



# **APDUSA VIEWS**

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**NO. 100**

**JUNE 2011**

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**1. REPLY OF ROBERT WILCOX  
TO APDUSAVIEWS NO.98**

**2. OUR RESPONSE**

# REPLY FROM ROBERT WILCOX TO APDUSA VIEW NO 98

Comrades

I am writing this comment, not so much that I want to enter into a debate with Kader Hassim, but to clarify issues for the sake of anyone of our members who may become confused by his shallow intellectualism.

The whole content of his production of "Apdusa Views" which he forwarded to Thulani, touts for a vote for the DA. We are told that the DA is not corrupt, it is fighting corruption, etc and that corruption is the "principal contradiction" in our society today. Now it is our view that all bourgeois parliamentary parties are corrupt and one does not have to use bourgeois law to determine this. For instance, they all voted excessive and disgusting salaries and perks for themselves which is in itself corrupt. Besides which, a number of cases of blatant corruption by DA councilors have been exposed, especially in the Southern Cape. Also, the DA is just as guilty of failure in municipal service delivery as the ANC and all in all the difference between the two parties is just a matter of degree. More importantly, a point that Kader Hassim overlooks in his supposedly dialectical identity of society's principal contradiction, is that the DA has a more extreme belief in neo-liberalism than even the ANC and if they ever had their way there would be an all-out "Thatcherite" assault on labour and trade union rights, coupled with the privatisation of public services and assets taken to extremes. It is totally reactionary to suggest that we should now vote for the DA.

Secondly, he pooh poohs our demand for a Constituent Assembly and poses a ridiculously hypothetical situation - "What if" a constituent assembly was held next week and then the ANC would simply swamp us

and have its own way. He conveniently ignores the fact that we make the demand for a Constituent Assembly with specific conditions, namely "The convening of a democratically elected Constituent Assembly, charged with the task of drawing up a new constitution, governed by the interests of the oppressed and exploited working class and peasantry, based on the demand for full, unfettered political rights for all with majority rule in a unitary state, the removal of all artificially created regional political boundaries, the liquidation of all special minority rights and privileges which militate against the interests of the majority. The Constituent Assembly must have full powers to discharge these duties, untrammelled by any directions and constraints designed to serve self-interested minorities."

How could one expect the ANC or any other bourgeois party to agree to anything near this demand next week? He goes on to argue that Lenin had no compunction but to dissolve the Russian Constituent Assembly when it was found that the the Bolsheviks were in a minority. Such selective quoting is a gross distortion of the historical facts because Lenin, in his a "Theses on The Constituent Assembly (December 1917) clearly stated: "1. The demand for the convocation of a Constituent Assembly was a perfectly legitimate part of the programme of revolutionary Social-Democracy, because in a bourgeois republic the Constituent Assembly represents the highest form of democracy and because, in setting up a Pre-parliament, the imperialist republic headed by Kerensky was preparing to rig the elections and violate democracy in a number of ways.

2. While demanding the convocation of a Constituent Assembly, revolutionary Social-Democracy has ever since the beginning of the Revolution of 1917 repeatedly emphasised that a republic of Soviets is a higher form of democracy than the usual bourgeois republic with a Constituent Assembly. "

We see the demand for a Constituent Assembly as a transitional demand, and if our demand for a Constituent Assembly is so nonsensical then why did Kader Hassim previously bind himself to Point One of the Ten Point Programme - the demand for full democratic rights?

He goes on to say that Apdusa's failure to put up candidates in the election is a serious and puzzling failure. Well, we simply do not have the human or financial resources. If he can explain to us how we could reasonably overcome these obstacles in a very short space of time then perhaps we could! Maybe he could stand for elections too.

I do not wish to dwell on his typification of trade unionised workers as a "labour aristocracy" without drawing any distinction between ordinary worker members and the leadership. Should workers not be unionised?? Here he merely echoes the false and reactionary propaganda of the DA and the business world in general.

Lastly, we are an independent organisation and we do not consider ourselves a faction of any body.

Bobby

## OUR RESPONSE TO THE ABOVE

### Introduction

Late last night I received an e-mail which was a reply to Apdusa Views No 98. The contents were both a defence of the position adopted by Apdusa (not Apdusa Views) and a personal/political attack on me for the criticism in Apdusa Views No 98.

What was surprising was that the reply did not come from Apdusa but from Wilcox. And the target was not Apdusa Views but myself. He personalizes the matter by making it a contest between him and I. Although I drafted the critique of both NUM and Apdusa on the matter of the local government elections, the work was never entirely mine. There were others who were involved in its contents and final output. Wilcox cannot take that away.

The explanation for this odd behaviour is that Wilcox does not recognise the existence and identity of what was once Apdusa (Natal). To his mind Apdusa (Natal) had committed the most heinous of crimes, by affiliating to the New Unity Movement instead of teaming up with him and Frank Anthony in the remnant of what was once National Apdusa, viz., Apdusa Cape Town. Apdusa (Natal) was after all doing no more than exercising the right of freedom of association enshrined in Point Four of the Ten Point Programme.

The very first line of his reply was typically sneaky after the style of Mark Anthony – say one thing and do the opposite. He assures the reader

that he does not wish to enter into a debate with me but proceeds to do just that and garnishes what he does with a generous dose of slander.

Life has its many ironies. Our association with NUM, which Wilcox hated with all his being, has ended. But now it is Wilcox and Apdusa who have teamed up with NUM, WOZA (led by Neville Alexander) and a group best described as “Dawood Parkers Group”. This grouping calls itself a network with the name Radical Left Network.

We raise no objection to this association. Apart from our respect for Point Four of the original Ten Point Programme, there is now the freedom of association enshrined in the South African Constitution.

We only mention the above to illustrate opportunistic and unprincipled conduct.

We now proceed to deal with the lies, distortions and slander in Wilcox’s reply.

1. “Apdusa Views touts for the DA”

This is a shameless lie. Nowhere in Apdusa Views do we advocate or suggest that the reader should vote for the DA. Let Wilcox point out the page and paragraph of Apdusa Views where we “tout for a vote” for the DA.

2. “The DA is not corrupt”

This statement has been attributed to Apdusa Views. It is yet another lie.. What we did say was that the DA has received many clean audits from the Auditor General, (a chapter 9 institution) and we observed that it was overwhelmingly corruption free.<sup>1</sup> That is different from saying that the DA is not corrupt which means not corrupt at all. What we say allows for instances of corruption.

3. “The DA is fighting corruption” That is incontrovertible. How else would one explain the awarding of clean governance reports from the auditor general?

4. “Corruption is the “ ‘principal contradiction’ ”

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<sup>1</sup> See page 7 of Apdusa Views No 98

We have NOT used the phrase “principal contradiction”. That is Wilcox’s invention. The principal contradiction is between Capital and Labour. We have specifically stated that the contradiction between capital and labour is not the dominant contradiction. We refer you to page 6 of Apdusa Views No 98 where we state in large bold print that “corruption is the **dominant** contradiction.”

This aspect is further dealt with in Apdusa Views.<sup>2</sup>

5. “All bourgeois parliamentary parties are corrupt”.

A municipal council is, in a manner of speaking, a little “bourgeois parliament”. How does Wilcox explain the very strong case the “Apdusan”<sup>3</sup> makes for exercising the vote in the local government elections and to vote for particular types of candidates? Does Wilcox believe that a party which meets the qualities mentioned in the “Apdusan” will be kosher in a municipality, but becomes corrupt upon entering national parliament?<sup>4</sup>

Wilcox has further to explain what happens to the “excessive and disgusting salaries” the chosen and approved ( by Apdusa) candidates earn? Are they to keep them or will Apdusa or some other body decide what constitutes an appropriate salary. Presumably the excess will be deposited in a trust account following Ehrenreich’s much publicised promise.

6. In order to show that the DA is also corrupt Wilcox claims that “a number of cases of blatant corruption by DA councillors.”

Now obfuscation is often the refuge of one who wishes to falsify.

Why does Wilcox not give a number to “a number of cases” so that the reader can judge on the prevalence? Is it 10, 50, 100 or, following the ANC, many hundreds? What is also important is whether the DA has covered up for the fraudsters by suspending them on full pay or “redeployed” them or allowed them to resign with a golden handshake? This kind of information will most certainly assist the reader in judging the DA. But this is where Wilcox is completely silent.

7. “the DA is just as guilty of failure of municipal service delivery.”

Wilcox is obliged to provide details and evidence which he fails to do.

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<sup>2</sup> See page 15 of Apdusa Views

<sup>3</sup> The official publication of Apdusa

<sup>4</sup> See the second paragraph of Wilcox’s reply to Apdusa Views.

He further has to explain why the protests have been concentrated in areas under the ANC controlled municipalities? Why has the DA been left off the hook? Here I refer to authentic protests, not those artificially manufactured by the ANC and ANCYL thugs.

Is it not the case that the funds directed to DA controlled municipalities have been used for the upliftment of the communities of the area. That would explain why no major case of defalcation of municipal funds have been reported in those municipalities. More importantly it would explain why the DA controlled municipalities have used most of the basic infrastructure grants from central parliament. It has even been complimented by the Minister of Finance for doing so. But in Wilcox's mind the difference between the ANC and the DA "is just a matter of degree."

8. The dire warning of "Thatcherite assault".

Wilcox is too eager for the kill. Would it be too much to ask him to wait until the "thatcherite assault" takes place before damning the DA?

9. "It is totally reactionary to suggest that we should now vote for the DA?"

Here one sees in Wilcox the mark of a person who has become a stranger to truth.

At first Wilcox claimed that I touted for a vote for the DA.

Now he labels me a reactionary for suggesting (not touting this time) that we should now vote for the DA. This is another lie.

For a start, a tout is generally known for her/his over-zealous enthusiasm in selling or promoting his wares whether these be material like goods or ideas like asking people to vote for a particular party. A suggestion is more subtle.

We suggest that the reader finds time to re-read Apdusa Views No 98 to see whether we touted or suggested or even gave the faintest hint of soliciting voting for the DA. The reader, instead, will find Apdusa Views "scolding" the NUM for not taking part in the elections and for failing to lead the fight against corruption.<sup>5</sup>

Any person who takes the trouble to read the sections foot-noted under 5 will see that we *firstly* say that there is no reason why NUM ought not to

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<sup>5</sup> See Apdusa Views No 98 page 10 para ©; page 11 para (g) and Page 13 para 3.

make taking over a municipality a success. *Secondly*, even if it does not obtain a majority, it can perform a useful function as an opposition. *Thirdly*, NUM is told that it ought to be the leading crusader doing what the DA is doing – fighting corruption.

How then in the name of reason does Wilcox conclude that I am touting for the DA when I am in fact urging the NUM to take the lead?

There is no logic at work. It is simply spite and hatred.

## 10. The Constituent Assembly

For there to be convocation of a Constituent Assembly under the present political system, you must be able to mobilize millions, more millions than the ANC has, to compel the ANC to convene a Constituent Assembly and to accept a new constitution.

It is important not to be carried away by what took in the Soviet Union during Lenin's time. Lenin had plenty of soldiers with plenty of guns to back the demands of the Bolshevik Party.

Where are those millions of members or firm supporters demanding a constituent assembly?

Against the valid observation of the overwhelming organisational power of the ANC swamping the puny (relative to the ANC) Apdusa, Wilcox angrily retorts that I had "conveniently ignored the specific conditions of a democratically elected Constituent Assembly etc. etc. etc."

The heavy reliance on those conditions is puzzling. Is Wilcox saying that the mere incantation of those conditions will on the one hand drain the ANC of its numerical power and/or simultaneously empower Apdusa with those required millions?

If this is not the intention, then what is the relevance of those conditions.

The fact of the matter is that in the end and in the real world you have a puny Apdusa clutching its precious conditions matched against an opponent of gargantuan proportions. Regardless of the number of times those conditions are chanted, the strength of the two parties will remain unchanged.

To get those required millions there will be need to build a mass organisation under the leadership of a committed and clear thinking leadership free of fuzzy thinking and bungling displayed by Wilcox.

Against that reality the demand for a constituent assembly as a solution to our problems sounds quixotic.

Neither the Ten Point Programme of the Non European Unity Movement nor the Preamble to it mentions a constituent assembly.

The demand for a constituent assembly without the necessary wherewithal becomes a very empty dream.

11. “No financial or human resources”

Wilcox, the revolutionary was released from prison in 1978 – 33 years ago. He has been talking about the paramountcy of the interest of the workers and peasants since that time. When the test is presented to him and Apdusa, we hear a snivelling about lack of resources and personnel so as to make it impossible for Apdusa to participate in the local government elections. It therefore failed to put up even a SINGLE candidate. . Nobody is talking about a national intervention. Just a single candidate to test the waters. How much money is required to cover a suburb with posters and leaflets? How many activists would be required?

Wilcox suggests that we (Apdusa Views) explain to him how to overcome the obstacles of resources.

Actually Apdusa (Natal) did solve its financial requirements so that ***no work was ever left undone*** on the grounds of lack of resources, financial or human. This included a fully functioning printing press of three offset machines and all the necessary equipment and a dark room.

In response to Wilcox’s request that we explain to him how to overcome the obstacles of resources, we set out hereunder what we ourselves did to become financially viable:

- Adopt and apply the principle of ***self-reliance*** as enunciated by Mao Tse Tung.
- Make the sacrifice by digging very deep in our pockets and into those tidy sums tucked away in saving accounts
- Trim the comfortable and lavish lifestyle of the petty bourgeoisie
- Learn from community organisations and engage in their methods and activities to raise funds, like cake sales, raffles, braais, dances, donations.

- Engage in the day to day struggles of the people so that people get to know you as a caring and concerned organisation and will therefore support you
- It also means that Wilcox and his colleagues would have had to abandon the false and arrogant approach of the high and mighty who are only concerned about “great” things like revolutions and constituent assemblies and are inclined to turn their noses up on the daily forms of struggle like consumer boycotts.<sup>6</sup>

We trust that we have responded sufficiently to Wilcox’s request to us as to how they can get financial resources!

We would have gladly shared our resources if Wilcox and his group had not compulsively bad-mouthed Apdusa (Natal) when it did exist and function.

Apdusa is caught out for pontificating about the importance of the vote and yet stays away from the poll. In peevish retaliation to our criticism, Wilcox personalizes the matter and in effect wants to know why I, Kader Hassim, did not stand for elections.

We have explained in the last issue of Apdusa Views that circumstances have reduced our activity to the maintenance of our website and the publication of Apdusa Views. We are not and do not claim to be a functioning political organisation. Unlike Wilcox who belongs to Apdusa which according to the last issue of “Apdusan”<sup>7</sup> proclaims:

“APDUSA is a national political organisation which was established in 1962<sup>8</sup>”

What causes endless amazement is here you have a person who is committed to revolutionary change in South Africa, and after 33 years since his release from prison whimpers about the absence of resources, human and financial. How on earth did he think that he was going bring about that change without those resources? Did he think that he or Apdusa were going to receive a bequest from the Estate Late Saddam

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<sup>6</sup> See Apdusa Views No. when we have had occasion to administer a lambasting to what was then Western Cape Apdusa .about its nose in the air attitude.

<sup>7</sup> Page two of “Apdusan”

<sup>8</sup> Actually it was in 1961 on the mountain side of Chapman’s Peak when the Constitution was accepted and the officials elected. The first public conference was held in 1962.

Hussein? Or was it that the German professor who was supposed to have donated R50 000 for our trial in 1971 was going to shine up with another handsome donation?

The long and short of it is that it shows that Wilcox and those who think like him are charlatans pretending to be revolutionaries.

In the penultimate paragraph of Wilcox's reply, he does another Mark Anthony. He professes not to dwell on our labelling of a "workers aristocracy" and then sneaks in a few jabs which are that:

1. We fail to draw the distinction between ordinary worker and leadership.
2. We do not want workers to be unionized.
3. I am echoing the false and reactionary propaganda of DA and the business world in general.

Points 2 and 3 are no more than vulgar abuse which I will not dignify by answering.

As far as point 1 is concerned, I will pose a number of questions to Wilcox and invite him to make honest and researched answers and THEREAFTER to repeat the insult about echoing the propaganda of the DA and business world:

- Was it the leadership of SATAWU who murdered the 62 non- strikers in 2006?
- Was it the leadership of SAMWU which routinely rampages through the streets of our cities trashing the streets, inflicting damage on motor vehicles and shops, terrifying ordinary citizens? From the footage on television, we see many thousands of demonstrators performing their vile and reprehensible deeds. Are they the leadership?
- In Pietermaritzburg, SAMWU members, rank and file, have been caught engaging in a lucrative overtime racket. They earned far more through overtime. So much more that they were able to change their lifestyle by:
  - \*Sending their children to expensive schools
  - \*Moving to affluent residential areas
  - \*Buying new cars

When, finally the Municipality was forced into bankruptcy, these worker/racketeers met up with their own 1929!

And the residents suffered as a result of a retaliatory go-slow strike.

Were these hundreds of refuse removers and the truck drivers the leadership? Who then are the rank and file?

Let Wilcox answer these questions before making impertinent accusations of “echoing reactionary propaganda!”

### A SUMMING UP

1. Our criticism of Apdusa was stimulated by the contradictory position adopted by Apdusa towards the May 2011 local government elections.
2. This contradictory position consisted of:
3. a) Making a strong case for exercising the vote yet not fielding any candidate
- b) Exhorting its readers to vote for what it described as “demands from communities aimed at taking the demand for socialist democracy forward” and to vote for candidates who can articulate and fight for these demands” yet failed to identify these communities or those candidates.
4. Had Apdusa been transparent and confessed at the very outset that it was unable to field candidates because it did not have the personnel or funds to do so plus valid reasons for this predicament that matter would have ended there.
5. The advice about demands which take socialist democracy forward and voting for unidentified candidates who would be able to articulate them is totally meaningless. If Apdusa does not know who these persons are, how does it expect ordinary people to have this information?
6. So we take Apdusa up on these issues.
7. Instead of dealing in an open manner, Apdusa goes into a strenuous exercise of diversionary tactics, by:

- Making neo-liberalism the dominant contradiction.

- Making the DA, which does not even rule the country, the enemy in chief.
- Accusing me of being a DA tout etc.

8. These tactics have no basis in fact or reason. They are smear and slander, the favourite tools of the politically bankrupt.

9. In all the din and smoke, Apdusa has ensured that the culprit/criminal-in-chief the Stalinist controlled African National Congress got away without as much as a scratch.

Bravo Apdusa!

### THE CRUX OF THE MATTER

I believe that the real and true reason for Apdusa not participating in the local govt elections is FEAR of being exposed and shown up as an organisation which has NO SUPPORT from the population worth talking about. The real chances were that even the smallest parties would have garnered more votes than Apdusa. With results being published over the electronic media and in the newspapers, Apdusa would have no face to show in public. It feared the worst and got cold feet.

All the rest was devised to hide this truth.

That, comrades, is the crux of the matter!

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