

**HAMBA KAHLE, CDE KAY!**



# Umsebenzi

Voice of the South African Communist Party / July 2017

**CONGRESS EDITION**

**Communists  
to the Front!**

**Advance & Defend  
the NDR!**

14TH NATIONAL CONGRESS

# Congress to consider New Front

*At its Congress the SACP, grown to nearly double its size in just five years, will consider updating its Medium Term Vision and reconfiguring the Alliance*

Nearly 1 900 delegates (1 864), from about 7 000 branches representing more than 280 000 members, will participate in the SACP 14th National Congress in Ekurhuleni from 10 to 15 July.

There will also be 382 non-voting delegates representing, among others, Alliance partners, veterans, Mass Democratic Movement structures, faith-based organisations, international fraternal organisations, SACP-related institutions, and the families of deceased former leaders.

The SACP membership at the 13th National Congress in 2012 was about 150 000 – the SACP has almost doubled its membership in five years.

The Congress is organised on the theme *Advance, deepen, and defend the National Democratic Revolution, the vanguard role of the SACP*.

The Congress will review the past five years and plan for the next five years as part of its overall Medium Term Vision. Among the key issues to be considered at the Congress will be:

- A review of the SACP's *South African Road to Socialism* and the current state of the NDR;
- The SACP and state power, including possibly participating in the 2019 elections outside the Alliance;
- A reconfiguration of the Alliance; and
- Combatting state capture and corruption generally.

A major consideration at the Congress will also be the SACP's Organisational Renewal and Review Commission Report, which is aimed at restructuring



**Blade Nzimande: We must restructure the Party**

the Party as part of a review of its overall strategy.

Cde Blade Nzimande, SACP General Secretary, said: "A crucial issue that the Congress must focus on is the important role and contribution of the working class to the NDR. We need to far more effectively mobilise the working class to take its rightful role in the struggle.

"The Party also has to work closely with Cosatu and contribute towards strengthening it and building broader trade union unity.

"Fundamentally, we need to defend

---

**Our main task is to defend the revolution ... we must actively mobilise the working class to advance the NDR**

the revolution. That's the main task. But we also have to try to defend the ANC, and deal decisively with factionalism within it.

"Also, given the new conditions in the current phase of the NDR, as the Party we have to play a far more active role in ensuring widespread patriotic mobilisation to defend and advance the NDR.

"We need to carefully consider our Organisational Renewal and Review Report and reshape the Party on the basis of our political perspectives and strategy. Given the changes in the political terrain, we need to look at how to restructure the Party.

"We also need to consider the prospects and possibilities of SACP directly contesting in elections."

Cde Solly Mapaila, 2nd Deputy General Secretary, said "We need at this Congress to re-position the Party to lead the next phase of our struggle, to adapt to a new front approach, to new methods. We have to do this to rescue the revolution. The ANC is important, but we cannot rely on it. There are no guarantees it will rescue itself. There are no signs at the moment that it is learning any lessons from our defeats in the 2016 local government elections.

"We are in an alliance with the ANC, not with an ANC faction. But there is a narrow accumulation faction that dominates the ANC. That faction just doesn't care about the struggle, only about pursuing its own material interests. How can the Party relate to such a faction?"

The Congress takes place during the centenary year of the 1917 October Revolution. The Congress will also consider



**Cover: Tshepo Lebolo; Above: Tshwane District Deputy Chairperson Solly Tabatha. Right: Nomarashiya Caluza (SACP Provincial Treasurer and Sadtu Provincial Secretary) with the KZN delegation to the 2013 Special National Congress**

All SNC pix: Mpho Ranto and SACP Media staff

a review of the revolution, including through a seminar.

A number of awards will be made to Party structures and individuals who have made major contributions to the liberation struggle. The highest is the Chris Hani Peace Award, which has previously been conferred to Cdes Fidel Castro, Nelson Mandela, Hugo Chavez, and Che Guevara.

The Congress will elect five office bearers and an additional 35 ordinary Central Committee members. ●



14TH NATIONAL CONGRESS

# Advance, deepen and defend the NDR!

*This Congress will be one of our Party's most demanding, argues Jeremy Cronin, because of the responsibilities the SACP will have to shoulder, among them taking a lead to drive the NDR*



The SACP's 14th National Congress will be one of the Party's most demanding Congresses. This is not because the Party is on the back-

foot – on the contrary, our public profile and our membership (now more than one-quarter million strong) have surged over the past year. Nor is the forthcoming Congress challenging because of sharp inner-Party strategic divisions (which are barely present, if at all).

The Congress will be one of our most challenging because of the responsibilities the SACP must shoulder, and the expectations vested in us not only by our own members, but also by hundreds of thousands of non-Party progressives throughout South Africa.

All of this relates, of course, to the immediate national context. South Africa remains afflicted by extreme and persisting levels of unemployment, poverty and inequality. Many community members, especially women and children live in a chronic state of physical insecurity. At this most challenging time, much of the ANC is in steep moral, organisational, electoral and strategic decline.

This is the immediate context of our 14th Congress.

Since the late 1920s, our Party has been committed to a far-reaching National Democratic Revolution (NDR), in principle, as the shortest route to socialism in South Africa. Since the late 1920s, our Party has been active in the trenches to help build the ANC as a radical popular movement capable of leading the



**SACP media unit's Hlengiwe Nkonyane hosting the Cuban ambassador Oscar Martinez and Cuban embassy first secretary Tania Perez Xiqués at the 2013 SNC**

fight against white minority rule and of governing a non-racial, constitutional democracy.

Tens of thousands of communists over the decades have committed to this ANC-building task, as workers, journalists, guerrillas, community organisers and trade unionist. Some have gone to the gallows, others have died in torture chambers or on the battlefields of Southern Africa both as communists and as proud ANC cadres.

The steep decline of the ANC is therefore a matter of great concern to the SACP. Our 14th Congress will have to

analyse in depth the reasons for this decline, and even pose the question: Is it reversible? Certainly it has neither been the SACP's historic mission, nor is it our current ambition to push the ANC aside and go solo as the Party.

We remain committed to the strategic imperative of a radical NDR. Whether the ANC on its current trajectory is capable of leading such an NDR is highly doubtful. One way or another a major re-grouping of progressive national democratic forces will have to take place over the coming months.

This, then, is also the context in which



**Celebrating Party unity: Above: delegates entering the SNC, singing as they come and (right) SACP Gauteng Provincial Treasurer Joe Morallana (he is also NUM regional PWV coordinator)**

the 14th Congress will need to debate and decide on the modalities within which the SACP will engage in future elections. The next general election is due in 2019, but such is the volatility of the current political reality that things might unfold unexpectedly.

Finally, a major challenge for the SACP's 14th Congress will be to ensure that all of our attention is not focused on the palace politics unfolding within the ANC.

The 14th Congress must emerge with clear organisational and campaigning resolutions that connect with the daily lives of the working class and poor in our country. The advancing, deepening and defence of our democracy will not be possible if the working class and broader popular forces are mere political spectators.



**Cde Cronin is SACP Deputy General Secretary**

14TH NATIONAL CONGRESS

# Central Committee prepares for Congress

*The SACP Central Committee issued this statement after its meeting in June*

The Central Committee of the South African Communist Party met in Johannesburg over the weekend of 2-4 June. This is the final CC meeting before the SACP's 14th National Congress to be held in Ekurhuleni on 11-15 July. Accordingly the political context of our Congress, as well as the organisational preparations for it, was the main agenda items.

The SACP's audited membership now stands at an all-time high of 276 168. At our 13th Congress in 2012 our audited membership was 154 220. Over the past five years there has been a steady increase in membership numbers, with a large increase of over 26 400 members since December 2016, which we attribute to Party activism increasingly winning public endorsement throughout the country. We are already in the process of registering Congress delegates nominated formally from branches, and we expect to have 1 864 voting delegates.

Our Congress occurs at a critical moment for our country. The SACP is well aware that we carry many responsibilities with high expectations being vested in our Party from a wide array of forces, many of which might not have been historically sympathetic to us. It is no secret that the ANC is now in deep crisis. At the highest national leadership level it is paralysed by deep divisions that, for the moment, render it incapable of undertaking the decisive corrective measures that the great majority of ordinary ANC members and supporters now clearly recognise as imperative, beginning with the stepping down of President Zuma.

The steep decline in popular support that saw the loss of major metros in local government elections in August last year has continued unabated with, for instance, a further dramatic decline in

the rural Nqutu municipal and other by-elections in May.

At this rate of decline the ANC may not retain its electoral majority in 2019. Further organisational fragmentation cannot be ruled out. Every week, in fact almost every day, now with a barrage of leaked e-mails and more and more whistle blowers coming forward to the South African Council of Churches' Unburdening Panel, the sheer scale of corporate capture and of parasitic plundering of public resources by the Gupta network becomes more and more evident. Sadly, and even more concerning, the central role is also increasingly apparent of President Jacob Zuma and his son Duduzane in this auctioning off our national sovereignty.

In the political report to the Central Committee four interrelated features of the Gupta parasitic-patronage network were identified:

- Accelerated rent-seeking based on state capture – with key state-owned corporations (among them Eskom, Transnet, SAA and Denel), and their billions of Rands of procurement, being the principal target.
- The emergence of a parallel shadow state, what some have described as a “silent coup”, with key policy and deployment decisions being taken outside of the constitutional structures of government (and of the ANC governing party). In this context the CC called for the immediate reversal of the factionalist axing as an MEC of our provincial secretary, Cde Madoda Sambatha.
- Growing authoritarianism and inclinations to presidential diktat, with nostalgia for military-style, top-down command and control openly expressed. Dark threats are reportedly

uttered in ANC NEC meetings, and there is a growing pattern of intimidating actions directed at those who dare raise concerns. The illegal role of a paramilitary force linked to elements within the MK Military Veterans' Association is one of the many instances, in particular threats against our Second Deputy General Secretary, Cde Solly Mapaila. These patterns are repeated, often more violently at the grass-roots levels, with a surge of political assassinations, notably in Kwa-Zulu Natal.

- A diversionary populist ideological platform – in the face of growing public exposure of their misdeeds, there have been a number of ideological interventions from the parasitic-patronage faction. Private corporate capture of public institutions has included the SABC under the despotic rule of Hlaudi Motsoeneng. The Gupta-funded ideological apparatus – *The New Age* and ANN7, along with social media fake bloggers, and Twitter bots linked to pop-up “think tanks”, like the “Black First, Land First”, and the “Decolonisation Foundation” seek to divert the narrative. These diversionary narratives often invoke narrow, right-wing Africanist themes, and feed into the erosion of the important non-racial values of our constitution and our movement. At the local level this decline in moral and ideological values is seeing increasing tribal and ethnic-based mobilisation.

All of this is happening at a time when life for the majority of South Africans, the working class, the rural and urban poor and middle strata, is becoming more desperate, more insecure. Levels of racialised and gendered poverty, inequality, and unemployment (now at 27,7% in the narrow



**Forward! Delegates to the 2013 Special National Congress**

definition) persist and are even worsening. This is happening while a network of parasitic plunderers fly around the world in private jets with known money launderers, or acquire R18-million apartments in gold-plated boltholes in Dubai.

We frequently invoke the triple crisis of poverty, inequality and unemployment. But it is necessary to add a fourth and related dimension – the crisis of endemic, and particularly gender-based, violence. The majority of South Africans no longer enjoy the most basic of citizenship rights – a sense of personal security in their homes and neighbourhoods. A pandemic of violence against women and children is particularly heinous.

Meanwhile the trust in the SA Police Service in many localities is non-existent while the police themselves are often demoralised, under-resourced and overwhelmed by the scale of challenges confronting them. At the same time, the upper echelons of the criminal justice system, notably the NPA and the Hawks, along with the SA Revenue Service, have been among the first targets of parasitic elite factional capture and perversion – for obvious reasons.

Let's not lament, let's not despair – Mobilise, organise and defend our constitution, our democracy, our National Democratic Revolution!

While it is necessary to clearly identify, to name and shame the perverse and deeply worrying developments within our country, our government, our ANC-headed movement – it is even more important not to give way to despair or apathy. Life

goes on in our country, everywhere South Africans show remarkable resilience.

The SACP is convinced that the great majority of South Africans are committed to defending our Constitution and our democracy. Our own SACP-convened national Imbizo in mid-May, one among countless broad patriotic initiatives, underlines that the core values of democratic constitutionality are shared across the widest spectrum of South Africans.

The declaration from the Imbizo agreed upon a minimum platform of six basic demands:

- An independent judicial commission of inquiry into state capture to be established immediately. In the light of the barrage of further revelations concerning the Gupta network, the commission needs clearly to extend its scope beyond the major but still limited issues investigated in the Public Protector's "State of Capture" report. But we must vigorously guard against recent attempts to dilute it into investigating such a wide field that its work will never be completed.
- The immediate dissolution of the Eskom Board as part of a broader set of urgent interventions to address SOE corporate governance.
- Ending abuse and factionalism within the criminal justice system – notably in the Hawks, the NPA and in the Intelligence services.
- Strengthening parliament's oversight role.
- Implementing the ANC-alliance resolution on life-style audits for senior

politicians and civil servants.

- Halting the roll-out of a nuclear programme that our country neither needs, nor can afford.

These basic demands, we believe, form the basis for the broadest patriotic unity in action.

At the same time, however, we need to ensure that these critical interventions do not simply serve to return us to a supposed business as usual. The defence of constitutionality and democracy is essential but not enough. These historic gains, which are now under dire threat, must become the platform for radical transformation led by a popular front.

We need to ensure that popular mobilisation, a radical popular front, in the present serves to address the deep-seated structural problems in our political economy that are at the heart of reproducing crisis levels of poverty, inequality and unemployment along with the resulting morbid social phenomena like gender-based violence.

What makes the Gupta-centred parasitic network the most dangerous and the most immediate, counter-revolutionary threat to our democracy is, precisely, the fact that it is eroding the two principal weapons in the hands of the popular forces to drive radical transformation – a democratic state and a popular movement that was, once, led by the ANC.

This is why the SACP is actively engaging Cosatu and the broader trade union movement, ANC stalwarts, veterans and supporters, civic and faith-based formations, progressive social movements.

One way or another in the coming months the ANC-headed Alliance is being and will be re-configured.

Whether there is the internal capacity within the ANC itself to drive this process is uncertain, but that it must happen is obvious.

A reconfigured Alliance will have to be built on rootedness within working class and poor communities. In the face of chronic violence, for instance, in localities we need to help communities to act together on a non-partisan basis to reclaim their streets and neighbourhoods through street committees and other organs of democratic popular power. Popular power buttressed by democratic state power is the way forward.

It is in this broad context that as the SACP we will be proceeding to our 14th National Congress in July under the banner:

*Defend, Advance, Deepen the National Democratic Revolution:*

*The Vanguard Role of the SACP!!* ●

**14TH NATIONAL CONGRESS**

# Proposal to defer constitutional amendments to SNC

*Abridged version of the Constitutional Committee's report to the 14th Congress*

A major issue at Congress will be the finalisation of the Organisational Renewal and Review Commission Report. Decisions on the report will entail constitutional amendments. Instead of making constitutional amendments at this 14th National Congress, which may have to be reviewed after the Organisational Renewal and Review Report is finalised, the May Party Building Commission meeting and the June Central Committee meeting decided it would be more productive to consider constitutional amendments holistically and in terms of a strategic framework, and therefore proposes to Congress that constitutional amendments be considered after the 14th National Congress, at a Special National Congress (SNC) in 2018. In other words, constitutional amendments not be considered at the 14th Congress and be deferred to a SNC in 2018.

If there are amendments that are absolutely urgent and need to be effected at the Congress they can be, "provided a two-thirds majority of the delegates agree that they may be considered" (Section 26.2 of the Constitution).

Most of the constitutional amendment proposals submitted were considered at the 29-30 May 2016 PBC meeting and the CC meetings of June and August 2016 and the PB meeting of 12 May 2017. Proposals were received from the SACP Secretariat, North West, Mpumalanga, Free State and Western Cape.

## **Constitutional provisions on constitutional amendments**

Section 26.2 of the constitution provides: "All proposed amendments to the constitution shall be submitted in writing to the CC not less than two months prior to

a National Congress. The CC shall ensure that all provinces, districts and other structures receive such amendments or any other amendments proposed by the CC not less than six weeks prior to the National Congress, and all comments received shall be tabled at the National Congress. Amendments that do not meet these deadlines shall be considered by a National Congress, provided a two-thirds majority of the delegates agree that they may be considered."

## **Approach to Constitution**

**Constitution: a guide but not comprehensive:** For a variety of reasons, a Party Constitution should not be too comprehensive or long. It should not be a substitute for addressing issues through policies, political education and action. Constitutional Amendments are only made at Congresses and Constitutions should not be changed lightly.

**Need for rules and guidelines to complement the constitution:** This may be necessary to set out in detail such issues as the need for political education; induction of new members; a Code of Conduct; penalties for offenses and other matters.

**Differences with communist parties in power:** While there are many lessons to be drawn from the experiences of communist parties in government, especially in China and Cuba, we obviously cannot put into our constitution some of the issues they have, as we do not have control of the state and because of the historical and other differences of our situation. But we should certainly draw from constitutions of these parties whatever is relevant and useful to our experience.

## **Proposals on amendments**

**Number of CC members:** Should the number of members elected to the CC be increased? If so, by how many and why?

Most provinces proposed that the number of additional CC members be increased from 35 to 44, so that, with the six office bearers the CC comprises 50 members in all.

**Deputy general secretaries:** The North West proposes that that the debate on 3 Deputy General Secretaries at the 13th Congress be revived. There was enough consultation on this and sufficient consensus on 2 Additional DGS's, they argue. The additional DGS should be the national co-ordinator for group membership. "The only danger is when Constitutional amendments are fixed on names of incumbents," says the NW

**Alternative ex-officio representatives in SACP structures:** If, for example, a Provincial Secretary or Chair is unavailable to attend a CC meeting, a Deputy Provincial Secretary (or some other appropriate Office-Bearer; or PWC member or PEC member) or a Deputy Chair (or some other appropriate representative of the PEC) should be allowed to attend CC meetings. The same situation should apply to PECs and other executive structures of the SACP.

**North West argues for:** "A constitutional amendment, which should read: 'In the absence and with the written apology of the ex-officio member of any structure or level, the deputy to that office shall attend; and in the case of office with more than one deputy, the option be of the first deputy and only in the latter's absence that the next deputy should attend'"

**Mpumalanga's view is:** "A clause can be included into the constitution



for representation of ex-officio members only by deputies. This must only happen through an application to the secretariat prior to the meeting and the acceptance of the application therefore. The Deputy Secretary and the Deputy Chairperson should be allowed to attend the CC, PEC and DEC meetings in the absence of both Secretary and Chairperson.”

Interestingly, there is no proposal to increase the provincial or other SACP structures’ deputy secretaries to three.

**Increase PEC (Provincial Executive Committee) membership:** Mpumalanga proposes that the PECs be increased to 30, including officials

**Increase DEC (District Executive Committee) membership:** Mpumalanga proposes that the DECs be increased to 25, including officials.

**Increase numbers of district, sub-district and branch executive structures: North West holds:** “On the necessary focus of the SACP to strengthen the organisational capacity with the current financial constraints on appointments of additional staff, constitutional structures from District level to be structured to respond to organisational development needs as follows:

**The office bearers of the District be defined as:** District Secretary, District Chairperson, District Treasurer, District Deputy Chairperson, District Deputy Secretary, Secretary for Organising and campaigns, Secretary for Political Education and Ideological Development and a maximum of 15 additional members.

**The office bearers of the Sub-District be defined as:** Sub-District Secretary, Sub-District Chairperson, Sub District Treasurer, Sub-District Deputy Chairperson, Sub-District Deputy Secretary, Secretary for Organising and campaigns, Secretary for Political Education and Ideological Development, and a



**Delegates to the 2013 SNC: National Congress delegates will be asked to consider deferring SACP constitutional amendments to the next SN**

maximum of 10 additional members.

**The office bearers of the Branch be defined as:** Branch Secretary, Branch Chairperson, Branch Treasurer, Secretary for Organising and campaigns, Secretary for Political Education and Ideological Development and a maximum of 8 additional members.”

**Term of office of district, sub-district and branch executive structures:** North West proposes that the term of office for District, Sub-District and Branch be constitutionally defined as follows:

- District: 3 years
- Sub-District: 2 years

Branch: 2 years

**Constitutional Committee:** The Constitutional Committee comprises: Yunus Carrim (Chair), Ben Martins (Deputy Chair), Malesela Maleka (Secretary), Charles Setsubi, Mluleka Dlelanga, Zingiswa Losi, Bulelwa Thunyiswa, Reneva Fourie and Buti Manamela.

**Constitutional Commission:** Two representatives from each province and the YCL, members of the Constitutional Committee make up the Constitutional Commission. The Commission will meet on the day of registration of the Congress and report to Congress on Day 1. ●

## Contributions on the **CENTENARY OF THE SOVIET REVOLUTION**

The issues of Umsebenzi in the last quarter of this year will focus on the 100th anniversary of the October Revolution. We would welcome contributions, preferably not exceeding 1 500 words, for publication. The deadline for articles is 15 September 2017.



## A NEW FRONT

# Seize the moment!

*The ANC has demonstrated it is neither willing nor capable of driving the NDR, writes Yershen Pillay, so the SACP must establish a working class-led front and move rapidly on to socialism*

*“It is time to recognize the historic and titanic nature of the fight, and to unite all our forces in countering the enemy’s palpable activity with an even more active Red Forward Movement, political and industrial, of all the workers; a Great Push so militant, well organised and unified by solidarity as to deliver, in co-operation with the advanced Labour Movement of the rest of the world, the knockout blow to a hated class system.” (CPSA/SACP, 1921)*



The South African Communist Party (the Party) is the vanguard party of the working class in South Africa. Since inception, the Party has been deeply engaged and actively involved in the struggles of ordinary citizens. The Party is a product of the struggles of ordinary South African citizens fighting for an end to capitalism and a better life for all. In *South Africa – No Middle Ground*, Cde Joe Slovo argues: “For those who live in apartheid’s reality, not in debate but in their daily experience, the need to destroy it in all its manifestations is a self-evident truth. That is the starting point and the only remaining question is how?”<sup>1</sup> The same can be said about capitalism today. Therefore the only remaining question is how do we end capitalism in South Africa – thereby contributing to the end of global capitalism? What type of society will replace it? What then is the Party’s projection in this respect?

In the *Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte*, Karl Marx wrote: “Men make their own history, but they do not make it just as they please; they do not make it under circumstances chosen by them, but under circumstances directly encountered, given and transmitted from the past.”<sup>2</sup>

As communists guided by the ideology

of Marxism–Leninism, we are called upon to make our own history by circumstances directly encountered, given and transmitted from the past.

#### What are these circumstances?

Our society is in crisis. Our state is in decay. The fundamental cause of the societal crisis and state decay is the untransformed semi-colonial capitalist economy and a governing party plagued with the diseases of capitalism, thus incapable of leading a programme for the radical transformation of this capitalist economy.

The ANC itself is no longer capable of leading the victory of the National Democratic Revolution (NDR). As a governing party in a capitalist society it continues to suffer from the life-threatening diseases of capitalism – greed, competition and accumulation. It is an organisation besieged by patronage-linked factionalism, gate-keeping and corruption. It has become a meditation committee for conflicting bourgeois interests, where the political representatives of the dominant bourgeoisie exercise their influence, power and authority. This is precisely why very little content and direction has been provided to the second phase of the NDR. The embourgeoisment of the ANC has led to very little or no appetite for the implementation of radical economic change that favours the working class. Examples of change can be found in some sectors of the economy, but none of them are radical

enough to transform the economic base and property relations in the country.

Post-1994, we have continuously accepted and managed unholy alliances manifesting themselves in different shapes and forms within the ANC. These manifestations are bound to continue long into the future, stifling the building of work class hegemony in society and deliberately postponing the socialist revolution. This is in direct violation of the principles agreed to in the South African Road to socialism (SARS) whereby we have clearly stated that the advancement and consolidation of the NDR does not mean the suspension of the socialist revolution.<sup>3</sup>

The experience of the ANC as a governing party post-1994 suggests the growth and entrenchment of a traditional bourgeoisie nationalism within the ANC itself. The rejection of this traditional form of bourgeois nationalism in favour of a more advanced revolutionary nationalism was one of the pillars constituting the foundation of an alliance with the ANC and the acceptance of the ANC as the head of the Tripartite Alliance. The retreat to traditional bourgeois nationalism, especially since 1996 and more overtly and arrogantly since 2009, together with the dysfunctionality of leadership within the ANC, raises the question of whether the ANC is still capable of leading the NDR. The struggle for the victory of the NDR post-1994 has been abandoned to a political project of state capture by the dominant bourgeoisie, as is the experience of many other liberation movements in the developing world. It is a political project managed within the ANC leading to the capture of the state to win a share in the continued exploitation and domination of our people.

The political representatives of the bourgeoisie in the ANC have become

**ANC’s crisis of legitimacy is irreversible ... it is time for the SACP to lead a new front, with the working class as the leading force**



**Pondering the future: General Secretary Blade Nzimande (centre), Deputy General Secretary Jeremy Cronin and Treasurer Joyce Moloi-Motopa considering the SACP's post-Congress challenges**

more differentiated after 20 years of ANC government party in South Africa. We can no longer speak of the political representatives of a single capitalist class or black bourgeoisie existing within the ANC. One can identify the political representatives of three propertied classes competing with each other for resources that are under the control of the state: a national bourgeoisie whose base is internal and whose interests lie in the ownership and control of industrial capital; a comprador bourgeoisie composed of black middle class elements working with western imperial capital and/or eastern imperial capital and whose interests lie in acquiring a share of the domestic exploits by imperialist capital; and the political representatives of a parasitic bourgeoisie whose interests lie in the extraction of resources from the state, not for the purposes of social reproduction, but to sustain a power elite. The interests of these three propertied classes are found to be competing but not contradictory. The political representatives of these three bourgeoisies continue to fight for dominance in the ANC, having already captured the structure and culture of the ANC.

The post-1994 ANC is more engaged in the mediation between the national bourgeoisie, the comprador bourgeoisie and the parasitic bourgeoisie. While the ANC is more involved in moderating and mediating the conflict between these propertied classes, the masses want to redistribute wealth in their own favour. However, this redistribution of wealth in favour of the working class and rural poor will inevitably harm the interests

of the competing bourgeoisie. The ANC can therefore not be depended on to lead the victory of the NDR. Doing so will contradict the interests of the competing bourgeoisie within its ranks and push the revolution beyond the bounds acceptable and beneficial to any of these propertied classes. The ANC post-1994 has played a mediatory role between the political representatives of the conflicting propertied classes. It now has the responsibility of moderating, managing and preserving the social relationships of the propertied classes which the capitalist economy requires. Consequently, it can no longer be tasked with the responsibility of leading the victory of the NDR.

Capitalism was founded on the exploitation of humans by humans. It is based on the principle of 'survival of the fittest' and gives rise to competition, greed and inequality. Democracy was founded on the principle of political equality, implying that the majority rule. It is therefore impossible for capitalism to be compatible with the victory of the NDR and socialism. To achieve this requires the end of capitalism. The means to achieving this objective is the formation of a New Front of the working class in alliance with the

**Achieving state power  
is impossible without  
conscientising the masses  
that socialism is possible -  
Karl Marx & Frederick Engels**

rural masses, non-comprador bourgeoisie and progressive sections of the urban petty bourgeoisie. This New Front will require a new organisational vehicle that displaces the current organisational vehicle, led by the ANC.

#### **A new front for the victory of the NDR and socialism**

The current conjuncture requires a new alliance of progressive revolutionary classes that can be mobilised in support of the victory of the NDR and socialism. A new front for the victory of the NDR and socialism requires a new organisational vehicle with a new leadership to achieve its goals. The SACP should lead this New Front to build the unity of progressive revolutionary classes and other strata to deepen, advance and consolidate the NDR as the most direct route to socialism. It is only the SACP as the political vanguard of the working class that can lead a *New Front* united across racial and gender lines.

We can no longer afford to be in alliance with and to be led by an ANC that has abandoned its revolutionary progressive nationalism of the past in favour of a traditional bourgeoisie nationalism that we see today. The ANC is a party of the bourgeoisie who have welcomed the character flaws of President Jacob Zuma, as they did of former President Thabo Mbeki, and have cultivated such flaws for their own ends.

A new front would be a direct response to the triple crises' of legitimacy, integration and participation in the ANC as the leader of the Alliance. A crisis of legitimacy as a result of the ethical and moral degeneration in the ANC, a crisis of integration as a result of dysfunctionality in the leadership of the ANC and a crisis of participation as a result of gate-keeping and degenerative patronage linked factionalism.

The SACP has previously argued that a rupture has occurred in the multiclass consensus post-1994 around the national democratic revolution. This rupture requires the formation of the new front which will place the working class as the primary motive force for deepening, advancing and consolidating the NDR.

There are a series of questions that we may need to address in the discussion around this new front in relation to state power. These questions have previously been posed by the Party for discussion but have not been sufficiently addressed:

- What constitutes a revolutionary approach to state power?
- What would be the consequences

and impact on the Party directly contesting elections in a multi-party setting as the head of *the new front for the victory of the NDR and socialism*?

- What are the immediate struggles and how do we link these struggles to the struggle for socialism?
- Other than political power, what are the other key sites of power to establish working class hegemony?

### **People's power for state power and state power for socio-economic transformation**

One of the most immediate struggles should be the revitalisation of the working class as the primary motive force in the NDR. The current epoch has seen significant differences emerging between the Party and the ANC on the main content, strategy and tactics of the NDR. This is further compounded by the lack of joint decision making by all partners in the alliance.

The 12th Congress programme adopted in 2007, the *South African Road to Socialism* (SARS), provided a basis for a revolutionary approach to state power. SARS argued that a revolutionary approach to state power is the antithesis to a narrow, electoralist approach to the capture of state power by the working class.

Marx and Engels argued that the working class could not effect the economic and social transformation of society without state power but they also argued that achieving state power was impossible without conscientising the masses, through struggle and through their own experience, that socialism and ultimately communism was possible.<sup>4</sup>

Popular peoples' power is necessary for state power, and state power is necessary for socio-economic transformation. For the Party to lead the victory of the NDR it will need to end the unholy alliance with the national bourgeoisie, comprador bourgeoisie, and parasitic bourgeoisie. A *new front* would result in a *new peoples' democracy*, not in capitalism, and would lay the basis for a socialist South Africa.

The achievement of state power is an SACP objective. But who then has the role of conscientising the workers, if not the SACP as their vanguard party?

### **The twin tasks of the SACP**

In its approach to unity contained in its 1969 *Morogoro Strategy and Tactics* document, the ANC states: "We are revolutionaries, not narrow nationalists. Committed revolutionaries are our brothers (sic) to whatever group they belong. There can

be no second class participation in our movement."<sup>5</sup>

The post-1994 character of the ANC clearly suggests a deviation from the Strategy and Tactics document with the introduction of narrow nationalist tendencies within its rank and file. This deviation has subsequently led to a rupture and disunity in the revolutionary alliance with the working class.

The Party has the twin tasks of deepening and advancing class-consciousness amongst the people as necessary for state power and that of pursuing state power necessary for radical economic transformation in the interests of the working class.

These two tasks do not exist in isolation or have a certain hierarchy where first comes political consciousness for state power and then follows the task of the capture of state power necessary for effecting socio-economic transformation. The task of deepening and advancing class and political consciousness necessary for state power goes hand-in-hand and evolves side-by-side with the task of seizing state power necessary for radical economic transformation while laying the basis for the construction of a socialist economic order. The dialectical nature of these twin tasks constitutes the theoretical underpinnings for the Party not to go it alone in the quest for state power but rather to lead a *new front for the victory of the NDR and socialism*.

These twin tasks must include the struggle for working class hegemony in all other key sites of power in society. It must include the building of a popular national sovereignty around the state. Any discussion around the formation of a *new front* must adopt the strategic thrust of the 12th Congress programme adopted in 2007 which directs us to build working class hegemony in the state, in the workplace, in the economy, in the battles of ideas and in our communities.

### **Conclusion**

The SACP as a 'party in government' has been relatively successful especially since the Polokwane Conference of the ANC in 2007 and the subsequent deployment of SACP cadres into the Zuma administration in 2009. The Political Report presented to the Augmented Central Committee in December 2016 points to these successes with particular reference to labour policy, competition policy, trade policy, infrastructure development, the spatial economy and the post-school education and training sector.<sup>6</sup> According to the report, "The left axis in government

post-2009 has succeeded in shifting government from a neo-liberal posture on state-owned companies and trade policy to a developmental policy largely embodied in the New Growth Path with explicit job goals."<sup>7</sup>

However, what more could the Party achieve with independent political power if it were to make the transition from a 'party in government' to 'the governing party'? Notwithstanding the international limiting factors, if the "deliberate check and counter-balances of the SACP influence in government" were to be removed as a factor, how much more progress could we make towards the victory of the NDR and socialism? It can be argued that given the track record of the SACP in government especially since 2009 much more progress can be made if the Party were to make the transition from 'a party in government' to 'the governing party'. A transition of this nature can only manifest itself through a radical shift in the strategy and tactics of the Party with particular emphasis to the question of the SACP and state power.

The post-1994 ANC has suffered a crisis of legitimacy that is irreversible. The deficit of credibility has increased substantially during the Zuma years from 2007 and even more so in the second Zuma administration from 2012.

It is time for the SACP to deliberately lead a new front, a broad alliance of the working class and other strata with the aim of capturing state power and the creation of a state in which the working class, in town and countryside, in alliance with the rural poor, non-comprador bourgeoisie and progressive sections of the urban petty bourgeoisie will be the leading force. It is time for the Party to seize the moment!

***Cde Pillay is the Chairperson of the YCLSA and serves on the board of the National Youth Development Agency***

### **Notes**

1. Joe Slovo, "No middle ground" in Davidson, Slovo and Wilkinson, *Southern Africa – The new politics of revolution*, 1976, p. 107
2. Marx, 1852, p. 15
3. 2012, p. 7
4. [www.socialistworker.org](http://www.socialistworker.org)
5. Cited in Slovo, J. "No middle ground" in Davidson, Slovo and Wilkinson, *Southern Africa – The new politics of revolution*, 1976, p. 175
6. Political Report presented to the Augmented Central Committee, 2016, pp. 7 -8
7. Political Report presented to the Augmented Central Committee, 2016, pp. 7

CUBA

# Africa-Cuba – hands across the water

*As Donald Trump derails US-Cuban normalisation plans, Chris Mathlako reports on Africa reaffirming its ties with Havana*



A 38-person delegation of the Friends of Cuba Society- SA (Focus-SA) took part in the successful 5th Africa Continental Conference of Solidarity with Cuba, in Windhoek, 5-7 June.

The South African delegation, drawn from the ranks of the progressive national liberation movement in the country and representing the South African Communist Party (SACP), Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu), the African National Congress Women's League (ANC WL) and MK veterans, was the second largest after the host nation. Previous editions of the continental solidarity conference have been held in Johannesburg (1995), Accra in Ghana (1998), and Addis Ababa in Ethiopia (2012).

The delegates discussed the ongoing economic blockade against Cuba; joint development initiatives between Cuba and their respective governments; and the achievements of solidarity work, such as the international campaign for the release of the Cuban Five. They recalled the important role played by the late Fidel Castro and dedicated the conference to his memory.

The scale of Cuban engagement in Africa after 1959 is multi-dimensional. There was also military engagement in Angola, where tens of thousands of young Cuban soldiers served during the 1970s and 1980s, and dramatically altered the balance of forces in southern Africa. Medical cooperation was provided in many parts of the continent during particular crises and also in the training of local doctors. Education was promoted through technical, administrative and university training of large numbers of young people in African countries or in Cuba. Cuba

also contributed to the continent in the cultural and spiritual spheres.

The fifth continental solidarity meeting took place at a crucial time – with Donald Trump committed to undoing Barack Obama's softening of relations with Cuba, as he bows to right wing pressure from the hostile anti-Cuba Miami-mafia. This year also marks the 50th year of the cowardly murder of Che Guevara in Bolivia in 1967.

Recently Latin America has confronted extreme US efforts to undermine the progressive left governments. In Bolivarian Venezuela, 'hybrid war' has been unleashed, characterised by violence clashes with the authorities and pro-PSUV (PSUV - United Socialist Party of Venezuela) forces in major cities of the country. The 'hybrid war' has been characterised by fanning internal contradictions, sponsoring opposition violence to conduct a campaign of terror and violence against ordinary people and state institutions.

The underlying agenda of this campaign is to seek to nullify the example of Cuba and to isolate it. Strangling Venezuela –experiencing low levels of economic growth because of low oil prices

– is intended to undermine Latin American integration trade bodies such as Alba (the Bolivarian Alliance for the Peoples of Our America) and Mercosur (Southern Common Market). By triggering a regional crisis the USA is seeking to regain lost ground and reclaim what it regards as effective economic colonies. Since the efforts of the region to shrug off the yoke of neoliberalism in the 1990s, the Latin American left and progressives have had to confront the regrouping of right wing national bourgeoisie.

The fifth Africa-Cuba Continental Solidarity Conference is an affirmation of the historic ties that have existed between Cuba and Africa. Socialist Cuba has been on the side of the people of Africa since the early years of the triumph of the Revolution. The people of the continent have been able to count on Cuba as a reliable ally throughout this period. As early 1961, Cuba provided crucial support to national liberation struggles, and has maintained unwavering solidarity for more than half a century, sharing its limited resources and shedding its blood on the continent. ●

**Cde Mathlako is the Politburo Secretary of International Relations**

## Umsebenzi

### EDITORIAL BOARD

**Editor-in-Chief:**  
Blade Nzimande

**Deputy Editor-in-Chief:**  
Jeremy Cronin

**Editor:**  
Yunus Carrim

Joyce Moloi-Moropa

Solly Mapaila

Mluleki Dlelanga

Chris Mathlako

Malesela Maleka

Mark Waller (sub-editor)

David Niddrie (chief sub-editor)

Alex Mohubetswane Mashilo

Reneva Fourie



The SACP pays tribute to Cde Kay Moonsamy: (from left) Sbusiso Sithole, Busani Mbatha (Thulani Ncwane district organiser) and Mlu Nkosi (Magwaza Maphalala district organiser)

IN MEMORIAM

# Hamba kahle, Cde Kay!

*The SACP released this statement on the passing of Cde Kay Moonsamy, 'a die-hard communist in the old tradition', always ready to roll up his sleeves for the Movement*

The SACP is saddened by the death late on 21 June in eThekweni of SACP and Alliance veteran Cde Kay Moonsamy. Cde Moonsamy, 91, was a former SACP National Treasurer and the last President of the South African Congress of Trade Unions (Sactu) at the time of its disbanding shortly after 1990. He was among the 156 leaders charged for high treason in the historic 1956-61 Treason Trial.

SACP General Secretary Cde Blade Nzimande, said; "It is comrades like Kay Moonsamy who laid the foundations for our democracy. We owe him and his generation a huge debt. We can't let them down. Their sacrifices can't be in vain. We have to defeat the parasitic bourgeoisie and deepen and consolidate our democracy.

"Together with our veteran Cde Eric Mtshali, Solly Mapaila, Themba Mthembu

and other SACP leaders, I visited Cde Kay about a month ago. He was very distressed about the state of the ANC and couldn't understand how such a glorious movement could sink to such depths.

"Cde Kay was a die-hard communist in the old tradition. He came from a working class background and joined the Party through the trade unions. He was active in a wide range of Alliance structures, but saw himself as first and foremost as a communist. He was very frank, committed, unyielding, militant, and constantly argued that the 1994 negotiated transition failed the working class and poor because it did not adequately address economic transformation."

SACP Deputy General Secretary Cde Jeremy Cronin, said: "Cde Kay was quietly consistent, and I remember when I first met him in exile, and through the time he

was active in the SACP after we came back home, he would constantly say 'we must roll up our sleeves and put our shoulder to the wheel, comrades'. He served as National Treasurer of the SACP at a time when it was very difficult to raise funds, and he had very strict views about who qualified as a donor. His long political life in the SACP spanned major periods in the Party's history, and he was obviously a huge reservoir of knowledge and experience."

Cde Moonsamy was born in Durban on 5 July 1926. Coming from a very poor background, he had to leave school at 14 and work as a machinist at Rhodesian Timbers Limited. He soon joined the Natal Box, Broom and Brushworkers' Union, and became its president.

In December 1944, aged 18, he joined the Communist Party of South Africa (CPSA),



**Above: KZN Premier Willies Mchunu (2nd left) with Comrade Kay's children and programme director, SACP Politburo member Yunus Carrim**  
**Far left: Party delegation visiting Cde Kay shortly before his passing: James Nxumalo, Themba Mthembu, Blade Nzimande, Eric Mtshali, Solly Mapaila**  
**Left: Cde Kay visiting Nelson Mandela**

and was elected to the Durban Committee in 1949. He continued to work underground after the CPSA was banned in 1950.

He joined other communists and other progressives in the Natal Indian Congress (NIC) to form the Anti-Segregation Council to oust the conservative Kajee-Pather leadership of the NIC and replace them with Cdes Monty Naicker and Yusuf Dadoo, who worked much more closely with the ANC.

Cde Kay was active in the 1946 Passive Resistance Campaign and other campaigns led by the Natal Indian Congress. On his 20th birthday, he was sentenced to four months imprisonment under the Riotous Assemblies' Act.

During the 1960 State of Emergency he avoided arrest and worked underground. He helped to organise the three-day national protest from 29 to 31 May 1961. On 31 March

1963 he was served with a banning order. A month later he was sentenced to 18 months' imprisonment for violating his order.

He was also detained under the 90-day law and charged under the Suppression of Communism Act on 1 December 1964. He was given bail, and in June 1965 went into exile, leaving behind his unemployed wife and four minor children.

Based mainly in Lusaka and Dar es Salaam, he served in various structures of the movement in exile, and attended both the 1969 Morogoro and 1985 Kabwe Conferences of the ANC. He assisted Cde JB Marks, the ANC Treasurer General, in Dar es Salaam, and in 1982 was elected Chairperson of the Lusaka Regional Committee of the SACP. He served as Treasurer-General of Sactu before becoming its President in 1989.

He returned to the country in June 1991,

and was later elected SACP National Treasurer. In 1999 he was elected to Parliament and served for 10 years.

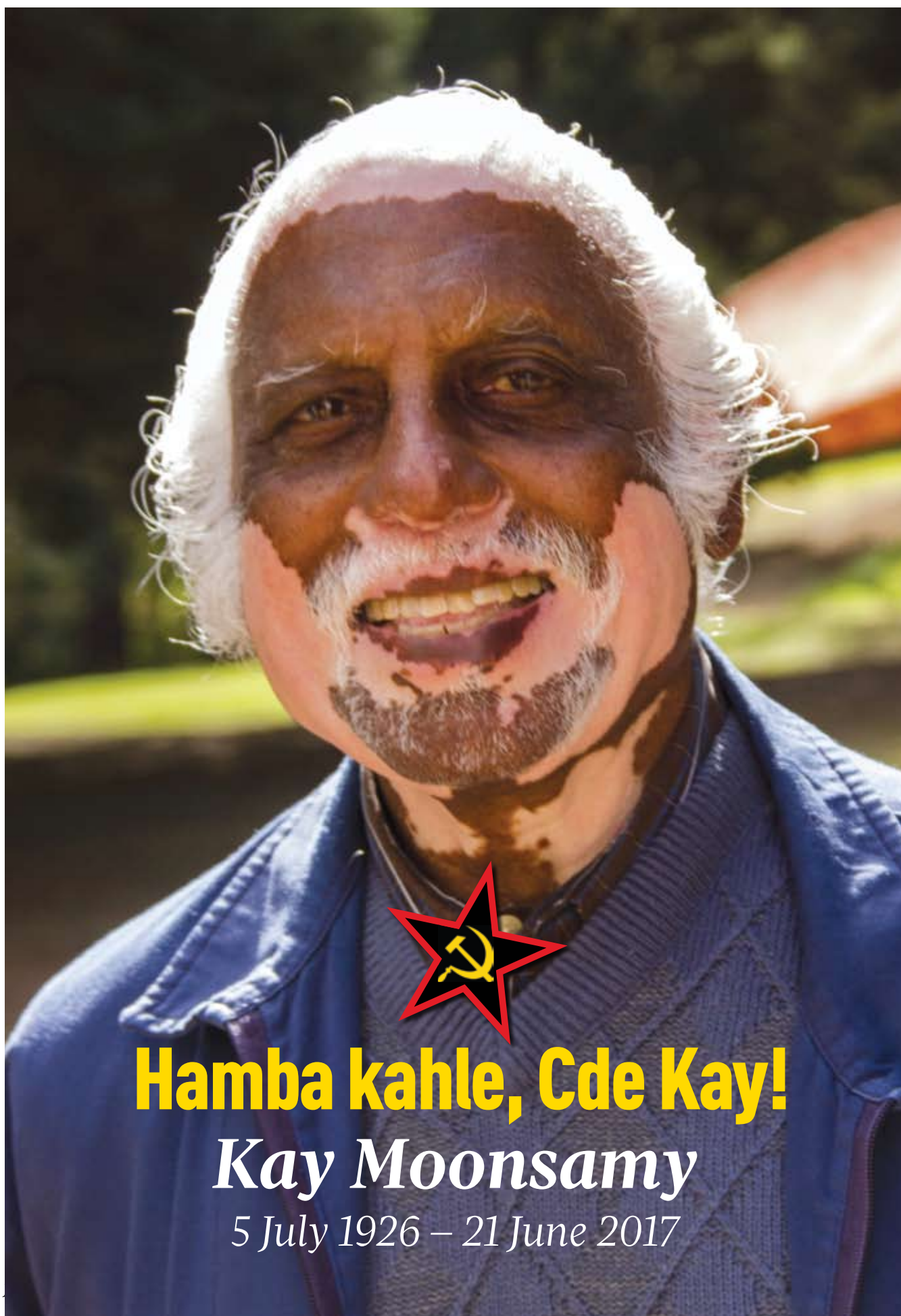
In 2015, Comrade Kay was awarded the Order of Luthuli by the state for his major contribution to the struggle.

He was laid to the rest at an official provincial funeral on 24 June addressed by senior leaders of the Alliance and veterans of the struggle. According to his wishes, the funeral was

brief, simple and modest, with the SACP playing a prominent role.

Cde Kay is survived by Tammy, Ragini, Saroj, Rajen, Vassan and Lefika. The SACP conveys its deepest condolences to his family, relatives, friends and comrades.

The SACP dips its revolutionary red banner in honour of this outstanding stalwart!



**Hamba kahle, Cde Kay!**

*Kay Moonsamy*

5 July 1926 – 21 June 2017