



# **DECLARATION, RESOLUTIONS & POLITICAL REPORT**

For a Developmental Path,  
Neither State Capture nor Neoliberalism

**Socialism is the Future - Build it Now.**



# **DECLARATION, RESOLUTIONS & POLITICAL REPORT**

**of the 4<sup>th</sup> Special National Congress**



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# South African Communist Party

## DECLARATION AND RESOLUTIONS of the 4<sup>th</sup> Special National Congress

Held 9 – 12 December 2019  
Ekurhuleni

### ARTICLE 1

#### DECLARATION

1. We, delegates of the Fourth Special National Congress of the South African Communist Party, representing 319 000 Party members, carrying on our shoulders the aspirations and hopes of the working class of our country, convened from 9 to 12 December 2019 in Ekurhuleni. Guided by the theme, 'Rebuild our Movement: Socialism is the Future, Build it Now', we evaluated the progress made since our 14th National Congress held in July 2017, the challenges experienced by the Party and our people, especially the working class and poor. We received Central Committee reports, held robust deliberations and adopted resolutions and this declaration in our continuing struggle to place the national democratic revolution onto a second radical phase and advance to socialism.
2. The Special National Congress took place against the background of a deep crisis, particularly affecting the working class and poor of our country. The crisis is typified by a stagnant economy that is continuing to shed jobs in the context of persisting high unemployment rate, entrenched poverty, widening inequality and unresolved legacy of uneven development. There are at least four major historical factors underpinning the crisis:
  - 2.1. The structuring of the economy of South Africa was based on

the capitalist regime of economic exploitation and systemic underdevelopment driven by an oppressive domestic ruling class and its external imperialist superiors. Internally, the social engineering of our country's economy was forged in a colonial relationship between a white minority supremacist bloc and a brutally dispossessed and proletarianised black majority. The oppressed were marginalised into 'native' reserves and later urban townships as a huge pool of the under-employed and unemployed forced to sell their labour power on a distant capitalist market. Externally, the structuring of the emergent capitalist economy that was to prevail in our country established South Africa's semi-peripheral positioning. Our country was incorporated into, but subordinated within the global imperialist accumulation regime essentially as an exporter of primary commodities, mainly minerals, produced on the basis of super-exploited oppressed black labour.

- 2.2. There was lack of structural transformation, after our 1994 democratic breakthrough, going deep to the root to rid our country's economy of colonial features and embark on a path of its full development towards collective prosperity. This prevailed as a result of the rise of the neo-liberal 1996 GEAR class project to dominance. Key state owned enterprises that should have been transformed to thrive were not recapitalised, ignoring the fact that they now had to serve all the people on a non-racial basis, rather than just a minority. This is the context in which there was no additional power generation capacity built for Eskom, a decision made in favour of an intended introduction of private profiteering participation and competition in the electricity generation sector. As a result Eskom finds itself today with aging power stations that are increasingly unreliable and the country is frequently plunged into load shedding. The 1996 GEAR class project also carried out the privatisation of state-owned enterprises, which started in the last decades of the apartheid regime, and pushed neo-liberal shock therapy. This in various ways deprived our country of the resources it needed to build domestic productive capacity and thus support economic and broader social development.

- 2.3. The global capitalist meltdown in 2008, especially its aftermath, remains persistent globally. This is the context in which growth, even in a number of major economies, is subdued or stagnantly low.
- 2.4. The state was tenderised and within this context public resources were looted, more so under state capture. The widespread corruption was accompanied by governance decay and mismanagement. State institutions, including Parliament, as the Constitutional Court did find in at least one case, failed to play their role. They were weakened and others were co-opted to either turn a blind eye to the rot or assist it.
3. The Special National Congress noted that neo-liberal economic policies and the structural stagnation of our economy exacerbate the crisis of social reproduction resulting from inequality, unemployment and poverty. The crisis is reflected in the increasing inability of households and communities to make ends meet. Its burden is mostly carried by women, who form a leading detachment of community-based organisational efforts directed towards sustainable livelihoods for social reproduction through unpaid labour and other social activities. The burden of the social reproduction crisis is also carried by the youth, the majority of the unemployed, in community protests, and hooked into drugs, substance and alcohol abuse, as well as facing the harsh realities of the HIV/AIDS pandemic.
4. The answer to the economic and social reproduction crises that South Africa finds itself in is neither a return to the neo-liberal economic policy regime nor laxity to allow any quarter for state capture networks to re-assert themselves. In no way does the answer lie in austeritisation of transformation and development. By austeritisation we do not mean that exorbitant perks for politicians, public officials and executives in the economy, and wasteful, fruitless and irregular expenditure should be tolerated or that there should be no measures to curb expenditure that is not going to productive purposes. We mean a conservative fiscal policy stance involving cuts in budgets or financial support affecting programmes that are important to stimulating the economy and meeting the needs of the working class and poor. Austeritisation includes increased taxes

negatively affecting the working people while the rich laugh all the way to the bank.

5. The solution to the economic and social reproduction crises lies in the pursuit of a democratic developmental path and state. Understanding the combined nature of the crises, we call upon government to not fail to address the plight of the working people and poor and adopt measures that will turnaround our economy. To this end the Special National Congress adopted the following programmatic measurers aimed at achieving employment creation and systematic reduction of poverty, inequality and uneven development.

### **5.1. Financial sector transformation**

- a. Financial sector transformation, including low cost banking and financial services and thus systematic elimination of financial exploitation.
- b. Building a publicly controlled, developmental banking and financial sector.
- c. Building a co-operatively-owned banking and broader financial sector.
- d. Strict regulation and management of the capital account.
- e. Prescribed assets for productive and developmental purpose.
- f. A sovereign wealth fund to support and increase the levels of public investment.
- g. Expansion of the mandate of the South African Reserve Bank to explicitly target employment growth and an explicit balanced and sustainable inclusive high growth target.

### **5.2. Broader economic transformation**

- a. A high impact, comprehensive industrial policy, including digital industrial and innovation strategies, aimed at developing our domestic productive capacity.

- b. A comprehensive socio-economic policy approach, and thus a development oriented poverty eradication strategy, with emphasis placed on support for productive activities and building sustainable livelihoods.
- c. Revitalisation of the publicly-owned sector of our economy, in particular but not exclusively the turnaround of our state-owned enterprises and systematic expansion of the sector to thrive.
- d. Combating state capture and other forms of corruption in the public sector as well as across the economy on a more intensified basis.
- e. Acceleration of land redistribution and support for productive land use, especially for the poor and the working class – to this end the Special National Congress called upon Parliament to complete the process of amending section 25 of the Constitution to make land expropriation without compensation categorical.
- f. Increased economic and social infrastructure spend, and therefore a stimulus package focusing on developing our domestic productive capacity and turning around our economy.
- g. Review of the fiscal policy framework to boost state revenue to support industrialisation and development – this should include the introduction of a wealth tax.
- h. A state-owned pharmaceutical company.
- i. In line with the commitment made by the Alliance in the ANC May 2019 general election manifesto, overall alignment of our macro-economy policy framework to support the above, the objectives of the second radical phase of our democratic transition, the other commitments made in the manifesto, and the measures that follow.

### **5.3. Sustainable livelihoods and social protection**

- a. Adequate social protection, including social grants that are



sensitive to inflation pressures and responsive to the already exiting economic and social reproduction crises.

- b. An economic empowerment programme directly linked to production development support for the broad masses, including a targeted focus on fostering a thriving co-operatives sector in townships and villages to build sustainable livelihoods.
- c. Promulgation of a local economic development eco-system as an integral part of social protection and alternative development models.
- d. Land and agrarian reform, with focus on but not exclusively women and youth empowerment.
- e. Transformation of the public and community works programmes to make them the employer of last resort on the basis of the decent work agenda and a training space for the unskilled.
- f. More decisive measures to bring an end to gender-based violence – to this end the SACP will continue to deepen its activism.
- g. Forging ahead with the introduction of the National Health Insurance to ensure quality health care for all, especially the poor and working people.

#### **5.4. South African Airways**

- a. The Special National Congress called upon government to adopt a compressive aviation industrial policy, anchored in turning around SAA and repositioning it as a state-owned enterprise to serve as the mainstay of our domestic aviation sector and tourism with thriving domestic and international flight routes. The strategy should include technical and professional airline capacity building through education and training programmes.
- b. As part of its rescue plan, which should have been a proactive state-led process, procurement conduct and therefore every contract entered into and tender awarded by SAA must be

thoroughly scrutinised through a forensic investigation process leaving no stone unturned. The investigation must focus on the contribution that outsourced functions and services played in plunging SAA into crisis, and on value for money, irregularities, fruitless and wasteful expenditure.

- c. Key executive appointments, including but not limited to Chief Restructuring Officer appointed in 2017, interim Chief Financial Officer, SAA Technical Chief Executive Officer, and Chief Commercial Officer, must also be investigated. SAA was handed over into the hands of these 'airline turnaround experts', inclusive of several from abroad, who have evidently failed. The Special National Congress called for accountability on the work of these 'airline turnaround experts' and value for the money that they were paid while SAA continued to fall deeper into crisis instead of achieving a turnaround. The investigation must also include possible conflict of interests.
- d. The Special National Congress calls upon all the trade unions organising at SAA to close ranks and work towards saving the Airline, whilst at the same time saving jobs.

## 5.5. Eskom

- a. The Special National Congress strongly condemned the sabotage at Eskom, which has led to our people being without electricity. The SACP identifies with the painful situation that our people are experiencing as a result of load shedding. The Special National Congress mandated the Central Committee to closely follow the investigation and ensure that the saboteurs are identified and held to account.
- b. The SACP calls upon the state to regulate mining and trade of coal in the interest of national energy security. At the same time, the Special National Congress called upon government to move more decisively in pursuing a just transition to cleaner and renewable energy. Eskom, in a turned around form, must serve

as the mainstay of reliable, cleaner, renewable and affordable energy production.

## **5.6. Alliance reconfiguration and state and popular power**

- a. The Special National Congress reaffirmed the resolution and declaration adopted by the SACP 14<sup>th</sup> National Congress on the Party and State and Popular Power and accepted the progress made towards the reconfiguration of the Alliance. We endorsed the Alliance Political Council approved common paper on the reconfiguration, based on the framework presented in the Central Committee Political Report and State of the Organisation Report. We placed emphasis on implementation and further engagements at all levels.
- b. The Special National Congress mandated lower structures of the SACP to submit reports, with recommendations, to the Central Committee if in the course of preparations for the forthcoming 2021 local government elections the letter and spirit of the reconfiguration of the Alliance are being undermined. The Central Committee will evaluate the reports and adopt the way forward. The options available to the Central Committee include allowing electoral contestation in the affected areas within the framework of the 14th SACP National Congress resolution on the Party and State and Popular Power, and based on criteria to be finalised by the Central Committee in 2020.
- c. The Special National Congress emphasised the principles articulated in the Political Report and the common Alliance reconfiguration paper approved by the Alliance Political Council. These include consensus-seeking consultation on the manifesto, policy direction for our shared strategy of struggle and democratic transformation, and deployments and accountability, including recall, as well as Alliance inclusivity and representations in electoral lists. In this regard, the SACP will not support corrupt candidates or candidates emerging from processes that were not Alliance-inclusive, candidates

imposed by factions or not supported by the community.

- d. On our part, as the SACP, we will deepen our programme to build working class power and hegemony in all key sites of struggle and significant centres of power. The Special National Congress reaffirmed the SACP Political Programme, the South African Road to Socialism, including that what the Party seeks to achieve is democratic working class hegemony over the state and society. The immediate tasks of the SACP are to build working class unity and forge a popular Left front as mandated by the 14th SACP National Congress resolution on the Party and State and Popular Power.
- e. The unity of our Party remains sacrosanct. Our resolutions on Party Review and Organisational Renewal call upon us to deepen and defend the unity of the SACP and its vanguard discipline and cohesion, including through institutionalising and intensifying structured political education within the ranks of our Party. We will also intensify mass political education and campaigning, both independently and in joint programmes with our allies.

## **5.7. International solidarity**

- 5.7.1. The Special National Congress strongly condemns the United States driven imperialist destabilisation in parts of Africa, Latin America and the Middle East.
- 5.7.2. The SACP reaffirms its support for the national sovereignty of the people of Cuba, Venezuela, Nicaragua, Bolivia, Palestine and Eritrea.
- 5.7.3. We pledge our revolutionary solidarity with the national democratic struggles of the people of Swaziland, South Cameroons (Ambazonia), Sudan and Western Sahara.

## ARTICLE 2

# Structural economic transformation and development

### 1. Strategic tasks

#### 1.1. Noted

- 1.1.1. The Central Committee Political Report, under the themes 'Rebuild our movement: Socialism is the future – Build it now!', and, on the economy, '*Neither the parasitic nor the neo-liberal networks, but a democratic developmental path*'.
- 1.1.2. The discussion document, 'Once more neo-liberal macro-economic measures are choking transformation' (*Bua Komanisi*, Vol.12, NO. 1, September 2019, pages 83 – 96).
- 1.1.3. The discussion document, 'Serve the people as a whole, build a people's economy: *SACP's response to the National Treasury's 'Economic transformation, inclusive growth, and competitiveness: Towards an economic Strategy for South Africa'* (*Bua Komanisi*, Vol. 12, NO 2, September 2019)
- 1.1.4. The way forward articulated in the documents seeks to advance the strategic perspective of the second radical phase of the national democratic revolution and, within its framework, the strategic tasks of tackling and radically reducing the crisis high levels of inequality, mass unemployment and poverty, as well as uneven development.

#### 1.2. Resolved:

- 1.2.1. To endorse the tasks outlined and recommendations made



in the Political Report on financial sector and broader economic transformation and development.

- 1.2.2. To adopt as SACP policy position papers the Party's response to the National Treasury and discussion document against neoliberal macro-economic policy and to reaffirm our overall stance against neoliberalism.
- 1.2.3. That the SACP should integrate the way forward articulated in the above mentioned papers into our overall content and programme of moving the national democratic revolution on to a second radical phase and advancing, deepening and defending the democratic transition.
- 1.2.4. That the SACP should continue pushing consensus-seeking consultation within the Alliance on economic policy, all other major questions and direction of the national democratic revolution.
- 1.2.5. That the SACP should deepen the strategic perspective of *Going to the root*, which:
  - a. does not limit attention to the effects but seeks to tackle the effects and both their root causes and structural driving forces;
  - b. necessarily requires deepening the advance of socialist measures, taking into account the fact that the crisis high economic problems we seek to solve are the direct results of capitalist wealth accumulation.
- 1.2.6. Guided by the key economic policy approach coming out of this Special National Congress – that is, *Neither the parasitic nor the neo-liberal networks, but a democratic developmental path*, the SACP should will intensify the struggle against both corporate-capture ('state capture') and reassertion of neoliberalism.

- 1.2.7. To reaffirm our commitment to a developmental macro-economic policy that supports the objectives of the second radical phase of the national democratic revolution, including industrialisation and overall expansion and diversification national production, to among others create employment and foster sustainable livelihoods.
- 1.2.8. In line with the above, the SACP should deepen its efforts to achieve macro-economic policy change and alignment to support the strategic perspective of the second radical phase of the national democratic revolution.

### **1.3. Further resolved**

- 1.3.1. Beyond rejecting neoliberal austerity and neoliberalism at large
  - a. To call for structural economic transformation and a developmental growth path to stimulate and build a people's economy and systematically eliminate unemployment, poverty and inequality – class, race and gender inequalities in their interrelatedness, as well as uneven development and thereby systematically eliminate under-development.
  - b. Neoliberal austerity measures are not a solution to the challenges of a stagnant economy nor are they capable of stimulating the economy.
  - c. The SACP must reject neoliberal austerity or austeritisation, including cuts in financial support affecting measures aimed at achieving economic turnaround and a developmental growth path, health, education and social security and public investment in infrastructure.
  - d. In moving beyond austerity measures, the SACP is not calling for reckless spending, nor is it calling for

irregular, wasteful and fruitless expenditure. Instead of neoliberal austerity, the SACP is calling for:

- i. an urgent review our present fiscal policy framework, with emphasis on increasing strategic spending on economic and social infrastructure and measures aimed at lifting our economic from the aftermath of the global capitalist crisis that broke out in 2008;
- ii. progressive taxation to boost state revenue, rather revenue generating measures that place more burden on the working class and the poor;
- iii. support for state-led industrialisation that creates decent work and transforms the structure of our economy;
- iv. increased support for public employment programmes and protection of social security programmes for the workers and the poor, including a progressive advance towards a comprehensive social security system.

### **1.3.2. State-owned enterprises**

- 1.3.3. Reaffirm our 14<sup>th</sup> National Congress resolution to fight privatisation of SOEs, especially but not limited to Eskom and SAA as strategic assets, and building a strong and democratic publicly-owned sector of our economy with a developmental agenda;
- 1.3.4. Call for urgent intervention to turn Eskom and SAA around and thus reposition both to thrive and respectively serve as the mainstay of our energy and aviation industrial policies;
- 1.3.5. Reiterate our call for the boards and management of all SOEs, including Eskom and SAA, to be constituted by people who are capable, honest, committed and accountable – where this does not happen, decisive action must be taken without delay.



- 1.3.6. Any person flying on tax payers' money or on an official capacity or work of a state or government establishment must be required to use SAA as a preferred airline; in other words, the entire state-wide or government flying budget at all levels must be spent towards turning around and sustaining SAA.
- 1.3.7. All outsourced services and operations at SAA must be scrutinised through a forensic investigation to determine the role they have played and the extent to which outsourcing and its exploitation as well as corruption contributed to the crisis into which SAA was plunged; outsourced services and operations must be reviewed with the objective of insourcing; regulations and legislation that disadvantage SAA compared to other airlines must also be reviewed.
- 1.3.8. ESKOM must be empowered to takeover coal mines and to engage in investment in new energy technologies.
- 1.3.9. Reiterate our call for re-nationalisation of Sasol.
- 1.3.10. A process be undertaken to review the location of state-owned enterprises with the objective of relocating them to their respective line departments.

#### **1.4. The Financial sector**

- 1.4.1. Support measures recommended in the Political Report, SACP's response to the National Treasury and discussion document against neoliberalism on financial sector transformation, including revitalising our financial sector campaign and efforts to build a co-operative banking and financial sector and publicly-owned developmental banking sector that responds to needs of the people.
- 1.4.2. The mandate of the Reserve Bank must explicitly include employment growth targeting and an explicit target for a balanced and sustainable economic growth that

systematically eliminates inequality, unemployment, poverty and uneven development.

- 1.4.3. The criteria for the appointment of the governor and deputy governors of Reserve Bank must include commitment to a developmental macro-economic policy, including in particular monetary policy, and demonstrable record in supporting employment creation.
- 1.4.4. To pursue the training of red-brigades around our programme and building a broad front for financial sector transformation.
- 1.4.5. Continue pushing the convening of the second financial sector transformation summit.

## **1.5. The social and solidarity economy**

- 1.5.1. We need to put much stronger focus on workers in the informal economy, its formalisation, and new forms of the social organisation of work and production, including implications and opportunities available in the sphere of the rising importance of digital technologies or digitalisation. The support needed for workers in the solidarity economy as well as co-operative sector development should include support in the areas of, and formalisation as well as proper organisation and appropriate demarcation of street trading, community care workers, agrarian transformation, small taxi operators and fisheries.
- 1.5.2. Despite a review of co-operative development policy and legislation, which called for the creation of a dedicated co-operative development agency and co-operative training academy, there has been marginalisation of co-operative sector development in the past five years. The SACP must embark on a co-operatives sector development programme aimed at removing all impediments, including legislative and regulatory barriers that stand in the way of building

a thriving co-operative sector. The Party must strengthen its capacity and efforts to pioneer a thriving co-operative sector.

- 1.5.3. Call for the de-tenderisation of state functions, such as but not limited to school feeding schemes, by directly empowering communities through co-operatives.

## 1.6. Technological change and revolution

- 1.6.1. We need to formulate a comprehensive Digital Industrial Policy which is aligned with, supports and forms part of our strategic industrial development priorities.
- 1.6.2. The SACP must deepen its study of the Digital Industrial Revolution and the development of Quantum Computing Supremacy and implications for work.
- 1.6.3. The Party should push the adoption of a comprehensive and high impact Research and Development Strategy, and in this regard increased support and funding for innovation, research and development for our country to pursue own technological and scientific discoveries, inventions, designs and innovation as part of our industrial policy, health care and a wider search for opportunities and solutions to the problems or challenges of our society and development.
- 1.6.4. Our approach to economic policy in the sphere of technological change and revolution should include democratic public control of our broadband spectrum, reduction of the cost of data, a big push for digital skills development, rolling out of public technological infrastructure, and setting developmental requirements in the introduction of new technologies.
- 1.6.5. The SACP should take forward in policy considerations the content of its discussion document on *Digital Industrial Revolution and Nascent Quantum Computing Industrial*

*Development*, including by way of incorporation into our Party programme, the South African Road to Socialism. The Party should therefore add technological change and revolution (that is, the sphere of technology and its development) as a key site of struggle and significant centre of power, and thus a new pillar in our Party programme.

## **1.7. Campaign for decent work and sustainable livelihoods**

1.7.1. Work with and support Cosatu-led campaign around jobs, including building our technical capacity on and monitoring of NEDLAC processes and implementation of Job Summit Agreements.

## **1.8. Public transport, education and health care**

1.8.1. The SACP should link economic transformation with the social aspects including investments in public transport (rail and roads), education – from foundation level to technical, vocational and higher education and training.

1.8.2. The Party should intensify its campaign efforts to advance and defend the introduction of quality health care for all through the National Health Insurance.

## **1.9. Transformation of the mining sector**

1.9.1. The SACP should revisit the report on State Intervention in the Mining Sector (SIMS) as part of our attempts at ensuring transformation of the mining sector and linking it with our industrial strategy and energy policy.

1.9.2. The declaration of certain mineral resources as strategic for the purposes of driving manufacturing localisation, industrialisation and ensuring energy security is crucial. The Party must advance implementation of this way forward.

## **1.10. The climate change**

1.10.1. Climate change is already having a devastating impact

on our country, region and the world. Through extreme weather events, hundreds of millions of people face the risk of starvation as a result of drought and climate making agriculture difficult to survive. Millions more live in conditions that are uninhabitable and unhealthy as a result of the capitalist mode of production and consumption, the main driving force of climate change.

- 1.10.2. While the climate crisis require coordinated response on a global scale, however, one thing is clear: capitalism, a social system based endless accumulation of capital for the few is incapable of ending the climate crisis.
- 1.10.3. The SACP, guided by its programme, the South African Road to Socialism, needs to update its approach on climate change, engage in campaigning both independently and with the progressive trade union movement and our allies.

## **1.11. Land and agrarian reform**

- 1.11.1. To begin to profile our work as the Party on agrarian transformation and land reform, including adding a new campaign on securing reliable access to clean drinking water and access to water to productive use especially but not exclusively in rural areas linked with rural development.
- 1.11.2. The land redistribution process must be accelerated, taking into account the entire sphere of the political economy of land, including but not limited to agriculture, mining, the maritime economy, the real estate sector, the connection between land and the aviation space and industry, and various other uses of land, as well as the need to support and empower especially the working class and the poor in these productive land use spaces.
- 1.11.3. The Parliamentary process to finalise the amendment of the section 25 of the Constitution must be finalised to give unequivocal clarity to, and make land expropriation –

without compensation – categorical as a policy instrument that must be available to the state to redistribute land and support productive land use, as the statement of the SACP 14th Central Committee 3rd Plenary Session held in February 2018.

- 1.11.4. The process of adoption of an expropriation Act must also be pursued rigorously both in terms of the Constitution and in view of the challenges that may be experienced with regard to the required majority in relation to constitutional amendment.

## **1.12. Africa free trade agreement**

- 1.12.1. Alliance must engage on the African Continental Free Trade Area to develop a common understanding and approach, including on the rules of origin.

## **1.13. Alliance Economic Summit**

- 1.13.1. Our engagement within the Alliance on economic questions should include a review the National Development Plan and be based on the principles of consultation and structures, including Alliance summits, outlined in the common Alliance paper on reconfiguration.

## ARTICLE 3

### Gender and broader social transformation

#### 1. Overall context noted

- 1.1. The discussion document on the crisis of social reproduction approved by the Central Committee towards this Special National Congress, also highlighted in the Political Report, foregrounds much of the work on gender transformation and tackling the crisis of social reproduction.
- 1.2. The ongoing crisis of global capitalist mode of accumulation is accentuated by the trade war pushed by the Trump administration.
- 1.3. The crisis of capitalism both globally and locally is also articulated in deepening ecological crisis, with its already felt effects in Africa with drought and spiralling weather anomalies on a global scale, bringing threat to life on the planet and sustainability of future populations.
- 1.4. In South Africa, the crisis of social reproduction is a product of capitalism and the corporate-capture ('state capture') that has seen the collapse of our institutions, thus hollowing the gains of our freedom and democracy.
- 1.5. Both the accumulation model of monopoly capital and massive corruption and corporate capture of the state have eroded fiscal reserves of the state, plunging our economy into multiple crises, including a fiscal crisis.
- 1.6. The negative growth in the economy, collapse of state-owned enterprises (SOEs) and spiralling unemployment, currently affecting 10.3 million active and discouraged unemployed work seekers, compounded by fiscal crisis, rising debt levels and crippling threat of a downgrade by imperialist ratings agencies further put pressure on

our economy, growing the scope of the crisis of social reproduction in the country.

## **2. Believe, and resolve**

- 2.1. We believe that to fully grasp the crisis of social reproduction in South Africa we have to locate it historically within the broader crisis of capitalism, that is, the global capitalist crisis and its neoliberal regime, itself an a direct result of capitalist manoeuvre to its crises dating back to the early 1970s. The 2008 global crisis also saw exhaustion of Asia (specifically China) led global growth through massive accumulation and consumption raw material, especially steel among others.
- 2.2. Understanding the combined nature of these crises, we believe that in spite of the lamented fiscal crisis, the following represent what our government must not fail to address and implement to avoid further deepening of the economic and social reproduction crises:
  - a. Social protection regime (social grants) that respond to already exiting crisis of social reproduction
  - b. Progressive transformation agenda, that is, an economic empowerment programme linked to income for popular classes, in townships and villages, for example, job guarantee schemes, such as the Expanded Public Works and Community Works Programmes, but which should be transformed and anchored in the realisation of the objectives of the decent work agenda.
  - c. Identification and promulgation of local-based economic ecosystem as an integral part of social protection and alternative development models.
  - d. Land and agrarian transformation, with focus on but not exclusively women and youth empowerment and rural development.

## **3. The Special National Congress further resolves**

- 3.1. To pursue a broad front on the above-mentioned programmatic



areas, as well as in pursuit of the campaign against gender-based violence as mandated by the Party through its Red October Campaign 2019–2020.

- 3.2. In the same vein, to welcome and adopt the SACP resolution on building popular fronts to advance not oppositional mobilisation but active and constructive yet critical citizenship in which creative energies and mobilisation that promote the aspirations of popular classes (e.g. socialised local economies like co-operatives, SMMEs, stokvels, community saving schemes) are advanced.
- 3.3. That the SACP should pursue the adoption of a skills revolution, taking into account technological change and its impact on work, to equip our people especially but not exclusively the youth and women as well as the unemployed with adequate skills to create and lead sustainable livelihoods.

#### **4. Social reproduction**

##### **4.1. Noting:**

- a. The conception of the crisis of social reproduction in explaining the crisis of capitalism in South Africa
- b. The direct impact of the social reproduction crisis especially on women, youth and the poor.

##### **4.2. Believing that:**

- a. The scourge of gender-based violence and femicide is a further manifestation of the crisis of social reproduction in South Africa

##### **4.3. Resolve that:**

- a. The Special National Congress endorses the contribution of the analytical framework of the crisis of social reproduction in the political report and an integrated approach in the measures required to tackle the capitalist crisis and system and its manifestation in the form of but not limited to the crisis of social reproduction.

- b. To adopt the recommendations made in the Political Report on the crisis of social reproduction.

## **5. Education and skills**

### **5.1. Noting**

- a. The skills challenge facing the youth, women and unemployed in general including men in South Africa.
- b. The high and rising number of the youth who are not in education, employment and training in unemployment statistics.

### **5.2. Believing**

- a. We need to address the vulnerability of young women and young men who have fallen through the cracks.
- b. The gaps in the technical and vocational education and training (TVET) programmes especially lack of access to apprenticeships, learnerships or recognised experiential learning programmes delays the completion of qualification for the affected youth.
- c. Environmental education, as part of our environmental protection strategy; health education, as part of our quality health care for all strategy; basic technical and vocational skills, as part of our industrial and national production development strategy; need to be integrated into and thus form part of the compulsory learning areas/subjects in our schooling curriculum for all children.
- d. Schools must be equipped on the implication of the digital industrial revolution.
- e. As part of the compulsory aspects of our curriculum, every South African learner must be equipped with a set of technical and/or vocational occupation/trade or agricultural/farming skills to enable them to effectively participate in the economy.

### 5.3. Resolve

- a. The Party must deepen its vanguard role towards full realisation of free and compulsory education as espoused first and foremost in the Manifesto of the Communist Party as well as in its programmes dating back to its founding in 1921 and the Freedom Charter.
- b. Sector Education and Training Authorities (SETAs) should be linked to skills development to meet the needs of the people regardless of gender and age and further to TVET colleges. The efficiency of SETAs in carrying out their mandate must be improved on a continuous basis.
- c. It is important to address the educational needs of teenagers to avoid teenage pregnancies.
- d. Information and Communication Technology should be taught to all children in schools.
- e. Early childhood development in TVET curriculum must be upgraded.
- f. The TVET system must be adequately funded and expanded, among others through an increased number of qualifications and skills programmes to provide a greater number of choices and cater for more students – for more students to be enrolled in TVET colleges than universities the number of qualifications and programme offerings in TVET colleges must be increased to be equal to or more than those offered in universities.
- g. The Party should enhance the compilation and consolidation of the education and skills profiles of its members for the purposes of political education and ideological training as well as professional development linked to advancing, deepening and defending the national democratic revolution and the course of socialism.

## **6. The party programmes on the social economy**

### **6.1. Noting**

- a. The continuing collapse of community-based and social economies in townships and rural communities.

### **6.2. Believing**

- a. The SACP should promote co-operative forms of saving and economic activity.

### **6.3. Resolve**

- a. Every branch must have at least two members assigned to promote co-operatives.
- b. Establish a stokvel for party members as well as strengthen the Debit Order Campaign.

## **7. Gender-based violence and femicide**

### **7.1. Noting**

- a. The growing scourge of gender-based violence and femicide in the country
- b. More than 50 per cent of abuse takes place in the home
- c. Deep underlying issues of societal decay rooted in the systemic features and crisis of the capitalist mode of production.

### **7.2. Believing**

- a. Gender-based violence and femicide point to deeper societal problems, namely the sharpening crises of capitalism and social reproduction.
- b. Continuing unchanging patterns of patriarchy, traditions and religion continue to entrench a societal view that places women in a subservient position to men.

- c. Trade unions should deepen their role in gender education.
- d. We must take care of the boy child, especially in concerted gender education, as we must take care of the girl child.
- e. Education and empowerment of women in particular is an important component of leveraging control and enabling women to not depend on men for livelihoods.
- f. The toll of this society on women is unbearable. Need to have a dialogue on gender inherited from the past.
- g. That as long we have the capitalist system sexism and gender discrimination will continue to rear its ugly face, thus the fight against gender-based violence and sexist attitude must be combined with the struggle against capitalism.

### 7.3. Resolve

- a. Government must adopt a coherent programme of action on the Presidential initiatives, rather than another *Imbizo/Piitso*, to address gender-based violence.
- b. Government must appoint a Presidential commission to make thorough, grounded research on gender-based violence and femicide. This can be supported by establishment of Research Chairs on gender-based violence and femicide.
- c. The justice system should be strengthened and act consistently to address gender-based violence.
- d. The Department of Social Development's *Thuthuzela* Care Centres for vulnerable groups should be established in every district.
- e. Gender education must be incorporated into the compulsory Life Orientation curriculum in schools.

## **8. Building women empowerment in Party organs and programs**

### **8.1. Noting**

- a. The organisational report does not show measurable implementation of gender and social transformation commission resolutions in provinces, districts and branches.
- b. The lack of clear progress in provinces to take up gender transformation programmes and campaigns

### **8.2. Resolve**

- a. The Party must have monitoring and assessment mechanism to track implementation of all resolutions, not least the gender and broader social transformation resolutions in provincial, district and branch levels.
- b. The Party must reflect on a programme to respond to the need to build and strengthen the progressive women's movement.

### **8.3. Further noting**

- a. Actively addressing gender imbalance in leadership needs to be conceived as a key campaign in our struggle for socialism.
- b. The party must link building working class power and hegemony with the mobilisation of women.

### **8.4. Further resolve**

- a. To re-affirm the 50:50 gender representation.
- b. The 50:50 measure must be seen as a minimum requirement and be applied in all the structures of the Party.
- c. The conference of women commissars should be convened before the international women's day in 2020.

## 9. Health and the National Health Insurance

### 9.1. Noting

- a. Continuing lack of support of National Health Insurance even in some of trade unions
- b. the debilitating state of infrastructure and poor services in health facilities

### 9.2. Resolve

- a. To endorse the Party resolution on the National Health Insurance.
- b. Infrastructural and service provision gaps in public health facilities must be addressed in support of quality health care for all.

## 10. The Youth

### 10.1. Noting

- a. The scourge of drug abuse affecting the youth
- b. The collapse of social support system in family and community for many young people

### 10.2. Resolve

- a. The YCLSA should build a leading role in the youth struggle for fight drug and substances abuse
- b. The Central Committee Gender and Social Transformation Commission should develop a proposal for consideration by the Central Committee mechanism towards conscription programmes for youths to instil discipline but also to advance skills development.

### 10.3. Special Resolution on Water

#### 10.3.1. Noting

- a. Increasing scarcity of water resource, mainly affecting our people in poor communities.



- b. The privatisation of water services boards and allocation of water resources unevenly.

### **10.3.2. Resolve**

- a. We re-affirm the 14<sup>th</sup> National Congress resolution on water.
- b. A national district-based campaign on water must be established.
- c. The SACP must develop a leading role in campaign for communities to have access to water resources in their proximity.

## **11. Executive pay and income inequality**

### **11.1. Resolve**

- a. The voice of the Party on exorbitant executive pay both in the private and public sector must be strengthened and elevated.
- b. The party should pioneer the efforts and partner with the progressive trade union movement that seeks to oppose this injustice in our society and to fight for a more equitable dispensation to address the problem and achieve redress.

## **12. Special resolution on Gender and Social Transformation Commission**

### **12.1. Noting**

- a. The progress made in advancing women representation in party structures,
- b. Continuing imbalances in advancing women in strategic party and alliance formations

### **12.2. Resolve**

- a. The convenor of the Gender and Social Transformation Commission at every respective all level should be included in



the composition of all the relevant and strategic committees of the Party.

- b. The Gender Social Transformation Commission should play an active role in shaping political developments and deployments in the Alliance.

### **13. The party and trade unions**

#### **13.1. Resolve**

- a. The SACP should work on a proposal for targeted recruitment of women trade unionist into the Party.
- b. Resolve that we strengthen our relationship with trade unions through political education.

### **14. Special Resolution on the Party Building Commission**

#### **14.1. Noting**

- a. The 14th National Congress resolutions address many of the challenges that continue to affect our organisations and our communities.
- b. The State of the Organisation Report does not have a measurable outline of implementation of 14th National Congress resolutions at provincial and district levels.

#### **14.2. Resolve**

- a. The Party Building Commission should develop a tool to monitor the implementation of party resolutions at provincial, district and local levels for adoption by the Central Committee.
- b. The Special National Congress re-affirms the resolution for re-joining the Women's' International Democratic Federation (WIDF).

## **15. Special resolution on circumcision ritual**

### **15.1. Noting**

- a. Already more than 17 young men have died in this current male circumcision cycle especially in the Eastern Cape Province
- b. The continuing exploitation of young men and their families by unqualified and unscrupulous traditional practitioners resulting in loss of life.

### **15.2. Believing**

- a. The rite of passage of boys into manhood is an integral part of socialisation that must be respected and protected from unscrupulous elements.

### **15.3. Resolve**

- a. Families and communities must take a central role in the undertaking of the rite of passage.
- b. Law enforcement needs to be visible in prosecuting those responsible for the harm and death of young initiates.

## ARTICLE 4

### Party building and organisational renewal

#### 1. Noting

- 1.1. The challenges faced by the revolutionary movement, threaten to stagnate the national democratic revolution and reverse many gains.
- 1.2. The challenges mainly stem from, amongst others, capitalist economic crisis, Guptarisation and corporate capture of the state ('state capture') and government as well as decision making within our movement, the collapse of good governance and ethical leadership, and corruption across all spheres of government and the economy.
- 1.3. The problems include the role of private corporations, tensions, divisions and factionalism within our movement, which intensified towards the 54th National Conference of the ANC and spilt into other Alliance formations and congress student organisations
- 1.4. The challenges have contributed to some sections of our society losing confidence in our liberation movement.

#### 1.5. Further noting

- a. The agenda of the 14th National Congress was to build and consolidate the liberation forces rooted amongst the masses of the working people.
- b. The Party has seen the general growth of its membership since its unbanning, more so after the 13th National Congress held in 2012. However, this growth has been characterised by three features. The first is the imbalance between quantitative and qualitative growth, in terms of which qualitative growth

is lagging. The second is that the Party was declining in other areas of the country while growing in others. The third is that there is a lack of growth in Party membership among the white population.

- c. The deepening capitalist crisis characterised by heightening imperialist aggression, increasing rate of labour exploitation by capital, sky-rocketing unemployment, continued racialised inequality – all these exert pressure on the organisational capacity of the party.
- d. The youth movement and the congress student movement continued to decline and to be divided in the period preceding the Special National Congress and remain incoherent with the YCLSA appearing incapable of effectively responding to this reality.
- e. The Cosatu-led progressive trade union movement has been facing enormous challenges imposed by both the subjective and objective realities of its operating conditions, including lack of organisational capacity, and an onslaught imposed by the changing nature of capitalist production, which saw a serious decline in industrial union membership due to neoliberal workplace restructuring.
- f. Progressive civic movement, Sanco has been severely weakened and divided, thus leaving a vacuum in community struggles.
- g. Through the initiative of the SACP and Cosatu and the participation of the ANC in the process (with Sanco falling out towards the end as a result of internal divisions), towards the end of 2019 the Alliance adopted a document titled 'Towards a Reconfigured Alliance: A Joint Alliance Reconfiguration Platform'.

## 1.6. Believing that

- a. The SACP is a Marxist-Leninist organisation leading the struggle

for socialism in the context of advancing, deepening and defending the national democratic revolution.

- b. The SACP is founded on the principle of unity, democratic centralism, high discipline, activism and organisational coherence.
- c. There should be no spectators in Party work; all members must be activist and organisers and, as such, when moments of assessment and accountability arise we must all reflect and account on the tasks undertaken and those lying ahead. This is captured in the Red October Campaign 2019–2020 slogan, *'Every Party Cadre must be a Community Activist'*.
- d. The role of the SACP includes organising, educating and leading the working class in the struggle for socialism and the immediate objectives of advancing, deepening and defending the national democratic revolution.
- e. The Party should organise, educate and advance women within the working class, poor rural communities and to raise the consciousness of the working class as a whole and its allies around the oppressive nature capitalist and patriarchal gender relations.

## 1.7. Reaffirming

- a. The 14th National Congress instructed the SACP to be guided by, on amongst others:
  - 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 concrete conditions.
  - iii. Tactical flexibility – the ability to not be caught flat-footed while still being guided by revolutionary strategic consistency.

## **1.8. Proceeding from this understanding, the Special National Congress resolved:**

### **1.8.1. Organisational Renewal**

- a. To adopt the framework and the recommendations presented in the Political Report on Party building, Organisational Renewal, Alliance Reconfiguration and Rebuilding our Movement.
- b. That the implementation of such must be informed by the concrete conditions on the ground.
- c. To endorse the recommendations from the Party Review and Organisational Renewal Commission on the need to develop guidelines governing Party work, Party Organisation and Party Discipline.
- d. To have standard reporting format on the implementation of Party work. This must include receiving reports on the relationship of the party structures with the families of our fallen cadres.
- e. Part of taking forward the renewal program will include an aggressive implementation of the resolution on the renaming of Party provinces.
- f. That the organising capacity of the party must be strengthened at all levels, if the renewal programme was to be driven effectively towards the centenary of the party.

### **1.8.2. Towards a Reconfigured Alliance**

- a. The Special National Congress welcomed the progress made towards the reconfiguration of the Alliance and the common Alliance document, 'Towards a Reconfigured Alliance' as a positive step.
- b. Notwithstanding the positive steps, members expressed concern on the following and also resolved as follows:

- i. To endorse the recommendations made in the Political Report on the reconfiguration of the Alliance and state and popular power as further adopted in the declaration of the Special National Congress (see the declaration).
- ii. The common Alliance paper on reconfiguration has a crucial role to play in our programme to rebuild our movement.
- iii. However, if not supported by mass and political work on the ground as well as by further engagements at all sub-national levels, the reconfiguration could turn out to be an elite pact done at board room level with no expression at membership levels particularly in branches – therefore the common Alliance document on the reconfiguration of the Alliance must be cascaded down to the sub-national structures starting at the provincial level through among others provincial Alliance summits and other joint meetings.
- iv. The watering down or rejection of the content of the document must be avoided as it would result in serious implications for the unity of the Alliance and its future.
- v. While the reconfiguration of the Alliance is not merely about electoral lists, a backward shift towards the lists and deployments may impede meaningful reconfiguration of the Alliance. The guidelines on list processes must be aligned with the common Alliance document on reconfiguration. The alignment must be completed before the start of the electoral processes for the 2021 local government elections to allow enough space for effective Alliance political intervention.

- vi. The reconfiguration should incorporate equitable sharing of resources including levies from deployees.
- vii. Timelines must be set for the implementation of the changes contained in the common Alliance reconfiguration paper.
- viii. The Special National Congress agreed on a need to for joint Alliance structures and collective leadership organs as articulated in the common Alliance paper, and that this should include a dedicated focus on revolutionary moral high ground and revolutionary ethics and discipline.

## **1.9. Building the trade union movement**

- 1.9.1. The Special National Congress emphasised the crucial role of the Party in building the progressive labour movement and attached great attention to but not exclusively Cosatu and its affiliates.
- 1.9.2. The Party will in that regard place equal attention in organising unorganised workers as well as developing appropriate ways of organising the unemployed.
- 1.9.3. Part of our work to build the progressive trade union movement is to strengthen recruitment within its ranks supported by political education and campaigning. In this regard the Party should engage with Cosatu as well as its affiliates on joint programmes.

## **1.10. Building the Youth Movement**

- 1.1.1. The Special National Congress expressed concerns on the absence of the YCLSA in number of TVET college and university campuses, including its absence inspiring and providing leadership to the South African youth in general. In this context it was agreed that the party should take



active steps towards building and continuously rebuilding the YCLSA and its structures at all levels.

- 1.1.2. The SACP should take effective steps towards resourcing the YCLSA and building its capacity, including by means of taking responsibility for the political education and ideological training of the YCLSA.
- 1.1.3. The prevalence of substances abuse by the youth, including school-going children, partly reflects the weaknesses of the Progressive Youth Alliance, particularly the fact that it is weak. The SACP both working independently and with our allies should develop and implement a programme to build the Progressive Youth Alliance.

## **1.10. SACP campaigns**

- 1.10.1. The Special National Congress reaffirms all party campaigns including but not limited to the Red October Campaign, Know and Act in Your Neighbourhood Campaign, Financial Sector Campaign, National Health Insurance Campaign, and the Land and Agrarian Transformation Campaign – these and the other campaigns of the Party must be driven consistently.
- 1.10.2. The Qina Msebenzi campaign which associated with election campaigns must be regularised, driven consistently and integrated into our efforts to build the progressive trade union movement.
- 1.10.3. Similarly, the Financial Sector Campaign and the anti-Evictions Campaign should be driven consistently integrated into our Party Building and organising programme.
- 1.10.4. The Chris Hani Brigade curriculum should cover training on good governance from a working class perspective.
- 1.10.5. Access to Water Campaign and Energy Campaign,

which must also be directed towards a turnaround of Eskom, should be added to the campaigns of the Party and driven consistently.

- 1.10.6. Practical steps should be taken towards escalating the National Health Insurance Campaign and confronting the attaches directed at its introduction or at watering it down.
- 1.10.7. The Party should rigorously drive its Debit Order Campaign and ensure that all members comply and make driving the campaign an indispensable part of their political life.
- 1.10.8. The sale of RDP houses should be examined and the state should play a role in ensuring that no RDP house is sold without its intervention, including considerations for possible re-allocation.
- 1.10.9. The SACP should push the consolidating the gains of Free Education Campaign, including by fighting against corruption and abuse of the system.
- 1.10.10. All SACP campaigns following the Special National Congress should set the tone for its centenary celebrations.

## ARTICLE 5

### The State and Popular Power

#### 1. Assessment

- a. THE RESOLUTION ADOPTED BY THE SACP 14<sup>TH</sup> National Congress on the State and Popular Power is comprehensive and informs our ongoing work in the Party, the Alliance and broader society on state and popular power.
- b. The 14th National Congress tasked its Central Committee and the entire Party Organisation at all levels to undertake work as outlined in the resolution.
- c. The 14th National Congress tasked its Special National Congress to review and assess progress on the work outlined in the realisation of the tasks it outlined in the resolution and decide on a way forward.
- d. Therefore the Special National Congress sought take forward the work, rather than to reinvent the wheel.

#### 2. Furthermore, the 14th National Congress resolved, among others as follows:

- a. "... [T]o take this work forward, the 14th National Congress mandates the Central Committee to establish a Road Map that must be adopted, with clear, indicative time-lines, by forthcoming Augmented CC. This Road Map must include the following:
  - i. A programme of active engagements with our Alliance partners, and with a wide range of working class and progressive forces to share and 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”

### **3. The Special National Congress resolved:**

- 1.1. To reaffirm the strategic relevance of the 14th National Congress resolution on state and popular power and adopt the Political Report and Organisational Report of the Central Committee.
- 1.2. To acknowledge the progress made on the implementation of the 14th National Congress resolution on State and Popular Power as presented in the Political Report and State of the Organisation Report and in particular the process of the reconfiguration of the Alliance.
- 1.3. That the Party must pay particular attention to a broad range of aspects and elements related to state and state power question, including theorisation of the state in the current conjuncture, and parliamentarism.
- 1.4. To note the challenges reported during the presentation of the State of the Organisation Report and task the Central Committee to develop a programme for the SACP to overcome those and other challenges that stand in the way of building working class unity, cohesion and power as essential elements of popular power and its relation to state power.
- 1.5. To endorse the framework on the reconfiguration of the Alliance and adopt the broad approach on the State and Popular Power as put forward in the Political Report and the Declaration adopted by this Special National Congress.
- 1.6. To endorse the common Alliance reconfiguration paper approved by the Alliance Political Council; the common Alliance reconfiguration paper must be further discussed and find resonance at all levels of



the organisation of the Alliance, including at the sub-national levels; namely in provinces, districts/regions and locals

- 1.7. The Special National Congress emphasised the importance of the SACP unifying the working class and building working class coherence, unity, hegemony and power, and intensifying class struggle, including re-building our movement, advancing and deepening the national democratic revolution and the course of socialism.

## ARTICLE 6

### Constitutional Review

#### 1. Approach to constitutional amendments

1.1. The Special National Congress endorsed the approach to constitutional amendments set out in the Central Committee Constitutional Report:

- a. The CONSTITUTION is A GUIDE AND A FRAMEWORK BUT NOT COMPREHENSIVE: For a variety of reasons, the Party Constitution should not be too comprehensive or long. It should not be a substitute for addressing issues through policies, political education and action. Constitutional Amendments are only made at Congresses and the Constitution should not be changed lightly.
- b. There is NEED FOR RULES AND GUIDELINES TO COMPLEMENT THE CONSTITUTION: This may be necessary to set out in detail such issues as the need for political education; induction of new members; a Code of Conduct; penalties for offenses and other matters.
- c. DIFFERENCES WITH COMMUNIST PARTIES IN GOVERNMENT: While there are many lessons to be drawn from the experiences of Communist Parties in government, especially in China and Cuba, we obviously cannot put into our Party Constitution some of the issues they have, as we do not have control of the state and we have different historical and other national situation differences. But we should certainly draw from Constitutions of these parties whatever is relevant and useful to our experience.

1.2. The Special National Congress further endorsed three other aspects of the approach to constitutional amendments:

- a. A NEED FOR DISCUSSION PAPERS FOR MAJOR CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENTS RELATING TO THE PARTY'S THEORY AND STRATEGY: We need to avoid changing the Party's theory and strategy and the nature of the Alliance through constitutional amendments; such constitutional changes should be made after political discussion papers on these issues have been processed.
  - b. A NEED TO CONSIDER FINANCIAL IMPLICATIONS OF CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENTS. We need to avoid adopting amendments to the Constitution that cannot be implemented because of financial reasons. For example, to propose that the Constitution prescribe that District secretaries must be full-time will not for the foreseeable future be able to be implemented. This is a matter that can be considered through policies adopted by the Central Committee. In any case, those DEC's that can afford to have a full-time Secretary are free to do so, within the guidelines of Party Organisation. There is no need for a constitutional amendment for this.
  - c. CONSENSUS AS FAR AS POSSIBLE: Because the Constitution is a foundation document of the Party, and given its importance in shaping our political identity, we should try as far as possible to get consensus on the amendments we make to it.
- 1.3. There was an unprecedented number and range of amendments proposed for the attention of the Special National Congress. The process of constitutional amendments can only work effectively if:
- a. The Provincial Councils before a National Congress adopt give mandates to the PECs on proposed constitutional amendments.
  - b. The provinces are represented by either the Provincial Secretaries or Chairpersons on the Central Committee Constitutional Review Commission ahead of the National Congress. The YCLSA also needs to follow a similar process, culminating into a mandate for its National Committee, and participate in a similar format in the

Central Committee Constitutional Review Commission.

- c. It is also important for the Party Building Commission to seek consensus on constitutional amendments before a National Congress and provinces and the YCLSA need to ensure that their representatives on the Central Committee Constitutional Review Commission are properly briefed on decisions of the Party Building Commission.
- d. As necessary the Provincial Secretaries (and the National Secretary of the YCLSA) should also meet at the National Congress under the auspices of the Central Committee Constitutional Review Commission to try to find consensus on constitutional amendments.
- e. Provinces need to seek to build hegemony for major constitutional amendments before and during a National Congress.

1.4. The YCLSA proposed many amendments to the Constitution, and the range of issues covered is unprecedented. The Special National Congress expressed its appreciation for the thorough and far-reaching work done by the YCLSA. Of course, it is the right of the YCLSA to propose any constitutional amendments that they want, just as any branch or other structure of the SACP – though it has to be understood that we are dealing with the Constitution of the SACP, not the YCLSA's. However, several of their proposed amendments require a thorough discussion about the overall theory and strategy of the SACP, including the nature of the Alliance, and will require a discussion paper on these issues before constitutional amendments can be considered.

**2. Having taken all necessary matters into account, the Special National Congress resolved to consider only the proposals on constitutional amendments specifically mentioned in the Party Building Commission report. These are on:**

- a. Political Education and Cadre Development Commission



- b. Deployment and Accountability Commission
- c. Central Ethics Commission and Discipline Inspectorate
- d. An executive office-bearers committee.

## 2.1. New Constitutional Structures

- a. The Special National Congress endorsed the proposal: as we usually refer to Central Committee “Committees”, instead of “Commissions”, we refer to Political Education and Deployment “Committees”. The term “Commission” should apply to structures that include non-Central Committee members.
- b. We should avoid setting up too many constitutional structures, in addition without taking into account our capacity and resources.
- c. The Special National Congress agreed on the need for the establishment of Central Committee Political Education and Cadre Development Committee and Deployment and Accountability Committee. While the roles of these two Central Committee committees are set out in the proposed constitutional amendments, the Central Committee has to develop guidelines on how they would be constituted and function.
- d. The Special National Congress agreed on the need for a structure to focus on ethical discipline, but resolved that there is a need for greater clarity on the following, among other issues, before fuller constitutional amendments can be effected at the 2022, 15th National Congress of the Party:
  - i. Would the Central Ethics Commission and Discipline Inspectorate (CECDI) be a Central Committee committee or a commission. If the latter, would it be elected by the National Congress? How many members should it have? What would be the criteria to decide on its members? If it is the National Congress that decides on the CECDI, consideration needs to be given to not subjecting it to a popular elections process;

- but instead the Central Committee should propose names to the National Congress for it to take a final decision on this.
- ii. How would the CECDI and the Disciplinary Committee relate with each other?
  - iii. What would be the relationship between the Political Education and Cadre Development Committee and the CECDI, especially as cadre development also entails issues of revolutionary morality.
  - iv. What would be the relationship between the CECDI and the Inspectorate arm?
  - v. Will the Inspectorate include full-time members? If so, how many? The financial implications will also need to be taken into account.
  - vi. What safeguards should be put in place to prevent the Inspectorate from abusing its power? Should there not be clear terms of reference for the functioning of the Inspectorate?
  - vii. What aspects of the CECDI should be in the Constitution and what aspects should be dealt with in Central Committee policies and guidelines adopted after consultation within the Party?
  - viii. Will the CECDI be only at the national level? And if it is to be at sub-national levels, why would it be called a “Central” Commission and what would the other Commissions at the sub-national level be called?

## 2.2. Further resolve:

- a. The Central Committee Secretariat and Disciplinary Committee should produce a Political Position Paper on the CECDI within six months, addressing the above and other issues.
- b. This paper should be discussed among our structures and include specific constitutional amendments.



- c. The Special National Congress accepts in the meanwhile the proposed constitutional amendment on a Revolutionary Morality Committee (section 24.d):
  - i. There shall be an SACP Revolutionary Morality Committee that will strive to ensure that SACP members understand and abide by a Marxist-Leninist revolutionary morality.
  - ii. The Revolutionary Morality Committee shall not include members of the Standing Disciplinary Committee.
  - iii. The Central Committee shall, as necessary, provide a framework for the role of the Revolutionary Morality Committee.
- d. Where possible, the Political Education and Cadre Development Committee should pay attention to issues of revolutionary morality within its scope.
- e. The proposal (section 13.b) that “All the office-bearers constitute the office-bearer’s committee that will oversee the day-to-day functioning of the SACP and the implementation of decisions of the PB and CC” was not endorsed.

### **3. Disciplinary Issues**

- 3.1. The Special National Congress endorsed the recommendation that: Clause 25.1(a) be replaced with the following wording: A member or interim member who through an investigation is found to have breached any provision of this Constitution or to have manifest any other conduct detrimental to the SACP shall be subjected to SACP disciplinary proceedings, and shall remain subject to the discipline of the SACP throughout the disciplinary process and any sanction, unless expelled from the SACP.
- 3.2. Clause 25.2 (a) remains unchanged, namely that: Disciplinary proceedings shall normally be conducted at the level where the alleged violation or offence took place, namely the branch, district, province or national.



- 3.3. Clause 25.2 (b) is amended and incorporates 25.2 (c)(i) and reads: All structures of the SACP shall establish a Standing Disciplinary Committee of not less than three (3) and not more than five (5) persons to hear disciplinary cases which will only function when the relevant structure refers a matter for investigation and possible disciplinary action to the chair of the committee. The Standing Disciplinary Committees of the SACP shall not include office bearers of the relevant level structure, and should include SACP Member(s) who are not members of the relevant level structure.
- 3.4. Clause 25.2 (c) is consequentially amended and reads as follows: The CC shall appoint a National Appeals Committee, whose composition shall be members of the SACP who are not members of the CC, to hear appeals.
- 3.5. Clause 25.2 (d) is amended to read: A higher structure or the relevant level structure of the SACP may direct that the disciplinary proceedings should be heard at a higher level than where the alleged violation took place.
- 3.6. Clause 25.2 (e) is amended to read as follows: The relevant level structure shall undertake a preliminary engagement with any comrade against whom allegations are made, and where relevant shall forward any allegations against the comrade to the DC at the relevant level for investigation, and for implementation of the findings of investigation report as per the Disciplinary Procedures of the SACP.
- 3.7. Clause 25.4 (a) is amended to read as follows: No member of the SACP should be suspended from membership of the SACP as a precautionary step pending an investigation. A member may be released from responsibilities of office and the right to participate in SACP activities pending an investigation for serious offence(s) or while undergoing a disciplinary process. A comrade who has been investigated and/or disciplined and found not guilty must immediately be allowed to resume full responsibilities and participation activities.

- 3.8. Clause 25.4 (b) is amended to correct the typo error and replace the word office with the word offence.
- 3.9. Clause 25.5 is amended to read: The case against a member facing disciplinary action shall proceed even if that member refuses to appear before the Standing Disciplinary Committee. Should a member resign from the SACP while facing investigation or disciplinary charges, the investigation shall be completed and submitted to the relevant structure, and the case will be completed should the member re-apply for membership of the SACP.
- 3.10. Clause 25.8 is amended to read: The SACP approved report on disciplinary action taken against a SACP member who is also a YCLSA member shall be referred to the National Secretary of the YCLSA by the General Secretary for the attention of the YCLSA National Committee. The YCLSA shall take the same action, as taken against the member by the SACP.
- 3.11. The Special National Congress tasks the Central Committee Disciplinary Committee to undertake the following work:
- a. In relation to clause 25.1 (b) a draft list of serious offences to be tabled for discussion at the first Central Committee plenary session in 2020, then discussed in Provinces and finalised at the second Central Committee plenary session in 2020.
  - b. In relation to clause 25.2.(d) procedures to spell out criteria for lifting level of Disciplinary Committee from the level at which the offence took place must be drafted for discussion at the first Central Committee plenary session in 2020, and then discussed in the Provinces and finalised at the second Central Committee plenary session in 2020.
  - c. In relation to 25.2 (c), procedures for the management of appeal processes in the SACP to be drafted for consideration at the second Central Committee plenary session in 2020 and then consulted with provinces and finalised at the third Central Committee plenary session in 2020.



- d. In relation to clause 25.4 (a) procedures for the management of the processes to be followed in the release of members from responsibilities and participation in the activities of the SACP while undergoing an investigation or disciplinary action.
- e. In relation to clause 25.8, procedures to outline the process of communicating between SACP and YCLSA on investigation and disciplinary processes against members who are members of both, must be drafted for discussion by the first Central Committee plenary session in 2020, then discussed in the provinces and finalised by the second Central Committee plenary session in 2020.

#### **4. Strengthening the struggle against sexism and LGBTQI+ discrimination**

- 4.1. The Special National Congress endorsed the amendments that stress that the SACP's Marxism-Leninism is rooted in women's emancipation and the need to root out sexism, as well as LGBTQI+ discrimination.
- 4.2. The Special National Congress further endorses the proposal for editing of the SACP Constitution to replace his/her and he/she with their and they to accommodate non-binary gender identity.

#### **5. The General Secretary and Provincial Secretaries as full-time office-bearers**

- 5.1. The Special National Congress drew attention to our December 2009 Special National Congress resolution on SACP National and Provincial Office Bearers Deployed to Legislatures and Executives, in which we noted:

The CC document "Deployment of SACP National and Provincial Office Bearers to Legislatures and Executives" which sets out the political, strategic and tactical grounds on which the CC took the decision to allow the above office-bearers to be deployed to legislatures and executives and the consideration of this document by the Congress Constitutional Review Committee.

## **And resolved to:**

Support in particular the flexibility provided for in the approach in the above document which allows SACP secretaries to be full-time or part-time as the political terrain, balance of forces, strategic considerations, and organizational challenges, among other issues, dictate.

Constantly monitor the decision to deploy national and provincial office bearers, especially secretaries, to the legislatures and executives, and review this decision as necessary.

- 5.2. There is not adequate consensus on the amendment to make the General Secretary and the Provincial Secretaries full-time SACP office-bearers; if necessary this issue should be discussed by the main National Congress – the 15th National Congress – in 2022.

## **6. Number of Deputy General Secretaries and Deputy Provincial Secretaries**

- 6.1. The Special National Congress endorsed the proposal for the SACP to retain two (2) Deputy General Secretaries and two (2) Deputy Provincial Secretaries, and not increase this numbers to three (3).

## **7. Expansion of Central Committee members and all sub-national executive structures**

- 7.1. The Special National Congress endorsed the proposal that apart from the office bearers:
  - a. The Central Committee should comprise a minimum of thirty-five (35) members and a maximum of forty-four (44) as determined by the main National Congress.
  - b. Provincial Executive Committees should comprise a minimum of fifteen (15) and a maximum of twenty-five (25) members as determined by a Provincial Congress.
  - c. A District Executive Committee should comprise a minimum of eight (8) and a maximum of twenty-five (25) members as determined by a District Congress.



## **8. Allocation of Portfolios to Executive Members**

8.1. At least one-third (1/3) of the District Executive Committee and Branch Executive Committee members should be allocated specific portfolios, including campaigns, organising and political education and cadre development.

## **9. Alternative ex-officio representatives in SACP structures**

9.1. If a Provincial Secretary or Chairperson is unavailable to attend a Central Committee meeting, a Deputy Provincial Secretary or a Deputy Chairperson should be allowed to attend Central Committee meeting concerned. The same situation should apply to Provincial Executive Committees and other executive structures of the SACP.

## **10. Terms of office of sub-national executive structure**

10.1. The Special National Congress endorsed the following terms of office of SACP sub-national structures:

- a. Provincial Executive Committees: four (4) years
- b. District Executive Committees: three (3) years
- c. Sub-District executive structures: two (2) years
- d. Branch Executive Committees: two (2) years



## ARTICLE 7

### Resource mobilisation, finance and fund-raising

#### 1. Noting

- 1.1. The task of mobilising resources, finance and raising funds is not a mere financial management task but a greater Party Building and political task in the Party.
- 1.2. The state of progress made in the past two and a half years since the 14th National Congress in implementing its resolutions on resource mobilisation, finance and fund-raising.
- 1.3. The resolutions of the 14th National Congress on resource mobilisation, finance and fund-raising remain relevant.

#### 2. Concerned

- 2.1. At the low level of commitment of some leaders and members of the Party and questionable honesty and loyalty towards resource mobilisation and fund-raising.
- 2.2. That we should not misrepresent our capacities in growing the financial capacity of the Party and mobilising resources for it to carry out its expected tasks and fulfil its historical mission.

#### 3. Resolve

- 3.1. That the Party should embark on more investment in raising the revolutionary consciousness of members on all tasks relating to Party Building and the capacity of the Party to carry out its tasks and fulfil its historical mission.
- 3.2. The objective of building this revolutionary consciousness should be to increase the number of Party cadres who are committed to taking part in mobilising resources for the Party.

- 3.3. The Central Committee must lead a radical campaign for the implementation of all resolutions on resource mobilisation and fund-raising adopted by the 14th National Congress.
- 3.4. The key message on resource mobilisation, finance and fund-raising post-SACP 4th Special National Congress must be centred in the theme: *“Every Party member an Organiser, Recruiter, Fundraiser and Political Education Teacher”*; this theme recognises the centrality of resources in the daily life of Party Organisation, and the role that every member, including every leader, should play towards the financial health and capacity of the Party – at the Central Committee level, there should an evaluation of the performance of Central Committee members towards resource mobilisation and fund-raising, for sub-national level to take their cue.

#### 4. Further resolve

- 4.1. The Central Committee should implement a one-off financial contribution by every member according to their capacity in a sliding scale.
- 4.2. Implementation of quarterly crowd-funding at all levels of the Party but under central guidance and co-ordination starting in 2020.
- 4.3. The SACP should establish stokvels articulated at all levels of Party Organisation, with a strict accountability, to support the Party programme.
- 4.4. The 15th National Congress should consider an increase of membership fees/levies articulated according to member income.
- 4.5. The SACP should vigorously implement its programme to build co-operatives and integrate in it, where appropriate, a system of financial support towards the Party.
- 4.6. The Party should fast-track its programme to build an endowment fund with all necessary safeguards.
- 4.7. The reconfiguration of the Alliance must include guarantees for the



Party of a proportion of levies paid by public representatives at all levels.

- 4.8. The digitalisation of the membership system should be concluded in the next two years towards a new membership system.
- 4.9. Dedicated fund-raising towards the centenary of the Party should be put in place for adoption by the first Central Committee plenary session in 2020.
- 4.10. As part of building capacity for lower structures of the Party, the Central Committee should conduct training at all levels, taking into account available opportunities.

## ARTICLE 8

# The International Situation and Solidarity

### 1. Political Report

- 1.1. The Special National Congress embraces the main thrust of the political report analysis of imperialism and its neoliberal manifestation.
- 1.2. The Party must deepen its ongoing work in analysing imperialism and its neoliberal manifestation or any other new characteristics that it develops and intensify its anti-imperialist struggle.
- 1.3. The SACP must deepen its scientific, that is, Marxist-Leninist, theorisation of the African Revolution.
- 1.4. The Party must address the failure of its structures to implement the international solidarity programme of action. To support the work, the Central Committee should ensure that its commission responsible for international relations and solidarity is convened regularly or the work is anchored around the Party Building Commission.
- 1.5. The party should implement its organisational renewal strategy, without which a strong, vibrant vanguard party cannot be built in the sphere of the international work.
- 1.6. The Party should continue to develop a deeper study of the political economy of individual countries and their attitude towards South Africa and the world working class movement.

### 2. Further resolved

- 2.1. The SACP should engage with our international solidarity movement in South Africa to create a basis for wider mobilisation beyond the country by country focus by its various components.



- 2.2. The Special National Congress underlined the need for political education on the changing character of the international context and international solidarity activism.
- 2.3. The SACP should periodically convene international relations and solidarity committees at all levels of Party organisation.
- 2.4. Convene a World Peace demonstration in South Africa against imperialism, militarism and imperialist aggression. In this regard attention must be paid on Latin America and all countries under the radar of imperialist counter-revolutionary destabilisation.
- 2.5. The SACP should build a leading role towards resuscitating the African Left Networking Forum (ALNEF).
- 2.6. The SACP should initiate campaigns:
  - a. on the cancellation of the African debt,
  - b. against xenophobia,
  - c. against the export of waste into Africa by overseas countries;
  - d. for the protection of the environment and the ecosystem and prohibition of prohibit harmful waste imports;
  - e. on ending the cultivation of genetically modified organisms (GMOs)
  - f. ending all imperialist interference in Africa and tackling the root causes of involuntary migration
- 2.7. The SACP should initiate the convening of a regional meeting of Communist Parties including Swaziland, Zimbabwe, Lesotho and Kenya.
- 2.8. Intensify solidarity demonstrations in provinces in support of international struggles supported by the SACP.
- 2.9. The SACP should follow more closely the Southern Cameroon



conflict and develop a perspective, whilst campaigning against the killings, torture and the detention of political prisoners.

- 2.10. The Central Committee should develop an analysis of the Africa Continental Free Trade Agreement/Area.
- 2.11. In the context of the battle of ideas, the SACP should embrace and support Telesur TV to provide access to alternative news about international developments.
- 2.12. The SACP should action the decisions of the International Meeting of Communist and Workers Parties, including activities on significant international days such as 8 May, the day of the Great anti-fascist patriotic victory.
- 2.13. The party should recreate strategic links with other Communist Parties, by sending delegations to strengthen the position of the international Communist movement.
- 2.14. In undertaking all these, specific attention should be paid to gender, youth and the strengthening of the SACP financial muscle through fundraising and resource mobilisation.

# ARTICLE 9

## ANNEXURE 1:

# The Political Report

## Rebuild our movement: Socialism is the future – Build it now!

### Introduction

On behalf of the SACP 14th National Central Committee, I wish to welcome all our SACP delegates, as well as our distinguished guests from Alliance formations and fraternal parties, both national and international, and members of the diplomatic corps, to this Special National Congress. I would also wish to welcome distinguished guests from other sections of our society here present. We are gathered here over the next few days, constituting the SACP 4th Special National Congress – which is our Mid-Term Congress – to review the progress we have made in implementing the resolutions of our 14th National Congress, and to map a way forward on subsequent developments.

It is important also to remind ourselves that we are, perhaps, also meeting in a conjuncture that is not exactly the same as the one during which we convened our 14th National Congress in July 2017. This means, therefore, in assessing and evaluating the implementation of the 14th National Congress resolutions, we have to factor in and carefully assess the current conjuncture. Time and space matter seriously in Marxist-Leninist considerations.

### *Developments on the organisational front*

Domestically, there have been a number of important developments since our 14th National Congress. At that time there was huge political uncertainty and concerns in the wake of the 54th National Conference of the ANC held in December 2017 in Nasrec, Johannesburg. The divisions and tensions inside



the ANC were so deep that we were not even certain whether the ANC was going to survive Nasrec. Nasrec has now come and gone. Fortunately the ANC, our historical ally, has come out a single organisation. Unfortunately, it has not yet overcome many of the fissures of the pre-Nasrec period. We have a role to play not only in the unity and organisational renewal project of the ANC but also of our entire broad movement, inclusive of the trade union, student, youth and civic movements, and in building a progressive women's movement.

In our entire history as the SACP we have never stood aside, celebrated or folded our arms and watched internal divisions and tensions inside the ANC and our allies. We have always sought to make our own, albeit modest contribution, as an ally, as well as in our own right as members of these mass formations. We have never prescribed to the ANC what it must do, and we have no right to do so, but we have always sought to be a dependable and reliable ally. As members, we have robustly exercised our independent rights, like other members do. The reason for this is that the national democratic revolution still requires the ANC, but a united ANC. The fact of the matter is that none of the Alliance partners can currently replace each other. For example, the SACP is not an ANC or Cosatu, and it cannot be either of both. Even if, for argument's sake, the ANC were to disappear tomorrow, our country will still need to build an ANC type organisation. The SACP will still need to organise the masses and unify them politically.

It is partly due to these challenges that the Central Committee is directing the whole of the SACP to understand that one of the primary tasks of the period is to build and strengthen a united ANC.

There are also challenges in relation to some of the affiliates of Cosatu, especially but not exclusively its industrial unions. Again we cannot fold our arms. We have to work with Cosatu to confront these challenges.

We are also meeting when Sanco is divided into virtually two parallel structures.

Furthermore, the progressive student movement in our ranks is facing serious cracks and divisions. It is also faced with the challenge of parallelism. That is, it is also divided into parallel structures counter-organising each other.



All these call for the SACP to play its vanguard role. At the centre of this role is unity.

### ***The opposition in crisis***

The parliamentary opposition is in disarray. The main opposition, the DA, is in deep problems. What has always been the crisis of the dominant trend of white liberalism in the DA (and in South Africa) and the undertones of its racial organisation have been exposed for all to see. What we are seeing in the DA today is the unravelling of both the Tony Leon agenda to reposition white liberalism post-1994 and Helen Zille's attempts to try and make it appeal to the African majority. Both these attempts were part of the same agenda to whitewash the DA without changing its core mission as an organisation that emanates from and still essentially stands for the protection of white privilege.

The DA's fightback election campaign of 1999 was aimed at reaching out and incorporating former National Party voters into the DA after the implosion of the National Party. Zille attempted to reach out to the townships with very little success. The fissures in the DA illustrate that white liberalism has been opposed to majority rule. The dominant section of white liberalism argued for educated or propertied blacks (in other words 'those like whites') to be given a qualified franchise. Unfortunately the black leaders in the DA have been seen as nothing more than black franchisees, an appendage, rather than fully accepted members. Even Zille is apparently regretting having reached out to black membership and leadership. So what is happening in the DA is that what its black leadership has been saying about things like affirmative action, in trying to imitate the ANC, have alienated the former Nats, who, at the last election started deserting back home to the FF plus. The 'black franchisees' have been put back into their place as white liberalism cannot withstand their independent views. Its priority is to recover the conservative ground lost to the FF plus

*The less said about the proto-fascists, the better.*

A black chauvinistic organisation, which left the ANC aggrieved, has been seeking to exploit the weaknesses in the Progressive Youth Alliance and promising a better life for young people in a truly populist faction.

What these developments show is that our movement still remains the only true home for non-racialism and for the working class and poor. The challenge is that as a movement we need to act as such. We however cannot spend time discussing our opponents, other than to understand the crises they are facing, and the challenges and responsibilities these place on us.

## **The global context**

### **The international situation**

We are meeting in an international situation whose key feature is the rise of austeritisation, that is, an imposing of austerity in the fiscal policy space with wider implications. In most cases this is done without regard to national circumstances or negative consequences.

The outbreak of the global economic crisis in 2008 dealt neo-liberalism a big blow and discredited its policy regime. The rising tide of austeritisation has emerged in the context of the persisting effects of the crisis, and is used as part of the neo-liberal rescue package. What is clear is that the international atmosphere is still crisis-ridden – it is an atmosphere that continues to be characterised by the endemic capitalist crisis.

What the wave of austeritisation also reflects, over and above the fiscal crisis many governments finds themselves in, is the dominance of global finance monopoly capital and international financial institutions. The conditionalities demanded by the global finance monopoly capital and international financial institutions on national economies effectively undermine national democracies or usurp democratic national sovereignty. The policy space, a crucial instrument of change, is used to codify the neo-liberal conditionalities into a policy regime. This is typified by what happened in Greece, for instance.

The role played by global finance monopoly capital and international financial institutions is conveyed via national treasuries, especially those pursuing a neo-liberal agenda. This is replicated by the domestic commercial banking and financial sector. The question is whether we are immune from these global developments. The way the South Africa Airways, SAA was systematically driven into a rescue situation contains the answer. Our response

to the 'National Treasury's' economic blueprint released in August 2019 also reflects on this important question.

It is however important to underline at this stage that our critique of austeritisation does not mean we do not care about national debt nor that we are calling for financial recklessness. What we stand for is proper management of national resources, taking into account that we have an economy to transform and develop, and therefore domestic productive capacity to build. Economic policy must be informed by our developmental agenda, by our national imperatives.

For instance, we have to fund our national priorities, while simultaneously being prudent and dealing corruption, fruitless and wasteful expenditure a decisive blow. This is why we place emphasis on getting our national priorities right. In particular, this means orientating and co-ordinating national revenue policy towards supporting public investment into employment-creating productive activities, and measures aimed directly at reducing and therefore systematically eliminating poverty, uneven development and inequality. We also need to support co-operatives development and foster a thriving co-operatives sector, as well as small and medium enterprises. Policies that will not resolve the plight of our people and empower them towards collective prosperity are bound to generate a crisis of governance.

In contrast, neo-liberal austerity has also been about supporting the wealthier classes. Austeritisation has often been accompanied by tax cuts for the rich and bailing out of commercial banks that have often collapsed due to reckless lending and other negative banking, management and governance practices. What this shows is that austeritisation – neo-liberal austerity – often calls for austerity in relation to the masses, the workers and the poor, but using the very same state resources to bail out the rich.

The global economic crisis has become a crisis of governance in democracies dominated by the bourgeoisie as the ruling class in economic terms with political implications. In the political arena, the response to this crisis has included the emergence of right-wing and populist leaders and movements in some instances. The United States (US) and most parts of Europe are typical examples. In the BRICS countries, there has also been a shift to the right in



India and Brazil. In South Africa, the 'National Treasury's' economic blueprint is actually signalling a shift to the right?

Our fight against the parasitic networks of state capture and other forms of corruption was certainly not meant to create conditions for a rightward shift or a return to the policy regime of the neo-liberal GEAR class project. What the recent developments in the sphere of economic policy formulation point to is that our work is cut out for us in defence of the national democratic revolution, the most direct route to socialism in our historical conditions. In particular, we must advance and deepen the strategic perspective of a second radical phase of the revolution.

Internationally, the US-led imperialist offensive is now concentrated, although not exclusively, in Latin America. Left and Left-leaning governments in that global region have been placed under a heightened imperialist offensive. As a result, there are serious reversals of Left or progressive advances, underpinned by a push to right-wing regimes through imperialist backed counter-revolutionary regime changes. In this regard, we reiterate our revolutionary solidarity with the people of Cuba, Venezuela, Bolivia and Nicaragua.

International trade is another front on which imperialism, currently US-led, is driving its offensive.

In his newly published book, titled *The Politics of Trade in the Era of Hyperglobalisation: A Southern African Perspective*, Cde Rob Davies, member of our Central Committee, and our former Minister of Trade and Industry, looks at international trade as one of the major determinants of global politics. As he observes, the so-called 'trade wars' started by the US are increasingly defining relations between the US and China. In addition, as our Central Committee noted in its post-meeting statement of 9 June 2019, the fundamental issue at stake for the US, is that it sees its global hegemony being under threat.

South Africa has not been left untouched. We have been affected by the earlier rounds of the US 'trade wars' offensives. While accepting exemptions from a select group of countries, including Brazil under its recently elected Donald Trump-backed and inspired right-wing president, the US imposed

punitive tariffs on South African steel and aluminium exports. The 'trade wars' waged by the US have a wider collateral damage in scope. This has far reaching implications that go beyond China, contrary to what is reported in most media coverage in narrow terms. The heightened imperialist offensive as well as its 'trade wars' is indeed broadly defining the sphere of international relations in general.

What is clearer in the case of China is that its leadership role in the rollout of 5G technology does not sit well with the US. More particularly Huawei, a Chinese company, is considered to be ahead in the rollout of 5G, a key enabler in the deepening and widening digital technological industrial advances. The response of the US has been to use 'national security' measures to curtail access by Chinese disruptor companies both to the US market and that of other countries. In this way, the US is also acting extraterritorially. The 'trade wars' launched by the US, as Cde Rob observes, could as well underpin a multi-dimensional 'rivalry' that could be a central feature of international relations for many years to come.

Moreover, imperialist countries have simultaneously sought concessions from developing countries in trade rules. The concessions could severely curtail the essential space necessary for industrial policy. These include mounting pressure on countries like South Africa to renounce our status as a 'developing country' – a status that entitles us to less onerous obligations in global trade rules.

In Europe, Brexit has become a key development in the current global era. It is indeed reshaping politics both in the United Kingdom (UK) and Western Europe. As Davies suggests, by definition Brexit stands for a rejection of a regional integration arrangements. What it has also revealed are undercurrents profoundly shaped by the outcome of a broader trade-driven process both in Europe and globally.

In Africa, a key development on the trade front, conversely, is a movement towards regional integration. This is typified by the recent establishment of the African Continental Free Trade Area Agreement. The SACP needs to pay increased attention on this development and its wider implications.



As we do so, we must remain unwavering in our stance for African Revolution and solidarity, towards the completion of independence and liberation from imperialism and other forms of foreign machination on our continent. In this regard, we reiterate our revolutionary solidarity with the people of Swaziland, Western Sahara, Sudan and Southern Cameroon.

We also reiterate our revolutionary solidarity with the people of Palestine.

It is against this global context that we need to understand the threats and opportunities in our national democratic revolution, including the kinds of domestic policies we need to adopt.

### **The state and popular power**

Much as we know that songs are like poetry and catch phrases, we must nevertheless not be lost in song about what the state and state power are. This is very important. In other words, as our 14th National Congress resolved, we must maintain *analytical alertness* and *tactical flexibility based on strategic consistency*.

Let us look at electoral politics and the state. The implications of losses are pretty obvious. So let us look at electoral victories. Important as they are, electoral victories do not necessarily constitute control of state power. Therefore contesting elections alone does not necessarily amount to contesting state power as a whole. It is important for this Special National Congress that, as we report on and discuss our state and popular power resolution, to understand that there is a difference between the state power and elections. Much as electoral victories can lead to access and control of certain of levers of state power, those are not the totality of state power. More is certainly required. That is why, for instance, in the latest example, President Evo Morales of Bolivia would win an election but be told by an army general to step down, and he does so.

It is for the above reasons that our Party Programme, the South African Road to Socialism, talks about the necessity to unite the working class and struggle for working class hegemony in all key sites of power and struggle.

We would now want to report back on the implementation of the Road Map as adopted by our 14<sup>th</sup> National Congress on the matter of state and popular power. Let us recall what our resolution, the 'SACP and State and Popular Power' resolution and the road map it pointed out to. This is the full text of the resolution:

### ***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 reconfigured 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 14<sup>th</sup> 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.*

We are fully reproducing the resolution in this political report, for two main reasons. Firstly, it is important to refresh, all of us, about what the resolutions says. Secondly, the Central Committee has been concerned that in some of our structures this resolution has either been misread or misinterpreted.

To recap what the essence of the resolution is, we reaffirmed the importance, relevance and the need to maintain our Alliance, but which we resolved that it must be reconfigured to move with the times. The resolution also emphasises the necessity to build not just the SACP, but the motive forces of the national democratic revolution, and to mobilise wider progressive sections of our society. It emphasises the need to unite the working class and build working class power. That is why the resolution is on both state and popular power, and therefore calls for building working class power both inside and outside the state, and in all other key sites of struggle and power. The resolution reminds us of what Lenin said – that it is suicidal to throw the vanguard Party into decisive battles alone, without the rest of the working class with it.

This political report is going to table some of the aspects of progress on the implementation of the resolution. The State of the Organisation Report will give details on the progress made and challenges experienced in the implementation of the other parts of the resolution, mainly, but not exclusively, on the SACP's organisational renewal process and a thorough and ongoing audit of the SACP's organisational capacity, involving a scientific fact-based evaluation of the strength and influence of our Party organisations, including our VD based branches, as the resolution requires. The State of the Organisation Report will also cover the question of a Left popular front in detail.

Following the adoption of the SACP and state and popular power resolution, the SACP started engagements within the Alliance for its reconfiguration, as directed by the resolution. Four discussion papers were produced. The first was a base document developed by the SACP, while the second was produced by Cosatu in support of the reconfiguration. The third paper was produced by

the ANC in response to the SACP and Cosatu papers. These papers are part of the Congress documentation for reference. The engagement continued until the Alliance came up with a common framework on the reconfiguration.

We must say that what is contained in the Alliance common reconfiguration paper takes us forward, compared to where we started.

The core of what we agreed upon at the last two Alliance Political Council meetings includes the following.

- The national democratic revolution as our shared strategy of struggle and societal transformation, and the Freedom Charter as its basic programme.
- The strategic centrality of the Alliance and collective leadership in driving the national democratic revolution.
- Meaningful consultation that seeks to attain consensus on policy direction and other major decisions, especially in relation to organs of state.
- Regular Alliance meetings to give practical effect to consensus-seeking consultation in driving the national democratic revolution, thus developing and implementing common programmes and joint campaigns.
- The regular meetings include monthly Alliance Secretariat meetings, quarterly Alliance Political Council meetings, at least one strategic planning Alliance Summit per annum, the convening of other focused Alliance summits as and when it is necessary; Alliance bilateral sessions; and the establishment of joint Alliance committees, working groups or task teams on policy, programmes and campaigns.
- Establishment of the Alliance Deployment and Accountability Commission and building technical capacity to support its work.
- Approaching elections as an ANC-led common Alliance platform, with Alliance presentation on electoral lists and related deployments.



- Recognition of the class leadership of the working-class as the main motive force of the national democratic revolution, and organisational leadership of the ANC.
- The reconfiguration of the Alliance and all its associated structural modalities and modus operandi at the national level must be replicated at all sub-national levels.

The Alliance Political Council framework is part of the Special National Congress documents, though it is still to be endorsed by each Alliance formation.

As the SACP we believe that what is primary and should unite the Alliance is collective leadership of the national democratic revolution, holding those deployed to account, and joint programmes and campaigns, including elections as a common Alliance platform.

We must re-affirm our resolution on state and popular power, as was adopted by the 14<sup>th</sup> National Congress. The Central Committee is of the view that in line with the resolution and the framework for the reconfiguration of the Alliance, we must, in the first instance, seek to maintain ANC-led electoral lists in the forthcoming local government elections. However, where the agreed upon spirit of the reconfiguration of the Alliance as well as consensus-seeking consultation is undermined, our structures in the affected areas should produce and submit reports to the Central Committee, with recommendations, for evaluation on the way forward. We need to make it clear at this Special National Congress that there must be an agreement on the manifesto for the elections and that we would not accept imposed and unpopular candidates that represent factional or other narrow interests.

The state consists of a variety of institutions in which the SACP must take active interest and seek to build working class organisation and influence. Therefore building working class hegemony and power in the state cannot, and should not, be limited to electoral politics important as is. It is for this reason that the political report also focuses on other important and related terrains of struggle as contained in the South African Road to Socialism, and on the work we have done and still need to do in these areas.



Motive forces and their state of organisation in the different sites of struggle

The South African Road to Socialism underlines and commits the SACP to intensify the struggle to build working class hegemony, influence and power in all key sites of struggle and centres of power. Perhaps the best way to report about progress in the implementation of our own programme as reaffirmed by our 14th National Congress is to reflect on some of these sites of struggle.

## **The Community**

One key site and terrain of struggle identified in our Party Programme is the community. In the recent period the SACP has correctly resuscitated the Marxist perspective of social reproduction. The perspective enables an understanding of the impact of the crisis of capitalism on households, communities and society. In this regard we pointed out that we are in the midst of a crisis of social reproduction, arising of the systemic problems of high levels of unemployment, poverty and inequality. The concept of the 'crisis of social reproduction' basically refers to the increasing inability of households and communities to make ends meet as a result of, in our case, the inequality, poverty and unemployment daily reproduced by structural stagnation of an economy that is still largely on a colonial trajectory in the context of an ongoing global economic crisis.

Social reproduction is, as pointed out in our reference materials, a 'complex set of relations and activities that create conditions that enable society to sustain itself and its social relations. The relations between human beings within the context of the mode of production create a whole network of non-productive relations to protect and reproduce their privileged position. Social reproduction therefore incorporates the reciprocal and dialectical interfaces between the base and superstructure, as well as how this interplay is shaped by objective and subjective material conditions.... In a class stratified society, social reproduction is a substantive part of what sustains and reproduces class relations.' In much simpler language, social reproduction refers to the struggles and process of daily sustenance and meeting of daily needs in a household, community and society.

The burden of social reproduction in a class divided society, especially under capitalism, is normally carried by women, who are often tasked, in working



class and poor communities, to look after children, do household chores, and look after the sick and vulnerable. Social reproduction in a capitalist society reinforces and is reinforced by patriarchal relations, the subordination of women to men.

Most of the organisational efforts and other social activities directed towards sustainable livelihoods for social reproduction in our communities are carried by women through unpaid labour. These range from church societies, to active participation in school governing bodies, stokvels and burial societies. It is mostly women who are active in these structures and activities. In fact these are the energies that our SACP, ANC or structures of the Alliance as a whole should be harnessing towards addressing developmental goals in communities. For instance, it should be on the foundation of these activities or terrains of social activity that strong progressive women's organisations should be built. This should be made a platform to wage an effective struggle against gender-based violence with the participation of all regardless of gender.

The burden of the crisis of social reproduction is also carried by the youth in our communities. In all community protests it is often young unemployed people who are in the forefront. It is the youth in our communities that is often unemployed, being sunk into drugs, substance and alcohol abuse, as well as facing the harsh realities of the HIV/AIDS pandemic. It is the youth that is carrying the brunt of the crisis of capitalism and its manifestation and reproduction in our communities. This is a burden that the legacy of the apartheid regime and the capitalist class has left on the shoulders of the democratic government. In other words, the burden of the crisis created by capitalism has to be resolved by the democratic government that is without most of the resources in the hands of the capitalist class.

It is also young people who are victims of and purveyors of some of the moral decadence brought about by capitalism. This is also reinforced by some of the accumulation tendencies of sections of the tenderpreneurial youth. It is for this reason, amongst others, that the Central Committee has been of the view that ours was perhaps a political revolution without a cultural revolution and of course complete social emancipation!

There are also very minimal linkages between political youth organisations in communities and grassroots sports, arts and cultural activities. Yet it is where most of our young people are to be found.

Working class and poor communities in South Africa are today characterised by deepening levels of violence, including especially gender-based violence. It is a violent behaviour that gets generated by extreme levels of poverty. Many of our communities are also characterised by what is often referred to as service delivery protests. These are often generated by a number of factors. The primary factor is the depth of frustration from social conditions of high levels of unemployment, poverty, inequality and uneven development, as well as certain levels of political alienation from the structures of society and governance.

Even the minimal government services that are brought into these communities are often 'delivered' without community participation and often with a 'middleman' who has been awarded a tender from a municipality or provincial government. In cases of even big projects that can bring about employment and other opportunities for sustainable livelihoods, these instead become sources of conflict. The two examples, for instance, that the Central Committee has reflected upon are the N2 Wild Coast bridge and road project, and the disputes around mining in Xolobeni. Both of these are located in the Eastern Cape. Often in these projects there are tenderpreneurial interests that are linked and also fuel different factions in our organisations, especially but not exclusively the ANC.

Yet in all these there are also genuine community interests that often get buried beneath the factionalised money interests. It should actually be the task of our Alliance structures on the ground to harness, defend and advance these genuine community interests.

Also active in many of our communities are donor-funded non-governmental organisations (NGOs), some of which play an important role in taking up issues affecting our communities. Some of these NGOs have been part of important struggles around the provision of HIV treatment; struggle on access to water; protection of the environment; and so on. But NGO work in the absence of mass-based progressive community organisation often degenerates into NGO-isation of important community struggles on the ground.



The pattern and rhythm of NGO-led struggles are often shaped by the imperatives of protecting donor funding sources. It is on this altar of donor driven activism, that mass struggles become less important, as the survival of the NGOs concerned become paramount. Sometimes some of the NGOs oppose genuine attempts by government to address the many challenges facing our communities, because for them it must not be the government but the NGO that must be seen to have come up with solutions. Certain NGOs in many instances become inherently oppositionist to government and its programmes, instead of pursuing a complementary strategy involving critical engagement with government programmes.

These challenges are a reflection of weak political organisation, basically from all the Alliance structures that operate at a community level. Many ANC branches are characterised by inward looking practices focusing on capturing of branches by various factionalist groupings supporting this or that faction at the leadership level. Branch meetings are usually held in the run up to regional or provincial conferences only, or if there are to be nominations for local, provincial or local elections. Such branches never call community meetings or actively take up issues that affect communities. Thus they increasingly become insulated from communities in which they are based. There is huge gate-keeping in such scenarios that does not allow access, for example, to ANC branches by members not associated with a faction in control.

Many of our own SACP voting district branches are often disconnected from communities and are not consistently taking up issues that affect communities. In other instances, some in our own branches are deeply caught up in the very factionalist battles in the branches of the ANC, if not used as platforms for those aggrieved or feeling marginalised from ANC structures. This is also impacting on debates and considerations in the SACP.

There has also been a serious decline, if not dearth of civic or residential organisations that patiently organise communities and take up the many challenges facing residents, whether it be about water, electricity and refuse removal.

In most of the post-1994 period our working class struggles have lost one of its most important and crucial weapon – that of worker-community alliances in both workplace and community struggles.



The combined effect of these problems as also led to the creation of a huge distance between government (especially at local level) and communities. The electoral setbacks suffered by the ANC in the 2016 local government elections were also an expression of this distance, over and above the objective conditions in which our people find themselves pressed without relief.

Taking into account the situation, the Central Committee has made a clarion call that every communist must be a community activist. The most important part of this activism is to organise the motive forces for community development to address the many challenges communities find themselves in. Much as women, youth and other sectors of our communities face many challenges because of patriarchy and the crisis of social reproduction, they cannot just be reduced to victims. With mobilisation they can act as a conscious motive force for transformation and local development.

The challenge for the SACP is to build a cadre of communist cadres capable of organising communities, building community activism and rebuilding the motive forces of the national democratic revolution to carry out the many tasks of the development needed in our communities. This underlines the importance and absolute necessity to rebuild our local branches as part of rebuilding our movement. It means embarking on our Know and Act in your Neighbourhood Campaign and building strong structures of the SACP. However, communist cadres with strong roots in community activism must also build particularly ANC branches and a progressive civic movement that are responsive and rooted in their communities. This is also why the issue of building Sanco is very important.

Much as we need both ANC and SACP branches in our communities, perhaps these have distinct albeit complementary roles. The ANC branch should seek to remain a mass structure in the local community, whilst the SACP organises activists in a locality that are capable of operating on all the important fronts in communities as communist cadres. The SACP must, in building itself, also act to build the motive forces of the revolution, including the ANC and Sanco in communities. It is for this reason that the Central Committee is of the view that communist cadres rooted in community activism can also act to rebuild

relations between Alliance structures and communities and also act to destroy gate-keeping and overcome the distance between the ANC/SACP/Sanco and communities.

The building of the progressive trade union movement and linking workplace and community struggles is equally important. The greater attention to Cosatu as well as its affiliates, as directed in our SACP state and popular power resolution, is crucial also on this front.

These are the tasks of the SACP in this important arena of the community. The SACP should build popular power by firmly and deeply rooting itself among the masses, ensuring its ties with the masses are inviolable.

## **The economy**

Neither the parasitic nor the neo-liberal networks, but a democratic developmental path.

Marx, in *Capital* (Vol. 1) recognises that public debt and the fiscal system corresponding with it have played a great part in the capitalisation of wealth and the expropriation of the masses. He writes:

‘National debts, i.e., the alienation of the state – whether despotic, constitutional or republican – marked with its stamp the capitalistic era. The only part of the so-called national wealth that actually enters into the collective possessions of modern peoples is their national debt... Public credit becomes the credo of capital.’

In the modern era, the exploitation of public debt as a lever of capitalist accumulation is enforced among others through the conditionalities attached to the loans/credit given to nation states. Credit rating agencies reinforce and enforce the conditionalities.

The observation by Marx is a very important point of departure in framing our analysis of the economy in our country in the current period. The major economic debate in our country currently is about how we deal with the current high levels of debt. The dominant approach is not concerned with the material basis of the debt. It does not seek to build a sustainable alternative for the state to build its own participation in the banking and financial

system to generate revenue for developmental purposes. In South Africa, for instance, our banking sector is overwhelmingly a private commercial affair. Its international aspect is characterised by the dominance of finance monopoly capital. These are part of the factors and forces that have firmly placed our state in the yoke of private lenders. They are by no small measure responsible for austeritisation. This is reflected in the national budget and the strident, if not belligerent, behaviour of rating agencies and institutions like the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank.

The difficult situation in which South Africa is today economically is not a new phenomenon. Also, much as it has its own specific South African features, the economic situation South Africa is faced with should also be understood in the context of the crisis-ridden international economic context. In addition, our situation is also a situation that has faced many of what has been referred to as 'post-colonial' states. We use this concept of the 'post-colonial state' reservedly, for illustrative purposes only, because the meaning of the word 'post-colonial' can give a wrong impression that such states have completely transcended colonialism.

The fundamental reality has been the nature of the transitions from colonialism and colonial regimes to a 'post-colonial' order. In many cases, the new elite rose and accessed political power whilst the economic power remained with old domestic and imperialist ruling classes and the masses remained subject to continuing economic exploitation (neo-liberalism has deepened the exploitation) and relatively impoverished on many fronts of the social spectrum despite experiencing some, and even commendable, progress in others.

Some of the 'post-colonial' weaknesses are a reflection of the general inability of liberation and/or independence movements to build domestic productive capacity in their countries' economies. A related causal factor has been that of the ballooning public debt as a result of the combination of wrong policy choices and spending without developing domestic productive capacity to pursue economic transformation and development and in turn support public/social spending.

One of the instruments used by imperialism to undermine the national sovereignty of developing countries is that of the debt trap.

Our answer to this, must, in the first instance, include a sovereign development of our own economic policies and financial systems to deal with the challenges of development and potentially developing national debt crisis. For example, the SACP in 2000 launched a hugely important campaign focusing on the transformation of the financial sector. We made important gains through this campaign, including regulation of the credit bureaux, prevention of over-indebtedness through pushing for the National Credit Act, expansion of banking services, initially through the Mzansi Account, and so on. Interestingly, it was through the SACP campaign that the predatory behaviour of our banking oligopolies were exposed, thus laying the basis for the emergence of new banks targeting the unbanked.

However, our Financial Sector Campaign did not achieve systemic transformation of the financial sector. This was because of weak regulatory and oversight mechanisms over the financial sector, and lack of sufficient support from the trade union movement to tackle the systemic features of South African financial architecture. Part of the struggles for systemic transformation should include investments of workers' pensions and provident funds to build the productive sector of our economy. The importance of de-monopolisation and building a publicly-owned developmental banking sector cannot be overemphasised.

In South Africa, powerful and relatively developed and industrialised economic enclaves still exist side by side with an underdeveloped countryside and peri-urban areas. However, these two spheres of relative development and underdevelopment were deeply interconnected. The underdevelopment of the countryside and peri-urban areas were a condition for the development of the powerful capitalist economic enclaves. This is what the SACP characterised as the economic features of colonialism of a special type and persisting uneven development.

With our democratic breakthrough of 1994, the post-apartheid government was bequeathed with 'an unfunded mandate'. As the democratic government was established, the state-owned enterprises (SOEs) that had played a hugely developmental role for the white minority were re-oriented and corporatised. They were redirected to focus on their 'core' business, excluding the other

developmental roles they were playing before, like the training of artisans. Much as this corporatisation and privatisation of the SOEs had started during the late apartheid era, which saw the selling off of SOEs such as Iscor and Sasol, further attempts to expand and extend privatisation was embarked upon by the democratic government through its adoption of the neo-liberal GEAR class project. In certain areas the partial privatisation that started in the late apartheid years was completed after 1994, well into the early 2000s, under the auspices of the democratic government. This also included the partial privatisation of Telkom in 2002 and forms part the genesis of the current problems we face with our SOEs, one of the reasons why we must not allow a return to the 1996 GEAR class project in dealing with SOEs.

It is uncritical, for instance, not to look at the impact and cost of the liberalisation of the domestic airspace or aviation sector and tenderisation on SAA.

In fact it was the planned privatisation agenda after 1996 that contributed to SOEs deprived of recapitalisation. At Eskom, the 1996 GEAR class project led to the public electricity utility deprived of recapitalisation, including adequate maintenance of its existing power stations, and developmental capitalisation to build new power generation capacity. This laid the basis for the development of the current load shedding crisis. The 1998 government energy White Paper made a choice of 'introducing competition into the industry, especially the [power] generation sector [actually segment, but considered as a sector]... and encouraging private sector participation'. The main question that arises is whether we are back to where we were 20 years before?

In the private capital sphere, the combination of the end of sanctions and liberalisation under the 1996 GEAR class project led to massive capital flight and divestment by major South African conglomerates, with some shifting their primary listing to New York and London. Consequently, billions of rand left our shores during the first ten years of our democracy, resulting in, amongst other things, the currency crisis in the early 2000s.

The combined impact of the restructuring and privatisation of SOEs and capital outflows left the democratic government with what we earlier referred to as 'an unfunded mandate' to tackle huge socio-economic challenges. In

fact, the democratic South Africa was left with a progressive, but largely aspirational Constitution, with no adequate resources or economic means to drive a development and transformation agenda on a sustained basis.

However, the first decade of our democracy also saw massive improvements in the lives of millions of South Africans through some important socio-economic measures. Interestingly, this acted to cushion the poorest from some of the effects of the harsh economic conditions, those inherited from the legacy of the colonial and apartheid era and those created by the policy regime of the 1996 GEAR class project.

The socio-economic progress achieved was based on the repeal of apartheid laws and their replacement by the Bill of Rights and its enshrinement in our Constitution. This opened educational, trades and occupational opportunities, improved access to health care and freedom to join trade unions, among other workers' rights. In addition, government provided massive access to housing for the poor, electrification, social grants and water.

Whilst the mid-2000 saw the growth of the South African economy at around 5 per cent, as well as an increase in socio-economic provision, persisting high rate of unemployment remained a serious problem. This in fact was proof that neo-liberal economic policies and its growth path cannot address the interests of the majority of workers and poor. At most it enriched existing capitalist conglomerates, including the financial sector, as well as a small stratum of black sections of the capitalist class ('the black minority').

It was the cumulative impact of the above developments that led to huge tensions inside the movement and the Alliance. This was also accompanied by the marginalisation of Alliance formations from key decision-making bodies both inside the movement and government. Interestingly, this also led eventually to the marginalisation of the ANC itself from major government decisions.

The situation produced what became known in media circles as a Polokwane revolt, through a coalition of the SACP and Cosatu, and those feeling marginalised inside the ranks of the ANC. In fact, amongst those who felt marginalised from inside the ANC, their grievance was not so much about dissatisfaction with neo-liberal policies, but feeling marginalised from opportunities of accumulation.

The uneasy coalition ('coalition of the wounded') between the Left and those feeling excluded from opportunities of accumulation became dominant in the movement arising out of Polokwane in 2007. But it was to unravel a decade later, by 2017, precisely because it was not based on principled unity, on the part of others, to advance a revolutionary agenda. The one part of the uneasy coalition, largely represented by the SACP and Cosatu, wanted significant policy changes, whilst significant sections from the other component of the coalition wanted their turn to accumulate.

The above uneasy coalition seemingly had some similar goals, important amongst which was the necessity to stop privatisation and keep SOEs in the hands of the state. But there were vastly different intentions behind this commonality. Whilst the SACP and Cosatu wanted SOEs to drive a developmental agenda, the significant other sections wanted to keep the SOEs in the hands of the state in order to loot them. This was not obvious from the beginning but became apparent as time unfolded.

It must nevertheless be acknowledged that the fourth democratic administration, inaugurated after the 2009 elections, started on a very progressive path in many respects. For instance, not only was privatisation of SOEs abandoned, but there was an important commitment to invest in infrastructure to the tune of R100 billion in five years – the highest such investment in such a short space of time. In addition, it provided HIV treatment, which was before not provided, thus bringing an end to an era of government denialism. This saved lives and increased life expectancy in South Africa by a number of years.

However, the massive looting of state resources that was to follow, led in the first instance to deepening tensions and fuelled factionalist battles within the movement as a whole, concentrated mainly inside the ANC. It was these divisions that were carried into the ANC 54th National Conference held in Nasrec, Johannesburg, in December 2017, where the SACP and Cosatu preferred to align with those forces inside the movement who seemed committed to fighting against state capture and other forms of corruption.

At this point, as the SACP and Cosatu, we must reflect on our experiences of sometimes supporting one faction to win an internal election in the ANC and thereafter a dumping us. Part of the challenge here to avoid this situation is to





enter into principled Alliance relations whilst independently building working class power and hegemony on the ground and in every key site of struggle and significant centre of power.

### ***Neither parasitic nor neo-liberal agenda***

The principal task of the working class in the transformation of our economy now is to intensify the struggle against the parasitic state capture networks. In combating them we must at the same time not open space for a return to the era of neo-liberal dominance. Conversely, in waging struggles against a return of neo-liberal dominance we must not re-open space for another round of looting. We are for a democratic developmental path and state. As the SACP we must be guided by our programmatic slogan, 'Socialism is the future; Build it now' – building momentum towards, capacity for, and elements of, socialism in the here and now.

Our tasks in the context of the preceding discussion should include the following:

### **Financial Sector Transformation**

- A return to the Financial Sector Campaign on a more heightened scale.
- Building a publicly controlled, developmental banking and broader financial sector.
- Building a co-operatively-owned banking and broader financial sector.
- Continuing to campaign for low cost banking and financial services and against financial exploitation by commercial banks and finance capital in general.
- Strict regulation and management of the capital account.
- Prescribed assets for productive and developmental purpose.
- A sovereign wealth fund to support and increase the levels of public investment.
- Expansion of the mandate of the South African Reserve Bank to explicitly

target employment growth and an explicit, inclusive, balanced and sustainable high growth target.

## **Broader Economic Transformation**

- Linking economic and social policies, thus advancing a comprehensive socio-economic policy approach targeted at employment creation and therefore a radical reduction of unemployment, and poverty, inequality and uneven development.
- A high impact, comprehensive industrial policy, including digital industrial and innovation, research and development strategies, aimed at developing our domestic productive capacity.
- Revitalisation of the publicly-owned sector of our economy, in particular but not exclusively requiring turnaround of our SOEs and systematic expansion of the sector to thrive.
- Combating state capture and other forms of corruption in the public sector and the economy at large on a more intensified extent.
- Development oriented poverty eradication strategy, with emphasis on support for productive activities and building sustainable livelihoods.
- Acceleration of land redistribution and support for productive land use, especially for the poor and the working class; to this end Parliament must complete the process of amending section 25 of the Constitution to make expropriation – that is without compensation – categorical as a constitutional, legislated, policy instrument available to the state.
- Increased economic and social infrastructure spend, and therefore also a stimulus package.
- Review of the fiscal policy framework to boost state revenue to support industrialisation and development.
- A state-owned pharmaceutical company.
- National Health Insurance.

In line with the commitment made by the Alliance in the ANC May 2019 general election manifesto, overall alignment of our macro-economy policy framework to support the above, the objectives of the second radical phase of our democratic transition, and the other commitments made in the manifesto.

## **Rebuilding our movement and the vanguard role of the SACP**

The Central Committee, in reflecting over the past two years since our 14<sup>th</sup> National Congress, and in its analyses of the current challenges facing the national democratic revolution, has come to the conclusion that *the most urgent task of the NDR, our Party, the Alliance, and the broader democratic forces is that of rebuilding our movement*. Hence the theme of this Special National Congress, 'Rebuild Our Movement: Socialism is the Future – Build it now'. In essence we are also firmly locating the vanguard role of the SACP within this task going forward.

The working class and the SACP as its Party are not going to be able to achieve the social, economic and community objectives, and a number of the other tasks that we have outlined, without rebuilding our movement.

The Central Committee is of the view that given the state of the ANC in recent years, and some of the internal organisational challenges it is facing, *communists must devote serious attention to the rebuilding of the ANC*. The Central Committee believes in this, not just for the sake of the necessity for a united, coherent and organisationally renewed ANC, but primarily because the national democratic revolution and its second radical phase require a strong, united and revolutionary ANC free of the many ills that characterise it at the moment, including divisions, factionalism, gate-keeping, isolation from communities on the ground, and marginalisation of its allies. The task of communists therefore is not to celebrate the poor state of the ANC, but to do what we have always done since the adoption of the native-cum-workers'-and-peasants' republic thesis in 1928/1929.

Let us briefly go back to the relevance of the essence of our call in 1928/1929 which laid the basis for our Alliance:

'While developing and strengthening the fight against all the



customs, laws and regulations which discriminate against the native and coloured population in favour of the white population, the Communist Party of South Africa must combine the fight against all anti-native laws with the general political slogan in the fight against British domination, the slogan of an independent native South African republic as a stage towards a workers' and peasants' republic, with full equal rights for all races, black, coloured and white.

'The Party should pay particular attention to the embryonic national organisations among the natives, such as the African National Congress. The Party, while retaining its full independence, should participate in these organisations, should seek to broaden and extend their activity. Our aim should be to transform the African National Congress into a fighting nationalist revolutionary organisation against the white bourgeoisie and the British imperialists, based upon the trade unions, peasant organisations, etc., developing systematically the leadership of the workers and the Communist Party in this organisation... The development of a national-revolutionary movement of the toilers of South Africa against the white bourgeoisie and British imperialism constitutes one of the major tasks of the Communist Party of South Africa'.

Much as we have gone a long way since the 90 years after the adoption of this thesis, towards achieving this goal, this task remains incomplete. Its completion is now a necessary part of driving a second, more radical phase, of our democratic transition.

Part of the Central Committee's call, that every communist must be a community activist, also has to with contributing towards building an ANC that is rooted in communities, and whose branches express the interests of communities, rather than the narrow self-centred interests of factions. Principled community organisation by the Party and the Alliance will go a long way towards reversing all the regressive tendencies found in some of our structures, like gate-keeping, factionalism and isolation from the communities.

Some of our own members have asked, and may still ask, should we not be prioritising building SACP structures. Yes, we must prioritise building the



SACP structures, but the Party has never, in its entire history, only focused on building its own structures outside of building the organisational capacity of the motive forces of the national democratic revolution as a whole. That is why from the 1930s the SACP, as it built its own structures it continued to build the ANC and the trade union movement and throwing its weight behind the squatter movement. With the likes of Dora Tamana, the Party became deeply involved in organising around the provision of crèches for the poor and also building the co-operatives movement.

It has always been the task and vanguard role of the SACP to build itself as it builds the motive forces of the national democratic revolution and as it advances political organisation of the masses. In fact, rebuilding the movement must mean rebuilding the organisational capacity and strength of the motive forces of the revolution! For now, we are leaving the issue of rebuilding the SACP to be discussed in detail in our Organisational Report to be presented by our First Deputy General Secretary.

The second biggest challenge to *rebuild our movement is to rebuild and strengthen the progressive trade union movement*, with priority being our ally, the Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu). The Central Committee, since our 14th National Congress, has been discussing this question extensively, including continuing engaging with Cosatu and its affiliates. We have, together with Cosatu, identified the urgent task of rebuilding industrial unions, as one of the key tasks in helping to strengthen the federation.

That the biggest and relatively most stable unions inside Cosatu are public sector unions is something to be welcomed but not taken for granted. One of the biggest threats to Cosatu affiliates, as well as the rest of the trade union movement, is that of being corrupted and co-opted to capitalist agendas. This include the very use of trade union investment arms to compromise and corrupt union leadership, and can destroy the union movement and fragment it into pieces. Much as this is a threat to all trade unions, public sector unions are also particularly vulnerable to be co-opted by the state capture and other corrupt agendas.

However, in line with Cosatu's call for broader trade union unity in action, the SACP should also consciously seek to reach out to all progressive trade

unions as part of its own contribution towards broader unity in action by the trade union movement.

The Central Committee is also proposing to this Special National Congress that we engage Cosatu and the entire progressive trade union movement to convene a Conference or Summit of Trade Unions, to discuss and come up with a joint programme of action on matters affecting workers. Whilst as the SACP we would not like to prescribe the agenda for such a gathering, it must at least seek to thoroughly reflect, among others, on the gains, advances and losses made by South African workers over the last 25 years; new threats to trade union organisation; the state of our economy; and identify common campaigns around jobs and decent work as well as the challenges facing the SOEs.

Let us take this moment and look back to see what fragmentation and therefore disunity have done to the trade union movement and its capacity to advance and defend the interest of workers.

By April 2016 South Africa had 187 organisations registered as trade unions. The total number of workers organised in the 187 organisations registered as trade unions was just less than 3.6 million. This meant that only 33 per cent of workers recognised as employed were organised in trade unions, while the unorganised workers constituted 67 per cent. The number of newly formed unions continued to increase. For instance, in the same year, four new organisations were formed and registered as trade unions. This brought the total number of registered trade union up to 191 by September 2016. The number of newly formed trade unions continued to increase thereafter.

The increased number of trade unions do not necessarily organise the unorganised. Trade union proliferation is mostly concentrated in the ranks of the already organised sections of workers. This has given rise, in all sectors, to trade union competition and/or so-called rivalries, or even what can be described as 'scope wars'. In worst-case scenarios, it is possible to find one trade union having achieved or still achieving membership growth in a context where another is suffering continuous killings of its members, leaders, officials and thus declining in membership. It is almost impossible to not see these as somehow connected.

Apart from the many challenges facing workers in South Africa, the very state of the global challenges, including the negative impact of how capital employs new technologies, require broader trade union unity in action, as well as to deepen trade union international solidarity.

The importance of working very hard to achieve trade union unity and to build working class power cannot be emphasised, as it is the case with regard to the connection between workplace and community struggles.

*The crisis of social reproduction also calls for the intensification of organisation at community level, in order to unite the broadest range of forces to attend to the varied needs of our communities.*

The Central Committee proposes that, coming out of this Special National Congress, we should lead an effort to bring together, first through a national gathering, varied community, mass, and NGO formations to discuss an organisational and mobilisation strategy to confront and deal with the many crises affecting our households and our communities.

We are therefore committing to work with other interested progressive organisations to convene a broad gathering of community-based organisations, student, youth and trade union formations, churches, women's organisations, progressive NGOs with demonstrable community support, commuter organisations, civic and residential organisations, and other progressive formations. The purpose of such a gathering should include seeking to lay a basis for addressing the many challenges facing our communities, including:

- Waging the fight against gender-based violence.
- Tackling youth unemployment.
- Fighting drugs and substance abuse.
- Intensifying the fight against corruption.
- Advancing poverty eradication strategies and building sustainable livelihoods.
- Continuing the struggle for the implementation of the National Health Insurance.



- Pushing community driven development, including the District Development Model from below.

In fact, through our Red October Campaign, it has become clear to the SACP that the many scourges afflicting our communities, including gender-based violence, cannot be defeated by separate organisations in an isolated way. This latter requires not just women's organisations, but all of communities and the whole of society.

The many community 'service delivery protests' are largely disjointed, characterised by destruction of public property, even if they raise legitimate issues. This is largely because there is no proper and principled political leadership.

Also, the very important District Development Model Campaign will not succeed unless we mobilise and build strong community organisation. Effective participation in the district development programmes and projects offers a huge opportunity to revitalise not only our branches, but our districts as well. In fact, there is no reason why districts should not be waging district campaigns on a sustained basis to deal with the many challenges facing working class communities in particular.

We need to point out that what the Central Committee is calling for is neither an electoral front nor an oppositionist movement. It is also not a call for a mechanical return to the rebuilding of the United Democratic Front of the 1980s and early 1990s. This is a call for the mobilisation and organisation of the motive forces of the democratic revolution, so that the people themselves and communities are at the centre of their own development. This is also aimed at liberating our communities from the clutches of factionalist activity.

The central importance of revitalising progressive community activism is that it can create a crucial platform for worker-community joint actions as engines for local development. For instance, there are a number of common interests between organised workers and communities. These communities are where workers come from. There is a need for principled organisation of co-operation between progressive trade unions and community formations. For example, both the trade unions and communities have an interest in the proper functioning of Eskom. Yet often when the issue of Eskom is taken up,



it is either workers or communities on their own, without co-ordination of the two fronts together. At times there are contradictions between the two centres.

## **Building the political capacity of the SACP as a vanguard Party for socialism**

It is absolutely important and essential that we frankly reflect on ourselves, including on whether we do have the capacity to do all the things we are committing ourselves to do. Most importantly, we need to ask whether we do have the capacity to act as a truly vanguard Party for socialism, a Party of the working class.

The SACP must prioritise and institutionalise political education, in line with our Party Programme, the South Africa Road to Socialism. The holding of regular political classes does not call for much financial resources for our branches, in particular. All SACP branches should hold weekly political education classes. There must be political education programmes at the district and provincial levels as well, as there should be nationally. These should also include specific attention on the youth in general, and the Young Communist League of South Africa (YCLSA) particular.

However, political education without involvement in practical campaigns and activities of the Party and communities is not enough. Political education must include building an activist and vanguard SACP. Political education without practical campaigns and activities is not enough to produce seasoned Party cadres. Some of our detractors used to discourage the SACP from leading mass campaigns on the grounds, saying that our role was restricted to theory and analyses. In fact, throughout our whole history, we have never been a Party of theory alone. We have also always been a Party of action. No other Party has played the role of building the trade union movement as we have done in South Africa, ever, for instance.

We have also played a huge role over this period as ANC members and activists to build that organisation. The SACP was a co-founding organisation of uMkhonto weSizwe, the MK, when our Alliance launched the armed struggle in 1961. By that time the SACP had in fact already established its own units and which had carried out a number of attacks on the networks of the apartheid regime.



Communists were active in all our four pillars of struggle between 1960 and 1990 – in the underground, mass organisation, on the international front, and in the armed struggle. In the post-1994 period, the SACP, more so since 1999, launched and has been leading the Red October Campaign, notching some very important victories on a number of fronts, for the benefit of the workers and poor of our country. Communists have also played an important part in governance, both in executive and legislative arms of the state, as well as in other structures of the state. It is this activism that makes and also builds the capacity of the SACP to play its vanguard role.

Another reality that we have to face is that the SACP must always strive to produce more capable cadres inside its organisational structures. There is often always a difference between a member and a communist cadre. A communist cadre is the backbone of the Party, who is clear about its tasks, ideologically, theoretically and practically, and is always amongst the first in battle, highly disciplined. A communist cadre does not elevate oneself above the organisation or lower structures above higher structures. Over the past two decades, we have had to deliberately and significantly grow the size of our Party. This has brought about its own challenges.

We deliberately grew the size of the SACP for two main reasons. Firstly, we did so in order to build our capacity to defend the Party from our enemies as well as detractors. Growing size of the Party has helped us to navigate some of the big challenges we have had to face, including a political offensive by neo-liberal forces. Secondly, we grew the Party in line with our Medium-Term Vision, to build working class influence, power and hegemony, in all key sites of struggle and significant centres of power. In order to have effective presence in most parts of our country, we needed numbers as well. As we state in the South African Road to Socialism, our Party Programme:

‘The fact that the Party is in an alliance must not lead to the dissolution of the Party into that alliance, nor should it seek to duplicate the role of any of its alliance partners. Similarly in leading or participating in sectoral mass struggles and other mass formations we should not turn the party into a sectoral mass-based formation. We seek to build a large, but vanguard Party. ***A large party is not necessarily a mass party, as the size of the Party is not a fixed number of***



*members, but is determined by the tasks at hand.* Whilst our Party was underground between 1950 and 1990, it was necessary that its size be small. Conditions in the wake of the 1994 democratic breakthrough dictate that the size of the Party must be significantly increased whilst not sacrificing quality and its political and class character.'

Nevertheless, we have grown faster than we have been able to grow the number of high quality cadres in the SACP. We have not been able to back the rapid growth of our Party with increasingly effective and institutionalised political education and ideological training to raise the level of quality on the part of every member and transform them into professional communist revolutionaries (for a definition see Lenin's 'What is to be done'). We still have members who we have not yet achieved the level of high communist attributes required in terms of the Party constitution and capacity. We need to look at the adverse impact this has started generating in the Party and accelerate the pace of developing communist cadres. A large Party with no political education can easily begin to lose its direction. Building the capacity of the SACP as a vanguard Party also means transforming ourselves from quantity into quality and building the SACP as a Party of vanguard cadres.

It is also important to remind ourselves that playing a vanguard role does not necessarily mean mechanically occupying an organisational leadership role or being always in the frontline. Vanguard leadership can be provided through strategic, programmatic and ideological leadership, regardless of your location in the movement or in any struggle. Being a vanguard is also not a stamp that you carry forever. As Lenin says in 'What is to be done?', it is not a label. Being a communist vanguard is not a timeless thing. Rather, it is both the state of communist capacity and process of its development. It therefore has to be continuously earned, that is, at all material time. This needs cadres who are the most advanced, dedicated, disciplined and loyal to the course of universal emancipation and lasting freedom and exemplary wherever they are located.

Perhaps the most serious challenge that faces the SACP is that of its financial sustainability and access to resources. Let us face it, comrades, there are just



too few people who are able to raise resources needed to run the SACP and implement its programme. What we are talking about will be hot air without resources. We would not be able to undertake a single programme, let alone to think about that contesting an election whenever and wherever it becomes necessary in the country.

Above all, the most important requirement in building the capacity of the Party to play its vanguard role is its internal unity. Without unity there can be no Party being able to play its vanguard role. If there is one thing to credit the last three to four sets of the Central Committee, that is the premium they have placed on Party unity. We have sought to emphasise engagement and consensus in electing Party leadership, for example, without at the same time suppressing debate on any matter. Engagement in the Party is very much part and parcel of inner-Party democracy. Democracy without engagement, without dialogue, is inconceivable. We have continuously expanded space for inner-Party democracy while fostering consensus and building Party unity and cohesion. In this way, we have pioneered centralism on the basis of democracy and continuously widened space for inner-Party democracy under central guidance.

One of the prime requirements for Party unity is the creation of internal democratic space for any Party member or structure to raise any matter for debate. But in addition, and most importantly, such matters must be raised inside the Party following due Party process and procedures. The day Party matters start to be raised through the media then we must all know that we are on a slippery slope to disunity and destruction of the Party. That a Party member feels strongly about an issue cannot be the reason to raise such matters in the media or outside Party structures. Indiscipline, whether ideological, political, organisational or, still, at the personal level within the Party, is in fact part and parcel of what Lenin referred to as an infantile disorder and childishness. It is important therefore for the Party to consciously work to defeat all such regressive tendencies within its ranks, including factionalism, populism and opportunism.

In addition, in times of difficulties, like we have in our country at the moment in terms of the state of our economy, we must desist from telling our people what



they want to hear even if such promises are not achievable. Such populist tendencies must be discouraged within the ranks of the Party.

To foster unity it is important to respect and adhere to the principle of democratic centralism and also respect the leadership authority of higher structures up the National Congress. As just stated, higher structures listen to lower structures before arriving at their decisions. This is provided for in the constitutional composition of the leading organs of the Party. Once decisions are made and taken, they must be respected. Decisions of higher structures are binding on all lower structures. In addition, lower structures must desist from commenting on matters that are a responsibility of, or fall in the sphere of higher structures. It is important to follow due processes and procedures to comment and make input within the Party on such matters.

Lastly, the SACP must at all time act to unite itself even as it debate complex and difficult matters. We must not approach issues for debate in a divisive manner. If you raise a point that you know is divisive, you must know that there will be other contrary views and, in the end, you may not win your view. At some stage many of us had thought that if you feel strongly about a matter, or you have raised your argument very strongly, then everyone or most people will be swayed by your viewpoint.

But what we must also always remember is that we are not building the SACP for the sake of it, but for the working class. This is not a Party just of its members and its leaders. The SACP is a Party of the working class!

Our Party building tasks will not be complete without at the same time building a strong YCLSA that is visibly leading the youth and is followed by the youth on the ground and in every key site of the struggles implicating the youth. The tasks of building the YCLSA include precisely what we have already said about the Party. That is, in summary, political education, political education, and political education; ideological training; ideological training, ideological training; action, action, and action on the ground and in every key site of struggle where the youth are. We need to build a vibrant and campaigning YCLSA. Everything we have said about building Party unity also applies to the YCLSA, an autonomous but integral organ of the Party.



Let us use this Special National Congress to build a unified Party and debate in a manner that is comradely and builds unity. There is no prize bigger than Party unity. Let us commit to having a robust but successful Special National Congress.

**Amandla!**



Cnr. Jorissen & Simmonds Street  
Braamfontein, Johannesburg 2001  
Tel: 011 339 4911