

YOUTH DAY: HONOURING THE '76 GENERATION



June 2012

Voice of the South African Communist Party

Umsebenzi



TOWARDS EMPANGENI!

**Forward to the 13th SACP National Congress
– and the South Africa Road to Socialism!**

SACP 13TH CONGRESS

Towards Empangeni!

Officials and activists have been working for months to ensure Congress is a resounding success

BY MHLEKWA NXUMALO

It is all systems go for what is set to be the biggest and most successful SACP Congress ever!

The 13th National Congress of the SACP is to be held at the University of Zululand from 11-15 July 2012. This will be the largest Congress in the history of the SACP – Party membership has grown from 75 000 to 160 000 since the 2007 Congress.

Alliance partners will be attending, as will the ANCWL and ANCYL, and fraternal organisations including Sasco, Cosas, and the MKMVA. Other organisations invited include the Chris Hani Institute, the Financial Sector Campaign Coalition, and the Swaziland Solidarity Network. SACP stalwarts and veterans will be present, as will the families of former leaders of the Party and of previous recipients of SACP awards. Cabinet ministers, deputy ministers, mayors, MECs, premiers and embassies will also be invited.

There will also be a large contingent of guests from other Communist Parties and other left formations from around the world.

The key discussion document for the Congress is the revised and updated South African Road to Socialism (SARS), the Draft Political Programme of the SACP for 2012-2017. This document was publically released in May, and is currently being discussed intensively in SACP structures. All comrades are urged to engage with this important document. Among other issues, SARS deals with the global capitalist crisis and the economic situation in South Africa; the SACP and state power; the SACP and the workplace; the Battle of Ideas; and the strengthening of the SACP's organisational capacity as a vanguard party of socialism.

There will also be discussion docu-



ments presented in other areas, including gender. During the Congress, commissions will intensively interrogate the documents and develop resolutions on key issues. These resolutions will guide the work of the Party until the next Congress.

Several awards will be presented at the Congress. These include:

- The Chris Hani Peace Award; the Moses Kotane Award, the highest award for members of the SACP (living or deceased) for outstanding service to the SACP;

- The Dora Tamana Award to a female comrade;

- The SACP Special Recognition Award;

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- The Florence Matomela Awards which go to the best SACP district, the best SACP branch, the best YCLSA district and the best YCLSA branch; and

- The Alpheus Malivha Awards for the best rural SACP district, the best rural SACP branch, the best rural YCLSA district and the best rural YCLSA branch.

Nominations have come in for all the awards.

During the Congress, a gala dinner will also be held, in Durban. This will be an important fundraising event, particularly in the light of the large costs of organising such a big Congress. There will also be a cultural evening at the Congress venue for the enjoyment of delegates.

The logistics of pulling together such a large event as this are daunting, and preparations have been underway since last year.

Accommodation has been arranged, buses and trains are being confirmed, and large-scale catering is being organised. SACP officials and activists are hard at work pulling all the logistics together so that the Congress will run smoothly.

Preparations, both logistical and political, are on track. Excitement is mounting in anticipation of the Congress.

It is very important for branches to prepare politically, including through deepening discussions of Congress documents, so that their delegates represent them well in this important event. The SACP is at an important juncture, and the Congress will set the direction of the Party for the next five years. ●

Cde Nxumalo is the SACP National Campaigns and Deployment Officer

YOUTH DAY

Celebrating the courage of the '76 generation

This is a shortened and edited version of the Young Communist League's June 16 message

This year the YCL commemorates June 16 under the theme *Youth power for socialism: education, health and jobs*. This year the youth need to claim their space in the memory of the inspiring generation of 1976 and the subsequent generations of youth that served as torchbearers.

We commemorate a generation of brave young men and women who said “enough is enough” and took a resolute decision that they would fight the oppressive apartheid colonial system with all they have. They fought hard and laid down their lives and reignited the fire within our people.

The youth of '76 were central to the struggle for liberation, having fought the brutal apartheid education system that was intended to enslave the African working class and build an army of cheap labour for the blood-sucking apartheid capitalist economy. It is the inspiration and commitment to the struggle by the '76 generation that calls for selflessness, courage, determination, discipline and love for the people as true values that the current revolutionary crop should espouse.

We are inspired by the youth of '76 to remain unfazed by the challenges of high youth unemployment; the capitalist and neo-liberal onslaught on the working class and the poor; the widening inequalities; the decline in real wages; and the rising cost of living; and many other

social ills.

It is through unity and action, that a better, humane, socialist system is possible.

The global capitalist crisis has led to the internationalisation of the struggles of the youth globally, and has enabled youth formations to forge links and a sense of social and political solidarity in order to foster peace, democracy and common prosperity.

As we commemorate June 16 and celebrate 18 years into our democracy, we will forever hold high the struggle of the peoples of the Saharawi, Cuba, Swaziland and Palestine. We will forever remain indebted to the peoples of the world for the solidarity given to our struggle against apartheid, and shall forever remain committed to International Solidarity.

Unite against the youth wage subsidy

The youth have been at the receiving end of the remnants of the apartheid structural crises exacerbated by the neo-liber-

al policies of the '96 class project. This was part of conforming to the Washington consensus by dumping the Reconstruction and Development Programme and bringing about anti-labour laws.

This has led to high unemployment. The painful part of this is that young people constitute 72% of the approximately 41% unemployed. Our major campaigns for decent work are informed by the fact that the majority of employed youth are temporary workers, casuals or employed by labour brokers. They have neither real work nor the protection of our progressive labour regime.

The YCLSA has hosted two successive “Jobs for Youth Summits”, which have made a progressive impact on the policy landscape. This became evident with the President announcing big public infrastructure investments; the growth of cooperatives; and the filling of vacant posts in the public sector. However we believe that reforming the system is not enough. We need to deepen and advance the NDR.

Recently the working class waged some of the greatest marches and pickets that brought the whole country to a standstill. These actions were led by Cosatu against labour brokers. The call was for decent work. The current generation of youth, like the '76 generation, must stand firm and remain inspired to fight on.

We have time and again made it clear

35 years on, their example demands courage, determination and discipline from us

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that we reject the proposed youth wage subsidy. We see this as another bail-out for business in its pursuit of cheap labour and profit maximisation. This is another strategy to cut labour costs, low real wages and the living conditions of our people.

There is no evidence, even with the implementation of the subsidy by the DA in the Western Cape, that it will create more jobs for young people. The implementation of the subsidy will only lead to huge retrenchments, conflict within the labour force, abuse by business and the substitution of permanent workers by unemployed, vulnerable workers without protection. There are claims by the DA that we are anti-employment and that we have no alternative proposals. Our proposals as an alternative to the youth wage subsidy include:

The skilling or re-skilling of the more than 300 000 unemployed graduates and the placement of them in the public sector. There is a more than 35% vacancy rate in the public sector which, according to our research, will require just above R4-billion to fill immediately.

A programme of mass skilling through Further Education and Training (FET) colleges with the focus on welding, plumbing, bricklaying, electrical work and other basic skills that can be absorbed through the R300-billion public infrastructure programme.

The legislation of the *Right to Work* by young people, which will force government to employ or place any young person in a university, FET college, skills programme or in a community service or development job after completion of their Grade 12, or guarantee them an income. Such legislation exists in countries such as India, and has gone a long way in alleviating poverty and forcing the state to invest in its human resources. There is no way that this cannot succeed in our country.

The expansion of the Extended Public Works Programme (EPWP) and the increase of income of people who are absorbed in the EPWP. This will mean a review of some of the tenders on basic tasks such as paving, maintenance of public property, and the building, electrification and maintenance of RDP Houses, as well as hospitals, schools and other buildings for public use.

Part of the strategy to create jobs in this country should include an elaborate industrial policy stating clearly how we will process all the mineral resources mined in our country. The fact that South

Africa is one of the richest countries in the world in terms of minerals resources, and at the same time accounts for such high unemployment rate should be a shame and a call for immediate action.

Quality health care

The major gain of Polokwane with regards to the provision of adequate quality public health has been the resolution on the National Health Insurance (NHI) which is meant to improve access to health care for the working class majority. These are some of the gains we need to ensure that are not compromised or reversed. We need to guard them jealously and consolidate them in the face of capitalist ploys to derail the progress.

We welcome the introduction of a state pharmaceutical company as one of our greatest leaps since we achieved democracy. However, it is not the panacea for all our challenges in the health system.

Recently there has been a shortage of Anti-Retroviral (ARV) supplies across the country, compromising the health of the majority of those dependent on them, particularly the working class. We cannot allow this to happen as basic health care remains an important right, which must be accessed by all as it also ensures the right to life and dignity. We call upon the authorities to ensure that this is not the order of the day in post-apartheid South Africa.

Make education fashionable

This year we have been at the forefront of education campaigns under the theme of **Make education fashionable** and we have made calls for the transformation of education. The youth need to love education because education is the pinnacle of our development objectives and is the key driver of fundamental social change.

Statistics tell us the majority of African youth never reach matric, and those that do, do not pass it adequately. They further tell us that the majority of those qualifying for higher education are not accessing it for a variety of reasons. What

these statistics do not tell us is that the distorted system of capitalism is exclusionary and the education system in South Africa remains exclusionary in terms of access, curriculum content and orientation.

We call for history to be a compulsory subject in schools. Our call is informed by the fact that if we do not rewrite our history to reflect the genuine struggles of the people of South Africa, we risk the reversal of all the gains made. And our call is also alive to the possibilities of distortions that exist in our society by writers and publishers. We must develop writers among young communists, able to champion the consolidation of a true reflection of our society and its history.

The recent emergence of *izikhothane* as a subculture has blurred the imagination of young people in our societies. It is tearing our communities apart with its emerging dangerous culture of insensitive greed and a false sense of wealth in a sea of misery. Most of these young people and their families do not have access to resources; they perpetuate the misleading notion that education is not important and no work ethic is important.

These kinds of deviant behaviour among the many variants are an antithesis to education and are a symptom of the "new tendency". It is a reflection if not an extension of the tactless ethics constantly put on display by those that spew populist rhetoric imbued with falsehoods and those that believe a human can be an object off which you can eat sushi. This explains the challenge of apartheid-capitalist education and how it breeds a lack of love for education while demanding false success from our society through rush-rush methods amongst the youth.

We are increasingly concerned about substance abuse, especially the dangerous increase of *nyaope*, *woonga* and other drugs that are defocusing the youth from the real challenges facing our society. Young men and women are becoming Frankenstein's monsters in their communities due to the brutal effects of the neo-liberal onslaught; they are rampantly destroying themselves by committing crime to a point where the right to life is undermined for a "fix". We will be failing in our revolutionary tasks as a generation if we do not address this and mobilise communities to fight these emergent subcultures and behaviour.

The perception of political connections as the vehicle for upward mobility is becoming a reality, especially among

There is no evidence that the youth wage subsidy will create a single job



The young lions of 1976 confront police during their education protests

part of the youth that believes that there are shortcuts in self and societal development. They believe education is secondary to their own development.

It is a bourgeois nationalist tendency that seeks to mobilise a populist mass base, particularly amongst a disaffected youth, to act as the shock troops to advance personal accumulation agendas that entrenches such perceptions of shortcuts. The youth must be protected from the new tendency that will only lead them to the abyss. The youth are the future and this future should be rooted in education, if our nation is to break the shackles of capitalism

We welcome the moves to transform the higher and further education sector by the HET Department through the Green Paper on Post-Schooling. We want to point out that an assault needs to be waged on institutional autonomy without compromising academic freedom if all these great initiatives are to flourish.

The issues of institutional autonomy have been a smokescreen used to prevent us from focusing on the real issues around the exclusionary nature of higher education institutions, especially in the former white institutions.

The way forward

Our movement under the leadership of the ANC has been facing a lot of challenges that come with being a ruling party and a liberation movement; here

we refer to the broader mass democratic movement. We launched the Youth on Point Talk series. We termed Bua Thursdays as a platform of engaging with the youth about their challenges, the challenges facing our revolution, the challenges facing our people and how we deal with these challenges as the youth. Through this platform we will travel to the provinces where we seek to hear the views of the young people on the issues at hand and challenge them, while conscientising them.

Like the '76 generation, the '80s generation and all other generations, our task as the youth remains to learn, and radically engage in the transformation of society without compromising the revolution. This will only be achieved by a militant, radical and disciplined youth that understands our revolution is about the people. From generations before us we understand that selflessness should be the driving motive of every revolutionary and if we are to learn this. It is an important lesson we should never for-

**Our convictions
should be more
about the people
and less about us**

get. Cdes Moses Kotane, Moses Mabhida, Albert Luthuli, Mzala Nxumalo, Oliver Tambo, Joe Slovo, Chris Hani and many others that sacrificed their lives in the struggle for liberation have one thing in common – the love for the people.

The force of our convictions should be about the people and less about us; we should stop and take a hard look at how far we have come and how we deepen the NDR in order to build a united, non-racial, non-sexist, democratic and prosperous South Africa that will bring us closer to socialism. In this journey we should shun the flashing of wealth, the self-indulgence that is now associated with the movement and its cadres and the phuma singene syndromes. Let us ensure that we focus on ensuring the umbilical cord between the people and their movement is not broken as we continue building socialism.

Let us distinguish ourselves from the populist, attention-seeking and self-serving characteristics that feed on the people's hopelessness and misery. We must ensure that youth politics is revived to ensure that the youth are central to all that we do without compromising the principles we adhere to. Our energy as the youth should be inspired by the youth of '76, those torchbearers who reignited the energy of the South African liberation movement, including Umkhonto weSizwe, and continue to inspire us further. ●

YOUTH DAY

The SACP's June 16th message

*The youth must rise up to fight against
the capitalism that enslaves them*

BY MALESELA MALEKA



Malesela Maleka

June 16 this year marks the 36th year since the brutal attack and murder of youth in Soweto and across our country by the apartheid regime when the youth of our country rose up to defy the colonial

desire to wipe out our heritage.

The regime had imposed Afrikaans as a medium of instruction in schools – to socialise the oppressed people into their language and culture and make them better servants of apartheid capitalism.

When we celebrate the heroic actions of youth from across the country, we must draw lessons from their vigilance, and commit to deepen our activism to realise their aspirations. The generation of 1976 made history under conditions they did not choose. They made the democratic breakthrough of 1994 possible. Through their efforts our people's army Umkhonto weSizwe and the liberation movement programme gained momentum. They delivered a deadly blow to the atrocious apartheid regime.

As we celebrate the 36th anniversary of the Soweto student uprisings, the youth of today are faced with peculiar challenges that they have to overcome in the process of making history. Poverty, unemployment and inequality worldwide and in South Africa in particular have reached alarming proportions. The promise of neo-liberalism and globalisation has failed the youth of the world and our country. Financialisation of the



Image of an uprising: Photographer Sam Nzima's iconic photograph of Mbuyisa Makhubo carrying a dying Hector Peterson on June 16 1976

economy has left our youth despondent and with no skills to be role players in the economy. Millions of them cannot access decent health services and quality education. Only the children of the rich few are guaranteed a decent life.

Poverty still haunts the majority of our young people from birth. The new democratic dispensation is characterised by capitalist greed, corruption and inequality. Our democratic government has made various interventions to mitigate this unfortunate situation. Millions can now benefit from the child support grant and can go to no fee schools and benefit from the school nutrition programme. Millions of them can have access to primary health services and enjoy various services from our government.

But the vagaries of the capitalist system have undermined these efforts. Some policy choices imposed on our people by the markets have equally limited these victories.

The current capitalist crisis has worsened the situation of the youth across the world. It is for this reason that the SACP says capitalism has not worked for the youth. The youth of our country, in all progressive formations and from all sectors, youth in the rural areas, in the townships, in squatter camps and informal settlements, in inner cities and suburbs, in schools, in FETs and in universities must rise up against capitalism. In this regard our Young Communist League has a crucial role to play in harnessing the energies of the youth to fight capitalism.

Young people must be mobilised into a massive skilling programme, and into our FET colleges to receive relevant and demand driven qualifications. Young people must be mobilised into our universities as we open doors of learning to our people. Education must be free and compulsory for our youth! Institutions meant to support the skilling and education of young people like SETAs (Sector Education and Training Authorities) and SOEs (State-owned enterprises) must be transformed from money making bodies of the tenderpreneurs and private providers to real institutions of empowering the youth, among others.

The youth must be assisted to play a meaningful role in the economy. We must train and support our youth to participate and build a solidarity economy, that places the needs of people and society ahead of profits. Co-operatives and self-reliance must be popularised among the youth. The National Youth Develop-



Reignited resistance: Youth protesters in Soweto, June 1976

ment Agency (NYDA) and its provincial chapters remains an important vehicle in this respect. The NYDA must be transformed from a tender dispensing institution for a few politically connected young people to one that serves the interests of the masses of youth.

Our youth must be mobilised to be able to understand that their future is inextricably linked to the future of young people worldwide. The youth of our country must be mobilised to rise up against values of individualism, greed, corruption and the “dog-eat-dog” mentality. Stealing from the public purse must be vigorously acted against. Corruption retards the growth of our economy and destroys the future of our youth.

The youth must be mobilised to rise up against values of individualism, greed and corruption

The decadent values spread by the mainstream media must not be given room to be rooted amongst our young people. Agitation for different values through pamphlets, leaflets, revolutionary art and theatre are crucial. The Department of Arts and Culture has a significant role to play in supporting young people in this instance. All of the above will not be achieved without a revolutionary organisation and mobilisation of young people.

The SACP believes that the Progressive Youth Alliance, with the YCL at its head, is an important instrument for the mobilisation of young people and their unity in action. As important active and vibrant strata in society, the youth must be part of the revolution and identify themselves with the revolutionary class struggles of the working class.

As we celebrate June 16 we dare not betray the legacy of the 1976 generation and the many generations that showed bravery, militancy and radicalism. The youth must rise up and fight against capitalism. Youth for socialism and socialism for youth! ●

Cde Maleka is the SACP spokesperson

YOUTH DAY

June 16th and today's youth

We face different challenges, but must learn from the courage of the '76 generation

BY MFAFANFUTHI TSELA



Malesela Maleka

The courageous sacrifice of the 1976 generation, led by student leaders like Cdes Tsietsi Mashinini, Murphy Morobe, Kgotso Seathlolo and others made it possible for South Africa to be free. Determined to do everything possible to bring about freedom, they unlocked a wave of human energy unequalled in the history of the struggle against the apartheid system.

The 1976 student uprising was a turning point in the liberation struggle in South Africa. It cemented the position of the ANC as the leader of the liberation struggle. The bravery of the students in confronting the might of the apartheid state roused the international solidarity movement and intensified the international isolation of the white minority regime.

Thousands of young people left the country because of government repression and harassment by the police that followed the uprising. Most would sacrifice their education, choosing instead to go into the military camps of Umkhonto weSizwe. Some would be infiltrated back into South Af-

rica as guerrilla fighters over the next decade. This would become part of the people's war against the apartheid system that finally broke its back towards the end of the 1980s. Those who stayed behind ensured that the exiled liberation movement could count on their support in townships. Most of the exiles who left after the Soweto uprising would only return home in the early 1990s, to celebrate the birth of democracy in 1994.

For the white minority regime the Soweto uprising marked a fundamental



The '76 generation: confronting the brutal might of the apartheid state

challenge to apartheid and led to greater economic and political instability.

The class of 1976 earned the revolutionary title of "the young lions", because of their bravery and determination in the face of what appeared to be insurmountable difficulties. The important lesson

that the 1976 generation taught us is that it is possible for young people to stand up and confront the challenges facing them. The bravery and sacrifices of that generation of young people should serve as an inspiration to the youth of today to work hard to contribute to addressing the challenges which they and the country confront.

Today young people face different challenges from those which the youth of 1976 confronted. Some of the present challenges facing the youth include unemployment, poverty, HIV-Aids, alcohol and drug abuse, illiteracy, teenage pregnancy, and women and child abuse. Unlike the 1976 generation that used petrol bombs and stones to confront the might of the apartheid military, today's youth must use education and skills to fight the scourge of poverty and underdevelopment.

As we pay homage to the heroic struggles of the generation of young men and women who defied the apartheid system, we must remind the youth of today that they will have to earn the honoured title of "the young lions". They cannot do that by being ill-disciplined or through pseudo-radicalism and demagoguery. It is not tenders and corruption that will free young people from the shackles of illiteracy and unemployment.

The challenge of transformation in the country cannot be tackled effectively without a deepened understanding of strategic social issues. It is important that today's generation of young people is able to identify the social challenges facing present day South Africa, and define their roles in addressing those challenges. This can only be achieved when young people have developed a clear comprehension of their socio-economic conditions and the underlying structural roots of those conditions.

The opportunities that have come with freedom and democracy must be used by young people to campaign against the challenges they are facing. The total freedom of young people will not be achieved so long as illiteracy, unemployment and poverty have not been eradicated. The youth of today can honour the martyrs of 1976 by rejecting corruption and tenderpreneurship. ●

Cde Tselo is an SACP activist

SACP CENTRAL COMMITTEE

Updating the SA Road to Socialism

The SACP Central Committee issued the following statement after its May meeting

Meeting on 25 and 26 May, six weeks before the SACP's 13th National Congress, the Central Committee refined the Party's Draft Political Programme for 2012-2017, The South African Road to Socialism (SARS), to be debated at the Congress.

The CC decided that the following issues should also be included as part of SARS:

- The SACP needs to be far more active in tackling climate change and other environmental challenges and integrate this into our Medium Term Vision as part of the struggle against capitalism.

- Given the centrality of land reform and agrarian transformation to the national democratic and socialist revolutions, the draft programme needs to give more attention to the land question.

- We need to focus more on the extent to which the anti-majoritarian liberal offensive uses statutory institutions to undermine the national democratic revolution, and the need for the Tripartite Alliance to more actively mobilise People's Power to defend and advance the NDR. We also need to engage with our Alliance partners on how to find a more effective balance between governance and mass mobilisation; and ensure a mutually reinforcing and dialectical relationship between our engagement in the state and People's Power.

- The SACP also needs to consider how we can contribute to strengthening the capacity of the state and deepening its transformation into an effective national democratic developmental state.

- As is clear from the persistent racism and chauvinism in our society, there is a need for a general understanding of

key issues relating to non-racialism, culture and values in our society. More importantly the SACP is convinced that we need to intensify the struggle against racism, bigotry and all other forms of chauvinism. It is also absolutely clear that sections of South African society have taken our people's gesture of reconciliation as a sign of weakness. The discourse on non-racialism is currently being increasingly dominated by liberals. Yet the SACP was the first organisation to be non-racial and for long spearheaded the struggle for a non-racial democracy. We need to look at new ways of advancing the struggle for non-racialism and new sites through which to wage it and, importantly, integrate this more effectively into the national democratic and socialist struggles. For the SACP, the main focus should be on uniting the workers and the poor of all races.

- The CC also resolved that there has to be much greater stress on the political education of SACP members at every level and consideration needs to be given to establishing a permanent Party School.

- For SARS to be implemented there has to be rolling mass action – and this needs to be elaborated in the annual programmes of action devised by the Party.

We need to engage the Alliance on a more effective balance between governance and mass mobilisation

The CC noted that discussions on SARS have highlighted the need to more effectively and sustainably deal with the persisting challenges of unemployment, poverty and inequality in our country and both to accelerate the pace of transformation and to deepen it.

Freedom of expression not a universalist abstract right

The SACP has joined its alliance partners and millions of ordinary black, along with some white, South Africans in expressing our sense of outrage about Brett Murray's work, *The Spear*. The CC felt that this provocative painting must be strongly condemned by all South Africans. We called for a boycott of City Press until there is an apology from the newspaper for having splashed the offending portrayal into public prominence and the deeply offensive work is withdrawn from its web-site. We will also be active participants in Tuesday's march on the Goodman Gallery and in other related activities.

Freedom of speech and the related freedom of artistic expression are important freedoms in any democracy. The SACP has an outstanding record of being in the trenches of struggle for the achievement of these rights in the darkest days of colonial and apartheid repression. But this is not primarily an abstract, universalist right. And the rage around Murray's work raises the need for all of us to understand and take responsibility for the concrete economic, social, cultural and even psychological realities of our society in which we all continue to suffer from deep-seated phobias, lingering prejudices, and, in the case of the majority, basic deprivations and a continuing

sense of pain and hurt.

Nor is this, it must be stressed, principally a legalistic matter – although, as the editor of the City Press, Ferial Haffajee, once recognised in another context, the right to freedom of expression is not an unlimited right and it needs to be balanced and socially contextualised. In our case, given our centuries-long divided and barbaric history, we need to continuously affirm the corner-stone right of our entire Constitution – the right to human dignity for all.

While we must strongly condemn Murray's insults, it would be a sad day for the future of our country if we allowed the emotions provoked by Murray's work to polarise us along racial grounds.

Rights and responsibilities are intertwined. We call on our members and our broader movement to mobilise to express legitimate outrage and our defence of the key principle of human dignity for all, and we also call for discipline and a sense of responsibility.

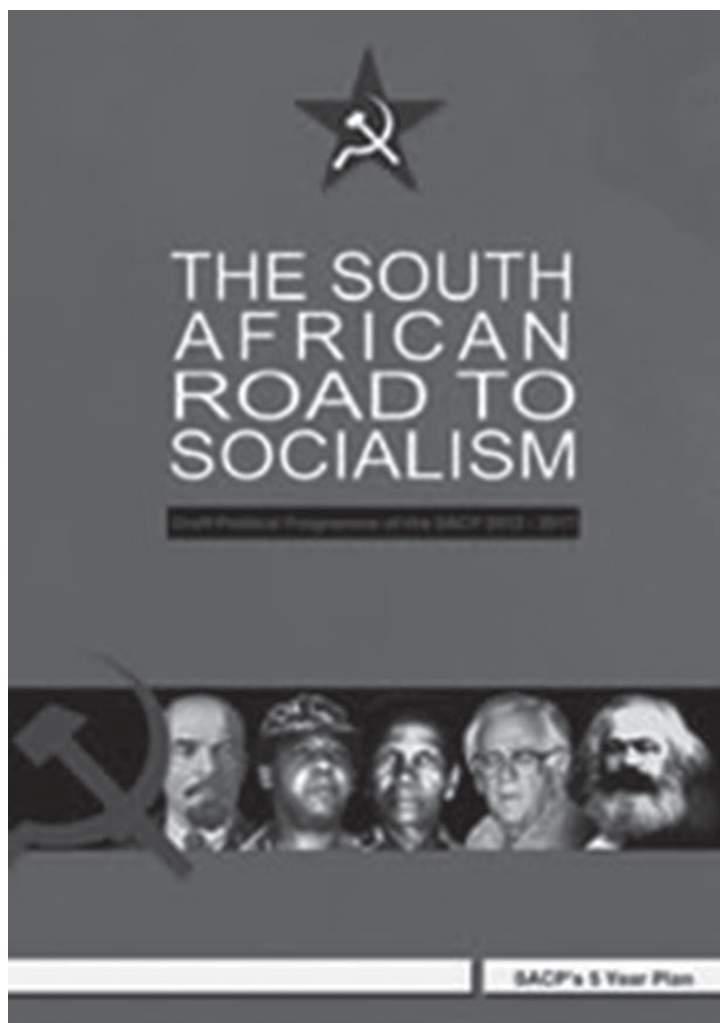
Murray's work raises, once again, the need for respect of the Office of the President of this country and the person of the President.

The CC understands that the City Press is prepared to consider the concerns of the SACP and its Alliance partners and the millions of people we represent, and in this context, we are prepared to meet with the City Press if that would perhaps help them better understand the outrage of our people and contribute to taking matters positively forward. A delegation of the SACP will meet with the City Press in this regard.

More discussion on Traditional Courts' Bill

The CC received a report on the Traditional Courts' Bill which is currently before parliament, and felt very strongly that the Bill needs to be discussed further within the Alliance and broader society, and not be proceeded with in its current form.

Among the issues the CC drew attention to were the following:



We must more effectively deal with the persistent challenges of unemployment, poverty and inequality

- The Traditional Courts' Bill highlights the need for a more comprehensive review of the entire justice system, whose underlying principles and values need to be completely re-examined. It is within the context of such a review that a role for traditional courts, consistent with the objectives of the national democratic transformation, has to be defined.

- Currently, it is mainly the rich and other elites who have access to justice, and the transformation of the justice system must ensure greater access for the poor.

- Aspects of the traditional courts system that are progressive should be retained, but aspects that are in conflict with the non-sexist, democratic and nation-building goals of the NDR should be rejected.

- People's Courts and Street Committees should be revived and play a role in dispute resolution on basic issues that need not be processed by the formal structures of the justice

system.

- The SACP will develop its views further on the Traditional Courts' Bill as part of a transformed criminal justice system, and consider this further at our 13th National Congress in July.

International Issues

Support for proper labelling of products from Palestine: The CC reiterated the SACP's support for the notice issued by Minister of Trade and Industry, Comrade Rob Davies, for the Israelis to stop labelling goods produced in the Israeli settlements within Palestine as products of Israel. This will also allow South African consumers to make a choice on whether we want to buy goods produced through the dispossession and subjugation of the Palestinian people. The SACP supports the call for goods produced within Palestine to be labelled as such.

The Minister's notice highlights once again the Israeli occupation of Palestine and its constant encroachment on Palestinian land. The SACP re-affirms our

commitment to sanctions against Israel and the boycott of Israeli goods until the Palestinians rights to national self-determination are realised.

The SACP will continue to work with other progressive forces to mobilise solidarity action in support of the Palestinian people and their just cause.

Euro-Zone Crisis: The CC noted that the continuing Euro Zone economic and financial crisis serves to confirm our analysis in SARS that this is a systemic crisis which can only be sustainably addressed through a principled struggle against the capitalist system and its replacement by the more, humane and just socialist system.

Cuba: The CC congratulated the parliament of our country for voting to give Cuba R395 million in financial assistance, and recalled the huge debt our movement and people owe Cuba for their contribution to our struggle.

The CC noted with appreciation Cuba's assistance to Comrade Hugo Chavez with his health challenges.

The CC congratulated CC and Politburo member Chris Che Matlhako for receiving the "The Friendship and Solidarity" Award from the Cuban government.

Importance of Africa Day: The CC noted the importance of Africa Day and re-affirmed the SACP's commitment to contributing to transformation and progress on the continent, especially in the interests of the workers and the poor.

Congratulations on Square Kilometre Array (SKA): The CC noted with pride the decision to award the SKA project primarily to South Africa, and congratulates the government on this. This award is a major boost to scientific development not just in South Africa, but the African continent as a whole.

The CC looks forward to a successful National Congress – to take forward our struggle for socialism!

Strengthening Relations between SACP and Cosatu

The CC welcomed the recent meeting between the office-bearers of the SACP and Cosatu and progress in preparations for a full bilateral of the two organisations to be held soon. The office-bearers meeting re-affirmed the need for the two organisations committed to socialism to work more effectively together.

Congratulations to YCL on its 90th Anniversary

The CC congratulated the YCL on its 90th anniversary and on its considerable progress since its revival in 2003. The CC appreciated the major contribution the YCL makes to the SACP, and expressed its confidence that the YCL will grow from strength to strength.

Congratulations to the National Union of Mineworkers (NUM)

The SACP also congratulates the NUM on holding a successful congress and celebration of its 30th anniversary of heroic struggle for better working conditions for mineworkers, and its contribution to the struggle for national liberation in our country. We also wish to congratulate two members of the SACP Central Committee, Cdes Senzeni Zokwana and Frans Baleni for their re-election as President and General Secretary respectively. This

is a tribute and recognition of their role and principled contribution to the struggle of the workers and the poor in our country. We also wish the entire elected leadership of the NUM well in their responsibilities, and look forward to deepening the relations between the NUM and the SACP.

The CC also welcomed the NUM's resolution to join the class-oriented World Federation of Trade Unions (WFTU). It is time that genuine international proletarian solidarity is deepened through the strengthening of an anti-capitalist global trade union movement, especially in the wake of a capitalist system that is truly in crisis. The SACP hopes that this resolution will pave the way for the entirety of Cosatu to join the WFTU.

Progress on 13th SACP National Congress, 11-15 July

The CC finalised preparations for our 13th National Congress, to be held at the University of Zululand in Empangeni from 11 to 15 July. The Congress will bring together more than 2 000 delegates representing more than 150 000 members. It will be the largest Congress in the SACP's 91-year history. The Congress is organised around the theme Advance and deepen working class power and hegemony in all key sites of struggle.

More than 40 Communist parties from other countries will attend.

The President of the ANC, Comrade Jacob Zuma, will address the Congress, as will our other Alliance partners.

The CC expressed considerable satisfaction with progress made since our 12th National Congress in July 2007 and looks forward to a successful and productive 13th National Congress that significantly takes forward our struggle for socialism! ●

Umsebenzi

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THE SPEAR

SACP and City Press meet over boycott

This statement was issued after an SACP delegation met City Press during the recent boycott of the newspaper

An SACP delegation led by General Secretary Blade Nzimande met City Press Editor, Ferial Haffajee and some of her colleagues to discuss a wide range of issues related to the newspapers coverage of Brett Murray's painting, *The Spear*.

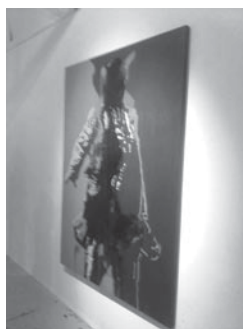
The SACP referred to the pioneering role it played in fostering alternative media in South Africa through such publications as *The International*, *The South African Worker*, *Umsebenzi*, *The Guardian*, *Advance*, and *New Age*, and the huge sacrifices its members had made in fighting for the freedom of the Press and democracy in this country. The SACP stressed that it remains committed to freedom of speech and artistic expression but does not see this as an abstract right that licenses media workers and artists to trample on peoples dignity and inflame racial tensions.

The SACP noted that Ms Haffajee also once recognised, in another context, that the right to freedom of expression is not an unlimited right and it needs to be balanced and socially contextualised.

The SACP recognised the historical role of the *City Press* as a platform to fight the legacy of apartheid and racism particularly.

Both parties agreed that the rights to dignity and the rights to freedom of expression are important rights to be defended by all South Africans.

The SACP delegation explained why there was such huge outrage at Murray's painting and why it had called for a boycott of the *City Press*. The SACP is clear that in a democracy it has the right to boycott media that tramples on



Above:
The City Press edition that caused all the trouble

Left:
The Spear after it was defaced

people's dignity. While understanding people's anger, the SACP condemns any intimidation of and threats to the staff of *City Press*. The SACP also stressed that it supports the right of the media to criticise politicians, provided that this does not undermine their rights to dignity, and believes that the media can play a major role in deepening and advancing democracy.

City Press welcomed the meeting with the SACP, and explained that

In a democracy the SACP has the right to boycott media that tramples on people's dignity

reporting did not necessarily mean endorsement. City Press explained that the media by its very nature regularly published material that did not necessarily express the views of its editors or staff.

City Press stressed that it did not believe that a boycott of newspapers was the way to deal with difference between political organisations and the media, more so when those calling for the boycott had access to decision-makers at the newspaper.

The SACP and *City Press* agreed that the experiences around *The Spear* should ultimately serve to create a better understanding between the media, its consumers and political organisations in the interests of consolidating media freedom and our democracy.

The SACP and *City Press* agreed that there should be regular meetings between political organisations and the media to create better understanding of the nature, roles, responsibilities and challenges of role-players in their respective spheres in order to advance media freedom and democracy in this country.

The SACP welcomes the initiatives of the editor of *City Press* so far in apologising and withdrawing the painting from its website, and raised further issues with *City Press* in this regard.

The SACP will engage with the ANC and its other Alliance partners on the issues raised at the meeting, including the boycott of the *City Press*, and what can be done to take matters positively forward. ●

LIMPOPO PC

Rebuilding the province to defend the alliance

The declaration of the 6th Provincial Congress of the South African Communist Party in Limpopo at Makhado 8-10 June

We, the 498 delegates, representing 464 branches in all the five Party districts and the YCL gathered here from 8 to 10 June under the theme *Rebuilding the province in working class terms to defend the revolutionary alliance* declare:

We extended a special invitation to the families of our fallen heroes who hail from Alpheus Malivha as well as the Tshivhase royal family who supported the Party throughout its campaigns in that district.

We received a political, organisational and financial report which reflected the progress made in implementing the mandate given to the Interim PEC. The delegates utilised this opportunity to prepare for the forthcoming 13th National Congress of the Party that will take place in KZN next month, developing resolutions based on the draft Party programme, the *South African Road to Socialism*.

International balance of forces

Congress observes the continued dominance of the global capitalist system which is in crisis. We also observe the heightened imperialist arrogance and the self-imposition of the imperialist system led and enforced by the USA and its Nato allied group.

We derive hope from the emergence of the new world order led by countries of the South such as Brazil, Russia, India and China. These countries that constitute Brics could provide a significant alternative in global politics as they represent more than half of the world's population. The South-South relations should also extend to countries with exemplary models of socialism such as Cuba, Venezuela, Bolivia and others.

We applaud the financial loan granted to Cuba by the government of South African as it will go a long way in relieving

the people of Cuba from a suffocating economic blockade imposed on them more than 30 years ago by the imperialist US government that has appointed itself the policeman and judge of the world.

We call for an end to the authoritative and corrupt Tikhundla government system and the immediate release of Cde Amos Mbedzi who is still languishing in a Swaziland prison for pursuing the struggle for the freedom of the Swazi people from the chains of an absolute monarchy.

We support the candidacy of Cde Nkosazana Zuma for the chairmanship of the African Union.

We further call upon the CC and the upcoming 13th National Congress of the SACP to resolve on the formation of a block of socialist parties in Africa and the world.

Congress pledges solidarity with the relentless struggles of the oppressed people of the world, most particularly in Palestine and Western Sahara. We particularly demand an end to the blockade of Cuba by the US and the release of the Cuban Five who are still languishing in a US prison for defending their country against dirty intelligence tricks by the US.

Current political conjuncture

We urge all progressive forces to close ranks and unite as we march to the na-

tional congresses of the SACP, Cosatu and the ANC this year. This unity must not be mechanical but must be ideological to neutralise this right-wing agenda and also push back the frontiers of greed and accumulation.

The Alliance in this province has consistently won the support of the people during successive elections in all spheres of government. However the chronic corruption under the Mathale administration has seriously reduced the confidence levels of people in the ability of government to deliver services to working class and rural communities.

This state of affairs comes as a result of the emergence of the new tendency as the nationalist bourgeoisie offshoot of the "1996 Class Project" which has found Limpopo a fertile breeding ground under this administration. It is only in Limpopo where the Premier has more companies than ordinary business people!

Due to our relentless struggles, together with our allies Cosatu, Sanco and other MDM formations, today five departments have been put under administration. We call upon the national government to put all the departments in Limpopo under a Section 100 intervention and for Mathale to step down as premier.

We see no reason why he is still drawing a salary whilst government service delivery has totally collapsed. The CC and the national leadership of the ANC must intervene in this dire situation as urgently as possible if we are serious about retaining the overwhelming support of the people of this province for the 2014 elections.

South African Road to Socialism

Congress reaffirms the general thrust of SARS as the document that articulates our politico-economic trajectory on so-

We urge progressive forces to unite to push back the frontiers of greed and accumulation

cialism. Of particular importance is that the Party must never be apologetic about contesting state power as it is the highest and most concentrated form of power. Congress call upon SACP members across the country to enter the battle of ideas in defence of the NDR by actively partaking in discussions and debates about the future of the country, regardless of the limited space offered by the bourgeoisie media.

On the Alliance

We noted the poor state of affairs in the Tripartite Alliance within the province. This poor relationship is particularly rife between the ANC and the Party as well as the ANC and Cosatu where these formations cannot deal with any issues organisationally but through public spats. This is particularly so because the leader of the Alliance cannot play its role in bringing together the Alliance in pursuit of our common programme of the National Democratic Revolution.

Our theoretical perspective is that we should continue the fight for the class content of the NDR. As communists and workers we should be active in the ANC to ensure the socialist outcome of the NDR. We remain unshaken in our determination to build the Alliance. Congress mandated the newly elected PEC to engage with the ANC PEC to strengthening the alliance between the two parties since this relationship should not be based on

We should be active in the ANC to ensure a socialist outcome of the NDR

personalities but a common programme. We also committed ourselves to strengthening and deepening our good relationship with Cosatu and Sanco.

Education crisis in the province

We noted the crisis in education in the province. This is marked by the near collapse of the education system. Some schools are still not having textbooks with only three months remaining to exams and others are offering lessons under trees during this winter season.

Congress also noted the constant crisis at the University of Limpopo where the management continues to victimise the leadership of the SRC and PYA formations. These student leaders are victims whenever they point out issues of corruption at the university. We therefore call upon the Higher Education and Training Ministry to institute a team to investigate the crisis at this university with a view to put its management un-

der administration, should the situation necessitate such action.

Comrades' Marathon

We congratulate the son of the rural working class village from Limpopo, Ludwick Mamabolo, for winning the Comrades' Marathon. The province should take advantage of this achievement to ensure that more sports potential is unravelled through the establishment of sports academies.

Office-bearers

This 6th Congress has unanimously elected the following collective of cadres to lead the SACP in Limpopo for the next term of office:

Provincial Secretary:

Gilbert Kganyago

Provincial Chairperson:

Jacob "Teenage" Monama

Provincial Treasurer:

Phophi Ramathuba

Deputy Provincial Secretary:

Goodman Mitileni

Deputy Provincial Chairperson:

Maphiswana Thixedzwi.

Additional members: Polly Boshielo; Charles Kganyago; Patrick Makape; Gorbachev Mashele; Mologadi Mashego; Danger Matumane; Tsapane Mamapuru; Walter Mothapo; Mookamedi Ntsepeng; Ndhivuwo Phathela; Merriam Ramadwa; Ivy Nwadzule; Dan Sehabi; Machike Thobejane; and Joyce Tsipa. ●



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LOCAL GOVERNMENT

Homeboys and regional consciousness

Life Mokone warns that 'territorial loyalty' builds on past apartheid-capitalist relationships

After noting the public discussions (mainly on social media) on the appointment of a new mayor for the Mangaung Metro, I realise that serious discussion about this must be instigated. This note is an attempt to investigate the merits and demerits of what is referred to as "homeboys" and "homegirls".

Ghanaian liberation fighter Dr Kwame Nkrumah said: "Common territory, language and culture may in fact be present in a nation, but the existence of a nation does not necessarily imply the presence of all three. Common territory and language alone may form the basis of a nation. Similarly, common territory plus common culture may be the basis. In some cases, only one of the three applies. A state may exist on a multi-national basis. The community of economic life is the major feature within a nation and it is the economy which holds together the people living in a territory. It is on this basis that the new Africans recognise themselves as potentially one nation, whose domination is the entire African continent." (*Class Struggle in Africa*, 1970)

Firstly, do we consider ourselves a nation? If yes, then let us slightly start from the beginning. Our differences in race, ethnicity languages define our sovereignty. It is not just our territory that defines us, but our commitment to nation-building. We have proven through history that we can withstand conquest and oppression. When through history this reality came to proof, those who shed their blood never constrained their sufferings for their immediate families or merely to their homeboys and homegirls. The martyrs who shed their blood did not do so for their immediate families or for people from the areas where they come from, but for the nation as a whole. True revolutionaries are not preoccupied with regionalism, ethnicity or race. Territorial consciousness cultivates re-

gionalism and tribalism which is not good for nation-building. In an environment where this exists, those who are perceived to come from other geographic areas face hostility from the so-called homeboys and homegirls. This needs to be discouraged by the revolutionary movement.

The building of territorial consciousness is very narrow and will not address the racial and gender imbalances of the past. Politically, we need to be asking ourselves if the time is appropriate to be engaging on territorial politics whilst we remain the underprivileged. We can further investigate whether the engagement in this specific issue is necessary even for the future while claiming to be leading the task of nation building. The acknowledgment of this reality will assist us realise that even though securing political power was vital, it is inadequate in addressing the challenges imposed by our past.

Territorial consciousness proves to be a selfish call which intends to limit the benefits of the entire province to one township people or so. There is a tendency by the people who trapped in territorial consciousness to refer to areas of residences as theirs while forgetting that all the national assets under the control of the state are actually the assets of the entire people.

In the midst of all this, "homeboy" patronage lures young, gifted people into advancing their own self-interest, informed by their desire to lay hands on state resources and accumulate them as quickly as possible. This is evident in both spheres of government located in our province where "hit men" are hired to assassinate comrades or where criminals masquerading as genuine members of our movement are mobilised to render municipalities ungovernable as a way to pass a vote of no confidences to the non-homeboys and homegirls. People are referred to by their birth places. The hostility towards public

servants and elected officials who were not born in a particular area compromises service delivery. It is sad that while history teaches us that our country has always been enough for its people, there are those trapped in narrow regional politics.

According to former ANC President Cde JT Gumede "African natives were taken from their places of land and were made vulnerable only to be taken to new Kimberley mines to work for guns which were later taken from them by government". This means that places of work in our country have not entirely been determined by us but by colonial dispossession and every corner of our beloved country should be a place of work of every native.

This understanding alone is enough to serve as a rebuke to those who are hostile to people who are not from their home town. It is the colonial strategy of divide and rule used to perpetuate inequality and oppression of our people. Is it possible that we are heading for the lowest political point in the history of our province? For these people it is not important as to how brothers and sisters of the same descent, language and history are exploited at work by the bosses. What matters to them is control of the municipality. Historically the wealth of big cities like Mangaung was certainly not borne only from the sweat of the homeboys and homegirls.

In Marxist terms the socio-economic relationships that characterise the city of Bloemfontein today was a consequence of productive relations as defined by the capitalist. It was not a voluntary process but on many occasions it became a consequence of cheap labour, or death, or the worker's relationship with the capitalist, as it was with the relationship of slave master to the slave. ●

Comrade Mokone is the YCLSA Free State Provincial Secretary

INTERVIEW

Australia: Towards a new type of government

SACP Politburo member Cde Solly Mapaila interviews Comrade Anna Pha, Central Committee member of the Communist Party of Australia



Mapaila: What do you think are the main features of the global economic and financial crisis?

Solly Mapaila

ness of a number of governments was created by the bail-out of financial institutions and other corporations, and the austerity programmes that are being imposed on people to make them repay these debts for the crisis they did not cause is unfair.

In Australia, the government claims we have avoided the crisis because of good economic management, and our GDP has continued to grow during this period unlike other industrialised economies. This has nothing to do with good economic management by government. It is because of the high demand by India and China in particular and the Asian countries generally, for mineral resources. Other sectors of the economy such as manufacturing, retail, tourism and housing construction are recessed. The government has a budget deficit of 25% of GDP and it must be returned to surplus for Australia to retain its credit ratings in 2012 and 2013.

It uses this necessity for a budget surplus as an excuse for austerity measures. At the same time it continues a process which is been under way for some years of reducing taxation on company profits. In the words of one woman activist: "We all have different illnesses but government is inflicting the same neo-liberal medicine which will only deepen the crisis". The economists and government don't want to upset the stock markets hence they speak the way they do.

Australia is not immune to what happens in Europe and America. If the recession deepens there and they import fewer goods from China and other Asian countries, China's demands for Australian goods

will also decline. Without these exports to China, the Australian economy will plunge. Australia exports coal, iron ore, gold, uranium, tin, copper and other minerals, as well as agricultural products and wine. We also have few a hundred thousand foreign students but as the Australian dollar has risen, the numbers have declined. This is also because of the recent racist attacks on foreign students in Melbourne, where one student died. The state was very slow to take this seriously.

Mapaila: How are you responding to the global crisis in your country?

Pha: One of the main areas of our struggle is the rights of workers and trade unions. There is massive employer offensive which has been underway for some years to take back the gains of over a century of struggle. We are fighting against laws which virtually criminalise legitimate trade union activity. One trade union militant in the building and construction industry has been fined A\$6-million (R67-million)



Anna Pha:
"We are fighting against laws which virtually criminalise trade union activity"

through the courts in two years. There is a special regulation which created an inspectorate specific to that industry. One of our priorities is fighting for basic trade union rights. Another focus is an alternative economic policy – the opposite of neo-liberalism based on the expansion of the public sector, job creation, re-regulation of economic and financial systems, interest rates, capital flows and so on.

Other issues include setting up public and national people's banks, national insurance, cutting military expenditure,

reforming the tax system to make it more progressive for higher income earners and corporations, and introducing special taxes on super profits. Also important are renewable energy, development research and expansion of public transport system. Neither the Democrats nor the Conservative Party will be prepared to implement such pro-people policies that challenge monopoly capital and have a democratic content.

We advocate the building of broad possible alliances or movements of people and organisations that are democratic, progressive, anti-monopoly and anti-imperialism. Ultimately, the aim is to elect a government of a new type. This is not going to happen overnight given the current state of politics in Australia. We see involving forces such as the Greens, other left parties, trade unions, small farmers, small business and some members of the Labour Party, and all those who are exploited by monopoly capital. We have not openly spoken of socialism in this context as the class consciousness of the working class has been dulled for the past few decades by the ideological offensive by the ruling class and the adoption of a social contract and class collaboration policies by the trade union leadership in the 1980s.

The government of a new type will be the first step towards building socialism, it will not result in people's power but it would take us a step in that direction.

The trade union movement in Australia is controlled by social democracy with no communist-led trade unions. Of course, there are a few communist officials and some we could call left wing. but they do not have socialist objectives, politically. They are closely tied to the Labour Party. The Party supports international struggles of the working class and has supported the South African struggle, and been involved in solidarity work with Cuba against the blockade, and in support of Palestine. ●