

ANC NGC SPECIAL EDITION



September 2010

Voice of the South African Communist Party

Unsebenzi

**Our immediate task
is to help rebuild a
united ANC with
A DEMOCRATIC,
REVOLUTIONARY
PROGRAMME**

PLUS

SACP: 100 000 members – and still growing
Red October campaign: Financing development
– with the workers and the poor
First impressions on the public sector strike

SACP CC AUGUST STATEMENT

Public sector strike: A 91-1 wage gap is shameful

We cannot allow relationships within the public sector to be reduced to narrow employer-employee stand-off

The SACP released this statement after its August Central Committee Meeting

The Central Committee of the SACP met in Johannesburg from 27 to 29 August. The public service strike and the SACP's position and responsibilities in this regard were discussed at some length. The CC also engaged with some of the ANC's discussion papers for its forthcoming National General Council, and the challenge of media transformation.

The public service strike

The CC calls on government and the unions to ensure that there is a very speedy resolution to the strike. It is about to enter its third week now and the longer it is prolonged the more everyone suffers and the danger of unbridgeable positions becoming entrenched increases.

The SACP once more reiterates its conviction that the demands of the public service workers are legitimate and we support them in their struggle for just remuneration. In particular, we note that the wage gap in the public sector between the highest paid echelons and the lowest is 91 to 1. Although the gap in the private sector is even wider, we cannot deny that the public sector wage gap is shameful, and every effort must be made to progressively close this unacceptable gap.

In this regard, the CC calls on govern-



ment to set an example by ensuring that there is a collective moratorium on salary increases in the upper echelons of government.

The SACP also joins Cosatu in condemning acts of indiscipline on the part of some striking workers. Neglect of ICU patients, including new-borns, the turning away of ambulances, threats of physical attacks against students and fellow teachers by teachers - all of these acts punish fellow workers, the children of workers, and the poor in general. These forms of gross indiscipline detract from the legitimacy of the struggle, and divide, rather than unite working class communities.

The public sector is absolutely critical to the developmental state we are seeking to build. We cannot allow relationships within the public sector to be reduced to narrow employer-employee stand-offs. From all sides, government and unions, we need to recognise, foster and affirm the professional vocational

responsibilities of those in key sectors like health-care, education and policing.

Indeed, none of us can afford to continue conducting public service negotiations in this way. Whatever the outcomes of the present strike, the ANC-led Alliance partners need to sit down, engage frankly with each other, and analyse the reasons for these destructive and all-too-frequent stand-offs in which neither the unions nor government necessarily emerge with enhanced popular credibility.

Among the issues that need to be discussed is the vexed issue of public sector bargaining. Unlike a private sector wage strike, where the battle is over how to apportion surplus between profits and wages - in the public sector, the budget is predetermined and adjustments mean reallocating out of other priorities. Whether these other priorities are legitimate priorities or not is a matter for debate, but it does mean that there is a degree of inflexibility built into the process. Public sector wage bargaining should precede the passing of the budget, and we need to find means for doing this, which must also involve measurable commitments to enhanced productivity and public service. Another area that requires urgent attention is the effective definition of and consensus upon what constitutes "essential services".

The strike and the housing question

It is no accident that in both the current

strike, and in the previous parastatal sector strikes, the demand for an improvement in the housing allowance has loomed large. Most categories of formal sector workers, including public service workers in key areas like education, health-care and policing, fall into a housing limbo. They do not qualify for government subsidised RDP housing on the one hand, but they cannot afford private bank mortgages on the other. The problem has been greatly aggravated by South Africa's housing price inflationary bubble – among the worst in the world. According to this year's *The Economist* house-price indicator, SA's average house prices increased by a massive 389% between 1997 and 2008, making SA the worst performer among the 19 countries surveyed (the next worst were Ireland 193% and Spain 184%).

Increases in the housing allowance paid to public service workers might help alleviate some of their problems at an individual level, but the housing crisis requires a much more comprehensive approach. The housing price bubble is driven considerably by property speculation and very weak urban planning and regulation. The state must exert much more effective land-use management, and the state must drive more equitable human settlement patterns – involving mixed-income and mixed-use development, and the abolition of the physical and social chasm between townships and suburbs. Our development finance institutions, the PIC and the private banks must invest in this effort to transform our towns and cities. The SACP's long-standing call for a publicly-owned housing bank must be implemented.

We will be re-invigorating our Financial Sector Campaign, with a key focus on these issues. The SACP launched the Financial Sector Campaign ten years ago, and it is time to bring stakeholders back to a national summit, not only to assess and critique progress made, but also to plan how the financial sector should contribute to our national developmental goals in the next ten years.

There are other respects in which the plight of workers, including public sector workers, needs to be addressed beyond just basic wage increases. There are a number of social wage measures apart from housing that must be addressed – including the affordability of health-care and access to higher education for children from the working class. Even for those workers who may be fortunate enough to have access to medical aid,

typically funds run out long before the end of the year. In this regard, the SACP calls on government to now move rapidly with the implementation of a **National Health Insurance** scheme. Let implementation of an NHI be one of the key outcomes of the present strike.

The ANC's National General Council discussion papers

The CC received inputs on and debated some of the ANC's NGC discussion papers. In the coming weeks the SACP will consolidate its comments and perspectives on these papers with a view to engaging in the broader public debate in the run-up to the NGC and indeed in the NGC itself.

A few preliminary remarks on these papers are, however, required. In the first place there are several issues that the CC welcomed. Some of the papers dealing with challenges of factionalism, ill-discipline, corruption and tenderpreneurship within the ANC are to be commended for their candour. Also to be commended and supported are new recommendations on how to tighten up on disciplinary sanctions against those engaged in factionalist activity.

Missing, however, in this particular discussion is the link between these problems and some existing government policies – notably BEE codes. Yet, here again, the CC noted positively that across several NGC discussion papers, the hugely destabilising impact of narrow BEE practices, codes and statutes is picked up – but without really drawing together the obvious consequences. In the course of the run-up to and in the proceedings of the NGC, the SACP intends to engage with what we believe is a very wide consensus that narrow BEE (essentially equity hand-outs), is not only perverse and non-transformational, but also at the root of many of our own movement's internal problems.

One recent study by Jenny Cargill estimates that some R500-billion has been diverted from both private banks as well as public funds like the PIC and the IDC in order to enrich a small handful of well-connected individuals. Not only is this a tax on growth and development, it is also the very money that then comes back into our organisations in order to support disruptive factional activities. We need to use the NGC to build a wide consensus in favour of genuine broad-based empowerment and affirmative action and against the current perverted narrow BEE practices – much of which is

written into law.

In taking up a struggle to abolish narrow BEE, we underline that our stand is a principled one. It should absolutely not be confused with current factional attacks on leading ANC and government comrades, attacks that are paradoxically being led and funded by elements who themselves are the beneficiaries of exactly these kinds of narrow BEE deals.

The CC also noted with some concern that the quality of many of the NGC documents is uneven. For instance, the economic discussion document falls behind the resolutions of the ANC's 52nd Polokwane National Conference and on significant progress made by government on the basis of these resolutions in developing the pillars of a new growth path – not least the Industrial Policy Action Programme 2.

The SACP will be participating in the ANC's NGC in order to help strengthen the collective leadership and unity of the ANC and our Alliance. We will vigorously struggle against all attempts to divert the NGC from its critical policy consolidation role, by diverting it into factional power plays and unseemly and premature 2012 electoral battles.

Media transformation

The CC reaffirmed the Party's position that we want to work together with our colleagues in the media to help to build an even more vibrant, dynamic and diverse media. This task is integral to the overall struggle to advance, deepen and defend our democracy.

There are many challenges confronting our colleagues in the media. The dominance of the print media by three powerful capitalist corporations (News 24/Naspers, the Independent Media Group, and Avusa) is one challenge. This often places substantial commercial pressures on journalists. In the case of one of these near monopolies, the Irish-owned Independent Media Group, some 40-million Euros have been siphoned out of SA each year in the recent past. There have been resulting retrenchments of senior journalists, the juniorisation of newsrooms, and impossible work-loads placed on reporters. This has had a tangible impact on the quality of reporting.

Our public broadcaster has suffered from years of under-funding and an over-dependence on commercial advertising revenue. It has also been the victim of political manipulation and financial plundering in recent years.

The media also faces threats from a

growing anger and intolerance on the part of some in government and the ruling party. There may well be those who want to see the media curtailed in order to suppress information about corruption and incompetence. However, the media needs to ask itself to what extent it is unwittingly playing into such an agenda by often assuming the role of official opposition, and by giving acres of love-hate coverage to the very forces that are running with a demagogic anti-democratic and anti-media agenda. All of this can lead unwittingly into a self-confirming paradigm about a majority party and its government hell-bent on suppressing the media. Together, we need to work to avert this kind of outcome.

Media Appeals Tribunal

The CC discussed the ANC's Media Appeals Tribunal proposal. The CC expressed its support in principle for the proposal and makes the following specific recommendations about its role and composition:

- The proposed tribunal is an **appeals** tribunal – i.e. it is not about pre-publication censorship.
- It needs to be an **independent** body – independent of party political, governmental, **and** narrow commercial media interference.
- While the current proposals suggest that the tribunal should be appointed by Parliament, the SACP agrees that we need to guard against the danger of political manipulation of the process. (During the last year of Mbeki's presidency, for instance, a sound multi-party consensus in committee on a new SABC Board was undermined by presidential interference.) For these reasons, the CC proposes that a selection panel for the tribunal should include a range of representative structures from the media itself.
- The key role of Parliament should be less in the appointment function, and more in the possibilities Parliament offers for creating a public space in which to have an ongoing national debate about progress in developing and democratising our media and setting standards for reporting. For this reason, the CC proposes that the tribunal should be required to table six-monthly reports to Parliament on appeals submitted to it and on the rulings that it has made.

The CC further noted and commended the recent flurry of attempts from within a number of publications to im-

prove their own self-regulatory standards. An independent media tribunal and self-regulation should not be seen as polar opposites but as complementary endeavours to improve the quality of journalism and therefore the vibrancy of our democracy itself.

The Protection of Information Bill

The CC noted and welcomed the Parliamentary Portfolio Committee's indication this past week that it will not rush this Bill through Parliament and will seriously consider the many concerns raised about it.

In particular, the SACP agrees with many in the media and elsewhere that we need to ensure that there are effective mechanisms to ensure that the classification of government information is not abused to cover up corruption and incompetence. In noting that the current version of the Bill does seek to criminalise such abuse, we agree that the safe-guards for ensuring that this kind of abuse is detected are not sufficiently entrenched within the Bill in its present form.

In noting all of this, we should now seek to have a calm and considered discussion around how sensitive information should be handled within our democracy. One of the factors undermining the possibility of such a considered discussion has been the media's deliberate conflation of the appeals tribunal and the Bill.

What often passes for "investigative" journalism is really the whole-sale leaking of sensitive, often unprocessed intelligence and criminal investigation material. We cannot blame the media for using this material – although often there is little attempt to double-check or seek balance. The prime blame must rest with those involved in making these leaks. We accept that there have been occasions in which genuine whistle-blowers in government, frustrated at political interference and the blocking of investigations have made material available to the media.

However, what has happened in the recent past has had very little to do with genuine whistle-blowing, and rather more the very dangerous political factionalising of our country's intelligence and wider criminal justice institutions. This holds out enormous dangers for our democracy and needs to be nipped in the bud. Any protection of information legislation needs to be directed primarily at political and corrupt business abuse

of sensitive government information – and not at the media. While dealing with these dangerous tendencies might deprive the media of some apparently juicy stories, we call upon our colleagues in the media to recognise that ultimately all of our freedoms, including media freedom, are threatened by rogue elements within the state..

The state moves against corruption

The CC welcomed President Zuma's announcement of a dedicated investigation of several government departments by the Special Investigations Unit. The CC also saluted the recent arrests of several prominent individuals and the seizure of properties by the Hawks and other organs of the state. The CC believes that there are connections between these events and serious challenges of corruption in Ithala Bank. The CC commended the role played by the SACP's KZN provincial structures in spearheading the campaign to expose corruption in Ithala Bank, and we trust that the past week's arrests are just the beginnings of a much wider investigation into corruption.

African Left Network Forum

The CC received a report on the SACP's successful hosting of the African Left Network Forum on the 19-21 August in Johannesburg. The meeting was attended by some 70 organisations, including 28 left political parties from across the continent. 2010 marks the 50th anniversary of the beginnings of the decolonisation process in our continent. The Forum agreed that some important advances had been made in parts of our continent, but everywhere the hand of external forces supported by their local agents is at play, undermining democracy and development. Many of the parties we were meeting with, from Swaziland to Rwanda and Tunisia and Morocco are forced to operate either in the underground, or in a grey area of semi-legality.

The CC saluted the people of Kenya for the adoption this past week of a progressive new Constitution. This Constitution has been won on the ground in struggle, once more confirming that democracy is not something that can be bestowed from above. It always has to be won and defended by the people themselves.

Hamba kahle cde Mthuzuzeli Tom

The CC conveys its heartfelt condolences to the family, friends and comrades of cde Mthuzuzeli Tom, the former NUM-SA president. ●

THE NDR

Funding the NDR: harnessing our financial assets towards a new growth path

We need an urgent national financial sector summit to transform the mandate of our public and private financial institutions

BY BLADE NZIMANDE

As we move towards the ANC's NGC in Durban beginning on 20 September, it is absolutely important that we review progress on the implementation of the 2007 Polokwane resolutions, especially those relating to the absolute necessity of moving our economy towards a more inclusive growth path. The main task facing our revolution at this point is that of urgently putting in place measures to bring about a new economic growth path that radically breaks away from the current semi-colonial growth path on which our economy rests.

The SACP is firmly of the view that one of the most important measures that needs to be adopted is that of directing both our public and private financial sector resources towards investing their funds towards this new growth path. Therefore once more, our own SACP campaigning must refocus energies on the accelerated transformation of the financial sector, both public and private.

The financial landscape has seen some changes since our launch of the financial sector campaign in 2000, though much still remains the same since then. Powerful resistance exists to the kind of transformation that would lead to meaningful improvements in the lives of the



Blade Nzimande

workers and the poor. Our major financial institutions - banks, insurance companies, investment and asset managers - are still largely owned and controlled by white capital, driven by profit maximisation for shareholders. We have gone some way, but not nearly far enough, in achieving our campaign goal to "make the banks serve the people", reducing the number of unbanked people by six million and increasing access to finance for low-income housing, small black

businesses and farmers.

Regrettably, the financial sector by and large interpreted sector transformation and black economic empowerment as concluding once-off, narrow-based BEE deals with a small number of aspirant black owners who were politically well connected at the time. We have seen some progress in other areas of transformation - skills development, employment equity, procurement from small black businesses. However, we have not seen fundamental changes in how the financial sector as a whole contributes to national development initiatives that will benefit the majority of our people.

It is also important to note that our financial sector campaign launched in 2000 contained within it both 'consumer issues' (access to banking for all and regulation of the notorious credit bureaux) and much more fundamental issues about the ownership, investment priorities, and the radical transformation of the (class, race and gender) structure of the financial sector in our country. It is critical that we continue to focus on these two, but now with a much more increased focus on the broader developmental orientation and role of both the public and private financial sector.

Financing development and development finance

One area that we identified in our original financial sector transformation campaign in 2000, but which we have in recent times neglected, is the transformation of the public Development Finance Institutions (DFIs) - those owned and controlled by government. The time is right to shine our transformation spotlight on the activities and investment mandates of the DFIs - the Public Investment Corporation, the Industrial Development Corporation, the Development Bank of Southern Africa (DBSA), the Land Bank, Ithala Bank, the Housing Finance Corporation, and a host of others. As we once more debate "Financing Development", we must have a special focus on DFIs.

Much as we need to intensify the pressure on the private sector to change the way it does business, we have a real opportunity at this juncture to succeed in our campaign to influence the way DFIs contribute to economic development. Indeed the transformation of the private financial sector is deeply inter-linked with the role of the public finance institutions. Our efforts to force DFIs to play a more assertive and targeted developmental role are more likely to succeed in the wake of the global economic crisis, our own recession, the loss of over 1 million jobs and deepening poverty in our society that has shamefully become the most unequal in the world.

We must start the long-overdue national debate on whether the strategies and investment mandates of the DFIs promote the five priority areas of government's development programme - decent jobs, education, health, fighting crime and corruption and rural development. Or are DFIs still locked in the pre-Polokwane paradigm of trying to mimic commercial lenders, ignoring their obligation to finance development that benefits all our people, but often applying even more risk-averse strategies?

A brief look at the role of the Public Investment Corporation (PIC) illustrates the kind of issues that a renewed campaign should highlight. The PIC is wholly owned by the government and manages assets of R740 billion (March 2009), mostly on behalf on the Government Employees Pension Fund (GEPF).

Opposition to the corporatisation of the PIC in 2004 by Alliance partners was overruled in the drive at the time to corporatise, agentify and privatise state entities and to use DFI resources in pursuit of GEAR objectives. Consequently in articulating its mandate in 2010, the PIC says: "Corporatisation has enabled

us to structure our investment activities and operations in a manner comparable to that of private sector investment managers" and "... we benchmark our investment performance against market-driven indices, enabling our clients and shareholder to compare PIC's returns to those achieved in the marketplace."

In pursuit of the above mandate, the PIC's Property Portfolio has investments of R23,4 billion (March 2009 report) in properties all over the country. These include Sandton City, Cresta, Pavilion and other luxury shopping malls. Throughout our financial sector campaign we have argued that workers should get a return on the investment of their savings that allows them to live in dignity when they retire. But why should this prevent investment of their savings in infrastructure in their own communities during their working lives? Should the PIC be investing in Sandton City or should its resources be funding a national priority, our rural development programme or an affordable housing scheme for workers who neither benefits from the government's housing subsidy or the private banks' unaffordable bonds?

We also need to question the use of GEPF monies in funding narrow BEE deals through the PIC's Isibaya Fund. Last year the PIC lost R1,3 billion of GEPF funds through financing the R6,8 billion purchase of shares in the Holcim cement company by the Eltie Links Afrisam consortium. Previously the PIC drew the wrath of workers when it funded billions to the infamous Elephant Consortium to buy shares in Telkom. Should the deferred wages of government employees - who, as I write, are on the streets fighting for a wage increase of 8,6% and a monthly housing allowance of R1 000 - be used to fund narrow-based BEE deals for politically connected consortiums? Is this not another form of tenderpreneurship that undermines development, stealing from the poor to give to the rich, and which we must expose and oppose?

Transforming the mandate of our public and private financial institutions: A call for an urgent national financial sector summit!

Our renewed focus this year and beyond must pay particular attention on these critical questions. One of our immediate calls for must be for an urgent convening of a national summit of both public and private financial sector institutions around the funding of the five priorities of government, a new growth path and the Industrial Policy Action Plan (IPAP)

2. At such a summit we should also call upon the private financial sector to report on progress since the signing of the Financial Sector Charter in 2003.

DFIs, on the other hand should tell us of their funding activities since 1994, as well as their plans going forward. But going forward must be guided by the necessity to fund development in our country, principally linked to government's five priorities. Culminating in a summit on "Financing Development", this should involve an intense debate on how our development priorities can be financed in a transparent and accountable way by both public and private financial institutions. It will mobilise both public and private financing towards agreed economic and other development goals. It will define how performance in financing development is to be measured, monitored and evaluated.

Intensifying the struggle for a radical increase in the social wage

Linked to the above must be an intensified struggle for a significant increase in the social wage of the working class in South Africa, which should form part of the transformation and strengthening of our social security system to effectively cover both the workers and the poor. Such a social wage must include a housing financing programme, financing for access to higher education, and the implementation of the National Health Insurance Scheme (NHI). But the fundamental logic behind 'funding development' must be investment in productive activity and sustainable support to government's five priorities.

How is the above integrating our past campaigns? To link our funding of development and development finance to the government's five priorities will integrate many of the SACP's past Red October Campaign issues. This includes investment in infrastructure for decent jobs, developmental investment of workers' retirement funds, funding of investments in rural development, including land and agrarian transformation, the establishment and funding of an NHI, as well as a housing subsidy regime for the workers and the poor, together with mechanisms for funding higher education for the children of the working class, especially those who 'fall through the cracks'.

What could a focus on the five priorities of government also practically mean for the working class? On decent work - which cuts across and must inform the



Sandton City: More than R23 billion in workers' savings go into building these and other consumption hubs for the rich – instead of into improving workers' own communities.

rest of the other four priorities - this must include a revitalised and focused investment in infrastructure, including the extended public works programmes. Such investment in infrastructure must include a struggle towards the dissolution of the township/suburb contradiction, as well as significantly narrowing the developmental gap between town and countryside. But within the countryside itself we must seek to do away with the contradiction and gap between the 'white' countryside, and the former bantustan rural areas. Such investment in infrastructure must also include a renewed call for community re-investment legislation, reviewing the Financial Sector Charter, and refocusing of DFIs on these priorities.

In addition, we must intensify the struggle to address the situation of that section of the working class that does not benefit from government's current assistance on housing and financing of access to higher education. It is perhaps only in South Africa - as compared to other countries at the same level of development - that an employed working

class is unable to afford decent housing and access to higher education for itself and its children.

It is completely misleading to argue that such a focus would be elevating the status of a 'labour aristocracy' against the poor, or the very poor. The fact of the matter is that children of employed workers in our country continue to swell the ranks of the poor because, amongst others, they do not have access to post-school education. A claim of a 'labour aristocracy' bias would also ignore the deeply intertwined relationship between the employed working class and the poor. In South African conditions today, focusing on the employed working class simultaneously addresses the conditions that reproduce poverty in our country. This should by no means undermine specific measures to address the poorest of the poor, but this cannot be effectively addressed unless we address, at the very least, the wages, housing and higher education needs of the working class. Addressing the needs of the poorest is ameliorative, whilst addressing just the twin challenges of housing and access to

higher education for the working class, can be done in a manner that transforms the whole of South African society.

Such a focus will also complement and strengthen Cosatu's planned re-launch of an intensified campaign for a living wage. It is our duty as the SACP to also factor into such a campaign the possibilities and necessity of an increased social wage, rather than a one-sided emphasis and reliance on direct wage and salary increases. For instance, use of new funding models and methods to finance housing for the workers and the poor, as well as viable methods for financing the higher education fees for the working class, will go a long way in relieving worker's ordinary wages from paying for these essential social services.

As we move towards the ANC's NGC, it is of absolute importance that we heighten and escalate working class mobilisation towards the funding and financing our key developmental objectives. ●

Cde Nzimande is SACP General Secretary. This article first appeared in Umsebenzi On Line on 1 September

ANC NGC

Forward to a successful ANC National General Council

*Our major task is to help rebuild a united ANC
with a revolutionary, democratic programme*

At the ANC's crucial September National General Council (NGC), we will all have one major task: to help to re-build an ANC that is united within its own ranks on the basis of a revolutionary democratic programme.

This is an absolute necessity if the ANC is once more to provide real leadership to the alliance it should be leading, and to the broadest range of democratic forces.

The commercial media is of course determined to turn the NGC into a divisive dress rehearsal for the ANC's 2012 elective conference. There is nothing surprising about this. They endlessly try to factionalise our movement in order to undermine the democratic power of the majority in our country.

This agenda is aided and abetted by "new tendency" elements within our movement. These are forces for which politics is almost entirely about wheeling-and-dealing, deployments, electoral lists that are made and unmade depending on whims, and the buying of favours. It is factionalism that has its roots in the pursuit of political positions solely for purposes of self-enrichment. It is a politics that is almost entirely devoid of policies and programmes – which is why it fears a unified NGC that is able to pursue its agenda of policy evaluation and organisational renewal. We can expect attempts at disruption from these quarters.

Our response must be to work together with the overwhelming majority of ANC delegates attending the NGC who are thoroughly sick of this kind of disruptive behaviour. We must steadfastly remain focused on the core policy agenda of the NGC.

Where is the "strategic political centre"?

One potentially disruptive issue is the question of whether the ANC or the Alliance is "the strategic political centre". We reject approaching the question in this way. This issue has its recent origins in the struggle against the way former president Mbeki's "1996 class project" used state bureaucratic power to side-line the ANC and its Alliance, hoping to turn the ANC into little more than an electoral party. In these conditions, it was correct to affirm the principle of the supremacy of mass-based, democratic politics over bureaucratic scheming – and it was in these circumstances that some, notably the ANCYL, affirmed, somewhat mechanically, that there was only ONE political centre - the ANC.

It is interesting how these very same forces suddenly start to theorise about the "autonomy" of the ANCYL, when confronted with an ANC that actually seeks to assert its strategic unity and authority.

However, when it comes to understanding the Alliance, these same forces want, once more, to assert that the ANC

is "the sole strategic centre". This is because they have a feudal understanding of politics and power. They imagine that power must radiate from some single source. For them, politics is about capturing the throne, and from their bossing everyone else around. If you lose the favour of the person you imagine currently occupies the throne, then you work tirelessly to displace him or her. They think like this because for them politics is about dispensing deployments and tenders like royal favours from above.

In the SACP we have a very different understanding and approach to progressive political power. Progressive political power doesn't derive from a conference resolution. It derives from the ability to listen and learn from the people, and on this basis to organise and mobilise the great majority of working class and popular forces. In our post-1994 reality, it also lies potentially in our ability to build an active developmental state that is unified around a strategic discipline and that supports and is supported by the majority of popular forces.

For many decades, as a political vanguard of the working class, the SACP has worked to help build the ANC into an effective strategic political centre of the NDR. This does not mean that the ANC always manages to play this role. It certainly doesn't mean that the SACP regards itself as the underling of some "royal" ANC. What it does mean is that

programmatically and organisationally we work as Communists to help to build the ANC's revolutionary capacities. In the current situation, this task is a challenging one - as the ANC's NGC discussion documents quite candidly acknowledge.

The struggle against money-based factionalism

One of the key ANC discussion documents for the NGC is "Leadership renewal, discipline and organisational culture". It takes forward the analysis of why the ANC is facing internal organisational challenges. It deals with the inevitable challenges of incumbency - of being a relatively long-standing party of power. It critiques the use of money as part of lobbying for organisational positions, and a culture of factional electoral slates and a "winner takes all" approach. It also quite candidly takes aim at indecisive leadership, the paralysis of leadership collectives, and of weaknesses in dealing with indiscipline.

This document does more than just describe and analyse these problems. It also puts forward specific proposals on activities that must now be outlawed within the ANC. These include the use of money for factional purposes - like the printing of T-shirts and banners in favour of one or another electoral slate. The SACP very strongly supports the general positions advanced in this NGC discussion paper.

However, there is one thing missing in this document. It tends to treat these problems as a result of the present "material conditions" - but without advancing a clear position on *what* underlies these material conditions. It also does not advance a perspective on what we intend to do, not just to change our behaviour, but to change the *material conditions themselves*.

The question of narrow BEE

These shortcomings are directly linked to the fact that the "Leadership renewal"

document does not sufficiently make the connection between the many factional challenges our movement faces and the phenomenon of narrow BEE. It is an issue that is implied in this and other NGC papers, but it is never spelt out.

A core pillar of the Mbeki presidency's "1996 class project" was the deliberate attempt to use state power to create a black capitalist stratum as a strategic objective of the national democratic revolution. While the organic emergence of black capitalists was always likely to be an inevitable outcome of democratisation and deracialisation in our country, the creation of a black capitalist stratum had *never* before been a strategic objective of the NDR until it was sud-

denly smuggled onto the agenda in 1996.

We are now living with the consequences. Some R500bn from pension funds, from state coffers, and from the private sector has been diverted into floating private BEE equity deals. Worse still, this is the money that is now coming BACK into our organisations in order to buy votes, to fund factional activities, to print T-shirts with the faces of junior leaders, etc.

As the SACP, let us use the NGC to more forcefully place onto the agenda the *connection* between narrow BEE funding and the organisational challenges we are facing. While we support the empowerment of the black majority (this is precisely at the heart of the NDR), we need now to ask the obvious question - is narrow BEE, particularly BEE codes that

require percentage targets for capitalist ownership, not at the heart of exposing our movement to the "material conditions" that are having such a negative impact on our movement?

Economic transformation - placing our economy on to a new growth path

Unlike the "Leadership renewal" document, the ETC document for the NGC is relatively weak and uneven. In this regard, the CC has proposed that at the NGC we should focus on the Polokwane economic resolutions and on progress made in government in implementing these resolutions. We cannot now fall behind our own 2007 ANC Polokwane resolutions.

In particular, we need to focus on the key question - we need a "mid-term" evaluation of the progress made in government towards placing our economy on to a new growth path that is job creating and more egalitarian in its outcomes. We need to consolidate an understanding of and support for government's new Industrial Policy Action Programme (IPAP2). As the SACP has been arguing since the mid-1990s, the key catalyser for job creation and the transformation of our persisting semi-colonial growth path, lies in invigorating key manufacturing sectors of our economy. This must include:

- addressing the question of more effective connections between our mineral resources and downstream manufacturing in our economy;
- ensuring local procurement for our major infrastructure programmes (in particular in energy and transport);
- support for cooperatives and small and medium enterprises.

There is also a growing awareness that a key pillar of a new growth path needs to be a major revolution in our education and training. Government has begun to make important progress in policy and programmes to address skills and training, through, among other things, a renewed emphasis on FET colleges, and on post-school (and not just post-matric) further training.

To unite the ANC and the Alliance we need to focus on a clear programme of action. In the present conjuncture, that programme of action needs to be fundamentally about a state-led and mass driven struggle to transform our economic growth path. Consolidating this perspective is the key task of the ANC's critical NGC.



THE PUBLIC SERVICE STRIKE

First impressions of the biggest strike in SA history

The strike was not just about wages, but raised issues about service delivery in the public service

BY THOBILE NTOLA

I need to make it clear that this is very much a preliminary analysis of the 2010 strike and that the dispute is still ongoing. As things stand SA Democratic Teachers' Union (Sadtu) members have rejected the current offer. The strike action has been suspended pending further engagement with the employer and members. Sadtu and Cosatu will no doubt conduct a much more thorough analysis of the strike once matters have been concluded.

The strike was not just about remuneration, but raised issues about service delivery in the public service. Even as we defend living standards of our members, we have to constantly remind them of their role in providing quality services for the poor and the working class. The employers, Ministers and the like, do not use public services: they rely on private health, education and security. This is a problem, since they have no immediate personal interest in improving the services.

The strike highlighted the massive inequalities in the sector and in the country, now officially the most unequal society in the world.

These contradictions are sharpened by the daily news of corruption, tenderpreneurs, and conspicuous and wasteful spending. When Ministers say there is no money for public service workers, no one believes them.

Housing has been a major issue in this strike. Most public service workers earn too much to qualify for an RDP house, but do not earn enough to enter the housing market and obtain a high enough bond. Hence the demand for an

increase in the housing allowance which has not been reviewed for several years.

Unions were very mindful that we were negotiating in the wake of a major global recession with severe consequences for jobs and government revenues. Union demands were not outrageous – initially for 12%, which we reduced to 8.5% as our bottom line. Remember this is at a time when settlements in the private sector are running at 8-10% and above. The final straw for workers was when the state was willing to grant these higher settlements to employees in the parastatals, while refusing to do so for public servants.

Bargaining in the public service

The strike was only a last option for unions, and many probably didn't see it coming. We began the process of negotiations in October 2009. As patriotic Cosatu unions we delayed any industrial action until after the World Cup. Even then we tried to apply limited pressure through a one-day stoppage and marches. When the state failed to respond, workers met this show of arrogance with strike action.

A pattern is emerging in recent public service strikes. We start with a long build-up of excruciatingly slow negotiations, ending in deadlock and outright conflict and a lengthy strike which usually ends with minimal concessions so that no one is happy, and then the process starts all over again.

There are underlying structural constraints which impinge on the collective bargaining process in the public sector. Primarily government's budget for the public service workers is set independ-

ently of – and before – the conclusion of the bargaining process. This puts tremendous pressure on the parties with government negotiators having little room for movement and union negotiators seemingly speaking to a brick wall. This has to be addressed by aligning the negotiating timetable with the budgeting process. And we don't have the luxury of a multi-term agreement. We will be back in negotiations for next year very soon.

A problem once the strike starts is that the employer becomes scarce. The government negotiators have no mandate and have to report back to principals. The problem is that the principals consist of a ministerial committee which is difficult to convene and fails to prioritise the settlement of the dispute.

The strike

This was probably the largest labour strike in South African history in terms of days lost. It achieved an unprecedented level of unity across several unions representing all the 1,3 million workers in the sector irrespective of federation, race, political affiliation or differing sectoral interests (eg between professional and general workers). This was no small achievement.

We were able to mobilise considerable support from unions in the private sector with the threat of a one-day general strike by Cosatu if the state had not increased its offer. Similarly we received support from faith-based organisations and the public.

For the first time, hospitals were closed and police and security forces were keen to join the action. The fact that there are still no minimum service



Lock-out: public schools were closed for the duration of the strike

level agreements in place, as required by law, is an indictment of the employer which refused to sign off on agreements reached – an attempt to deny the right to strike to every worker in the health and security sectors. A solution needs to be fast-tracked to make sure that genuinely essential services are safeguarded for the poor and working class which relies on these services.

The strike was characterised by high levels of mobilisation and militancy, despite violence from the side of police and attempts by the state to criminalise strikers through the use of special courts. When some strikers employed violent methods, union leadership moved quickly to control the situation.

The Lead SA project by the media was exposed as a right-wing middle class project when it acted to recruit scab labour during the strike. We will need to be vigilant in combating these various anti-labour initiatives.

While public service strikes tend to be bitter – partly a function of the structural limitations on bargaining in the sector – the hostility towards Ministers and the government was palpable. There is no doubt that the employer's handling of the dispute added to tensions: misinformation published in the media, provoca-

tive and untrue statements from Ministers back-fired and probably lengthened the dispute and entrenched attitudes.

The gains

Although members have rejected the offer, there have been real gains since the employers' original offer of 5,2%. These include:

- An increased offer of 7,5%.
- An additional R300 on the housing allowance.
- Agreement to bring forward the current payment date of July 1 to May 1 in 2011 and April 1 in 2012.
- Agreement to introduce a new housing scheme by April 1 2011.
- Commitment to equalisation of the medical aid subsidy by December 1 2010. The unions are also pushing for greater worker control over the government medical aid scheme (GEMS).

The Alliance

No strike is apolitical. Implicitly they call into question existing social relations. A public sector strike pits workers against the government as employer. When that government has patently failed to address the basic needs of workers and the poor, the strike is political.

While commentators are as always premature in their predictions of the collapse of the Alliance, there can be no doubt that the strike has placed strains on the Alliance. There is widespread disillusionment with the lack of progress towards a better life for all. This is heightened by the evidence of government extravagance in the face of calls for workers to tighten their belts.

Nor do we accept the ANC's suggestion that Cosatu should not participate in public service negotiations. The federation is the workers' shield. Its reason for existence is to assist, guide, support and provide solidarity for workers in struggle. This is done with the agreement and on behalf of affiliates.

In relation to the SACP, there have been concerns voiced that the Party was not sufficiently vocal. As Sadtu we are clear that the Party not only supported workers, but was present on the ground in every province. Having said that, I think it would be useful to have the debate about Party deployments and in particular whether Party leaders can sit in government without compromising the vanguard role of the Party in workers struggles. ●

Cde Ntola is President of Sadtu

SACP-COSATU BILATERAL

Forward to a new growth path for SA

Both delegations agreed not to repeat spats which took place during the public sector strike

The leadership of the SACP and Cosatu met on 6 September 2010, in a bilateral meeting to discuss issues of common interest and how best to take forward the struggle for socialism.

The meeting was a follow up to the bilateral held on 26 April this year. It coincided with a day in which the public sector unions were to announce the suspension of a successful, militant and widely supported strike action which had lasted more than three weeks.

A comprehensive post-mortem of the strike will be made in the future, on the political implications and lessons to be drawn and how to maintain the momentum of militancy and resilience displayed by the public sector workers. This will include a broad discussion to heighten the momentum of a living wage campaign.

The meeting acknowledged that during the course of the strike some statements were made by both organisations directed to each other which did not stand to benefit the working class struggle in the long term. A commitment was made that such public spats will not be repeated in the future for they stand to benefit no one.

It was agreed that both organisations will continue to work towards ensuring they strengthen each other. The current political environment and the challenges confronted by our country demands that these two formations must not drop their guards.

The meeting agreed that the most immediate challenge is to ensure that the Alliance and its individual partners, including the ANC, are strengthened. We look forward to the ANC's forthcoming National General Council, which will carry out a mid-term review of how well we are confronting our many challenges. We

are encouraged by some of the ANC Discussion Papers and hope they will provoke lively and constructive debates.

We also hope that the NGC will not be abused by people wanting to push any ill-conceived agendas for a 'regime change'. The National Democratic Revolution is faced with the real danger of being hijacked by demagogues and a new tendency that has emerged in the movement post-Polokwane who use revolutionary fiery slogans to woo the masses when their real intention is to secure political power as a pre-requisite to amass wealth for themselves, and whose main target is the President.

The meeting was concerned that while government continues to make interventions to improve the lives of our people, these interventions are likely to be unsustainable if they only tinker with the fundamental ownership patterns which largely remains colonial in content and form.

In this context the meeting asserted that central to the strategic tasks to be undertaken by the two formations is to place the discussions on the new growth path on top of the country's agenda. In this context Cosatu will be launching its proposals on the new growth path on 14 September.

The meeting declared that Cosatu and the SACP cannot be aloof and fold their arms when there is every sign that once again capital stands to benefit more from the democratic dispensation. It was noted with concern that billions of rands continue to be diverted from both the private and public funds like the PIC and the IDC to fund narrow BEE self-enrichment projects which have nothing to do with improving the lives of the working class and the poor.

The SACP's Red October campaign

will, among others, demand that Nedlac convenes a session of public and private financial institutions to account on how they are using and investing the public funds under their control.

The two General Secretaries will urgently meet to process the following:

1. Develop terms of reference for a programme towards socialism,
2. Develop a brief document reflecting on the theoretical discussions that took place during the meeting which can inform future engagements.
3. Convene a meeting of the socialist block in South Africa and in Africa
4. Prepare our input and approach towards the ANC NGC
5. Ensure synergy between our programmes including taking forward the process of a daily newspaper and mass political education programme targeting the youth/ young workers.
6. Develop a plan towards a joint Organisational Development programme whose outcome will lay down a clear process of assessment and evaluation of our programmes and effective accountability mechanism.
7. Provide an outline of the resources that will be required to support the SACP and a plan to mobilise those resources.
8. Develop an approach on how we should defend the progressive strand in ANC policy and its continued bias towards the working class.
9. Consciously build the unity of the Alliance on the ground around the vision of the Freedom Charter and a programme to drive the five priorities.
10. Articulate a vision that will draw the broadest section of people, particularly the middle strata. The vision should demonstrate that there is a common cause between the working class and the black middle strata and to an extent the emerging black bourgeoisie to fight for the radical transformation of our society.
11. This can take the form of campaigns like the financial sector campaign, agrarian reforms and breaking the stranglehold of white monopoly capital.
12. Ensure that the SACP-Cosatu bilateral meetings are also convened at a provincial level to pursue working class driven programmes.

The meeting agreed that if these tasks were to be taken to their logical conclusion it will require more coherency between the two socialist formations and this will include having meetings at least once a month. ●

RED OCTOBER

Financing development – with the workers and the poor!

This year's launch will be hosted by Mpumalanga at the Kwamhlanga stadium in the Ephraim Mogale municipality

BY SOLLY MAPAILA

The theme of the 2010 Red October Campaign is “Financing Development - with and for Workers and the Poor”.

It builds on the financial sector transformation campaign, launched 10 years ago, but focuses specifically on mobilising the financial sector around the ANC-led movement and government's five development priorities – jobs, health, education, rural development and fighting crime. Inroads have been made in reducing the number of unbanked people by six million and increasing access to finance for low-income housing, black businesses and farmers. There has been some progress with regard to skills development, employment equity and procurement from black businesses. However, transformation in respect of ownership and investment priorities have been confined to once-off, narrow-based BEE deals. Powerful resistance still prevails to fundamental transformation

that will meaningfully improve the lives of workers and the poor.

The campaign will have a specific focus on Development Finance Institutions (DFIs): the Public Investment Corporation, Industrial Development Corporation, Development Bank of South Africa, the Land Bank and a host of others need to play a more assertive and targeted developmental role.

A national debate on how best the strategies and investment mandates of the DFIs to promote the five priority areas of government's development programme is needed. These resources must be used to fund issues of national priority rather than financing malls in elite areas and funding narrow-based BEE deals such as the Elephant Consortium deal. Investment should be directed towards infrastructural development for decent jobs, rural development, land and agrarian transformation, the establishment of a National Health Insurance, as well as a housing subsidy regime for workers and the poor. Financing also needs to be

directed towards addressing the “missing middle” as housing and higher education is currently unaffordable to the working class. The campaign to redirect the financial investments of private and public financial institutions towards a developmental agenda will augment the intensified struggle for a significant increase in the social wage of the working class of South Africa.

The Red October Campaign will thus complement and strengthen Cosatu's constant efforts for a living wage. It will also go a long way towards strengthening our campaign against corruption by highlighting that corruption is a threat to the achievements of the five priorities of government and compromises the funding of our revolutionary agenda.

This year's launch of the campaign will be hosted by Mpumalanga in the at the Kwamhlanga stadium in the Ephraim Mogale municipality. ●

Cde Mapaila is Politburo Secretary for Organising

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SACP MEMBERSHIP

100,000 plus – and still growing

Party membership is young – it is a Party of the future!

BY SOLLY MAPAILA

The membership of the SACP has shot up to 109 138 – and we still have about 2 600 further forms of new members to be processed. However we still need to improve our membership figures significantly.

The table below has also included for the first time a column on a category of members who are less than 20 years old to give an understanding of which organisations they belong to other than the YCL, ANCYL, Cosas and Sasco. Findings thus far indicate that when many comrades reach 18 years, they immediately join the SACP – thanks to the YCL – especially in tertiary institutions.

A serious challenge is that there is no clear link between our recruitment work as the SACP in provinces and that of recruiting for the YCL, despite several calls for SACP structures to take part in building the YCL on every level. A tighter system is needed to monitor our work on

renewal. There is a need to dedicate time in all our Provinces to focus on intensive renewal work throughout September, also while increasing our work on the recruitment of workers into the ranks of the SACP. The current picket lines and mass action are crucial platforms for these renewals.

Provinces are not improving on the recruitment of women into the SACP: about 61% of our members are men and 39% are women.

Close 10 000 members are without ID numbers and such information was circulated to the provinces for them to trace the comrades. They are currently not allocated to any Branch or District but they reflect on the system under the category of incomplete forms and they are mostly allocated to Provincial totals. About 63 038 members are paying their fees cash, with about 11 652 of them confirmed as workers.

Three Provinces have surpassed the 15 000 membership mark, the Eastern

Cape, Limpopo, and Mpumalanga. Kwa-Zulu-Natal has passed the 25 000 mark and five Provinces have passed the 10 000 mark.

62 606 of our members belong to the ANC. There is a worrying trend that most of our new members do not belong to the ANC. 60 143 of our members are unemployed. 49 342 are between the ages of 29-39 making for relatively a young Party and a Party of the future. But only 4 737 are professionals.

Overall, we are trying to improve, and we are confident that post-September 2010, we should have a better picture that will show consistent growth of our membership in terms of more workers joining the SACP. Our joint work with Cosatu should give clear results on taking our membership to the 500 000 mark by 2014 as per the 2nd Special National Congress decision. ●

Cde Mapaila is SACP Politburo Secretary for Organising

Membership Profile Report

Province	Members	Own House	Age over 60	Age 40-59	Age 20-39	Under 20	Unemployed	Professionals	Levy over 100	Active Workers	ANC members
EC	16 359	6 271	1 494	7 211	6 032	40	9 171	634	160	1 603	9 441
FS	5 447	2 206	182	2 198	2 183	21	1 586	290	98	1 104	595
GP	13 801	4 996	941	6 571	5 088	51	7 373	519	318	1 929	6 958
KZN	25 027	10 493	1 167	8 856	12 843	121	15 886	1 092	216	2 737	15 237
LP	16 137	7 798	834	5 907	7 891	117	8 831	934	212	12 179	528
MP	15 396	7 102	758	5 457	7 828	145	9 057	804	158	1 933	9 488
NC	4 247	1 630	268	1 316	2 142	38	2 273	91	78	386	2 465
NW	6 984	2 848	532	2 681	3 051	30	3 514	215	124	907	3 794
WC	5 740	1 912	235	2 139	2 284	17	2 452	158	102	646	3 100
Total	109 138	45 256	6 411	42 336	49 342	580	60 143	4 737	1 466	12 462	62 606

REMEMBERING CDE YUSUF DADOO

What would Cde Dadoo have done to halt the practices in our movement today?

SACP chairperson Gwede Mantashe looks back on the life and contribution of his predecessor, “Prof” Dadoo

BY RENEVA FOURIE

SACP Chairperson Cde Gwede Mantashe addressed this year’s Yusuf Dadoo Memorial Lecture on 12 September in Cde Dadoo’s home town, Krugersdorp. Cde Dadoo is a former Chairperson of the SACP.

Executive Mayor of Mogale City, cde Koketso Calvin Seerane gave brief but powerful welcoming remarks: “Our stalwart is best honoured through an activist government,” he said. “Government had to be rooted in the people, reflect their character and address their needs. Our attention should not be diverted by power jostling, but should instead be focused on realising our people’s expectations of houses, basic services and jobs. The annual memorial lecture served as a platform for political education to remind us that we should at all times reflect the will and wishes of the people”.

SACP Gauteng provincial chairperson cde Nkosiphendule Kolisile drew on a quotation from the late cde Dadoo: “We must fight even with our dead bodies” – to show how the commemoration served to educate and promote traditional values. He called on the gathering to use that which cde Dadoo stood for to defend the ideals of our revolution.

Cde Mantashe was welcomed to the podium with thunderous song. The genial, mild mannered nature of cde Dadoo and the role he played in our struggle was drawn on to remind people of the traditions and culture that had earned our Movement its leadership role in so-



ciety. Stalwarts like cde Dadoo embodied these proud traditions. “He was a militant activist who put ideas into practice, and who provided wise counselling and proper leadership”. Cde Dadoo championed non-racialism. He joined the SACP at a time when it was the only non-racial organisation. In 1953 he was elected onto the Central Committee of the banned SACP where he worked tirelessly to build a vanguard working class party whilst recognising that racist supremacy needed to be defeated before socialism could be attained. He therefore played a leading role in coordinating the various congresses in their struggles to defeat the apartheid regime. And after the historic 1969 Morogoro Conference he was elected vice-chairman of the Revolutionary Council of the African National Congress. In 1972 he also replaced cde J B Marks as national chairperson of the SACP.

Cde Mantashe challenged the meeting to reflect on whether cde Dadoo would be proud of some of the practices that prevail in our Movement today. He also challenged comrades to go one step further, and to ask what cde Dadoo would have done. Cde Mantashe pointed out that the ANC has been losing support in Indian and Coloured communi-

ties since 2006 because activism was declining. He cautioned that we should not be losing support in communities that have a rich history in the anti-apartheid struggle. Technology such as SMSs and emails should not be replacing sustained activism based on face-to-face interaction with people. Cde Mantashe called on the meeting to design programmes to organise “minority communities” so as to rid our society of racial and class contradictions.

Cde Mantashe remarked that the late cde Dadoo would also not have been pleased about those who today see leadership in the ANC as a stepping stone to material benefits and positions of power in government and business. He would be displeased by a leadership that created a social distance between themselves and the community; and a Movement that was ravaged by corruption, opportunism, and a general collapse of discipline and the undermining of values. Cde Dadoo appreciated the fact that the two working class formations, namely the trade union movement and SACP, were in alliance with a multi-class liberation movement and therefore would not have been pleased about the open fights within the Alliance.

But cde Mantashe also pointed out that cde Dadoo would have been happy that the Movement is in government and that it is making progress in changing society; that it is actively creating a non-racial, democratic, prosperous South Africa; and that it is reviving trade relationships between India and SA and developing countries in general. He motivated that we become part of BRIC (Brasil, India and China) and make it Bricasa.

cde Mantashe indicated that rededicating ourselves to a united non-racial South Africa did not require a denial of cultural roots. Cde Dadoo performed his Hajj just a few months before he died and had asked to be buried as a Muslim, demonstrating that being a revolutionary did not mean ceasing to be yourself.

The serious tone was carried through by the Executive Mayor of the West Rand District Municipality who, as part of his vote of thanks, called on young leaders to be patient, to allow themselves to gain experience, to be groomed and to mature politically (noting that maturity is not linked to age), so that they could enjoy full trust in their competency when their turn to lead arrived. ●

Cde Fourie is an SACP activist

AFRICAN LEFT NETWORK FORUM

Africa's progressive left gathers in Jhb to commit to annual meeting

ALNEF plans regional and sectoral programmes to strengthen the Left platform throughout the continent

BY CHRIS MATLHAKO

The South African Communist Party (SACP) and the Sudanese Communist Party (SCP) co-hosted the 2nd African Participatory Democracy Conference (APDC) and the 1st Africa Left Network Forum (ALNEF) from 19 to 21 August in Johannesburg. The APDC and the ALNEF are outcomes of a joint programme between the International Left Forum (VIF) of the Swedish Left Party, the SACP and the SCP that considers the concept of participatory democracy and its implications for the African continent.

The APDC was attended by 180 delegates drawn from left progressive forces of the continent and fraternal parties from Latin America and Europe. The ALNEF meeting brought together 30 left parties from the continent, as well as former national liberation movements and representatives of the Sao Paulo Forum (Foro de Sao Paulo) and the European Left (EL).

Delegations from civil society and progressive non-governmental organisations ranged from regulatory bodies such as the National Credit Regulator (NCR) to the Electoral Institute of Southern Africa (Eisa).

The SACP's tripartite alliance partners, Cosatu and the ANC, were represented by sizable delegations led by the president of Cosatu S'dumo Dlamini and the ANC Secretary General, cde Gwede Mantashe. The attendance of the Minister of International Relations and Co-operation, cde Maite Nkoane-Mashabane was also well

received. The meetings were held against the backdrop of the 50th year of de-colonisation of the continent and on-going celebrations by some African countries marking 50-years of independence.

They thus focused on democracy and democratic spaces post-independence; progress in respect of the goals of national liberation struggles; and the concept of participatory democracy and the state of the African Revolution. The dialectical link between participatory democracy and a left agenda made the transition between the two conferences seamless.

The meetings were addressed by the leaders of the Alliance and fraternal organisations who presented brief country reports, which formed the basis for a plan of action for the immediate future. The discussion built on the participatory democracy conference convened in 2008, which sought to enhance on-going discourse on the conceptualisation and translation of democracy on the continent since the demise of 'Cold War' era and the de-colonisation process in particular.

The twin challenges of democracy and development on the continent

In the early 1950s, the continent experienced 'rapid and fundamental changes sweeping over the continent of Africa and its peoples that it is perfectly proper to describe them as revolutionary', said George Maxwell (*Problems of the African Revolution*, AC, 1959). This was when the whole continent was in revolt, as formerly dependent and colonial territories attained freedom and resolute national lib-

eration movements waged determined struggles against imperialism.

By 1950 there were only four independent states in Africa – Egypt, Ethiopia, Liberia and the Union of South Africa (which retained a state of internal colonialism). In 1951 Libya became independent; in 1956, Sudan, Morocco and Tunisia; in 1957 Ghana; in 1958 the Republics of Guinea and Algeria came into being; followed by Nigeria in 1960.

After almost five decades of independence, poverty is rife and the gap between the rich and poor has widened. The quality of life of the majority of the people remains precarious, disease-laden and plagued by high levels of unemployment and a distorted democracy has produced elites and military 'big-brothers' who have suppressed the radical and revolutionary change anticipated at the dawn of the de-colonisation era.

The continent is still seen as an object of charity and a supplier of raw materials. The African Revolution as anticipated at the beginning of the decolonisation era has for a variety of reasons not materialised.

There is little hope that the lives of majority will improve if we do not radically change our policies and approaches to development, including democracy.

A key phenomenon which has characterised the denuding of democracy on the continent is the demobilisation of the masses and progressive forces immediately after the attainment of independence, resulting in a vacuum, which was occupied in many instances by emerging elites through a myriad of intersecting



ALNEF conference delegates visiting the former home of cde Nelson Mandela



Cde Mohammed responding to questions from the floor

politico-economic relationships for private accumulation and concentration of political power.

Working people and the poor majority on the continent have a long history of struggle. Thus a conference focussing on participatory democracy and coherence of African left progressive forces is timely.

The issue of multiparty democracy on the continent came into sharp focus. Delegates assessed the benefits of this form of democracy and whether it adequately enabled a genuine expression of the views of the majority of the working people and poor on the continent.

The narrow palace politics playing themselves out in some parts of the continent as elites fight for the control of the meagre spoils suggested that the very



Minister of International Affairs and Cooperation, cde Maite Nkoane-Mashabane

concept of democracy and participatory democracy be further interrogated.

Exchanges and sharing experiences on the continent

The emerging perspectives which seek to suggest that much more meaningful regional integration is required are to be welcomed, but this should be underpinned by a much bolder political perspective which shares the values of solidarity, peace, people-centred development, and place at the core of these the goals of the national liberation.

These challenges can only be addressed collectively through struggles waged by the working people and through exchanges and sharing experiences which enhance our understanding.

The APDC and the ALNEF seeks to

facilitate genuine engagement between the peoples of the continent and provide a basis upon which mutually beneficial dialogue can happen to more effectively address the challenges of the continent. The key decisions of the ALNEF meeting included commitments to:

- Organising annual meetings of the ALNEF;
- Consolidating the operations of ALNEF via a representative secretariat which will be anchored by the SACP;
- Organising regional and sectoral programmes to further strengthen the platform throughout the continent;
- Organising an African International Women's Day in March 2011;
- Developing links with like-minded progressive and left institutions and organisations to further strengthen the political organisations of progressives and left forces on the continent;
- Building on alternative media and other platforms to enhance the common perspectives of the progressive and left forces on the continent for the struggle for socialism;
- Enhancing proletarian internationalist solidarity and the solidarity of working people, the poor, the youth and women of the continent for the struggle for socialism.

Cde Matlhako is Politburo Secretary for International Relations

NORTH WEST PC

SACP concerned by municipal tenderpreneurs

This is an edited version of the statement released by the North West Province

The SACP in the North West province held its Special General Council during the weekend of 4 September. The special Provincial Council discussed issues which included the ANC National General Council discussion documents, upcoming local government elections and the overall political state of the province.

In this statement the SACP in the North West province focuses on two issues: the local government elections, and the overall political state of the province. This focus is due to the manner in which the media has been reporting on these matters.

The SACP in the North West, after vigorous and serious discussions on the role the SACP should be playing in both campaigning for the ANC and its participation in the elections, resolved to continue the strategic role of the SACP to ensure the ANC's overwhelmingly victory in the elections. This means that as the SACP in the North West we will be participating actively and leadingly for this. It is therefore incorrect for the media to report that the SACP in the province intends to refuse to campaign for the ANC. The SACP is not in a position as of now to contest elections for several reasons, including the fact that the ANC is the only political party that continues to enjoy the overwhelming support of the majority of our people and it is only the ANC that has policies which are consistent with our strategic aims of the National Democratic Revolution.

However, it is equally important to note that the SACP in the province is se-

riously concerned about the manner in which municipalities are being run in the province including the appointment of municipal managers based on patronage and the intention to loot state resources through tenderpreneurship and corruption. We therefore resolved to ensure that the Alliance is not only confined to campaigning.

We will engage the ANC around the question of deployments in general and strategic deployments in local government in particular. For instance in most municipalities, municipal managers are appointed on a factional basis and on the basis of evil intentions of continuing to steal from public resources to advance the agenda of the most corrupt yet power-holding groupings.

These reasons to us are not sufficient to boycott the ANC. Our view is that it is not the ANC that is central to these problems but a few individuals who are obsessed with quick moneymaking schemes, using local government as a platform through which the schemes find their expression.

As the SACP we wish to distance ourselves from the statements made by some individuals that the SACP has given the ANC an ultimatum. The statements either represent personal views held by those individuals or their respective organisations but definitely not the SACP. It can never be correct that the SACP could make such a strategic mistake of not ensuring the ANC's total majority victory in the coming elections based on the removal of Cde Grace Bothman.

The Provincial Council, in receiving the political report presented to it by the SACP North West provincial secretary, Comrade Madoda Sambatha, engaged

openly on the issue of political developments in the province. It was agreed that our hope and confidence in the leadership presented to the province following the disbandment of the Provincial Executive Committee of the ANC, has not delivered any progress in the province. To an intensive extent the Provincial Task Team does not seem to behave differently from the disbanded PEC.

In the recent public debates on issues of political significance the PTT's conduct was typical of the previous provincial leadership of the ANC. Disrespect for the alliance and the anti-Communist tendencies of the PEC are still the order of the day with regard to some individuals. The good intentions of the ANC NEC to deploy the PTT to lead and co-ordinate the re-establishment of ANC structures based on unity and cohesion of the revolutionary movement have been compromised by those who are threatened by the SACP's position regarding corruption.

Manifestation of these anti-Communist tendencies and disrespect for the alliance is expressed in the following part of the statement released by the PTT, masquerading as representing the ANC as if the ANC was ever blamed for political mismanagement in the province, "It must be clarified that all serving members of the legislature and cabinet are serving members and employees of the ANC and none of them is the employee of any alliance structure".

As the SACP in the province, we are very disturbed by the manner in which the PTT has been managing the political developments in the province. While acknowledging the political and strategic leadership of the ANC in the alliance, we are however not certain about the ability to succeed due to arrogance and disrespect on the part of tenderpreneurs in this regard. We will in the process engage our leadership in the SACP nationally to ensure that these issues are raised during the NGC.

It is in this context that we welcome the intention of Comrade Winnie Madikizela Mandela to raise issues of political mismanagement in the province by some who are hell-bent on continuing with their factionalist tendencies especially within the ANC structures. We also support the issues raised by the Deputy President, Comrade Kgalema Motlanthe regarding the role of the ANC in the Alliance and the need to ensure unity and cohesion of the Alliance based on equal respect for our Alliance partners. ●

KZN PC

The ANC NGC must focus on the Five Priorities

Nationalisation debate must be broadened to consider all economic sectors

The South African Communist Party (SACP) of KwaZulu Natal held its Provincial General Council from 10-12 September. The conference was attended by more than 600 delegates from 200 branches.

The Council was encouraged by the robust recruitment drive that saw the KZN SACP growing massively from 14 000 to more than 27 000 members to become the leading province in the country.

The KZN SACP reaffirms its support for the recent public service strike action. We are convinced that the fight was legitimate. The call for wage increases and issues of housing occupy the central issues affecting the working class and the poor. The SACP commits itself to working with Cosatu to launch Living and Social Wage campaigns.

The Council wishes the ANC a successful and tension-free NGC. We are happy to be part of such a historic organisational process and promise that our attendance will be guided by our responsibility to strengthen unity of the ANC and between the ANC and its Alliance partners. We are hopeful that the NGC will limit itself to discussing issues pertaining to the realisation of the five priorities of the organisation and our government. We as the SACP will discourage any attempt by narrow individualistic or clique agendas and divisive interests designed to change

the focus of the NGC, like prematurely entering the succession debate leading up to the 2012 elective conference.

We welcome the ANCYL's debate on nationalisation but advise that the debate be broadened to include all strategic sectors of the economy, like the banking industry. The council strongly expresses itself against any type of nationalisation that is biased towards BEEs and the political elite.

The SACP in KZN noted the renewed attacks directed at the President of the country and the ANC, Cde Jacob Zuma. It has become clearer now that there is a backroom alliance of the media, some businesses and the new tendency within the ANC and its Alliance who want to continue where the 1996 class project left off. There has always been a belief that the target has never been Gwede Mantashe, but as Cosatu correctly warned earlier, the target has always been President Zuma.

The SACP in KZN condemns in the strongest possible terms all attempts by the new tendency, including in the media, to treat the Office of the President of the ANC and of the Republic with disrespect. We call upon all South Africans to treat the highest office with the respect that it deserves.

The SACP notes the slow pace at which land is being redistributed to its

rightful owners and as such we commit ourselves to campaign to accelerate the redistribution of land through, amongst other things, calling for an amendment of the property clause in the Constitution of the Republic. We commit our districts to engage with state organs, particularly the municipalities to do the following:

- Audit the state-owned land including the land that has been sold. This audit should also include land owned by municipalities and parastatals.
- Audit all properties under the control of the municipalities.

We further commit ourselves to accelerate the campaign for the rehabilitation of apartheid-era houses which are in a shocking state of dilapidation. The SACP resolves to engage government, including municipalities, to accelerate the rehabilitation of these houses.

The SACP in KwaZulu-Natal further commits itself to convene the following summits:

- Land and Rural Development Summit, and
- Health and Education Summit (which we will hold together with Cosatu).

The SACP is very disturbed by the negative reports about the conduct of some public representatives and officials of Ethekwini Metro in the management of procurement in the city. It is clear that self-interest among city councillors has been put above the interest of the rate-payers. The SACP demands publication of the names of all officials and public representatives who have benefited section 36 tenders.

The SACP in KZN resolved to support the Young Communist League in their campaign for free sanitary towels for poor women as well as their campaign for the establishment of a state bank.

We further wish the YCL a successful and revolutionary congress which will take place soon.

The SACP KZN strongly condemns the reported attack on SACP members in Motha and Machibisa in Edendale, and the harassment of our members in Hammersdale. ●

JOIN THE DEBATE

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

KZN PC

Cdes Nzimande and Manamela address the KwaZulu PC

'The revolution will be destroyed and history will judge us harshly if we are silent on corruption'

The single biggest threat to our revolution is money – and dirty money that is doing the rounds in our movement”, said SACP General Secretary cde Blade Nzimande told the KZN Provincial General Council this month. “Some R500 billion from pension funds, state coffers and the private sector has been diverted into BEE equity deals. This money also returns to our movement to buy votes”

Cde Nzimande said that there was a need to probe the connection between narrow BEE – a model of black empowerment that benefits a few well connected individuals - and the divisions within the ANC. “We are not against entrepreneurs, people who do business fairly. We are against tenderpreneurs, who use their political connections to amass wealth overnight through unfair means and at the expense of the poor”, he said.

Cde Nzimande said that delegates at the ANC's NGC should focus on policy issues and help to rebuild a united ANC, and not become sidetracked into discussing who should lead the ANC and reduce the NGC to a dress rehearsal for the ANC's 2012 elective Conference. He said that some forces, including the media, were hell-bent on turning the NGC into a platform for contesting positions and factionalising the ANC. They were aided by the “new tendency” within the ANC for whom “politics is almost entirely about wheeling and dealing, deployments, electoral lists, and the buying of votes”.

“These forces are saying that the ANC is the sole strategic centre of power so that they can capture the ANC. Of course, the ANC leads the Alliance. No one is questioning that.

But these forcers want to marginalise the Alliance partners. If they succeed they will turn the country into one big

tender. They will sell the country to the imperialism to the highest bidder.”

Cde Nzimande stressed the need for the SACP to intensify its campaign against corruption. “History will judge us harshly if we keep quiet. If we fail to stop corruption, the revolution will be destroyed”.

The new tendency does not want the Alliance because it is a threat to corruption, he said. “Their fight is against Cde Gwede Mantashe, but it is the President himself that they are targeting. The President is seen as a symbol of unity within the Alliance, and they don't want the Alliance.”

He also reiterated the SACP's support for the public sector strike. “The wage gap in the public sector and society as a whole is obscene.

The strike raised issues of the social wage, including housing. We need to see how the pension funds of workers, for example, can be used to build houses for workers rather than supporting narrow BEE deals.”

He made it clear that the participation of senior SACP comrades in government was part of the SACP's MTV (Medium

Term Vision), and would not be pursued at the expense of the independence of the Party.

Cde Buti Manamela, YCL National Secretary, said that criticisms of the General Secretary serving in Cabinet reflecting a misunderstanding of the Party's approach. “By constantly repeating that it's wrong, people can come to believe it is, and we must guard against that.”

He said that the YCL was going to its National Conference in December with confidence. “There will be no people in blue uniforms, no water bottles thrown, no rowdy behavior. We know how to differ democratically. We want to provide leadership to the youth, based on the issues facing them. Youth unemployment is a ticking time-bomb. When youth are not employed they can turn to crime, prostitution, drugs and so on.

“Of course, ownership of the mineral resources is very critical. We need a proper discussion about this. We need a state-owned mining company. We need a state bank. We have been consistently calling for this.”

SACP Provincial Secretary, Cde Themba Mthembu, said that “instead of becoming mired in theory, we need to examine how nationalisation works in practice. How well are these resources managed? How do our SOEs (State Owned Enterprises) stack up? Do they comply with international best practice through applying management structures similar to the King 3 good corporate governance guidelines or the OECD guidelines for SOEs?Would the nationalisation of our mines necessarily be a good thing?.”

Cde Mthembu stressed the need to “utilise our extensive mineral wealth so that people can share in its benefits”, but urged that a careful analysis be made of how best to do this. ●

'The new tendency does not want the Alliance because it threatens corruption'

FREE STATE PC

Declaration of the SACP Free State Special Provincial Council

'We are encouraged by the growing consciousness, both political and class, of our members who join in droves the ranks of the SACP'

We, the delegates of the South African Communist Party (SACP) and the Young Communist League of South Africa, joined by the Alliance structures, the African National Congress (ANC), Congress of South African Trade Unions and its affiliates, together with the Mkhonto weSizwe Military Veterans Association gathered at the Special Provincial Council on 12 September.

We are inspired by Lenin's instructive words that "a revolution is impossible without a revolutionary situation; furthermore not every revolutionary situation leads to revolution". And that "Neither kings nor army generals are makers of history, but the toiling masses". We are encouraged by the growing consciousness, both political and class, of our members who join in droves the ranks of the SACP.

We are however, faced with multiple challenges of overcoming a petty bourgeois mode of thinking and tendencies, which if not confronted and defeated, are likely to consume our rich history of struggle and contribution to South Africa's liberation.

We come here fired with revolutionary devotion and commitment to build working class presence and hegemony by achieving the following:

1. Politically and organisationally preparing the SACP to influence the character and content of the ANC at its forthcoming NGC (National General Council) and beyond.
2. Deepening the understanding of the rank and file members of the ANC to appreciate the contractions that are being experienced within the NDR
3. Providing marching orders for the SACP branches and members beyond the

NGC

We have also gathered during the month in which the ANC is to convene its NGC.

This Provincial Council is particularly encouraged by the robust and constructive engagement that has characterised our debates.

The Provincial Council takes place in the wake of public sector industrial action. We support the efforts being undertaken by all parties involved to find an amicable solution. Workers should never be treated as a variable of any type by government, to be eliminated in order to save costs of production. We, however, recognise the impact of the action and commit ourselves to mobilise all sectors of society to deal with the negative consequences.

The Provincial Council reaffirms that the basic propositions of the "ANC Strategy and Tactics" document adopted at the Polokwane conference remain valid and further reaffirms the role that the SACP should play within the Alliance structure as the vanguard of the working class and the poor.

'Neither kings nor army generals are makers of history. It is the toiling masses' – VI Lenin

On the Strategy and Tactics: The Council acknowledges that the "Strategy and Tactics" document of the ANC remains a critical document in so far as the attainment of the interests of the working class and the poor are concerned. Whilst we recognise this, we caution against demagogic sloganeering and an uncritical review of the "Strategy and Tactics" as an organic document. That it remains a strategic document in the attainment of the NDR to benefit the working class and the poor is clear.

On the Economic Transformation: The Council acknowledges the CC discussions on economic transformation. The SACP in the Free State notes and calls for the following:

- The political economy of our country generally perpetuates an apartheid and neo-colonial structural crisis and requires fundamental transformation if it is to benefit and serve the working class and the poor.
- An economic growth path that will seek to improve the quality of life of our people.
- Address the challenges of inequality and underdevelopment both in our communities and workplace.
- Ensure that the working class and the poor remain the central motive forces which stand to benefit from ownership of the economy, and to liberate themselves from poverty and inequality, and advance a faster growing economy to address unemployment, casualisation /contract employment, labour brokers and so forth.
- Mining and exports remain key pillars of our economy and the call to nationalise mines must also focus on other sectors of the economy which

will contribute positively towards the improved livelihoods of our people.

- Black Economic Empowerment remains a strategic intervention, however the SACP in the Free State commits that BEE must be broadened to benefit the people of South Africa instead of benefiting a few and the politically connected.

Fundamental to a radical economic transformation of the economy is a need to push for the scrapping or amending of clause 25, the 'private property clause', of the Constitution. "Empty dialectics or slogan" says Lenin "is sophistry" and "idle play of words".

On Media Appeals Tribunal: The Council acknowledges the CC discussions on the Media Appeals Tribunal. The SACP in the Free State departs from the standpoint that the media as an apparatus that mediates ideas in the public discourse, with a corresponding role to serve the interests of the ruling class, is inseparable from the state as an instrument of class rule and exploitation, and must be viewed as such. All attempts to diversify and transform the media should be underpinned by a commitment to ensure ownership of some aspects of the media, over and above mere regulation, and without any intentions to cover any corrupt activities anywhere in our society.

On the Alliance: The Alliance remains the strategic political centre of our movement and that as the SACP in the Free State we believe that:

- The Alliance remains the cornerstone of advancement of the National Democratic Revolution under the leadership of the ANC. The unity and cohesion of the Alliance is sacrosanct and cannot be sold to the highest bidder

- There should be a commonly formulated programme of action that should be implemented, and that will serve as a concrete yardstick to measure performance in all our structures.

On Governance: The participation of the SACP in the state power remains critical as this aspect cannot be left in isolation from addressing the interests and plight of the working class and the poor. The SACP in the Free State commits that:

- We will ensure the full implementation of the 2009 Election Manifesto's priorities together with our allies. It is in a shared perspective with the ANC, SACP, Cosatu and SANCO that our collective's call for a 'better life for all' will be realised.

- We will robustly campaign against corruption and all forms of crass materialism and predatory tendencies such as 'the God is for us all but each for

her/himself'; 'survival of the fittest' or 'Phokojwe ho phela e diretsana' and 'dog eats dog'. All of these are imposed upon us by the unforgiving, ruthless and evil system of capitalism and imperialism. We reject all of these!

- The reconfiguration of the Alliance remains a critical and crucial platform towards the liberation of our people from abject poverty, poor service delivery and high levels of inequality.

- The Council is confident about the capacity of the organisation to lead in the transformation of the State until the objectives of the National Democratic Revolution are achieved.

- We have begun the process of preparing, through hard work, for a decisive victory in the next year's Local Government elections. The content of that victory will be characterised by winning all the wards and reclaiming those that we previously lost from the opposition.

As the SACP, we have fought many battles. We are steeled in struggle. We are proud of the remarkable growth in our Party membership since our Special National Congress. Our opponents, and even some of our friends, are sceptical about the prospects of building a socialist South Africa. As Chris Hani always reminded us, socialism has to be built here and now in the struggles of millions and millions of the working class and poor.

Socialism is the future! Build it now! ●



The African Communist

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SPECIAL ISSUE – TOWARDS A NEW GROWTH PATH

- ★ The Challenge of Social Mobilisation
- ★ Debating Development: Paradigms Shaping Economic Proposals
- ★ Building a Progressive Consensus
- ★ The Role of Industrial Policy



YOUNG REDS

World youth festival: Are we ready for the big moment?

The PYA will play host to 30 000 progressive young people from 85 countries

The World Federation of Democratic Youth (WFDY) will be staging its 17th world youth and student festival in SA from the 13-21 December 2010. The festival will be hosted by the PYA (Progressive Youth Alliance) partners namely: ANCYL, Sasco, Cosas and YCLSA. This follows the successful bid by the PYA to host the festival following the 16th festival hosted by the Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela. The festival will be attended by more than 30 000 young people from 185 countries. The festival is set to converge in Johannesburg, South Africa.

All continents – Europe, Asia, Africa, Middle East, the Americas – will be represented. The theme of the festival will be “Working together to build the world of peace, solidarity and social transformation, we will defeat imperialism”. This festival will be preceded by two main events which will seek to highlight the struggle to smash imperialism, namely the meeting of international communist and workers parties from 3-5 December 2010 in Johannesburg and the YCLSA National Congress from 8-12 December 2010 in Mafikeng. The festival will be attended by WFDY partners, head of states, member organisations, emerging as well as established artists, young parliamentarians, former WFDY leaders, invited guests as well as youth from all aspects of life.

Are we ready for the moment?

While we must acknowledge that preparations are at advanced stage through arrangements done by NPC (National Preparatory Committee) of SA, as well as WFDY and IOC (International Organising

Committee), ours is not like arrangements for the FIFA world cup festival, but need revolutionary commitment. This revolutionary commitment means we need to move beyond logistical arrangements and mass mobilisation. While the two are critical elements for the success of the festival that we cannot ignore or risk it, we also need to ensure we are ideologically ready.

To us as the YCLSA and the entire PYA, together with other progressive youth formations we need to ensure that the festival remains relevant to our struggle to smash imperialism, neo-liberalism, capitalism and colonialism. We need to continue to highlight the plight of the oppressed masses across the globe with special focus on: Swaziland, removal of sanctions against Eritrea, Zimbabwe and, Cuba, and the release of CUBAN 5.

We need to struggle for peace and right for self determination for the people of Burma, Basque, Western Sahara, Iran, Palestine. We need to expose the naked agenda of imperialism as demonstrated through the climate crisis, economic crisis as well as attempts to militarise the world through US/Africom. Defeat the xenophobic/Afrocentric attitude, which itself is a result of the capitalist system pitting one element of the working class against another.

As the Cosas slogan says “Each One, Teach One” we need to learn from struggle experience across the globe as well as teach them about our struggle. The critical challenge is to ensure we build mass mobilisation for this festival. But ours should not just be mass mobilisation, but we should be able to build a core of Youth cadres who love peace, solidar-

ity and social transformation as well as networking. But simultaneously build cadres who agitate against imperialism, colonialism, capitalism, neo-liberalism with passion and seek to build an alternative world, which is socialism and ultimately communism.

The engines of the festival

While the festival is driven by WFDY as a leader, it also has three components: the National Preparatory Committee (NPC), IOC and member organisation of WFDY per country. The other structures that share similar sentiments with WFDY like the World Federation of Trade Unions, Women’s International Democratic Federation, the World Peace Council, student unions and youth formations will also be invited to form part of the festival.

In South Africa, the engine driving the festival will be NPC. The NPC consists of four teams:

- Logistics
- Media and marketing
- Policy and research
- Programme and protocol.

As the YCLSA in collaboration with other PYA partners we need to ensure that we assist WFDY in making this festival a success. But unlike the festivals of the bourgeoisie we need to ensure ours is what Lenin characterised as “a festival of ideas”. We need to ensure we intensify mobilisation to ensure we reach young people from all corners of life. But beyond the festival we need to ensure the resolutions of the festival find resonance among our respective countries and across the globe. *Hasta La Siempre* ●

YOUNG REDS

'We are not your enemies, but the enemies of your enemy'

YCLSA message of support to the ANC Youth League National General Council

BY BUTI MANAMELA



Bring revolutionary greetings from the structures and members of the YCL, on whose behalf I present this message to your

august National General Council.

We come here with all this salutations and greetings to concretise the relationship between the ANC Youth League and the YCLSA.

I, and the members and leaders of the YCLSA, are not your enemy, but your friends.

I and the members of the YCLSA are not the friends of your enemies, but the enemies of your enemies.

The Alliance partners, including the SACP and COSATU, are not the enemies of the ANC or its Leagues. If there are temporary and tactical differences, those should not detract us from the strategic objective of the National Democratic Revolution.

If from time to time, we approach issues differently, this should only be to strengthen our alliance and sharpen our approach towards building a national democratic society. These differences do not constitute enmity on the part of the PYA or the Alliance, and we should never be persuaded to treat each other as enemies because of such differences. Only our enemies will derive joy from a divided PYA and a divided Alliance.

The Progressive Youth Alliance has stood through the test of time and has never relied on individual leaders at particular times, but has been

based on the programmes for youth development.

The YCLSA and the ANC Youth League where in unison and spoke in one voice on our way to the 52nd ANC Conference in Polokwane. That Conference was watershed and brought new life into the Alliance and the direction that the country should take. That united voice and energy should be invested into defending the outcomes of the Polokwane Conference. From time to time, we may and will differ on who should be elected at this or that conference, but importantly, we should safeguard the unity of the PYA, of the Alliance and of the forces of the National Democratic Revolution.

In many instances, there is a dangerous and yet mischievous attempt to try and isolate communists as a threat to, and an enemy of the broader objectives of our movement. In the past, the dearest allies of the National Liberation Movement have been communists.

The path that we are travelling now is the path chosen by the leaders of the ANC and the SACP that came before us. There is a reason why in the struggle against apartheid, the leadership of the ANC and SACP chose to align themselves with the communist Soviet Union and detested the support that right-wing opportunists gave to the Apartheid regime.

Now, more than ever before, our country needs a strong alliance, without the temptation of seeking to isolate communists and their leaders. We must never lose sight of this important task especially when the right-wing forces under the leader-

ship of the DA are forming coalitions. The ANC Youth League should take its rightful place of leading the PYA in defence of the NDR.

As Nelson Mandela once said when asked to denounce the ANC Alliance with the SACP, that he could not "abandon a long life ally at the request of a common enemy".

So who are our common enemy?

Our common enemies are the enemies of youth development. It is those who seek to keep young people trapped in the cycle of poverty in Alexandra, Matatiele and all other places.

Our common enemies are those who exploit the working class and the poor youth in the workplaces, in the mines, in the factories, in the squatter-camps, in the countryside, in the universities and in all the areas where young people are being exploited.

Our common enemies are those who perpetuate racial hatred, kill and maim the youth and mistaken them for dogs and baboons. Our common enemy are those who are prepared to detract us from the common and strategic objectives of the NDR.

We should therefore save our energy to deepen the struggle for the liberation of young people from economic and political bondage, and to build a non-racist, non-sexist and democratic society.

We should use the energy we are expending on fighting amongst ourselves, labelling each other as communist or anti-communist, engaging into public spats and all manner of attitudes that will put Oliver Tambo,

Continued on Page 26

YOUNG REDS

Statement of the 12th plenary session of the YCLSA 2nd Congress National Committee

The National Committee of the YCLSA held its scheduled meeting over the weekend, beginning on Friday, 13 August 2010 and ending on Sunday, 15 August 2010.

On politicians, business and corruption; and the ArceloMittal BEE Deal

The National Committee took a resolution to intensify the campaign by the YCLSA and the Alliance to fight corruption. The National Committee vowed to use every platform to push for a law that prohibits politicians from taking part in business. Politicians must decide whether they want to serve the people or they want to serve their pockets. Politicians, whether as Members of Parliament, of the Cabinet or the President are paid enough to focus on serving the people, and as to why they continue to draw salaries from the public purse and still hop from one office to another filling in tender forms is unexplainable.

We will also campaign to ensure that relatives of politicians are prohibited from doing business with government. As the YCLSA, we believe that the fight against corruption is in line with our struggle for socialism. We condemn any use of allegations of corruption as reason to purge politicians, but believe that anyone accused of corruption should answer if there is a legitimate case.

In this regard, the YCLSA condemned the ArceloMittal BEE deal, and the unfortunate utterances by one of the beneficiaries, Sandile Zungu, who referred to it as 'money for jam'. We see this as irresponsible, inconsiderate and immoral. We also condemn the CEO of ArceloMittal South Africa for intimating that their selection of partners was based on their immediate strategic interests, and thus, selecting partners on the basis of their proximity to political office. We call on responsible state institutions to investigate whether

this deal was legitimate or not.

On the Media Appeals Tribunal

The National Committee further took a decision to support the proposed Media Appeals Tribunal. We believe that the media should be held accountable to an external regulatory body that will report to parliament. There are already institutions such as the Auditor General, the Human Rights Commission and many more that promotes public accountability and report to parliament without any bias. There is no legitimacy in the propaganda spread by the media that this will be a platform muzzle and censure the media. We believe that a free media is the cornerstone of a free society. Without information, society will not be informed and thus, will never be able to defend a democratic, non-racist and non-sexist society. However, this should be done through a responsible and accountable media.

The YCLSA however, condemn in the strongest terms possible the conduct of the police and the prosecution in the arrest of journalist Mzilikazi wa Afrika. If wa Afrika's account of the events of the day are true, then we believe that police overstepped their powers. The conduct of the police can be characterised as intimidation. We believe that if wa Afrika has committed a crime, he should be charged and tried without the drama that accompanied his arrest and the hesitation in his prosecution. In supporting the Media Appeals Tribunal, we will also defend the right to freedom of speech and that of association as enshrined in the constitution, including those of journalist.

University of Free State

The YCLSA National Committee took a decision to send a delegation to the University of Free State to meet with our structures and also to engage with the Vice Chancellor, Prof Jonathan Jansen.

The National Committee called on the immediate resignation of Jansen, due to the fact that since his appointment, the university has been from one crisis to another. The National Committee further condemned the unilateral and unconstitutional decision of suspending student leaders from the university, and called on the management to reverse this with immediate effect.

Jobs for Youth Summit

The National Committee took a decision to intensify its Jobs for Youth Campaign within the ambit of the Jobs for Youth Charter and the Jobs for Youth Coalition. Through the Coalition, the National Committee decided that we should target creating direct jobs for young people, imparting needed skills to youth and facilitating the creation of youth co-operatives and small enterprises. We call on the private and public sector to work together in promoting youth initiatives in this regard.

On the Nhlapo Commission

The YCLSA National Committee expressed its opposition to the findings on the Nhlapo Commission, and the general system of appointment of kings. We believe that the practice of royalty is undemocratic and sexist as its basis are that of appointment along the blood line and does not recognise leadership by women. We further believe that if we are to intensify the practice of democracy, as expressed in the Freedom Charter, that the people shall govern, the first practice that should be discontinued is that of the kings.

On the 3rd National Congress

The YCLSA will be having its 3rd National Congress beginning on the 8 December

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YOUNG REDS

'We are not your enemies'

From page 24

Chris Hani, Solomon Mahlangu and many others to shame.

We should use this energy to ensure that we push for provision of sanitary towels for young women in the rural areas; that the youth are economically empowered and supported as entrepreneurs; that we defeat the cancer of corruption in our society; that we strengthen the NYDA to be at the centre of youth development; and that we push for the ultimate nationalisation of mines and other commanding heights of the economy.

We have to use this energy to ensure that we guarantee victory for the ANC in the forthcoming local government elections. We have seen how, when divided as the Alliance and within the ANC, we hand over municipalities to the DA/ID Alliance especially in the Western Cape.

In order to ensure that all of these happen, this NGC must foster and strive for the unity of the PYA and of the Alliance. This NGC must provide true and needed youth leadership so that we defeat our common enemy.

Long Live the ANC Youth League!

Long Live the PYA.

Forward to Youth Development ●

Statement of 12th plenary session

From page 25

2010. This Congress will be attended by 2 000 delegates representing more than 900 branches across the country. In the month of October, the National Working Committee will release discussion documents in preparation for the National Congress. This will be an elective congress, with nominations for leadership beginning at branches from 1 Nov. ●

Now is NOT the time to fight

From page 28

ment led to only a handful, sometimes politically connected elite being empowered and having concentrated wealth further in the hands of the few. This has been used to justify the empowerment of historically excluded communities, whilst the major share remained in the hands of whites. The mining sector, for instance, 16 years down the line have only just met a 26% empowerment target, while the financial sector is still resisting signing the Financial Sector Charter. The untold story, of course, is that this 26% black ownership in the mining industry is the inverse of 84% non-black ownership. Recently released statistics of the ownership of the top 100 companies listed in the Johannesburg Stock Exchange revealed that only 18% are in the hands of black South Africans. Despite attempts by the JSE to qualify this, the reality is that economic ownership in our country is still defined by race, and the minority rules.

The other problem with black ownership, which is persistently highly indebted to the financial sector, is that it is not linked either to new employment or the improvement of the quality of jobs in these sectors. As long as the companies have met the technical requirements of the BEE score cards, then all is happy and merry.

In these regard, our economy can be characterised as follows:

- Rampant and structural unemployment, which now stands at more than 40%;

- Huge economic inequalities;

- Widening wage gap between the lowest and the highest paid, with a Co-satu research estimating that the gap is more than 2000% between the lowest and the highest earnings;

- Neo-colonial dependence as the relationship between our economy and the world is still more orientated towards extraction and exporting of raw materials and imports of subsistence and luxury goods;

The starting point to deal with issues

of unemployment, poverty, HIV-Aids and economic participation is for us to identify critical areas within our economy that requires 'radical change'. Not only do we need quality public service, but we also need public resources that are strategically deployed in order to ensure that they change the quality of life of young people.

The YCL has consistently called for the nationalisation of mines as a key sector of our economy, with the ANC Youth League taking this debate further. This is a critical aspect that we can provide true youth leadership and identify the mining sector as the entry-point towards attaining economic sovereignty. The proposed State Owned Mining Company will be a critical platform to ensure that the state plays a central role in the economy, improves the quality of life of our people and ensure that they find meaning in defending the democratic dispensation. There is no need for the state to further hesitate with this proposal. If individuals can own huge mines and make billions for their own, then the state can equally own such huge mines and make billions for the entire country. This will also give our country economic sovereignty.

Secondly, the transformation of the financial sector is a critical area in our economy. It is dominated by four major banking institutions, who have their tentacles also in the insurance and other areas of the economy. Many of the state owned financial and developmental institutions such as the Public Investment Council, Industrial Development Corporation, Developmental Bank of SA and the National Empowerment Fund follows the narrow model of development and economic empowerment as the other commercial institutions. As the nationalisation of banks become critical, so will the creation of a state financial institution that will finance development and economic empowerment within its will. This will mean more access to traditional financial and insurance services such as banking, savings, housing, vehicle, SMME and cooperative financing on a broader and affordable scale.

Thirdly, we will need to radically change our fiscal policy, and thus re-prioritise public spending in order for it to lean more towards strengthening the capacity of the state to deliver on the five priorities that government has set for itself. The agenda of a developmental state

YOUNG REDS

should be brought back to the table if we are to succeed in areas such as education, health, rural development and land redistribution, and fighting crime and corruption. A strong and developmental state in this regard does not mean more administrators and clerks, but it means more skilled doctors, nurses, teachers, agricultural practitioners, police force, prosecutors, judges and other professionals who are well paid and judged on performance.

At a local level, it means reducing our reliance on the narrowly empowering tender system to do services such as cleaning, catering, building side-walks, maintaining the sewerage, water and electricity networks, all of which can easily be integrated within the local state. Many of the engineering companies that deals with town planning, designs, building and maintaining roads and bridges used to provide services for the state and were later outsourced or privatised with the people who used to work in the local states subsequently owning the provision of these services. These sectors are critical for ensuring that we have a sustainable economy and absorb more young people into the public service.

Fourthly, we need to accelerate rural development and land redistribution. We have consistently said as the YCL, together with the SACP, that the willing buyer willing seller policy has dismally failed due to corruption and inflated prices. This should also be linked to the question of land-use as many of the land-owners prefer to invest into property development rather than food security, especially given the focus of finance capital to

sell credit to mortgages than to farming. Huge tracts of fertile land has now been transformed into game reserves or huge gated mansions for residential purposes. This not only threatens the eco-system, but also our ability to produce sustainable livelihoods and maintain low food prices due to high imports in this area.

All of these should be linked to clear and attainable objectives, which should be the Minimum Three Year Plan, and should comprise the following:

- Halving youth unemployment and poverty within the next three years by strengthening the state at all levels, and ensuring that the private sector commits to a certain percentage of employment and skills development;

- Training of more than 100 000 artisans by the state and another 50 000 by the private sector within the next three years;

- Creating and supporting more 10 000 youth co-operatives and SMME's within the next three years;

- Wiping out squatter camps all over the country within the next three years;

- Realising the objective of one doctor per 50 patients and 1 teacher per 35 learners within the next 10 years;

- Reducing the ratio between policing and the population within the next three years;

- Improving the health and education infrastructure within the next three years;

- Building and ensuring operation of universities in Mpumalanga and Northern Cape within the next three years;

- Building water infrastructure, and improving the road and transport net-

works, within the next three years;

- Realising a 60% land redistribution within the next three years;

- Improving the state and company pension schemes in order to encourage early retirement (of 55 for women and 60 for women) within the next three years;

- All of these remain critical programmes within which we should rally young people and provide youth leadership. The state of our organisations, and the manner in which we have engaged each other in public platforms, is undesirable and requires immediate change. The ANC National General Council is an important platform to ensure that all of these are agreed to as policy and resolution. Some of these targets and objectives are already in place, and only requires political will to ensure that they happen. If the four areas of action stated earlier towards the attainment of our economic sovereignty are attained, then we will be in the right direction towards ensuring that the public purse is able to improve the quality of life of all young people.

For us as the YCL, youth leadership means mobilising young people behind these ideals, and ensuring that we attain them. We cannot enter the Centenary celebrations of the ANC with a backlog in all of these key demands, and more so, we cannot proudly call ourselves a revolutionary alliance whilst the youth are still outside threshold of economic emancipation and liberation. We had our time to fight as youth leaders, for whatever reason and it has never produced any positive energy, now it is time for us to provide true youth leadership. History will judge us harshly if we fail! ●



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

Now is NOT the time to fight, but time to provide true youth leadership

BY BUTI MANAMELA

The youth of our country are confronted with a million and one challenges. Many are left in the abyss of structural unemployment, affecting more than 70%, 85% of them black. Many are affected or infected by HIV-Aids without proper and basic health care; do not have access to education or skills development institutions or resources. The crisis of capitalist under-development and the cyclical and structural global capitalist crisis which hit the world recently has left the youth in deeper crises than had expected.

In the context of our country, we are exactly 16 years after democracy and universal suffrage, and slowly, whether by design or as a revolutionary instinct, many young people are beginning to lose faith in this democracy and in the leadership of the ANC-led Alliance. This was seen lately through the massive service delivery protests and a spiral of trade union wage related strikes which can be linked with massive under-development and economic exclusion. Every year students in universities engage into action to demand access and struggle against financial exclusions. All of these displayed an element of violence reminiscent of the mid-80s when the ANC declared that all its underground structures should render Apartheid ungovernable.

The trade of insults by members of trade unions or the service delivery protestors towards the ANC-led Alliance

government expressed this impatience. Daily, whether as part of propaganda or through legitimate youth platforms, we hear of anger directed at authorities and institutions of power as a result of the frustrations that young people are faced with.

We should say from the onset that all of these challenges that confront us require unity of purpose on the part of the structures of the Progressive Youth Alliance (PYA), and even more urgent, internal unity of these organisations. The general impressions that many young people have out there is that all we are interested in is self-empowerment and self aggrandisement, and thus we continuously reflect a perpetual war-zone fighting for leadership positions and have completely forgotten about their needs, interests, aspirations and challenges of the youth. In instances where we speak of youth interests, we are seen as merely seeking to garner votes for local or national governments. This is a serious indictment on our part as the progressive youth formations, and becomes an urgent task to ensure that we alter this

'The challenges confronting us demand unity of purpose on the part of the structures of the PYA'

perception not through theoretical clarifications but through practical action on the ground and involving our youth.

Towards our economic transformation for economic sovereignty

Our economy is dependent on exports of raw materials; is characterised by currency volatility; is still mainly in the hands of fewer whites; many of the key sectors of the economy have post 1996 macro-economic strategy; delisted (such as SAB, Old Mutual and De Beers) in the JSE to the London and New York Stock Exchange. South Africa effectively became part of the global world, and through that, witnessed the neo-colonisation of our economy. As we gained our political freedom and sovereignty, the economic sovereignty of our country was lost to Britain and the US. We are objects of imperialist powers and are dependent on the state of their consumerist economies for our own stability.

In the public sector, government began, through the same neo-liberal Gear, a wholesale privatisation of key sectors of the economy. This led to massive retrenchments as these entities pursued profits over the social conditions of our people. Many of the key public companies such as Telkom, Eskom and SAA were privatised with disastrous consequences for our people.

On the other hand, the structural limitations of Black Economic Empower-

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