



The Bulletin

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EDITORIAL

While the politicians of the various political parties in South Africa are playing political games the hardships of the vast majority of the people are increasing. These party politicians would like the people to believe that the one can do a better job of governing the country than the other but it is a fact that poverty, crime and violence are on the increase in the country despite the political party in charge. This is so because all the parties work within and promote the capitalist system which is the real cause of our misery. The new law which permits MPs and councillors to cross the floor to join another party illustrates clearly that there are no fundamental differences between these parties.

If we take the Western Cape as an example: The ANC, the so-called liberation party, has climbed into bed with the NNP, the ruling party of the previous apartheid government. They did this to get control of the Western Cape Government, but this takeover will not improve the living conditions of the workers in this province. Unemployment and the shortage of houses are increasing while evictions and the disconnection of water are continuing. It is an example of the pot calling the kettle black that the ANC severely criticised the DA for this year's budget for the City of

Cape Town. The DA released the Auditor-General's report which indicated that the financial books of the city were left in a mess by the ANC, which previously ran the city. "The report paints a picture of mismanagement and bookkeeping errors which means millions of rands are not accounted for." (*Cape Argus*, 13/6/2002). When the ANC/NNP alliance accused the DA of accepting money from the criminal, Juggen Harksen, the DA could point a finger at the ANC by accusing it of receiving money from another criminal, Sol Kerzner.

In national, provincial and local government departments, corruption and the wastage of money are increasing. To name but two examples of the wastage of money: The Department of Correctional Services will pay 12 million rand for a vacant hotel which it hired for 5 years, but is not using at all. The Department of Justice spent about 20 million rand on the prosecution and defence of Wouter Basson, who was accused of atrocities under the Apartheid Regime. While this is happening the economic hardships of the people are increasing. Unemployment is on the increase and the unemployment rate now stands at 41,7% of the economically active population, that is about 7,5 million people. Inflation has increased to about 10%, the consumer price index 9,2 % and the bond rate with 3% to 16%. The steep rise in the petrol price resulted in increased transport costs. All these increases mean a steep rise in the monthly expenditure of people.

Worldwide poverty is on the increase, especially in the "Third World" countries. In the Southern African countries - Malawi, Mozambique, Angola, Zimbabwe and Zambia - millions of people are starving mainly due to crop failure caused by drought. Up to 4 million of Zambia's 10 million people are at risk of dying because of a critical maize shortage. The situation in Zambia was worsened by the pullout of Anglo-American from its copper mining commitments resulting in the loss of 11 000 jobs. This just shows again that multi-national companies do not invest in a country because they care for the people.

The callousness of the rich imperialist countries towards the poor "developing countries" is further illustrated by the recently held UN World Food Summit, which was attended by 80 heads of state, mostly from Africa. Only the prime ministers of Italy (the host country) and Spain (representing the EU) attended the summit. Although the US did not attend, the final document which included references to the benefits of Biotechnology, was in its favour. The first Summit of this kind was held in 1974 and then already the rich countries undertook to eradicate world hunger altogether. At the 1996 summit the UN set the target of reducing the number of people

without enough food to eat from 800 million to 400 million by 2015. Today the number of hungry people remains the same as at 1996.

Since the happenings of September 11, Imperialism under the leadership of America is on the rampage. Any country that is not prepared to be a puppet of Imperialism is labelled a terrorist state. There is now a terrorist behind every bush. America has already six states on its "axis of evil" list: Iraq, Iran, Syria, Libya, Cuba and North Korea. These countries can expect a military attack from America and its allies as soon as they have finished with Afghanistan. The warmonger, George Bush Jr., has already signed an order permitting the CIA to kill Saddam Hussein, the president of Iraq, and to bring about a pro-American regime in that country. How America and its allies can use or ignore the UN is clearly illustrated when Israel invaded Palestinian territory and refused to pull out despite numerous UN resolutions demanding Israel to do so. These countries also aborted a UN fact finding commission to investigate the Jenin massacre committed by Israel.

In the meantime one of the most enthusiastic agents of imperialism, Thabo Mbeki, President of South Africa, is criss-crossing Africa and the world to sell his new plan called Nepad (New Partnership for African Development). He and his steering committee have attended all major economic conferences in Africa and overseas explaining the "benefits" of Nepad. (At the World Trade Conference in Durban one poster of a protester aptly called it KNEEPAD). Nepad must, through its Peer Review Mechanism, ensure that member states have: democratic systems, independent judiciaries, free market economies and non-corrupt governments. In exchange Mbeki and his counterparts are pleading for US\$64 bpf to be given to Nepad to reward those African countries satisfying the criteria of "good governance". The plan and the plea will be submitted to the imperialist bosses, the G8, which will consider it at their Summit on 27 June 2002. Nepad will indeed be the policeman for imperialism in Africa. He who pays the piper calls the tune. Democratic government or good governance must adhere to Imperialist/capitalist standards and any state that tends towards socialism, or does not want to be too tightly bound to the apron strings of capitalism/imperialism, will not be welcome to the plan. Examples are Zimbabwe, which upset Britain with its land reform programme, and Libya, which is called a terrorist state by America. No wonder Gaddafi, president of Libya, characterised Nepad as "an instrument of colonisers and racists" and warned that Western Countries will usurp Nepad for their own interest. (Read article on Nepad in this issue of *The Bulletin*).

INTERNATIONAL REVIEW

1. AN HOLISTIC OVERVIEW OF THE INTERNATIONAL SITUATION

There is a need to examine closely some of the more fundamental political and economic factors that have given rise to the situation in which South Africa and the rest of the world find themselves. Recent events – the economic collapse of the East Asian economies; the events of 11 September 2001 (the attacks on the WTC towers in New York and the Pentagon in Washington) and the more recent brutal bombing of Afghanistan by the United States military machine – have tended to hide the main underlying causes and effects.

Globalisation talk tends to create the idea that there is developing “a new world order”. The stark fact is that there is increasing chaos in national and international relations. This global chaos reflects both an ongoing crisis in capitalism-imperialism and the rising opposition to world imperialism. Much of this opposition is driven by uneven levels of progress among the workers (the proletariat), the poverty-stricken peasantry and the billions of rootless, destitute victims of 500 years of imperialist plunder and pillage.

Declining Rate of Profit

The most recent economic disasters sprang from a declining rate of profit within the imperialist blocs. Greed, plunder and cut-throat competition in a dog-eats-dog world economy were driven by bogus “free trade” and “free market” economic theories that saw economic booms followed by economic busts.

The Economic Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAPs) forced upon the “third world” by the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank were some of the means by which imperialism sought to stave off its decline. The SAPs led to global economic and political problems: general crushing poverty, frightening debt and the devastating social conditions we see all over the world, even in certain areas of the “richest” G7 (now G8) nations.

Alongside the gigantic piles of dollars, pounds, euros and yens capitalism produced mountains of excess goods and services. Over-production¹ has always been an inborn feature of production for “private profit”. This overproduction and the declining rate of

¹ Overproduction here means “more than can be sold in the market” and NOT “more than is needed”.

profit on capital are twins born of the dynamic way in which imperialism rapes the world's human, material and cultural resources.

Capitalism moves the production of clothing and textiles to cheap-labour areas near to markets. The Indian Peninsula, Indonesia, China are such examples. Profits rise, markets are oversupplied, they decline. Elsewhere factories close down. Unemployment rises and the rest of the story of social decline follows.

Capitalism shifts whole major heavy industries – motor assembly, electronics, production machinery to Brazil, Mexico, the Far East, where labour is cheaper and profit therefore greater. And then industries “at home” decline. In West Germany – once the economic miracle of Europe – businesses are bankrupting at the rate of 15% a year. Unemployment is at its highest since World War II.

But the crisis is uneven. The bourgeoisie has to be catered for. Rich Germans (like rich South Africans among the expanding bourgeoisie) need Mercedes and BMWs. The debt-ridden lower middle classes in the USA cannot afford Chryslers. So Mercedes-Benz has taken over Chrysler and BMW has taken over Ford, Rover and Jaguar in Britain. The “poor” in the USA and Britain buy Japanese. Dog-eats-dog.

The Massive Pool of Money-Capital

But hanging over all this is a massive pool of money-capital in the hands of super-rich capitalists. Through banks and brokers they invest in shares, bonds and foreign currencies wherever they can make a quick profit. They recall their investments in the shares and securities market of one country and move on to another to make the next killing. Some three thousand billion dollars – or their equivalent – are invested around the world's economies to cream off whatever profit can be made.

It is most important to note that this “investment”² is NOT productive investment. The Soroses and Buffets who operate this way don't produce a plain pin or a grain of wheat. We have stock-market robbers in South Africa (using bank, pension and supermarket funds) who do something similar. These global robbers work within the laws, rules and practices of capitalist economics. Their massive money capital is the tool which they use in speculative investment on a vast scale to enrich themselves, irrespective of the disastrous outcome it has on the lives of billions of people. One of the results is the driving up of share prices on stock exchanges – and the inevitable declining rate of profit. The IT industry world-wide has been a recent target of these predators.

² The chorus that we often hear in government circles and the media of the importance of attracting foreign investment for economic development must be seen in this light.

Such are the vital economic factors in the world economic crisis. The economic consequences are unemployment, increasing poverty, crime, poor health, and the rest. This in turn drives the victims of these globalised developments to seek a way out. (See the section below entitled THE EMERGENT ANTI-CAPITALIST MOVEMENT.)

Capitalist Militarism

But capitalism – to defend itself against opposition in all its crises – has always relied on wars. The cold war was a military offensive to hold off the development of socialism – such as it was – in Eastern Europe and in China. The hot war is active military destruction of opponents – revolutionary, nationalist or otherwise – of the capitalist plan; not only to defend its turf – as gangsters do – but to wipe out all non-capitalist-colonialist political economies in the process of creating one entire world-capitalist economy. It is Hitlerism writ large.

September 11 was a symptom of the clash between growing world terrorism (conducted by capitalism-imperialism) and individual/group terrorism that tries to hit back. Since long before September 11 the global conquest of anti-capitalist and non-capitalist formations has been part and parcel of imperialism's basic structure. The armaments industries in North America and Europe – and Israel – are major sections of their industries.

When the Soviet Union "collapsed" the cold war weakened. The armaments industries in America and Europe were in crisis. They had run out of "hot wars" and "cold wars". But the present economic and political crises demanded a solution within the capitalist world. For decades, from Reagan to the Bushes, from Thatcher to Blair, the development of war industries has had to be sustained. And so the world is now faced with a new military thrust to defend capitalism against both rising proletarian-peasant uprisings and rising pro-socialist and general, diffuse anti-capitalist movements. The events of September 11 were used to accelerate and justify the re-arming of capitalist economies and the brutal attacks upon 'rogue states'. By stirring up boiling hot patriotism in the USA Bush Jr. has been able to get the USA Lower and Upper Houses to spend no less than 3 600 billion dollars on armaments – with the backing of patriots and corporations hungry for contracts of all kinds.

These economic, political and military factors underlie much of the world crisis. Our national situation is as seriously affected by this crisis as is all the rest of the ex-colonial world.

2. IS SOCIALISM DEAD? DID THE END OF THE 20th CENTURY SEE THE END OF HISTORY?

The question that humankind at the beginning of the 21st Century has to ask and find genuine answers to is whether the end of the 20th Century also heralded the death of socialism as a socio-politico-economic system and, in the assessment of Francis Fukuyama, the end of history³ and the triumph of liberal capitalism over all alternatives. The collapse of socialism in the Soviet Union and its satellite states of Europe, the moves to the right in China and the almost simultaneous growth of a global economy in which Liberal Capitalism is all powerful resulted in the weakening of the forces of the far left throughout the world. But to believe that the forces of socialism will never recover and never again challenge the legitimacy and hegemony of capitalism and from that belief to assert that history has ended is to adopt an ahistorical approach to history.

Re-emergence of Socialism?

Evidence of the re-emergence of a socialist tendency in Europe is faint and it is manifesting itself in a variety of ways. The most visible currently is the anti-globalisation movement.⁴ (See section on THE EMERGENT ANTI-CAPITALIST MOVEMENT below.)

Gains Made by Socialist Parties?

Another manifestation of this, as seen by socialist writers⁵, is the gains made by Socialist Parties in recent national elections in Europe.

In England in the June 2001 election the Labour Party got 42% of those who voted (25% of those entitled to vote) out of a 59% turnout of voters, the lowest since 1918. Labour's vote was down by 3 million from 1997. Its electoral support has shifted to middle-class England.

The Scottish Socialist Party which had contested the election with the Socialist Workers Party fared the best of the left Parties. The Socialist Alliance and the Socialist

³ George Bush Sr. boastfully acclaimed this idea and formulation (as his own) when Yeltsin banned the Communist Party and dismantled the USSR.

⁴ The movement appears to be characterised by two major though divergent impulses with a few others playing minor roles. Firstly there are the *Coups* (Co-opted Non-Governmental Organisations), which are willing to collaborate with the IMF and the World Bank in their search for a 'dialogue', and secondly there are the left groupings who wish to 'intensify the crisis of legitimacy'. Of the institutions of the left the World Social Forum (WSF) held in Porto Alegre in January 2001 was an alternative to the bosses' annual jamboree in Davos.

⁵ See articles in *International Viewpoint* (Published by the United Secretariat of the Fourth International).

Labour Party fought the election in England. The Socialist Parties including the Scottish Socialist Party got a combined total of 180 000 votes, triple the votes the left got in 1997.

In Europe the left is still very divided, sectarianism still rules. And any claim that the increase in the numbers that voted for the left is a measure of a quantitative growth in support for socialism in the British Isles is open to debate. But some on the left say that participation in the election enabled the left to take the argument for socialism to millions, at a time when the left inside the Labour Party has declined dramatically. Socialist writers also believe that there is a growing minority who are looking for a socialist alternative and are prepared to register this in an election.

In Italy in the May 2001 elections, won by the multi-millionaire Silvio Berlusconi, the Party of Communist Refoundation (PRC) took a heavy battering. It got 5% of the vote in both the Chamber and the Senate but it reached the 4% threshold necessary to qualify for the allocation of seats.

In Greece the left has been in decline for more than a decade. In the 2001 elections its parliamentary parties gained in total less than 10% of votes, something unprecedented in the post-war history of the Greek left. So after the elections some militants took the first step towards uniting all those who wanted to act concretely in favour of unity of action and composition of the left. They created "The Space of Left Dialogue and Communist Action" with the following political priorities: 1) the intransigent defence of the gains of the workers' movement; 2) the intransigent defence of the democratic rights and liberties; and 3) active internationalism and participation in the international movement of resistance to neo-liberal globalisation.

"The Beginning of the Beginning ..."

Whether votes for a Socialist Party participating in a Capitalist parliamentary system show a resurgence of support in Europe for socialist organisations and tendencies and for socialism as an alternative social system is open to debate. And whether the programmes of the various left groupings in Europe can be regarded as socialist or merely social democratic or even just reformist is also open to debate. But this is what Alain Krivine, a member of the European Parliament and main spokesperson of the French Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire (LCR) had to say in July 2001 at the London "Marxism" event organised by the English Socialist Workers' Party (SWP) on the "future of the revolutionary left": "For some years now we have seen a real development, sometimes even an upsurge, of new far left, anti-capitalist and revolutionary organisations in many countries. We see also a radicalisation of the young generation. That means that after many years we can see 'the beginning of the beginning' of the exit from the 'tunnel' for the revolutionaries."

What of South America?

In the South American countries there appear to be two separate though not opposing forces pitted against the local and foreign representatives of neo-liberal capitalism. The American dollar, American investments and influence dominate the South American countries through Trade Treaties – the North American Free Trade Agreement (Nafta) and the still-to-be-signed Free Trade Area of the Americas (FTAA). So opposition in the urban commercial centres takes the form of violent protests against America and its local agents in government and against neo-liberalism.

Secondly, opposition comes from the poverty-stricken peasants who over centuries have been dispossessed of their land, are discriminated against on ethnic grounds and thus wage a relentless battle for land, human rights and dignity and for genuine democracy. The struggle of the landless does not take the same shape and form in all South American countries. It's not a united organised struggle across countries but the objectives are the same.

Mexico

In Mexico in February 2000 the Zapatistas started a march on Mexico City with the declared aim of engaging in dialogue with civil society and the National Assembly. All along the route the leaders addressed tens of thousands and in the city 350 000 gathered to hear subcommandante Marcos speak with hundreds of thousands more listening on radios. The message was simple: the Zapatistas were not interested in parliamentary government, were not a vanguard movement, were not calling for an insurrection. They said: "For exactly 90 years we have been shouting, and they call us 'rebels'. And today we are repeating, 'We are rebels!'" The Zapatistas made their point for women's rights by sending a Zapatista woman commander to address the National Assembly on their demand that the legislators approve the Law on Indigenous Culture and Rights. In the eyes of one writer the Zapatistas without calling themselves socialists represent the original spirit of socialism before it was perverted by the market socialists and the state socialists.

Argentina

In Argentina the new form of capitalism is characterised by the exclusion from it of the great mass of the population. Unemployment at the end of 2001 was around 18%. People are questioning the system and after decades of inertia and a feeling of hopelessness and that nothing is possible people are saying that it is possible to struggle, to resist and to win. The Argentine foreign debt is 200 000 million dollars, more than 50% of GDP, and it needs 11 000 million dollars per month to service the debt. The banking system has collapsed. The Argentinean crisis is of such magnitude

that there are two possibilities. One, a victory for left-wing parliamentary forces and a restructuring of the economy or, two, the imposition of a military-police State.

Brazil

In Brazil the struggle on the land has taken the form of land invasions and the setting up of encampments.

Between 1965 and 1985 the military dictatorship established a large export-based agro-business. This policy was underpinned by technical and financial modernization based on the National System of Rural Credit, causing farming to be dependent upon the industrial manufacturers of materials such as pesticides, resulting in the break-up of small producers and promoting the growth of salaried work.

The destruction of the family economy led to the expulsion of millions of peasants to the cities and the growth of millions of "landless" families. The military dictatorship's industrialisation policy resulted in large land concentrations in a few hands.

The agro-business exploitation of the land led to a monoculture based on export, with large plantations of soya, oranges and sugar-cane for the production of alcohol and other products. 48,4 million hectares of public lands were transformed into large estates. In mid-2001 one percent of owners controlled forty-five percent of the agricultural area of the country. Twenty-two percent of all Brazilians lived in rural areas, and it was estimated that 4.8 million families needed land.

The MST: Movement of Landless Rural Workers Short History of the MST

The MST had its birth in the states in the south of Brazil with their extensive estates of livestock breeding, soya plantations, and thousands of small farmers who had lost their land.

At the end of the 1970s in different parts of Brazil, when their situation seemed utterly hopeless, landless peasants began occupying estates that were not being farmed. In the face of police and military action they were most successful in the state of Rio Grande do Sul in 1979 and in the state of Santa Catarina in 1980. In 1981, 700 landless families decided to camp in an area in the south of Brazil. This helped promote the MST - Movement of Landless Rural Workers - which became one of the social

movements with the greatest mobilising power in Latin America.

In 1991 landless peasants began to occupy estates to put pressure on the Cardoso government to set in motion the 'possession of the land'. Over a period of eight years 1 169 persons were killed in rural Brazil in this struggle for the land.

What Is This Movement About?

It is about the right to property. The landless are establishing their struggle for agrarian reform, to win their right to property. They undertake land occupation as a continuation of their historical development as workers and farmers.

It is their only way of maintaining their status as *campesinos* (peasant farmers) and avoiding being transformed into salaried workers. Their struggle for the right to diverse kinds of property ownership cannot be framed within the concept of capitalist property relations.

Through their experience in building their movement, the landless workers are winning their own space for political socialisation. They no longer see the struggle for the land as merely an economic question. They see it as a project for the transformation of their reality. Their struggle is not merely to win land but to build a new way of life: socially, culturally and politically.

Organisational Structure

The highest level of the MST structure is the Congress, which meets every five years. The next levels are the national co-ordinating committee, the national leadership, state co-ordination, the leadership of the Central Co-operatives created by the encampments, the co-ordination of the campers and the encampments.

Between 1994 and 1999, the MST dedicated itself to deepening organization within the encampments, concentrating on developing co-operative organizations for those settled, creating co-operatives of production and regional and local services. The regional co-operatives form a Central Co-operative and the Centrals are organised at a national level into the Brazilian Co-operative Federation of Agrarian Reform.

Through the process of encampment people who were marginal and without perspective are now farming citizens, with promised monthly incomes equivalent to three times the minimum wage (\$230, July 2001) and better than those of the rural population in general.

By July 2001 the MST had more than 500 encampments with more than 150 000 families organized throughout the country. And they anticipate they will spread ultimately to embrace all the farming areas.

Within the MST concern for the collective goes hand in hand with respect for the individual. The sovereign society and group that tries to build respect for the individuality of the person imposes nothing. The groups organize a collective kitchen to save fuel and to achieve a better distribution of food. Nevertheless, if any family wishes to cook separately for itself, this decision is respected without any kind of pressure. In this way they counteract the feeling of people's crowding one other and the feeling that "everything collective" is good and "everything personal" is bad.

3. LAND REDISTRIBUTION

One of the main headline-grabbing developments of the past year has been the "invasion" of farms in Zimbabwe. It provoked much discussion, mainly negative, in international official and media circles. There it was seen as a contravention of the rule of law, a movement towards anarchy, a threat to stability and potential economic growth, the disruption of agricultural production. The South African media and business spokespersons feared our economy would, through local contamination, suffer a low foreign rating and a resulting shortage of direct foreign investment. A concurrent weakening of the *rand* was regarded as proof of this. This sentiment was echoed by government spokespersons, who are so used to begging for handouts of investment at the table of the capitalists. They would like us all to believe that foreign investment is the only viable way forward towards growth, increased employment and prosperity. The SA government was certainly concerned that potential capitalist investors should see that South Africa was keeping a clean house. A few local outbreaks of "invasion" were dealt with summarily. Even flood victims looking to occupy a piece of dry land in the heart of a wet winter were hastily sent packing.

President Mugabe himself was insistent that what was happening in Zimbabwe was part of the process of land redistribution from the settlers to his land-starved population, in line with his self-proclaimed socialist orientation. But he nevertheless expected the process to be carried through by means of compensation paid to the expropriated Zimbabwean landowners by the British government. Many saw his real motivation as being an attempt to hold onto power in the midst of the sharp economic decline that his country was going through. The widespread drive towards land

ownership was clearly a desperate attempt at survival on the part of a population facing enormous hardship.

Background

The whole land redistribution question needs to be viewed against the background of the economic realities of the capitalist system. Those who try to make a living by working the land are finding that it has become harder and harder to do so successfully. The difficulties they face have intensified a hundredfold in a world forced to yield more and more to the dictates of neoliberalism and globalisation.

Falling prices for agricultural products, brought about by the market power wielded by the big industrialised nations, is one side of the problem. The other side is the rising cost of inputs – fertilizers, machinery, interest on loans, the fees of middlemen – which is also related to dependence on the goods and services provided by the industrialised nations. Without the intervention of the state, in the form of low- or no-interest loans, subsidies, protective tariffs, most small-scale farmers are doomed to failure.

But neoliberalism demands precisely that the State withdraw this assistance.⁶ On the other hand, the large commercial farms owned by wealthy farmers gain from economies of scale, access to greater amounts of capital (which makes greater mechanisation possible), greater flexibility to ride out seasonal and climatic setbacks, cheap labour (from the former peasant farmers who have now been dispossessed), ownership of more productive land, among other advantages. They are therefore able to run commercial agricultural businesses more or less profitably. World agriculture seems to be separated into these two categories: the struggling, impoverished peasant farmer and the prosperous land baron.

It is therefore quite clear that the mere possession of land, far from being a boon will in the vast majority of cases merely doom the owners to lifetimes of inordinately hard work, frustration and poverty. Land restitution, grants or occupation for the purposes of agricultural use must be assessed in this context.

A Solution to Unemployment?

The same applies to the hoped-for utilisation of land to end the scourge of unemployment. Unemployment is a major problem experienced especially by developing countries. It is perhaps the single most important and basic underlying

⁶ Even though farmers in America and Europe are heavily subsidised.

cause of their multitude of problems: poverty, malnutrition and starvation, landlessness, houselessness, crime, inadequate health and education systems.

Jobs are hard to create, however, in a world of technologically advanced, high capital intensive industrial and commercial undertakings. The demand for more untrained labour has declined severely. The demand for skills has increased. Literally billions of people who have no access to education and training have become unemployable. And even if they could by some miracle quickly attain the necessary skills they would still not solve their unemployment problem since the demand for skilled labour is not endless. The new technology of production, using fewer workers for greater output, is severely restricted by market demands. The market, which drives production under the capitalist system, periodically becomes "saturated".⁷

Could the redistribution of land be a solution? As we have seen in the circumstances outlined above it is naive to believe that simply giving the citizens of a country their own portions of land could make them successfully and productively employed and thus solve the problem of unemployment. Sure, land possession could open the door but very much more than mere possession is required.

This has certainly been the experience of the new Zimbabwean peasant farmers, since their government just does not have the means to subsidise their inputs. That is why representatives of the United Nations Development Programme and the Zimbabwean government, who are at present working on "a programme to deal with land distribution", are also covering "questions of the resources you would need to make sure that those people who would be new farmers succeed in their work".⁸ The likely outcome of these negotiations will be to provide just about enough support for these farmers to make it possible for them to sustain a miserable living. And even this support will probably dry up soon because the current of world neoliberal policy is running against government support for and intervention in the economy. For the reason that Zimbabwean "land redistribution" is firmly situated within the ambit of neoliberalism and is subject to its dictates, it is therefore severely flawed and unlikely to succeed.

Collectives

⁷ This does not mean that demand has dropped because everybody has the goods and services offered by the market. It means more specifically that all those who can afford to buy the goods and services have all that they require. In a world in which currently 3 billion people are living in poverty (World Bank figure) and have very little to spend even on basic needs it is easy to see how the market demand for production and thus for skilled labour is severely limited.

⁸ This was reported by President Mbeki on his return from the recent Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting (CHOHGM) at Coolumb in Australia and appeared in the *Argus* of 6 March 2002.

But poor people are nevertheless being given or are themselves occupying land in an attempt to gain relief from their poverty where no other solution seems available. Improvment resulting from the implementation of Structural Adjustment Programmes (Saps) and other aspects of the neoliberal model is a world-wide reality.⁹ This experience of improvment and the turning to land for relief has often given rise to collective socio-economic action in the rural areas of many countries. We have already given an account of the Movement of Landless Rural Workers (MST) in Brazil. In Argentina the MML (Agricultural Women in Struggle Movement) came into existence in the mid-1990s, initially as a support and confrontational group to assist small and medium-sized farmers threatened with dispossession.¹⁰ By the end of 2001 the MML had grown to become a national organization, forming a part of networks that organize collective projects and participate in joint actions, thus creating sympathy and solidarity in different social worlds: women's, religious, university organisations. In Latin America the MML has contact with many organisations, including the Brazilian MST. (It was also represented at the World Social Forum of Porto Alegre, which is discussed in another article in this issue.) "Meetings like this represent a very important advance, since they are oriented toward placing the struggle in a broader global context."¹¹

Mexico

One of the best known of these collective responses to poverty and landlessness is probably the Zapatista uprising in the Chiapas region of Mexico. The Mexican State had over the years adopted rural policies to serve the interests of the land barons. For example, land allocated to peasant farmers would be of a steep and uneven nature, thus preventing them from making an adequate living from their own crops. "Although land distribution ... responded to the peasants' own demands, it also helped guarantee a cheap, reliable labour force to the owners of coffee plantations in the Soconusco, just to the west."¹² After an official policy of divide-and-rule had been attempted for a number of decades, people came together in the Lacandon jungle from different parts of Chiapas and Mexico. What united them was their poverty and their need to find a common solution. They discussed their experiences amidst great mutual tolerance for a

⁹ In his examination of the effect of neoliberal reforms in Mexico Thomas J Kelly comes to the conclusion that "increased poverty may have been a consequence of the reforms" in spite of the fact that "advocates of neoliberal reform have argued that the rural poor should benefit from it." (*Neoliberal Reforms and Rural Poverty, LATIN AMERICAN PERSPECTIVES*, Issue 118, May 2001, 84-103)

¹⁰ In recent decades a large number of small and medium-sized farms have disappeared. Between the 1969 and the 1988 censuses the number of farms of 200 hectares or less declined from 428 000 to 282 000. (*LATIN AMERICAN PERSPECTIVES*, Issue 121, November 2001, 38-53)

¹¹ *LATIN AMERICAN PERSPECTIVES*, ibid.

¹² Civil Disobedience and Rejection, *LATIN AMERICAN PERSPECTIVES*, Issue 117, March 2001, 98-119.

variety of world views and political and religious ideologies. Peasant organisations, religious groups and trade networks were formed taking the place of the traditional community. A political movement evolved 'that combined Indian colonists and members of a Maoist-oriented organization known as *Política Popular*'.¹³ In turn, these shared views converged to shape a political-military movement that dramatically highlighted the failure of the neoliberal 'utopia'.¹⁴

One of the main reasons ultimately why the poor cannot change their conditions is that they are not in government. The poor of the world are not represented in government, neither national, nor provincial, nor local. The movement towards collective action by rural communities may, however, be the beginning of their journey towards achieving that representation.

4. THE EMERGENT ANTI-CAPITALIST MOVEMENT

Introduction

In 1999 the mass media invented a new phrase: "anti-capitalism". It flashed across the world with the protest in Seattle on 30th November and has remained in the news since then. The last 2 years have seen a number of mobilisations against international capitalism. Washington (April 2000), Millau (June 2000), Melbourne (September 2000), Seoul (October 2000), Nice (December 2000), Washington again (January 2001) and Quebec City (April 2001) have all seen protests of one kind or another. In addition there have been the protests at Davos against the World Economic Forum and the Siege of Genoa in July 2001. Ten years after the supposed final triumph of market capitalism with the fall of the Berlin Wall and the collapse of the USSR, a growing number of people are rejecting the capitalist system.

The strategy of confronting capitalist organisations at crucial meetings and forums has thrust the questioning of this world order to the fore. Prior to Seattle there was an organised effort on the part of activist groups to stage and co-ordinate their protests. Several not-so-spectacular efforts prepared the ground. Initially there was the work of intellectual development (analyses, arguments, alternative proposals). It gave a solid

base to the movement, encouraged self-confidence among activists, established a tone of authority in the media, and finally generated a spirit of offensive against the upholders of neo-liberalism. The most important contribution – of universal significance – of this movement against capitalist globalization is that it has broken the feeling of resignation and political impotence which massively affected the popular classes and activist circles and that it has restored cohesion and perspective to a resistance which never really ceased.

The Composition of the Protest Groups

The make-up of the groups that have acted on the protest stage has been incredibly diverse, as have the locations at which the protests have taken place.¹⁵ At Quebec (April 2001), during the *Summit of the Americas* meeting, 40-60 000 people turned out to show opposition to the Free Trade Agreement of the Americas (FTAA), which was on the agenda of the meeting. The composition of the groups that have protested at Seattle, Genoa, Prague, Washington, Davos and other meetings has included all sorts of ideological sources and a heterogeneous collection of activists: odious debt campaigners, environmentalists, dependency economists, animal rightsists, survivors of the '60s, anarchist street fighters, members of NGOs, supporters of various Third-World solidarity movements, trade unionists and socialists. One result of the unification of the opposition groupings has been the formation of the World Social Forum (WSF), which has met at Porto Alegre in Brazil for the last 2 years and the International Meeting of Social Movements which met in Mexico City in August 2001. (See the article on the WSF below.)

The Consequences of Neo-Liberal Capitalism

What is of importance to all observers of movements of social change is why these events took place and what circumstances prevailed at the time that they did.

¹⁵ The anti-capitalist movement, in the opinion of one of the many writers on the subject, is composite... confused... contradictory. But Alex Callinicos says: 'Since the demonstrations that caused the collapse of the World Trade Organisation ministerial meeting at the end of November 1999, there has crystallized in the advanced capitalist countries a politically active minority that sees global capitalism as the source of the World's ills. It is this sense of totality, of the system itself being at fault, that distinguishes this new anti-capitalist movement from campaigns that focus on specific issues and grievances.'

The anti-capitalist movement manifests itself along four dimensions – protest demonstrations, a broader change in the political climate, the formation of new political milieux and an intellectual shift.

¹³ Differing Responses by Mann Presents to the Zapatista Rebellion, *LATIN AMERICAN PERSPECTIVES*, Issue 117, March 2001, 98-119.

¹⁴ Ibid

By 1999, capitalism had experienced ten years unchallenged as a world economic system. It had ushered in neo-liberalism and was the dominant player, via the International Monetary Fund (IMF), World Bank and the World Trade Organisation (WTO) in controlling world trade. It had touted globalization as the answer to the world's economic ills. But the so-called "trickle down" effect of economic development (such as there was) had not worked and the world's poor nations were getting poorer and the rich (nations) were getting richer.

There were stronger controls and greater pressure on the developed nations' workers to be more productive. There was a huge increase in the promotion of genetic engineering in agriculture. There was massive investment in technology and telecommunications. Finance capital was having a field day with futures, derivatives, forward buys, currency speculation. Privatisation of State assets and infra-structural organs increased globally.

All of these factors and many others led to the greater power of the multinationals (trans-nationals) and their ever-growing effect on the lives of millions of people. Their relentless drive for more profits (and more profitable markets) had spawned a host of victims from different strata of society. These victims started turning up at the various protests, their common rallying point being their opposition to the excesses of capitalism. The (first-world) workers, farmers, debt-campaigners, environmentalists, NGO reps and trade unionists were there because in all of their democracies they were unable to challenge or deter the rampant transnationals from their plundering programmes of self-serving expansion and consumption.

First-World Workers

Chris Hamman, a leading member of the Socialist Workers' Party (SWP) of England, commented as follows:

There is a tendency to treat workers in advanced countries as the privileged collaborators with the system. The fact that they usually have rather higher living standards than the great majority of Third World's peoples seems to confirm this view. (This view is faulty since it) ...rests on a failure to analyse how the system works. Capitalist firms are driven to accumulate surplus value, and so they invest where they can most profitably exploit people. At the beginning of the 21st century that investment is concentrated in the advanced countries and a handful of "newly industrialising countries". It is here that capitalists find that they can most easily tap surplus value. This is because labour in the advanced countries is more productive than elsewhere, and therefore more productive of surplus value, for a whole variety of

historical reasons (the established accumulations of capital, transport, energy, water and communications infrastructures, big pools of literate and numerate labour resulting from four or five generations of compulsory education).

Often under capitalism those who are the poorest are not those who are the most exploited, but those who have been cast aside by the (ongoing) development of the system. This is true of the long-term unemployed, whose poverty comes from the fact that capitalism does not find it profitable to employ and exploit them. It is also true of very large numbers of the poor in giant cities of the Third World, who suffer because capitalism does not allow them to have more than intermittent access to the means of making a livelihood for themselves and profits for it. Their pitiable existence is a massive indictment of the system, but the wellsprings that keep the system going lie elsewhere, among the workers it employs. And its drive to increase competitiveness and raise profits necessarily leads to repeated clashes with them."

Objectives and Strategy

In assessing the strengths and direction of the present anti-capitalist movement, one must certainly recognise the moral-symbolic victories at Seattle, Quebec and Genoa, where the imperialist institutions' meetings were disturbed, but their functioning continued. These moral victories have galvanised the opponents of capitalism to begin the imposition of the political debate. The meetings at Mexico City (August 2001) and Porto Alegre (January 2002) have shown that there is an understanding of the need to evaluate mobilising actions and to create common objectives and strategies.

Of course this is no easy task, given the disparate nature of the collective components of anti-globalisation forces. The challenge that faces the architects of opposition to capitalism at these forums is to shift the emphasis from purely (mass) activism to one of **fundamental** opposition. In doing so, it is hoped, the emergence of class-consciousness and solidarity will also strengthen the bond with workers' movements across the planet. It is this link with the workers' movements that is seen by many Socialist writers as the crucial defining direction which must be chosen for the movement to achieve progressive gains against capitalism.

Although there has been successful collaboration with trade unions, Francois Vercaemmen of the United Secretariat of the Fourth International says, "...in all cases, we have to note that it is the mass of workers, driven to defend their conditions of daily existence, who form the majority social force." And, "It is necessary to start by

deploying a full analysis of the conditions of exploited labour (not defined by direct membership of the traditional labour movement) so that the movement against globalisation and the radicalized youth takes up the class struggle. The "new" working, insecurely employed or unemployed youth – super-exploited, in any event – will undoubtedly be a component. In addition it is vital to reconstitute the unity of the proletariat on an international scale."

Of course the agents of Imperialism have not stood still while the "anti" movement has gone through its birth-pangs. It has employed the same tactics as have been used in thousands of instances throughout the history of struggle: it has criminalised the politically radical currents and it has co-opted the collaborationist currents. The criminalisation took the strategy of employing massive State resources in opposing and subduing demonstrators with brute force wherever and whenever they took to the streets. Co-option took the route of engaging the movement in dialogue on human rights issues, environmental control, child labour, talking about talks of Third-World debt cancellation, re-introducing the imposition of the Tobin Tax¹⁶ and many other issues that capitalism is quite able to incorporate as adjustments to its operational plan, but without having to change the blueprint, that is, changing Capitalism itself. So, much care and examination has to be exercised when dealing with parcels of reform that capitalism delivers for tactical reasons and under extreme pressure.

The Wave and Tide Effect

It is also important to look at the dynamic of change, a topic that was discussed at Conference two years ago. In that discussion we used the analogy of the starting of the engines of the massive ocean-going vessels. On those vessels a small "donkey" engine is first started up. This in turn is used to start up the main engines. If that analogy were to be updated, we could say that today some of the engines that are required to move the vessel have been started up, but not sufficient power has yet been generated to get it moving. Of course, once movement has been achieved it is equally important that the direction of movement is the one that has been chosen by the "captain". At present the "anti" movement is in the process of gaining momentum and determining its direction. It has the advantage that it has generated a "wave" of support, and history has shown us that these waves of struggle can have far-reaching effects: successes of some groups have prompted others to struggle, and associated with this is a generalisation and radicalisation of people's ideas. People who had been non-political or a-political

¹⁶ A tax proposed twenty-two years ago by James Tobin of 0.05% on all international monetary transactions.

got involved in the movement, saw that they could change society and had the power to force change in society.

The general rise of struggle does not however lead automatically to the clarification of ideas. So the importance of a political plan and agenda is paramount, to generate from the wave a tide. A tide of movement that is strong enough to move the largest vessel, to revolutionise society, not only reform it.

REFLECTIONS ON THE WORLD SOCIAL FORUM

The Social Forum Phenomenon

The phenomenon of the social forum greeted the world with the anti-World Trade Organisation (WTO) demonstrations that erupted at Seattle in 1999. At that time some sceptics, selecting what they wanted to see, down-graded the actions as the work of the US labour aristocracy merely demanding a place of privilege in the WTO negotiations. Ever since then, however, whether at the Washington International Monetary Fund (IMF)/World Bank meetings of the following year, or at Davos over the World Economic Forum annual pilgrimage, or at Prague, or at Okunawa, or in the economic bail-outs in Brazil and Thailand, or indeed recently at Genoa during the G8 conference, growing interventions by representatives of "The Wretched of the Earth" have accompanied these meetings of the rulers of the world.

From the outset they have taken a straight anti-capitalist direction, ranging from the labour right across the left-moving spectrum of the ecological activists, anti-colonial partisans, mass-based NGOs, anti-Aids fighters, women's organisations, youth groups, indigenous people, land/peasant movements. In short, women and men fighting for the entry of social justice into the political struggles of our time have congregated and coalesced into a world movement which has come to identify itself as the "Social Movement". This movement has taken on the hue of anti-capitalism. It has particularly identified neo-liberalism as the enemy of mankind. Its specific areas of thrust have revolved among a number of issues in the political economy, but in some these have combined into a growing potent anti-capitalist and anti-imperialist force. The articulation of such issues will be examined below.

The Durban Social Forum

In August 2001 this character of the social conflict came in a most interesting way to demonstrate itself as both a social mobilizer and a social educator in South Africa. It will be recalled that this was on the occasion of the holding of an International Conference on Racism by the UN Committee for Human Rights in Durban. At that time, political forces on the social left in all countries identified the following issues for attention:

- (i) slavery as the foundation of both capitalism and imperialism;
- (ii) the historically evolved indebtedness of the poor countries as a reproductive agency for racism in the current political economy;
- (iii) the colonial system as a strategy for the under-development of four-fifths of the world population.

Around those three basic issues specific demands of an economic and political character were formulated, whose effect was designed cumulatively to obviate and redress the baneful effects of racism. In a deeper sense the debate sought to identify racism with the capitalist system of production and distribution. Over historical time Capitalism, thanks to its commitment to the motive of individual profit, was seen to be a universal instrument fashioned for the creation of inequality among people, carving them not just into corporations and workers, but indeed into social classes on the basis of which the dominant class employed its position to exploit, restrict and exclude the rest, from both the sources of production and the benefits of the productive process. In living situations such domination and exclusion had occurred within the metropolitan nations of the West and had been extended with even more ruthless effects to the deprived and colonised nations of the South. All along the dominant classes of Capitalism had clothed themselves in the salubrious garb of triumphant privilege as a racial caste whilst at the same time pursuing policies of under-development in some form or other of economic slavery in the colonised populations.

It is within such a differentiated relationship that societies in the South were driven to walk the tight rope of debt (of one type or another), in order to effect their recovery. In reality debt begot deeper debt. These issues were of course taken up by the governments of the ex-colonial South. Over months of bargaining, these governments frittered away all principles on these matters in order to grind out an agreement with the imperialist governments until not a single issue remained standing on which to form a credible basis for a reconfiguration of the international human rights relationships. No subsequent intergovernmental programme of any sort has emerged from that sorry process of negotiation around basic principles between the senior capitalists and the junior capitalists of the world. On the other hand, among the impoverished classes in South Africa this debate has had the most profound effects. The discourse opened

above has articulated itself into all the areas of want in the political economy of the country:

- into the areas of landlessness and agrarian under-development;
- the area of housing, health and sanitation deprivation;
- the area of education and cultural deprivation
- and the areas of unemployment, depressed incomes, low social grants for the aged and for children, in other words, general poverty;
- and an overall inability to build up an economy that can sustain both itself and the citizenry without relying on the global charity of the world capitalist system.

Among the poor in our country the extension of this debate led directly to the convocation of the Durban Social Forum. Here these social struggles were woven into each other. They went further to hold hands with kindred problems in other countries of the South:

- Palestinians fighting on the same terrain in the Middle East;
- South Americans and people from the Caribbean Islands fighting in the areas of racial exclusion and ecological debt;
- people in Southern Africa attaching problems of Apartheid-caused debt to their social issues;
- impoverished classes throughout Africa and Asia standing on the same platform;
- partisans in the Northern countries continuing their stand-off with Capitalism.

Common to all these forces was a specific critique of the current neo-liberal specificity in the economic system. This is the platform which drew a mass mobilisation which resulted in the march of over 20 000 people in the streets of Durban on 28 August 2001 and a huge rally at Rooipark. The reverberations of that march continue to ignite new ideas and cause not a few storms in the social thought in this country.

The South African Social Forum

A number of social movements in the country had been responsible for setting up the structure which had established the Durban Social Forum (that is to say, a purely South African initiative separate from the social movements that came to join in from other countries). Among these movements were

- those committed women's struggles against exclusion, abuse and social deprivation;
- those rural people who find themselves landless and jobless and have identified land recovery and redistribution as the fountainhead of an agrarian reform movement which will "allow people who live on the land to live by the land". This impetus will link up the produce of land and revenue with an industrial impetus;

- those who are at the centre of the anti-privatisation drive now getting under way in the metropolitan cities (Cape Town, Durban, Johannesburg), whether this privatisation be in the delivery of municipal services (a la Egoli 2000) or the delivery of power and water services or some other such move in the big universities of the urban centres;
- those as well who suffer from the ravages of the housing deprivation in the urban centres, are evicted from public housing units, or become victims of corporate or gentrification housing schemes or are ground into the dust in the sub-economic housing situations of social neglect in the townships;
- those at the cutting edge in the anti-privatisation drive of Eskom and water services;
- those embroiled in health and sanitation struggles, including the HIV-Aids catastrophe;
- those involved in the work of mass-based NGOs and CBOs.

All the partisans in the structures struggling around these issues, together with a marginal element in the trade union movement and others from the broad anti-debt struggle, had taken responsibility not only to form the Durban Social Forum, but also to write up its manifesto on August 28.

The leaderships of these formations took a further look ahead in the social struggle. They began to deliberate the formation of a South African Social Forum (SASF). They have been joined in this enterprise by groups working in the anti-war solidarity movement, specifically supporting the struggle of the Palestinian people for national liberation. This is the forum which seeks to co-ordinate and cement into one national effort all the conflicts in the social middle. The debate in favour of creating such a forum is still continuing. It is now being given additional urgency by problems arising from two other areas:

1. Is the arrival of the serialised continental challenge by the neo-liberal governments in Africa finally going by the name of the New Partnership for Africa's Development (Nepad)? More will be said on this shortly.
2. The other source of forward movement on the matter of a SASF is the recent establishment of an African Social Forum at Bamako on 9 January 2002.

The African Social Forum

The African Social Forum was formally established in an All African Conference held at Bamako in Mali on 5 - 9 January 2002. Participants in this forum were people working in different networks and social movements on the continent. Some of the prominent thematic areas of participation were the following: culture, trade, debt, women, land and agrarian reform, Nepad and development finance, the State and

democratic governance, ecological justice, structural adjustment programmes in the economy, war and social disintegration.

Through these themes it became possible to examine the evolution of colonialism and neo-colonialism in Africa, especially since 1945. The threads of this evolution were gathered around the articulation of the capitalist system from the moment that it had received significant challenge from the forces of national liberation after World War II. The ways in which colonial policy found new life were given full exposure in the thematic analysis. The strands of exploitation and exclusion became knit together even more tightly in the structural adjustment programmes from 1970 onwards. It became clear to the South African participants that the debate on neo-liberalism was much more advanced, far sharper and more clearly defined in the rest of the continent.

In this country the question of the Growth, Employment and Redistribution (Gear) policy as our own home-grown Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP) is still a subject of controversy, even in the radical sections of society. This shows that the social movement in this country is still struggling to differentiate itself completely from the discourse of national liberation and the nationalist liberal dogma. It is interesting to note that in these circles official pettifoggery is easily able to throw in the fable of the Redistribution and Development Programme (RDP) and the emerging reality of Gear into an argument which stymies analytical thought and arrests people in the move to decide whether the RDP "was superior" to Gear and/or the latter is a continuation of the former, or vice versa. Africans to the north of us are well aware already that a social democratic programme such as the RDP was the harbinger of neo-liberal SAP such as Gear and that both were expressions of imperialist economic policy. They find it even easier therefore to break this down to the tidier intellectual areas of theme, as specified above. It is important, however, to qualify this estimate of the state of thought on the continent with an understanding that the African social movements as a whole still lack a mass following as the push-factor for their ideological growth. In contrast, in Latin America there is a high level of discourse with a social movement behind it.

- Three principal outcomes of the Bamako conference were:
- co-ordinated African participation in the World Social Forum;
 - a well-defined All African opposition to Nepad;
 - a call for the convocation of national social forums in every country on the continent.

The World Social Forum

A golden thread unites the historic Durban Social Forum, the South African Forum and the World Social Forum. Its dialectics nonetheless are that none of these movements

travels in a straight line nor moves in incremental aggregates. Deeper social forces in the world political economy of capitalism have the effect of letting the global impact on the local, thus jolting the latter to raise its head to proportions that will counter the ravenous claws in the global. When small rural producers near Empangeni seize land and convert it into a regional economic use value with an industrial spur, they by that act alone challenge not just the local agents of neo-liberal policy, but, to be sure, they put to the test the predations of US imperialism which would stifle industrial action in South Africa and convert South Africa's rural dwellers into idle recipients of genetically modified agricultural products from giant American agricultural enterprises. It is such tiny local impulses that find an ideological echo and ally in a multiplicity of themselves and others in associated social struggles inside an international combination called the world social forum. Through this the energy of one tiny peasant is multiplied a million-fold in both thought and action. In other words, a consistent land redistribution and agrarian revolution in South Africa immediately comes up against the agricultural policy of United States imperialism at home together with its articulation in the areas of industrial policy, trade relationships and foreign neo-colonial political deployment.

An Estimate of The World Social Forum (WSF)

The background to the organisation of the World Social Forum was the increasing collaboration over common problems of some nine local social movements in Brazil. Some of these formations had already started their political co-operation within the broad structures of the Brazilian workers' party (PT). There is no doubt that the recent anti-capitalist mobilisations elsewhere in the world referred to above hoped to influence things. Nor any doubt that a strong South American riposte was deemed urgent to an international financial and political policy that was being generated by the World Economic Forum at Davos on an annual basis. The Brazilian organising committee and the international advisory committee were quick to realize that neither a Brazilian nor a South American response to Davos was adequate. They saw clearly and soon that a proper reply to Davos lay in the international arena. Hence the World Social Forum.

Some very militant "Left" Internationalists have dubbed the WSF "a popular front of anti-globalisation nationalists". Quite apart from this patent misunderstanding of popular frontism, which mixes up nationalists together with internationalists in a consistently anti-capitalist combination, it is very strange that some people have so quickly forgotten that dark hole in which a socialist reply to imperialism was buried politically after the crash of the USSR and the Soviet System in 1991. True enough, Stalinism had dug the grave but imperialism snuffed out the last breath of life from the

body and buried the corpse. Triumphant intensifying its neo-liberal assault on the whole world by means of a globalisation policy carried out under the aegis of its well-known triad - IMF, WB and WTO -, imperialism now reintroduced itself to the world as the last world in history, the very end of human history. No other political and economic existence was possible or imaginable. The retort of the WSF in January 2001 rang out sharp: "No, you lie! Another world is possible!"

It is certainly true that the WSF as it stands today is a world movement in its infancy. It is also a world movement in transition. And there is no doubt that it is the strongest challenge to the domination of world capital ever since the fall of the Third International - virtually in 1928. It has started off at a lower level than that august body, probably at a level similar to that maintained by the First International in its earlier all-inclusive phase. The cardinal difference with the latter body, however, will be that whilst the anti-capitalist programme of the working man looked to a post-capitalist future, the political process of the nationalists within its fold was still giving birth to capitalist regimes in Italy, Germany and Austria. Furthermore, that body was a purely European affair. The WSF on the contrary takes the struggle against the very highest forms in the economic political policy of capitalism as its point of departure. Where it takes the neo-liberal critique politically and how it renders conquests on all its vital indices lie at the centre of a process of maturation for the World Social Forum. In addition, the latter prefigures a struggle against global capitalism on a world scale. In contra-distinction to the "Final Destination" pretended by imperialism, it posits the utopia of Another World.

Issue-Based Process

The World Social Forum has a highly decentralised process of events. Public events are preceded by a two-day meeting of the international committee. This is a plenary session of delegates from a specified group of organizations from all over the world. The sessions deal with problems of general framework including a broad programmatic thrust, compendium of rules, organizational procedures and designation of organizational challenges. All these framework or policy matters indicate a thrust consistent with the neo-liberal critique, separating the social forum forces completely from those of the world economic forum and mapping out a route and principles in diametric opposition to that followed by the forum of Davos. Even on conjunctural issues such as those produced by the events of September 11, the lines of strategic thought are in disagreement.

It is impossible within a brief survey such as this one to go into more than an indicative medium of the contents of the WSF. This year's event, for example, took place over

five full days. It consisted of conferences, personal testimonies, workshop seminars, youth camps, cultural engagements, international addresses, theatrical productions, public tribunals, international solidarity rallies and marches, events of social movements and live electronically transmitted international exchanges. Conferences covered such diverse subjects as, inter alia, the capitalist production process, trade relationships, human rights, racism and exclusion, the external debt, the State, civil society interventions in political life, the current state of socialism and globalisation. A sample of the seminars includes the following subjects: women and labour, trade unions and labour rights, globalisation and unemployment, the right to work, debt and reparations, food security under globalisation, free trade agreements, agriculture and genetically modified organisms, war and peace.

A sample of the workshop discussions covers the following subjects: language and identity, moral harassment at work an invisible threat to health, health for all, medicinal plants and alternative therapies, teacher training and educational policies, psychosocial rehabilitation, the reality of globalisation, outline of an alternative world economy, people's capitalism, universalisation of public services, an end to privatisation and an alternative for workers, state reform and its consequences for the public service.

Logistically the WSF took place in five different sites. Each activity was conducted autonomously by an organisation or network. It was up to the network to select its own platform of speakers or lecturers. All of this allowed for the sprouting and blooming all over Porto Alegre of the broadest possible range of radical thought. Some of it was socialist; some anarchist; some environmental with a social justice base; some workerist and/or labour-based; some reflecting rural radicalism; some feminist with a socialist content; some even right wing (of the socialist movement), Social Democratic.

All of this discourse reflected the deep concerns organisations and social movements have over the organisation, direction and effects of the current economic model. It can hardly be doubted too that such concerns make a contribution to thinking on the future of mankind, that is to say, the politics of our present struggles. Far from there existing a monolithic "line" offering an instruction to the working classes of the world from on high, this forum allows the people to think as differently as they may in the course of struggle. A clear school of democratic socialist thought and action is being built over time in the course of concrete class struggles. The prognostications, plans and alternatives that find expression in the social forum will be some of the weapons of social struggles - today in Argentina, tomorrow in Angola and the next day in Nepal.

All these theatres of struggle will digest, validate or cast aside some of the lessons being learnt today. In that way the WSF becomes an instrument in fertilizing the ideas, thoughts and actions of men and women in the unprecedented crisis that grips the world today. This is why it is wrong for people to pretend that the WSF is some kind of popular front on the one hand, or others demand of it that it should be a monolith of finished scientific wisdom. It is rather a political response to two main phenomena:

- the crisis of capitalism on a world scale;
- the collapse of the socialist response to capitalism 10 years ago.

As a political formation in transition it is laying down the most democratic foundations for the growth of workers' and peasants' movements during our time. It is also combining most beautifully the issues of class, gender and race as our principal rejoinder to capitalist exclusion.

Mobilizations

The WSF was also the occasion for perhaps the largest social and political mobilizations in recent times. A Palestinian Solidarity Forum became the root of conferences, seminars, workshops and interviews on the Palestinian question. These were followed by a march and a rally of over 30 000 people.

Yet another huge mobilization took place over the current crisis in Argentina. Conferences, marches and rallies over the subject took the view that the Argentine should repudiate its external debt and rebuild the economy of that country on a new foundation altogether. How could it be that Argentina, the blue-eyed boy of the IMF and the World Bank a mere ten years ago, the shining example of how best to apply their structural adjustment policy in a living economy, could fold up so ingloriously? Another Argentina beckons.

The social movements also had their day. These movements include the rural and/or peasant formations working inside Via Campesino; a number of women's mass organisations; youth formations from many countries whose principal problem revolves around education, jobs and cultural enterprises; workers' organisations in many cases brought together in trade unions; a plethora of networks working on the problems of ecological justice, debt and reparations, and on trade. This was the last major mobilization of the WSF. It had been suitably preceded by a most challenging debate on the question of socialism during our time. A stirring declaration was issued, followed by a march of 50 000.

It has to be admitted that the WSF does not have a built-in structural process that links it to the various countries where people's struggles are taking place right now. Whether or not this is desirable is subject to debate. It may be preferable, as a process, to continue in the coming years to have a major world conference where all the problems in the various theatres of struggle are put to earnest debate. And it is up to the partisans of the social struggles to sift and distil from a rich but common fund of ideas and theoretical contestation thrown up at such an event what they may find most applicable in their national situations. Moreover, it is the democratic essence that "100 flowers should bloom".

Intercontinental Solidarity

In the international committee of the WSF it was noted as part of historical process that the WSF continued to draw the majority part of its participation from Brazil and other parts of South America. With the formation of the African Social Forum, African participation had grown from 30 persons in 2001 to over 500 in 2002 (about 100 from South Africa). Participation from the Middle East as well as from the whole of Asia continued to be token. The formal acceptance of the African Social Forum delegation was accompanied by a heated debate on the international question. A pertinent theme in the argument was that without the greatest amount of organisation and solidarity coming out of Asia and Africa, Latin America alone would never change the world. On such a narrow foundation it was not possible strategically even to carry out successfully a simple objective for all the countries of the South, such as debt repudiation and enforcing the concept and practice of an international reparations fund upon the nations of the North. It was therefore hotly argued and finally agreed that the countries of Africa and Asia should immediately form an Afro-Asian solidarity committee in order to help strengthen the emergence of an Asian Social Forum, and a Middle East Social Forum. In that way growing social forums in Asia, the Middle East and Africa would continue to learn from their comrades in Latin America. Thus the combined struggles in the three continents of the South would keep in tow their friends from the North in the deepening of a world-wide anti-imperialist struggle.

Conclusion

The social forum appears to be the great experience of our times. It is a school of learning, a forum of dissent and debate, an arena of practical democracy and a platform for solidarity among oppressed and exploited peoples, groups and social classes.

INTRODUCTORY REMARKS ON NEPAD

From the 1st to the 11th of July 2002, the South African government is hosting the Inaugural Conference of the African Union in Durban. The AU is an update of the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) with more advanced political and economic features. At a certain level it is a re-presentation of Africa to the world in the era of globalisation. It is fitting, therefore, that on such an occasion the AU will present itself on the basis of a specific economic programme for the continent, that is to say, one going by the name New Partnership for Africa's Development (Nepad).

In the 1950s neo-colonial Africa devised very interesting political formulations for its presentation both to its people and to the rest of the world. Leopold Senghor, who died in France recently, coined the notion of Negritude as the élan of a liberated Africa. Kwame Nkrumah demurred and thought rather the new essence of the African was contained in the African Personality. Others in Africa thought this was conveyed better by the idea of African Socialism. Kenneth Kaunda discovered a superior expression in African Humanism. Somewhat later Joseph Mobutu reincarnated himself (now as Mobutu Sese Seko) within a broader African understanding known as African Authenticity. The particular strain of African self-definition put forward by Steve Biko as Black Consciousness did lean heavily on the Black Panther formations in the USA, but belong to the same genre.

The key thing about these redefinitions of African intentions in conditions of a triumphant Independence Movement revolves around what Mandela in 1994 called "Building a Better Life For All". Africa's Independence elite arrived during the heyday of the Social Democratic or Welfare State Organisation of the World Economy. Lines of economic accumulation did carry with them the spur of reconstructing the world economy (after 1929) on the basis of broad infrastructural innovations and the conferring of social benefits to larger segments of the population. State-economic enterprise subserved corporate energy. Neo-colonial Africa adopted this approach too, although it was constrained by its vassal position to far lower thresholds in economic delivery, and here both the ruling elite and its State acted like an agency. This is the phenomenon, which is variously described as compradorism or clientism. It was in

order to disguise this agency feature of both Class and State that it became necessary to invent some emotive sentiments around general Africanism. True enough, even within those economic constraints, the early African elite devoted its highest budget allocations to education, health and housing, these being the frontline of a "redistributive" impetus. Otherwise the elite squandered disgraceful proportions of the national surplus in wild orgies of conspicuous consumption. That era however closed in 1970. From then onwards the IMF, World Bank and the Big Corporations of the West took the helm in economic planning, organisation and delivery.

The Black Night of Structural Adjustment Programmes had arrived. It was left to Margaret Thatcher and Ronald Reagan to carry home even more consistently, at the level of National Political Policy, the directions now being dictated by corporate power.

When in the late 1980s, political changes began to be signalled to the South African ruling class by World Imperialism, it was in the context of a South African economy which was also starting to be dominated by its own large corporations. It is that dominance that exerted pressure on the Apartheid government to embark from 1979 onwards on a step-by-step deregulation and liberalisation process in the whole economy. The rules of the IMF were given as the occasion for changes, until by 1992 the statutory autonomy of the South African Reserve Bank had been decided and the whole Growth, Employment and Redistribution (Gear) policy had been comprehensively drafted by that institution.

At this time the name of Thabo Mbeki had begun to be associated with the evolution of economic thinking in the ANC. In these quarters the social democratic idea of a "mixed economy" was being developed with the help of the redirected Trade Union Movement towards a Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP). Even more critically, nevertheless, in 1993 the Transitional Executive Council, of which the ANC was a part, negotiated a loan with the World Bank on the basis of a secret letter of intent which promised the Imperialist World a future democratic dispensation in the country (under the ANC) conducting a structurally adjusted economic system. In January 1994 Nelson Mandela was ridiculed by European bankers and politicians at

Davos for believing that an RDP, together with social democratic nationalisations, could be the road for a future SA. The contradictory position contained inside the ANC (James-like through and through) was of course resolved in 1996 when the new government dusted up the 1992 Gear files of the Apartheid Reserve Bank and presented them brusquely to the country as non-negotiable national policy.

It should not be doubted that Gear has its basis in the corporate world inside South Africa. The financial and trade liberalisations in that policy reflect corporate entities controlling a mass of new capital that is not restricted by taxation; companies whose competitive edge on the world market is enhanced both by new technology and by larger corporate combinations; companies operating on the basis of all the principal stock markets in the capitalist world; companies whose only loyalty is to limitless financial expansion; companies, above all, on the road to an unprecedented conquest of the vast African market, sometimes in fierce competition and at other times in crafty collusion with other giant corporations coming from elsewhere in the capitalist world. Certainly South African corporations believe that they have a "comparative advantage" in a swift and mighty invasion of the African continent. These companies advance into Africa as an imperialist force of invaders. And as such they stand at the head of a new "Scramble for Africa".

A component of corporate power in this country is contained in the privatised armaments industry. This, together with the new arms deal made by the State, offers the complementarity of an aggressive State. It should be clearly appreciated that such power is currently being put at the ready to deal with whatever military complications might arise on the road to this reconquest of the continent by the forces of financial and trade neo-liberalism.

Thus begins to emerge before us a very complex situation indeed. South African neo-liberal policy in Africa dons the mantle of an aggressive conqueror, inside the country, however, it plays the role of a prime agency carrying out the orders of the World Seniors standing behind the multilateral institutions of the Triad - the IMF, the WB and the WTO. Politically it carries out the orders of the G8 powers at home and on the continent. These are the circumstances which have prompted Thabo Mbeki to come up

with his own version of the old Africanist traditions, albeit with the blandness of a farce, named the African Renaissance. This is the pseudo-politico-cultural component to a series of economic proposals that evolved as the Millennium African Reconstruction Plan (Marp), then the Omega Plan, later the New African Initiative (NAI) and today Nepad. In a geo-political sense, the African continent is being restructured into an African union; and, for the first time, such a venture is being presaged on a specific economic doctrine. Whilst the earlier social democratic internal characterisations of Africa were run with a gamut of cultural essences, their renovated neo-liberal élan is founded on an integrated economic dogma.

FEATURES OF NEPAD

The point of departure of the observations now to be made must rest on a firm understanding of the general nature of capitalism outside of the western countries. In our continent the capitalist system arrived as imperialism. That has been the universal and permanent feature of that system of production and distribution, in spite of the configurations it has borne in the last fifty years.

Africa and the World

Nepad bases its proposals on the composition of Africa's physical and cultural environments. The main submission is that the continent is home to an extremely broad assortment of soils, vegetation and strategic minerals. Those have tended to be of inestimable value in the building up of economic life both at home and abroad. Over a long time, the extractive activities of foreign enterprise (as imperialism) have become notorious. Internally these natural resources were used to start up economic development within African societies. An additional question is the manner in which various African cultures have been exploited by Africans and non-Africans alike. Nepad suggests that now the time has come for all these resources to be employed in a manner beneficial to the entire human civilisation. It is enough for us to observe in this regard that the proposal talks as if the continent exists in a politically neutral environment. Africa is not an environment where "humanity" is bound by common objectives of solidarity; it is split along class lines, with the imperialist impulse standing at the head of an exploitative and anti-social mode. It is precisely this character of the world-wide capitalist organisation that has herded the continent into

an abyss of poverty, whilst the principal portion of its resources have been alienated into foreign plunder.

The New Political Will of African Leaders

Nepad then proceeds to outline a common content and strategy among African leaders (States) providing for the following:

- Democratic political regimes
- Public institutions that guarantee human rights, accountability and transparency
- A financial framework that enables the harnessing of natural resources to *prospering* agricultural and industrial processes
- The building of an integrated human rights culture in educational, health and habitat programmes

The creation of human relations that eliminate conflict and possibilities of internecine strife, whilst at the same time enabling a progressive resolution of problems that may split societies.

Nepad churns out these prescriptions as if they were a matter of moral imperatives. It thus refuses to look at the base of social organisations and discover the real historical factors that bedevil human relations. In particular, it fails to identify capitalism as an agent for organising and dividing societies into hostile classes. Nepad does not reveal that it has come to Africa in the midst of a 30-year disintegration of African economies at the hands of IMF structural adjustment policies. As a result the injunctions offered become mere platitudes.

Appeals and Targets

An evocative appeal to the African Renaissance is rung out to all the peoples of Africa and their governments to set and achieve the following developmental targets:

- 7% growth rate for the next 15 years
- to work towards meeting social needs

Once more no strategy emerges as Nepal seems to believe that there exists a common purpose between the rich countries (which have the money) and African societies (which bear the poverty).

Bridging the Infrastructure Gap

The areas where an infrastructural gap has been identified between the rich countries and ourselves are roads, highways, airports, seaports, railways, waterways, and telecommunication facilities. The role of governments is

- to isolate, develop plans and cost developmental projects around the gaps
- to attract foreign credit and aid to address them
- to create an enabling environment for private investment finance
- to help initiate capacity building
- to bridge the digital divide: investing in information and communication technologies
- to develop an energy strategy to address the energy needs of the continent
- to link up health and food security through water development.

Once more the general strategy hangs on a reliance on the "good intentions" of the governments of the West, and the development efficacy of private investment. Again, what is not being revealed by Nepal, is that, except for the digital innovations, all the above infrastructural developments were established by the new African governments after 1960, but were destroyed precisely by the degradations of neo-liberal policies. What is new, therefore, that Nepal neo-liberalism brings?

Human Resource Development

The same strategic approach as above has been adopted in the identification of the lack of human capacity, skills, the brain-drain out of Africa and the marginalisation of specific sectors of workers. No specific non-systemic ideas are suggested to distinguish the continental sweep of Nepal from the municipal policies of African governments in the past thirty years.

Agriculture

The question of agricultural reform is dismissed without reference to the following:

- The extent of land expropriation and social exclusion on the continent
 - Outlining a programme of fundamental land reform; expropriating settler collectives and redistributing land to the landless and the poor; developing suitable proprietary forms for production and distribution
 - Pursuing the revenues from land to various rungs of the industrial process
 - Demonstrating clear and quantified methods of food security, developing jobs, abolishing the gap between town and country.
- Instead the familiar line which assumes that rural problems cohere in investment and finance inside the present mode is followed together with its administrative procedures.

This administrative outlook towards agriculture is followed in relation to the questions of the environment, science & technology and general cultural development.

Mobilising Resources

In order to develop internal financial capacity to tackle the problems indicated above, the government deals at length with a number of strategies.

A major one is in the area of debt relief. Nepal faithfully recites the existing programmes previously advanced by the IMF on this subject. Both the Highly Indebted Poor Countries (HIPC) programme and the poverty reduction strategy paper programme are adopted and put at the centre of an All-African drive. At the same time the secular linkage with credit and specific types of overseas development assistance (Oda) are repeated as elements of the same circular process. Essentially this means removing the State from the economy and replacing it with private investment as the main driver for profitability; using the proceeds of profitable enterprise to pay off accumulated debts through the budget, identifying debt repayment as a means of lowering the cost of "borrowed capital", all the more to open the space for other and bigger borrowings, thus completing the debt trap.

Nepal fails to offer an answer to the problem of debt as an inhibiting factor to resource mobilisation.

The other resource mobilisation strategy specifically indicates an Oda reform process. The matter of Oda is accepted as a natural rule. The problem that worries Nepal is that at Rio the developed countries offered a ceiling of 0.07% of their Gross Domestic Product (GDP) to Oda for the next 15 years. In reality none of them has come anywhere near that figure in actual overseas development spending in their Agenda 21 commitments. How far does Nepal hope to raise the quantum of these crumbs from the masters' table?

Private Capital Flows

Nepal intends to stimulate a phenomenal rise in the flow of private capital into Africa, especially in the form of foreign direct investment (FDI). This is in line with the entire thrust of the structurally adjusted investment policies that have grown on the continent in the past 30 years. In reality, in the previous period, foreign capital actually stifled domestic capital formation. It also suppressed the growth of an African investor class

and stunted existing nodes of economic activity. It was responsible for the transfer of billions of dollars/pounds/francs in local value to foreign metropolises, both in the name of repatriated profits and as various types of "hot money". Strangely enough, NEPAD wants not less but much more of the same. This goes hand in hand with the drastic shift in African economies away from commodity production (even of the export-led type) over to a tourist-cultural impulse. In other words, what the big corporations do not care to control in the economy, may legitimately pass into the hands of the local compradore elements in the form of a tourist economy.

The domination of corporate power in Nepal is evident in the sections dealing with mining and manufacturing. This is complemented by preferences on training and universal standards as the foundation for a trade regime which takes all the rules of the WTO as given, together with the re-enforcements provided by the Cotonou Agreement and Africa Growth and Opportunities Act (Agoo). So servile is Nepal to the current trade regime that it anticipates with affirmation the opening of a new round in WTO negotiations.

Conclusion

Nepal premises itself on a set of valid poverty and dependency indices for the African economy. The abiding tendency in the provisions of the new plan will certainly accentuate those indices a thousand fold. On the political front this will increase conflicts and civil wars, lead to a further decay of State organs and cumulatively raise the no-go areas inside all of the states towards a total disintegration of State authority in Africa. Furthermore, the plan is calculated to integrate Africa more and more into the world economy. Yet, according to a recent Unctad report, as a result of agreements in the Uruguay round (1993), Africa's trade-integration into the WTO system grew from 48% to 52% between 1993 and 1998. In the same period the comparative figures from the trade relationships of the stronger Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) countries grew from 12% to 20%. The protections within the OECD economies, both tariff and non-tariff, are surpassed in an individual sense by those existing in the USA economy. This must be taken together with the on-going South African drive for the application of the SADC Free Trade Protocol, and the European Union-South

Africa Free Trade Agreement. Nepal, therefore, is a consolidation of economic policies which have already failed in Africa in the whole preceding period.

They intend to carry out this programme under the auspices of a restructured African Union going together with superior moves of a political democracy. Paradoxically, the politics of the programme is not presented as a conditionality for its economics. Rather, it is the economics that is geared to set the tone throughout. As a result Nepal becomes a predetermined and self-fulfilling catastrophe. There is every reason to conclude, therefore, that the Nepal plan is an IMF-G8 plot to further deepen the expropriation of Africa from the Africans; a re-colonisation of the continent carried out by African hands themselves, a new form of indirect rule.

A TRIBUTE TO HARRY HENDRICKS

(10/8/1972 - 12/6/2002)

Harry the fighter for non-racial sport

Harry Hendricks was widely known for his love of sport. It was evident in the many hours he spent, encouraging and promoting sport amongst the old and the mature in the disadvantaged and oppressed communities of South Africa. Athletics and swimming, two very demanding codes, and school sports were the main beneficiaries of his labours as coach, organiser and administrator. As coach he took charge of the beginners and those at school, taking his products eventually to the level of national champions. His own children are examples. They became champion swimmers under his guidance and training.

At high school level he held positions of convenor for swimming and athletics in the S.A. Senior Schools Sport Association (SASSSA) which consisted of 500 high schools in 12 centres. It was his responsibility to organise competitions, to raise standards and to increase participation in these codes. At one stage he also held the position of chairman of SASSSA and at various stages he served as President or Secretary or Treasurer of the provincial or national bodies he was associated with. He, therefore, played a major role in the formulation of policies of those organisations.

He served at times as delegate of swimming and athletics as well as official of the SOUTH AFRICAN COUNCIL ON SPORT (SACOS). SACOS has been established to fight racial and gender discrimination in sport, both at playing level and in life outside sport, both at playing level and the provision of facilities. He ardently and

sincerely believed in the SACOS dictum that normal sport cannot be played in an abnormal society. He believed that South African conditions were abnormal and that, therefore normal sport could only exist if all discrimination in all spheres of life was scrapped. He represented athletics and swimming at meetings with their international federations in a bid to isolate South African Sport internationally for its racist and discriminatory nature. SACOS provided Harry with the opportunity to promote non-racialism in sport and life.

Harry Hendricks, innately a non-racialist was consistent, right to the end, in his belief in fairness and equality. Throughout his involvement he enjoyed the support and loyalty of his wife Dinah and his children. Their contribution is highly appreciated in the struggle for genuine freedom in South Africa.

Harry the educationist

After completing his Junior Certificate, Harry trained as a teacher at Wesley Training School and obtained the Primary Lower Teacher's Certificate. He subsequently spent another year at Wesley obtaining the Primary Higher Teacher's Certificate, specializing in Physical Education. It would be true to say that his interest in and involvement with sport and athletics gained momentum from this period onward. Early on he developed a passion for reading, which lasted throughout his lifetime. English Literature became his special interest with emphasis on the Classics, poetry and plays. After qualifying as a teacher he was unable to obtain a teaching post immediately and spent a few months working for

Starke-Ayres. It is possible that his love for gardening stemmed from this period.

His first teaching appointment was to a school in Colesburg, followed by a post as Physical Education instructor. Subsequently he was appointed at Athlone Training Institute in Paarl, in the primary department. Whilst he was there, he enrolled with UNISA and was awarded a B.A. Degree with English and History as majors. After obtaining his degree he was promoted to the Training Department of the institute. It was in Paarl, too, that he met Miss Dinah America, who was destined to become Mrs Hendricks.

After a few years he left to take up a post at Harold Cressy High School teaching English for a number of years. He left Harold Cressy to take up the post as principal at John Bisseker High School in East London where he spent almost two years. He subsequently moved to open a new high school in Uitenhage. Here, by dint of hard work, commitment and diligence together with the support of a dedicated staff they built up the Uitenhage High School with an excellent track record, both academically

and in the field of sport. Many of the students of this School became prominent in the struggle for non-racial education and sport. In Litenhage he spent 15 productive years on the educational, sports and community level.

Despite his busy life he somehow still found time to complete an Honours Degree in Geography with Unisa. In 1965 he was awarded a scholarship by the British Council and spent some time in England attached to the University of Manchester. In 1979 he was appointed as Rector of Bellville Training College until his retirement in 1983. After retirement he served as acting rector at Athlone Training College in Paarl. Subsequently he lectured English at Bellville College.

Mr Hendricks was uncompromising regarding matters of principle. He was a member of the Teachers League of South Africa (TLSA) which was in the forefront of the struggle against separate (apartheid) education and the inequalities in all spheres of life. He delivered many talks and wrote many articles to raise the educational and political consciousness of people.

Harry die gemeenskaps-werker.

Tensypte van sy bedrywige lewe op sport- en opvoedkundige gebied het hy nog tyd gemaak om in die gemeenskap te werk. Hy het in 1980 by die Kultuurier Burgerlike Vereniging aangesluit en daarin diens gedoen tot 2002. Vanaf 1983 tot 1999 het hy as onder-voorsitter opgetree. As deel van die uitvoerende bestuur van die Vereniging het hy 'n leidende rol gespeel in die stryd vir volle burgerregte op plaaslike en nasionale vlak, die geveg vir behoorlike en genoegsame behuising, behoorlike gemeenskaps- en sport geriewe, die geveg teen hoë huur ens. Hy was ook vir baie jare Die Vereniging se delegaat by die Satepta Sportraad waar ons gehelp het met die bestuur en uitbouing van plaaslike sport en die geveg om genoegsame sportfasiliteite vir die onderdrukke gemeenskap. Hy het gereeld praatjies by vergaderings gehou oor sake wat plaaslike regering betref asook gereelde artikels geskryf vir die Vereniging se Nuusbrief. Die feit dat hy tot op sewe- en-sewentigjarige ouderdom nog in die gemeenskap betrokke was sê baie van sy liefde vir sy medemens. Hy was ook lid van New Unity Movement waarby die Kultuurier Burgerlike Vereniging geaffilieer is. As lid van die NUM was hy deel van 'n beweging wat strewe vir 'n Suid-Afrikaanse samelewing wat vry van armoede en uitbuiting sal wees. Hy het gereeld konferensies bygewoon en artikels vir die NUM Bulletin geskryf. Hy was dus voorwaar 'n veelsydige en onbatastige vryheidsvegter en die beste manier om hom te vereer en te onthou is om in sy voetspore te volg.

Harry die Kerkman

Sy leierskap kwaliteite het netso sterk in die kerk na vore gekom. Hy het 'n leidende rol in die Kultuurier Metodiste Kerk gespeel. Hy was op die kerkrad en het op die finansiële en administratiewe kommissies gediens. Hy was vir 'n lang tyd betuipbaar by die kerk se Social Concern groep wat verantwoordelik was vir die voeding van haweloses. Hy was veral die stuur in die planne om die kerkgeboue te vergroot. Hy was die redakteur van die kerk se maandelike nuusbrief en hierdie brief het nog gereeld verskyn tot verlede maand tensypte van die feit dat sy gesondheid baie verswak het. Hy was voorwaar 'n man wat God liefgehad het daarmee saam sy medemens.

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For more information about the New Unity Movement contact:
The Secretary, P O Box 356, Kullu, River, 7580 or fax (021) 903 6400 and email: fortulke@freemall.alpha.co.za