

REMEMBERING CHRIS HANI

Cde Blade Nzimande on the media:
We must stop talking only to ourselves

May 2010

Voice of the South African Communist Party

Unsebenzi



THE SACP **RED CARDS** CORRUPTION

SACP ANTI-CORRUPTION CAMPAIGN

SACP marches to red-card corruption!

A thief is a thief even if he has an ANC or SACP card
– Cde Blade Nzimande

MORE THAN 3000 PEOPLE TOOK part in the SACP's anti-corruption march in eThekweni on 30 April, led by senior Party and Cosatu leaders.

The march was addressed by Cde Blade Nzimande, SACP General Secretary, Cosatu General Secretary Cde Zwelinzima Vavi, ANC Provincial Secretary Cde Sihle Zikalala, Cosatu Provincial Secretary Zet Luziphoh, and YCL National Secretary Cde Buti Manamela. Cosatu President Cde S'dumo Dlamini, also participated.

Marchers blew whistles and vuvuzelas and carried red cards. They carried placards with slogans such as "No to tenderpreneurs" and "Down with tenderpreneurs, down". There were also placards objecting to the increases in electricity prices and calling for the abolition of labour-brokers.

Cde Nzimande told the crowd that corruption led to poverty and increased unemployment. "Corrupt people will not end with tenders. They will make South Africa a big tender to other countries. There are thieves with ties who look respectable but are stealing other people's money."

"A thief is a thief even if he has an ANC or SACP card," he said.

He called on the government to make public the names of companies nominated for advertised tenders. "The public should be given a chance to comment about the businesses and know who they are. The public should also be told on what merits a business receive a tender."

Cde Nzimande said criticism of the tender process should not be seen as an attack on the ANC. "When we raise



KZN Premier Zweli Mkhize: received the SACP memorandum.

Pix: Malesela Maleka

the tender issue, we are not attacking the ANC. The ANC is a principled organisation."

Cde Vavi said: "As long as there is a corrupt minority, there will be the perception that politics have become dirty. We need to act against the rotten potatoes." Cde Vavi attacked private companies involved in white-collar crimes.

Cde Zikalala stressed that the ANC fully supported the campaign against corruption and will act against any members guilty of corruption.

Cde Manamela said was the youth that had the most to lose from corruption – "it is their future that is being stolen".

A memorandum to the President was handed to KZN Premier Cde Zweli Mkhize. The memorandum acknowledged the legislation passed since 1994 that serves to tackle corruption, including the Public Finance Management Act, Municipal Finance Management Act, Prevention and Combating of Corrupt Activities Act, the promotion of Access to Information Act and the Protected Disclosures Act. The memorandum notes the setting up of the Inter-Ministerial Committee on Corruption. But it noted the negative reports of the Auditor General, increasing local government corruption, and the increasing number of civil servants involved in private businesses. The memorandum called for:

- A revamp of the criminal justice system which includes building capacity of the prosecutors to interpret the legislation and prosecute those suspected effectively.

- Building the investigative capacity of the police to be able to effectively investigate crime and corruption and root out malice and corruption in the Police service first and in other sectors society.

- Updating and publishing the list of blacklisted companies including introducing tougher regulations to bar individuals from re-tendering under different business entities.

- Broadening the existing policy framework to include a multi pronged approach, namely investigation, detection and prevention.

- Building capacity and strengthening the Chapter 9 institutions including SARS, the IDC and all other specialised crime busting units and anti-corruption agencies



Part of the crowd marching in eThekweni

- A holistic review of the government procurement system including alternative means to tenders, where feasible, with the state taking full responsibility for provision of basic services. Not every government service must be converted into a tender. Prior to a tender being awarded, an assessment must be made on whether capacity to do such work directly already does not exist within the state or within communities that are the intended beneficiaries. For instance there are many government services that can be given to communities directly, non-profit organisations and co-operatives to run, without the involvement of `middle men` through tenders.

- Government tender processes to be more transparent through the publication of those shortlisted and awarded tenders in order to allow for public comment as

well as prevention of the same culprits being awarded tenders repeatedly.

- Rooting out the dual holding of a public office and private interests within the public service in order to root out the fault line created by the intersection between holding public office and private business interest and its possible corrupting outcome. There is existing proof of these and we need to act urgently lest we tenderise the state and weaken its capacity.

- The speedy enactment of legislation criminalising activities such as price

We need to act against the rotten potatoes
– Cde Zwelinzima Vavi

fixing and collusion including a review of the anti-competition law to empower further the Competition Commission and broaden its scope.

The SACP called on the government to “take the lead to mobilise and strengthen civil society organisations and communities in the fight against crime, criminality and corruption. Effectively ensuring proper support to community, civil society and government initiatives such as the street committees and the community policing forums to improve their capacity and contribution towards fighting crime and corruption through dedicated support on capacity and training to make our places and our country a safer environment to live in.”

The SACP re-affirmed its commitment to working with the government and civil society to fight corruption. ●

SACP ANTI-CORRUPTION CAMPAIGN

Let the tenderpreneurs tremble!

BY MALESELA MALEKA

MORE THAN 150 DELEGATES FROM a range of organisations, including Business Unity South Africa, the NPA, Idasa and the Public Service Commission, attended the SACP National Anti-Corruption Seminar held on 29 March 2010 – launch-pad for the SACP's Chris Hanu Month Anti-Corruption Campaign.

Corruption is fast eating into our society and unless there is radical action, our democracy is under threat – this was the main theme of the presentation of most of the speakers. SACP General Secretary, Cde Blade Nzimande, opened the seminar with the words: “To us as the SACP – as it should be so for the majority of South Africans – the fight against corruption is not merely a moral, but a political struggle.

“For the SACP the struggle against corruption cannot be separated from a struggle against capitalism and its often corrupting practices and ideology.”

Adv Willem Heath said:

“Corruption has become a profession and those who perpetrate it, experts.”

While sketching how corruption erodes public trust in the state and is a stumbling block to service delivery, he held no brief for the private sector. “The private sector is the main instigator of corruption! The corrupt elements of the private sector remain wealthy and continue to do business,” he said, adding

that conducting business in a corrupt way “illustrates a total lack of entrepreneurial ability”.

Is corruption more widespread in South Africa than in many post-colonial states? asked Dr Ivory Sarakinsky of Wits University. He argued that while there is corruption and it must be tackled, South Africa is performing better than countries like Ghana, Egypt, Sierra Leone, Malawi and others in terms of the World



Cde Nzimande: Let tenderpreneurs tremble!

Governance Indicators. Often it is a question of public perception versus reality driven by newspaper headlines, he said.

“In post-colonial states, anti-corruption is often rhetorical and sometimes used to tarnish political opponents. South Africa is not yet exhibiting institutional, ethical, procedural and compliance decay. We are approaching a point of no return and bold action is needed,” he

argued, including reappraising the state procurement processes and engaging in less rhetoric and more action and ensuring more tangible evidence of progress.

Public Service Commission Chairperson Dr R Mgijima said “it must be understood that the human element in the area of supply chain management, if unchecked, can have serious negative consequences for accountable governance.

“The average rate of compliance with procurement rules relating to the invitation of quotations is 71% – in 29% of all transactions there is no evidence that quotations were obtained before orders were placed with service providers. The average compliance to procurement rules relating to the evaluation of quotations was 54%. This is unacceptably low and it indicates that the application of the criteria for awarding of orders for goods and services is not well controlled and monitored and is therefore prone to abuse.”

He warned that “corruption is a hidden phenomenon because of its criminal nature. The true extent of corruption cannot be known. Only possible indications of the extent can be gleaned from allegations received via the National Anti

Corruption Hotline and from proven cases either in disciplinary hearings or in court cases.”

The seminar sent a strong message of willingness among participants to work together in the fight against corruption. Participants signed a pledge committing themselves and their organisations to work jointly in the End Corruption Campaign and do all in their power and within the legal provisions to fight corruption.

The seminar was significant in bringing together several key organisations and providing a common platform to act against corruption. The fight against

corruption has to be a national effort and the SACP fully understands that much work still has to be done to mobilise all South Africans to stand up and expose corruption.

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

Cde Maleka is SACP Media Spokesperson



Taking the lead: Cdes Yunus Carrim, SACP PB member, Blade Nzimande, SACP General Secretary, and Zwelinzima Vavi, Cosatu General Secretary, at the head of the SACP anti-corruption march

Forward with the Financial Sector Campaign!

AT THE SACP'S ANTI-CORRUPTION march in eThekweni, the SACP handed a memorandum to a representative of the Banking Association of SA to call for the revitalisation of the Financial Sector Charter. The memorandum reads:

We, the South African Communist Party and the Congress of South African Trade Unions, representing millions of South Africans, express our dismay at the refusal by banks and other financial institutions to finalise and implement the Financial Sector Charter.

It is more than six years since the launch of the draft Financial Sector Charter, which committed banks and other financial institutions to transform the sector so that it could move away from its apartheid past and better serve all the people of South Africa.

We are appalled that banks and the

rest of the financial sector refuse to be part of the consensus on finalising the Charter.

All other participants in the Financial Sector Charter Council - Government, Labour, Community and the Association of Black Securities and Investment Professionals (Absip) - have made compromises in order to reach agreement on aligning the Charter with the generic Codes of Good Practice in terms of the Broad-based Black Economic Empowerment Act. Our consensus takes into account that the Codes are the universal minimum standards for broad-based black economic empowerment across the economy.

We are deeply concerned that the banks and others refuse to be part of this consensus. They want the Financial Sector Charter to have lower standards of transformation than all other sec-

tors of the economy. We reject the selfish, greedy and unjustifiable claim that banks are a "special case" and cannot transform to the same minimum standards as other companies. We will never sacrifice genuine transformation in order to allow the banks to continue to maximise profits by exploiting the workers and the poor.

We therefore demand that the banks and other financial institutions should co-operate with other stakeholders in finalising the Financial Sector Charter immediately so that it can be submitted to the Minister of Trade and Industry for gazetting by the end of May 2010.

We now undertake to bring this message to our members and will mobilise in large numbers in support of the campaign to gazette the Charter and transform the banks and other financial institutions. ●

MAY DAY STATEMENT

Root out corruption in the name of Hani

The struggle against corruption is a struggle against those who are selling out our NDR

THROUGHOUT APRIL, TOGETHER WITH our allies, the SACP has been waging a campaign to intensify the struggle against corruption.

We launched the 34-days of intensified struggle on the 29 March at a highly successful seminar on corruption in Johannesburg. Through April, and in honour of our fallen hero, cde Chris Hani, we have carried forward the campaign in communities and work-places. On Friday 30 March, there was a massive SACP-led march in Durban against corruption.

And today, May Day 2010, as SACP speakers, together with our comrades from Cosatu and the ANC, we are using this occasion countrywide to conclude this first phase of what must now be an ongoing and intensified struggle against the scourge of corruption.

But why has the SACP chosen the theme of an intensified struggle against corruption? Are there not other important issues confronting the working class in SA at this time? Yes, there are many challenges, but unless we defeat the scourge of corruption everything else will be lost.

The struggle against corruption is a moral struggle, but it is not just a moral struggle. It is part and parcel of the struggle of the working class and popular forces against those who are compromising, weakening, undermining and literally selling out our National Democratic Revolution.

To understand why we say this, it is important to step back a little and think

about the present SA reality.

16 years of democracy and yet our people still live in poverty

On Tuesday this past week, we celebrated 16 years of democracy in SA. In those 16 years, together, we have achieved many things. And yet the workers and poor of SA continue to suffer with poverty wages, unemployment, land hunger, poor health-care facilities and generally poor education and training opportunities.

Over the past 16 years we have achieved many things – but:

- When we started out in 1994 the unemployment rate (narrowly defined) was at crisis levels of 24%. By the middle of 2008, just before the global capitalist crisis hit SA, and after 15 years of economic growth, where was the unemployment rate (narrowly defined)? It was more or less EXACTLY where it had been when we started out

– 24%!! (Since the recession, and the loss of nearly 1-million jobs last year, this unemployment crisis has worsened)

- When we started out in 1994, after centuries of racial oppression, we were one of the most unequal societies in the world. And now, after 16 years of “service delivery” to our people, where are we? Shockingly, our income inequality (measured by the so-called GINI coefficient) tells us that we remain as unequal as ever. We are one of the worst in the world. And this inequality remains highly racialised.

- When we started out in 1994, in our

RDP document we estimated that the housing shortage was 3-million. Incredibly, over the last 16 years we have actually built more than 3-million low cost houses. So what is the housing shortage now? According to the Department of Human Settlements the housing backlog is somewhere between 2 and 3-million houses!!

Why do we seem to be going around in a circle? Why, when we have done so many things over the last 16 years, do we seem to be arriving back in the same place?

The DA and other opposition parties tell us that we cannot go on blaming apartheid. And, in a way, the SACP agrees with them – (but only to disagree with them radically, of course, in the end). Yes, it is true that we cannot go on blaming apartheid...it is CAPITALISM that we must blame.

After all, we have dismantled the apartheid system; we have abolished apartheid laws and the apartheid constitution. But beneath apartheid there was always a system supporting and shaping it... and that system was a capitalist system.

And before apartheid, during the period of segregationism of Jan Smuts there was a system that rolled on and on, shaping the destiny of our country and its people...and that system was a capitalist system.

And before segregationism, during the period of colonial conquest and dispossession there was a system that sent armies to our shores, that laid down railway lines and built colonial ports, that coerced millions of peasants into migrant labour. It was a system that underpinned the formation of SA itself back in 1910,





16 years of democracy and yet our people still live in poverty

now almost exactly 100 years ago... and that system was a capitalist system.

We have abolished apartheid, Smuts has come and gone, the era of imperial conquest and settlement of our country lies in the past... but what continues to roll on is the same oppressive system of capitalism.

And here, we are not talking about capitalism in general, but the particularly virulent brand of semi-colonial capitalism that has been imposed on SA over the last one hundred years. It is a brand of capitalism that persists to this day.

If we are to understand why, after 16 years of democracy and a huge amount of “service delivery” to our people, we are still going around in a circle – then it is absolutely essential that we understand the nature of this South African capitalist growth path. We need to understand it, in order collectively to uproot it and destroy it, and place our country on a new developmental path.

South Africa’s semi-colonial capitalist growth path

To understand the main features of the capitalist growth path that have been in place over the last 100 years, it is necessary to first remember how capitalism came to SA. It did not emerge organically. It was imposed, brand-new, out of the box, imported from the most advanced capitalist countries of the late 19th century. It was the mining revolution in the late 19th century shipped in from outside that marked the beginnings of SA’s capitalist revolution.

Ever since, our economy has been dominated by these realities that shaped our society:

The DA says we can’t keep blaming apartheid: we agree – we blame capitalism!

- Still today, SA is over-dependent on EXPORTING unprocessed, primary commodities, like minerals.

- Still today, SA is over-dependent on IMPORTING manufactured goods, machinery and technology and luxury goods.

- Still today, our economy is dominated by a web of powerful mining and financial corporations.

- Still today, there is a very high level of monopoly concentration in our economy – the many scandals around price-fixing of bread or steel, for instance, uncovered by the Competition Commission, are an indication of this.

- Linked to all of the above – our small- and medium-scale industries are very poorly developed and our manufacturing sector is weak (and it has become even weaker over the last ten years as many parts of our country have been de-industrialised). Yet, these are the sectors that are generally most labour-intensive.

- Still today, as at the beginning of capitalism in SA, we have a very divided

labour market. On the one hand, a small stratum of skilled artisans and technicians – formerly almost all exclusively white. And, on the other hand, a mass of unskilled and semi-skilled labourers. Originally the majority of these workers were migrant workers to the mines. But with the development of capitalism, there arose a more settled, urbanised black working class – but this didn't change the highly divided labour market;

● We continue to have a divided working class because our education and training system still reproduces a tiny minority of skilled persons, and a mass of under-skilled and often unemployable people.

● We have a divided working class because the mass of workers and poor continue to be marginalised in bleak and faraway dormitory townships. Even our 3-million RDP houses have reproduced this kind of apartheid space – Group Areas live on in reality, if not in law. Now they are reproduced by the capitalist property market.

Combined, these key features of SA's capitalist growth path lie at the heart of the explanation to the question: Why, 16 years into democracy, do we seem to be going around in a circle?

We have to place SA onto a different growth path. This is exactly what President Zuma said in his State of Nation Address to Parliament this year. This is exactly what cde Pravin Gordhan said in his budget speech this year. This is exactly what government had in mind when it unveiled our new Industrial Policy Action Programme (I-PAP) this year. I-PAP is a critical component of changing our present semi-colonial capitalist growth path. The same applies to all of our other strategic priorities – job creation, rural development, health-care including an NHI, education and training, breaking out of the dormitory township mould and building mixed-income communities, fighting crime and corruption – these are not disconnected challenges – they are all interconnected and integral to putting our society onto a different developmental path.

But why did we not begin to do this a lot sooner?

The subjective factor – the 1996 class project

So far, we have been looking at the *objective* reality that we are confronting – this semi-colonial capitalist system that goes on reproducing poverty, unemployment and inequality. But to explain why we

The objective challenge of our NDR struggle in 2010 is to place our country onto a new developmental path

have not seriously transformed this objective reality, it is also important to look at ourselves, the *subjective* reality – in other words, we need to look at what has been happening within our own movement – the ANC-led alliance.

Over the last 10 years, after a difficult and protracted ideological and organisational struggle within our movement – the SACP, together with a wide range of Alliance forces, from the branch level up, succeeded in defeating the domination within the ANC and government of an anti-left, reformist current – what we called “the 1996 class project”.

In the media, and among our opponents, our struggle against this tendency has often been portrayed as a narrow sectarian battle between personalities and factions simply to seize control over the ANC. It is important to keep reminding ourselves that this was *never* what our struggle against the “1996 class project” was about.

We said it was a struggle against *reformism* and for a very precise reason. From the mid-1990s, the ANC came to be dominated by a tendency that was unable and unwilling to recognise that advancing and defending the NDR after 1994 required an intensified struggle to radically transform (and not merely reform) the semi-colonial features of SA's century-long capitalist growth path.

Instead, they believed that market-led growth (i.e. in practice, the perpetuation of the same semi-colonial growth path), but now under the co-direction of a new black capitalist and political class stratum, was the key strategic objective of the post-1994 NDR. “Go out and get filthy rich!” they told ANC leadership cadres.

But this “1996 class project” had a whole series of internal contradictions. One of these contradictions was the tension between:

● the requirements for restoring capitalist accumulation back to its traditional growth path after a decade of deepening crisis in the last years of apartheid, on the one hand; and

● the primitive accumulation process required for establishing a new stratum of black capitalists (“capitalists without capital”), on the other.

The first objective required that the new political stratum use state power to create an investor-friendly environment, to facilitate conditions for major South African corporations to expand regionally and internationally, to take a tough line on the budget deficit (i.e. reduce the tax “burden” on the bourgeoisie), and to address bottle-necks that had built up during the last 15 years of apartheid rule. It also required the stabilisation of bourgeois “rule of a law”, the guarantee of property rights, and “sound” political management of the state (i.e. “sound” as assessed by the international ratings agencies and transnational auditing firms).

The second process was faced with the dilemma of how a stratum of aspirant capitalists was to acquire capital. Two inter-linked strategies have been used to spur the creation of BEE capital:

● Using legislation and other means, the existing bourgeoisie has been required to reserve a slice of the action for BEE entrepreneurs. In essence, this has been a marriage of convenience between elements of the new political caste in the state and established capital. In exchange for the lobola of “market friendly” state policies, established capital grudgingly agreed to release a percentage of ownership stakes to the new elite. We know, of course, that this kind of narrow BEE empowerment has been full of weaknesses. Targets are seldom met. Not all of the hungry capitalists without capital can be accommodated in the board-room. BEE capitalists were often given highly marginal operations (like many of the BEE mines – see the recent Aurora scandal). Much of BEE capital is also highly indebted capital. It is “theoretical capital”, shares on loan requiring re-payment over a five-year period, for instance, and subject to the fluctuations of the stock market. BEE capital is, therefore, also typically not productive capital – but rather capital taken out of productive circulation – and therefore out of job-creating investment. Moreover, this BEE capitalist stratum often does not, and cannot, play the full role of a capitalist class. Its ownership role is often nominal (it fronts for others), and its active managerial role in the investment and redistribution of capital is limited. These are the reasons we have described it as having “compradorist” tendencies – i.e. it often acts as

a go-between, representing the interests of big capital (both domestic and international) in local deals, particularly state tenders.

● The use of BEE charters and legislation to levy capital from the existing bourgeoisie to empower a new stratum of black capitalists has been *one* source of BEE capital. The second major route has been the shameless looting of public resources. Like all emergent capitalists before them – from the modernising landowners of 17th century England who enclosed the commons, to the Randlords of South Africa in the late 19th and early 20th centuries – our own emerging black capitalists have often shown little concern for the niceties of law, or respect for public property and resources. Over the past decade and a half, there has been a massive looting of public resources, using state procurement whether on a grand scale (as with the arms package) or on the micro, local government level. Privatisation deals, tenderpreneurship, javelin-throwing, inflated “performance” bonuses in parastatals, have all been mechanisms for this kind of primitive accumulation. Some of this has had the sanction of “law”, much of it has been plain corruption.

It is easy to see how, sooner or later, the 1996 class project would run into a series of internal contradictions, particularly between the requirements of upholding a bourgeois rule of law that would meet the approval of Ernest & Young and their ilk, on the one hand, and the inherent lawlessness implicit in a primitive accumulation process parasitic on the state and public resources, on the other.

From around 2005, the contradictions between the interests of those who were now firmly established as capitalists

(and who were happy for a blind eye to be turned on their own earlier plundering) and those who felt they had not yet sufficiently arrived began to play themselves out within the ANC and government. The leading personalities associated with the 1996 class project were unable to maintain stability among the contradictory forces that they themselves had unleashed. This contributed directly to their defeat at the ANC’s Polokwane 2007 national conference.

As we have said before, the forces propelling this defeat were themselves not united. On the one hand, the SACP, Cosatu and many others within the ANC advanced a *principled* criticism of the reformist *policies* of the 1996 class project. On the other hand, there were those whose opposition to the circle around former President Mbeki was rooted not in policy considerations, but in petty personal rivalries, frustrated business ambitions, and a sense of injustice that the rule of law was being bent for others, but not for them.

The new tendency

The current challenges and tensions within the ANC are essentially between:

● those for whom Polokwane was about clearing more space for their own appetites, for their own turn at the primitive accumulation feeding-trough; and

● all of us, those for whom the ousting of the Mbeki group was about creating the conditions to change policy, to focus on the key task of placing our country on to a different growth path, to focus on our major strategic priorities – job creation, health-care, education, rural development and fighting crime and corruption.

And this is why, on this May Day 2010, as the SACP, we are saying that the key

objective challenge of our national democratic struggle in 2010 going forward is to place our country onto a new developmental path

But if we are to rise to this objective challenge, then we must, simultaneously address the key *subjective* challenge – to defeat the scourge of corruption in our society in general, including in the private sector, of course, but, especially, within our own ranks, within our own movement, and within government.

Over 40 years ago, a young Chris Hani bravely drafted and attached his signature to a memorandum addressed to the ANC leadership in exile. In the memorandum Hani and his co-signatories sought to analyse why the armed struggle was flagging. The memorandum identified factionalism, personal favouritism, a loss of revolutionary zeal and morality and the corroding impact of corruption within our own ranks. Some in the leadership at the time had Hani arrested for “mutiny”. However, others in the ANC leadership recognized the wisdom and constructive intentions of cde Chris and his comrades and they were eventually released. The memorandum played a direct role in the convening of the ANC’s famous Morogoro Conference in 1969, and this, in turn, led to the re-vitalisation of our movement and a dramatic upturn in popular revolutionary struggle in our country in the next decade.

In 2010, let us honour the revolutionary memory of cde Chris Hani. On the shop-floor, in the parastatals, in the public and private sectors, in our communities and organisations, let us all solemnly commit ourselves to stand up against and root out all forms of abuse and corruption.

A Luta Continua! Long live the fighting spirit of Chris Hani! ●



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REMEMBER CHRIS HANI

Build working class power to defeat corruption

– Chris Hani month 2010

The ANC and South African society is faced with the challenges of potential moral incapacitation –cde Kgalema Motlanthe

BY MALESELA MALEKA

THE SACP COMMEMORATED THE 17th anniversary of the brutal assassination of its former General Secretary, cde Chris Hani, by holding commemorative activities throughout the country. The main events were held on the 10th of April which coincided with the family ceremony for the unveiling of the tombstone of cde s Hani's daughter, Nomakwezi Hani.

The General Secretary of the SACP, cde Blade Nzimande, led the wreath-laying ceremony at the graveside of cde Hani accompanied by cde Hani's widow, cde Limpho Hani, Cosatu General Secretary cde Zwelinzima Vavi, and ANC National Treasurer, cde Matthews Phosa.

Cde Martin Thembisile 'Chris' Hani was born on 28 June 1942 in a small rural town, Comfimvaba, in Transkei, approximately 200 km from East London. He was assassinated at the instruction of the right wing group in South Africa on

10 April 1993. His cowardly assassination was to play a vital role in giving impetus to the stalled negotiations for transition to democracy.

Cde Chris joined the SACP in 1961 and was elected its GS in 1991. At the time of his death he had played a significant role in the liberation movement, including

serving in the ANC NEC. He joined Umkhonto weSizwe in 1962 and led important missions including rising through the ranks to be Chief of Staff. Chris was a soldier of peace and evaded various death plots of the apartheid regime.

In a moving tribute to cde Chris, cde Limpho said "Those who assassinated my husband have abused our legal establishment to try and get amnesty. Thanks to our ANC-led gov-

ernment for the progressive laws they have introduced now, victims can have a say on these matters. I am willing to forgive these men only if they can tell the SACP, Cosatu, the ANC and the nation as a whole, the truth around the assassination of my husband."

She expressed her deep appreciation to the SACP and its GS for the continued support they have given her throughout the trying times including the instantaneous manner in which the SACP responded to the opportunistic legal manoeuvres of the assassins.

Jointly with the Ekurhuleni Municipality and the Chris Hani Institute, the SACP hosted two major memorial lectures on 9 and 10 April addressed by cde Buti Manamela, the National Secretary of the YCL, and cde Kgalema Motlanthe, the ANC Deputy President.

Cde Motlanthe spoke passionately about what cde Chris embodied: he "deepened his understanding of the national liberation struggle ... he was exposed to and embraced Marxism as a living, guiding theory to a better organisation of human society .. and critically, he learned the inherent incompatibility between racism and Marxism".

He said that today the country was faced with serious challenges of declining morality and corruption. "Our organisation and indeed the entire South African society, is faced with the challenges of potential moral incapacitation."

The deputy president went on to welcome the initiative of the SACP to launch



the anti-corruption seminar saying that the campaign to support government's fight against corruption is important as "corruption disadvantages the poorest of the poor the most by robbing them of services they deserve". He also did warn those undertaking the campaign saying "We know that this struggle is going to be a hard slog. As revolutionaries we never deluded ourselves into thinking that we are fault-proof. We also know the overwhelming power and attraction of capitalist relations of society with which we have to contend."

Speaking at the wreath-laying ceremony cde Phosa asked for calm amid the rising anger following the brutal murder of Eugene Terre'Blanche.

"In such a challenging environment we need cool and wise heads. We need leaders who seek to unite and reconcile and leaders who place national interest above self and sectional interest. We need leaders who create calm, who reach bravely across divides and leaders who understand that populism must sometimes be shelved in the interest of the nation's wellbeing and cohesion. A death by murder in a healing society cries out for leaders to step forward, who look ahead into the next decade and not self-

Cde Chris's memory must live on in the struggle for the ideals he stood for – his unshakeable belief in socialism and the liberation of working people

ishly to the headlines of tomorrow and next week. We certainly cannot, on any side of the debate, tolerate hot heads who, through their words and actions, overheat the temperature of our political discourse. It might be the time for us, again, to sit down as leaders and plot the principles of reconciliation and nation-building through a national debate", said Phosa.

A theme of responsible leadership, commitment to the principles of non-racialism and attending to intolerable levels of poverty cut across the speeches of both leaders.

Cosatu's message described cde Hani as the colossus of the liberation strug-

gle. Delivered by its General Secretary, Cosatu committed to making sure that the memory of cde Chris lives on "by continuing the struggle for the ideals he stood for, in particular his unshakeable belief in the need for socialism and the liberation of working people".

Challenges ranging from casualisation of labour, the scourge of labour brokering, electricity hikes, the proposed youth wage subsidy, the restructuring of the health sector and the radical systematic transformation of the economy were some of the challenges highlighted by cde Vavi. cde Vavi said "We shall best honour the memory of Chris Hani, Oliver Tambo and all our other great leaders in this month of heroes by rededicating ourselves to the struggle for national liberation and socialism. Cosatu will not rest until the goals Chris Hani set for our movement are achieved."

All provinces of the SACP organised various memorial lectures which were addressed by the various leaders of the SACP. The commemorative activities, under the theme "Build Working Class Power to Defeat Corruption"; continued from 29 March to May Day. ●

Cde Maleka is SACP Media Spokesperson

The African Communist

May 2010

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REMEMBER CHRIS HANI

Waging a relentless struggle on corruption

29 March - 1 May: 34 days of activism against corruption

BY BLADE NZIMANDE

THE SACP POLITBURO HAS declared the 29 March to May Day a period within which to intensify our campaign against corruption, beginning with our highly successful seminar against corruption on 29 March and culminating on 1 May, the workers' historic May Day. This is the 34 Days of Activism against corruption!

The end of the 34 days of activism does not mark the closure of the campaign, but is only a period during which we heighten mass awareness and lay the foundations for sustained mass mobilization thereafter.

We must carry this message of the fight against corruption into every voting district, municipal ward, workplace, community and all corners of our country, reaching out to the workers, the poor, youth, women, traditional leaders. Let every SACP branch, district and province ensure that we have an explosion of red forums and red cards against corruption in every locality and workplace where the workers and the poor are!

Corruption currently poses one of the most serious threats to the consolidation and deepening of the national democratic revolution.

It is against this background that we must locate the commemoration of the 17th anniversary of the assassination of our late General Secretary, Cde Martin Thembisile 'Chris' Hani.

The SACP, joined by its alliance partners, will over the next weeks be holding

commemorative events, starting with a gathering at the graveside, and followed by a number of other important events.

We will also be joining the Hani family in the unveiling of the tombstone of the late Nomakhwezi Hani, daughter of Cdes Chris and Limpho Hani.

Let's do it like Chris

The principal challenge of the national democratic revolution at this juncture is to remain focused on the key strategic objectives of the revolution. Throughout his life cde Chris understood the different challenges facing our movement in different conjunctures, and threw in all his energies into those conjunctural challenges.

When our movement launched the armed struggle in the early 1960s, cde Chris joined our glorious army, Umkhonto weSizwe at a very young age and dedicated the rest of his life to this. Indeed there were many distractions in that period, including from those who were doubtful

about the viability of an armed struggle in South Africa. When the movement launched the Wankie-Sipolile campaign Cde Chris was among the first to join.

When we embarked on negotiations, despite some doubts from among many of us, including Cde Chris himself, about some of the modalities of those negotiations, he led the SACP delegation to the Codesa talks with energy and enthusiasm. At the same time he also dedicated his energies to building self-defence units and joined in the wave of mass and worker mobilization of the early 1990s. In addition he dedicated a lot of time

into organizing in the rural areas, informed by the dangers of a struggle that has a predominantly urban bias.

Our primary task at the moment is to transform the current growth path and break the back of the colonial type economic trajectory so that we can have a new, developmental path capable of meeting the needs of millions of our people.

Within this context we also need to mobilize the workers and the poor to be at the centre of the realization of the 5 key priorities of government. Government alone, without sustained mass mobilization, will not be able to achieve the key priorities of the ANC-led alliance.

The last ANC NEC meeting, preceded by an important bilateral with the SACP, took important resolutions on many issues that had the potential to derail us on our key revolutionary objectives, including public spats, insults and premature pronouncements on our forthcoming 2012 congresses. We must build on this momentum by ensuring that we mobilize to focus on the key strategic and programmatic issues facing our movement. This is a lesson from Cde Chris' exemplary life, staying focused.

Our detractors are trying to divert our energies by claiming racial tensions in the wake of the murder of AWB leader Eugene Terre'blanche and exaggerating the meaning of some of our liberation struggle songs.

The SACP also wishes to reiterate its support for the ANC's actions to challenge the High Court ruling about some of our liberation struggle songs. The courts must not allow themselves to be used in attempts to rewrite our history in favour of those who benefitted immensely from the apartheid era, including elements that were in the forefront



of sustaining the criminal apartheid regime. Our songs are not just about our past, but they are also about today going into the future. These songs are about us, about our dignity, about who we are and what we want to be!

Remember Chris Hani: Escalate the fight against corruption

During this period of 34 days of activism against corruption we will be commemorating a number of very significant events - the 17th anniversary of the assassination of our late General Secretary, Cde Chris Hani, on 10 April 2010, our Freedom Day on 27 April 2010, a day extracted from the apartheid regime in the wake of the assassination of Cde Hani, our national day of action against corruption in KZN on 30 April, all culminating in May Day 2010.

All the above activities are also inspired by President Zuma's declaration of 2010 as the year of action. In line with this call let us make sure that we also make 2010 the Year of Action against Corruption.

Among his many roles and achievements in the liberation struggle cde Hani was a principled and consistent fighter against corruption. In the early exile years he co-signed a memorandum sent to the leadership of the ANC complaining among many other issues, creeping corrupt practices and patronage networks within our own movement. This memorandum, among other things, led to the convening of the first ANC conference since its banning in 1960, the famous Morogoro Conference in Tanzania.

Were Chris Hani alive today he would have been in the forefront in the struggle against corruption and tenderpreneurship!

While the struggle against corruption should in the current period be led by the ANC, the SACP will be expected to play a special vanguard role. This is because the SACP is best placed to articulate the capitalist foundations of all corruption. And there is no other political formation in our country today that is as capable of articulating this reality.

The struggle against corruption cannot be separated from a struggle against capitalism and its corrupting ideology and practices. The very existence of a system which allows a small elite to exploit workers in the private accumulation of wealth, instead of accumulation of wealth by society as a whole to be shared among all, creates opportunities for corruption.

Therefore a struggle against corruption must also be a struggle against capitalism and its market. This is what cde Chris lived and died for. In his memory and in his name, the SACP will be escalating its mobilisation to fight corruption wherever it occurs, whether in the public or private sector.

The SACP is not the only organization concerned about the threat posed by the scourge of corruption to the attainment of a better life for all, but there are many citizens and organizations out there who share our outrage at the pillaging of resources and theft, thus depriving the workers and the poor of our country what is due to them. That is why we have taken the initiative to organise the widest range of forces opposed to corruption even if they may not share all of our ideological perspectives

The working class, by virtue of its revolutionary potential and traditions, is best placed to be at the head of the various forces fighting against corruption. It is the working class and the poor that stands to lose the most in the pillaging of public and private resources. Its own jobs and other means of livelihood are at stake.

The working class also has a presence in private companies, public institutions and in the state in particular. It can act as the eyes and ears of the whole population, and indeed it must act as such. Let us follow the example of unions like SATAWU, which blew a whistle on potential corruption at SAA. It is the revolutionary duty of the working class fight corruption as a necessary struggle to defend, consolidate and deepen the national democratic revolution.

The media tends to foster the idea that corruption is more rife in the public sector than in the private sector. This is of course not true!

There is also large-scale corruption in the private sector, except that it is often ignored or called by a respectable and seemingly innocuous description 'white collar crime'. Crime and corruption has no colour, it is just crime.

It is the working class that is best placed to confront corruption in both the public and private sectors simultaneously.

In the coming May Day the SACP will be calling upon the organised working class in particular to intensify its struggles against corruption. The struggle against corruption must be intensified as we intensify the struggle against labour brokers and price-fixing. Corruption, on the one hand, and labour

brokerage and price-fixing, on the other hand, are not two separate things, but two sides of the same coin.

What is to be done? 2010 the year of action against corruption

The SACP calls upon all our people and organisations opposed to corruption to develop a mass movement to defeat the scourge. This must include the following:

- mobilise in their own localities to expose all forms of corruption, and broaden the scope of CPFs (Community Policing Forums) to deal with matters of corruption as well.

- Strengthen the progressive labour movement to build its capacity to fight corruption.

- Call upon all public and private institutions to develop clear anti-corruption strategies.

- Government tender processes to be more transparent through the publication of those shortlisted and awarded tenders in order to allow for public comment as well as prevention of the same culprits getting tenders all the time.

- Prevent the tenderisation of the state by ensuring that where community organisations are able to benefit directly from government programmes these should not always be turned into tenders often grabbed by 'middlemen', but instead to be given directly to organised communities.

- Mobilisation of the youth in particular to fight against corruption as it is targetted by tenderpreneurs, druglords and 'get rich quick' schemes.

- Acknowledge and honour the men and women in both the public and private sectors who hate and act to expose corruption and are only interested in serving their people honestly. In the public service in particular we can highlight and salute the role of the thousands of public servants who do their work honestly and are totally dedicated to serve our people, whatever it takes. Similarly in the private sector there are many workers and professionals who are only interested in doing an honest and good day's work.

We must call for action against those found with their fingers on the till, even if they are within our own ranks. We must protect our organisation from being refuges for the corrupt! ●

Cde Nzimande is SACP General Secretary and Minister for Higher Education

REMEMBER CHRIS HANI

He remains a hero relevant to our times

We must speak, for if at this point we remain silent, our hearts might burst — Cabral on the death of Kwame Nkrumah

BY KGALEMA MOTLANTHE

COMRADES, THANK YOU VERY much for affording me this opportunity to share with you my humble views on the seventeenth anniversary of the assassination of comrade Martin Thembisile “Chris” Hani.

I also wish to thank both the members of the SACP and the Hani family for expanding a platform for public engagement on and to revisit lessons from comrade Chris Hani’s life.

Let me take this opportunity to convey my apologies for not being able to attend both the unveiling of comrades Chris and Limpho Hani’s daughter, Nomakhwezi Hani, as well as the wreath laying ceremony, this morning.

I am sure you will have noted that today was the day for the funeral of comrade Dr Molefi Sefularo who was the Deputy Minister of Health and a member of ANC and SACP.

May I also request that on this day when we honour the memory of comrade Chris, we also pay homage to the late son of the soil, Dr. Molefi Sefularo to whom we have much to be thankful for, for the diligent execution of his many tasks as a medical practitioner, academic and public servant.

I will attempt to speak on the meaning of comrade Chris in 2010, in South Africa when we have to tease out the necessary lessons he has bequeathed us

in the Alliance. I will also like to reflect on the important issue of corruption in society.

The importance of this theme talks to the values and foundations of our struggle for democracy and building a society we can all be proud of. Thus it is to comrade Chris Hani’s life and teachings that we look for guidance and leadership.

On an occasion such as this I cannot but remember the counsel of the revolutionary leader and intellectual, Amilcar Cabral, when he said: “we must speak, for if at this point we remain silent, our hearts might burst” (Oration at the Funeral of Kwame Nkrumah, 13 May 1972).

Let us remember that comrade Chris’ conception of human society was driven by an urge to end suffering irrespective of race, class or gender. He never saw society’s racial fissures as the solution to co-existence.

Instead, he was killed for believing in a racially equal society, to which he had dedicated all his life.

Non-racialism coursed through the veins of cde Chris’ moral universe, just as it imbues the orCdeganism of his organisations, the ANC and the SACP.

Comrade Chris Hani prided himself on being the advocate of equality and social justice. Accordingly, he joined the African National Congress because he was convinced that the future of our country is anchored on the vision of unity, non-racialism, non-sexism, justice

and democracy.

So let us be clear about one thing: Cde Chris’ life is synonymous with our revolution. We cannot speak of one and make sense, without, necessarily, mentioning the other.

And so we can confidently conclude that his sacrifices, and similarly, our glorious legacy as an organisation, thus deserve not only remembrance but more importantly, to serve as a historical touchstone from which to draw valuable lessons as we strive to chart the way forward.

We would know that history is made in conditions not of our choosing as societies. We impact on conditions inherited from our past, just as such conditions shape the course of our lives. And so it was with cde Chris Hani.

Born in the rural village of Sabalele, in the Cofimvaba region of the former Transkei, Thembisile Hani was the fifth of the six children born to Gilbert and Mary Hani.

Growing up with strong Christian values, he was exposed to the inequalities spawned by the race and class nexus early on in his life when his father had to leave home to seek work in the urban areas of South Africa.

As he says in his own words: “In 1959 I went over to university at Fort Hare... It was here that I got exposed to Marxist ideas and the scope and nature of the racist capitalist system. My conversion to Marxism also deepened my non-racial perspective”

From this experience, we learn that Comrade Chris learned three critical lessons that were to define his being to the end.



Firstly, he deepened his understanding of the national liberation struggle.

Secondly, he was exposed to and embraced Marxism as a living, guiding theory to a better organisation of human society.

Thirdly, and critically, he learned the inherent incompatibility between racism and Marxism.

Because of the peculiar historical symbiosis between race and class in South Africa, it is instructive to illuminate this critical point a bit more.

Marxism pre-dismisses the importance of race from the scientific and socio-economic equation, and, instead, holds that class is the primary reality of social arrangements.

In essence, class constitutes the base, which props up the superstructure of which racism is an aspect.

Now, since Marxism proceeds from the judicious study of discernible reality, it enabled cde Chris to remove from his sight the blinding cobwebs of racism, or appearances, to understand the underlying class dynamics of society, or the essence.

Combined with his earlier learning of classical literature and its many moral lessons about tyranny, despotism and oppression, this high level exposure to the real struggle theories would stand him in good stead throughout his political life.

What is even notable is that cde Chris did not just ingest all theory for political glamour.

In his simple daily life he externalised all that he had internalised during his learning days. His understanding of Marxism and non-racialism were practically expressed in his engagement with the world.

Chris and his generation ensured that our organisation was value-centered and operated based on solid principles, so that no one was above the ANC. From the example of his fearless life we learn the importance of discipline, honesty and pride in fighting for a just cause.

Today, sixteen (16) years after the assassination of cde Chris, our organisation and indeed the entire South African society, is faced with the challenges of potential moral incapacitation.

And it is of primary importance to emphasise that this challenge of corruption in society, which is also a global challenge facing the so-called developed countries, is not the preserve of public service. It is a two way street, including the corruptor and the corrupted.



Cde Kgalema Motlanthe: Addressed the Hani memorial

As we gather here to compare notes about the place of such central figures in our history as Chris Hani, we are faced with an immense menace of moral laxity and the submerging of our value system in the swamp of corruption and selfishness.

Humane impulses that breathed oxygen into our revolutionary morality are now contesting with insidious tendencies of corruption, me-tooism and bling culture, the total effect of which threatens to supplant the culture of service delivery, human rights, democracy and justice.

The total effect of these negative tendencies which threaten to undermine the culture of democracy and justice are foreign to the culture of the ANC and SACP.

Literature reminds us that those who fail to learn from history are likely to repeat its mistakes. As we have seen here in the continent and elsewhere, many a revolutionary liberation movement with a glorious history ended up sinking into regression because of deviance from its core values and principles.

In simple terms, if we fail to remake post-apartheid society in our own image, post-apartheid society will almost likely remake us in its own image!

Today history demands of us to build a sustainable climate of moral rectitude, impervious to corruption.

In this connection, the campaign launched by the SACP, in support of government, to intensify our campaign against corruption, is most welcome.

The heart of the matter is that corruption disadvantages the poorest of the poor the most by robbing them of servic-

es they deserve. Corruption is anathema to shared economic growth.

As Paulo Freire, the Brazilian revolutionary thinker puts it::

"The new man and the new woman do not appear by accident. The new man and the new woman are born in the practice of the revolutionary reconstruction of the society" (Freire and Macedo, 1987).

This new man and new woman cannot be born anywhere but into the fold of historically transmitted conditions.

In like manner, Comrade Chris Hani, the Chris Hani that made a conscious decision to forego the superficial pleasures of the apartheid moral universe and fight for change, was a new man to the extent that he had imbibed a new consciousness about human society.

We cannot allow ourselves to be overrun by selfish interests that etch themselves in societal consciousness because if we do, we would have indeed betrayed our history, our proud history that produced giants such as Comrades Moses Kotane, J.B. Marks, Joe Slovo and e Chris Hani.

The historical agency which brought down the edifice of a system of oppression needs to be activated even more to protect our hard-won democracy.

Being the last but one country to obtain liberation from colonialism on the African continent, we should necessarily avoid some of the pitfalls that typified the post-colonial order in most of the African, Asian and Latin American continents.

We know that this struggle is going to be a hard slog. As revolutionaries we never deluded ourselves into thinking that we are fault-proof.

We also know the overwhelming power and attraction of capitalist relations of society with which we have to contend.

However, let us take comfort in the fact that our system of government, as constitutionally-mandated, has put in place institutions with the view to play a watchdog role over society.

In this regard, our alliance partners, Cosatu, have proposed that we embark on lifestyle audits in order to preclude occurrences of corruption from among our midst.

In essence, this call by our Alliance partners is motivated by the same concerns about guarding against degeneration of our revolution.

Based on this understanding, this is indeed a progressive move that must be welcomed. At the same time, there is a central flaw in this proposal that needs

further debate and correction.

As outlined earlier on, our system of government has in place institutions and bodies whose intention it is to play a watchdog role over society.

Such organs of our democratic governance, such as the National Prosecution Authority, the Public Protector, working with the South African Revenue Services, are each meant to investigate and prosecute acts of criminality as well as protect the public from abuse of state institutions.

In essence, comrades, one of the five priorities of government's Programme of Action is the fight against crime and corruption.

The South African Revenue Services (SARS) conducts investigations of people who appear to be living beyond their means. These investigations start on the basis of information obtained from various sources, including the SARS anti-corruption and fraud hotline, income tax returns a taxpayer submits to SARS and suspicious activity reports from members of the public.

A lifestyle questionnaire is one method of obtaining information from a taxpayer and – together with other information sources – assists SARS in matching the lifestyle trends, income streams and the asset base of a taxpayer to what has been declared in an income tax return.

The accumulated wealth has to be explained by the taxpayer for tax purposes. Any unexplained wealth is taxed.

The Compliance and Risk Unit within SARS conducts the risk analysis of taxpayer information. If there is a mismatch between what the taxpayer has declared and what SARS has found, the case is referred for an audit.

If it is confirmed that the taxpayer has evaded tax, penalties are levied, interest is charged and additional tax of up to 200% of the evaded tax is charged.

Depending on the circumstances, the case may then be handed to SARS criminal investigation who then engages the South African Police Service (SAPS) and a Specialised Tax Unit for criminal prosecution within the National Prosecuting Authority (NPA). More than 10 000 such audits have been conducted by SARS over the past 2 years.

The Prevention and Combating of Corrupt Activities Act of 2003 also provides for an investigation into a person who appears to own property disproportionate to their income.

This is in addition to stringent FICA requirements that compel individuals

to disclose sources of income when they make large financial transactions.

In light of the above, Cabinet is not considering lifestyle audits for Ministers, Deputy Ministers and senior public servants as there are already appropriate measures in place.

Each and every one of us has a duty as public representatives to ensure that members of the public and our constituencies are aware of the regulatory framework designed to deter corruption.

However, and more importantly, it is necessary that as public representatives we inform the public about all the means available to them as citizens to bring to the attention of the authorities any information that they might have that will bring to book anybody involved in corrupt activities of any kind.

The more our people know about these measures and the more we exercise oversight as Parliament, the better we will be able to restore public confidence in our democratic institutions.

This does not mean, however, that complementary measures cannot be put in place to augment their capacity, should they be found wanting in other respects. And this is the central point of the ANC government. Contrary to media reports, the ANC is not disagreeable to Cosatu's proposal.

Instead, we are saying let us identify inadequacies in the present anti-corruption regime and then come up with appropriate measures to address the weaknesses.

It would not be correct, however, to bring in totally new proposals of dealing with this malady without taking into account the above constitutional bodies already in existence.

In fact, doing this is most likely to bring about unintended consequences of undermining the very foundations of the constitutionally mandated anti-corruption organs, in that it would imply that they are devitalised and can therefore be bypassed under given conditions.

Having said this we welcome all attempts to strengthen our democratic state through enhancing the integrity of our institutions the better to execute their duties with maximum efficiency.

In this I am convinced that advocates of lifestyle audit are following in the footsteps of cde Chris Hani, whose life radiated meta-principles of integrity.

While it is true, as Adlai Stevenson memorably put it, that "It is often easier to fight for one's principles than to live up to them", we are fortunate that our

alliance comprises men and women of vision.

We are fortunate that the legacy of Chris Hani is still aglow as we stride forward each day, guided by our history, our cultural systems and our grand vision for a better human society.

Comrade Chris spent the better part of his life pursuing this goal of an equal and non-racial nation, and had all but taken us there, though he himself did not live long to see the fruits of his life-long labours.

We are fortunate, for he bestrode our history like the colossus that he was, helping to keep the momentum of achieving our liberation, one of the critical goals of the National Democratic Revolution.

It is all in our hands now, the Tripartite Alliance and the broader MDM to live up to our historical role as active agents to help fashion a South Africa based on improving and enhancing decent human conditions for all our people, especially the poorest of the poor.

It is a vision that impelled our struggle and inspired our leaders, including cde Chris Hani.

The indivisible duty of those of us who are left behind is to translate the abstractions of freedom into the concrete realities of a truly better life for all our people.

This includes the total transformation of the socio-economic landscape of our people as the most decisive index of freedom.

Socio-economic amelioration of our people's conditions constitutes the sole benchmark of whether the historical tide has turned.

On this account one cannot help but remember the evocative poem by an unknown El Salvadorian guerrilla fighter who died in battle for freedom.

The poem, found in the dead guerrilla's pocket, reads:

*Ask not my name
Nor if you knew me
The dreams I have had
Will grow without me.
Alive no more
I will go where my dreams have shown
me.
Those who carry on the fight
Will plant other roses
All will remember me.*

With these words, I convey my sincere thanks for asking me to address this special occasion. ●

Cde Motlanthe is Deputy President of the ANC and the country

REMEMBER CHRIS HANI

He would never have allowed white farmers to exploit black workers

Honour cde Hani and our fallen heroes with revolutionary songs – songs we want to sing, not those they want us to sing

BY MATANKANA MOTHAPO

THIS MONTH IS THE 17TH ANNIVERSARY of the brutal murder of cde Martin Thembisile “Chris” Hani by right-wingers – gunned down by those who didn’t want change in our country. It is also the month that Martin Luther King was killed by right-wingers who differed with his views.

As the leader of the vanguard of the working class cde Chris Hani, former SACP General Secretary, dedicated his life to liberating the people of this country, especially the working class and the poor. He never laid down his arms to the right-wingers until they gunned him down outside his house. He is a hero even today because of his bravery and dedication.

If cde Chris was alive, he would not have allowed white supremacists to dictate to him, as he was dedicated to making sure that the people of this country have a better life and that we live in harmony and peace. As the leader of the vanguard of the working class, he would not have allowed white farmers to exploit black farm workers.

He would not have allowed our “kitchen girls” (mothers) and “garden boys” (fathers) to be abused and treated like flies.

Today we are told which songs to sing and which songs not to sing by right-wingers who are not members of our mass democratic movement and who do not understand where we come from. Cde Chris and other heroes who fought for this democracy and freedom that we are enjoying today must be turning in their graves. These revolutionary songs are what inspired our liberation struggle.

Liberation songs continue to be sung and to inspire our people in the many ongoing class struggles to create a better life for all, and for radical and faster service delivery. They are sung at many of our commemorative and celebratory events in honour of our struggle heroes like Chris Hani and those who paid the supreme price for us to be free.

Songs like ‘*Uthi sixolele Kanjani, amab-hunu abulala uChris Hani*’, ‘*uMshini Wam*’, and ‘*Ilenja uBotha, kanye nalenja uMalan*’ are part of the collective memory of our struggle, part of the collective culture of that struggle, and they continue to play an important mobilising role in ongoing worker and community struggles. Those who are opposed to the songs should be reminded of the profound statement by the late President of the ANC cde Oliver Tambo: “A country that forgets its history is doomed to repeat it.”

We will always remember cde Chris as a fearless, dedicated fighter; as a singer; as the leader of the vanguard of the working class and a disciplined member of our mass democratic movement. He was not a sell out or a coward!

He never feared anyone, especially the right-wingers. We will always be inspired by his bravery along with the bravery of other gallant fighters like Solomon Mahlangu, who was hanged by the apartheid forces. Cde Mahlangu’s last words before he was hanged were: “My blood will nourish the tree that will bear the fruits of freedom. Tell my people that I love them and they must continue with the fight.” The words of cde Mahlangu and Chris Hani’s dream and radicalism are doomed if we make concessions to the white supremacists in the guise of respecting our constitution.

US social scientist Francis Fukuyama coined the phrase in the paper *The end of History*, “In watching the flow of events over the past decade or so, it is hard to avoid the feeling that something very fundamental has happened in world history. The past year has seen a flood of articles commemorating the end of the Cold War, and the fact that “peace” seems to be breaking out in many regions of the world. Most of these analyses lack any larger conceptual framework for distinguishing between what is essential and what is contingent or accidental in world history, and are predictably superficial.”

If we leave these right-wing tendencies to perpetually be in command of us, we might in future be told that we should not glorify tata Nelson Mandela because he is a former prisoner, a terrorist or because he agrees with South African communists, as before when they said that Nelson Mandela should not be released from jail because he was a communist and a terrorist.

Why should we not honour our heroes who lost their lives, for their sterling contribution inspired by revolutionary songs, instead of listening to AfriForum, Freedom Front Plus, the racist and opportunistic Helen Zille and the sell-out Mosioua Lekota?

If Chris Hani heard that today the powerful songs of ours are called hate speech that orchestrate violence and get people killed, he would turn in his grave. Let’s honour cde Chris Hani with these songs and chant them the way they are without any remix. Let’s be proud South Africans, guided by great African leaders like Kwame Nkrumah and South African communists like cde Chris Hani and many other gallant leaders of our revolutionary movement. ●

Cde Mothapo is an SACP member and Communication Workers Union National Spokesperson



REMEMBER CHRIS HANI

We must build on Cde Chris's legacy

We cannot allow ourselves to be pushed backwards to racism, violence hatred and fear

BY MATHEWS PHOSA

WHEN NELSON MANDELA WALKED to freedom 20 years ago, that single act started a process of reconciliation and nation building, on which we are still building today.

The first concrete product of this process was the completion of the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa in 1996.

The Constitution reaffirms most of the principles imbedded in the Freedom Charter which the ANC adopted in 1955.

Some of the principles contained in the Constitution are:

- A commitment to a non-racial society
- A commitment to a non sexist society
- A commitment to the fact that the fundamental human rights of all people in South Africa will be respected.

As a result of the adoption of the Constitution, South Africa became a beacon of light on the continent and globally. We

are deeply respected for what we have achieved in a society that was previously deeply divided. In the circumstances we are facing today, we need to constantly remind ourselves of the principles of the Constitution that we all committed ourselves to then and remain committed to now.



We cannot allow ourselves to be pushed backwards into a society of racism, violence, lack of respect for human rights, hatred, fear and divisive threats.

As a shining example of this, cde Chris Hani and members of his family lived and died for a peaceful South Africa that we all yearn and work for.

When he died during the Easter weekend of 1993, his legacy combined with the legacy of Nelson Mandela, was so strong that it pulled us peacefully towards our ideal of a better life for all.

For that leadership and heroism we honour him and his family. In extremely difficult times he rose above divisive debates and circumstances and made us all

proud to be South Africans.

As we stand here today, we face the daunting challenges of poverty, =energy provision, racial harmony and regional security. In such a challenging environment we need cool and wise heads. We need leaders who seek to unite and reconcile and leaders who place national interest above self and sectional interest.

We need leaders who create calm, who reach bravely across divides and leaders who understand that populism must sometimes be shelved in the interests of the nation's wellbeing and cohesion.

A death by murder in a healing society cries out for leaders to step forward, who look ahead into the next decade and not selfishly to the headlines of tomorrow and next week.

We certainly cannot, on any side of the debate, tolerate hot heads who, through their words and actions, overheat the temperature of our political discourse.

It might be the time for us, again, to sit down as leaders and plot the principles of reconciliation and nation building through a national debate.

Such a debate can be structured in a way that it allows all well-meaning and patriotic South Africans to make contributions into the ongoing process of reconciliation and national building.

Cde Chris Hani and his family showed that we can overcome any tragedy or division.

Through him we have realized that we can only build this country through unity and strong and lasting partnerships.

South Africa belongs to all who live in it and it should be our goal to leave a legacy of tirelessly building on that foundation.

We should pursue this goal, not for ourselves, but for our children and their children. ●

Cde Phosa is ANC Treasurer-General. This is an edited version of his speech at the Chris Hani Memorial Service on 10 April

JOIN THE DEBATE

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

The SACP-Cosatu bilateral meeting, 26 April, 2010

THE LEADERSHIP OF THE SACP AND COSATU MET ON 26 April to discuss issues of common interest and how best to deepen working class power and hegemony in the current phase of our revolution. The basis for the meeting was the November 2009 bilateral and the work done within the alliance on many important issues.

The meeting had frank political discussions and agreed on a number of important issues. Among these was our analysis that over the past years there has not been an effort to radically transform the colonial features of our economy. Attempts to simply de-racialise and co-opt women and youth into the inherited growth pattern have not been helpful.

The leadership of the SACP and Cosatu has agreed to pay attention to the debate within the alliance on the need for an alternative growth path whose central agenda would be creating decent work and making a decisive break from the colonial character of our economy. Part of this includes the need to create a green economy and green jobs, which cannot simply be pursued within a capitalist framework.

Both the SACP and Cosatu will continue to support the initiatives of IPAP 2 in this regard and contribute towards its enrichment. The SACP and Cosatu committed to undertake joint work to deepen working class consciousness and workplace struggles at the point of production.

Capital has adopted aggressive measures at the workplace to undermine the many important victories of the working class scored through progressive legislation. The issues of labour brokers, employment equity and skills development are examples of capital dragging its feet and needing to be taken to task.

The bilateral, taking place on the eve of the 16th Anniversary celebrations of Freedom Day, noted that South Africa has now become an even more unequal society and that more than 50% of the population lives in poverty. Despite our efforts to deliver houses we have not made a dent in the housing crisis. Our education system has not managed to improve in quality, even in accessibility. The dropout rate of children within the schooling system remains relatively high.

Our health system has continued to show serious fault lines. Maternal mortality rate has increased from 230 to 400 mothers per 100 000 between 2000 and 2005. This is way above the Millennium Development Goals target of 38. The meeting welcomed the new vigour and positive mes-

sage being sent about our campaign against HIV and Aids. This indeed is a breadth of fresh air. The meeting expressed concern about attempts to derail the implementation of the National Health Insurance (NHI) system whose aim is to radically transform this challenges that the nation is faced with. The SACP and Cosatu will campaign for the full implementation of the NHI. We cannot allow elites to profit at the expense of our people.

Unemployment has remained high, especially among young people. Youth need leadership and not demagogic mobilisation around the “get rich quick” mentality.

Crime and corruption, if not attended to, will consume the moral fibre of our society and undermine our democratic breakthrough. The meeting agreed to support the SACP-led campaign to strengthen the “End Corruption Campaign Coalition” to rid our society of the scourge of corruption. The struggle against corruption is not a political witch-hunt as some would like us to believe. We have learned from history that unless we act, our revolution will degenerate, and there are already early signs of this.

At a political level, the SACP and Cosatu agreed that to continue the struggle to deepen working class influence and hegemony in all sites of power, including in the ANC itself. We need to deepen ideological development of both SACP and Cosatu cadres

to defend the working class character of the alliance as a whole, the ANC and its policies. We did not go to Polokwane to wholesale our revolution to the new elite. We went to Polokwane for a radical change and we will continue to defend that change including in the economy – a break with a modernising approach to an economy that needed radical systemic changes. We went to Polokwane to build a new ethos and values, to elect a caring leadership which shows compassion and listens to the people. We went to Polokwane to elect a leadership that is preoccupied with building a strong ANC and committed to the proper functioning of the alliance. The SACP and Cosatu committed themselves to build a working alliance at all levels and to strengthen bilateral co-operation.

The bilateral agreed that the Joint Socialist Commission led by both General Secretaries must iron out proposals on a joint programme which will include mechanisms to maximise working class unity and build a broad left front for socialism. It was agreed that another bilateral should be held relatively soon. ●



Cdes Nzimande and Vavi: to head the Joint Socialist Commission

THE STRUGGLE OF IDEAS

We must stop talking only to ourselves and to organised workers

Building working class ideological capacity is an urgent political task – we must promote socialism on all platforms, to all South Africans

BY BLADE NZIMANDE

THE INTENSITY OF THE CLASS struggle both inside our movement and in broader South African society requires that the working class takes bold and decisive actions to take ideological work and the battle of ideas to higher levels. The battle of ideas is a battle we dare not lose, as this is critical in driving a radical national democratic revolution as our direct route to socialism. This task must be carried out and intensified both inside and outside the organised formations of the working class.

There are other reasons that necessitate that we pay particular attention to ideological work. The bilateral we have had with the ANC and our forthcoming bilateral with Cosatu necessitate that issues relating to building the ideological capacity of the working class be placed on a higher pedestal in our overall political agenda.

There is a broader imperative that necessitates this: the working class is the leading motive force of the national democratic revolution – this is not something that should only be words on the pieces of paper of our strategy and programme documents, but should be turned into a palpable reality. In other words the leading role of the working class has to be daily earned on the ground through both a combination of mass and ideological work.

We are in a period of a huge ideological offensive, especially directed at the

youth, to push them towards the idolisation and the worship of wealth, obscene displays of consumption, and generally the promotion of a ‘get rich quick’ mentality. This mentality is reaching out into almost every corner of society, including academic institutions and some religious organisations – areas that ordinarily have been thought of as repositories of the highest standards of morality. Our anti-corruption campaign is partly informed by these problematic developments.

All these developments run the danger of turning South Africa into one big tender! However it is not enough to wage a struggle against corruption outside of deepening ideological work both inside our organisations and in broader society, as corruption is often also a reflection of the growing influence of the corrupting ideology of capitalism.

Capitalist influence must be rooted out in the fields of ideology and culture, and a new type of intellectual must be trained, devoted to the welfare of the people and to socialism

– The Road to South African Freedom

Since 1990, and especially since the launch of our Red October campaign, the SACP has worked on political education, working with many Cosatu affiliates. This work has intensified over the last two years and we intend deepening it.

During this period the National Union of Mineworkers established the Elijah Barayi college, the SACP and Cosatu established the Chris Hani Institute, Cosatu was also instrumental in the setting up of Ditsela and Naledi. All of our organisations have their own publications.

One of the most recent initiatives has been that led by the SACP in establishing an internet based ‘Communist University’, which is also starting to meet through contact group discussions and also reaching out to other countries in the continent. We need to think boldly about offering systematic programmes that are accredited and can also give the working class other vital skills like reading, writing and ICT. In fact, the Communist University has been most advanced in the creative use of the internet as a critical platform for educational initiatives. The ANC itself already has advanced plans to establish a political school and a policy institute.

Despite this important work, there are two glaring weaknesses in all of our work on this front. Firstly, different parts of the work operate in an uncoordinated manner, when they are important platforms for intensified and coordinated ideological work by the working class. Secondly, in all these initiatives we tend to talk to ourselves and those sections

of the working class that are organised, while the bourgeois media talks to both our constituency and the rest of society.

It is therefore important that we take our ideological work to new heights. We need to be innovative and bold by building on these foundations and reaching out to broader society. Our international allies often comment that given the strength and power of the working class in South Africa, we should by right be having our own newspapers, radio stations, formally recognised training institutions and other structures that will institutionalise this power. These of course should not be substitutes for mass work, but complement it, though mass work in itself is also an important terrain for the battle of ideas.

The one matter we shall be tabling in our bilateral with Cosatu is the need to consolidate working class media and educational initiatives and institutions that may in the medium to long term even offer properly accredited certificates, diplomas and degrees. Surely it cannot be that in our public institutions neo-liberal ideas are daily being institutionalised, while working class theory is marginalised. While this must not be a substitute for our public institutions to offer working class oriented education as well, let us consolidate what we already control. We need to build these institutions so that they are not only attractive to organised workers only but also to the youth and adults in broader society.

Despite enormous opportunities since 1994 created by the opening of the airwaves, the working class has not adequately taken up the space of community radio stations for instance. These are very important platforms for class analysis of society and the local issues and challenges that face our people on a daily basis.

Since 1994, government has also opened up huge opportunities for training, yet there is no systematic education and training strategy for the working class, despite the many important initiatives we have undertaken. This space has largely been left to employers, focusing only on job related training without a broader strategy to train a different kind of worker - skilled, informed, critical and through whom the ideas of the working class can be made a living force in society.

Such vital initiatives and skills will also enable the working class to intensify the battle of ideas in the very platforms of mainstream media, through targeted

and ongoing engagement with its mainly bourgeois ideas.

Indeed consolidation on this scale will require resources, but this should not stand in our way to begin to build working class capacity on this front. For example, resources already existing within the organised formations of the working class can be better utilised and co-ordinated to direct them towards these overarching tasks. This does not imply that the various platforms we have servicing particular needs (eg. training workers in negotiating skills in particular sectors, *The Shopsteward*, etc) must all be collapsed into one, although they need to be subject to our overall political and ideological objectives. But a strategic and programmatic synergy and pulling together of these existing resources can go a long way towards the attainment of our objectives to consolidate broader working class ideological work.

An immediate task that needs to be initiated by the organised formations of the working class is the establishment of a permanent 'Ideological Commission' that would lead all this work, including undertaking feasibility studies on the various components of such work. Such a commission, to be principally driven by the SACP and Cosatu, could for instance be located in one of the already existing working class institutions - Elijah Barayi College, the Chris Hani Institute and so on.

A systematic attempt at institutionalising aspects of working class initiatives must not replace the thousands of political schools and socialist forums that we hold in various localities and workplaces. These continue to be important, but nevertheless they need to be guided by an overarching working class vision on the important question of the battle of ideas.

It might be that an urgent conference of our commissars, organisers, policy experts and media officials is required to formally table and discuss these matters.

Let all the formations of the working class discuss these matters guided by our medium term vision of making the second decade of our freedom as the decade of the workers and the poor.

All these initiatives are not a substitute for the vanguard role of our SACP, but ideas placed before all our organised working class formations as part of seeking precisely to play that role. ●

Cde Nzimande is SACP General Secretary and Minister for Higher Education

TRIBUTE

Her second anniversary: so why cry?

This poem is about Cde Ncumisa Kondlo, former SACP National Deputy Chairperson, written by her sister, Cokisa Kondlo, on the second anniversary of cde Ncumisa's passing.



This is the way
To wallop the misses of
despair
And waive and win
The battle tearing our
hearts
So why cry?
Heroine who hinged hobbling souls
Highly thought of by many
But honoured by few/some
So why cry?
Ignored by those who trusted you
Who believed in your convictions
Who stood by you in storming seas,
howling winds, thundering and lighting
storms
And who we think will trust, believe and
stand by you forever
We commend and salute you
So why cry?
Task given
Tackled fearlessly
With great wit, zest and zeal
So why cry?
Life has spread your branches
To all four corners of the world
Sent by your father
To gather and equip yourself and then
others
With ideas to empower the powerless
back home
To release themselves from the yolk of
oppression
So why cry?
This is an endorsement
To your good deeds
And acknowledgement to your contribution
to freedom
So why cry?
Eloquent, Emphatic
Embracing, Enchanting
Endowing and last of all Enduring.
To your last breath
This is you
And this is worthy of you
So why cry?

THE STRUGGLE OF IDEAS

Why the media loathes the Left

Its real goal isn't providing information. It's the 'mass production of ignorance'

BY MARK WALLER

WHY IS THE MASS MEDIA (TV, radio, newspapers and the internet) pathologically adverse to progressive politics, seemingly robotically inclined either to getting things glaringly wrong or showing a sick flair for misinformation and distortion?

Go to any major SACP or Cosatu event where the press are present and you can bet your conference shirt, bag and cap that nothing of any substance or understanding will be written or spoken about in the subsequent media coverage.

Scratch that. Go to any progressive or community event in South Africa and that's what you'll find. For that matter go to any progressive or anti-capitalist event anywhere in the capitalist world and you'll find the same kind of mind-numbing hostility or obtuseness to socialist politics by the press.

The intensity of skewed reporting or antipathy to the left varies from country to country, for reasons we'll come to later. But it all merges into a similar swamp of what amounts to a massive waste of a good medium and a criminal manipulation of information given to people. It's no wonder that there is so much suspicion among communists everywhere about the mainstream media, and it sometimes results in a counterproductive will to repress.

But communists have long had an angle on this, and to some of us this line of questioning is naïve. With capitalism in such a dominant position in the world, it's hardly surprising that we have the sort of mass media that we find. "The



Cde Mark Waller

ruling ideas of each age have ever been the ideas of its ruling class," Marx and Engels wrote in the *Communist Manifesto*. It's a view that may suffice as a simple rule of thumb, but when it comes to the media and information it needs to be fleshed out to reveal the many restless dynamics in the world of mass media. These dynamics are one reason why the media comprises a sphere of life in which corporate and class hegemony should always be exposed and contested. The media is too valuable to be left in the hands of the middle classes.

Whenever left politicians get fed up, as they tend to, with the constant stream of misrepresentation that the media churn out concerning left policies and political processes and call for 'media responsibility', elite media owners and editors

squeal foul and duck for cover behind the unassailable banners of 'freedom' and 'independence'. No two words have been more hijacked and abused than these terms have by media elites when defending their outrageous practices.

Fallacy of 'independent' media

It's not hard to see how this has come about. The fallacy of the media as an independent watchdog, or the self-importantly styled 'fourth estate', which grew up to watch over the other three estates of the clergy, the nobility and the commoners originated in the 19th century, initially in Britain, where the elite press grew in proportion with the expansion of corporate capitalism. The rise of the press within bourgeois society was from the outset predicated on the myth that public sphere journalism was there to check political power rather than help exercise it.

But the free market press under capitalism in the late 18th and early 19th centuries flourished under the pretence of freedom and independence that saw the crushing of the lively, and properly free and independent radical press of the working class. This was done by the imposition of severe tariffs and stamp duties by the government. The aim was to take printing presses out of the hands of the working class and eliminate the radical media, which had drawn huge readerships among workers. This set the scene for press ownership solely by "men of some respectability and property".¹

Denied the liberty to publish political tracts and papers, the working class lost a valuable source of self-education and radical political discourse. The pat-

tern was repeated to varying degrees throughout Europe. As the print media expanded and developed, its owners designed papers and magazines packed with brain-dead sensational or sentimental content for working class consumption. The point was to keep people passive and off-message. This output was the forerunner of the *Daily Sun*, *The Bold and the Beautiful* and the moronic obsessions the media cultivates nowadays concerning 'celebrities'.

Before the Second World War the idea of propaganda did not have the negative associations it now has. Communist Party propaganda, as Lenin described it, was no more than basic motivational information for cadres. During the First World War the British created and fine-tuned anti-German propaganda, in part as a way to muster support within the US public for US intervention in the war. Hitler paid close attention, decided that one of Germany's failings in World War I was that it had lost the propaganda war, and made sure that the Third Reich outdid the British and the Soviet Union under Stalin, in perfecting state propaganda through every conceivable media.

After the Second World War propaganda was out. It would have been instant suicide for any mainstream newspaper in the capitalist world to say it was producing propaganda. The point was to continue to do so while pretending it was something else, and so the 'free press' was once again asserted. This was within a Cold War setting that for the West was a global propaganda war, ostensibly against the Soviet system but more widely against any form of socialist change and national liberation. The early socialist experiments of the Soviet period hardly helped either, as they degenerated into heavy censorship and the stifling of socialist democracy particularly in the field of information.

Everywhere, propaganda was indistinguishable from the rest of the mass media, shaping it to new needs. From about the 1950s until now, the mainstream me-

dia in capitalist countries became steadily more centralised and corporate in nature. Though espousing diversity and choice, the media actually draws on a narrow range of sources, much of it corporate and government public relations material. Increasingly during this period, the corporate nature of the press means that newspapers and broadcasting are all about sales and ratings rather than delivering news and information.

News as commodity

News, information and select opinion are commodities, and for the most part they are produced seamlessly in line with capitalist free market interests. With valuable exceptions, journalism is rarely about unveiling the real causes of problems in the world, for the simple reason that

links in rich countries between the PR industry and the press or investigating human rights abuses, generally means that you won't rise up the mass media career ladder.

This is not to say that there are not highly proficient and serious journalists in all countries who produce good material. There are also a few fiercely critical and independent high profile journalists still around. But they are a dying breed. Some, such as the Russian journalist Anna Politkovskaja, who investigated Russia's war crimes in Chechnya, have been assassinated.² The media's corporate owners are unable always to stitch-up the media terrain, and there is much healthy pressure by young and ambitious journalists to do a good job and develop their medium.

On the whole, though, the trend goes the other way and such pressure soon dissipates. We see this not just in the media of rich countries, but in South Africa too, whose media is greatly modelled on British forms and practices, right down to the disingenuous tub-thumping about freedom and independence. The crises of mass poverty and underdevelopment facing South Africa starkly expose the narrow interests of the mainstream press here, whose audience is the middle class. Nearly all feature writing and regular reporting is seemingly produced in a bubble, insulated from the concerns, realities, rights and needs of the majority of the population.



most problems and crises people face in the world are rooted in capitalism's search for maximising profits. Vast corporations whose only purpose is to make profits own most mainstream newspapers, magazines, broadcast and online news sources.

Of course, most journalists and columnists in our mass distribution media hate to be told that they are only pawns in the games of media conglomerates. They also heatedly deny that they are told what to write. In general they are right – they are not told what to write. But, as Noam Chomsky has pointed out, they wouldn't be where they are if they didn't say the right thing. Saying the wrong thing, for instance exposing the

Mainstream media not relevant to masses

If you happen to see a copy of, say, SA's Sunday Times in a community in rural Limpopo it may as well have been produced by and for extraterrestrials for all the relevance it has to people's lives there. Community news filters into some papers' reporting, such as the *Mail and Guardian* (M&G) or the dailies, but only as adjuncts to the rest of the news and comment. There is no room for print media that addresses the lives and situations of ordinary people, because it is not considered profitable, and one reason it is not profitable is because, if it told the full story, it would necessarily castigate capitalist practices.

Within the class interest that pervades the corporate owned media, there is a disturbing side to what is churned out. This has to do with the use of distorted information for political ends. A shining example of this among thousands is the M&G front-page headline of 9 March 2007, which had Cosatu General Secretary Zwelinzima Vavi saying, “We’re going to take over the ANC”. In the interview with Cde Vavi inside the paper he stated the complete opposite. Cosatu complained about the banner headline, criticising it as a ploy to sell more papers. It was probably more than this as, in line with all other mainstream media in the country, the attitude to the left is that it poses a threat to South African society. The M&G headline was a familiar tune replayed. The same goes for the smear campaign not long ago by the M&G and other papers against Cde Blade Nzimande.

These instances and the rest of the steady stream of anti-left commentary in the elite media amounts to what the British journalist Nick Davis calls “the mass production of ignorance”. Davis, whose whistle-blowing book *Flat Earth News* exposes the vast amount of false information that finds its way into the press, is not concerned with the way the media routinely dumps on the left for political reasons. But his research findings – that what passes for news is rarely the product of original investigative journalism and is nearly always influenced by corporate and government PR – tie in with the activity of elite media to exclude coherent information that opposes capitalist practice.

A lot of this happens unconsciously, as a process of socialisation. Journalists and columnists are not necessarily ordered to misinform about the political left, but they are implicitly encouraged to dish the dirt wherever possible, even if it means following dodgy journalistic ethical practices and highlighting trivia. This is made all the easier by the clear lack of political literacy on the part of journalists, as if their having a working knowledge of the *South African Road to Socialism*, or the ANC’s 2007 Polokwane decisions, or what socialism means and how it differs from communism would amount to brainwashing or too much hard work.

In *Flat Earth News* Nick Davis examines how government PR, in addition to corporate publicity, manipulates the media in Britain. The most terrible recent instance of this was how the British me-

Journalists are not necessarily ordered to misinform about the left, but are implicitly encouraged to dish the dirt where possible

dia sucked up and regurgitated as news Bush’s and Blair’s lies about Iraq’s weapons of mass destruction and the ‘war on terror’. The difference in South Africa is that the corporate-owned press takes little notice of government or parliament except when it suits it. The press is more locked into big capital, where much real power lies, and to the position of big news media from abroad.

But it is not just the left that is targeted by this mass production of ignorance, and the left is anyway thick-skinned enough to see through the media’s right-wing posturing. The people who suffer most are ordinary readers and people who are wholly voiceless. Much elite print media exclusively serves the middle classes, but they are poorly served, fed a surprisingly meagre diet of opinion masquerading as news. The voiceless, in this case the majority of South Africans living the tough realities of poverty, unemployment and scarcity, don’t even get a look-in.

Things could be completely different. Amidst other areas of social and societal transformation, the media could be opened up, become truly free, or at least a lot freer. As it is, the media is hardly ever free and never independent. Imagine if the press comprehensively set about investigating capitalist greed and corruption, or developing into networks that served communities with print and broadcast material that cultivated informed and made aware audiences who were able to contribute to the media as well as using it.

One precondition for change is to have strong journalists’ trade unions whose members are ordinary media workers. Nothing of the sort currently exists, with the result that journalists and media workers have no formal say on their professional practice. The South African National Editors’ Forum (Sanef) has no interest in promoting the rights of ordinary journalists and media workers, being more a club for bosses and what

it calls ‘senior journalists’ and, revealingly, ‘journalism trainers’. These people are the oligarchic gatekeepers of the media profession. They prevent journalists from doing a proper job, if we think of journalism as informing about what is really happening in society and revealing people’s problems, achievements and experiences. They talk about ethics and quality and diversity in the media, but clearly have neither the desire nor ability to deliver.

If press ethics are left in the hands of Sanef or the toothless Press Council of South Africa, they stand little chance of being applied, no matter how far-reaching they try to appear on paper. But if journalists’ unions, or a single national union, were to assert press ethics as a part of collective bargaining agreements that included proper pay and conditions, including for freelancers, we would start to see a very different information media emerging. That would require dismantling the corporate nature of the media and introducing a democratic, working class hegemony over its processes.

This is a challenge not just for progressive journalists and media workers in South Africa but everywhere else. A few countries, such as in the Nordic area in Europe, have traditions of journalist trade unionism that are rooted in early 20th century labour struggles. This accounts for a slight degree of variation in media quality at different national levels.

But such achievements are piecemeal and have been gradually weakened by the assaults of corporate media giants in recent decades, as news has become a more lucrative and politically manipulative commodity. The lesson is that a free and independent media is only possible if it is wrested from corporate and middle class control, and it is here that communists have a critical role to play. ●

Cde Waller is South African correspondent for Tiedonantaja, the Communist Party of Finland’s weekly newspaper

Endnotes

1. Attributed to the British 19th century politician Lord Castlereagh, quoted by Mia Jarlow on www.MediaLens.org
2. More than 200 journalists working in the former Soviet area have been murdered since 1991 because of their professional activities, according to the Union of Journalists in Finland.

BUILDING NATIONAL UNITY

Thoughts on why we sing and how it makes them feel

If our songs must be adjusted in pursuit of the ideals of the Freedom Charter ideal, so be it

BY RENEVA FOURIE

SHORTLY AFTER RIGHT WING LEADER Eugene Terre'Blanche was murdered, the leadership of the African National Congress indicated that liberation songs might be revisited and adapted to contemporary conditions.

This proposal was not well received by many, and understandably so. When we sing liberation songs, we do not do so because we still want to kill boers. Nor does our singing imply that we still hate the perpetrators of apartheid. We sing because the songs generate a sense of belonging, of solidarity. We do not sing them because we long for the days of war, but because the ANC has been through so much, has endured so much infighting, and when we sing the songs, we feel united, and we feel one again. The songs allow us to remember those whom we have lost and to celebrate the contribution that they made to the liberation of our country. They inspire us to remain focused and to remain resolute in the struggle for improving conditions of our people.

While those songs mean so much to us, upon reflection, do we honestly believe that they, in their current form, contribute to the building of national unity? I think about how very angry I become when I hear, even today, the right-



wing singing Die Stem, the old national anthem which I hated with a passion. I think about how deeply incensed I become when I see them waving that orange, white and blue flag, which I once burned. And when I watch them, I wonder whether they will ever accept that conditions have changed. When I see them clinging to the symbols of apartheid I wonder if they are committed to transformation and the creation of a united, non-racial, non-sexist democratic South Africa. But they could also possibly argue, like us, that they are merely engaging in these practices for sentimental reasons and not because of a longing for the past.

Could it be possible that people who are not comrades, who do not share in our history and our pain, when looking at us, singing our liberation songs, jumping 90°, chanting “kill the boer, the farmer”, mimicking the shooting of AK47s and the launching of bazookas, celebrating fervently the contribution of Umkhonto weSizwe, think that we will forever hate them for what they did to us, and that there really is no place for them in the new South Africa?

Our forebears had vision when they crafted a Freedom Charter with the opening lines: “South Africa belongs to all who lives in it, black and white”. Our struggle was for a united, non-racial democratic South Africa, a country where every citizen feels that they belong, and is respected regardless of race, gender, class or creed. It is this ideal that our heroes died for and it is this ideal that must remain our focus (without, of course, implying that we must turn a blind eye to racial and economic injustices). If our songs must be adjusted in pursuit of that ideal, so be it. The adaptation of songs does not in anyway take away the richness of the contribution of those who went before us. Adapting liberation songs just becomes another tactic in advancing the strategic agenda of advancing a national democratic revolution. ●

Cde Fourie is an SACP member

JOIN THE DEBATE

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

BUILDING WORKING CLASS POWER

Nehawu and the Party launch the Chris Hani Brigade

A cadre of national commissars who will actively work to educate our society about the socialist principles championed by cde Chris

BY FIKILE MAJOLA

IN 2004, AT THE 7TH NATIONAL CONGRESS of Nehawu (National Education, Health and Allied Workers Union) delegates resolved that the union, working with the SACP, must train a sizeable number of comrades.

The form, content and shape of the initiative were to be determined by our education and training service centre. What was clear, given the socio-political challenges of that time, was that the calibre of the cadres to be trained would that of men and women who, when times are tough, would rise and defend the union in particular and the working class in general.

This is in pursuance of the SACP's 10th National Congress programme clearly set out in a 1998 issue of *The African Communist* (No 150): "The party must initiate a political education programme which involves the Alliance partners, where emphasis is placed on building party cadres and cadres for the Alliance. Such a programme will involve monthly political education activities based on curriculum that takes comrades through basic and advanced Marxist readings and their application in society".

In commemorating the 17th anniversary of Chris Hani's death, Nehawu and the Party have formally launched a joint political education project, named in Cde Chris' memory: SACP-Nehawu Chris Hani Brigade. The project was launched on the 16 April.

The Chris Hani Brigade programme



Nehawu members on the march

will run until June 2011 and will play the role of serving as political commissars by assisting with political education and in building the capacity of both the union

and party structures to respond to the challenges facing the working class.

The participants, drawn from the provincial structures of the SACP, Nehawu and the YCL will undergo a seven-week intensive course focusing on six key areas:

- Introduction to Marxist theory.
- Introduction to political economy.
- The National Democratic Revolution and the struggle for socialism – what role for trade unions?
 - Capitalism, patriarchy and women's oppression.
 - Working class internationalism.
 - Political economy of health and education.

Cde Hani was a dedicated, patriotic and disciplined cadre who devoted his entire life to the struggle for the political and socio-economic emancipation of all South Africans and was a resolute socialist. Nehawu as a leading, radical and transformative force of the left is committed to dealing with broader social and political challenges in the context of fighting for socialism and also remains a reliable champion of the working class.

The union has therefore resolved to continue to carry forward cde Hani's legacy by launching the Chris Hani Brigade and also inculcate activism, patriotism and the culture of service to its members and the entire society. The union's primary aim is to establish a team of national commissars who will continue with the struggle by actively working on and educating our society about the socialist principles that were championed by Cde Hani.

These commissars will then in turn, run similar programmes in their respective provinces, supported and guided by the national office.

The scourge of capitalism and corruption that is oppressing and exploiting our people and also eating up the fabric of our society requires an active citizenry that will stand up against the culture of crass materialism that encourages this alien tendency. We will continue to mobilise the working class in these social class battles by galvanising and encouraging the correlation of all forces with progressive credentials in order to ensure the hegemony of socialist principles.

"We want to be like Chris Hani" is our theme!

Cde Majola is Nehawu General Secretary



TOWARDS THE NDR

The people shall govern – a response to ANC Today

The arguments are similar to those of Cde Mbeki shortly before he was replaced at Polokwane

BY ALEX MASHILO

THE SOUTH AFRICAN COMMUNIST Party (SACP) and Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu) have been accused of wanting to hijack the African National Congress (ANC) to socialism. Cde Ngoako Ramatlhodi's article *What constitutes the strategic political centre?* (ANC Today, Volume 10 Number 2, 22-28 January 2010) may seem constructive, diplomatic and sophisticated. But, it is essentially a repetition of the same unfounded accusation made before.

Ramatlhodi is an ANC National Executive Committee (NEC) member and MP).

He argues that the SACP aspires to replace the ANC as the political centre and take over the leadership of the national democratic revolution (NDR) but that this is not the time. There are many similarities between his views and those of former President Thabo Mbeki. Addressing the last, pre-Polokwane, ANC National Policy Conference (NPC), Mbeki credited the NDR to the ANC, to which he exclusively allocated leadership. He warned the SACP not to interfere in the NDR, but to focus its energies on the future socialist revolution (SR) which is to follow the NDR.

Although he does not go so far as to tell the SACP not to interfere in the NDR, Ramatlhodi adopts a similar position regarding the NDR's leadership. He suggests that the ANC, as the political centre, leads the NDR, while the SACP follows. He states that the SACP's role is to take on the responsibility of political education for a distant future socialist revolution. In other words, the SACP must serve as an appendage of the ANC.

But his argument is misleading. Objectively, the SACP has conceptual, executive and leadership roles in the NDR, as is the case with other alliance partners.

Ramatlhodi reasons that strategically the ANC's multi-class character is what makes it the political centre. But if the measure is that of a multi-class character, dialectically, it stands to reason that in principle the alliance is likely to meet this test more closely than the ANC alone. As Ramatlhodi is fully aware, the alliance is multi-class in character. It is an organisational expression of class forces as represented by independent class formations. Also, analysis of Sanco in terms of class would clearly show that it too has a multi-class formation. It is, therefore, both simplistic and insufficient to allocate the leadership role of the NDR to the ANC on the sole criteria of it having a multi-class character.

Each of the formations that constitute our alliance represents a strategic centre

As Ramatlhodi is fully aware, the alliance is multi-class in character. It is an organisational expression of class forces as represented by independent class formations

of power with their own independent structural location and historic mission. The independent alliance partners were each established to provide leadership. Despite having distinct historic missions, they were established to and have all provided leadership under conditions of colonialism of special type (CST), apartheid and imperialism. Ramatlhodi is correct in this respect: It is not consciousness that determines existence but rather existence that determines consciousness. The alliance is the product of the material conditions within which its independent partners were founded and continued their existence, carrying out their historic missions. These conditions were not of their making, but were largely the product of a shared enemy. In order to confront this enemy, the independent formations realised that they needed each other. They brought together their individual strengths to forming the alliance.

Without dialectical analysis some of these things cannot be seen or understood:

The ANC alone, both quantitatively and qualitatively, does not equal the alliance. Instead, it is both a part of and a partner in the alliance. The ANC needs the alliance no less than any of its alliance partners do. If he had paid enough attention to the objective factors informing why and how much the ANC needs its partners, Ramatlhodi would have realized the strategic and central political importance of the alliance;

Dialectically, it is not contradictory for each of the alliance partners to constitute a strategic political centre in their own right. The independent structural location and historic mission provides the context. While at the same time the



alliance – the sum total of the strength of each partner – is also a greater strategic political centre. Objectively then, it is because the alliance is the sum-total of the strengths of each of its independent partners that it is a political centre;

The alliance represents a vehicle through which the South African people, the majority of whom are Black, and the working class, with the participation of White democrats and, generally, communists, have waged the national liberation struggle and fought against apartheid reaching victory in 1994. This cannot be attributed to any single formation acting alone. Significantly, the victory at Polokwane came about in the same way.

In many ways the leadership of the NDR always stands to be misunderstood if conceptualised mechanically:

To think that Cosatu and the SACP do not have a leadership role in the NDR is to grossly emphasise the subjective at the expense of the objective, and neglects the historical content. This thinking is mistaken, particularly if the NDR is understood to be a struggle process taking place in the many different milieus of

human activity. For example, were Ramatlhodi to ask which of the alliance partners is the organisational leader of the NDR in the workplace, the daily material experience of the working classes would inform the answer – Cosatu through its affiliates. Also Cosatu, as leader of the progressive trade union movement, has approximately two million members, making it the largest of the alliance partners. Cosatu does not just narrowly focus at the workplace as some wrongly suggest it should.

he impact that broad societal environment concerns have for its members explains why Cosatu does not focus solely on workplace matters as some wrongly suggest it should. Historically, Cosatu has been and will remain an important force not only in the NDR but also in the struggle for socialism. This is part of its historical mission. Basically, this is why Cosatu is revolutionary.

Were Ramatlhodi also to recall the origins of the concept of the NDR, he would appreciate the Communist Party's leadership role. In fact, the concept of the NDR originated from the communist

movement. It is an oversimplification to conceive leadership as being a mechanical process where an individual or organisation stands in front while the rest line up behind waiting for direction from those in front.

Ramatlhodi tells us that not all workers support the struggle for a socialist transition to a classless, communist society, and it is not easy to get them to rally in support. It is different for the ANC and Cosatu where they are all present. But his argument is too simplistic and is incomplete. It fails to tell us why Cosatu's membership is three times that of the ANC's. Ramatlhodi also tells us that all workers do not want to be exploited economically and that collectively they form a class of their own. Good! Unfortunately, he does not go further. If he were to, he would notice the contradiction in his argument! Simply, not all workers support socialism but all workers want economic exploitation to end. What is this? Workers understand that unless economic exploitation ends, and this is inseparable from capitalism, their real or complete liberation as human beings is

impossible. Although distinct, the NDR is interrelated to socialism. Clear?

This says volumes as to why an over-emphasis on the national content in understanding the motive forces for the NDR at the expense of class content is limiting. Unless proven to the contrary, that is probably why Ramatlhodi, unlike in the ANC's *Strategy and Tactics* document, does not see the working class as the main motive force of the NDR. He is consequently silent about the leadership role of the working class in the NDR. While erring by not telling us that the working class is the class leader of the NDR, Ramatlhodi is correct that the SACP is the political party of the working class. An obvious point to underline is that members of the working class constitute the majority both in the ANC and in our society.

To say this is not to reject the fact that, as Ramatlhodi puts it correctly, Africans in particular and Black people in general form the majority in our society. On the contrary, it is to underline the class content of the majority. Moreover, that the working class is the majority remains true when all our people are considered without regard to race and gender. That is how I understand the basic democratic question of majority rule in the final analysis. Our society and 'our people' are not a homogenous class entity. They are defined by different class locations, realities and interests. Although not on an exclusive basis, this is the not-inconsiderable ultimate determining factor in qualitative change and our society's future direction.

Ramatlhodi also commits an oversight on the NDR and gender relations. And that is probably why he suggests without reference to gender emancipation that the national liberation of Africans in particular and black people in general is the objective aim of the NDR. Had Ramatlhodi looked at gender relations from the same approach that he employs to look at national liberation, the approach that argues that the oppressed are the motive force for the overthrow of oppression, he would have arrived at no other conclusion but to realize that women too have a leadership role in the NDR.

The NDR and the alliance are not paper or speech products but are the products of historical materialism. In the same way, the leadership role in the NDR cannot be a product of paper or speeches from the podium. Questions of the leadership role in the NDR are multi-faceted and varied both organisationally and po-

litically: for example, as the only political party in the alliance, the SACP cannot claim (and never has) absolute right over the political leadership of the NDR. Thus while it is correct that the ANC has organisational leadership in the NDR as a result of our material conditions, it does not assist to suggest that this leadership is or must be absolute. Similarly, Cosatu has never claimed absolute right of leadership over the proletariat.

The same applies to whom the NDR seeks to liberate.

As far as I was taught from the ANC's *Strategy and Tactics* the NDR is intended not only to liberate Africans in particular and black people in general, but it is also about the emancipation of women from patriarchy. Patriarchy has been one of the unwanted but dominant features of our society both within the oppressor and the oppressed camps. Thus the national liberation of Africans in particular and black people in general does not automatically guarantee women emancipate from patriarchy. Neither does it guarantee the emancipation of the whole of the black working class from economic exploitation historically unique to CST and apartheid social relations.

The NDR does not leave out class emancipation. It is, according to *Strategy and Tactics*, also about eliminating the additional brutality that has historically been visited upon the black working class as a consequence of CST and apartheid social relations. This form of extra-exploitation through racist and sexist brutality is referred to as super-exploitation in the ANC's "Strategy and Tactics".

Moreover, I have been taught from the same "Strategy and Tactics" that in the ultimate analysis, the NDR is also about liberating the oppressor.

The NDR seeks to liberate all. It is only a question of emphasis on the approach.

The NDR has never been about struggling for any single individual to govern alone. It is therefore unnecessary to have declarations that a president shall not co-govern with any body but shall govern alone. This is definitely tantamount to dictatorship. Polokwane was about eliminating such a grip over the ANC which affected the alliance. All forces that brought about the victory of Polokwane were agreed that never again shall it be allowed that a single individual wields such a power as characteristic of an absolute ruler. The unwarranted outcry that a single individual shall govern alone is liberal and incompatible with the NDR. The NDR is revolutionary, hence the "R" in NDR.

Neither has the NDR been about any single organisation governing alone but engaging in an alliance to be in government. Therefore it is unnecessary to have a declaration that the ANC shall not co-govern with any other organisation but shall govern alone.

In fact what the NDR has been and is about is stipulated in no uncertain terms in the Freedom Charter: "The people shall govern." That is what enjoins us in the NDR. That is what we all must strive for, at all times. It is our shared task to do that. Otherwise the NDR is bound to fail. ●

Cde Mashilo is YCL Gauteng Provincial Secretary

JOIN THE DEBATE

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TOWARDS THE NDR

Lessons the ANC must learn from the collapse of the Soviet Union

We must not confuse the ANC with the state, and must not reward loyalty above competence

BY MATANKANA MOTHAPO

THE AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS (ANC) is a progressive revolutionary movement engaged in a national democratic revolution (NDR), which has as its objective the creation of a united, non-racial, non-sexist and democratic society.

It is not a Communist Party whose objective is to advance a socialist revolution as a transitional social system that ultimately culminates in a classless society or communism. Analysing the lessons the ANC can learn from the collapse of the Soviet Union thus has inherent limitations as the collapse was due to a myriad of factors linked to the nature of a communist party. These included internal Party dynamics; the premature imposition of a socialist agenda on some Eastern European countries; and the fact that the October Revolution took place and was consolidated within the context of the Cold War in which the West actively discredited socialism.

The ANC can learn important lessons from the collapse of the Soviet Union in its pursuit of the NDR. Despite the ANC's multi-class character, it has over time (perhaps since Morogoro) and in its evolving strategy and tactics placed the working class at the head of all class forces.

This was not done sentimentally, but because of the strategic link between national oppression and the economic life of the country, and the fact that capitalism had already organised this class into production points or workplaces to exploit them. The concept of NDR is in itself a Marxist-Leninist concept developed



by the Third International in the 1920s to characterise struggles in the developing world which were anti-capitalist in character but because of the material conditions not immediately socialist.

The current ANC *modus operandi* poses potential dangers that can be averted based on the Soviet Union experience. The first is the thin line that divides the party (ANC) and the State. This is manifested in various forms including but

not limited to confusing the ANC NEC with the executive in government (Cabinet), and extending this practice to ANC executive and government structures at provincial, regional and local levels.

The second is the promotion of politics of personality-cult whereby in some instances, capable cadres of the movement are not deployed either in government

or elsewhere because they do not support a leader or their views on leadership are seen as selling out.

It is important to appreciate different or dissenting views as long as they occur within the organisationally defined framework.

Democratic centralism, which the

ANC has from time immemorial embraced, should not be applied in a problematic, distorted, top-down manner. The views of grass-roots structures should be solicited before the highest organs arrive at important decisions in the organisation. The ANC leadership in all structures needs to also understand that it is always healthy and critically helpful to appreciate open debate and honest self criticism when it comes to identifying the competence of leaders deployed in state organs such as councillors, mayors, MECs, premiers and the management of parastatals. It has become difficult to be appreciated and trusted as a "deployed cadre" if you do not demonstrate loyalty to powerful leaders in the movement; hence people with important skills and competencies required in government have been replaced by party loyalists.

While it is proven beyond theory that political synergy is critical between a minister and a director-general (DG) for the well co-ordinated implementation of progressive service delivery, it also equally requires that DG possesses sharp technical skills to translate the political election manifesto into a progressive programme that responds to the needs of the people.

But above all, the most important lesson would be to appreciate that the forces of reaction and counter revolutionaries thrive on the back of divisions and the lack of unity and cohesion in the revolutionary movement. If we don't heed these lessons, all the gains achieved thus far could be reversed, with the worst case scenario being that at a point in history the ANC may not be returned into government. ●

Cde Mothapo is an SACP member and Communication Workers Union Spokesperson



Matankana Mothapo

THE PRESIDENCY

I am not ashamed to have Jacob Zuma as my president

And I don't want the 'ideal' president projected by the dominant media voices

BY MOATLHUDI MOGWERA

ARRIVING BACK IN SOUTH AFRICA from Argentina in February, the first dominating and hot news on all the radio channels was that Cde Jacob Zuma has a child with a daughter of the World Cup Local Organising Committee chairperson, Irvin Khoza. As I drove from OR Tambo airport to Mafikeng, I was able to catch up at least in terms of what was the hot news in the country.

I had arrived from a Latin American country where the hot news was still the Haitian earthquake; the American Hollywood-style intervention; a call by Argentinians that an external foreign debt accumulated over the years including by the dictatorship of the military regime should not be paid; and the extradition of and court case of an accomplice in the repression by the then Uruguayan military dictatorship.

I felt like I had arrived in a different and yet foreign world, where moral extremist codes were a matter for national debate, nothing close to addressing the fundamental questions faced by humanity such as justice, development, tolerance, etc.

This reminded me of the book that I read by Osho, on Creativity, Unleashing the Forces Within ...where he emphasises a new way of living. He expressly presents creativity as the greatest rebellion in existence. He suggests some insights of a new way of living, while identifying five obstacles that each one faces, namely self-consciousness, perfectionism, intellect, belief and the fame game.

Osho further argues a point, in agreement with the dictates of modern science, that side by side with the law of gravitation, exists a law of grace. He argues that the opposite of the law of gravity, which existed even before its discovery, is the law of what he refers to as the law of grace. This law, which he argues is not yet discovered, exists and is experienced by those like him, who relate with it.

As I read Osho, I came to realise how that I have been educated to accept certain values and way of life, relatively antagonistic and intolerant of the otherness of others. These values are based on mob psychology. They are values that are intolerant of those values as viewed from a different perspective by the minority. These are only acceptable values that we can live with.

This is a set of values that still found resonance with those who justified slavery, apartheid, dehumanising of others for being different. All this was done in the name a set of values that derived from a supreme God.

As I connected to check out my facebook, a friend's friend expressed some rigid views, prior to president Zuma's acknowledgement of fathering the four months child.

She suggested her intolerance and embarrassment of JZ as her president, and in response I invited everyone to consider various questions and concluded that I'd not want to have a perfect president to assume office, because then, we will be in trouble as a people.

None of us is perfect, and I would like

to share some of the experiences in other parts of the world, so that we can learn as a people, who are still relatively in a journey of to identify who are we as a people, our conscious identity as a nation and perhaps even our common heritage.

Paraguay, a country in Latin America, has its current president, an ex-Catholic priest ordained in 1994 who started to be highly involved in politics in 2006. Because of his work, he was soon recognised as a Bishop of the poor. In the April 2009, the ex-priest, just like our own Jacob Zuma, admitted in a press conference that he fathered a two-year-old child while a priest.

The catholic tradition strictly adheres to celibacy for its priests. The opposition, just like our own in South Africa, demanded that Fernando Lugo resign from his position. In a few days it became apparent that he actually fathered two other children during his priesthood. The current president of Paraguay remains Fernando Lugo because, as it was submitted by his defenders, that this was his private life, regardless of his defaulting as a catholic priest.

A scandal of a similar significance happened in the case of Jimmy Swaggart in the 1980s, the most popular televangelist who himself preached vociferously against adultery and fornication, but was caught in transaction with commercial sex workers. Similarly, Father Alberto Cutié was found contradicting his own value system by engaging in immoral activities, in accordance with his own standards.

Perhaps a lesson for us in South Africa is to start first and foremost to open a public debate to define what values and norms we all adhere to. Cde Jacob Zuma is not the only polygamist we have around and yet he is the only one who came out openly to live out his culture, unlike many in our society, including priests, moral advocates, etc.

Cde Jacob Zuma for me remains one of the only leading examples in our country to admit what is regarded errors in our society. Where are others in the leading sectors of our society? As Bob Marley sang: if you live in a glass house, don't throw stones. My own translation to the message of the song is that if you are human, do not judge as though you are divine.

I am a proud South African who proudly accepts Jacob Zuma as the president of this country. I do not want to have an ideal president as projected by many dominant voices in our media. ●

Cde Mogwera is an SACP member



President Jacob Zuma

YOUNG REDS

NSFAS

Ministerial Review opens road to free undergraduate education

BY PALESA MOTSHOENE

THE MINISTERIAL REVIEW Committee's report into the National Student Financial Aid Scheme (Nsfas) is strongly welcomed. Young South African communists also the issues raised for immediate implementation.

The report seeks to open doors of predominately white dominated universities by increasing funding for poor, black students who are currently unable to access higher education because of exorbitant university fees which previously Nsfas could not fully cover. This means that universities such as UCT and Stellenbosch would be forced to recognise and open their doors for black students.

These recommendations made by the report would bring a sigh of relief to students who are currently indebted to Nsfas and to former students – some of them unemployed – who have seen their loans increase due to high interests rates and some who have subsequently been blacklisted because they can't afford to pay back the loan.

The committee should also be commended for ensuring that the Nsfas is critically analysed and that both shortcomings and challenges are thoroughly interrogated. A number of students have failed to have their loans approved due to a monotonous administration procedure and an inconsistency in regards to the requirements for one to qualify. The Ministerial review has also placed emphasis on the process of loan recovery, which has seen a significant number of students being disadvantaged as a result of being blacklisted. Most of these students have not even begun to enter



the job market but are already under scrutiny with a permanent financial burden.

Organisations such as Sasco and the YCL who have long advocated free education. Seemingly the road to achieving that is opening. The report speaks about conducting a needs analysis of students who will require financial aid in the short, medium and long terms. The Minister of Higher Education and Training, cde Blade Nzimande, affirms that the recommendations made are informed by government's promise to providing

free undergraduate education to students from poor and underprivileged families, who would otherwise not be able to pursue further or higher education.

Many students are left stranded at the beginning of every year, not because of their matric results, but mainly due to the high fees charged by institutions of higher learning.

The report also recommends changes to the policy, regulations and operational framework of Nsfas, including the distribution process for the allocation of financial aid to institutions. This recommendation must be highly praised as it will bridge the gap between historically white and black institutions which is grossly unequal, clearly evident and totally unacceptable. Universities such as those of Venda and Limpopo (Turffloop) need to

be prioritised for fund allocation. The majority of students who study at these institutions are from poor backgrounds and their parents have no or little income, hence the need for Nsfas to further cover all the necessities in addition to the registration fee, tuition and accommodation.

This Ministerial report is a clear indication that things will get better for the young people in our country and that the fight for free education is getting closer to being a reality. We hope that the Department of Higher Education and Training will work swiftly in implementing these recommendations.

Educate young people, help build the nation!

Forward in the fight for free education!



Cde Motshoene is YCLSA Publications Manager

YOUNG REDS

IGOTSHWA ISENCANE!

The historic launch of Numsa's Youth Desk

BY CASTRO NGOBESE

ON THE WEEKEND OF 27-28 March 2010, more than 300 young workers made history by launching the National Union of Metalworkers of South Africa's (Numsa) Youth Desk. The launch was held at the hub of South Africa's capitalism, Gauteng province, in Newtown, Johannesburg, in Numsa's Vincent Mabuyakhulu Conference Centre.

This historic launch was held under the strategic theme "Young metalworkers unite for decent work and socialism". This theme is going to inform the political programme of the Youth Desk until the next elective session.

The launch was a clear declaration that labour exploitation has no place in our country, and that the misery and suffering of young workers is a direct result of capitalism. Only under an organised organ of the working class can young metal workers be able to realise their aspirations by crushing capitalism. By launching the Youth Desk, young trade unionists are re-shaping their own future.

The mature and comradely discussions that ensued at the launch signalled that they are other progressive youth voices that speak to the real issues of the youth, as opposed to demagogue we are being feed with on daily basis by some of our youth leaders. The Youth Desk is the future organisational base and leadership reservoir of Numsa itself: igotshwa isencane! By launching the Youth Desk, the leadership understands that the future of Numsa lies among young metalworkers, and are shaping the very future of Numsa.

In its activities the Youth Desk should act to strengthen, build and defend the policies and ideals of Numsa. Without a strong Numsa there can be no strong

Youth Desk, and without a strong Youth Desk there can be no strong Numsa. This means that Numsa's agenda and campaigns must be defended at all times. The Youth Desk cannot allow Numsa to be ridiculed or muzzled by ruling elites or capitalist bosses. In doing this the Youth Desk must not behave like a youth league in Numsa, but as an integral component of Numsa in its quest to mobilise young metalworkers within its mould. We should also jealously guard against using the Youth Desk as a springboard for leadership positions or contests in Numsa. This will kill Numsa. The youth desk activists and young metalworkers in general should passionately hate opportunism and careerism within Numsa.

The Youth Desk should also build itself into a political school of trade unionism in the mass trade union movement. This will require the Youth Desk to recruit and educate young metalworkers, and prepare them as trade unionist and future leaders of Numsa. This will require consistent understating of trade union politics armed with Marxism-Leninism theory as its prime task. As we move forward in building and strengthening regional Youth

Desks we must embark on a mass political education programme. As Lenin said, "theory without practice is sterile, and practice without theory is blind". The Youth Desk should throw its full weights behind programmes and campaigns of Numsa by consciously seeking to place young workers issues at the centre of these programmes and campaigns.

The launch was attended by a significant number of young women metalworkers out of the 300 delegates. This pose a challenge to the Youth Desk to pay a particular attention to recruitment of young metalworkers, and be the primary training ground of young women

trade unionists and shop stewards. The struggle for the gender transformation in the workplace and broader society cannot be achieved, unless we accord women equal roles and tasks within our organisations. Trade union women form an important component of the broader women's struggles and the struggle for gender transformation. The Youth Desk should lead campaigns and programmes that defeat sexist ideas and narrow chauvinism within our trade union movement and broader society. We need to produce trade unionists of today and tomorrow, not trade unionists of yesterday who see women as 'Congress packages' or 'lunch servers'. It is through mobilising women en masse within our structures we can achieve this!

Among the many activities the Youth Desk should undertake is a critical assessment and engagement with TV or radio programmes, and other forms of entertainment liked by young women today. This should be done to examine the extent to which these activities foster and reproduce women's inferiority as personified by patriarchy, young women as objects for pleasure, and the ideological underpinning of these activities.

One of the urgent tasks of the Youth Desk is to immerse itself in the struggles to defend jobs and fights retrenchments, and struggle for workplace skills development for young workers. Young workers are the major victims of retrenchment. The Youth Desk must assist Numsa in engaging with SETAs to ensure that young workers benefit from skills development funds, and that individual employers do provide training for young workers. This is a very important dimension of building youth power and ultimately working class power at the point of production.

The Youth Desk struggles must be linked with the broader struggles of the most marginalised young people – in rural and urban areas. Youth Desk activists and young workers should entrench themselves in the structures of the Progressive Youth Alliance and particularly in the structures of the Young Communist League (uFasimba). The YCL is the political home of young workers and their aspirations and interests lie with the YCL. ●

Cde Ngobese is National Spokesperson for Numsa



YOUNG REDS

HIV-AIDS

Support the campaign and fight the scourge

BY PALESA MOTSHOENE

THE ARTICLE IN THE TIMES, “Young South Africans getting into condoms”, indicates that more young people are taking responsibility for their lives and ownership of the HIV-Aids pandemic.

Debates surrounding HIV-Aids have in the past been characterised with conflicting political views. But after years of denialism and costly delay, the government last year embarked on an anti-Aids drive, vowing to halve new infections and make sure that 80% of those who need them have access to anti-retrovirals by 2011.

The world’s major HIV campaign was launched on the 15 April 2010 in Natsalspruit, in the country hardest hit by the virus. The campaign aims to test around 15-million people. The Minister of Health, Dr Aaron Motsoaledi, has asked 9 000 retired doctors and health workers to help with the voluntary testing and counselling of HIV, he has also asked universities to lend the help of their final-year medical students during the \$190-million campaign’s first week which will include the handing out of 2,5-billion condoms.

The campaign will also treat rape victims and encourage male circumcision as a preventative measure against HIV, the virus that causes Aids. The testing campaign hopes to “bring HIV out of the shadows and into the mainstream, helping to erode some of the stigma around the disease”, said Mark Heywood of the government-established South African National Aids Council.

Cde Motsoaledi has said that every person receiving HIV counselling and testing will receive 100 male condoms, and 1-billion more will be distributed to public facilities including Fifa accredited hotels for football fans during the World



Cde Aaron Motsoaledi, Minister of Health: calling on retired health workers to join the fight

Cup tournament. About 500 general practitioners have pledged to do free testing at their practices. Testing will also take place at hospitals, clinics, some universities. Mobile clinics will be sent to remote rural areas.

Our country, with its population of 50-million, has an estimated 5,7-million people infected with the disease – more than any other country in the world. This is clearly a catastrophic figure.

President Jacob Zuma has been praised for changing Aids policies after President Thabo Mbeki refused to take a stance on this issue and was blamed for hundreds and thousands of premature deaths due to the epidemic. Cde Mbeki questioned whether HIV caused Aids and his health minister, the late Dr Manto Tshabalala-Msimang did not believe in the ARVs and instead opted for treating the disease with garlic, beet-root and natural remedies. In contrast, cde Zuma has called for earlier and expanded treatment for HIV-infected South Africans and has urged all South Africans to get themselves tested.

As young people we applaud cde

Zuma for volunteering to take the HIV test and publicly declaring his results which showed he was HIV negative. We salute him for being courageous and exemplary in leading the nation.

Furthermore education about the disease is very important. Young people need to be aware and know what the disease is about. We do not want to build a nation of ignorant individuals. HIV-Aids needs to be included into school curriculums, under Life Orientation Skills. It is vital that condoms are available everywhere in places such as taxi ranks, sports facilities, taverns, churches, clubs, schools, train and petrol stations, workplaces and not only hospitals and clinics.

We appreciate government’s commitment to the fight against this deadly virus and hope that all South Africans will heed the call to get themselves tested.

Save yourself, save others, Do it now!
Khomeani! Caring together we can stop the spread of HIV-Aids! ●

Cde Motshoene is YCLSA Publications Manager

YOUNG REDS

Remembering Chris Hani

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should claim power as the people and direct our leadership.

One of the most profound things that Hani said was: "The ANC despite being a multi-class organisation, must still retain that element which has made it appealing to the majority of our people, namely, the radical element, the element of addressing some, not all of the aspirations of the working class ... *Let's accept (writer's emphasis) that there's always going to be a struggle within the ANC (not a hostile struggle) for the predominance of the ideas of the various classes within the ANC; there'll always be an attempt to balance these tendencies within the ANC. The ANC has always got to have these tendencies, otherwise it wouldn't be the ANC.*"

During the time of the leadership of Hani in the SACP, many a capitalist repeated the slogan: socialism is dead in Russia; socialism will never live in Pretoria. This was obviously meant to continue with the propaganda of "rooi-gevaar" in our country to make people believe that socialism is the cruellest of systems and that capitalism should replace it.

We are still confronted with the same prophets of doom who, as they run out of ideas to discredit the paradise of socialism, label our leaders with all sorts of names; and each time we meet them, we say to them what Hani said to the prophets of doom of his time.

He said: "Socialism is not about big concepts and heavy theory. Socialism is about decent shelter for those who are homeless. It is about water for those who have no safe drinking water. It is about health care, it is about a life of dignity for the old. It is about overcoming the huge divide between urban and rural areas. It is about a decent education for all our people. Socialism is about rolling back the tyranny of the market. As long as the economy is dominated by an unelected, privileged few, the case for socialism will exist."

Importantly, Hani believed that this



Young people gather (and, below, speak) in memory of a fallen hero for the Chris Hani Memorial lecture at the J Dumany Hall, Vosloorus.



socialism cannot just be a dream. He understood that it cannot just end with a plan. This is why one of the most significant characteristics of Chris Hani was action, action and action.

As long as there are those living in appalling conditions in shacks or in shoddily-built "RDP" houses the struggle continues,

As long as there are casualised workers, the struggle continues,

As long as there are thousands of women and men who suffer from domestic violence, the struggle continues.

As long as there are more than 1,2-million students battling to pay their fees, the struggle continues.

As long as we still live under capitalist system, the struggle continues.

As long as corruption is the order of the day, the struggle continues.

There is no more a noble cause to be a young communist, than to will fight for the workers and the poor and to end all forms of exploitation and oppression, taking up where cde Chris Hani left off. We will continue to remember cde Chris Hani and, 17 years after his assassination, we will double our efforts to crush capitalism and build socialism in our lifetime. We shall do so inspired by all the communist heroes and heroines and learn from them. We shall do this because the road we seek to travel has been travelled by cde Chris Martin Tembisiile Hani. ●

Cde Dlelanga is the Eastern Cape YCL Provincial Secretary



**SOCIALISM
IN OUR
LIFETIME!**

Y-REDS

VOICE OF THE YOUNG COMMUNIST LEAGUE OF SOUTH AFRICA ★ MAY 2010

In memory of Chris Hani

BY MLULEKI DLELANGA

SINCE THE RE-ESTABLISHMENT of YCLSA in 2003, the Eastern Cape Province has experienced a number of challenges and has gone to congress on two occasions. The current leadership has been faced with the task to breathe fresh air into provincial youth politics and to bring back the dignity and contribute qualitatively in the national and international politics.

It is very significant that we remember our heroes, gallants, fighters, liberators and freedom fighters so as to ensure that we remind ourselves of the vision that we struggled for and the objectives we seek to attain. The greatest mistake that any liberation movement can commit is to try and wipe out sections of its history of struggle and liberation, its leaders – both dead and alive – and the price at which our liberation came with.

Chris Hani is but one of those cadres that we as the youth and the current generation should remember with pride. General Secretary of the SACP at the time of his death, former soldier and Chief of Staff of Umkhonto weSizwe, an organiser, militant, fighter and committed cadre of the struggle for socialism, cde Chris was the kind of leader that our revolution needs.

One of the key tasks we have focused on the Chris Hani Month was to commemorate cde Chris Hani under a theme: “Building a young socialist cadre, fight corrupt and we want to be like Chris Hani”

We have successfully undertaken the following activities on remembering cde Chris:

- Launched Chris Hani District, which is the district where cde Chris



Uthi sixolele Kanjani, amabhunuabulala uChris Hani : Singing in his memory at the Chris Hani Memorial lecture at the J Dumany Hall, Vosloorus

Hani was born.

- Held a memorial lecture at Walter Sisulu University (Zamukulungisa Campus) was addressed by National Committee member cde S’fiso Gwala

- Hosted a YCLSA national rally at Walter Sisulu University (Nelson Mandela Drive Stadium) addressed by our National Secretary, cde Buti Manamela.

As Lenin pointed out that the duty of the young communist is to learn. We

have learnt the following key political and revolutionary issues from cde Chris Hani.

The National Liberation Movement, the ANC, the SACP, Cosatu and the Mass Democratic Movement relied on the power to the people to defeat apartheid. Chris Hani did not believe in the centralisation of power in the hands of few elected officials. The one major challenge that we face as the elected

leadership of these formations is to ensure that we close the gap between the leadership and the people. The advent of democracy and the occupation of new positions by our leaders has widened this gap between them and the people.

One of the most significant characteristics of Chris Hani was his ability to engage and pick up issues that affects the people. The political distance created between the people and their leaders makes this impossible. When the real challenge about access to health for those who do not have it, education for those without, food for the hungry and the challenge of the socialisation of the means of production into the hands of the people are the issues that affects our societies.

The leaders provide wrong solutions for these problems. When we want food and houses, they use the land for golf courses and game farms. When we want free health care and education, they tell us these can be provided if we can afford them. In memory of Chris Hani, we

**REMEMBER
CHRIS HANI**



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