

**14TH CONGRESS REPORT-BACK**  
**Cabinet reshuffle: Desperate move by a desperate man**

October 2017

Voice of the South African Communist Party

# Umsebenzi



**RED OCTOBER**  
**STOP GENDER-BASED VIOLENCE!**

CC STATEMENT

# A desperate move by a desperate man

*A special Central Committee meeting issued this statement two days after Jacob Zuma's 12th Cabinet reshuffle*

A Special Central Committee meeting of the SACP convened on Friday, 20 October 2017 in Johannesburg to discuss the current situation following yet another reckless Cabinet reshuffle by President Jacob Zuma. This was not the move of a master chess-player, as some in the media are suggesting. It was a desperate move by a desperate man who increasingly by-passes his own Cabinet, his own ANC NEC, his own ANC top six, and the broad Alliance, in an attempt to ram through his own private agendas.

The reshuffling is a desperate move in the context of repeated defeats and rebuffs for the Zuma-Gupta axis, including the downfall of Brian Molefe, Dudu Myeni, and Hlaudi Motsoeneng. It occurs in the context of the Supreme Court of Appeal's decision on the multiple criminal charges facing President Zuma. The serial replacement of successive Ministers of energy is a sign of desperation as President Zuma tries futilely to ram through a nuclear procurement programme that our country neither needs nor can afford. As the new Minister will quickly discover, if Cabinet does not reject the nuclear deal, Parliament will. And if Parliament does not, the courts will. If those structures are by-passed the new Minister will find himself in jail.

In the most recent Cabinet reshuffle the one Minister who was actually dropped was, of course, our General Secretary, Cde Blade Nzimande, while chronically under-performing Ministers have been retained. As the SACP we wear Cde Nzimande's re-

moval as a collective badge of honour. Reckless as the move was, it came as no surprise to the SACP. Cde Nzimande has consistently articulated the SACP's position that President Zuma must go. Cde Nzimande's influential and consistent role within Cabinet in frustrating attempts at looting of public resources is at the root of his displacement. The whole country can plainly see that Cde Nzimande, like other communists in provinces and municipalities, has not been dropped because of corruption, under-performance or a lack of energetic defence of the interests of the workers and the poor.

The developments of this past week have reinforced the SACP's determination to work together with hundreds of thousands of ANC members to rid our collective liberation movement of despotic tendencies and parasitic looting. The SACP will not be misled into rash actions by a provocative president hiding behind a presidential prerogative. The SACP remains steadfast in its commitment to building a broad patriotic front against state capture and corruption. The SACP remains committed to its strategic vision of contesting all key sites of power, not for the sake of the SACP or our individual members – but in the interests of the great majority of South Africans, the working class and poor.

In the coming days we will be taking these perspectives forward, including in the Alliance Political Council on Thursday, 26 October 2017. The SACP will convene another Central Committee plenary over the next weekend. The meeting will start a day after the Alliance Political Council. ●



ON THE MARCH: SACP members marching from the Party HQ to the Red October launch at the Johannesburg City Hall

RED OCTOBER

# Build socialism – wipe out gender-based violence!

*The SACP marched to the Johannesburg City Hall on 8 October to formally launch the 2017 Red October Campaign against gender-based violence with this statement*

If violence is left unchecked – in our communities, in the economy, and in broader society – it will plunge our nation into even deeper crisis. The problem goes beyond contact crimes – murders and attempted murders, common assault and assault with grievous bodily harm, common robbery and sexual violations. There are subtle forms of violence too – emotional and verbal violence. Everyone feels the consequences of violence, regardless of sex and age.

It is particularly high in metropolitan areas – and unreported acts of violence make it difficult to quantify the full extent

of the problem of violence in South Africa.

But in the nine months from April to December 2016 Gauteng topped the list for contact crimes, followed by the Western Cape, KZN and the Eastern Cape. Fully 3 057 people were murdered in

**We must build a society  
in which everybody is safe  
– regardless of sex, sexual  
orientation and age!**

Gauteng in those months, 3 027 in KZN, followed by the Eastern Cape (2 831) and Western Cape (2 481).

KZN is the centre of political killings – murder for political ends. In this, the SACP has suffered major losses as the first, major target. The SACP called on the relevant authorities to act against the political killings, but our call appeared to have fallen on deaf ears until the violence expanded. In the taxi industry violence seems to be a means of resolving conflicts or part of competitive strategies.

And when we consider sexual and gender-based violence we must recognise that it not only happens in our

## 4 UMSEBENZI

homes and in the streets, but also in the workplace. Women are the main targets of sexual violations and gender-based violence, often targeted by men using positions of authority at work to impose their sexual demands.

Sex and gender-based crimes are on the increase. We must reverse this: we must build a society in which everybody, regardless of sex, sexual orientation and age, is safe!

Although little has yet been achieved, the triple crisis of racialised, gendered and spatial inequality, unemployment and poverty has received more attention in social mobilisation than the prevailing problem – violence. There is visible social mobilisation against corruption and state capture. We must intensify our mobilisation to radically reduce and address economic inequality, unemployment, poverty, corruption and corporate state capture.

But we must also deepen the struggle against violence and particularly to gender-based violence.

Our 14th Party Congress in July resolved that our annual Red October Campaign must focus social mobilising against gender-based violence. We resolved to include insecurity resulting from crime and violence in our communities, industry and society at large as the fourth scourge facing our people

and democracy – on top of the triple crisis of inequality, poverty and unemployment (along with corruption and state capture).

- Violence against women, children, and the lesbian, gay, bisexual, trans- and/or intersex (LGBTI) community must end!
- The extent of domestic violence, abuse of women, sexual harassment – including rape and other sexual assaults and femicide (the murder of women) – require a focused campaign to uproot this scourge. We must pay equal attention to ensuring the safety of children – female and male – and of people with albinism.
- Eliminating gender-based violence and child abuse requires the crosscutting mobilisation of the entire nation.

At our Congress we resolved to forge the broadest possible patriotic front to defend and deepen our democracy and a popular left front to defend, advance and deepen our revolution. We also need to build, as part of the strategy, a front to eliminate gender-based violence.

To this end the SACP convened a consultative meeting last month attended by representatives of progressive NGOs with a focus on gender transformation, and by representatives from the SAPS and the National Prosecuting Authority (NPA). Participants provided invaluable inputs and educational guidance.



General Secretary Blade Nzimande and Northern Cape Provincial Secretary Norman Shushu on the march

Our Party thanks all who attended. The SACP will deepen the engagements and the programme towards building a mass movement against gender-based violence, against child abuse and against the abuse of LGBTIs.

We need to deepen social mobilisation to ensure effective prevention – by communities, the government, and all relevant state authorities. This includes ensuring the provision of services and support for survivors or victims of gender based-violence – by communities, progressive NGOs and the government – and the investigation, prosecution, sentencing and rehabilitation of perpetrators.

Given that patriarchy and its multiple forms of exploitation have been given increased expression by capitalism, the elimination of violence, particularly violence against women, LGBTIs and children, is integral to the interests of the working class.

Our struggle to build socialism in the here and now is simultaneously the struggle for the elimination of violence and abuse of women, LGBTIs and children.



Party members and supporters of the Red October campaign against gender-based violence marching in Johannesburg

- Our immediate programme includes:
- Education and awareness to combat the scourge;
  - Building effective street committees and community policing forums that work to curb violence against women and crime;
  - Building a vanguard leadership and supportive role that enables the specialised activism of progressive organisations and NGOs dedicated to transform gender relations to deepen their work – and working with them to combat femicide, child homicide and infanticide;
  - Equally fighting sexual abuse and rape of boys and male learners, to advance and deepen the overall struggle against patriarchy;
  - Intensifying our Know Your Neighbourhood and Act campaign;
  - Strengthen the campaigning focus on violence and gender-based abuse;
  - Working with the police and the NPA to combat violence and gender-based abuse - ensuring arrests, prosecution, adequate sentencing and rehabilita-

- tion of perpetrators; and
  - Deepening the struggle against economic exploitation including a strong focus on patriarchy, inequality, unemployment and poverty.
- Let us go all out and participate in the government-initiated listening campaign. Let us convene community meetings to engage and work with communities to combat crime generally and gender-based violence specifically.

We must also recognise and address the rising and extremely exploitative phenomenon called “blessing”. This must end – we must understand it “blessing” as part of the patriarchy against which we must wage a relentless struggle. ●

*This is an edited version of the speech by SACP General Secretary Cde Blade Nzimande to officially launch the Red October Campaign*

## NEXT MONTH – SPECIAL ISSUE COMMEMORATING THE CENTENARY OF THE SOVIET REVOLUTION





Mohamed Timol and Sipiwe Nyanda celebrate the outcome of the second inquest

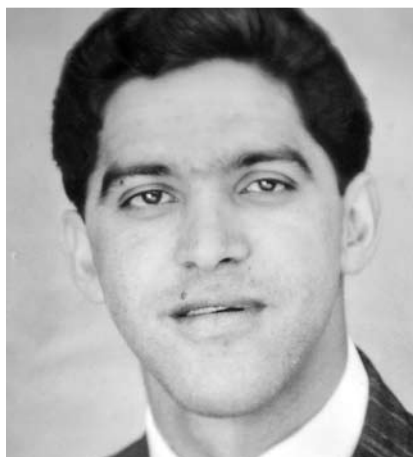
AHMED TIMOL

# Justice – no longer denied

*Half-a-century after his death, an inquest court ‘washed away the lies and deception’ to find SACP underground operative Ahmed Timol was murdered by apartheid police, writes Mark Waller*

It's taken 46 years for some sort of justice to prevail in the case of anti-apartheid struggle activist Ahmed Timol – tortured and murdered while in apartheid police detention. A member of the then-outlawed South African Communist Party (SACP), he was arrested in October 1971 for being in possession of communist party literature. A few days later he was dead.

The initial inquest, held in 1972, found that he had committed suicide by jumping from the 10th floor of Johannesburg police headquarters – the notorious John Vorster Square. The court exonerated the security police who had been interrogating Timol. It found Timol had been treated with compas-



Ahmed Timol shortly before police interrogations murdered him

sion by the cops.

But on Thursday 12 October 2017, the High Court in Pretoria ruled that Timol had been brutally tortured before his death by teams of secret police interrogators working in relays, and that he was pushed or thrown from the 10th floor or the roof of the police station.

Judge Billy Mothle ruled: “Timol did not jump out of the window of room 1026, but was either pushed out of the window or from the roof of the John Vorster Police Station. He did not commit suicide. He was murdered.”

The judge said security police went to great lengths to conceal the truth of Timol's death, but left gaping anomalies that were uncovered during the re-exam-



SACP members picketing outside the High Court in Pretoria

ination of the case.

One was the assertion that Timol had dived out of the police station window after having distracted his interrogators – a physical impossibility, not least for someone incapacitated by days of torture.

“The sub-standard and sloppy manner in which the investigation of Timol’s death was conducted supported the view that there was clear intent to cover up the incident.”

The 2017 inquest was the result of years of campaigning by the Timol family to review the 1972 judgment. Following the judgement, Timol’s brother Mohamed said: “The Timol family has been driven, not by vengeance, but by the pursuit of the truth and justice. This is what democratic South Africa should be, is truth and justice.”

Imtiaz Cajee, Ahmed Timol’s nephew, author of the book *Timol, A Quest for Justice*, has called on the National Prosecuting Authority to re-open all inquests concerning the killing of political activists. “We’d like to view the reopened Timol inquest as the beginning and definitely not the end.”

Under apartheid, which was waging a prolonged battle against a broad liberation movement fighting for equality and political freedom, the judiciary regularly

connived with the security police to cover up political murders, many of them carried out at the notorious John Vorster Square.

Most of those involved in Timol’s interrogation and killing are now dead: they have never had to answer for their crime. The verdict of the original inquest that “no person alive” killed Timol carries an ironic truth today. Only one of the police officers who was with Timol before he died is still alive. He stuck to the cover-up story of the 1972 inquest verdict and is now liable for prosecution.

The new inquest, which opened at the end of June, was hampered by the incomplete record of the original inquest. Some 600 pages of the 1 000-page court record had disappeared by the time the Timol family had managed to get hold of it by court order.

The missing material covered all the

**“Like thousands of other communists, Ahmed Timol died so men and women may be free”**

– Adv Howard Varney

police testimony given at the 1972 hearing. Despite this, Mothle pointed out in his ruling, there was sufficient new evidence to cast doubt on the 1972 verdict.

Judge Mothle said the findings of the new Timol inquest open the way for inquests into 400 other deaths at the hands of the security police under apartheid.

For advocate Howard Varney, who represented the Timol family in court, the case exposes “a shameful story of great neglect, as the authorities in our new democratic order failed or declined to take action while the key suspects were still alive. It regrettably points to a design on the part of the authorities to permit the perpetrators of the past to ... escape justice.”

Following the new ruling, the SACP – which presented the Timol family at its 14th Congress with an SACP Award – stated it “unwaveringly supports the Timol family and will deepen its campaign towards a wider programme of justice for all. Everyone who was killed by or disappeared under apartheid must be accounted for.”

*Cde Waller is sub-editor of Umsebenzi, and a member of the Communist Party of Finland*

## POST-CONGRESS

# Implementing resolutions and our roadmap

*Extract from the political report to the first Central Committee meeting following the 14th SACP National Congress*

It is very important that this first CC of the 14th Congress undertakes a dispassionate and honest assessment of our Congress ... laying the basis for the implementation of our Congress resolutions and our roadmap.

Our 14th Congress was a huge political success. For almost a week the SACP was in the public arena and media, including social media, in a manner that has perhaps never happened during prior congresses. It also took place when the SACP was occupying a relatively high moral ground in terms of playing its vanguard role regarding the current political crises afflicting our movement, our revolution and our country.

Our Congress also reflected an SACP that has grown enormously over the last two decades, with membership reaching unprecedented levels. To properly appreciate our achievements, we must remind ourselves where the SACP comes from those two decades, since the SACP's unbanning in 1990.

As always, our Congress was characterised by high levels of debate and engagements. Our Congress also passed important and inspiring resolutions that can lay the basis for an SACP that can deepen its popularity and organisation among the workers and poor of our country. These campaigns, an essential component of driving a second more radical phase of our National Democratic Revolution (NDR), are an important building block towards our struggle for a socialist South Africa.

We always realised the necessary to massify the SACP would carry with it inherent dangers. A relatively mass party is liable to develop populist features and behaviour less informed by a dispassionate scientific analysis and under-

standing of concrete and material conditions. Instead, such a Party might tend to be driven by what is, or appears to be, subjectively popular among its broad membership, but perhaps not by what is popular within the working class and broader popular strata as a whole. Thirdly, populism and ideological impatience are also possible signs of the influence and impact of factionalism found within the ranks of our ally, the ANC.

Perhaps this may be a reflection of another reality, that the problems found within the ANC, especially factionalism, is not something borne out of only subjective weaknesses but also comes with the objective realities of progressive left movements contesting elections in societies dominated by monopoly capital. That is, the problems afflicting an organisation like the ANC, much as they may have their foundations in subjective weaknesses, also derive from the material reality of electoral contestation under conditions of extreme unemployment, inequality and poverty.

Our Congress took key decisions in important areas. It is going to be important for our newly elected Politbureau to develop a comprehensive implementation plan for our resolutions that must be presented and adopted at our 2017 Augmented Central Committee.

## **Towards an SACP roadmap**

One point of debate and discussion not entirely resolved at our Congress was on the significance and importance of the December 2017 ANC Conference in the overall strategic and tactical considerations of the SACP, and implications of this for our roadmap. There was a strong view that the SACP must decide on its own roadmap over the next 12-24 months

irrespective of, or without consideration for, what happens at the ANC's December 2017 National Conference. There was another view, perhaps a minority view, that the SACP needs to take into account what happens at this ANC Conference.

Obviously, if taken to extremes, both views are wrong. The outcomes of the ANC's December conference (assuming it even takes place at all) will unquestionably impact on the SACP, our broader alliance, the working class, the future of the NDR and the country. But in developing an SACP roadmap programme of action, it would be foolhardy for the SACP to focus all of its energies, and all of its expectations, on one or another preferred ANC Conference outcome. That is one of the lessons we need to derive from our 1997 Polokwane experience: over-investment in December expectations is exactly the mistake that some of the better ANC leadership comrades appear to be making.

The SACP cannot stand aloof from the December process, but there is much that we must do to advance, deepen and defend the NDR regardless of the outcomes of the ANC's December conference. We must build on the momentum we had in the run-up to our Congress (and then lost somewhat immediately afterwards) by continuing to play a vanguard role in the anti-state capture popular mobilisation. To do this, we need to build better connections between the anti-corruption struggle and the immediate problems confronting the working class and poor (unemployment, the debt crisis, deepening poverty, the dysfunctionality of Metrorail, violence against women).

Unless the SACP draws connections between these struggles, the anti-state capture/anti-corruption mobilisation

will once more be hegemonised by the middle strata and opposition parties.

We have a dual vanguard task. On the one hand, we need to be an active force within the widest anti-corruption and defence of the constitution mobilisation – a broad patriotic front. On the other hand, and more importantly, the SACP must be a vanguard force in building a reconfigured alliance – a Popular Front, which may also assume a 2019 electoral form. This means we must start to develop a socio-economic programme – many of whose elements can be found in our 14th Congress resolutions.

In the coming days and weeks, we must also not fall into the trap of awaiting a never-to-be-appointed judicial commission of inquiry into state capture. While demanding its appointment, we should also march on the NPA demanding action against those so obviously implicated in wrongdoing. Why wait for a judicial commission? We must also insist on immediate action by the Reserve Bank, the commercial banks, and other relevant institutions to block the Guptas' attempts to export their Tegeta spoils through a bogus sale, and likewise for the financial authorities to block the vendor-financed, bogus sale of the Gupta's media interests to front man Mzwanele Manyi.

These are tasks the SACP must undertake regardless of our expectations and calculations around the ANC December Conference. They also have the potential to have a positive impact on that Conference, and, regardless of its outcomes, a positive impact on the trajectory of the NDR going beyond December.

With all of these caveats, it is still relevant to consider possible scenarios for the ANC's scheduled December Conference, as we seek to develop an SACP roadmap.

There are five possible five scenarios over the next 12 months emerging in the context of the scheduled ANC conference in December:

- A shootout at Congress where the winner takes all, and where the parasitic bourgeoisie emerges victorious largely by stealing the Conference, thus leading to a possibility of the collapse of the Alliance and implosion of the ANC itself
- A coalition of centre-left forces that wins the ANC Conference. Possibly this outcome may lead to a more favourable context for re-building the ANC and the Alliance
- A compromise deal between the two major slates (as proposed by President

Zuma at the conclusion of the ANC's NPC) – likely to perpetuate the current leadership paralysis and weaken the prospects of maintaining the Alliance and winning elections in 2019

- The victory of a third, outside candidate, with all kinds of indeterminate outcomes and implications for our Alliance
- The conference is not convened in December or is deliberately imploded because the parasitic bourgeoisie senses that it will not win and it will be exposed to criminal prosecution.

### The SACP roadmap

The SACP's own roadmap must be underpinned by a 10-year strategic perspective and objectives on driving a second more radical phase of the NDR, as our most direct route to socialism. But at the same time we need to assess the extent to which what has been happening to our movement over the last 2-3 years has actually eroded if not completely undermined the gains made in the lead up to and immediately after the ANC Polokwane conference?

The principal platform for a roadmap over the next 12-24 months must be a programme-based and -driven broad popular front committed to the achievement of the principal goals of the NDR. This broad front must be built on united action by the organised working class drawn from across the variety of trade union formations and federations, and a dynamic networking of a range of local community and sectoral MDM formations, as well as with increasingly homeless and disaffected ANC members/supporters – including ex-MK cadres, UDF "veterans", stalwarts, etc. The principal anchor for this must be the deepening of the relationship between the SACP and Cosatu.

Building upon this popular front is the task of organising a broader network of patriotic forces that stand for the defence of the sovereignty of our country and its public institutions and protect these assets from parasitic plunder. This must also build on united action for the establishment of a judicial commission of inquiry into state capture, as one crucial platform towards defending our country from both the greed of monopoly capital and the looting by a parasitic bourgeoisie. It is however important to remember that much as a judicial commission of inquiry is important, mass mobilisation and organisation remains the primary weapon with which to smash and defeat

parasitism!

Part of the SACP's roadmap is the deepening and strengthening of the relationship between the SACP and the working class, as well as building bridges and relations with the lower middle classes in particular.

Our roadmap must also include the reconfiguration of our Alliance that must also consider the development of a (possible) pact based on equal and mutual respect of all alliance partners.

Our roadmap must also include a serious assessment of the readiness of the SACP in playing its proper vanguard role in this period, including leading a front of forces in contesting electorally. In this context it is also going to be important to focus on the security of the SACP itself and its leaders at all levels. This must include focusing on the organisational readiness and financial sustainability of the SACP to play all these roles.

A comprehensive plan addressing all the above must be tabled before the Augmented Central Committee, including a detailed strategic document on building the SACP's capacity on state and popular power.

It is important that we also take into account that the combination of state looting by the parasitic bourgeoisie, and the weakening of our economy and state capacity has increased the arrogance and offensive of the capitalist classes, including monopoly capital, against the democratic state and the working class. This further underlines the extent to which the parasitic networks of the parasitic bourgeoisie weaken the capacity of the NDR to make decisive advances in favour of the workers and poor of our country.

Lastly, and perhaps most importantly, it is essential that the SACP goes out 'to the country' to engage our structures and communities to report back on the outcomes of our 14th Congress. In addition to this we need drive our Know and Act in Your Neighbourhood Campaign on an ongoing basis to lay the ground for 2019 and beyond. The SACP needs to think about innovative ways of engaging our communities for mobilisation, including for electoral purposes, using cheaper methods but with maximum impact. It may be that we study electioneering methods that rely on intensive contact with the mass of our people, without running glossy and expensive electoral campaigns. As part of our roadmap, we need to study the experiences of Bernie Sanders in the US, Jeremy Corbyn in the UK and of left forces in Latin America. ●

NATIONAL CONGRESS

# Declaration of the SACP 14th National Congress

*Statement of 15 July 2017 by delegates to the 14th National Congress representing nearly 300 000 South African Communists*

**W**e, 1 819 Communist militants, have met over the past five days as delegates to the SACP's 14th National Congress in Ekurhuleni, Gauteng. We are drawn from over 7 000 SACP branches from across our country and from the ranks of the Young Communist League of South Africa. As delegates, we represent 284 554 SACP members. Five years ago, at our 13th National Congress, we proudly announced that our membership had grown massively to over 150 000. We have nearly doubled once again. We are well aware that this surging popularity of the Party imposes responsibilities upon all of us.

Our Congress occurs at a time when South Africa's monopoly-dominated capitalist economy, with its colonial and apartheid legacy features, continues to reproduce crisis levels of unemployment, inequality and poverty – all of which are strongly marked by racial, gendered and spatial features. At this Congress we have taken resolutions which both reaffirm our principled strategic posture as well as advancing specific interventions that need to be undertaken.

We are reaffirming our strategic commitment to a radical second phase of the National Democratic Revolution as the most direct route to a socialist South Africa. To reinforce and give practical content to this strategic perspective, we have also resolved on many specific interventions.

We have committed to working closely with our strategic ally Cosatu to develop a common approach on a job-centred economic policy ahead of the convening of an urgent national Job Summit.

We have committed to fighting for radical land reform through a major drive to expand black small-scale farming, facilitated through a land tax on absentee

landlords and large farming operations. Land reform must also advance the democratisation of communal land tenure, including the abolition of patriarchal features that often underpin it.

We have called for the Competition Act to be reinforced to allow for the competition authorities to deal not just with market collusion, but also with market dominance by private monopoly capital. It is a dominance that is suffocating investment, job creation, cooperative and small business development, and a new growth path that leads us to greater socialisation.

Our resolutions include a major reorientation in the way in which we approach the transformation of our economic sectors. We need to move away from an excessive focus on private black ownership, to greater emphasis on empowering public and social ownership. Let us carry forward the Freedom Charter's clarion call that the mineral wealth of South Africa belongs to all who live in it. We reject, therefore, the idea that there should be a "free carry" percentage of mining company turnover directed to BEE beneficiaries. Instead, we need to establish a sovereign national wealth fund so that the proceeds of our mineral resources benefit all South Africans, and not a few.

The interrelated crises of unemployment, poverty and inequality are also directly contributing to a further challenge

to the most basic of citizen rights – individual and household safety and security. In particular, there is a scourge of gender-based violence and even violence directed at the young. Congress has therefore resolved that our forthcoming Red October Campaign will be focused on community and workplace mobilisation against gender-based violence.

Our Congress is occurring at a time when our country is faced with the very dangerous reality that the important democratic and constitutional gains of the mid-1990s will be eroded. In particular there is the deep threat of wanton parasitic looting of public resources associated with "state capture". The 14th National Congress has acknowledged the leading role that the SACP has been playing from within the ANC-led Alliance in exposing this parasitic-looting, and in giving a voice and a point of reference to millions of ANC members, supporters, veterans and stalwarts. The 14th National Congress has called on the newly elected Central Committee to expand this work, to provide leadership into the widest patriotic front in defence of our democracy and our country's national sovereignty. We have reaffirmed many key positions related to the fight against state capture – including for the immediate establishment of an independent judicial commission, for the early prosecution of those exposed by the growing flood of evidence, for the government to cut all business ties with families and corporations involved in parasitic looting, and for decisive interventions to restore transparent good governance in what have become the key targets for parasitic looting, our State Owned Enterprises and Public Corporations.

In the face of all of these challenges, we are well aware of the responsibilities

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**Congress acknowledges the leading role the SACP has played in exposing parasitic looting, and in giving a voice to millions**



Delegates celebrating a successful 14th National Congress

placed on the entire cadreship of the SACP. The SACP is the most unified and the most stable of the formations within the ANC-led ruling Alliance. We note this, not out of a sense of arrogance but with an appreciation of our responsibilities. We value our Party unity. We cherish our Party stability. But unity and stability cannot be achieved through inertia. We are committed to continuous organisational renewal in the light of the challenges of our time.

The SACP remains committed to strengthening and consolidating our ANC Alliance. This will require a significant reconfiguration. Whether the ANC has the capacity to lead its own process of renewal, and whether it will be able to once more play the critical role of uniting itself and its Alliance remains uncertain.

This Congress has therefore resolved

that the SACP will continue to play a leading role in consolidating a popular front of working class and progressive forces to advance, deepen and defend our democracy and our national sovereignty. We have resolved that our forthcoming Augmented Central Committee will consolidate a Road Map with indicative time-lines towards the consolidation of a popular front. The Road Map will include active engagement with our Alliance partners and a wide range of worker and progressive formations; the development of a common platform emerging from this process of engagement at all levels, national, provincial and local; and an active audit of the SACP's own organisational capacity.

After considerable debate at Congress, we have resolved that while the SACP will certainly contest elections, the exact modality in which we do so, needs to be de-

termined by way of a concrete analysis of the concrete reality and through the process of active engagement with worker and progressive formations.

As delegates to this historic 14th National Congress we pledge to actively carry forward our resolutions. We commit to carry forward our vanguard role in our places of work, in our communities, in our places of learning, and in all other key sites of power. We commit to work with a sense of confidence but also humility in the service of the working class and poor.

As a patriotic South African party, we are also a party of internationalism. Our struggle is a struggle in solidarity with all of the exploited and oppressed.

As we rise today, we declare once more:

Socialism is the future! Let us actively build it in the ongoing struggle now! ●

## NATIONAL CONGRESS

# We must all do twice – or thrice – more for the Party

*We must strengthen the organisational, financial & campaigning capacity of all SACP structures, newly re-elected General Secretary Blade Nzimande told delegates in his closing speech*

On behalf of the Central Committee and all of you, I am sure I would not be amiss to congratulate you on what has been a successful 14th Congress of our Party, the South African Communist Party (SACP). Let me also take this opportunity to congratulate the newly elected Central Committee, and also the manner in which you as delegates have worked to reach a consensus on leadership and the resolutions we have adopted. We are not against democratic expression through elections, but the Party has decided to do things differently to unite ourselves through – first and foremost – seeking democratic consensus.

Through this Congress we have reaffirmed and further elaborated on our being a Party of the working class, but one that is also prepared to engage a wider range of other progressive forces, as well as a range of patriotic South Africans to defend our democracy and our revolution.

The SACP firmly anchors its medium term strategic outlook around driving a second, more radical phase of our transition. At the heart of this must be the de-monopolisation of our economy. This must not be rhetoric, but must find expression through concrete struggles of the working class, supported and sometimes led by the SACP.

We have now resolved on the issue of the SACP and its electoral options by building on the resolutions of the 12th and 13th Congresses of our Party. At the same time we have resolved to maintain our Alliance.

We emerge from the 14th Party Congress with a clear message about the Alliance in its present form and deeply concerned about its future. While the Alliance

remains strategic, the manner in which it functions is clearly outdated. The Alliance's mode of operation is incapable of holding together the Alliance any further. If the modus operandi of the Alliance does not change, the Alliance will inevitably disintegrate with serious consequences. The rise of factionalism and its contagion, with the ANC as the epicentre, the increasing marginalisation of consensus-seeking consultation with the Alliance both by an increasing number individual leaders in positions of power and some leadership structures of the ANC across all levels, and, coupled with these two destructive tendencies, the rise of authoritarianism, are undermining the Alliance altogether and its strategic relevance.

The last time the Alliance held a national summit was two years ago, in June/July 2015. The Alliance should have held an economic policy summit by June this year, before the ANC national policy conference and our 14th Party Congress. The outcome of the economic policy summit was crucial for consideration by the two major policy meetings of the two political formations of the Alliance. It did not happen, nor did most scheduled meetings of the Alliance. The Alliance Political Council is also not meeting regularly. When it takes place, the outcome of its previous meeting is almost forgotten, with virtual-

ly no expression in implementation. The most recent scheduled meeting of the Alliance Political Council, due to take place in the first week of June this year, was cancelled. Four years ago, in August/September 2013, the Alliance held a national summit. The summit adopted a declaration recognising that the SACP and Cosatu raised genuine concerns about the National Development Plan (NDP) in its current form. It was agreed that these concerns, which led to both the SACP and Cosatu not endorsing the economic and labour market policy content of the NDP, would be addressed. The declaration established a task team to execute the work for consideration by the Alliance Political Council and by an Alliance national summit or economic policy summit. That did not happen, and the NDP is propagated as if the Alliance had not acknowledged that the NDP is not cast in stone and must be changed.

It is important for Alliance partners to express their views openly, without fear, favour, or prejudice, in accordance with their democratic independence on decisions made without consensus-seeking consultation. The NDR belongs to all of us as Alliance partners, and to the people as a whole. The revolution is too important to be left to one Alliance partner alone, or to some individuals, or worst of all, to a faction within one partner. How the revolution must be carried out through the state, including legislation, policy, regulations, programmes, and who must be deployed to make it happen, must be a collective Alliance responsibility. It requires the unity and cohesion of the Alliance and the involvement of all Alliance components. There will be no reason in principle why we must claim to be in alli-

**The revolution is too important to be left to one Alliance partner alone, to some individuals or, worst of all, to a faction within one partner**



**Re-elected General Secretary Blade Nzimande delivers the Congress closing address**

ance with one another if we cannot work together to determine the direction of our NDR, including deployments.

Let us once more remind ourselves of who we are by quoting our late Chairperson, Cde Yusuf Dadoo, on how he characterised the Party in his introduction to South African Communists Speak in 1980: “The Communist Party was always a party of militants and activists and we never had room for passengers. Our Party members have been in the thick of every people’s struggle since the First World War – in the ceaseless campaigns against the pass laws, the fight for higher wages and better working conditions, the fight against fascism and war, the mineworkers’ strikes of 1920, 1922 and 1946, the defiance campaign of 1952, the campaign for the Congress of the People and the

adoption of the Freedom Charter, the bus boycotts, the resistance to apartheid segregation and dispossession.”

We are reminding ourselves of this because we have entered a complicated political period in the history of our revolution and our country. You cannot take the kinds of resolutions you have taken here and return to business as usual. We must considerably strengthen the organisational, financial and, in particular, the campaigning capacity of our branches and

**We cannot take the  
resolutions we have taken  
here and return home to  
business as usual**

other SACP structures. We must not have passengers in the Party. We must remove passengers from positions of responsibility and leadership. All of us will have to do twice if not thrice more than what we have been doing for the Party.

The most important message we need to take back is that we must go out to strengthen all our structures at all levels. Most importantly, comrades, we need strong SACP and YCL branches. We cannot be able to drive a campaign to build working class hegemony in all key sites of power if we are weak. Even more important, we need to think about structures that will enable the SACP (and the working class broadly) to have an organisational presence in all key sites of power. The structures of the SACP at the present moment are principally community-based branches. For instance how do we ensure our presence in crucial institutions such as universities and colleges?

Related to the above, therefore, the task of our structures is to take the organisational renewal process seriously. We all need to work hard towards the finalisation of this process. However, the organisational review process must not just be a theoretical exercise. It must be underpinned by active campaigning and mass work on the ground by our structures. We have, for instance, adopted a number of resolutions that point to important campaigns that we either need to take up or escalate. For example, we have taken important resolutions in fighting patriarchy, organising women through the areas in which they are involved: in the school governing bodies, stokvels, burial societies, the churches, etc. Let us also take up campaigns to clean areas in which we live, our neighbourhoods!

Lastly, let us congratulate the 2nd Deputy Provincial Secretary of Gauteng, Comrade Mandla Radebe, for being informed while we were at this congress, that he has obtained his PhD!

We also have delegates from my own branch here, the Esther Barsel branch. It is a very active branch, with members doing particularly well with our Red Thursdays umrabulo.

I would like to take this opportunity on behalf of Congress to thank our international and local guests, including our Alliance partners – the ANC, Cosatu and Sanco, and the veterans of our movement, as well as the media for attending the Congress and for the work well done. Our message to all of you and the delegates is: Please drive safely back home, and arrive alive! ●

NATIONAL CONGRESS

# The SACP and state and popular power

*Resolution approved by the 14th National Congress*

This 14th Congress:

**Believing**

That the issue of state power is a central question of any revolution;

That the state cannot be transformed and that progressive state power cannot be consolidated or defended without active popular and working class power organised both within and outside of the state;

That a central strategic challenge of the current South African revolution is the consolidation of state power and popular power capable of driving a radical second phase of the National Democratic Revolution as the most direct route to socialism in South Africa;

That, while the ANC historically has played an outstanding role as the major vehicle for unifying the key components of a National Democratic movement, the ANC does not own the NDR and its leadership role is one that has to be earned in practice;

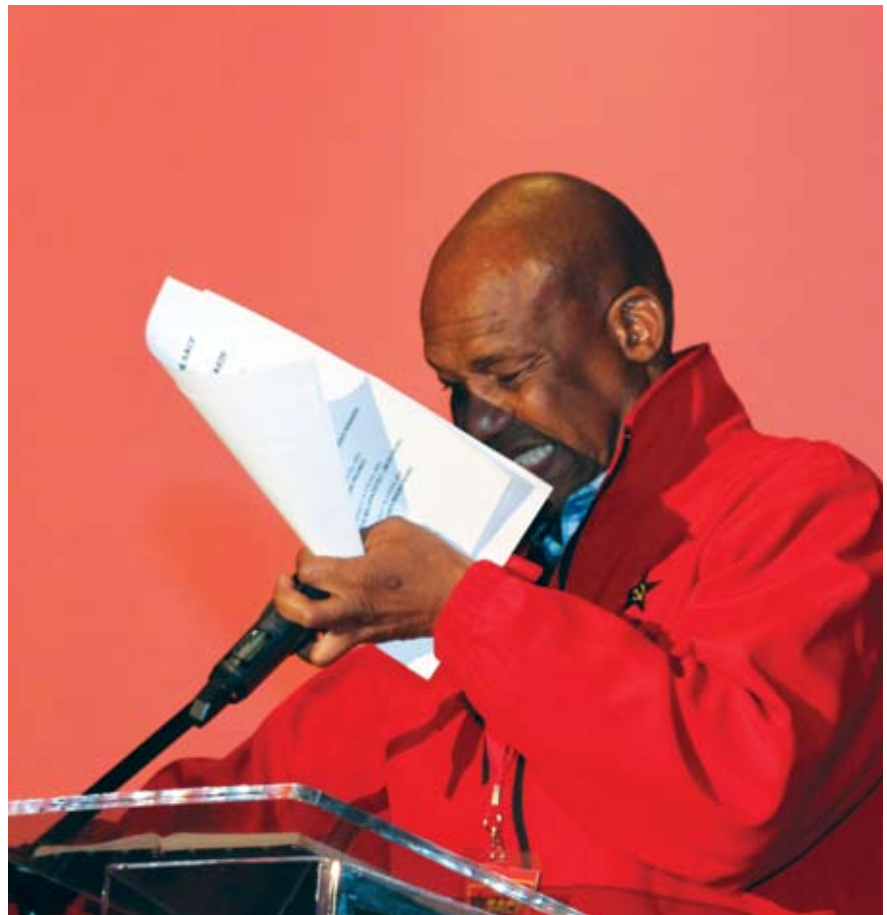
That in the current fluid reality the SACP must be guided by:

Strategic consistency – not free-floating opportunism or short-termism;

Analytical alertness – what Lenin described as the capacity to provide a “concrete analysis of the concrete situation”;

Tactical flexibility – the ability not to be caught flat-footed while still being guided by revolutionary strategic consistency.

That Lenin’s observation that “victory cannot be won with a vanguard alone” is relevant to our own reality, and that throwing “the vanguard into the decisive battle” before the “entire class, the broad masses” are ready would be a grave mistake.



**Incoming 2nd Deputy General Secretary Chris Matlhako presents the “SACP and State Power” resolution**

**Noting**

That the important revolutionary advances of the mid-1990s, the abolition of the institutions of white minority rule, the inauguration of key elements of majority rule via the ballot, and the passing of a progressive Constitution are now threatened with erosion;

That the danger of the erosion of our constitutional democracy is a con-

sequence of both the failure to use the democratic bridgehead to advance decisively on a second radical phase of the NDR to transform the structural political economy legacy of colonialism and apartheid, and of a subjective deterioration within much of government and the liberation movement;

This deterioration is epitomised in its



YCL office bearers (from left) National Treasurer Masello Senne, National Secretary Mluleki Dlelanga, Chair Yershen Pillay and Deputy Chair Joyce Tsipa prepare the League's input on the state power debate



Delegates celebrate the "SACP and State Power" resolution

most aggressive form by the phenomenon of "private corporate capture of the state", involving the parasitic looting of public resources;

These realities have, amongst other things, contributed to a declining electoral trajectory for the ANC, which, unless arrested can lead to the ANC losing its majority party status to an opportunist coalition of opposition forces with

further deeply negative consequences for the advance, deepening and defence of the NDR.

**Further noting**

That the SACP has a long history of electoral engagement, and that since 1994 the SACP has actively engaged in successive national, provincial and local government elections within the con-

text of the ANC-led Alliance. The SACP has actively contributed to the development of ANC election manifestos, to the list selection processes, and to active electoral campaigning. The SACP has also campaigned for and with the ANC with our own independent Red Brigade cadres, and with our own electoral posters and flyers;

That there is a strong feeling within the SACP that too often the SACP is used by the ANC during election campaigns, only to be marginalised post-elections. While this feeling may be more or less strong in different localities, it is a widespread and commonly shared view within the ranks of the SACP;

That the 2007 12th National Congress of the SACP resolved that, while "the SACP is not, nor will it become, a narrowly electoralist formation ... the SACP must contest elections within the context of a re-configured Alliance". The resolution left open different modalities under which the SACP might contest elections – either on an ANC ticket but within a re-configured Alliance, or, in the context of a re-configured Alliance, under the banner of the SACP but with a view to post-election coalitions with the ANC;

**That the 13th National Congress in 2012 reaffirmed these resolutions;**

That initial but uneven progress after 2007



National Chair Senzo Zokwana opens inputs from the floor on the SACP and state power motion

in driving forward a re-configured Alliance has now stalled, and in many respects has broken down. That even the earlier progress in re-configuring a more effective Alliance was never implemented in many sub-national levels;

The capacity of the ANC in particular to lead a process of self-renewal and regeneration, and therefore to effectively play a unifying role in a re-configured Alliance remains uncertain;

That, once more, the SACP has played an active and sometimes leading role in the recent period in building patriotic and united fronts in the struggle against state capture and rampant corruption, for instance.

**Therefore resolves:**

That the SACP must actively contest elections;

That the modality through which we contest elections may, or may not be, within the umbrella of a re-configured Alliance;

That, in principle, we remain firmly committed to a revolutionary national

democratic Alliance, and a re-configured Alliance that re-affirms, in policy as well as in practice, the ANC's own 2007 National Conference resolution that "the Alliance is the strategic political centre" (and not the ANC on its own);

That the SACP has a leadership role in the struggle to build a re-configured Alliance, while recognising that we cannot place all of our hopes and expectations solely on a favourable outcome in this regard;

That both for electoral purposes and for defending, deepening and advancing a radical second phase of the NDR, the SACP must play an active and leadership role in the consolidation of a left popular front of working class and progressive forces;

That to take all of this work forward, the 14th Congress mandates the Central Committee to establish a Road Map that must be adopted, with clear, indicative time-lines, by the forthcoming Augmented CC. This Road Map must include the following elements:

- A programme of active engage-

ments with our Alliance partners, and with a wide range of working class and progressive forces to share and to test the SACP's perspectives. Particular, but not exclusive, attention must be paid to COOSAYU and its affiliates. These engagements must be at all levels, national, provincial and local.

- Based on these engagements, the SACP must play a leading role in developing a common platform for a Left Popular Front of working class and progressive forces

- Linked to the SACP's organisational renewal review process, a thorough and ongoing audit of the SACP's organisational capacity, involving a scientific, fact-based evaluation of the strength and influence of our formations, including of our VD-based branches, must be conducted. Regular reports must be tabled in each CC and lower structures must be continuously briefed on progress.

- The Special National Congress of the SACP must receive a comprehensive report on the Road Map process and resolve on the way forward. ●

**Erratum**

In the July 2017 edition of Umsebenzi, captions on pages 3, 4, 7 and 9 erroneously referred to the 3rd Special National Congress as having taken place in 2013. It took place in 2015



General Secretary Blade Nzimande



Chairperson Senzo Zokwana



(From left) Treasurer Joyce Moloi-Moropa, Deputy General Secretary Solly Mapaila, General Secretary Blade Nzimande, and Deputy Chair Thulas Nxesi

# SACP office bearers and committee members, 2017

The SACP office bearers and Central Committee members elected at the National Congress are:

**General Secretary:**

Blade Nzimande

**First Deputy General Secretary:**

Solly Mapaila

**Second Deputy General Secretary:**

Chris Matlhako

**National Chairperson:**

Senzeni Zokwana

**Deputy National Chairperson:**

Thulasi Nxesi

**National Treasurer:**

Joyce Moloi-Moropa

**Pottiburo**

Jeremy Cronin

Yunus Carrim  
 Shiela Barsel  
 Madala Masuku  
 Frans Baleni  
 Fikile Majola  
 Bulelwa Thunyiswa  
 Jenny Schreiner  
 Grace Pampiri-Botham  
 Sidumo Dlamini  
 Ben Martins

**Central Committee**

(in alphabetic order):

Frans Baleni  
 Sheila Barsel  
 Yunus Carrim  
 Jeremy Cronin  
 Rob Davies  
 Sidumo Dlamini  
 Lindelwa Dunjwa  
 Reneva Fourie  
 Fezeka Loliwe  
 Zingiswa Losi  
 Celiwe Madlopha

Khaya Magaxa  
 Fikile Majola  
 Mandla Makupula  
 Mugwena Maluleke  
 Buti Manamela  
 Gwede Mantashe  
 Ben Martins  
 Joyce Mashamba  
 Phumulo Masualle  
 Madala Masuku  
 Stan Mathabatha  
 Dipuo Mvelase  
 Godfrey Oliphant  
 Grace Pampiri-Bothman  
 Phel Parkies  
 Gwebinkundla (Gwebs) Qonde  
 Jeff Radebe  
 Jenny Schreiner  
 Charles Setsubi  
 Nomvuzo Shabalala  
 Jerry Thibedi  
 Lechesa Tsenoli  
 Bulelwa Tunyiswa  
 Adrian Williams

# THE AWARDS

*The 14th Congress honoured its best performing structures and a range of South African and international activists*



Alpheus Malivha Awards: Delegates representing the SACP and YCL rural districts and branches celebrating the 14th Congress awards for their performance over the previous five years. With them are First and Second Deputy General Secretaries Solly Mapaila (left) and Chris Matlhako (centre). The branches and districts honoured were: Jonas Mabunda Branch, Giyani Sub-District, Lawrence Phokanoka District, Limpopo (as the best performing rural YCLSA branch); Braamfischer District, Northern Cape (best

performing rural YCLSA district); Vleifontein Branch, Alpheus Malivha District-Limpopo (best performing rural SACP branch); Greater Umzimkhulu District, Moses Mabida (best performing rural SACP district)

The awards are named after long-time SACP activist Alpheus Malivha who served on the district committee in Zoutpansberg (now Vhembe in Limpopo) from 1939 until the Party's banning, and as a media activist with the Party paper, Inkululeko.



## Double decoration

The Congress conferred Moses Kotane Awards on both Joyce and George Mashamba. The couple, life-long SACP and ANC veterans, are both still active in public service, with Joyce, an MEC since 1994, currently serving in the Social Development portfolio. She was re-elected to the SACP Central Committee by the Congress and is a member of the ANC NEC. She was ill during the Congress and unable to attend – and, because they are inseparable, according to their son Nyiko, also an SACP member, George stayed with her during her illness. The awards were accepted on their behalf by Nyiko Mashamba.



### Remembering Ahmed Timol

General Secretary Blade Nzimande presents an SACP award to Mohammed Timol, brother of Ahmed Timol, an underground SACP operative killed in detention in 1971. Looking on is Timol's nephew, Imtiaz Cajee, the family spokesperson. The Timol family lobbied successfully to reopen the inquest into Timol's death - the original inquest, widely recognised as a cover-up, found he had jumped to his death while in detention. The new inquest, which started shortly before the Congress, heard extensive testimony on Timol's torture while in detention and the circumstances of his death.



### Tribute to the London Recruits

The Congress presented an award to representatives of the London Recruits - a group of 60-plus young internationalists, most of them British communists, recruited to come to South Africa for underground work in the late 1960s and early 1970s following apartheid's smashing of ANC internal structures. Former SACP politburo member Ronnie Kasrils, who recruited many of them on instructions from Joe Slovo and Yusuf Dadoo, introduced the three London Recruits who attended the Congress to accept the award. Second Deputy General Secretary Chris Matthako (left) applauds while Kasrils and London Recruits, Ken Keable, Bob Newland and Ian Beddowes. Keable has published a book on the London Recruits. And a movie is due out next year.

### Kotane award

Watched by Jeremy Cronin, outgoing Deputy General Secretary (left), General Secretary Blade Nzimande presents the Moses Kotane award to David Niddrie. Niddrie is chief sub-editor of Umsebenzi and The African Communist, and an ANC veteran.





### Posthumous Hani Peace Award for OR Tambo

Dali Tambo (above), son of late ANC President OR Tambo, thanks the 14th Congress for posthumously conferring on his father the SACP's highest honour, the Chris Hani Peace Award. Looking on (left) are General Secretary Blade Nzimande and Limpho Hani (Chris Hani's widow), who presented the award. In his acceptance speech Dali Tambo recalled how news of Hani's death in April 1993 devastated his already-ill father. Tambo died two weeks later.

Hélène Passtoors, who received an award from the 14th Congress for her courageous internationalist support for the South African struggle as part of the MK's Special Operations unit in the 1980s. She was captured in 1985, tortured, held in solitary confinement for months and sentenced to 10 years' jail. She was released four years later after intense lobbying by the Belgian government.



*All photographs  
by the SACP  
Media Unit*

# THE GUESTS

*Snapshots of just a few of the 40 international guests at the Congress and some of the dozens of local guests (next page)*



Communist Party of the Russian Federation (KPRF) CC secretary and Duma delegate (MP) Vyacheslav Tetekin.



Mark Waller (left), representing the Communist Party of Finland and Kenneth Kunene, General Secretary of Communist Party of Swaziland. Waller is also sub-editor on Umsebenzi and AC.



Kwara Kekana, spokesperson for the South African branch of Palestinian support group BDS (Boycott, Disinvestment and Sanctions), addresses delegates from the floor. She later received an award from the Congress, recognising the campaign group's work



Cuban guests (from left) Clara Pulido, Communist Party of Cuba (PCC) International Relations Committee, Cuban ambassador Carlos Fernandez and PCC CC member Jorge Cuevas. Cuevas accepted an award from the Congress, given in tribute to Cuba's decades-long "medical internationalism"



Malik Agar, chair of the Sudan People's Liberation Movement-North (SPLM-N), and of the Sudanese Revolutionary Front coalition, received an award from the Congress in recognition of the SPLM-N's struggle for Sudanese democracy.



Greek-born communist and strong supporter of the SACP Akis Apergis, who addressed delegates on the smashing of democracy and banning of the communist party in Ukraine.



South African and ANC Deputy President Cyril Ramaphosa, delivers the ANC's message of support to the Congress.



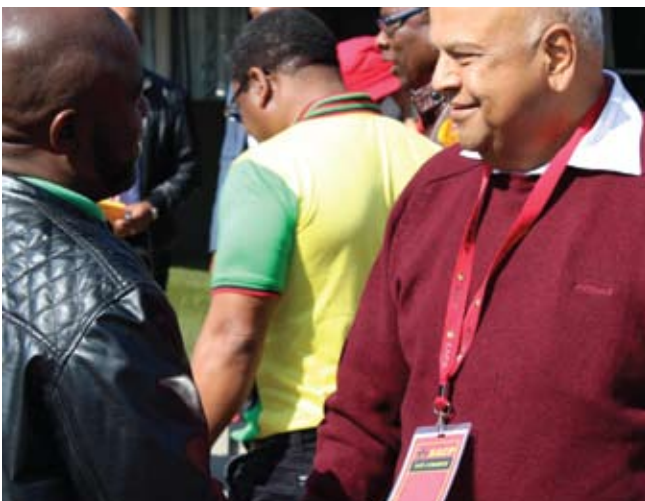
David Makhura, ANC Deputy Provincial Chair and Gauteng Premier, welcomes delegates.



ANC Deputy Secretary General Jessie Duarte (left) and NEC member Siyabonga Cwele at the opening of Congress.



Zapu Council of Elders' Roma Nyathiis (left) and ANC stalwart Mavu-m Msimang. Zapu President Dumiso Dabengwa was also a guest.



ANC NEC member Pravin Gordhan outside the Congress.



Deputy Chair Thulas Nxesi with Alliance partner representatives Cosatu General Secretary Bheki Ntshalintshali (left) and Sanco Secretary General Skhumbuzo Mpanza .