

**YCL LOOKS BACK ON 10 FIGHTING YEARS
– AND TO A SOCIALIST FUTURE!**



March 2014

Voice of the South African Communist Party

Unsebenzi



**WORKERS VOTE FOR
AN OVERWHELMING
ANC ELECTION VICTORY!**

**SMASH MONOPOLY CAPITAL
& ITS ALLIES!**

CC STATEMENT

Close ranks against monopoly capital, corruption and minority privilege!

The SACP Central Committee calls on the working class to remain resolute in the face of tough class challenges and for an ANC-Alliance election victory

The Central Committee of the SACP met in Johannesburg over the weekend 29 February-2 March 2014. With little over two months before the 7 May general elections, the CC focused on consolidating the Party's ongoing electoral programme of action. In the light of many challenges within our movement, and the global and local return of neo-liberal triumphalism, the role and responsibilities of the SACP and the broader working class in ensuring an overwhelming ANC-Alliance electoral victory has never been greater.

In this context, we are proud to report the continued growth of SACP membership, now standing at close to 190 000 with a 45% women membership, a doubling of membership over the past five years. More importantly, our activists on the ground are playing a vanguard role through the Party's ability to reach into turbulent townships and mining settlements, sometimes declared as no-go areas by demagogic anti-ANC Alliance forces.

The present election campaign cannot be divorced from a range of class struggles, including the struggle to rescue the public broadcaster from unceasing plundering by elements who regard themselves as untouchable. Similarly, the ANC election manifesto's commit-

ment to the rolling out of a National Health Insurance scheme is threatened by the deepening penetration of profit-seeking, private healthcare providers who are taking health care further and further beyond the reach of the majority of South Africans.

End the looting of the SABC

The CC noted the Public Protector's report on the situation at the SABC. While the report might be uneven in certain respects, if only 10% of its findings are correct, there is clearly deep rot in the public broadcaster. Moreover, the Public Protector's report confirms the same pattern of systemic corruption, mismanagement, inappropriate appointments and the persecution of whistle-blowers that has already been exposed by the Special Investigation Unit some two years ago. The SIU report has been languishing in limbo after being served at the Brixton police station.

The SACP calls on the Board of the SABC not to flinch yet again. Failure to act decisively on both the Public Protector's report and the findings of the SIU will amount to complicity with wrongdoing. The looting of the SABC over a long period has also had a disastrous impact on the morale of professional journalists and on the quality of the SABC's pro-

grammes, not least its news coverage. International coverage tends to simply serve up the line taken by the major imperialist powers (for instance, SABC reporting on the Ukraine at present). Much of the local news reporting is shallow, unprofessional, and focused on anti-ANC personalities. Other programming glorifies the empty, consumerist life-styles of wealthy socialites. We commend those SABC journalists who, nonetheless, continue to work and report professionally in the face of so many difficulties.

The SACP will consult with Cosatu and a range of other forces to plan a series of actions to ensure that the Board takes action in dealing with corruption. Move decisively, we say to the Board, or stand condemned yourselves.

Defend the public healthcare system

A precondition for the rolling out of a National Health Insurance (NHI) scheme is the strengthening of the existing public health system. But, if anything, the predatory role of private hospitals, the pricing of medicines and medical interventions, moonlighting of public sector nurses and doctors in the private sector, and the outsourcing of services in public hospitals, are all contributing to the erosion of our public healthcare system.

What is worse, some our own state de-



On the march: mass struggle remains vital to advancing the NDR and socialism

development finance institutions, working closely with narrow BEE tenderpreneurs, have been actively financing private hospitals. The National Empowerment Fund recently financed one black health entrepreneur some R100m to establish private hospitals. The Industrial Development Corporation declined to fund the planned Nelson Mandela Children's Hospital because it would be insufficiently profitable, while funding a private BEE hospital in Soshanguve. It is a scandal that during the era of minority rule an outstanding children's hospital – the Red Cross Children's Hospital, serving all children, rich and poor – could have been established, while post-1994 we falter. Our own public DFIs cannot be complicit in the erosion of the public healthcare system.

Private hospitals are profitable because they service the 17% of South Africans covered by medical aid schemes. But the private hospitals are so greedy and their prices so exorbitant that the medical aid schemes themselves are struggling. Even those of the major private corporations in SA are struggling. Sasol's medical aid, for instance, is reportedly being charged R4 500 for a male circumcision, whereas the procedure costs the state R400, and is provided free. The human papillomavirus (HPV) inoculation which the state will be providing free to all girl children in Grade 4 will cost the state R140 a shot, whereas the private health care system charges R1 000.

There are countless more examples of this gross over-charging that takes

healthcare far out of reach of the majority of South Africans and increasingly poaches health professionals from the public sector. The three major private hospital companies are all listed on the JSE. In other words, the whole system is skewed towards speculative investment and not the welfare of citizens. Healthcare is a fundamental human right – it is an outrage that it is becoming more, not less, of a commodity.

It is in this context that the SACP congratulates the Competition Commission for establishing an inquiry into health care costs. Working in consultation with Cosatu, its affiliates and community organisations, the SACP will seek to mobilise communities to ensure that those who have suffered from gross private healthcare exploitation come forward to tell their stories before the inquiry.

Take forward the fight against corruption

The Central Committee commends the work of SACP deployees in government in the struggle against corruption. The CC commends our deputy chairperson, Cde Thulas Nxesi for the leading role he is playing as Minister of Public Works in turning around a department that has been riddled with corruption and infiltrated by syndicates working hand in glove with criminal elements in the private construction and property industries. While the media has focused on the corruption that Cde Nxesi has helped to uncover in the refurbishment of the President's residence at Nkandla,

this is just the tip of the iceberg of corruption that has historically prevailed in DPW. As Minister of Finance Pravin Gordhan revealed last week in his budget speech, Treasury and Department of Public Works (DWP) have been working closely together to investigate massive fraud in DPW leasing activities. We commend these actions and urge that criminal charges against both public and private sector culprits be pressed rapidly and without fear or favour.

Likewise, the SACP repeats its call on the working class movement to be extremely vigilant against the dangers of business unionism, and to deal decisively with any indications of the corrupting impact on leadership cliques of business interests often associated with the management of union investment arms and worker retirement funds.

Forward to an overwhelming ANC-Alliance electoral victory

The SACP calls on the workers to close ranks. Now is not the time to allow the working class to be distracted by internal divisions or cults of the personality. Electoral absenteeism amounts to an abandonment of the class struggle trenches. No frustration, disappointment, unhappiness or personality cult can be big enough to justify working class desertion from this critical terrain of struggle.

When the working class is divided:

- Monopoly capital laughs all the way to the bank;
- The SABC is looted by

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tenderpreneurs;

- Profit-greedy private health care erodes the prospects of rolling out NHI;

- Private media oligopolies continue to block digital migration as they squabble among themselves for dominance. Private communication oligopolies continue to rip us off, charging among the highest cell-phone fees in the world;

- The corrupt and their corrupters feel safer, knowing that the organised working class is distracted.

The SACP calls on the working class to use the election campaign to take back the moral high ground, to close ranks and roll back the corrupting domination of monopoly capital in our society.

There are some who portray themselves as worker leaders, but they are focusing all their attention on fighting internal factional battles, and on opposition to the state and the Alliance. By advocating electoral absenteeism, they are playing directly into the hands of the DA – the party of big capital and white privilege.

On 7 May let us teach the DA, the arrogant party of monopoly capital and minority privilege, a powerful lesson

We call on the working class to deliver a decisive electoral defeat over the DA:

- A party that opposed farmworkers minimum wage being raised from R65 a day;

- A party that supports labour brokers;

- A party that wants to roll back hard-won labour market legislation in favour of a “flexible labour market”;

- A party that portrays Cosatu as the enemy, and marches on its head-office;

- A party of hypocrisy that speaks out of two sides of its mouth on black economic empowerment and on land reform;

- A party that fudges its silent approval of the Zionist apartheid wall in Palestine;

- A party that is seeking to disguise its conservative minority white electoral machine and its neo-liberal agenda behind parachuted black faces and a newly discovered support for ANC presidents of the past.

The DA is a party financially supported by the likes of Natie Kirsh who made his fortune in SA by exploiting township traders and collaborating with despotic feudalism in Swaziland. This is the Natie Kirsh whose company Magal Security Systems supplies intrusion-detecting



The Board must act – and act decisively

devices to the Israeli Defence Force for the construction of the apartheid wall in West Bank. It has been declared illegal by the International Court of Justice. But not only does the DA (like Agang) take dirty money from Kirsh, it takes instructions from him as well. Kirsh instructed Zille and Ramphele to join up in their ill-fated marriage.

We call on the working class: Come out in your large numbers to deliver a massive electoral blow to this party of big capital and white privilege. Electoral absenteeism simply plays into the hands of this retrograde anti-worker party.

On 7 May, let us also deal a decisive electoral blow against the EFF – the party led by the most corrupt tenderpreneurs

These loud-mouthed demagogues, these tenderpreneurs in red berets, do not fool workers. They have never done an honest day's work, so where do they get their fancy cars, their Breitling watches? Where do they get their campaign funding? Africa and the world have seen this kind of clowning before. But it is a mistake to just laugh it off: the Hitlers and Mussolinis rose to prominence demagogically sprouting “socialism”, and then butchering the working class when in power.

The EFF practices the same kind of demagogy that we are seeing playing itself out on the platinum belt at present. The EFF, like AMCU, hijacks real grievances, but for entirely self-serving leadership purposes. Wild promises are made for which there is no capacity to deliver, leading inevitably to the crushing defeat of gullible followers. A second slow bleeding Marikana tragedy is now play-

ing itself out on the platinum belt.

For all these reasons, we urge workers to come out in their overwhelming numbers to defeat anti-worker right-wing formations – whether they are cloaked in blue or red guises.

We call on workers to vote ANC – but not with a blank cheque

A working class election campaign gives us the opportunity to consolidate and take forward progress made by:

- An ANC-led government that opposes privatisation – because of working class and SACP struggles within the Alliance itself;

- A government that has rescued the auto sector in SA through public investment of R22-billion in 183 projects, preserving 46 000 jobs and adding 9 850 more jobs;

- A government that has led interventions in other industrial sectors including clothing and textiles, imposing a 75% local procurement requirement on the public sector;

- It is an ANC-led government which, in the past five years, has driven an economic and social infrastructure programme, committing R1-trillion of public spending as a key counter-cyclical intervention in the midst of the gravest global economic crisis since the 1930s;

- A government that has introduced the removal of adverse credit information, coming into effect from 1 April, impacting on some 10-million South Africans suffocated by mashonisas and high bank charges;

- A government that in the face of DA opposition has re-opened the lodgement of land claims, to address the plight of millions of the landless and land hungry;

- A government that has provided work opportunities to 4,5-million unemployed South Africans through the Expanded Public Works and Community Work programmes;

- A government that has opened the doors of higher learning to hundreds of thousands of more children of the working class with a trebling of the National Students Financial Scheme from R3,1-billion in 2009 to the current R9,6-billion.

But there is much more to be done! Let us close ranks! Let us roll back monopoly capital! Let us deal decisively with corruption! Let us defeat anti-working class forces! ●

Forward to an overwhelming ANC-Alliance electoral victory!

ELECTIONS 2014

Towards radical economic advance!

Party mobilises to advance radical economic changes in the second phase of our transition – with a strong working class bias

BY SOLLY MAPAILA



Under the clarion call of “Together Moving South Africa Forward”, the SACP joins the ANC-led Alliance in this year’s election campaign, inspired by the achievements of the last five years and two decades of freedom and democracy in our country.

We are also buoyed by the possibilities of deepening our democratic revolution through entering the third decade of freedom, with a radical economic phase. Ours is to ensure that this second radical phase of our transition is biased towards the working class and the poor.

We should spare no efforts to mobilise our base to come out in big numbers to vote ANC. We have responded well with an intensive programme to cover the remaining few weeks to complement that of the ANC.

Our programme is complementary to the ANC’s but quite distinctly biased towards the working class. The electoral message must resonate with the ANC-led Alliance election manifesto, which takes into consideration the five major priorities of our government and consolidating them with the imperatives of the watershed ANC 53th National Conference of Mangaung on radical economic transformation.

The Party should work to ensure that the ANC is bold enough to ensure the realisation of this call. Therefore tackling the financial sector is a major programme during the campaign.

We need to ensure targeted mobilisation of the working class.



Mobilising the SACP base to massively vote for the ANC

- The first targeted mobilisation is on workers in particular and the working class in general. Given the ongoing challenges facing Cosatu, the mobilisation of workers cannot be left to Cosatu alone. The worker forums are therefore a critical outlet to ensure a constant interface with the workers. The same goes for community red forums.

- Each Party structure should have an elaborate worker mobilisation programme to visit them at their workplaces, utilising available workplace workers meetings times for this and also targeting the lunch times in their area of work.

- Focus on areas that have been difficult for the ANC to penetrate if we have good prospects of changing opinions towards the ANC.

- Target hotspots. This will entail going to the known hotspots areas, particularly where we helped to stabilise after violent protests or even just hostile ones, to lead the election campaign as a specific target area to accomplish and get the affected communities behind the ANC. The Alli-

ance components and the Leagues should be mobilised for this task. We should seek to contain township protests, as they are aimed at destabilising our traditional support bases.

- Youth mobilisation and the youth vote as an important element and one of the most critical features of this election. We should have a dedicated focus on the first time youth voters whilst not ignoring the importance of the youth vote overall. The SACP appeals to the YCLSA to lead the implementation of the youth mobilisation programme that they presented to the election strategy workshop. All SACP provinces are tasked to give the YCLSA all necessary support to ensure effective implementation of the YCLSA election programme. Equally, the YCLSA should use the current community outreach during this election campaign to build the organisation.

- Target the mining areas and ensure we cover all the mining towns during the campaigning period. A dedicated focus on the platinum belt, which is currently un-

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der duress with looming strikes.

- Target the weaknesses of the opposition. Their collaboration with dubious international and rogue elements must be exposed.

Secure strongholds

- We should secure our strongholds and ensure that our supporters come out to vote on polling day. We should equally come with measures to defend our strongholds from the opposition forces.

- Make home visits and one-on-one contacts. We should intensify our continuous presence and service of communities. Through this we should actively participate in the community programmes and activities. The house visits should be turned into a continuous programme of leadership, at all levels, to interface with our people even post the election.

- Mobilise the army of our election volunteers, the Chris Hani Red Brigades of Elections to reach out to all communities and corners of the country to mobilise our people to vote for the ANC. These should be in blitzes to show our strength and confidence on the way to victory but not in an arrogant manner.

- We should also be cautious on how we conduct motorcades and this should not alienate the voters we are targeting through displays of opulence and glamour.

- Intensify the mobilisation of funds to fund major election activities, publications, t-shirts, pamphlets, beeps, gazebos, posters and etc.

Battle of ideas

- Improve our critical work in the battle of ideas and effective coordination of the war rooms in the battle of ideas and the final push towards the getting out the vote.

- There is a need to make the war rooms more dynamic. The workshop was impressed with the KZN war room model that is interactive.

- All our war rooms to effectively use You Tube and records events and activities, utilise the new media space of twitter, face book etc.

- In provinces where the war rooms have not been set, they should be set up as a matter of urgency.

- There is a need to coordinate media messaging at Alliance levels.

- The Alliance should be encouraged in the effective use of community media by our people to spread the ANC election message. This includes community radio, newspapers and television particularly in

the metros.

- We encourage all our members especially leaders in the Party, the Alliance, YCLSA to open social media accounts and send messages even if they need help in the war rooms on the messaging. This should start immediately given their massive outreach.

- Celebrate 20 years of democracy in the context of the election campaign

- Build the Party organisation in the context of elections and anchor this on the financial sector campaign.

Key messages in support of the ANC Manifesto

- Our messages are aligned to the government's five key priorities as in the previous manifesto. We have added to these messages these immediate priorities amongst others:

- Creating decent work and youth employment.

- Transformation of the financial sector to serve the people.

- Fighting crime and corruption.

- For land and food security.

- Celebrating and deepening our democracy.

- For National health Insurance and equal health care for all.

- Access to quality education and skills development.

- Better housing and basic services for all.

- Honouring the founding father of our democratic state, Cde uTata Nelson Mandela

- We should re-emphasise our call for the total banning of labour brokers as a means of decent job-creation. The SACP continues to denounce labour brokers as a rapacious practice of capitalist exploitation of workers akin to modern-day forms of slavery. This practice denies workers the dignity of job security, benefits and sustainable livelihoods. We shall continue the fight to ensure that the fifth democratic administration responds adequately to take concrete steps and appropriate measures preventing the capitalist abuse of the labour brokering system.

Implementation strategy

- Setting up outstanding elections structures with the ability to hit the ground running and coordinated by the National, Provincial, District and Branch Secretaries.

- Develop a clear media, information, publicity and propaganda machinery and implementation strategy to carry the election message daily.

- The Party should effectively use this

period of intensive engagements with the mass of our people to tell not only the good story of a transforming South Africa for the better. It should also underline the distinct role of the SACP in this struggle, and why socialism is a better alternative to the greedy capitalist system that not only creates the treble immediate challenges of inequalities, poverty and un-employment, but profoundly reproduces them.

- Identify Red Days and weekends to have dedicated election work. These days should be characterised by the mass involvement of our trained Chris Hani red brigade volunteers.

- Roll out a functional mobilisation team able to do basic electioneering work, such as poster distribution and pamphleteering.

- The reach out campaign to workers should be located on the platform of workers forums. We should convene Red Forums in communities.

- We also declare all Saturdays as Red Days with a dedicated focus on elections work

- Ensure effective deployment of political leaders at all levels of our activities. The deployed leaders should also try to interface with the community and not just arrive at meetings and then leave. The Party structures should ensure that arranged programmes address this matter by ensuring house visits and personal interface with the working masses of our people.

- Always ensure that we link the manifesto issues with the SACP programmes, particularly on the financial sector and the entire programme of the "Know and Act in Your Neighbourhood" Campaign with regard to basic services.

We approach this general election with the twin tasks of winning it decisively and building the organisation. Therefore how we carry ourselves in public is very important. We must conduct this campaign with robustness and yet accord our people their respect and dignity, including those who differ with us.

Soviet political theorist V Adoratsky wrote that Leninism "teaches the working class how to conduct its fight and how to secure victory, seize power, consolidate its gains and lead the toilers in their struggle against exploitation. It also teaches how socialism is to be built".

**Together we move South Africa forward!
Vote ANC!**

**Cde Mapaila is SACP Second Deputy
General Secretary**

YCLSA

The Party supports Young Communists!

Young communists must be rooted among young workers, lead in their daily struggles and develop Marxist-Leninist guidance

BY THULAS NXESI



On behalf of our Central Committee I congratulate the Young Communist League South Africa (YCLSA) for the work well done since its founding in 1922

and re-establishment in 2003.

The YCLSA was banned in 1950 as part of the apartheid regime's banning of the Communist Party of South Africa. Our decision in 2002, twelve years after the unbanning of the SACP in 1990, to re-establish the YCLSA, came at the right time. This decision redefined the South African political landscape among young people. First, the decision opened the stage for the development of a Marxist-Leninist youth organisation with unwavering commitment to serving as a preparatory school of the SACP.

Since its re-establishment in 2003, nine years after our democratic breakthrough in 1994, the YCLSA has played a significant role in the SACP, in our broader movement and among the youth in general. The YCLSA carried out its twin tasks of rallying young people behind the policies and programmes of our Party and engaging in the struggle of youth development. Specifically, the YCLSA brought a focused attention on the youth within the Party, becoming actively involved in recruitment and mobi-

lisation for the national democratic revolution and the struggle for socialism.

Today the SACP is far larger than it was in 2002. The Party's membership is now close to 200 000. Young people make up approximately 31% of SACP membership. These young activists largely come from the ranks of the YCLSA. The growth of the Party is the fruit of our programme to build working class hegemony in all key sites of power and struggle, buttressed by an organisational strategy to build the SACP as a large vanguard Party of the working class.

YCLSA programmes and campaigns

- The Joe Slovo Right to Learn Campaign, focussing on education and training;

- The Jobs for Youth Campaign focussing on unemployment among youth;

- Youth Health Campaign, which includes free sanitary towels, circumcision and an anti-HIV-Aids focus.

These and other YCLSA campaigns must be advanced rigorously and deepened to improve the quality of life of young people under the national democratic revolution while mobilising them for socialism in their lifetimes.

It is through revolutionary theoretical development and practical work on the ground that the YCLSA will itself become more relevant to the youth than ever before. This must be based on building a strong and activist organisation in communities, institutions of learning, industrial areas and wherever young people are found. The SACP is interested in the growth of the YCLSA both quantitatively and qualitatively because of the critical importance this has in turn in building the Party. The YCLSA must therefore intensify its Operation Khula to achieve continuous growth in its membership, branches and quality of contribution to the national democratic revolution and the struggle for socialism.

In the present period, where the trade union movement is experiencing internal challenges, the role that the YCLSA must play among young workers cannot be overemphasised. Within the trade union movement, there have emerged elements that are motivated by unbridled personal ambitions, commercial inter-



YCL National Secretary Buti Manamela (left) and Chair Yershen Pillay at the 10th anniversary celebrations

are crucially important for youth. They include:

- Political education and ideological training based on Marxist-Leninist principles;

- The ID Campaign which focuses on ensuring that young people have identity documents and can use these to gain access to social services;



Cde Nxesi: The YCLSA must play a leading political role among young workers in their daily struggl

ests and the cult of personality. These elements would stop at nothing to pursue division and disintegration.

This is the context in which in the post-2009 period some started attacking the SACP, and used the trade unions as a political platform to do so.

These attacks were extended to the ANC and later Cosatu, and now our revolutionary Alliance as a whole. Calls for workers not to support the ANC and for Cosatu to leave the Alliance are part of this agenda, which is now clear for all to see. It is a political deviation to start a new opposition against the ANC and the

Alliance based on the politics of populist adventurism.

The YCLSA must be rooted among young workers, play a leading political role among them in their daily struggles against economic exploitation, and must simultaneously develop and provide Marxist-Leninist clarity and political guidance. In view of our shared perspectives the YCLSA must work tirelessly to unite the Progressive Youth Alliance (PYA) in action among young workers and rally them behind the national democratic revolution and our revolutionary Alliance.

There must be no doubt among young workers that not belonging to the ANC and SACP is to be without political guidance. One cannot serve as a progressive if not revolutionary leader within the working class movement without political guidance. Instead of being misled not to support the ANC, which is aimed at leaving the ANC, and linked to a campaign directed at Cosatu to leave our Alliance, the YCLSA and other formations of the PYA must work among young workers and stress the importance of belonging to the ANC, SACP and Cosatu, and the importance of our revolutionary Alliance.

It is because of our Alliance that we have achieved victory against the forces of apartheid. It is through our Alliance that we have made a huge difference for the poor and significant progress in the lives of the millions of the workers and poor since the ascendency to government by the ANC in 1994.

The SACP calls upon YCLSA and its allies, including Cosas, Sasco, ANCYL, and all other progressive youth formations to mobilise the youth to vote for the ANC. ●

Cde Nxesi is SACP Deputy Chairperson. This is an edited version of the message delivered to the YCLSA's 10th anniversary rally

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COSATU SALUTES YCL

Nothing will ever destroy Cosatu!

The campaign to liquidate Cosatu, SACP and ANC will fail – as past campaigns to destroy the Alliance have failed

BY SIDUMO DLAMINI



Workers have said that I must tell you that none of our unions will leave Cosatu. As workers they will refuse to bow under any pressure forcing them to leave a federation they have built through their sweat over the years under painful circumstances when to be a member of a union or any of our formations meant death.

Instead of having some unions leaving the federation, we are getting more unions outside of Cosatu writing letters requesting to affiliate to this fighting federation.

We are an organisation that respects its principles, policies and codes of conduct. We are an organisation that belongs to our members and not to individuals.

There is a systematic attempt to divert our attention and energies from this organisational process and instil fear into us, plant the seeds of doubts in the public and ultimately render the federation paralysed.

We want to say for all to hear that we will not be detracted by this ill-conceived campaign; neither will we be made to fear it. But we will focus on ensuring that Cosatu remains an organisation which is capable of defending its constitution and policies and that it becomes an organisation which retains its dignity. More important, we will ensure that Cosatu becomes even more militant and radical, not on the terms determined by those who want to liquidate us, but based on the tried and tested strategies and tactics

agreed to in our various constitutional meetings.

We have known about this campaign to liquidate Cosatu, the ANC and the SACP a long time ago. We can systematically trace its emergence and its manifestations from various platforms and actions that pointed out very early that there was an intention to construct Cosatu into something that it is not.

The tactics that are being used to attack Cosatu and the movement as a whole are similar to those employed by the apartheid system and many other reactionary forces, which wanted to destroy the liberation movement. They all failed, as they will fail again.

All we know is that our enemies have realised by now that it is not easy to destroy this gigantic federation, Adrian Vlok failed when he bombed our head offices on 7 May 1987. The DA failed when they rented crowds of African youth to march to our offices. Many are still failing as we speak and many will fail in the near future.

Those of our unions who have issues about the federation must stop raising these in the media. There are constitutional platforms where these can be subjected to rigorous democratic debate and discussion.

Comrades must know that once a decision gets taken by a democratic structure through majority rule, all of us must respect and implement such a decision as if we never differed with it in the first place. That is what we call revolutionary discipline.

There is this new culture of participating in democratic processes, and when your views do not win, you go out to the media and to the streets to defy the decisions that emerged from the democratic

processes in which you also participated. It is not just wrong, and is not just a sign of naked dishonesty; it is counter-revolutionary.

We repeat: nothing will ever destroy Cosatu! We are like the proverbial baobab tree with the longest life span that can stand all kinds of weather, but continues to be a shelter to great kings and communities, under which great decisions are taken.

We will continue to embark on a concerted organisational drive to consolidate, build and further democratise our organisation. To extend our organisations to areas where workers are currently unorganised, and to act decisively to combat practices, or conditions, which lead to worker disunity or the fragmentation of our organisations.

We are hoping that in the process the YCLSA will also take some lessons from these painful yet educating experiences our federation is going through.

We have also noted over a long period that there is an expressed, yet wrong, and ideologically flawed expectation that we should treat the SACP and the ANC as enemies of the working people. This has become a new test to determine who is radical and militant.

If one hurls insults and throws stones at the SACP or the ANC, that person becomes a hero. Those who do not do this are labelled as having been co-opted.

Our Congress instructed us to build a socialist movement coalescing around the SACP. It said we should work with the SACP to convene a national political school with a view to developing a common perspective on taking the struggle for socialism forward based on the outcomes of our 11th Congress and the SACP's 13th Congress.

Our 11th National Congress instructed us to that house the SACP at Cosatu House without rent and to continue providing financial, material and other resources as a federation and by our affiliates.

The Congress said we should properly resource the SACP so that it efficiently and diligently deploys competent cadres into governance without compromising its organisational strength.

Our National Congress also instructed Cosatu and its affiliates to contribute to ensuring that the Party is able to execute its aim of radicalizing the National Democratic Revolution and that the ANC is strengthened to play its leadership role of the NDR.

Our Congress even further clarified that financial assistance to the SACP should be taken as a revolutionary contribution and at no stage should this be made an element of conditionality or be disclosed to the public unless declared with the approval of the NOBs of both Organizations.

In other words, the 11th Congress was saying that the relationship of our allied organisations must never be based on the good personal relationships between leaders, because when that relationship deteriorates, it goes down with the organisations.

Secondly the implementation of resolutions by our organisations must never be based on which resolutions individual leaders like or do not like because that will lead to resolutions being implemented half way and those aspects which are not of an individual's preference become discarded.

These are congress resolutions that must be implemented as a whole not selectively.

As Cosatu we have also conducted our own assessment of both the ANC and the South African political landscape and based on this assessment, resolved that with all the challenges our movement are confronting, it is only the ANC led Alliance which can advance our demands as it has done all over the years.

Nothing has changed from our assessment that would make us to change our minds on this position..

We participated in drafting the election manifesto and we repeated areas where we were not happy. There is agreement on the process to be followed to address these issues.

The manifesto has many issues that address our demands:

- To strengthen the enforcement of

the Employment Equity Act, which requires that employers report unequal incomes at all wage levels and submit plans to reduce inequalities.

- It commits to ensuring that collective bargaining is strengthened in all sectors of the economy.

- It commits to investigate the feasibility of a national minimum wage.

- It commits to enforce legislation to eliminate abusive work practises in atypical work and labour broking and to improve the capacity of the Department of Labour to enforce this and all other labour laws. .

- It commits government to a programme to create decent work and sustainable livelihoods for inclusive growth.

- It commits to accessible, reliable and affordable public transport.

- It allows space for further engagement with grey areas in the National Development Plan in line with the Alliance Summit decision to allow for a discussion to address the concerns raised by the SACP and Cosatu

- We have demanded the implementation of NHI, and the manifesto commits to its implementation.

- It commits government to strengthen support for co-operatives in marketing and supply activities to enable small-scale producers to enter formal value chains and take advantage of economies of scale.

- This will include targeting public institutions as primary buyers of agricultural goods and support for small-scale producers' access to municipal markets. The manifesto also says that we will ensure that all South Africans have access to adequate human settlements and quality living conditions through programmes that provide one million housing opportunities for qualifying households over the next five years, and providing basic services and infrastructure in all existing informal settlements.

These good intentions will not happen automatically, but their implementation will be have first to be decided on at the ballot box, and your task is firstly to go out and mobilise communities to go out in numbers to vote ANC so that these promises become real.

We strongly believe that any form of youth wage incentives will further cement the exploitation of young workers and will lead to the displacement of older workers. Despite the assurances from the ANC that workers will be protected against displacement, we believe that no employer would admit the real reason

for dismissing an employee and would possibly make allegations of misconduct or poor performance.

We must work to put tangible proposals about what we mean about changing the ownership and control patterns of the South African economy, which continue to reproduce colonial and capitalist domination. This has also increasingly taken on a foreign dimension with, among others Sasol's announcement that it will be investing some R200bn in Louisiana.

The task therefore does not end with the ANC winning elections, it goes beyond that, and includes building the capacity of our formations to drive development from below and re-impose the notion of a people-centred and people-driven development away from a bureaucratic-centred and know-all driven development.

Elections constitute another site of struggle which must be won under the banner of an ANC led Alliance. Cosatu has developed a clear election programme and our unions have developed elections programmes that connect to the election machinery of the ANC. Workers from all our unions will be working across the length and breadth of our country mobilising for the victory of the ANC.

We know that any of the issues we have identified will be won on the bases of consciously intensifying the class struggle that will alter the balance of forces on the ground. We know that no class will voluntarily give away political and economic power.

These should be fought for and won through the strength of our organisation and with the employment of multiple strategies that include mass struggles in the streets and engagements in boardroom.

For this reason we will continue to heighten our campaign against the youth incentive Tax Act, for the total banning of labour brokers, and against e-tolls because these laws will not serve the interests of the working class. We will continue not buying e-tolls and to demand the total ban of labour brokers. We invite the YCLSA to join us in these campaigns.

May the YCL continue to live as a vibrant, creative and revolutionary communist youth formation that sets the pace and determines the content and direction of the transition. ●

Cde Dlamini is Cosatu president. This is an edited version of the speech made to the YCL 10th anniversary rally.

YCLSA

Building Socialism in our lifetime!

Young communists are here to stay and to make a revolution

BY BUTI MANAMELA



In 2003 December, over 500 learners, students, young workers, young professionals, unemployed youth and youth from towns and villages, met at

the Vaal University of Technology, under the theme: Crush Capitalism! Build Socialism Now!

These cadres, inspired by Cdes Chule “KK” Papiyane, Ruth First, Ahmed Kathrada, SmisoNkwanyana, Joe Slovo, Linda “The Lion of Chiawelo” Jabane, Esther Barsel, Johannes Nkosi, to name but a few, sought to engage in the daunting task of building socialism in their lifetime through this the Young Communist League of South Africa.

The YCLSA was officially formed on 25 May 1922. It was the first political youth formation in the country to advance the principles of non-racialism. The YCLSA became inactive for some time in the late 1930’s when many of its leaders became central in the leadership of the then Communist Party of South Africa (CPSA). It was resuscitated when a group of young cadres, including Cdes Eddie Roux, Joe Slovo, Ruth First and Ahmed Kathrada, approached the SACP headquarters with the intention to be active young communists.

In 1943, a structure was formed led by Cde Ruth First as its National Secretary. Seven years later, through the Suppression of Communism Act (1950), the CPSA was banned together with all other related communist organisations and individuals, including the YCLSA. When the SACP was re-launched underground in 1953, the YCLSA was not re-launched, as many YCLers became active members



Supporters at the YCLSA’s 10th anniversary celebrations

Pic: Alex Mashilo

and leaders of the SACP in its cells.

Since then, many young communists found expression in the structures of the SACP, ANC and Umkhonto we Sizwe. Young communists were active in the student movement, the underground, the civic movement, the trade union movement and other formations of mass resistance against the apartheid regime. They were humble and sought to be exemplary in the impending struggle against apartheid and colonialism. At most times, the nerve centre of the SACP was led by young people who were highly dedicated to the downfall of apartheid and the building of a united, democratic, non-racial, non-sexist and prosperous South Africa.

When the SACP was unbanned in 1990, together with all the other political parties, it did not re-establish the YCLSA.

The 10th Congress the SACP mandated its provincial structures to establish youth desks whose work was to be a basis for assessment of whether a communist youth league was viable. This was done and many YCL cadres became active in other youth and student’s formations. At the SACP’s 11th Congress in 2002, a resolution was taken for the re-establishment of the YCLSA. This was a watershed resolution and was followed by the establishment of a National Steering Committee, whose tireless work resulted in a National Consultative Conference in 2002 and ultimately the re-launch of the YCLSA in December 2003.

At that Congress, the YCLSA sought to distinguish itself from all other youth and student formations by mainly focusing on campaigns and practical programmes that directly changed the lives

of young people; and to serve as a preparatory school of the Communist Party. The YCLSA immediately embarked on working together with the Progressive Youth Alliance, youth NGOs, community based youth formations and student organisations in order to ensure that their campaigns find expression in the widest of platforms and structures.

The YCLSA also focused on education, leading to the adoption of a common youth programme on education and an Education Charter by ANC Youth League, Sasco, Cosas and the YCLSA. This was supported by the Joe Slovo Right to Learn campaign, now under the theme 'Making education fashionable', aimed at ensuring that communities take control of the education of their children. The now annualised Universities and Colleges-based Branches Summit influences the direction of post-school education and training in the country.

The YCLSA also waged prolific campaigns, including for the investigation of the assassination of the late General Secretary of the SACP, Cde Chris Hani; the 10 Youth Demands; and the Kabelo Thibedi Campaign, named after the young man who committed suicide because he failed to obtain an ID, which then saw more than 100 000 people receiving IDs.

At the centre of these revolutionary reforms through which the YCLSA seeks to improve the quality of life of the youth is the call made in the 1848 Communist Manifests by Karl Marx and Frederick Engels. This urges commu-

nists to fight for the achievement of the immediate aims and the enforcement of the momentary interests of the working class while taking care of the future of the entire working class movement, by fighting for the downfall of capitalism, organising, educating, mobilising, propagating and building capacity for socialism and ultimately the realisation of communism.

The YCLSA's current and future programmes are aimed at addressing unemployment, inequality and poverty. The YCLSA's Jobs for Youth Campaign, with summits held annually since 2009, have been central in empowering young people in skills development, social entrepreneurship and co-operatives. The outcomes of the summits also informed the National Youth Accord that government adopted. Future Summits will be used to assess progress against the Accord.

The Progressive Youth Alliance remains a fighting force for the transformation of society. Together with the ANC Youth League, Sasco and Cosas, we have been able to over time, present government with alternative forms of interventions for youth development. The youth development agency, although initially abused, represents a model many countries seek to emulate. Our unity in Student Representative Council elections has led, for the first time in the history of the country, to victory in all but one institution in 2013.

The YCLSA also pledges its unwavering support for the struggle against

imperialism. Imperialist military aggression continues to ravage many countries in the world, including our continent, destabilising societies and plunging them into war coupled with regime change and the installation of puppet governments while gaining control over and exploiting their resources and labour. In our country, imperialists are trying hard to recruit young people and orientate them towards opposing our national liberation movement as led by the ANC. This includes the establishment and sponsoring of new youth groupings and formations and youth-led political parties. The YCLSA will work tirelessly to defeat the imperialist onslaught against our movement.

The 10th Anniversary of the YCLSA's re-establishment coincides with powerful challenges in the progressive trade union movement. Unfortunately, there are some elements that have bought into treating the ANC, the Communist Party and Cosatu, instead of imperialism, as the cause of the problem. They are calling on workers and Cosatu to abandon the revolutionary Alliance and to disintegrate into new political organisations. Our message to young workers is that disunity and fragmentation among the workers can only serve the bosses and the exploiters. The YCLSA says young workers unite, and unite with all other workers! You are one! ●

Cde Manamela is YCLSA National Secretary

A new weapon in the socialist arsenal

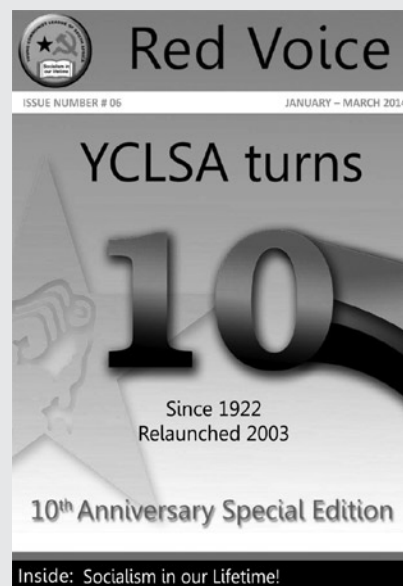
Red Voice is the latest, digital, weapon in South Africa's socialist arsenal in the battle of ideas – an ongoing battle in the war to end capitalism.

Launched in January 2013 by young communists in the Northern Cape, *Red Voice* is published quarterly and has just put out its sixth edition, marking the 10th anniversary of the re-launched Young Communist League of South Africa. It is published and distributed electronically – and although its target is the working class and poor in the Northern Cape, it is available on the YCL website. Just go to ycl.org.za click on the *Red Voice* cover: it downloads automatically to your computer. It can also be accessed using all forms of social media.

Red Voice is used to encourage North-

ern Cape YCLers to actively participate in the battle of ideas – both by publication in *Red Voice* and to encourage them to contribute to various media houses.

The publication is an ideal example of implementing the SACP's Programme of Action – taking direction from "Chapter 9: The Battle of Ideas" of the Party's *South African Road to Socialism*: "The SACP must build on its long history of progressive publications, and train and develop a cadre to contribute to internal party publications. In addition to our national publications, we should encourage the production of branch and district newsletters dealing with local issues and as means for communist propaganda in the various localities."



ALNEF WOMEN'S COMMITTEE

Boosting women's empowerment in Africa

The African Left Networking Forum's Women's Committee was formally established last November at its meeting in Dakar, Senegal. This is the first of a two-part report

BY JUDY MULQUEENY



African efforts to increase women's participation in elected bodies have led to incentives such as gender quotas. These efforts have reinforced existing global provisions for the promotion and protection of women's rights, the elimination of gender inequalities and the creation of better conditions for women's participation in strengthening democracy.

The constitutions of African states generally advocate the equal right of men and women to participate in managing the affairs of state and society. There are also usually no barriers in election codes for women to advocate the political parties of their choice, to vote and to be elected. States have to take into account the concerns of women in the development process and to adopt measures to enable them to play their roles fully.

Despite all these provisions, women in Africa still occupy a reduced role in decision-making structures. They are seldom consulted and empowered on key development issues. Politically their position is weak or non-existent in party leadership positions. Such marginalisation had resulted in a development process lacking gender consciousness.

The African Left Networking Forum (Alnef) Women's Meeting arose from a resolution of the general meeting of Alnef held in Bamako in November 2011 in which member parties:

- Recalled the struggle for recognition

and respect for the rights of women in Africa and

- Committed to enabling women to occupy their rightful place within their structures and to fully and actively support the struggle for emancipation and empowerment of women.

Since then Alnef's structures have committed themselves to co-ordinating activities of women activists of leftist parties in Africa. This aims to promote increased participation and empowerment of women as members of political parties and in all social elements in Africa. Interventions advocated include:

- Abolishing all forms of discrimination against women in the political sphere,
- Promoting women's leadership and capacity building,
- Positioning women in candidate lists for elections.

Meetings of women members of Alnef parties were held in March and November 2012. A July 2013 recommendation by the Alnef secretariat stressed the need for coordination of activities of women activists in leftist African parties. A third meeting of Alnef's women followed in Ouagadougou, Burkina Faso, from 8 November 2013, organised by the Burkina Faso Party for Democracy and Socialism (PDS/Metba) and attended by Alnef parties from Burkina Faso, Mali, Senegal, Sudan, Tunisia and South Africa. It established a women's committee and a framework for exchanges of experiences and cooperation, in preparation for the Dakar, Senegal, Alnef meeting in where the structure, programmes and funding of the Alnef Women's Committee were to be discussed.

The meeting opened with speeches by the PDS/Metba president; Lise Lotta Jonsson Fornarve of the Swedish Left Party; and the Chairperson of the meeting, Maria Michelle Ouedraogo, national secretary for women's mobilisation of the PDS/Metba and president of its women's organisation. A discussion on participation of women in politics in Burkina Faso followed, as did a visit to women-owned weaving co-operatives. The work process and showroom was interesting, but it was worrying to see young women working with young babies on their laps or on their backs.

Cde Fornarve reviewed the impact of the global economic crisis on the struggle for gender equality in European countries. Though not as badly affected as Greece or Spain, Sweden had experienced high job losses, particularly among women. Discussions that followed included strategies to enable women's growth in politics and to achieve rights, and adapting the Swedish experience to Africa's specificities.

It was noted that the struggle for women's rights were common in all countries, necessitating greater solidarity, particularly between women in Alnef. The meeting agreed that the impact of the global economic crisis on women in should be addressed on 8 March, International Working Women's Day, and that a conference be organised on the topic. ●

Part 2, which includes presentations by delegates from individual countries, will be carried in the April 2014 issue of Umsebenzi.

Cde Mulqueeny is an SACP Central Committee member

IN MEMORIAM

A true patriot, freedom fighter, revolutionary and internationalist

Cde Reg September, a leading activist of the Congress Movement, the ANC and SACP, passed away in November 2013

BY ESSOP PAHAD



Cde Reginald September, or Uncle Reg as he was fondly called by so many of us who had the privilege and honour of working with him and under his leadership

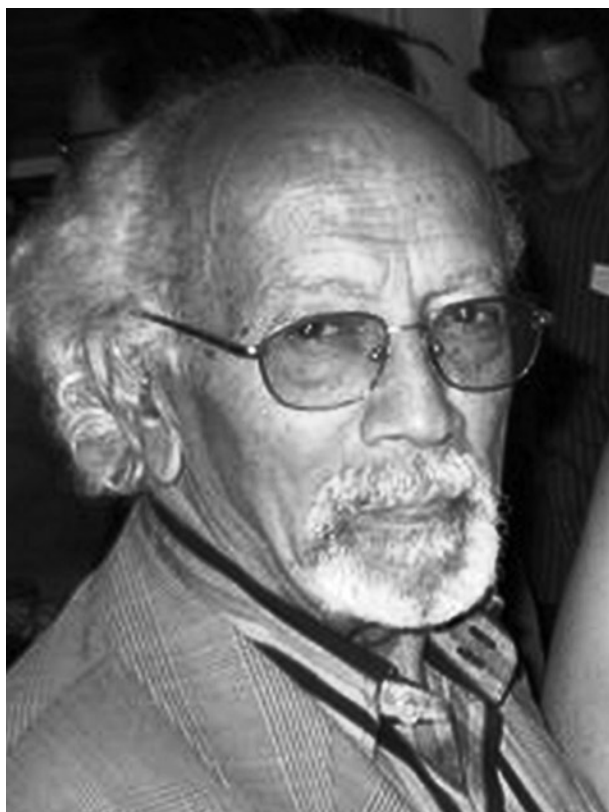
in the ANC and SACP, made a huge contribution to our struggle.

Uncle Reg was a warm, generous, kind-hearted, helpful, self-effacing, humble comrade and leader. He had a nice sense of humour and a disarming smile that he used to good effect in heated debates, controversies and disputes. He was tenacious in promoting the policies, positions and programmes of the ANC and SACP. At a time when our movement and Alliance is facing serious challenges of factionalism and corrupt practices it is worth nothing that Comrade Reg was implacably opposed to factionalism, sectarianism and the politics of patronage.

Comrade Reg was a true revolutionary in every sense of that word.

For more than 70 years, he served the Congress Movement, ANC, SACP and the labour movement with dedication, distinction, commitment and unwavering loyalty. These characteristics were so ingrained in his work and life and should be emulated by cadres and leaders of the ANC, SACP and Cosatu.

It is easy to be loyal to the cause of the movement when the times are good but very difficult when the times are rough and tough. Cde Reg's loyalty was put to



Cde Reg September: 70 fighting years

the test many times and always passed with flying colours.

To cite two examples: in the mid-sixties the Congress Alliance, in exile, experienced severe turbulence. During that period, non-Africans were barred from ANC membership. This was changed after the Morogoro Conference in 1969. Non-African revolutionaries were part of the Coloured People's Congress, the South African Indian Congress, South African

Congress of Democrats or the South African Communist Party. Cdes Reg September and Yusuf Dadoo were leaders of the CPC, SAIC and the SACP.

At that time, Cde Barney Desai, a leading member of the CPC and Umkhonto we Sizwe, Cde Cardiff Marney and a few others wanted to break away from the Congress Alliance as they felt that the ANC was marginalising them and ignoring their contribution to the struggle. Cdes Reg, Alex La Guma and others resisted this divisive undertaking and remained loyal to the ANC as the leading force in the Congress Alliance.

The second example was when Uncle Reg was Chief Representative

of the ANC in the UK and Western Europe. Those individuals who refused to accept the historic decision taken at the Morogoro Conference to allow non-Africans to occupy positions in the ANC at all levels bar the NEC opposed the appointment of Cde Reg to that position. They demanded that an African should occupy that important post. Cde Reg refused to indulge in acrimonious debates with them, ignored their narrow nation-

alistic postures and continued to work with them until their expulsion from the ANC in October 1975.

As Chief Representative, Cde Reg was called upon to deepen the unity and cohesion of the ANC and the Alliance. He worked very well with younger comrades and was always ready to engage in debates with them and to help them when they faced personal and political problems and challenges. He was considerate and listened carefully and patiently when comrades raised serious political, organisational and ideological issues. He was for that generation a tower of strength.

He played a critical role in helping to build the international anti-apartheid solidarity movement. This movement became one of the most powerful international solidarity movements in history.

Uncle Reg became an activist at the age of 15, when he joined the National Liberation League in Cape Town, led by the indomitable Cissy Gool. By the age of 30, he helped to found the South African Coloured People's Congress (CPC). At 33, he was elected national Chairman and his lifelong friend and Cde Alex La Guma was elected General Secretary. Cde La Guma was a great writer, leader of the SACP and ANC and was the first Chief Representative of the ANC in Cuba.

Cde Reg September was banned, charged with High Treason and detained for five months during the State of emergency in 1960. In 1963, the underground SACP instructed him to join the movement in exile. He first went to Tanzania and was later posted to London.

Cde Reg worked very closely with our iconic freedom fighter Cde President OR Tambo. In "Oliver Tambo Remembered", edited by Cde Pallo Jordan, he writes: "During my time as the ANC's

Chief Representative in Western Europe I had the honour of accompanying him on trips Russia, Korea, India and China. I witnessed first-hand the exceptional care he took in preparing his speeches and statements. In India, I sat in on a group preparing his speech with him. Cde OR was meticulous in his choice of words. In fact, the task proved too much for me, and after a while I 'retired hurt' with exhaustion."

At the Morogoro Conference, a ground-breaking decision was taken to set up a Revolutionary Council to prosecute the armed and political struggles with greater vigour and intensity. Cde

mittee, Central Committee and Politbureau of the SACP. His deep understanding of the science of Marxism-Leninism enabled him to make a powerful contribution to developing the strategy, tactics, programmes and policies of the Party. In meetings, he would listen very carefully to the different views and then make his input in a quiet manner without indulging in polemics or rhetoric.

He was an uncompromising supporter and friend of the Soviet Union, Cuba and other socialist countries. He never wavered in his commitment to usher in a socialist system in our country. Even on his deathbed once he recognised, however briefly, comrades that visited him, he would raise his first in the customary salute.

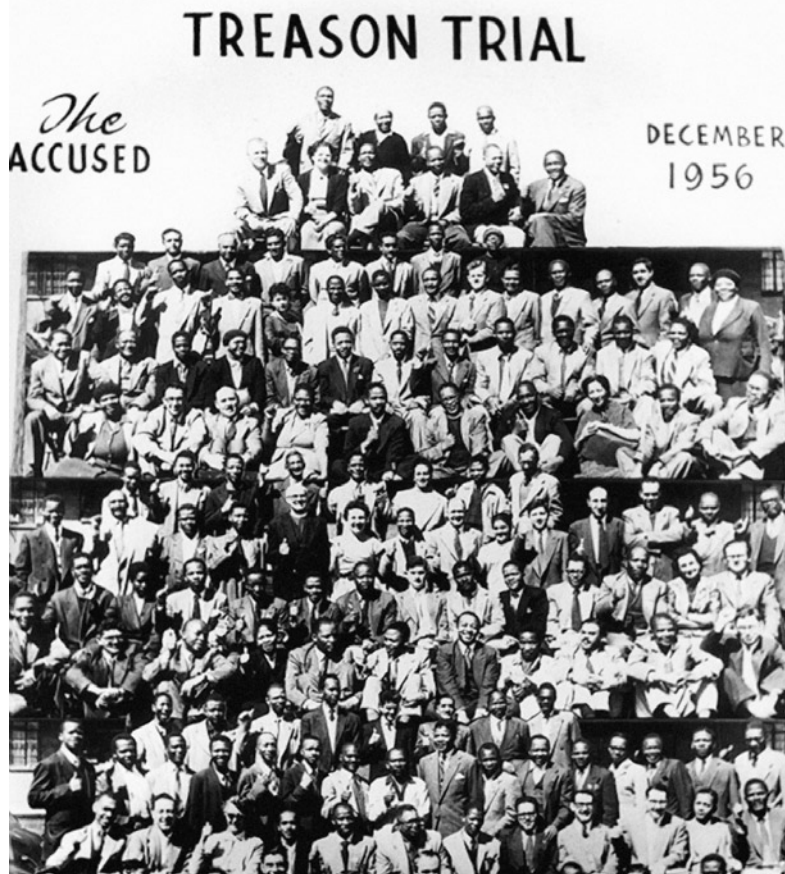
On his return from exile, Cde Reg was part of the delegation that met the National Party to draw up the Groote Schuur Minute. This Minute laid the basis for the CODESA negotiations. Those negotiations led to the adoption of an Interim Constitution and the holding of the first democratic elections in 1994. That historic election victory leading to our iconic Nelson Mandela becoming President of a democratic country irreversibly changed the political landscape in South Africa. He served as an ANC MP from 1994 until 2004.

In paying tribute to this great revolutionary, leader of the ANC, SACP and Umkhonto we Sizwe we should seek to emulate the way he worked and conducted his political life.

In 2004, the ANC government awarded him the Order of Luthuli in Silver

for his lifetime contribution to the struggle for a non-racial, non-sexist, free and democratic South Africa. In December 2012, he was a recipient of one of our highest military honours - the Military Veterans Decoration Medal: Platinum Class 2.

Cde Pahad is a former SACP Politburo and Central Committee member. He also served in the ANC NEC and as a Cabinet Minister.



Cde September was among the 156 Alliance leaders in the Treason Trial

Reg was elected to serve in that council together with Cdes Yusuf Dadoo and Joe Slovo, under the leadership of Cde OR Tambo.

His standing and popularity in the movement was demonstrated when he, together with Cdes Joe Slovo, Mac Maharaj, Ronnie Kasrils, Aziz Pahad and James Stuart, were elected to the ANC NEC at the historic Kabwe conference in June 1985.

Uncle Reg served on the London com-

IN MEMORIAM

Cde Crosby Moni: A life well lived

The funeral tribute to Cde Crosby Moni, SACP CC member and ANC MP, who died in December 2013

BY THULAS NXESI

To family and friends of Cde Crosby Moni, I realise that nothing we say can take away the pain that death brings in its wake. But we can offer the perspective that a life well lived is never a waste.

Let me quote from the German communist poet, Bertolt Brecht: "Do not fear death so much, but rather fear the inadequate life."

Take comfort from the fact that the life of our fallen comrade contributed to the struggle for freedom and justice in South Africa. And to young compatriots I say: pick up the spear and continue the unfinished struggle for economic and social justice.

Cde Crosby was active in mass democratic movement (MDM) structures. He was a mineworker who was involved in the National Union of Mineworkers (NUM) in the Highveld region, and rose through the ranks of the union to become its vice-president. He also served with distinction on the SACP Central Committee.

In 2011, Cde Moni was deployed to Parliament, where he made a valuable contribution to the work of the Portfolio Committee on Basic Education.

By nature a quiet and humble man, Cde Crosby personified the best traditions of cadreship that characterised our movement during the long years of difficult struggle:

- Loyal, disciplined and fearless.
- Selflessness in his commitment to serve the people.
- In touch with the masses, carrying out their mandate, reflecting their needs and interests.
- A cadre who could be trusted to carry out the resolutions of the organisation



Cde Crosby: loyal, disciplined and fearless

he worked for.

We require these characteristics of true leaders of Alliance structures at every level.

In his book, *What is to be done?*, Lenin argues that the revolutionary leader must be: "the tribune of the people ... able to react to every manifestation of tyranny and oppression, no matter where it appears, no matter what stratum or class of the people it affects; able to generalise all these manifestations and produce a single picture of police violence and capitalist exploitation; able to take advantage of every event, however small, in order to set forth – before all – his socialist convictions and his democratic demands, to clarify for all and everyone the world-historic significance of the struggle for the emancipation of the proletariat."

These are the kind of leaders we need in the movement today in order to deepen our national democratic revolution. We need people who are able to take up the immediate demands of the masses,

whilst seeking to link these experiences to our analysis of the broader society and use that understanding to build support for socio-economic transformation.

Cde Crosby Moni belonged to a generation that knew and practiced the principles of democracy, through:

- Consultation
- Participation
- Mandating and accountability of leadership
- Constructive criticism of comrades
- Rigorous self-introspection and reflection
- And, above all, discipline.

If we want the ANC and the Alliance to continue as principled organisations, we are going to have to insist on enforcing discipline. If we want to bring the organisation back to the values of our forebears, we will need to take the necessary action to rebuild discipline and to deal decisively with the tenderpreneurs and divisive elements within the movement.

Cde Crosby understood that the organisation – whether the NUM, Cosatu, SACP or the ANC – is bigger and more important than any one individual or faction, and that we need to spend more time nurturing and building and protecting those organisations, which were built with the sweat and blood of our forebears.

Cde Crosby devoted his life to these ideals. He was a stalwart, part of the legacy that we can trace back to the founding of the ANC, and which sustained this movement through its darkest years, and ensured the ultimate victory over apartheid. This legacy will carry us forward to transform the social and economic conditions of our people. ●

Cde Nxesi is SACP Deputy Chairperson and Minister of Public Works