

**15 years on: Slovo's contribution continues**



February/March 2010

Voice of the South African Communist Party

# Unsebenzi

**SACP SPECIAL NATIONAL CONGRESS REPORT-BACK**



**We are united, we are  
militant, we will defeat  
anti-communism!**

February/March 2010

SPECIAL NATIONAL CONGRESS

# We are united, we are militant, we will defeat anti-communism!

*Our Party – bigger than at any time in our history – met to consider our responses to crises facing our movement and our country*

BY JEREMY CRONIN

**T**HE SACP'S SPECIAL NATIONAL Congress in mid-December was a major display of Communist unity and disciplined militancy. The 900 delegates from all over SA represented more than 96,000 branch members. In the 88-year history of communist activism in South Africa, this is the largest ever membership of our Party. In terms of active members, we are undoubtedly the second largest party (after the ANC) in SA.

The SACP has been growing by leaps and bounds in the past year. Addressing the Special Congress, our general secretary, cde Blade Nzimande said: "We attribute this growth to the SACP's active campaigning in communities around the issues that affect the great majority of our people." Reflecting this activism, our membership is drawn from the ranks of the working class, and from the millions of unemployed and marginalised youth.

Our December Special National Congress was convened in accordance with our resolution to meet in a non-elective national congress in the third year of our regular five-yearly national congresses. But this Special National Congress was not just a matter of routine.

### Three objective crises

It was a Congress that carried major responsibilities – to provide collective leadership, by way of resolutions and a programme of action, to our movement and

to our country in the context of three overlapping crises:

- The deep-seated and systemic **economic crisis** of capitalism globally. It is no longer possible to be in denial about the inability of the dominant capitalist countries and their ideologues to provide any analysis, let alone solutions to the terrible plight into which their much-vaunted "globalisation" has plunged billions of people world-wide. What does this mean for SA? How do we unify our ANC-led movement around an agenda that increasingly appreciates the need to roll back the domination of profit-maximising capital in favour of meeting social needs? This was the first challenge we faced at Congress.

- The crisis of climate change and the destruction of our bio-sphere, was our second challenge. Our Special Congress linked this civilisation-threatening crisis to the economic crisis and to the overall irrationality of capitalism. In the week following our Congress, the Copenhagen Summit confirmed exactly what we had noted in our Congress – capitalism and its pursuit of exponential growth at all costs is the root cause of the environmental crisis. Leading capitalist countries are incapable of providing any kind of coherent leadership to address this challenge.

- **The South African crisis** - these two inter-linked global crises have had, and are having, a particularly grave impact on the majority of South Africans. SA's historic, semi-colonial growth path

remains largely unchanged. It continues to reproduce dire levels of racialised inequality and massive structural unemployment. Moreover, our excessive primary commodity export-dependence and manufactured goods import-dependence make us particularly vulnerable to global capitalist down-turns. Over the last year, 1 million more jobs were lost in our country.

Additionally, SA's capitalist economy is extremely energy intensive and we are one of the world's worst carbon emitters. Our mining sector is also posing an increasing threat to our scarce water resources

So how do we respond to these inter-linked crises?

### Let us unite around our 5 strategic priorities

Our Special Congress agreed that our principal response as a country lies in ensuring that we have a state-led and mass-driven programme of action that focuses on our five strategic priorities. These are the five priorities we identified at the ANC's 2007 National Conference – a new job-creating developmental path; health-care for all; the transformation of education; rural development; and a remorseless struggle against crime and corruption.

In our Alliance election manifesto for the April 2009 elections we re-committed ourselves to these five strategic priorities. At the Alliance Summit last year we fur-

ther elaborated on a programme of action to take forward these priorities.

And now, at our own Special National Congress, through our commissions and resolutions we have further contributed to the consolidation of this programme of action. The ANC NEC's January lekgotla resolutions and government's evolving programme all testify to the impact of the SACP input in these matters.

At our Special Congress, then, we identified the three over-arching *objective* crises, and we contributed dynamically to the programme of action we need as a movement to adopt in order to address them. In particular, as a vanguard Party of socialism, we will continue to show, practically, that no substantial defence and advance of our democratic revolution is possible without an increasing social control over our country's human and natural resources. This means rolling back capitalism.

There was, however, one more absolutely important role that this Congress played. Perhaps this was its most significant contribution. The general secretary's political over-view, plenary and commission debates, our resolutions, and, indeed, some of the artificially fabricated melodrama around the Congress all served to clarify the principal *subjective* blockage we confront in seeking to unify our broad movement and respond effectively to the challenges of the crisis of capitalism.

#### **Marginalise the "new" tendency! Defeat Kebble-ism!**

In the months before our Congress, some in the media were predicting (and some were even seeking to instigate) a highly divided SACP Congress. These false hopes failed absolutely to materialise. This was certainly the most unified SACP Congress since our unbanning 20 years ago.

However, this didn't stop many in the media from still ignoring the substance of what actually happened at our Congress. Instead there was an inordinate focus on one minor event in which two ANC individuals, who had been involved in persistent and derogatory, personalised attacks on SACP leadership, were



Congress delegates welcome guests

briefly booed by some of our delegates. It was an unfortunate (but unplanned) episode that would have passed almost unnoticed but for the deliberate melodrama that soon followed.

One of the individuals led a small group onto the stage and, in the full glare of rolling TV cameras, SACP chairperson, cde Gwede Mantashe, was accosted and subjected to loud abuse - much to the delight of head-line seeking journalists.

This melodrama was one thing, more unfortunate were some of the leaks and pseudo-analyses that followed. For a few days afterwards, there was even an implausible attempt to suggest that this episode marked a widening rift in the relationship between the SACP on the one hand, and the *entire* ANC on the other!

But all of this melodrama was actually a symptom of something else. One of the key achievements of our Congress was precisely to single out in debates and resolutions the central threat to the unity and programme of our Alliance, and to the broader popular standing of our movement and state.

In particular, our Congress singled out what we called "Kebble-ism" - namely, a dangerous axis between unscrupulous business people (black and white) on the one hand, and a bullying, chauvinistic populist tendency in parts of our movement on the other.

Behind the headline stories of high-life parties and the flaunting of ill-gained wealth, lies the sordid reality of manipulative sponsorships, personal appropriation of public funds, wheeling and dealing, organisational factionalism, arm-twisting and the general subversion of our democratic order.

#### **We will defend the unity of our broad movement, we will defeat anti-communism!**

A key feature of this tendency is its rabid anti-communism. Like others before them, they seek to divide our movement by planting suspicions and spreading rumours about an intended "SACP take-over" of the ANC - once more the old "rooi-gevaar" smear tactic.

The basis for this anti-communism has nothing to do with any principled ideological position - indeed, they even on occasions seek to present themselves rhetorically as "more red" than a supposedly "yellow" SACP.

Their anti-communism has everything to do with the fact that they fear the SACP's firm commitment to expose, without fear or favour, corruption and the plundering of public resources. We are not for sale. And we will not be intimidated into silence!

We are very clear that our struggle against this anti-communist populism is NOT a struggle against hundreds and thousands of loyal, non-sectarian ANC cadres who happen to be non-communist. We are very clear that the ANC is a multi-class formation and we actively support and defend the ANC's broad church character. This is precisely its great strength. Above all, we know from many, many communications and interactions, that the overwhelming majority of ANC members (not to mention a much broader public) support the SACP's firm stand against reckless demagoguery with its roots in "Kebble-ism".

In the face of all of these challenges, the SACP's December 2009 Special National Congress has mapped a clear line of march going forward.

***Let us continue to build a strong, united and disciplined SACP, rooted in the struggles of the workers and the poor!***

***Let us, at all times, as Communists, be a powerful and reliable force for principled unity within our ANC-led alliance!***

***Let us build this unity on the basis of grass-roots activism, guided by our shared Alliance programme aligned to our five strategic priorities!*** ●

Cde Cronin is SACP Deputy General Secretary

SPECIAL NATIONAL CONGRESS

# Declaration of the SACP Special National Congress Polokwane - December 13, 2009

**W**E HAVE MET IN POLOKWANE over four days in our mid-term, 2009 SACP Special National Congress. We are 900 delegates bearing the mandates of over 96 000 Communists from all corners of South Africa. We have convened together with comrades from the Young Communist League, from our Alliance partners, and fraternal formations from across the world.

At the outset of our Special Congress, together, we set for ourselves three basic strategic tasks:

**First**, we said that we would consolidate, as Communists and allies, an understanding of the current global capitalist crisis – a crisis that is deep-seated, systemic and far from being over. It is a crisis that has deepened the plight and suffering of billions of workers and poor world-wide. Here in SA a million working people have lost their jobs in the course of this year alone.

Faced with this crisis, this Special Congress has underlined the imperative of taking both defensive and offensive anti-capitalist measures. Around the world the crisis has compelled greater reliance of capital on the state for bail-outs, rescue packages and protective interventions. We pledge, here in SA, to ensure that we use this greater reliance of capitalists on the state to advance our own objective of rolling back their greedy domination over the production and allocation of surplus. We pledge to organise and mobilise in our places of work, in our communities, inside the state itself to ensure it is not the workers and poor who bear the brunt of this capitalist crisis.

We have agreed that the present global crisis is, in fact, a crisis of human

civilisation itself. The capitalist accumulation drive is increasingly carrying us to the brink, to the collapse of the biophysical conditions for any sustainable life on our planet. As the world meets in Copenhagen this coming week to agree on responses to climate change, it is clear that capitalism has no answers to the crisis we all face. In fact, many capitalist responses, like carbon trading, will feed the bourgeoisie's next speculative frenzy and aggravate the mortal dangers we face.

We say: the only sustainable response to climate change is *system* change. The struggle for socialism and the struggle to preserve our forests, our farm-lands, our water, the air that we breathe – these are one and the same struggle. As SACP members, we are green because we are red.

On our internationalist responsibilities, this Special National Congress has reaffirmed our commitment, working with progressive forces, to coordinate our peoples all over Africa to resist neo-colonial wars, to struggle against aggressive imperialist impositions, and to build a strong peace movement against proliferation and for the closure of all foreign military bases.

We have committed ourselves to organise massive solidarity with the peoples of Western Sahara and Palestine in their struggle for their basic right to self-determination. We call for both Morocco and Spain to guarantee the full repatriation of Aminatou Haidar.

The SACP will continue to support a progressive resolution to the political stalemate in Zimbabwe by prioritising peoples' basic needs. We will continue to mobilise against the despotic regime in Swaziland.

**Secondly**, at the outset of this Con-

gress, we said that we had an obligation to respond to a cruel reality – after 15 years of democracy in our country, after more than a decade of economic growth, notwithstanding progress on many fronts, our society continues to be characterised by appalling levels of racialised inequality, and by crisis levels of unemployment.

Patriarchal oppression continues to afflict millions of women. Together, we have high-lighted the underlying systemic features in our society that reproduce this crisis of under-development.

In plenary discussions and in commissions we have agreed on a programme of action to respond to these national realities. We will take forward and deepen our shared Alliance commitment to placing our economy onto a different, job-creating path. We will advance a state-led and worker-driven industrial policy. We will ensure that macro-economic policy is knocked off its throne, and comes down to earth.

It must be aligned with our strategic developmental priorities. Shoulder to shoulder with our Alliance partners and the rural masses, we will advance rural development as a key pillar of our revolution. We are committed to turning around the critical sphere of local government, with a special emphasis on building popular power at the local level through organs of participatory democracy.

Together, let us transform the entire education and training dispensation. We have pledged the SACP's support for government's HIV/AIDS campaign. Let us all take collective responsibility for the challenge of this pandemic that is sweeping through our society. We reaffirm our commitment to the struggle for



**Congress delegates relax between sessions**

a National Health Insurance, built on the principle of “from each according to their ability, to each according to their need”.

Together let us ensure that working class women organise and mobilise to take their rightful place in all sites of power. Together, as women and men, let us defeat the oppressive shackles of patriarchal oppression.

Together with our Allies, and the great majority of South Africans, we Communists pledge to fight the scourge of crime and corruption. We will carry this struggle forward without fear or favour. Without militant worker vigilance, corruption will devour our democracy.

**Thirdly**, at the outset of Congress, we agreed that it was our task as the SACP to carry forward the analysis of progress and challenges within our Party, and within our broader ANC-led Alliance. What has happened since our 2007 12th National Congress? What has happened since the ANC’s 52nd National Conference in December 2007? We have noted the important gains made in consolidating Alliance unity. We have noted the fighting unity that was built around the

April elections. Let us carry these gains down to every district and community of our country.

We have also noted the early warning signs of a small but sometimes clamorous anti-communist, chauvinistic tendency in the ranks of our broader movement. Together, with all of our Alliance partners, we pledge to nip this tendency in the bud. We pledge to fight factionalism, not with factionalism, but with a principled programme of action.

We pledge not to be unduly diverted, nor provoked by what will become an increasingly isolated and incoherent tendency. We shall defend our fundamental Communist principles of solidarity, of internationalism and of a robust rejection of all brands of chauvinism. We pledge, always, to be a disciplined force for unity in the heart of our broad revolutionary movement.

As an SACP we have fought many battles. We are steeled in struggle. We are proud of the dramatic growth in our Party membership since our 12<sup>th</sup> Congress.

Our opponents and even some of our friends are sceptical about the prospects of building a socialist South Africa. They

call on us to unveil some detailed, ready-to-roll-out “socialist blue-print”, some fanciful utopia of the very kind that Marx and Engels long ago rejected. As Chris Hani always reminded us, socialism has to be built here and now in the struggles of millions and millions of workers and the poor.

Socialism, he always said, is not built in a dream-world; it doesn’t belong to outer space, or another time-zone. It has to be built here through collective action. It is about simple things – food and shelter and work for unemployed hands that long to be active. It is about a life of dignity for young and old. It is about simple things, yet so hard to achieve in a capitalist world.

Socialism is about displacing reckless capitalist greed with solidarity with our fellow human beings, with responsibility for our threatened natural world. Socialism is about common-sense itself – common-sense that is constantly undermined in a capitalist world.

Which is why we say:

***A luta continua!***  
***Socialism is the future! Build it now!***

# Resolutions on economic transformation and local government

*Here are 2 of the resolutions adopted at the SACP Special National Congress. In future issues of Umsebenzi, we will carry other resolutions*

## **Economic transformation and rural development resolution**

- a. The commission noted that the existing growth path has failed to resolve the unemployment crisis and was associated with increases in inequality.
- b. The crisis of capitalism makes it unlikely for us to return to growth at pre-crisis levels on this growth path.
- c. Commission reaffirm the need for state leadership to place the economy on a new growth path through effecting structural changes capable of promoting decent work and sustainable livelihoods. A more effective industrial policy is central to this.
- d. The commission took note of work in government broadly along the line of what has been called for by the SACP. It recommends that the SACP engages in detail with governments Industrial Plan when it is made public.
- e. The commission called for macro-policy to be realigned to support industrial policy. The mandate of the reserve bank must be revisited to prioritise job creation and to ensure that its interest rate decisions do not result in an overvalued currency.
- f. To this end the SACP must enhance its capacity to engage the alliance task team on the review of the macro-economic policy package and the State and Economic Transformation Commission must be seized with this matter.
- g. There is a need to enhance training and skills development as an integral part of industrial policy and to ensure effective alignment between state departments responsible for education and training and economic development.
- h. The commission supported a developmental approach to trade policy as well as a strategic use of standards setting and interventions by the competitions authorities to support industrial policy objectives. Developmental financing for industrial development needs to be upscale and greater conditionality needs to be extracted from those benefiting from state finance.
- i. Central to any industrial policy must be transformation of procurement policies to ensure that they support increased local production and we must resist international pressures to undermine our capacity in this regard.
- j. The commission recommends that the party engages in the campaign to ensure that the WTO Doha round negotiations (and particularly NAMA) does not constrain the policy space we need for industrial policy.
- k. The commission calls for BBBEE to be reviewed so that it can be more aligned to the promotion of local production and procurement and not complicate development programmes that benefit communities and state intervention in that regard.
- l. The commission supported an approach in which development should be more energy saving and conscious of the need to avoid catastrophic climate change. While we support industries becoming greener we are opposed to extending speculative trading in the form of carbon trading.
- m. The commission called for a more energetic promotion of co-operatives and notes the emergence of SANACO as the apex structure of the co-operatives movement.
- n. The commission reiterated that the SACP's fundamental objective is socialisation, which it understand as establishing control by

- direct producers over the means of production. This involves amongst other things effective exercise by producers of powers over the production and distribution of surplus value, as well as effective exercise of powers by producers over the organisation of labour processes.
- o. This vision will shape the SACP's approach to the debate on nationalisation. We support the 52nd ANC Conference Resolution to establish a state owned mining company and we will engage in the debate on nationalisation of mining industry. However we insist that any such moves must serve the transformation of the mining sector, key elements of which must include the beneficiation of mineral products and the transformation to promote increased decent work opportunities in the sector. In this regard the party supports the revisiting of the Mineral and Petroleum Resources Development Act to ensure that the existing state ownership of the mineral resources beneath the soil also serves this agenda.
- p. The commission reiterated the call for nationalisation of specific sectors made in the 12th National Congress but calls on the SETC to examine what transformation in each of those sectors would be needed to advance towards socialisation. A similar exercise also needs to be undertaken with regards to existing State owned enterprises.
- q. The commission also realised that even short of nationalisation we can begin to take steps towards transformation along the road to socialisation. The SETC must identify in detail the opportunities arising in this regard from the likely increased capital's dependence on the state in the period ahead.
- r. On rural development the Commission broadly endorsed the approach in the congress discussion on Rural Development.
- s. It emphasised that market mechanisms will not be able to achieve land reform on a sufficient scale and endorsed the documents recommendation of nationalisation of the land as a step towards socialisation. At the same time, it identified a number of problems in existing state owned land thus emphasising the need for a path towards socialisation.
- t. The commission emphasised that we must break down the marginalisation of rural development, meaning amongst other things, that industrial policy must impact on rural development. The commission was concerned about the decimation of rural trading and other productive activities and emphasises that rural development is not just about farming. It must also be linked to industrial decentralisation and the relocation of other service activities.
- u. The commission therefore supported an integrated focused programme embracing infrastructure, training and support services but is concerned about the bureaucratisation, agentisation and ineffectiveness of existing structures supposed to promote rural development.
- v. The commission is also concerned at the fact that privatisation of previous quasi-regulatory bodies in commercial agriculture have led to a concentration of capital in the sector. The commission called for the establishment of a dedicated rural development bank and an invigorated co-operative development programme. We need to recognise that the current crisis of rural marginalisation by capital creates opportunities for the development of alternatives to capitalism in rural development. In infrastructure special attention needs to be paid to water and road development and there is also a need for better co-ordination with the National Parks Authority.
- w. Education and Training in agriculture needs to be taken more seriously both in school and higher education.
- x. There needs to be recognition of the fact that massive challenges of acute underdevelopment exist in the former Bantustans. Special attention needs to be paid on the impact of traditional leadership on the reproduction of patriarchal relations and on land reform.
- y. The commission reiterates its support for the banning of the labour brokers.
- z. The commission recommends that congress endorses the recommendations in this report.
- Local government and cooperative governance**
- 1 This Congress, notes:
- 1.1 The crucial importance of an effective, efficient, responsive and transformative local government system to the national democratic and socialist struggles.
- 1.2 The severe challenges confronting local government.
- 1.3 The effects of the global and domestic crisis on our country and its consequences for local government.
- 1.3.1 Widespread community protests targeted at a range of failures at municipal level, even if some of the failures are those of provincial and national government.
- 1.3.2 "The State of Local Government in South Africa Report" and the National Local Government Turn-around Strategy (LGTAS) finalised by the Department of Cooperative Governance and Traditional Affairs (COGTA).
- 1.3.3 The consideration by the SNC Commission on Local Government of the LGTAS and the SACP Paper "Local Government, Cooperative Governance and the Developmental State: A Discussion Paper".
- 1.3.4 The government's Policy Review of the powers and functions of the 3 spheres of government, which deals, among other issues, with a possible new model of local government and options on the provinces.
- 1.3.5 The SACP's consistent stress on the need to actively combat corruption in every sphere, including local government, the 2009 Red October campaign on Corruption, and the Special National Congress slogan "Together Let's Fight Capitalist Greed and Corruption!"
- 1.3.6 The CC Political Report to the Special National Congress, particularly the need to reverse the racial, economic and social fragmentation of apartheid planning.
- 2 Therefore resolves to:
- 2.1 Endorse the SACP's "Local Government, Cooperative Governance and the Developmental State: A

- Discussion Paper” as processed by the Commission on Local Government.
- 2.2 Endorse the basic thrust of COGTA’s LGTAS (National Local Government Turnaround Strategy) and actively commit all SACP structures from branch level upwards to play a full, creative and effective role in the implementation of the LGTAS.
- 2.3 Finalise a report on the range of submissions made at the Special National Congress Local Government Commission by the first CC meeting of 2010 and present it at the workshops proposed in section 4 below.
- 2.4 Organise provincial workshops leading to a national workshop on local government in the first half of 2010 to further develop our policies on local government, the government’s Policy Review process, and the Green Paper on Cooperative Governance; our engagement with the LGTAS; and our preparations for the 2011 local government elections.
- 2.5 Mandate the CC to engage further with our Alliance partners and government around the following issues relating to the LGTAS:
- a. The vital importance of organising a massive national effort including the widest range of stakeholders and constituencies in consistent support of the LGTAS.
  - b. Retaining the LGTAS as a national framework and allowing municipalities to develop their own specific turnaround plans within this framework.
  - c. Ensuring that municipalities consult with stakeholders and communities in shaping their turnaround plans.
  - d. Establish inclusive Alliance and community structures that monitor and contribute to the implementation of the LGTAS.
  - e. Avoiding too many targets in too short a time and link immediate, short-term and long-term targets as part of an overall strategy and related programmes.
  - f. Sequencing and phasing the LGTAS, taking into account the balance of forces and capacity and resources available.
  - g. Undertaking a land audit in municipalities
  - h. Linking the LGTAS more clearly to the new local government model that will emerge.
  - i. Linking the LGTAS to our “Know Your Neighbourhood Campaign”, Red October and other campaigns. Engage with our Alliance partners and government on the need for a new, more effective local government model that takes the following issues into account:
    - a. Defending the strengths of the current model while decisively dealing with its weaknesses in a balanced way.
    - b. Shaping the new model of local government within the framework of the need to strengthen the developmental state and the cooperative governance system.
    - c. Considering a review of the two-tier system of District and Local municipalities.
    - d. Welcoming the classification of municipalities according to capacity and the development of a differentiated approach to them.
    - e. Giving full and enthusiastic support for the proposals on Ward Committees and contributing towards Ward Committees tasks in profiling residents in wards, addressing immediate issues of residents, establishing a cooperative in every ward and tackling illiteracy
    - f. Ensuring the more effective integration of IDPs (Integrated Development Plans) into provincial and national planning, and ensuring more effective integration of rural development strategies into IDPs.
    - g. Supporting the review of the financial model of local government, including the local government financial legislation.
    - h. Fully endorsing a review of the supply chain management system
    - i. Clarifying the funding implications of the LGTAS.
    - j. Providing greater clarity on the role of Traditional Leaders.
- 2.6 Engage with our Alliance partners to shape a more effective and productive relationship between the ANC (and Alliance structures) and municipal structures, taking into account the following, among other issues:
- a. While ANC and Alliance structures should provide strategic and policy oversight over councilors and officials, and monitor their performance, they should not micro-manage municipalities, and intervene in narrow or factionalist terms to decide on appointment of officials and decisions about tenders.
  - b. The need to avoid factionalism within political structures being transferred to municipal structures and vice versa.
  - c. A review the deployment of senior political office bearers to the administration of municipalities in which the senior councilors are junior to them in the political structures.
- 2.7 Give full support to a massive anti-corruption campaign in every sphere, including local government, and urge SACP members who are public representatives to abide by the highest socialist morality; and ensure that municipal workers, councillors and others who expose corruption are defended against being penalised in any way.
- 2.7.1 Support a review of utilities and other forms of outsourcing at municipal level and call for a cessation of the creation of new utilities and similar structures until this review is finalised.
  - 2.7.2 Give effective support to the Operation Clean Audit 2014 Campaign
  - 2.7.3 Support legislation and policy that prevents public servant from being councilors in future.
  - 2.7.4 Work with our Alliance partners and government in ensuring that local government takes greater responsibility for environmental protection and regeneration; and the campaign against HIV/Aids.
  - 2.7.5 More actively engage with councilors and municipal officials who are SACP members to ensure that they are fully effective in their municipalities.
  - 2.7.6 Work towards the Moutse, Mata-tiele and other related demarcation challenges being resolved amicably and urgently in the interests of the majority of the people.
  - 2.7.7 Begin preparations for the 2011 local government elections both through own structures and those of the Alliance as soon as possible, and to focus in particular on the challenges in the Western Cape.

SACP CENTRAL COMMITTEE

# Let us remain focused on the key challenges: unemployment, poverty and inequality!

*This statement was released by the Central Committee of the SACP following its February 2010 meeting*

**T**HE SOUTH AFRICAN COMMUNIST Party Central Committee held its first regular meeting for 2010 over the weekend of 26th – 27th February. The CC agreed that the SACP's call to our membership, to our alliance partners, and to South Africans in general is straight-forward: Let us all remain focused on the key problems confronting our country – unemployment, poverty and inequality. Let us close ranks and unite around addressing these key challenges. Let us make a clear distinction between:

- differences and debates based on *bona fide* policy challenges, on the one hand; and
- battles requiring an absolutely uncompromising stance on the other.

In the latter category, in particular, the SACP believes we need to place in prime position the struggle to roll-back and defeat the corrosive scourge of corruption in and between the private and public sectors.

The SACP calls on its members, on the working class, on the great majority of South Africans to join us in a relentless battle against this grave danger to all that we have already achieved in our democracy, and to all that we still wish

to achieve.

Over the past months, SACP structures, working closely with Cosatu affiliates, have played a leading role in the fight against corruption. In Krugersdorp, for instance, SACP local structures have exposed corruption involving councillors selling RDP houses. In KZN our provincial structure is leading a campaign for transparency around serious allegations and anomalies in the provincial developmental bank, Ithala.

The CC expresses its full support for these and other actions taken up by our structures. We have resolved to seek to build a broad coalition of forces fighting against the scourge of corruption.

This is not just a moral battle, it is also

**We welcome the statement from government that priority No 1 is to place our country onto a new, developmental growth path**

a struggle against a system. We must roll-back an economy in which everything becomes a commodity, in which everybody has his or her price. Either we roll-back this system, or it will roll us back. We need to insist that there are basic human rights to safety, to education and training, to a job, to health-care and a sustainable environment, to shelter and to a community life of dignity. We need to roll back the domination of the market in all of these key areas of our lives.

All of our shared programmes in the ANC-led alliance are related to achieving a society based on these values of human solidarity.

In particular, the SACP welcomes the categorical statement from government in the President's state of nation address, and in the Minister of Finance's budget speech that priority number one is to place our country onto a new, developmental growth path in which jobs and greater equality are the key priorities and key measures of success. Government's recently unveiled Industrial Policy Action Programme is one key pillar in this regard.

But to advance all of these objectives we need to ensure that public resources are used developmentally and not mis-

directed into private accumulation. The misdirection of public resources through illegal and even legal but anti-social rent-seeking of all kinds must be halted – these include fraudulent grants, tenderpreneurship, the excessive outsourcing of state capacity, import fronting under the guise of BEE, and exorbitant payments to public-sector managers.

There are a number of systemic issues that need to be radically transformed:

- More and more we run the danger of having state departments tendering out almost all of their activities. We need an activist state. It is the core task of the state to render directly a public service to the public – not to render out tenders to tenderpreneurs and all kinds of rent-seeking intermediaries.

- Many tasks can also be conducted through the state working hand-in-hand with local communities and cooperatives – in the construction of housing for instance.

- This is not to say that there are not services which need to be contracted by the state from private providers. Where this occurs we need much greater transparency around the tendering process. At the local level communities need to be informed about who has tendered and for what. And when a tender has been awarded the community, again, needs to be informed, with the reasons given.

- On the question of life-style audits, the CC fully supports policies and regulations currently in place in regard to elected public representatives. The declarations required of public representatives need to be enforced and the importance of public access to these declarations is fully supported. We also fully support the statutory right and obligation of state entities like SARS to pursue life-style audits where appropriate and without fear or favour. We also see the media as a key ally in the struggle against corruption. However, we need to guard against the trivialising of life-style audits in which we have media-driven beauty contests and in which there is a very real danger of factional manipulation.

Let us unite in action around our shared alliance programme of action. We

## The potential abuse of a youth employment wage subsidy to employers appears to have not been seriously considered

make this call in the context of a political situation in which it is easy to lose focus, and to become distracted by the melodrama of small but loud-mouthed factional groupings hell-bent on undermining the very substantial strategic unity that now prevails across our alliance and across much of government that is hard at work.

However, to speak of a substantial strategic unity across our alliance and through government does not mean that there are not important, outstanding matters that require further discussion, debate and resolution.

These matters include the premature proposal for a wage subsidy to encourage youth employment; the unfinished discussion within the alliance on how to align macro-economic policy with the key strategic challenge of placing our economy onto a different, developmental growth path; and the recent exorbitant electricity tariff hikes.

### Youth wage subsidy unwise

On the proposed youth employment wage subsidy, the SACP notes that this idea was unwisely floated in last week's budget speech without proper processing and without any consultation with Cosatu, the SACP, or, for that matter, the ANC itself. While we certainly need to take the challenge of millions of unemployed youth extremely seriously, the potential abuse of a wage subsidy to employers appears to have not been seriously considered. Unless this measure is very diligently regulated and monitored, the danger is that employers will use it as a cover to dilute worker rights,

and use it to substitute incumbent full-time workers with temporary, subsidised youth employees. The SACP will engage with our alliance partners on a range of proposals, including around youth in-service training, that we believe are better able to address the challenge of youth unemployment.

### Business unfinished

In regard to the alignment of macro-economic policy with our industrial policy and developmental growth path, the SACP notes that the alliance task team mandated by our alliance summit in November has not done the work required of it. The SACP will be engaging its allies in the coming days to ensure that real progress is made in this area. In particular, we believe that unduly high interest rates are continuing to attract short-term speculative flows into our country, which, in turn, inflate the value of the rand. An over-valued rand impacts on our critical manufacturing sector by dampening export competitiveness and by encouraging imports that undermine local job creation.

### Electricity

On the electricity rate hike the SACP has joined millions of others in expressing grave concern about its impact on workers and the poor. However, condemnation of the hikes is not enough. In the first place, lest we now repeat old errors, we need to recognise the fundamental source of the generation capacity backlog which has now required a costly generation build programme. The core of the problem dates back to the late 1990s and early 2000s, when government set about privatising Eskom on the seriously mistaken illusion that the private sector would be willing to build generation capacity and still provide affordable electricity. The years lost as a result of this illusion are now costing all of us.

In the second place, it is not good enough to lament. Failure to address the generation back-log at this point would be even more disastrous for our economy and therefore for jobs. We would like to see government together with all

## JOIN THE DEBATE

Send your contributions to Umsebenzi  
Email [malesela@sacp.org.za](mailto:malesela@sacp.org.za) or write to:  
PO Box 1027 Johannesburg 2000

## All our branch, district structures must mobilise the people to actively participate in the turnaround plans of every municipality

South Africans provide much more active leadership around proactive steps to have a popular energy-saving campaign. During the rolling black-outs there were the beginnings of such a campaign, but it seems to have largely been forgotten. We need to take a leaf out of the inspiring example of a country like Cuba which, when facing very serious energy challenges, has not simply imposed, top-down price-hikes on its people, but has always sought to work closely with its mobilised citizens. In this context, we need to see a much bolder approach to the mass roll-out of solar geyser heaters and other ways in which, at a grass-roots level, everyone can contribute to saving energy costs.

We need also to return, once more, to strategic questions around the impact of capital-intensive energy guzzling industries like aluminium smelters. These plants create few jobs and are sustained by long-term, low-priced electricity deals. The raw material (bauxite) is imported, and these smelters are basically exporting South African electricity. South Africans are paying for this irrational arrangement.

However, to repeat the core message emerging from the Central Committee, while youth unemployment, macro-economic policy and the price of electricity are all areas requiring further discussion within our Alliance, it is absolutely imperative that we do not allow these debates to distract us from the key unifying task confronting our movement. Let us build unity in action around our shared strategic priorities. Let us implement together the important new industrial policy action programme. Let us defeat the corrosive effect of corruption in the public and private sectors.

In line with CC practice of receiving policy briefings from ministers and senior officials, this weekend's CC received briefings on, among other things, human settlement and rural development policy.

### Year of the Branch

The SACP has declared 2010 to be the Year of the Branch. In this year we hope to build even more localised branches by focusing on the voting district as the key building block. As we build our local structures one of the first strategic tasks is for communists to support government's Local Government Turnaround Strategy.

We urge all our branch, district and other structures to mobilise the people to actively participate in shaping the turnaround plans of every municipality in the country over the next few weeks. For these turnaround plans to be effective, they must be owned by local communities.

We must ensure that these plans are mass-driven, not technocratic, and are included in the integrated development plans (IDPs) that shape municipal budgets. We must link the campaign on the municipal turnaround plans with our 2011 local government elections campaign and build our new voting district SACP branches.

It is through local vigilance, local participation, organisation and mobilisation that we will also defeat the scourge of corruption.

### Greece

On the international front, the CC noted the deepening social and economic crisis in Greece. This is one more indicator that the global capitalist crisis is far from over. The crisis in Greece is linked to the neo-liberal orthodoxies embedded within the EU, in which there is a monetary union but not a fiscal union. Countries like Greece have been forced to impose tough monetary including interest rate and inflation policies that favour big European banks, while the fiscal responsibility for raising public funds and allocating them resides at the national level.

The SACP supports its allies in Greece, including the trade union federation, PAME, and the Communist Party of Greece, KKE, in their struggle to ensure that it is not the working people and poor of Greece who are forced to carry the burden of this crisis.

Our solidarity goes to the people and government of Chile following the devastating earthquake on Saturday.

**Together, let us be vigilant!**

**Tivusa Tingwenya!**

**Let the tenderpreneurs, the fraudsters, the rent-seekers, those who grow fat from stealing from the people, let them tremble!** ●

## Fatima Meer



*One by one the petals  
fall away  
And the thorns peer from  
the bare branch  
We must all travel this  
road  
When our life's work comes  
to an end*

*The final bell tolls for  
all of us  
Yours rang merrily on  
Welcoming you into the  
Great Beyond*

*It sang: you left your mark  
As we all should  
To cleanse this world  
Of our own cruel follies.*

*Rest dear daughter  
of humanity's eternal  
strivings  
You wrote a memorable  
chapter  
To inspire us on*

**BENNIE BUNSEE**  
**Veteran Activist**

12th March 2010  
Cape Town

STATE OF THE NATION ADDRESS

# SONA and the priorities of the SACP

*We must judge it against the six priorities we set for encouraging communists to vote for the ANC in 2009*

BY LEBOGANG HOVEKA

COMMUNISTS AND REVOLUTIONARIES seek to understand the world, philosophically and practically, so they can transform it to achieve an equal society. It is this ideal that should occupy the mind of those who seek to build socialism for the future, now.

Thus the dialectical approach towards analysing the post-Polokwane state of the nation should be informed by the reality that, two years down the line, there are some within the ranks of the ruling party, the elitist media and the general public who have not accepted the outcome that an informally educated person can be president of the country, let alone of the ANC. It is this narrow Plato-philosophical notion of the elite that informs the criticism of President Jacob Zuma's State of the Nation Address (SONA).

It is true that President Zuma's address was lacking in sound bites and quotations from Yates, Shakespeare and other "philosophers" who did well to interpret the world but did very little to change it. There is nothing inconsistent in Cde Zuma's approach; the country needs practical speeches with clear outcomes and deliverables. The truth is that the posture of the post-Polokwane state of the nation addresses requires that the programme of government should be outcomes based and delivery orientated. While we have made a lot of progress in the last 15 years, the current reality is that the ruling party has to deliver at a faster pace, in the shortest period of time. Therefore as revolutionaries, who are first and foremost dedicated

to changing the world, we should analyse and juxtapose the SONA in the context of the objectives that we set ourselves in the alliance backed ANC elections manifesto. The only question that should occupy all minds is whether it remains bold and steadfast in pursuing the progressive agenda that was set at Polokwane.

Equally, we have to analyse the SONA within the context of the priorities that we have set ourselves as the SACP. We set ourselves six priorities in the period leading up to the elections and set these as the basis for encouraging our members and followers to vote the ANC. These priorities were to create decent work and build workers co-operatives; free and quality education; health care for all; land reform - for food production and food security; to defeat crime and to deepen democracy- so that the people's voices are heard.

## **Taking Election Manifesto forward**

Among the key features of the President's speech, the following commitments were made to the six priority areas that we've set ourselves:

On decent work and building worker cooperatives the President committed himself to "the training-lay-off scheme to allow workers the option of training instead of retrenchment"; more labour-intensive projects under the expanded

public works programme; R6-billion to help companies in distress; an industrial policy action plan with a new focus on green jobs, building stronger and more labour-intensive industries. The President further tabled proposals to subsidise the cost of employing young workers and encourage firms to take on inexperienced staff.

Committing to free and quantity education, the President reiterated the need for teachers, unions, students and government to accede to the non-negotiables in education. In the current year, students will be provided with easy to use workbooks in all 11 official languages. There will be a programme introduced for literary and numeracy testing in early school phases, these will be conducted independently to assess the quality of our education.

In addition 27 000 schools will be assessed by officials of the Department of Basic Education and this will be recorded in an auditable report. Additional measures will also include increasing the number of university admissions to 175 000 by 2014. The president also noted his appreciation for the teacher unions commitments towards the Quality Learning and Teaching campaign.

The President highlighted measures to improve our health care system by building and upgrading hospitals and clinics, and further improving the working conditions of healthcare workers. This will include working together with the Development Bank of South Africa, the Industrial Development Corporation and through public-private partnerships in preparation for a more integrated health care system.

**The country needs practical speeches with clear outcomes and deliverables**



**President Jacob Zuma: Judging his SONA against the SACP's priorities**

The President raised concern at the drop in life expectancy from 60 years in 1994 to 50 years today. Measures to reduce this will include effective treatment of HIV and TB, reducing infant mortality via an immunisation programme, the reinstatement of health programmes in schools and the continuing preparations for the establishment of a national health insurance system.

The President expressed the government's continued commitment to rural development, land reform, food production and food security. He reported on the progress made at the pilot site of the Comprehensive Rural Development Program in Giyani Limpopo. Since the beginning of the project, 231 houses have been built, progress has been made in providing infrastructure support to agricultural development and there has been training for community members. These types of projects will be rolled out in 160 wards by 2014. It is intended that 60% of households that reside in these sites will meet their own food requirements, from their own production, by 2014.

Crime remained a central concern in the SONA with the President announcing implementation of plans to increase

the number of policemen and women by 10% over the next three years. He called on communities to participate in community safety forums, stop buying stolen goods, provide the police with information on criminal activity and work together to fight crime.

The President committed government to listen to the voices of the people and to deepen democracy by having measures to make government more accessible to the public and to help unblock service blockages. He reiterated government's commitment to building a democratic and unitary state, grounded in the ideals espoused by Nelson Mandela to build a better future for all South Africans, black and white. Critical amongst these objectives, is the need to "turn around" local government.

The President is committed to ensuring that local government has the correct management with administrative and technical skills to accelerate service delivery. There are plans to provide land tenure and services to at least 500 000 households by 2014, and make available R1-billion to incentivise private banks to support housing initiatives and the accelerated roll-out of basic services.

#### **Economic context**

The address was delivered against the backdrop of the recovery from the deepest recession in modern history; it has therefore presented the President with challenges that require a delicate balancing act given our resource constraints and the current political environment. Being mindful of this, and while understanding that the SONA is delivered in difficult times, communists should not forget to build socialism today for the future.

The ANC by its nature and character, as broad church and the governing party, must be seen as party that caters for the needs of all. This, in the context of a socialist ideal, also poses the serious threat that government programmes may seek to narrowly respond to the current economic challenges, politicking, media, markets and other factors. This inherent class-threat requires that in welcoming the SONA, the party should remain vigilant in guarding the progressive gains made at the 52<sup>nd</sup> ANC National Conference. ●

*Cde Lebogang Hoveka is a member of the YCL*

## 2010 PROGRAMME OF ACTION

# The year of the branch!

# Towards 500 000 members!

*Together let us build a society based on people's needs!*  
*Together let us build socialism now!*

**A**FTER COMPLETING A SUCCESSFUL 2009, the 10<sup>th</sup> Plenary Session of the 12<sup>th</sup> National Congress laid a successful basis for a framework of the 2010 Annual Programme of Action.

This framework was endorsed by the Special National Congress (SNC) which further mandated the Central Committee to refine aspects of the programme of action.

Both the Central Committee and the SNC welcomed the significant growth of the SACP in terms of membership and attributed this growth to the successful campaigns that the SACP has continued to wage on a range of issues including the land, public health, transport and financial sector transformation campaigns.

We welcome and celebrate the growth in our membership. But it poses new challenges for the organisation. It is against this background that both congress and the Central Committee declared 2010 as the Year of the Branch.

The directive is in 2010 the SACP must enhance the capacity especially of our district structures to support branch activity, including the process of re-demarcation of our branches to be voting district-based branches. SACP branches and all our structures need to be repositioned to play an important role in the implementation of the ANC-led Manifesto priorities.

Equally, this call give effect to the call made by Congress to strengthen and re-orient our rural districts and branches to prioritise "the task of building and strengthening the motive forces for rural transformation, especially the building of people's land committees and the organization of farm-workers and farm dwellers". 2010 as the year of the branch means that our branches must give prac-

tical meaning to the congress resolutions on matters of local governance and addressing effectively our problems of service delivery. Central to our task in 2010 is to continue to prosecute all campaigns of the SACP launched annually as part of our Red October campaigns including the single biggest threat to our revolution, corruption, greed and bling!

Key pillars of the 2010 programme of action include the following:

#### **Building local government that prioritises people's needs**

- i. To direct all our structures to engage communities and local government structures to address people's needs. This requires that each branch of the SACP, guided by the districts, should identify local priority needs in its locality around which the SACP should campaign. For example, in rural areas our structures must take up the issues of land, agrarian transformation and the organization of farm workers and farm dwellers as well as the building of people's land committees. Our urban based branches need to focus on building SACP workplace units as part of supporting the agenda of creating decent work.
- ii. Prioritise the strengthening of ward committees as part of achieving the above, and a centre piece for the SACP in supporting government's local government turn-around strategy
- iii. Convening of local government workshops in all our districts and provinces, culminating in a national workshop. These workshops should also focus on discussing what kind of ANC

councillor we need if we are to achieve a turn-around in local government. These workshops must take the form of the commissariat schools in order to empower our cadres to deepen their understanding of local government and conduct political education on this critical area.

- iv. Engage our allies for the convening of regional local government summits
- v. Intensifying the struggle against corruption and patronage by building people's capacity to expose corruption, and an intensified struggle against tenderpreneurship.
- vi. Taking up issues affecting SMEs at local government level, especially timeous payment by government, countering the threats of the expansion of malls to SME activity in the townships, and the building of co-operatives, priority being given to co-operative banks. The latter should be contextualized within the task of reviving our financial sector campaign
- vii. Supporting government's programme to build skills development hubs in the rural areas as part of local economic development

#### **Building people's power for affordable and accessible education and health**

- i. The building of people's education and health committees at the local level, ensuring that our schools, FET colleges and community health centres are functional
- ii. I intensifying our campaign to strengthen primary health care, the implementation of the Na-

tional Health Insurance scheme and the rolling back of outsourcing, corruption and casualisation in the health sector

**Intensifying the struggle against corruption and patronage**

- i. The struggle against corruption and patronage must cut across and be integrated into all our campaigns as outlined in the first two pillars of our PoA
- ii. In addition, we should hold national and provincial consultative forums against corruption, led by the SACP and inviting our allies, progressive NGOs, SMEs, co-ops and other relevant parties
- iii. Campaign for more transparent processes in the award of government tenders in all the spheres of government
- iv. Engage the trade union movement in exposing corruption in both the public and private sectors

**2. Building strong SACP branches as part of the Year of the Branch**

- i. This pillar of our programme must also cut across all the other pillars, as the building of strong SACP branches must be through intensified campaigning and mass mobilization
- ii. In addition, the work of building VD based branches must be significantly intensified with particular targets set for the end of the year
- iii. Using, amongst other things, the Communist University and our publications to ensure that there is regular political education sessions in all our branches

- iv. Ensuring that at least one BEC and district member has access to internet and email in all our branches, as a means of improving internal SACP communication and facilitating political education throughout the SACP structures
- v. Engage our allies on all our campaigns, with particular attention being paid to holding of alliance meetings at both district and branch levels during this year

**3. Deepening internationalist work**

- i. Intensify our campaigns in our priority areas for solidarity (Swaziland, Saharawi, Palestine, Cuba and Zimbabwe)
- ii. Solidarity activities with the people of Haiti
- iii. Holding of the second ALNEF meeting and the hosting of the International Meeting of Workers and Communist Parties

**Size does matter: A class approach to building a larger SACP**

The key challenge facing the SACP this year and towards our MTV timeline in 2014 is that of building a larger but quality SACP. Our commitment to 500 000 members by 2014 is indeed one of the most serious commitments we have ever made as the SACP regarding the size of our Party. This also means that we have to grow our membership by at least 100 000 members per annum between now and 2014. Nevertheless it is a task we must undertake with energy.

As we have done in the past, we do not just grow our membership through distribution of forms and persuading people to join. This must be part of our

ongoing campaigns and being in the trenches with the workers and the poor of our country. This must not just be a numbers game, but we must simultaneously grow the party quantitatively and qualitatively. This also means a more systematic and focused attention to raising the necessary resources as we build a larger SACP.

Our resolution to grow the Party is informed by a number of interrelated reasons. Firstly, in order for us to realize the objectives of our MTV we need a 'longer reach' than our current membership allows. Secondly, in order for us to effectively play a vanguard role, communists must be literally everywhere, including in all key sites of power.

Our numbers, as they stand, are a good foundation, but not adequate to realize this role. It is also true that a larger SACP is better able to defend itself from its enemies and detractors, and thus safeguard a radical national democratic revolution and a transition to socialism.

If we are to grow quantitatively and qualitatively we must therefore even be more systematic in our recruitment and growth. Most important, we must always be guided by our class approach to growing the SACP.

Our approach to growing the Party must be informed by the fact that a larger SACP must not dilute its vanguard character and role, but instead it can strengthen that capacity to be a vanguard party.

Our overall approach must be that we need to independently root the SACP amongst the workers and the poor of our country, and also reach out to the intelligentsia and other sections of the lower middle classes who stand to benefit from a radical national democratic revolution. ●



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## 2010 PROGRAMME OF ACTION

# The Central Committee framework for the national PoA

*This is the overview of the POA adopted  
at the February CC meeting*

**T**HE LAST CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF 2009 adopted a framework for a Programme of Action for 2010. In the light of some of the resolutions taken at our 2<sup>nd</sup> Special Congress in December 2009, and our assessment of the current political challenges facing the SACP and our revolution arising out of political discussions at the Special Congress, it is important that we tighten and fine-tune our 2010 PoA.

Some of the political imperatives that necessitate the tightening of our programme include the following:

- The significant growth of the SACP since our 12<sup>th</sup> Congress, and Special Congress resolution to grow the SACP into a membership of 500 000 by 2014, poses significant challenges for the SACP, especially the need to build a quality cadre.

- Declaring 2010 as the Year of the SACP Branch will require careful attention to enhancing the capacity of especially our districts to support branch activity, including the process of redemarcation of our branches to be voting district based branches.

- The need for the Party to use 2010 to position itself to play an important role in the implementation of the ANC-led Manifesto priorities

- The Special Congress also specifically directed us to pay particular attention to local governance. The resolution directs us to, amongst other things, “Endorse the basic thrust of the government’s ‘Local Government Turn Around Strategy’ and actively commit all SACP

structures from branch level upwards to play a full, creative and effective role in the implementation of this (strategy)” In addition Congress directs us to convene provincial workshops and a national workshop on local government during the first half of 2010. These tasks are in themselves very important platforms to strengthen our branches to give content to the year of the SACP branch

- Congress also called upon the SACP to strengthen and re-orient our rural districts and branches to prioritise, according to the political report to Congress, “the task of building and strengthening the motive forces for rural transformation, especially the building of people’s land committees and the organisation of farm-workers and farm dwellers. This means that whilst all our structures should implement a single PoA, at the same time if we are to be a vanguard, we need to develop the capacity of our branches and districts to take up matters closer to their local realities.

- Political developments within our Alliance especially since our Special Congress also require a 2010 programme of action that will focus on strengthening the SACP and its vanguard role, including the necessity to strengthen the Alliance at all levels.

## **The Year 2010, the Year of the Branch**

In the light of the above, and other related matters, it is proposed that our 2010 programme of action should focus on

the following activities:

### **Building local government that prioritises people’s needs**

- To direct all our structures to take up and engage communities and local government structures to address people’s needs. This requires that each branch of the SACP, guided by the districts, should identify local priority needs in its locality around which the SACP should campaign. For example in rural areas our structures must take up the issues of land, agrarian transformation and the organisation of farm workers and farm dwellers as well as the building of people’s land committees. Our urban based branches need to focus on building SACP workplace units as part of supporting the agenda of creating decent work.

- Prioritise the strengthening of ward committees as part of achieving the above, and a centre piece for the SACP in supporting government’s local government turn-around strategy

- Convening of local government workshops in all our districts and provinces, culminating in a national workshop. These workshops should also focus on discussing what kind of an ANC councillor we need if we are to achieve a turn-around in local government. These workshops must take the form of the commissariat schools in order to empower our cadres to deepen their understanding of local government and conduct political education on this critical area.

- Engage our allies for the convening

of regional local government summits

- Intensifying the struggle against corruption and patronage by building people's capacity to expose these, and an intensified struggle against tenderpreneurship.

- Taking up issues affecting SMEs at local government level, especially timeous payment by government, countering the threats of the expansion of malls to SME activity in the townships, and the building of co-operatives, priority being given to co-operative banks. The latter should be contextualised within the task of reviving our financial sector campaign

- Supporting government's programme to build skills development hubs in the rural areas as part of local economic development

**Building people's power for affordable and accessible education and health**

- The building of people's education and health committees at the local level, ensuring that our schools, FET colleges and community health centres are functional

- Intensifying our campaign to strengthen primary health care, the implementation of the National Health In-

surance scheme and the rolling back of outsourcing, corruption and casualisation in the health sector

**Intensifying the struggle against corruption and patronage**

- The struggle against corruption and patronage must cut across and be integrated into all our campaigns as outlined in the first two pillars of our PoA

- In addition, we should hold national and provincial consultative forums against corruption, led by the SACP and inviting our allies, progressive NGOs, SMEs, co-ops and other relevant parties

- Campaign for more transparent processes in the award of government tenders in all the spheres of government

Engage the trade union movement in exposing corruption in both the public and private sectors

**Building strong SACP branches as part of the Year of the Branch**

- This pillar of our programme must also cut across all the other pillars, as the building of strong SACP branches must be through intensified campaigning and mass mobilisation

- In addition, the work of building

VD based branches must be significantly intensified with particular targets set for the end of the year

- Using, amongst other things, the Communist University and our publications to ensure that there is regular political education sessions in all our branches

- Ensuring that at least one BEC and district member have access to internet and email in all our branches, as a means of improving internal SACP communication and facilitating political education throughout the SACP structures

- Engage our allies on all our campaigns, with particular attention being paid to holding of alliance meetings at both district and branch levels during this year

**Deepening internationalist work**

- Intensify our campaigns in our priority areas for solidarity (Swaziland, Saharawi, Palestine, Cuba and Zimbabwe)

- Solidarity activities with the people of Haiti

- Holding of the second ALNEF meeting and the hosting of the International Meeting of Workers and Communist Parties.



# The African Communist

1st Quarter 2010

## SPECIAL NATIONAL CONGRESS

- ★ SNC Political Report
- ★ Cde Jacob Zuma's full speech to the SNC
- ★ Cde Zwelinzima Vavi's full speech to the SNC

## WHAT'S UP WITH THE MEDIA?

- ★ Why is the SA press so rightwing?

FREE STATE PROVINCIAL COUNCIL

# 'The spectre of class consciousness is awakening among the masses'

*The Free State SACP issued the following statement after its Provincial Council meeting*

**W**E, THE DELEGATES FROM THE branches and structures of the SACP and the Young Communist League gathered at this 5<sup>th</sup> Provincial Council which is witnessed by the presence of both the leadership collectives of Cosatu and the ANC, have assembled here in QwaQwa under the theme: "2010, the Year of the SACP branches".

This is a critical moment in our unfolding NDR and we deliberate upon political developments in the country and the province which have a direct bearing on our organisation and the progressive movement at large.

We are further emboldened in spirit and determination by the Special National Congress's resolutions which will serve as a source of inspiration to drive the political programme of our organisation, the SACP, this year and beyond.

The council takes place after the commemoration of Joe Slovo Anniversary in January and the celebration of the 98<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of the ANC in Kimberly.

We take pleasure in the knowledge that this Provincial Council takes place during the week in which our people and the people of the world are celebrating 20 years of the un-banning of the ANC and the SACP and other organisations. Most importantly, the world is profoundly delighted to celebrate the 20 years of Madiba's release from prison.

Also, we are sadly meeting in the aftermath of the earthquake that ravaged the people of Haiti with whom we stand in solidarity for a speedy restoration of

family livelihoods and the reconstruction of this African state in the Diaspora.

We note with serious concern the undesirable outcomes of the Copenhagen Conference on Climate Change and Global warming. We are concerned about our planet earth as communists because we are red and we are green.

We are alive to the challenges facing our party which require immediate and energetic mobilisation of the mass of our people on the ground.

Whereas we appreciate the real challenges in our province including the inter and intra-alliance political dynamics we are confident that all party activists shall be seized with the historical and contemporary duty to consolidate, deepen and defend the unity and cohesion of the ANC led alliance.

While the unity of the alliance is paramount, such unity in the province must be translated into practice, be seen by the people through programmatic action! We recognise the interlocking roles, overlapping and often complimentary historical duties of the SACP, Cosatu and the ANC in our shared endeavours to resolve the inherent and interconnected national, gender and class contradictions;

Our call as delegates is for unity based on principles and rich in depth of character or shared understanding. There can be no unity based on the shifting sand of political illusion and expediency. "Unity" which lacks character and substance can only lead to antagonism and mistrust, recurring problems and misleading conclusions made on the basis and appear-

ance of false pretexts.

The Provincial Council identified the following challenges as requiring firm and deliberate action:

Strengthening and building strong party structures in the province to make a meaningful contribution on the Special National Congress 500 000 membership target by 2014;

The party should prioritise and make its primary core-business, political education and ideological work throughout the province;

Jointly with Alliance partners, convene the Municipal Indaba, guided by the turnaround strategy on Local Government, fight vehemently corruption and nepotism which are the two main evils that threaten and weaken the revolution!

Continue to strive, through engagement, seek alternative mechanisms to outsourcing of health and other public services;

Build a dynamic, living and vibrant Alliance structures in the province which will be replicated to the district and branch levels;

That the deployment strategy of the movement should be applied in a manner that recognises capabilities of those deployed and advances the transformation of the state as well the developmental agenda;

The Deployment and Accountability Framework of the Party is not a secret but an existing reality for all to appreciate and understand.

We are mindful that for as long as there are conditions which reproduce class exploitation, corruption, underdevelopment, poverty, unemployment and all social ills, there will always be a case for socialism.

We reaffirm the Koffiefontein Declaration, on our commitment to building the Alliance from below and defend the organic and vibrant relations with the ANC, Cosatu and Sanco as a viable revolutionary movement.

The latter point must serve to remind us all that the people's patience and loyalty to the movement might run thin quicker than we anticipate. Without being alarmist, paraphrasing Marx "the spectre of class consciousness is awakening among the masses and is stalking our movement".

Our confidence is boosted by the fact that a seedbed for a hegemonic working class party's presence in all communities has been prepared for a fresh beginning. ●

KZN PROVINCIAL LEKGOTLA

# We're seeing to the quantity – now we will build the quality of KZN communists!

*The KZN SACP issued the following statement after its recent Legkotla*

**T**HE SOUTH AFRICAN COMMUNIST Party in KwaZulu-Natal held its provincial Legkotla recently. Central to the deliberations was discussion on the implementation strategy and plan emanating from the Special National Congress in December 2009.

Topical issues pertaining to the Alliance were also covered.

The SACP KZN commits itself to encouraging a good and healthy Alliance relationship in the province to positively contribute to a better relationship nationally. The SACP KZN also denies any notion or perception that gives an impression of strained or tense relationships in the Alliance.

This is wishful thinking or deliberate disinformation peddling by politically flawed forces that are anti-worker and anti-poor. SACP KZN also dismisses as political rubbish allegations reported about our General Secretary, Cde Blade Nzimande, having ambitions to be elected as Deputy President in the forthcoming National Conference of the ANC in 2012. We repeat here that this is the filthy propaganda of people who are politically corrupt. We are committed to and supportive of the current leadership of the ANC.

The Legkotla expressed its full support of the ANC's January 8 Statement. We are impressed by its main thrust of enhancing service delivery, increasing our efforts at prioritising and improving on our education and health, fighting corruption and crime and thriving to further improve the Alliance relationship.

The SACP in KZN commits itself to be in the forefront of realising these intentions of the 2010 line of March.

The Legkotla also raised serious concern about the rise of the culture of corruption. What has been observed now is that authorities and political leadership have mastered the art of lip service, cover-up and spin doctoring on issues of corruption. Impediment to service delivery can be attributed mostly to practices of corruption.

The SACP KZN also expresses its dissatisfaction at the commitment of authorities to deal with reported allegations of corruption in Ithala.

The Party strongly believes that the government needs to have done more to address the serious matters of governance at Ithala. The SACP in KZN resolves to increase its fight to ensure that lapses on matters of governance and allegations of corruption at Ithala are properly addressed by the responsible authorities. The Legkotla mandated its leadership to engage the board of Ithala and the MEC for Economic Affairs and Tourism on the above.

The SACP in KZN supports the call by the General Secretary of the SACP to all government institutions to make tender processes transparent and accountable to the public. We must also voice our concern regarding the disturbing reports about the Mpisane tender at Ethekwini Municipality. We urge the Ethekwini Council to clear up this matter to the public as a matter of urgency. But SACP KZN is saying that the

Mpisanes must not be the only ones targeted because they happened to be from a poor background. We must also look at all companies monopolising tenders in Ethekwini, and there must be a quality audit of all housing projects by Ethekwini Municipality, including how these tenders were obtained.

We congratulate the MEC for Co-operative Government and Traditional Affairs, Cde Nomusa Dube, for the impact she has made since taking over the Department of Co-operative Government and Traditional Affairs. Her decisive action at Umhlabuyalingana, Indaka and Ukhahlamba Municipalities shows a MEC with vision. We also applaud the SACP district in Far North for exposing corruption at the Umhlabuyalingana Municipality. In addition, we condemn the killing of a female councillor in Newcastle. The Legkotla supports the initiative of the MEC for Transport, Safety and Liaison, Cde Willies Mchunu, to form a united front against crime. The SACP KZN will meet the MEC to explore ways of working together in the fight against crime. We will also urge the MEC to include the fight against corruption in this partnership.

On health, the SACP KZN is disturbed by the dilly-dallying on issues pertaining to the implementation of NHI. It is clear that private business is prepared to do all it can to frustrate implementation or hijack it for its own interest. The SACP, therefore, resolves to embark on a massive campaign to collect petitions to present to the government to speed up the implementation of the NHI.

The SACP detests the action of the former CEO of Eskom of instituting a R85-million lawsuit against this parastatal. We are taking this as an application to steal money from the state. We therefore fully support the Portfolio Committee on Public Enterprises that the government must consider looking at capping executive salaries in state owned enterprises.

In fact, we call for full state intervention in the running of state enterprises.

Lastly, the Legkotla expresses its dissatisfaction at the effort made by the SACP in KZN in becoming the top performing province in South Africa. The increase in its membership to 21 000 from 3 000 in year 2000 is an effort that must be applauded.

The province now commits itself to concentrating on the quality of its membership

JOE SLOVO MEMORIAL

# 15 years on: What Slovo signals ...

*Joe Slovo taught us how best to understand the class content of the national question – and the national content of the class question*

BY MALESELA MALEKA

JANUARY 6, 2010 MARKED THE 15th anniversary of the passing away of one of the leading strategists of the movement, Cde Joe Slovo.

Slovo was born in Lithuania and immigrated to South Africa when he was eight with his parents. He joined the SACP in 1942.

The SACP hosted the main commemorative events at the graveside of Cde Joe Slovo in Avalon cemetery which was addressed by the General Secretary of the SACP, Cde Blade Nzimande, and the widowed wife of Cde Slovo, Helena Dolny. Elsewhere in the country the ANC held various memorial lectures in the run up to the successful 98<sup>th</sup> Anniversary Rally held in the Northern Cape, Kimberley.

The National Chairperson of the SACP, Cde Gwede Mantashe, addressed memorial lectures in honour of Cde Joe Slovo in Durban and Khayelitsha.

Many comrades spoke of the commitment and selflessness that Cde Joe Slovo had demonstrated in his life and service to the liberation movement. He served the movement in difficult times and he had to forego possible elite benefits that were reserved for a particular section during the apartheid regime. During these difficult times, Slovo's loyalty remained with nobody else but the oppressed majority of South Africa and globally.

Cde Slovo has been described as a brave, robust, painstaking and methodological intellectual. He was a resolute Marxist-Leninist. He was a strategist of high calibre and was at the centre of

important operations of Umkhonto we Sizwe that inflicted defeats on the apartheid regime. At our most recent visit to Lilesleaf farm, we were shown a truck that Slovo and others used to smuggle arms into the country for MK operation under the guise of running a safari excursion.

Cde Slovo always placed utmost importance on the collective responsibility of the leadership despite him playing a seminal role as an individual in epoch-making moments of our revolution. Slovo, we are told, was not pompous!!

When the capitalist system dealt communism its biggest blow and it led to the collapse of the Soviet Union, many chose to shun and denigrate socialism. The ideological warfare against socialism won many into abandoning the execution of the struggle of this noble goal. The international communist family was in disarray. Slovo did not turn his back. He wrote an important piece that was to guide not only communists in South Africa but all over the world when he produced the pamphlet *Has Socialism Failed?*

**He taught us how best to understand the class content of the national question and the national content of the class question**

In true Marxist tradition, this piece helped us to understand, in a dialectical way, the contradictions at play that led to the collapse of the socialist system in the Soviet Union. He helped to be able to critique the attack on Marxism on the basis of the internal and external contradictions facing the Soviet Union – external in the sense of the offensive that the imperialist forces launched on the Soviet system and internal contradictions in so far as appreciating weaknesses of the leadership of the Soviet system.

In his piece, *No Middle Road*, Cde Slovo provided an incisive input on the development of the middle class; its vacillating role and what the responsibility of the SACP was in this regard. This was a direct response to the manoeuvres of the apartheid regime at the time to further perpetuate racial division by allowing for class co-option.

This manoeuvre was to be repeated by the post apartheid ruling elite – a further perpetuation of a racially divided society by co-option not only of some few, but politically connected, blacks, in the name of BEE. Coupled with the growing trend globally of the financialisation of Capital, the growth of the middle class was buttressed by the increasing creation of a credit-ridden professional stratum.

The SACP still has the challenge to provide leadership and a coherent political programme to win over the middle class and liberate them from their false senses. The 2009 National and Provincial elections and the debate on ethical issues in our country have put this to the fore in great force.

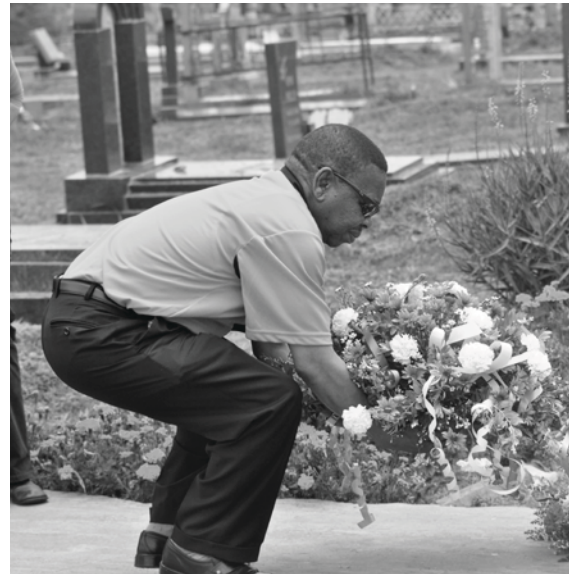
We can learn from experiences of Lat-



Party members at Joe Slovo's graveside on the 15th anniversary of his death



Cde Helena Dolny, Cde Slovo's wife



Cde Blade Nzimande, SACP GS

in America, broader Marxist classics and Slovo's incisive intervention.

In memory of Cde Slovo, our first Minister of Housing in democratic South Africa, we need to respond to the calls of various Red forums we convened for housing, land and basic services for ex-

peditious delivery.

In the true spirit of what Slovo embodies, we must build a strong ANC and a strong SACP. Slovo taught us how best to understand the class content of the national question and the national content of the class question. We must build

a strong, vibrant, dynamic and independent SACP as Slovo would have argued. This is what Slovo represented and what should inspire us as we march to the 90<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of the SACP. ●

*Cde Malelka is SACP Media Spokesperson*

NELSON MANDELA

# Celebrate his legacy! Defend Madiba the revolutionary!

*'No dedicated ANC member will ever heed the call to break with the SACP' – Cde Nelson Mandela, July 1989*

BY BLADE NZIMANDE

**S**OUTH AFRICA, ESPECIALLY THE progressive forces, has recently celebrated two very important events. On 2 February we celebrated 20 years of the unbanning of the ANC, SACP and other components of the national liberation movement, and on the 11 February the release of Nelson Mandela from the apartheid prisons. The celebration of the unbanning of our organisations and Nelson Mandela was not a tribute to the 'generosity' of the apartheid regime, but honouring the massive sacrifices of millions of South Africans in their selfless struggles against the apartheid regime. The release of Mandela marked a high point in the determined struggles of our people dislodge the apartheid regime as an important step towards the creation of a democratic South Africa.

The celebration of the release of Nelson Mandela from prison also marked one of the most important victories for the international anti-apartheid movement and, to a large extent, also marked the victory of anti-imperialist forces against tyranny and oppression worldwide. The SACP also wishes to use this occasion to salute all our people and the international(ist) progressive forces in their role towards the defeat of one of the most evil forces on earth, which was bent consolidating a neo-fascist project of racial oppression and class exploitation.

Remnants of the elements of the beneficiaries of the apartheid order, including elements of the current opposition forces in the current democratic dispensation and their backers in the mainstream bourgeois media, have tried very hard to try and present these two major developments as an outcome of the generosity of the leaders of the apartheid regime. Having dismally failed in this exercise, including their attempts to rubbish President Zuma's State of the Nation address, these forces are now resorting to some of the worst tactics of trying to discredit and undermine the very democratic institutions they claim to be defending. The recent walkout from parliament by the Democratic Alliance and Cope is actually an expression of how these forces have lost their strategic sense of direction and expression of their frustrations in the failure of their attempts to exploit our democratic institutions for their narrow party political gains.

The walk-out by both Cope and the Democratic Alliance in parliament is also an expression of how these forces seek to use parliament for their narrow and

highly sectarian interests, and thus their failure to do so exposing their political bankruptcy and some of the worst forms of political opportunism. It is in this desperation that Cope has also exposed itself as a parasite and political extension of the narrow right-wing and often racist interests of the Democratic Alliance.

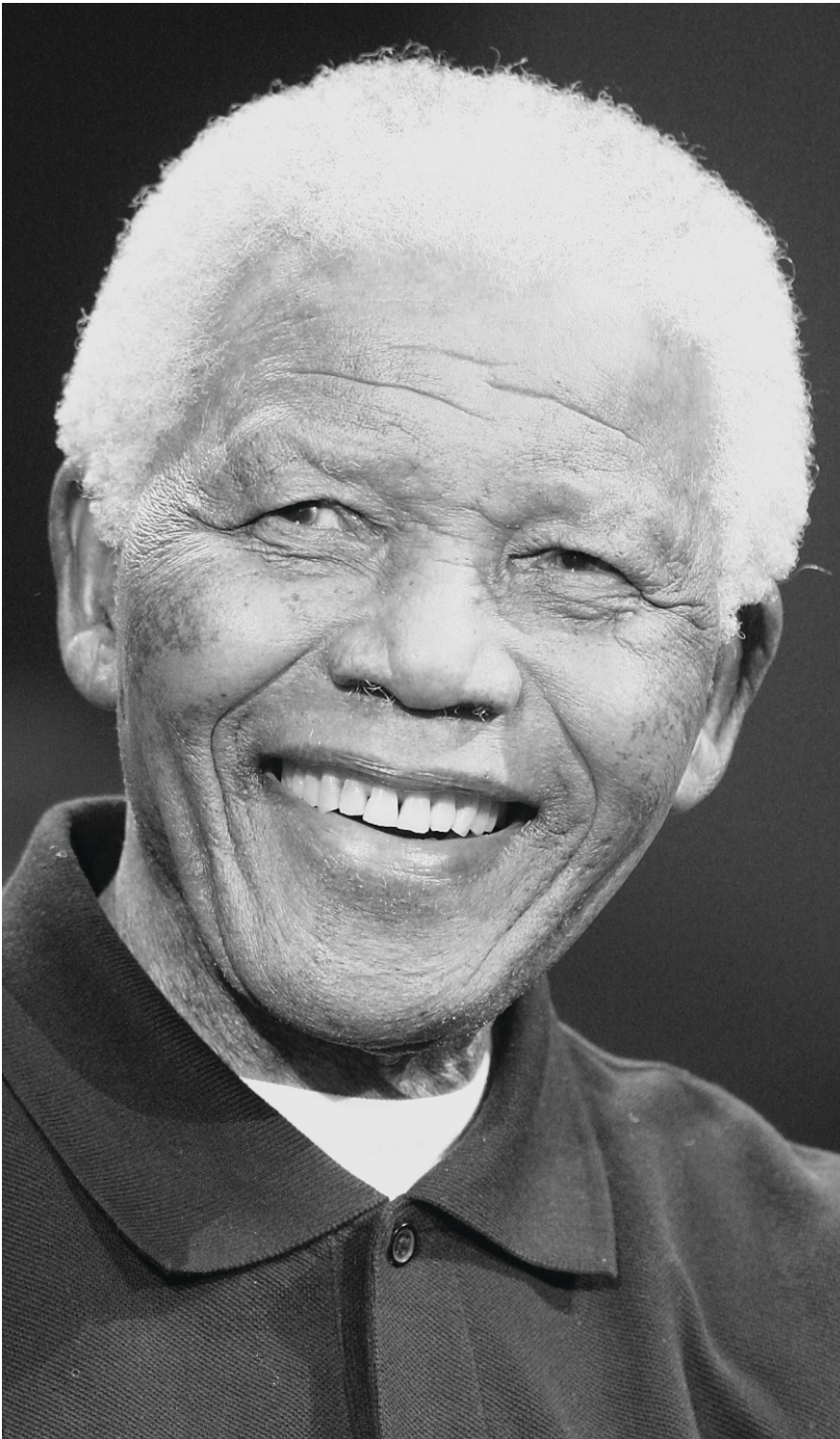
The more the frustrations of the DA and Cope are exposed, the more the naked class interests of these forces are exposed.

The opportunism of the opposition parties also manifest themselves in their attempts to praise Nelson Mandela, not out of genuine recognition of his role in the liberation struggle, but in order to try and opportunistically use his image and legacy to condemn the ANC, its alliance partners and the national liberation struggle as a whole. It is an attempt to try and appropriate the image of Madiba to advance their narrow class interests.

It is for all the above reasons that as the SACP we have correctly and consistently argued that the global 'iconic' status of Madiba must never, ever be allowed to bury Madiba the revolutionary - whose principled commitment to the liberation of the black majority and his fight against all forms of colonialism, discrimination and chauvinism must be at all times highlighted and defended.

In our tribute to Madiba, the SACP also highlighted the fact that Madiba was not only a leader of the ANC and its alliance partners, but that he at all times

**Opposition parties'  
opportunism manifests  
itself in their attempts to  
praise Nelson Mandela**



**Cde Nelson Mandela**

genuinely remained a loyal friend of South African communists. It is on his consistent and principled defence of the ANC alliance with the communists that Madiba will stand out as a true friend of South African communists. For instance, shortly after his meeting with PW Botha in prison on 5 July 1989, in which the latter sought to offer Mandela his freedom if he distanced himself from the com-

munist, he had the following profound statement to make:

“No dedicated ANC member will ever heed the call to break with the SACP. We regard such a demand (from PW Botha) as a purely divisive government strategy. It is in fact a call on us to commit suicide. Which man of honour will ever desert a life-long friend among his people? Which opponent will ever trust such a treacher-

## **We must deepen the class struggle to celebrate true values of what Madiba stands for**

ous freedom fighter? Yet this is what the government is in effect asking us to do; to desert our faithful allies. We will not fall into that trap”.

This is also a pointed lesson to those within our own ranks whose sole mission is to try and attempt to push the communists out of the ANC.

For us as South African communists, we need, at all times, to defend Madiba the revolutionary! In practice this requires that we also intensify working class struggles in all key sites of power as part of winning our key strategic objectives as contained in our medium term vision; to build working class hegemony in all key sites of power.

It is therefore of utmost importance that much as we celebrate the iconic Madiba, we consistently push for preserving, honouring and integrity of Madiba as a revolutionary. It is for this reason that for the SACP Madiba shall always remain a revolutionary, whose making was shaped by the revolutionary struggles as led by the ANC. This requires the intensification of class struggles on all fronts of struggle. The intensification of such class struggles must also mean that, in memory of Madiba, we intensify our class struggle on all fronts, including the confrontation of those within our own ranks, who are using access to state power to advance their narrow economic class interests.

We must also deepen the class struggle in order to celebrate true values of what Madiba stood for; selflessness and commitment to people, as a with a view of rolling back the capitalist system and its corrupting values of dog eat dog. To us this is the only way we can protect the legacy of someone like Madiba and the integrity of our revolution.

**Long live Madiba long live!  
Asikhulume!!** ●

*Cde Nzimande is SACP General Secretary. This article appeared in a recent Umsebenzi Online*

## BRANCH NEWS

# Ray Alexander branch – building African and coloured unity in action

BY JEREMY CRONIN

**H**OUT BAY IS ONE OF THE MOST scenic suburbs in Cape Town. Its fishing harbour, its sandy beach and the dramatic mountain backdrop make it a favourite with tourists and wealthy property owners. Many of the luxurious homes in the area have their own horse stables and acres of lawn. Wealthy Hout Bay residents like to imagine that they live in a world apart – some even sport “Resident of Hout Bay Republic” bumper stickers on their cars.

But there is another bleaker side of poverty and unemployment in Hout Bay. In the 1950s and 60s, the fishing industry needed crews and labourers, and so, even at the height of apartheid, the coloured community was never fully forced removed. Instead, they were housed in a coloured-only ghetto of flats and houses up the steep slopes of Hangberg overlooking the harbour. With the defeat of apartheid, the so-called “Coloured Labour Preference” policy in the Western Cape was abolished. This was a policy that the apartheid regime used in its attempt to ban any in-migration of African people into the Western Cape. It was part and parcel of its divide-and-rule

approach to the disenfranchised black majority.

With the abolition of the policy, there has been a very significant inflow of Africans into the Western Cape, many from destitute parts of the Eastern Cape. New communities grew, often beginning as “illegal” informal settlements. One such settlement is Imizamo Yethu, on the opposite side of Hout Bay town-centre from the coloured community of Hangberg.

Given the legacy of apartheid divide-and-rule policies, and given sometimes differing degrees of relative deprivation and poverty, it has not always been possible to build effective unity between African and coloured working-class communities in many parts of the Western Cape. It is no secret that parties like the DA have opportunistically sought to heighten tensions and prejudices between these communities. But with the DA now in power in both the ward and Cape Town metro, the contradictions between the interests of wealthy (mainly white) Hout Bay property-owners on the one hand, and the poor, under-serviced coloured and African communities on the other are becoming more and more evident.

This is the background against which

the SACP Ray Alexander Branch in Hout Bay took action. Working door-to-door in Imizamo Yethu (where the SACP branch has its core membership) and linking up with the Hout Bay Civic Association (with its core base in Hangberg), the comrades led a joint delegation to meet DA Cape Town Metro Mayor, Dan Plato, in mid-November.

They presented the Mayor with memoranda raising the concerns of the two communities. Interestingly, the concerns of the two communities are almost identical – the municipal housing office is only open one day a week, there is chaos around the housing lists and much suspected corruption, safety and security needs to be stepped up and lighting and refuse removal improved, the local school is seriously over-crowded. Above all, there is a shared sense from both communities that the interests of the wealthy property-owners are always prioritised while their areas are neglected.

Mayor Plato promised to come back to the joint delegation within weeks. We are now in February and nothing further has been heard.

*Cde Cronin is SACP Deputy General Secretary*

## Communists expose corruption in Swanieville

BY JEREMY CRONIN

**S**ACP LOCAL LEADER IN SWANIEVILLE, Mogale City, Cde Kenny Molamu, and his comrades have played a leading role in exposing corruption in their community. In the early hours of a morning, a Mogale City councillor, John Mokotla, was arrested and charged with fraud. The arrest was carried out by the Krugersdorp Anti-Corruption Unit. Also arrested at the same time was a former councillor, Titus Rakolodi.

These arrests followed a fraud case that had been opened by the local SACP structures on 19 January. Cde Molamu

confirmed to *The Star* newspaper that he had laid charges against Mokotla and Rakolodi. In their door-to-door work in Swanieville, SACP structures had come across community members who told them that they had moved into RDP houses after paying Mokotla and Rakolodi R3 000 or more in cash. (It costs the Gauteng Housing Department R70 000 to build an RDP house).

Community members were promised they would receive title deeds, but these were never forthcoming. SACP comrades believe that some councillors are collecting rent for their own pockets from occupants once they have been installed illegally in the RDP houses.

Before laying the charge, Cde Molamu and his comrades made numerous attempts to get the Mogale City mayor and his council to intervene. They were told by the mayor that the RDP houses were built by the Gauteng province, and he “couldn’t intervene” – even though some of his own councillors are alleged to have been involved.

According to *The Star* report, the police confirmed the arrests and they also confirmed that, with the help of the SACP, they had obtained several statements from people illegally occupying RDP houses.

*Communists to the front! Let us smash corruption!* ●

LESOTHO PEOPLE'S CHARTER MOVEMENT

# Tokomane ea sechaba sa Basotho holim'a bolokolohi ba ho tsamaea le bojaki

**Selelekela**

**H**O LATELA LIPUISANO TSE BILENG teng kahar'a sechaba sa Basotho holim'a lintlha tse 'maloa tse khinang bophelo ba bona ba letsatsi le letsatsi ha ba lokela ho etela bang ka bona, ho kena likolo, ho phetha mabaka a khoebo kantle ho meeli ea Lesotho, ho fumana litšebeliso tsa bongaka, ekasitana le ho fumana mosebetsi Aforeka Boroa; rona baahi ba Naha ea Lesotho, re lakatsa ho teka tokomane ena kapele ho sechaba le 'Muso oa Lesotho, ekasitana le ho sechaba le 'Muso oa Aforeka Boroa. Har'a tse ling re lakatsa ho supa lintlha tse latelang:

- i) Nalane ea puso ea bokolone e ileng ea ama linaha tsena tse peli - Lesotho le Aforeka Boroa;
- ii) Meeli ea joale ea Lesotho ke e petlentsoeng holim'a Basotho, 'me e ntse e sa nepahala kaha lintoa tseo naha e ileng ea haptjoa nakhong ea tsona, ha lia ka tsa tlisa tharollo qakeng ea meeli ea naha ea Lesotho;
- iii) Likamano tsa moruo, bochaba, meetlo le nalane tse bileng teng pele puso ea bokolone e ikhapela matla a tsamaiso holim'a sechaba sa Basotho le sa Aforeka Boroa;
- iv) Naha ea Lesotho le Aforeka Boroa li lutse le ho ahelana ka tsela eo ho seng kamoo e 'ngoe e ka iphapan-yetsang e 'ngoe kateng, maemo a le matle kapa a le mabe;
- v) Nako e fetang lilemo tse lekholo joale, makholo-khoho a Basotho ka lipotongoane tsa bona ba bile le seabo se sehlohali khahong le kholisong ea moruo oa Aforeka Boroa;
- vi) Nalane e totobatsa hore Basotho ba neng ba le tlas'a tšireletso ea 'Muso oa Manyesemane, ba ile ba ba leqeqe ho kena pusong e neng e

- vii) Bonngoe ba letšoele le beta poho hoa sechaba sa Hloahloa e ka Boroa ho Aforeka ho loants'a khatello le khethollo e neng e etsetsoa batho ba batšo;
- viii) Seabo sa bohlokoahali seo Morena e Moholo, Morena Letsie II, a bileng le sona ho thehoeng ha South African Native National Congress (eo e leng African National Congress kajeno), eo a ileng a ba a fuoa tlotla ea boetapele (Honorary President), ha e thehoa ka selemo sa 1912, Bloemfontein;
- ix) Ka selemo sa 1955 Kliptown, Aforeka Boroa, Tokomane ea Tokoloho e ile ea phatlalatsa hore "naha ea Aforeka Boroa ke ea bohle ba phelang ho eona, ba batšo le ba basoeu";
- x) Tokomane ea Tokoloho e ile ea boela ea ananela hore lichaba tsa Basotho, Batswana le Maswati linaheng tsa bona tse neng li le tlas'a tšireletso ea 'Muso oa Manyesemane ka nako eo, li tla sieloa bolokolohi ba ho iketsetsa khetho mabapi le bokamoso ba tsona;
- xi) Ntoa ea tokoloho eo batho ba Aforeka Boroa ba e loanneng khahlano le khatello le khethollo ea 'mala, ba tsoarahane ka matsoho le sechaba sa Lesotho, ekasitana le batho ba bang ba boithatelo bo botle lefatšhe ka bophara;
- xii) Baahi ba bang ba Lesotho ba se ba e na le litokomane tsa boitsebiso tsa naha ea Aforeka Boroa; e leng boemo bo thulalang le Karolo ea 41 ea Molao oa Motheo oa Lesotho;
- xiii) Moruo oa naha ea Lesotho o itšetlehile haholo naheng ea Aforeka Boroa;

- xiv) Kahlolo e ileng ea fanoa ke Lekhotla la Maipiletso la Lesotho ka selemo sa 2008, moo le ileng la ananela botebo le bophara ba boitšetleho ba Lesotho ho Aforeka Boroa, 'me la totobatsa tlhokeho ea ho ba le bojaki ba linaha tse peli (e leng ba Lesotho le ba Aforeka Boroa) ho baahi ba Lesotho;
- xv) Naha ea Aforeka Boroa hajoale ke naha e lokolohileng, e hloakang khethollo ea 'mala, 'me e nang le puso ea sechaba-ka-sechaba;

Ka mabaka ana; rona baahi ba naha ea Lesotho ba itekenneng mona, re teka Tokomane ena e Holim'a Bolokolohi ba ho Tsamaea le Bojaki kapele ho sechaba le 'Muso oa Lesotho, ekasitana le ho sechaba le 'Muso oa Aforeka Boroa, e le taba e lokelang ho imamelloa le ho sebetsoa ka potlako.

**Phatlalatsa**

Re le sechaba sa Basotho, re ipiletsa:

1. Ho 'Muso oa Lesotho, 'me ka ho khetholloha, ho matlo a mabeli a Paramente, hore kapele-pele ho hlakoloe Karolo ea 41 ea Molao oa Motheo oa Lesotho, 'me sebakeng sa eona ho be le temana e tla lumella Basotho ho ba le bojaki ba linaha tse peli, e le hore baahi ba Lesotho ba lakatsang ho fumana bojaki ba Aforeka Boroa, ba etse joalo ka bolokolohi.
2. Ho Mebuso ea Lesotho le Aforeka Boroa ho kenya tšebetsong kapele-pele tumellano e ileng ea tekeneloa ke linaha tsena tse peli ka selemo sa 2007, mabapi le ho lumella baahi ba linaha tsena tse peli ho tsamaea ka bolokolohi ha ba ts'ela malibohong a molao a linaha tsena.
3. Ho Mebuso ea Lesotho le Aforeka Boroa ho lumellana kapele-pele ka tokomane e ts'oanang ea boitsebiso e tla lumella baahi ba linaha tsena tse peli ho ikhethela ka bolokolohi moo ba ka ratang ho phela le ho sebetsa teng.
4. Ho sechaba le 'Muso oa Lesotho, ekasitana le ho sechaba le 'Muso oa Aforeka Boroa, ho kena lipuisanong tse ka lebisang ho thehoeng ha maqhama le selekane se khethileng lipakeng tsa linaha tsena tse peli - ekaba puso ea kopano, puso ea karorelano ea matla, kapa puso e le 'ngoe - 'me sepheo sa selekane seo e le ho fumants'a baahi ba linaha tsena tse peli melemo e ts'oanang. ●

VIETNAMESE COMMUNIST PARTY

# Celebrating 80 years of unrelenting struggle: The Party Leads: 1930-45

*This article is taken from The Voice of Vietnam (VOV News)*

**F**OLLOWING ITS ESTABLISHMENT, the Vietnamese Communist Party rallied people of all strata to rise up in a struggle, thus creating a widespread revolutionary movement during the years of 1930-1931.

By September 1930, the movement had reached a peak in Nghe Tinh, resulting in the form of Soviet-type administration which exercised dictatorship over the imperialists and their stooges and pursued progressive political, economic, cultural and social policies.

While the mass revolutionary movement was seething, the first plenum of the Party's Central Committee was convened in Hong Kong from 14-31 October, 1930, where it decided to change the name of the Communist Party of Vietnam into the Indochinese Communist Party, adopted the Political Platform and important documents on urgent tasks as well as mobilisation of specific subjects among the mass. The Political Platform shed more light on a number of issues of the nature of the Vietnamese revolution. The plenum elected the official Central Committee of the Party with comrade Tran Phu as General Secretary.

The realities of the revolutionary high tide required a form of organising and rallying of the overwhelming majority of the masses against the imperialists. Therefore, on November 18, 1930, the Standing Board of the Party's Central Committee issued a directive on the establishment of the Indochinese Anti-imperialists League.

Though cruelly suppressed by the French colonialists, the 1930-1931 revolutionary high tide proved that the party

had adopted its correct lines on the Vietnamese revolution and brought about many precious lessons on the worker-peasant alliance. It built a united front as well as an organisation of the masses, in the struggle to gain and defend power and overcome "leftist" deviationism. "Had there been no earth-shaking class battle during the 1930-1931 period in which workers and peasants demonstrated their extraordinary revolutionary will, there would have been no high tide in the 1936-1939 period".

In the face of cruel suppression by the French colonialists in 1932, the foreign-based leadership of the Party's Central Committee was set up, adopting the Plan of Action in order to restore the organisation and lead the struggle.

Between 1932-1935, the Party waged a struggle to preserve forces, which, by the first congress of the Indochinese Communist Party's delegates (held from March 27-31, 1935 in Guankung, Macao of China) had been basically crowned with success, preparing all necessary condi-

**In the face of cruel suppression by the French colonialists in 1932, the Party's Central Committee adopted a Plan of Action to restore and lead the struggle**

tions for the Party to enter into a new revolutionary stage. The first congress elected a 13 member Central Committee with comrade Le Hong Phong as General Secretary.

In the mid-'30s, in face of fascist danger and under the direction of the 7th congress of the Communist International (July 1935), the Party CI C held its plenum in Shanghai (China) in July 1936, where it decided to switch the strategic direction of the revolution and set the immediate objective. This was to oppose war, fascists and colonial reactionaries, to demand freedom, food and clothing, peace in many appropriate forms of organisation and struggle. At this plenum, comrade Ha Huy Tap was elected General Secretary of the Party, personally directing the revolutionary movement in the country. The Party's undertakings satisfied the then urgent demand of the people, giving rise to widespread mass movements such as the movement for convening the Indochinese Congress, the parliamentary struggle movement, the national-language disseminating movement. In 1938, for the first time in Indochina, May Day was celebrated openly in Hanoi, Sai Gon and other cities as well as in provincial towns throughout the country. Notably, the event in Hanoi was attended by 25 000 people.

In the course of leading the struggle, there appeared biased opinions. Therefore, on March 29-30, 1938, the Party CC met to draw experience and at this plenum comrade Nguyen Van Cu was elected General Secretary of the Party. The deviations in organisational consolidation and struggle leadership, especially the



**Sowing the storm: Japanese troops entering Hanoi**

settlement of the relations between the struggle for immediate objectives and the struggle for long-term objectives, in forms of organising the struggle, in unprincipled cooperation with the Trotskyites were later presented by General Secretary Nguyen Van Cu in a book entitled *Self-criticism* (July 1939).

The 1936-1939 democratic struggle movement won over millions of people to the ideal and built up a mass political force, thus preparing conditions for the mass to be engaged in new fierce battles in the 1940-1945 period.

In September 1939, World War II broke out, the French colonialists conducted barbarous suppression, abolishing the basic democratic freedom gained by our people during the period of democratic front. In 1940, Japanese fascists moved into Indochina, subjecting our people to “a dual yoke”. The 6th (November 1939) and 7th (November 1940) plenums of the Party’s Central Committee decided to give prominence to the task of national liberation while temporary shelving the motto of land revolution. Particularly, the 8th plenum of the Party’s Central Committee (in 1941), chaired by leader Ho Chi Minh, finalised the lines for strategic direction, gave more prominence to the national issues and decided on the establishment of the Vietnam League for Independence Front (Viet Minh) in order to unite all Vietnamese patriots and actively prepare conditions for the general armed uprising to gain power. At

this plenum, comrade Truong Chinh was elected General Secretary of the Party.

On the basis of such a strategic shift, the Party set to prepare the necessary conditions for the general armed uprising to gain power. As far as the political forces were concerned, the Party strongly developed the “national salvation” organisations in all areas, thus creating a firm foundation for rising up and winning decisive victory when the opportunity came. In February 1943, the Standing Board of the Party C C met, deciding to strengthen political forces in cities, particularly among workers. Also in 1943 the Party made public the Vietnam Culture Programme, bringing out tasks on the cultural front, rallying writers and intellectuals into the Cultural Association for National Salvation pursuing the same objective of national liberation under the Party’s banner. As far as the armed forces

**This was the first time in the history of the revolution of colonial nations, that a Party has led the revolution and gained power nationwide**

were concerned, the Party maintained the Bac Son guerilla team, developing it into the National Salvation Army operating in the region of the Bac Son-Vo Nhai revolutionary base. From various self-defence teams in Cao Bang, on December 22, 1944, leader Ho Chi Minh issued a directive to set up the Vietnam Propaganda Liberation Army.

On 9 March 1945, the Japanese staged a coup d’etat against the French and the Party launched a nationwide and anti-Japanese movement for national salvation. Partial uprisings broke out in many localities; the construction of war theatres and bases was stepped up. In April 1945, the North Vietnam military conference was convened by the Standing Board of the Party Central Committee in Hiep Hoa (Bac Giang province) “placing the military task above all other urgent tasks”, thereby, the Vietnam Propaganda Liberation Army and the National Salvation Army were unified into the Vietnam Liberation Army. The anti-Japanese movement for national salvation developed vigorously nationwide, shaking to the roots the Japanese militarists’ and their lackeys’ domination.

Seizing the revolutionary opportunity, the Party’s national conference held in Tan Trao (on August 13-15, 1945) called upon the entire population to stand up in a general uprising to gain power throughout the country. On August 16, 1945, also in Tan Trao, a national congress was convened, supporting the Party’s decision on the general uprising and electing the National Liberation Committee with Comrade Ho Chi Minh as President. Under the leadership of the Party, 25 million people, in the spirit of “bringing our efforts to liberate ourselves”, rose to a man who gained power within 15 days (from August 13 to 28, 1945). This put an end to the domination for nearly one hundred years of colonialists and for thousands of years by the feudalists, establishing the democratic republic. The August 1945 Revolution was the victory of the Party’s correct revolutionary lines and talented leadership in armed uprisings, further developing and enriching the theories on national liberation revolution. With the victory of the August Revolution, “not only the Vietnamese working class and people but also the working class and oppressed people in other places could be proud that this is the first time in history of the revolution of colonial and semi-colonial nations, a Party, just 15 years old, has lead the revolution to victory and gained power nationwide”. ●

## YOUNG REDS

YCLSA NATIONAL LEKGOTLA

# In praise of communism ...

*Declaration of the YCLSA National Committee following its National Lekgotla in Pietermaritzburg, February 2010*

**T**HE NATIONAL LEKGOTLA OF THE Young Communist League of South Africa, constituted by District representatives, Provincial Representatives, National Committee, South African Communist Party, Cosatu, ANC Youth League, Swaziland Youth Congress and other alliance partners; concluded our successful strategic plan session today.

We are excited about the level of robust and frank debates within our lower structures and hope that this energy will be extended throughout the body-politic of the organisation. The National Lekgotla received a Political and Organisational Report, and was addressed by the General Secretary of the SACP and the President of the Swayoco. The Lekgotla began with a Memorial Lecture in memory of Joe Slovo, delivered by the National Secretary of the Young Communist League, which was a resounding success.

### **In memory of Joe Slovo: in praise of communism**

The theme for the National Council was In "Praise of Communism". This is a title of a poem by Bertolt Brecht, which was Joe Slovo's favourite. We are inspired by the last line of the poem, "It is the simplest thing so hard to achieve", remains instructive and a clarion call for communists at this time, to march forward and destroy the citadels of capitalism and on their ruins, build socialism. Slovo represents for us a white man who, irrespective of the privileges of his colour, dedicated his life for the liberation of South Africa. He could have easily, like many white South Africans of his time, looked the other way and let life go on.

But like Braam Fischer, Beyers Naude, Ruth First, Rusty Bernstein, Jeremy Cronin, Brian Bunting and Michael

Harmel and many more suffered the most in the hands of apartheid South Africa as they were regarded as sell-outs within the white community. We respect Slovo and many of these white South Africans for their struggle against racism, sexism and class exploitation. We will forever draw inspiration from their gallantry and advance their ideals to the end.

We also chose the theme "In Praise of Communism" to give inspiration to our youth that despite the crises of capitalism, poverty, unemployment, widening gap between the rich and the poor, there is hope in socialism and communism. Despite the propaganda that has been meted against the ideals and goals of socialism, and that it is a dream and utopia, it remains the only system that will take us out of the nightmare of capitalism. Joe Slovo is one of the cadres of the movement who insisted that socialism never failed, but it is the people who were in its helm in the Soviet Union, who failed the system. Socialism represents hope for the majority of our people, and thus, the National Lekgotla committed the structures of the YCL to mobilise young people behind the ideals of socialism.

We also chose this theme, in the light of the onslaught against communists within the National Liberation Movement, to show that we will never be intimidated into silence or out of the ANC solely because we are communists. The Alliance between the SACP and the ANC is far bigger than individuals, and as the future, we are prepared to lay our lives in defence of the Alliance as the vehicle for the total emancipation of the ANC. We are shocked that people are talking about a "communist takeover" of the ANC because the ANC is equally our home. Although leadership of the ANC will be determined by the members and

structures of the ANC, we will not stand by when communists are persecuted solely because of their membership to the SACP, and insinuations that they will never lead because of this. For us, this is equal to "McCarthyism".

### **Youth and the economy**

The National Lekgotla decided that we engage into a Jobs for Youth Campaign, which we will launch in the next few months and will address the crises of unemployment amongst the youth. We estimate that there are more than 3-million young people who are unemployed. This means that we are sitting on a ticking time bomb waiting to explode. Most of the social injustices that we experience, service deliver protests, crime, prostitution and many other social ills are a way of the youth to generate an income. We believe that the greatest threat to civil instability, and even worse to the FIFA 2010 Soccer World Cup, is constituted by the unemployed youth who are waiting to explode.

The National Lekgotla proposed the following actions in addressing some of the issues in the immediate:

There should be accountability from the Department of Public Works in terms the 500 000 jobs that the President promised in June last year. We need to act and ensure that these jobs are created;

We will advocate for the training of 100 000 artisans within the next four years in order to skill our youth so that they are absorbed within the economy. This also means having more young people having access to Higher Education and Further Education so that they are skilled;

We will convene a "Jobs for Youth" Summit to allow young people to engage with alternatives to stimulate the economy for it to create jobs;

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The private sector should commit to create half the jobs in the same period as committed by government, and to offer on the job training for young people in the form of internships and learnerships

Government should promote Green Jobs in the form of (i) changing home and offices bulbs into fluorescent bulbs, (ii) Forestation, (iii) support for recycling projects, and (iv) creating solar industry.

Most of these ideas and others will be presented at the "Jobs for Youth Summit" that we will convene in April 2010 to discuss, together with business, the private sector, government and civil society the platforms for work creation and support for entrepreneurs.

We are worried as the YCL on the relationship between business and government, facilitated in a broker-fashion by what has become known as the tenderpreneurs. The weakness in this relationship is that it reduces BEE to those who facilitate business between white capital and government, instead of promoting entrepreneurs.

There are young people all over the country who have ideas on a whole range of enterprise whose multiplier effects will include more jobs for in the economy.

Entrepreneurial initiatives should be at the heart of transforming our economy, truly empowering black people, creating jobs and growing the economy. If we do not fight the tendency of quick-buck capitalism, or capitalists without capital, we will be far off the mark of fighting white monopoly capitalism. In fact, those who accuse us of not fighting white monopoly capitalism are the one's who are entrenching it by promoting Broker Economic Empowerment, who sell their tenders to the highest bidding white monopoly capitalist.

### Youth and nationalisation

The YCL supports the nationalisation of mines; there has never been ambiguity in this regard. We have always called for not only the nationalisation of mines, but also that of steel, Sasol and the key sectors of our economy. We will continue to work with the ANC Youth League in this regard. We will engage with them on the modalities for nationalisation, and point out areas where we disagree with them in order to take the

debate forward. We believe that progressive nationalisation should ultimately lead towards the socialisation of the commanding heights of the economy. Any other call for nationalisation that seeks to consolidate state capitalism or make the economy worse, we will never support.

We accept the word of caution by from the SACP on what we should consider in the process, and many other business people and government leaders. We will study carefully what Jeremy Cronin, Nicky Oppenheimer, Susan Shabangu and many others have said on the issue of nationalisation in general and mining in particular. We equally urge the leadership of the ANC Youth League to do the same. In the same vein, we want to discourage the approach of hanging individuals who disagree with this call high and dry, selectively for that matter, and engage with the points they are raising.

### Youth against corruption

One of the dangers of this brokerage economic empowerment is its close linkage to corruption and greed. Because of its pursuit for quick-bucks, and absolutely no justification of capacity to deliver, tenderpreneurs are almost always quick to bribe the tender committee in exchange for the tender, and to pass over the tender to the highest bidder. This is not capitalism but parasitism. It does not contribute in any way to decent jobs, economic growth and in narrowing the gap between the rich and the poor as the same capitalists deducts the kick-back from the wages of workers. It brings into disrepute a credible economic empowerment programme in the form of BEE. We need to ensure that we restore a new, alternative and progressive revolutionary culture that is opposed to consumerism, which rewards hard work, that shams corrupt individuals and isolate them, and that celebrates good entrepreneurial initiatives from young black South Africans.

### Youth and education, health and social transformation

The National Lekgotla agreed that we need to intensify our campaign in the following areas:

**Make education fashionable:** In line with our Free Education Campaign, we are going to promote access to basic

and higher education through campaign through school and university visits. We will also encourage greater co-operation and collective work amongst parents, teachers and learners in order to promote people's education for people's power. We call for uniform fees and academic access points in universities. We believe that principals of universities encourage violent protest by forcing students to demand access to education in these institutions. No student should be denied the right to education. We will continue with our call for a University in Mpumalanga and Northern Cape as a way of easing access in these provinces. We will work together with government, SASCO, COSAS and the ANC Youth League for the realisation of Free Education.

### Free sanitary towels for women:

We held discussions with the Minister of Health and of Social Development and they have agreed that this is a major need in rural areas and poverty stricken communities. We will continue to advocate for these demands until we realise these goal. We are of the view that the food-parcels provided by government should also include free sanitary towels for women. In this regard, we will work together with our ally, the ANC Youth League, to ensure that this happens.

### Circumcision of young boys:

In line with our work on HIV-Aids, we call on government to provide free and compulsory circumcision for young boys. We believe that this will go a long way in reducing the contraction rate amongst boys, and thus impact on the spread of HIV/AIDS.

### Condoms corner-to-corner

**campaign:** We believe that as part of promoting prevention, the provision of male and female condoms should be spread throughout shebeens, restaurants, universities, schools, churches, spaza-shops, supermarkets and all public places. This is part of awareness. We call on private producers of condoms to include messages in the condoms pack on HIV/AIDS.

**Kabelo Thibedi ID campaign:** So far, this campaign has reached out to more than 40 000 people who in the past did not have Identity Documents. We will continue with this work and are in discussions with Kabelo Thibedi to ensure that he remains an integral part of the campaign. ●

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YCLSA NATIONAL LEKGOTLA

# Anyone can understand it – it's easy

*Political report to the Lekgotla, delivered by YCL National Secretary, Cde Buti Manamela*

**T**HIS NATIONAL COMMITTEE LEK-gotla is significant no less because of the delegates and alliance partners elected to participate here, but also because of the year and decade that lies ahead. We are meeting in the year of the 3<sup>rd</sup> National Congress of our glorious youth organisation. We are also meeting on the year of the celebration of the 20<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of the release of Nelson Mandela and other political prisoners. Ours is also significant because it is on the verge of the hosting of an august FIFA World Cup to be held for the first time in our country and in our continent.

Within this coming half a decade, we will celebrate the 90<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of the SACP, the party of the working class and the poor, and the Centenary of the ANC, the torch bearer of national liberation in South Africa. We will also have various Congresses and Conferences of the SACP, ANC and Cosatu; a symbol of the democratic nature our liberation movement and revolutionary alliance represents. We will next year have the Local Government Elections, an event that will draw millions to the voting booth to reaffirm their commitment to the ANC led Alliance government.

We are meeting here under the theme ***In Praise of Communism*** so as to reinforce our commitment to the struggle for socialism and ultimately, communism. This theme is taken from a similar title of a poem by Bertolt Brecht's, which proclaims, I quote:

*It's sensible, anyone can understand it/  
It's easy.  
You're not an exploiter, so you can*

*grasp it.  
It's a good thing for you,  
find out more about it.  
The stupid call it stupid and the  
squalid call it squalid.  
It's against squalor and against  
stupidity.  
The exploiters call it a crime but we  
know:  
It is the end of crime  
It is not madness, but the end of  
madness.  
It is not the riddle but the solution  
It is the simplest thing so hard to  
achieve.*

We have also selected this theme because we are celebrating one of the most prominent communist of his and our time, Joe Slovo. This, his favourite poem, is composed of words of action and rebuke to both inspire the working class and scorn the bourgeoisie and their political representatives who preached hate against communists. The last line of the poem, "It is the simplest thing so hard to achieve", remains in-

**We have a rich legacy  
to build on and many  
generations from whom  
to take the torch forward**

structive and a clarion call for communists at this time, to march forward and destroy the citadels of capitalism and on their ruins, build socialism.

It therefore remains our task, as young communists, to rise in defense of the ideals of this benevolent cause and its current leadership. It is our task to mobilise the working class youth, without fear or apology, behind this ideals. It is our task to defend the historical role of the party and of the individuals such as Slovo who brought democracy, freedom and hope not for the empowerment and enrichment of few, but for the ultimate ruining of a ruling elite and capitalist oligarchy, irrespective of their colour. It is our task to build mass formations of the working class both in quality and quantity so that they become the advance organs for the "praise of communism" in the land of despair, and the building of its foundations.

We have a rich legacy of ideas and historical mandate to build on. We have many generations, dead or alive, from whom to take the torch forward. From the generation of David Jones and Pixley Seme who led the formative period of both the Communist Party and the ANC, to that of Oliver Tambo, Nelson Mandela and Joe Slovo who launched uMkhonto we Sizwe, to that of Chris Hani and Solomon Mahlangu who led the insurrection from outside the country, we know that we stand on the shoulders of giants, men and women. It is these cadres who had laid the foundation for socialism, and carried the "Praise for Communism" throughout the struggle against Apartheid capitalism.

And thus, our task, is to say to the

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### Something has got to give if we are to be equal partners of a revolutionary alliance

working class and poor youth, communism "...is a good thing for you/find out more about it". We should urge them to forget the "stupid who call it stupid, [or] the squalid who called squalid", for it is through their fight against communism that they have cashed in on the continued sustenance of the oppressive system of capitalism. We should urge their patience, which should be parallel to their militancy, for as Che Guevara said, "the road is long and full of difficulties". We are the generation that should root out opportunism, corruption, anti-communism, narrow nationalism and other reactionary tendencies both within the party and the YCL, and also within working class organisations and the Alliance. In doing this, we should shout that it is "In Praise of Communism" and in opposition to capitalism.

We are also meeting on the footsteps of a very successful SACP Special National Congress. As we said at the National Council, this is our party, the party of socialism. We will defend it and its leaders to the end. We will take the fight to the doorstep of anybody who wants to fight our party, our future and our leaders on the basis of them being communist. The future of socialism and communism lies in our hands, and no one can and will stop us.

#### The Party as a force for Socialism

As part of defending this future, we have to safeguard the Party as a force for socialism. It remains our responsibility to ensure that we foster the independence of the Party, together with its profile and ideological dominance. We should at all times ensure that the legitimacy of the leadership the party is not questioned or questionable. In the same vein, we should ensure that the Party remains constant and consistent in the struggle against capitalism. This is the Party of socialism.

#### The SACP and elections

At the last Congress of the YCL, we reaffirmed our call for the SACP to contest for elections independent of the ANC. We went to the 12<sup>th</sup> Congress with this mandate and fought hard for it, and this surely still remains the mandate of our previous Congress. But we need to discuss strategic issues even from that Congress resolution in order to ensure that the Party asserts its independence.

The objective reality which we live in is that on the one hand the SACP cannot assert its independence and influence at the mercy of the ANC, whilst on the other hand it cannot remain threatened by nostalgic and paranoiac slogans of an communist take-over.

We should echo the sentiment expressed in the article by our YCL National Chairperson (*African Communist, Special Edition, December 2009*) that we cannot rely forever, without any guarantees, on this or that member of the SACP being a Minister or MEC at the mercy of the ANC, and wherein the ANC determines the mandate and can as and when they wish to, (dis)appoint such a Minister or MEC. We should not have a situation wherein members of the Party cannot wilfully take forward the mandate of the SACP, and even advance some policy decisions that could clearly be to the disadvantage of the working class and the poor, mainly because they are ANC deployees. Something has got to give if we are to be equal partners of a revolutionary alliance.

Some of the contradictions will arise particularly because the ANC is a multi-class organisation, and in the process, various class forces will contend for leadership and hegemony of their ideas to prevail. The most interesting observation is that within the Alliance, communists are the only organised formation, whereas the capitalist class will seek to lobby for influence with or within the ANC through formal and informal engagements. Is this perhaps not the cause of tensions from time to time, where in the "unorganised" capitalist class feels that the legitimate and formal platforms of the Alliance will advantage communists more than it will the capi-

talist class. The fear of dual membership only arise because the capitalist do not necessarily have a formalised alliance with the ANC (as the ruling party). It is however in the interest of communists to continuously reaffirm the multi-class character of the ANC, with the working class as the motive force of the National Democratic Revolution and the ANC remaining a disciplined force of the left.

With regards to the attitude of the SACP towards elections, there remain various considerations and options that have been discussed over time, and are not necessarily exclusive and not limited to the one's below. Some of them however, have not been openly discussed but remains strong considerations.

**An Alliance Pact:** This is not for the first time that such an option is being mooted, and Cosatu has been its most vocal advocator from its last few Conferences. This means that the ANC, SACP, SANCO and COSATU reaches an agreement on protocol, expectations, allocation of positions and clear agenda for leadership of society. This is also linked to the idea of an Alliance political centre, where senior leaders of the Alliance at various levels meets and agree on the immediate issues from time to time. This can also mean that the SACP will have their own and direct representatives in legislatures, who will speak as SACP and take forward the mandate of the SACP, and can be recalled by the SACP.

**The SACP standing for elections:** This is the option that the YCL has been pursuing since the first Special Congress of the SACP. This means that the SACP will stand for elections independently and may agree on a pact with the ANC. Like in the previous option, this will also mean that the SACP is directly represented. This, however, means that the SACP will be subjected to the mercy of the electorate, and will be dependent on its outcomes. There is no doubt that the SACP will fair better than many of the political parties, but the idea is to contest for electoral power, not to warm the opposition seats. The other question is that of dual membership, and what happens to people who are elected in structures of the ANC. Equally, an issue we have always been raising is that electoral power on its own is not enough, and that the idea here is to grab institutions of the state.

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**Contesting election with the ANC (status quo):** This is based on the resolution of the SACP 12<sup>th</sup> National Congress held in Port Elizabeth. This means that the Alliance collectively determines the Election Manifesto, through the nomination lists process from ANC structures negotiates the final ANC list for legislatures and parliament and Alliance partners are consulted in the appointment of Premiers and Cabinet Ministers. There will obviously be issues of independence of each of the structures, especially with some in the ANC arguing that the ANC is the leader of the Alliance and that there is no “co-governance”.

**The ANC declaring itself a socialist party:** This leans more towards the Cuban route where the forces that fought for the defeat of the Batista regime collapsed themselves into a Communist Party, with the unity of the July 26 Movement, the student movement and the workers movement. This may not necessarily have to do with the so called “communist take-over”, but an internal realisation that the only route towards complete realisation of social justice, true democracy and the socialisation of the commanding heights of the resolution is socialism. This in essence finds expression in two factors. The declaration by the ANC Youth League President, a matter of fact, that the Youth League uses Marxist-Leninist tools of analysis and that some of the League’s declarations and campaigns are more to the left. The other factor being the ANC President’s continued assertion that the ANC’s route is up to a National Democratic Revolution (NDR) and that the socialists should continue. For us, what matters are the ideals and not necessarily the party of individuals who leads. This is not impossible, impractical and unrealisable, but remains treated as a taboo and a threat in certain quarters within the ANC.

The reality is that all of these options are premised on governance and electoral politics. What is in real terms not being discussed is building the Party as a **Party of Power?** How do we ensure that the Party is entrenched in terms of the identified hegemonic pillars of the Medium Term Vision? This should also serve as a guide for the structures of the YCL that power is not necessarily located only in the corridors of

## We should also create parallel and democratic, accessible forms of propaganda that appeal to young people

parliament, but that there are various centres of power, and that the debate on whether the Party should contest elections should take into consideration the ideological, state, workplace, economic and societal power and power relations.

### Party and Class

One of the missing links in terms of the ongoing debates, and perhaps better emphasised by the debates at the Party National Congress, is the whole issue of the relationship between “party” and “class”. The working class remains the driving force for socialism, and even better, a conscious working class. This is because it is the class that will rule under socialism, and will replace the ruling capitalist class. We should not in any way confuse the party and the class because in as much as the “Party” represents the “Class”, it does not constitute the class.

The working class in South Africa is more diverse and fractures in terms of interests and aspirations, but are also divided in relation to their relationship to the means of production. The party is the working class organisation or the vehicle, and thus, it should be driven by this class.

The task of the Party is not to constitute or replace the working class, but to unite their vision under the banner of socialism. If in anyway the working class does not believe that Party organisation or leadership is or will lead them to socialism, they will either transform the Party or abandon it.

Thus, building a working class SACP, that is independent and pursues the struggle for socialism, should be our immediate priority as the YCL and the working class youth.

### Reinforcing the Medium Term Vision

There is a lot more to learn from the Bolivarian revolution in Venezuela in building transformed institutions that will alter power relations in society inter-related with the discussion on elections. Part of the struggles we should wage as the YCL is that of the democratised institutions and centres of power. To what extent have we managed to support the trade-union movement, for instance, in democratising the workplace and ensuring workers participation in decisions about the production cycle? Efforts to create alternative and parallel forms of production, such as co-operatives, which will greatly alter the relations of power in the workplace and society and serve as a model of participatory democracy, have not yielded significant results. It is not enough to blame the state for not having supported such initiatives. If the working class leads and make a success of such institutions, and make them a model of quasi socialist mode of production, the state will inevitably have to support such initiatives. Opportunities are there, despite some of the objective and subjective factors, to ensure that we make such alternatives a success.

### Parallel Propaganda Institutions

The same applies in terms of the battle of ideas. It is a reality that medium of communication and propaganda are heavily dependent on and are the mouthpiece of capitalist institutions. Their role is to ensure that they sustain and justify the continued existence of the capitalist mode of production. In as much as we should smash these forms of undemocratic, bourgeoisie institutions, we should also create parallel and democratic, accessible forms of propaganda that appeals to young people and that pursues the agenda of an alternative form of society.

We cannot rely on these institutions to reproduce the ideas of the working class party, especially to the youth. Thus, some of the publications of the YCL, and our propaganda work, should remain independent and popular amongst the working class youth as a form of undistorted reproduction of analysis and guide to action in defeating the capitalist class. There are a whole range of ideas that we need to pursue, including messages about the form of revolution-

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ary culture and ideology as the foundation of working class hegemony. We can and should contest the ideological space opened up by a democratic dispensation which encourages capitalist greed and consumerism as the kind of dogma that wins the day. We have to say to the youth that we can win the day.

### Socialism and the Economy

Within the economy, we have to make an assessment of the developments that took place since 1994 and how all of these have entrenched the same foundation that Apartheid SA was based on. Some of the key economic activities that the Party was advocating for included communal forms of the financial sector, which were embedded on the township economy of co-operation and socialisation. The stokvels and burial societies are but one form of these activities which we need to promote. Their democratic, solidarity and caring nature are the parallel values and principles that we need to foster in order to challenge the capitalist culture and social relations of selfishness, individualism and accumulation. They constitute a key lesson for the working class that there is a different form of social relations other than that permeated and propagated through the factory floors and on the mainstream media.

Of course at the heart of smashing capitalism and capitalist social relations lies the struggle for altering the capitalist accumulation path. This is the line that lies between capitalism and socialism. One of the greatest fault-line in the post-apartheid capitalist path is the perpetuation of class and racial inequalities in the economy. Albeit the Daan Roodt of this world who complains about white exclusion, democratic South Africa still holds features of an apartheid economy. The slums still belongs to the blacks and the suburbs still belongs to the whites (with a sprinkle of blacks). We have to change all of these. We have to change Alexandra and Sandton by making the former a better habitual settlement, and develop its economic and other institutions to the level of the latter. We have to narrow the gap between rich and poor in our society.

The other challenge that we need to fight against as the YCL is what has become generally the relationship between business and government, facilitated in

## At the heart of smashing capitalism and capitalist social relations lies the struggle for altering the capitalist accumulation path

a broker-fashion by what has become known as the tenderpreneurs. The weakness in this relationship is that it reduces Black Economic Empowerment to those who facilitate business between what is mainly white business and government, instead of promoting entrepreneurs.

There are young people all over the country who have ideas on a whole range of enterprise whose multiplier effects will include more jobs for in the economy. We hear daily of young people who invent cars or some kind of revolutionary initiatives, whose wonderful stories end up in the front-page of the Daily Sun or in the design's department of German car manufacturers. Why are we not supporting these? Imagine the prospects of having a South African car, and the multiplier effects that this will have from jobs created through beneficiation of our raw materials, the assembly of the car, the cost to the consumer and many other factors.

Even, when government gives tenders to individuals, why not support these people to be business people, instead of allowing them to sell their contracts to the highest-bidder. Entrepreneurial initiatives should be at the heart of transforming our economy, truly empowering black people, creating jobs and growing the economy. If we do not fight the tendency of quick-buck capitalism, or capitalists without capital, we will be far off the mark of fighting white monopoly capitalism. In fact, those who accuse us of not fighting white monopoly capitalism are the one's who are entrenching it by promoting Broker Economic Empowerment, who sell their tenders to the highest bidding white monopoly capitalist.

### Fighting Corruption and the "Bling" Culture

One of the dangers of this brokerage economic empowerment is its close linkage to corruption and greed. Because of its pursuit for quick-bucks, and absolutely no justification of capacity to deliver, tenderpreneurs are almost always quick to bribe the tender committee in exchange for the tender, and to pass over the tender to the highest bidder. This is not capitalism but parasitism. It does not contribute in any way to decent jobs, economic growth and in narrowing the gap between the rich and the poor as the same capitalists deducts the kick-back from the wages of workers. It brings into disrepute a credible economic empowerment programme in the form of BEE.

We should ask ourselves why the Auditor-General and the Anti-Corruption Unit claims that there are more than 4000 government bureaucrats who are suspected of corruption, and the unit is overwhelmed with fighting corruption through legal technicalities. We should also ask ourselves how a government bureaucrat who should be earning not more than twenty-thousand-Rands can afford an expensive car, house and top-brands of champagne. We are equally guilty of being part of this social lifestyle that is sometimes fully-funded by corrupt activities. Importantly, in exposing this and fighting corruption, we need to ensure that we restore a new, alternative and progressive revolutionary culture that is opposed to consumerism, which rewards hard work, that shams corrupt individuals and isolate them, and that celebrates good entrepreneurial initiatives from young black South Africans.

What constitutes a "bling culture" in our country has also perpetuated other forms of violent crimes and theft from the public purse in pursuit of this lifestyle. As soon as we instil in our youth the spirit of opposition towards this culture, then the road ahead will be much easier, for it is within this generation that we must begin to plant the seeds of a new culture. The role of culture and breaking the back of revolutionary activity and deviating revolutionaries from the intended objective cannot be denied. And even more, the role of culture in fostering and sustaining any form of social relations remains key. Lets fight this capitalist culture by changing the capitalist mode of production.

## YOUNG REDS

### Eco-Socialism and the Environment

One of the realities of 21<sup>st</sup> Century capitalism is how it has managed to build itself on the complete destruction of the environment. This has happened through industrialisation, war, internet technology and many other epochs of capitalist development. In fact, every epoch of capitalist reproduction has been accompanied by the complete destruction of the environment. The strongest Western economies were built on the carcass of a destroyed Sub-Saharan environment. Even apartheid capitalism had to sustain itself through massive appropriation of raw materials into fossil energy such as oil and coal to develop electricity and gas.

With the pressures exerted on the global community by the recent financial crises, many economies will be forced to find ways in which they can create jobs and sustain their economy for the sake of immediate survival. Some of these interventions include sustaining the very same industries and lifestyles that will continue to destroy the eco-system and increase emissions of green-house gases. The issue of global warming is also a class issue in the context that in the process of accumulation, the capitalist class has not only exploited variable capital (labour), but also constant capital (in the form of raw materials, carbon emitting machinery and engines etc) and have thus disregarded this danger to humanity and abused the environment. The anarchy of capitalist production, for instance, determined through the whims of the markets, completely neglected the impact this will have on the environment. The crises of overproduction has a relationship with global warming in that because production is chaotic and unplanned, capitalism sometimes produced more than what the market can consume and has thus led to literal dumping of certain products in order to stimulate demand and control prices. This is a class issue also, as we have seen in Haiti, that when temperatures rise in certain regions of the world and cause hurricanes and earthquakes, it is mainly the working class and the poor who get affected. In New Orleans, in Cuba, in Miami, in India, and even here in KwaZulu Natal where there are now occasional flooding, because of a whole range of factors; it is the working class

### The strongest Western economies were built on the carcass of a destroyed Sub-Saharan environment

that is affected. This means that issues such as climate change are not some white woman NGO or civil society based challenges but are challenges for working class organisations, especially the youth as this is their world in the now and in the future.

Part of the pressure of the financial crises and the need for job creation actually lies in reducing temperature levels to the agreed Kyoto Protocol standards. Following some of the ideas below in creating jobs should lead us into saving the planet:

a. Engaging the media industry, government and the private sector to use only recycled paper instead of paper produced from deforestation. The Sunday Times, for instance, produces more than 1200 pages of newspaper every year. Imagine how many trees can be saved from that process;

b. Committing both Eskom and SASOL to reduce their carbon emission rates. The figures released from what an extra power station as planned by Eskom will do to the environment

c. Strengthening the forest economy in provinces such as KwaZulu Natal where we have an abundance of water is one of the factors we should consider pushing for. And creating jobs through cutting out high-water demand gum trees is another.

d. Electricity consumption in Southern Africa is dominated by lighting, which takes up to 60 percent. The benefits in terms of costs can be huge if this is reduced, including the load on power-stations, if we change to fluorescent lighting. With all of these, we still do not have even a single factory that produces these bulbs, and we do not have laws that prohibits the use of heat

and light bulbs that uses resistors.

e. Alternative forms of energy production such as solar and wind in our country can work miracles in creating green jobs, and will be a huge saver for the environment.

f. We should as the YCL mobilise youth and school children to clean the environment, and recycle the dirt in exchange as fundraising projects for schools.

### 21<sup>st</sup> Century Socialism-Learning from the Bolivarian Revolution

These are some of the features of the 21<sup>st</sup> Century Socialism that centres on the Bolivarian revolution in Latin America. Some of the facets of this Socialism have been propagated by the party, and constitute what is usually referred to as traditional practices and “ubuntu”. With all of these principles, Venezuela remains the special hope of a transformed, democratic and non-bureaucratic form of socialism and an example of removing the terrible features of Stalin’s socialism. “In praise of Communism”, we should mobilise the youth of our country behind these ideals. We have to fight the dogmatic and propagandist ideological onslaught of the capitalism that suggests that socialism is barbaric and has failed. Or even worse, that socialism is an old, academic and euro-centric concept that came with the white man. Or that socialism is about the mass-murder of people and suppression of democracy. Or that socialism is just but a dream and unrealisable, and that we are all naturally different and that poverty and unemployment is for the lazy and unlucky. Or that socialism is about the sharing of poverty whilst capitalism is about the sharing of wealth (and emphasise that capitalist do share wealth, but only amongst themselves).

We have to start with exposing the fact that we are in this nightmare because of the failure of capitalism. It will be our duty to expose the fact that corruption, greed, unemployment, poverty, exploitation, discrimination, racism, sexism, dispossession, unnecessary wars, debt, the financial crises, and destruction of the eco-system are all the results the failures of a capitalist system. We should say that when the capitalist say things will get better, they actually mean better for themselves, and not for all. And that when governments say

## YOUNG REDS

they are bailing the nation out of the financial crises, only one-tenth of that bail-out may actually reach the working class and the poor. There is not future but socialism. Socialism in our lifetime.

### Post SACP Special Congress Alliance issues and YCL Response (We will die for the Alliance)

At the Special National Congress of the SACP, a small section of the delegates booed certain members of the ANC delegation. This was an unfortunate occurrence and was rightly condemned by the leadership of the SACP and YCL. However, this seemed to be an opportunity to launch an onslaught on the leadership of the SACP and of the YCL. It has also become an opportunity to question the *bona fides* of the Alliance and whether it will break. We must emphasise that the booing of some of the ANC delegates was not an isolated event, but was part of a sequence of exchange amongst alliance partners. This included the unwarranted attack on the General Secretary of the SACP and the Deputy General Secretary, and an equally and carefully orchestrated agenda to send signals on contesting the National Chairperson of the SACP in his capacity as ANC Secretary General.

Firstly, we have to emphasise that as the YCL we are proud of the Alliance historical and current achievements, and are willing to overlook all of these events in favour of building a strong alliance. We understand that the historical mission of the alliance is incomplete, and thus, the alliance as the driving force of this mandate can never be allowed. The Alliance will clearly not break solely because a section of the ANC delegates was booed.

Secondly, the sequence of differences between the YCL and the ANC Youth League have nothing to do with the call made by the ANC Youth League for the nationalisation of mines. We surely do not differ with this call, and in fact are supportive of it. We still have to engage the ANC Youth League on the modalities contained in its discussion paper released last week from their National Lekgotla and on many other issues, including on military conscription and sanitary towels. We have to emphasise that our support for nationalisation should consequently lead to socialisation of the nationalised industries. But

## Getting the ANC Youth League and the YCL structures hurling uncomradely insults towards each other does not contribute to constructive engagements

the reality is that we have to say to our ally threatening and labelling people in the course of debates in order to coerce them to agree will surely cloud the issues on the table and alienate possible allies. Getting the ANC Youth League and the YCL national and provincial structures hurling uncomradely labels and insults towards each other does not in any way contribute towards constructive engagements, and the joke remains on us. In the process, we should also apply self-criticism into whatever role we might have played in perpetuating the media attention on the people and not the issues.

Thirdly, we have to engage with what seems to be, or presented as, an anti-communist agenda that seems to be targeted to leaders of the SACP and the YCL. We must emphasise that the business of elections at the ANC Conference in 2012 remains purely an ANC matter, and that there are agreed protocols by the Alliance on this issue. However, targeting individuals in the ANC on the basis that they are also leaders or members of the communist party, and seeking to persuade them to abandon

their leadership of the party, ceases to be an ANC matter but becomes part and parcel of the inter-class contradictions within the ANC. The basis of electing or not electing any leader of the ANC can never and has never been their communist credentials. This smacks of McCarthyism and we will never allow that to happen.

In fact, the ANC and the entire liberation movement has always risen above those who seek to oppose cadres on the basis of their communist credentials. Communists have never constituted a threat to the ANC, and has never sought to “take over” the ANC. The ANC is equally their home, so how do they conspire to take over their own home. Many individuals who have cried foul of “rooi-gevaar” had only their personal jackets to protect, and not the interests of the entire membership of the ANC. We cannot and should never allow the ANC Youth League or the YCL to be divided on the basis of communists and anti-communists, and neither should the ANC or SACP. These are pre-Polokwane tendencies and we should defeat them as we defeated those who perpetuated them pre-Polokwane. We must, from this National Lekgotla, proclaim that the Alliance Lives and the Alliance Leads society with the ANC at the helm. We must proclaim that we will die for the Alliance. We must take the battle to those who seek to divide the Alliance. We are definite that the ANC Youth League will never, ever, seek to break the alliance.

Lastly, any member of the YCL who is not a member of the ANC Youth League or ANC is not a revolutionary. We must encourage members of the YCL to be part of the ANC Youth League. ●

## JOIN THE DEBATE

Send your contributions to Umsebenzi  
Email [malesela@sacp.org.za](mailto:malesela@sacp.org.za) or write to:  
PO Box 1027 Johannesburg 2000

## YOUNG REDS

DUT

# DUT: Report of the YCL Commission

BY MAFIKA MNDEBELE

**F**OLLOWING THE VISIT OF THE YCL's Provincial Higher Education Commission of YCLSA to the Durban University of Technology (DUT), the PEC studied the report of the commission and observed that the principal challenges faced by students in this institution are based on attributes of incompetence and barbaric tendencies harbored by certain elements within the institutional management, including the Vice-Chancellor himself.

As the YCL in the province we bear an obligation to highlight and strive to eliminate these avoidable challenges as they continue to irk our brothers and sisters in DUT:

- The institutional management imposed an unprecedented 20% fee increase on student accommodation. They have done this without regard to the economic plight that faces some students whose financial position has been negatively affected by their parents' retrenchments and other economic difficulties as a result of the endemic capitalist crisis; loosely known as the global economic meltdown.
- If that was not enough, the institution, due to some worse form of negligence, is reported to have misplaced (literally lost) filled-in student application forms for the processing of their NSFAS applications. To this effect many of these students are to suffer the most unwarranted scourge of financial exclusion; management still refuses to assist these students regardless of the fact that these

students are not at fault but the institution

- Further to that, management has "creatively amended" the NSFAS requirements by imposing a new form of academic exclusion which suggests that all those students who achieved 50% in their final examination are not going to be provided with accommodation by NSFAS. We find this to be unbecoming on the part of management because they are reducing DUT to a centre, whose fundamental role is to frustrate students as opposed to being a centre of intellectual and academic incubation.
- We dismiss with contempt the 17 year old abominated and demonic arrogance possessing Mr Dock Nahsen, in his capacity as Student Accommodation Director. He is on record of having advocated a unilateral decision by the institution to hire student accommodation in areas which are deeply surrounded by taverns and public bars. These areas have been formally rated by the KZN SA Police Force as highest crime-risk areas in Durban. Mr. Nahsen chose to ignore all these facts and went ahead to send innocent students to these criminal abyss.
- As for the Vice-Chancellor who is also on record of having vehemently refused to meet with student organisations, we would like to register our disappointment not only on him but also to council for being passive in reminding him that DUT remains a public

institution of higher learning and should be governed as such not as if it is his private property. We call upon council to also put pressure on the Vice Chancellor to take necessary and legal actions against those implicated on corrupt activities in the institution as per the forensic investigation report. We note with interest that the report also reveals that only 5% of the employees in the Student Accommodation Directorate are suitable and academically competent to work in this controversial directorate. We further note that Mr Dock Nahsen (Director) is not part of this 5%.

Our Joe Slovo Right to Learn Campaign to transform education in this country cannot be held at ransom by "reward armchair educationists" who appear to be reminiscent of the apartheid regime and its devastating results.

It is our responsibility as young communists to not only pledge solidarity with DUT students but to enlist ourselves in their struggle. While condemning the gruesome activities of the private security forces in DUT (who opened fire on peaceful demonstrations by students resulting in hospital admissions of four of them), we call on all students to join the mass actions in DUT as they continue to consolidate our dignified course of transforming higher education. Meetings with the provincial Education Alliance and other stakeholders have been scheduled as one of the critical avenues to be explored in ensuring that things get to normal in DUT. ●

*Cde Mndebele is KZN YCL Provincial Spokesperson*

## YOUNG REDS

### HIGHER EDUCATION

# Transformation requires more than tinkering in the fringes!

BY KHAYE NKWANYANA

**T**HE YOUNG COMMUNIST LEAGUE of South Africa is indeed at the forefront of the education transformation landscape and indeed we anticipate more breakthroughs to be achieved under these five years of governance with the space created.

Together with Progressive Youth Alliance (PYA) we have been interacting, sharing platforms and leading campaigns and strikes in relation to academic access and all related aspects through our “Joe Slovo Right to Learn Campaign”

Sasco had just launched its “Right to Learn Campaign” in the University of Free State on the 22<sup>nd</sup> of January 2010, attended by more than 800 students. The PYA, at a highest level, was also part of this launch. Issues that still bedevil higher education remain constant. It is criminal, for instance, that Universities have just decided to increase their fees for this year by more than 9% (way above inflation) when in fact the dominating message from government and a real commitment is towards free and compulsory education. Already this has excluded many potential students who would have ordinarily been admitted and also could not be covered by the National Student Financial Aid Scheme (Nsfas). We continue to impress on the fact that education is part of the developmental imperative of a country; it is linked to economic development; it is linked to the human resource development of the country and thus job creation and industrial development.

If indeed the above linkages are anything to go by, education in such a country like ours cannot be accessed through the system of “over the counter”; which simply translates to a transaction between a student and an institution of

higher learning. This is what we want to defeat: education as a commodity.

Related to this exclusionary factor is the regime of the access point system in institutions of higher learning. This system is by no means class neutral either, but stems from the neo liberal orientation of these institutions and their categorisations in terms of the levels of academic quality outputs; therefore rated above others. These staggered categorisation, (particularly on the basis of the previously white and black institutions) has continued even after the amalgamations of these institutions in the early 2000’s and in fact there was a swallowing of the former bush universities with their levels of admissions and fees abandoned in the interest of the former white institutions. The flipside has been the integration and therefore the use of these inflated point systems of entry and exorbitant fees. All of this has served well, overtime, in excluding thousands of young people who are today without any certification beyond Matric, Africans in particular – and this has been a human resource waste!

We welcome as the YCL the intervention by the Higher Education department in initiating a policy review on Nsfas and that this year, for the first time, Nsfas covers not only tuition and residence fees but even registration fees. This therefore means a student under the scheme pays none. However, with greater speed we want free and compulsory education system and this would be one measure for success under this term of office.

Some of the key areas that need to be attended with determination are:

**The standardisation of the entry point system to all higher education institutions.**

This must be pursued within the context of building one similar, integrated

higher education landscape to which Wits University cannot see itself above University of Limpopo; University of KwaZulu Natal must not tower itself to University of Zululand or University of Cape Town against Cape Peninsula. Making this intervention should not await resource equity to the inferior institutions so that they are seen in similar terms to the higher category ones; it has to be a political decision. This will even allow those students from rural schools and townships to enter these centers of education.

**Review institutional autonomy and subject it to a defined limit**

The institutional autonomy as it stands now in South Africa is highly problematic. Whilst we need to respect this principle and must be safeguarded, the discretion however they are conferred is exceedingly unfettered. Government (like in the state utilities’ board), should seek to review its representations in the council so that Ministerial appointees numbers must be in majority with powers to veto in favour of the national imperatives.

The institutional fees determination must be a competency of the Higher Education Department and not the institutions themselves. This will empower government’s gradual program towards and for its quest for the ultimate phasing out of fees as a mode of entry.

While government may not meddle with academic content it ought to have a locus standi on the broad framework to which institutions must pursue in meeting a required knowledge production. It cannot be an atomised function of a given Senate and other related structures to determine the content without that being processed centrally for uniformity and standardisation throughout the system. If there is a Sectoral skills deficit in a country, a call from government and private sector must mean institutions must be duty bound to give priority to that shortage in terms of more recruitment in that area as a redress.

Government’s role in higher education cannot be elementary and advisory in terms of turning it around; we need a real interventionist approach. ●

*Cde Nkwanyana is Deputy National Secretary of the Young Communist League*

## YOUNG REDS

### EDUCATION

# YCL's annual matric exhibition day

**T**HE ANNOUNCING OF MATRIC results has become an annual event which consists of mixed reaction from various stakeholders and broader society; government waits in anticipation for statistics revealing performance of students and teachers throughout the year. Students ponder on what the future entails as this determines their entry to institutions of higher learning. All in all the most important people in this whole midst of jubilation and speculation are the matriculants themselves.

The YCL has launched the Annual matric exhibition day which took place (the launch) on the 7<sup>th</sup> of January 2010. It is informed by the dire need for information about the options that are out there for matriculants. A lot of matriculants particularly in disadvantaged communities tend have limited access to opportunities due to various constraints which includes lack of funding and information about the various options that one can explore over and above going to university.

The fundamental objective of having this event is to not only to celebrate and congratulate those that have achieved in matric but also to further encourage those find themselves in a state of oblivion due to their failure to achieve matric the first time round.

The journey towards the day started with immense preparation from the YCL in organising logistics and inviting institutions and organisation which would be instrumental in giving out useful information for our beloved matriculants. The venue or area chosen was Diepsloot, a township north of Johannesburg; it is a place that has high levels of poverty and mainly characterised by poor infrastructure development

and crime. The YCL chose to go there to ensure that young people, particularly those in matric have an opportunity to experience such an event and moreover get an opportunity to get information first hand as in most instances this community is isolated in a number of issues.

This event could not take place without the involvement of Institutions of Higher learning and funding bodies (in education). The invitation was extended to organisations such as Nsfas (National Student Financial Aid Scheme), University of Johannesburg (UJ), Damelin, The National Youth Development Agency (NYDA) amongst others.

The organising team had been busy with the preparations and mobilising young people from around the area and our branches (SACP and YCL) assisted in ensuring that preparations were running smoothly. The actual venue at Diepsloot was one of the parks that has been renovated for 2010 which is Sarafina Park. The local councillor of the area was also quite receptive and gave the YCL a warm welcome and assisted in the organising.

The event was graced with the members of the community and matriculants from around Diepsloot.

The programme was opened by the YCL branch (Zola Zembe) Chairperson Comrade Joe Limane. In his address, he placed emphasis on the role that education plays in our immediate community to eradicate poverty and better the lives of our people "We are honoured as the YCL here in Diepsloot, that this event of the YCL is launched here and we hope that our matriculants will take this opportunity to get information that will assist them in the future" he was quoted saying. The National Youth Development agency was also there to give

words of encouragement to the youth and also deliberate on matters relating to other avenues that one would explore if they have not been able to gain entry to institutions of Higher learning. Non executive director of the board, Ms. Innocentia Motau (NYDA Board); spoke extensively about the opportunities in business and learnership programmes that seek to address the skills shortage problem which is facing our country.

Nsfas encouraged young people to use its organisation in aiding funds to further their studies. The Nsfas has played a very important role in addressing the challenges of students particularly black students in institutions of higher learning. The YCL has urged that Nsfas pays for everything including provisions of an allowance/stipend so that students are able to channel their energies towards their education.

A lot of matriculants that were present used this opportunity to also pose questions about the accessibility of Nsfas within institutions.

Overall the day was a success despite that some students got to find out about the event late due to the fact that preparations and notification went out during the holidays, where most were visiting. As youngsters, matriculants also appreciated the recreational part of the event and were quiet ecstatic about the fact the event took place in their neighbourhood. Nonhlanhla Tshabalala one of the students that were at the event said "I'm very pleased that we had the opportunity to come to such an event and exhibition. A lot of this information never reaches us here in Diepsloot and we are happy that the Young Communist League chose our area for this exhibition. We hope that it will not be the last one". ●

## YOUNG REDS

### EDUCATION

# The history and challenges of education transformation

BY LAZOLA NDAMASE

IT HAS NEVER BEEN THE INTENTION of either domestic and international capital to introduce formal education to African society. It was an accident of history propelled by economic calculations. The introduction of formal education to African society has always been a consequence of the need to turn the African into a productive labourer in the service of the white capitalist. For some time, as a result of the economic and political independence of African nations the white capitalist could not access African labour power, regardless of his willingness to compensate it with a salary.

Driven by what Jack Simons called the white capitalists' resentment of "the tribesman's way of life", on the basis of which "They complained that he had too much land, leisure and sex. Instead of working for an employer, as was his proper destiny, he batted in ease on the labour of his wives... Tribal marriage and self-sufficiency were blamed for a scarcity of wage workers that impeded the growth of the colonial economy and disappointed hopes of a quick prosperity", white capital elected to fight for its hegemony and was determined to stop at nothing to achieve its ends.

The introduction of the capitalist system of production in South Africa and in many parts of the world brought with it a new form of learning that was premised on the separation of education for economic production and education for social and political survival. The historic

roots of this act is tied with the development of industry and specialisation of work which increased the need for skilled workers who had to be trained specifically for the line of work they were required only to perform, hence today we have engineers, commercial students etc.

In resolving this predicament capitalism usurped education for economic survival and separated it from society by building academic institutions specialising on various fields of economic activity at a price, while at the same time it let loose on education which is meant for socialisation and allowed it to remain a task to be performed by the family and society for free. In essence, capitalism split education into two; formal and informal education. The latter is free and accessible to all, while the former has an exchange value, and remains exclusive to those who can afford access to it.

In South Africa, this could only take place as soon as the peasantry was incapacitated to produce crops, without sufficient stock to trade amongst themselves; African peasants were forced to seek work. It is only at this stage that white capital hoisted formal education as a conduit for acquiring skills, which would guarantee employment. In order to legitimise the capitalist economy forced unto free African people, the capitalist did what it has done in other countries. It used education not only as an instrument to produce workers, but also as its primary intellectual factory, where it produces its apologists and

intelligentsia. It ensured that capitalist ideology underpins the curricular and management of education institutions. So intense has been the ideological re-orientation such that educators and students are cajoled to ultimately see all meaning in terms of what can be bought, sold or made profitable. Such has underpinned the profit-driven increase of fees by institutions of higher learning, particularly UCT, Wits etc.

It is as a result of this that as a Marxist-Leninist student movement we view our education as part of the capitalist superstructure whose aim is nothing more than the reproduction and legitimating of capitalist production relations through spreading bourgeois ideology in institutions. As a result, the capitalist class, through its stranglehold on curriculum content, treats education as a process to develop acceptance of capitalist production which orientates potential workers and capitalists about the workings of the capitalist system and teaches them how to best serve it.

Higher education has become a production centre for capitalist apologists and beneficiaries of stratification. We also understand that modern education in the eyes of the capitalist constitutes nothing more than the improvement of the labor power of every worker and potential worker, whom capital is ever willing to exploit.

Sadly, centres of education are viewed and treated as nothing more than labor factories. As Gramsci aptly put it, education institutions are run as "incubators of little monsters aridly trained for a job, with no general ideas, no general culture, no intellectual stimulation, but only an infallible eye and a firm hand" which serves no one else but the capitalist.

Though reactionary and capitalist class biased, modern education holds some small opportunities for the working class. To some degree, it serves to increase the market value of labor power and increases possibilities of better remuneration and should not be discarded, simply on the basis that it is capitalist dominated and reactionary. It is on this score that the capitalist has not flung all the doors of education open. Higher Education is one such aspect. It is not treated in the same manner as lower levels of basic education that have been made easier to access. ●

*Cde Ndamase is Sasco General Secretary*



**SOCIALISM  
IN OUR  
LIFETIME!**

**Y-REDS**

VOICE OF THE YOUNG COMMUNIST LEAGUE OF SOUTH AFRICA ★ FEB/MARCH 2010

# King Zwelithini: Give details of circumcision revival plans

BY THULANI GABELA

**A** SENSE OF CONFUSION IS ENGULFING people of KwaZulu Natal after the King of Zulus in the ceremony of ukweshwama last year (2009) made an announcement to the effect that, as a King of the Zulus and wielding an exclusive right to reintroduce a practice that might have been banned by his predecessor, also informed by the plight of the seriousness of the HIV-Aids pandemic, is considering reintroducing male circumcision which was banned by the late King Shaka.

To date, no details have come forth if the nature of this practice in relation to the Zulu boys; whether it will take a form of what in other tribes in various provinces do which is more than just a circumcision but an initiation process. Media reports indicate that, already a buy-in from government has been achieved and an extensive process is commencing.

The Young Communist League as a representative of the youth deserves answers so that this is not just seen (as it would appear) as was a mere knee-jerk reaction to shift the bad publicity from animals rights (ARA) who carpeted the Ukweshwama ceremony so badly with attempted Court interdicts. The YCL in KZN raises the following concerns:

Is the King reviving the initiation practice to which circumcision is the integral and the last part after teachings (passage) that transit a boy to manhood? Even then, before King Shaka banned the practice, the process was as comprehensive as such for boy passage. If this revival of the practice is indeed going to combine all these details the



**King Goodwill Zwelithini**

question would be on practicality given the period spent and the professional foreskin cutters to avoid the Eastern Cape situation of people dying. But more critically, are parents ready to surrender their boys for this process?

In the second scenario where the process would cut the corners and it entails just circumcision with no preceding activities of passage; we would then advise for an engagement with the government and Health Department in particular, to mount a campaign of encouraging all males to go to clinics and hospitals for clinical circumcisions. Such circumcisions are safe guaranteed and the public health system has a capacity no matter the volume for such

a demand.

We may as well strengthen the initiative that every born baby boy be circumcised immediately in hospitals.

It is important to emphasize the point that any attempt to make intervention to fight HIV/AIDS must be welcomed. We need a multi-pronged approach so as to pool all of these to mitigate the levels of this pandemic. But that being the case, it does not mean we must not interrogate the relevance and even to survey what we are putting to the fore before we put to test.

In the absence of details not elaborated, the danger with this quasi or full initiation revival in the province is the potential for it to be boycotted as fears of death are known as opposed to health professionals in hospitals and clinics doing this job. With that, the perception would be as though the King is being disrespected.

As the YCL we have also been clear that the emphasis is not on the initiation process, but circumcision. We believe that it is not a method of preventing contraction of HIV-Aids, but it is a way to minimise the risk. KZN is one of the leading provinces on the pandemic and this is of grave concern to young people.

It is evident that all members of society and dignitaries need to take responsibility in curbing this alarming increase. Hence we call upon the King to be vocal on what his intentions are and if the objective is one that is informed of traditions then he needs to outline the process of he plans on re-introducing the whole tradition back into the Zulu Kingdom. ●

*Cde Gabela is a YCL member*