



14th NATIONAL CONGRESS

10-15 July 2017

DECLARATION & RESOLUTIONS

**Defend, Advance, Deepen the National Democratic Revolution:
The Vanguard Role of the SACP**



**South African Communist Party
14th National Congress**

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

The Vanguard Role of the SACP!**



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Congress closing address by SACP General Secretary Cde Blade Nzimande

15 July 2017

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, the 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 in order to unite ourselves through - first and foremost - seeking democratic consensus.

Through this Congress we have re-affirmed and further elaborated on our being a Party of the working class, but that is also prepared to engage a wider range of other progressive forces, as well as a range of patriotic South Africans in order 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 While the Alliance remains strategic, the manner in which it functions is clearly outdated.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 of 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 with 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, as did most meetings of the Alliance that should have taken place. The Alliance Political Council is also not meeting regularly. When it takes place, the outcome of its last meeting is almost forgotten with virtually no expression in implementation. Its last meeting, which was scheduled 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 the Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu) raised genuine concerns about the National Development Plan, the 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 as well as National Summit or Economic Policy Summit. All that did not happen, and the NDP is propagated as if the Alliance did not agree that it 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 national democratic revolution belongs to all of us as Alliance partners and the people as a whole. The revolution is too important to be left to one Alliance partner alone, or to some individuals, or worse off to a faction. How the revolution must be carried out through the state, including legislation, policy, regulations, programme, 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 Alliance with one another if we cannot work together to determine the direction of our national democratic revolution, 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 on this because we have entered a very complicated political period in the history of our revolution and our country. You cannot take the kinds of resolutions you have taken here and have a business as usual. We must considerably strengthen the organisational, financial and, in particular, the campaigning capacity of our branches and



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 points 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 whilst we were at this congress that he has obtained his PhD! I also have a branch, which has delegates here, the Esther Barsel branch. You are doing well with your 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, and 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!



Article 1

Declaration

We, 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 7000 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, with greater emphasis on collective or social forms of ownership and democratic control, 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, co-operative and small business development and a new growth path that leads us to greater socialisation.

Our resolutions include a major re-orientation 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 turn-over 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 work-place 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 African National Congress (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 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 determined 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!**



Article 2

Second radical phase of the national democratic revolution towards socialism

2.1. General programme

Noting that:

- a. After a prolonged revolutionary struggle, the early to mid-1990s democratic (and radical) break-through in South Africa abolished state institutions of White minority rule with their origins in centuries of colonial domination. This radical rupture, a first radical phase of the national democratic revolution (NDR), laid the basis for a democratic dispensation within a progressive, non-racial constitutional order.
- b. The SACP has been advancing the perspective of a radical NDR for many decades and the Party has long appreciated (based on our Marxist-Leninist traditions) that there were (and has always been) revolutionary democratic and bourgeois reformist tendencies within the anti-colonial national liberation movements in the South, and that ours was no exception.
- c. Since 1994, the SACP has been actively campaigning for a new push, a second radical phase of the struggle to advance and deepen the NDR on the basis of the bridgehead of the historic April 1994 democratic breakthrough.
- d. The SACP has consistently argued that without urgently opening up this new front of struggle, without an uninterrupted radical advance of the NDR post-1994, the gains of the pre-1994 phase of the struggle would be threatened and the liberation credentials of the ANC-led movement could be increasingly eroded as the memory of the anti-apartheid struggle receded, popular power dissipated into passive expectation of state delivery, or individualistic consumerism, or, at best, fragmented into thousands of localised and sectoral protest actions.
- e. Any undue pause, we further argued, would allow South African-based private monopoly capital, historically sheltered behind colonial, including apartheid White minority rule, to re-group. All of these likely tendencies, we said, would leave the structural legacy of colonialism and the socio-economic crises affecting the majority of South Africans, largely intact. A more radical, thus second phase of our transition had to be intensified.
- f. Inspired by the Great October Socialist Revolution, building socialism in the 21st century requires drawing from important lessons of building socialism in the 20th century.

Believing that:

- a. The concept of a radical NDR and the SACP programme for the South African Road to Socialism (SARS) remain relevant as ever.



- b. A second radical phase of the NDR has to overcome systematic and interconnected features of the legacy of colonialism of a special type (CST) in our political economy, including:
- i. High dependency on mineral (raw material) exports and imports of manufactured goods which has locked South Africa into a semi-peripheral economic position in the world capitalist economy;
 - ii. An economy that reproduces conditions of “cheap labour power” drawn largely from the African working class throughout Southern Africa;
 - iii. Private monopoly capital domination in almost every sector, and therefore weak small, micro and medium enterprises (SMME) and co-operative sectors;
 - iv. Spatial inequalities reproducing conditions of internal core-periphery relationships between and within rural and urban areas;
 - v. Patriarchal oppression, in which one-third of women are still the subjects of patriarchal authority in rural areas and are still bearing the responsibilities of reproduction and household tasks, and high-levels of persisting violence in general and against women and children in particular;
 - vi. Persisting unequal education and training which reproduces race and class inequalities;
 - vii. Environmental destruction – capitalist development in South Africa has plundered our non-renewable natural wealth at a huge cost to human health and the environment. Acid mine drainage is just a symptom. Formerly cheap and coal resources and our energy system have also locked us into an excessively carbon intensive-economy;
 - viii. Remnants of apartheid security apparatus – the integration process in the security sector was unequal and poorly managed. Consequently many experienced cadres of our movement have either exited or been sidelined, leaving the policing, military and intelligence capacity of the state weak.

Therefore Resolved that:

- a. Eliminating these (the above) and other systemically-interlinked legacy features of our political economy forms critical pillars of a second radical phase of the NDR.
- b. The Party must seek constantly to build working class and popular confidence and power. We must seek constantly to advance transformational interventions that place our principal, historical strategic opponent – private monopoly capital – off-balance. In short, we must build working class and popular hegemony in all sites of power. This requires both a vanguard party of socialism and a broad national democratic movement with capacity to discipline private capital in general.
- c. The second radical phase of the NDR will require that we continue to infuse this revolution with socialist elements and socialist capacities.



- d. An updated SARS must be presented for adoption at our next Augmented Central Committee, guided by this perspective and the overall discussions held and resolutions taken at this Congress. Programmatic critical pillars for a second radical phase of the NDR will include:
- i. Defending and strengthening of the public sector, in the face of the forces of corporate capture and corruption, especially in the state-owned enterprises which are critical for our major public-sector led infrastructure build programme. This will require that we:
 - ii. Democratise and strengthen planning, both at the central level and in devolved locations where appropriate, through: a review of the National Development Plan (NDP), particularly the economic sections; and building long-range organic state planning capacity by replacing the National Planning Commission with a full-time, competent, ethical state planning official at all spheres to ensure integrated vertical and horizontal state planning and adequate capacity.
 - iii. Instil strategic discipline across the state and inculcate revolutionary values amongst cadres deployed in the public service.
 - iv. Increasingly de-commodify basic needs such as health-care, education, and housing, protect the environment, culture, information, and ensure food security and the right to work. In other words, remove basic needs out of the sphere of the market.
 - v. Subject the boards in compromised state-owned enterprises to immediate recall.
 - vi. Work with transformative public sector unions, so that we locate their revolutionary role in advancing the building of the national democratic developmental state.
 - vii. Actively support Cosatu campaigns and those of other popular formations against corporate capture and corruption.
 - viii. Promote the establishment of a state bank – in addition to post-bank – that facilitates industrial financing of new enterprises, including promotion of Black industrialists, with greater emphasis on collective or social ownership and democratic control.
 - ix. Continue pushing for corporate capture of the state to be investigated and brought to an end.
 - x. Intervene with collective social power to challenge, transform and de-monopolise the capitalist dominated market-place using, among others active labour market interventions, state procurement, regulatory controls, and effective consumer forums.
- e. This will require that we:
- i. Ensure that education, training and development is compulsory for all children



and free for the poor, and is aligned to the developmental needs, objectives and values of the country, including optimal responsiveness to the opportunities and challenges of a knowledge economy and the Fourth Industrial Revolution.

- ii. Strengthen the activist role of the Competition Commission by expanding its powers, scope and capacity to break-up monopolies and end market concentration in a few hands (excluding public enterprises that, unlike private monopolies, belong to the people as a whole).
 - iii. Support and expand social ownership through de-monopolisation measures and expand public and worker ownership through publicly-owned enterprises and co-operatives. This must include ensuring that a percentage of ownership in the mining sector goes to workers and the state functioning as the custodian of the broader public (the people or nation as a whole). The proceeds of the publicly owned state must be used to establish and grow a Sovereign Wealth Fund in the interests of the people as a whole with the working class and poor as the majority. It must also include re-nationalising SASOL and establishing a state-owned fisheries company.
 - iv. Foster an extensive co-operative and social-solidarity economy sector, ensuring much more effective strategic worker control over social capital (like retirement funds).
 - v. Build a broad front for socialism.
- f. Relative de-linking from dependency upon global imperialist value-chains through:
- i. state-led (re-)industrialisation, localisation, beneficiation;
 - ii. funding South African research and development;
 - iii. tougher financial flow controls; and
 - iv. A greater emphasis on Southern African and sub-Saharan integrated and balanced development.
- g. Effect a relative de-linking of working class communities from excessive dependency upon the capitalist market (including the capitalist labour market). The key interventions include:
- i. Promotion of a well-resourced, well-funded and networked co-operative movement linked to co-operative financing institutions such as co-operative banks, in which the state, especially municipalities, deposit a portion of their funds in these co-operative banks. We should also learn from international and even local experiences on co-operative development.
 - ii. The above interventions should emphasise the production of use-values for working class communities, public employment programmes, the expansion of social protection measures, progressive moves towards a public work-guarantee scheme (the right to work), and the imposition of prescribed asset requirements



on the financial sector.

- iii. Promote various forms of sustainable livelihood and food security interventions including food gardens, to combat hunger and reduce poverty.
- iv. Facilitating peace and security through ensuring that the security sector is well regulated and managed; has the capacity to effectively fight crime (including drugs and illicit trade) and protect citizens and the sovereignty of the state; and is developmental in character.
- h. Spatial transformation (transforming apartheid-colonial space) through:
 - i. Maintaining and expanding state-led economic and social infrastructural development in a manner that also supports state-led industrialisation;
 - ii. Actively promoting integrated urbanisation;
 - iii. Revitalising township economies as space for de-linking working class communities from the capitalist market and for promoting productive enterprise activities;
 - iv. Promoting public transport by up-scaling current policy interventions in rail, road, passenger transport, including the strategic development of the taxi minibus sector;
 - v. Strategic land reform in both rural and urban areas, including public control of land (and end real estate speculation) for mixed-used and mixed-income housing, as well as expropriation of absentee landlords for public interest and regulating the use of arable land for game farming; and
 - vi. Ensuring that rural areas have effective social, economic infrastructure, services and development.



Article 3

Radical structural economic transformation

3.1. General programme

Noting that:

- a. South Africa is trapped in a persisting crisis of unemployment, inequality, and poverty that has been aggravated by the current recession, plant closures, retrenchments, a household debt crisis and resulting declining living standards.
- b. The current challenges are further impacted upon by the persisting global crisis, and the weakening of key economic public institutions due to corruption and state-capture looters.
- c. Part of the response of global capital to the crisis includes relocation of production from low-wage global-south countries and the acceleration of technological innovation and mechanisation as part of the Fourth Industrial Revolution. This, too, is likely to have a major impact on our development.

Believing that:

- a. Short and medium-term interventions must move the economy away from the current unsustainable path dependency on consumer debt finance, mineral extraction for export, and an unsustainable property boom, towards structural transformation through measures supporting industrialisation, decent work creation and spatial transformation.
- b. Capital must be pressurised to contribute practically in saving jobs and investing in productive sectors.

Therefore resolve:

- a. To reaffirm the resolutions of the 13th Congress on the SACP and the economy and to continue to struggle to implement them.
- b. To work with Cosatu to convene, as a matter of urgency, a Jobs Summit involving the National Economic Development and Labour Council (Nedlac) partners and key stakeholders to develop an immediate short-term response package to pull the economy out of the recession.
- c. To work to ensure that this summit is structured in such a way that is able to address issues from the perspective of the working people and the poor.
- d. Thus, amongst others, the summit and our mass mobilisation must place at the centre the following key issues:
 - i. Jobs-centred economic policy based on stimulating domestic demand and improving efficiency in industrial supply-side.
 - ii. Fight for a new growth path (as envisaged in the New Growth Path document) that changes the features of our primary commodity/raw-material exporting,



capital-intensive economic structure characterised by high levels of economic concentration, low domestic savings and a still weak skills-base.

- iii. Commitments to implement ways and means of job-retention and limit job-losses, through amongst others, the renewal of the training programmes for retrenched workers, the upgrade of the skills of the current workforce.
- iv. Commitments to work together on programmes with high impact on youth employment, training and skills development interventions with clear targets.
- v. A review of obligations/quid pro quos of state incentives to ensure greater leverage for job-creation, industrial capacity and support for Black-owned enterprises, with greater emphasis on collective or social ownership, capable of operating in the real economy to create jobs and industrial capacity.
- vi. Jobs for youth: ensure that the public and private sectors create jobs on a large scale – 1 million per year to be achieved within the next 3/5 years.
- vii. Infrastructure spending to be boosted from roughly R300bn per annum to about R450bn per annum, over a five to ten year period, through reprioritised spending, building on increased fiscal revenue (including a wealth tax for investment into infrastructure).
- viii. Beneficiation: there must be mandatory lower pricing of key metals and coal for local manufacturers/beneficiation.
- ix. Radical land-reform through a major drive to expand Black small-scale farming, with greater emphasis on collective or social ownership, facilitated through a land tax on absentee landlords and large farming operations. A programme to reignite agriculture and agro-processing based accelerated land reform and real empowerment of beneficiaries to become productive food producers.
- x. Encouraging an increase in private sector investment to drive the building of our industrial capacity, including through lowering high data, energy and transport costs.
- xi. Skills: massive new investment in improving the skills base of young people and of existing workers: to address, among other things, the new challenges of the “Fourth Industrial Revolution” and the issue of greater industrial effectiveness. We must set a target of 2 million persons enrolled annually in a combination of workplace, home-based (ICT-enabled) and college-based training.
- xii. Mobilisation of worker savings to ensure that more resources are directed at growing the economy inclusively with jobs at the centre.
- xiii. Align fiscal, monetary and industrial policies (within the constitutional framework) to actively promote jobs and economic development.



3.2. State owned enterprises

Noting:

- a. The critical role State-Owned Companies (SOCs) are required to play in infrastructure development, in supporting industrial development and in providing critical services to the working people and the poor.
- b. The debilitating effect of state capture and corruption, which means that many of the SOCs (amongst others, Eskom, Transnet, PRASA and the public broadcaster, the SABC) are performing well below levels required to deliver on their developmental mandates.
- c. That this includes: the siphoning-off for personal enrichment of billions of Rands that should have been used for developmental purposes; the award of tenders and contracts based on kick-backs, nepotism, and other corrupt practices, that undermine the imperatives of localisation to support jobs and industrial development.
- d. The apparent impunity that leads to individuals involved and benefiting from corrupt criminal networks facing no legal consequences and penalties.

Believing that:

- a. Corruption and state capture form the most serious, immediate danger to our revolution and movement.

Therefore Resolved:

- a. To reaffirm the SACP's long held view that SOEs operating according to a developmental rather than profit-maximising mandate have a central role to play in taking the country forward in terms of the perspective of a second radical phase of the NDR.
- b. To demand the immediate convening, without any further delay, of a judicial commission of inquiry as called for in the Public Protector's "State of Capture" report, specifically in view of the fact that the leadership in some key SOEs appear to have been implicated in criminal networks.
- c. Where the evidence is available there must be rapid prosecution of those involved and we must mobilise for the repayment of the stolen public money in all corruption cases, including its return from tax havens in foreign locations.
- d. To call on government to ensure that the boards and senior managements of SOEs are composed of capable, honest, committed individuals not tainted by prima facie indications of malpractice. These must also include worker representatives.
- e. To call for the compiling of a register of tainted individuals to be precluded from future appointments, and, where appropriate, applications of individuals that are implicated to be declared "delinquent directors" in terms of the Companies Act – meaning that they are prohibited from serving as directors of either public or private companies.
- f. Reiterate our urgent call for the establishment of a State-owned mining company and call for the establishment of the national sovereign wealth fund from mineral rents.
- g. Fight against privatisation of SOEs



- h. Urgent action must be taken on the investments patterns and role of the Public Investment Corporation (PIC) and we must fight against attempts to use it for reckless bailouts of corrupt SOEs.
- i. The SACP must continue to build tactical alliances with a wide range of progressive and patriotic forces in defence of our constitution, in the fight against corruption, state capture and accountability.
- j. To support the Cosatu Section 77 strike action against state capture.

3.3. Combat inequality and private monopoly, to open up and democratise the economic space.

Further Resolved:

- a. De-monopolise economic concentration in ownership – introduce changes to the Competition Act to strengthen its mandate to play this role, open the economic space for small businesses and social enterprises such as co-operatives and increase both worker (our top priority) and Black industrialist participation in the economy. De-monopolisation must apply to among others private health-care, digital and satellite television (DSTV) and the financial sector.
- b. The SACP must strengthen its work in the struggle to Freeze executive pay to reduce inequality.
- c. Implement the national minimum wage with enforceable capacity whilst waging the struggle for the realisation of a living wage.
- d. The SACP must fight for a wealth tax and prescribed asset on investable funds.
- e. Push the struggle to radically change BEE policy to ensure greater spread of collective ownership models. In this regard, change the mining charter model and re-direct the proposed 'free-carry' shares from private individuals to a national sovereign fund as a public fund for the people as a whole while allowing for an ownership stake by the direct producers, i.e. the workers.
- f. Advance worker empowerment through worker ownership and associated representation.
- g. Strongly support co-operative and other forms of social enterprises, including through training and funding. Set aside increased and dedicated resources for the development of co-operatives and proactive measures for the "de-tenderisation" of local infrastructure programmes.
- h. Tighten up on the fight against tax-base base erosion, profit shifting, and capital flight.

3.4. Honest, effective transformative democratic developmental state and an engaged society

Therefore Resolved:

- a. To wage the struggle to end state business relations with corrupt/state-capture companies



- immediately, including ensuring that monies improperly paid over are recovered.
- b. The SACP must press for lifestyle audits on Cabinet Ministers and Deputy Ministers, high ranking government officials at all levels, MECs, mayors, judges and executives and board members of SOEs and other public bodies.
 - c. That the SACP must campaign for a programme of debt-relief, particularly for retrenched workers and victims of predatory lending practices.
 - d. The SACP must campaign for the advancement of an expanded public employment programme, as part of the struggle for the right to work, and which enhances community participation in, and sense of, ownership over local infrastructure and public services.
 - e. The SACP must push for the adoption of a clear package of interventions to support economic activities in the townships and other peripheral localities with IDPs fully aligned with spending plans.
 - f. Intensify our Financial Sector Transformation Campaign and ensure that the state addresses the ongoing large scale repossessions of properties, unfair repayment terms and conditions, as well as the related challenges in the judicial processes that lead to default judgments, unfair evictions and repossessions. The creation of a State Bank remains central as part of this campaign and as articulated in our general programme of moving our national democratic revolution on to a second radical phase.

3.5. The Poultry Sector: Special resolution

Congress notes:

- a. The continued threat of jobs losses and loss of productive capacity in the poultry section,
- b. That this is, in large part, due to dumping of “brown meat” bone-in functions from developed capitalist countries, where these products are surplus to domestic consumption needs;
- c. That the dumping of surplus brown meat and poultry products has devastated poultry production in countries that have been pressured to open up to such imports, including in a number of countries in West Africa in the 1990’s.

Therefore Resolved:

- a. That the SACP must call on government to take firm action to use all available policy tools to restrict and limit these imports.
- b. That there is also a serious imperative to transform the domestic poultry industry, amongst other things, to reduce concentration and promote greatest access by Black producers, with greater emphasis on collective or social forms of ownership and democratic control.
- c. To mandate the Central Committee to engage more robustly on the development and transformation of the sector and, in particular, to identify opportunities for the development of co-operative and other forms of worker control.
- d. Campaign and mobilise support for a campaign to promote points purchasing of Proudly South African poultry products both by consumers and in public procurement.



Article 4

The battle of ideas and party communication

4.1. Gender in the battle of ideas

Noted that:

- a. The media in all forms continues to be a central means through which White supremacist capitalist patriarchy is reinforced in society. The portrayal of men and women reinforce existing stereotypes of femininities and masculinities which influence society's behaviour and attitudes where gender relations are concerned. Media content remains anti-gender transformation and anti-feminist in nature. Thus the media is a powerful ideological institution in the battle of ideas.
- b. While Black ownership of South African media has been on the rise through recent acquisitions of large media houses such as the Times Media Group, Independent Media Group etc., these still remain male, and private ownership, dominated. Very few media houses are owned by Black females, particularly the working class, and are in the interest of challenging existing gender stereotypes. The lack of transformation in media ownership thus reinforces the gender inequalities and gender stereotypes in the portrayal of men and women.
- c. As in all industries, because of the capitalist characteristic of patriarchy, oppressive rules and regulations are enforced for female media practitioners to dress a certain way. The most recent incident was the eNCA 'Doek Protest' where a Black female reporter was not allowed to wear a 'doek' to work because it was viewed as unprofessional. Female media practitioners are often prescribed to on how to dress, wear their hair etc. These prescriptions reinforce male dominance over the female body where the female is subjected to whatever existing ideologies of how a woman ought to appear in society. Often such notions mimic White supremacist notions of assimilation and conformity.
- d. New media in the form of social media, which has become increasingly available and accessible across class and geographical divides, aid the development of common trends and subcultures across class and space. Fast growing social media interactions perpetuate Euro-American cultures of conspicuous consumption and narcissism where young people follow trends, which promote fetishism of commodities and conspicuous consumption. The most recent example in recent years is how the social media platform Instagram was instrumental in the rise of the 'Blesser and Blessee' phenomenon where images of young women with rich older men became prevalent and portrayed in an aspirational manner, thus providing a platform for macho men with money to objectify and abuse younger women, leaving poor young women even more vulnerable as potential prey.

Believing that:

- a. The Party has an enormous responsibility to provide an alternative value system to



challenge existing dominant ideas of racism, classism and sexism in the media.

Therefore Resolved to:

- a. Actively engage in gender and the battle of ideas through the production of alternative gender conscious content to challenge and empower all genders towards gender consciousness and equality. Such content production ought to be both for internal and external media platforms, especially focusing on mainstream media platforms where ideas of racism, sexism and classism are most prevalent.
- b. Engage Cosatu affiliates such as Sactwu which own stakes in mainstream media outlets such as the e.TV channel to develop a more gender conscious approach to their broadcasting.
- c. Do an audit of highly regressive television and broadcast shows on SABC as the public broadcaster which reinforce gender stereotypes and petition their removal from air.

4.2. Media transformation

Congress noted:

- a. The extensive review and analysis of the South African media provided in the resolution of the 3rd SNC, and that structure and circumstances of South African media remains although the process of ever-greater concentration of ownership and control continues.
- b. In early 2016 the Competition Appeals Court ruled that the SABC-MultiChoice agreement, which gave MultiChoice effective control over SABC archives and aspects of its news operations, was prima facie anti-competitive and ordered the Competition Tribunal to investigate the agreement. The Competition Commission has not yet done so.
- c. Through its print and broadcasting subsidiaries, News24 and MultiChoice, Naspers' monopoly domination of the pay television sector, and near-monopoly dominance of the magazine, regional newspaper and daily newspaper sectors has increased since the 3rd SNC.
- d. South Africa now has among the world's most concentrated media ownership and control, and is ranked the world's least diverse with respect to media content production.
- e. As resolved by the 3rd SNC, in October 2015 the SACP organised and convened a Media Summit in Kempton Park, attended by representatives of the SACP itself, of the ANC and of Cosatu, representatives of the South African Editors' Forum (Sanef), trade unions organising in the media sector, individual journalists and media activists. The summit issued a consensus declaration addressing all aspects of media transformation, and established a Media Transformation Task Team (MTTT) made up of SACP representatives and those of media sector NGOs. The task team was tasked with overseeing initiatives to drive transformation. It has however been inactive for much of the past year.
- f. Although representatives of the ANC attended the Media Summit and were party to its declaration and although the declaration was submitted to the ANC communications department for consideration by the 5th national policy conference in June and July 2017,



the document was neither included in delegates' document packs nor considered by the policy conference.

- g. The policy conference instructed that the "ANC (NEC Communications) Sub-Committee further prioritise review of the 1993 (sic) ANC Media Charter to ensure this addresses the new environment and challenges and successes faced to date". This is the fifth time an ANC conference has ordered a review of the Media Charter, accepted by the ANC NEC as policy in 1992 and included in the ANC's 1994 elections manifesto Ready to Govern. No such review has ever been undertaken.
- h. The key aspects of the Media Charter are recognition that:
 - i. A diverse media reflecting all perspectives, analysis and opinion is essential to democracy, and to arm South Africans "with the necessary information and have access to the contesting options they require to make informed choices", and that
 - ii. "Mere declarations of media freedoms on their own are not enough", but must be "underpinned by an equitable distribution of media resources, development programmes and a deliberate effort to engender a culture of open debate. This requires policies of affirmative action to redress the inequalities in our society."
- i. Neither aspect has ever been integrated into government policy.
- j. These are not socialist initiatives. They are, rather, integral to the programme of the NDR to undo the massive distorting effects of 300 years of racial colonialism which – 23 years after our democratic breakthrough – remain unaddressed.

Therefore Resolved to:

- a. Reactivate the Media Transformation Task Team to take forward the work of the Media Summit.
- b. Engage the Competition Commission directly and actively campaign for the successful completion of its investigation into the anti-competitive aspects of the MultiChoice-SABC agreement.
- c. Campaign directly and through the MTTT for recognition of the Media Charter as the basis for all state media policy, and for the principles underpinning the Media Summit declaration and the Media Charter to provide the framework of state policy, law, regulation and practice, as part of achieving implementation of the 3rd SNC recognised as "the policy objectives with which the Alliance entered government in 1994 – that is a media that reflects the full diversity of perspective interests and needs of all South Africans - rather than, as is currently the case, the hegemonic perspectives of the dominant classes".
- d. Draw into that the campaign of all progressive forces including, but not limited, to trade unions and other formations active in the media sector.
- e. Engage the ANC directly to ensure it begins to impose on the state the policy obligations flowing from the electoral undertakings on the basis of which it was first elected, and



on which it thereafter won support from two-thirds of the South African electorate. And further to give priority to those policy obligations driving:

- i. An active anti-monopoly process and to enforce a breakup of Naspers' media holdings.
- ii. Establishment and operationalisation of the necessary mechanisms to undertake the "affirmative action" recognised by the Media Charter as essential for democratic participation by all South Africans – that is, the establishment of the processes and mechanisms through which the state, rather than capital, will facilitate the material support necessary to achieve a genuinely diverse range of media perspectives.
- iii. Ensuring priority is given in the allocation of broadcasting licences to new forms of media ownership, and of worker co-operatives in particular, and to the provision of material support to ensure non-commercial ownership can launch and own media initiatives.
- iv. Similarly materially support, and prioritise through policy, the establishment and operation of media in the range of official South African languages, giving priority to those languages most widely spoken but least served by the current commercial media platforms.

4.3. The public broadcaster

Congress noted:

- a. Previous SACP resolutions on the SABC.
- b. The actions of the majority of SABC workers to resist attempts by former COO Hlaudi Motsoeneng and the previous Board of the SABC to introduce censorship and other practices intended to undermine the SABC's role as a national public broadcaster able to "serve society as a whole and give a voice to all sectors of the population" independently of "the ruling party or any other interest group".
- c. The SACP national campaign involving protests in all nine provinces, mandated by the 3rd Special National Congress to campaign "to reclaim and professionalise the SABC ... and the removal of the so-called COO", during June and July 2016.
- d. The establishment of the Parliamentary Ad Hoc Committee to establish the competence of the previous SABC Board to fulfil its mandate, and that committee's investigation and subsequent removal of the SABC board and appointment of an interim board to oversee the start of normalising the SABC and its operations.
- e. The interim board's disciplinary action against the COO and his eventual dismissal.
- f. The refusal by National Treasury to provide the interim board with either a grant or a guarantee against which the interim board could secure a loan for the funds it needed to repair the damage done to the SABC previous Boards – and to undertake a comprehensive clean-up of Motsoeneng's allies and loyalists who continue to hamper re-professionalisation and revitalisation of the public broadcaster.



- g. The consequent failure of the interim board to fulfil the mandate set for it by the Parliamentary Ad Hoc Committee.
- h. The failure of Parliament and of the Department of Communications to exercise their statutory oversight of the SABC or to appoint appropriate Boards – thus allowing the public broadcaster to degenerate to its current state.
- i. The systemic and structural instability of the SABC, flowing in part from inappropriate selection of executive and non-executive directors serving on the SABC board, and the widespread public resistance, across all classes and social strata to the SABC television licensing system.

Therefore Resolved to:

- a. Acknowledge Parliament's actions to remove the previous board, but to actively campaign throughout the five year term of the next board to ensure that both Parliament and the Department of Communications exercise vigorous and comprehensive oversight, and that the SABC begins to regain its proper status as a reliable and trusted provider of news, educational and entertainment programming on radio and television, and begins to operate sustainably.
- b. Campaign and actively intervene with the SABC, the Minister of Communications and with Parliament to reverse the trend of a consistent decline in the proportion of the SABC's budget spent on radio and television programming content and corresponding increase in budget allocation spent on a growing SABC bureaucracy contributing nothing to its public service mandate. This trend pre-dates the Motsoeneng era by at least a decade.
- c. Draw other progressive formations into these campaigns.
- d. Review, within six months of this conference, those aspects of the Broadcasting and Electronic Communications Acts governing:
 - i. The appointment of SABC non-executive and executive directors, and to develop proposals on appointment criteria and procedures that will prevent a reoccurrence of the perpetual crisis in which the SABC has been dragged for the past decade, and
 - ii. The television licensing system, which is effectively a retrogressive tax imposing greater obligations on the working class and poor majority than it does the middle and upper social strata and develop alternative public revenue generating proposals for the public broadcaster.
- e. SACP will call on the Speaker of Parliament to release the report of, and reveal the names of those who it is said lied to, the ad committee of enquiry on the SABC
- f. The SABC must recoup the R40 million that were wasted on building studios.
- g. The Africa Channel must be reinstated and must be aired at an appropriate time on one of the SABC channels.
- h. Cooperative media houses must have a slice of local / progressive content production,



consistent with the values of the Constitution and the NDR.

- i. We call for public funding for the SABC to be reinforced because advertising revenue is currently not assisting in progressive content in the SABC therefore public funding must be reinforced.
- j. We call upon the Minister of Communications to do an investigation in the funding of TNA and investigate how much taxpayers' money was used to fund the Guptas.

4.4. Internal SACP Media

Congress noted that:

- a. The 3rd SNC's mandate to the SACP office bearers "to ensure preparation, for submission to the next meeting of the Central Committee, of proposals for ... establishment and sustainable operation of regular media platforms for the dissemination, nationally, of news and information prepared from a socialist or communist perspective on domestic South African developments and events, and of global events of significance to South Africans generally and to the South African working class in particular".
- b. No progress has been made on this aspect of expanding the SACP's media output, largely due to significant financial and human resource constraints
- c. The importance of the role played by the Party's regular national publications Umsebenzi and The African Communist, and the need to boost propagation of, and increase sustainable access to, their content by all Party members and by all within the SACP's core working class and poor constituency.
- d. This need is dictated by the SACP's commitment to play a more central and leadership role in driving the NDR, and its second, more radical phase, and by political circumstances as they evolve in the months and years ahead. It is given greater urgency by:
 - i. The need assertively to begin contesting the destructive but pervasive and hegemonic influence neo-liberalism exercises over our country, and by
 - ii. The escalating sense of hopelessness, disillusionment and frustration infecting millions of South Africans, but particularly those in marginal, working class communities across South Africa – as evidenced by dissent and protests ranging from the #FeesMustFall campaigns to the endless cycle of "service delivery" protests.
- e. The rapid and welcome development and expanding user-base of the SACP's national social media initiatives by the national office's Media Unit.
- f. The clear desire on the part of Party members across our structures to produce and disseminate Marxist-Leninist analyses of political developments in South Africa through publications (notably Red Ink in the Eastern Cape, and Voice of the Proletariat in the Northern Cape) and on social media platforms – at national, provincial and district levels for such analysis and discussion.
- g. The need to further develop the SACP's national website, www.sacp.org.za, to make it more accessible to Party members and the SACP's broader constituency.



- h. The potential offered by digital distribution to make the content of Umsebenzi and the AC available (at least in summarised form) on social media platforms, and to provide it in audio and video forms, thus reaching the Media Unit's established social media user base, and adding to the appeal of our social media platforms – and taking account of both the established reading habits of most young South Africans, and of the difficulties of comprehending complex and often sophisticated concepts in a second, third or even fourth language.
- i. The potential of digital distribution to begin to meet the long-standing challenge of making the Umsebenzi and AC content available – in summarised form and initially in audio formats – in South Africa's other 10 official languages.
- j. The need, recognised by the third SNC and included in its mandate to the office bearers, to develop media skills among Party members to enhance their ability to participate in the writing and production of the SACP's publications and to produce and format print, audio, video and photographic content for information and communications platforms being operated at different tiers of the SACP organisational structure.

Resolves to:

- a. Give practical effect to the need for a significantly expanded media output, and to the 3rd SNC mandate, by:
 - i. Ensuring that Umsebenzi and the AC appear regularly at least 6 times and four times a year respectively,
 - ii. Developing various digital formats of each publication, making summarised versions of their content and of key SACP statements, discussion documents and announcements, available in shortened formats suitable for access on mobile handsets and on social media platforms, and to reproduce such material in simple English, bearing in mind that for most of our readers English is not a first language, and to have taken the first concrete steps in this form of publication by July 2018.
 - iii. Investigating the technical and financial prerequisites for rolling out summarised versions of key Umsebenzi and African Communist articles, and of media releases, and available in short digital format and on the SACP website in, initially, some of the 10 other official languages, with the investigation to have been concluded, and the findings submitted to the first CC by July 2018. Also must ensure that these are published in mainstream media.
 - iv. Revamp the SACP website, making it more interactive, with access to content (beyond the full, PDF versions) of current publications, to archive material, and to a wider range of content on Party news and positions – as this can be sustainably implemented, but ideally within 12 months of the 14th National Congress.
 - v. Support the capacity development of provincial and local Party media operations, and the expansion of the use of social media platforms as sites for Party media initiatives.



- vi. Build the Party's media skills development capacity through regular and integrated training schools following a set curriculum, for cadres from national and provincial levels, including in relation to point 1.4 above, and
- vii. From among the schools' graduates, develop a network of provincial media skills trainers able to undertaking provincial and district training initiatives, based on the media training school's curriculum. This process needs to be undertaken as a matter of urgency, with the first concrete outputs required by February 2018 at the latest.
- viii. Reaffirm the need for working class TV and radio stations and work with Cosatu to explore the possibility of creating a left leaning newspaper.
- ix. We must resuscitate Inkululeko Co-operative to distribute Umsebenzi Newsletter as we used to do in the past.
Reaffirm the need for subcommittees on communication to be robust.
- x. We must develop a very tight social media policy to ensure that there are consequences for members of the party who post things which are contrary to the views and resolutions of the SACP.
- xi. Develop means to have the African Communist distributed and sold in all book stores around the country.

4.5. Political education, ideological training and the battle of ideas

This Congress noted that:

- a. The SACP has increased its membership by about 100 percent in five years between 13th Party Congress (2012) and the 14th Party Congress (2017) to approximately 300 000.
- b. The SACP's resolution to build itself as a vibrant and campaigning Party with its own independent identity, while remaining part of the Alliance.
- c. Campaigning, including a combative media strategy as part of the battle of ideas, in particular on corruption, rent-seeking, corporate state capture and corporate capture within the ranks of our movement, increased support for the Party. The Party's perspectives on these issues and against wrongdoing in general, including governance decay at the SABC and State Owned Enterprises, have won wider acceptance in society. This has helped attract new members to the Party and return some of the members who had left the Party.
- d. The rate of membership growth that the Party has achieved in recent years has surpassed the capacity of its institutionalised political education and ideological training capacity, activities and programmes. Sometimes campaigning is the only political education and ideological training taking place without organised theoretical struggle in the form of political education and ideological training of members.
- e. The SACP constitutional requirement for at least a one year induction programme and assessment of interim members before they are accepted as full members is not always adhered to. There are many members who have not received the induction and



assessment. There is also no common curriculum standards and political education and ideological training after induction.

- f. The prescription of the 2015 3rd Special National Congress on: (a) “the need to sharpen our ideological tools, political education, including women cadre development”, and (b) the commitment to take forward the 13th National Congress Resolution to strengthen the Communist University.
- g. These points have yet to be realised, although the Party’s ideological education is of crucial importance in improving the level of engagement in the battle of ideas.
- h. The potential of digital print, audio and video formats to complement the work of personal instruction, and the possibility of making these digital packages available to all tiers of SACP organisation.

Believing that:

- a. Growth in quantity without quality will have a negative impact on the Party and its unity, including political and ideological cohesion.
- b. Every Party member has a crucial role to play in the battle of ideas and political education of new and non-Party members in the community, the workplace and in other key sites of struggle.
- c. In order for the Party’s engagement in the battle of ideas to succeed all Party members must be well-trained both theoretically and practically including reading and writing skills in respect of reports, letters to editors, opinion pieces, articles, essays, chapters of books and complete books.
- d. Orient the Party educational curriculum towards the practical application of theory – praxis – to ensure that Party education becomes a more effective guide to action, as well as being the base-point for Party members to comprehend society and human development.

Therefore Resolved that:

- a. The Central Committee must establish a Commission responsible for Political Education and Ideological Training.
- b. The Commission must be mandated to explore the possibilities of a Party School through the internet, with fully fledged courses and an accreditation system.
- c. The Central Committee should look into the possibilities of the Party School being established also as an Education and Training Institution.
- d. Collaboration with higher education and training institutions must also be explored.
- e. The provisions of the SACP constitution on induction training and probationary assessment must be enforced and records must be kept and audited for verification.
- f. The Party must systematise and strengthen joint political schools with trade union and other progressive mass organisations chiefly oriented towards defending, advancing and deepening the NDR and intensifying the struggle for socialism.



- g. Reaffirm the objective of making women cadre development a key focus of Party education work, and include specific components in the Party education curriculum to facilitate this.
- h. Prepare for submission to the second CC of 2018 a new members' political education curriculum (and complementary materials pack), and a train-the-trainers' programme to capacitate all provincial and district structures to run new members' induction courses and to standardise, as far as is necessary, the quality and content of these courses across all SACP structures.

4.6. Digital migration

The Congress notes that:

- a. Decisions taken by the SACP, ANC-led Alliance and our government to reduce the high levels of monopoly in the economy, including in the financial sector.
- b. Naspers-owned MultiChoice has 98 percent of the pay TV market and charges extremely high fees that are not affordable by the majority of South Africans.
- c. The need to bring in new Black, with greater emphasis on collective/social/ised ownership based pay TV entrants to end MultiChoice's excessive monopoly of the sector and reduce costs to access pay TV.
- d. Previous SACP resolutions on the need for Set Top Boxes (STBs) to have a control system to ensure new entrants and reduce costs.
- e. Government policy introduced by the previous Minister of Communications not to have a control system in the STBs benefits MultiChoice only and contradicts ANC policies on the need to have a control system in the STBs.
- f. The current Minister of Communications' commitment to change the government's policy to re-introduce a control system in STBs in line with ANC policies.
- g. The need to fast-track digital migration to release frequency spectrum for the cell phone sector so costs of data can be reduced.
- h. MultiChoice insisting that the SABC not support control or encryption in the MultiChoice-SABC agreement.
- i. Allegations of corruption in decisions on STB policies.

Therefore resolves to:

- a. Re-affirm previous SACP policies on the need for a control system in STBs.
- b. Support Minister of Communications' attempts to change government policy to re-introduce a control system in STBs in line with ANC policies.
- c. Demand that the SABC scraps its agreement with MultiChoice.
- d. Calls for government to speedily investigate allegations of corruption in decisions about policies on STBs and the STB tender allocations.
- e. Speedily implement the digital migration programme, release frequency spectrum and



contribute to the reduction of costs of data and increases in speed of data.

4.7. Intimidation in the media: special resolution

Congress noted:

- a. The recent emergence of various groupings attempting to silence journalists and other critics of state capture, through a combination of physical violence, intimidation and web-based fake news about their private lives.
- b. The targets of these criminal campaigns range from the SACP's 1st Deputy General Secretary, Comrade Solly Mapaila, to newspaper columnists Peter Bruce and Ferial Haffajee, to SABC radio producer Suna Venter, a member of the courageous SABC 8, who was literally hounded to death by anonymous supporters of illegally appointed former SABC COO Hlaudi Motsoeneng.
- c. These campaigns are escalating in their brazen brutality and the SAPS has been reluctant to intervene to prevent assaults and damage to property, arguing that the victims should stop "provoking" the perpetrators of these crimes.
- d. The targets of these campaigns, and those publicly identified by the perpetrators or on associated fake websites as intended targets, share a single characteristic: their outspoken objection to state capture and of the Gupta family's role (and that of elements of the African National Congress) in corrupting and damaging our democratic state.
- e. A similar dark thread links the various gangs of perpetrators – from the "Hands off Hlaudi" grouping, the musicians who attempted to shout down his critics, the "Black First, Land First" (BLF) and the bandits masquerading as MK members to the still unidentified thugs that harassed Suna Venter and her SABC 8 colleagues. This link is their association with the Gupta empire and its many beneficiaries within the state.
- f. The actions of these gangs constitute attempts to undermine South Africa's democracy and the constitutionally protected right of free speech for which thousands of South Africans died, and thousands more were incarcerated.
- g. Further, these actions are part of an emerging neo-fascist tendency in our country.

Therefore Resolved to:

- a. Pay tribute to the considerable courage of journalist Suna Venter who, in the year before her death, endured horrific harassment but who never wavered in her commitment to public broadcasting.
- b. Express our condemnation of her hounding, our deep regret at her passing away and our condolences to her family, including through a letter from the General Secretary to her family.
- c. Congratulate the SABC 8 for their courage and commitment and the hundreds of SABC workers who resisted the former SABC COO's criminal abuse of the SABC – including during their silent protest on 22 July 2016 – and express appreciation for those who joined the SACP in our protests outside SABC offices in June and July 2016.



- d. Condemn the neo-fascist behaviour of the BLF towards media workers.
- e. Support campaigns to protect media freedom.
- f. Investigate in our own right, and to encourage the media to investigate and definitively expose those ultimately responsible for these actions, and their links to these rent-a-thug, neo-fascist organisations.
- g. Engage with the South African National Editors' Forum as far necessary in support of media freedom.
- h. Support the Communication Workers' Union in their campaign to protect media workers.
- i. Support journalists the world over in their struggles for media freedom.



Article 5

Patriarchy and gender relations in South Africa

5.1. Programmatic approach of the SACP on the woman question

Noting that:

- a. The SACP has a critical vanguard role in the struggle against patriarchy and in leading gender struggles;
- b. Congress draws its context and content from Sections 4.2; 4.7. and 6.10 of the SACP Constitution;
- c. The historic role women have played in leading and instigating progressive working-class struggles, by example the 1917 Russian Revolution;
- d. The only way to emancipate women is to destroy and dismantle the exploitative system that perpetuates it;
- e. The interrelation between the class struggle, the national struggle and the gender struggle;
- f. The phenomenon of lumpen patriarchy has intensified since the concepts' development.

Believing that:

- a. Critical theoretical components are contained in and informed by the SACP Constitution, party membership, SARS & the 14th Congress discussion document – The Inseparable Connection, all of which are inseparable;
- b. Gender struggles and the struggle against patriarchy must find practical application in the form of organised campaigns, programmes and events;
- c. Gender, National and Class question must be answered in an integrated manner.

Therefore Resolved that:

- a. The Inseparable Connection Discussion Document of the 14th National Congress be enriched and its thrust be adopted and streamlined as the central thesis, in the Party Political Programme, the South African Road to Socialism, on the transformation of gender relations and elimination of patriarchy;
- b. The update on SARS must integrate analysis of patriarchal and gender relations in Chapter 1;
- c. Congress mandates the 14th Congress Central Committee to re-join the Women's International Democratic Federation (WIDF) as the foremost international left forum on gender relations and patriarchy;
- d. Congress reaffirms the SACP call for the President to step down and the mobilising of our structures and a broad array of progressive forces, including progressive women, to ensure this call is adhered to;
- e. The SACP affirms the Beijing Platform for Action and the United Nations Sustainable



Development Goals as key instruments to enhance the struggle against patriarchy and for equality in gender relations.

5.2. Violence against women and gender based violence

Noting that:

- a. Inter-personal violence against women is inherently linked to systems of exploitation and patriarchy;
- b. Close to 50 percent of rape cases occur in the home; and a relatively large number of sexual offences occur at the workplaces;
- c. Victims of rape are not adequately supported by SAPS and law enforcement agencies;
- d. The Party is not adequately visible in action against daily GBV occurrences in society;
- e. The increase in the practice of offering employment to women for sex by male senior managers;
- f. Children are killed every day in South Africa's informal settlements;
- g. The high levels of discrimination against members of the LGBTIQ community in working class communities;
- h. The level of violence against people with Albinism;
- i. The high levels of discrimination against sex workers in working class communities.

Believing that:

- a. The Party must establish effective street committees, and committees in defence of the revolution, to curb high-levels of violence against woman;
- b. The Party has a vanguard role in combating femicide (murder of women), child homicide and infanticide in our communities;
- c. Sexual abuse and rape of young men and boy child learners must find resonance within anti-patriarchal and gender struggles.

Therefore Resolved that:

- a. The 2017 Red October Campaign must be a national campaign against abuse of women and gender based violence, with the immediate use of slogans such as Red Card to Femicide, Red Card to Violence Against Women, Red Card to Gender Based Violence Red Card to Human Trafficking to build up to the Red October Campaign;
- b. The Party must strengthen its visibility and activeness in campaigning against Gender Based Violence, in the form of marches and pickets at courts as well as improving law to enable proof of rape cases;
- c. Male members of the SACP must also be at the forefront of campaigning against violence against women and children;
- d. Campaigns against Gender Based Violence must be ongoing and not merely reacting to occurrences in society;



- e. The Party requires an assessment of criminal prosecutions in the Justice System, especially based on aggregate prosecutions based on racial lines.
- f. The Party must develop active campaigns that focus on, and address issues facing the LGBTBIQ community;
- g. The Party must commence a dialogue with sex workers to critically appreciate their material and social contexts and use such to feed into an internal discussion towards the next special congress on adopting a formal political posture on decriminalising sex work.
- h. SACP members must be at the forefront of managing victim friendly facilities at all law enforcement stations.

5.3. Defence and consolidation of the gains of the democratic breakthrough in the struggle against patriarchy and gender struggles

Noting that:

- a. The democratic breakthrough and legislative processes reflect a strong voice for women South Africa ranks second in Africa and fifth in the world in relation to representation of women in Parliament;
- b. South Africa's progressive Constitution provides enshrined values and rights that seek to tackle patriarchy and address gender struggles;
- c. More contemporary reshuffles in legislatures often neglect the importance of maintaining women representation.

Believing that:

- a. The strong voice of women in legislative processes is not necessarily translated into the intensification of the gender struggle and struggle against patriarchy.
- b. There are still however contradictions between the Constitution and other laws, for example non-amended apartheid law, such as the Marriage Act, traditional law and religious law in relation to sexual consent and marriage age and the definition of a child.

Therefore Resolved that:

- a. Party cadres deployed to state and other sites of power must be accountable to the SACP to ensure that legislation and policy protecting and advancing the rights and values of women are effectively implemented to advance in particular the rights of working class women.

5.4. The impact of women's unique life cycle on social participation

Noting that:

- a. Menstruation, pregnancy, giving birth, breastfeeding, menopause have a specific effect in interrupting the life cycle in education, skills development, formal employment, informal economic activity and social enterprise of women;
- b. Working class girls and women are denied access to healthy and continuous supply of



- sanitary pads;
- c. The high levels of maternal mortality rate across the country;
- d. The lack of access of femidoms to SA society perpetuates patriarchal notions;
- e. The imbalance of expectations in cases where women are expected to assist their ill counter-parts, but this is not reciprocated.

Believing that:

- a. The developmental state and in the future a socialist state must provide services and infrastructure for each phase of women's life cycle

Therefore Resolved that:

- a. The Party in campaigning on health issues must ensure that women are no longer at risk of dying in childbirth;
- b. The Party must sustain the YCLSA campaign for progressive expansion of state provision of sanitary dignity for all women;
- c. Party cadres deployed to the state and other sites of power must be held accountable to ensure that policy promoting the sexual and reproductive health rights and services that women need are implemented;
- d. The broad and free distribution of femidoms must be made available, including fingerdoms and condoms in working class communities and public spaces;
- e. The SACP, in supporting the advancement of the National Health Insurance (NHI), must ensure that maternal mortality is drastically reduced, particularly in provinces with alarmingly high maternal mortality rates, as in the case of the Limpopo and North West Provinces.

5.5. Women and economic activity

Noting that:

- a. Migratory patterns due to historic systemic features of the political economy of South Africa have diluted the family unit, by example, men migrating from home in search of employment increasing women-headed households;
- b. The recent Mining Charter narrowly dealt with issues in the sector but excluded access to women in the mining sector;
- c. The patriarchal nature of the financial sector, including prejudicial practices of banks and development finance institutions;
- d. The 13th Congress resolved on the establishment of co-operatives based on the empowerment of women, yet the no assessment on these resolutions has been made;
- e. The advent and effects of the so-called fourth industrial revolution on workers.

Believing that:

- a. A relatively large portion of the female population are economically active in the informal



economy;

- b. The resolution of the gender question is inseparable from the objective of strengthening and building a developmental state;
- c. The Party needs to strengthen the Financial Sector Campaign around women's access in the financial sector;
- d. Prejudice of employers in terms of side-lining of older women workers;
- e. The three Lilli Mine workers, two of whom are women, still remain trapped underground in Mpumalanga, the SACP must elevate this struggle to a national level;
- f. Through the Financial Sector Campaign, the training of women on financial matters, including indebtedness, garnishee orders etc;
- g. School curricula and mediums of teaching must adhere to equitable language practices.

Therefore Resolved that:

- a. Party structures must organise, mobilise and train unorganised women workers in the informal economy and establish trained and sustainable co-operatives in various fields, including but not limited to Early Child Development, day-care, catering, food sales etc;
- b. The establishment of school nutrition co-operatives based on Voting District based branches of the Party;
- c. The SACP and Cosatu should campaign for all places of work to include day-care centres;
- d. Through the Financial Sector Campaign, a continuous programme must be developed on capacitating, mobilising and assisting women street vendors;
- e. The Party must work towards organising and mobilising domestic workers around a campaign to ensure the provision of transport from their employers;
- f. The SACP needs to focus on organising and mobilising workers temporarily employed in the sector of cleaning toilets in informal settlements;
- g. The SACP must lead campaigns and programmes related to mobilising and organising women in the mining sector, including innovative campaigns against the conditions and exploitation of women miners, and the unblocking of the registration of women miners' businesses.

5.6. Patriarchy and Land Reform

Noting:

- a. That Very little data exists on gender disaggregated land ownership;
- b. That traditional land distribution mechanisms are patriarchal in nature;
- c. The patriarchal nature of land ownership and transfer of land through traditional male line inheritance.

Believing that:

- a. The continued dominate narrative of the patriarchal transfer of land continues to perpetuate



- a gender imbalance;
- b. The rising level of farm evictions and the housing crisis in informal settlements requires the Party to develop a programmatic stance to address these challenges.

Therefore Resolved that:

- a. The Party must campaign against traditional patriarchal processes of land transfer and patriarchal inheritance practices of land and property.

5.7. Women and Education

Noting:

- a. The critical importance of training, skilling and educating women;
- b. The high-rate of school drop-out due to teen-age pregnancies;
- c. That gang rape occurrences at schools are not prioritised in terms of law enforcement agency investigations and prosecutions;
- d. That the close proximity of taverns to schools perpetuates drops outs and social ills of learners.

Believing that:

- a. Ensuring that women are trained, skilled and educated is important;
- b. The intensification of advocating for the prosecution of gang rape perpetrators at school is important;
- c. The Judiciary must alter its approach to assessing trial rape victims, which in essence creates notions of consensual acts;
- d. Mechanisms are needed to enhance opportunities for woman graduates into the field of work.

Therefore Resolved that:

- a. The Basic Education system needs to enhance anti-patriarchal practice, and this should be taken forward through an assessment of the curriculum in relation to Life Skills in order to change the patriarchal nature of economic dependence on man vis-à-vis the emancipated and independent role of women;
- b. The Party must support all campaigns focused on keeping a girl-child in school, for example the She Conquers campaign;
- c. The importance of developing campaigns that expose both boy and girl children to a progressive working environment in the form of a campaign on Take a girl-child to work, which must be broadened to include a campaign of Take a boy to work;
- d. An alternative mechanism must be established to ensure young teens who have fallen pregnant can continue their education within formal education institutions;
- e. Reaffirming the Party's support for Cosatu's S77 on higher education.



5.8. The Battle of ideas and anti-patriarchal struggle

Noting that:

- a. Patriarchy thrives and is derived from Capitalism and is promoted through capitalist ideology, media and communication;
- b. The media commodifies woman in terms of advertising and marketing products;

Believing that:

- a. The Party has a responsibility to campaign to transform the media approach to advertising and marketing;
- b. The SACP must develop second layer leadership programmes from a branch to national level linked to developmental and political education programmes.

Therefore Resolved that:

- a. The SACP must campaign against false notions in relation to women portrayed in media, advertising, marketing;
- b. The SACP Media Team must develop an anti-patriarchal communication strategy.
- c. The Party must develop a proactive communication strategy against media that contains reactionary content such as vulgar programmes, speeches that devalue women etc;
- d. SACP publications must have dedicated sections dealing with struggle against patriarchy and the gender struggle;
- e. Congress condemns recent utterances made by the President of the ANCWL in relation to women being "too emotional" and affirms that women, and specifically SACP women cadres, are well equipped to engage in debate on all policy matters.

5.9. Mass organising of women of working class communities around daily lives

Noting that:

- a. There has been serious regression in the period of democracy on the level of mass organisation of women, and in particular working class women.
- b. The SACP has a proud history of building mass organisation of women
- c. Party comrades played a critical role in the drafting of the 1954 Women's Charter that still guides the struggles of women in South Africa.
- d. Women and elderly women social grant recipients are primarily bearing the brunt of the social grant crises.

Believing that:

- a. Women's Day should be a day of action not a mere commemorative event;
- b. The Know and Act in Your Neighbourhood Campaign must act as the flagship campaign for addressing the struggle against patriarchy and intensifying the gender struggle;
- c. Women cadres must strengthen their active role in leading Party campaigns and structures.



Therefore Resolved that:

- a. The SACP must develop an integrated and coordinated plan to ensure proper implementation of Party campaigns, including developing funding models to sustain the campaigns and programmes;
- b. The SACP must intensify the Know and Act in Your Neighbourhood Campaign to radicalise women's mass mobilisation and the consistent implementation of the Know and Act in Your Neighbourhood Campaign must be based on, amongst others: a joint campaign with Cosatu of establishing locals in communities, safer communities for women and children, such as the re-launch or launch of Bambanani Community Policing and the establishment of street committees;
- c. The establishment and strengthening of street committees following the model of the Cuban Defence of the Revolution Committees as well as co-operation in strengthening SANCO structures in our communities, driven by SACP Chris Hani Brigades, used in tackling crime and violence in our communities;
- d. The advancement of human settlements design for safety of women and children, active and safe recreation spaces, social and sport life, for sustainable access to safe water and for sustainable access to energy;
- e. The Party considers the re-launch of the Triple HHH Campaign, Health, Housing and Hunger campaign;
- f. The SACP must develop a campaign on illegal social grant deductions and protecting elderly women social grant recipients against the abuse of their grants.
- g. The Party must develop social audits and find methods of utilising data from experiences from the Know and Act in Your Neighbourhood campaign to address community social issues;
- h. Convening of monthly fora for dialogue with the community at a district level on various issues related to patriarchy and gender struggles;
- i. Party structures must commence engaging a broad array of formations in society, including faith-based groups.

5.10. Infusing women into SACP trade union work

Noting that:

- a. The historic role Communist women cadres have played in organising and recruiting workers into unions.

Believing that:

- a. In periods of economic recession and hardship the vulnerability of women workers to the whims of capital, to retrenchment and the rolling back of working conditions such as access to maternity leave and childcare is intensified.
- b. The protection of women workers in the workplace and the protection of their jobs require



them to be unionised.

Therefore Resolved that:

- a. Strengthening the implementation of the Qina Msebenzi Campaign, with specific emphasis on the recruitment of women as well as capacitating women worker leaders in all affiliates.
- b. The SACP must establish programmes on International Women's Day – 08 March recognising the role women played in leading the initial stages of the Great October Revolution and that International Women's Day is a socialist internationalist programme focused on the needs of and contribution of women workers.

5.11. Inner Party work and the woman question

Noting that:

- a. 45 percent of Party membership is women members.
- b. SACP must enhance and strengthen the Party's contribution to the gender struggle.
- c. The Party has not adequately sustained work in developing women commissars.
- d. The Party must continue to improve in the representation of women in leadership positions.

Believing that:

- a. The 45 percent aggregate of the Party's approximately 300 000 members, organised in working class communities and shop floors provides the SACP with a solid and strategic basis to strengthen the women struggle.
- b. The SACP must ensure that the empowerment of women within inner-party structures is strengthened and this is resonated through women leading our structures.
- c. The SACP requires the strengthening the left perspective in the Progressive Women's Movement through active participation of SACP women cadres.

Therefore, resolve that:

- a. The Organisational Review and Renewal process needs to include the political education of all Party cadres around the woman question;
- b. The establishment of a programme of women cadre development aimed at strengthening of training women Commissars;
- c. The Party must strengthen inner-party child-care facilities during the convening of all SACP gatherings;
- d. In the Special National Congress to be convened as per resolution of the 14th Congress to address constitutional amendments, consideration is given, through the relevant provincial structures, to lifting the representation of women in all SACP structures to 50/50 gender parity representation, to a minimum of two women serving as National Office Bearers, and consideration of the appropriate SACP CC structure to coordinate the women's struggles and campaigns;



- e. In naming of SACP structures, specific attention should be given to naming branches, districts and provinces in honour of women Communists, SACP stalwarts and SACP revolutionaries;
- f. The SACP Constitution and other theoretical documents must be translated into all major South African languages.

5.12. South African traditional cultural practices and patriarchy:

Noting that:

- a. Patriarchy is deeply embedded in many traditional cultural practices in a manner that has a direct effect on division of women and unity between women;
- b. Women and mothers have no role and are continuously side-lined when young initiates die at initiation schools, in some cases they are not even made aware of the death.

Believing that:

- a. The mindset and practices of traditional households adhering to traditional customs that perpetuate patriarchy needs to be altered, in other words the decommodification of girl-children in traditional families.
- b. The increase of polygamy and the effects of this on the gender struggles and the struggle against patriarchy.
- c. Traditional Councils must be open to the acceptance of women leadership roles.

Therefore, resolve that:

- a. The issues regarding lobola/magadi, ukuthwala and ukungenela (inheriting a brother's wife), and the commodification of women need to be addressed in SACP campaigns and media.
- b. The SACP must campaign against rising deaths at unlawful initiation schools and ensuring those implicated in these cases must be prioritised in terms of prosecution.
- c. The SACP must engage traditional leaders on issues of gender relations and patriarchy and the rights of women, and in particular of working class women.



Article 6

Class struggle in the workplace

6.1. Increasing SACP recruitment in the trade union movement

Noting:

- a. That the participation of Cosatu members in the SACP needs to be considerably increased.

Believing:

- a. That political education deficiency among trade union shop stewards can be traced to gap between trade union membership and SACP membership.

Further believing:

- a. That lack of ideological education and orientation of shop stewards contributes to the inability of trade unions to mobilise, especially in the private sector.

Therefore Resolved:

- a. That the SACP must lead a process of ideological development of shop stewards, through political organisation and education and ideological training.
- b. That the Party and Cosatu need to collaboratively drive a programme to expand the number of shop stewards from within the ranks of Cosatu affiliates and the Party must systematically carry out the work in regard to the trade unions in general as part of its contribution towards national trade union organisational unity.
- c. That the SACP must assist Cosatu to build strong industrial trade unions.

6.2. Mobilisation of young workers into the ranks of trade unions

Noting:

- a. The slow pace of mobilisation of young workers into the ranks of trade unions.

Believing that:

- a. Trade unions in their current form seem to be less relevant to young workers who are either in vulnerable casual employment and/or in professional categories.

Therefore Resolved:

- a. That the Party should work very closely with Cosatu to develop targeted programmes for organisation, mobilising, political education and ideological training of young workers.
- b. That these interventions should go beyond merely engaging with youth in established youth structures, but must reach beyond.



6.3. Establishment of SACP workplace units and implementation of relevant 13th Congress resolutions

Noting:

- a. That there has been very little progress made in regard to the implementation of the 13th Party Congress resolutions in this area.

Believing:

- a. That lack of clear programmes with timeframes, monitoring and evaluation hampered the translation of resolutions into actionable programmes.

Therefore Resolved:

- a. To reaffirm the 13th Party Congress resolutions and mandate the 14th Party Congress Central Committee to translate the resolutions into a programmatic campaign with time frames, monitoring and evaluation.
- b. That the Central Committee Commission responsible for trade union work must more effectively monitor the implementation of our resolutions on establishing workplace units, which are units and not fully-fledged branches.
- c. That SACP branches work closely with workplace units to revive the tradition of Cosatu locals, strengthen the links between community and workplace struggles and organise unorganised workers, including in particular categories regarded as vulnerable, such as temporary and casualised workers.

6.4. The role of public sector unions in defending public sector workers and fostering a culture of effective and quality public services

Noting:

- a. That there are instances of exploitative treatment of public sector workers by managers, some of whom are ironically ANC or broader Alliance members.
- b. Archaic and authoritarian managerial practices and anti-union attitudes by some senior managers.

Believing:

- a. That these practices erect a distance between management and the public service shop-floor; create loss of touch by managers, an aloof managerial culture resulting in poor public service.

Therefore Resolved:

- a. That the Party must lead a process of cadre development education for public service managers who are members of the Party and the progressive trade union movement to facilitate the development of a transformative public service responsive to our people and communities.



6.5. Cementing the role of the SACP as vanguard of the working class

Noting:

- a. That the SACP seeks to develop itself to become the vanguard of the working class.

Further noting:

- a. That Cosatu is our strategic ally and a key component of the Alliance's socialist axis.

Believing:

- a. That our vanguard role, however, goes beyond specific trade union formations and federations, and must cover workers across the working class as a whole.

Therefore Resolved:

- a. That the SACP must strengthen its work with Cosatu and its affiliates as a key strategic priority while engaging with the widest range of worker and trade union formations in pursuit of the broadest possible trade union unity.

6.6. Retrenchment, casualisation and technological changes

Noting:

- a. Changes in the economy, partly driven by the technological revolution including the advent of the "Fourth Industrial Revolution", and primarily driven by capitalism and its neoliberal globalisation.
- b. As a result of the above, ever increasing retrenchment, outsourcing, casualisation and, in general, precarious employment conditions.
- d. These changes have had a major impact on industrial unions.

Therefore Resolved:

- a. That in the context of the proposed SACP-Cosatu Job Summit in preparation for a Nedlac-convened Job Summit, the SACP should highlight the importance of re-skilling retrenched workers and assistance for establishing co-operatives and other sustainable livelihood activities.
- b. That the SACP needs to play an active role in assisting unions in revitalising industrial trade unions. In particular, there needs to be a specific focus on the retail sector which has been especially impacted by casualisation.

6.7. Anglo-Ashanti Gold retrenchment of 8, 500 workers

Noting:

- a. That Anglo-Ashanti Gold issued a notice to retrench 8,500 workers.

Believing that:

- a. The decision will adversely impact on the affected workers and their households in particular their dependents.
- b. In addition the decision is problematic, because the Chair of the Company is the



leading personality in the "Save South Africa Campaign". Mass retrenchments of this kind go completely against the grain of saving South Africa. Once more this underlines the inherent contradiction between capitalism and the interests of the majority of South Africans.

Therefore Resolved:

- a. To support the National Union of Mineworkers in the fight against the above and all other retrenchment.

6.8. National Minimum Wage

Noting:

- a. That there has now been a formal agreement on a national minimum wage, a victory for the Cosatu-led struggle which the federation has been waging over many years.
- b. That 6.2 million workers, or 47 percent of employed workers, are currently earning less than R3, 500 per month.

Believing:

- a. That the national minimum wage agreement will require union activism and reinforcement of the Department of Labour's capacity to monitor implementation.
- b. That the national minimum wage agreement creates an important space for further improvements and union organisation.

Therefore Resolved:

- a. That the SACP and especially workplace Party units must work with Cosatu and other trade unions to monitor implementation of the national minimum wage.

6.9. Guarding against negative tendencies in the union movement

Noting:

- a. That the gains of trade unions which resulted in establishment of closed shops, full-time shop stewards and other shop steward benefits, amongst others, have sometimes resulted in diminishing union activism.

Believing:

- a. That problems of factionalism in some trade unions are often related to union investment companies.

Noting further:

- a. That there are dangers of bureaucratisation and managerialism within trade unions.
- b. That there are cases of corruption, including the selling of jobs.

Further believing that:

- a. A social distance sometimes develops and widens the gap between shop floor workers and elected trade union leaders and officials.



Therefore Resolved:

- a. That the SACP must work with the union movement to help root out negative tendencies, including factional and corrupt practices.

6.10. Transformation of the CCMA and the labour courts

Noting:

- a. The slow pace and unsatisfactory level of resolution of unfair labour practice cases both at the CCMA and in labour courts impact negatively on workers who are unfairly dismissed or suspended.
- b. That CCMA Commissioners often exhibit indifference when dealing with disputes from smaller or less established companies.
- c. The very slow turnaround in labour courts affecting ordinary workers, in contrast to the treatment often received by white collar workers.
- d. That workers are sometimes poorly serviced by their trade unions when appearing at the CCMA.

Therefore Resolved:

- a. Push for the transformation the CCMA to better protect workers.
- b. Push for labour courts to be expanded across the country and to be accessible to workers.
- c. Reduce the time it takes for cases before the labour court to be resolved/settled.

6.11. Political education and cadre development

Noting:

- a. That the Political Programme of the Party as well as 3rd Special Congress declaration and resolutions emphasise the need to strengthen cadre development in the Party, Cosatu our strategic ally and in general across the ranks of the progressive trade union movement.
- e. That the SACP working jointly with Cosatu and its affiliates has developed innovative modalities for facilitating cadre development, including the Chris Hani and JB Marks brigades involving 6 to 8 weeks of intensive training. The SACP has also convened conferences of commissars for women.

Therefore Resolved

- a. That we need to intensify and expand our cadre development work.

6.12. The Financial Sector

Noting:

- a. That there is a plethora of challenges and contradictions resulting from the handling of trade union investment platforms.
- b. The considerable costs trade union investments pay to asset management consultants and companies.



Believing:

- a. That trade unions' investments have sometimes contributed to factional divisions among trade union leaders.
- b. That union capacity to manage/oversee their investment platforms needs to be enhanced including empowering workers with the relevant professional development.

Therefore Resolved:

- a. That investment platforms of trade unions should be directed at programmes and campaigns that benefit their members, as is the case in a number of well-handled investments directed at medical aid schemes, education scholarship and bursaries, etc.
- b. That the SACP must continue to intensify the financial sector transformation campaign.
- c. To work with the union movement to ensure vigilance in regard to the government employee pension fund, thereby ensuring that public sector workers' retirement funds are not plundered through parasitic state capture. The same must apply to other worker retirement funds.

6.13. Women in the workplace and trade unions

Noting:

- a. The gaps in the advancement of women comrades in trade union leadership structures.
- b. The feminisation of precarious work, and feminisation of casualisation and unprotected work.

Believing:

- a. That patriarchy has become the post-apartheid differential in externalisation and casualisation of employment, locally, but also globally.

Further noting:

- a. Unabated work intensification and erosion of workplace benefits (resulting in contravening of Basic Conditions of Employment Act), and the negative effect of these on women workers.
- b. Increasing instances of abuse of women (and women comrades) in the public sector and in trade unions, characterised by the "sex for promotion" phenomenon, sexual harassment of women subordinates by their male seniors including some trade union leaders.

Further believing:

- a. That the abuse of late work shifts contribute to the violation of the human rights of women workers including by means of violence and different forms of abuse.

Therefore Resolved:

- a. That the SACP must support the struggle by the union movement for the protection and advancement of women and their rights in unions, at the workplace and in communities.



- b. SACP members actively ensure that workplace in the public and industrial sectors are affirming, empowering and safe and must lead by example.

6.14. Expanded public works programme and other public employment programmes

Noting:

- a. That expanded public works, community work programme and community health workers (CHWs) are covered by labour legislation.
- b. That these decent work obligations are not always implemented in practice in these programmes.
- c. That there is ongoing negotiation at the National Economic Development and Labour Council (Nedlac) around the Expanded Public Works Programmes (EPWP) and the Community Works Programme (CWP) as well as the national minimum wage.
- d. That the Public Service Co-ordinating Bargaining Council is currently engaged with the permanent employment of CHWs.

Believing:

- a. That decent work is at the centre of building sustainable livelihoods, and that Public Employments can contribute to building community participation and a sense of ownership of local public resources and assets.

Therefore Resolved:

- a. That the SACP must work with Cosatu to encourage speedy resolution of the above issues at Nedlac and the Public Service Co-ordinating Bargaining Council.
- b. To work with the progressive trade union movement to ensure that labour legislation effectively covers participants in the above mentioned programmes.

6.15. SACP solidarity with unions

Noting:

- a. That opposition parties, particularly the liberals, neoliberals and conservatives have waged a deliberate programme of attacking Cosatu affiliated unions, especially the South African Democratic Teachers Union (Sadtu).

Therefore Resolved:

- a. That the ideological basis of this programmatic attack by liberals, neoliberals and conservatives must be exposed.
- b. To deepen active solidarity with the unions in the face of the ongoing, neo-liberal anti-union offensive.



Article 7

State Power

7.1. The SACP and state and popular power

Believing:

- a. That the issue of state power is a central question of any revolution;
- b. 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;
- c. 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;
- d. 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;
- e. That in the current fluid reality the SACP must be guided by:
 - i. Strategic Consistency – not free-floating opportunism or short-termism
 - ii. Analytical Alertness – what Lenin described as the capacity to provide a “concrete analysis of the concrete situation”.
 - iii. Tactical flexibility – the ability not to be caught flat-footed while still being guided by revolutionary strategic consistency.
- f. That Lenin’s observation that a “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.

Noting that:

- a. 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.
- b. The danger of the erosion of our constitutional democracy is a consequence 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.
- c. This deterioration is epitomised in its most aggressive form by the phenomenon of “private corporate capture of the state”, involving the parasitic looting of public resources.
- d. 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:

- a. 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 context 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 poster and flyers.
- b. 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.
- c. 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.
- d. That the 13th National Congress in 2012 reaffirmed these resolutions.
- e. That initial but uneven progress after 2007 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.
- f. 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.
- g. 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 Resolved:

- a. That the SACP must actively contest elections.
- b. That the modality through which we contest elections may, or may not be, within the umbrella of a re-configured Alliance
- c. 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).

- d. 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;
- e. 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.
- f. 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:
 - i. A programme of active engagements 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 Cosatu and its affiliates. These engagements must be at all levels, national, provincial and local.
 - ii. 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
 - iii. Linked to the SACP's organisational renewal review process, conduct 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. Regular reports must be tabled in each Central Committee and lower structures must be continuously briefed on progress.
 - iv. The Special National Congress of the SACP must receive a comprehensive report on the Road Map process and resolve on the way forward.



Article 8

Strengthen the vanguard character of the SACP: Towards a review of the Party Organisation

8.1. Organisational context

Noting that:

- a. The process of organisational review and reorganisation is aimed at repositioning the Party to keep pace with the times and be responsive as effective as possible to continuously changing conditions, both positive and negative.
- b. In its assessment of the first decade of our transition to democracy, the SACP concluded that the bourgeoisie benefitted the most in economic terms.

Believing that:

- a. The process of organisational review and reorganisation is an opportunity to renew and wage a relentless struggle against our own weaknesses. Among others, through the review of Party organisation and the conduct of Party members at all levels including leadership levels.
- b. That the political decay and ideological decadences facing our movement at large necessitate radical changes in the way the SACP approaches social, economic and political matters, as well as in organisational life.
- c. There are a number of changes which have occurred not only in our broad national liberation movement but also in society in general. These changes have an impact on the way we are organised as the Party and do things.

Therefore Resolved:

- a. The discussion on organisational review and reorganisation should not just be about the Party alone but it must so be about our movement as a whole and society at large.
- b. That the Party must actively participate in democratic state institutions and the process to contest all its trajectories in favour of the working class rather than leave this key site of power to bourgeois dominance or uncontested.
- c. Discussions on the Organisational Review and Reorganisation must continue beyond the 14th National Congress informed by experiences emerging in implementation.
- d. The Party must develop a programme to strengthen branches, districts and provinces based on the resolutions of the 14th Congress and an updated Party Political Programme, the South African Road to Socialism.

8.2. The broader political context of the review

Noting:

- a. That the imperialist offensive to defend and deepen its hegemony has heightened



internationally. The leading organisational component of the movement, the ANC, as well as the Party, is affected in various ways either directly or indirectly if not both.

- b. That a significant part of the material basis of the problem lies in the economy, which is characterised by high levels of inequality, unemployment and poverty, but in which leadership positions in politics, proximity to the state and its links with business, including tenders, and politics-business and business connections, are seen as vehicles of upward mobility out of the bottom rungs of inequality, unemployment and poverty.
- c. Visible class reconfiguration is underway associated with degeneration in the character of liberation forces mainly driven by, as stated, economic and social changes.

Therefore Resolved:

- a. That the process of Party Organisational Review and Reorganisation should not be seen in isolation from the overall struggle to contest the direction of our society and its reorganisation as a result of persisting capitalist accumulation, restructuring and deepening attempts at corporate capture of our state.

8.3. Fundamental guiding pillars of the Organisational Review and Reorganisation process

Noting:

- a. The inherent risks with any organisational review process and the need to subject the SACP's review to the political and ideological principles of the Party.
- b. That the building of the organisational capacity of the Party must not be narrowed to the organisational structures, but must instead also be seen as integral part of the role of the Party in building the capacity and leadership of the working class in all sites of power.

Believing that:

- a. The process of organisational review, and the necessity to strengthen the SACP as a vanguard Party for socialism, cannot be divorced from the tasks that the SACP has set for itself in our own Party Political Programme, the South African Road to Socialism.

Therefore Resolved:

- a. That the SACP should take a long view of the challenges ahead, at least in the next 20 years, and adopt clearly defined targets and milestones in the struggle to build a socialist South Africa.
- b. To adopt the guiding pillars of the Party Organisational Review and Reorganisation process that include:
 - i. Commitment to the political programme of the Party and its strategic perspectives to deepen, defend and take responsibility for the NDR and build socialism in the context of our affirmation of Marxist-Leninist principles and guidelines.
 - ii. Unflinching commitment to our revolutionary Alliance as structure and NDR as programme.



- iii. Re-affirmation of the Party principles of: accountability of members and Party control, democratic centralism, collective leadership, discipline and self-discipline, and loyalty to the Party and the people's revolutionary cause.
- c. That building the organisational capacity of the SACP must not be narrowed to the organisational structures, but be seen as integral part of the role of the Party in building the capacity of the working class in all sites of power.
- d. That the Party Organisation Review and Reorganisation must be based on a thorough analysis of the challenges facing our revolution, and the specific role of the SACP in the short, medium to long terms.
- e. To build the Party in a much simple way, and make it attractive to the workers, the youth, women and sectors of our society that are not easily attracted to Party programmes.

8.4. Party building tasks for grassroots organs

Noting:

- a. That the Organisational Review and Reorganisation document identified the five tasks for grass roots organs, including:
 - i. To selflessly serve the community as the first task and central priority, including the inherent duty on the part of every Party member and particularly leader to build a constituency for the Party and its interventions in residential areas and relevant sectors where they are based in terms of other social activities.
 - ii. To ensure that the recruitment and training of new members meet acceptable requirements to service other members and serve the people at large in terms of Party principles.
 - iii. To communicate the Party decisions in structured way.
 - iv. To expand the various fronts of Party building and ensure on accountability.
- b. That the strength and activity of Party structures at grassroots level are uneven, and others are weak and not resourced and/or adequately supported to undertake organisational programmes and campaigns in more assertive manner.

Therefore Resolved:

- a. To endorse the five tasks identified in the Party Organisational Review and Reorganisation document for grass roots organs for implementation. Furthermore, the grass roots organs must:
 - i. Develop and implement programmes that will make them visible, including the campaigns aimed at tackling service delivery challenges.
 - ii. Address issues that affect women and society as a whole through campaigns.



8.5. Advance good activism

Noting:

- a. That our communities continue to be faced with major challenges and the need for the Party to identify such challenges in order to develop proper interventions.
- b. That the organisational report of the CC to the 14th Party Congress presented a details account on the implementation of Party campaigns.

Therefore Resolved:

- a. To ensure improvement and innovation as we continue with implementation of the campaigns in responding to the challenges facing our communities.
- b. That the Party must develop new campaigns and programmes aimed at rallying and mobilising the communities around the interventions.

8.6. The SACP Organisational Review and the Alliance

Noting:

- a. That whilst the SACP is an independent political party, it, at the same time, is part of the Alliance with the ANC and Cosatu.
- b. However, the basic condition for engaging in strategic and tactical alliances is, first and foremost, a strong, independent SACP that is rooted within the working class and serves as the vanguard for socialism.
- c. That the Party cannot be subjected to the relationship with any organisation, including its allies, on the basis of financial relations.

Believing:

- a. That the strategic and tactical alliances are necessary in different phases of the struggle. However, the point of departure must always be to build the SACP as a strong, independent vanguard Party for the working class and socialism.
- b. That part of our own organisational review must cover the challenges facing each Alliance component and the Alliance as a whole.
- c. That the fact that we are in an alliance with Cosatu and the ANC does not mean that the SACP can only access organised workers and the masses of our people through Cosatu or its affiliates and the ANC respectively.

Therefore Resolved:

- a. To reaffirm the resolution of the 13th Party Congress to build the independent organisational presence and influence of the SACP in all the key sites of power, and strengthen the revolutionary Alliance.
- b. That the SACP must continue to forge relations with a wide range of social forces to defend, advance and deepen particular goals of the NDR.
- c. That Party districts must directly engage with Cosatu locals and its affiliates through



the Party's workplace programme. The membership recruitment campaign should be an integral part of this programme.

- d. Furthermore, the Party must build its own independent presence amongst workers and the masses in general, both organised and unorganised.

8.7. Political education and ideological training, diversifying our methods

Noting:

- a. The need to ensure that political education is developed with clear syllabus and implemented in cadre development phases and reach the masses.

Therefore Resolved:

- d. To reaffirm the 13th National Congress resolutions on political education and ideological training.
- e. To ensure that the study circles, modelled around the Communists University but further improved, are strengthened as one method of political education.
- f. To institutionalise and strengthen political education and ideological training at all levels, deliver on the provision of political education and ideological training consistently and systematically.
- g. That the Party must establish mechanisms to train the trainers, including capacity to facilitate political education programmes at lower levels of the SACP structures and general societal activity.
- h. Comrades who received SACP structured training must be roped in to broaden the pool of working class training facilitators.

8.8. Structural and institutional forms and requirements of Party organisation

Noting:

- a. That the Party needs dedicated continuous review on the functioning, efficiency and relevance of Party organisational structures, from national to branch level.
- b. This must include an assessment of whether our VD based branches are functional, and a reflection on the capacity of our Party structures, especially at lower levels, to effectively engage in alliance, sectoral and mass work.

Believing:

- a. That the communication of Party decisions is part of the fundamental requirement of the Party building.

Therefore Resolved:

- a. That the Party improves its approach to ensure that communication of decisions to all structures is effective, timely and accessible, including through, and by ensuring adherence to the Party Constitution in this respect in regard to the frequency of all executive and council as well as branch meetings of the Party.



- b. To develop a mechanism to monitor and ensure that interim members receive political education and ideological training and undertake organisational activities to comply with SACP constitutional provisions regarding granting of full membership status and the tasks, requirements and values outlined in the Party Organisational Review and Reorganisation document be developed.
- c. That the Party must enhance its information and communication technology (ICT) capabilities for effective communication of party programmes, activities and decisions without diluting face to face interactions.
- d. To strengthen the SACP's research capacity and ensure that its research agenda and output enriches the task of building a vanguard party of the working class and advances the course of the struggle for socialism.
- e. That the Party must explore the financial viability and sustainability of appointing Full-time Organisers at District levels.



Article 9

Resource mobilisation and management

Noting that:

- a. The 14th Party Congress Finance Report indicates that there has been remarkable improvement in the management of resources and audits without matters of emphasis.
- b. The report nevertheless still identified areas of weaknesses that needed to be addressed, such as register of donated assets.
- c. The report further indicates that in the past two years the SACP revenue has grown to about R36.5-million, while the wage bill of the SACP has grown to approximately R25-million or even more.
- d. Our operational costs have in the past five years accumulated deficits ranging from R1-million to R6-million.
- e. The SACP's current expenditure could be estimated to be between R38-million and R45-million excluding expenditure in the form of contribution in kind.

Further Noting that:

- a. In the coming 5 year period of the 14th Congress Central Committee the Party's current expenditure could increase to an estimated amount of about R70-million to 100-million per annum, inclusive of expenditure in the form of contributions in kind.
- b. This excludes possible growth in expenditure due to growth in staff compliment based on the Party Organisational Review and Reorganisation process.
- c. The debate on state power must include how the SACP will raise election funds, taking into account that the ANC elections cost for 2014 was reported to be in the region of R3.7-billion (in 2019 it could rise to around R4-billion or more and might reach or surpass R5-billion in 2021).
- d. The 14th Party Congress Finance Report indicates that about half of the expected R12-million rand debit orders were unpaid.

Believing that:

- a. Resources are critical to the sustaining of the Party, its policies, programmes and campaigns.
- b. Fundraising is every member's responsibility rather than just the responsibility of those who are elected as treasurers at various levels.

Therefore Resolved:

9.1. Membership contributions

- a. Consider a one-off or per annum donation of R100 by members.
- b. Identify a specific month and day for the contribution and Crowd Funding Campaign



where branches contribute R1, 000 quarterly.

- c. Consider Party Stockvels, through which members can contribute for festive groceries and from which the quarterly R1, 000 can be drawn.
- d. Broaden base of enterprise activity and engagements in the Party to ensure reliable and moral source.
- e. Identify 5, 000 working members that could commit to contributing an amount of at least R1, 000 twice a year (probably during their bonus/13th Cheque month).
- f. Enhance the relevance of the SACP to unions and communities by serving and working with them to find solutions to allow them to see the worth of joining and contributing to the party.
- g. Increase membership fees to R20, 00 for the unemployed per annum.

9.2. Debit order

- a. Targeted recruitment of working members, professionals and enterprise leaders.
- b. Provinces that deliver debit order targets set by the FINCOM should get back a certain percentage to be determined by FINCOM.
- c. Improve the administration of debit orders.
- d. The 14th Party Congress Central Committee must review the brackets and fees payable in the debit order scale.
- e. Monitor all membership fees to establish if members are paying appropriate amounts of levies, using the Debit Order Quarterly Report to branches.
- f. Introduce an SMS alert system for Debit order rejection system.
- g. Introduce a simplified system for amending Debit Orders.

9.3. Membership recruitment

- a. Improve the Recruitment System by digitalising membership capturing system with links to districts, provinces and the headquarters.

9.4. Levies from deployed cadres

- a. The 14th Party Congress Central Committee must enforce the decision for levies collected from deployed cadres who are SACP Members deployed by the ANC to be given to the SACP.
- b. Explore the introduction of a 1 percent direct contribution by deployed cadres.

9.5. Merchandising

- a. Re-establish the Inkululeko Media Co-operative for the sale of Party paraphernalia.
- b. Establish a retail network system that extends from national to the branches.



- c. Establish a relationship between the Party's retail network and SACTWU owned factories for the design, manufacture and distribution of Party merchandise.

9.6. Fundraising initiative

- a. The SACP must continue with well-planned fundraising dinners.
- b. Establish an event management co-operative or link with existing agency that focuses on continuous fundraising initiatives, including motivational seminars and workshops.
- c. Develop an SACP Financial Services mobile application, where members can buy services like electricity, airtime, SACP merchandise and publications, where a reasonable administration fee can be charged as part of fundraising initiatives.

9.7. Asset management

- a. Complete the registration of donated property with 12 months from Congress, coupled with the introduction of revaluation system for donated assets.
- b. The SACP must develop an asset management manual to guide all Party structures.

9.8. Dora Tamana Co-operative Agency/Academy

- a. Facilitate the establishment of co-operatives and press for favourable government policies.
- b. Branches must facilitate the establishment of co-operatives, including and prioritising Co-operative Financial Institutions and act as a link between local co-operatives and the Dora Tamana Co-operative Agency (DTCA) for support.
- c. DTCA must facilitate access to grant funds and support from the DTI, the Co-operative Banks Development Agency (CBDA), BankSETA and other relevant sources of funding in pursuit of co-operatives development.
- d. DTCA must develop a pamphlet on how to apply for registration and other assistance for co-operatives.
- e. Assist co-operatives to take advantage of social responsibility commitments by private sector companies.
- f. DTCA must convene a co-operatives conference geared towards facilitating the development of co-operatives.

9.9. Resource management

- a. Deal with leakages/wastages – ballooning of quotations caused by late procurement of goods and services.
- b. Establish a fundraising manual to avoid possible misuse
- c. Branches must prepare finance and fundraising reports annually presented branch general meetings, DEC and PEC.
- d. Treasurers and staff members from provinces and districts should attend regular and



- relevant training co-ordinated by the Party to enhance their financial management skills.
- e. Provinces and Districts must ensure that respective Finance Committee meetings are held regularly.
 - f. Provinces and Districts must take responsibility for building the capacity of branch treasurers to manage and account for SACP fund and resources.

9.10. Preparation for the SACP Centenary celebrations

- a. One-off annual contribution, determined by Finance Commission (FINCOM), towards centenary celebration cost every July by members from 2017 to 2021.

9.11. SACP endowment fund

- a. It is recommended that a one-off payment of R50 per employed member of the SACP be effected to capitalise the fund.

9.12. SACP Elections Campaign (unrelated to state power outcomes)

- a. Using the public estimates of ANC elections cost of approximately R4-billion or more as a benchmark.
- b. Establish an SACP election fund, where branches contribute R1,000.00 quarterly, starting from the fourth quarter of 2017.
- c. Engage organised labour to assist with SACP Election costs.
- d. Mobilise co-operative movement to assist with election costs.
- e. Engage SMME's and SACP sympathetic businesses to assist with election funding.

9.13. Taking forward the resolutions

- a. Share good practices of fundraising amongst structures of the SACP.
- b. Put in place mechanisms to follow up on implementation of party decisions on the mobilisation of resources.



Article 10

Global correlation of forces and the role of the SACP

10.1. The international situation and contradiction

- a. The party has consistently and correctly analysed the deep-rooted, systemic crisis of the global capitalist system.
- b. The gigantic global crisis of capitalism coincides with an opportunity to deepen the struggle for socialism. Communist Parties of the world must seize the opportunity.
- c. Seizing the opportunity requires building the unity of the international proletariat for socialism.
- d. Increased militarism both in Africa and globally as a result of inter-imperialist rivalries poses a challenge that must be taken seriously.

10.2. The BRICS or Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa co-operation

Noting that:

- a. There is merit in sustaining an ongoing analysis of the BRICS political alliance and to understand the characteristic features of each member state and its national situation.

Therefore Resolved:

- a. That there is a need for the left axis to connect with the people struggles. We should use BRICS platforms and joint Communist Party activities to push the demands of the people in particular their basic needs.
- b. The Communist Parties in BRICS countries should therefore develop a common political programme and to co-ordinate the rest of the BRICS social forces.

10.3. The Indian government's close relations with the apartheid state of Israel

Noting:

- a. The recent visit of the Prime Minister of India, Narendra Modi, to Israel, the first ever by an Indian Prime Minister, the strengthening of India's ties with Israel, and the commitment Modi made to a strategic partnership with Israel.
- b. Modi did not visit Palestine and in effect has taken sides with the Israelis against the Palestinians contrary to the policies of India until now.
- c. India is an important country in the developing world, BRICS and globally.

Therefore Resolved:

- a. To condemn the Modi administration's strengthening of ties with Israel and marginalisation of the oppressed people of Palestine.
- b. To engage with our government to express its disapproval of the Modi government's



approach to Israel.

- c. To intensify our campaign for the independence of Palestine and the restoration from Israel of their expropriated and occupied land.

10.4. The Centenary of the October Revolution and Socialism in the 21st Century

Noting:

- a. Centenary of the Bolshevik Revolution this year, 2017.
- b. That as an established practice within the international communist movement, the Party Political Report highlights an important debate regarding the destruction of the socialist project in the Soviet Union and Eastern European countries.
- c. That the SACP has made an important contribution over the years in assessing the experience and practices of the socialist project that occurred during the era of and within the Soviet Union.
- d. That the SACP will be celebrating its Centenary in a few years time (in 2021).

Believing that:

- a. Literature made available from the archives of the Soviet Union has unravelled contradictions in several historical accounts in regard to the disintegration of the Soviet Union.
- b. Whatever new evidence and information is not simply related to our correct analysis, but underlines the general principle of the Marxist method of scientific enquiry and that most of the previously unavailable facts should provide for an ongoing and renewed account of certain controversies in the evaluation of Soviet Union socialist project.
- c. Our account of the history of the disintegration of the project is in many respects contradicted by the prevailing information and therefore requires re-examination and an update.
- d. The Centenary of the Bolshevik Revolution can be used to educate SACP members and society in general about the true values of socialism and its relevance.

Therefore Resolved:

- a. To commission a deeper study of the historic basis for the setbacks and destruction suffered by the socialist project in the Soviet Union, building on the work done by Cde Joe Slovo, particularly his historic intervention entitled 'Has Socialism Failed?'
- b. To co-operate with and exchange visits with the Communist Party of the Russian Federation in carrying out the study.
- c. Co-ordinate and implement activities on the centenary of the Bolshevik Revolution with the Communist Party of Russia.
- d. To expand the scope of the study to cover activities leading to the revolution.



10.5. The Kurdish people's struggle

Congress Resolved to:

- a. Intensify our call for the release of the Kurdish leader Abdullah Öcalan
- b. Call upon, and the SACP to take forward a campaign for the Turkish regime to cease its violence against the Kurdish people.
- c. To advocate for a peaceful settlement of the conflict.
- d. To call for democracy and the unbanning of political institutions of Kurdish people.

10.6. The Basque Country

Noting:

- a. That the Basque independence movement chose to follow a peaceful and democratic pursuit of self-determination for the Basque Country.
- b. That the governments of Spain and France have done little to demonstrate confidence in this important political process and instead have been actively obstructing the peace process.
- c. That there are over 300 Basque activists held as political prisoners, some for over 25 years, who are dispersed in Spain often far removed from their families.
- d. The release of Arnaldo Ortega from jail.

Believing that:

- a. The release of political prisoners will strengthen the national independence movement.
- b. The Basque independence movement embraces the policy that national liberation is deeply interlinked to social emancipation.

Therefore Resolved:

- a. To reaffirm our internationalist solidarity with the Basque people and their struggle for the right to self-determination.
- b. Invite Arnaldo Ortega and promote people to people relationships with the Basque people.
- c. Develop a programme to support the peace process in the Basque Country.

10.7. South Sudan

Noting:

- a. That the political situation in Sudan is deteriorating.
- b. A variety of groups of the people are systematically excluded from political and economic processes, including political rights to participate in national affairs and economic development.

Therefore Resolved:



- a. To fully support the peace initiatives in Sudan.
- b. To strengthen the Sudan People's Liberation Movement North (SPLM-N), while working with and encouraging unity among all progressive formations in the whole of Sudan.

10.8. Palestine

Noting that:

- a. Between our 13th and 14th Congresses (2012-2017) the apartheid state of Israel launched major military offensives against the Palestinian people living in the Gaza Strip.
- b. In 2014 alone, Israel killed over 2, 500 Palestinians living in the Gaza Strip.
- c. Israel has killed, on average, 1 Palestinian child every 3 days and is also incarcerating 300 Palestinian children as political prisoners.
- d. There are currently over 6, 500 Palestinian political prisoners detained by Israel, including more than 500 held under Israel's "administrative detention".
- e. The Israeli government has embarked on an active and vicious campaign to try and silence the Boycott, Divestment, Sanctions (BDS) campaign movement.

Therefore resolve:

- a. To welcome the downgrade of the South African Embassy in and diplomatic relations with Israel until it abides by international law and to strive for a complete abolition of South Africa's diplomatic relations with Israel.
- b. To intensify support for the BDS campaign and for more support to BDS initiatives by the government and wider society.
- c. To reiterate that members should not accept trips and gifts from the Israeli embassy or lobby.
- d. To develop a programme for ideological discussions on the history of the Israel-Palestinian conflict and on the international solidarity programme of the SACP, including complementing the annual Israeli Apartheid Week campaign and beyond.
- e. To reiterate our firm demands for the establishment of an independent Palestinian state within the 1967 borders, with East Jerusalem as its capital, and the dismantling of the apartheid wall, the release of political prisoners, the return of refugees.
- f. To intensify our campaign in support of these Palestinian demands.

10.9. Western Sahara

Noting:

- a. Our continuing commitment to the struggle of the Saharawi people against the colonial Moroccan occupation.

Therefore Resolved that:

- a. The SACP reaffirms its solidarity with the struggle of the people of Western Sahara and



the Polisario Front as the legitimate representative of the Saharawi people.

- b. Morocco must respect human rights in Western Sahara and call and campaign for the international community to oblige in this regard.
- c. The plundering of the phosphate minerals from the resource rich Western Sahara by Morocco and its French Imperialist connections must be condemned and brought to an end.
- d. The Party must push a campaign for a worldwide boycott of the Moroccan products.
- e. We reject the normalisation of the Moroccan occupation and colonialism over Western Sahara and its readmission to, an act in violation of the Constitutive Act of the AU.

10.10. Swaziland

Noting:

- a. More intensive and regular economic blockade of Swaziland could, among others serve as an effective pressure on the monarch to accept democracy.

Therefore Resolved:

- a. To campaign for more intensive, frequent economic blockade and boycott of Swaziland.
- b. Call for and encourage the unity of the progressive political forces in Swaziland.
- c. To deepen our campaign for the political isolation of the tinkhundla system.

10.11. Cuba

Noting:

- a. The new populist demagogic regime in the USA and the new trade and travel restrictions unveiled by its leader, Donald Trump against the Cuban nation.

Therefore Resolved:

- a. To reaffirm our support for the immediate, unconditional ending of the criminal, unjust, financial and economic blockade imposed on Cuba by the USA.
- b. To call for the immediate return to Cuba of the Guantanamo Bay occupied illegally by the USA for more than a century.
- c. To continue our commitment with the teachings and example of Cde Fidel Castro as part of celebrating his contribution to the revolution.
- d. To strengthen the Friends of Cuba Society (FOCUS) at all levels.

10.12. Democratic People's Republic of Korea

Congress Resolved:

- a. The Democratic Republic of Korea (DPRK) has a legitimate right to take self-defence measures and safeguard the dignity of the nation – which encountered US imperialist aggression.



- b. The USA should reorient its policy on the DPRK, including foregoing hostility, as well as ending its nuclear threat and blackmail without further delay.

10.13. Venezuela

Noting:

- a. The current interference by the USA in Venezuela is reaching alarming levels.
- b. The United States and capitalist forces are backing right-wing agendas in Venezuela and other Latin American countries trying to roll back the 'pink tide' and gains by the left.

Therefore Resolved:

- a. That the Party must work with our Alliance partners as well as progressive parties towards an emergency conference in South Africa and other SADC countries in support of the democratically elected, progressive governments of Venezuela and other Latin American countries.
- b. That the Party must work for a correct narrative of political developments in Venezuela and promote the sourcing of Telesur news content for local media.
- c. To build a strong solidarity movement with the Bolivarian revolution and capacity to implement international solidarity campaigns and programmes.

10.14. Class struggle on the African continent

Noting that:

- a. The African Union (AU) is being used as an instrument of Imperialism to advance the economic interests of Imperial Powers such as France.
- b. The re-admission of the Kingdom of Morocco to the AU, after its withdrawal thirty two years ago, is a sign of some of the African governments' weakness in the face of the spreading of neo-colonial forces.
- c. Neo-colonial forces are attempting to debilitate the AU institution and its historical responsibility to decolonise Africa by upholding the lofty principles engraved in the Constitutive Act of the union.

Therefore Resolved to:

- a. Revitalise the Africa Left Networking Forum (ALNEF)
- b. Work with the class oriented World Federation of Trade Unions (WFTU) in building a strong trade union movement in Africa.
- c. Condemn the efforts by imperial powers to use the AU as an instrument of class exploitation and imperialist domination on the continent.

10.15. Building the capacity of international work in the Party

Therefore Resolved:

- a. The International Affairs, functioning under the guidance of the Central Committee



Commission responsible for international solidarity and affairs, and the Secretariat, should establish international desks at all levels of the Party to promote co-ordination of international programmes and campaigns and related reporting.

- b. Appropriately staff the International Affairs Department and train comrades with the requisite conceptual/analytical and functional skills in support of our international work, for example the training should include the areas of protocol, basic language literacy in French, Spanish and other languages that are significantly used in international interactions.
- c. Strengthen the Central Committee Commission responsible for international solidarity and affairs.



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