1990:49).
- The interpretation and reinterpretation of this document is central to the NDR (Legassick, 2007:206-208; SADTU, 2009).
- The PAC split from the ANC in 1958 by reason of their belief and accusation that the ANC was becoming too socialistic.
- MK, the ANC's military wing, founded to provide a paramilitary option in the struggle against apartheid, is schooled in Marxist-Leninism, and the military doctrine of the Soviet Union, Cuba and Vietnam (Ngculu, 2010:238-25).
- The 1980s witnessed much unrest and turmoil in South Africa, to the extent that a virtual civil war raged in Natal and various states of emergency were declared.
- The reforms initiated by P. W. Botha were regarded by the ANC and its alliance as of no consequence.
- F.W. de Klerk unbanned the liberation movements and in 1994 democratic elections took place. Joe Slovo (1992) described this negotiated settlement as only part of the struggle for real people's power. The struggle therefore continues by way of the NDR.
- When Mandela became president, the Freedom Charter was interpreted to mean a mixed economy (Feinstein, 2007:67; Green, 2008:438).
- Mbeki, while doing very well for the economy of the country, was in the words of Pottinger (2008:13) busy with a personal "power grab" that derailed not only the constitution of the country but also the NDR. This was rectified at the Polokwane conference of the ANC where Jacob Zuma was elected as leader of the Congress

and where the Strategy and Tactics of that congress is again incorporated into the body of the NDR (SADTU, 2009).

- At present there are yet again concerns for the NDR: “Coming up to date we find, in parts of the ANC, that the NDR is treated as if it is complete or in stasis or that it is an end in itself” (SADTU, 2009).
- Divided opinion, rampant criminality and corruption highlighted the need for debate concerning these matters as “the character, content and direction of the NDR are of fundamental importance to our alliance, since the deepening and consolidating of the national democratic revolution is the glue that holds our alliance together” (Nzimande, 2006:2).
- Attempts are underway to remodel society (five key pillars) according to the ideal perspective of the NDR (ANC,2012c:2).The assessment of these pillars will be developed in the next three chapters to form, together with Seliger’s definition of ideology, an analytical instrument according to which the NDR can be reconstructed and interpreted.
- Together with this effort at the remodelling of society, dissatisfaction with the NDR can be seen in society with 1) the lack of delivery on promises and 2) perceived and actual corruption.

This contextual and chronological historical analysis provides the basis for the next level of analysis incorporating Kuhn’s paradigm and paradigm shift concepts introduced in section 4.2 of this chapter.

### **Concerning the paradigm of the NDR:**

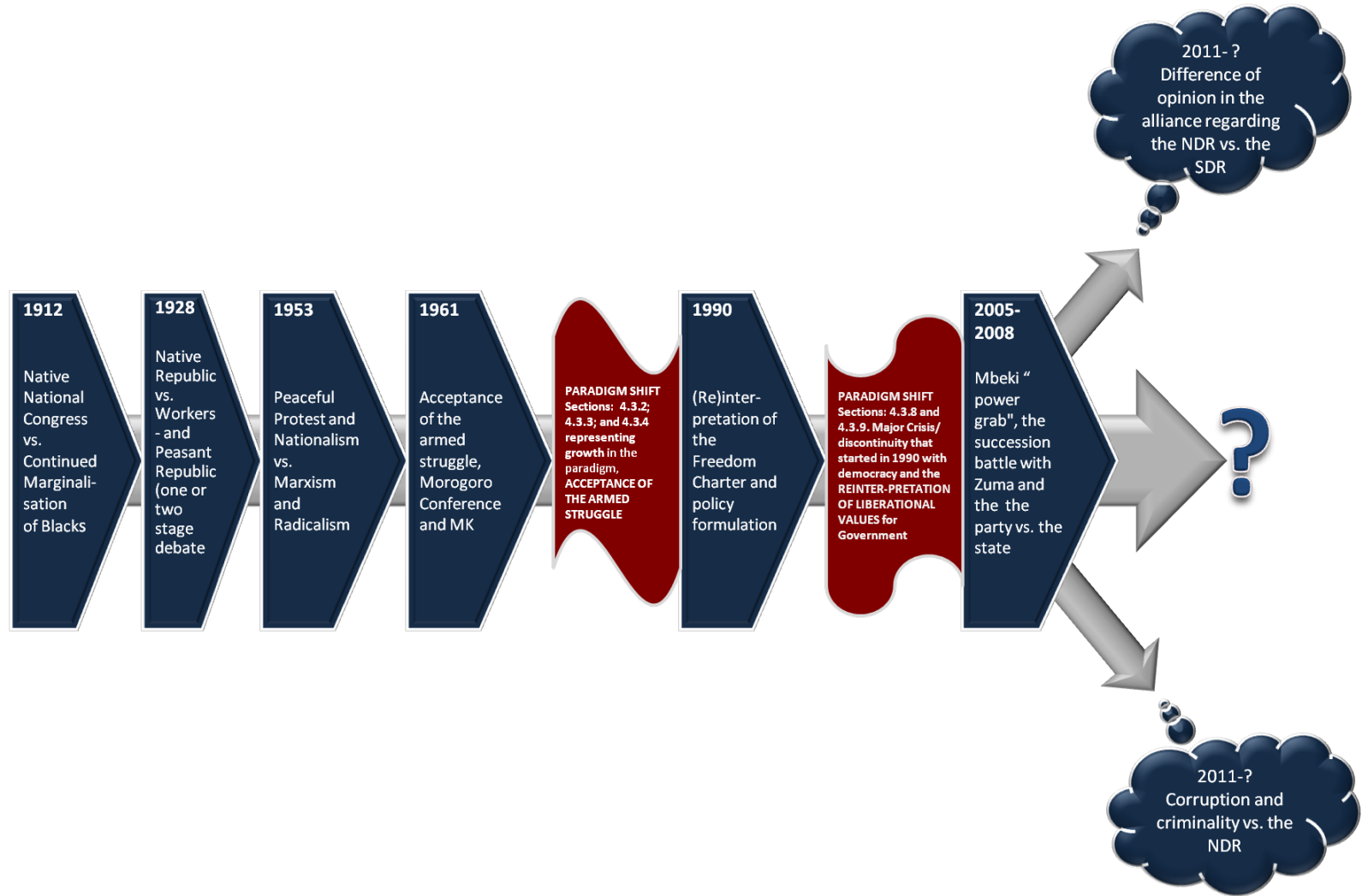
Kuhn (1973:1) regards history as a repository for a paradigm or paradigms as well as revolutionary paradigm shifts where a paradigm is the provider of a shared worldview providing a common vocabulary and knowledge, and so understanding (Hung, 2006:5). From the concluding remarks above it is clear that the National Democratic Revolution is a Leninist construct operated within the Marxist-Leninist environment of the SACP-ANC-COSATU alliance. The following description of its paradigm can also be offered as its definition: The paradigm of the NDR is socialist, wherein elements of Nationalism,

Leninism, Stalinism, and Communism combine with lesser elements of Radical Feminism and Trotskyism (the latter having been purged by the Stalinists) to form an ideology that forms the very foundation for cooperation in the tripartite (between class in the Marxist sense) alliance for national liberation on political, economic and social levels in South Africa, aimed at the eradication of colonialism of a special kind - this being apartheid and its economic and social legacy which is being defined in an on-going process. The NDR is a revolution, practically as well as ideologically, that progresses in stages according to the tenets of Stalinism; the 1994 “breakthrough” being only one of these stages. The final destination is total control of decisions over the political, social and economic realities in South Africa. Political control had partly been achieved in 1994 but became derailed by Mandela’s reconciliation, Mbeki’s power grab and currently corruption and factionalism. This however does not reveal the whole history of the developmental context of this paradigm.

### **Concerning paradigm shifts in the history of the NDR:**

To discern this developmental trajectory it is necessary to take a look at the various crises of discontinuity in the history of the NDR, as is done in Figure 13. Although every developing evolution was born in a crisis there are however only two paradigm shifts.

Figure 13: Crisis of Discontinuity in the History of the NDR



In 1912 the Native National Congress came into existence in the crisis of continued marginalisation of the Black populace versus an effort towards representation. The second crisis (that still remains a point of debate to this day and contributes to the current discontinuities) is the essence of the Native republic thesis as a one or a two phase process with a workers/peasant republic and the role of the NDR in the construction of such republic as a second phase. The third crisis was the battle that ended when leaders such as Nelson Mandela were finally radicalised<sup>39</sup> and Communism was accepted in the ANC. The fourth crisis that is described in the text as a full-fledged paradigm shift ended with the formation of the armed wing of the ANC whereby they committed to the armed struggle and also opted not to arm the masses, a move away from the example of Vietnam towards the precepts of Lenin. Many of the precepts of the Vietnamese “people’s war” were however incorporated into the NDR (such as the Mass line); this will however be discussed in the following chapters.

The next crisis was the biggest and most fundamental paradigm shift in the history of the NDR and occurred as the ANC was about to come to power and the Liberation movement and its doctrine had to be translated into Government and policy. This shift is actually still continuing with “aftershocks” affecting the following crises. The debate concerning the meaning of the Freedom Charter is also not completed and contributes to the current discontinuity. The sixth crisis was precipitated by the Mbeki power grab, but especially his liberal economic policies and the subsequent succession battle that was very much unlike the ANC. This last issue was partly (unsuccessfully?) remedied at Polokwane.

The current situation in 2012 confronts the NDR with two new crises as indicated above by the wide spaced arrows. (The continuous arrow, the question mark, future perspective on the NDR and this Figure will again be discussed in detail in Chapter 8). The first is the fact that the rampant criminality and corruption can derail the agenda of the NDR, and the second is the fact that the alliance partners differ as to the meaning and content of the NDR. In this current situation the meaning of the treatise on the

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<sup>39</sup> The date of 1953 is the date of Mandela’s “No easy road to Freedom speech”.

Native Republic and the interpretation of the Freedom Charter are vitally important. In order to understand this, the ideology of the NDR will be reconstructed and interpreted in greater detail in the following three chapters.

## CHAPTER 5: THE RECONSTRUCTION AND INTERPRETATION OF THE NDR AS AN IDEOLOGY: THE ANALYTICAL DIMENSION

### 5.1 INTRODUCTION

The National Democratic Revolution is defined as an ideology as it possesses an immediate action-orientation with the aim of the destruction of colonialism of a special type and relies on moral norms that translate into technical prescriptions (Seliger, 1976:120<sup>40</sup>) regarding programmes of political action which draw on large-scale views about human nature and/or historical development (Browning, 2002:252). This action-orientation has been illustrated in the previous chapter along with the historical context of the NDR. The epistemological and ontological frame of reference of ideology as it pertains to this thesis was described in Chapter 2. In that chapter Seliger's (1976:120) complete or "core" definition of ideology was recounted as "a belief system by virtue of being designed to serve on a relatively permanent basis a group of people to justify in reliance on moral norms and a modicum of factual evidence and self-consciously rational coherence, the legitimacy of the implements and technical prescriptions which are to ensure concerted action for the preservation, reform, destruction or reconstruction of a given order."

Heywood's (2007:45) distilled version of Seliger's definition was also enumerated:

"An Ideology is a more or less coherent set of ideas that provides a basis for political action, whether this is intended to preserve, modify or overthrow the existing system of power relationships. All ideologies therefore offer an account of the existing order... provide a model of a desired future...and outline how political change should be brought about".

According to this definition an ideology possesses the following three key characteristics:

- A dialectical analysis of the undesirable present, this being the result of a malign historical process.

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<sup>40</sup> See the definition of Ideology in Chapter 2

- a normative model for the desirable future, and
- a strategy for achieving that future by means of change.

In short, an ideology thus has three dimensions, the analytical, the normative and the strategic. In the following three chapters the NDR will be reconstructed according to its analytical (Chapter 5); normative (Chapter 6) and strategic dimensions (Chapter 7).

The goal of Chapter 5 is to provide a reconstruction and interpretation of the analytical dimension of the NDR which describes the unacceptable present that resulted due to the malign process of history identified in Chapter 4. In that chapter “colonialism of a special type” – in other words, apartheid as the most recent incarnation of colonialism and imperialism, was identified as the *raison d'être* for the NDR. The SACP (1989) explains this: “Within South Africa, bourgeois domination and capitalist relations of production, which emerged within the context of colonialism, have been developed and maintained since 1910 through a specific variant of bourgeois rule colonialism of a special type. It is a variant of capitalist rule in which the essential features of colonial domination in the imperialist epoch are maintained and even intensified. But there is one specific peculiarity: in South Africa the colonial ruling class with its white support base on the one hand, and the oppressed colonial majority on the other, are located within a single country”.

The legacy of Colonialism of a special type has not been adequately addressed at the 1994 settlement: “We therefore described the victory of 1994 as a historic breakthrough and a decisive departure from a colonial system that spanned over three decades. We accomplished a<sup>41</sup> qualitative element of the National Democratic Revolution. We use the words ‘element of the NDR’ guardedly, because the balance of forces at the time dictated that the path to the full transfer of power would be protracted and tortuous” (ANC, 2000a).

Importantly the ultimate victory [road to power] according to the SACP (1989) is: “in the national democratic revolution [that leads to] ...socialism and ultimately communism”.

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<sup>41</sup>Note the repeated singular thereby implying **further goals** that will be attained later.

In the light of this it is very important to consider the specific elements or foci of the NDR, aspects where the NDR wants to achieve redress vis-à-vis the unacceptable past, (this being colonialism of a special type.) Throughout the following three chapters six pre-eminent foci or clusters have been identified wherein the NDR not only wants to achieve redress or transformation, but also through an epistemological framework defines<sup>42</sup> itself and its goals. These clusters are for the purposes of this thesis, built on the five pillars identified in Chapter 4<sup>43</sup> and so are defined as the historical, political, economic, social, international and ideological pillars, and starting in this chapter each of these clusters will be analysed according to its analytical, normative and strategic dimensions. It is important to note that the ANC and the SACP as the main protagonists of the NDR differ in emphasis on certain matters regarding their ideology (as became evident in Chapter 4). These differences are important and will be handled as and when they become topical within the various clusters.

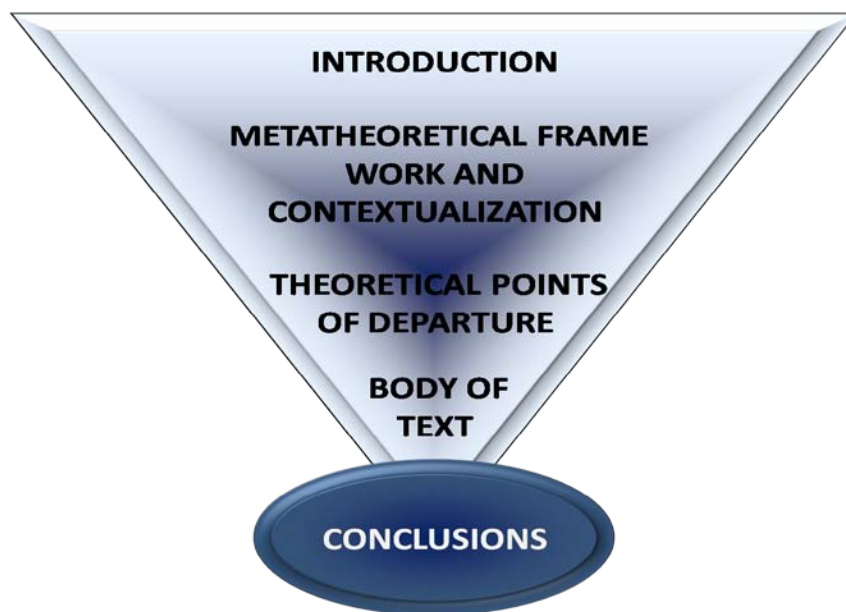
Methodologically the structure of this chapter, and the following two, will be deductive and will comprise the following points: an introduction, a meta-theoretical framework in which the six clusters will be explained and contextualised, a theoretical point of departure specific to each chapter, a body in which the six clusters will be analysed according to the theme of the chapter, and a conclusion. This structure is depicted in Figure 14 as follows:

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<sup>42</sup>More about a definition of the NDR later.

<sup>43</sup>Reference Chapter 4 section 4.3.10.

**Figure 14: Chapter Layout**



The theory relevant in this chapter sheds light on the way reality (past, present and future) is perceived by the NDR and especially how history (the chronological flow of events) is the result of the twin processes of construction (thesis) and opposition (antithesis) as defined in Marxist historical theory. This theory (or law according to Marxist thinking) forms an integral part of the NDR and so defines historical dialectical relationships that in the parlance of the NDR bring about the inevitable destruction of colonialism of a special type and form other historically determined inevitable(s) that will be examined further in the chapters to follow (ANC, 2007a; Baradat, 2009:172). Before this explanation is continued, the meta-theoretical framework for this chapter needs to be explained.

### **5.2A META-THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK: SIX CLUSTERS OF THE NDR**

In researching the National Democratic Revolution the foci of the ideology become clear. Several important documents further assist to categorise these foci of the NDR. The Strategy and Tactics (ANC, 2007a) document of the ANC spells out what the priorities of the ANC are, and so does the Medium Term vision of the SACP, as well as an analysis of the post-Polokwane environment by the SACP entitled “*The SACP and*

*state power. The alliance post-Polokwane - ready to govern?* More succinct information can be found in “*Tasks of the NDR and the mobilization of the motive Forces*” (ANC, 2000a) and in a discussion document entitled “*The ANC Strategy and Tactics 2010*”, a NGC discussion document on the balance of forces. In this document the areas marked for special attention are: the State; the Economy; Organizational work; the Ideological struggle, and International work (ANC, 2010:3-4).

From the analysis of the history of the NDR in Chapter 4 it is clear that it is a comprehensive and complicated system. For purposes of academic analysis in this thesis the various ANC and SACP sources cited above along with the main foci of the NDR, as they became clear through historical analysis, are synthesised into focused clusters. These foci, as has been said, will for purposes of this thesis be grouped into historical, political, economic, social, international and ideological clusters. The analysis of these clusters provides or defines (reveals) not only the epistemology (incorporated knowledge framework, core assumptions and goals of the NDR, but also its [intended] actions in the past, present and future). It further also provides an ontological relational order between the various clusters and the subjects grouped under each, especially when tabulated with the dimensions of an ideology, these being the analytical, normative and strategic. Figure 15 shows the epistemological and ontological framework of the NDR and forms the background for the meta-theoretical and analytical framework of this and the following two chapters.

**Figure 15: The analytical framework for the analysis and understanding of the NDR (the Epistemology and Ontology of the NDR)**

DIMENSIONS OF IDEOLOGY	HISTORICAL CLUSTER	POLITICAL CLUSTER	ECONOMIC CLUSTER	SOCIAL CLUSTER	INTERNATIONAL CLUSTER	IDEOLOGICAL CLUSTER
<p><b>ANALYTICAL DIMENSION</b></p> <p><b>(CRITICAL OF STATUS QUO)</b></p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>History of colonialism (of a special type) and apartheid.</li> <li>Patterns of under development and super exploitation.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Political suppression and super exploitation.</li> <li>Institutionalised formal racial discrimination.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Colonial and apartheid production relations</li> <li>Critique against capitalism.</li> <li>Rich (white) versus poor (black).</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Social inequality.</li> <li>Loss of human dignity and super exploitation of some in society.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Apartheid as crime against humanity.</li> <li>Rich (North) vs. Poor (South).</li> <li>Colonialist vs. Non-colonialist nations.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Critique against apartheid, and colonialism (worldwide).</li> <li>Colonialism of a special sort (SA), exploitation and capitalism as a form of exploitation.</li> </ul>
<p><b>NORMATIVE DIMENSION</b></p> <p><b>(IDEALISTIC VISION OF THE FUTURE)</b></p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Mythologising and demythologising (Functional).</li> <li>Historical paradigm shift in 1994 and on-going transition from liberation movement to political party.</li> <li>Dialectical stress between past, present and future (ANCYL).</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Political equality and Freedom (Social Democracy).</li> <li>Representative, just and inclusive state and society.</li> <li>Redress in the form of an "acceptance of guilt, the TRC, a wealth tax.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li><i>Second phase of revolution</i>: Economic transformation.</li> <li>Sustainability in for example; economic growth and inclusivity.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li><i>Second phase of revolution</i>: Social transformation.</li> <li>An equalising society</li> <li>National identity and social cohesion.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Transformation: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>SADC.</li> <li>Africa.</li> <li>International order</li> <li>UN.</li> <li>International monetary structures (especially the way aid is distributed).</li> </ul> </li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Non-racial, non-sexist, democratic and developmental framework as a remedy.</li> <li>Differences between the ANC, SACP and ANCYL.</li> </ul>
<p><b>STRATEGIC DIMENSION</b></p> <p><b>(CHANGE MANAGEMENT – POST -1994)</b></p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Mythologising and demythologising (Strategic).</li> <li>Legitimisation of struggle history.</li> <li>The importance of the "class alliance" between the ANC, the SACP and COSATU.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li><i>First phase of revolution</i>: Establish political control.</li> <li>Relationship between party and state (With party ahead of state)</li> <li>"Organisational renewal" as priority</li> <li>Developmental state</li> <li>"Good governance" (see dimensions)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li><i>Second Phase of the Revolution</i>: Economic Transformation.</li> <li>Black Economic Empowerment.</li> <li>Job creation (see dimensions).</li> <li>Affirmative Action.</li> <li>Transformation of patterns of ownership of the means of production (Land, Industry and JSE. i.e. Wealth).</li> <li>Nationalisation.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Dimensions: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Creation of jobs/ sustainable livelihoods.</li> <li>Poverty reduction.</li> <li>Social security.</li> <li>Rural development.</li> <li>Education.</li> <li>Health.</li> <li>Housing.</li> <li>Fight against crime.</li> <li>Fight against corruption.</li> </ul> </li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Political alignment with progressive (left wing) powers.</li> <li>Consolidation of powerbases.</li> <li>Building and maintenance of high moral ground.</li> <li>Achievement of 1994 settlement "sold" internationally.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Defines moral high ground.</li> <li>"The battle of ideas."</li> <li>Revolutionary symbols</li> <li>"Strategy and tactics revisited."</li> </ul>

The clusters in the Table above are, in this thesis, abstracted into clearly delineated analytical instruments. In reality they are interrelated, mutually interpenetrative and dependent on one another, so forming a bigger ideology that is easy to lose sight of when only some of the minor points are exempted for specific attention. This cluster-approach to the analysis of the NDR is structural-functional in nature as it is not only concerned with institutions (in whatever form) but more with the integrated functioning mentioned above, especially where the domain of politics is defined in the interaction of political, economic and cultural spheres.

The following are working definitions of the six clusters, designed for the purpose of this study. The *historical cluster* describes relations and connections of issues on a chronological line of past, present and future. In the historical perspective of the NDR the Marxist theory of history is extremely important as it provides both an ideological and theoretical base for the NDR's understanding of past, present and future. Factors to be discussed in the historical cluster are:

- The history of colonialism (of a special type) and apartheid.
- Patterns of underdevelopment and super exploitation.
- "Mythologising" and "demythologising" (functional).
- The historical paradigm shift in 1994 and an on-going transition from liberation movement to political party.
- Dialectical stress between past, present and future and on-going transition from liberation movement to political party (the current 2011/12 situation in the ANCYL).
- "Mythologising" and "demythologising" (strategic).
- Legitimation of the struggle history.
- The importance of the "class alliance" between the ANC, the SACP and COSATU.

The *political cluster* is defined by the power to allocate or withhold resources ranging from types of resources that possess an inherent economic and monetary value such as land and mining rights to less tangible resources such as access, representation and agency in various systems. In this context power is defined as "the probability that one

actor within a social relationship will be in a position to carry out his will despite resistance” (Weber, 1978:53). In the analytical dimension of the NDR (this chapter) elements that the ideology regards as malevolent will be analysed, in the normative chapter (6) the ideal political environment according to the ideology will be analysed, and in the strategic dimension (Chapter 7) the manner/elements (strategy) by which the ideal will be achieved will be analysed. These elements are:

- Political suppression and super exploitation.
- Institutionalised formal racial discrimination.
- Political equality and freedom (Social Democracy).
- A representative, just and inclusive state and society.
- Redress in the form of an “acceptance” of guilt, the TRC, a possible wealth tax.
- *First phase of revolution: Establish political control.*
- Relationship between party and state (with party ahead of state and pre-eminent role for “the leader”).
- “Organisational renewal” as priority.
- The South African state as a Developmental state.
- “Good governance” (see dimensions in social cluster).

The *economic cluster* is defined by the dispersion of direct material wealth or the manner for access or limiting access to direct prosperity and the reasons for this dispersion. In the analytical dimension where the NDR identifies what is wrong with the unacceptable past and present, elements are identified that lead to the disparities between rich and poor, the gap between black and white, as well as the roots for many socio-economic ills that beset South Africa. The normative elements are the corrective to this situation and the strategic elements are the manner in which redress will be achieved. The elements to be analysed are:

- Colonial and apartheid production relations.
- Critique against capitalism.
- Rich (white) versus poor (black).

- *Second phase of revolution: Economic transformation.*
- Sustainability in for example economic growth, inclusivity of all races, and food security.
- Black Economic Empowerment.
- Job creation (see dimensions).
- Affirmative Action.
- Transformation of patterns of ownership of the means of production (Land, Industry and Black ownership of, and representation in the stock exchange).
- Nationalisation.

The *social cluster* pertains to elements that concern the basic physical and mental state of being of people in society and/or various communities in South African society, as well as the relationships of these elements to each other. The elements discussed in this cluster are:

- Social inequality in South Africa.
- Loss of human dignity and super exploitation of some in society.
- *Second phase of revolution: Social transformation.*
- An equalising society as necessity.
- National identity and social cohesion.
- Dimensions marked for special attention by Government:
  - Creation of jobs/sustainable livelihoods
  - Poverty reduction.
  - Social security.
  - Rural development.
  - Education.
  - Health.
  - Housing.
  - Fight against crime.
  - Fight against corruption.

The *international cluster* is defined by the ideologies and theories (reconstructed in Chapter 3) that contributed to the NDR and from which the NDR also accepted (amongst others) a Marxist perspective of a “world revolution” in which international responsibility and solidarity lead to international networks, support and areas where influence has to be exerted or countered, and friends gained in order to promote foreign and domestic objectives. This view is well articulated by Blade Nzimande (2011a): “We would like to anchor our message today around some of the key tasks facing the working class in the national democratic revolution in the current period. The best way to do this, from our standpoint as the SACP is to locate the tasks of the working class in the current conjuncture within our Medium Term Vision (MTV). Our MTV sets the tasks of the SACP, and the working class as a whole, as that of leading a struggle to build working class hegemony and influence in all key sites of power, with six key sites of power being a priority: building working class hegemony in the state, the economy, the community, the workplace, ideologically and through deepening proletarian internationalist solidarity...”.

The elements analysed in this cluster are:

- Apartheid as crime against humanity.
- The rich (North) versus poor (South) debate.
- Colonialist versus non-colonialist nations and the NDR.
- Transformation in and of:
  - SADC;
  - Africa;
  - The international order;
  - UN, and
  - International monetary structures (especially the way aid is distributed and debt is scheduled).
- Political alignment with progressive (left wing) nations and organisations.
- Consolidation of powerbases in areas important to the NDR.
- The building and maintenance of the “moral high ground”.
- Achievement of 1994 settlement as political capital “sold” internationally.

The *ideological cluster* is concerned with the NDR itself, what its ideological cornerstones are and how it develops as ideology. In general the hard core of the ideology stays the same while different contexts at different times are emphasised or de-emphasised. Imre Lakatos (1970:91-196) describes a paradigm (or in Lakatos's words, a "research programme") as consisting of a hard core surrounded by theoretical models, acting as a protective belt. In the same manner in the normative dimension of the NDR the ANC defines the ideal outcome or core of the NDR<sup>44</sup> as "the creation of a united, non-racial, non-sexist and democratic society... and the liberation of Africans in particular and black people in general from political and economic bondage" (ANC, 2000a), while the SACP defines the ideal as the socialist South Africa to which we aspire [by way of] ... a national democratic revolution (NDR) as the most direct route" (SACP, 2007b).<sup>45</sup> This is the hard core (reference Lakatos) of the NDR and in order to analyse this core the following elements are included for analysis in this cluster:

- Critique against apartheid and colonialism (worldwide).
- Colonialism of a special type in South Africa as exploitation and capitalism as a form of exploitation on an international level.
- Non-racial, non-sexist, democratic and developmental framework as a remedy.
- The differences between the ANC, the SACP and the ANCYL.
- Defining the moral high ground.

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<sup>44</sup> More about the core and adaptable context in Chapter 7.

<sup>45</sup> It is very important to note the difference in the formulation of the outcome of the NDR. There exists a debate surrounding the NDR. In short it is the NDR vs. the SDR or Socialist Democratic Revolution.

- “The battle of ideas”.
- “Strategy and tactics revisited”.

Importantly for this and the other clusters the difference in the formulation of the outcome of the NDR according to the ANC and the SACP has to be noted. A debate exists in the tripartite alliance and the broad liberationist church surrounding the NDR and, after more than 17 years, its shortcomings in the areas of economic transformation. This has lent credence to the arguments of the ANCYL and the SDR or Socialist Democratic Revolution. Where this debate becomes relevant, it will be noted in this and other chapters. The clusters above are the elements as they will be analysed in this and the following two chapters. In this chapter (5) only the analytical dimension is relevant. The dimension and elements pertinent to this chapter are displayed in Figure 16 below.

**Figure 16: The Analytical Dimension of the NDR**

DIMENSIONS OF IDEOLOGY	HISTORICAL CLUSTER	POLITICAL CLUSTER	ECONOMIC CLUSTER	SOCIAL CLUSTER	INTERNATIONAL CLUSTER	IDEOLOGICAL CLUSTER
<b>ANALYTICAL DIMENSION (CRITICAL OF STATUS QUO)</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• History of colonialism (of a special type) and apartheid.</li> <li>• Patterns of under development and super exploitation.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Political suppression and super exploitation</li> <li>• Institutionalised formal racial discrimination</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Colonial and apartheid production relations</li> <li>• Critique against capitalism.</li> <li>• Rich (white) versus poor (black).</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Social inequality</li> <li>• Loss of human dignity and super exploitation of some in society</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Apartheid as crime against humanity.</li> <li>• Rich (North) vs. Poor (South).</li> <li>• Colonialist vs. Non-colonialist nations</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Critique against apartheid, and colonialism (worldwide).</li> <li>• Colonialism of a special sort (SA), exploitation and capitalism as a form of exploitation.</li> </ul>

The analysis of the clusters and elements above will in each chapter be conducted with the aid of various theories that will provide insight as well as assistance in the eventual formulation of conclusions. In this chapter the theories that are especially important are those concerning the Marxist interpretation of history.

### **5.3 ANALYTICAL DIMENSION: THEORETICAL POINTS OF DEPARTURE**

The basis of Marxism and its analysis of history can be found in economic determinism wherein “production” and “mode of exchange” (to quote Engels) is a determining factor of all human interaction and also the very reason for change: “the ultimate causes of all social changes and political revolutions are to be sought...in changes in the mode of production and exchange” (Engels, 1880).The result of the economic motive for all things is a permanent struggle between those who have (the means of production and thus the means to exploit) and those who do not have these advantages. The result is a struggle between classes: “The history of all hitherto existing society is the history of class struggles.... in a word, oppressor and oppressed” (Marx,1992:3).

Guiding this struggle is a natural process of progression called the Historical Dialectic or dialectic materialism. This process, according to the Marxist perspective, is an inescapable law/process of nature consisting of a *thesis* that is a current point in history with inherent flaws to which an *antithesis* (improvement) is developed through struggle. By the same process of struggle a *synthesis* (resolution) is reached, but for various reasons this synthesis is corrupt and so becomes a new thesis to which an antithesis must be developed; thus the process repeats itself, only to be concluded upon the attainment of eventual perfection. This state of perfection is nothing less than “true socialism” or communism, and a classless state in which all are equal. (It is this paradigm that has been rejected in theory and in practice by most in the Global Society of States, marked by events such as the end of the Cold War, the collapse of the Eastern European Communist block and the USSR, as well as widespread economic reform from Cuba to China.) Central constructs in this theory are:

- The perception that most human actions have an economic or at least an advantage seeking motive;
- the necessity of a struggle to progress;
- that the root of the struggle is situated in the differences between classes, and
- the root of class is situated in (private) ownership; furthermore,
- that the solution is an ultimate classless (equal) communist society.

### **5.3.1 Colonialism of a Special Type, a Marxist Construct**

According to the SACP (1989), White South Africans on the one hand enjoyed “political power, racial privileges and the lion's share of the country's wealth. On the other hand, the overwhelming black majority of our country is subjected to extreme national oppression, poverty, super-exploitation, complete denial of basic human rights, and political domination”. The ANC (2007a) adds the patriarchic nature of the South African society as a third layer of exploitation, with women then becoming the de facto lowest class in any societal structure because of their gender. These ideas are also very profound within Socialist Feminism which examines the link between the oppression of women and other societal discrimination such as racism. (Section 3.3.1 in Chapter 3 describes Socialist Feminism; the idea of women as the most exploited class in society is rooted in this tract of feminism.)

In other words colonialism of a special type is a compressed system of super exploitation wherein the most exploited group was penalised twice (and women three times), firstly on the basis of race in the apartheid or colonial system and then on the basis of (socio-economic) class in the capitalist system, while women were then also exploited on the basis of gender. The South African case is unique; the class behind most of the exploitation does not reside in another country as had been the case during most of the imperialist-colonial period when for instance Britain as a Colonial power was far removed from its colonies in the Far East and America. In South Africa the super exploiter lived and according to the NDR still lives in the same country as the super

exploited. This system gave rise to vast inequality<sup>46</sup> that needed, and still needs redress. The super exploiter can further be easily identified and differentiated from the super exploited on the basis of first and foremost race, language, culture and importantly in a general sense, the difference in wealth.

It is important to understand that the Marxist theory of history is inextricably linked to the fundamental precepts of the NDR. Colonialism of a special type (apartheid) and its legacy is the unacceptable thesis. Against this there has to be a struggle in order to develop an antithesis. This solution will according to the laws of Marx, still be flawed (the 1994 solution and even the NDR) and so by way of a further struggle a synthesis can develop, but for the communist the only lasting synthesis is communism, the most developed form of socialism. This was attested to by Blade Nzimande (2011a), Secretary General of the SACP: “we will ensure that we consolidate and deepen the national democratic revolution as our most direct route to a socialist South Africa”.

These theoretical perspectives on history have more broadly been anchored in chapters 2 and 3 and are part and parcel of the vocabulary of the NDR. Understanding the theory and its broader historical, ontological and epistemological references as explained in the chapters mentioned, will assist the understanding of the analytical dimension of the NDR as it is broken down into various clusters in the next section.

#### **5.4 THE HISTORICAL CLUSTER**

In the historical cluster relations and connections of issues in a chronological line of past, present and future are analysed. As such it is clear that Chapter 4, in which the development of the national democratic revolution within the South African historical context has been analysed, serves as a special reference for this cluster. Some of the elements to be discussed will echo in other clusters and other chapters; cross references will be made when this occurs.

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<sup>46</sup>To illustrate this inequality, the Gini coefficient for South Africa is +/- 0,6. Along with Brazil, South Africa has one of the most unequal income distributions in the world and definitely the most unequal society in Africa. (A score of 0 indicates an equal society) Further analysis shows that inequality is even higher amongst African households than amongst white households (UNDP, 2012).

#### **5.4.1 The History of Colonialism (of a Special Type) and Apartheid**

The succinct view of the ANC on colonialism of a special type and its legacy can be found in the Strategy and Tactics document adopted at the 2007 Polokwane conference of the organisation. This document is the incarnation of the Strategy and Tactics of the ANC that can be traced back to 1969, which will again be reviewed at the National Conference of the organisation in 2012. “Colonialism of a Special Type contained within itself contradictions that could not be resolved through reform. It had to be destroyed. As such, the system we seek to create will stand or fall on the basis of whether it is able to eliminate the main antagonisms of this system...Our definition of Colonialism of a Special Type identifies three interrelated antagonistic contradictions: class, race and patriarchal relations of power. These antagonisms found expression in national oppression based on race; class super exploitation directed against Black workers on the basis of race; and triple oppression of the mass of women based on their race, their class and their gender” (ANC, 2007a).

The term “super exploitation” is important and will be encountered throughout the following chapters. The ANC explains super exploitation as a triple exploitation in all sectors by one class of the other, one race of the other and one gender of the other. This exploitation was formalised into the policies and societal structure of apartheid.

**The origin of the system** is traced back to Jan van Riebeeck’s arrival in 1652. According to the SACP (1989) “from the time of the first white settlement, established by the Dutch East India Company over 300 years ago, the pattern was set for the ruthless exploitation of the black people of our country, the seizure of their lands and the enforced harnessing of their labour power. The Dutch made war on the Khoi people of the Cape, whom they contemptuously called 'Hottentots', and rejected their appeals for peace and friendship. The San people, the so-called 'Bushmen', were all but exterminated. Slaves were imported from Malaya and elsewhere. White settlers gradually penetrated into the interior. They drove the indigenous people from the best farm lands and seized their cattle. They subdued them by armed conquest and forced

them into their service – at first through direct slavery, later through a harsh system of pass laws and taxation” (O’Malley,2012&SACP, 1989).

Furthermore, according to the historic vision of the SACP, “colonialist propaganda” emphasised “the negative features of traditional African society”. Yet when “the colonists began their ceaseless acts of armed aggression, the African people resisted bravely to defend their cattle and their land from robbery and their people from enslavement...They took up the spear against the bullets of the invader with his horses and wagons”. The downfall of the African communities however was due to the disunity among the various African peoples that prevented the development of a common front of resistance. “Time and again in their wars of conquest against African peoples, the colonisers were able to play off one community against another and to enrol African auxiliaries” (SACP, 1989; SACP, 1962).

During the last quarter of the 19th century the development of the capitalist mining industry on the diamond and goldfields of South Africa had profound and far-reaching consequences. “British and European finance houses exported vast sums of investment capital to South Africa. To seize complete control over the goldfields, British imperialism waged a successful war against the Boers. The gold mining companies were now the real rulers of the country. They had only one interest in the Africans – to force them into labour on the mines at minimum rates of pay” (SACP, 1989; SACP, 1962). According to the NDR, “capital” in the form of the mine bosses found the harsh colonial policy of the Boer Republics to their liking and the poll tax and pass systems were supported, expanded and the dispossession of Africans was speeded up. In relation to this British imperialism and Afrikaner nationalism found common ground and so the basis was laid for the establishment of the Union of South Africa in 1910 (SACP, 1989; SACP, 1962).

The Union, according to the SACP (1989), accommodated the “political conditions for the construction and development of a national capitalist economy and the national institutions of bourgeois political domination. The economic power and political influence of British imperialism were not abolished with the establishment of the Union of South

Africa in 1910. They were now exercised indirectly through the political structures of the new state monopolized by the descendants of European settlers. These new national structures were based on the effects of centuries of colonial conquest and land dispossession. They reproduced, in changed forms, the essential features of colonial domination that had existed before the Union of South Africa” (SACP, 1989; SACP, 1962).

This perpetuated the “inferior colonial status of Africans” that were recognized only as the objects of administration, without any civic rights. Political domination and exploitation were transferred to economic domination and exploitation. “There was a white monopoly of capitalist, means of mining, industrial and agricultural production and of distribution. There was also a virtual white monopoly of skilled and supervisory jobs in the division of labour. Whites had privileged access to trading and petty commodity production. The 1913 Land Act, confining land ownership for the African majority to a tiny arid proportion of the country, legally entrenched and intensified the results of centuries of colonial land dispossession” (SACP, 1989; SACP, 1962).

According to the SACP, the South African capitalist state did not emerge as a result of an internal popular anti-feudal revolution. It was imposed from above and from the outside. From its establishment right through to the present, South African capitalism has depended heavily on the imperialist centres<sup>47</sup> (SACP, 1989; SACP, 1962). Furthermore, it was capital from Europe that financed the beginning of the mining industry. It was the colonial state that provided the resources to build the basic infrastructure – railways, roads, harbours, posts and telegraphs, and it was within a colonial setting that the emerging South African capitalist class entrenched and extended the racially exclusive system to increase its opportunities for profit. The racial division of labour, the battery of racist laws and political exclusiveness guaranteed that. Flowing from these patterns of domination, which originated before the Union of 1910, apartheid was eventually constructed. This is why apartheid became known as

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<sup>47</sup> The quotation here is meant to draw attention to references to theories of underdevelopment and dependency as well as section 5.4.2 of this chapter.

colonialism of a special type; class and race oppression became synonymous (SACP, 1989; SACP, 1962).

According to the NDR, this is the course of history that resulted in the super exploitation of the black majority. In this historical perspective many of the other elements that will be analysed in this and other clusters, as well as in other chapters, can be identified. Some of the more pertinent for the historical cluster are the critique of colonialism in general, as well as a severe critique of capitalism and therefore also an aversion to colonialist, imperialist and capitalist “powers” or nations that directly or indirectly supported the system of apartheid.

According to the normative dimension of the NDR, it is clear that these international factors contributed to a national (South African) system of repression resulting in severe inequality, which needs to be addressed (SACP, 1989; SACP, 1962). “The hierarchy of disadvantage suffered under apartheid will naturally inform the magnitude of impact of the programmes of change and the attention paid particularly to those who occupied the lowest rungs on the apartheid social ladder... Implementing these corrective measures requires more than just references to general political rights. A continuing element of democratic transformation should be a systematic programme to correct the historical injustice and affirm those deliberately excluded under apartheid – on the basis of race, class and gender” (ANC,2007a). According to Duvenhage (2007a:378), in the light of the historical inequality in South Africa resulting from colonialism of a special type, the national project of the government, rooted in the NDR, is political transformation. After 1994 “the struggle” for political freedom translated into political transformation, which is occurring too slowly in the fields of social and economic transformation and that is why, according to the ANC, a second transformation (actually only a recommitment to the second phase of the NDR) is necessary (Radebe, 2012). This is an effort to redress this inequality of the past and the legacy of colonialism of a special type. “From an ANC perspective transformation is nothing else than the continuation of the National Democratic Revolution, according to which the state, economy and society must be radically transformed” (Duvenhage, 2007a:378).

#### 5.4.2 Patterns of Underdevelopment and Super Exploitation

Super exploitation and the history described above, during which the black majority was seen and used as cheap, exploitable labour, nothing more than a commodity stripped of human rights and dignity so that it could be owned (in the triple [super] exploitative system of patriarchy, capitalism and racism) resulted in patterns of underdevelopment.

Thus the history of worldwide colonialism and colonialism of a special type in South Africa is, according to the NDR, a result of patterns of underdevelopment and super exploitation. Dependency theories that deal with these issues are according to Chilcote (1974:7) grounded in the writings of Lenin and Trotsky; from these foundations three theoretical directions can be discerned. The first, established in Brazil in the 1950s, deals with nationalism and development, the second direction is directly related to Marxism and deals with international capitalism in its “monopolistic” (colonial) phase. The third direction is closely related to Fernando Cardoso and his attempt to link the international environment with developmental constraints inside a country. Baylis *et al.* (2011:251-252) and Vernengo (2004:2-13) describe the main modern theoretical traditions of dependency theory as structuralist theories on the one hand and Marxist traditions on the other.

Structuralist theory builds amongst others on the work of Prebisch, Furtado and Pinto and considers dependency as the result of a relationship between countries with different levels of industrialisation, and emphasises internal developmental factors rather than external factors. The Marxist school, of pertinent importance to the NDR, considers the capitalist motive of the necessity for surplus value in the international system as the reason for unequal relations between states. According to this perspective, the core of industrialised, more developed countries exploits the periphery of developing countries. These industrialised countries were (and according to some still are) the colonial (or neo-colonial) powers while the developing countries that were colonies are still bound in unequal relationships that prevent them from developing. Thus the existence and continuation of underdevelopment is primarily attributable to the

historical evolution of a highly unequal international capitalist system of rich country-poor country relationships (Ake, 1981:55-65; D'Anieri, 2011:70).

Joel Migdal (1988:52) equates the expansion of European trade in the late fifteenth century with "attacks from fierce and plundering conquerors". The economic dispensation thus brought about is still active today. "Five of the top ten banks, six of the top ten pharmaceutical-biotech companies, four of the top ten telecommunications companies, seven of the top information technology companies, four of the top gas and oil companies, nine out of the top ten software companies, four of the top ten insurance companies, and nine of the top ten general retail companies are U.S. multinational corporations. Behind this concentration of corporate power is the power of individual capitalists. The world's three richest individuals have more wealth than the combined GDP of the 48 poorest nations" (Iadicola, 2008:14). This perspective states, as reason for the inequality between states as well as in states, not the lack of savings or the inequality in work ethics, not civil war or drought, but capitalism and the few suppressing the many through an international system of entrenched rules and institutions designed to ensure that the system survives. In the words of André Gunder Frank (1966:2): "contemporary underdevelopment is in large part the product of past and continuing economic and other relations between the satellite underdeveloped and the now-developed metropolitan countries".

Regarding the history of South Africa: "The colonial power, in our case, was not located in a relatively distant metro pole, but within the same territorial space as the colonized majority. This internal colonialism was based on the reality of a relatively developed domestic capitalist economy and a powerful, local monopoly-capital ruling-class. The democratic breakthrough of 1994 represented the defeat of a particular form of government (white minority rule), but not the defeat of monopoly capital" (SACP, 2008).

In conclusion, colonialism of a special type, apartheid as well as neo-colonialism, is the result of patterns of underdevelopment resulting from the rampant capitalistic international system replicated on the intra-state level. Theories explaining these

phenomena can all be traced back to a Marxist perspective on history, the economy and the oppression of women, and include Socialist Feminism and various theories from the Marxist school within the dependency theory.

## **5.5 THE POLITICAL CLUSTER**

The *political cluster* as defined previously in this chapter centres fundamentally around the power to allocate or withhold resources ranging from types of resources that possess an inherent economic and monetary value such as land and mining rights to less tangible resources such as access, representation and agency in various systems. A cornerstone of colonialism of a special type was the monopoly on power held by a certain group to the exclusion of all others. This was political suppression, without which super exploitation was impossible.

### **5.5.1 Political Suppression and Super Exploitation**

The ANC describes this power relationship of political suppression in the Strategy and Tactics of the Morogoro conference (1969) as follows: “South Africa was conquered by force [by the Whites] and is today ruled by force. At moments when white autocracy feels itself threatened, it does not hesitate to use the gun. When the gun is not in use, legal and administrative terror, fear, social and economic pressures, complacency and confusion generated by propaganda and ‘education’, are the devices brought into play in an attempt to harness the people’s opposition. Behind these devices hovers force. Whether in reserve or in actual employment, force is ever present and this has been so since the white man came to Africa” (ANC, 1969).

The most important instruments of the “force” of especially the political suppression spoken of above, were the laws that formed the structure of apartheid. The most important of these were:

- Prohibition of Mixed Marriages Act, Act No. 55 of 1949, that prohibited marriages between white people and people of other races;

- The Immorality Amendment Act, Act No. 21 of 1950, amended in 1957 (Act 23), that prohibited adultery, attempted adultery or related immoral acts (extra-marital sex) between white people and people of other races;
- The Population Registration Act, Act No. 30 of 1950, that led to the creation of a national register in which every person's race was recorded;
- The Group Areas Act, Act No. 41 of 1950, that forced physical separation between races by creating different residential areas for different races;
- The Suppression of Communism Act, Act No. 44 of 1950, that outlawed communism and the Communist Party in South Africa. This law defined communism very broadly, thereby including all groups and ideologies calling for radical change;
- The Bantu Building Workers Act, Act No. 27 of 1951, that allowed black artisans to work only within an area designated for blacks;
- The Separate Representation of Voters Act, Act No. 46 of 1951, together with the 1956 amendment, which led to the removal of Coloureds from the common voters' roll;
- The Prevention of Illegal Squatting Act, Act No. 52 of 1951, that gave the Minister of Native Affairs the power to remove people from land and to resettle these displaced persons in camps;
- The Bantu Authorities Act, Act No. 68 of 1951, that provided for the establishment of black homelands and regional authorities;
- The Natives Laws Amendment Act of 1952, which substantially narrowed the definition of the category of blacks who had the right of permanent residence in towns; The Natives (Abolition of Passes and Co-ordination of Documents) Act, Act No. 67 of 1952, commonly known as the Pass Laws, that forced black people to carry identification with them at all times;
- The Native Labour (Settlement of Disputes) Act of 1953, that prohibited strike action by blacks;
- The Bantu Education Act, Act No. 47 of 1953, establishing a Black Education Department which would compile a curriculum that suited the "nature and requirements of the black people". The rationale of this department was to prevent

Africans receiving an education that would lead them to aspire to positions they would not be allowed to hold in society, and

- The Reservation of Separate Amenities Act, Act No. 49 of 1953, that forced segregation in all public amenities, public buildings, and public transport with the aim of eliminating contact between whites and other races (African History, 2012a).

According to the NDR these laws, along with other “petty apartheid laws”, formalised political suppression of one race by another so that super exploitation could occur. This system was a formalised political system of racial discrimination.

### **5.5.2 Institutionalised Formal Racial Discrimination**

Against the backdrop of the previous section, the NDR by voice of the ANC’s (2000b) discussion document entitled “*Uprooting the daemon of Racism*” defines racism firstly as an ideology: “Generally, racism refers to a system of belief [ideology] that discriminates against people on the basis of certain physical attributes or origins. Popular usage also refers to situations in which people make social distinctions between members of groups who look physically different, speak a different language, has different religions/faiths or belong to separate nations” (ANC, 2000b). Furthermore according to the ANC the most harmful cases of racism are forms where racism has become institutionalised, in other words, part of the laws of a system (as was the case in South Africa). The main example of this was the colonial period when the “subjugation and enslavement” of indigenous peoples in Asia, Africa and the Americas were seen as legitimate. The ANC takes the point of view of Marx on colonialist imperialism:

“...the transformation of the individualized and scattered means of production into socially concentrated ones, of the pigmy property of the many into the huge property of the few, the expropriation of the great mass of the people from the soil, from the means of subsistence, and from the means of labour, this fearful and painful expropriation of the mass of the people forms the prelude to the history of capital. It comprises a series of forcible methods...The expropriation of the immediate producers was accomplished

with merciless vandalism and under the stimulus of passions the most infamous, the most sordid, the pettiest, the most meanly odious” (Marx, 1887:535).

In this sense the NDR regards the ideology of racism as social Darwinism applied to black-white relations with the black people placed on a lower hierarchical level. “As a political ideology, it was therefore a component part and a reflection of exploitative social relations between the colonizers and the colonized, a form of expression of these relations and a means for their justification and perpetuation. It encompassed actual structural relations between the colonizers and the indigenous people, as well as cultural and psychological justifications and attitudes which sought to explain these structural relations. Part of this racial ideology was religion that served as a moral justification for actions taken and also excluded blacks from the kingdom of God” (ANC, 2000b). (Afrikaner Calvinism or “white theology” is a unique cultural development that combined Afrikaner Nationalism and Calvinist theology to provide this moral justification. *Credo van `n Afrikaner* (1975) by A.P. Treurnicht can be regarded as a seminal work in this tradition.)

In South Africa this ideology of racial superiority became overt in 1948 after the victory of the National party when the government “just as the government of Nazi Germany consciously engineered political, social and economic life around concepts of racial and ethnic identities” (ANC, 2000b). The framework of laws described in the section above gave the racial ideology in South Africa form and this system became known as apartheid. Apartheid colonialism brought about such devastating consequences for Black communities because it ordered the ownership and control of wealth in such a manner that those communities were deliberately excluded and neglected (ANC, 2007a). The “national character” of the NDR, according to the ANC (2000b), was and still is therefore adamant about the resolution of the antagonistic contradictions between the oppressed majority and their oppressors; as well as the resolution of the national grievance arising from colonial relations. “Practical class politics is always a matter of alliance, and in different circumstances, different alliances are called for. Communists

commonly regard an alliance between workers and peasants as normal” (CU<sup>48</sup>, 2011a). Therefore the resolution to the problems confronting the NDR is a class alliance and this alliance is nowadays formulated around the principles and goals of the NDR, constructed between the ANC, the SACP and COSATU as well as various affiliated organisations.

In conclusion, according to the NDR institutionalised racism – racial discrimination supported by law – is the result of a racial ideology that has at its core a form of social Darwinism whereby black people are hierarchically placed lower than whites. Forms of this ideology resulted in colonialism and slavery and form integral parts of the history of capitalism. Without the production relationships based on racism, established in the colonial period, in the international system as well as in various (dependent, less developed) states, capitalism would be unable to flourish.

## **5.6 THE ECONOMIC CLUSTER**

The economic cluster is defined by the dispersion of direct material wealth or the manner for access or limited access to direct prosperity. The sections above have a direct bearing on the manner in which the NDR looks at the access to wealth in South Africa being divided. Firstly colonialism of a special type is the result of a corrupt international capitalist system, which secondly perpetuates an unequal dependency relationship between and within states, resulting in the enrichment of a few capitalists to the detriment of a vast majority. This system resulted in social evils such as slavery, apartheid and the unequal distribution of the natural wealth within a country. “It was within the above context that, after the Second World War, with the increased industrialization of the South African economy, the ‘nationalised’ apartheid state entities in the energy, transport, postal and telecommunications sectors emerged. These ‘nationalised’ entities became the bedrock of the economy, racialised employment creation and skills development for the apartheid state. It was for these reasons that these ‘nationalised’ parastatals also became the major training ground for the

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<sup>48</sup> Communist University

production of the white artisan as part of consolidating bourgeois rule” (Nzimande, 2011c).

### **5.6.1 Colonial and Apartheid Production Relations**

The Communist Youth League (as part of the SACP and “the NDR protagonists”) regards the result of the colonial and apartheid production relations as reflected in the inequality of South African society. “South Africa is one of the most unequal societies among middle-income countries. Income and opportunities are unevenly distributed in racial, class, gender and geographic terms. Despite being classified as a middle-income country South Africa has incomparable mass unemployment and poverty. The benefits of economic growth are not equitably shared. Wealth is not trickling down to the poorest half of the population; the reverse is true” (YCL<sup>49</sup>, 2011:4-5). According to the Young Communists the systemic structure of racial capitalism (colonial and apartheid production relations or capitalism of a special type) explains the mass poverty and unemployment of the majority of the population. Furthermore the systems (historical, political, and economic both national and international) that have been described in the paragraphs above, led in South Africa to an economic system of “racial capitalism [that] was built on the back of denying black people political rights, [the] systematic destruction of their economic wellbeing [and their] exploitation and oppression” (YCL<sup>50</sup>, 2011:4-5). This statement leads to both a broader critique against capitalism in general as well as a critique against capitalism in South Africa.

### **5.6.2 Critique against Capitalism**

Capitalism is the root of all evil: the NDR finds its cornerstones on this subject amongst others in the perspective of Marx (1887) and Lenin (1916). (Refer to Chapter 3 for more detail.) “As soon as this process of transformation [from the old society] has sufficiently decomposed the old society from top to bottom, as soon as the labourers are turned into proletarians, their means of labour into capital [their effort that they cherish been disenfranchised] , as soon as the capitalist mode of production stands on its own feet,

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<sup>49</sup> Young Communist League

<sup>50</sup> Young Communist League

then the further socialization of labour and further transformation of the land and other means of production into socially exploited and, therefore, common means of production, as well as the further expropriation of private proprietors, takes a new form. That which is now to be expropriated is no longer the labourer working for himself, but the capitalist exploiting many labourers. This expropriation is accomplished by the action of the immanent laws of capitalistic production itself, by the centralization of capital. One capitalist always kills many..." Marx (1887:535). In *Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism* (1916) Lenin builds on Marx's ideas: "Typical of the latest stage of capitalism, when monopolies rule, is the export of capital...for both uneven development and a semi-starvation level of existence of the masses are fundamental and inevitable conditions and constitute premises of this mode of production" (Lenin,1916:38). The exploitative nature of capitalism in one village gives rise to the need to dominate more, to spread not only throughout a country but to dominate the world "through imperialistic" wars (Iraq and Afghanistan) and expand markets for both import and export of labour and goods. Colonialism spread the capitalist's need to have more and eventually it spread the system to Africa were the particular form of racial capitalism in South Africa became known as apartheid.

In South Africa racial capitalism, more commonly known as colonialism of a special type, was institutionalised along the various lines described in previous sections. According to the NDR, by way of the SACP (2011b), there are however two paths of development:

- "the capitalist path, the path of the exploitation of the peoples which creates great dangers for imperialist wars, for workers' [and] people's democratic rights..."; "...the path that South Africa was on until 1994 and to a certain extent still remains on..."
- "...and the path of liberation with immense possibilities for the promotion of the interests of the workers and the peoples, for the achievement of social justice, people's sovereignty, peace and progress. The path of the workers' and people's struggles, the path of socialism *and communism*, which is historically necessary.". This last path is the path of the NDR.

### **5.6.3 Rich (White) versus Poor (Black)**

The divide between rich and poor in South Africa was fundamentally affected by the exploitative nature of capitalism. "The economic structure of the South African apartheid system was influenced by the racist ideology (refer to section 5.5.2) and vice versa. This white racial stereotype ideology was used as an instrument of the accumulation of wealth by the white minority of monopoly capitalists. Consequently, the majority of blacks were not given access to the means and instruments of production. This situation sustained skewed power relations in favour of the white minority (ANC, 2000b).

The result of this is that society in South Africa is divided between the rich, predominantly white minority and the poor, predominantly black majority. In Marxist terms the proletariat is black and the bourgeoisie is white. Given the history of the country, high levels of stress exist between these groups. This fact is openly articulated by the ANC Youth League (2011b:2-4): "Vestiges of apartheid and colonial economic patterns, ownership and control remain intact despite the attainment of political freedom by the ANC led liberation movement... As a semi-colony and like all colonies across the world, South Africa's economy in the repressive years of white supremacist domination was positioned by the coloniser and imperialist forces as supplier of raw materials and consumer of imported finished goods and services... This colonial feature of the South African economy remains intact 17 years after the democratic breakthrough...South Africa confronts three major socio-economic challenges. These are the inter-related phenomena of poverty, inequality and unemployment...The deepening social inequality, poverty and worsening unemployment situation shows that many of our people have not enjoyed the economic benefits of our hard-won political freedom. These socio-economic disparities have partitioned our country into two parts: the South Africa that shines with its predominantly white gated leafy suburbs, glittering shopping malls, conspicuous consumption, opulent restaurants, private schools etc. And there is another South Africa profiled by black squatter camps, homelessness, poverty, unemployment, and casualised labour" ...furthermore... "Inequality, poverty and unemployment in South Africa remain largely racialised and gendered. The high level of inequalities in our

country bears a persistent racial and gender undertone” (ANCYL, 2011b:4-5). Despite the democratic breakthrough of 1994 “real transformation” has not occurred. The majority of whites remain rich while the majority of blacks remain poor. This distribution of income is the result of the unfair and corrupt international capitalist system and its local variant apartheid.

In conclusion, theories of Marx (*The net of the world market*, 1887) and Lenin (*Imperialism the Highest stage of Capitalism*, 1916) on colonialism played an important part in the formulation of the NDR. According to this paradigm, the global system of capitalism defines an international system consisting of a global exploiting – and global exploited – class. This system needs to perpetuate itself by consuming more and more and finding more and more resources, labour and eventually more and more markets to drown in consumerism. During this process a variant of capitalism based upon racial discrimination arose in South Africa. This racial capitalism became known amongst the broad liberationist church as colonialism of a special type, known as apartheid by the rest of the world. Apartheid promoted vast inequalities in wealth that persist to this day on the basis of skin colour, and subsequent conflict persists between the rich white and the poor black classes.

## **5.7 THE SOCIAL CLUSTER**

The social cluster is defined by elements that concern the basic physical and mental state of being of people in society and/or various communities in South African society, as well as the relationships of these elements to each other. The term ‘Social equality’ refers to a social state in which all people within a specific society have equal rights – or access – to security, voting, freedom of speech and assembly, property, and equal access to social goods and services. Also included are concepts of economic equity such as access to education, health care and other social securities. As has been explained above, racist capitalism skewed economic development and the dispersion of wealth; the same ideology also produced vast social inequality.

### 5.7.1 Social Inequality in South Africa

At their 11th congress in 2002, after having referenced the progress made after the “strategic defeat of white minority rule of 1994” the SACP turned their attention to “the systemic inequalities and underlying structural crises that we have inherited... that are proving ...to be extremely stubborn”. “The economy is characterized by sluggish growth, continuing formal sector job losses; deepening poverty for many in the midst of persisting high inequality; disappointing levels of Foreign Direct Investment (FDI); significant capital outflows from domestic and foreign multinationals; and vulnerability to speculative movements on currency and capital markets. Notwithstanding the defeat of the apartheid state and many outstanding achievements by the progressive forces since 1994, fundamentally the prevailing growth and accumulation path will not be able to resolve the systemic, structural crises of under-development that continue to beset our society” SACP (2002). By 2012 (10 years later) “the stubborn structural crises” had forced the ANC to adopt a New Growth Path. (The NGP is the ANC government’s “new” strategy for a more developed democratic, cohesive, equitable and greener South African economy.) The reasons given for this new growth path were: “serious challenges of unemployment, poverty and inequality [that] still remain in our country...Inequalities arise from the unequal distribution of wealth and education shaped under apartheid as well as from high unemployment and an unusually skewed wage scale by international standards. We also inherited from apartheid some of the highest levels of joblessness in the world...The share of the working-age population with a job fell steadily from the late 1970’s to 1994, from around three in five to a mere two in five people having jobs” (Zuma, 2012). Obviously government could not sufficiently address the problem between 2002 and 2010. This, according to the SACP (2002), is the result “of the entrenchment of racial-capitalist and patriarchal power, the exposure of South Africa to the globalist capitalist instability, patterns of underdevelopment and the AIDS pandemic” (SACP, 2002). Complicating the transformation [solution of the problem] of the country is the “triple legacy” that gives South Africa “a unique character”. This triple legacy can be described as follows:

- Colonial dispossession: In our case [South Africa] (although some of our indigenous peoples have suffered complete, or near complete genocide), the larger proportion of indigenous peoples survived as an overwhelming (but thoroughly dispossessed) majority.
- Partly linked to this is the prolonged colonial fostering, perversion and aggravation of traditional coercive patriarchy. This, as we have just argued, has placed an impossible burden on women and young people in carrying responsibility for social reproduction; and
- The relatively advanced levels of capitalist development - and, therefore, of relatively advanced levels of urbanisation, proletarianisation and the commoditisation of basic needs. These have left the great majority of our people more or less entirely dependent on the capitalist market for work, and for means of survival (food, housing, loans, access to land, and transport (SACP, 2002).

These three factors have led to the loss of human dignity and the exploitation of some workers in general, blacks in general, women in particular as well as the youth in particular. This will be further explained in the next section.

### **5.7.2 Loss of Human Dignity and Super Exploitation of Some in Society**

Thabo Mbeki (1998:6) described South Africa as “a country of two nations”. In his address at the opening of the debate in the National Assembly on reconciliation and nation building the then deputy president described these two nations: “One of these nations is white, relatively prosperous, regardless of gender or geographic dispersal. It has ready access to a developed economic, physical, educational, communication and other infrastructure. The second and larger nation of South Africa is black and poor, with the worst affected being women in the rural areas, the black rural population in general and the disabled. This nation lives under conditions of a grossly underdeveloped economic, physical, educational, communication and other infrastructure. It has virtually no possibility to exercise what in reality amounts to a theoretical right to equal opportunity, with that right being equal within this black nation only to the extent that it is equally incapable of realization” (Mbeki, 1998:6). According to the NDR, the most

exploited in society are the women and the youth; this exploitation is based upon race, gender and capital. The second most exploited group are those exploited on the basis of only race and capital. The class responsible for most of the exploiting in South Africa (and the world) based upon systems of patriarchy, race and capitalism, is the white male.

According to the ANCYL (2011b), “real economic transformation”, in the post-1994 democratic state has not achieved “anything substantial” to address these issues “due to the fact that the economic policy direction taken in the dawn years was not about fundamental transformation, but empowerment/enrichment meant to empower a few black aspirant capitalists, without real transfer of wealth to the people as a whole. The empowerment legislations, particularly Black Economic Empowerment policies and various sector transformation charters adopted by the democratic government dismally failed to substantially and sustainably empower [the] majority of the population” (ANCYL, 2011b).

According to the ANCYL (2011b), the South African government intended to redistribute 30% of the land by 2014, but in 2011 only 4% had been redistributed. According to government’s objectives, 26% of the mines were supposed to be owned and controlled by historically disadvantaged individuals by 2014, but in 2011 less than 5% of the mines and mining industry were owned by historically disadvantaged individuals, most of whom are still indebted to the banks. Ownership of the financial sector and services is still a reservoir of white people and this also applies to other strategic sectors of the economy such as agriculture, retail and manufacturing. “The economy of South Africa continues to be controlled by those empowered by colonial-cum-apartheid circumstances and policies. The approach adopted by the democratic government in the first 17 years will never change these realities...” (ANCYL, 2011b). A further more radical social and economic transformation is needed to address the issues. Both the ANCYL, COSATU, important members of the ANC, various provinces under ANC control and the SACP have already in principle committed to policies of nationalisation. “The focus therefore should be on decisive transformation of the

economy into an economy which will be inclusive and benefit all South Africans in a sustainable manner, whilst opening space for the upliftment of the African continent. This can only happen through transfer of wealth from those who currently own to the majority with concurrent efforts to create more wealth for all South Africans to benefit” (ANCYL, 2011b).

In conclusion, South African society is characterised by vast inequality in the economic sphere that is the outcome of a racist ideology resulting in colonialism of a special type. The inequality in the economic sphere has translated into inequality in the access to education, health services, security, and other social necessities that have not been provided since the political victory in 1994. The first economic priorities set by the government of 1994 and subsequent governments are now seen as insufficient in dealing with the inequality caused by apartheid. The Zuma presidency is being criticised by its partners and co-authors of the NDR as being too elitist, empowering only a small black minority and calls are being made for a more radical interpretation<sup>51</sup> of the NDR. This would be the second phase of the revolution.

## **5.8 THE INTERNATIONAL CLUSTER**

This cluster is defined by the ideologies and theories (reconstructed in Chapter 3) that contributed to the NDR and from which the NDR also took, amongst others, a Marxist perspective of a “world revolution” in which international responsibility and solidarity are of paramount importance. According to the Path to Power, Program of action of the South African Communist Party as Adopted at the Seventh Congress in 1989, “The revolutionary struggle in South Africa is part of a world revolutionary process whose main tendency is the transition from capitalism to socialism, from societies based on exploitation to a new world free of exploitation and oppression. [This] present period within the broader epoch is characterised by:

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<sup>51</sup> A more radical interpretation includes the ANCYL’s campaign for economic liberation with calls for the nationalisation of mines, and the ANC’s proposal for the scrapping of the willing buyer willing seller clause in the constitution.

- competition between the two opposing social systems – capitalism and socialism – for the allegiance of humankind;
- more and more peoples taking the path of social progress;
- the struggle of the newly liberated countries for genuine, independent development; and
- the struggle for the final liquidation of the colonial system...” (SACP, 1989).

At the 1969 Morogoro conference of the ANC, in the strategy and tactics document of the organisation, this struggle [of which the NDR is an integral part] was contextualised in the following manner: “The struggle of the oppressed people of South Africa is taking place within an international context of transition to the Socialist system, of the breakdown of the colonial system as a result of national liberation and socialist revolutions, and the fight for social and economic progress by the people of the whole world” (ANC, 1969). In nearly all documents regarding the NDR a vision is explained placing South Africa within this post-colonial international context. So for instance in 2010 the ANC remarked on the global economic crisis: “The global financial crisis has brought into sharp relief the bankruptcy of neo-liberalism – its value system and also its policy failures. The infallibility of the hidden hand<sup>52</sup> of the market has been dealt a blow and so has approaches that seek to minimize the role of the state in the economy. This has opened up the space for progressive alternatives to once again be considered” (ANC, 2010). In his address to the 12th international meeting of the Communist and Workers Parties Jacob Zuma (2010) described “internationalism” as follows by quoting Moses Kotane: “The very nature of our struggle has taught our revolutionaries, communists and non-communists alike, the fundamental lessons of internationalism. We know full well from practical experience that our struggle against imperialism is one with that of our brothers fighting the same enemy in every country of the world” (Kotane as quoted by Zuma, 2010). Zuma continues: “This thesis [from Kotane] connects the international solidarity with the struggle for the abolition of apartheid and racism in our country. It is for this reason that we welcome our international guests, as your presence

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<sup>52</sup>Adam Smith (amongst others economists) uses this term to describe the self-regulating nature of the Market Place.

confirms our movement's internationalist and anti-imperialist character. This meeting reaffirms the bonds of comradeship and solidarity between the ANC and worker movements and communist parties internationally". The ANC, the SACP and their common ideology (the NDR) form part of the international revolution of progressive forces that are socialist in nature. This international alignment has not changed since the SACP and ANC first joined forces. The following sections will explain the finer points within this alignment in more detail.

### **5.8.1 Apartheid as Crime against Humanity**

The ANC (2000b) in the formulation on its position on racism quoted an address by Oliver Tambo delivered in 1986 on the origins and implications of apartheid. In Tambo's text reference is clearly made to the ideological origins of racism, and he further explains the origins of the ideals of racial purity as experienced in South Africa:

"As black South Africans, we have lived within the entrails of the racist beast for many a long year. We have seen constructed a system of social organization based on the premise and the practice that those who are white are inherently superior and those who are black must, in their own interests, be the objects of policies decided exclusively and solely by the white people. Quite clearly, this edifice required some pseudo-theoretical precepts to underpin it and give it the appearance of rationality. The theoreticians of racism in our country drew on the gross perversions of science which assumed their clearest forms during the second half of the last century in Europe and the United States. In these centres of imperialist power, there grew up theories that biology and social anthropology provided the basis to justify the notion that all black people carried with them both an innate and a cultural inferiority to the white, giving the latter the right and the duty of guardianship over the former...Implicit in this thesis is the idea that these higher human beings have a similar right and duty to maintain the purity of the human species up to the point and including the commission of the crime of genocide" (Tambo, 1986).

According to Tambo the ideals and theories of racial domination (that importantly only serve as a capitalist excuse to exploit) originated in Europe and America. This culture of supremacy was brought to Africa by the Europeans that first traded with the indigenous peoples and later settled on the continent, all the while precipitating the slave trade which in its most developed form resulted in apartheid.

Furthermore: "One of the earliest of these racist theoreticians in our country, this century, was none other than General Jan Smuts, who opposed Nazism only because it threatened British imperial power... according to Smuts: "It has now become an accepted axiom in our dealings with the Natives that it is dishonourable to mix white and black blood... We have felt more and more that if we are to solve our Native question, it is useless to try to govern black and white in the same institutions of government and legislation. They are different not only in colour but in minds and in political capacity" (Tambo, 1986).

For Tambo (and the ANC) it was clear that the crime of apartheid had to be punished in the same manner as the Nazis were punished. The ideology of racism in all its forms had to be destroyed: "We assert it as incontrovertible truth that mankind is under an obligation to suppress and punish this crime against humanity. On the basis of the experience of our own people of the horrendous practice of racism, we can categorically state it here that this crime cannot be suppressed by means of words or by persuading its perpetrators to desist from the commission of a crime. Racism, the theory and practice of the domination of one race by another, and specifically its apartheid expression, cannot be reformed. Like Nazism, its antecedent and sister crime against humanity, it must be overthrown and uprooted forcibly, in its totality" (Tambo, 1986). Apartheid as crime against humanity echoes in the debate between the Northern (exploiting) hemisphere countries and Southern (exploited) hemisphere countries.

### **5.8.2 The Rich (North) versus Poor (South) Debate**

Part of the international character of the NDR can be found in the multifaceted North-South dichotomy. "The point we must, however, emphasize is that it is exactly in these conditions that racism thrives, as it did during the colonial period. Hence we still find

current, notions, that at the base of the 'North-South' dichotomy, lies the difference between white people in the North who are inventive, industrious and disciplined and the blacks in the South who are innately indolent, imitative and happy-go-lucky" (Tambo, 1986).

One of the facets of this dichotomy is the fact that the countries in the Northern hemisphere are relatively developed and rich compared to the countries in the Southern hemisphere which are relatively underdeveloped and poor. The rich Northern countries are colonialist, neo-colonialist or imperialist powers while the countries of the South mainly comprise (former) colonies. Neo-Marxist dependency theories explain the relationships between these two different groups as based in the exploitative nature of capitalism.

The NDR and its proponents want a more just international system reflecting recognition of the injustices of the past. This recognition must entail a fundamental transformation of international institutions: "Many institutions controlling the global economy were developed during periods when many countries were still in bondage and could not participate in the decision making structures in the world. The time has come for this to be taken into account and to ensure faster transformation of the Bretton Woods institutions. There are a few outstanding matters that we would like you [members attending the 12th international meeting of the Communist and Workers] to help us take forward. We have been advocating for a more open, transparent and merit-based approach to choose the heads of the World Bank and the IMF. We also need progressive forces in the world to continue advocating for the completion of the Doha Development Round. This will ensure that the developing countries have favourable access to markets in the developed world without restrictive conditions" (Zuma, 2010).<sup>53</sup> The term "bondage" refers to the fundamental difference between North and South; this being the fact that, according to the NDR, the North built their economies on the capitalist and exploitative strategy of colonisation, to the detriment of the South.

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<sup>53</sup>More detail about the transformation of the international order in the next chapter

### 5.8.3 Colonialist versus Non-Colonialist Nations and the NDR

South Africa's awkward yet unwavering friendship with Zimbabwe's Robert Mugabe, Libya's ex-president Gaddafi, as well as the unwillingness to sanction Iran, stems from a South-South loyalty, as well as the anti-imperialist and anti-colonialist principles in the NDR. There might also be sound real-political [in other words monetary] reasons for this, but the post-1994 South Africa, especially the post-2007 post-Polokwane government prefers to trade with and be allied to non-colonialist nations. One such favourite nation is the People's Republic of China. According to the ANCYL (2011b), despite that country's policy of nationalisation of land ownership "the PRC will be the biggest economy in the world in less than 10 years from 2011" and South Africa should emulate its economic policies such as nationalisation for the sake of development. This is a stark departure from western thought promulgated by the IMF or World Bank. With Chinese trade in Africa increasing by 24% between 1995 and 2007 and South Africa enjoying "preferred nation" status on the "preferred continent", China is now South Africa's largest import market (Bowker, 2008).

In conclusion, internationalism and the bonds shared by "progressive forces around the world" are ingrained in the NDR. According to this vision apartheid is a crime against humanity; the NDR is part of a worldwide progressive struggle against the oppression of capitalist exploitation that has a historic foundation in unequal North-South relations. These relations have primarily been built on colonialist exploitation and therefore the NDR argues for a fundamental redesign of the international system, and in South Africa's own international relations gives preference to non-colonial nations.

## 5.9 THE IDEOLOGICAL CONTEXT

This cluster deals with the NDR itself, its origin, its development as well as its future. As such, Chapters Three and Four are especially germane to this topic. According to the CU<sup>54</sup> (2011b) "the clearest original statement of this theoretical principle [the national democratic revolution] was made by V.I. Lenin at the Second Congress of the

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<sup>54</sup> Communist University

Communist International (2CCI) in 1920, in his Report of the Commission on the National and Colonial Question". Various concepts of Karl Marx and other practitioners/ideologues were later added (such as the *idée* of a permanent revolution, ideas of Mao Zedong such as the Mass line). In Chapter 3 these various antecedent ideologies to the NDR were reconstructed; in Chapter 4 the chronological development of the ideology was charted.

In practice, according to the CU (2011b), the history of the NDR is the history of the ANC which is the main protagonist of the ideology and the "functional heart of the NDR. COSATU, and organized labour in general... lends class-consciousness and a sense of purpose to the peasantry and to the petty-bourgeoisie. But labour unions are not sufficient by themselves for the NDR; it also requires a party of generalizing professional revolutionaries. That party is the SACP". As mentioned at the start of this chapter there is a difference between the views of the SACP and those of the ANC in terms of the NDR. The SACP adds openly to its goals the attainment of a socialist republic in South Africa.<sup>55</sup>

"Capitalism constitutes the gravest threat to the survival of humanity and our planet. Whilst the world today produces enough food for everyone to eat, billions of people go to bed hungry every night. Our rivers are destroyed, our forests are cut down, the air we breathe polluted in the drive to increase profits for the few. Factories are closed, workers are retrenched. There is one simple reason for this, being the minority of the rich are only interested in profits for themselves. Only a more human system, socialism, can harness the energies of all our people, the human inventions and technology for the benefit of humanity as a whole" (SACP, 2011c). This while the ANC, the alliance's "formal leading partner", only has the goal of the national democratic society as its objective.

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<sup>55</sup> Internal sources in the SACP mention the SDR or the Socialist Democratic Revolution, sometimes in concert with the NDR sometimes opposed to the NDR, most commonly however as the last communist phase of the NDR. (More about this in section 6.11.2)

This however is the importance of the National Democratic Revolution; this revolution forms the common ground for the alliance between the nationalist-liberationist ANC and the socialist-liberationist SACP, and that is why Blade Nzimande (2006) has described the NDR “as the glue that holds the alliance together”. This does not mean that there is a total homogeneity of interpretation of the NDR. “The 1996 class project” for example is now being labelled as too new-liberal while the 2007 post-Polokwane group is defiantly more radical and more socialist. Where different opinions of various groups become important in this thesis, this subject will again be bridged. It is however very important to note that despite this (perhaps only) difference, the ANC-SACP relationship is very firm, especially since after 2007, with the SACP providing much (if not all) of the vocabulary and other intellectual goods for the NDR. The NDR remains a permanent fixture in the political environment in South Africa.

The idée of a permanent (world) revolution<sup>56</sup> was conceptualised by Marx and Engels in 1850 in an Address of the Central Committee to the Communist League: “While the democratic petty bourgeois wants to bring the revolution to an end as quickly as possible, achieving at most the aims already mentioned, it is our interest and our task to make the revolution permanent until all the more or less propertied classes have been driven from their ruling positions, until the proletariat has conquered state power and until the association of the proletarians has progressed sufficiently far – not only in one country but in all the leading countries of the world – that competition between the proletarians of these countries ceases and at least the decisive forces of production are concentrated in the hands of the workers” (Marx & Engels, 1850). A worldwide or permanent revolution thus has two important pillars; firstly it should not cease its activities at the first success (such as the 1994 political breakthrough); it has to continue and drive all the propertied classes from their ruling positions and this requires time and

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<sup>56</sup>The term “permanent revolution” is more closely identified with Leon Trotsky and although the terminology of Marx and Engels on the one hand and Trotsky on the other is similar, the meaning is different. Marx uses the term to indicate a continued strategy of a class in pursuit of its interests (Marx & Engels, 1850) while Trotsky (1931) advance the idea that a permanent revolution can (must) occur in countries where advanced capitalism has not developed and the proletariat must form an alliance with the peasants. (See Chapter 3). In the text above the meaning of Marx and Engels (continued process) is relevant.

patience. The NDR in South Africa is an example of this type of revolution, small at first, growing and absorbing both victory and defeat in search of the ultimate goal.

Secondly, it has to strive to defeat competition between proletarian countries by building the revolution in many countries and eventually across the world. Along with the idea of a permanent (worldwide) revolution, the NDR remains flexible with a stable inner core and an outer layer that can be strategically emphasised or de-emphasised according to the current priorities. The inner ideological core of the NDR will be examined in the following sections.

### **5.9.1 Critique against Apartheid and Colonialism (Worldwide)**

The inner core of the NDR is the unabridged rejection of apartheid as a form of colonialism that reflects the worst in the international system that nowadays is still part of the exploitative capitalist system which saw the “less developed countries” as nothing more than subjugated territories of militarily – and later economically stronger nations. For Marx (1887:523) the ultimate evil was: “The peasant, expropriated and cast adrift, [that] must buy their value in the form of wages, from his new master, the industrial capitalist”. This situation carried itself through periods in history until “the transnational corporations [that] are the shock-force of neo-colonialism in the development countries of Asia, Latin America and Africa. Unequal trade and the imposition of a massive debt burden on the developing countries are the principal means for maintaining and deepening neo-colonial subjugation. Through the control of commodity and money markets, the imperialists drive down the price of raw materials produced in the developing countries. At the same time the prices of commodities that the developing countries are forced to import are inflated” (SACP, 1989). Specific reference has however to be made of the situation in South Africa.

### **5.9.2 Colonialism of a Special Type**

The exploitative system in South Africa, formalised as apartheid, is actually according to the NDR nothing other than colonialism of a special type and so a form of capitalist exploitation on three levels (race, gender and capital) in one country with the exploiter

living in the same country as the exploited. The goal of the NDR is therefore “...to successfully build a national democratic society, [and] eliminate the main antagonisms of colonialism of a special type. These antagonisms are the three interrelated contradictions and legacies of (a) national oppression based on race; (b) super-exploitation of black workers, and (c) the triple oppression of women based on their race, class and gender” (ANC, 2010). “Thus a national democratic society will by definition eradicate the specific relations of production that underpinned the national and gender oppression and super exploitation of the majority of South Africans” (ANC, 2007a). Furthermore “A national democratic society [the end result of the NDR] constitutes the ideal state we aspire to as the ANC and the broad democratic movement. It should thus not be confused with tactical positions that the liberation movement may adopt from time to time, taking into account the balance of forces within our country and abroad. Circumstances in which we conduct social transformation will change all the time. And in the process of effecting such transformation, there will be successes and setbacks” (ANC, 2007a).

In conclusion, the ideology of the NDR has in its analytical cluster (that has just been examined) the task of analysing the malign process of history; this being colonialism of a special type in South Africa as a product of a worldwide system of capitalist exploitative colonialism and, in its modern guise, neo-colonialism. Having done this the ideology of the NDR, drawing on its antecedent and paternal ideologies such as Marxist-Leninism, has to formulate an antidote, and in it the normative dimension, prescribed through the three organisations, the ANC, the SACP and COSATU, each with its own role. The goal of this action in the strategic dimension is a permanent world revolution as Marx had in mind, in which all power has to be diverted to the workers, thereby destroying all previous property relations and the spread of this revolution from one country to the other, thereby destroying competition between countries.

## **5.10 SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS**

In accordance with the three main characteristics/dimensions of ideology the goal of this chapter was to reconstruct the analytical dimension of the NDR that describes the

unacceptable present that resulted due to the malign process of history recounted in Chapter Four. This was done by clustering the main focuses of the NDR into six main groups. The conclusions of this chapter will now be recounted under each group.

- **The Historical Cluster:**

- Colonialism of a special type: apartheid as well as neo-colonialism is the result of patterns of underdevelopment resulting from the rampant capitalistic international system.
- This exploitative capitalist system replicated itself on the intra-state level in South Africa in the form of apartheid.
- Theories explaining these phenomena can be traced back to a Marxist perspective on history, the economy and the oppression of women.
- Pertinent amongst these theories are thoughts taken from Socialist Feminism and various theories from the Marxist school within the Dependency Theory as explained in the text above in sections 5.3, 5.4.2 and 5.6.1.

- **The Political Cluster:**

- According to the NDR institutionalised racism – racial discrimination supported by law – is the result of a racial ideology.
- The core of this is a form of social Darwinism whereby black people are placed hierarchically lower than whites.
- Forms of this ideology resulted in colonialism and slavery, and form integral parts of the history of capitalism.
- Without the production relationships based upon racism, established in the colonial period, in the international system as well as in various (dependent, less developed) states, capitalism would be unable to flourish.

- **The Economic Cluster:**

- Theories of Marx (The net of the world market, 1887) and Lenin (Imperialism the Highest stage of Capitalism, 1916) on colonialism play an important part in the formulation of the NDR.

- According to this paradigm the global system of capitalism defines an international system consisting of a global exploiting and global exploited class.
  - This global system needs to perpetuate itself by consuming more and more and finding more and more resources, labour and eventually more and more markets to drown in consumerism.
  - During this process a variant of capitalism based upon racial discrimination arose in South Africa. This racial capitalism became known amongst the broad liberationist church as colonialism of a special type; the rest of the world knew it as apartheid.
  - Apartheid promoted vast inequalities in wealth that persist to this day with regard to skin colour, and subsequent conflict persists between the rich white and the poor black classes.
- **The Social Cluster:**
    - Society is characterised by inequality in the economic sphere that is the outcome of a racist ideology resulting in colonialism of a special type.
    - The inequality in the economic sphere has translated into inequality in the access to education, health services, security, and other social necessities that have not been provided since the political victory in 1994.
    - The first economic priorities set by the government of 1994 and subsequent governments, are now seen as insufficient in dealing with the inequality caused by apartheid.
    - The Zuma presidency is being criticised by its partners and co-authors of the NDR as being too elitist, empowering only a small black minority and calls are being made for a more radical interpretation of the NDR.
    - This would be the second phase of the revolution.
- **The International Cluster**
    - Internationalism and the bonds shared by “progressive forces around the world” are ingrained in the NDR.
    - According to this vision apartheid is a crime against humanity.

- The NDR is part of a worldwide progressive struggle against the oppression of capitalist exploitation that has a historic foundation in unequal North-South relations.
  - These relations have primarily been built on colonialist exploitation.
  - The NDR argues for a fundamental redesign of the international system.
  - South Africa's own international relations give preference to non-colonial nations for trade and friendship.
- **The Ideological Cluster**
    - The ideology of the NDR has the task in its analytical cluster (that has just been examined) of analysing the malign process of history, that being colonialism of a special type in South Africa as a product of a worldwide system of capitalist exploitative colonialism and in its modern guise neo-colonialism.
    - Having done this, the ideology of the NDR, drawing on its antecedent and paternal ideologies such as the Marxist (reference Chapter Three), must formulate an antidote, and in it the normative dimension; prescribe it through the three organisations, the ANC, the SACP and COSATU, each with its own role (Chapter 6).
    - The goal of this action is, in the strategic dimension (Chapter 7), a permanent revolution in South Africa. (Marx – “continued process” and Trotsky – “worldwide class alliance”.)
    - In this revolution all power must divert to the workers thereby destroying all previous property relations.
    - This revolution has to spread from one country to the next, thereby destroying competition between countries.

The above recounted conclusions provide a reconstruction of the NDR's analytical dimension. In other words, what the ideology regards as fundamentally wrong and what it would like to change. In summation the NDR is set on the path described in section 5.6.2 as the opposite to capitalism: “and the path of liberation with immense possibilities for the promotion of the interests of the workers and the peoples, for the achievement of

social justice, people's sovereignty, peace and progress. The path of the workers' and people's struggles, the path of socialism *and communism*, which is historically necessary". This last path is the path of the NDR. Furthermore the NDR is the glue that holds the alliance between the socialist SACP and the liberationist ANC together, in opposition to the last vestiges of apartheid. In the next chapter the normative dimension of the NDR will be reconstructed.

## CHAPTER 6: THE RECONSTRUCTION AND INTERPRETATION OF THE NDR AS AN IDEOLOGY: THE NORMATIVE DIMENSION

### 6.1 INTRODUCTION

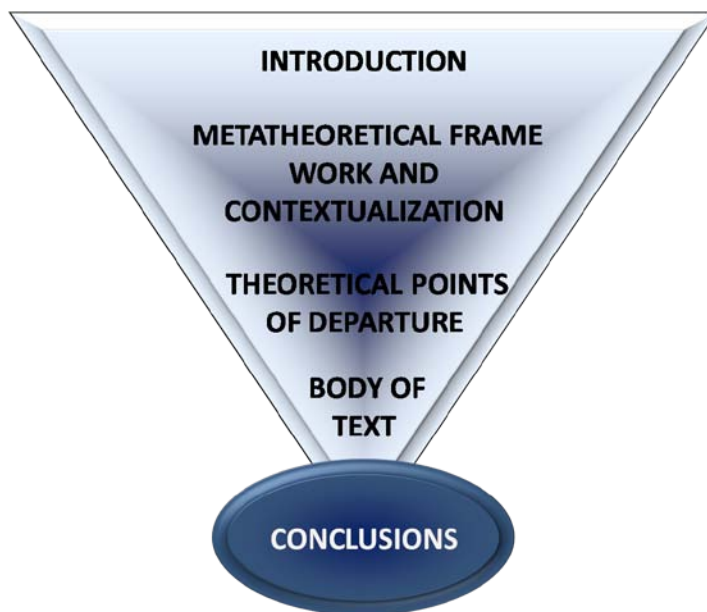
According to the Merriam-Webster dictionary (2011), the term normative pertains to or is defined as *determining norms or setting standards, prescribing norms or conforming to or based on norms*. In more common vernacular, normative statements are said to affirm how things should be, which things are good and which are bad, as well as which are right and which are wrong. In Chapter 2, Seliger's (1976:120) "core" definition of ideology was recounted as: "a belief system by virtue of being designed to serve on a relatively permanent basis a group of people to justify in reliance on moral norms and a modicum of factual evidence and self-consciously rational coherence, the legitimacy of the implements and technical prescriptions which are to ensure concerted action for the preservation, reform, destruction or reconstruction of a given order." According to this definition an ideology relies primarily on its normative appeal for justification, and actually only on a modicum of factual evidence. From this appeal legitimacy springs for political action aimed at preservation, reform, destruction or reconstruction.

In the previous chapter where the NDR identified that which was and is wrong according to the ideology, the analytical dimension was analysed. In this chapter the normative and so the guiding ideal of the ideology will be reconstructed and interpreted. This will be done by examining the ideal of the NDR within its six core clusters (as in Chapter 5). These clusters are the historical, political, economic, social, international and ideological clusters. The question that this chapter has to answer is: what does the NDR ideally want to achieve in each of these clusters?

In short, an ideology thus has three dimensions: the analytical, the normative and the strategic. In Chapters 5, 6 and 7 the NDR is reconstructed according to its analytical (Chapter 5), normative (this chapter) and strategic dimensions (Chapter 7). The goal of the normative chapter is the reconstruction of (in Seliger's words) the normative belief systems or ideal of the NDR.

Methodologically the structure of the preceding chapter, this chapter and Chapter 7 will be deductive and will comprise the following points: an introduction, a meta-theoretical framework in which the six clusters pertinent to the chapter will be explained and contextualised, theoretical points of departure specific to the chapter, a body in which the six clusters will be analysed according to the theme of the chapter, and a conclusion. This structure is depicted in Figure 17 below.

**Figure 17: Chapter Layout**



The theory relevant in this chapter sheds light on the way ideologies operate to legitimise their implements and prescriptions which are to ensure concerted action for the preservation, reform, destruction or reconstruction of a given order (Seliger, 1976:120). In this regard the term mythology will be examined in greater detail (more on this later). First, the meta-theoretical aspects that will be given attention in this chapter must be singled out.

### **6.2A META-THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK: SIX CLUSTERS OF THE NDR**

In Chapter 5 the rationale for the reconstruction of the NDR within the historical, political, economic, social, international and ideological clusters was recounted *in toto*.

To summarise it is once more necessary to take notice of the following. For the purposes of academic analysis in this thesis various ANC and SACP sources and the historical analysis of the NDR are synthesised into the focused clusters named above. The analysis of these clusters provides or defines (reveals) not only the epistemology (incorporated knowledge framework, core assumptions and goals of the NDR but also its [intended] actions in the past, present and future); it also provides an ontological relational order between the various clusters and the subjects grouped under each, especially when tabulated with the dimensions of an ideology, this being the analytical, normative and strategic. Figure 18 illustrates the various clusters as well as the elements under these clusters that will be analysed in this chapter as part of the normative dimension of the NDR.

**Figure 18: The Normative Dimension of the NDR**

DIMENSIONS OF IDEOLOGY	HISTORICAL CLUSTER	POLITICAL CLUSTER	ECONOMIC CLUSTER	SOCIAL CLUSTER	INTERNATIONAL CLUSTER	IDEOLOGICAL CLUSTER
<b>NORMATIVE DIMENSION</b>  <b>(IDEALISTIC VISION OF THE FUTURE)</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Mythologising and demythologising</li> <li>• Historical paradigm shift in 1994 and on-going transition from liberation movement to political party.</li> <li>• Dialectical stress between past, present and future (ANCYL)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Political equality and Freedom (Social Democracy)</li> <li>• Representative, just and inclusive state and society.</li> <li>• Redress in the form of an “acceptance of guilt”, the TRC, a wealth tax</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <i>Second phase of revolution:</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ Economic transformation.</li> <li>○ Sustainability in for example; economic growth and inclusivity.</li> </ul> </li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <i>Second phase of revolution: Social transformation:</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ An equalising society.</li> <li>○ National identity and social cohesion.</li> </ul> </li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <i>Transformation:</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ SADC.</li> <li>○ Africa.</li> <li>○ International order.</li> <li>○ UN.</li> <li>○ International monetary structures (especially the way aid is distributed).</li> </ul> </li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Non-racial, non-sexist, democratic and developmental framework as a remedy.</li> <li>• Differences between the ANC, SACP and ANCYL.</li> </ul>

It is again worth noting that the clusters in the Table above are, in this thesis, abstracted into clearly delineated analytical instruments. In reality they are interrelated, mutually interpenetrative and dependent on one another, thus forming a bigger ideology that is easy to lose sight of when only some of the minor points are singled out for specific attention. The following are working definitions of the six clusters, designed for the purposes of this study. Included under the definitions (in this chapter) are the elements to be analysed within the normative dimension only.

The *historical cluster* describes relations and connections of issues in a chronological line of past, present and future. In the historical perspective of the NDR the Marxist theory of history is extremely important as it provides both an ideological and theoretical base for the NDR’s understanding of past, present and future. Factors to be discussed in the historical cluster are:

- Mythologising and demythologizing
- The historical paradigm shift in 1994 and an on-going transition from liberation movement to political party.
- Dialectical tension between past, present and future (the current 2011/12 situation in the ANCYL).

The *political cluster* is defined by the power to allocate or withhold resources ranging from types of resources that possess an inherent economic and monetary value such as land and mining rights, to less tangible resources such as access, representation and agency in various systems. In this context power is defined as “the probability that one actor within a social relationship will be in a position to carry out his will despite resistance” (Weber, 1978:53). In the analytical dimension of the NDR (this chapter) elements that the ideology regards as malevolent will be analysed; in the normative chapter (Chapter 6) the ideal political environment according to the ideology will be analysed, and in the strategic dimension (Chapter 7) the manner/elements (strategy) by which the ideal will be achieved will be analysed. These elements are:

- Political equality and freedom (Social Democracy).
- A representative, just and inclusive state and society.
- Redress in the form of an “acceptance” of guilt, the TRC, a possible wealth tax.

The *economic cluster* is defined by the dispersion of direct material wealth or the manner for accessing or limiting access to prosperity and the reasons for this dispersion. In the analytical dimension the NDR identifies the wrongness of the unacceptable past, present elements leading to the disparities between rich and poor, the gap between Black and White, as well as the roots for many of the socio-economic ills that beset South-Africa. The normative dimension is the corrective to this situation and the strategic dimension is the manner in which redress will be achieved. The elements to be analysed are:

- Second phase of revolution: Economic transformation.
- Sustainability in, for example, economic growth.
- An economy that includes all races.
- Economic necessities.

The *social cluster* pertains to elements that concern the basic physical and mental state of being of people in society and/or various communities in South African society, as well as the relationships of these elements to one another. The elements discussed in this cluster are:

- **Second phase of revolution: Social transformation**
- An equalising society as necessity.
- National identity and social cohesion.

The *international cluster* is defined by the ideologies and theories (reconstructed in Chapter 3) that contributed to the NDR and from which the NDR also adopted (amongst others) a Marxist perspective of a “world revolution” in which international responsibility and solidarity lead to international networks, support and areas where influence has to be exerted or countered and friends gained in order to promote foreign and domestic objectives. The elements analysed in this cluster are:

- The ideal transformation in and of:
  - The SADC;
  - Africa and the African renaissance;
  - The International order;
  - The UN, and
  - International monetary structures (especially the way aid is distributed and debt is scheduled).

The *ideological cluster* is concerned with the NDR itself, what its ideological cornerstones are and how it develops as ideology. In general the hard core of the

ideology remains the same while different contexts at different times are emphasised or de-emphasised. Imre Lakatos (1970:91-196) describes a paradigm (research programme, in the case of this thesis an ideology) as consisting of a hard core surrounded by theoretical models acting as a protective belt. In the same manner in the normative dimension of the NDR the ANC defines the ideal outcome of the NDR as “the creation of a united, non-racial, non-sexist and democratic society... and the liberation of Africans in particular and black people in general from political and economic bondage” (ANC, 2000a), while the SACP defines the ideal as “the socialist South Africa to which we aspire... [by way of] ... a national democratic revolution (NDR) as the most direct route” SACP, 2007b.<sup>57</sup> This is the hard core (reference Lakatos) of the NDR and in order to analyse this core the following elements are included for analysis in this cluster:

- Non-racial, non-sexist, democratic and developmental framework as a remedy.
- Differences between the ANC, the SACP and the ANCYL.

The analysis of the clusters and elements above is conducted in each chapter with the aid of various theories that provide insight as well as assistance with the eventual formulation of conclusions. In this chapter the theoretical point of departure focuses on the functioning of ideologies as normative or value-driven entities: in the words of Seliger, “as belief systems”.

### **6.3 NORMATIVE DIMENSION: THEORETICAL POINTS OF DEPARTURE**

Ideologies as has been said in Chapter 2 are by nature contradictory and in competition with one another as they represent different kinds of beliefs, the character and validity of which are questioned, not least by other ideologies and philosophies. Seliger’s (1976:120) “core” definition identifies an ideology as a “belief system” relying on moral norms for the legitimisation of “the implements and technical prescriptions which are to ensure concerted action for the preservation, reform, destruction or reconstruction of a

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<sup>57</sup> It is very important to note the difference in the formulation of the outcome of the NDR. A debate exists surrounding the NDR. In short it is the NDR vs. the SDR or Socialist Democratic Revolution.

given order.” The following is a description of the manner in which the competing systemic belief/normative context of an ideology operates.

### 6.3.1 Ideology as a Utopian Construct

The utopian ideal in relation to ideology is analysed in Karl Mannheim’s (1936:1) sociological study on “how men think” and on how thinking “really functions in public life and in politics as an instrument of collective action”. As instruments of his analysis Mannheim chose two “slogan-like” and according to him, diametrically opposed concepts, *ideology* and *utopia*. Both these concepts are according to Mannheim actually constructs used to obscure reality. Most of his study and arguments fall outside the boundaries of this thesis and serve only to illustrate the point significant in this chapter regarding the concept of utopia in ideology. Mannheim (1936:36) defines utopian thinking as that of “certain oppressed groups [that] are intellectually so strongly interested in the destruction and transformation of a given condition of society... [that] it turn[s] its back on everything which would shake its belief or paralyse its desire to change things.” “This clearly reiterates the primacy of the normative appeal as all ideologies offer an account of the existing order...and provides a competing utopian model of a desired future”<sup>58</sup> (Seliger as quoted by Heywood, 2007:45).

Therefore in every ideology a competing normative, utopian prescription of an ideal future (the topic of this chapter) ensures action toward preservation, reforms destruction or reconstruction, in other words whatever may be necessary to achieve the ideal. This ideal is also blind to everything that would divert the true believer (reference Mannheim) from evidence that detracts from the chosen ideology.<sup>59</sup> The manner of action is prescribed through norms embedded in the ideology.

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<sup>58</sup> See Chapter 2 section 2.1

<sup>59</sup>This should not be confused with Utopianism. Plato’s Republic portraying the ideal political system represents some of the most famous utopian text. Thomas Mores’ Utopia and Francis Bacon’s New Atlantis are other examples. The idea of “Polyculturalism” is a modern adaptation of possible interactions between different cultures and identities in accordance with the principles of a participatory society that will result in world peace. This is a typical Utopian construct and perhaps in this view it is not surprising that Utopianism as ideology nowadays is an escapist art, consigned to the realms of philosophy, rather than statecraft. Utopianism is thus distinct, as a belief system or ideology in itself from utopian components that all ideologies share.

#### 6.4 IDEOLOGY AS A NORMATIVE CONSTRUCT

Human action allows for abstraction that leads to the formulation of symbols with meanings that are understood by specific groups of people. Cooperation among groups of humans results in the formulation of norms for those groups, which can be defined as generally accepted ways of acting and conducting oneself within that group (Brym & Lie, 2005:63). These aspects coupled with production lead to advancement in the material culture (improvements on what humans received from nature) and the non-material culture (intangible rules and regulations governing human existence). Norms are learnt forms of what can or cannot be done and demand solidarity and structures of authority (whatever they may be) that render people obedient. Bureaucracies are especially effective as structures of authority and transferring agents of norms (Brym & Lie, 2005:142-144). When norms are transgressed, sanctions are applied to either punish those who broke the rules, or over time and through crisis new norms might be formulated. This period of transformation is usually highly traumatic for the group or groups involved (Brym & Lie, 2005:567).

The description of norms or a norm given above is simplistic, a much more satisfying definition is provided by *The Encyclopaedia* (2011): “The rules of behaviour that are part of the ideology of the group. Norms tend to reflect the values of the group and specify those actions that are proper and those that are inappropriate, as well as rewards for adherence and the punishment for conformity.” According to the *Business Dictionary* (2011), norms or normative statements do not only describe; they offer direction, they evaluate and explain: “Conforming to standards of correctness through prescribed norms, rules or recommendations, as opposed to mere descriptions or statements of fact; evaluative, not descriptive”; furthermore norms are “Informal guidelines about what is considered normal (what is correct or incorrect) social behaviour in a particular group or social unit. Norms form the basis of collective expectations that members of a community have from each other, and play a key part in social control and social order by exerting a pressure on the individual to conform. In short, the way we do things around here”. The legitimacy and justification of an ideology to exist and to issue *technical prescriptions* is thus ultimately enshrined in the norms that it formulates and

those are concerned with the history of the ideology, the history of that particular culture and the history of that group that ultimately cultivates its right of existence. This history is more than a mere chronology of events; it is a belief and therefore a mythology.

## 6.5 IDEOLOGY AND MYTHOLOGY

Myth (a single story) or mythology (an organisation and compendium of related myths or stories) in the mind of modern man has begun to mean falsehood; this is not the true or original meaning. In ancient Greece the noun *mythos* meant trustworthy; extremely relevant, true or sacred account, while liars were accused of manipulating such true accounts and were called *mythoplasteontes*. A modern contextualisation of the ancient meaning of *mythos* would be that of an *extremely relevant, culturally significant tale or story for a group or culture* (Lincoln, 1999:29). According to Kirk (1970:11), myths do not have to be about gods or rites and ritual (although they mostly are); they are merely about people establishing a custom or doing something important, therefore these stories are about cultural heroes that serve as prominent examples for generations to come.

When myths and mythologies are activated in the political environment, as they commonly are, they perform ordering and classification functions when situations are dire. Carl Gustaf Jung deals with archetypes (universally understood symbols) within myths, he explains this phenomenon further: “In wartime or in any other situation of political confrontation the shadow (the universal image of evil according to Jung) is likely to be projected onto the enemy side, which is consequently viewed as depraved, vicious, cruel, and inhuman...At the same time “*our side*”, having projected its shadow contents onto the enemy, appear to be all good and thoroughly justified in bombing the enemy back into the Stone age if necessary” (Walker, 2002:34). According to Raglan (1936:123), myth should therefore be taken seriously as a cultural force, especially as a myth actually becomes the fundamental truth that embraces several important functions for a group or a culture. Firstly the myth, being primarily emotional rather than rational in

origin, centred on a hero<sup>60</sup> and actions that in the process of being mythologised gain the characteristics of rites, bind people or groups together and gain the characteristics of a religion (Raglan, 1936:123); secondly, feelings of unity, harmony and membership are created; thirdly, myths organise and explain procedures and organisations as they lay the foundations for who are gods (leaders) and what the rites (procedures) are, (Raglan, 1936:127); fourthly, myths provide grounds for differentiation between groups and cultures (Lincoln, 1999:54), and fifthly myths provide a normative structure and a logical model capable of overcoming contradictions or problems, thus myth provides the basis for norms, values and beliefs (Kirk,1970:48).

In conclusion, every ideology has a utopian context. Ideologies and especially their utopian visions compete with one another to be accepted as true. Once accepted they blind the “believer” to facts negating their version of “truth”. Utopian visions prescribe norms (combined in normative dimensions or ideal visions) which are abstract and accepted rules that lead to cooperation, advancement, solidarity, obedience and are enforced by various types of (even primitive) bureaucracies. These bureaucracies teach norms which become part of the ideology, apply sanctions to transgressors and instil discipline. Norms become values and so accept personal, group and cultural codes that evaluate the meaning of occurrences, offer direction and explain events, indicate what is normal and what is not, what is expected of members and how they have to behave to become part of a society. In this way pressure is exerted to conform, order is provided and, should a crisis occur, the groups could survive. Legitimacy is also provided as the norms and values are enshrined as a belief and a mythology, in other words a secular religion.

The mythology offers a significant account in the realm of quasi-religious belief and becomes the fundamental truth for a group or culture with sometimes severe consequences. (Examples of this are Nazism in Germany with Hitler and other figures as prominent “priests” that lead to the destruction of a nation and the death of millions; Stalinism in the USSR that killed many millions, completed with the veneration of Lenin

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<sup>60</sup> Please see section 6.6.1 and Figures 4,5 and 6.

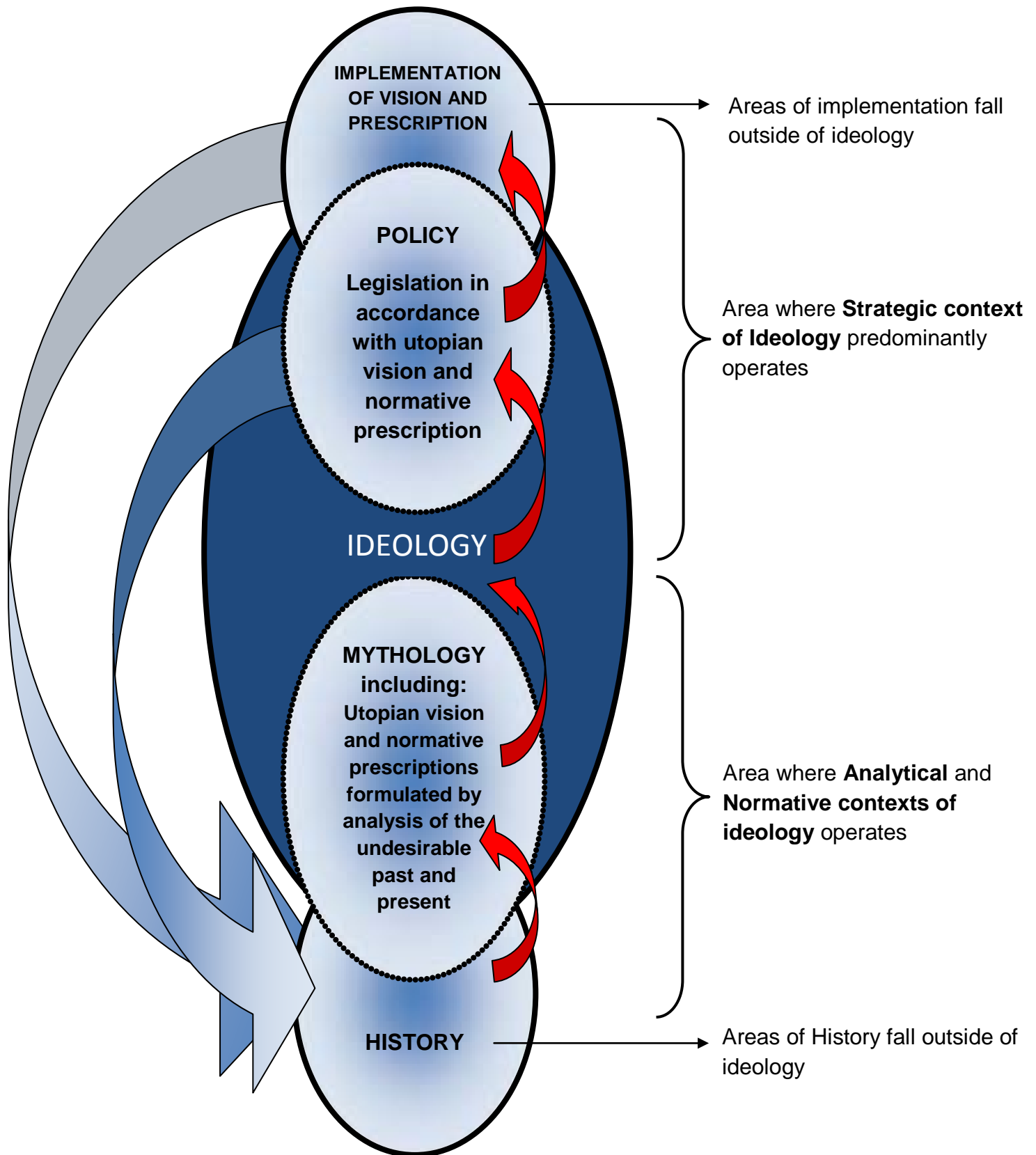
in his tomb; and Afrikaner Nationalism and its naive belief in the leadership of the church, the state, the military and the party). As a conveyor of norms a mythology has five important functions:

- Binds people as if by religion;
- creates unity;
- explains procedures, defines leaders and lays the foundation for organisations;
- provides grounds for differentiation (inclusion/exclusion, enemy/friend, basically them and us), and
- provides the normative structure capable of interpreting and overcoming contradictions.

These functions provide legitimacy for the ideology and importantly for the actions taken in the name of that ideology.

Figure 19 illustrates the functioning of a utopian ideal, norms and mythology within ideology.

Figure 19: Ideology: A Structural-functional Model



In this Figure the utopian vision together with normative prescriptions that form a primary part of the mythology of an ideology are formulated when the malign historical process and undesirable present are examined in the analytical dimension of the ideology. This is an on-going process with various feedback cycles. A (new) interpretation of history along with a mythology becomes part of the ideology which functions to normatively guide the ideology via the processes described above. During policy formulation and implementation the strategic dimension of ideology takes over, but the guiding principle behind ideology remains normative.

## **6.6 THE HISTORICAL CLUSTER**

The *historical cluster* is defined in this thesis as describing relations and connections of issues in a chronological line of past, present and future. In the historical perspective of the NDR the Marxist theory of history is extremely important as it provides both an ideological and theoretical base for the NDR's understanding of past, present and future. Because of this, Chapter 3 (the theoretical chapter), Chapter 4 (a historical perspective on the NDR and sections 5.3 and 5.4 of Chapter 5 are important.

### **6.6.1 Mythologising and Demythologising of History**

It is important to realise that the process or processes of mythologising and demythologising are firstly characteristic of the normative dimension of ideology and secondly when pursued shrewdly in an organised fashion becomes a strategy (more on mythology as strategy will appear in the next chapter). In the first instance the mythologising and the subsequent or concurrent demythologising of an opposing ideology are functions/characteristics of the competitive nature of ideology. It is only natural that history will be interpreted in a manner favourable towards one's own and derogatory towards the enemy. (See for instance the explanation of the casting of "the shadow" or "bad" archetype onto the enemy in the explanations of Jung above.) In the second instance mythologising becomes the function of a strategy similar to propaganda. Organised groups (academics, intelligence operatives and/or leadership) come together, analyse weaknesses and strengths and formulate interpretations of events. In this regard the current debate over the battle of Cuito Cuanavale (1987/88)

during the Angolan Civil War (1975-2002) serves as an excellent example. Both sides (the liberation movements and especially the Generals of the old SADF) claim victory (Geldenhuys, 2011:6). The real issue however is ownership of an event for different interpretations of history and so different mythologies. In this section only the first instance of mythologising and demythologising as normative characteristic of ideology will be analysed. Mythology as weapon will be analysed in the next chapter.

#### **6.6.1.1 *Mythologising the NDR***

According to Figure 19 above, the mythology of the NDR is embedded firmly in the history as described in Chapter 4, and the ideological and intellectual goods described in Chapters 2 and 3 that offer accepted tools for the analysis of that history. The logic of myth-making however explains that the mythology of the NDR differs from the “mere” chronological account. Not everything in the analytical, normative and strategic dimensions of an ideology (as described in Chapter 4) becomes mythology. A thorough analysis of the mythology of the NDR falls outside the scope of this thesis. Figure 20 below however gives an idea of some visual aspects<sup>61</sup> in the “struggle mythology” of the NDR.

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<sup>61</sup>Other aspects include the liberation songs and liberation theology.

**Figure 20: The Last Supper by Dean Simon**



The selection of individuals in the painting above include Patrice Lumumba, the first prime minister of the Republic of the Congo, Kwame Nkrumah, who helped Ghana to gain independence, Albert Luthuli, Oliver Tambo, Steve Biko, Archbishop Desmond Tutu, Mahatma Ghandi, Martin Luther King, and Rosa Parks, "the mother of the modern day civil rights movement" in the US, Robert Mangaliso Sobukwe and Emperor Haile Selassie of Ethiopia, arranged around a Christ-like figure, Nelson Mandela.

Artist Dean Simon was commissioned to produce the piece by a Johannesburg businessman who wished to remain anonymous. The 13th figure, Judas, remains blank and is signified by a white shape. Fifty prints have been created from the original painting and have been signed by the artist and Nelson Mandela (Anon, 2011c).

In this painting various heroes of the liberation culture in South Africa, Africa, America and the World are represented in an idealised stylisation. These icons are the apostles and heroes in the mythology. Their names are replacing the names of the icons of Afrikaner Nationalist mythology in cities and towns in South Africa, in history as well as

in the norms and values of the country. They represent “right” and the opposite is normatively “wrong” and so the NDR and its vision have to be “right”.

In Figure 21 below Nelson Mandela showed himself as a leader to all his people. He strongly identified with one of the rites of the Afrikaner, even clad in the “ritual dress” of the culture and he showed how magnanimous he (and the new government) could be. This was one of the best moments for the ANC, it became part of history and it was myth-making par excellence. (This moment will receive further attention in Chapter 7 section 7.4.1.)

**Figure 21: South African President Nelson Mandela presents the Rugby World Cup to Springbok Captain Francois Pienaar, 1995**



The result of course was Mandela becoming the larger than life, most well-known and universally loved statesman in the world. Mandela is so good at myth building and his image is so universally identified as “the Hero” who is morally superior and can remain steadfast amidst insurmountable turmoil; the character who is identified by Raglan

(1936:123) as essential to mythology, that political faction fighting occurred over its ownership. “We need to more consistently reclaim the moral high ground for a radical NDR perspective. Our association (real or assumed) with the “new tendency” [Malema] in the run-up to Polokwane and in its immediate aftermath, has enabled a whole range of anti-majoritarian liberals (from Afriforum through to the DA) to present themselves as the “defenders of our Constitution and Bill of Rights”, of non-racialism, gender sensitivity, and of general moral decency. They have even sought to present themselves as the true defenders of Nelson Mandela’s, and of late the UDF’s, legacy” (SACP, 2011a).

Other parts of the mythology include the more martial character of resistance to the apartheid regime. Figure 22 below shows Winnie and Nelson Mandela together with Joe Slovo, united under the Communist flag.

**Figure 22: Winnie and Nelson Mandela along with Joe Slovo under the Communist Flag**



Winnie or “Mama we Sizwe” (Mother of the Nation) declared: “*with our boxes of matches and our necklaces we shall liberate this country...*” (Winnie Mandela as quoted by Berger, 2010).

These elements of the mythology of the NDR make a normative appeal, which for some is normatively good and for others less so. Mandela together with Slovo and the “Mother of the Nation”, along with other figures, notably Chris Hani, are idolised and idealised as heroes in the mythology surrounding the NDR; the opposites of these are normatively corrupt and morally wrong.

### **6.6.1.2 Demythologising**

The version of history described above and in section 5.4.1 of the previous chapter along with the Marxist interpretation of history is replacing the mythology of Afrikaner Calvinist Nationalism. The “*Voortrekkers*” are described not as heroes but as murderers and “*Die Groot Trek*” is not a tale of endurance but of ruthless conquest (SACP, 1989; SACP, 1962). A different reality is provided; this is firstly a characteristic of this mythology being normatively right (competitive) while other competing ideologies and their accompanying mythology are normatively wrong. It secondly serves as a strategy to underscore this point and to build support for a certain perspective while simultaneously explaining the evil “shadow” nature (Jung) of the opposing mythology. (In this section the thesis is primarily concerned with the first function of demythologising, operating as a characteristic and not as a strategy, although the dividing line between these two is difficult to distinguish.)

Documents such as the *Strategy and Tactics of the ANC* (2007a) are based on a need for the “resolution of a historical injustice” and the “resolution of apartheid production relations” (ANC, 2012a:13-14). These ideas are cornerstones linking history, ideology and mythology. More radical interpretations of the NDR than the one explained in the *Strategy and Tactics* are held by other groups and articulated by amongst others, Julius Malema: “White people should be treated as criminals for stealing land from black people. [Whites] have turned our land into game farms...We must take the land without paying. They took our land without paying. Once we agree they stole our land, we can agree they are criminals and must be treated as such... Where is the money? It is in the hands of the Oppenheimers, who mine diamonds right here in Kimberley and leave nothing behind. One family has benefited for generation after generation, but there is

nothing looking like a diamond here in Galeshewe... Political freedom without economic power means nothing. You can vote until you turn yellow, but without economic freedom it means nothing” (Malema as quoted by De Lange, 2011).

Tangible evidence of demythologising is the changing of city names. “Among the towns renamed were some named after leaders significant in Afrikaner history. So Pietersburg, Louis Trichardt, and Potgietersrust became, respectively, Polokwane, Makhoda, and Mokopane (African History, 2012b). Other name changes include: Warmbaths to Bela-Bela, a Sesotho word for hot spring, Musina that was Messina; Mhlambanyatsi that was Buffelspruit; Marapyane that was Skilpadfontein; Mbongo that was Allemansdrift; Dzanani that was Makhado township; Mphephu that was Dzanani township; Modimolle that was Nylstroom; Mookgopong that was Naboomspruit and Sophiatown that was Triomf. Furthermore several new municipal and megacity boundaries have been created. The City of Tshwane Metropolitan Municipality covers cities such as Pretoria, Centurion, Temba, and Hammanskraal, and the Nelson Mandela Metropole covers the East London/Port Elizabeth area[sic]” (African History, 2012b). Street names have also been changed: “The City has exchanged Hendrik Verwoerd for Bram Fischer, and in the process has rejected the architect of apartheid for a gentle, caring advocate who despised the system” (Anon, 2012a). In Pretoria 27 streets were identified whose “names were offensive because of their colonial and apartheid associations”. These streets are to be renamed after anti-apartheid struggle icons (Pretorius, 2012; Bateman, 2012). These seemingly inconsequential changes also reflect on the bigger changes in the larger environment of the “struggle”.

### **6.6.2 The 1994 Paradigm Shift: From Liberation Movement to Political Party**

As was indicated in Chapter 4, 1994 represents major changes of course, and actually a major paradigm shift for not only the ANC but for the broad liberationist church as a whole and the tripartite alliance in particular. A point the ANC itself attests to: “As we have argued, the 1994 democratic breakthrough placed the ANC into a position in which it is the leading force in government, instead of the leading force against government” (ANC, 2012d:14). Before 1994 the ANC and its partners were as an alliance a liberation

movement with the normative ideals typical of such a movement. After 1994 the alliance became the government under the leadership of the ANC, operating within a multi-party liberal democratic system. The dichotomy between militarised liberation movement and democratic political party represents huge tension within the tripartite alliance. Some feel that the political party made too many concessions: “Mandela let us down. He agreed to a bad deal for the blacks. Economically, we are still on the outside” (Winnie Mandela as quoted by Naipaul, 2010). This and the socio-economic realities of South Africa resulted in the popularity of Julius Malema. In reality the ANC is somewhere in the middle operating as a party with many of its ideals, much of its language, traditions and beliefs, in short as a political party with the mythology of a liberation movement.

As such the party became the agent for the ideals of the movement and for the ideal of what (a liberation) government is supposed to be: “The vision that united South Africans during the early days of our political transition was thus not only about political freedom and reconciliation, but also about the commitment that [development is a comprehensive economic, social, cultural and political process and] should be used as a beachhead to build a better life for all, as expressed in the RDP. Our political transition was never only about freedom from political bondage. From the onset, democratization was inextricably linked with freedom from socio-economic bondage, captured in the motto: a better life for all” (ANC, 2012a:12-14). This vision will according to the ANC be realised through the construction of a developmental state.<sup>62</sup> “One of the main current tasks of the African National Congress as resolved in *Strategy and Tactics* in 2007 is to strengthen the hold of the democratic movement on state power, and to transform the state machinery to serve the cause of social change” (ANC, 2012b:2). The social change sought is according to the ANC defined by the NDR and “seeks to ensure that every South African especially the poor experience an improved quality of life”, it further seeks to build “a Developmental State shaped by the history and socio-economic dynamics of South African society”<sup>63</sup> (ANC, 2012b:2). According to these statements the stages of the liberation struggle were first political, then economic and

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<sup>62</sup> A definition of the Developmental state is provided in section 6.7.1.

<sup>63</sup> It is this history that is now expressed through the demythologising and new mythologising as is evident in street and city names across the country.

social, and by now, as agent of the economic and political transformation, a developmental state is needed. The goal of the NDR was never only political freedom but always social and economic freedom as well. This was explained in 1988 by Joe Slovo: “Our struggle is seen as 'bourgeois-democratic' in character so that the immediate agenda should not go beyond the objective of a kind of 'de-raced' capitalism. According to this view there will be time enough after apartheid is destroyed to then turn our attention to the struggle for socialism. Hence there should be little talk of our ultimate socialist objectives. The working class should not insist on the inclusion of radical social measures as part of the immediate agenda because that would risk frightening away potential allies against apartheid” (Slovo, 1988). Given that this is a SACP perspective and therefore only half of the debate, the path is by no means smooth and without conflict; tension between past and present and the liberationist history of the political party influences the ideal vision of the future.

### **6.6.3 Dialectical Tension; Past, Present and Future**

(Section 6.11.2 of this chapter is also relevant to this topic.)

In an interim Strategy and Tactics document of 2010 the ANC addressed “rifts” in the organisation, speaking of public “spats” within the tripartite alliance: “At the same time, the moral authority of the ANC as a movement and its leadership are called into question, either framed as having lost its moral compass or as representing a self-serving elite, having become more like a political machine to distribute power and resources amongst ourselves” (ANC, 2010). Corruption, nepotism and unfulfilled promises have tarnished the image of the virtuous liberation movement with that of the corrupt political party. Accusations such as these also represent the surfaces of deeper seated ideological differences regarding not only the interpretation of the NDR but also the role of “the Vanguard”. The more radical ANCYL under Julius Malema identifies strongly with the history of the ANC as liberation movement and places emphasis on economic liberation while seemingly disregarding the imperatives placed on a political party acting in a democracy, accusing the ANC of having drifted away from the masses (Grobler, 2012). Others go even further, such as Winnie Mandela accusing the 1994 negotiators of making too many concessions.

The need to deal with the differences of opinion, the socio-economic realities<sup>64</sup> in South Africa, and the ideological imperative [read NDR or SDR<sup>65</sup> and the fact that it has always been the ideological route map to first consolidate and then to fundamentally transform (reference Slovo above)], led the ANC to argue for “a second transition” focusing on economic and social transformation and the articulation of a “vision for South Africa for the next 30 to 50 years” (ANC, 2012a:4). This is actually just the next phase of the NDR as explained by Slovo in 1988 as in Lenin’s plan as articulated at the Second Communist International (Nzimande, 2006). This vision also provides the organisation with the opportunity to reconcile the perceptions of the virtuous liberation movement with that of the now reforming political party that will deal with corruption and nepotism, not allow tender fraud and take (better) care of its people. The vehicle for this second transition and the redesign of the ANC is the Developmental State.

In conclusion, mythologising and demythologising are characteristic of the competitive nature of ideologies. During the mythologising process people such as Nelson Mandela, Winnie Mandela, Joe Slovo and Chris Hani are idolised and idealised as they appear to represent new and normatively better and more advanced norms and values which become part of the NDR. In the demythologising process a replacement narrative is provided that links history, ideology and mythology. The normative vision of the narrative is expressed through the replacement of city and street names. (Who doesn’t want to replace the “bad” with the “good”?)

The paradigm shift of 1994 left the ANC as a political party, with the mythology/religion (defined as the NDR or SDR) of a liberation government. The result was internal tension and rifts driven to the surface in 2007 at the Polokwane conference, and continuing still

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<sup>64</sup>The socio-economic condition in South Africa as analysed by the NDR is summarised as follows: “Cumulatively, the socio-economic conditions of the majority create a sense of grievance and social injustice, especially among the urban poor who live side by side with the rich. This also explains why people in urban areas quickly resort to protests, while the same or worse conditions in rural areas do not lead to protests.” According to the ANC, the remedy for this situation is membership of ANC branches that can divert frustration (ANC, 2012d:17). See section 6.9.2 for more detail.

<sup>65</sup>Socialist Democratic Revolution.

with factions on the left and right in the ideological spectrum. The result is a second transition (second phase) that will address social and economic transformation in South Africa. This gives the ANC the opportunity to transform government into the developmental state and reconcile the images/perceptions of the virtuous liberation movement with the lacklustre and corrupt political party.

## **6.7 THE POLITICAL CLUSTER**

The *political cluster* is defined by the power to allocate or withhold resources ranging from types of resources that possess an inherent economic and monetary value such as land and mining rights, to less tangible resources such as access, representation and agency in various systems. In this context power is defined as “the probability that one actor within a social relationship will be in a position to carry out his will despite resistance” (Weber, 1978:53). For the ANC the questions in this cluster are fundamental: “The contradictions [the legacy of apartheid] that the NDR seek to resolve are expressed firstly in national terms, the liberation of Africans in particular and blacks in general. After 18 years of democracy, and in the context of social and economic transformation, the resolution of the national questions<sup>66</sup> remains critical” (ANC, 2012a:18). This critical resolution can only be achieved through a Social Democracy.

### **6.7.1 Political Equality and Freedom: A Social Democracy**

The ANC’s ideal is to build a democracy with “social content” (ANC 2012a:13-15). This means that the political system will be based on the resolution of a historical injustice and would therefore call for “corrective measures” beyond political rights. (Included is a systematic programme of affirmative action aimed at those excluded on the basis of race, class and gender, eradicating apartheid’s production relations. This will be further discussed in section 6.7.3.)

The following are important characteristics of this social democratic system envisaged for South Africa: Land and agrarian reform and rural development, including land redistribution, assistance to emergent and small-scale farmers and cooperatives; social

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<sup>66</sup>Inequality on the basis of class, race and gender.

policies that include a comprehensive social security system; social assistance; and elements of the social wage such as social grants, free basic services, free education, free health care, subsidised public transport and basic accommodation and integrated anti-poverty programmes that seek to integrate individuals, especially women, and communities and citizens living in informal settlements into the economic mainstream; the protection of worker's rights, fair and balanced relations between employers and employees, and measures governed by law to ensure decent jobs, job security and a living wage; the use of cutting edge technology, labour-absorbing industrial development, a thriving small business and cooperative sector, utilisation of information and communication technologies, and efficient forms of production and management will all combine to ensure national prosperity (ANC, 2012a:13-15). (Many of the prerequisites of these programmes are economic and these will be discussed in the next cluster.)

In the political cluster, according to the ANC, a developmental state is necessary to achieve these goals. "For a truly inclusive and prosperous national developmental society to emerge, we need a state that is developmental in its objectives and capabilities" (ANC, 2012a:13-15). A developmental state is defined as a state that develops the capabilities to guide national economic development through fiscal redistribution, mobilisation of domestic and foreign capital and other social partners, utilisation of State Owned Enterprises (SOEs), industrial policy and regulation (ANC, 2012a:13-15).

The South African developmental state is a state with the following at its disposal:

- the capacity to intervene in the economy;
- the effective and sustainable programmes that address challenges of unemployment, poverty and underdevelopment;
- the requisite emphasis on vulnerable groups
- that mobilise the people to act as their own liberators
- through participatory and representative democracy (ANC, 2012a:13-15).

The attributes of such a developmental state, according to the ANC (2012a:13-15), are:

- a) its strategic orientation to premise people-centred and people-driven change and sustained development based on high growth rates, restructuring of the economy and socio-economic inclusion;
- b) its capacity to lead in defining a common national agenda and in mobilising all sectors of society towards its implementation;
- c) its organisational capacity and macro-organisation geared towards the implementation of this national agenda of economic and socio-economic development, and
- d) its technical capacity to translate broad objectives into programmes and projects to ensure their implementation. “This applies to the public service as a whole, as well as the judiciary, the legislatures and the security forces” (ANC, 2012a:13-15). In fact this translates into a representative, just and inclusive state and society.

### **6.7.2 A Representative, Just and Inclusive State and Society**

According to the ANC (2012a:12), the “National Democratic Society [including the state as described above] is a society based on the best in human civilization in terms of political and human freedoms, socio-economic rights, value systems and identity.” The expression “best in human civilization” according to the ANC suggests a unique South African national democracy, founded on our [South African] history and learning from other countries’ experiences.

Furthermore, according to the ANC (2012a:26), capitalism faces at present a “civilisational crisis” last experienced during the great depression of the 1930s. This situation presents new opportunities (which European leftists are squandering) and South Africa needs to be part “of the community of nations that contribute towards finding solutions to this vexing issue of inequality.” As such the ANC government positions itself as a progressive force of the left, against western imperialism, neo-liberalism and gender exploitation, with a vision of including the unemployed (lost generation) youth.

This is the normative vision of the NDR and the ANC as government. For this vision to be realised, it is to an extent dependent on the acceptance of a “historical injustice”.

### **6.7.3 Redress and the “Acceptance” of Guilt**

First of all, everyone (read the white rich minority and “black diamonds” [black rich minority]) has to, according to the NDR, accept that the democratic state was destroyed “with separate development based on race, and the deliberate underdevelopment of the majority” and that policies “with a pro-poor slant” are necessary (ANC, 2012a:7). Secondly a commitment has to be made towards the acknowledgement of a historical injustice (ANC, 2012a:5). To this end “a systematic programme of affirmative action aimed at those excluded on the basis of race, class and gender” is required as well as programmes that will assist the de-racial linkage of ownership and control of wealth, including land and equity (ANC, 2012a:7-9). The “efficacy of the truth and reconciliation process is also still under debate”; the emphasis is however at this stage on the success of the process of political liberation that is regarded as sufficiently complete, and especially on the processes of economic liberation and social transformation that are rather regarded as too slow and therefore have to form part of the second reinvigorated phase of the revolution.

In conclusion, the national questions of the contradictions that exist regarding discrimination on the basis of class, race and gender are national priorities that have to be remedied by a political system with social content. Such a system in which the state is included can allocate to some groups (and subsequently de-allocate to other groups) rights beyond human rights. The type of state that can achieve this is the developmental state that will have the following abilities at its disposal:

- the capacity to intervene in the economy;
- the programmes that address unemployment, poverty and underdevelopment;
- the required emphasis on vulnerable groups;
- the ability to mobilise the people to act as their own liberators, and
- an emphasis on participatory and representative democracy.

The state further has:

- the ability to restructure the economy and foster socio-economic inclusion;
- the ability to define a common national agenda and mobilise society towards its implementation;
- the ability to implement a national agenda of economic and socio-economic development, and
- the technical capacity to ensure its implementation.

This applies to all sectors, the public service as well as the judiciary, the legislatures and the security forces (ANC, 2012a:13-15). Substantial transformation of the public service and the judiciary including the constitution can thus be expected in the future.

This represents according to the NDR assurances that political and human privileges, socio-economic rights, value systems and identity (the best in human civilisation) can be attained in the political system and especially by and in the State sector. The following is *condicio sine qua non*: the end of deliberate underdevelopment of the majority, the acceptance of policies with a pro-poor slant and the acceptance of the historical injustice that has been committed. Constitutionalism is no longer the fundamental upon which the state rests, neither is constitutional parliamentary democracy. These last are replaced by the NDR. Furthermore the first phase of political liberation has now progressed sufficiently; the emphasis should from now on fall on the second phase of economic liberation that had up to now, been progressing too slowly.

## **6.8 THE ECONOMIC CLUSTER**

The *economic cluster* is defined by the dispersion of direct material wealth or the manner of accessing or limiting access to prosperity and material wealth. According to the NDR (ANC, 2012a:10) “our [political] stabilization program [first order political transformation] meant that despite the massive [political] achievements, in the context of fiscal pressures, continued high unemployment and poverty, rapid urbanization and the unbundling of households, South Africa has in effect missed a generation of capital

investment in roads, rail, ports, electricity, water sanitation, public transport and housing.” Others are more vehement in their criticism of the lack of economic progress since 1994: “Big business on the other hand has grown even richer and fatter during the years of our hard won democracy. Wealth and economic power are still concentrated in the hands of a small, white, male elite, which has been joined by a handful of black millionaires, who have benefited from the privatization of some of our national assets like Telkom and Sasol” (Vavi, 2011). To this point of view can be added the voice of the radical black youth: “Those who have hairstyles, those who are wearing ties but not helping their community, will be affected. The white males, they need to be attended [to]...The issue of Stellenbosch mafias, the Oppenheimers, must be attended [to]. It cannot be] that all of us must live with five white families who live in Stellenbosch and control the economy” Andile Lungisa (as quoted by Majavu, 2011), chairperson of the National Youth Development Agency. Of course the most articulate of the critics of the poor progress on economic liberation is the ANCYL under the direction of Julius Malema: “despite the ANC's political leadership of society, the state and government, there is currently little or no effort on its part to provide progressive and consistent leadership to the structural transformation of the economy” (Makgetlaneng, 2011). Criticism such as this has helped smooth the way for the ANC to announce the second phase of the revolution with its emphasis on economic transformation.

### **6.8.1 Second Phase of the Revolution: Economic Transformation**

According to Leninist principles (prescribed at the second Communist International), a Native republic is a stage towards a socialist republic (Nzimande, 2006). (See section 6.11.2 for more details.) The first phase of the revolution is at this stage complete, control has been firmly established over the government [read parliament], the military, the police, the intelligence services and other instruments of power and coercion. It is now time to turn the attention to the economic and social transformation of society. In this timeframe the SACP argues for a “Marxist-Leninist” approach that will end in socialism and/or communism, while the ANC argues for “managing the contradictions between the capitalists and the working classes” (Nqatha, 2007). The NDR (ANC, 2012a:14-22) describes the economy of the National Democratic Society it wishes to

create as mixed and its relationship with “white capital” that will have to be “a critical part of consensus on a socio-economic transition”, as necessary yet oppositional. Furthermore the economy will contain “a mix of private, state, cooperative and other forms of social ownership, with the balance between social and private ownership of investment resources to be determined on the balance of evidence in relation to national development needs and the concrete tasks of the NDR at any point in time.”<sup>67</sup>

To “deracialise” ownership and control of wealth, management and the professions will be a priority and an “efficient market, free from racial and gender exclusions that characterized apartheid colonialism will be cultivated” (ANC, 2012a:13). This vision of the ANC represents a more moderate NDR than the Socialist Democratic evolution of the SACP, the vision of the ANCYL and even more radical Black Conscious, Pan-Africanist ideologies.

### **6.8.2 Sustainability and Inclusivity**

The initiatives explained above are part of being “a disciplined force of the left”, thus according to the ANC (ANC, 2012a:43) part of the ancient sustainable African culture of *Motho ke Motho ka Batho* (I am because you are). This typifies the ancient position of Africa in the world, sustainable and the opposite of greed and selfishness. Priority should be given to economic growth, racial economic inclusivity and economic imperatives such as food security.

With regard to the above, according to the NDR of the ANC (ANC, 2012a:8), the triangle of poverty, unemployment and inequality, with its historical and contemporary foundations in apartheid-colonialism, capitalism and patriarchy constitutes the core of the challenges faced by government. Therefore “the first priority of an economic policy should be to achieve rising per capita income, full employment, a Gini index target that demonstrates real and visible progress in reducing wealth and income inequalities, and visible progress in changing racial and patriarchal patterns of wealth and income” (ANC, 2012a:37). In order to achieve this an economic development model that takes account

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<sup>67</sup> Note the primacy of the NDR over for instance the constitution of South Africa.

of the natural [mineral] wealth and “our strategically positioned coastline, as well as building on and expanding existing capacity in manufacturing and services” is necessary (ANC, 2012a:37). “We need to use these endowments over the next 50 to 100 years to usher in a new era of industrialization and development. Such an era should not only see downstream and upstream beneficiation of our mineral wealth, the expansion of the manufacturing sector through localization and sector strategies but also the growth of agriculture, agro processing, land reform and rural development to ensure food security and alleviate rural poverty, building a maritime industry, and the growth of the knowledge economy” (ANC, 2012a:37-38).

The ANC remains committed (in contrast to the SACP and other factions, notably the popular and numerically influential ANCYL that represents the future of the ANC) “to a mixed economy with state, cooperative and other forms of social ownership co-existing with a vibrant private sector” (ANC, 2012a:37-38). The nationalisation debate within (on) the mining sector that has focused on whether to nationalise or not is according to the ANC’s policy discussion document (2012a) “rather limiting”, based on plans for industrialisation driven by mining, where in reality “we will have to adopt a mixed approach in this sector as well.” The real question according to the ANC is therefore whether the current Mineral Development and Resources Act makes provision for the different types of ownership characteristic of a mixed economy: for state, cooperative and other forms of social ownership, in addition to private ownership (ANC, 2012a:37-38).

Other proposals to increase employment and growth, according to the ANC (2012a:37-38), include strengthening of innovation policy, the sector and linkages with companies; improving the functioning of the labour market through reforms and specific proposals concerning dispute resolution and discipline, to help the economy absorb more labour; supporting small business through better coordination in the different agencies, the development of financial institutions, and SME incubators (small and medium enterprise assistance); improving the skills base through improved education and training; increasing of investment in social and economic infrastructure to lower costs, raise

productivity and enter more people into the mainstream economy; reducing the regulatory burden in sectors where the private sector is a main investor; a comprehensive Information and Communications Technology policy as an input to economic and social development and as a driving sector of innovation and improving state capacity to effectively implement economic policy. The SACP and COSATU agree with most of these policies (with the notable exception of the e-toll system in Gauteng). “The outcry against the e-tolls needs to be broadened into a wider campaign for public transport infrastructure, better allocated houses for the poor and the general deracialisation of our towns and cities. Both parties (the SACP and COSATU) condemned the massive extent of corruption, in both the private and public sectors, and the theft and waste of public funds, which is bleeding the country dry” (SACP, 2012b:1). “The bilateral reaffirmed the commitment of both organizations to support the implementation of the progressive policies adopted by the ANC 2007 Polokwane Conference and contained in the 2009 ANC elections manifesto, and support for the leadership collective elected at Polokwane. The two allies resolved to stand shoulder-to-shoulder, together with the ANC, in the struggle to deepen our national democratic revolution, to end the national oppression of the majority, the super-exploitation of workers by white monopoly capitalism and the triple oppression faced by women, in order to create a new non-racial, non-sexist, democratic and prosperous South Africa” (SACP, 2012b:1).

In conclusion, the ANC realises that despite the success of the political stabilisation efforts South Africa has missed “a generation” of capital investment in roads, railways, sanitation, water, public transport and housing. Others within the tripartite alliance are even more critical, according to them big (black and white) business has grown even fatter and economic power is still in the hands of a small elite group. This criticism has helped to smooth the way for the second transition by making the need for such a project obvious. According to the principles of Lenin formulated at the second Communist International, the first political phase of the NDR has been successfully consolidated; the second social and economic phase is now in the offing. In this phase the ANC wishes to manage the contradiction created by the legacies of imperialism and

colonialism of a special sort. The SACP wishes to create a socialist/communist state and COSATU wishes for the nationalisation of industry, equity stock and farms. All agree however that the requirements of the NDR supersede those of the constitution or those of minorities. All the main players in the tripartite alliance and in the broad liberationist church in South Africa however affirm the leadership of the ANC.

## **6.9 THE SOCIAL CLUSTER**

The *social cluster* has earlier in this chapter been defined as pertaining to elements that concern the basic physical and mental state of being of people in society and/or various communities in South African society, as well as the relationships of these elements to each other. In this regard the National Planning Commission noted “that the spatial legacy of apartheid continues to weigh on the entire country. In general, the poorest people live in remote rural areas. In the cities, the poorest live far from places of work and economic activity. Although it was identified as a particular focus for attention even before 1994, the situation has probably been aggravated since then, with many more people now living in poorly located settlements. This adds to the challenges, already discussed, of providing infrastructure in support of economic activity. Reversing the effects of spatial apartheid will be an on-going challenge in the decades ahead” (ANC, 2012a:36). The SACP (2012b:1) agrees with this assessment: “The current rates of unemployment, poverty and inequality, in particular as they affect women and the youth, constitute a ticking time bomb, and require the mobilization of all progressive forces, with the working class as the leading motive force, with a combined use of state power and resources to address this challenge. We need to build on the many advances made by our revolution in order to address these challenges.” This is the motivation for the second transition.

“For a liberation movement such as the ANC, which played the leading role in bringing about democracy, this strong sense of injustice in society is a warning signal that it will ignore at its peril. Thus we must heed the call for the ANC to pay single-minded and undivided attention towards overcoming poverty, unemployment and inequality. This is what our second transition must be about” (ANC, 2012a:36).

### **6.9.1 Second Phase of Revolution: Social Transformation**

According to the NDR (ANC, 2012a:39) democracy with social content also means that people have to be regarded as a fundamental resource that is central to the development of the economy, society and the nation as a whole. “Our approach to social transformation must therefore be people-centred by involving people in their own development, through the public provision of a minimum package of publicly delivered transfers, goods and services known as a ‘social floor’, and by providing a safety net for the most vulnerable.” According to the ANC (2012a:40), this includes the provision of basic rights of shelter, food security, health services, education, water and sanitation, and a social security network. It also includes other programmes that promote the physical, social, safety and emotional well-being of all in our society, including through culture, community safety and sports (ANC, 2012a:40).

This focus on the value of “caring”, “excellence”, “cooperation” and “solidarity” that build social capital will form part of the transformation of the economy. Education is a key aspect of the social and economic transformation, therefore the critical programmes for the next few decades include: improving the quality of education and expanding access to early childhood education, literacy and lifelong learning opportunities; improving the health status of South Africans through the prevention of illnesses, reducing the burden of disease, promotion of healthy lifestyles and improving the performance of the health system; deepening the social floor and improving the social wage by expanding access to, and the quality of, basic services, implementing a comprehensive social security system, and building integrated and sustainable communities; building safe communities and fighting crime and corruption; developing and preserving our arts, culture, sports, heritage and language to promote social cohesion and nation-building (ANC, 2012a:39-40). These measures must of necessity have an equalising effect on South African society.

### **6.9.2 An Equalising Society as Necessity**

The goal of the second transition, or phrased differently, the current phase of the NDR, is primarily aimed at economic and social transformation. The result of this

transformation process has to be an equal or at least a more equal society in South Africa. Success with this will result in a national democratic society that would have eliminated the main antagonisms of colonialism of a special type [the contradictions of (a) national oppression based on race; (b) super-exploitation of black workers, and (c) the triple oppression of women based on their race, class and gender (ANC, 2010:2)].

“The *Strategy and Tactics 2007* elaborates on the objectives, drivers and tasks of the National Democratic Revolution in the current phase. In this strategy and tactics, we noted that although we are still in a transition, the task is no longer simply to consolidate and expand the hold of the democratic forces on levers of (state) power, but to decisively tackle the task of building a National Democratic Society.” According to the ANC (2012a:43-44), the tasks of eradicating poverty, the provision of a social floor and social wage, nation-building and social cohesion will provide an equalising force in society. This however requires not only action on the part of the state, but the mobilisation of all sectors and “people to take charge of their own destiny and development and so linked to this, is the addition of mass mobilization and organization” (ANC, 2012a:43-44). Structures to “institutionalize forums of direct participatory democracy such as ward committees, Integrated Development Plan (IDP) forums, school governing bodies, health committees, community policing forums and economic institutions to manage relations between different economic players such as NEDLAC, bargaining councils and workplace forums have been put in place to further provide avenues for constructive participation”<sup>68</sup> (ANC, 2012d:14-15).

According to the ANC, and agreed to time and again by its allies (SACP, 2012a:1), this should place the ANC and ANC structures down to branch level at the centre of all community activities and also make the ANC branch the necessary centre for community development by placing emphasis on the social activism required from all ANC members and South Africans who have to contribute to change. For the ANC (2012a:12) this includes the change to, as well as the development and evolution of a (national and personal) value system appropriate to the type of society the party seeks

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<sup>68</sup>Yet despite these initiatives service delivery unrests have spread, a fact that the ANC itself notes (ANC, 2012d:14-15).

to build<sup>69</sup>. This will result in the formation of a national identity and social cohesion. Furthermore membership of ANC branches and other organisations will according to the NDR serve to direct frustration away from violent protest (ANC, 2012d:17). According to the NDR, ANC branches have to be “grassroots structures that are organically linked to the people and their daily struggles for a better life, the type of ANC branch that contributes to the building of sustainable communities and social cohesion” (ANC, 2012d:17).

The creation of these higher values through participation and the dominant (father figure) role of the party is similar (even identical) to the primacy placed on the party as a cultural/spiritual and activist centre in Mao’s China through the Mass Line<sup>70</sup> programmes and the values created by such programmes (see Chapter 3 section 3.3.7 for details). In these programmes the renewed organisation of the masses (and the rejuvenation of their loyalty) had been the goal and it was accomplished through all but obligatory participation in anything from mass rallies, “struggle sessions”, to small study groups.

### 6.9.3 National Identity and Social Cohesion

Social cohesion is one of the core values of the National Democratic Society and according to the NDR (ANC, 2012a:13) will be brought about through the harnessing of the creativity of especially the youth via “the provision of access to social and economic opportunities and the encouragement of youth activism around community solidarity. (Once more the principles of Mao’s Mass Line are in operation.) The dignity and empowerment of vulnerable sectors such as children, people with disability and the elderly is a priority along with the building of social capital in communities and different sectors by supporting community and sectorial organization and mobilization to facilitate participation in development and nation building, through supporting the institution of the family and incorporating the role of public media” (ANC, 2012a:13).

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<sup>69</sup> Does this represent even the suggestion of political control of a personal value system?

<sup>70</sup> The NDR uses the term *progressive political line* as a synonym for *mass line* (ANC, 2012d:22).

Furthermore “social cohesion will be fostered on a value system based on human solidarity that includes social activism, respect for an honest day’s work, social discouragement of conspicuous consumption, corruption and ostentatiousness. The building of such a value system will also require on-going ideological engagement, involving both the state and civil society” (ANC, 2012a:13). “The society” will be able to guarantee the safety and security of its people against crime, corruption, personal violence and provide equitable access to the criminal justice system (ANC, 2012a:13). Around these values a national identity has to coalesce.

In conclusion, the social cluster, according to the NDR, is still dominated by the legacy of apartheid. Progress has been made in the consolidation of state power but these gains have now to be turned towards social and economic transformation. In this process the major factor of a prevailing sense of injustice has to be addressed; this will be done by paying “single-minded” and “undivided” attention to the eradication of poverty, inequality and unemployment. This will be done by giving democracy “a social content” and focusing on people as “fundamental resources” that have to be developed in conjunction with the economic and social sectors. Intrinsic values of cooperation, excellence and solidarity will be promoted in all societal sectors in which emphasis will be placed on education, the provision of health care, social security, and integrated, sustainable and safe communities. Through processes of mobilisation and activism in which members of communities will play an active part, a new national and personal value system will be formulated and accepted. This process places the ANC and ANC structures central in the community and makes use of the principle of the Mass Line established by Mao in China. The product of this transformation will be social cohesion and a national identity in which the state will become a partner in social activism. The theoretical base for this thinking in the NDR is found in the ideas of Mao Zedong and his ideas of reinvigorating his revolution.

## **6.10 THE INTERNATIONAL CLUSTER**

The international cluster (Chapter 5 section 5.8.2 is also relevant to this topic) is defined by the ideologies and theories that contributed to the NDR and from which the NDR

took (amongst others) a Marxist perspective of a “world revolution” in which international responsibility and solidarity lead to international networks, support and areas where influence should be exerted or countered and friends gained in order to promote foreign and domestic objectives. Therefore the ANC and its partners regard themselves and the NDR “as part of the progressive forces in the world in the struggle against colonialism, racism, poverty, underdevelopment and gender oppression” (ANC, 2012a:25). The international environment is at the moment characterized by a crisis for capitalism in contrast with “the triumphalism of the last two decades of the 20th century” that has faded and a new period of uncertainty and vulnerability that has begun: “The hegemony of the Bretton Woods prescriptive paradigm is therefore not as rock-solid as it was...” (ANC, 2012a:27-28). In this era the South African government wishes to transform its immediate international environment more in accordance with its own anti-imperialist, anti-colonialist, pro-Africa perspective: “we are reminded that a salient feature of the ANC is its commitment to the struggle for a humane, just, equitable, democratic, and free world, and a better Africa” (ANC, 2012c:2). According to the ANC, this organisation has a proud and long history of international and especially African “progressive internationalism”: “Before the formation of the South African Native National Congress (later ANC) in 1912, Comrade Pixley ka Seme castigated imperialism and colonialism, called for democracy and a renewal of Africa in public speeches and publications” (ANC, 2012c:3). This same progressive internationalist agenda is according to the ANC still as relevant as it was a hundred years ago, and it is this vision that the NDR wishes to cultivate in the various organisations and environments discussed below.

### **6.10.1 The South African Development Community**

According to the NDR (ANC, 2012c:12), “weak regional institutions compound[s] Africa’s challenges”. To counter this and to further South Africa’s political (ideological), economic social stability “the development of the SADC’s political, security and developmental programs are crucial contributions to the process of building a regional integration machinery that is able to respond to the region’s challenges of poverty, conflict and underdevelopment.” To this end the ANC “as a movement in power” has worked to develop policies which can assist in the region’s growth and stability. The

SACP (2011a) regards these policies as: “a different regional and African agenda – that places development, inter-regional trade, regional industrial policies, and infrastructure” as prerequisites above an export dominated economy. The NDR not only wishes to create a Developmental State in South Africa, but also wants to create such states throughout the whole of the SADC. In order to do this “there has to be a clear alignment of our domestic programs with the Regional Indicative Strategic Development Plan. Without this, the vision of developmental regional integration expected to help create developmental states in the region and thus fight against poverty will falter” (ANC, 2012c:19). According to the NDR, the South African government has however not played a dominant, interventionist role, or taken a hegemonic posture but has rather reacted with speed to defend the African renaissance (ANC,2012c:14). This renaissance relationship links South Africa to Africa and forms the context in which all other international relationships have to be placed.

### **6.10.2 Africa, and the African Renaissance**

Before 1994 South Africa’s environment, especially culturally, had been European; after 1994 through the ‘African Renaissance’, South Africa responded to being African. The African renaissance is the economic, social and political revitalisation of Africa, the essence of which Thabo Mbeki described in his address at the adoption of the 1996 constitution of South Africa:

“Today it feels good to be an African. It feels good that I can stand here as a South African and as a foot soldier of a titanic African army... I am an African. I am born of the peoples of the continent of Africa. The pain of the violent conflict that the peoples of Liberia, Somalia, the Sudan, Burundi and Algeria bear is a pain I also bear. The dismal shame of poverty, suffering and human degradation of my continent is a blight that we share. The blight on our happiness that derives from this and from our drift to the periphery of the ordering of human affairs leaves us in a persistent shadow of despair. This is a savage road to which nobody should be condemned. This thing that we have done today, in this small corner of a great continent that has contributed so decisively to the evolution of humanity says that Africa reaffirms that she is continuing her rise from

the ashes. Whatever the setbacks of the moment, nothing can stop us now! (Mbeki, 1996:3-6). In this speech the foundation for the principles of the African renaissance is embedded.

The NDR wishes to deepen “continental unity” and supports Union Government for Africa. “We maintain that the road to this phase of continental unity is through the strengthening of regional communities, which the African Union considers to be building blocks for African unity. Believing that the unity we create should be sustainable and systematic, we consider a strong focus on strengthening regional integration as the surest route to a strong continental unity and one that is best poised to respond to developmental imperatives of the continent” (ANC, 2012c:18). In this regard the government supports the strengthening of the African Union Commission into the African Union Authority and the eventual “gluing together” of all the regional organisations.

According to the NDR, the citizens of conflict-ridden areas in Africa have to be allowed to find their own solutions to their own problems: “Our track record in peaceful settlement of conflicts in Africa bears out the correctness of this principled position” (ANC, 2012c:18). Furthermore it has to be ensured that regional and continental organisations have sufficient capability to act speedily and efficiently enough to stop conflict before it becomes entrenched. To build own and regional capacity the South African Government plans expansion projects for the SANDF, including projects for the Navy to an estimated total cost of R10 billion including project Saucepan; the acquisition of maritime surveillance aircraft, at an estimated cost of about R320 million per unit for six aircraft; project Biro: the acquisition of inshore/offshore patrol vessels; offshore eight vessels are required at an estimated cost of R470 million each; Inshore: six vessels at R100 million each. The Army’s armoured personnel carriers including the Ratels, Mambas, Casspirs and Samils have to be replaced. This includes project Hoefyster: the replacement of Ratels with 264 new Badger vehicles at a cost of R8,8 billion. The actual requirement is 1000 vehicles; the cost includes the development of interior, weapon and

turret systems as well as project Sepula: the replacement of Mamba and Casspir vehicles for which the long-term requirement is 3000 vehicles (Hoskin,2012).

Within a broader context South Africa feels itself at home within countries of the global South. “We are committed to strengthening south-south cooperation by contributing to the fortification of global south multilateralism as epitomized by organizations like the Non-Aligned Movement, the New Asia-Africa Strategic Partnership, the G77 plus China and our alliance like India-Brazil-South Africa (IBSA) and Brazil-Russia-India-China-South Africa (BRICS)” (ANC, 2012c:22). The ANC regards this alignment as a strategic positioning underpinning its African stance and as a counter to what it calls unilateral action against for example Libya in 2011. These events that resulted in a NATO military campaign and the violent overthrow of Colonel Gadhafi should be prevented from occurring again. This can be accomplished by ensuring that “the Regional Economic Communities, as well as SADC have sufficient political, intellectual, and technical capacity to respond quickly to the ever-changing context[s]” (ANC, 2012c:16). Events such as those in Libya also indicated that African concerns have to be articulated in a sustained manner in the international community. In order to achieve this the international order which is dominated by rich former colonialist and imperialist nations has to be transformed.

### **6.10.3 The International Order**

The NDR regards the international order of rich and poor states, with organisations such as the UN, IMF and World Bank as the product of “imperialist expansionism” that makes Africa (and other colonised countries) “forever the infantile dwarfs who required the benign or brutal patronage of the white super person... [whom] in earlier times had to be liberated from the state of noble savagery. Whether this resulted in our transportation across the seas as slaves or in enslavement in our own countries, as subject peoples...” (Tambo, 1986:2). These views are in accordance with the perspective of Lenin on the exploitative nature of capitalism. (See Chapter 3, section 3.3.6 and Chapter 5 section 5.6.2.) According to the NDR, this system of colonialism is still in operation through the Bretton Woods institutions which have to be transformed through

an equity process: “We have over the past decade and more been engaging in a battle of ideas in the attempt to transform the Bretton Woods institutions. We have been advocating for a more open, transparent and merit-based approach to choose the heads of the World Bank and the IMF not the secretive manner or Eurocentric manner in which they are currently appointed. We have been mobilizing the progressive forces in the world to continue advocating for the completion of the Doha Development Round...” (Sibhidla, 2011). The most well-known international organisation and its Security Council as the major decision making body of the United Nations also have to be transformed.

#### **6.10.4 The United Nations**

Apart from a long history of representation of the ANC at the UN, the NDR regards the organisation mostly as “in cahoots” with former colonial powers. “In the case of Libya, the Western powers used a UN Security Council Resolution supported by African members of the Council, including South Africa, to smuggle in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), a military alliance between Europe and America, to carry out a regime change in Africa, a region over which NATO has no jurisdiction” (ANC, 2012c:11). For South Africa as a member of the Security Council with a commitment to the African agenda this is unacceptable: “We reject the idea that five permanent members of the UN Security Council should hold sway over global decision-making...We want to see the UN Security Council transformed to reflect the current balance of power. Whereas developing countries have an increased global responsibility, they do not have increased powers to act accordingly” (ANC, 2012c:11). The ANC wishes the Security Council’s transformation to happen according to the AU’s Ezulwini Consensus, which calls for permanent and non-permanent seats for Africa. Even more importantly though is the transformation of the international monetary structures.

#### **6.10.5 International Monetary Structures**

The fundamental view of the NDR on the international economic order was expressed by Oliver Thabo in 1986: “The urgent need for a New International Economic Order has

been dramatically illustrated by the famine in Africa, the international debt crisis and the collapse of the price of oil and other raw materials. The hard and continuing struggle for the New Order is fundamentally about the redistribution of the world means of production, to bring about the economic independence of the Third World and enable its peoples to banish hunger, disease and ignorance forever, to assert their dignity as human beings and bring fulfilment to their lives. The accomplishment of this objective would itself redress the political imbalance which threatens the independence of many nations". This view has not changed over the past decades: "Our National General Council in September 2010 underscored that the ANC continues to be the strategic centre of power, the leader of the Alliance, a disciplined force of the left, a mass movement, an internationalist movement with an anti-imperialist outlook. We have spoken a lot in the past about the need to speed up the reform of international institutions" (Sibhidla, 2011).

According to the NDR, the IMF is a quota-based institution and the quotas have to shift to developing economies as their need for the IMF resources is higher. "The shift must essentially be from developed countries to developing countries We must play a greater role in providing strategic direction to the IMF. We must also ensure that an equitable representation is achieved in the Board of the IMF to reflect appropriate regional representation. This could be achieved through reforming the composition of the Board as was done at the World Bank, to afford an additional chair for sub-Saharan Africa. The appointment of the head of the IMF must be based on merit without regard to nationality or gender. These institutions belong to all of us" (Sibhidla, 2011).

In conclusion, the NDR is a world (internationalist) revolution wherein the ANC and its partners regard themselves as part of the progressive forces of the left, fighting chauvinism, racism, poverty, underdevelopment and gender oppression. According to the NDR the international environment is at this moment (2012) dominated by a crisis of capitalism and the hegemony of the Bretton Woods system is not as strong as it used to be. In this environment the NDR wishes to transform international institutions and other environments in accordance with the normative visions of the ideology. According to the

NDR, weak regional institutions are part of the problem of Africa and the ideology wishes to create a strong region through policies within South Africa and other SADC countries that emphasise the development of regional trade, the development of regional industry and the development of regional infrastructure. The desire is to create developmental states throughout the SADC region. These goals have to be achieved without South Africa playing a hegemonic role in the region.

According to the NDR, South Africa responds to being a part of Africa through the African Renaissance which is a regeneration of African culture and African pride through an investment in Africa by Africans. The central theme of Africa rising from the ashes is captured by Thabo Mbeki in his speech "I am an African". This statement is a fundamental part of the NDR and a cornerstone of the ideology's normative view on the international environment. According to this precept, the NDR and South Africa's government support a strong unified Africa and an eventual unitary government for Africa. The way towards this goal is through the strengthening of regional organisations, the strengthening and support of the African Union and the eventual "gluing together" of the regional organisations under the banner of the AU. Unilateralist action against African states (as has happened in Libya in 2011) should not be allowed to happen again. People in conflict-ridden areas in Africa have to be allowed to find solutions to their own problems. In order to provide capacity domestically and regionally the South African government will further increase military spending on and modernization of the SANDF.

Within the broader context the NDR provides a moral and practical political-ideological alignment with other countries of the global South (former colonies) as can be seen from its membership in the New Asia-Africa strategic Partnership, the G77 plus China, IBSA and BRICS. The NDR regards these alignments as an appropriate response to the prevailing (and according to the NDR) dangerous "unilateralism" that led to the actions of America and Europe in Libya in 2011. This one-sidedness has to be prevented from occurring again and Africa has to articulate its agenda (read the NDR) on the international stage. This agenda centres on the Leninist interpretation of the

international order in which the constellation of rich and poor states is the result of capitalist imperialism and colonialism advancing some states and peoples at the cost of others. This inequality is currently continued within international institutions such as the World Bank, the IMF and the UN through Eurocentric decisions, quotas and representation. According to the NDR these institutions have urgently to be reformed in order to provide not only more balanced representation but also redress for past excess.

## **6.11 THE IDEOLOGICAL CLUSTER**

The ideological cluster is defined as being concerned with the NDR itself, what its ideological cornerstones are and how it develops as ideology. In general the hard core of the ideology stays the same while different contexts at different times are emphasised or de-emphasised. In the current phase of the NDR, social and economic transformation is being emphasized. “Now however we [the tripartite alliance, the government and especially the ANC] have to overcome the constraints and limitations of the first two decades of the transition to democracy by building capacity to effect meaningful change in the state, the economy and society generally” (ANC, 2012d:4). According to the ANC (2012d:6), “over the past eighteen years, substantial progress has been made in improving the quality of life and laying a firm foundation for a national democratic society”. However, the fault lines created by colonialism of a special type still persist and are hard to eradicate. For this the NDR proposes a specific remedy.

### **6.11.1 Non-Racial, Non-Sexist, Democratic and Developmental Framework as a Remedy**

The NDR of the ANC defines its ideological enemy as neo-liberalism which according to the NDR “proceeds from a premise that the market mechanism and market forces should be the basis for organizing society. According to neo-liberalism, all aspects of life and all human needs – food, water, health care, education, housing, culture, leisure, etc. – should be governed by the logic of the market and consequently, the profit motive and money. Everything should be left to the market. There should be no conscious human or state intervention to address the needs of humanity and society. The role of

the state is reduced to protecting and expanding the role of the market forces and the capitalist system, not human life and the common good” (ANC, 2012d:7-8). The ideology of the NDR “leans towards the poor” and “recognizes the leading role of the working class in the current project of social transformation. [Also] recognizing the reality of unequal gender relations, and the fact that the majority of the poor are African women, the ANC [and its partners] pursues gender equality in all practical respects. In this context, it is a disciplined force of the left, organized to conduct a consistent struggle in pursuit of a caring society in which the well-being of the poor receives focused and consistent attention” (ANC, 2012d:7-8). Therefore according to the ANC (2007a), the main content of the NDR “is the liberation of Africans in particular and Blacks in general from political and socio-economic bondage the uplifting of the quality of life of all South Africans, especially the poor, the majority of whom are African and female, the liberation of the white community from the false ideology of racial superiority and the insecurity attached to oppressing others and because patriarchal oppression was embedded in the economic, social, religious, cultural, family and other relations in all communities, its eradication cannot be an assumed consequence of democracy, all manifestations and consequences of patriarchy – from the feminisation of poverty, physical and psychological abuse, undermining of self-confidence, to open and hidden forms of exclusion from positions of authority and power – need to be eliminated” (ANC, 2007a). The best way to achieve this is through a developmental state. According to the SACP (2009:23), “to speak of the South African state as developmental is, for the moment, more a description of what we want, than a description of what exists. The struggle for working class hegemony in the state is a struggle for a democratic developmental state that supports and is supported by popular mass forces” (SACP, 2009:23). On this the various protagonists of the NDR agree, yet differences within the tripartite alliance and even within the ANC continue to occur.

### **6.11.2 Differences between the ANC, the SACP and the ANCYL**

(Section 6.3 of this chapter is also relevant to this topic.) The ANC (2012a:8) explains the differences of opinion within the ranks of the broad church in the following manner: “From within the Alliance, it has been argued that up to the early 1990s the NDR

concept captured far-reaching social transformation, which went beyond the formal election of a democratic government, the abolition of racist legislation, and the creation of opportunities for black people to enter existing economic power structures...Instead what has happened according to the argument is that the ANC has instead opted for a limited NDR, which accommodates (and even promotes) existing economic power relations” (ANC, 2012a:8).

Concerning the difference indicated by the ANC above, the ANC defines the NDR as: “A process of struggle that seeks to transfer power to the people and transform society into a non-racial, non-sexist, united, democratic one, and changes the manner in which wealth is shared, in order to benefit all the people” (ANC, 2007a). The SACP adds to this definition: “our immediate aim is to win the objectives of the national democratic revolution, whose main content is the national liberation of the African people in particular, and the black people in general, the destruction of the economic and political power of the racist ruling class, and the establishment of one united South Africa in which the working class will be the dominant force” (SACP, 1989). This goal is further elucidated: “The destruction of colonialism and the winning of national freedom is the essential condition and the key for future advance to the supreme aim of the Communist Party, the establishment of a socialist South Africa, laying the foundations of a classless, communist society”<sup>71</sup> (SACP, 1989). It has to be remembered that the SACP operates according to the tenets of the Second Communist International and the precept “A struggle for a native republic as a stage towards a socialist South Africa” authored by Lenin (Nzimande,2006).

Furthermore the Socialist Democratic Revolution or SDR (the full analysis and examination of which does not fall within the purview of this thesis) consists of the SACP view that firstly: Capitalism constitutes the gravest threat to the survival of humanity and our planet. “Whilst the world today produces enough food for everyone to eat, billions of people go to bed hungry every night. Our rivers are destroyed, our forests are cut down, the air we breathe polluted in the drive to increase profits for the few.

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<sup>71</sup>. This is the Socialist Democratic Revolution or SDR.

Factories are closed, workers are retrenched. There is one simple reason for this, being the minority of the rich are only interested in profits for themselves. Only a more human system, socialism, can harness the energies of all our people, the human inventions and technology for the benefit of humanity as a whole” (SACP, 2011c). Secondly and more importantly, against the background above the SACP (2007) feels that the “attainment of the objectives of the NDR is something that is of fundamental importance and in the deepest interests of the working class. The total liberation of the African people in particular, and blacks in general, is an important objective in itself, that ensures that the working class itself is completely freed from the burdens of colonialism of a special type [apartheid and neo-colonialism]. However, at the same time, as the SACP we know that we can never attain the total liberation of Africans and black people under capitalism” (SACP, 2007). Thus the SACP emphasises that the only way to total liberation is through socialism and this is the SDR. According to two-stage theorists such as Joe Slovo, the goals of NDR and the “native republic” must first be met on the way towards a socialist republic, others theorists within the radical left wing see the SDR and NDR running concurrently. The ANC however articulates the more moderate and nationalistic “National” Democratic Revolution.

The ANCYL under the leadership of Julius Malema, representing the ANC youth (and so the future of the party) as well as those feeling unrepresented and disenfranchised, also stands by a dissimilar opinion: “It is quite apparent that the approach of the ANC government to strategic economic transformation issues somewhat suggests that the ANC lost the liberation struggle for political, social and economic emancipation of the black majority and Africans in particular or there was a draw of some sort” (ANCYL, 2011b:2). According to the ANCYL, despite the fact that the ANC is in power, this power is not used correctly: “The post-democratic government has not done well in the transformation of the economy. The ANC did not use the political power at its disposal to transfer the economy from the minority to the people as a whole...All credible research outcomes in both Right and Left political spectra agree that South Africa’s unemployment levels are at a crisis level, poverty massive and that the country is the most unequal society in the whole world. Everyone agrees that the massive inequality

levels continue to be defined alongside apartheid racial lines which deliberately empowered whites and underdeveloped the black majority and Africans in particular. These painful realities define South Africa, despite relentless efforts by the democratic government to provide services to the poor. The story of South Africa is telling that whilst plausible, the State's narrow and only focus on service delivery without real transformation of the economy altogether missed the point in the struggle to address massive inequalities and poverty" (ANC, 2011a:2-3). Therefore the Youth League interprets the Freedom Charter as a call for radical and fast transformation (even more radical and faster than the SACP) of the ownership of the economy including policies of Nationalisation which the ANC does not (in 2012) support. COSATU, the most powerful labour union in the country (whose members vote ANC) also supports the nationalisation of mines and banks, although they do not necessarily support the Youth League, especially its 2012 leadership (Anon, 2011a).

According to Nqatha<sup>72</sup> (2007), the ANC seems to be abandoning "a Marxist-Leninist approach to the NDR and how it relates to the struggle against imperialism". According to Nqatha's interpretation of Lenin, the NDR is not only concerned with the management of contradictions between the working and capitalist classes as according to the ANC's interpretation: "The NDR is not just about national grievance and de-racialisation of the apartheid capitalist economy and the co-option of black people without transforming the systemic colonial and apartheid features embedded in the present growth path." Lenin argued that the National Question (the NDR in present terms) cannot be "solved on the quiet" on its own, off the highway of the revolutionary working class struggle against imperialism. According to Nqatha, Lenin argued that the NDR is part of the complete struggle against imperialism and warns against "loss of tempo" and "loss of bearing"; phenomena which Nqatha says occur in a revolution when revolutionary parties lag behind the revolutionary spirit in the people (Nqatha, 2007).

Ideological differences have until 2012 not led to fundamental differences within the tripartite alliance even though, during Mbeki's term, for a period during which the SACP

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<sup>72</sup>"Comrade" Nqatha is a SACP member and secretary of the Skenjana Roji district.

and COSATU felt marginalised, the SACP stated that although it wholeheartedly supported the ANC it was examining the option of competing separately in a possible next election. The differences with the ANC Youth League that resulted in the expulsion of Julius Malema in 2012 are motivated by the ANC (2012e) on the basis of lack of discipline<sup>73</sup>, not because of intolerable ideological diversions. The governing principle concerning ideological differences is in the words of Blade Nzimande (2006) “the deepening and consolidation [of] the national democratic revolution is the glue that holds our Alliance together” and so the platforms for engagements and debates are designed within the framework of the ideology and the alliance that up to 2012 resolved the ideological disparities that exist. Major dissent as in the case of Malema is individualised and the individual(s) is (are) then ostracised.

In conclusion, the ideological cluster is concerned with the NDR itself and in this area the most significant success was the democratic transition of 1994/6 although the fault lines created by colonialism of a special type still persist. For this situation the NDR prescribes a non-racial, non-sexist, democratic and developmental remedy. Within this perspective the NDR is fundamentally anti-neo-liberal and pro-poor and wishes to liberate Africans in particular and Blacks in general from socio-economic bondage. The fault lines created in the past will not be erased simply by being democratic; a developmental state that will be more activist is needed to redress the imbalances that exist. All the partners within the tripartite alliance agree on the necessity of such a state, although they differ in other ideological matters.

The ANC defines the NDR as a process of struggle that seeks to transfer power to the people while the SACP, according to the tenets prescribed by the Second Communist International and authored by Lenin, regards the NDR as the fastest route to a native republic, and that republic as a stage towards a socialist/communist state. This vision can be described as the SDR or Socialist Democratic Revolution. The ANCYL, although part of the ANC, under Julius Malema’s leadership severely criticised its mother body

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<sup>73</sup> The real reason however is intra Party faction fighting with the Zuma camp on the one side and the ABZ’s (anything but Zuma’s) on the other.

and was of the opinion that the ANC provided no leadership on social and economic reform. The result was the expulsion of Malema. The ideological differences have not resulted in fundamental differences within the alliance up to 2012. The goals of the NDR are of sufficient importance to override these differences.

## 6.12 SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

In accordance with the three main characteristics/dimensions of an ideology, the goal of this chapter has been to reconstruct the second or normative dimension of the NDR. Firstly concerning the functioning of the normative dimension the following conclusions are reached:

- Every ideology has a utopian context, and ideologies, especially their utopian visions, compete with one another to be accepted as true.
- Once accepted they blind the “believer” to facts negating their version of “truth”.
- Utopian visions prescribe norms (combined in normative dimensions or ideal visions) which are abstract and accepted rules that lead to cooperation, advancement, solidarity, obedience and are enforced by various types of (even primitive) bureaucracies.
- These bureaucracies teach norms which become part of the ideology, apply sanctions to transgressors and instil discipline.
- Norms become values and thus accepted personal, group and cultural codes that evaluate the meaning of occurrences, offer direction and explain events, indicate what is normal and what is not, what is expected of members and how they have to behave to become part of a society.
- In this way pressure is exerted to conform, order is provided and should a crisis occur the groups could survive.
- Legitimacy is also provided as the norms and values are enshrined as a belief and so mythology in other words becomes a secular religion.
- The mythology offers a significant account in the realm of quasi-religious belief and becomes the fundamental truth for a group or culture with sometimes severe consequences.

- As a conveyor of norms a mythology has five important functions:
  - Binds people as if by religion;
  - creates unity;
  - explains procedures, defines leaders and lays the foundation for organisations;
  - provides grounds for differentiation (inclusion/exclusion, enemy/friend, basically them and us), and
  - provides the normative structure capable of interpreting and overcoming contradictions.
- These functions provide legitimacy for the ideology and importantly for the actions taken in the name of that ideology.

In the normative dimension the “what ought to be” or normative statements of the ideology are made in order to obtain legitimacy and in the sixth cluster of the NDR the following summarising conclusion can be made concerning what ought to be in each cluster:

- **The Historical Cluster**
  - Mythologising and demythologising are characteristic of the competitive nature of ideologies.
  - During the mythologising process people such as Nelson Mandela, Winnie Mandela, Joe Slovo and Chris Hani are idolised and idealised as they appear to represent new and normatively better and more advanced norms and values which become part of the NDR.
  - In the demythologising process a replacement narrative is provided that links history, ideology and mythology.
  - The normative vision of the narrative is expressed through the replacement of city and street names. (Who doesn’t want to replace the “bad” with the “good”?)

- The paradigm shift of 1994 left the ANC as a political party, with the mythology/religion (defined as the NDR or SDR) of a liberation government.
  - The result was internal tension and rifts driven to the surface in 2007 at the Polokwane conference and continuing still with factions on the left and right spectrum.
  - The result is a second transition (second phase) according to the precepts of Lenin that will address social and economic transformation in South Africa.
  - This gives the ANC the opportunity to transform government into the developmental state and reconcile the images of the virtuous liberation movement with a lacklustre and corrupt (according to some) political party.
- **The Political Cluster**
    - The national questions of the contradictions that exist regarding discrimination on the basis of class, race and gender are national priorities that have to be remedied by a political system with social content.
    - This system in which the state is included can allocate (and subsequently de-allocate) rights beyond human rights.
    - The type of state that can do this is the developmental state that will have the following abilities:
      - The capacity to intervene in the economy;
      - the programmes that address unemployment, poverty and underdevelopment;
      - the required emphasis on vulnerable groups;
      - the ability to mobilise the people to act as their own liberators; and
      - an emphasis on participatory and representative democracy.
    - The state further has at its disposal:
      - The ability to restructure the economy and foster socio-economic inclusion;
      - the ability to define a common national agenda and mobilise society towards its implementation;
      - the ability to implement a national agenda of economic and socio-economic development, and

- the technical capacity to ensure its implementation.
  - This applies to all sectors, the public service as well as the judiciary, the legislatures and the security forces.
  - Substantial transformation of the public service and the judiciary, including the constitution, can thus be expected in the future.
  - This system represents according to the NDR assurances that political and human freedoms, socio-economic rights, value systems and identity (the best in human civilisation) can be attained in the political system and especially by and in the state sector.
  - The following is *condicio sine qua non*: the end of deliberate underdevelopment of the majority, the acceptance of policies with a pro-poor slant and the acceptance of the historical injustice that has been committed. (Constitutionalism is no longer the fundamental upon which the state rests, neither is constitutional parliamentary democracy.)
  - Furthermore the first phase of political liberation has now progressed sufficiently; the emphasis has from now on to fall on the second phase of economic liberation that was too slow up to now.
- **The Economic Cluster**
  - The NDR realises that despite the success of the political stabilisation efforts South Africa has missed “a generation” of capital investment in roads, railways, sanitation, water, public transport and housing.
  - Others within the tripartite alliance are even more critical that big (black and white) business has grown even fatter and that economic power is still in the hands of a small elite group.
  - This criticism has helped to smooth the way for the second transition by making the necessity of such a project obvious.
  - According to the principles of Lenin prescribed at the second Communist International, the first political phase of the NDR has been successfully consolidated; the second social and economic phase is now in the offing.

- In this phase the ANC wishes to manage the contradiction created by the legacies of imperialism and colonialism of a special sort.
  - The SACP wishes to create a socialist/communist state and COSATU wishes for the nationalisation of industry, equity stock and farms.
  - All however agree that the requirements of the NDR supersede those of the constitution or those of minorities.
  - All the main partners in the tripartite alliance and in the broad liberationist church in South Africa however affirm the leadership of the ANC.
- 
- **The Social Cluster**
    - Although progress has been made in the consolidation of state power, these gains now have to be turned towards social and economic transformation.
    - In this process the major factor of a prevailing sense of injustice has to be addressed.
    - This will be done by paying “single-minded” and “undivided” attention to the eradication of poverty, inequality and unemployment and by giving democracy “a social content” and by focusing on people as “fundamental resources” that have to be developed in conjunction with the economic and social sectors.
    - Intrinsic values of cooperation, excellence and solidarity will be promoted in all societal sectors in which emphasis will be placed on education, the provision of health care, social security, and integrated, sustainable and safe communities.
    - Through processes of mobilisation and activism in which members of communities will play an active part, a new national and personal value system will be formulated and accepted.
    - This process places the ANC and ANC structures central in the community and utilises the principle of the Mass Line established by Mao Zedong in China.
    - The product of this transformation will be social cohesion and a national identity where the state will become a partner in social activism.
    - The theoretical base for this thinking in the NDR is found in the ideas of Mao Zedong and his ideas for the reinvigoration of his revolution.

- **The International Cluster**

- The NDR is a world (internationalist) revolution in which the ANC and its partners regard themselves as part of the progressive forces of the left, fighting against chauvinism, racism, poverty, underdevelopment and gender oppression.
- According to the NDR, the international environment is at this stage (2012) dominated by a crisis of capitalism and the hegemony of the Bretton Woods system is not as strong as it used to be.
- In this environment the NDR wishes to transform international institutions and other environments in accordance with the normative visions of the ideology.
- According to the NDR, weak regional institutions are part of the problem of Africa and the ideology wishes to create a strong region through policies within South Africa and other SADC countries that emphasise the development of regional trade, the development of regional industry and the development of regional infrastructure.
- The desire is to create developmental states throughout the SADC region.
- These goals have to be achieved without South Africa playing a hegemonic role in the region.
- According to the NDR, South Africa responds to being a part of Africa through the African Renaissance which is a regeneration of African culture and African pride through an investment in Africa by Africans.
- The central theme of Africa rising from the ashes is captured by Thabo Mbeki in his speech “I am an African”. This statement forms a fundamental part of the NDR and a cornerstone of the ideology’s normative view on the international environment. According to this precept, the NDR and South Africa’s government support a strong unified Africa and an eventual unitary government for Africa.
- The way towards this goal is through the strengthening of regional organisations, the strengthening and support of the African Union and the eventual “gluing together” of the regional organisations under the banner of the AU.
- Unilateralist action against African states (as happened in Libya in 2011) should not be allowed to occur again; people in conflict-ridden areas in Africa have to be allowed to find solutions to their own problems.

- To prevent this from happening again Africa has to articulate its point of view (the NDR) on the international stage.
  - In order to provide capacity domestically and regionally the South African government will be further increasing and modernising the SANDF.
  - Within the broader context the NDR provides a moral and practical political-ideological alignment with other countries of the global South (former colonies).
  - The NDR's interpretation of the international environment centres on the Leninist interpretation of the international order in which the constellation of rich and poor states is the result of capitalist imperialism and colonialism advancing some states and people at the cost of others.
  - This inequality is currently continued within international institutions such as the World Bank, the IMF and the UN through Eurocentric decisions, quotas and representation. According to the NDR these institutions have to be reformed urgently in order to provide not only more balanced representation but also redress for past excess.
- 
- **The Ideological Cluster**
    - The NDR is fundamentally anti-neo-liberal and pro-poor and wishes to liberate Africans in particular and Blacks in general from socio-economic bondage.
    - The fault lines created by the past will not be erased simply by being democratic; a developmental state that will be more activist is needed to redress the imbalances that exist.
    - All the partners within the tripartite alliance agree on the necessity of such a state, although they differ in other ideological matters.
    - The ANC defines the NDR as a process of struggle that seeks to transfer power to the people.
    - The SACP, according to the tenets prescribed by the Second Communist International and authored by Lenin, regards the NDR as the fastest route to a native republic, and that republic as a stage towards a socialist/communist state.

- This vision can be described as the SDR or Socialist Democratic Revolution.
- The ANCYL, although part of the ANC, under Julius Malema's leadership, severely criticised its mother body and was of the opinion that the ANC provided no leadership on social and economic reform.
- The goals of the NDR are of sufficient importance to override these differences.

The recounted conclusions above reconstruct the normative (what ought to be) dimension of the NDR. In the words of the SACP much of what has been said above remains at this stage only a desire for the future and it is well worth noting that the debate on the NDR within the tripartite alliance, the Broad Church and South Africa as a whole is gaining momentum with opinions widely spaced from one another to the left and ultra-right of the ANC, with ideologies such as Pan-Africanism and Black consciousness (at this stage marginally represented by Julius Malema) gaining new momentum. It seems however that the revolutionary potential in South Africa is growing due to the weak articulation of the NDR by the ANC. In this regard Lenin's term of 'loss of momentum' spells trouble for the social stability of the country.

## CHAPTER 7: THE RECONSTRUCTION AND INTERPRETATION OF THE NDR AS AN IDEOLOGY: THE STRATEGIC DIMENSION

### 7.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter is the last in the series of three chapters dealing with the three analytical dimensions of the ideology of the NDR. In the previous two chapters the analytical and normative dimensions were analysed. In this chapter the strategic dimension will be taken into perspective. In Chapter 2, section 2.3 the definitions of Seliger (1976:120) and Heywood with regard to ideology were explained. According to these definitions an ideology consists of the following:

- A dialectical analysis of a malign historical process and undesirable present, the analytical dimension of the reconstruction that was dealt with in Chapter 5.
- A normative model for the desirable future, the normative dimension, dealt with in Chapter 6.
- A strategy for achieving an ideal future by way of change, the strategic dimension that will be examined in this chapter.

The goal of this chapter is thus to analyse the third point above, the strategies employed by the NDR in pursuit of its normative (ideal) model. The word strategy's origin is found in the Greek word *stratagos* which means [military] general or commander and as such "strategy" is first and foremost a military concept, and defined by Clausewitz (1997:141) as "the employment of the battle as the means towards the attainment of the object [or end-goal] of the war." The dichotomy of means versus end is central to the understanding of strategy. In the desire to achieve certain ends/goals with certain means, strategy is the decisions, actions and plans formulated or undertaken in order to attain the desired ends/goals. With this as background, attention has to be paid to Mintzberg's (1987:12-19) attributes of strategy. This author states that:

- 1) Strategy is a plan, or a means of getting from here (example: poor and powerless), to there (rich and powerful);
- 2) strategy is a ploy or a *means of outwitting* your opponent;
- 3) strategy is a pattern of *actions* over time;
- 4) strategy is position (be it ideological, geographical, physical or metaphysical), and
- 5) strategy is a perspective (on an issue and/or what constitutes right and wrong).

In this sense it is clear that strategy has to do with how *power* (defined as “the probability that one actor within a social relationship will be in a position to carry out his will despite resistance” [Weber, 1978: 53]) will be exercised to gain the desired end.

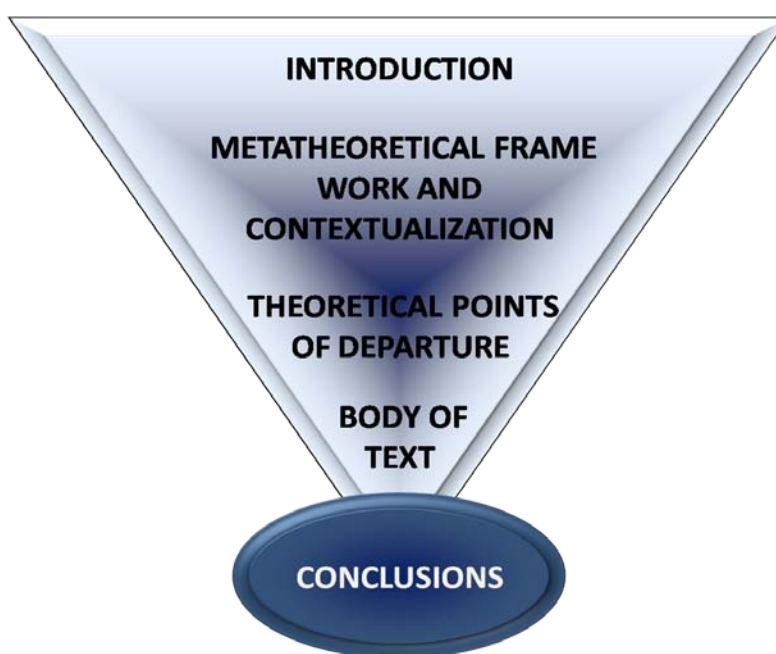
In the business environment where the principles of business strategy and military strategy are sometimes universally applicable, strategy is defined as the determination and evaluation [selection and implementation] of alternatives available to an organisation in achieving its objectives (Byars, 1991:13). In this chapter the definition of Byars, against the background provided above, will be the accepted definition of strategy. In other words, this chapter will concern itself with an analysis of how the NDR tries to achieve its goals of eradicating that which it defines as being wrong (Chapter 5), while trying to institute what it defines as being ideal (Chapter 6). This chapter thus concerns itself with “*the concerted action...*”<sup>74</sup> in ideology employed to bring about the necessary change from wrong to ideal. It has to be made clear that questions surrounding the strategies used by ideologies are complex and that the NDR is no exception. The focus of this chapter will be to bring clarity in the context of the whole thesis within the analytical perspective provided by Seliger, in which ideologies are described as having three interconnected dimensions, and not to disappear into the enormous detail provided by the one subject of the strategies of the NDR. In this regard careful mention has to be made of section 7.3.3 of this chapter, where it is explained how this chapter will negotiate these inherent complexities.

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<sup>74</sup>(Seliger, 1976:120)

Methodologically the structure of the preceding two chapters as well as this chapter is deductive and comprises the following points: an introduction, a meta-theoretical framework in which the six clusters will be explained and contextualised, a theoretical section in which theory specific to the chapter will be added, a body in which the six clusters will be analysed according to the theme of the chapter, and a conclusion. This structure is depicted in Figure 23 below.

**Figure 23: Chapter Layout**



The theory relevant in this chapter focuses on the implementation of strategy that consists of the “planning” or strategy phase, and the “doing” or tactics phase (Schultz *et al.*, 1987:34). As such the “*concerted action*” in Seliger’s<sup>75</sup> (1976:120) definition of ideology is under consideration in this chapter. This theoretical perspective is necessary as it identifies which elements in the strategic dimension of the NDR are strategy (planning) and which are tactics (doing) within the broader strategic implementation of the ideology. As such a clear distinction has to be made between strategy and tactics.

<sup>75</sup> “An Ideology is a belief system by virtue of being designed to serve on a relatively permanent basis a group of people to justify in reliance on moral norms and a modicum of factual evidence and self-consciously rational coherence, the legitimacy of the implements and technical prescriptions which are to ensure concerted action for the preservation, reform, destruction or reconstruction of a given order”(Seliger, 1976:120).

More on this will however follow later; the meta-theoretical aspects that will be singled out for attention in this chapter are discussed first.

## **7.2A META-THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK: SIX CLUSTERS OF THE NDR**

In Chapter 5 the rationale for the reconstruction of the NDR within the historical, political, economic, social, international and ideological clusters was described *in toto*. This reasoning has also been summarised in Chapter 6; in this chapter it is once more necessary to remain cognisant of the fact that for the purposes of academic analysis in this thesis, various ANC and SACP sources and the historical analysis of the NDR are synthesised into focused clusters. The analysis of these clusters provides or defines (reveals) not only the epistemology (incorporated knowledge framework, core assumptions and goals of the NDR but also its [intended] actions in the past, present and future). It further also provides an ontological relational order between the various clusters and the subjects grouped under each, especially when tabulated with the dimensions of an ideology, that being the analytical, normative and strategic. Figure 24 below illustrates the various clusters as well as the elements in these clusters that will be analysed as part of the strategic dimension of the NDR.

Figure 24: The Strategic Dimension of the NDR

DIMENSIONS OF IDEOLOGY	HISTORICAL CLUSTER	POLITICAL CLUSTER	ECONOMIC CLUSTER	SOCIAL CLUSTER	INTERNATIONAL CLUSTER	IDEOLOGICAL CLUSTER
<p><b>STRATEGIC DIMENSION</b></p> <p><b>(CHANGE MANAGEMENT – POST-1994)</b></p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Mythologising and demythologising (Strategic)</li> <li>• Legitimation of struggle history</li> <li>• The importance of the “class alliance” between the ANC, the SACP and COSATU</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <i>First phase of revolution - Establish political control:</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ Relationship between party and state (With party ahead of state)</li> <li>○ “Organisational renewal” as priority</li> <li>○ Developmental state</li> <li>○ “Good governance” (see dimensions)</li> </ul> </li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <i>Second Phase of the Revolution - Economic Transformation:</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ Black Economic Empowerment.</li> <li>○ Job creation (see dimensions.)</li> <li>○ Affirmative Action.</li> <li>○ Transformation of patterns of ownership of the means of production (Land, Industry and JSE. i.e. Wealth).</li> <li>○ Nationalisation.</li> </ul> </li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Dimensions: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ Creation of jobs/sustainable livelihoods</li> <li>○ Poverty reduction</li> <li>○ Social security.</li> <li>○ Rural development.</li> <li>○ Education.</li> <li>○ Health.</li> <li>○ Housing</li> <li>○ Fight against crime</li> <li>○ Fight against corruption</li> </ul> </li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Political alignment with progressive (left wing) powers.</li> <li>• Consolidation of powerbases.</li> <li>• Building and maintenance of high moral ground.</li> <li>• Achievement of 1994 settlement “sold” internationally.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Defines moral high ground.</li> <li>• “The battle of ideas.”</li> <li>• Revolutionary symbols.</li> <li>• “Strategy and tactics revisited.”</li> </ul>

The clusters in the table above are in this thesis abstracted into clearly delineated analytical instruments. In reality (and by way of repetition) they are interrelated, mutually interpenetrative and dependent on one another, so forming a bigger ideology that is easy to lose sight of when only some of the minor points are singled out for specific attention. As has been mentioned in Chapters 5 and 6, this cluster’s approach to the analysis of the NDR is structural-functional in nature as it is not only concerned with institutions (in whatever form) but more with the integrated functioning of the whole of the structure, in this case the National Democratic Revolution. The following are working definitions of the six clusters, designed for the purposes of this study.

The *historical cluster* describes relations and connections of issues in a chronological order of past, present and future. In the historical perspective of the NDR the Marxist theory of history is extremely important as it provides both an ideological and theoretical base for the NDR's understanding of the past, present and future. Factors to be discussed in the historical cluster are:

- “Mythologising” and “demythologising” (Strategic);
- the importance of the “class alliance” between the ANC, the SACP and COSATU, and
- the vehicle for that alliance, the NDR.

The *political cluster* is defined by the power to allocate or withhold resources ranging from types of resources that possess an inherent economic and monetary value such as land and mining rights, to less tangible resources such as access, representation and agency in various systems. In this context power is defined as the probability that one actor within a social relationship will be in a position to carry out his will despite resistance (Weber, 1978:53). In the analytical dimension of the NDR (Chapter 5) elements that the ideology regard as malevolent were analysed, in the normative chapter (Chapter 6) the ideal political environment according to the ideology was analysed, and in the strategic dimension (this chapter) the manner/elements (strategy) by which the ideal will be achieved will be analysed. These elements are:

- First phase of revolution: Establish political control.
- Relationship between party and state. (With party ahead of state and pre-eminent role for “the leader”.)
- “Organisational renewal” as priority.
- The South African state as a developmental state.
- “Good governance” (see dimensions in Social cluster).

The *economic cluster* is defined by the dispersion of direct material wealth or the manner of access or limiting of access to direct prosperity and the reasons for this dispersion. In the analytical dimension the NDR identifies the wrongs of the

unacceptable past, and present elements that lead to the disparities between rich and poor, the gap between black and white, as well as the roots for many of the socio-economic ills that beset South-Africa are identified. The elements to be analysed are:

- Second phase of revolution: Economic transformation.
- Black Economic Empowerment.
- Job creation (see dimensions).
- Affirmative Action.
- Reform of patterns of ownership of the means of production (Land, Industry and Black ownership of and representation in the Stock exchange).
- Nationalisation.

The *social cluster* pertains to elements that concern the basic physical and mental state of being of people in society and/or various communities in South African society, as well as the relationships of these elements to each other. The elements discussed in this cluster are:

- Dimensions marked for special attention by Government:
  - Creation of jobs and sustainable livelihoods.
  - Poverty reduction.
  - Social security.
  - Rural development.
  - Education.
  - Health.
  - Housing.
  - Fight against crime.
  - Fight against corruption.

The *international cluster* is defined by the ideologies and theories (reconstructed in Chapter 3) that contributed to the NDR and from which the NDR also took (amongst others) a Marxist perspective of a “world revolution” in which international responsibility

and solidarity lead to international networks, support and areas where influence has to be exerted or countered and friends gained in order to promote foreign and domestic objectives. The elements analysed in this cluster are:

- Political alignment with progressive (left wing) nations and organisations.
- Consolidation of powerbases in areas important to the NDR.
- The building and maintenance of the “moral high ground”.
- Achievement of 1994 settlement as political capital “sold” internationally.

The *ideological cluster* has to do with the NDR itself, what its ideological cornerstones are and how it develops as ideology. In general the hard core of the ideology remains the same while different contexts at different times are emphasised or de-emphasised. The following elements are included for analysis in this cluster:

- Defining the moral high ground.
- The use of revolutionary symbols.
- “The battle of ideas”.
- The NDR as a progressive, adaptable and regenerative ideology.
- “Strategy and tactics revisited”.

The clusters above will in this chapter, exactly as in the previous two chapters, be analysed with the aid of relevant theories. In this chapter the theories focus on the action orientation (strategic dimension) of ideologies.

### **7.3 THE STRATEGIC DIMENSION: THEORETICAL POINTS OF DEPARTURE**

A strong military heritage underlies the study of strategy in whatever form. “Objectives”, “mission”, “strengths” and “weakness” are all concepts of military origin and both business and military organisations use their strengths to overcome their opponent’s weaknesses. Other universal strategic advantages include those conferred by surprise and information systems that provide data on the strategies and resources of

opponents/competitors. This does not mean that civilian and military strategies are identical; the one assumes competition, the other deadly conflict (David, 1997:21). Strategy has however to be implemented and this is done by way of a process containing several steps.

### **7.3.1 The Strategic Management Process**

Byars (1991:13) defines strategy as the determination and evaluation of alternatives available to an organisation in achieving its objectives; this process can, according to Schultz *et al.* (1987:34), be divided into the “planning” or strategic phase and the “doing” or tactical phase. Not all authors divide strategic planning or strategy into clearly delineated phases, although all agree that it is a process consisting of various steps. Cohen and Cyert (1973:349) list the following steps in the formulation process: the formulation of goals; an analysis of the external environment; assignment of quantitative values to the formulated goals in order to prioritise; a micro-process of strategy formulation in which each subcomponent of the organisation contributes its strategy; a gap analysis that compares actual performance to potential performance; a strategic search for new alternatives; a selection of a portfolio of strategic alternatives; implementation of the strategic programme and measurement, and feedback and control.

Pearce and Robinson (1991:13) list the following as part of the strategic process: the formulation of a mission; the formulation of a profile of own strengths and weaknesses; an assessment of the external environment; strategic analysis and choice of desired opportunities; the formulation of long-term objectives; the formulation of “grand strategy” comprising the macro-direction of the organisation; the revision of annual objectives; functional strategies for each subcomponent of the organisation within the grand strategy; the formulation of policies that obviate the need for constant decision making; the institutionalisation of the strategy, and finally, control and evaluation. Not all these steps are however undertaken on the same organisational level, or at the same time, or by the same people; functional differentiations are necessary.

### **7.3.2 A Functional Differentiation between Strategy and Tactics**

Schultz *et al.* (1987:34) divide similar steps as those described above in the strategy formulation and implementation processes into two phases or levels. The first phase is the planning phase that the authors equate to the strategic phase while the second “doing” phase is equated with tactics. Strategy is the early planning and “objective-setting functions while tactics include the action steps, or processes of task accomplishment.” To further distinguish between strategy and tactics Schultz *et al.* (1987:37) developed a taxonomy that demonstrates the diverse nature of the two phases. Figure 25 illustrates the taxonomy developed by the authors:

Figure 25: A Differentiation between Strategy and Tactics

ELEMENT OF TAXONOMY	STRATEGY	TACTICS
LEVEL OF CONDUCT	Strategic issues are addressed at the highest level in the organisation. Example: the formulation of a vision and mission.	Tactics are decided on a mid or lower level where people receive instructions. Example: the formulation of the mission for subunit that has to fit into a broader policy.
SUBJECTIVE/ OBJECTIVE ASSESSMENT	On a strategic level subjective attitude and/or values play a role in the determination of outcome.	Facts and <i>faits accomplis</i> need to be operationalised.
NATURE OF THE PROBLEM	Strategic problems tend to be unstructured, and develop in response to environmental conditions or opportunities.	Problems tend to be structured and are usually the result of questions surrounding implementation.
INFORMATION NEED	External information is needed on a regular basis to monitor a wide variety of variables in order to solve strategic issues.	Information is generated within the organisation or unit.
TIME HORIZONS (TIMELINES)	Whole plans and programmes (entire life spans) need to be planned for on a strategic level.	Specific stages or parts of a bigger programme need only to be completed and planned for.
COMPLETENESS	Completeness in a strategic sense refers to the manner in which the entirety of the organisation is considered when dealing with missions or goals. Example: only projects that form part of the overall strategic vision of the organisation will be accepted.	Tactical concerns are limited to the specific functional activities or groups required to carry out certain limited goals.
REFERENCE	Concerns the sources or the origin of the activity under consideration. Example: strategic activity originates at higher organisational levels.	Have limited reference as they are done in pursuit of strategic plans.
LEVEL OF DETAIL	Strategic issues are often general and involve general conceptualisations.	Tactical operations are narrowly focused and are specific to a particular problem or set of problems.
EASE OF EVALUATION	Strategic activities are difficult to quantitatively evaluate as to efficiency and effectiveness.	It is generally easier to determine the efficiency and effectiveness of tactical activities.
POINT OF VIEW	A holistic perspective characterises strategic operations.	A functional perspective characterises tactical operations.

With regard to the Figure above, strategy and tactics are shown as two separate phases (functions) with different characteristics (in at least ten respects) in a process of strategy implementation, layered on different operational levels with different objectives bonded together by the macro objectives of the organisation. Furthermore Byars (1991:13) suggests differentiations within strategy that rest on delineation according to function. (This differentiation shows marked similarity to the work of Schultz.) Figure 26 below explains this delineation of Byars, combines it with the differentiation between strategy and tactics of Schultz *et al.* (1987:37-39), and adds the concept of vision of Hill and Jones (2009:30). This theoretical framework will form the basis for the analysis of the strategic dimension of the NDR. In this thesis the concern will primarily be with level I as represented in Figure 26 below, as the complexity of representing strategies becoming tactical initiatives risks over-complicating the issues central to this chapter. This rationale will be further explained in section 7.3.3.

**Figure 26: Hierarchy of Strategy**



Byars, 1991:13; Schultz *et al.*, 1987:37-39; Hill & Jones, 2009:30

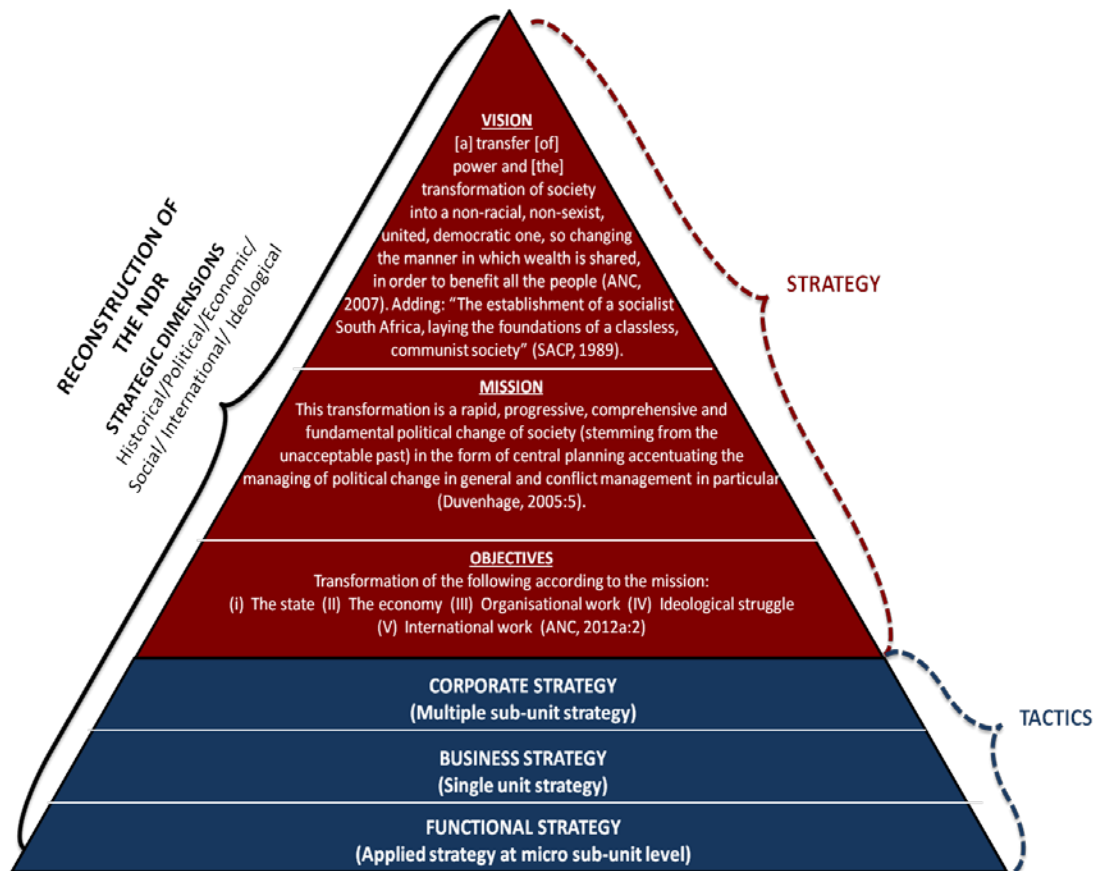
According to Hill and Jones (2009:30), the *vision* of the organisation elucidates the desired future state and what is desired in that future. Byars (1991:11) identifies the formulation of the *mission(s)* or intention(s) of an organisation as the vision in operation and the *raison d'être* for that organisation that provides subsequent direction to all following levels. The *objectives* and goals specify the results the organisation wishes to obtain in specific pursuit of its mission. *Corporate strategy* divides responsibility among multiple subunits. *Business strategy* is the strategy of a single unit and *functional strategies* are even narrower in scope and apply to operationality at micro level. The three categories vision, mission and objectives equate to what Schultz *et al.* call *first level strategy* (red dashes) while the last three in most circumstances equate to Schultz's *second level*, which is *tactics* (blue dashes). These theoretical perspectives will hereafter in the next section be further combined with empirical data and the meta-theoretical framework of the chapter in order to formulate the analytical construct for this chapter.

### 7.3.3 Empirical, Theoretical and Meta-Theoretical Framework

Given the theoretical perspectives explained above, the empirical data of the previous chapters and the meta-theoretical framework discussed at length in Chapters 5 and 6 and in section 7.2 of this chapter, the following hierarchy of the NDR strategy [analytical strategic framework (Figure 27)] can be further developed from Figure 26 above. (As was said in the introduction, care will be taken not to overcomplicate, but rather to simplify as the matter at hand can comprise several volumes and this is not the sole topic of this thesis.)

The formulation of the vision, mission and objectives as defined by the NDR is made up of, according to the taxonomy of Schultz *et al.* (1987:37-39), high strategic functions, so it will be universal to all analytical dimensions (in the case of this thesis; analytical, normative, and strategic) and universal to all clusters (in the case of this thesis historical, political, economic, social, international and ideological) and in terms of the perspectives of Lakatos so represent the hard immutable core of the NDR which can be defined as follows and is illustrated in Figure 27:

**Figure 27: Hierarchy of the NDR Strategy**



Byars, 1991:13; Schultz et al., 1987:37-39; Hill & Jones, 2009:30

### 7.3.3.1 The Vision

In the Figure above the vision of the NDR is:<sup>76</sup> "... [a] transfer [of] power to the people and [the] transformation of society into a non-racial, non-sexist, united, democratic one, and changes [in] the manner in which wealth is shared, in order to benefit all the people" (ANC, 2007a). To this can be added: "the establishment of a socialist South Africa, laying the foundations of a classless, communist society"<sup>77</sup> (SACP, 1989).

### 7.3.3.2 The Mission

The mission of the NDR is the practical operationalisation of the transformation of society in order to achieve the vision. This transformation is a rapid, progressive,

<sup>76</sup> Chapter 6, section 6.11.2 is especially germane to this section.

<sup>77</sup>. This is the Socialist Democratic Revolution or SDR.

comprehensive and fundamental political change of society (stemming from the unacceptable past) in the form of central planning (social and political engineering) accentuating the management of political change in general and conflict management in particular (Duvenhage, 2005:5).

### **7.3.3.3 The Objectives**

The NDR (ANC, 2012a:2) identifies five pillars (objectives) or areas where (social) transformation in accordance with the mission explained above has to occur:

- The State;
- The Economy;
- Organisational Work;
- Ideological Struggle, and
- International Work.

The emphasis of the NDR on these “pillars” also formed part of the basis for the formulation of the six analytical clusters as explained in Chapter 5 and used in Chapters 5, 6 and 7.

The remainder of the hierarchy of strategy – corporate, business, and functional strategies – according to Schultz *et al.* (1987:37) “the doing” or tactical phase, is a classification debate that will not be entered into and which represents a study in its own right. Questions as to the exact level of responsibility for tactical implementation on unit and subunit level run the risk of confusing rather than clarifying, especially as multiple units and subunits become responsible as issues move down towards tactical implementation. This chapter will analyse the elements within the six clusters as explained in section 7.2 and differentiate them into one or more of five types of objectives described above. The goal of this chapter is to identify that which is of strategic importance; it is once more necessary to recall Lakatos’s (1970:91-196) contribution that explains the unchanging hard core of a paradigm while the other issues can be emphasised or de-emphasised at will. The vision and mission of the NDR form

the hard core that remains constant while certain aspects of the objectives are emphasised or de-emphasised at certain stages. In this regard it can be noted that for the first phase (first 18 years) after 1994 political transformation was emphasised while at this point in 2012 social and economic transformation are receiving emphasis (compare ANC, 2012c, and see the section below for more details). In this chapter the strategic hard core of the NDR and how it relates to the objectives is important. Before the chapter can however be continued the relationship between political transformation as explained in the mission of the NDR as ideology, and the overall strategic context of the NDR must be explained.

### **7.3.4 The NDR as Comprehensive Social, Economic and Political Transformation**

Chapter 4 on the historical development of the NDR (especially section 4.4) was concluded with the view that one of the two major paradigm shifts of the NDR occurred in 1994 when the ANC (and its partners) had to change from liberation movements into the government of South Africa. Before 1994, as a revolutionary ideology the strategy of the NDR operated more in terms of the violent confrontational characteristics of the definition and characterisation of revolution developed in sections 3.2.1 to 3.3.2 of Chapter 3. Thus prior to 1994 emphasis was placed on (violent) confrontation (see the definition<sup>78</sup> of revolution in Chapter 3). After 1994 the ANC and its partners continued in their pursuit of the NDR; the strategies employed in this pursuit of especially the mission and objectives of the NDR however had to change. (The vision never changed.) In this regard Slovo (1992:3) stated that the ideal result of negotiations, such result being a democratic government, will be a much more favourable environment in which to continue the struggle for the further advance of the goals of the liberation movements (read NDR). According to the ANC (2012b:12), “the priorities of the movement shifted completely from mobilizing the masses and broad range of social forces to overthrow

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<sup>78</sup> This definition being that a revolution is a process of collective behavior fundamentally affecting the degree of government of a state that is a phased process consisting of the following elements; an alteration of values or myths of a particular system, including a fundamental alteration of the social structure; a fundamental change in the political institutions which at some point will be illegal and will be followed by a legalisation process; where an elite alteration (supplanting) will take place; that will include violent acts (even of guerilla or revolutionary type war); including a (pragmatic) ebb and flow; of more than one (type of) event, (even elections) that will take time to fulfil all its revolutionary goals, however articulated (see Chapter 3 section 3.2.2).

the apartheid regime, to focus on spearheading the transformation, reconstruction and development of our society". In this regard the liberation movements had in 1994 to reformulate their strategy in strategic parlance right through from their mission downward because of a radical shift in their environment. Before 1994 they wanted to destroy government, after 1994 they had to be government, yet the changes they wanted in societal and economic environments had not at the dawn of 1994 changed, and according to a significant percentage of the supporters of these movements, have in 2012 still not changed.

According to Huntington (1991:112-115), "third wave democratisation" or states transitioning to democracy in the last part of the 20th century, occurs in one of three ways: the first is by way of transformation where the elite in power work to bring about change; the second is by replacement where the opposition brings about a collapse or the overthrow of the previous order and thirdly is transplacement where all the elites concerned (incumbents and opposition) work to bring about a new order. According to Gilliom (2003:628) "no transition to a democracy would have been possible without the ANC and the NP (National Party) forming the bridge" – this being transplacement in the initial phases, but when the ANC came to power only one elite acted on an agenda of transformation which according to Duvenhage (2009a:712) became the "current face of the NDR" representing a compromise between radically fast change (revolution in the era before 1994) and non-violent change (radically fast evolution in the post-1994 era) and so instead of focusing on the violent confrontational elements of the characterisation and definition of revolution in Chapter 3, as the NDR did prior to 1994, the new strategic modus in the post-1994 environment became transformation. As such Duvenhage (2005:5) defines this strategy of transformation as "a rapid, progressive, comprehensive and fundamental political change of society (stemming from the unacceptable past) in the form of central planning accentuating the managing of political change in general and conflict management in particular". The compromises on the "pace of change" lead to transformation becoming a phased process during which 18 years were spent on the first phase.

### 7.3.5 Transformation as a Phased Process

Joel Netshitenzhe (2010:4) agrees with Slovo, in that “the first and most critical act in [the] revolution is the attainment of state power”. This was achieved in 1994/6 and the ANC and its partners themselves agree that the consolidation of state power was only the first phase in a bigger transformation process. “During this near 20 years, we have fundamentally transformed the political landscape of this country, and laid the foundations for progressively meeting basic needs. However, there is also widespread consensus – expressed in a variety of ways – that our society faces fundamental challenges that inhibit it from achieving its goal of an inclusive, non-racial and non-sexist country” (ANC, 2012c:35).<sup>79</sup> The remedy for this problem is a proposed “second transition”<sup>80</sup> which would focus on social and economic transformation, building on the foundation laid by the political transformation successfully completed in phase one. As was said above, after 18 years (to the dissatisfaction of many because of the time lost), the accent at present falls on social and economic transformation. In this second phase (of the revolution, read the old Stalinist Joe Slovo) the government wants to fulfil a more interventionist role by the formation of a developmental state whereby, as envisioned, the wrongs dating back to 1652 can be redressed. Some of the strategies by which this is proposed to be accomplished will be analysed in the following sections.

In conclusion, the process of strategy-implementation entails various steps towards the realisation of eventual goals over a period of time. This process can be divided into strategic or planning, and tactical or “doing” phases between which a clear delineation exists. The strategic planning phase consists of the formulation of a vision, mission and objectives. The vision of the organisation elucidates the desired future state and what is wanted from that future. The mission is the purpose of an organisation that provides subsequent direction to all following levels and the objectives specify the results the organisation wishes to obtain in specific pursuit of its mission.

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<sup>79</sup>Some of the ways in which outright dissatisfaction is expressed with the ways in which the past 18 years have gone by include service delivery protests and internal divisions in the governing alliance, the broad liberationist church and even in the ANC (See Chapter 4 and Chapter 6).

<sup>80</sup> See the previous chapter on this topic.

The vision of the NDR is "[a] transfer [of] power to the people and [the] transformation of society into a non-racial, non-sexist, united, democratic one, and changes [in] the manner in which wealth is shared, in order to benefit all the people" (ANC, 2007a). To this can be added: "the establishment of a socialist South Africa, laying the foundations of a classless, communist society"<sup>81</sup> (SACP, 1989).

The mission of the NDR is the practical operationalisation of the transformation of society in order to achieve the vision. This transformation is a rapid, progressive, comprehensive and fundamental political change of society (stemming from the unacceptable past) in the form of central planning (social and political engineering) accentuating the managing of political change in general and conflict management in particular (Duvenhage, 2005:5).

The objectives of the NDR are the (social) transformation, in accordance with the mission, of the following: the state, the economy, organisational work, ideological struggle, and, international work. In 1994/6 the operating mode of the NDR had to change and the mission and objectives had to be reformulated in order to accommodate a compromise between revolution (fast paced change) and evolution (slower non-violent change). The result was the rearticulating of the NDR with transformation as its major mode of operation. This transformation was carried out in two stages, first political consolidation and then social and economic transformation. In the following section the various clusters of the strategic dimension will be analysed as part of the reconstruction and interpretation of the NDR. It has to be noted at the start that in order to understand the reconstruction and interpretation of the strategies of the NDR a holistic approach is applied and that each cluster has to be read against the background of the previous two chapters and that which was said about the specific cluster in those chapters. Therefore the reader has to take whole clusters as well as whole dimensions into account when reading the text. Furthermore whole studies can be completed on subdivision in this thesis; for the sake of clarity only that which is germane to the topic will be discussed, so firstly the historical cluster.

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<sup>81</sup> This is the Socialist Democratic Revolution or SDR.[See section 6.11.2 for more detail.]

## 7.4 THE HISTORICAL CLUSTER

The *historical cluster* describes relations and connections of issues in a chronological line of past, present and future. In the historical perspective of the NDR the Marxist theory of history is extremely important as it provides both an ideological and theoretical basis for the NDR's understanding of past, present and future. As explained in the previous chapter (sections 6.3 and 6.6 with subsequent references to other parts of the thesis) a mythology of an ideology conveys norms and as such binds people as if by religion, creates unity, explains procedures, defines leaders and lays the foundation for organisations; provides grounds for differentiation (inclusion/exclusion, enemy/friend, basically them and us) and provides the normative structure capable of interpreting and overcoming contradictions. These functions act to preclude the norms of other ideologies, describing them as part of the shadow or evil side (in Jung's parlance). In this chapter the use of mythology as weapon or deliberate strategy will be discussed.

### 7.4.1 “Mythologising” and “Demythologising” (Strategic)

In the previous chapter it was explained that inclusion and exclusion on the basis of normative contexts such as good or bad and ours or theirs, occur naturally as functions of the competitive nature of ideologies. They can however also be crafted and used deliberately and strategically as a weapon not unlike propaganda; only on the much higher deliberate strategic-ideological level. As noted in Chapter 6, a mythology offers a significant account in the realm of quasi-religious belief and becomes the fundamental truth for a group or culture. It is therefore important for the strategist to present the truth or to make sure that his/her version of the truth is presented.

The following is an example of the use of mythology as a strategy during the struggle. Along with norms the figure of the “Hero” who is morally superior and can remain steadfast amidst insurmountable turmoil is extremely important when formalising mythology (Raglan, 1936:123). According to Trehwela (2009:46), “the Mandela myth is mainly the creation of the South African Communist Party. As the most important organizer of ANC politics within the country and internationally for thirty years,

especially through the media, the SACP in the late 1950s and 1960s set about the creation of a very specific cult of personality". In this manner the strategists of the broad liberationist church actively used myth creation and the power of mythology as a weapon. The hero-myth (essential to the larger struggle mythology) they created is very intricate and powerful and is also still in operation at present. A whole generation of political victims of the apartheid regime were personified in Mandela with the slogan "Free Mandela" actually signifying a call for much broader political liberation.

Even in prison Mandela, by his non-presence in townships, was cast by strategists as an Olympian (champion) presence facing the regime on his own. To this was added "Caesar's wife"; "As the decades of Mandela's imprisonment went by, the mystique of royalty, the principle of divine right, passed by law of succession to his wife, who became the representative of the idea of the sacral on the earth...in so far as Mandela in prison was mystically always present through his absence, Mrs Mandela as consort played a very material lady Macbeth" (Trehwela, 2009:47). As such Winnie Mandela became an oracle to the unseen leader on Robben Island, and after the 1976 student revolt she became an important (and legitimate) political leader. She was regarded as Mandela's spokesperson and became so powerful that she even had courtiers, consisting mainly of children. At the time of the 1984-1986 school boycotts, township children encouraged by amongst others Winnie and her "Soccer Club"<sup>82</sup>, became a law unto themselves (the so-called "comrades") who burned, pillaged, rioted and "necklaced"<sup>83</sup>, contributing to the ungovernability of the townships. These facts do in struggle terms not detract from the myth, but in fact add "struggle credentials".

This official strategy of myth creation was known as the M-plan.<sup>84</sup> And so Nelson Mandela came to be regarded as supremely virtuous, almost godlike,<sup>85</sup> and his unfair

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<sup>82</sup> The Mandela United Football Club acted as Winnie Mandela's personal security and was involved in amongst others the kidnapping and murder of the 14 year old Stompie Moketsie (Naipaul, 2010:1).

<sup>83</sup> Executing people by placing a burning tire around their necks.

<sup>84</sup> According to Suttner (2003:130) the M-plan was an ANC operation for the reorganisation of the ANC underground starting with a request by Mandela to obtain weapons from China. Trehwela (2010:46-47) while taking cognisance of this fact, however emphasises the strategy around the mythologizing of Mandela. Du Toit (1995:352) explains that the strategy of the SACP during the struggle always was a two-stage model not always

treatment at the hands of the regime proved invaluable to the anti-apartheid cause. In 1986 Oliver Tambo called the Mandelas “titans of freedom” as he received international recognition on their behalf. As was said in Chapter 6 the function of mythology (defined as more than one integrated and functioning myth) is the creation of legitimacy and, as can be realised from the example above, first Nelson Mandela and then by extension both Winnie and Nelson, in the role of the heroes, produced legitimacy for the anti-apartheid cause. This process did not stop during 1994/6.

#### **7.4.2 The Legitimisation of the Struggle History**

Before 1994 the ANC, SACP and other organisations were regarded by most whites in South Africa as terrorists; this perspective was also actively promulgated by the apartheid government both inside the country and overseas. A process of legitimisation that included the mythologies created not only for Mandela but around the whole of the struggle history and all the major personages (notably Chris Hani) in the struggle was then being employed to dispel the old mythologies of the previous regime. The new radical mythology articulates 1652 and the arrival of Jan Van Riebeeck at the Cape as the start of capitalist and colonialist expansion that led to apartheid which is a crime against humanity. (For a complete version of this history see section 5.4.1 of Chapter 5.) The current arguments surrounding who the eventual victors of the Bush War (the proxy wars in Namibia, Angola and to a lesser extent Mozambique) were, the liberation movements or the armed forces of the Apartheid regime, form an example of this battle between the new and old mythologies. According to Magnus Malan (Gleijeses, 2007:1), Cuito Cuanavale was a victory for the SADF, but for Nelson Mandela Cuito Cuanavale “was the turning point for the liberation of our continent — and of my people — from the scourge of apartheid” (Mandela as quoted by Gleijeses, 2007:1). This debate is so intense that some of the generals of the former SADF weighed in: According to General

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emphasising violent confrontation while the ANC favoured the armed struggle. The position of the author is that the M-plan of the ANC and the M-plan of the SACP should not be confused with each other and that they most probably ran consecutively with different ends, with the ideological operation of the SACP bringing the most success.

<sup>85</sup> It is again worthwhile to look at Figure 4 in chapter 6 as illustration of the nature of the myth surrounding the struggle icons.

Jannie Geldenhuys (2011:15), “People believe what they want, not because of facts, but mostly in spite of facts”. This thesis will not enter into this debate except to illustrate that a furious battle is currently underway for possession of a version of history in order to define and keep a piece of mythology. This is extremely important as mythology is the quasi-religion that provides the legitimacy for ideology. This legitimacy has to be built by and for the central most important structure in and of the NDR, the class alliance between the ANC, the SACP and COSATU, and that is why the liberation movements have to own the victory of the Bush War.

### **7.4.3 The Importance of the “Class Alliance”**

According to the Communist University (2011b), “the NDR is the product of a class alliance against an oppressor class”; furthermore “the NDR works to extend democracy to all horizontal corners of, and to all vertical layers within, the national territory and its population. In the cause of national democracy, it also overcomes non-class contradictions such as those of race and gender”. The practical vehicle of this alliance is the historical relationship between the ANC, the SACP and COSATU. The history of the class alliance is drawn from the Second Communist International of 1920, and the theoretical principle for the alliance was according to the CU (2011a) and Nzimande (2006) mooted by Lenin and is as such one of the foundation stones of what today is the tripartite alliance that is the government of South Africa. Inherent in this short descriptive paragraph is a large amount of mythology surrounding the whole of the history of the NDR described in Chapter 4. From this mythology the class alliance draws its legitimacy. Thus this alliance is the centre of the NDR, formally binding the government of South Africa in a historical class alliance<sup>86</sup> between the ANC as political party, the SACP as “organiser” or brains trust, and COSATU as mobiliser of the (working) masses, built on the ideology of the NDR. This ideology is “the glue”, in the words of Nzimande (2006), that holds the alliance together and overcomes the differences/contradictions of opinion (and ideology) both within the alliance and in society and allows the alliance to dominate South African domestic politics. This

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<sup>86</sup> According to Stalin (1924:117), Lenin argued that a revolution is impossible without an alliance between the proletarian revolutionary workers and the more illiterate masses.

domination (as legitimacy in action) can be seen at each election from 1994 until 2012 where the ANC trounced all opposition at the polls.<sup>87</sup> This has been so despite serious domestic concerns about service delivery described as a rebellion by the poor (Alexander, 2012) and an inefficient and corrupt bureaucracy that Zwelinzima Vavi describes as “unravelling the fabric of society” (Anon, 2011b). This illustrates the power of believing in mythology above actual delivery in certain sectors, a fact even the ANC (as government) attests to: “South Africa has in effect missed a generation of capital investment in roads, rail, ports, electricity, water sanitation, public transport and housing” (ANC, 2012c:10).

In conclusion, part of the historical cluster in the strategic dimension is the deliberate formulation of powerful mythologies around heroes and hero-like institutions of the struggle. The mythology surrounding Nelson Mandela is an example of a deliberate strategy developed to garner legitimacy through superior mythology for the anti-apartheid cause in order to mitigate the mythologies propagated by the apartheid regime. The most important hero-institution of the NDR is the tripartite alliance that is both object and subject of and for mythology through a long and storied history and associations with powerful historical, quasi-academic, ideological figures such as Lenin. This alliance consists of the ANC as the political operator/party, COSATU as the trade union and agent of mass mobilisation and the SACP, which in the words of Trewhela, “organizes” as a brains trust. The combined mythologies of these organisations provide such an amount of legitimacy that the ANC has significantly trounced all opposition in all elections from 1994 until 2012 despite a significant lack of performance on government level. Concerning the strategic goals explained in section 7.3.3 of this chapter, creating mythologies and transforming them into ideological and ultimately political domination are first and foremost ideological objectives that have been achieved. This is supposed to spill over into all other objectives as formulated. To a certain degree a disconnection however exists as the mythology of the liberation leaders and organisation(s) do not successfully translate into the government in for example effective service delivery or an

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<sup>87</sup> The ANC won the General election in South Africa with the following percentages: 1994: 62.6%; 1999: 66.4%; 2004:69.7% and 2009: 65.9% (Election Resources, 2012).

ideal bureaucracy. (The tripartite alliance was a much better liberation movement than it is a government.) In the sectors of and objectives of the state, the economy, the international environment, and even in the organisation (of the tripartite alliance) the NDR has not delivered on its vision or mission as explained above; from the start of negotiations with the apartheid regime until 2012 the tripartite alliance has been supremely accomplished ideologically, and has dominated politically even when the practice of the ideology by government did not deliver.

## **7.5 THE POLITICAL CLUSTER**

The political cluster is defined by the power to allocate or withhold resources ranging from types of resources that possess an inherent economic and monetary value such as land and mining rights to less tangible resources such as access, representation and agency in various systems. According to the ANC (2012c:47), the *Strategy & Tactics of 2007* “assumes to a large degree that the tasks of the political transition – the democratization of the polity (laws, institutions, policies, personnel) – have been achieved, and that the next phase should therefore focus on consolidation and deepening...” of these sections of society. The strategic goal was to, as a first phase, or more directly as a first priority, establish political control.

### **7.5.1 First Phase of Revolution: Establish Political Control**

The two-phase revolution during which priority is first given to the consolidation of political control is a SACP strategy (Du Toit, 1995:352) that has its origin in Stalinist thought and strategy. (This strategy is best explained by Joe Slovo (1988:1): “According to this view there will be time enough after apartheid is destroyed to then turn our attention to the struggle for socialism”. This struggle for socialism then being the second stage, and so this argument is classic “two-stageism”. For more detail refer to Chapter 3 and the differences between Stalin, Lenin and Trotsky.)

This strategy was operationalised by the tripartite alliance in such a way that, according to the ANC (2012c:5), “there is little contest that the main success of the first 15 years of the new South Africa was our peaceful and thoroughgoing political and democratic transformation”. This did however result in, by the ANC’s own admission, a “generation

of missed capital investment in roads, rail, ports, electricity, water sanitation, public transport and housing” (ANC, 2012c:10). So by now the alliance (especially the ANC) needs to reposition in the face of severe criticism around the economy: “our political transition was never only about freedom from political bondage. From the onset, democratisation was inextricably linked with freedom from socio-economic bondage” (ANC, 2012c:6). In order to achieve this final (social and economic) phase of transformation the goal of the political phase of transformation was to produce a particular relationship between party (the ANC) and state (institutions) in South Africa.

### **7.5.2 The Relationship between Party and State**

The goal of the first phase was political domination, in other words sufficient political control over the state, which is defined as broadly as possible and so includes the institutions through which governing take place; predominantly parliament, the office of the president and his cabinet, the judiciary as well as other ancillary institutions such as the security environment and its organisations with further intangibles such as institutions guarding human rights; the gatekeepers to freedom of the press and guardians of constitutionalism, and even institutions in civil society. Therefore the tripartite alliance, especially the ANC, has to form a “strategic centre of power” as a product of the first phase of transformation that “goes beyond the political management of cadres deployed to state institutions to incorporate political leadership in all centres of influence and power. In modern democratic societies power is dispersed through various institutions rather than concentrated in one place.” And so “the ANC [government] needs to deliberately build its own organizational capacity to give moral, intellectual and political leadership and pursue transformative politics in all centres of power and influence in the state, the economy, civil society, communities, the terrain of the battle of ideas and the international arena” (ANC, 2012b:24-25). Thus the goal of the Tripartite alliance is to dominate the state (and society) with decisions not taken by parliament or even cabinet (and perhaps not the president) but by the decision makers in the party-alliance top structure. For this to happen the organisation has to be flexible and renew itself to bring itself in accordance with new times and challenges.

### **7.5.3 “Organisational Renewal” as Priority**

In order to accomplish the domination of party over state and society as articulated above “organisational renewal” needs to prioritise the following (ANC, 2012c:26): “the development and systematic implementation of a new cadre policy; the [reconnection of] the ANC to its mass base, strengthening its work among the motive forces and enhancing the role of the motive forces in governance; the renewal of the ANC’s core values and [the] safeguarding [of] its reputation; [the] re-organizing [of] the ANC organizational machinery to improve our performance in all the pillars of transformation; [the] strengthening [of] the Alliance and progressive civil society as well as progressive social movements; [the] improving [of] the capacity of the developmental state, [and the] improvement [of the] financial sustainability and self-sufficiency of the movement.” These priorities are the specific objectives of the strategy of organisational renewal, which has to keep the organisation in its dominant position politically as well as in its dominant position in society. In order to achieve these goals a continued strategy of cadre deployment is necessary. In the formulation of a policy on cadres the ANC quotes Le Duan (1974, “Some present tasks”) who was a General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist party of Vietnam: “Cadre policy, if it is to be correct, must proceed fully from the requirement of the revolutionary task. The revolution needs a contingent of cadres”. Thus cadres (in other words loyal party operatives) have to be deployed to all levels of society to bring about that which the party (class alliance) deems necessary. The core agenda that has to be realised in the years to come is that of the developmental state.

### **7.5.4 The South African State as a Developmental State**

According to the ANC (2012c:62), as “a disciplined force of the left” they seek “to construct a state that plays an activist role in the building of a national democratic society...The democratic developmental state puts the interests of the people above all else... The democratic developmental state pursues a people-driven and people-centred approach to development and transformation in which the masses are active agents for change and their own liberators. The mass line also prevails on the operations of this type of state, depending on how transformed the state machinery is”.

As discussed in Chapter 6 section 6.9.2 (with subsequent references to other sections in the thesis) the mass line is a Maoist concept aimed at mass participation and the rejuvenation of revolutionary fervour in a social direction allowing top down (party) control of bottom up (“spontaneous”) mass participation in party events. The mass line movement within which people act, through the mass line, as “their own liberators” through participation in activities organised at grassroots level by ANC, SACP and COSATU branch, ward or small group structures thus forms an integral part of the developmental state concept. “Between elections, we need to actively promote various forms of popular participation...the local structures of the ANC led Alliance are very central to the promotion of participatory democracy and popular participation in community development. [Accordingly] the ANC can provide an effective link between the community and the government. This is important even in wards or municipalities under opposition control” (ANC, 2012c:44). This model, according to the ANC, is in contrast to the neo-liberal model in which only the market forces matter, and the welfare state in which people are reduced to passive dependants on “welfarism”. Participation, in the manner described above, in the projects of the developmental state would then in turn enhance good governance.

#### **7.5.5 “Good Governance”**

In its policy documents the ANC studiously avoids the term “good governance”, the concept being associated with western institutions and their prescriptive liberal or neo-liberal free market orientation. Inherently what the NDR regards as good governance is pro-poor policies affecting the “masses of our people” as well as policies binding those people into Maoist social activism. Good Governance in NDR parlance is social in nature. In the ANC 2009 General Election Manifesto (ANC, 2009a:6) and also in its Local Election Manifesto of 2011 (ANC, 2011a:7), the ANC explains the social priorities concerning good governance of the NDR as follows: “the creation of decent work and sustainable livelihoods, education, health, rural development, food security and land reform and the fight against crime and corruption.” (These dimensions will be discussed in more detail in the social cluster.) This social approach to good governance, although laudable, created problems. According to Mathews Phosa (Anon, 2012b), the ANC

takes good decisions but the implementation is not backed up by effective administration: “it doesn't matter how beautiful your policies are, how much money we have. If the cutting edge of service delivery is not there...” (Phosa as quoted by Anon, 2012b).

In conclusion, the first priority for the tripartite alliance was to establish political control (dominance) which was done in the first phase of the transition (revolution) after 1994. This “phases theory” is essentially Stalinist with the goal of creating a very particular relationship between party (the tripartite alliance headed by the ANC) and the institution of the State. In the words of the ANC, all centres of power and influence have to be placed under at least the influence if not the leadership of the party. For this to happen the party has to undergo continuous organisational renewal in order to (amongst others) stay connected to its mass base, strengthening its idea of an activist developmental state that allows the mass of people to participate in their own continuous liberation. The developmental state concept is contrary to a neo-liberal state and a welfare state as the people are regarded as active participants. The most recent incantation of the theory of cadre deployment is of Communist Vietnamese origin, and good governance in the NDR is predominantly social rather than administrative or bureaucratic in meaning. This places emphasis on *what* good (governance) should do rather than *how* good (governance) should be accomplished. The strategies in the political cluster originated in the Stalinist phased revolutionary dogma and the Vietnamese cadre deployment experience. Concerning the strategic objectives of the NDR as explained in section 7.3.3, the strategies explained in the political cluster envelop all the objectives, the state, the economy, organisational work, the ideological struggle (within which cadre deployment is especially relevant) as well as the international environment. As explained above these strategies are an attempt towards the realisation of the vision and mission of the NDR.

## **7.6 THE ECONOMIC CLUSTER**

The economic cluster is defined by the dispersion of direct material wealth or the manner for access or limiting of access to direct prosperity and the reasons for this

dispersion. According to Zwelinzima Vavi (as quoted by Naidoo, 2012), the dispersion of wealth in South Africa is so skewed that “We will be sitting in our conferences, dancing and divided and playing factional games. The poor will enter the conference halls in their broken shoes and with their broken hearts and ask what have we been doing about their future and about all our broken promises”. This remark was made in reaction to the policy conference of the ANC where the delegates argued over the wording of government policy including “second transition” versus “second phase of the transformation”.

### **7.6.1 Second Phase of Revolution: Economic Transformation**

The first phase of the revolution had the goal of consolidating the political power of the ANC and its alliance partners. At this point the second phase of the revolution comes about because the “negotiated nature of the transition [1994 agreement and first phase political consolidation] meant that capital reform would necessarily be an incremental, market-focused process, engaging with the current owners of capital. This meant an implicit bargain” (ANC, 2012c:35). This bargain, according to the tripartite alliance, has by now run its course (it is void) and it is time for a new economic dispensation, so “there is agreement that although we have liberalized and integrated into the global economy and we have macroeconomic stability, the structure of the apartheid colonial economy has remained the same, and that in this form, it is incapable of fostering either higher or inclusive growth” (ANC, 2012c:35). The direction of the NDR for the new economic dispensation includes:

- Creating decent employment for all South Africans.
- Eliminating poverty and dealing decisively with the extreme inequalities in our society.
- Democratizing ownership and control of the economy by empowering the historically oppressed, Africans, and the working class in particular, to play a leading role in decision making.
- Restructuring the economy so that it meets the basic needs of all South Africans and the people of the region, especially the poor.

- Ensuring equitable and mutually beneficial regional development in Southern Africa, thereby fostering the progressive integration of the region.
- Limiting the negative environmental impact of our economic transformation programme. (ANC, 2012d:3)

In order to achieve these goals the ANC government (tripartite alliance) has a number of tools or strategies at its disposal and these will be discussed below.

### **7.6.2 Black Economic Empowerment (BEE)**

Black Economic Empowerment (BEE) and Broad Based Black Economic Empowerment are programmes designed to redress the economic inequality of the apartheid system by providing economic opportunities to previously disadvantaged (Black, Indian and Coloured) sectors of society. These opportunities include measures such as employment equity, skills development, ownership enhancement programmes, management skills development, socio-economic development, and preferential procurement initiatives. This programme [BEE] is therefore “aimed at redressing the imbalances of the past by seeking to substantially and equitably transfer and confer the ownership, management and control of South Africa’s financial and economic resources to the majority of its citizens. It seeks to ensure broader and meaningful participation in the economy by black people to achieve sustainable development and prosperity” (BEE commission, 2001:11). According to the SACP, BEE in its present form is a failure and has up to now only benefited a small elite. Therefore this policy/strategy needs to be re-analysed as part of the re-thinking of a more comprehensive “second transition” that is not merely a second phase of an on-going process (Anon, 2012c). It is important to note that the SACP remains staunchly in favour of a comprehensive second transition according to the tenets of the two-stage (revolution) theory.

### **7.6.3 Job Creation**

(Job creation will also be discussed in the section concerning the social cluster.) The New Growth Path (NGP) strategy of the government identifies areas where job creation

is necessary: “Specifically, it points to employment opportunities in infrastructure, the agricultural and mining value chains, manufacturing, tourism and other value-added services, the social economy, the public services, rural development, the knowledge economy and African regional development” (ANC, 2012d:9). The NGP proposes that these areas be targeted for the creation of jobs for the previously disadvantaged. Furthermore programmes to maintain and build physical infrastructure are necessary and will according to the government provide a further source of work, so does the provision of a future green economy and even the perils and opportunities of climate change (ANC, 2012d:18). These measures, some less feasible than others, are necessary because of South Africa’s extremely high unemployment rate. According to Adcorp, 8.5 million people<sup>88</sup> in South Africa are unemployed and 30.2% of the workforce has only temporary employment (Adcorp,2012). The jobless people are primarily the constituency of the ANC and the SACP, and they are not benefiting from the 1994 transition. It is therefore extremely important that the government is observed to be transforming the economy and creating opportunities for these disenfranchised people. As was illustrated in Chapter 3, according to Davies’s J-curve, the growth in (violent) revolutionary potential (realised for example in the Arab spring) is close to exponential if expectations and aspirations are neglected over a long period of time; and for millions of people in South Africa expectations are not being met.

#### **7.6.4 Affirmative Action**

The legislative framework for the strategy of Affirmative Action as another provision to procure jobs is provided by the Employment Equity Act (55 of 1998): “Recognising that as a result of apartheid and other discriminatory laws and practices, there are disparities in employment, occupation and income within the national labour market; and that those disparities create such pronounced disadvantages for certain categories of people that they cannot be redressed simply by repealing discriminatory laws. Therefore, in order to promote the constitutional right of equality and the exercise of true democracy; eliminate unfair discrimination in employment; ensure the implementation of employment equity to redress the effects of discrimination; achieve a diverse workforce broadly representative

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<sup>88</sup> Adcorp admits that some of these people might find a substantial income in informal economic activity.

of our people; promote economic development and efficiency in the workforce; and give effect to the obligations of the Republic as a member of the International Labour Organization.” According to the ANC (2012c:14), the NDR in the form of the *Strategy and Tactics* document of the party accepted at Polokwane in 2007 calls for these “corrective measures beyond political rights, a systematic programme of affirmative action aimed at those excluded on the basis of race, class and gender in the process eradicating apartheid’s production relations”. The strategy of affirmative action is defined as “positive steps taken to increase the representation of women and [usually] minorities in areas of employment, education, and business from which they have been historically excluded” (Fullinwider, 2009). These positive steps in South Africa include preferential selection on the basis of race, gender, or ethnicity for those historically excluded which in South Africa is defined as the majority of black people, coloureds, women, children and the disabled. BEE and affirmative action are however only (relatively slow working) strategies towards the eventual goal of the transformation of the fundamentals of the economy in South Africa.

### **7.6.5 Transformation of Patterns of Ownership**

The view of the NDR on the economy is anchored in the different interpretations of the Freedom Charter. (See Chapter 4 for details.) Therefore the ANC in its interim *Strategy and Tactics* Document of 2010 states that in order to build a national democratic society it is necessary to build a “thriving, labour-absorbent and inclusive mixed economy, in the process transforming economic relations based on race, super-exploitation and patriarchy” (ANC, 2010:3). For the government alliance partners this is too much equivocation and too little content: COSATU (2012:4) is firmly in favour of the radical redistribution of economic power, resources and income and proposes the “breaking [of the] power of white monopoly capital, which continues to own decisive industries such as petro-chemicals, steel, finance, wholesale and retail and the agricultural value-chain, improving access to quality and affordable basic services such as education, healthcare, housing and basic infrastructure by working class communities, including rural areas, measures to reduce income inequality through among other instruments, progressive taxation and redistributive public expenditure”. The SACP (2007a:4-6)

states that the “South African economy, notwithstanding important changes, preserves the systemic features of its formation and consolidation within a colonial and special colonial framework...therefore the economy in South Africa may be performing better for the rich but the majority of our people are still to benefit”. Unfortunately this assessment seems to be correct especially when corruption is taken into account (it is again worthwhile to keep Davies’s J-curve in mind). The SACP (2007a:4-6) continues: “De-racialisation without a thorough structural transformation of the economic form of Colonialism of a Special Type is narrow and reproduces and intensifies the dualistic character of the society. [Therefore] the economy requires first and foremost structural transformation to change the structure of production and ownership. That means challenging the stranglehold of private monopoly capital and building new sites of production and accumulation including collective ownership through the state, cooperatives, and other forms of worker ownership in the economy. It requires challenging the power of the bosses to dictate company restructuring and work organization”. The gist of the argument is that moderate economic restructuring as articulated by the ANC up to 2012 is being discredited as neo-liberal with the gap between rich and poor cited as evidence of, rather than poorly executed policy, hampered by corruption, partisan infighting and insincere politicians. The arguments are developing for more radical total reform encompassing ownership of the means of production (in a Marxist fundamentalist sense) as articulated by COSATU, the SACP and the ANCYL. Thus despite reassurances to the contrary, internationally and to business, nationalisation remains an option.

### **7.6.6 Nationalisation**

The policy conference of the ANC in Midrand in 2012 did not clearly resolve the nationalisation issue. Certain groups in the party clearly support the nationalisation of mines and other sectors of the economy in order to accelerate economic reform, while others remain sceptical. (The more radical supporters of the nationalisation policies also support expropriation of all disputed land and changes to the constitution, notably section 25 or the so-called “property clause” guaranteeing “the willing buyer willing seller” principle.) The land reform question was further addressed at the policy

conference by stating that “illegally acquired” land will be expropriated without compensation, and the remainder of the programmes already in existence will be accelerated. The ANC at that moment was caught in yet another faction battle between Jacob Zuma as the incumbent, and the possible pretenders to the throne that included Cyril Ramaphosa, Tokyo Sexwale and Kgalema Motlanthe (Landman, 2012). This irritated the ANC’s alliance partners. Zwelinzima Vavi of COSATU (as quoted by Naidoo, 2012) criticised the conference proceedings: “This is how far we have deteriorated ... factionalism and bloody violence”. Given the ambiguity surrounding the current policies of the ANC, COSATU’s proposals are more straightforward: “Democratizing patterns of ownership and control of the economy include the following interventions:

- Nationalisation of the mines, banks and other monopoly industries including forestry, petro-chemicals, steel, metals fabrication;
- Extending public ownership in critical sectors including pharmaceuticals, capital goods and equipment, cement, construction;
- Nationalisation of land and ensuring that the democratic state has power to allocate its use on a lease basis;
- The democratic state must be the custodian of South African land and must thus have power to determine its use;
- Promote co-operatives in clothing and textiles, agricultural value-chain, for example; and
- Supporting Small, Medium and Micro Enterprises and the private sector, where these are not in conflict with the overall strategy of economic development”. (COSATU, 2012:42).

The SACP also believes in the nationalisation of strategic assets such as Sasol and Arcelormittal (the old Iscor). Thus nationalisation is still on the agenda, especially for the ANC’s partners in government, the SACP and COSATU, the latter of which is the prime mobiliser of ANC support outside the party itself and the de facto controller of the unionised urban workforce at ground level. The fact that a vast group of South Africans

have not experienced an economic upturn as a result of the democratisation of the country is acknowledged by the ANC, and this produces pressure for more and more radical measures in order to facilitate quicker delivery of more drastic results. The only option that seems likely to produce these results is nationalisation.

In conclusion, the first phase of the revolution according to the ANC constituted a compromise on the economy. This resulted in the conservation of apartheid-colonial economic production relations that are now incapable of fostering higher or inclusive economic growth. In order to procure higher and more inclusive economic growth a second phase of the revolution is necessary. (This phase can be termed the second transition or the second phase of transition; in essence it is still the second phase of the revolution.) Strategies employed as measures to redress imbalances resulting from apartheid include BEE, BBEE and Affirmative Action with accompanying legislative frameworks. The SACP, COSATU (as partners of the ANC in government) and others point out that these strategies have only benefited a small elite and that a large percentage of the South African population remain jobless. The theoretical perspective of Davies (1962:6) shows that this increases the revolutionary potential in society as expectations of large groups of people with little to lose remain unsatisfied. At the 2012 policy conference of the ANC in Midrand no clear guidance was given on economic policy while the ANC's alliance partners (in government), the SACP and COSATU, lobby for a progressive radicalisation including more government control of the economy entailing the redistribution of the ownership of the means of production in the economy through policies that include nationalisation. The strategies employed in the economic cluster show how closely related the economy and politics really are, especially in the core vision of the NDR. In order to be politically successful the economy has to change to accommodate the masses of poor, uneducated, unpropertied, but politically active classes. (Given this vision, it is clear that the 1994 solution could never have been sufficient.) According to Huntington in section 3.5.2 of Chapter 3 of this thesis, unchannelled political participation for which there exist no legal or legitimate structures (institutions) in which these, up to now, unknown levels of participation can be accommodated, leads to political instability. If this situation is left uncontrolled revolution

might result. The strategies of BEE, BBEE and Affirmative Action, though irritating to whites, cannot fundamentally change the ownership of the production relations of the economy in South Africa, which is the goal of the NDR, and this will lead (and has to lead if tenuous political stability is to be maintained<sup>89</sup>) to a continuing radicalisation of strategies (political and economic) pursuant to the vision and mission of the NDR in the future.

## **7.7 THE SOCIAL CLUSTER**

The social cluster pertains to elements that concern the basic physical and mental state of being of people in society and/or various communities in South African society, as well as the relationships of these elements to each other. To paraphrase the words of Mathews Phosa (as quoted by Anon, 2012b) in section 7.5.4 of this chapter, the social cluster (in this chapter) is the “cutting edge” and concerns service delivery and other practical matters relating to strategies for “good governance” and how the governing alliance (government) plans to bring the fruit of the NDR to the people. The ANC government has identified the following sectors in its 2009 Election Manifesto and again in its 2011 Local Government Manifesto as priorities. (Both previous sections of this chapter on Good Governance and Job Creation are relevant to this discussion.) It is once again necessary to emphasise that these are the practical priorities of the NDR. It is possible to write a thesis on each of these subjects, but a thorough examination of all possibilities does not fall within the purview of this present study. Each priority below will only be discussed as a strategy within the social cluster of this chapter.

### **7.7.1 The Creation of Jobs and Sustainable Livelihoods**

According to the ANC (2011a:7), creating conditions for an inclusive economy will reduce unemployment, poverty, inequality and so produce jobs and sustainable livelihoods. In this the government foresees an increase in job procurement in the “green economy” (ANC, 2012d:38) as one of the ten job drivers that will provide “sustainable livelihoods” as a prime objective of the NDR. These job drivers are outlined

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<sup>89</sup> This situation is comparable to somebody on a runaway treadmill; he has to run faster even if he doesn't really want to, just to stay marginally in control.

in the government's *Industrial Policy Action Plan (2011/12 – 2013/14) Economic sectors and the Employment cluster*. Other clusters identified as job drivers are: Tourism Construction, Agro-processing, Transport, ICT & Media, Mining & beneficiation, Metals fabrication, Capital & transport equipment, Green energy, Automotive components, Medium and heavy commercial vehicles, Plastics, Pharmaceuticals and chemicals, Clothing, Textiles, Footwear and leather, Bio fuels, Forestry, Paper, pulp and furniture of these, and Agriculture. The Green economy and Mining & beneficiation are to be the most important. Significant amounts of money are to be invested in these sectors and preference will be given to the initiatives of black business people.

### **7.7.2 Poverty Reduction**

The report of an audit of Government's poverty reduction projects and programmes conducted by the Public Service Commission (2007:31) defined poverty reduction as a "general term which can be defined as an initiative, project, or program which seeks to improve the livelihood or quality of life of individuals or households with no income, with an income below the standard of living or those people living in poverty". The reason according to the commission for using poverty reduction rather than poverty alleviation or poverty relief is that the last two are frequently understood to mean short-term interventions. Thus the government's strategy of poverty reduction is a long-term one, interwoven with other social strategies: "Consequently, the government social transformation agenda is based and anchored on the desire to promote social cohesion, social integration and social inclusion. This will require the active engagement of the citizenry in programs directed at 'pushing back the frontiers of poverty, underdevelopment and ignorance'. Thus the proposed strategies emphasize on the reduction of income poverty through building platforms for employment and self-employment. This is advanced in the recognition that in the event people are not being able to work the social protection net ought to be wide and deep enough to render a caring and just society" (ANC, 2012c:9). From the above it is clear that firstly poverty reduction will be based on, once more, activities akin to the Mass Line of Mao and that there will secondly be social protection; this point will be discussed next.

### **7.7.3 Social Security**

The NDR envisages a “social security net” for the poor (previously disadvantaged constituents of the tripartite alliance), in other words a “comprehensive social security system which brings together initiatives such as free basic services for the poor, passenger transport subsidy, social grants, expansion of the assets base of the poor through housing, small business and land reform programs as well as private retirement savings, unemployment and accident insurance and medical aids” (ANC, 2012c:20). According to the NDR, social security mitigates against the risks associated with unemployment such as ill health and disability, therefore proposals towards a mandatory retirement system and measures to provide a basic retirement, disability and survivor benefits for all employees, are also being investigated. Furthermore social insurance packages for vulnerable sectors such as domestic and farm workers as well as funeral insurance for the poor and older persons will also be explored. The National Social Security Fund which will manage and administer a contributory pension fund for all South Africans has also to be established speedily. The four compensation funds currently spread over three departments and the private sector have therefore to accelerate their merger. Attention will also be paid to social security of the youth and people with disabilities (ANC, 2012c:27). (Not surprisingly a progressive system of taxation is envisaged to fund the expenses incurred by these measures.)

### **7.7.4 Rural Development**

Rural development is one of the five top priorities of government. According to the NDR, all vulnerable sectors (such as women, children and the elderly) are even more vulnerable in rural areas (ANC, 2012c:5). Therefore within the broad framework of social transformation, integrated interventions in the social and economic sectors which should promote human dignity and ought to create decent work and sustainable livelihoods in the context of rural development are of extremely high importance (ANC, 2012c:6). Furthermore according to the NDR “the rural poor which are mostly unemployed, landless, involved in survivalist farming, or farm workers have to contribute to defining and implementing agrarian reform, land reform, food security and rural development, enhancing struggles for rural workers’ rights, especially farm workers

changing patriarchal relations of production and reproduction that continue to render women second-class citizens and engage white compatriots to further agrarian and land reform and rural development” (ANC, 2012d:20). Once more the activist role that the poor have to play in their own liberation is emphasised; this is Maoist (Mass Line) ideological thought in action. The realisation of these goals as well as the creation of “vibrant, equitable and sustainable rural communities” is dependent on the acceleration of land reform. The land reform issue is central not only to rural development but also to the economic and social transformation of South Africa as a whole (see section 7.6.6 on nationalisation for more detail). One of the ways in which these issues are linked is through food security; furthermore the production of food is one of the key sectors fuelling the economy.

### **7.7.5 Education**

Part of the comprehensive social policy that is planned will include a free education programme aimed at integrating individuals, especially women, communities and citizens living in informal settlements into the economic mainstream (ANC, 2012c:14). (Eventually education will be free up to undergraduate level (ANC, 2012e:9).) This will, according to the NDR, enable a developing country such as South Africa to benefit from a “demographic dividend” (a large portion of the population active in the labour market resulting in low dependency and high per capita socio-economic investment and returns), if the integration of this group through education, health and economic participation occurs successfully (ANC, 2012c:23). Therefore the education system has to be improved through the provision of quality education, expanding access to early childhood education, literacy and learning opportunities for life (ANC, 2012c:40 and ANC, 2012a:17). Furthermore “indigenous knowledge systems should be incorporated into the formal education system and a career path introduced in this area” (ANC, 2012a:12). According to the ANC, this will lead to the further transformation and diversification of the education system. According to the ANC’s (2012e:7) vision of the NDR, the conduct of certain professional bodies in the “actuarial and legal fraternities results in newly graduated professionals, Blacks in general and Africans in particular, being blocked from entry into many professions”. This results in an “artificial scarcity”

and the ANC government has to find a way to effectively deal with these backlogs. Accessibility to arts, culture and heritage as well as the further promotion of indigenous languages in education ought also to be further investigated. From 2012, over the next three years, a total of 3.8 billion rand has been earmarked by government for tertiary education and the minister for this portfolio, Blade Nzimande, has announced the formation of two new universities, one in the Northern Cape and one in Mpumalanga. An amount of three hundred million rand has been allocated to the development of these universities (ANC, 2012e:22). The ANC further proposes that “community service be expanded to all disciplines and be compulsory for all graduates from Higher Education Institutions in South Africa immediately after completion of their studies, and that all students from poor households and rural communities be given “adequate residence spaces at universities” (ANC, 2012e:37).

#### **7.7.6 Health**

The health sector also forms part of the integrated priority structure of government to provide for sustainable, secure and prosperous communities. Therefore the government has announced the formation of a pharmaceutical company owned by the state; this initiative will boost the economy as a lack of income is considered to result in poor nutrition and health care in general (ANC, 2012e, 30; ANC, 2012a:5-6). Furthermore a large section of the population (that was previously excluded) has to be provided with increased access to better health care that has to be for some sections (for example children under 6) free of charge (ANC, 2012a:6). In the cause of improving health care the ANC (2012a:13) proposes to recognise traditional practitioners and promote their practices within the formal sector. One of the reasons for this is that the South African “health system was exposed and limited only to the western medicine regime and robbed of the value that could have been extracted from traditional herbs and medicines” (ANC, 2012a:13). Therefore the health sector needs to be reviewed in order to make it more inclusive and representative of all the cultural and ethnic backgrounds in the country. To this end the resources of the South African Military Health Services are under-utilised and their integration into the public health services has to be investigated.

### **7.7.7 Housing**

According to the ANC's (2012a:19) vision of the NDR, services should be extended to the most vulnerable groups (thus including recipients of grants) with improving of the social wage in view. The housing subsidy and related policies should thus be "deepened" to include those who are most vulnerable, also older people, child-headed households, and people with disabilities. Programmes which call on an active citizenry (Mass Line) should be considered, as they may have the long term effect of lessening the load on government subsidies. Furthermore, household access to sanitation in conjunction with the provision of household access to water, refuse removal, security of tenure, area lighting and transport access, including the acceleration of programmes to achieve international and regional sanitation targets, have to be made a priority (ANC, 2012a:30). Ubuntu-based community (Mass Line) programmes such as "Each one, settle one", "Youth build" and Women Build" have to be "deepened" and "entrenched" in the communities. According to the ANC (2012a:31), the (artificial) reluctance of private capital to fund loans for low income housing has proven to be problematic: "In order to ensure and improve access to finance for poor and working class households, the state will have to intervene in various aspects of the human settlements finance chain, especially in the removal of impediments in the housing demand and supply side chain and the establishment of alternative channels and methods of housing and human settlements financing" (ANC, 2012a:31).

### **7.7.8 Fight against Crime**

The fight against crime and corruption is one of the government's integrated priorities and in 2009 the ANC (2009b) committed itself to the establishment of a new, modernised, efficient and transformed criminal justice system with the capacity for fighting and reducing crime; to actively combat serious and violent crime by being tougher on criminals and organised syndicates; to increase the capacity of the SAPS through recruitment, rigorous training, better remuneration; to better equip and empower the detective services, forensics department, prosecution services, judicial services and crime intelligence; to establish and strengthen a new unit to fight organised crime; to

provide greater support for the SAPS, especially to combat the attacks on the members of the SAPS, including through the introduction of legislative measures to protect law-enforcement officials in the execution of their duties; to combat violence and crimes against women and children by increasing the capacity of the criminal justice system to deal with such violence; to mobilise communities to participate in combating crime through establishing street committees and community courts; to step up measures in the fight against corruption within society, the state and private sector, including measures to ensure politicians do not tamper with the adjudication of tenders and to establish measures to ensure a transparent tendering process as well as to ensure much stronger accountability of the public servants involved in tendering processes. Furthermore, crime perpetrated by international syndicates and terrorism requires collective action by all members of the international systems, and coordination between the UN and regional organisations. According to the NDR (ANC, 2012f:10), no country will overcome these challenges without co-operating with others. But the emphasis in the fight against crime is placed on the building of a South African society that will be able to guarantee the safety and security of its people (ANC, 2012c:13). In building such a society, campaigns, for example against alcohol (and other drug) abuse and the advertising of alcohol have to be intensified, as research has shown that alcohol often contributes to violent death, the increase in sexually transmitted diseases and social disorder (ANC, 2012c:24). As can be realised from the above, crime and corruption are closely linked. A discussion of the fight against corruption follows.

### **7.7.9 Fight against Corruption**

The government identified seven dangers impacting on the character and values of the ANC (and the tripartite alliance). One of these is corruption and the perception of corruption, thus the fight against crime and corruption became a strategic priority: “Every time we speak out firmly on issues of corruption and misdemeanours in our ranks, the ANC wins back confidence and support among the people” (ANC, 2012b:21). The process of “organisational renewal” (discussed in section 7.5.3 of this chapter) has as one of its goals the reconnection of the organisation with its core values and practices (ANC, 2012b:33). These core values constitute the best aspects of the

liberation movement which according to the National General Council (NGC) of the ANC are “unity, selfless and steadfast commit to serve the people, sacrifice, collective leadership, democratic centralism, humility, honesty, self-discipline and mutual respect, hard work, internal debate, self-criticism and constructive criticism” (ANC, 2012b:33). To aid this process the NGC proposes the establishment of an Integrity Commission (IC)<sup>90</sup> on national, provincial and regional levels to promote integrity and “conduct discipline inspections as part of the campaign to safeguard the values, integrity and reputation of the ANC” (ANC, 2012b:34). These commissions will be composed of veterans and younger generations of disciplined cadres who do not serve in elected structures. The Chairperson of the IC must be an elected member of the executive on the relevant level; a person who has to meet the high standard of integrity. The IC will investigate all allegations of corruption, abuse of power and any conduct by ANC members that impacts on the image and integrity of the ANC in society. Other proposals include the building of unity in the ANC, the political education of cadres and the strengthening of the cadre deployment policy, and the enhancement of the role of veterans to that of teachers and keepers of tradition. Elected leadership should act quickly and firmly in cases of misconduct, and the use of lawyers in disciplinary cases should also be reviewed (ANC, 2012b:34-36).

In conclusion, this cluster consists of integrated and mutually supporting social priorities and strategies identified by the NDR government as key performance areas in which the ideology has to bear fruit for the people on grassroots level. These key areas are also the dimensions of good governance according to the social definition of good governance of the NDR, and include the provision of jobs and sustainable livelihoods, social security, rural development, education, health, housing, the fight against crime and the fight against corruption. According to the tripartite alliance, investments in these areas form part of the provision of a social safety net for the poor who are mostly previously disadvantaged, and by doing so the social and economic transformation and redress in South African society are advanced. Strategies in this sector consist on the

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<sup>90</sup> This is reminiscent of the *Political commissar* in the communist heyday, who was responsible for the pure ideology.,

one hand of direct government intervention and restructuring (as mentioned for example in the education and housing sectors) and, on the other hand, of an activist citizenry which translates directly to Mao's Mass Line principle. Furthermore these priorities and strategies are the NDR regime's attempt to meet all the objectives stated in section 7.3.3 of this chapter on a grassroots level, in pursuit of the vision and mission of the NDR.

## **7.8 THE INTERNATIONAL CLUSTER**

The international cluster is defined by the ideologies and theories (reconstructed in Chapter 3) that contributed to the NDR and from which the NDR also took (amongst others) a Marxist perspective of a "world revolution" in which international responsibility and solidarity lead to international networks, support and areas where influence has to be exerted or countered and friends gained in order to promote foreign and domestic objectives. To this end the strategy of the NDR regime has been and will continue to be a political alignment with left wing progressive governments and organisations.

### **7.8.1 Left Wing Political Alignment**

According to the ANC (2012f:2), it was "recognized from the start that the South African liberation struggle was not isolated from the numerous liberation struggles across the continent and the globe". In 1912 Pixley ka Seme "castigated" imperialism and colonialism, called for democracy and a renewal of Africa. That resulted in anti-imperialist forces like the Sandinista in Nicaragua celebrating the ANC's formation in 1912 as a welcome addition to the commitment to replace imperialism with democracy. In this context in 1927 Josiah Gumede attended the Anti-Imperialism Conference in Brussels as a delegate of the ANC. "The conference demanded the complete overthrow of imperialist and capitalist domination, the protection of freedoms of speech and assembly, and that the right to education be extended to all peoples. The founders of the ANC recognized that the struggle against colonialism in South Africa was tied to the defeat of colonialism in Africa and the rest of the colonized world. Thus, the founders of the ANC joined international progressive forces in the fight against imperialism and colonialism" (ANC, 2012f:2-3). This association still persists; in 2010 president Jacob

Zuma opened the twelfth international meeting of the Communist and Workers Parties in Centurion, South Africa, with: “Comrades and friends, I bring revolutionary greetings from the African National Congress”... and continued: “We know full well from practical experience that our struggle against imperialism is one with that of our brothers fighting the same enemy in every country of the world” (Zuma as quoted by SACP, 2010). The last part is a quote from an address by Moses Kotane on 16 June 1969 in Moscow; it is also the essential ideological component of Marx’s permanent world revolution.

In the modern context the international strategic order has necessitated the government’s use of progressive internationalism including the commitment to multilateralism, peaceful resolution of conflict, human rights, social justice, and the reform of the global political and economic order, as a prism of its role in international affairs. Global trends have been dominated by the end of the Cold War, the rise of a single superpower and the growth of unilateralism after the September 11 terror attacks as is evidenced by the unilateral invasion of Libya. “The movement has also sought to understand and respond to the impact of the continued contest between a generally conservative/neo-conservative ideological perspective on world affairs that resists change globally, on the one hand, and a generally progressive that is pro-change ideology, on the other” (ANC, 2012f:5-6). Regarding this the NDR regime realises a problem, as many in the international forums oppose the NDR regime’s progressive stance and so “exploit the existence of domestic neo-liberal forces that dominate internal public discourses even though they cannot win elections [as they are] small in number” (ANC, 2012f:6). Thus the NDR government feels frustrated in what it calls a new liberal conservative international environment. Therefore its strategy is to consolidate its international power bases and to form alliances.

### **7.8.2 Consolidation of International Power Bases**

According to the ANC’s (2012f:10) vision of the international environment, a multilateral approach to international developments is appropriate: “Changes in the global political economy have brought to the fore a number of transnational challenges that underline the growing interdependence amongst nations and regions of the world. Global

epidemics, abject poverty, climate change, environmental degradation, energy security, food security, crime and international crime syndicates, radicalism, and terrorism require collective action [in contradiction to the West's unilateralism] by all members of the international systems and coordination between the UN and regional organizations. Major international organizations of which South Africa is a member include the IBSA trilateral forum between India, Brazil and South Africa, BRICS, the Brazil-Russia-India-China and South Africa developing economy alliance, the SADC, the Southern African Development community and the AU or African Union".<sup>91</sup> Within these organisations and alliances the NDR regime feels itself among friends with similar levels of democratic and economic development and foresees that these friends would provide a bulwark against "the growing abuse of multilateral institutions by powerful states for unilateral agendas as well as the acceleration of an exploitative global capitalism"<sup>92</sup> (ANC, 2012f:11). In combating the abuse of international institutions, and in general in the international environment, one of the government's main strategies is to build and maintain the moral high ground for South Africa and from this position argue for reform.

### **7.8.3 The Building and Maintenance of the "Moral High Ground"**

The most significant strategic asset for the South African government (and the NDR) is the position of the moral high ground that accrued from the peaceful transformation of the political environment in South Africa in 1994/6 when the political violence, at near civil war levels, on the edge of disaster, was turned around by the supreme efforts of, in terms of the NDR, Nelson Mandela. South Africa remains the only country in the world that gave up a nuclear weapon programme, integrated so many liberation army's and intelligence structures, and still remained a democracy. Accordingly the ANC (2012c:5) lauds the peaceful and democratic transformation as "the main success of the first 15 years of the new South Africa". The (astute) strategy of the NDR is to leverage this position of the "virtuous rainbow nation" into political gain in domestic and foreign policy.

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<sup>91</sup>South Africa is also a member of the United Nations and the British Commonwealth but as discussed above, the NDR regime regards these organizations as neo-liberal conservative and opposed to its progressive agenda.

<sup>92</sup> As an example of this expansionism the case of Libya is cited: "...the Western powers used a UN Security Council Resolution supported by African members of the Council, including South Africa, to smuggle in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), a military alliance between Europe and America, to carry out a regime change in Africa, a region over which NATO has no jurisdiction" (ANC,2012f:11).

In order to do this the achievement of the 1994 settlement has continuously to be sold and resold both domestically and internationally. This provides the tripartite alliance, especially the ANC, with a huge amount of legitimacy.

#### **7.8.4 Achievement of 1994 Settlement as Political Capital**

Because of its unique position in world politics, South Africa in the post-1994/6 epoch has successfully positioned itself as a voice of conscience, especially as far as the previously colonised states and Africa are concerned.<sup>93</sup> Therefore according to the ANC (2012f:2) “the ANC [and by extension, the NDR regime] is committed to the struggle for a humane, just, equitable, democratic, and free world, and a better Africa”. Furthermore the history of the struggle is explained as a universal struggle for the best in human civilization, therefore in the Freedom Charter “ordinary South Africans, in their appeal for an ideal South Africa, included the idea of a free and co-operative world in the charter. The moral stance of the NDR regime for basic freedom and equality, especially in the face of racism and bigotry, ensured that progressive people around the globe, even some colonial powers, supported the South African struggle for freedom and democracy” (ANC, 2012f:4). Furthermore the NDR regime, especially the ANC, regards itself as an internationalist “force” for good: “The ANC pushed for a strong international solidarity against apartheid, resulting in the establishment of anti-apartheid movements in all regions of the world. They mobilized ordinary people, students, the trade union movements, middle class, faith-based organizations to support the struggle of the oppressed in South Africa. This helped to build a global and non-racial movement against apartheid as a racial chauvinism” (ANC, 2012f:5). The evidence of this is provided by the Nobel Peace Prize presented to Chief Albert Luthuli when South Africa and its struggle for independence held centre stage within the liberation of Africa. This argument is presented by the NDR regime overseas and as in this case domestically, in its policy documents to show its long legitimate history to add to its mythology and so to

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<sup>93</sup>This was especially the case when Mandela was president and before the South African government became a universal apologist for Zimbabwe, refused the Dalai Lama a visa and purportedly sympathized with the junta in Myanmar.

provide political capital and ensure growth in its power base so that it can remain in power.

In conclusion, the NDR regime, the governing tripartite alliance led by the ANC with the associated movements and structures, is an “internationalist” organisation with an internationalist ideology situated in the NDR. (This is contradictory to apartheid that was an isolationist ideology.) Thus the NDR and its structures align themselves with “left wing”, “progressive” nations and organisations and so even in the origins of the ANC strong Marxist roots can be found. In the contemporary environment the NDR regime severely criticises the unilateralism of the West and argues for a progressive internationalism with a commitment to multilateralism. Furthermore South Africa aligns itself with other countries of similar outlook and level of socio-economic development as well as political dispensation. (The NDR regime believes it will form a bulwark against possible unilateralism.) In the international environment in general and international organisations in particular the government leverages its position as holder of a certain amount of “moral high ground” into political currency to argue for the causes explained above. This means that the 1994 success has to be sold and resold continuously.

## **7.9 THE IDEOLOGICAL CLUSTER**

The ideological cluster has to do with the NDR itself, what its ideological cornerstones are and how it develops as ideology. In general the hard core of the ideology remains the same while different contexts at different times are emphasised or de-emphasised. The strategic hard core of the NDR is the vision and mission of the ideology; in support of these the NDR operated various strategies on the ideological level. In order to understand these strategies the following section has to be read against the background of the ideological clusters of the previous two chapters. As in the previous cluster, it is possible to write a thesis on each subcategory, and over-elaboration is not possible here as the goal is to reconstruct the whole ideology, not separate parts of it. To start the discussion of strategies in the ideological cluster it is important to understand that one of the inherent internationalist ideological strategies is to build a moral high ground, thus making the NDR morally untouchable.

### 7.9.1 Defining the Moral High Ground

In the previous cluster the use of the moral high ground by the NDR in the international environment for the procurement of political capital was discussed. The operators of the NDR also use the ideology and the definition and maintenance of the moral high ground in the ideological sphere. The NDR has had to contend and still contends with various other ideologies for the attention and eventual devotion of constituents. This leads to conflict between opposing ideologies that is often bloody and thus to argue that the NDR had to defeat Apartheid, Afrikaner nationalism and their attendant mythologies prior to 1994 is not an overestimation. In this regard the creation of the NDR as morally superior and therefore in possession of the high moral ground, especially against the loathsome system/ideology/structure of apartheid, was and still is a clear strategy of the NDR. At present the NDR portrays itself as pro-Africa, pro-South, pro-poor and furthermore that these and other progressive social qualities, where the collective welfare is taken into account instead, are the best that human civilisation has to offer (ANC, 2012f:2-6; ANC, 2012c:12). Thus as a consequence the ideology of the NDR is the best amongst others. This is a result of what the tripartite alliance calls the battle of ideas.

### 7.9.2 “The Battle of Ideas”

The battle of ideas is essentially an ideological struggle; one which the SACP (2012a:1), by far the organisation most adapted to and well-schooled in this “battle”, defines as: “an integral part of the class struggle. It is both a struggle over ideas themselves and a struggle for the progressive transformation of the major institutional means of ideological production and dissemination – including the media, the educational and training system, the policy apparatus within the state, and a wide range of cultural and faith-based institutions and practices.”<sup>94</sup> This type of battle of ideas, which includes many of the subjects covered in this thesis, is the heart (core) of the NDR, both inside and outside the tripartite alliance. (Mythologising and demythologising are of pertinent importance as is the current battle around the idea of nationalisation.) When the ANC

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<sup>94</sup>. This argument is the culmination of Leninist thought in the SACP and the essence of ideological contestation in general. See Chapter 3 for details. (This argument can almost be taken as the SACP’s *raison d’être*.)

Youth League tabled their discussion document “*Communications and the battle of ideas in the age of the ‘twitter revolutions’*” (ANCYL, 2011a:1) it was, according to the document itself, part of both the internal and external battle of ideas (contestation of opinion/ideologies). The tripartite alliance/NDR regime usually tries to keep its internal battle of ideas away from outside scrutiny. The most severe form of an internal battle of ideas would be if the SACP and COSATU decided to contest elections on their own. According to the ANC (2005:1), “a vigorous battle of ideas is a common feature of the democratic political contest in many societies, and should be welcomed as an integral feature of the democratic process”. The battle of ideas of the NDR is however different from the battles of ideas of most democracies as the NDR widely uses revolutionary symbols, techniques and strategies, this being a reflection on its revolutionary origin and nature.

### **7.9.3 The Use of Revolutionary Symbols**

The NDR’s use of revolutionary symbols is rich and varied: the emblem of the ANC for example consists of a spear and shield representing the early wars of resistance to colonial rule, the armed struggle of the ANC’s former armed wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, and the ANC’s ongoing struggle against racial privilege and oppression. “The wheel dates back to the campaign for the Congress of the People, which adopted the Freedom Charter, and marks the joining in a common struggle for freedom for all South Africa’s communities. It is a symbol of the strong non-racial traditions of the ANC. The fist holding the spear represents the power of a people united in struggle for freedom and equality” (ANC, 2012g). The ANC’s rallying call “Amandla ngawethu” or “Matla ke arona” means “power to the people”, reflecting according to the ANC the central demand of the Freedom Charter that the people shall govern. These are not the only revolutionary symbols of the NDR. Powerful words such as “clarion call”, “comrade”, “entrenched”, “revolution”, “enemy”, “strategy and tactics”, “battle of ideas”, “advance”, “class”, “cadres”, and phrases such as “capitalist-colonialist oppression”, “racial discrimination”, “economic exploitation”, “economic emancipation”, “freedom”, “kill” and also “National Democratic Revolution” with its origin in the second communist

international are the implements of the NDR meant to arouse powerful emotion among the masses.

A further category of NDR symbolism is captured in the struggle songs that “during the brutal days of apartheid and racialised (class and gendered) colonial oppression...kept the morale high and became the impetus to rekindle the revolutionary zeal needed to advance the struggle for a democratic, non-racial, non-sexist and prosperous society where we all lived as equals without any regard to race” (Dlamini, 2011). These songs are symbols of resistance, a collective memory and a way in which the NDR is transferred. Furthermore the changing of street and city names, monuments erected for the deceased Umkhonto we Sizwe soldiers, the numerous festivities held in honour of struggle icons and revolutionary heroes are all part of the increasingly overtly expressed NDR revolutionary symbolism. The prime expression of the ideology and its symbolism by the government is formulated in the ANC’s *Strategy and Tactics* document which is taken into review every 5 years.

#### **7.9.4 “Strategy and Tactics Revisited”**

The NDR as ideology is adaptable, regenerative and progressive; in the past the ANC held 52 National Conferences at which progress with regard to strategic objectives, policies and the state of the organisation was reviewed and at which time the national leadership was elected (ANC, 2012c:3). At each of these conferences changes were made. At the 52nd conference for instance the “neo-liberal class project” of Thabo Mbeki was terminated in favour of Jacob Zuma (who is now in his turn out of favour). The alliance partners COSATU and the SACP also go through their less well-published revision processes. At the end of each conference the ANC, and by extension (and consultation partly also due to deliberate overlap of membership) the tripartite alliance, and due to the ANC’s majority in parliament, government then accept an NDR policy document called the Adopted Strategy and Tactics of the ANC that will guide the ANC, the tripartite alliance and the NDR dominated government, for the following five years. To all organisations and to these conferences the “Clarion call of the Freedom Charter” remains unchangeable, such as the mission and vision of the NDR. The emphasis at the 53rd conference in December 2012 will be on the (re-) interpretation of the freedom

charter (refer to Chapter 4 for details). The question is: does the charter call for nationalisation or not? More emphasis on social and economic transformation in the second phase of the revolution is now proposed. The SACP wants an even firmer second (economic and social) transition while elements in COSATU and the ANC Youth League are of the opinion that too little has been done (Magaga, 2012). The regenerative and adaptive capabilities of the NDR will be tested; more about that to follow in the final chapter.

In conclusion, the NDR tries to define the moral high ground in ideological confrontations by describing itself as 1) moral and 2) as the best that human civilisation has to offer, focused on people's actual needs, in contrast to the slavish adherence to "market forces" of neo-liberalism and the failure to adjust conservatism. This type of reasoning is an example of the "Battle of ideas" that forms an integral part of the NDR. This battle is defined as a struggle over ideas themselves and the progressive transformation of the major institutional means of ideological production. This battle rages both inside and outside the movements that make up the tripartite alliance and the government and is rich in revolutionary symbols, especially powerful words and phrases such as: Colonialist, Capitalist, oppression, economic emancipation, freedom, race and class. The intentions of these words are to spur the masses on to action. Another category of symbols is contained in the struggle songs which act as a collective memory and agent of transference for the NDR. The ideology is adaptive and regenerative but the core mission and vision remain the same. The strategic objectives of the NDR can at certain times be emphasised or de-emphasised; in 2012 towards the 53rd conference the adaptation is towards more emphasis on social and economic transformation. The debate within the broader NDR environment (tripartite alliance and within the pan-Africanist and nationalist ideologies) is however in favour of a far more aggressive approach. Strategically the objectives in the ideological cluster are the backbone that keeps the other objectives on course. These are the regulatory and self-regulatory matrices from which direction is derived via the analytical, normative and strategic dimensions.

## 7.10 SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

In accordance with the three main dimensions of ideology the goal of this chapter was to reconstruct and interpret the strategic dimension of the NDR. Concerning the theoretical perspectives on strategy the following was concluded:

- The process of implementation of strategy entails various steps towards the realisation of eventual goals over a period of time.
- This process can be divided into strategic or planning and tactical or performing phases between which a clear delineation exists.
- The strategic planning phase consists of the formulation of a vision, mission and objectives.
- The vision of the organisation elucidates the desired future state and what is expected of that future.
- The mission is the purpose of an organisation that provides subsequent direction to all following levels, and
- The objectives specify the results the organisation wishes to obtain in specific pursuit of its mission.
- The vision of the NDR is [a] transfer [of] power to the people and [the] transformation of society into a non-racial, non-sexist, united, democratic one, and changes [in] the manner in which wealth is shared, in order to benefit all the people (ANC, 2007a). To this can be added: “the establishment of a socialist South Africa, laying the foundations of a classless, communist society”<sup>95</sup> (SACP, 1989).
- The mission of the NDR is the practical operationalisation of the transformation of society in order to achieve the vision. This transformation is a rapid, progressive, comprehensive and fundamental political change of society (stemming from the unacceptable past) in the form of central planning (social and political engineering) accentuating the managing of political change in general and conflict management in particular (Duvenhage, 2005:5).

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<sup>95</sup>. This is the Socialist Democratic Revolution or SDR.

- The objectives of the NDR are the (social) transformation in accordance with the mission of the following: the state, the economy, organisational work, ideological struggle, and international work.
- In 1994/6 the operating mode of the NDR had to change and the mission and objectives had to be reformulated in order to accommodate a compromise between revolution (fast paced change) and evolution (slower non-violent change).
- The result was the “rearticulation” of the NDR with transformation as its major mode of operation. This transformation was acted out in two stages, first political consolidation and then social and economic transformation.

Concerning the six clusters the following conclusions were drawn:

- **The Historical Cluster**

- Part of the historical cluster in the strategic dimension is the **deliberate** formulation of powerful mythologies around **heroes** and **hero-like institutions** of the struggle.
- The mythology surrounding Nelson Mandela is an example of a deliberate strategy developed to garner legitimacy through superior mythology for the anti-apartheid cause in order to mitigate the mythologies propagated by the apartheid regime.
- The most important hero-institution of the NDR is the tripartite alliance that is both object and subject of, and for mythology, through a long and storied history and associations with powerful historical, quasi-academic, ideological figures such as Lenin.
- This alliance consists of the ANC as the political operator/party, COSATU as the trade union and agent of mass mobilisation and the SACP, which in the words of Trehwela, from above “organizes” as a brain trust.
- The combined mythologies of these organisations provide such an amount of legitimacy that the ANC has significantly trounced all opposition in all elections from 1994 until 2012 despite significant lack of performance on government level.

- Concerning the strategic goals explained in section 7.3.3 and illustrated in Figures 26 and 27 this chapter, creating mythologies and transforming them into ideological and ultimately political domination are first and foremost an ideological objective that has been achieved.
  - This is then supposed to spill over into all other objectives as formulated.
  - A disconnection exists however to a certain degree as the mythologies of the liberation leaders and organisation(s) do not successfully translate into the government resulting for example in effective service delivery or a model bureaucracy.
  - The tripartite alliance was a much better liberation movement than it is a government. From the start of negotiations with the apartheid regime until 2012 the tripartite alliance had been supremely accomplished ideologically, and dominated politically despite the fact that the practice of the ideology by government did not deliver.
- **The Political Cluster**
    - The first priority for the tripartite alliance was to establish political control (dominance) and this was done in the first phase of the transition (revolution) after 1994.
    - This “phases theory” is essentially Stalinist with the goal of creating a very particular relationship between party (the tripartite alliance headed by the ANC) and the institution of the State.
    - In the words of the ANC, all centres of power and influence have to be placed under at least the influence if not the leadership of the party.
    - For this to happen the party has to undergo continuous organisational renewal in order to (amongst others) stay connected to its mass base, strengthening its idea of an activist developmental state that allows the mass of people to participate in their own continuous liberation.
    - This developmental state concept is contradictory to a neo-liberal state and a welfare state as the people are regarded as active participants.

- The most recent incarnation of the theory of cadre deployment is of Communist Vietnamese origin, and good governance in the NDR is predominantly social rather than administrative or bureaucratic in meaning.
- This places emphasis on *what* good (governance) should do rather than *how* good (governance) should be. The strategies in the political cluster originated in the Stalinist phased revolutionary dogma and the Vietnamese cadre deployment experience.
- Concerning the strategic objectives of the NDR as explained in section 7.3.3, the strategies explained in the political cluster envelop all the objectives, the state, the economy, organisational work, the ideological struggle (where cadre deployment is especially relevant) as well as the international environment.
- **The Economic Cluster**
  - The first phase of the revolution according to the ANC constituted a bargain (compromise) on the economy.
  - This resulted in the conservation of apartheid-colonial economic production relations that is at this stage incapable of fostering higher or inclusive economic growth. In order to procure higher and more inclusive economic growth, a second phase of the revolution is necessary. (This phase can be termed the second transition or the second phase of transition; in essence it is still the second phase of the revolution.)
  - Strategies employed as measures to redress imbalances resulting from apartheid include BEE, BBEE and Affirmative Action with accompanying legislative frameworks.
  - The SACP, COSATU (as partners of the ANC in government) and others point out that these strategies have only benefited a small elite and that a large percentage of the South African population remain jobless.
  - At the 2012 policy conference of the ANC in Midrand no clear guidance was given on economic policy, while the ANC's alliance partners (in government), the SACP and COSATU, lobby for a progressive radicalisation including more government control of the economy entailing the redistribution of the ownership

of the means of production in the economy through policies that include nationalisation.

- The strategies employed in the economic cluster show how closely related the economy and politics really are, especially in the core vision of the NDR. In order to be politically successful the economy has to change to accommodate the masses of poor, uneducated, and largely without property, but politically active, classes. (Given this vision, it is clear that the 1994 solution could never have been enough.)
- According to Huntington in section 3.5.2 of Chapter 3 of this thesis, unchannelled political participation for which there exists no legal or legitimate structures (institutions) in which this, up to now, unknown levels of participation can be accommodated, leads to political instability. If this situation is left unchecked revolution might result.
- The strategies of BEE, BBEE and Affirmative Action, though irritating to whites, cannot fundamentally change the ownership of the production relations of the economy in South Africa, which is the goal of the NDR, and this will lead (and has to lead if tenuous political stability is to be maintained<sup>96</sup>) to a continuing radicalisation of strategies (political and economic) pursuant to the vision and mission of the NDR in the future.

- **The Social Cluster**

- The key areas discussed in the social cluster are also the dimensions of good governance according to the social definition of good governance of the NDR, and include the provision of jobs and sustainable livelihoods, social security, rural development, education, health, housing, the fight against crime and the fight against corruption.
- According to the tripartite alliance, investments in these areas form part of the provision of a social safety net for the poor who are mostly previously

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<sup>96</sup> This situation is comparable to somebody on a runaway treadmill; he has to run faster even if he doesn't really want to, just to stay marginally in control.

disadvantaged and so social and economic transformation and redress in South African society are advanced.

- Strategies in this sector consist on the one hand of direct government intervention and restructuring (as mentioned for example in the education and housing sectors) and on the other hand of an activist citizenry which translate directly into Mao's Mass Line principle.
- Furthermore these priorities and strategies are the NDR regime's attempt to meet all the objectives stated in section 7.3.3 of this chapter, on a grassroots level, in pursuit of the vision and mission of the NDR.

- **The International Cluster**

- The NDR regime, the governing tripartite alliance led by the ANC with the associated movements and structures, is an "internationalist" organisation with an internationalist ideology in the NDR. (This is in contradiction to apartheid that was an isolationist ideology.)
- Thus the NDR and its structures align themselves with "left wing", "progressive" nations and organisations and so even in the origins of the ANC strong Marxist roots can be found. In the contemporary environment the NDR regime severely criticises the unilateralism of the West and argues for a progressive internationalism with a commitment to multilateralism.
- Furthermore South Africa aligns itself with other countries of similar outlook and level of socio-economic development as well as political dispensation. (The NDR regime is of the opinion that this will form a bulwark against possible unilateralism.)
- In the international environment in general and international organisations in particular the government leverages its position as holder of a certain amount of "moral high ground" into political currency to argue for the causes explained above.
- This means that the 1994 success has to be sold and resold continuously.

- **The Ideological Cluster**

- The NDR tries to define the moral high ground in ideological confrontations by describing itself as 1) moral and 2) as the best that human civilisation has to offer, focused on what people really need, in contrast to the slavish adherence to “market forces” of neo-liberalism and the failure to change conservatism.
- This type of reasoning is an example of the “Battle of ideas” that is an integral part of the NDR.
- This battle is defined as a struggle over ideas themselves and the progressive transformation of the major institutional means of ideological production.
- This battle rages both inside and outside the movements that form the tripartite alliance and the government, and is rich in revolutionary symbols, especially powerful words and phrases such as: Colonialist, Capitalist, oppression, economic emancipation, freedom, race and class.
- The purposes of these words are to spur the masses to action. Another category of symbols is contained in the struggle songs which act as a collective memory and agent of transference for the NDR.
- The ideology is adaptive and regenerative but the core mission and vision remain the same.
- The strategic objectives of the NDR can at certain times be emphasised or de-emphasised; in 2012 towards the 53rd conference the adaptation is towards more emphasis on social and economic transformation.
- The debate within the broader NDR environment (tripartite alliance and within the pan-Africanist and nationalist ideologies) is however in favour of a far more aggressive approach.
- Strategically the objectives in the ideological cluster are the backbone that keeps the other objectives on course. These are the regulatory and self-regulatory matrices from which direction is derived via the analytical, normative, and strategic dimensions.

These strategies reconstructed and interpreted above constitute the final dimension of the NDR, and together with Chapters 5 and 6 represent the analytical, normative and

strategic dimensions of the ideology. In the following chapter, the final chapter of the thesis, attention will be paid to an evaluation of this ideology, given all that has been stated in the preceding chapters. This evaluation will include a perspective on the future of the NDR.

## **CHAPTER 8: AN EVALUATION OF THE IDEOLOGY OF THE NDR AND FUTURE PERSPECTIVES**

### **8.1 INTRODUCTION**

The central problem statement addressed in this thesis was the reconstruction, interpretation and evaluation of the National Democratic Revolution as an ideological framework in the post-1994 South Africa. The NDR is defined in this thesis by the ANC as “a process of struggle that seeks to transfer power to the people and transform society into a non-racial, non-sexist, united, democratic one, and changes the manner in which wealth is shared, in order to benefit all the people” (ANC, 2000a). To this the SACP, as governing partner of the ANC, adds that a struggle for socialism implies “we can never attain the total liberation of Africans and Black people under capitalism” (SACP, 2007b). In 2012 a second, radical phase of transformation in the societal and economic spheres of South Africa was proposed that will bring about a “national democratic society” that is consistent with the tenets of the NDR (ANC, 2012a:3). Thus the reconstruction, interpretation and evaluation of the ideology of the NDR is of vital importance to all with a substantial vested interest in South Africa. In this respect Chapters 2 and 3 provided background information and an epistemological and ontological “toolset” through respectively, the reconstruction of radical thinking as an ideological framework and the reconstruction of revolutionary traditions and theories that contributed to the formulation of the NDR. In Chapter 4 the developmental path of the NDR was reconstructed and interpreted, while the ideology of the NDR itself was reconstructed and interpreted according to its analytical, normative and strategic dimensions in Chapters 5, 6 and 7. The methods employed in these chapters were reconstructive, which is a descriptive function used “to determine whether certain variables are mutually associated” and “to describe views, beliefs, attitudes, values”, and interpretative, used to “study beliefs as they perform within, and even frame, actions, practices and institutions” (Duvenhage & Combrink, 2006:65; Marsh & Stoker, 2002:131).

Given that the reconstruction and interpretation of the NDR have now been completed, the goal of this chapter is the evaluation of the work in the preceding chapters and the NDR as ideology. Evaluatory methods are “exploratory in nature and are used to gain new insight into phenomena, to explain concepts, constructs and paradigms and to develop hypotheses with regard to specific phenomena” (Duvenhage & Combrink, 2006:65). In more common language evaluation is the process of valuation in accordance with standards, which is a systematic determination of a subject's merit, worth and/or significance in order to ascertain the degree of value with regard to what is under evaluation. The purpose of evaluation is to encourage reflection on all aspects identified and to specify areas where change is necessary (Del Tufo, 2002).

For the purposes of this thesis the standards for the evaluation of the NDR will be supplied by the foregoing chapters. From Chapter 2 the position of the NDR in the pantheon of radical ideologies will be evaluated, from Chapter 3 the contribution to the NDR of the various revolutionary traditions and theories as reconstructed will be evaluated. (Of pertinent importance when dealing with the contribution of this chapter will be to eventually summarise the contribution of the NDR within radicalism and to ascertain from which antecedent ideologies certain ideological traits in the NDR can be traced.) The main evaluative perspective in this thesis will however emerge from Chapter 4 and concerns the historical chronological developmental trajectory of the NDR. With the reconstruction and interpretation of the ideology (in its broadest sense epistemologically and ontologically defined) in Chapters 5, 6 and 7 as fundamental point of reference, an evaluation of the NDR has to return to Figure 13 of Chapter 4 asking the question: given this developmental trajectory, what lies in the future of this ideology? Will it be business as usual, will the internal contradictions seen in conflict between the NDR and the SDR play out in a stronger fashion or will corruption and criminality put pay to this ideology?

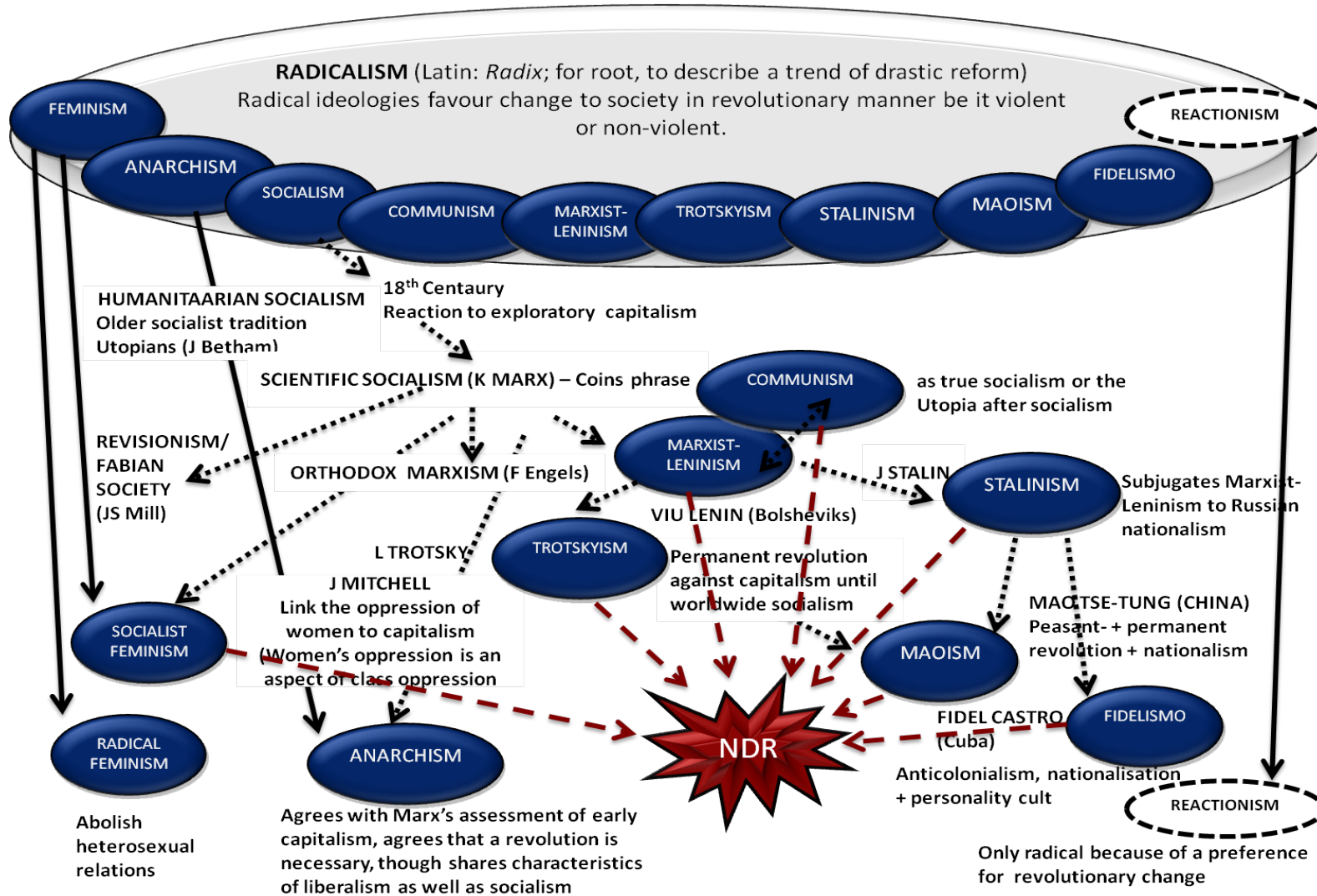
Methodologically this last chapter of the thesis is the deductive result of the previous chapters and comprises an evaluation of the NDR through a reflection on the work done

in the preceding chapters, culminating in the question posed at the end of Chapter 4: NDR, Quo vadis? First, however, Chapter 2.

## **8.2 AN EVALUATION OF THE FINDINGS IN CHAPTER 2**

In Chapter Two the radical thinking was reconstructed as an ideological framework. The National Democratic Revolution fits into the radical group of ideologies on the extreme left of the ideological spectrum not because “revolution” is nominally or pre-functionally included in the self-descriptions, definitions and extended definitions of this ideology. The goals of the NDR are to bring about revolutionary change in South African society, even 18 years after the realisation of democracy. This means that the NDR as ideology consists of, according to Heywood (2007:45) with reference to Seliger (1976), “an analytical dimension in which a dialectical analysis of a malign historical process and undesirable present is made, a normative model (the normative dimension) for the desirable future and a strategy for achieving that future by way of change (the strategic dimension)”. In these dimensions the manner of change that is demanded is radical-revolutionary (see the following section), never evolutionary or adaptive and the pace of this change is always immediate. Furthermore, from the reconstructions and interpretations initiated in Chapter Two and concluded in Chapters Four to Seven it is now possible to recognise the influences of the primary antecedent ideologies on the NDR. These primary relationships are illustrated in Figure 28.

Figure 28: The Main Antecedent (contributing) Ideologies to the NDR



There are of course other influences, notable amongst them pan-Africanism (which split away with Sebukwe and is only now [2010/12] making a return) and nationalism, but from the reconstruction in the previous chapters it is clear that the primary ideological and theoretical frameworks (vocabulary) and even examples are provided by the ideologies illustrated above. Prominent concepts drawn from the ideologies above are the Mass Line from China, the dialectic nature of history (and human relations), the concept of the class struggle from Marx (that underpins most of the NDR), the ideas of a permanent (world) revolution from Marx, and later to some degree from Trotsky, the hatred of imperialism and colonialism from Lenin, and the policies of cadre deployment from Vietnam (amongst others). It would thus be wrong to equate the NDR merely with Stalinism (although it did contribute the idea of stages as articulated by Joe Slovo). The matter is more complex; to paraphrase the NDR itself, the ideology is the result of the “best” of what the radical ideological world had to offer. A more detailed evaluation of contributions by the various ideologies follows in the next section.

### **8.3 AN EVALUATION OF THE FINDINGS IN CHAPTER 3**

In Chapter Three the revolutionary traditions and theories that contributed to the NDR were reconstructed. As a point of departure an analytical base and a new inclusive description and definition of revolution were developed. The description consists of a synthesis of the various dimensions of revolution provided in the literature by the Great Revolution School, the Functionalist and the Marxist scholars/practitioners. As such it is neither exclusive, nor one-sided, and according to its high specific value in observable characteristics it is testable, so it has a high heuristic value and is articulated as follows:

A revolution is...

- 1 a process of collective behaviour;
- 2 in a phased process;
- 3 affecting the degree of government of a state;
- 4 an alteration of values or myths of a particular system;
- 5 including a fundamental alteration of the social structure;

- 6 a fundamental change in the political institutions which
- 7 at some point will be illegal and will be followed by a legalization process;
- 8 where an elite alteration (supplanting) will take place;
- 9 that will include violent acts (even of guerrilla or revolutionary type war);
- 10 including a (pragmatic) ebb and flow;
- 11 of more than one (type of) event, (even elections)
- 12 that will take time to fulfil all its revolutionary goals, however articulated.

To aid comparison the various revolutionary traditions were tabulated in Chapter 3 and their main tenets listed along with their main points of comparison alongside the 12 dimensions above, the most prominent of which in a specific tradition were highlighted in red. This table is now repeated with the NDR included; similarities are highlighted in yellow.

**Figure 29: The NDR compared to other Radical Ideologies**

Areas in red (above on the right) indicate dimensions of the definition of revolution that are extremely evident within the indicated ideological context. (This table now includes the NDR.

Areas in Yellow indicate similarities between ideologies.

RADICAL IDEOLOGY	MAJOR CONTRIBUTION OF THE IDEOLOGY TO THE <b>THOUGHT AND THEORY OF REVOLUTION</b>	MAIN POINTS OF COMPARISON	DIMENSIONS OF REVOLUTION (AS PER DEFINITION) APPLICABLE IN EACH CONTRIBUTION
<p>NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC REVOLUTION</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Considers women as the most exploited class.</li> <li>• Women will be liberated as part of the revolution.</li> <li>• (Historical-) class inequality resulted from the unjust imperialist/colonialist capitalist exploitation.</li> <li>• For the SACP the end result will be socialism and then communism.</li> <li>• SACP and ANCYL regard themselves as vanguard groups.</li> <li>• The working class or the workers are its prime concern.</li> <li>• Professional revolutionaries exist (ANC, SACP, COSATU structures, Julius Malema).</li> <li>• There exists a willingness to use violence at least on a rhetorical level, as for instance expressed in a willingness to "kill for Zuma" or to "kill the boer."</li> <li>• The NDR is internationalist and part of movements on the left of the ideological spectrum. (A world revolution.)</li> <li>• The ideology is built around strong leaders and mythologies about hero-figures in the form of both persons and institutions.</li> <li>• The ideology mobilises and activates citizenry through Mass line activities.</li> <li>• The NDR is nationalistic and populist.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Considers women as the most exploited class.</li> <li>• Women will be liberated as part of the revolution. - Socialist feminism</li> <li>• (Historical) class inequality resulted from the unjust imperialist/colonialist capitalist exploitation.</li> <li>• For the SACP the end result will be socialism and then communism.</li> <li>• SACP and ANCYL regard themselves as vanguard groups. – communism as seen by Lenin</li> <li>• The working class or the workers are its prime concern.</li> <li>• Professional revolutionaries exist (ANC, SACP, COSATU structures, Julius Malema).</li> <li>• There exists a willingness to use violence at least on a rhetorical level as for instance expressed in a willingness to "kill for Zuma" or to "kill the boer."</li> <li>• The NDR is internationalist and part of movements on the left of the ideological spectrum. (A world revolution.) – Trotsky , Lenin</li> <li>• The ideology is built around strong leaders and mythologies about hero-figures in the form of both persons and institutions. Stalinism / Fidealismo</li> <li>• The ideology mobilises and activates citizenry through Mass line activities.</li> <li>• The NDR is nationalistic and populist. – Maoism</li> </ul>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. A process of collective behaviour.</li> <li>2. A phased process.</li> <li>3. Affects the degree of government of a state.</li> <li>4. Alteration of values or myths of a particular system</li> <li>5. Including a fundamental alteration of the social structure.</li> <li>6. A fundamental change in the political institutions.</li> <li>7. At some point will be illegal and will be followed by a legalisation process.</li> <li>8. An elite alteration (supplanting) will take place.</li> <li>9. Will include violent acts (even of guerrilla or revolutionary type of war).</li> <li>10. A (pragmatic) ebb and flow.</li> <li>11. More than one (type of) event, (even elections).</li> <li>12. Will take time to fulfil all its revolutionary goals, although articulated.</li> </ol>

<p>SOCIALIST FEMINISM</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Considers women as the most exploited class.</li> <li>• Women will be liberated by the socialist revolution.</li> <li>• Radical feminists want to completely restructure society, by means of an independent revolution (and even separatism and the sensation of the heterosexual sexual act).</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Women as the most exploited class.</li> <li>• Women will be liberated by Socialism.</li> </ul>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Collective behaviour.</li> <li>2. Phased process.</li> <li>3. Alteration of values and myths of systems.</li> <li>4. Fundamental alteration of social structure.</li> <li>5. Fundamental change in political institutions.</li> <li>6. Can be illegal.</li> <li>7. Can include an elite alteration.</li> <li>8. Includes a pragmatic ebb and flow.</li> <li>9. Includes more than one type of activity.</li> <li>10. Takes time.</li> <li>11. Depends on Socialist programme followed.</li> </ol>
<p>ANARCHISM</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Agrees with Marx that a revolution is necessary to rid the world of capitalism (exploitation).</li> <li>• Regards any form of government as exploitative.</li> <li>• Disagrees with a central organisation, the use of organised labour and a party system.</li> <li>• Most radical groups are militaristic, individualistic and uncontrollable.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Agrees with Marx that Capitalism is evil.</li> <li>• All organisation is exploitative.</li> <li>• Socialist Anarchism is described as "left of politics".</li> </ul>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. (Some form of) collective behaviour.</li> <li>2. Fundamentally affecting the degree of government of the state.</li> <li>3. An alteration of the values and myths of a system.</li> <li>4. Fundamental alteration of the social structure.</li> <li>5. Fundamental alteration in the political institutions.</li> <li>6. Can be illegal.</li> <li>7. Can include an elite alteration.</li> <li>8. Can include violence.</li> </ol>
<p>SOCIALISM</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The genus from which most of the other ideologies are the species.</li> <li>• Marx is the most influential thinker; from his ideas of Scientific Socialism resulted Communism, Trotskyism, Stalinism and others.</li> <li>• According to Marx history (the development of man) is a process of conflict between classes driven by economic reality resolved by revolution.</li> <li>• The end result of this process will be the end of worldwide capitalism followed by a second tier (true) socialism or communism.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Marx (the father) provides basis for Socialism and the science of Socialism.</li> <li>• Science is driven by Class conflict, Dialectical materialism, Economic determinism and other "laws".</li> <li>• Capitalism is the enemy and will be supplanted by socialism with its perfect form called communism.</li> </ul>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. A process of collective behaviour</li> <li>2. In a phased process.</li> <li>3. An alteration of values or myths of a particular system,</li> <li>4. including a fundamental alteration of the social structure;</li> <li>5. A fundamental change in the political institutions.</li> <li>6. An elite alteration (supplanting) will take place;</li> <li>7. includes a (pragmatic) ebb and flow;</li> <li>8. More than one (type of) event.</li> <li>9. Will take time to fulfil all its revolutionary goals, although articulated.</li> </ol>
<p>COMMUNISM</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Identifies imperialism, colonialism as profound enemies.</li> <li>• Communism is Lenin's interpretation of Marxism (also known as Bolshevism).</li> <li>• Lenin proposed a class of professional revolutionaries, acting in secret and conspiratorially who could bring the desire for political change to the workers – a class of intellectual agent provocateurs schooled in Marxist ideology.</li> <li>• According to his belief the Communist party had to be centralised and form a vanguard for the revolution.</li> <li>• The environment in which Lenin formed these</li> </ul>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Identifies imperialism and colonialism as enemies.</li> <li>2. Lenin articulates a practical guide for the revolutionary attainment of Socialism/Communism through the use of: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>– professional revolutionaries;</li> <li>– secrecy;</li> <li>– conspiracy, and</li> <li>– illegal acts.</li> </ul> </li> <li>3. Vanguard groupings.</li> </ol>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. A process of collective behaviour.</li> <li>2. A phased process.</li> <li>3. Affects the degree of government of a state.</li> <li>4. Alteration of values or myths of a particular system</li> <li>5. Including a fundamental alteration of the social structure.</li> <li>6. A fundamental change in the political institutions.</li> <li>7. At some point will be illegal and will be followed by a legalisation process.</li> <li>8. An elite alteration (supplanting) will take place.</li> <li>9. Will include violent acts (even of guerrilla/or revolutionary type of war).</li> <li>10. A (pragmatic) ebb and flow.</li> <li>11. More than one (type of) event, (even elections).</li> </ol>

	<p>ideas was repressive, he was thus almost an insurgent in his own country.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Lenin encouraged violence during December 1917 and declared "a war to the death against the rich".</li> <li>• Yet Lenin did not go to the extremes of Robespierre. He was however the father of the Cheka (the forerunner of the KGB) - repressive secret service.</li> </ul>		<p>12. Will take time to fulfil all its revolutionary goals, although articulated.</p>
TROTSKYISM	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Trotsky favours a twofold revolution: a bourgeoisie or democratic revolution followed by a proletarian or socialist revolution.</li> <li>• He however regards the twofold as one permanent revolution (the big political processes mentioned above are important steps in his permanent revolution) where each phase of the revolution stems directly from the preceding one, and revolutions occur in the economy, science, family, and within morality not allowing society to achieve equilibrium.</li> <li>• A national revolution is not a self-contained whole but has external linkages forming an international chain. (Note the conflict with Stalinism.)</li> <li>• This national and international process is continued despite declines and ebbs - this is thus a very pragmatic approach with the ultimate success of worldwide socialism as its goal.</li> </ul>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Permanent revolution,</li> <li>2. on all societal levels</li> <li>3. until Socialism is achieved throughout the world.</li> <li>4. More tolerant, more international and more inclusive.</li> </ol>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. A process of collective behaviour.</li> <li>2. A phased process.</li> <li>3. Affects the degree of government of a state.</li> <li>4. Alteration of values or myths of a particular system;</li> <li>5. including a fundamental alteration of the social structure.</li> <li>6. A fundamental change in the political institutions.</li> <li>7. At some point will be illegal and will be followed by a legalisation process.</li> <li>8. An elite alteration (supplanting) will take place.</li> <li>9. Will include violent acts (even of guerrilla or revolutionary type of war).</li> <li>10. A (pragmatic) ebb and flow.</li> <li>11. More than one (type of) event, (even elections).</li> <li>12. Will take time to fulfil all its revolutionary goals, although articulated.</li> </ol>
STALINISM	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Stalinism is based on a strong leader or the perception of a strong leader.</li> <li>• This fact and image are maintained through brutality.</li> <li>• Stalinism stresses ideological and emotional commitment.</li> <li>• The strongest force however is Nationalism and the slogan "socialism in one country" led to the fortification of the USSR.</li> <li>• Introduced a militarised industrialisation and a planned economy through 5 year plans.</li> </ul>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Nationalist with a</li> <li>2. (narcissistic) Personality Cult built upon</li> <li>3. terror and brutality.</li> <li>4. Bureaucratic and</li> <li>5. tries to industrialise through a "new science" built on socialist idealism and megalomania.</li> <li>6. "Socialism from above".</li> </ol>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. A process of collective behaviour.</li> <li>2. A phased process.</li> <li>3. Affects the degree of government of a state.</li> <li>4. An alteration of values or myths of a particular system;</li> <li>5. Including a fundamental alteration of the social structure.</li> <li>6. A fundamental change in the political institutions.</li> <li>7. At some point will be illegal and will be followed by a legalisation process.</li> <li>8. An elite alteration (supplanting) will take place;</li> <li>9. Will include violent acts (even of guerrilla or revolutionary type of war).</li> <li>10. A (pragmatic) ebb and flow.</li> <li>11. More than one (type of) event, (even elections).</li> <li>12. Will take time to fulfil all its revolutionary goals, although articulated.</li> </ol>

<p>MAOISM</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>The support base for the Chinese revolution was primarily rural with a peasant guerrilla army as its vanguard.</li> <li>The brand of communism in China in the rural areas was organisationally modelled after the army of the USSR - because of the fact that the "peasant army" was "the party".</li> <li>From a rural base the towns were infiltrated and party structures were established.</li> <li>Maoism is nationalistic (as key motivator) and populist with special positions for key supporters.</li> <li>Special Mass line programs were designed to reinvigorate the revolution over and over.</li> </ul>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Peasant support.</li> <li>Peasant army.</li> <li>Guerrilla tactics.</li> <li>Nationalistic.</li> <li>Reinvigoration of revolutionary energy through Mass line</li> </ol> <p>Vo Nguyen Giap:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Disband communist part to operate under cover.</li> <li>No difference between armed struggle and political struggle.</li> </ol>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>A process of collective behaviour.</li> <li>A phased process.</li> <li>Affects the degree of government of a state.</li> <li>An alteration of values or myths of a particular system;</li> <li>Including a fundamental alteration of the social structure.</li> <li>A fundamental change in the political institutions.</li> <li>At some point will be illegal and will be followed by a legalisation process.</li> <li>An elite alteration (supplanting) will take place.</li> <li>Will include violent acts (even of guerrilla or revolutionary type of war);</li> <li>A (pragmatic) ebb and flow.</li> <li>More than one (type of) event, (even elections).</li> <li>Will take time to fulfil all its revolutionary goals, although articulated.</li> </ol>
<p>FIDEALISMO</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Castro's revolution is anti-colonialist, anti-imperialist and fiercely nationalistic.</li> <li>Che Guevara influenced the doctrine and introduced Stalin's tolerance for violence and clampdowns on dissidence.</li> <li>Che Guevara three key principles: 1) Popular forces can win against an army. 2) One does not necessarily have to wait for a revolutionary situation to arise; it can be created, and 3) In the underdeveloped countries of the Americas, rural areas are the best battlefields for revolution.</li> <li>Castro built a substantial popular (unlike Stalin) personality cult.</li> <li>Cuba became an exporter of revolution to Latin America and Africa.</li> </ul>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Nationalistic.</li> <li>Anti-colonialist.</li> <li>Anti-imperialist.</li> <li>Popular personality cult.</li> </ol> <p>Che Guevara</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Regards the guerrilla fighter as an ascetic relying on the support of the masses.</li> <li>A revolutionary situation can be created (Lenin?).</li> <li>Cuba became an exporter of revolution.</li> </ol>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>A process of collective behaviour.</li> <li>A phased process.</li> <li>Affects the degree of government of a state.</li> <li>An alteration of values or myths of a particular system;</li> <li>Including a fundamental alteration of the social structure.</li> <li>A fundamental change in the political institutions.</li> <li>At some point will be illegal and will be followed by a legalisation process.</li> <li>An elite alteration (supplanting) will take place.</li> <li>Will include violent acts (even of guerrilla or revolutionary type of war).</li> <li>A (pragmatic) ebb and flow.</li> <li>More than one (type of) event, (even elections).</li> <li>Will take time to fulfil all its revolutionary goals, although articulated.</li> </ol>
<p>REACTIONISM</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Ideologies on the right side of the political spectrum.</li> <li>May also rely on a cult figure as leader.</li> <li>Chooses elements of revolution as preferred method of effecting change.</li> </ul>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>On the right side of the political spectrum.</li> <li>The preferred method of change is revolutionary.</li> </ol>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Affects the degree of government of a state.</li> <li>An alteration of values or myths of a particular system;</li> <li>including a fundamental alteration of the social structure.</li> <li>A fundamental change in the political institutions.</li> <li>At some point will be illegal.</li> <li>Will include violent acts (even of guerrilla/or revolutionary type war).</li> <li>Will take time to fulfil all its revolutionary goals, although articulated.</li> </ol>

When discussing the Figure above it has to be remembered that it is an academic abstraction and as such only a form to represent a very complex reality. Influences not represented *in toto* are nationalism and pan-Africanism. The addition of any one of these subjects will represent the addition of at least a further complex study. Furthermore this figure should be read and understood against the remainder of this thesis. The following does however become clear:

- Most importantly, the NDR is a compendium of ideological ideas expressed within other radical ideologies and ideological traditions. Hence the NDR has been described as a theory, taking from various traditions and examples points of principle to attain certain goals.
- The NDR considers women the most exploited class; this situation will be remedied as part of the resolution of the “revolution”. This tenet is derived from Socialist feminism.
- The historical class inequality in South Africa resulted from the unjust imperialist/colonialist capitalist exploitation. In South Africa this system was known as apartheid, but the NDR identifies it as colonialism of a special type.
- For the SACP the resolution of this situation (and the NDR) will be socialism and then communism.
- The SACP and ANCYL see themselves as vanguard groups in the revolution. These tenets are derived from Marxist-Leninism or simply Communism.
- The working class or the workers, in South Africa known as Africans in general and Blacks in particular, in a confluence of racial and class discrimination, is the class that has to be liberated from the oppressor (white capitalists) and economically empowered.
- Professional revolutionaries exist for this purpose within the ANC, SACP, and COSATU structures. (An example of such a person is Julius Malema as his only income appears to be garnered from the revolution.)
- Willingness exists to use violence, at least on a rhetorical level, as seen for instance expressed in a willingness to “kill for Zuma” or to “kill the boer.”

- The NDR is internationalist and part of “movements on the left of the ideological spectrum” and as such the NDR is part of a world revolution. These tenets are embedded in the ideologies of Trotsky, Lenin and Marx.
- The ideology of the NDR is furthermore built around strong leaders and mythologies about hero-figures in the form of both persons and institutions. These tenets are derived from Fidelismo and Stalinism.
- Furthermore the NDR wishes to mobilise an activist citizenry through Mass line activities on the basis of a nationalistic and populist appeal derived from Maoism.
- The example of the revolutions of Vietnam and the role of the Communist party in those conflicts, where certain aspects are emphasised or de-emphasised leaving the hard core always the same, even when obscured (reference Lakatos), served as a role model for the NDR.

Concerning the dimension of a revolution it is clear that the NDR is indeed a revolution (revolutionary ideology) as the NDR is indeed a phased process of collective behaviour, affecting the degree of government of the state entailing an alteration of values or myths within the socio-political system, including a fundamental alteration of the social structure and a fundamental change in the political institutions. The NDR and its actions were indeed at some point illegal as they included violent war-like acts that were later legitimised; this process supplanted an elite. The NDR consists of a pragmatic ebb and flow, of more than one type of event, even elections (remember Joe Slovo and his pragmatic stance on negotiations as a stage in NDR), that will take time to fulfil all its revolutionary goals, however articulated.

Concerning the contribution of theoretical schools, the following: although working with so-called great revolutions and the NDR not falling in that category, Brinton’s insights are profound. The first of these insights is that all the revolutions were preceded by an inept ruling class as well as the fact that a small privileged minority absolutely lost cognisance of the wishes of the masses, their relative socio-economic deprivation, the fact that the masses were not going to endure it any longer and in the minds of the ruling class the perception remained that this situation could be dealt with by way of

arms (Brinton, 1965:53). These insights also have a bearing on the current situation in South Africa where large groups of people are disillusioned with the fruits the NDR has borne in the years since 1994.

Huntington's concept of degree of government decreases absolutes when dealing with revolutionary thought, as do complete and incomplete revolutions. In Huntington's vernacular the NDR is therefore struggling to complete its revolution by continuously trying to institutionalise itself as per prescription of Lenin. Complicating this process is the fact that the same agent of revolution is now also the government, and herein is found a fundamental sense of intra-role conflict, as the degree of government suffers the further the revolution is institutionalised. Therefore the NDR had to be reinvented (with differing levels of success) before 1994, at Polokwane in 2007 and now once again in 2012.

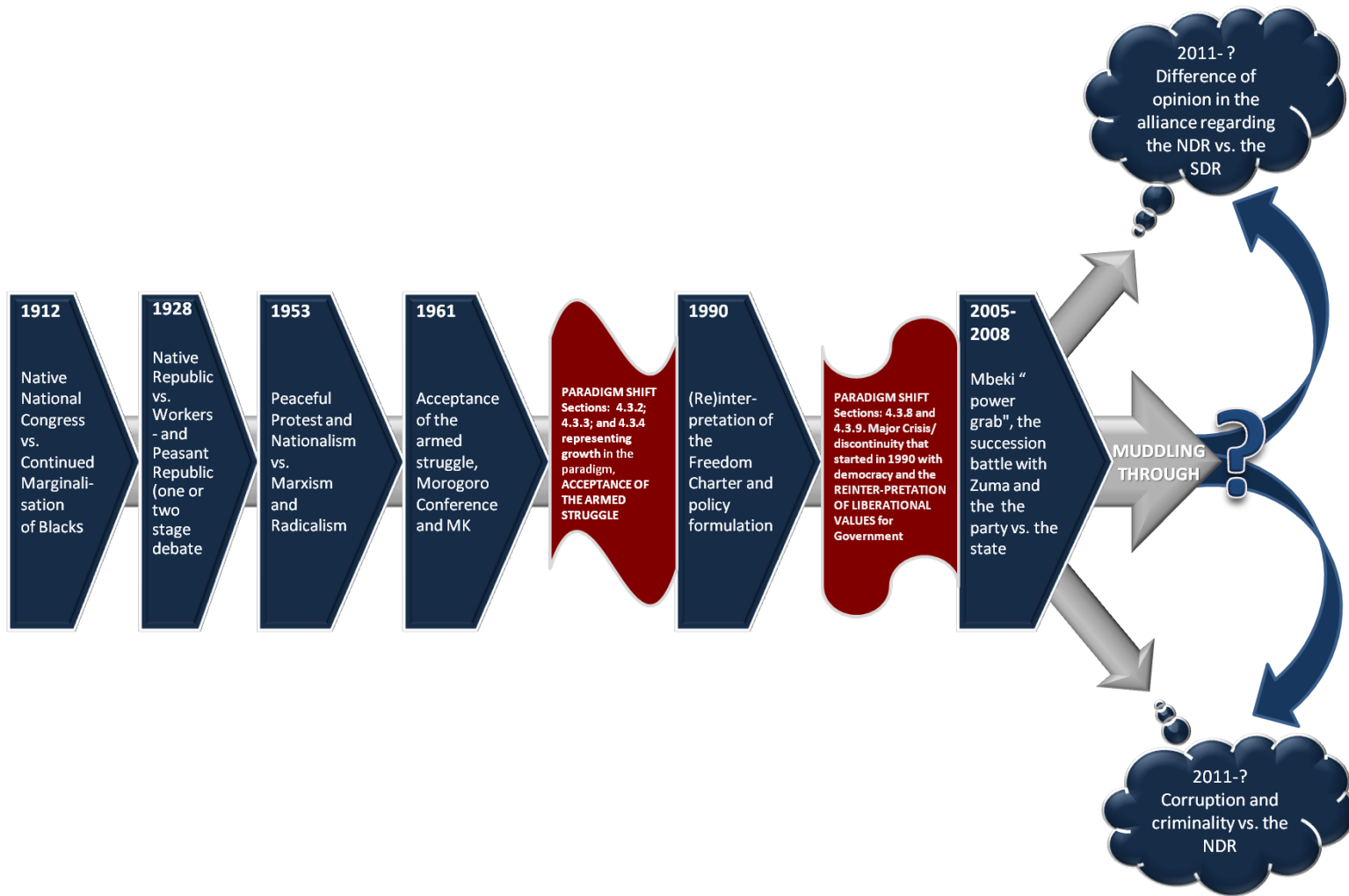
Marcuse identifies the more modern problems of revolution in a world of capitalist hegemony where a total cultural revolution is required. Part of this total revolution would be a total rejection of the past. The NDR in fact cherishes the past as this is its *raison d'être* and its inspiration. In the following section more on the NDR and history as the historical development of the NDR will be evaluated. Furthermore Marcuse defines part of his new revolutionary class as people of a different race, criminals and outsiders. In South Africa it is increasingly becoming clear that the NDR up to now has broadened the class of outsiders with more and more people feeling "left out" or reliant on "do it yourself" initiatives.

#### **8.4 AN EVALUATION OF THE FINDINGS IN CHAPTER 4**

Chapter Four dealt with the development of the NDR within the South African historical context. In this chapter the historical development of the NDR was equated to what Thomas Kuhn calls a paradigm, which he describes as an implicit body of intertwined theoretical and methodological belief that permits selection, evaluation, and criticism that help to interpret reality. Sometimes in the higher mores, norms and values that govern the intertwined theoretical and methodological belief inconsistencies occur

which, if they persist and occur frequently enough, precipitate a paradigm shift. “Though they [the holders of the paradigm] begin to lose faith and then consider alternatives, they do not renounce the paradigm that has led them into the crisis ... [It] is declared invalid only when an alternative is available to take its place” (Kuhn, 1973:77). In this thesis the concept of paradigm denotes a “business as usual” scenario where the historical chronological developmental trajectory of the NDR is continued. A crisis of discontinuity is a, or precipitates, a minor change in the developmental trajectory, while a paradigm shift is a radical change in thinking towards a structural and fundamental new direction as described by Kuhn above. Figure 30 represents the crises and most importantly, paradigm shifts that could be discerned.

Figure 30: Future Perspective for the NDR



In the figure above, the following are important:

- In 1912 the Native National Congress precursor to the ANC came into existence in the crisis of continued marginalisation of the Black populace, illustrated in the first block.
- The second crisis (that still remains a point of debate to this day and contributes to the current discontinuities) is the essence of the Native republic thesis as a one- or a two-phase process with a workers/peasant republic as a stage towards socialism, illustrated in the second block.
- The third crisis was the battle that ended when leaders such as Nelson Mandela were finally radicalised and Communism was accepted in the ANC.
- The fourth crisis is described in Chapter Four as a full-fledged paradigm shift that ended with the formation of the armed wing of the ANC, whereby another front was opened against the apartheid regime adding another pillar to those of economic pressure, mass action and the international front.
- The following crisis was the biggest and most fundamental paradigm shift in the history of the NDR and occurred as the ANC was about to come to power and had to go over from Liberation movement to Government.
- The sixth crisis was precipitated by the Mbeki-Zuma succession battle and Mbeki's perceived liberal economic policies. This last issue was partly (unsuccessfully?) remedied at Polokwane.

The current situation in 2012 confronts the NDR with two new crises. The *first* is rampant criminality and corruption that can derail the agenda of the NDR, and the *second* is the fact that the alliance partners differ as to the meaning and content of the NDR. In this current situation the meaning of the treatise on the Native Republic and the interpretation of the Freedom Charter are vitally important. Inherent in these two crises is the question of the relevancy of the NDR in its present form for the people it was designed to liberate. The last section of this chapter will be dedicated to a future perspective on the NDR and will take the discussion from here. At this stage it is necessary to return to the question of the Freedom Charter.

In the previous section it was seen that the NDR is part of the radical and revolutionary ideological tradition. This is the result of a very important factor that was clarified in Chapter 4. As early as 1920, at the second communist international, a special relationship started (was ordained by Lenin himself) between the fledgling Black political parties that later matured into the liberationist ANC and the South African Communist Party. This was the start of the class alliance, the importance of which is hard to overestimate, grounded in the theory of a world revolution for socialism that would provide black politics in South Africa with much of the structure, literature, ideology, theory, vocabulary, physical assistance and moral fortitude that would guide it through decades of repression.

But socialism did not have it all its own way: “The national wealth of our country, the heritage of South Africans, shall be restored to the people; The mineral wealth beneath the soil, the banks and monopoly industry shall be transferred to the ownership of the people as a whole; All other industry and trade shall be controlled to assist the wellbeing of the people...”. This Legassick (2007:206-207) calls the “nationalisation clause” of the Freedom Charter, which according to him was only inserted into the charter after a substantial struggle, and soon after the proclamation of the charter prominent people denied its anti-capitalist meaning. To this day two interpretations persist; the ANC governments up till now, (the Zuma regime included) do not want to nationalise. The SACP, COSATU and the ANCYL are pro-nationalisation. The SACP however disassociates itself from the “type” of nationalisation of the ANCYL that it describes as populist and an attempt to come to the rescue of failed BEE enterprises of Julius Malema’s friends, a tendency it calls tenderpreneurship. The battle for and against nationalisation will prove to be a decisive factor for the future direction of the NDR.

## **8.5 AN EVALUATION OF THE FINDINGS IN CHAPTER 5**

In Chapter 5 the analytical dimension of the NDR, as per the Seliger-definition of ideology was reconstructed and interpreted. Methodologically the most important aspect of this chapter was the introduction of the six clusters of the NDR that along with the three dimensions of the ideology provide the analytical framework used in this thesis to

reconstruct and interpret the ideology of the NDR. When reconstructing the analytical dimension of the NDR, it is important to understand this ideology's central point of departure which is found in Marx's explanation of economic determinism and the subsequent exploitative nature of capitalism, which according to Lenin found its most deplorable expression in imperialism and colonialism. This system was brought to Southern Africa in the form of the slave trade and mineral expropriation where the people of the land worked the land without receiving the benefit (riches) of their land, which was taken from them by violence and unfair political agreements. This system in South Africa developed into apartheid but is more accurately defined as colonisation of a special type where the coloniser lives in the same country as the colonised. The function of the analytical dimension of the NDR is to accurately define the system of triple exploitation, fight it and eventually overcome it. It is important to note that the revolution is still ongoing, as the legacy of apartheid has been left undiminished by the 1994 political settlement.

## **8.6 AN EVALUATION OF THE FINDINGS IN CHAPTER 6**

In Chapter 6 the normative dimension of the NDR was reconstructed and interpreted, and as such ideologies as political phenomena were described as normative, prescriptive constructs containing utopian visions about desired futures. The legitimacy and justification of an ideology to exist and to issue technical prescriptions are enshrined in the norms that it formulates, which is formed through the history of the ideology, the history of that particular culture and the history of that group which adheres to the norms prescribed by history, culture and ideology. This history is more than a mere chronology of events; it is a belief and therefore a mythology. A myth or mythology in the ideological sense actually becomes the fundamental truth (quasi-religion) for a group or a culture that carries several important functions:

- Binds people as if by religion;
- Creates unity;
- Explains procedures, defines leaders and lays the foundation for organisations;

- Provides grounds for differentiation (inclusion/exclusion, enemy/friend, basically them and us), and
- Provides the normative structure capable of interpreting and overcoming contradictions.

Most importantly, these functions provide legitimacy for the ideology and for the actions taken in the name of that ideology. Much effort has gone into the mythology of the NDR and several disputes over the ownership of its most important symbols have already arisen. Examples include Nelson Mandela who is revered as the saviour of the nation. The SACP has expressed unease over the adoption of this symbol by the DA and other parties. The liberation movements also wish to claim victory in the Battle for Cuito Cuanavale and so try to pose a bigger mythological appeal, while at the same time demythologising the “invincible apartheid war machine”. The history of South Africa, Africa and the world is at the same time being rewritten from a Marxist-Leninist perspective in accordance with the mythology of the NDR.

A most prominent normative prescription for the South African state of the future will be the formation of a developmental state which is defined as a state that develops the capabilities to guide national economic development through fiscal redistribution, mobilisation of domestic and foreign capital and other social partners, utilisation of State Owned Enterprises (SOEs), industrial policy and regulation. This state will have the capacity to intervene in the economy; the programmes that address unemployment, poverty and underdevelopment; the required emphasis on vulnerable groups; the ability to mobilise the people to act as their own liberators; and an emphasis on participatory and representative democracy. This is what the NDR calls an activist state with a populace that is engaged and participates in Mass line activities. Similarly in the social cluster, the normative prescription is for a deepening of social protection with calls for the formation of an equalising society and programmes of free education and the expansion of the welfare grant system. What is not described is where the funding for this form of government or these programs will come from. A situation will arise where a small percentage of the population defined by the ideology of the NDR as “the enemy”

(white capital) that has to be “equalised” has to subsidise the very ideology that marginalises them. Such a situation is untenable and therefore it is the position of the author that more and more radical interpretations of the NDR will be offered, and redistribution (above) will at some stage include nationalisation or other harsher methods, in order to keep the vast (and fast radicalising) majority of the populace in South Africa appeased.

## **8.7 AN EVALUATION OF THE FINDINGS IN CHAPTER 7**

In Chapter 7 the strategic dimension of the NDR was reconstructed and interpreted. In this chapter the strategic management process was divided into two phases, the strategy phase and the tactical phase. In the strategy phase the vision, mission and objectives are determined while in the tactics phase the corporate, business and functional strategies are operationalised. The tactical phase as described in this chapter consists of lower order functions. The primary concern of the chapter was with the strategic functions of the NDR. Therefore the vision of the NDR is identified as:

“[a] transfer [of] power to the people and [the] transformation of society into a non-racial, non-sexist, united, democratic one, and changes [in] the manner in which wealth is shared, in order to benefit all the people” (ANC, 2007a). To this can be added: “the establishment of a socialist South Africa, laying the foundations of a classless, communist society” (SACP, 1989). The mission of the NDR is: the practical operationalisation of the transformation of society in order to achieve the vision. This transformation is a rapid, progressive, comprehensive and fundamental political change of society (stemming from the unacceptable past) in the form of central planning (social and political engineering) accentuating the managing of political change in general and conflict management in particular (Duvenhage, 2005:5). The objectives of the NDR are: the fundamental transformation of the following five pillars(objectives) or areas where (social) transformation in line with the mission explained above has to occur: the State; the Economy; Organisational Work; the Ideological Struggle, and International Work. (The emphasis of the NDR on these “pillars” also formed part of the basis for the formulation of the six analytical clusters as explained in Chapter 5 and used in Chapters 5,6 and 7). Concerning this it is necessary to recall Lakatos (1970:91-196) and his

contribution concerning the unchanging hard core of a paradigm. The hard core of the NDR is its vision that will never change. The manner in which this transformation of society is proposed to occur might change but the hard core of the vision remains the same. Before 1994 the manner in which change was sought was by way of revolution; after 1994 it was by way of the transformation of the political environment; after 2012 it is by way of the transformation of the social and economic realities. As such so called transformation is a phased process which according to the NDR envisions the redress of wrongs that accrued since 1652. In this process the main agents of the NDR are the party; the class alliance (as made possible by the NDR); the workers and a state and a constitution that is subservient to the agents already mentioned and so to the goals of the NDR. Nowhere does the NDR proclaim itself in favour of constitutionalism or the constitution of South Africa as formulated in 1996 which was merely a compromise of a moment and so the goal of the Tripartite alliance is to dominate the state (and society) with decisions not taken by parliament or even cabinet (and perhaps not the president) but by the decision makers in the party-alliance top structure. In these decisions and opinions the NDR and its adherents are determined to uphold both domestically and internationally, the precepts of a “moral high ground” for the ideology as any opposition towards its precepts is described as naturally racist, retrogressive, co-opted, capitalist-imperialist, neo-liberal or simply backward. In the next section the various ways in which the NDR can develop will be evaluated. This will be done by developing short scenario perspectives on the future of the NDR.

## **8.8 FUTURE SCENARIO PERSPECTIVES**

In Figure 30 above and in Chapter 4 it was shown that the NDR had in the past grown from crises. If a crisis is important enough, or persists long enough, a paradigm shift occurs and a new direction becomes evident. In 2012 two main crises confront the NDR and three possible futures or scenarios can result. The following will provide short scenario perspectives regarding the possible future development of the NDR and as such the three scenarios included hereafter are meant as concluding perspectives to the thesis and, this being so, it is very important to note that these are not fully developed scenarios, as those would be the subject of at least a further study. These

concluding scenarios are only shorter and abbreviated narratives meant to provide future insight on possible development paths for the NDR.

Scenarios, according to Schwartz (1991:3), are a tool that takes a long view in a world of great uncertainty and so “Scenarios are stories about the way the world might turn out, stories that can help us recognize and adapt to the changing aspects of our present (and future) environment”. As such scenarios help us rehearse tomorrow. Schwartz (1991:134-162) further identifies various plots or combinations of plots based on how driving forces interact, examples of these include winners and losers where one party’s gain equates to another’s loss, challenge and response, where challenges are coped with or managed and evolution, where change or the manner of change is the focus. For the purposes of this thesis three scenarios will be developed, the first one is a “winners and losers” scenario, *Lenin versus Sebukwe*, the second one is a “continuous line” scenario, *What is to be done?* and the last scenario is a “discontinuity” scenario, *Lenin est mort*.

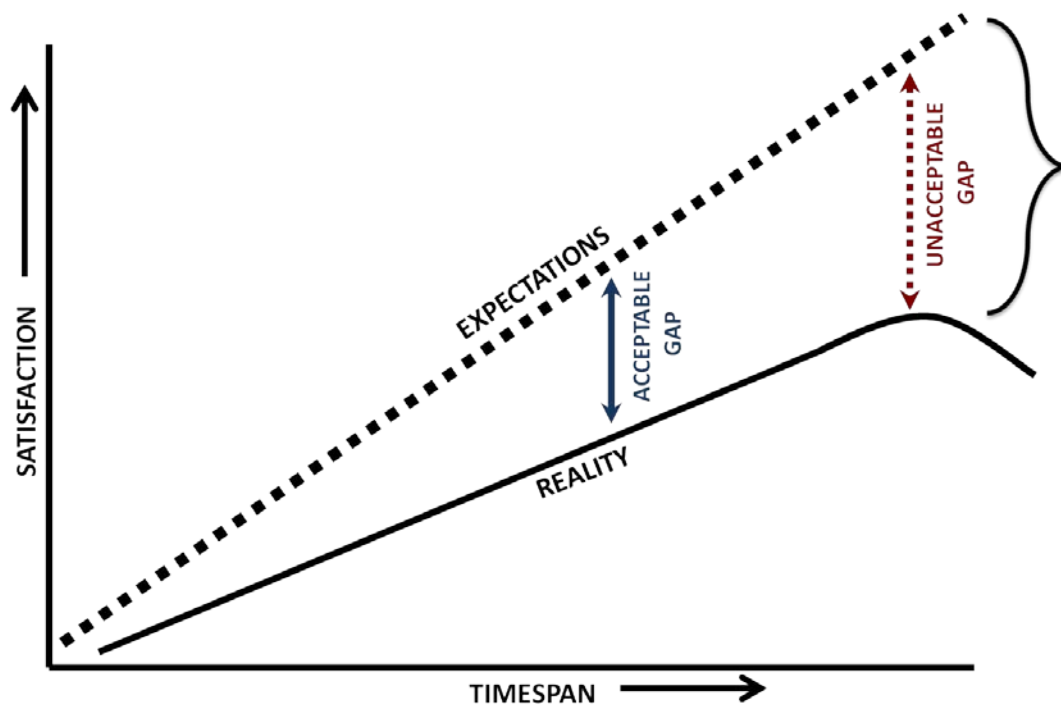
In order to build these scenarios of the NDR the crises of the NDR (where Chapter 4 is relevant) will firstly be described as the primary contextualisation from which the scenarios are drawn. In Schwartz’s view these crises are the drivers of change, secondly the key variables of the scenarios as they flow from the crises will be described, thirdly the central theoretical premises of each scenario will be explained and lastly the implications of each scenario will be dealt with.

### **8.8.1 Crisis 1: The National Democratic Revolution versus the Socialist Democratic Revolution, the path toward continued radicalisation?**

This crisis is represented by the top bubble in Figure 31. The National Democratic Revolution, according to the current ANC elite at this stage (2012), sets itself the task of managing the contradictions that have arisen from colonialism of a special type and its (economic) legacy. Yet we have to return to the debate about the Freedom Charter and the meaning of the Nationalisation Clause. Very large and powerful factions within the ANC and the broader community regard this clause as a mandate to not only “manage

contradictions” but to eradicate unfair inequality, poverty and the division between rich and poor in South Africa, a task that the ANC has thus far failed to accomplish, and in fact has actually acerbated with growing differentiations between the haves and the have nots. At this stage it is pertinent to recall Davies’s J-curve illustrated below.

**Figure 31: Davies' (1962:6) Unacceptable Gap = Revolutionary Gap**



In this Figure the discrepancy between expectations of people over a period of time and the actual fulfilment of their (legitimate) desires is expressed as an unacceptable gap that will eventually translate into a revolution. In 1994 the majority of people in South Africa expected a change in their general standard of living. This has not occurred through the mere management of contradiction. The revolutionary gap has thus increased and at the moment in South Africa, real potential for a revolution exists. It is this widening gap that president Zuma wishes to deny.<sup>97</sup> “Speaking at the official opening of the National House of Traditional Leaders in Parliament, Zuma inferred that

<sup>97</sup> This brings to mind the terrible consequences to Thabo Mbeki’s AIDS denialism.

the income gap was a lie which had been repeated several times in the past 18 years... Zuma insisted that the gap between rich and poor had in fact narrowed" (SAPA, 2012).

Concerning revolution Crane Brinton (Chapter 3) offers several insights:

- All revolutions are preceded by an inept ruling class.
- The elite lost consciousness of the distress of the people and the way the people feel about the situation.
- In the minds of the elite this situation can be dealt with through the use of violence by the security forces.
- This (securocratic) thinking is a fallacy.

Brinton further delineates several stages in a revolution although he himself says that no clear timeline exists for the completion of a stage and the advance to the next. In South Africa at present the crisis is not one merely of stages in a revolution, but of different revolutions all at different stages. (Again this is a topic for a further study.) The National Democratic Revolution against its more socialist rival, prominent in the SACP, the Socialist Democratic Revolution being a case in point. The SDR wants to remedy the situation described above through discipline of both a personal and fiscal nature, and at times appears frustrated with its alliance partners. It is not entirely impossible, although at present (2012-2014) highly unlikely, that the SACP and COSATU will form a separate political entity to compete in elections.

A third revolutionary group is the populist one that links to the criticism described above but largely seeks its own benefit. In this regard Blade Nzimande (2011a) exhorted COSATO "to defeat the 'new tendency' and its 'vanguard' populist demagoguery' who are 'frustrated personal accumulators and populist demagogues articulating a sense of anger and alienation particularly amongst the youth sector' backed by 'well-resourced business people and well located politicians (particularly, but not exclusively, within the state apparatus and our movement'". This 'new tendency' has also led to the awakening of a fourth group.

The ultra-radical African nationalist as well as radical socialist and communist groupings in South Africa are doubting the validity of the theory of the NDR and its associated structures. This is evidenced by a resurgence in Pan-Africanist ideologies as well as socialist alternatives to the SACP such as the Democratic Socialist Movement or DSM which is a Trotskyite<sup>98</sup> party prominent in the mining unrest and strikes of 2012 questioning the role of the ANC and COSATU in South African capitalism (Thraves, 2012).

The net result in the political environment is a heightening of temperature and a continuous radicalisation of the mass of people that stay politically disenfranchised. This produces phenomena described by Brinton that are detrimental to the state, the economy, democracy, constitutionalism and people are starting to die in situations similar to those of the 1980s. "For the outsider, defined as not actively hostile, the average person not directly involved and not on the band wagon, the world is complicated. He or she is constantly aware of the subtly intimidating new instruments of political correctness to pay regard to, such as the secret police, the police, and informers of various types, party structures, clubs, secret societies, and policies aimed at the prevention of counter revolutionary activity. Wrong steps can lead to social alienation, loss of work, detention and death. For the insider, a person part of the new epoch, the new revolutionary calendar can be very exciting; there will be festivities, programs and memorials to attend. Choices should also be made, like which elite within the elite to support?" (Brinton, 1965:194). The uncertainty that is a by-product of the first crisis (that is to a certain extent described by Nzimande) precipitates the second crisis of the NDR.

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<sup>98</sup> The SACP is described as a Stalinist party, while the DSM "splinter" is a Trotskyite party in which Martin Legassick played a prominent role after his expulsion from the ANC. See Chapters 2 and 3 for a more comprehensive differentiation between Stalinism and Trotskyism.

### **8.8.2 Crisis 2: The National Democratic Revolution versus Corruption and Criminality, the Path towards Patriarchy and Neopatrimonialism**

This crisis is represented by the bottom bubble in Figure 31 and is not unrelated to the first crisis. According to Bratton and Van de Walle (1998:62), neopatrimonial systems are hybrid political systems in which are found customs and patterns of patrimonialism defined as personal rule extended by favours and graces; in short, forms of patriarchy and corruption, coexist with and suffuse rational legal institutions. Perceptions and facts of government, governing parties and associated bureaucracies in South Africa being on the gravy train while others suffer, have led Zwelinzima Vavi to describe this situation as “unravelling the fabric of society” (Vavi, 2011). Corruption is the abuse of public office for private gain where “gain” refers to private accumulation of any kind, financial, in status for, or, by an individual or a group including acts such as the solicitation of bribery, the extension of patronage or nepotism, embezzlement, influence peddling, the use of a position for self-enrichment, bestowing of favours on relatives and friends, moonlighting, partiality, absenteeism, late coming to work, abuse of public property, leaking and/or abuse of government information and the like (Department of Public Service and Administration,2003:2). The department continues: “Corruption impedes a state’s ability to use its available resources to progressively achieve the full realization of [socio-economic] rights because national resources are instead diverted into the pockets of public officials, or because development aid is mismanaged, misused or misappropriated” (Department of Public Service and Administration,2003:3). In other words, the NDR amongst other important institutions also cannot function in such conditions.

As to the effect of criminality in general, Stone (2006:9), although critical of these factors, does not disprove the following effects of crime:

- Crime imposes costs on business (direct losses plus the costs of security and prevention) that reduce profits and divert funds that could be invested in productive capacity.
- Crime induces government to spend money on law enforcement, crime prevention, and the administration of justice that would otherwise be available to stimulate growth.

- Crime induces households to spend money on health care and security precautions.
- Crime erodes human capital by encouraging emigration.
- Crime keeps workers out of the labour market by discouraging them from accepting jobs in off-hours and far from home.
- Crime discourages foreign investment and;
- Crime disrupts schooling and other public investments to support long-term growth (such as public transport), blunting the effectiveness of these investments.

In short, in the vernacular of the NDR: Crime is contra-revolutionary as it withers away the gains made by the ideology, eventually impoverishing the poorest of the poor as it undermines the economy. This has led Vavi to remark: “The poor will enter the conference halls in their broken shoes and with their broken hearts and ask what have we been doing about their future and about all our broken promises...” Zwelinzima Vavi as quoted by Naidoo (2012).

These crises, against the background of the whole thesis, form the broad contextualisation of the three scenarios. In the idiom of Kuhn in Chapter 4, these are the factors that provide continuous inconsistencies that will, if strong enough and consistent enough force the change in the paradigm: “This implies that an anomaly or anomalies have been present for a long time” (Kuhn, 1973:77). The following section will deal with the specific variables identified in the anomalies above for the scenarios in the thesis.

### **8.8.3 The Key Scenario Variables**

Flowing from the contextualisation above the following key variables, defined as the most important drivers of change within all the scenarios were identified as:

- Growing socio-economic expectations;  
(The majority of South Africans expect a betterment in their socio-economic environment in accordance with the promises of the NDR.)
- A growing revolutionary gap;  
(Some of the people within the groups above are radicalising according to the J-curve principle.)

- Competing Ideologies;  
(Old and new ideological alternatives [SDR, DSM and EFF<sup>99</sup>] are forming and competing.)
- Increasing neo-patrimonial and patriarchal tendencies;  
(Network politics, personal politics and politics of survival are symptoms of political decay.)
- Increasing corruption and the effects thereof;  
(Political decay opens the doors for other forms of misconduct such as corruption.)
- Increasing seriousness of crime and the effects thereof.  
(Crime as symptom of decay further destroys the integrity of the state and its ideology.)

According to the scenario methodology, all three scenarios must deal with all the variables identified above via the different theoretical propositions articulated below operationalised in section 8.8.5 in order to formulate outcomes. Firstly, however, the theoretical propositions of the various scenarios.

#### **8.8.4 Theoretical Proposition of the Three Scenarios**

The theoretical propositions of the scenarios act as the guiding logic of the scenario and so for each scenario the premise is different as the plot of each scenario is different. The guiding theoretical proposition for this scenario set as a whole is Kuhn's theory that crises/anomalies precede change/growth. Thus these scenarios are driven not by a business as usual or even a best case proposition but rather by the proposition that crises breed creativity and growth. Further in this section these logics of the scenarios will be explained.

##### **8.8.4.1 Scenario One: Lenin versus Sebukwe**

This scenario is a winner versus loser scenario in which an amount of game theory is applicable. What one "player" loses the other gains, conflict is inevitable and a gradual

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<sup>99</sup> Economic Freedom Fighters aligned to Julius Malema

build-up of tensions is usually unavoidable, alliances are usually uneasy or covert. In this scenario pragmatism, self-interest and real-politic are guiding norms (Schwartz, 1991:141).

#### **8.8.4.2 Scenario Two: What is to be done?**

This scenario is a continuous line scenario in which an unbroken line appears, or rather it is decided that an unbroken line will be presented even if this is, to a certain extent, a misapprehension of reality. In this scenario the threat of change breeds resistance to transformatory change and leads to stagnation which leads to irrelevance (Schwartz, 1991:159). In this thesis this scenario is not sustainable and is represented in Figure 31 by the middle arrows leading eventually to one of the other scenarios.

#### **8.8.4.3 Scenario Three: Lenin est mort**

Schwartz (1991:151) describes this scenario with concepts already used in this thesis and so to prevent ambiguity paraphrasing is necessary. *Lenin est mort* represents a drastic change in the NDR. Every now and then there is a sudden and dramatic change which, according to Schwartz, Peter Druker likens to a volcano or an earthquake. In this scenario this change will happen in the NDR according to one of two methods, a high or a low road, the highroad being the more acceptable or “better” while the low road will be its opposite. In the next section the scenarios and the outcomes will be described.

### **8.8.5 Scenarios and Scenario Implications**

In this section the various scenarios will be played out and the implications of each will be listed. The plots, variables and theoretical proposition will now be combined.

#### **8.8.5.1 Lenin versus Sebukwe**

In this scenario the growing socio-economic expectations of the majority of South Africans will lead to increasing competition between competing ideologies. This competition might be so intense and the growing revolutionary gap so wide, that the mass of revolutionary active people will grow beyond the politician’s control. The main

ideologies competing at this stage are the more nationalistic NDR and the more socialist SDR with more populist ideologies, formalised in groups such as the Economic Freedom Fighters (EFF) aligned to Julius Malema forming a fringe group. Part of a new culture in government and the governing alliance is increasing neo-patrimonial and patriarchal tendencies where individuals rely on network politics and personal politics for their survival. In this scenario this tendency increases, along with corruption and crime.

### **Implications of this scenario:**

- In order to keep pace with the feelings of the masses and in an effort to avert a revolution, the NDR must radicalise. This means that nationalisation, land reform, the transformation of the JSE and other social projects in accordance with Mass Line principles are accelerated.
- The NDR transforms (in an evolutionistic manner) into either a nationalist or socialist ideology.
- The NDR will however more than likely due to the influence of the SACP and the intellectual heritage owing to the radical left become more socialist with nationalist influences.
- Increasing conflict and subsequent polarisation between the nationalist heart of the ANC will eventually lead the SACP and COSATU to form their own socialist workers party which will move the NDR/SDR into the final phase which is an overt campaign for a socialist South Africa.
- This transition to the SDR is made easier through phenomena associated with political decay such as corruption and criminality which have eroded much of the traditional support bases of the ANC and the nationalistic movements.
- This transition will be accompanied by economic- and political upheaval.

### **What is to be done?**

In this scenario the current policy initiatives are continued in an effort to mitigate the growing socio-economic expectations of the majority of South Africans thereby trying to negate the effect of the growing revolutionary gap. The competing Ideologies are

ignored in public and censured in private while the main focus falls on increasing neo-patrimonial and patriarchal tendencies whereby personal survival is ensured. This creates the opportunity for increasing corruption and criminality.

### **Implications of this scenario**

- This scenario ignores the socio-economic realities of South Africa as well as the competing ideologies. (Academics are lambasted for criticising the government by extolling “the so-called gap” between rich and poor).
- The rich-poor gap grows, food security is neglected and so additional pressure is brought to bear on social, economic and political systems.
- Of paramount interest is elite survival and interest which opens opportunities for criminal activities in the state, semi-state and private sectors.
- This is a weak state scenario, whereby the powers of the constitution, parliament and even the Bill of Rights are increasingly ignored in favour of political party and personal longevity.
- The situation is ultimately unsustainable and according to these projections this situation will result in either a Lenin versus Sebukwe or a *Lenin est mort* scenario.

#### **8.8.5.2 *Lenin est mort***

This scenario can be divided into a high and a low road and as such has two sub-scenarios. In either one Lenin dies and so the NDR as ideology comes to an end.

##### ○ ***Lenin est mort* - The High Road:**

In this version of the death of Lenin the growing socio-economic expectations and the growing revolutionary gap provide an impetus for the decision makers in South Africa to redesign the NDR in such an inclusive manner that a sustainable socio-economic environment is provided for all the country's people. As such ideological competition is dealt with by rejecting radicalism in both the socialist and nationalist extremes, and by recommitting to the values of the constitution. Neo-patrimonial, patriarchal tendencies, corruption and criminality are eradicated through discipline,

enforced legislation and an independent judiciary bolstered by free and fair journalism.

**Implications of this scenario:**

- The NDR as it is articulated today ceases to exist.
- The values that drive South Africa are not derived from the NDR, but from the constitution.
- The government of South African is in the first and last instances founded in the separation of powers thus parliament acts as overseer over the executive and the judiciary is independent with a tradition of unfettered investigative journalism.
- All groups have equal rights as is safeguarded by the bill of human rights.
- As a matter of importance and urgency, corruption, the accumulation of personal power in government and organised crime are punished by loss of assets, jail and the loss of the ability to act in public life.
- Deficits in the economy and economic development are addressed.
- Food security and sustainable development in South Africa and Southern Africa become a priority.

○ ***Lenin Est Mort* - The Low Road**

In this scenario various pressures, either the growing socio-economic expectations and a growing revolutionary gap, the various competing ideologies or combinations of internal pressure created by economic non-performance increasing neo-patrimonial and patriarchal tendencies combined with increasing corruption and the increasing effects of crime convince the decision makers that the NDR is not in its current form, a viable ideological option. A reticulation of the ideology follows envisaging far-reaching socio-economic reform, with essentially the same political actors organised in essentially the same political party structures, whereupon +/- 35 million people in South Africa feel that the current and foreseeable political, civil and union leadership is morally bankrupt and misrepresents their interests. Politically active groups start to mobilise and mineworkers begin to strike, the strike spreads to

other sectors, costing industries (and wealthy politicians/businessmen) billions of rand. Minor political groupings (with backing from business and overseas) see this as their opportunity to eliminate COSATU and other union monopolies, score political points and convince the workers to continue with wildcat strikes asking for exorbitant increases. The police are sent in but mishandle the situation killing 34 workers in a mass shooting in front of TV cameras. Popular anger now carries the strikes into normally peaceful neighbourhoods. Violent mass action follows, children stay out of school and more shootings follow. Opportunistic populist politicians try to gain a foothold but only aggravate the situation. Word about a “race war” and/or “class war” spreads. The underequipped, undertrained and underpaid army is called in which promptly joins the nationwide revolt as politicians finally lose control.

**Implications of this scenario:**

- The NDR as it is articulated today ceases to exist.
- The economy is destroyed.
- More people end up in poverty.
- Various other hard-core radical ideologies see this as the opportunity for the “class war” or “race war”.
- Criminality, xenophobia and acts of retribution cannot be controlled.
- Southern Africa is politically and economically destabilised, millions die<sup>100</sup>.

**8.8.6 Concluding Perspectives on the Scenarios**

Scenario methodology is an analytical tool and therefore scenarios are creative abstractions. The plots described above are deceptively neat and easily discernible from each other. Scenario methodology demands this in order to provide clarity amongst alternatives. As reality plays out however it will become clear that each scenario will have something of the truth in it. In conclusion then the future perhaps holds something of each scenario yet according to the author the most likely is the *Lenin versus Sebukwe* alternative.

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<sup>100</sup>As is usually the case the deaths are among the ordinary people as the “leaders”, “thinkers” and instigators have the wherewithal to flee.

## 8.9 CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Given the problem statement of this thesis, which was the reconstruction, interpretation and evaluation of the revolutionary ideology of the NDR, the author now has upon completion, to point the way for future students of this topic and adjacent fields. Therefore in conclusion the following areas that this thesis touched on deserve further investigation. The relationship between the SACP and the ANC that eventually gives birth to the twin ideologies of SDR and the NDR is to a large extent still not explored and vitally important to South Africa. An important theme in this regard that deserves attention is a conceptualisation, reconstruction and interpretation of the SDR. Scholars that need to be consulted in this regard are Irina Filatova, R.W. Johnson and John Kane-Berman. Other subjects include the Role of the Moscow State University in the formulation of the NDR. Another very interesting topic would also be the role of the NDR in the future; a comprehensive scenario perspective. Concerning the contribution of this study on a theoretical level it should generate ideas around the concepts of revolution, ideology and mythology. On more practical levels this thesis should also lead to the formulation of ideas on what ideology in South Africa had in the past and is at present again sculpting in this country; regarding this issue and as a final thought the author wishes to conclude with the words of warning from George Packer: *Ideology knows the answer before the question has been asked*. Principles are something different: a set of values that have to be adapted to circumstances but not lost through compromise.

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