

The SACP Central Committee
on corporate capture of the state

June 2016

Voice of the South African Communist Party

 **Umsebenzi**

JUNE 16

40 YEARS ON



WHAT IT MEANS FOR SOUTH AFRICA TODAY

CENTRAL COMMITTEE STATEMENT

Red flag state capture!

The Central Committee released this statement after its meeting of 3 to 5 June 2016

The CC discussed at length a political report from the secretariat. The CC was also addressed by Minister of Finance, Cde Pravin Gordhan, on current global and domestic economic challenges, while Deputy Minister of Cooperative Governance, Cde Andries Nel, briefed the CC on government's Integrated Urban Development Framework policy and implementation plan.

The CC reaffirmed the Party's firm commitment to ensuring an overwhelming ANC-led Alliance electoral victory in the 3 August local government elections. The CC congratulated the ANC in Gauteng on mobilising a massive 80 000-plus electoral rally in Johannesburg, 4 June, in the face of many doubters and naysayers. The rally turnout did not emerge from thin air. It is testament to the consistent commitment of the ANC-led government in the Gauteng province to engage actively with township protests, to listen to the grievances and challenges facing working class communities, and, together with these communities, to seek collective solutions. It is also testament to the effective ANC, SACP, Cosatu and Sanco working unity that has been a hallmark of the province over the recent past. The unity of our alliance is essential for ensuring that local, metro governance in the economic hub of South Africa does not fall into the hands of neo-liberal forces bent on preserving apartheid-era privileges and segregation, now under the guise of giving free rein to property speculation and unrestrained market forces.

We commend the important mobilising role played by SACP structures in the province for this rally and the successful

May Day rally earlier. The CC also noted the massive SACP-led march in eThekweni in late April, estimated by the SAPS at over 100 000 strong. It is important that the momentum and confidence built up through this mobilisation activity become the springboard for intensive engagement in communities in Gauteng, KZN and throughout South Africa to ensure ANC election victories in August. The ANC, together with its allies, must also use the post-election period to address the many challenges thrown up in the run up to the elections

In the course of the election campaign we should not be in denial about the many challenges facing workers, the urban and rural poor, and a broad spectrum of middle strata, professionals, students and the youth in general. Consistently, public opinion surveys underline that the two greatest concerns advanced by the majority of South Africans are the unemployment crisis and corruption. While our persisting crisis-levels of unemployment have many systemic underpinnings, there can be no doubt that corrupt rent-seeking by a parasitic bourgeoisie and its political associates diverts billions of rands out of the productive economy, thus contributing to persisting unemployment, racial inequality and poverty.

The two greatest concerns identified by the majority of South Africans are unemployment and corruption

The dangers and reality of corporate capture

This was the context in which the CC strongly supported the main theses advanced by the secretariat's political report on the dangers of corporate capture. The CC commended in particular our second national deputy general secretary, Cde Solly Mapaila, for his forthright condemnation of those, like the Gupta family, involved in the most brazen forms of buying political influence and of even directly seeking to usurp executive powers.

In its formal declaration, last year's Alliance Summit convened by the ANC noted chronic problems within some of our formations, involving "the use of money to advance individual ambitions and factions based on patronage and nepotism." The declaration went on:

"This behaviour is also the entry-point for corporate capture and private business interests outside of our formations to undermine organisational processes."

We believe that it is misguided, therefore, for those in the ANC's leadership who now seek to dismiss concern about corporate capture as if it were just a marginal issue. We certainly agree that neither the ANC nor government are corporately captured in their entirety. But the problem is widespread, and threatens to become endemic. It is also misguided to believe that raising this issue is a distraction from the ANC local election campaign. In fact, it is only by addressing the challenges of parasitic corporate capture head-on, without fear or favour, that we will reaffirm the values of our liberation struggle, and begin to regain the respect of millions of ANC supporters and South



And they said we couldn't fill it: part of the 80 000-strong crowd that packed into Soccer City stadium to launch the ANC election campaign

African citizens in general.

At the same time, we must not allow the struggle against parasitic corporate capture to itself become factionalist, or simply oppositionist grandstanding. And that is why the SACP, in raising a red flag against the venal conduct of the Gupta family, has always insisted that they are not alone in their parasitic behaviour. Equally, we reject with contempt the claim that criticising the parasitic bourgeoisie amounts to support for imperialism or established monopoly capital – as if the Guptas were the ANC's strategic answer to the Ruperts and Oppenheimers!

It would be surprising if monopoly capital and imperialist circles were not actively engaged in seeking to shape our unfolding South African reality. The CC secretariat political report advances the thesis that imperialism's preferred strategic agenda is less about regime change in South Africa, and rather "neo-liberal regime perpetuation". In the words of the political report, this is a strategic agenda: "to preserve the elite pact features of the early 1990s settlement, bearing in mind

that these were never the complete reality of what was, in many respects, an immensely progressive popular victory. The first choice for imperialism is to preserve, defend and consolidate its not inconsiderable influence over the ANC and government".

As one partial glimpse into this strategy, the CC noted the recent revelation that a group of military officers from Britain's Royal College of Defence Studies visited South Africa last year with the assignment to "assess the political threats to continuing ANC rule in South Africa". The military officers were required to "devise a medium term strategy, with concrete deliverables, for the party to re-

Imperialism's first choice is to preserve and consolidate its not inconsiderable influence over the ANC and government

tain power at the next general election."

The UK Ministry of Defence refused to divulge further information and claimed (implausibly) that it was all simply an "academic exercise". However, the military officers conducted intensive meetings with corporate interests, including HSBC, the Johannesburg Stock Exchange, and Lonmin, the British-owned platinum mining company operating in South Africa. These revelations provide a small window into what is certainly a wider strategic agenda.

To make sense of the complexities confronting the progressive movement in South Africa it is useful to distinguish two broad camps within the bourgeoisie:

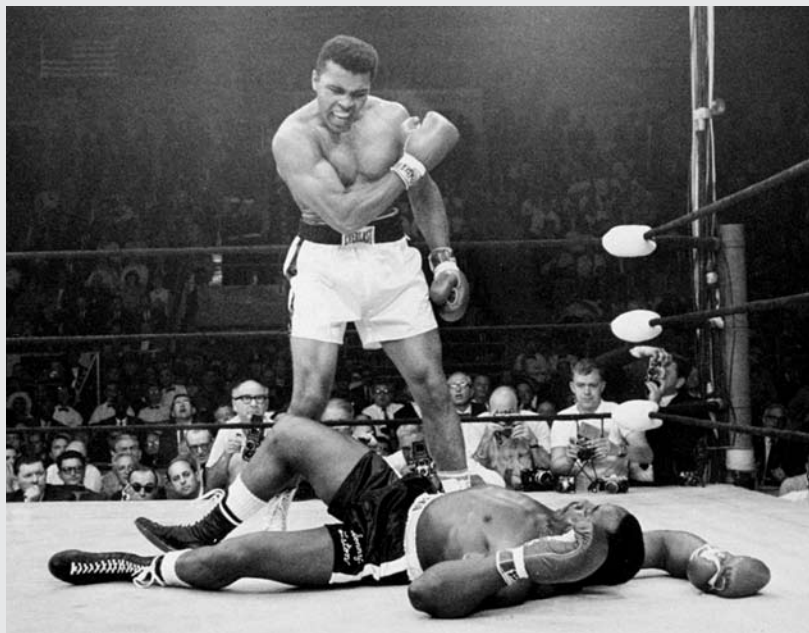
- South African (typically trans-nationalised) monopoly capital, integrated into an imperialist agenda, together with the now relatively established (and often compradorial) first generation BEE stratum; and
- A parasitic bourgeoisie based on state capture in its most brazen forms – seeking to influence appointing and dis-

appointing cabinet ministers, capturing the boards of key parastatals, illegal expatriation of capital to secret accounts in Dubai and elsewhere, tax evasion, money laundering, and much more. All of this is based on the direct corruption of government and party political officials.

Of course, it would be wrong to imagine that there is a watertight compartmentalisation between these two broad camps within the bourgeoisie. Established monopoly capital also indulges in illegal activities – see for instance the collusive activity of the construction cartels, or MultiChoice’s active involvement in corporate state capture. However, the principal source of profit of established monopoly capital is through (of course exploitative capitalist) economic activity, and not simple looting.

The cabinet reshuffling events of December 2015 starkly exposed differences in strategic interests between these two camps. The parasitic bourgeoisie’s rent-seeking greed clearly knows absolutely no bounds. They are quite prepared to loot our economy into a Zimbabwean-style failed economic scenario. There are suggestions that, with insider knowledge, some have deliberately “shorted” the rand – that is, speculatively driven down the rand’s exchange value. They are clearly prepared to cut-and-run to Dubai leaving behind the wreckage. This activity poses a threat to the livelihoods of the great majority of South Africans, wiping out the value of pensions and other savings, amongst other things.

Monopoly/imperialist capital is certainly not virtuous, but it has a vested interest in not seeing the economy collapse, hence, for instance, the British Army visit to South Africa – alarmed, no doubt, by EFF demagogic threats, Marikana and Amcu, and, of course the wrecking-ball activities of the Guptas. But monopoly/imperialist capital, while it does not want to see a Zimbabwean-style economic collapse in South Africa, will also strenuously resist any attempt at the progressive transformation of our political economy along the lines of a second radical phase of our democratic transition, aimed at overcoming our systemic and racialised crises of unemployment, poverty, and inequality. It is for this reason that for the British army officers (and the imperialist forces behind them) the strategic agenda is not anti-ANC regime change, as such, but rather the elimination, or at the very least, the substantial reduction of SACP, Cosatu, progressive ANC, and broader popular



Muhammed Ali – farewell to the greatest

The SACP joins millions worldwide in bidding farewell to one of the greatest sports-persons and personalities of modern times. Born into humble beginnings, Muhammed Ali gave a voice and a sense of pride to the downtrodden and to the racially oppressed worldwide. His brave stand in refusing to be conscripted to fight an imperialist war in Vietnam was exemplary. As a result, he lost two years of competition at the very height of his boxing prowess. Here in South Africa, in the midst of the granite years of apartheid, Ali’s formidable example was very much part of the revival of an anti-racist, anti-imperialist groundswell.

influence over the ANC and the state.

Unless we deal decisively with the parasitic bourgeoisie, our ability as a democratic state and popular movement to confront our principal strategic opponents (monopoly capital) will be eroded. If Treasury, the South African Revenue Services, SAA, Denel, Eskom, and parts of the prosecutorial and intelligence services are captured by parasitic interests working with the worst security branch elements from the apartheid past, then we will lose much of the strategic capacity not just to deal with the parasites, but to drive a radical second phase of our democratic transition against the

If parasitic interests capture Treasury, SARS, SAA, Eskom and parts of the justice system we will lose much of our strategic capacity

strategic interests of monopoly capital and imperialism.

This is why the SACP over the past months has, correctly, played a leading role from within the Alliance in exposing the Guptas (and other instruments of parasitism) and in defending Treasury without simply becoming the cheerleaders for factions of monopoly capital or their comprador BEE associates.

It is precisely this positioning by the SACP that has also prevented monopoly capital from walking away with a clear-cut victory from the events of December when the President was compelled to replace the newly appointed Minister of Finance with a former Minister of Finance, Cde Pravin Gordhan. However, our support for Treasury must not be factional, or simply personal, it must now be consolidated into assisting Treasury, including through mass struggle, to play a constructive role in advancing a second radical phase of the NDR.

In our engagement with Cde Gordhan over the weekend, these SACP perspec-

tives were candidly tabled. The CC, of course, congratulated Cde Gordhan for the leading role he has played in fending off parasitic activity and for his central part in mobilizing a wide array of South Africans to collectively ensure that the June 3 Standard & Poor rating of South Africa did not carry us into junk status territory. Whatever we might think of the ratings agencies, junk status would have dire consequences for the majority of South Africans. The SACP pledged to play an active role in supporting Cde Gordhan in this essentially patriotic struggle in defence of our democratic national sovereignty.

Appeal Court decision on set-top boxes

The CC noted and welcomed last week's Supreme Court of Appeal judgment that the Department of Communication's policy decision in favour of unencrypted TV set-top boxes "was made in an irrational and thus unlawful manner and is inherently irrational as well."

The SACP has consistently argued that obduracy in this matter flies in the face of the ANC National General Council's own decisions, as well as the ANC's Communication Committee. It is hard not to draw the conclusion that this stubbornness has been directly influenced by Koos Bekker's Naspers media empire, with MultiChoice currently holding an extremely lucrative monopoly on encrypted TV programming in South Africa. Persistence in trying to drive through unencrypted set-top boxes in defiance of ANC policy has delayed



We dip our banners in honour of Cde Mohammed Abdelaziz

The leader of the Polisario Front, Cde Mohammed Abdelaziz, passed away on 31 May. For many decades Cde Abdelaziz has led the brave struggle of the Saharawi people against the illegal Moroccan colonial occupation of large parts of Western Sahara. Let us honour his memory by intensifying our solidarity with the Polisario Front and the long-suffering Saharawi people.

South Africa's digital migration and indirectly the rollout of digital migration. We have fallen far behind less developed countries in our continent, includ-

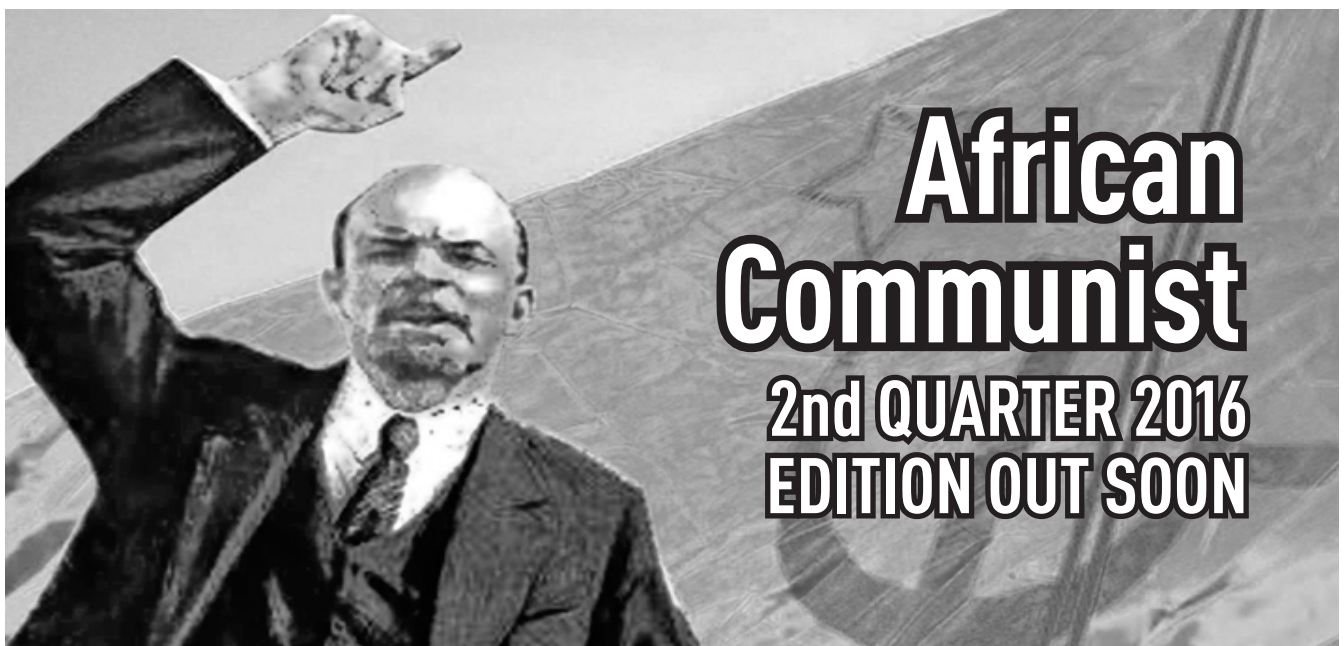
ing Rwanda, Kenya and Tanzania, all of which now have 100% coverage. Once more, corporate and parasitic capture of parts of the state is gravely undermining development in our country.

Also in the same media context, the CC emphasises the formal statement of last year's ANC-led Alliance Summit which attributed the SABC's inability to fulfil its public broadcaster mandate to: "private corporate capture and the virtual monopoly of pay-TV by a single company."

The recent high-handed editorial decisions made irregularly and without consultation by Hlaudi Motsoeneng and much to the embarrassment of SABC journalists in the field are a case in point.

Mine-workers' court victory

The SACP welcomes the decision of the High Court in Johannesburg to certify a class action by mineworkers against gold mining companies in South Africa. This landmark judgment paves the way for tens of thousands of mineworkers and former mineworkers suffering from silicosis and TB to sue mining companies for damages. This judgment follows the R500m settlements in London for compensation of former Anglo American and AngloGold Ashanti workers. Let us never forget that the accumulated wealth and present powers of monopoly capital have been secured at a deadly cost for hundreds of thousands of workers from throughout Southern Africa. ●



JUNE 16: 40 YEARS ON



The significance of the

Mluleki Dlelanga assesses the place of the 1976 student uprising in the struggle for democracy and the example set by the generation that rose against apartheid



In June 1976, thousands of youth from across South Africa marched for better education and for a better future. They clashed with the police and in the ensuing violence about 700 young people were killed. Hector Pieterse was one of those brave, bold and courageous young persons killed by the merciless forces of the apartheid regime. The burning image that Sam Nzima captured of Hector Pieterse's limp body being carried by Mbuyisa Makhubu while his sister Antoinette ran beside him remains a permanent reminder of the great sacrifices made for all that we have today. This globally celebrated picture later symbolised the role played by young South Africans of 1976 in defeating the brutal, oppressive and unjust system of apartheid.

We are who we are today, enjoying freedoms that were fought for and won through blood by many generations over

many decades starting from the generation of 1652, which fought tirelessly to defend what belongs to them to the generation of 1976 through their commitment to fight against the rule of apartheid. They fought a system that believed in the oppression and exploitation of the majority of our people as its governing policy, an inhuman system which promoted the slavery of the people of this country.

This year we commemorate the 40th anniversary of the 1976 youth uprising and mark 40 years since the ruthless and brutal killing of the innocent and courageous youth of our soil by the illegitimate regime of white supremacy. The generation of 1976 redefined its purpose, its role and waged an open fight against the evil system of apartheid and its masters.

At the core of this evil system of apartheid was the separation of the people based on their colour and race through the Population Registration Act 1950, Group Areas Act 1950 and the Promo-

tion of Bantu Self-government Act. These were later followed by the Suppression of Communism Act 1950, which was meant to curb the influence of the Communist Party and other formations that opposed the government's apartheid policy, including the earlier Land Act of 1913, which deprived our people of their rights to land, farming and property ownership, and which prevented them from participating in the economic development of their own country.

Protests

In response, our people re-organised themselves and mobilised every citizen against the evil practices of the apartheid regime. From the first slogan "zemnka inkomo magwala ndini" followed by "mzulu, mxhosa msuthu zanyani" and later "amandla ngawethu". These developments were followed by a series of organised protests, which expressed their total rejection of apartheid rule. These protests include the defiance campaign of 1952, the anti-Pass Law campaign of 1956, the formation of Sactu in 1955 which united all workers of our country, and the Congress of the People in Kliptown, Soweto, in 1955, which adopted a charter of a vision for a new South Africa.

The real Congress of the People com-



Defining image: Press photographer Sam Nzima's series of pictures of 18-year-old Mbuyisa Makhubu carrying a dying Hector Pieteron (with his sister, Antoinette Sithole, running alongside) became the defining image of the start of the uprising

'76 uprising to the YCL

pletely rejected apartheid laws and defined their freedom, expressed in the Freedom Charter as a living document for the creation of a new South Africa. They envisaged an equal, united and better South Africa for all our people irrespective of class, race and gender. As stated at the beginning of the Freedom Charter, South Africa belongs to all who live in it, black and white, and no government can justly claim authority unless it is based on the will of all the people. Our people had been robbed of their birthright, liberty and peace by a form of government founded on injustice and inequality and the real Congress of the People adopted the Charter as a vision for a united, non-racial, non-sexist and democratic South Africa.

The generation of 1976 continued with that journey, a journey along the path of struggle which evolved over many decades from different conditions led by many generations. The generation of 1976 dedicated its energies, time, and lives to the revolutionary cause of our people, sacrificing its blood to nourish the tree of our freedom. It was guided by high levels of revolutionary conduct, discipline with high moral values and above all a sense of love for its people and its country.

For those of the generation of 1976, the struggle was not only about education for

themselves, but about complete freedom for all our people. To them the struggle was about fighting for land access for the landless. It was about fighting for health care for the elderly and the sick citizens who cannot afford it. It was about free and compulsory education – an education system that teaches our youth to love its people, culture and traditions. It was about creating work opportunities for all; and above all, it was about fair and equal redistribution of our country's economy.

On our shoulders

To the YCLSA and the youth of our country, we owe much to many generations, in particular the generation of 1976, a committed, dedicated generation that fought with bare hands against a most ruthless and evil system, and we dare not fail their ideas, their blood and their freedoms. It is up to you to decide whether you wish to fulfil or betray the mission of building an equal, just and better South Africa, a South Africa free of woman and child abuse, free of crime and corruption, a South Africa that fights against substance abuse and HIV-Aids.

It is upon the shoulders of the today's young people, working closely with the SACP and the people of our country, to build a free nation and a new South Af-

rica free of exploitation of people by other people; a South Africa whose wealth is shared among its people. As our former general secretary Cde Joe Slovo put it: "The winning of the objectives of the National Democratic Revolution will, in turn, lay the bases for a steady advance in the direction of deepening our national unity on all fronts – economic, political and cultural - and towards a socialist transformation for our working class. Nation building means, among other things, unifying themselves nationally as the leading class whose developing culture, aspirations and economic interest become increasingly those of the overwhelming people".

It is the task of both young and old revolutionaries to work in unity for the success of the national democratic revolution and ultimately for a socialist South Africa. Chairman Mao said in 1957, "We must help all our young people to understand, ours is still a very poor country, that we cannot change this situation radically in a short time, and that only through the united efforts of our younger generation and all our people, working with their own hands can China be made strong and prosperous within a period of several decades". ●

Cde Dlelanga is the YCLSA National Secretary

JUNE 16: 40 YEARS ON

Closing your eyes to the past makes you blind to the present

Mluleki Dlelenga looks back on the role of young people throughout the history of South Africa's democratic struggle – and forward to their role in building a just and equitable society



June 16 this year was the 40th Anniversary of the Soweto Uprising. This is not an event, but an anniversary of heroic struggles by the 1976 generation of young people, who stood up against the oppressive capitalist apartheid government and said selflessly that “enough is enough”.

As we celebrate the 40th Anniversary of the 1976 generation, we must also acknowledge the role played by previous youth generations in the South African revolution. These include the young leaders who from the 1930s rose to prominence and dominated political life for more than six decades, like Cdes Peter Mda, Anton Lembede, Yusuf Dadoo, Joe Slovo, Oliver Tambo, Albertina Sisulu, Walter Sisulu, Nelson Mandela, Ray Alexandra, Lillian Ngoyi, IB Tabata, Robert Sobukwe and many, both sung and unsung, generations of young people who changed the face of the national liberation struggle.

This 40th Anniversary of the 1976 youth generation allows us as youth and also as a nation to reflect on both the past and the future of our country. The 1976 youth generation's core struggle was centred on the unshaken battle against Bantu Education. Beyond the Bantu Education struggle, the 1976 generation also shaped the struggle against the brutal capitalist apartheid government for a

democratic South Africa underpinned by the National Democratic Revolution.

As we celebrate the 40th anniversary of the Soweto Uprising, let me highlight a few things that the youth of our country deserve to know.

The current youth generation deserves to know:

- How the wealth of this country was distributed;
- How our forefathers' land was stolen through the 1913 Land Act;
- How our forefathers' livestock was stolen through the bartering system;
- How millions of our people were brutally killed;
- The actual number of our innocent people sold as slaves;
- The actual number of our innocent people detained;
- The abuse, ill-treatment and torturing of progressive journalists;
- The scars and wounds experienced by our innocent people;
- How activists and leaders were jailed and killed: and
- The actual number of our innocent

people that were hanged.

As we celebrate the 40th Anniversary of the 1976 generation, we cannot close our eyes on the past: doing so will make us blind to understanding the present.

Our history is a history of pain, humiliation, segregation, brutal killings, exploitation, torture, detention and inhumanity. On the other hand it is a history of heroic struggles waged by our people to liberate South Africa. In understanding our history there are two sources of knowledge that we use: nature and society. Dialectics teaches us that everything is in a state of continuous motion and, contrary to metaphysics, it holds that there is no state of rest and immobility, stagnation and immutability, but a state of continuous movement and change, of continuous renewal and development, where something is always arising and developing and something is always disintegrating and dying away. Friedrich Engels wrote: “dialectics takes things and their perceptual images essentially in their interconnection, in their concatenation, in their movement, in their rise and disappearance”. Our history is thus not immune to disappearing as the older generation disappears, especially given that our history was distorted and sometimes recorded as if it started in 1652. Our history was written with a lot of critical information deliberately omitted, as we know that not all of our history is written or recorded. Our history, the history

We must also acknowledge the role of all previous youth generations in the South African revolution



Courage: Unarmed students confront armed police and police dogs

of our country, was concealed, distorted and written about us, without us.

As we celebrate the 40th Anniversary of the 1976 youth generation, it is important to also underline that the role of the youth in South African politics is probably as old as society's construction of the 'youth' as a social category. Let me take snapshots in history about the significance of youth in our struggle.

The participation of young people in the liberation struggle preceded the student uprising of 16 June 1976. Before the establishment of the ANC Youth League in 1944, young people had been participating in numerous political campaigns in response to measures and laws affecting Black people. In the 1920s, the Communist Party of South Africa already had a youth wing. Young people took part in political campaigns from the first years of the unitary South African state. Many political formations established at the close of the 19th century and early in the 20th century were made up of people of all ages. Some of the most important figures were young men and women. Gandhi was only 24 years old when he helped found the Natal Indian Congress and became its first secretary. Likewise,

Cdes Sol Plaatje and Pixley ka Seme assumed leadership positions in the South African Native National Congress when relatively young. Dr Abdullah Abdurrahman got involved in politics before becoming the first coloured person to serve in the Cape Town City Council in 1903 at the age of 34.

Youth are important assets of any nation and young people are creative, innovative and better positioned to introduce new dimensions, contributing to the current socio-political and economic dialogue, particularly in the area of the current transition. Equally, youth have an important role to play in making known their own views and aspirations with special focus on good governance, transparency, tolerance and democracy. Youth constitute the richest wealth of a country. Youth must

Education should teach the youth not only to tolerate differences but also to respect them

develop qualities of personal integrity, personal discipline and open-mindedness. This is enriched further when youth develop open attitudes and universal outlooks.

As youth is a period of passions, emotions, activity and vigour, youth should be trained to combine enthusiasm with patience. This is the real empowerment of youth. Empowering or enabling is like a process similar to teaching and fishing. This warrants the promotion of a new culture and thus a different mindset. Hence, a comprehensive rethinking is required in all walks of life with a total commitment to the issues of youth development. Educational experiences should be provided to youth with an objective to enhance their tolerance level and help them understand the merits of tolerance and respect for "otherness". "Respecting others" goes much farther than tolerance. Education must promote an aptitude of free inquiry, frank and vigorous discussion and willingness to work in teams. Education should teach the youth not only to tolerate differences but also to respect differences.

The youth of different ethnic groups can forge links across cultural bounda-



Making history: Defiant students in Soweto convulsed the country

ries and popularise shared values, and shared cultures and traditions handed down from generation to generation. In political development, youth can be trained to form the cadre to expose the rural poor to democratic processes and institutions, to consensus building and voting mechanics, and to party and government platforms.

In socio-economic development, the youth can join internship or training programmes with agricultural, manufacturing, and service industries; and sharpen their skills to become the forward-looking personnel needed by our country to help our economy compete favourably against international competition. In political and government development, the youth can engage in internships in the parliamentary institutions, join in political awareness-building, reform political parties and remove the ugliness of partisan politics, and at the same time force transformation in the bureaucracy to ensure good governance, accountability, transparency, and citizenry participation.

As the South African youth, particularly with a working class background, in this current conjuncture, let us learn

from the past and those who came before us, as we are still confronted with the same social, economic and political challenges.

The working class youth must be aware of the machinations of imperialism and neo-liberalism here in South Africa and in the world, so as to be empowered to advance the struggle for the total liberation of Africa.

During the dark days of apartheid we had a slogan “We are the future! Nobody can stop us!” We are from the past; we are the present, stepping into the future. We are responsible for our future, so let us create it now. Let us continue to bring awareness of the socio-economic ills and deepen class consciousness among our people especially the young ones who are consumed by the capitalist agenda

**There can be no revolution
anywhere without the
involvement of the youth
– the fresh blood that
embodies the future**

and are sent to political dreamland as capitalism reproduces itself among its own victims. The youth must start to help and build their own communities, leading our people out of darkness, backwardness, ignorance, illiteracy, hunger, poverty, diseases and exploitation of one by another.

There can be no revolution in South Africa or anywhere in the world without the involvement of the fresh blood which embodies the future, of an organisation and youth that will carry the load for the elders, and that will be the engine of organisation and struggle for the realisation of the organisation’s aspirations and its founding mission. Youth who understand the history of our country, youth who won’t close their eyes to the past, youth who will approach today’s challenges fully aware that the challenges are a burden of the past. Our revolution and our country need young people who are visionary, conscious, brave, militant, disciplined, guided, independent and resolute, boys and girls of character, courage and integrity like the 1976 generation. ●

Cde Dlelanga is the YCLSA National Secretary

JUNE 16: 40 YEARS ON

1976 student uprisings: A personal experience

Umsebenzi editor Yunus Carrim recounts how June 16, a major turning point for the struggle against apartheid, also became a major political tipping point for him



Looking at me now, you may not believe it, but I too was young – once! I even had hair. A long time ago, yes, but I too was a student – at the “Indian only” University of Durban Westville (hard to believe now, but such a university did exist), in 1976, when the student uprising broke out. The uprising had huge implications for all of us, even if we did not fully come to terms with it until much later. At the time, it impacted on us differently. This is just one personal account.

Students at UDW were relatively conservative, and in June, in the midst of exams, those of us who were politically aware knew that we would not be able to mobilise a significant number of them to take part in a boycott.

So when we got back to campus in late July after the winter vacation, we organised a boycott of classes on a Monday, 16 August 1976, in solidarity with the Soweto and other students. Several hundred students, not the majority, took part, but through a variety of activities, we brought classes to a standstill and got the university authorities worried. For once, the Black Consciousness adherents and the “Congressites” on campus found common cause.

As we participated in demonstrations at UDW in 1976, we had no idea that the struggle would advance so rapidly. Events overtook us. As erratic and uneven as our demonstrations at UDW were, the security branch (SB, as they were known) arrested three of us – Rashid Meer, Lloyd Padayachi and me – in the early hours of the morning of 19 August.



The long march to freedom: Protesting students in Soweto take their first step

We were separately interrogated for about seven days. The police insisted that the ANC was behind the boycott – Comrade Oliver Tambo had spoken to sociologist and political activist Fatima Meer to prod her son, Rashid, to push for the boycott. I had just been to Lesotho and Swaziland during the July vacation with a cousin to keep him company while he attended to some business matters. So, of

As we participated in demonstrations at UDW in 1976, we had no idea that the struggle would advance so rapidly

course, the SB insisted that I got instructions from the ANC. But I had no contact with the ANC! The most political thing I did on my trip was read three rather stale, tired-looking copies of 1968 and 1969 editions of *The African Communist*, which I found in a small bookshop in Lesotho (or was it Swaziland?) that couldn't even sell them in seven years! And no Sechaba (the ANC journal)! The ANC was certainly not behind the boycott, and I think the SB finally got resigned to that.

Early one morning we were hauled out of our cells and packed off with about seven others in two yellow “kwela-kwela” police vans to Modderbee Prison in Benoni. Those who were with us included Umlazi civic activists David Gaza, George Sithole and Vitus Mvelase, activist Govin Reddy of the South African Institute of Race Re-

lations, trade unionist Bobby Marie, and Black Consciousness student leader Norman Dubazana. At Modderbee we joined others from Soweto and elsewhere for the next five months.

We were about 50 in two cells. Among the group were photographer Peter Magubane, Soweto community leader Dr Nthato Motlana, and other political, church and other activists, including Father Smangaliso Mkhathshwa, Samson Ndou, Moss Chikane and Peter Moatshe (all of whom became MPs), Mohammed Timol from the Human Rights Committee, and journalists Joe Thloloe (now the Press Ombud), Duma Ndlovu (now a playwright), Willie Bokala, Gabu Tugwana, PAC activist Mark Shinnars and some high school students.

In Modderbee we were not subject to interrogation, and engaged in political discussions in our cells. As the then Minister of Justice, Jimmy Kruger, with uncharacteristic wit, told the International Red Cross, he had simply “taken us from places of unrest to a place of rest”.

For the three UDW students, it was a fascinating and irreplaceable experience. We spent 23 hours a day for five months in close proximity to comrades senior to us. It was also our first concerted engagement with African comrades beyond our fleeting contact with African students. And it confirmed in a vivid and powerful way what we felt through our values and knew through our political understanding: that cultural differences aside, ultimately we are all just human! And it conveyed too how utterly absurd apartheid was.

We were regaled with stories from some of the youth about Tsietshi Mashinini and the other Soweto student leaders. And while in our cells, we also heard about the arrest of Cde Jeremy Cronin and David and Sue Rabkin, and the unyielding and dignified way they accepted their sentences. We were inspired too by the persistence of the student struggles and how they were spreading to different parts of the country.

When Mao Zedong died in September 1976, we had a moving commemoration service addressed by comrades from all the political movements among the detainees.

We engaged in intense and passionate debates in our cell. Most of us recognised that as heroic and courageous as the youth were, there were limits to the role they could play in the national liberation struggle. It was vital that the youth linked up with the working class and the masses more broadly. It was, most of us were



Yunus Carrim and SACP volunteers campaigning among workers at a Mangaung taxi rank ahead of the 2014 general election

clear, an alliance of all classes and strata of the people under the leadership of the working class that would triumph over apartheid and fundamentally transform our country.

I was not linked to the SACP at the time, but sometimes led discussions on Marxism and the role of the SACP. Most of the detainees were not Marxists but were quite responsive to the SACP in the discussions. I also came to see that my approach to Marxism was somewhat mechanical and abstract, and tended to over-emphasise class against race, instead of fully appreciating the dialectical relationship between the national and class struggles in our revolution. Interestingly, there was very little discussion about gender issues, even though that was beginning to become significant among the Left at UDW.

Needless to say, there were intense discussions about the relationship between the mass and armed struggles – despite the fact that we thought the police were monitoring the discussions. But comrades were very motivated and determined, and could not be bothered by the police. We behaved as if it was the beginning of the

end of apartheid – and in a sense it was! Of course, it took another 14 years – but the Soweto uprisings of 1976 were a major turning point.

For the struggle certainly – but also for me – my stay at Modderbee Prison was remarkable. It contributed signally to my growth and gave a greater depth to my understanding and subsequent participation in the struggle.

Compared to what others went, however, in detention, mine was easy. And, frankly, I benefitted materially. While in Modderbee a chance conversation between Joe Thloloe and me led, after our release in December 1976, to the Union of Black Journalists proposing me for a scholarship to study journalism in the UK, which also led to a UN scholarship to study Sociology and a six-year stay there. I met my former wife there, and later came our two wonderful children. So I benefitted in several ways.

But of course my intensely subjective experience was quite different from that of hundreds of other detainees, most of them youth, who were subjected to considerable pain and torture. But they refused to be cowed. There is much that can be said about the youth of 1976. But what stands out is their resilience, their bravery, their courage, their defiance. They refused to be demeaned by apartheid. They just said: “No, to hell with you!” in ways that previous generations hadn’t. And so apartheid had no choice! ●

We behaved as if it was the beginning of the end of apartheid – and in a sense it was! It took another 14 years ...

Cde Carrim is a member of the SACP Politbureau and editor of Umsebenzi

2016 LOCAL ELECTIONS

An independent SACP campaign for an ANC election victory!

Solly Mapaila outlines why the Party intends to wage an independent, distinct and visible elections campaign



On 3 August, South Africans will be participating in the 5th democratic local government elections. Local government has transformed significantly since the days of apartheid's approximately 1100 racially and/or bantustan based local authorities. The most significant change was the formulation of the Constitution in a manner that enabled all spheres of government to be regarded as important, without undermining national coherence around a common strategic developmental agenda; facilitated fair and equal distribution of economic resources and opportunities; and included dedicated measures to ensure citizens' participation in governance.

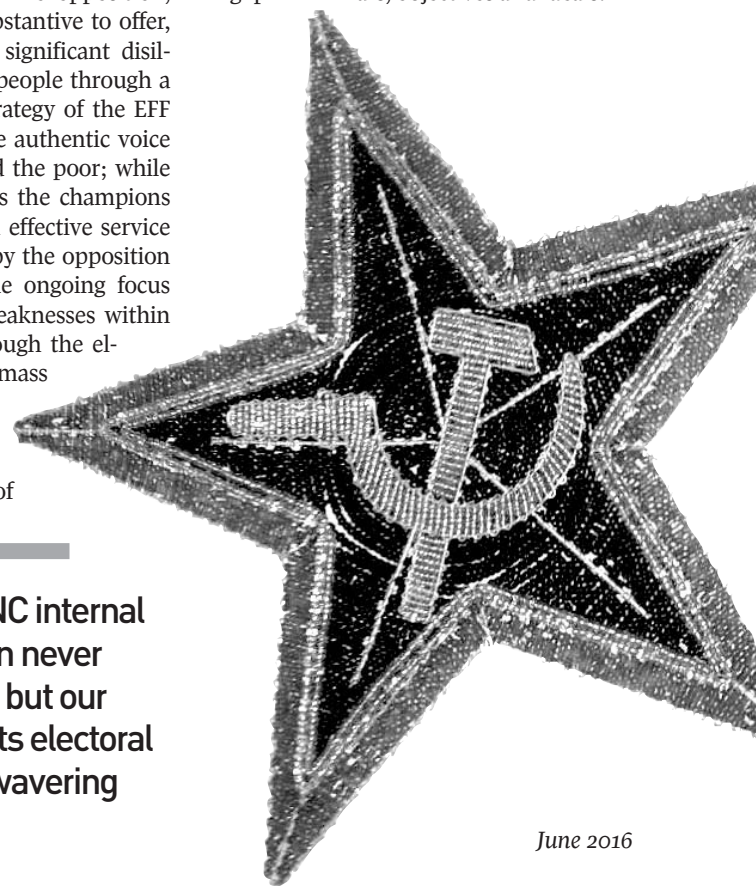
Much has been done to give expression to the Constitution and its Bill of Rights. The percentage of households that are connected to electricity increased from 69,7% in 2001 to 86% in 2014, with over 2 million households having benefited from indigent support systems for electricity in 2014. The percentage of households with access to piped water increased from 61,3% in 2001 to 90% in 2014 with over 11 million households benefiting from free basic water services as at 2013. Between 2002 and 2014, the ANC-led government increased access to basic sanitation services from 62,3% to 79,5%. More health care facilities, roads and bridges have been built to improve quality of life and to facilitate access to services and economic development.

We are proud of the achievements of the democratic government, but more needs to be done. The SACP will campaign fully to ensure a decisive victory for the ANC in the elections. While recognising that the corrupting of ANC democratic internal processes, violation of its guidelines and imposed candidates can never be condoned, our commitment to ensuring its electoral success is unwavering. Losing will result in an unaffordable reversal of our revolution's gains. The opposition, while it has nothing substantive to offer, has managed to create significant disillusionment among our people through a bifocal strategy. The strategy of the EFF is to present itself as the authentic voice of the working class and the poor; while the DA presents itself as the champions of good governance and effective service delivery. Strides made by the opposition can be attributed to the ongoing focus by the media on the weaknesses within the movement and through the elevation of the genuine mass struggles to levels of public disorder, while down-playing the crisis of capital and the roles of

monopoly capital and the parasitic bourgeoisie in maintaining persisting unemployment, racial inequality and poverty.

The Party's strategic elections framework was adopted at the February Central Committee meeting, expanded upon at a special Politburo Workshop on 23 May and a Party Building Commission Workshop on 29 and 30 May; and reaffirmed at the June Central Committee meeting. Our strategy is anchored, among others, on the following pillars, objectives and ideals:

Corruption of ANC internal processes can never be condoned, but our commitment to its electoral success is unwavering



- An independent, distinct and very visible SACP elections campaign that is complementary to the overall strategic elections plan of the ANC-headed alliance;

- A targeted working class mobilisation programme that also reaches the youth and the students, and is geared at building a stronger and larger SACP;

- Enforce our existing campaigns for food security and against high food prices, high household debts, unending high levels of evictions and for the transformation and diversification of the financial sector;

- Consolidate and defend the mass support base in the townships, metros and strategic districts and rural areas; and leave a huge imprint of the Party's presence in communities; and

- Strengthen and unite the working class, the communities and our movement.

The posture of our campaign reflects societal conditions and the aspirations of the masses, and encourages joint efforts towards changing these conditions by seeking common solutions through participation. Our campaign is not premised on false promises. Our key messages are:

Defend the democratic local state

- Build the capacity of the state at a local level to render services directly, not relying on utilities, agencies and corporatised entities;

- End outsourcing and in-source all functions at the end of current contracts;

- Extend office hours, improve performance, and push back private sector managerial tools and techniques of profiteering at the expense of service to people;

- Fight corruption, fight crime, take back our streets from drug lords and gangsters.

Defend, advance and deepen participatory government

- The SACP says councillors must

consult and listen meaningfully to our people. Importantly, councillors must give regular feedback to communities;

- Public participation must not be used to extend patronage networks and to settle political scores but to genuinely empower our people in joint action to overcome their difficulties.

Let the people truly govern!

- People-centred and people-driven local economic development,

- Local economic development programmes must serve the needs of the people and not only the markets and the big bosses;

- Build strong support for the survival of small businesses, informal traders and for co-operatives, which are facing extinction due to the aggression of big corporates;

- Use land reform and agricultural support to small-scale farmers for food production for the people;

- Establish co-operative banks in each municipality to roll back the hold of big financial role players on alternative methods of banking, savings and credit extension;

- Build sustainable communities and households by breaking the dependence of working class communities on the dominant capitalist mode for consumer goods and services;

- Enhance planning capacity at local government and work towards synergy with spatial development plans, alignment with national and develop-

Our campaign must include targeted working class mobilisation programme, geared at building a stronger and larger SACP

ment goals, priorities and challenges;

- Identify and use local strengths, assets and capacities, including organisations, to ensure sustainable development.

Employment opportunities for all

- Use Expanded Public Works and Community Development Workers to advance productive work for the working class and offer employment opportunities for the millions of our people;

- Using public employment programmes, let us attend to our child headed and female headed households to make them safe, secure and address their needs;

- Through public employment programmes break the cycle of poverty, secure the vulnerable and provide income to the poor;

- Let us use public employment programmes to deepen our community health education, promote better health outcomes, promote community centred preventative care and reducing the high costs of healthcare;

- Let us use public employment programmes to empower our youth and equip them to be productive contributors to society and the economy.

The election campaign is now in full swing. Unity and focused actions are essential to ensure that no municipality falls into the hands of neo-liberal forces. We commend our members for the sterling work done to ensure the success of provincial election manifesto launches. We salute the launches of Red Brigades and the ongoing door-to-door activities. Let us continue to unite our movement to ensure an overwhelming victory for the ANC in the election and to accelerate a second radical phase of the NDR. ●

Cde Mapaila is the Second Deputy General Secretary of the SACP

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SACP – COSATU

Deepen democracy and drive revolutionary change!

SACP and Cosatu launch joint programme to deepen democratisation and revolutionary change. The two organisations released this statement on 13 June

The collective leadership of the South African Communist Party and Congress of South African Trade Union (Cosatu) met on 13 June 2016 in Johannesburg, in a bilateral strategic session. The socialist axis exchanged analyses of the political situation in South Africa, the conditions facing the working class and the shared perspectives on the need to place the National Democratic Revolution on to a second, more radical phase.

The SACP and Cosatu reaffirmed the need, at all times, to guard against attempts to drive a wedge between the two working class organisations. Both formations recognise that no other class can best represent the objective interests of the workers and the poor other than the working class itself. There is much in the unfolding political situation that underlines the increased necessity for the SACP and Cosatu to work even more closely together, defend their unity and develop it further.

The meeting tasked the national officials of the SACP and Cosatu to meet and develop a comprehensive perspective on the international and domestic balance of forces on the challenges and opportunities facing the National Democratic Revolution, our direct route to socialism.

The SACP and Cosatu reaffirmed their commitment to continue building working class hegemony in all key sites of struggle and to work together to overcome the challenges facing workers, the unemployed and the poor. The basic aim of this joint programme is to deepen democratisation, effect revolutionary social transformation and en-

sure that no significant centre of power in our society is able to exercise power without the presence, input and influence of the working class.

Both our formations launched a programme of rolling mass action in Durban on 23 April in defence of working class interests and their advancement. The meeting reaffirmed the need to proceed and deepen this programme across all provinces.

This includes taking forward the following joint campaigns:

- A comprehensive social security;
- The National Health Insurance and defending it from being captured or distorted by private corporate interests;
- The national minimum wage and in-sourcing;
- Transformation of the financial sector, including working together to prepare for the convening of the second financial sector transformation summit by the National Economic Development and Labour Council (Nedlac);
- Campaign for Nedlac to convene a national jobs summit to address the persistent crisis of the high level of unemployment. Unemployment is pres-

ently at its highest in eleven years since 2005 as result of a combination of external, in particular, international capitalist system crisis, historical and internal factors;

- As part of preparing for the Nedlac national jobs summit, the SACP and Cosatu will convene a bilateral national jobs summit to develop joint perspectives on job creation. The summit will therefore confront, as an internal factor, the fact that no notable movement has been made to implement the 2013 national Alliance Summit declaration to review the National Development Plan in accordance with the genuine concerns raised by the SACP and Cosatu about its economic and labour policy content.

Both our organisations will continue working together to defend Cosatu affiliates from attacks, such as those presently directed at the South African Democratic Teachers' Union in the so-called jobs-for-cash report.

The SACP and Cosatu agreed to deepen the fight against corruption and corporate capture of the state and our broader movement.

This includes the fight against factionalism, social distance from the membership and mass base, patronage and distortion of internal democracy.

Our formations fully support the ANC in the forthcoming local government elections and will campaign to ensure its overwhelming electoral victory!

All over the country, SACP and Cosatu leaders and members will be campaigning door-to-door in every community, in rural and urban areas for this outcome. ●

**The SACP & Cosatu
reaffirmed the need
to guard against attempts
to drive a wedge between
the two working class
organisations**

ECUADOR

Deepening relations with Citizens' Revolutionaries

Rafael Correa has stabilised Ecuador, took more than 1,5-million out of poverty and achieved the highest minimum wage in Latin America. Chris Matlhako tracks his success – and covert, US-backed attempts to oust him



The SACP international relations and affairs commission recently hosted the Ecuadorian Ambassador to South Africa, Maria Soledad Cordova, as part of its work with embassies in the country. The meeting reflected on a number of mutually important issues and provided a solid basis for exchanging pertinent information regarding our two countries' and peoples' struggles for an alternative society. The meeting attached special importance to the efforts of President Rafael Correa and his Citizens' Revolution as part of a broader Latin American axis of radical changes towards egalitarian societies.

Ecuador and some other Latin American countries have been undertaking key socio-economic reforms with the explicit aim of undoing years of neoliberal experimentation. According to long-time Venezuela scholar, Professor Steve Ellner, Ecuador, the Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela, Bolivia, Cuba, Nicaragua and El Salvador, constitute the core of Latin America's 'radical left'. The notion of a Latin American 'radical left' has elicited analyses about whether international conditions and regional levels of economic development allow for the construction of socialism; about the role of the traditional proletariat in the struggle; and whether the left should concentrate on contesting state power or whether it should focus on increasing its influence within civil society. These topics have also been pertinent to varying degrees to the SACP's struggles in the context of the Medium-Term Vision (MTV) and the South African Road to Socialism (SARS).

President Correa will go down in history as one of the most successful Ecuadorean presidents. Ambassador Cordova argued that before President Correa, Ecuador was defined by its political and economic instability, with seven presidents forced out of office in a decade. Neoliberal measures applied by previous administrations left the country one of the poorest and least developed in the region. The government of President Correa has undertaken a series of deep reforms, which have delivered remarkable changes.

Ecuador joined Bolivia and Venezuela in rejecting the extreme free-market policies that were forced on Latin America by the International Monetary Fund (IMF), and other similar bodies. As President Correa said in 2014, "People must prevail over capital," adding that "politics is about whose interest governments serve ... Elites or the majority? Capital or humankind? The market or society? Policies and programmes depend on who holds the balance of power."¹

Before his election, economist and university professor Rafael Correa had served as the Economy Minister during the interim government of Alfredo Palacio, who succeeded ousted President Lucio Gutierrez. The country had seen increasing political instability after

the economy collapsed in a private banking crisis in 1999, leading to the adoption of the US dollar as the national currency in 2000. Unemployment skyrocketed, and almost one in 10 Ecuadoreans fled their country. As Economy Minister, Correa expressed his opposition to Palacio's plans of signing a free trade agreement with the United States, and then resigned over a World Bank loan.

Ahead of the 2006 elections, Correa and several other Ecuadorean politicians founded the movement PAIS Alliance, and proposed the drafting of a new constitution to solve the crisis facing Ecuador. After Correa took office, a constituent assembly was convoked and a new Constitution was ratified by a popular referendum.

The Citizens' Revolution

Since then, the Citizens' Revolution – a name chosen by President Correa's supporters commemorating the mass demonstrations that ousted previous presidents – has strengthened the Ecuadorean democratic state, restoring its role in the country's economic development process. Under President Correa, Ecuador's economy performed strongly, averaging 4%, and not only has the economic growth been among the best in the region, it has also favoured the poorest in the country. Ecuador has outpaced other Latin American countries in reduction of inequality.

That success was achieved even though Correa came to office on the eve of the global financial crisis and Ecuador was hampered by not having its own currency. Central to this success was President Correa's rehabilitation of the economic role of the state, through

**People must prevail
over capital – politics is
about whose interest
governments serve ...
The market or society?**



Ecuador's President Rafael Correa – his Citizens' Revolution is part of a Latin America axis of radical change

a huge public investment infrastructural programme to shape the market. President Correa has repeatedly made it clear that although there is a role for the market in some areas, it cannot dominate the economy, saying that he supports “societies with markets and not a society of markets.”

Central to stronger growth was the emphasis on social investment above the servicing of foreign debt. As a result, the poverty index has fallen by one third, with over 1,5-million lifted out of poverty since 2007.²

The Citizens' Revolution in Ecuador is one of the most authentic revolutions in Latin America. The Citizens Revolution has pushed innovative policies to ensure greater social justice. For example, the minimum wage will be raised to US\$366 this year, one of the highest in Latin America. Last year, 2015, saw a comprehensive reform of the country's labour laws, which expanded the rights and protections of workers and saw the labour of homemakers (domestic-work-

ers) recognised by the state with their incorporation into the social security system for the first time in the country's history. Some economists speculated these changes would result in rising unemployment, but it has seen the opposite: Ecuador now has the lowest unemployment rate in its history at 4,28%.³

In education and health, too, which had been seriously neglected under previous governments, the Citizens' Revolution has made great strides. The Correa administration has restored the role of the state in both these sectors; guaranteeing free education up to university level, and implementing free healthcare.

New laws compel companies to reserve jobs for people with disabilities, minority indigenous communities and Afro-Ecuadorians

The government has announced that it will build 400 new schools by 2017 and Ecuador now has the second highest level of public investment in higher education in the world. To fund much of this, the Correa government targeted tax evasion, a big problem which had been bleeding public revenues. Ecuador now raises three times more in taxes than it did in 2006.⁴ Meanwhile, positive public perception in Ecuador of governance, reduction of corruption, and the distribution of wealth is the highest in the region. As a result of this social change, President Correa continues to be seen as one of the most popular presidents in Latin America throughout his administration.

On the third anniversary of his second term recently, President Correa who is still fighting for a fairer, more inclusive Ecuador, acknowledged that marginalised communities such as Afro-Ecuadorians needed to receive special attention given their status in society and that the inequalities that have accrued as a result

of exclusionary policies, have to be addressed. Under Correa, poverty among African-descendent communities has dropped by over 20%. Ecuador cemented its dedication to the United Nations International Decade for People of African Descent, taking place between 2015-2024, with a presidential decree to meet the UN objectives and goals, which promotes respect and the protection of human rights and fundamental freedoms for people of African descent. President Correa hailed the progress Ecuador's people of African descent, who make up over 7% of the population, have made under the Citizens' Revolution.

Political stability has returned to the Andean nation. The president was re-elected at the 2009 – following the adoption of the new constitution – and 2013 general elections. Popular support has also helped him win popular referendums, in 2007, 2008 and 2011. Overall, President Correa and his supporters have won 10 elections since 2007.

President Correa's attempts to re-found the nation have included an emphasis on tackling discrimination to include long-

President Correa's PAIS Alliance and its allies have won 10 Ecuadorian elections since 2007

neglected communities. During his first election campaign in 2006, President Correa addressed his supporters in Quechua, the country's most widely-spoken indigenous language. In 2007, with help of the Venezuelan government, Ecuador launched its first public TV station and, together with the state-owned radio station, promoted programmes in Quechua and other indigenous languages. This has boosted the use of different native languages, which were formerly facing extinction.

Laws to protect minorities have also been implemented, including a law which compels companies to reserve 4% of jobs for people with disabilities, and

other quotas for minority ethnic groups – such as indigenous communities and Afro-Ecuadorians – to narrow inequality gaps. The same has been applied in the country's higher education system, where indigenous and Afro-Ecuadorian community inclusion has soared.

With the new Media Law, approved in 2013, the indigenous communities will have greater access to community media. The law assigns 34% of the country's radio and TV frequencies to community media. So far, 14 radio frequencies have been assigned to each of the country's indigenous groups. The government will also provide training and special funding options to support the small media outlets, in an effort to continue promoting native languages and cultural exchanges.

Widespread changes to disability laws mean that people with physical and mental disabilities are much better provided for than previously, and large-scale government campaigns have tackled discrimination and improved inclusion in society.

Fierce opposition from the old elite and its allies in Washington

Attempts to disempower the old elites, entrenched over centuries, have been met with a concerted attack by right-wing politicians and organisations against the Correa government. In order to tackle Western domination, the Correa government shut the US military base in Manta, asserted control over the country's oil and other natural resources, taking them away from domination by multinationals. The President also cancelled the punishing international debt, which meant that in the past, money spent on debt repayment was three times more than that spent on social services.

As a result, fierce opposition came from the old elite and its allies in Washington, and the 2010 coup proved how concerned the old powers were about President Correa's successes. On 30 September, a police strike ended in a violent revolt against President Correa, who was held hostage in a hospital for several hours. This attempt at a coup had all the hallmarks of the coup against Hugo Chavez in Venezuela. The clashes resulted in 10 deaths including one of the presidential guards. Documents emerged showing massive US funding for policemen and opposition groups, through USAID. Despite this direct threat, President Correa continued

The CIA's smoking gun

Correa hails proof of dirty tricks in Ecuador

Ecuadorian President Rafael Correa has applauded “powerful” investigations by Telesur into the CIA's regime-change machinations in the country.

At a press conference on Wednesday (8 June 2016), Mr Correa said he had evidence confirming Telesur's allegations that Washington's spooks were collaborating with journalists, media and politicians to destabilise his government through smear campaigns.

“The National Endowment for Democracy is the CIA's financial branch — like in Venezuela and in Bolivia,” he said.

“It does not fund the Red Cross any more, it funds groups providing ‘training on democracy’. This means destabilising the government and other opposition movements.”

The left-wing president said that his government knew who the CIA was funding and what they were up

to on social networks, websites and through so-called political analysts and researchers.

Mr Correa recalled Colombia's 2008 military raid into Ecuador to attack left-wing rebel group, the FARC, after which the national intelligence services were found to have been co-opted by foreign embassies.

He thanked the regional broadcaster for confirming what Quito already suspected and for naming CIA operatives in the country.

Telesur – La Nueva Televisora del Sur – is multi-state funded, pan-Latin American terrestrial and satellite television network sponsored by the governments of Venezuela, Cuba, Ecuador, Nicaragua, Uruguay, and Bolivia

Report from the UK daily Morning Star, 10 June 2016 (<http://www.morningstaronline.co.uk/a-8b13-Ecuador-Correa-hails-proof-of-CIAs-dirty-tricks#.V1pUbLtg600>)



President Correa address supporters on the anniversary of the Citizens' Revolution

to assert an independent foreign policy; one of his boldest moves was granting Julian Assange asylum in the Ecuadorian embassy in London in 2012, fearing his extradition to the US for the role that Wikileaks played in exposing war crimes.

2015 saw a resurgence in this opposition after a numbers of years of social tranquility.

President Correa's opponents, together with elements of the private media, deliberately misinformed the Ecuadorean public about two bills aimed at increasing taxes on the wealthiest to address inequality in the country. Right-wing opposition demonstrators held regular protests, mainly in the country's two largest cities, Quito and Guayaquil. They were later joined by opposition-aligned trade unions and indigenous groups. Many of the protests turned violent, with protesters wantonly attacking police and public officials.

In response, President Correa called for a national debate on equity and wealth redistribution. By the end of 2015 the opposition protests had shrunk in size and President Correa announced that the wealth redistribution bills would be reintroduced for debate in the National Assembly in 2016.

Instilling a human rights culture

Another major transformation the Citizens' Revolution achieved was the restructuring of the judicial system. The National Court of Justice, the country's highest court, was revamped, and the outdated procedures of the past, reformed. This reform was key to addressing the human rights abuses carried out during Leon Febres Cordero's presidency. That president, considered by many as a dictator, reigned over the judicial system through his designation of key positions to his closest allies.

President Correa's government established a truth commission to investigate human rights abuses in the country from 1984 to 2008. So far, nine people have been jailed on charges for crimes against humanity, due to their involvement in torture and murder during Febres Cor-

dero's rule. A landmark trial regarding human rights abuses committed against three former members of the group *Alfaro Vive Carajo*, a revolutionary guerrilla movement that once operated in Ecuador, is expected to begin in 2016.

As the famous Cuban revolutionary and singer Pablo Milanes once said, the Citizens' Revolution in Ecuador is "one of the most authentic revolutions in Latin America." There are many lessons that South Africa can draw from their history and development programmes. The relationship with the Embassy of Ecuador is a strategic one, which the SACP will continue to build and nurture. ●

Cde Matlhako is a member of the Politburo and International Secretary of the SACP

Endnotes

1. Presidencia del Ecuador; (www.presidencia.gob.ec)
2. Ecuador's Citizens' Revolution: Retaking Power from the Old Elites; (www.telesur.net/english)
3. Ecuador's Citizens' Revolution: Retaking Power from the Old Elites; (www.telesur.net/english)
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**"The Citizens' Revolution
in Ecuador is one most
authentic revolutions in
Latin America"**
 – Pablo Milanes

FREE STATE

Forward to an overwhelming ANC victory

The Free State SACP Provincial Congress adopted the following declaration. This is a shortened and edited version

We, 350 delegates to the 7th Provincial Congress of the SACP in the Free State, representing 11 550 members of the Party in the province, met on 17-19 June 2016, under the theme, *Communist cadres to the front: unite the working class, our communities and our movement*.

SACP Second Deputy General Secretary Cde Solly Mapaila gave the keynote address.

The congress resolved to deepen our anti-imperialist struggle, and advance working class internationalism and solidarity with the oppressed globally. Congress called for the immediate lifting of the unilateral USA economic blockade against Cuba, the return of Guantanamo Bay to Cuba and enhancing our solidarity work with the people of Palestine, Swaziland, Western Sahara and Kurdistan. Congress also called for a lasting solution to the crisis in Sudan and committed to continue work with sister organisations in Lesotho.

The congress congratulated the ANC for successfully launching the local government elections manifesto across the country, where huge crowds turned out to endorse the Movement. The congress noted that the SACP structures played an important role in mobilising people to attend the elections manifesto rallies.

We commit ourselves to campaign for an overwhelming victory of the ANC in the local government elections. The SACP must have an independent and visible elections campaign programme – part of deepening the NDR which, in the SACP's view, is our most direct route to socialism.

The SACP elections campaign will focus on: household indebtedness and the transformation of the financial sector; halting evictions; deepening partici-

patory governance in our communities; food security; building co-operatives and sustainable livelihoods for the people; ending outsourcing and contracting out of work; and job creation with a bias for youth employment programmes.

The congress reaffirms the SACP's position that the strategic enemy of the working class remains monopoly capital. We commit to pursue a campaign against mining and agricultural capital in our province. An important weapon in the hands of the working class struggle against monopoly capital is state power. The struggle against monopoly capital will not succeed if the SACP can't defeat the parasitic bourgeoisie and its political associates seeking to use the state for their narrow accumulation agenda. We will accordingly campaign against corporate capture of the state and the movement including by the parasitic bourgeoisie.

We note that the Alliance Summit and Alliance Lekgotla cautioned against the threat of corporate capture of the state. The SACP campaign against corporate capture will also focus on the transformation of the SABC; and on building a democratic developmental mandate for provincial state-owned entities.

We note the SACP will not be able to mount these campaigns if it has weak structures. Accordingly, focusing on

building strong and vibrant SACP structures reliant on cadres who are rooted in community struggles is vital.

We recommit to building a strong campaigning SACP and YCLSA that would lead struggles in all sites of power, as per party programme, outlined by *The South African Road to Socialism*.

We will be in the workplaces, building and strengthening structures of organised workers, in particular, Cosatu – and forge strong relations that seek to reconfigure the power relations of the workplace in favour of the workers.

The congress particularly noted the 33-39% unemployment rate in the province. Job creation is critical: SACP branches must take responsibility for job creation in their wards. In this regard, the SACP economic transformation document, *Going to the Root*, will serve as a guide for the SACP branches.

Finally, the congress noted with concern the attacks on the SACP and its leadership, particularly our General Secretary. The congress reaffirmed its full confidence in the leadership of the General Secretary and will not hesitate to embark on a campaign to defend our leaders.

Elected to office: Provincial Secretary – Charles Stofile; Provincial Chairperson – Bereng Soke; Provincial Treasurer – Lucy Matsipa; 1st Deputy Provincial Secretary – Teboho Kholoanyane; 2nd Deputy Provincial Deputy Secretary – Mojalefa Simango; Deputy Provincial Chairperson – Mbuyiselo Jacobs. Additional: Siza Mtollo; Jazz Sikwala; Webster Masondo; Oupa Kgoabane; Lindiwe Shongwe; Eddie Lesenyehlo; Kentse Segoane; Ntabiseng Mokotjo; Refilwe Mongale; Penny Mthunywa; Matsepo Mokotla; Dibolelo Mahlatsi; Motsamai Mdakane; Kennedy Mahlatsi; and Jonas Mosia. ●

We commit ourselves to campaign for an overwhelming victory of the ANC in the August local government elections