



UNITED DEMOCRATIC MOVEMENT DISCUSSION DOCUMENT 2000

INTRODUCTION

This document is intended for discussion by UDM structures at all levels nationally in preparation for the National Council (NC) and provincial congress meetings where the issues raised herein will be debated and culminate in the National Congress next year which will endorse the final version of this discussion document.

The NC meeting will take place in Bloemfontein on 1st July 2000. On 2nd July 2000 the Council will convert to a local government workshop. The provincial chairpersons are required to ensure that all delegates are given copies of this discussion document before they come to the council meeting.

The document contains a timetable charting the way forward for the UDM up to the year 2004, as well as local government election guidelines. (Annexure A)

At the council meeting the delegates will fill the vacant posts of Secretary General, National Treasurer and National Organiser. The council will recall that with the death of Sifiso Nkabinde our Acting Secretary General was appointed to fill his vacancy.



With the deployment of the National Organiser and the Acting Secretary General to legislatures it was resolved that these positions be filled with permanent officers who would devote their full-time attention to these duties. No decision has been taken by the National Management Committee (NMC) on the filling of the vacant post of Deputy President. The view of the NMC is that this issue be deferred to the National Congress next year, unless the Council advises otherwise. Council will recall that Roelf Meyer retired from active politics in January 2000, although he remains a member of the party.

The quality of candidates that will be elected to these positions is of crucial importance because they carry important and demanding responsibilities. Some of the problems we have, emanate from the absence of suitable full-time officers in these key positions.

POLITICAL CONTEXT OF THE BIRTH OF UDM

The UDM was not founded on individual personalities' sudden whims that were triggered by an impulse to dabble in the national politics of South Africa. Its birth was a political response to a historical need to fill a political vacuum that was created by the tremors of a momentous social revolution that had taken place. The impact of the social forces that transformed a totalitarian racist regime to a democratic social order, founded on the most progressive principles to be enshrined in a bill of rights in any country in modern times, shook the social foundations that had hitherto provided the basis and rationale for the alignment of political groupings which characterized our political landscape prior to 1994. The tumultuous shift of individual and group attitudes created a magnetic vortex that sucked in people from diverse social, economic, political, racial and ethnic backgrounds, into a melting pot which spawned the UDM.



So forceful was the call of historical destiny that the UDM had to hit the ground running and pit its untested infant strengths against established veteran formations in a general election, within twenty months of its launching. We acquitted ourselves admirably in a less than fair election, which was run by an ANC hand-picked "Independent Electoral Commission" and managed to salvage (30) thirty seats in national and provincial legislatures in six of the nine provinces, being the official opposition in the Eastern Cape and Northern Province legislatures. This confers a national character to the UDM rather than a regional one. We should be proud of our performance within such a short space of time.

The UDM ventured into a very hostile and violent political environment where there was no tolerance of dissenting voices. We survived a vitriolic political diatribe and bloody campaigns that sought to push us out of the political landscape. All the talk about lack of free and fair political climate for elections in Zimbabwe is irrelevant when we did not have free, politicking in South Africa during our general elections last year. The ruling party has always been the common denominator in all-political violence involving parties in South Africa. The consequence of that violence, was the tragic death of our Secretary General, Sifiso Nkabinde and many others in the Gauteng and the Western Cape. This occurred in the context of demonising the UDM and its leadership and much political intimidation. Today ANC card carrying members are being tried in our courts of law in relation to murders committed to our members. ANC functionaries barred our leaders from entering tertiary institutions to address students. All these are still very fresh in the memories of South Africans. Against this background it is sickening to read about the ruling party passing a moral judgement about fairness or otherwise of pending elections in Zimbabwe, because they are not qualified to do so. On the other



hand the UDM maintains its position of insisting on freedom of expression and association and insists on these values being upheld by the ruling party.

The thrust of our opposition parliamentary performance has been a positive and proactive engagement, in which at all times we endeavoured to steer the government along a course of clean governance, commitment to the search for economic and social policies that can eradicate poverty, create a strong economy and narrow the chasm that divides our society into two nations of extremely rich white minority employers, who own 87% of the land and virtually the entire production process and skills, on the one hand, and 80% of a predominantly black nation who own only 13% of largely unproductive land, and nothing else except their labour which they are increasingly unable to sell in the absence of employment opportunities. The UDM ethos primarily addresses this social disparity and advances economic strategies that can reverse this social order and create a South Africa that can be the home of happiness and prosperity for all its rich diversity.

VISION AND MISSION OF THE UDM

Our point of departure in nation building must not be an ideological paradigm predicated on our inclusive intolerant nationalism. This would be an unfortunate repeat of the discredited and failed social orders such as apartheid and communism in the former eastern block countries. This view has been propounded by Dr Van Zyl Slabbert in his book.

Our history demands an awareness and willingness from all South Africans to fight the resurgence of racial hostilities and conflicts. It is in recognition of this historical legacy of our society that our party has committed itself to the vision of a new – South Africanism, which recognises and embraces the cultural



diversity of our society. We agree with the view expressed by one leading Van Zyl Slabbert that:

“In a deeply divided society the challenge is to build institutions that could cope with, and mediate, the problems of diversity. Particularly important in this context is an efficient criminal justice system, the quality of education, religious tolerance; an open and accessible economy and generally a competent state administration.”

Our concept of the new South Africanism is based on the vision and conviction that ***“We are the political home of all South Africans, united in the spirit of South Africanism by our common passion for our country, mobilizing the creative spirit inherent in our rich diversity towards our transformation into a winning nation”*** (UDM Manifesto).

In pursuing its vision and mission the UDM encroached on constituencies which had been monopolized by other parties including the ruling party. In the latter case the UDM began to articulate the aspirations of the disadvantaged majority who are increasingly being marginalized by the failure of the transformation process and in particular the inability of our economy to narrow the gap between the haves and have-nots.

We must now anchor our roots and expand our presence in these constituencies and translate into practice our mission to make the UDM the home of every South African.



Our analysis of the changing socio–eco-political order in South Africa formation, and politics in South Africa indicates that there will be discernible political shifts along interest group divides, distinguished by common concerns and aspirations. This process will move towards the crystallization of two major political streams, which express the ethos of the beneficiaries of the established order, on the one hand, and the aspirations of the emerging major social groupings that are marginalized at present on the other hand. This will necessitate the emergence of two major political formations representing these interest groups. **Indications are that the ruling party is already catering for the elite and pursuing economic policies that benefit a few who share a common vision with the elite’s of the core world economies.**

The UDM could well be the focus for an emerging political formation, which will articulate the concerns and aspirations of the vast marginalized people of all colours and races in South Africa, who belong with the periphery, hence our economic policy centres on the need to invest in enterprize development, to alleviate unemployment among others, and narrow the gap between the haves and have-nots.



The levels of poverty are increasing and pervading all social and racial communities. The emergence of this major political grouping representing the interest of the marginalized will remove the confusion created by an ambivalent Tripartite Alliance (ANC, Cosatu & SACP) ruling clique who preach elimination of unemployment in the streets and legislate retrenchments and greater unemployment in parliament.



WITH THE COURTESY OF CITY PRESS

The labour movement is encountering threats to their member's job security as a result of government policies. The impending retrenchments in the various sectors of the economy recently resulted in national strike by the COSATU labour federation. It must be remembered that some of COSATU members are members of the UDM, some of whom hold official positions in their unions. The anomaly of COSATU's alliance with governing party brings the federation into collision with its patrons who hold government positions when it champions the



interests of the workers. Very often our UDM member's political credentials are questioned when they refuse to conform to manipulation by the governing alliance. It is for this reason that UDM has urged the labour federation to extricate itself from this complex and contradictory political entanglement, and focus its attention on purely labour related issues.

It is now imperative that the labour union assumes its traditional independent stance as a trade union and reject government pressures and divisive tactics which seek to discredit some of the labour union members in order to advance its jobless growth macro-economic policies. It is a fact of life that there is no national support on the GEAR macro-economic policy because it creates joblessness and does not lead to economic growth.

There will be a political formation, which is well focussed on improving the quality of life for all South Africans. The current confusion has undermined investor confidence and eroded our currency. The consequence of the current trend is social instability. In this situation corruption and misrule abound.

The revolutionary firebrands of yester-year have reneged on the struggle day's promises to redistribute the national resources for the benefit of the disadvantaged. Instead they have strategically positioned themselves in bogus workers empowerment projects, for their own benefit, without issuing even share certificates, let alone dividends to the workers they purport to empower. The former champions of worker's rights are now exploiting their traditional relationship with the workers to enrich themselves. The erstwhile communists have abandoned their social programme and boarded the gravy train.



The UDM is challenged to lead South Africa out of this confusion and quagmire of corruption and parasitic exploitation. We cannot let down the people who elected us because they believed in our vision and mission. We must create a leadership cadre among our youth, students and women structures which is a highly motivated, and equip them to preach this vision and lay down the groundwork for the re-alignment of the political landscape towards the establishment of an alternative government founded on the principles that address the historical inequalities and imbalances. The Tripartite Alliance partners seem to have forgotten their original agenda. Their macro-economic policies have not delivered more jobs or more investments, instead billions of rands are leaving this country on a daily basis without any hope that they would ever come back.

The independence and therefore objectivity of state controlled media are severely compromised. The SABC is not the public broadcaster which caters for all views in the country as it was intended. It has become the mouthpiece and propaganda instrument of the government and the ruling party. Generous access to the broadcaster is given to ministers of state and ruling party politicians, and denied to opposition politicians. This is reminiscent of the apartheid Nationalist Party domination of the electronic media in the previous era. The UDM suggest that there be a democratization of the Airways by allowing more electronic broadcaster in the country in the spirit of our constitutional values. After all our biggest bi-national commission partner the USA exemplifies this electronic media diversity. Government leaders should use their extensive overseas trips fruitfully by drawing lessons from their exposure.



POLITICAL REALIGNMENT

The social and political revolution which released the dynamic energy that had been trapped by the social engineering of the past regimes has created a new socio-political climate in South Africa wherein new political and social alignments can take place.

The tremors of social change have dislodged people and groups from familiar traditional positions. Five years ago no one in his wildest dreams could have visualized Pik Botha campaigning for the African National Congress, his erstwhile mortal foe, urging his Afrikaner Volk to take the Great Trek into the ANC.

The very essence of the UDM was an expression of this phenomenon in so far as it brought together the Roelf Meyers and Holomisas of this world. Our continued articulation of the need for re-alignment is a validation of a necessary and unavoidable political trend. To us it comes as no surprise to see people like Pik Botha endorsing the ANC. We are proud to own that the process we began, and continue to campaign for, is now being vindicated.

We recognize the defections from the UDM as a consequence of the process of political re-alignment, in terms of which groups and individuals began to drift towards interest groups they feel at home with. Likewise there will be a drift towards the UDM from other formations by people who identify with our Vision and Mission. It is to be hoped that such shift of allegiance will not elicit political intolerance and intimidation which seem to be the trade mark of ruling party style of politicking.



The current pattern of some opposition groupings in South Africa largely reflects the political and social divides of the apartheid and struggle days. The advent of freedom, however, has created a new socio-political environment, which brings into focus fresh dynamics, and demands that we shed off the blinkers and prejudices of the past, jettison the shackles of our thought habits and open our minds to new ideas and be prepared to enter into open dialogue with people from different political backgrounds who are equally committed to the formulation of a new vision for South Africa. We visualise a paradigm shift that will focus on the process that will lead to the establishment of alternative government.

The NMC last year mandated the party to engage other political formations in discussions that could culminate in the formation of an alternative government for South Africa. This was an endorsement of a concept espoused by the UDM at its inception.

The UDM entrusted this task to the President of the Party H B Holomisa, Chairman Professor M Mabeta, Dr G Koornhof and Mr P G Qokweni.

In all discussions our point of departure as a party is the recommitment to the principle of improving the quality of lives of the people of South Africa as a national objective agreed to by all parties during the negotiation process in 1994.

This point of departure informs our insistence in all discussions on re-alignment, that the long-term objective of an alternative government must address the needs and receive the support of the majority citizens of our country.

It is for this reason the UDM in its discussion with other parties and public utterances insists on encompassing people beyond the existing political formations and reach out to all spheres of society.



We have suggested proceeding along the following stages in the process:

- a. Engage in informal discussion with all stakeholders.
- b. If there is an emerging consensus to establish an alternative government, we should establish a Committee of Parties with equal status.
- c. That Committee of Parties must, in consultation with their leaders, work out the following:
 - i. a vision
 - ii. a possible vehicle
 - iii. areas of agreement and disagreement on our values.
- d. If there is consensus, the Committee must call a Summit of Leaders to send a message that we are serious about political realignment in South Africa. It is at this Summit that the leaders will decide on what the next stage in the process will be.
- e. The UDM view is that an appropriate format for discussions will be a National Convention of Political Parties including other sectors of society.
- f. Alternative objectives from the broad spectrum of society.
- g. The Convention can set up Commissions to deliberate on different policy areas.



- h. The Commission can report their findings to the Convention, indicating differences and agreements on key areas and principles underlying party platforms.
- i. It is the responsibility of the Convention to take resolutions, on the most important aspects of this process, which is a commitment to an accepted common vision of an alternative government.
- j. The question of the leadership of the Convention itself; retired Judge or politician may be requested to direct the process.

If consensus is reached during the course outlined above, it is conceivable that the situation could result in a new political formation that would pursue the objective of an alternative government by 2004 and beyond.

It must be understood that this initiative is not prescriptive and does not interfere with the party mandate for the period up to 2004. Secondly this is a process which call for your discussion and inputs which will be debated at the UDM Congress in June 2001. Therefore there are no final answers to questions at this stage.

The re-alignment phenomenon, it must be clearly understood, is not an alliance of political parties. It is a re-writing of the political map, a re-alignment of ideas, the regrouping of people around new concepts that have been thrown up by the changes that have taken place.

We call upon South Africans in all political formations, civil society, the business sector, academic etc. to take stock and concede that we should leave the baggage of the past behind and embrace the



opportunity to carry our society forward and write a new chapter in our history.

THE STATE OF THE NATION.

The government of South Africa, inspired by the democratic principles enshrined in our Constitution embarked on the course of dismantling Apartheid structures in 1994 and laid the foundations for the emergence of a new social order founded on the universal values cherished by all democracies in the world. The first five years of our democracy represent the creation of an institutional framework through legislation and policy formulations within which to transform our society. It is expected that the current term will see the translation of this legislation and policies into tangible deliverables to improve the quality of life of the broad masses whose lives have not yet been touched by these freedoms.

Regrettably, corruption in government at a very high level is rampant. Several probes have been conducted by the Heath Investigative Unit and the Public Protector and revealed unmitigated corruption of some Ministers and senior state officials. Where stern disciplinary measures should have been taken against these individuals, the ruling party hierarchy and its President close ranks and the incidents and reports on corruption are swept under the carpet.

There have been disturbing tendencies in the handling of the tender processes for the cellular phone contract. Concerns are currently being expressed about the manner of awarding of contracts in the multi-billion arms procurement deal. In all these cases senior government ministers and officials are implicated.



Recently half a Million Rand (R500 000) was paid by the Department of Environmental Affairs to an ANC intelligence operative from ANC's Shell-House, outside the statutory intelligence apparatus. It is not known what the payment was for, other than the operative's own claim, that the authority for the expenditure came from above, and according to the media, he is known to have a close personal relationship with the President.

Early this year the Auditor-General revealed unauthorized expenditure of R7,1 Million by the former Minister of Public Enterprises through verbal directives in violation of all financial regulations. This expenditure was authorized by the Minister, despite protestations and advice to the contrary by the then Department's Accounting Officer. Some of these payments have been authorized by an "Advisor" from the President's office.

Another disturbing occurrence was that of an empowerment Consortium which, was sold a 30% stake of VIAMEX FLEET Solutions in December 1998 for R12 Million. Both the Department of Public Enterprises and the Receiver of Revenue have not received the proceeds of the sale and an agreement of sale could not be produced for audit purposes.

Political colleagues enjoy preference in empowerment deals. We recently exposed a R15 Million loan having been approved by a Board of Trustees of Lebowa Minerals Trust, for a diamond processing company whose directors are wives of the Premier, MEC's and Senior Government Officials in the Northern Province. This loan was approved despite the moratorium previously imposed on loans involving the Trust. It also emerged that the Northern Province Premier's wife who had since resigned from the directorate of the Diamond Company had previously been granted a loan facility by the



same Trust. A disturbing feature of these deals is that some wives of senior government personalities use their maiden surnames in these shady projects.

The Heath Investigation Unit is stalled in its investigations by the President's delay in signing over 127 Proclamations, which would authorize the commencement of the probes. The requirement that Justice Heath's investigative Unit obtains authorization by Presidential Proclamation before it begins a probe needs to be revisited so that the Unit can proceed with an investigation referred to it if it is satisfied there is prima-facie evidence to warrant a probe. The delay by the President in signing Proclamations affords offenders an opportunity to cover their tracks.

The incidence of forged C.V.'s and educational certificates is becoming endemic. It points to a tendency to give jobs to pals and relatives regardless of lack of qualifications, hence the decline in performance standards and delivery levels. This happens in the wake of massive retrenchments of experienced civil servants with suitable educational qualifications, in the name of downsizing, that when in fact they had to give way for ruling party favourites.

The majority of the instances of corruption and criminal conduct implicate government ministers and senior officials. One wonders whether the President will be keen to sign the proclamations if the probes involve those in the corridors of power. South Africans have every reason to be concerned at this deluge of corruption. It does not augur well for our investment profile.

The UDM endorses the public concern and that of medical practitioners, at their present's stance on the Aids Campaign. Before the general elections the government and the ANC adopted a high profile on Aids education and



spent a considerable amount of state money on Aids awareness. Their campaign raised public expectations that the government would support and finance research into the Aids treatments and awareness campaign. This must have earned them many votes in the general election.

The about-turn attitude of President Mbeki in sidelining Aids practitioners and scientists directly involved in the Aids campaign and research when he picked his team for the Medical Council is inexplicable. His ill-conceived intervention in an obsolete debate on the causes of Aids, in apparent support of dissenters has not helped our national and indeed the international effort to combat the epidemic. His attitude casts doubts in the President's commitment to allocate resources for Aids research in South Africa. He is also on a collision course with one of his Council members, Dr Mokgoba, on the controversial dissenting view which, he stumbled on in the Internet.

GLOBALIZATION

The new South Africa was hatched into a globalised political and economic environment that carried with it inherent structural defects. The uneven development of the colonial era had carved a global order with severe inequalities. The colonial imperial powers amassed wealth, evolved high levels of education and skills for their people, achieved a material and military superiority that enabled them to manipulate the underdeveloped economies in a manner that would ensure the perpetual hegemony of the developed so-called North over the underdeveloped so called South (the stagnant and emerging economies of the former colonies).

The post-colonial era has been characterised by a raging debate among academics, political and economic's theoreticians and activists on the various



conceptualisations of the dependency paradigms, describing the structural relations between the core economies i.e. the former colonial power metropolitan economies and the peripheral economies i.e. the underdeveloped economies of the so-called third world former colonies.

Mr Gowan and Smith define dependency as follows:

“Dependency refers to an asymmetrical structure of control relations wherein a controller, such as a state, multinational enterprise, or parent, regularly and hence predictably changes or maintains the behaviour of a controlee, such as another state, an economic sector, or a child”.

Neo-Marxists scholars advance the view that monopoly capitalism by its very nature provides surplus capital that cannot be absorbed by the core because consumption does not correspond more closely to production. Consequently surplus profit is exported for investment in the peripheral economies of the client states. It is argued that this peripheral investment does not necessarily conform to a rational economic development plan that has been locally designed to meet domestic needs. On the contrary such investments are propelled primarily by the profit motive, which directs investment to sectors of economic activity where the biggest and quickest returns on investment can be made.

Paul Baran and his name Sake Paul Sweezy contend that surplus profit in the periphery is not utilized for further development of the latter economy but is siphoned and repatriated for development of the core economy, hence the disparity in levels of development between the core and the periphery.

This tendency according to these scholars is a sufficient condition for the impossibility of periphery development.



Samir Amin and Emmanuel Wallerstein differ with the Neo-Marxist Scholars. They see the dependency paradigm as the result of unequal exchange between the core and the periphery because of wage differentials which create the surplus value that is then siphoned to the core economies.

The “dependency theory as a whole stresses the importance of the overall structure of relations within which political action occurs, and the mechanisms by which the structural dominance of some group is consolidated to the advantage of others.

All these conceptualisations under-gird the existence of rich-poor power relations in the global context which have the propensity to perpetuate or aggravate the disparities and inequalities between the developed western world and the poor under-developed periphery economies of the third world.

It goes without saying that globalisation, which has been accelerated by revolutions in the information and transport technologies, does not bring any respite to the marginalisation of periphery economies by the core developed world. International Agencies such as the World Bank and I.E. continue to be controlled by the industrial super-powers who insist on stringent conditions accompanying any relief loans intended for the periphery to the extent that the governments of controlled periphery economies have no freedom in the utilization of the loans and this has aggravated dependency.

How then do we as a government and business sector propose to relate to the developed world community in the light of these untransformed power relations? Do we willingly pursue policies which guarantee our dependency client status? Do we blindly throw our economy on the course of privatisation even when we know that this course does not empower our working and



unemployed grassroots? Do we choose to ignore the fact that privatisation has thrown hundreds of thousands of poor people out of jobs without creating alternative economic activity for the alleviation of unemployment and poverty? Do we continue with policies, which enrich the political elites and their chosen cronies and by virtue of their political and social status are in the best position to be manipulated by multi-national interests to advance the interests of core economies at the expense of our disadvantaged people? How do we justify an economic policy, which parcel out vast national assets, including land to outsiders under the guise of joint ventures when in reality local participation is insignificant? We know that some of these joint ventures have collapsed after enriching a few individuals.

We need to pause and look back at historical precedents in order to contextualise our own experiences.

After 1948 the Afrikaner Nationalist government embarked on a development strategy to transform the economic status of the poor Afrikaner and bring them into the mainstream of the English dominated economy of South Africa. To do so they nationalised the railways, the harbours, the Post Office and established numerous corporations all of which employed vast numbers of poor Afrikaners. It was in these economic ventures that managerial and technical skills were acquired by the Afrikaner as a consequence of which the foundations for the emergence of a white labour aristocracy founded on the bedrock of job-reservation were laid.

The advocates of a free market economy and liberal democracy did not preach privatisation of state enterprises then, or if they did, it was not with the strident voice with which they have lectured our democratic administration. As a result Afrikaner workers remained secure in their jobs albeit guaranteed by



exclusive racial policies. They never had to experience mass retrenchments as our people do.

Why has the government failed to open up a debate on its macro-economic policies to enable the exploration of alternative models that would minimise job losses and create alternative employment where privatisation of enterprises was unavoidable? The UDM must re-visit these economic policies and up-date our own economic policies accordingly.

Some privatized parastatals have collapsed because their allocations have been characterized by greed-and nepotism favouring party favourites and friends. We are not concerned that parastatals cannot be run profitably when managed professionally by properly qualified managers. A case in point is the turn-around of the South African Airways by Mr Andrews and Macozona, which is now run profitably after a bleak performance spell.

In order to redress the economic disparities of the Apartheid era we cannot afford to leave that responsibility to individuals in the ruling party or their chosen consultants anymore. This is a matter of national importance and they must therefore be addressed by a national Indaba, comparable in scale and depth to the Codesa Indaba which resolved the apartheid political Conundrum.

The colonial experience is noted for exporting resources to the overseas industries who then process them and dumped their finished products in the colonial markets. We must reverse this process. Although the South African economy has a well developed manufacturing sector, we still export raw-materials which should and can be processed locally and thereby broaden our domestic economic base and create more jobs, while imparting skills to our



local people. This is just one of the themes that can be debated at a national Indaba.

South Africa should not base its economic policies on USA models alone. Models which have regenerated the economies of the former post-war West Germany should be studied. We can also learn from the Scandinavian social democracies who have virtually wiped out poverty in their countries. All these models should be reviewed in the context of a national Indaba. We should not forget that we have emerged from a regime that was characterized by state intervention in the economy. It is not practical to make a right-about-turn and plunge into a Western-type free market economy and in the process render a whole nation unemployed. We should look at a middle course that will cautiously transform our production relations in a manner that will incorporate a social programme that brings relief to the millions who are beginning to believe that they lived better under Apartheid.

Unemployment is accompanied by a decline in social services. Health care institutions are in a chaotic state. Patients in hospitals and clinics die unattended. Equipment is in disrepair. Old pensioners cue in the hot sun for hours only to return home on wheel chairs and wheel-burrows without their pay. Street dwellers are multiplying in droves. Street children are now a familiar site. Night courts sit at night in police stations in preliminary hearings of child offenders who break into people's cars and release them into the streets again the same night so they can ply their trade. Lawlessness abounds, the criminal justice system is in a crisis. There is a convergence between top politicians, police and criminals, which blurs the dividing line between law enforcers and criminals. Political leaders engage in high-level scientific discourse on matters out of their depth, where only eagles dare



rather attend to burning issues of putting food on the table for the crying hungry children and the helpless aged.

Our government's foreign policy has failed to meet the nation's expectations. A successful foreign policy of any nation is one which meets the domestic needs. In our case job creation and sustainable economic growth to eradicate poverty and raise the standard of living of our people are the primary objectives. There can be no transformation in our society as long as the socio-economic polarization of the nation inherited from the racist regime of the past persists. The government's foreign policy has not enhanced our economic sovereignty. It is the view of the UDM that the international agreements we have signed do not guarantee the survival of, and a competitive edge for our domestic manufacturing sector. We have opened the floodgates for the swamping of our markets with foreign manufactured goods from foreign industries that either have a technological edge over our own industries or the goods come from industries which pay low wages and thus present unfair competition to our local manufacturers.

The concept of an African Renaissance which is the flagship of President Mbeki's foreign policy has been associated with foreign adventures in which we are portrayed as interfering in domestic conflicts of other countries by taking sides. Our track record in the DRC and Angola leaves much to be desired. Our land-locked immediate neighbours are apprehensive about our style of maintaining regional stability. We have not endeared ourselves to our Lesotho neighbour.

In typical fashion, the ruling party experimented with an inadequately researched educational policy dubbed "Curriculum 2005". There was never a satisfactory consultation on this policy. Cautionary warnings against its



adoption by some academics such as Professor Mamphela Ramphele were ignored. Now it is being abandoned after spending R5 billion on it. We are not aware that the new so-called Curriculum 21 has been researched or adequately consulted on. It could go the same way as the ill-fated Curriculum 2005 which was salvaged from the New Zealand repository of derelict discarded obsolete ideas.

UDM'S PERSPECTIVE FOR AFRICA

An African vision is beginning to dominate the lexicon of African politics. President Mbeki has been religiously preaching the concept of an African Renaissance. Some political pundits are reviving Nkruma's idea of a United States of Africa. The world is focussing on the African problems of economic and political collapse and tragic conflicts plaguing an increasing number of regions e.g.: Angola, the Great Lakes, the horn of Africa, Sudan and Sierra Leon. Democratic governments are threatened by political instability. Dictatorships continue to mar political progress on the continent. The UDM must develop a policy position on all these matters especially the concept of a United States of Africa and Mbeki's version of an African Renaissance.

Historical experience has, shown that political unions that have not grown from the ground but were imposed from above do not survive. The Central African, Federation of British Colonial rule is one example, the East-African Economic Union of post independent. Tanzania, Uganda and Kenya is another. The Indian/Pakistan failed union after the withdrawal of British rule is another sterling example. In recent times we have seen the dissolution of Yugoslavia.



South Africa has just emerged from an Apartheid era that is fraught with social and economic disparities. Advanced, developed economic infrastructure exists side by side with primitive economic conditions of underdevelopment. Within the Southern African region the legacy of colonialism has handed down unequal levels of development among the countries of the region. To date South Africa is straining under an avalanche of illegal immigrants who compound our social, economic and crime problems.

Before we can even begin to speak of an African Renaissance or dream of a United States of Africa let us level the playing field at home. We need to redress the historical imbalances in South Africa. Simultaneously we must stem the tide of migration into South Africa by developing an economic strategy that can develop the economic potential of our neighbours and then structure a balanced economic environment that can sustain a loose political association along federal or confederal lines within the SADC Community. There already exist regional, economic blocks in East and West Africa that can develop economic infra-structures for regional political blocks long before we can talk of a United States of Africa dream.

Coming back nearer home let us address our domestic needs which our foreign policy does not satisfy. There is urgent need to speed up the land restitution or reform programmes. A situation in which 87% of the people occupy 13% of the land space can no longer be tolerated. The increasing impoverishment of larger numbers of South Africans must be reversed. We need to build an internal economic capacity in our country to minimize the growing xenophobia, which is spawned by competition for scarce resources, by locals and immigrants. This development must simultaneously take place in the neighbouring states.



This African Renaissance fever has been propagated against the background of extensive foreign diplomacy in which vast sums of money spent on foreign trips are not matched by foreign direct investments into our economy to justify this expenditure. There is a perception that some politicians are already marketing themselves for international posting at the end of their domestic political term of office.

In contextualising our African policy we must strongly advise against our country taking partisan positions in dealing with foreign conflicts as we have already pointed out in our critique of governments role in the DRC. We therefore strongly urge the President to place a moratorium on arms export to any country in our continent because they end up being used in waging wars in the very theatres in which we attempt to broker peace or promote African Renaissance. This undermines our credibility as disinterested peacemakers. So far we are being seen as promoting African Armageddon instead of the so-called African Renaissance.

In the light of our recent foreign relation adventures in the Great Lakes region, we lack the moral and political capacity to deploy peacekeeping troops in the DRC. Our Lesotho intervention fiasco casts us in a mould that disqualifies us from peacekeeping roles at this point in time.

Our President's diplomatic ingenuity that has raised R100 million from Saudi Arabia for the purchase of white owned land in Zimbabwe for the resettlement the landless citizens of that country would be better appreciated if it was directed at resolving South Africa's own land problem which is worse than that of Zimbabwe. This is not good enough justification for his silent diplomacy.



CHALLENGES FACING UDM

UDM must do introspection and evaluate its strengths and weaknesses and its capacity to measure up to the challenges that lie ahead. As already stated above, we have come from a diverse social and political background. As a new party we are constantly formulating our political profile in a dynamic social environment engaged in historical transformation. It is inevitable therefore that there should be sharp differences of opinion and discrepancies in our interpretation of social phenomena. The debate that this paper intends to stimulate will put diverse views into perspective and identify a philosophical outlook that binds those who are committed to pursue the vision of a shared future under the banner of the UDM. It was to be expected that some of us would fall by the way side when they could no longer relate fully to an evolving party. This is a natural process of growth which entails the weeding out of irrelevant misfits in order to sustain a healthy political body.

It is also a fact of life that mistakes will have been made and we have drawn lessons from them. It is fundamental for any party to indulge in self-criticism and constant stocktaking so as to identify short falls, as well as strengths that need to be reinforced. We have identified the need for the development of a leadership cadre. We have to invest in the youth, students and women organizations to tap the potential in that resource base. We must streamline our strategies to build effective youth students and women organizations. The NMC must review the operational strategy of using house rules for the running of these sectoral organizations. One clear understanding born from tested experience is that youth, students and women's organizations thrive when they are given space and autonomy to develop their full potential, in consultation with the mother body. The time has come for the UDM to develop its own internal capacity and not depend solely on recruiting people



from other parties. We must continuously improve our own cadres to deal with situations on the ground.

In this respect, party building is of paramount importance. Primary in this area is the necessity to concentrate our energies on capacity building especially in as far as Youth, Students and Women without whose clear understanding of our policies the UDM will not be able to compete in the hostile environment of South African politics.

The establishment of the recruitment and political desks and the prioritization of investment in leadership development are important. Our party must identify credible leaders in all the demographic areas where the UDM has a good growth potential. We need to accept the stark political reality that leadership must come with constituencies and not briefcases or promises of potential support. The teamwork in the UDM structures also need urgent attention. Personal problems take up most of the time and energy of the office bearers.

When we have put aside personal interest and placed the welfare of the party and the people of South Africa whom we have pledged to serve above all else, we will restore the capacity to build the party. The South African society is still untransformed. We have a responsibility to filter the freedoms conferred by our great constitution to the grassroots who still remain marginalized. The policies pursued by our government have exacerbated the poverty and suffering that has been endured by the majority of the historically oppressed people. The UDM will have failed in its mission if it joins the band-wagon of pursuing personal ambitions and neglect the mission of championing the cause of the grassroots who still have to realize the benefits of the freedom to whom it is a mere fiction.



Our academics must be fully utilized to make inputs in the development of the intellectual capacity of the movement. We must conduct workshops and seminars to brainstorm on topical issues of a national, regional, continental and global significance. Our party has been plagued by dissipating internecine personality strifes. This is a malady which feeds on unbridled ambition, power-mongering, scramble for fiefdom and spheres of influence, which invariably fragments the organization. In such an environment gossip and disinformation thrive and opportunities are created for infiltration by third forces who advance their own agendas at the expense of the party. This self-eroding cynicism is a cancer that is nurtured by idleness, lack of focus and direction, intellectual paucity and moral depravity among the party members. We have to exterminate this disease by rooting out its causes and get rid of contaminated carriers before the disease kills the host – the party.

These glaring weaknesses are a result of the absence in the early stages of a coherent and clear philosophical vision, which could weld the disparate people from diverse backgrounds. We also did not hold workshops and study groups to mould our vision. This has led to the proliferation of the cult of individualism, and pursuit of personal agendas. Some people joined the movement for material reasons and were disillusioned when they could not win seats in the legislatures. Others were elected into leadership positions early in the history of the organization and could not accept the emergence of new leaders who could take the party forward. We can no longer use the excuse that we were preparing for elections, and therefore we did not have the time to hold workshops and build cadres at this point in time. This is our opportune moment to embark on this programme, and remedy this weakness.

If in this introspection we come out with solutions we can avert a situation where leaders create personal power-blocks by surrounding themselves with



sycophants who blindly follow them. On the contrary we will create a solid party of people committed to a common ideal. More importantly we will avoid undemocratic patterns where whole leadership structures are removed and replaced by hand picked anointed party favourites as has been observed in some parties, in this country today.

It goes without saying that we have been severely handicapped by lack of resources. As a new party we have not been able to carve our niche in the established sponsorship base which is already patronised by older political formations, despite the fact that we are accepted nationally. Records will show that we participated in the elections on a shoe-string budget of ± R3 million as against other parties who had access to vast state and business resources. We are currently servicing a debt incurred during elections and therefore continue to be incapacitated.

The deployment of a significant section of our leadership in parliament has greatly incapacitated the party as it diverted to Parliament and Provincial legislatures energies which would otherwise be utilized to build the party. It was for this reason that the NMC resolved last year that the positions of National Organiser and Secretary General should be filled by people who are not deployed in the legislatures so that they can devote all their energies to building the party.

We suggest that the Provinces debate this approach to see if they cannot be adopted in their situations depending on prevailing circumstances.

One of the weaknesses facing the party is the manner in which Disciplinary Committee (DC) hearings are conducted in the provinces. We cannot over emphasise the fact that the DC mechanism is an important democratic



instrument for conflict resolution. As a constitutional framework in this respect it must be treated with the respect it deserve so that it is not perceived to be a Kangaroo-Court device used by leaders when they have failed to exercise their legitimate roles. There is a discernible need therefore to conduct workshops on the UDM Constitution at all levels. Such a workshop should dwell on the understanding of channels of communication and prevent people committing indiscretions in the name of the leaders. These misrepresentations have, been noticeable where people tended to pursue personal agendas.

One of the reasons for these misrepresentations is that leaders at various levels do not filter the decisions taken at meetings to the rank and file. This creates an opportunity for individuals to communicate outside the prescribed channels of communication in order to access information.

LOCAL GOVERNMENT ELECTIONS

The demarcations of electoral boundaries has not yet been completed. However we attach herewith Annexure A being guidelines which must be studied. The conditions prevailing in provinces will vary. Therefore provincial structures will take the lead in the coming municipal elections. Provincial functionaries must attend all IEC meeting. The NMC will not lead the process as was the case in the general elections.

There are no changes in the municipal areas. Corruption of officials stills plaques the administration in the municipal and provincial governments. The roads are in a state of disrepair. Social services, schools and health centre are collapsing. There is a massive unemployment and a general stagnation



and decline characterizes most rural towns and villages. It is clear that delivery has not taken place as promised.

The UDM is representative of all major communities in South Africa. Therefore we must maximise the advantage of our representation by identifying credible community leaders who command respect in their respective areas. If successful we will reflect the demographic breakdown of our party by winning seats in all areas in which we have a political presence.

The UDM will not fight these elections on alliances. We will contest under the banner of the UDM. The lack of clarity on the advantages of alliances and the indecision of a number of party leaders make it inadvisable to embark on alliance co-operation strategies during these coming elections. There has not been time even to discuss and explain the strategy on the ground. It must be understood that when we talk of re-alignment we are not referring to alliances. However if there are any differing views, the council must discuss them. We are in favour of co-operation between different party agents to protect polling stations and guard against voting manipulations and intimidation by the ruling party agents. In a prophetic sense the NASREC Conference in 1998 resolved that the UDM would not enter into any alliances in the elections. The policy of the party however recognizes the need for reshaping the political landscape, which is not the same thing as alliance, hence we continue to engage other parties on the debate on political realignment, which will culminate in an alternative government for South Africa.

NATIONAL INTELLIGENCE ROLE

Our members must be vigilant of the subversive role played by the National Intelligence in elections. In 1999 the presence of the National Intelligence Agents (NIA) working together with ANC officials in election points was



noticeable. Allegations have been made that NIA has approached members of the media for possible membership in intelligence services.

The experiences of the past are not too distant to remember and our members should be aware of the increased engagement of the intelligence services by the presidency office. This clearly is illustrated by the half million rand payment to an ANC intelligence operative for work conducted in the environment and tourism department. We therefore urge our structures to study mechanisms to counter any possible manipulation of the election process by the ruling party and their intelligence services.

POLICY DEVELOPMENT

One of our weaknesses has been that due to lack of time in our short history we did not develop our founding policy documents. Our experiences on the ground have equipped us to evaluate and further develop policy documents in which we expand on the principles and policy positions which we identified at our founding. The time has come to use our internal capacity to create a literature that spells out our basic positions and approaches to matters of topical interest.

Now that we are on the verge of completing the payment of our debts, the savings we make will be used to run workshops to brainstorm and in the process develop our basic documents. One of the areas in which we must develop clear strategies is in the marketing of our policies and the party in general. We need to develop these in order to avoid being misrepresented.

PERFORMANCE APPRAISAL



Our Party building agenda must entail an objective criteria for the appraisal of elected officials in all positions including our public representatives. Already the NMC has taken a decision on the need for such a criteria in as far as public representatives are concerned. It is however important, that NC should seriously debate and decide on this matter. The most important requirement in this appraisal procedure is that there should be direct involvement of our general membership who must ultimately own and give legitimacy to our decision.

Fortunately the IEC Act on public representatives allows for the list of public representatives to be reviewed after a year from the date of elections. Our understanding of this Act is that it affords the party an opportunity to assess where it wants to utilize its resources and talents in the building of the party. We must together develop criteria that will not be subject to abuse by anyone.

DISCIPLINE AND MEDIA

We have taken note of an abusive tendency within our leadership structures where individuals have opted to conducting debates on party political matters in the media in order to maintain non-touchable positions which are not in the interest of the party. The image and integrity of the party has been dented on numerous instances through this type of indiscipline. Our constitution and rules are clear on media and publicity and these should be studied and understood. No individual is allowed to indulge in self-promotion in the media the expense of the party.

STRATEGY



It is recommended that the UDM involve professional strategy facilitators to assist as a matter of urgency in the formation and implementation of a detailed strategy.

The UDM strategy formulation should be a confidential in-house process with professional assistance.

The UDM strategy should include plans for the 2000 elections as well as plans for the period 2000 to 2004 and beyond.

The complete strategy should include inter alia:

- Leadership development plans
- Organisational plans
- Structure development plans
- Policy development and implementation plans
- Marketing plans
- Information plans
- Financial / resource development plans

The strategy should be the cornerstone of a **holistic** UDM approach and plan.

The strategy development should involve and include actions on all levels of the UDM structures.

Attached is a diagram Year-2000 to 2004 that could indicate the broad guidelines for a possible strategy. The details of the holistic strategy should be worked out after the initial approval of the broad guidelines of the UDM plans for the future.



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GUIDELINES FOR UDM'S STRATEGY – 2000 TO 2004

Year 2000	Focussed as one team (From storming to norming)	Using the coming local elections <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • as a learning experience; • to put the UDM back in position; • to have modest expectations
1 June	Presentation of "State of the UDM" by President	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Consider dates and venues for provincial workshops
1 June – 30 June		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Debate of "State of the UDM" in party structures • Involvement of leadership in debates • Combining with training and voter education
30 June	UDM National Management Council	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Agenda • Items to be decided on
1 July	UDM National Council	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Agenda • Items to be decided on
	Election campaign	Use the campaign <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • to recruit members • to restore party structures (renewal of branches) • for basic training
		Youth Movement Appoint representative in parliament (national and provincial; and if possible in local council)
		Women's Movement Appoint representative in parliament (national and provincial; and if possible in local council)
1 November	Local government elections	
November	Evaluation of local election results	As soon as possible after the elections evaluate and reconsidering the campaign strategy
		Train local government representatives
		Monitor and evaluate the activities of all UDM representatives
Year 2001	Progress in teamwork. (Year of discussion and policy development)	Norming through formulation of strategic policy: make the vision and mission of UDM – which unifies all members – more concrete and apply to specific policies. Bridge between mission and strategy
		Role of Youth and Women's movements & Students
		Culture of the UDM
		Team building within new rules
		Discipline
		At the end of the year the vision and mission of the UDM should be worked out in a clear and concrete concept that guides



		not only national policies, but provincial and local as well
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YEAR 2002	Focussed as one team. (Year of training and education)	Norming through training and education: emphasis on training the trainers
		Role of Youth and Women's movement
		At the end of the year the trainers should be enabled to get into the country and train and educate the membership.
		Broadening leadership
		Focus on UDM structures Broadening leadership

YEAR 2003	Performing as one team. (Year of harvesting)	Performing: the investments of the previous years should bring returns in opinion polls
		Well planned actions
		Monitoring and evaluation
		Control

YEAR 2004	Election year	Election Strategy
		Election plans
		Election activities

