



15th National Congress
Ekurhuleni, 13–16 July 2022

**DECLARATION, RESOLUTIONS &
CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENTS**



SACP
1921- 2022

101 YEARS
OF UNBROKEN STRUGGLE

**TOGETHER, LET US BUILD A POWERFUL, SOCIALIST
MOVEMENT OF THE WORKERS AND POOR!**

SOCIALISM IS THE FUTURE—BUILD IT NOW!



South African Communist Party
15th National Congress
Ekurhuleni, 13–16 July 2022

Declaration, Resolutions and Constitutional Amendments

CONTENTS

Article 1: Declaration	4
Article 2: Radical Structural Economic Transformation and Social Development	18
Article 3: Land Redistribution, Agricultural Transformation and Human Settlement	24
Article 4: The Workplace and Trade Union Organisation	31
Article 5: Community Struggles and Development	38
Article 6: Local Government	43
Article 7: The International Situation and Solidarity	45
Article 8: Party Building	60
Article 9: The Energy Crisis and a Just Transition	63
Article 10: Constitutional Amendments	74
Article 11: State, Popular Power and Electoral Considerations	82

Article 1

Declaration

Adopted 16 July 2022

Together, let us build a powerful, socialist movement of the workers and poor

Boksburg, 13 to 16 July 2022

We, the 400 voting delegates representing approximately 340,000 members of the SACP, as well as members of the Young Communist League of South Africa across the country, met from 13 to 16 July 2022 in Boksburg, constituting the historic 15th National Congress of our Party.

In attendance were our Alliance partners, the ANC and COSATU, and formations of the mass democratic movement, as well as other fraternal organisations and distinguished guests from our country.

Also in attendance were representatives of communist and other anti-imperialist fraternal organisations from other countries in Africa, South America, North America, Europe, and Asia.

We met in the centenary year of the Young Communist League of South Africa, and as we complete the Communist Party's hundred years of unbroken struggle to advance, deepen and defend the national democratic revolution, towards socialism. This has been a centenary of communist struggles to educate, organise and mobilise the working-class and its allies against a system that puts profits before people, a system that puts private accumulation before the environment, the crisis-

ridden system of capitalism. It is this exploitative system that has created and reproduces the crisis-levels of racialised and gendered mass poverty, unemployment and inequality, as well as the associated crises of social reproduction and rising cost of living.

We met against the background of nearly 30 years since our April 1994 democratic breakthrough which marked the end of decades of white minority rule and three hundred years of colonialism in our country. The April 1994 democratic breakthrough opened the prospects for a new, radical phase of the national democratic revolution, our strategy for democratic transformation and development towards socialism.

Many political and social gains have been realised by the working-class over the last 30 years, but so have many opportunities been lost to deepen radical structural economic transformation in favour of the workers and poor.

The country's economy remains dominated by monopoly capital, with the continuing colonial and apartheid legacy, global capitalist crises and policy failures interacting to sustain high levels of inequality, unemployment, poverty and rising cost of living. This situation has now been worsened by the interrelated crises of health pandemics, such as the deadly COVID-19 virus, and climate change.

Major aspects of working-class lives are in a crisis, mostly hitting women and youth, the overwhelming majority the hardest, as the income of workers and poor sharply decline because of the rising cost of living.

In the circumstances, the main question that Congress focused on is what is to be done?

Roll back the neoliberal macroeconomic framework

Our national democratic revolution is threatened by the very things it seeks to overcome—the capitalist domination of the economy, its colonial and apartheid legacy, and the reproduction of crisis-high levels of inequality, unemployment and poverty. Related to this, the financialisation of our economy undermines our ability to advance the programmes that the workers and poor need, such as industrialisation, a major infrastructure development programme, a universal basic income grant as a step towards a comprehensive social security system, and a National Health Insurance.

Working-class or proletarian communities—mainly in urban townships and informal settlements, as well as in former bantustans—are torn apart by the daily struggles for survival. The increasingly exploited, and unemployed workers and poor are more and more becoming disillusioned with electoral politics because of the impact of neoliberal policy failures and the consequences of corruption.

Therefore, the SACP rejects the call for a “social compact” that is aimed at co-opting the working-class to advance neoliberal policy reforms, including those originating from the IMF, the World Bank, the OECD, imperialist credit rating agencies and other supranational bodies controlled and wielded by the US-led imperialist forces. Such a “social compact” excludes the crucial imperative to change the macroeconomic framework under which South Africa failed to reduce unemployment, eradicate poverty, and bring down the astronomical levels of inequality.

For the past 26 years, since the government imposed the neoliberal economic policy called Growth, Employment and Redistribution (GEAR) to restore falling profitability, among others, the SACP and other militant working-class formations

have been calling for a change in the macroeconomic framework. Without a fundamental shift in the balance of class forces resulting in a change of the macroeconomic framework, South Africa will continue to experience the problems of the crisis-high levels of unemployment, poverty and inequality that it has failed to address since 1996 after the government imposed GEAR. The persistence of these problems directly results from the measures imposed by the government under GEAR, including its shock therapy, and its lasting legacy, besides the persisting legacy of colonialism and apartheid, and the impact of global capitalist crises.

Emerging from the 15th National Congress of our Party, we will intensify this struggle for a change in policy content and direction, most especially challenging neoliberalism.

The SACP rejects the dogmatic and widely discredited neoliberal macroeconomic framework and other policy measures which undermine our efforts to drive democratic transformation and developmental programmes of benefit to the workers and poor.

We reject the agenda of neoliberal austerity pushed by the National Treasury, which has meant massive budget cuts spending on public services and goods, resulting in a social crisis in working-class communities and affecting working-class women and youth, mostly black.

The SACP says no to the financialisation, which has shifted financial resources away from the productive economy and social investments to speculative investments in the casino economy, the financial markets. This includes financial assets held by the banks and other financial institutions or “financial services providers”.

SACP 15TH NATIONAL CONGRESS RESOLUTIONS

Workers need to assert their control over investments by their pension funds. Investing in the productive sector to drive major industrialisation and infrastructure development programmes towards expanding access to work for all should be an apex priority. This is one reason the government, with mobilised working-class support, needs to enforce prescribed assets on financial sector investments through legislation. The scope of the prescribed assets requirements should include investments in areas of critical public developmental importance, such as a just, green transition.

It is critical to strengthen public financial institutions—the DBSA, the IDC, the Land Bank, the PIC, the Postbank, and provincial financial entities—to play a developmental role. This should be guided by a clearer mandating of the South African Reserve Bank to support the public development finance institutions.

In intensifying our campaign for a fundamental change in economic policy, including macroeconomic policy, we will push to dislodge neoliberalism in our national economic and social policy space. Without such a change, the masses of young people and women, who are black in their majority, will continue to be devastated by the high levels of unemployment, poverty, inequality and the crisis of social reproduction, and South Africa will not turn the tide against de-industrialisation.

To advance our policy objectives, we will build a powerful, socialist movement of the workers and poor, guided by the 2022 iteration of the SACP programme titled The South African Struggle for Socialism, inclusive of our Strategic Perspectives and Tasks. Immediate key priorities of our programme in the face of the catastrophic and unsustainable reality confronting most South Africans and around which we need to prioritise our mobilisation of the workers and the poor include:

A powerful, class conscious trade union movement

SACP reaffirms its support for democratic worker control of trade unions, trade union resources and workers' funds. We will work to build the unity of workers in action, across trade unions and across federations.

The SACP says to the workers, together:

"Let us build workers' powers in the workplace and in the economy at large."

"Let us fight outsourcing in the economy."

"Let us fight labour-brokering in the public and private sector and build the unity of workers in the formal and informal sectors."

"Let us build worker-controlled co-operatives in all sectors of the economy as an instrument of structural economic and social transformation and development."

Working-class and popular power in our proletarian communities

Proletarian communities are the historic sites of militant class struggles. However, over the past three decades, they have been ravaged by neoliberalism. We will continue to deepen our campaigns in working-class communities to win the following working-class demands.

- As part of the wider imperative to build a comprehensive social security system, the struggle for a **universal basic income grant**, which should lift working-class households out of poverty and help build capacity for

the broad working-class to become the collective agents of fundamental change.

- The struggle for the **right to work for all**—beginning with the massive expansion of public employment programmes, where the work is not just temporary, but ongoing, where we care for infrastructure that makes our communities cleaner and safer places to live in, where collective work rebuilds social cohesion and overcomes the huge despair and sense of alienation amongst millions of the unemployed youth, and where public employment work is productive and addresses the crises of social reproduction and poverty. This will include campaigning to expand public employment in the caring economy, in early childhood learning, in the provision of collective food gardens and food kitchens, and in sustaining places of safety for all the people, especially women and children.
- Build and strengthen the networks of community-based co-operatives, including organising community-owned stores and community-owned banking institutions, savings and burial societies.
- Active working-class involvement in institutions of participatory democracy, such as the community policing forums, school governing bodies, neighbourhood watches, and street committees.
- Rebuild trade union locals in our communities as key points of focus from which we can help co-ordinate popular activism and rebuild the workplace-community connection and solidarity.
- Support government efforts directed at the township and village economy and the District Development Model,

ensuring that these programmes impact positively on the lives of the working-class and poor.

Land reform for urban and rural transformation

South Africa needs radical land reform for both urban transformation, where 70 per cent of our people now live, and rural development and transformation. Besides rural areas, and mainly the former bantustans, the working-class and poor remain largely confined to peripheral townships and informal settlements that were designed as dormitory locations for the reproduction of cheap migrant black labour. Apartheid legislation has been removed, but now the financialised property market acts with equal brutality in forcing the majority of workers and poor to live on the margins, in poverty traps far away from resources, amenities, and recreational facilities. While we seek to transform the reality within these settlements, we will equally strive to transform the overall spatial design of our towns and cities.

Land reform in our rural areas must be guided by the Freedom Charter's clarion call for land to be shared among those who work it. Rural land reform, development and transformation must be directed to the population still living in the former bantustans as a priority.

The SACP will campaign for:

- A land reform programme which focuses on providing infrastructure, water rights, agricultural extension officers and veterinary services to the most marginalised.
- Security of tenure for small and subsistence farmers, giving full recognition to a variety of tenure, including communal land tenure rights.

- Unscrupulous evictions of farmworkers and their families from farms to stop.
- The evictions of labour tenants and their families from farms on which they have lived and worked to cease. These evictions are nothing less than an ongoing colonial expropriation. As the SACP we say: “**Expropriate the Expropriators...** and without compensation! Return the former labour tenants as rightful owners to what are, in reality, their OWN farms.”

Radical transformation of the financial sector

In the 2000s, the SACP launched the Financial Sector Campaign as part of its Red October Campaign. Through the campaign, the SACP successfully mobilised over 50 other formations.

The Financial Sector Campaign culminated in a Financial Sector Summit, convened by the government. Its most important achievements are those that immediately impacted positively on the working-class and the precarious strata of the middle class. These include transparency and regulation of credit bureaux, access to banking facilities, and the regulations of loans, clamping down on reckless and predatory lending practices, and addressing unregulated and unscrupulous home repossessions by the profit-driven exploitative commercial banks.

The National Credit Act and Regulator (now the Financial Sector Conduct Authority), which cushioned South Africa from the impact of the 2008 global crisis, were the direct achievements of the SACP-led Financial Sector Campaign. We also drove the passing of legislation on co-operative banking through the campaign.

The time has come to intensify the Financial Sector Campaign. But this time, while mobilising based on financial consumer

issues (for debt relief, against repossessions, and against the high transactional costs charged by the banking oligopolies), we will more militantly address the larger structural issues. The SACP, together with other working-class formations, community organisations, sectoral organisations, among others, will:

- **Campaign to stop the massive illicit flows of capital from South Africa.** The SACP will deepen the campaign for tight regulation of the capital account, cross-border capital transitions, and to roll back the erosion of exchange controls to protect our economy against exposure to the unbridled volatility of the dog-eat-dog insatiable pursuit of private wealth accumulation. Our efforts will include measures to direct investment into the productive sector to industrialise our economy, create employment, drive poverty eradication, and tackle inequality and uneven development. The South African Revenue Services, the South African Reserve Bank and other key state institutions in the financial sector must up their game.
- Campaign for the enforcement of prescribed asset requirements on the banks and financial institutions, to ensure that a significant proportion of their investments goes to the productive sector to build national production and create employment and infrastructure development.
- Campaign for the consolidation of a strong, developmental public banking sector, comprising national, provincial and sectoral state-owned banks and financial institutions, which the South African Reserve Bank **MUST** actively support. In terms of articulation, this will be buttressed by the national democratic revolutionary imperative to achieve the Freedom Charter's vision of the state banking sector - the common property of all - to breakdown the monopoly of profit-driven, commercial banking interests.

SACP 15TH NATIONAL CONGRESS RESOLUTIONS

- As part of the effort to achieve inclusive economic growth, campaign for the mandate of the South African Reserve Bank to target sustainable employment creation and moderate interest rates.
- Campaign for a thriving co-operative banking sector at all levels, national, provincial and local.

Dismantling the networks of state capture and clamping down on other forms of corruption

As the SACP 15th National Congress, we welcomed the submission made by the Central Committee to the Commission of Inquiry into State Capture, the “fraudulent alienation of the state”. In campaigning to dismantle the networks of the fraudulent alienation of the state and to clamp down on other forms of corruption, the SACP will strengthen its capacity to advance the way forward proposed in the submission.

We mandate the 15th National Congress Central Committee of the Party to complete studying the entire text of the commission’s report, its orientation, findings and recommendations, to produce a comprehensive political and strategic response, to contribute to the programme of action required to dismantle the networks of the state capture corruption and to ensure that state capture does not rear its ugly head again.

We reiterate the Party’s call, for the state to move decisively with prosecutorial investigations to hold those who were involved or complicit in the state capture corruption to account, to the full extent of the law. We expect prosecutions and maximum sentences. In addition, holding to account those who were involved or complicit in the state capture must include using asset forfeiture processes to seize the assets, the proceeds, the ill-gotten wealth that they gained from the corruption.

Workers of the world unite for peace and development

We express our solidarity with the people of Swaziland struggling for democracy, against the repressive monarchy, with the people of Zimbabwe who are facing human rights violations in a country devastated by virtual economic collapse.

We denounce imperialist aggression by the bloodthirsty and trigger-happy United States-dominated NATO. The expansion of NATO, which is an instrument of war, represents the greatest threat to world peace and equality in our time. At present, this is manifesting itself through the NATO-provoked war in Ukraine. The impact of the war, including NATO's weaponisation and wielding of extraterritorial sanctions, includes the global cost-of-living crisis.

We reiterate our call for a peaceful resolution of the conflict in Ukraine and for an end to the war on all fronts.

We pledge our solidarity with the people of the world amidst the United States imperialist aggression and foreign occupation, including but not limited to the people of Palestine, Western Sahara, Syria, Yemen, Venezuela, Bolivia and Nicaragua.

The SACP reiterates its support for the Cuban people and government in their struggle for the United States to lift its unilateral and illegal blockade against Cuba and unconditionally end its occupation of the Cuban territory of Guantanamo Bay. The United Nations General Assembly must make its voice consistent and louder, once again, by voting for the lifting of the blockade.

Build the SACP as a vanguard party of the working-class for socialism

We will strengthen the vanguard character of the SACP in this extremely challenging national and global context. Over the years, the Party has grown in membership from around 10,000 members in 1998 to approximately 340,000 by July 2022.

Over the next five years, we will deepen our work to build and strengthen the independent voice of the SACP and strengthen our political, ideological and organisation capacity to mobilise popular forces and build a powerful, socialist movement of the workers and poor. This will include deepening political education within the ranks of the Party, to ensure that its membership growth is accompanied by its qualitative growth. We will build the SACP as a campaigning Party of the working-class and poor for socialism.

As Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels state in the Manifesto of the Communist Party, “the first step in the revolution by the working-class is to raise the proletariat to the position of ruling class to win the battle of democracy”, to build the supremacy of the proletariat, and to organise the proletariat to become, and afterwards as, the ruling class. The questions of the class character and leadership of the state, and the societal power concentrated, organised and exercised in the state, are crucial to every working-class revolution, including the national democratic revolution, our advance to socialism.

Therefore, the newly elected Central Committee should consolidate and strengthen for finalisation by the next Augmented Central Committee Plenary, the roadmap of the Party on building working-class leadership of society and hegemony over the state. In carrying out this task, the Central Committee must pay particular attention to the strategy and tactics suitable for active engagement in the electoral terrain

of the class struggle. This work must be guided by the key task of the SACP arising from the Congress...

“Together, Let’s Build a Powerful, Socialist Movement of the Workers and Poor”: SOCIALISM IS THE FUTURE – BUILD IT NOW!

Article 2

Radical Structural Economic Transformation and Social Development

The general programme

Build, defend, and expand a developmental state public sector and a public economy

Noting:

1. The working-class in our country is enduring multiple capitalist crises effects of inequality, unemployment, poverty, social reproduction and rising cost of living. As Marx says in Capital (Vol. 1) the effects, such as unemployment, are also the conditions and levers for the accumulation of wealth on a capitalist basis. Inequality, likewise, is the cornerstone of capitalist exploitation and social relations of production. The accumulation of social wealth by and its concentration in the hands of the capitalist class is inextricably entangled with the exploitation of labour by capital and misery and mass poverty.
2. Wealth and income inequality remain at world record levels, with our crisis-levels of unemployment now approaching 50 per cent in the broader and more accurate definition. Youth unemployment is now around catastrophic 70 per cent. The unemployment rate of women is 6,5 per cent more than that of men. Black women hardest hit.
3. High inequality and unemployment have deepened mass poverty with and related food insecurity and vulnerability

of the poor to climate-change related disasters and chronic health crises (COVID-19, diabetes, etc.).

Further noting:

1. The need towards building a varied and pre-dominant public sector with entities owned by the state at the national, provincial and municipal levels.
2. Parasitic and corrupt networks and neoliberal austerity measures have undermined critical capacities and confidence in the public sector to drive a developmental agenda.
3. The problem of unbundling and restructuring of SOEs to privatise some or all of their critical assets.
4. Through commercial funding models, fiscal policy stances and commercialisation, there are SOEs that have been forced to drift from their developmental mission, to being judged based on profitability.

Believing that:

1. Building a developmental public sector and a varied public economy to become a predominant feature in future is essential in the struggle for the socialisation of the South African economy, an economy that put social needs (including environmental needs) before private profits.
2. A varied and pre-dominant public sector, with entities owned at national, provincial and municipal levels subject to various forms of democratic control, not least scrutiny by parliamentary committees and trade unions, consumer councils, to name but a the few.

3. It is crucial to defend existing public sector utilities in electricity, gas, water, communication, telecommunications and infrastructure, to name but a few, in the face of weakening by corruption, state capture and neoliberal attacks and manoeuvres to insinuate competition by profit-driven interests in their place.
4. The class-oriented trade union movement and public sector workers by virtue of their location have a key role to play in the defending and expanding the public sector.

Therefore resolve that:

1. The state must shift away from “corporatisation”, in which public entities, including what should be public utilities, such as Eskom, are expected to conduct themselves as if they were profit-driven private capitalist-owned companies and treat the country’s citizens as “clients” or “customers” instead of advancing a developmental mandate.
2. The state should create a sustainable funding and governance framework for state-owned enterprises, public utilities and other public entities. Monetary policy, as must decisively be the case with fiscal policy, must form part of the sources for the funding model.
3. The government must adopt prescribed asset investment requirements, including on the funds controlled by the financial sector, to support structural economic transformation.
4. The government must ramp up public investment in network areas, such as public renewable and cleaner energy production, research and development in clean technology solutions (for example, clean coal technology/

energy solutions), a safe, affordable and reliable public transport system, water infrastructure, roads networks, rail infrastructure, mobile communication and connectivity, and in the high radio frequency spectrum space, including free Wi-Fi hotspots, to support working-class needs, industrialisation and advance towards the right to work for all.

Transformation of the banking and broader financial sector

Noting that:

1. Our country has a high level of banking concentration—28 years into our democratic dispensation, there is absolutely no tangible progress towards the Freedom Charter’s goal for a people’s banking sector, the ownership of the banking sector by the people as a whole.
2. South Africa needs a state-led investment strategy that shifts financial resources from increasing concentration in speculative investments to increasing investment in productive sectors and developmental purposes.
3. The need to move towards “de-financialisation” of the economy to support industrial development, social and structural economic transformation.
4. The SACP and its allies have long called for prescribed investments to address the developmental needs of our people—such as housing, economic infrastructure and industrial development.
5. As part of the financial sector, it is important to build a thriving developmental public banking sector, a vibrant co-operative banking sector, and a strong mutual

banking sector to meet the financial needs of the people, transformation and development.

Therefore, resolve to:

1. Intensify the campaign to roll back neoliberalism in our domestic policy space to replace neoliberal measures with national democratic revolutionary measures.
2. Campaign for regulatory obligations including prescribed asset requirements to advance transformation and development towards meeting the needs of the people.
3. Campaign for a thriving developmental public banking sector.
4. Campaign for a low interest rate policy including a differential interest rate policy to support the development of the productive sector.
5. Endorse macroeconomic and industrial policy proposals in Bua Komanisi (Volume 14, Number 2, May – June 2022).

Universal basic income grant, towards a comprehensive social security system

Noting that:

1. The SACP is campaigning for the introduction of a universal basic income grant as part of the wider imperative to build a comprehensive social security system to ensure that no South African falls below the poverty line.
2. The persistent crisis-high levels of unemployment, poverty, inequality and the crisis of social reproduction make the introduction of a universal basic income grant towards a

comprehensive social security system an urgent priority.

Believing that:

1. A universal basic income grant is better than a means-tested programme for several reasons, including:
 - 1.1 A grant made available to all adult South Africans, rather than one grant per qualifying household, will empower women.
 - 1.2 A universal basic income grant will do away with “bureaucratic exclusion” of poor people.
 - 1.3 Means-testing involves costly administrative measures.
 - 1.4 Given its universality, a universal basic income grant will contribute to poverty reduction.
4. By providing income security to the poor majority, a universal basic income grant will enable them to seek work themselves or to buy goods and services and thus contribute to localisation, the development of the township and village economy, and social cohesion in working-class communities.

Therefore, resolve that:

To more actively campaign for a universal basic income grant as a basic social floor against poverty and hunger, and as part of our wider campaign to establish a comprehensive social security system.

The Social Relief of Distress Grant introduced during the height of the COVID-19 pandemic should not be terminated but maintained and improved as the foundation to advance towards a universal basic income grant.

Building and broadening worker and community ownership in the economy and advancing anti-monopoly

Congress resolved to:

1. Intensify our campaign to end monopoly capitalist domination and monopoly, including through measures to break existing monopolies, concentration and centralisation of economic control and income in the hands of the tiny minority.
 - 1.1 Press on with the campaign to introduce legislation and policy, as outlined in the 2019 ANC Manifesto, to extend company ownership to a broad-base of workers through worker-ownership funds or similar schemes to empower the workers. The framework should establish minimum thresholds and other conditions for worker-ownership.
 - 1.2 Strengthen our efforts to build industrial worker-owned co-operatives. Support measures should include public finance through the IDC, UIF, fiscal and monetary policies, among others, and capacity building for workers and communities establish and manage worker and community-controlled co-operatives.
 - 1.3 Deepen our campaign for measures to break-up sectoral monopolies, not least in banking, insurance, agriculture, and other sectors, and in ways that support and tend towards de-concentration, de-centralisation and socialisation and empower the workers and poor.

Public employment programmes

Resolved to:

1. Strengthen our campaign for investment in public employment programmes at scale to tackle unemployment, and to transformation these programmes into a skills development and decent work platform.
2. Expand public employment programmes to socially useful productive work.
3. Link public employment programmes to economic development in townships and villages.

Article 3

Land Redistribution, Agricultural Transformation and Human Settlement

Noting that:

1. The legacy of the dispossession of the African people of their land, and colonial and imperialist imposition of the capitalist mode of production in our land.
2. The forced proletarianisation of the masses and their subjection to capitalist exploitation and domination.
3. Rural South Africa, particularly former bantustan areas, is underdeveloped and synonymous with the worst of poverty.
4. Farmworkers are deeply exploited, among the most underpaid, and do not enjoy security of tenure.
5. In-migration from rural South Africa to the urban areas has increased pressure on the fiscus of urban municipalities.
6. The current trajectory of land reform reinforces the dominant mode of capitalist farm ownership and other exclusionary organisation of ownership and forms of production.
7. The prevailing trajectory of land ownership inhibits the expansion of small-scale farming, which is critical for economic inclusion.
8. Food security and development cannot take place without land.

9. People need to be encouraged and supported to use the current land available in their hands productively.
10. Farm workers or dwellers are not only failed by the white commercial farmers who dominate the agricultural economy but are also failed by the state.
11. Despite right policies, land redistribution is not effectively being implemented in the country and it is moving at a snail's pace.
12. Under the current financial architecture, bonds are exorbitant and take a long time for many people to repay the primary debt and interest rates, making it difficult for people to acquire houses and land, among other important assets and resources.
13. The attempts by farmers to offer farmworkers unscrupulous shares on the farm as "transformation".

Believing that:

1. Without a strong working-class movement intensifying the class struggle to shape the direction of new technological advances as a function of the social relations of production, the capitalist class will control the digital technological revolution in pursuit of its wealth accumulation and deepening exploitation of workers, which, in other instances, will include retrenchments.
2. The legacy of colonial and apartheid capitalist relations of production, imperialist domination and neoliberalism, and capitalist crises reproduce high levels of unemployment in South Africa.
3. There is pressures for accelerated land redistribution not only for agriculture but other land-based economic

activities and integrated human settlement.

4. The so-called “Willing buyer, willing seller” has never been appropriate for land redistribution.

Resolutions:

1. The SACP and the Alliance must strengthen their focus on ensuring accelerated land distribution for productive purposes, food security, integrated human settlement and other public interests.
2. The government should provide basic services to farming communities and actively intervene to stop farm evictions.
3. The SACP must contribute to renewed and accelerated theorisation on the land, the agrarian and the entire land economy questions in South Africa.
4. Campaign for adequate allocation of resources to underdeveloped rural areas to undo underdevelopment and advance rural development and economic transformation.
5. Accelerate land redistribution based upon the Freedom Charter towards equitable access to land.
6. Agrarian transformation (including the expansion and diversification of production, provision of fencing, extension support, access to productive grants and affordable finance, establishment of the co-operative banks) should underpin all land that is being used and has been acquired by the historically oppressed South Africans.
7. Campaign for tighter regulation of land sale and prices, including considerations for price ceilings in the public interest, while pressing on with expropriation with no compensation.

8. Consider, in the South African context, the agrarian aspects of the progressive programme implemented by President Lula in Brazil called “Zero Hunger”, where the food public market (Food for Hospitals, Schools, Universities, etc.) was set aside solely for smallholder farmers, contributing immensely to reducing inequality in that country.
9. In the light of the increased land redistribution pressures, call for a review of the model for individual stand-alone housing units, particularly in urban areas, to consider a shift to building apartments.
10. Strengthen efforts to address the housing backlog across the country, within the framework of integrated human settlement development, including though state provision playing a key role, social housing, rental stock, affordable home loans, site and serviced stands where individuals and families can build their houses of their choice according to their ability.
11. Strengthen our efforts to achieve food security and empower black farmers to increase food production.
12. The Alliance must strengthen its focus on farm dwellers to address their plight, social and economic rights, and security of tenure.
13. Strengthen the capacity of the Central Committee to monitor and evaluate all our resolutions on the land and agrarian question; the SACP must establish adequate monitoring and evaluation capacity.
14. Call for measures to support and accelerate the transfer and redistribution of land to the historically disadvantaged people for productive use and integrated human settlement, and to meet the development and transformation needs, in the public interest.

SACP 15TH NATIONAL CONGRESS RESOLUTIONS

15. Review share ownership schemes involving farm workers and their employers to solve the problem of unscrupulous schemes and ensure the development of meaningful worker control.
16. Rural development and smallholder agriculture should be among the mechanisms to build sustainable livelihoods, address the unemployment problem and drive inclusive growth.
17. The state must reassert its right and authority on water rights.
18. Re-examine the ideas of Agri-Parks and assess their impact.
19. Reassert the role of progressive town planners in the design of human settlements, which must be integrated—the Central Committee must establish a Technical Working Group to guide spatial planning and integrated human settlement development across the country, including in rural areas, also ensuring a progressive land use regulatory framework.
20. Prioritise digital connectivity to in rural areas to bridge the digital divide, including through free Wi-Fi hotspots infrastructure in rural and working-class communities.
21. Work closely with other social groups, including micro, small and medium-sized enterprises, as well as Non-Governmental Organisations and faith-based organisations.
22. Whilst committed to the reconfiguration of the Alliance, the SACP must continue to contribute broadly to the ANC electoral effort, including shaping policies and manifestos of the liberation movement.

Article 4

The Workplace and Trade Union Organisation

Noting that:

1. The global capitalist and imperial powers have unleashed an onslaught on the rights, working and living conditions of the working-class and the poor. This has been achieved by:
 - 1.1 Rolling back the power of the state to regulate capital. The state has been re-purposed to stabilise and promote capitalism which is inherently involves the exploitative of labour.
 - 1.2 Privatisation of public entities and restricting the economic policy sovereignty of the state under the threat of disinvestment.
 - 1.3 Retrenchments, resulting in high levels of unemployment, precarious work, perpetual social injustice and inequalities, poverty, hunger, malnutrition, lack of access to healthcare and social protection and failures in meeting the basic needs of the people.
 - 1.4 Fragmenting the workplace through outsourcing and offshoring, with the labour brokers as their agents, creating global supply chains controlled and managed by multinational corporations based in the Global North.
 - 1.5 Black working-class women endure the brunt of capitalist workplace restructuring and are in insecure low wage jobs.

- 1.6 Use of technology to, on the one hand, introduce new products and new methods of organising production, but principally to extract more surplus or replace vulnerable workers with machines.
- 1.7 Launching an offensive against workers' rights and worker organisations and rolling back the welfare state in Europe and the rest of the world.
2. South African capital, supported by the IMF and World Bank, has bypassed new labour regulations introduced by the democratic government by reinventing the workplace through casualisation, outsourcing and offshoring or replacing South African with migrants who are desperate to work for low income.
3. There are many farm workers who have been evicted from commercial farms by private farm owners to evade security of tenure legislation.
4. Capital seeks to reintroduce a docile labour force and constantly exhort the democratic state to deregulate the labour market.
5. The working-class has waged struggles against attacks by capital and prevented a calamity by at least maintaining wages slightly above inflation in a number of sectors.

Believing that:

The workplace is a key site of struggle for the distribution of surplus, the length of the working day, introduction of new technology, and other social relations forged in production.

The SACP should build a mass movement of the working-class and poor to roll back the counter-offensive launched by capital against the working-class.

The SACP, working with Alliance partners and progressive forces, should defend the gains made by the South African working-class.

Virtual economic collapse some countries in our region and other parts of the continent and capital have set workers against each other, nationals and foreign national, to fight for employment and other opportunities.

Therefore, resolve to:

Adopt the following resolutions as part of our rallying call to intensify the struggle against neoliberalism in the workplace, working-class communities and the policy space, recalling the consistent work of over a century by the Communist Party to build progressive trade unions and liberate South Africa from the yoke of colonial and apartheid rule and capitalist exploitation.

The Central Committee must prioritise co-ordinating and pulling both the financial and human resources to ensure that the head office of the SACP, its provinces and districts function effectively to build a powerful socialist movement of the working-class and the poor.

This must include considerations for extended strategic support to the head office and identifying sources of legitimate funding.

This must include strengthening the CHI and strategic partnerships with other research institutions and strategic higher learning institutions.

The Party, after engaging and working with COSATU, and other worker and left organisations, should organise a National Day of Action and rolling mass action based on the Campaign for Decent Livelihoods for the working-class communities.

The energy crisis

We,

1. Reject the panic response to unbundle ESKOM and we will defend ESKOM as a publicly owned enterprise.
2. Will strive to achieve more public power generating capacity by improving existing power stations and allocating more resources to public investment in new power generation capacity and maintenance of existing power stations.
 - 2.1 This should help prevent load shedding.
 - 2.2 Support the energy mix, with a well-managed, just transition, to renewable and cleaner energy sources.
 - 2.3 ESKOM itself should take part in the new power generation capacity.
 - 2.4 Declare ESKOM a crisis and load shedding a national disaster and attend to it as such.
3. Will campaign for the state to address the problem of rising fuel prices on the working-class and poor.
4. Reject the self-defeating decision of the SARB to raise interest rates. The mandate of the SARB should be amended to include employment creation and targets.
5. Fight against price gouging, in general, and in essential goods and services to mitigate the rising cost of food and other essentials.
6. Drive the campaign for the introduction of a universal

basic income grant. This should be supplemented by de-commodification of basic needs and an expanded social wage for the working-class, through large-scale investment in energy generation, public transport, health care, water, railway and the introduction of a National Health Insurance.

Workplace struggles

We,

1. Support the workers struggles to achieve real wage increases, including addressing the implementation of social wage elements for workers, while, as Karl Marx says in his seminal work "Value, Price and Profit", intensifying the struggle to achieve "final emancipation of the working-class".
2. Call for the democratisation of the workplace, for workers to have a voice and not only representation on company boards but also to advance towards worker control.
3. Support worker ownership and takeover of firms, including those that are failing, placing the workers work and income security at risk.
4. Call for a review of pension funds management and investment to prioritise productive and developmental investment. The state should adopt measures to provide funds to workers to take over companies.
5. Call for equality in the workplace and reskilling of workers to close the apartheid wage gap should be promoted—including racial, gender and class inequality. In this regard, campaign against the obscene pay for company Directors. Propose measure to provide

childcare and early childhood development to relieve the burden of social reproduction faced by women, especially in single-parent families.

Further resolve

6. As part of part of building socialism now, the SACP should call for state support for the Evening and Night Time Economy (E&NTE) as part of the strategies to raise the level of national production and fight unemployment.
7. SACP, working together with COSATU, should deepen the campaign to protect the rights of seasonal workers, especially in the agricultural sector.
8. Working with the progressive trade union movement, the SACP should campaign to strengthen the labour law, making it watertight, to close the loopholes that capital has exploited.
9. The Department of Employment and Labour should reinforce the capacity of its labour inspectorate to enforce the labour law.
10. In the same vein, strengthen the campaign against retrenchments in the economy, including in public entities.

Building strong trade union movement.

We resolve:

1. To work with COSATU to build a strong and united progressive trade union movement by ensuring that COSATU is supported.
2. That the SACP, working with the progressive trade union

movement, should develop new, more effective ways to organise the unorganised workers, including in the informal sector, and to strengthen worker solidarity.

3. While the train unions should make use of the available or accessible resources, The SACP working together with the progressive trade union movement should engagement with the government to make available adequate resources for worker education, capacity building and research.
4. To deepen the link between the workplace, community and broader political struggles.

Further resolve to:

1. Strengthen the capacity of the SACP in workers' struggles.
2. The Central Committee Commission responsible for trade union and mass organisation should strengthen counteract the agenda of capital in the workplace.
3. Establish workplace SACP units to advance the aims, objectives and programme of the Party.
4. The SACP, working both independently and with COSATU, and other worker and left organisations, should intensify ideological training of the working-class and shop stewards.

Article 5

Community Struggles and Development

We resolve to:

1. Campaigning, around public employment programmes.
 - 1.1 Strengthen our efforts for the state to build climate-resilient township, city, town and village public infrastructure.
 - 1.2 Ensure the provision of basic and other social services.
 - 1.3 Revitalise the Build Sustainable Livelihoods Campaign, and
 - 1.4 Rebuilding a broader and inclusive civic movement, tackle the crisis of social reproduction, gender-based violence, criminality and other social ills.

We further resolve to:

2. Revisit, review, redefine, and strengthen the Know and Act in Your Neighbourhood Campaign, including by
 - 2.1. Conducting research to establish and keep up to date the profile of every community, to act and follow up on community development issues.
 - 2.2 Strengthening engagements with the local councillors and relevant provincial and national government departments on community development and the production and delivery of public goods and

services in ways that involve and enhance community participation.

- 2.3 Assisting poor families to make applications for social security grants and other forms of state support for the poor.
- 2.4 Broadening awareness in communities about their rights to basic services and social security
- 2.5 Deeply concerned about the recent spate of killings in entertainment settings, strengthen community policing forums and intensify societal mobilisation, besides calling for adequate resourcing and training of law enforcement authorities to perform their work competently, to stop violence and killings in communities.

The social and economic conditions

1. The social and economic conditions of especially the workers and poor, underdevelopment and poor government performance in their communities are the factors that contribute to what is widely referred to as service delivery protests. The SACP must build a leading role to engage with the Alliance partners and the government to address these problems. This should include mass education through campaigns and other interventions and mobilisation to build participatory democracy.
2. Industrialisation has been the talk of the town, yet we see a gradual decline in productive activity and capacity, especially in small towns. In most of these towns, industrial infrastructure that used to be productive has become redundant and is decaying. The SACP must

mobilise the working-class to ensure that the state solves these problems and to build the working-class' own interventions.

3. Drive the campaign to de-tenderise the state and municipal services.

Fighting crime

Noting:

1. The decline in community confidence in law enforcement authorities and the criminal justice system.
2. Criminality, including the destruction of public, community, economic and social infrastructure, also occurs at times of "unrest" or protest action.
3. The manipulation of the selection processes of councillors has had far-reaching implications for the relationship between the movement and communities, in most instances leading to in-fighting, isolating or repelling communities from the structures of the movement, and contributing to its decline in electoral support.

Therefore, resolve to:

1. Strengthen the call we have been making for decisive state action to be taken against vandalism, destruction and looting for public infrastructure.
2. Deepen mass mobilisation and education in our communities, while mobilising them, to protect public infrastructure.
3. Strengthen our campaign for a capable democratic developmental state, inclusive of the government, to

serves the people diligently.

4. Strengthen our efforts to address the problems such as gender-based violence, teenage pregnancy, substance and drug dealing and abuse, and criminality, in general.

Miscellaneous recommendations, covering the role of the Party

1. Campaign for recreational facilities for the youth as a priority, as part of the measures to deal with drug and substance abuse.
2. Drive sport, art and culture development and support the growth of the creative industry, with progressive content as part of the battle of ideas.
3. Improve community-police relations in fighting crime, which is not only a police issue but a wider community concern.
4. The SACP must be firm against the manipulation of councillor selection processes. Linked with this, the Party must deepen the struggle to reconfigure the Alliance.
5. Deal with the problem of social alienation and organise the unorganised towards building a powerful, socialist movement of the workers and poor, including entrenching worker and community solidarity.
6. Revisit some of our position papers and programmes, such as the South African Road to Socialism, to answer why we have not realised their key objectives.
7. Campaign for decent work both in the public and private sectors.

SACP 15TH NATIONAL CONGRESS RESOLUTIONS

8. Strengthen policies and legislation to deal with the problem of the proliferation of liquor outlets in our communities and underage alcohol consumption.
9. Intensify the struggles for women's emancipation and build a leading role in the fight against gender-based violence and discrimination against LGBTQI+ community members, including working closely with law enforcement authorities against these scourges.
10. Campaign for the clamping down on dubious churches, which are also the laundry machines of criminal activities.
11. Strengthen the HHH+Water Campaign.
12. All Party structures across all levels should strengthen engagement in the battle of ideas, including capacity building in communication and public engagement with communities.
13. Include community work as a priority in assessing the performance of Party structures and members.

Article 6

Local Government

Noting

1. Local government is a critical area of work that the Party must continue to build strong strategies around.
2. There is a need to consolidate the lessons that we have learnt, particularly from Metsimaholo.
3. There is a need to review the system of and funding formula for local government and to ensure that municipalities spend their service delivery budgets, in particular, but not only, infrastructure grants.
4. It is essential for municipalities to be adequately funded and financially viable municipalities for developmental purposes.
5. The local government funding framework is failing to roll back underdevelopment and overcome unequal development between urban and rural areas.
6. Many municipalities are in financial difficulties and debt, with far-reaching implications affecting their ability to meet the needs of the people.

Therefore resolve:

1. To ensure that structural limitations facing municipalities, including funding problems, are addressed.
2. That the framework in the three spheres of government should be geared towards meeting the needs of the people, systematically ending uneven development

and overcoming underdevelopment in historically disadvantaged rural communities.

3. That municipalities should spend their budgets to serve the people diligently.
4. To campaign for municipalities to spend their infrastructure grants and stop underspending and deal with its consequent problems.
5. Strengthen the financial management and capacity building of workers and management in the local government sphere.
6. To advance these resolutions in an integrated way, linked to legislative development and funding of the District Development Model.
7. Engage trade unions around investment by their investment arms, towards integrated human settlement, infrastructure development and the productive sector as priorities.

Article 7

The International Situation and Solidarity

The international situation based on recent developments and balance of forces

1. The global environment is that of capitalism in crisis, due to, among others, the COVID-19 pandemic, disruption of global supply chains as a result of the pandemic, and rampant poverty, inequality, and unemployment, particularly in the global South. This is exacerbated by the instability in Europe, ecological damage as a result of capitalist exploitation of natural resources, and the impact of climate change-related natural disasters.
2. These conditions have highlighted the necessity for an intensified class struggle as imperialist forces seek to take advantage of the post-COVID-19 pandemic to primarily, bolster the scramble for Africa to supplement their production capabilities, take advantage of low-wage production sites on the continent, and control the natural resources of the global South.
3. Imperialist strategies have been countered on multiple fronts both in the global North and global South by nation-states, multilateral institutions such as the Non-Aligned Movement, BRICS, and progressive international civil society.
4. When we assess previous conflicts, such as the Vietnam War, the Korean War, the Gulf War, the Bosnian War, and the invasion of Iraq by Western imperialists, instances of global inflation have stemmed from these

conflicts. However, with the Russia Special Operations in Ukraine, we have seen a steeper inflation curve as a result of Western-imposed sanctions on Russia. This has resulted in rising global prices and the further impoverishment of the global South.

5. The global financial crisis has had ramifications, as a result, globalisation has become the causality of spill-over effects onto the international community of global supply chain constraints. The rapid rise in fuel prices because of the Western imperialist sanctions imposed on Russia has resulted in the increase in global fuel and food prices globally, stifling global South development.
6. Domestically, the scourge of poverty, inequality, and unemployment has continued to be the fundamental contradictions of the South African political economy.
7. A rise in violence directed at working-class African migrants has undermined South Africa's soft power on the African continent. Further, the violence in South Africa as seen through various mass shootings in the country, the rise in violent interpersonal contact crime - especially related to gender-based violence, the destruction of infrastructure during civil unrest, and other related crimes can be attributed to the degeneration of social conditions within the country.
8. The high levels of poverty, inequality, and unemployment have become the tinderbox for social upheaval, as seen through the July 2021 unrest. This can be attributed to low levels of class consciousness among the South African working class.

International situations specific resolutions

CUBA

Noting

1. The recent international activities, held on July 11, to support the Cuban Revolution, where the world accompanied the Cuban people on the first anniversary of their victory on July 11, 2021, when there was an attempted coup d'état on the island by the counterrevolution supported and financed by the United States.
2. The SACP views these actions as part of the context of the economic and media war that the United States imposes against Cuba, to generate the image of a socially unstable country in political crisis, taking advantage of the impact of six decades of brutal blockade as an attempt to break the will of an entire people.
3. That Cuba has a pioneering role in combating and controlling the COVID-19 pandemic and for having become the first country in the world to vaccinate its entire population from two years of age with its own vaccines, despite the intensification of the interference and aggression of imperialism that cruelly occurred during the pandemic.
4. The solidarity that Cuba offered to the world by sending over 50 medical brigades to territories in Latin America, Africa and Europe to support the fight against the pandemic, with South Africa requesting and immediately receiving a large Health brigade to assist in the local confrontation of COVID-19.

Therefore, resolve to:

1. Extend our substantive solidarity to the Cuban people, the government and the Communist Party of Cuba in their struggle against imperialist aggression, the defence of their independence, sovereignty and the socialist Revolution.
2. Unapologetically stands with Cuba in defence of the Cuban people's right to self-determination and demand that the Biden administration immediately end all financial and moral support to organisations that are used to violate Cuban national sovereignty and the right of the Cuban people to manage their own affairs.
3. Support the Cuban people in their struggle to force the imperialist United States regime to lift its unilateral and illegal blockade and calls upon the United Nations General Assembly in its 77th session to make its voice louder by voting, once again, for the lifting of the blockade.
4. Strongly rejects the political media campaigns and subversive actions that are deployed today, in addition, through digital social networks, to manipulate the Cuban reality, promoting, on one hand, violence and internal destabilisation and, on the other, the discrediting of Cuba to justify an external intervention.
5. Firmly trusts that, under the wise leadership of the Communist Party of Cuba, international solidarity and the leadership of President Miguel Díaz-Canel, Cuba will overcome all current difficulties and challenges and successfully achieve the goals set by the VIII Congress of the PCC. and greater victories in national defence and in achieving a prosperous and sustainable socialism.

6. In the framework of the upcoming commemoration of the historic Assault on the Moncada Barracks on July 26, 1953, SACP also calls upon the working-class movement, internationally, to strengthen its resolve in support and defence of the Cuban people.

KOREA

Noting:

1. The steadfastness of the Workers' Party of Korea and Korean people to safeguard sovereignty and defend peace and security of the Korean Peninsula from the continuous military threats and dangerous expansion of military armaments of the United States and its allies.

Therefore resolve:

1. To strongly oppose the unprecedented and cruel sanctions of the United States and western countries against the DPRK and demand to remove the sanctions immediately.

PALESTINE

Noting:

1. Between our 14th and 15th Congresses (2018-2022) the apartheid state of Israel has continued with its savage occupation and violent oppression of the oppressed indigenous Palestinians.
2. In 2018, Israel killed over 280 Palestinians, including 56 children (an average of more than one child every week). In 2019, Israel killed over 130 Palestinians (including 28 children). In 2020, amid the COVID-19 pandemic, Israel killed 27 Palestinians and destroyed

over 729 Palestinian buildings, including hundreds of homes. In 2021, Israel killed over 300 Palestinians, including over 75 children and 3 pregnant women.

3. There are currently over 4,000 Palestinian political prisoners detained by Apartheid Israel, including over 500 held under Israel's "administrative detention" which we experienced as "detention without trial"
4. Worldwide, in the last 5 years, we have experienced an increase in international solidarity with the Palestinian people almost unlike ever before. This is also the case in South Africa, where the SACP and our youth league have been at the forefront of protests, campaigns, and events.
5. Major human rights organisations, including Human Rights Watch, Amnesty International and others, have produced reports in the last 5 years detailing Israel's Apartheid policies. It is now mainstream and uncontroversial to (correctly) term Israel as an apartheid state. The SACP was one of the first to articulate this position when it was not fashionable.
6. The South African government has been progressive in opposing Apartheid Israel's attempts at entering the African continent, and specifically the African Union. However, more can and should be done.

Therefore, resolve to:

1. Continue to support the downgrade of diplomatic relations between Israel and South Africa, including the downgrade of the South African Embassy in Tel Aviv, but to strive for a complete termination of South Africa's relations with Apartheid Israel, including the closure of

the Israeli Embassy in Pretoria.

2. Intensify our support for the boycott of Israel by our government and by wider society.
3. Reiterate that members should not accept trips and gifts from the Israeli embassy or its lobbyists.
4. Strengthen our branches in the anti-imperialist ideological framework through which the SACP views the Israeli-Palestinian issue.
5. Intensify our campaign to support the liberation of Palestinian people, among others, by working with all solidarity organisations including #Africa4Palestine, the Palestine solidarity movement and all progressive forces which aim to support the people of Palestine.
6. Assist specifically in efforts to build the Africa for Palestine Solidarity Network on the continent.
7. Work hand in hand with our fraternal communist parties in other countries in advancing the campaign to hold Israel accountable for the crime of apartheid, including through all international legal and other such forums.
8. Finally, recalling the pain of our own leaders, members and people who were once political prisoners, to continue with awareness raising, letter-writing and other initiatives in bringing attention to the plight of Palestinian political prisoners.

RUSSIA

Noting

1. The expansion of NATO is causing conflict and wars.

2. Blackout of Russian media is unacceptable
3. The weaponisation and imposition of sanctions by the USA and its imperialist allies is unjust and part of their imperialist aggression and strategies of war

Therefore resolve:

1. Africa, inclusive of South Africa, must safeguard its economy against sanctions, similar to those that are being imposed illegally and unfairly on Russia. For example, we must become self-sufficient regarding the production of our most basic needs and build sovereignty in this space. In addition, an important sector to protect is the IT and banking sector, in which the imperialist West has built its monopoly and control of the financial system. Seeking ways to establish own technological solutions or working together with fraternal countries to do so should be one of South Africa's key development tasks to safeguard on sovereignty.
2. While there is a transition to renewable and cleaner sources of energy, dependence on fossil fuel sources of energy is rebounding and becoming more prominent because of the sanctions the USA and its allies, which, hypocritically, are increasing their imports of coal for energy, in contradiction to pressurising countries like South Africa to abandon coal.
3. Strengthen our campaign against the monopoly of Multi-Choice, and the EU.
4. To campaign against the weaponisation of and unilateral sanctions and blockades.
5. To campaign against and highlighting of the Nazi and fascist forces operating in Ukraine under the disguise of defence.

SWAZILAND

Noting

1. Swaziland, under the Mswati regime and absolute monarch, is a dictatorship, not a democracy.
2. There is deepening social misery in Swaziland as a direct effect of the dictatorship on the Swazi Monarchy.
3. However, that there is a rising consciousness of the working-class in Swaziland. Swazis increasingly understand that all the social miseries result from the system and are also increasingly aware that only by ending this system and building a democratic society will they end advance towards ending the misery of oppression.

Therefore resolve

1. The plight of women in Swaziland, in particular, should be highlighted as they are specifically undermined by King Mswati. A special program and focus should be launched by the SACP.
2. We condemn those leaders and members who may have private business relations with Swaziland but who, at the same time, claim to support organisational resolutions and positions.
3. SADC's position on Swaziland is inadequate to facilitate the democratisation of Swaziland.
4. At a practical level, to respond to the call for an immediate summit on Swaziland with the international solidarity movements, progressive motive forces both in SA and Swaziland

SACP 15TH NATIONAL CONGRESS RESOLUTIONS

5. Must run campaigns to raise resources to support Swazi comrades that are in exile.

VENEZUELA

Noting:

1. In the last five years, the Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela has held several successful elections, to which the SACP, together with other African observers, including South Africa's IEC, were present. These include the Presidential elections of 2018, the Parliamentary elections of 2020 and the Local Government elections of 2021.
2. The Venezuelan people, led by their elected government, have managed to not only withstand the unjust assault from the USA and its capitalist lackeys but have also, in many ways, managed, in the recent period, to overcome these attacks.
3. The United States as a government together with their capitalist elites are continuing to back right-wing organisations in Venezuela and other Latin American countries to undermine the will of the people.
4. The West, led by the USA, together with certain capitalist institutions, has basically stolen resources belonging to the Venezuelan people. This includes gold that was seized by the UK (and which belongs to the people of Venezuela). This also includes the appropriation by the US and its capitalist elite of CITGO Petroleum. And, finally, this includes the appropriation of Monomeros in Colombia.
5. That the USA is resorting to kidnap as one of its methods to interfere in Venezuela. We are most concerned

about the case of Alex Saab, a Venezuelan diplomat who was detained, arrested and extradited - in a clear violation of international law - to the USA from Cape Verde. Such acts are criminal.

Therefore Resolve:

1. The SACP joins others across the world in recognising the three elections that Venezuela has between 2017 and 2022 and their outcomes as free and fair.
2. Notwithstanding the gains made by the Venezuelan government and by the Venezuelan people, there is still an imperial, unjust and illegal blockade on Venezuela that includes punitive sanctions, travel bans and other measures. We not only condemn these measures imposed by the USA and its lackeys, but we also re-commit ourselves to work with our comrades and partners in Venezuela to find creative ways to overcome these obstacles.
3. We view the fact that a socialist-aligned government is overcoming the attacks by the capitalist USA as an indication that the project of socialism in Latin America is not only surviving but also thriving.
4. That the SACP must work with our Alliance partners and progressive parties towards an emergency conference in South Africa and other SADC countries in support of the democratically elected, progressive governments of Venezuela and other Latin American countries.
5. That the SACP must work for a correct narrative of political developments in Venezuela and promote the sourcing of TeleSUR news and other such progressive news outlets for content for local media.

SACP 15TH NATIONAL CONGRESS RESOLUTIONS

6. To build a strong solidarity movement with the Bolivarian revolution and capacity to implement international solidarity campaigns and programmes from a branch to the national level.
7. We welcome that the majority of countries, including South Africa, did not recognise certain puppets that the West tried to impose on Venezuela. These interventionist attempts of the United States to recognise some supposed authorities, in clear violation of international law, have utterly failed in the face and will of the Venezuelan people.
8. We condemn the financial, diplomatic, economic and political persecution, sabotage and sanction by the USA against Venezuela and undertake to increase our efforts to expose such tactics with the ultimate aim to end such measures.
9. We demand and will continue to mobilise for the lifting of the unilateral coercive measures and sanctions by the USA that are directly affecting the Venezuelan people. We call for an end to all US imposed sanctions against Venezuela and in particular we call for an end to the blocking of Venezuela's access to the SWIFT system, we call for the return of the Gold seized by the UK and all other companies and resources that have been illegally expropriated at the cost of the working-class people of Venezuela.

WESTERN SAHARA

1. We welcome South Africa's diplomatic efforts to ensure that Israel and Morocco are not part of the AU.
2. Morocco does not deserve to be treated as a normal

state until it ends its abnormal occupation of the Western Sahara.

3. We reaffirm the right of the people of the Western Sahara to self-determination.

ZIMBABWE

1. The charges being levelled against certain activists and organisers in Zimbabwe not because they have committed any wrongdoing but because the government is using state power to prefer charges against them as part of its strategy to suppress democratic activity must be dropped and those from the trade union movement who have been detained must be released.
2. The arrest and torture of Zimbabwe activists by the state must end.

In General

1. DIRCO and those responsible for implementing the resolutions of the ANC and our alliance are deliberately failing us and actively undermining the will of our organisations.
2. An urgent fact-finding and solidarity trip must be undertaken by the SACP with inclusion of members from the CC but also from provinces and districts. The purpose of such a trip is to both lend solidarity but also to explore new methods of organising and influencing society.
3. The recent victories by the left in Latin America are inspiring. We warmly welcome the most recent victory in Colombia of Comrade Gustavo Petro Urrego though we should be ready to defend him and his party from

US attacks.

4. Launch a “Campaign for World Peace” as part of our international solidarity campaign and anti-imperialism.
5. Internationalism and its related political education should go to the ground, meaning that branches must become more active in such.
6. The SACP must organise a summit so that the left from all countries on the continent can do a collective assessment of the state of our continent and develop a collective response. In addition, the SACP should look into the rebuilding of the African Left Networking Forum (ALNEF).
7. We must not just relegate our responsibilities to international bodies like the UN, we as an African organisation must also insist that our country that has access to African bodies utilise these platforms to consolidate its positions as directed by the Alliance.
8. The SACP does not welcome the US military joint exercises in and with South Africa and challenge these exercises.
9. We must caution against taking financial resources from reactionary entities that will force its own programs, ideology, and economic restraints.
10. South Africa should actively seek to source its energy sources from countries including Iran, Venezuela, Syria, Russia and others who are being sanctioned by the imperialist US regime.
11. Call on BRICS to expand and allow other progressive states join the co-operation. However, at the same time,

BRICS interventions must in sync with working-class interests.

12. We cannot be forced and bullied by certain imperialist countries on how to transition to renewable energy. We must determine our own course of action, focusing on issues of the environment, poverty, inequality and unemployment.
13. We call for an end to the general use of unilateral coercive measures by the USA and its allies, and the abuse of the financial services sector, including the SWIFT system, to effect regime change. This is impeding our own development, as we are not allowed to trade with countries that offer more competitive prices for essential commodities. Accordingly, we demand that the South African Reserve Bank allows local banks that so desire to join the Cross-Border Inter-Bank System.

Article 8

Party Building

Noting that:

1. The growth of the SACP in membership terms, quantitatively, must be accompanied by qualitative growth to enhance the capacity of the Party members as vanguard, Marxist-Leninist, cadres, to the Party to grow its qualitative impact, such as its influence and leadership in society
2. Political education and all-rounded cadre development are critical to the qualitative growth and impact of the Party

Key interventions required include:

1. Trade unions—there are low levels of trade union organisation, meaning there are many unorganised workers, which requires us to work with the progressive trade unions to organised unorganised worker and to build a progressive trade union movement
2. Strengthening of political education
3. Continue pushing the reconfiguration of the Alliance and more robustly
4. Strengthening of the YCLSA
5. Taking up critical campaigns, including among others, related to climate justice and environmental protection, just transition, civic, youth, resource mobilisation; and key grassroot challenges affecting communities

6. Communication and the battle of ideas on all fronts

Therefore, resolve to

1. Guard the infiltration of the membership of the party.
2. Develop a programme with COSATU to recruit workers and strengthen our non-racial programme.
3. Establish NGOs and NPOs to leverage influence in all spheres of society
4. Accelerate the building of a left popular front.
5. Build sectoral structures.
6. Strengthening of the YCLSA—expand its presence also in tertiary institutions, build the capacity of the YCLSA members and branches to be impactful among the youth in advancing and defending the programme of the Communist Party.
7. A comprehensive political education syllabus must be developed and integrated into our child and adult literacy programmes.
8. Encourage continuous deliberation and discussion of international relations matters at all levels of the Party.

Further noting:

1. The financial sustainability of the Party's campaigns and programmes is critical to the development of the organisation
2. While there is a low union membership penetration within South Africa's workforce, the trade union movement remains critical in the struggles of the working class
3. The COVID-19 pandemic, along with the global

economic downturn, has created fertile conditions of mass poverty, unemployment, and inequality in South Africa

4. This has hampered the Party's ability to generate funds from its membership base, thus undermining the Party's capability to conduct its programmes

Further resolve:

1. Every party member must make a monthly contribution to the Party.
2. Monthly financial support from trade unions, with a minimum fee per member per month.
3. Financial sector campaign—elevate it to include the issue of sanctions. Must differentiate between unilateral coercive measures and calls for sanctions by progressive organisations that have popular support.
4. The Party must buy shares in trade union investment companies.
5. Each province of the party must establish a co-operative that will do business. It should however exercise good governance and labour relations practices.
6. We revitalise our relations with progressive, fraternal countries. We are an international organisation and can draw on international resources.
7. Consider linking membership to some form of benefit, for example, funeral benefits, loyalty cards—this will assist in the promotion of debit orders.
8. Selling of our literature through subscriptions to our newsletter and other exclusive content

Article 9

The Energy Crisis and a Just Transition

Noting

1. The South African government's attempts at resolving the electricity crisis.
2. The negative impact of load shedding on working-class and poor.
3. As South Africa deals with its electricity crisis, emerging trends from the West have facilitated the involvement of international financial institutions such as the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund in this space.
4. It is necessary to seek a just transition to a low carbon economy globally, to preserve our planet, the environment and live on the planet.
5. The involvement of these Western forces has the potential of undermining the sovereignty and financial sustainability of developing countries in the transition to a low carbon economy
6. During Russia's Special Operation, the West has sought alternative suppliers of energy, which includes the South African coal supplies for their energy use, while having pressurised South Africa to abandon coal
7. There is a new "Scramble for Africa", particularly regarding natural resources such as Coltan, platinum, coal, oil, and cobalt and other natural resources

Therefore, resolve to

1. To oppose privatisation of Eskom and to campaign for self-sustainability on energy production through increased public investment, including in renewable and cleaner sources of energy and innovation, research and development in cleaner coal technology.
2. Increase pressure on the government to resolve the crisis at Eskom and ensure that South Africans have uninterrupted access to electricity.
3. Organise an international summit on energy, with delegations from Iran, Venezuela, Syria, and Russia among other energy-producing states
4. Scrutinise and deal with the problems of the conditions of international loans in energy production
5. Explore energy solutions from countries such as Iran, Venezuela, Syria, Russia, and others that under the weaponised sanctions imposed by the USA and its imperialist allies
6. A just transition must protect work, livelihoods, and create new employment to reduce unemployment, and advance the development of the Global South
7. We cannot be forced and bullied by imperialist countries on how to transition to renewable energy and a low carbon economy. We must determine our own course of action within our own context focusing on issues of the environment, poverty, inequality, and unemployment.

Article 10

Constitutional Amendments

The Framework for constitutional amendments

1. **CONSTITUTION A GUIDE AND A FRAMEWORK BUT NOT COMPREHENSIVE:** For a variety of reasons, a Party Constitution should not be too comprehensive or long. It should not be a substitute for addressing issues through policies, political education and action. Constitutional Amendments are only made at Congresses and Constitutions should not be changed lightly.
2. **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.
3. **DIFFERENCES WITH COMMUNIST PARTIES IN POWER:** While there are many lessons to be drawn from the experiences of Communist Parties in government, especially in China and Cuba, we obviously cannot put into our Constitution some of the issues they have, as we do not have control of the state and because of the historical and other differences of our situation. But we should certainly draw from Constitutions of these parties whatever is relevant and useful to our experience.
4. **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 the constitutional amendments; such constitutional changes should be made after

political discussion papers on these issues have been processed.

5. **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 DEC secretaries must be full-time will not for the foreseeable future be able to be implemented. This is matter that can be considered through policies adopted by the CC. In any case, those DECs that can afford to have a full-time Secretary are free to do so. There is no need for a constitutional amendment for this.
6. **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 them.

Structures that process constitutional amendments for Congress to take decisions on

7. The Central Committee appoints a committee which processes proposed amendments from SACP structures, mainly the provinces, for the Congress to decide on. The Constitutional Committee has no policy or decision-making role.
8. To facilitate the processing of the proposed amendments at the Congress, a Constitutional Development Commission is established. It comprises members of the Constitutional Committee and 2 representatives of each province and the YCLSA, and a representative of a CC subcommittee proposing any amendments.

9. So, the Constitutional Development Committee is a CC structure and the Commission a structure of Congress.

Unusual Processing of amendments for this Congress

10. Usually, a PBC or Central Committee seeks to find at least a measure of consensus on the key constitutional amendments before they are discussed by the Congress or at least an understanding of what the key disagreements are so that they are managed in a relatively united way. Provinces proposing amendments are often urged by representatives of the Constitutional Committee to lobby other provinces for support for their amendments.
11. Unfortunately, this did not happen in preparation for this Congress, despite the Constitutional Committee's requests.
12. For the first time in over 20 years, not all the provinces took part in the Constitutional Development Commission. Present were: Western Cape, Northern Cape, Eastern Cape, Mpumalanga and the YCLSA.
13. There far less time to process issues.
14. There were fewer proposed constitutional amendments before this Congress than previous Congresses.
15. Although there were fewer participants in the Constitutional Development Commission than before, the quality of the participation was high. Importantly, the discussions were very cordial and differences were managed in a very cooperative way.

Central Ethics Commission (CEC) and Revolutionary Morality Committee (RMC)

16. Both these proposals are set out in the Proposed Constitutional Amendments document on pages 358 to 361 of the Organisational Report. This report must be set against the background of that document.
17. The focus here is on the agreements on those proposed amendments at the Constitutional Development Commission that are being put to the Congress for consideration.
18. The aims of the CEC and RMC are essentially the same—to ensure better ethical conduct of SACP members and reduce the prospects of the Party being brought into disrepute by members. The CEC is a structure proposed by the SACP national DC, and the RMC is proposed by the Western Cape. The RMC was established at the 4th SNC of December 2019 as an interim structure until this Congress while the role of the CEC is clarified for consideration at this Congress.
19. Given the similar aims and the more comprehensive nature of the CEC, proposals on the RMC be incorporated into the CEC.
20. The CEC should have as sub-structures the Discipline Inspectorate (DI) and the Disciplinary Committee (DC). The CEC should be the over-arching structure that is the custodian of Party discipline and its four pillars of organisational, political, ideological and personal discipline.
21. The CEC should be empowered to refer matters both to the DI and the DC according to the mandates of these two structures.

22. The CEC and DI should be national structures only.
23. Only the DC should exist at all levels of the Party structure.
24. There should be no overlap of membership of the CEC, DI and the DC.

CEC Membership and Guidelines

25. The CC should appoint between 3 and 5 non-CC stalwarts to the CEC and appoint the CEC Chair.
26. The CC should, after consultation with the provinces, adopt guidelines on the operation of the CEC within 6 months of Congress, and appoint the CEC as soon as possible after that within 9 months of this Congress.

DI Membership and Guidelines

27. The DI must have proactive inspection and investigative powers to ensure unity and coherence in line with the Party programme.
28. The DI should provide reports to the CEC.
29. The CC should appoint a DI of 3 members selected on the basis of their understanding of Party discipline (organisational, political, ideological and personal) who conduct investigations into matters of discipline.
30. The CC should, after consultation with the provinces, adopt guidelines on the operation of the DI within 6 months of Congress, and appoint the CEC as soon as possible after that, within 9 months of this Congress. The guidelines should include provisions to avoid any abuse by the DI to settle political differences within the SACP.

DC Membership

31. The DC should only be empowered to conduct disciplinary hearings on matters referred to it by the CEC or by the CC (or relevant structure).
32. The CC should appoint a DC of between 3 and 5 members to serve on the DC. The DC should be chaired by a PB member, and include at least one non-CC SACP member.

Need for Review of Role of CEC by 16th National Congress

33. The 16th National Congress of the SACP needs to review the role and functioning of the CEC and the structure that appoints it, and effect any constitutional amendments, if necessary.

All members to tackle corruption

34. Clause 5.9 of the Constitution should have an added sub-clause that states that every Party member has the duty to “Fight against the abuse of power and office, the improper use of money to achieve influence and corruption in other forms and in all spheres of society.”

Involvement of SACP members in Alliance and other structures

35. It was proposed that Clause 6.5 of the Constitution be removed. Clause 6.5 reads: “Members active in fraternal organisations or in any sector of the mass movement have a duty to set an example of loyalty, hard work and zeal in the performance of their duties and shall be bound by the discipline and decisions of such organisations and the movement. They shall not create or participate

in SACP caucuses within such organisations and the movement designed to influence either elections or policies. The advocacy of SACP policy on any question relating to the internal affairs of any such organisations or the movement shall be by open public statements or at joint meetings between representatives of the SACP and such organisations or the movement.” This clause is part of the “Basic Organisational Principles” in the Constitution. It can be removed but it falls under “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 the constitutional amendments; such constitutional changes should be made after political discussion papers on these issues have been processed.” The Western Cape and YCLSA, who support the proposed amendment, will prepare a policy and strategy paper on the need for the removal of this clause to be discussed by the CC and all other SACP structures in preparation for a possible constitutional amendment at the 16th National Congress.

SACP and YCLSA Membership

36. It was proposed that “SACP members between ages 16-35 must belong to a YCLSA branch.” The need for these SACP members to belong to the YCLSA is strongly supported. The Constitutional Development Commission proposed, for several reasons, that this not a provision in the Constitution but that the Congress adopts the following resolution:

“SACP structures from branch to national levels are urged to encourage all SACP members between the ages of 16 and 35 to join the YCLSA. As part of this

process the names and contact details of all SACP members of this age group must be made available to the YCLSA to approach these members to become their members also.”

After consulting the YCLSA and the SACP provincial structures, consideration be given to amending the constitution at the 16th National Congress as proposed above, should there be enough support for this.

Minor Technical Amendments

37. Clause 5.9.5: “he/she” be substituted with “his/her/theirs”.
38. Clause 7.1: The Young Communist League of South Africa (YCLSA) membership comprises members aged fourteen (14) to thirty five (35) years old who support the Constitution, aims, guiding principles, goals, policies and programmes of the SACP.
39. 8.1 line two: delete the words ‘other’ and ‘main’.

Replace term for Treasurer

40. The term “Treasurer” be replaced with “Secretary for Finance”. Minor amendments for clarity.
41. There was not enough time to discuss this proposed amendment, and it is deferred to the 16th National Congress.

Processing constitutional amendments at Congresses

42. As constitutional amendments are not made lightly and are usually processed through consensus as much as possible, it is better that they are processed through

our National Congresses, rather than Special National Congresses. But, of course, if the proposed constitutional amendments are urgent, they should be considered at Special National Congresses.

Amendments to Constitution to be checked at 2022 Augmented CC meeting

43. **ONLY** the Congress can make constitutional amendments and no other structure.
44. In view of the unusual circumstances referred to in section 3 above, and the extremely limited time for the Constitutional Development Commission to finalise its report and the insertion of the amendments in the text of the current Constitution, the Constitutional Development Committee presents the amended Constitution to the 2022 Augmented CC to check for accuracy, as is usually done.

Article 10

Transformation of the State, Strengthening State Capacity and Building a Capable Democratic Developmental State to Serve the People Diligently

The SACP's conceptualisation of the State must be within historic policy positions of the Party. That the basis of our understanding of the state has to be premised on Friedrich Engels' *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State*.

The SACP locates the theoretical thrust of the state in South Africa within the context of the necessity to deepen the National Democratic Revolution and intensify the struggle for socialism.

Congress endorsed the overall thrust of the Political Report of the 14th National Congress Central Committee and the political programme presented to the 15th National Congress.

Characterisation of the state and the developmental state that we need to build in South Africa

Noting that:

1. The Freedom Charter, specifically the first clause "The People Shall Govern!" and the third clause "The People Shall Share in the Country's Wealth!" positively relates to the Party's conception of the state and its mandate in terms of the economy.
2. Building such a state of people's democracy requires a strong revolutionary organisation and movement.

3. There is a proposal for a “social compact” which requires analytical assessment in relation to its implications and ramifications for the working-class.
4. In consistently engaging with the notion of a developmental state, the SACP has stressed such a state must:
 - 4.1 Be a capable democratic developmental state buttressed by working-class mobilisation, power and hegemony.
 - 4.2 Intervene through legislative and regulatory measures and take part in the economy through thriving public utilities, public entities and state-owned enterprises in the interest of the immense majority.
 - 4.3 Be able to discipline capital in the interest of the people, the majority of whom is the working-class.
5. Democratic national sovereignty requires transformation of ownership in the economy, in pursuit of the Freedom Charter’s clause “The People Shall in the Country’s Wealth!”
6. Transformation of local government is urgent in building a capable democratic developmental state that can serve the people diligently.
7. The challenges of state transformation to serve the people diligently and meet their needs require a comprehensive analysis, going to the root of the problems.
8. In a historical context, the legacy of successive colonial and apartheid regimes combined with neoliberal policy failures and capitalist crises badly impact the working-

class and the capacity of the state to meet their needs.

Believing that:

1. The Freedom Charter is the minimum programme of the National Democratic Revolution and through the clause "The People Shall Govern!" serves as a platform upon which we must build and strengthen the organs of people's power.
2. The capitalist class in South Africa is the ruling class, based on its economic control, and transforming the state requires the working-class, with the SACP continuously developing its vanguard leadership, to appreciate the connection between the economy and the state and to develop strategic and programmatic clarity.
3. The notion of a social compact, which is advocated as part the "Economic Reconstruction and Recovery Plan", among others, will not reduce or eradicate class inequality and solve the problems of unemployment and poverty, more so without changes in the macroeconomic framework and a comprehensive, high impact and adequately resourced industrial policy. A social compact maintaining the neoliberal paradigm in the macroeconomic framework and co-opting the working-class to support neoliberal policy reforms will be tantamount to class suicide for the working-class to accept.
4. Working-class communities face serious challenges because of and worsened by neoliberal hegemony.
5. By weakening state-owned enterprises and other public entities, state capture, other forms of corruption and related governance decay weakened the process to build a capable democratic developmental state.

Therefore resolve:

1. The SACP must intensify its campaign to de-tenderise the state and build organic state planning and implementation capacity to serve the people diligently.
2. As part of its campaign to achieve a capable democratic developmental state, the SACP must deepen its programme for the government to turn around state-owned enterprises and other public entities and to grow and diversify the publicly owned economy to become predominant in the future.
3. To strengthen the extent to which it is involved in implementing the National Democratic Revolution in the state as a key site of the struggle and centre of power.
4. The SACP must strengthen its communication programme to enhance understanding in our communities of what is a democratic developmental state.
5. To strengthen its work to build popular left fronts around key working-class programmes and perspectives and to build a powerful, socialist movement of the workers and poor, to fight for the achievement of the economic goals of the Freedom Charter, and to strengthen the organs of people's power.

Developing and strengthening municipalities, transforming the state, and fighting state capture and other forms of corruption.

Noting that:

1. Numerous municipalities across the country are in a poor state
2. Transforming the state should include measures to

ensure that it can serve people and change their lives for the better.

3. There are weaknesses with the allocation of budgetary resources to municipalities, including with the equitable share, in that the comparative development and underdevelopment inequality or dichotomy continues between metropolitan and rural municipalities.
4. The emergence of what the SACP characterised as the bureaucratic bourgeoisie and private interests that prey on or capture municipal budgets has become a serious problem that needs to be defeated.
5. The neoliberal policy approaches, including austerity, has impacted state transformation and its capacity negatively, affecting numerous municipalities.
6. Tenderisation has resulted in sub-standard quality work in municipalities.
7. The lack of capacity and understanding of a developmental state by some sections of public servants.

Believing that:

1. Certain levers of the state are overly bureaucratic.
2. The Political Report to the 15th National Congress adequately discusses the concept of “state capture”.
3. While there were improvements in the manual in the 2021 local government election, the approaches followed by the ANC still have weaknesses and the consequences include, in certain instances, councillors who lack capacity or communities turning their back on the ANC because of unacceptable councillor candidates.

4. There are funding challenges affect municipalities.
5. There is a need to enhance the role of district municipalities to drive the district development model

Therefore resolve:

1. The state security vetting system must be put in place to vet all public servants and conduct regular lifestyle audits.
2. To campaign against the culture of impunity to deal more decisively with corruption
3. The SACP must strengthen the development of all-rounded professional communist cadres to serve the people diligently and act as vanguard cadres in all respects.
4. Broaden the scope and reach of the government's work and interaction directly with the people unmediated by tenders.
5. To campaign for strengthening of accountability and capacity of public servants in transforming the state towards a democratic developmental state that serves the people diligently.
6. Strengthen work to upgrade the informal sector and campaign for the transformation of the Reserve Bank, besides supporting the development of a state bank and varied public banking sector, to co-ordinate monetary policy towards upgrading the informal sector.
7. Conduct research to consider converting provinces into administrative entities to optimise resources and enhance the capacity of local government to deliver public goods and services.

8. Campaign to strengthen the criminal justice system, including the capacity of law enforcement authorities to prevent, combat, investigate crime and hold those responsible accountable.

Education, health and the gender question

Noting that:

1. There is a need to mobilise communities to participate in building and safeguarding public schools
2. The virtual decay of the public healthcare system.

Believing that:

1. Institutions of specialisation, such as technical high schools, schools of engineering and technology, agricultural colleges, nursing colleges, to name but a few, can play a crucial role in deepening and widening skills development to meet the needs of transformation.
2. Curriculum at all levels of the education system should be suited to advance the imperative of a democratic developmental state and societal transformation.
3. School governing bodies need enhanced capacity building to play the role they should play in terms of legislation.

Therefore resolve:

1. Education, especially the content of teaching and learning, must be informed by the needs of the people
2. The SACP must strengthen its programme to achieve the elimination of gender, racial and class inequalities, to

achieve equality in education, healthcare and broadly in the economy and society at large

3. Strengthen the SACP's capacity and engagement in the theoretical struggle, the battle of ideas, on all fronts, including in the education system.

Article 11

State, Popular Power and Electoral Considerations

Noting

1. The 14th National Congress and 4th Special National Congress resolutions on the state and popular power, and the need to achieve a decisive breakthrough on the central thrust of the resolutions which continue to be strategically or tactically relevant or both.
2. The 14th National Congress Central Committee Political Report and State of the Organisation Report to the 15th National Congress on the state and popular power, as well as the steps taken by the SACP, and the problems experienced, within the Alliance in relation to its reconfiguration process.
3. In addition to, and going beyond, the resolutions of the 14th National Congress and 4th Special National Congress on the state and popular power, the need to build a powerful, socialist movement of the workers and poor, in view of the direction elaborated in the 14th National Congress Central Committee Political Report presented to and adopted by the 15th National Congress.
4. The proposals made in the South African Struggle for Socialism, the 2022 iteration of the SACP programme prepared for discussion and adoption by the 15th National Congress, in particular:
 - 4:1 "A satisfactory reconfiguration of the Alliance will not happen simply as a result of Alliance summits,

or bilateral meetings, or reconfigured organograms that exist on paper, as useful as these might sometimes be. Without effective organised working-class and popular power behind the SACP, without an SACP that boldly asserts its independence, and without the renewal of COSATU and the wider trade union movement, effective reconfiguration will not happen.”

- 4.2 “[T]he SACP (and the organised working-class, and all progressive forces) can neither stand aloof from the struggle for ANC renewal, nor invest all our expectations in it. If we take this latter position, we risk further marginalising the Party and going down with [what could become] a sinking ship”, especially should the negative outcomes overwhelm the desired positive outcomes in the highly contested processes.
- 4.3 “For the SACP to play a vanguard role... the Party needs to develop a much clearer independent voice, it needs to build an organisation capable of playing an active role in working-class and popular communities, it needs to consolidate a revolutionary cadre capable of carrying forward these tasks at all levels of our formation, and it needs to be able to resource these activities materially.”

Therefore resolve:

1. The questions of the class character and leadership of the state, and the societal power concentrated, organised and exercised in the state, are crucial to every working-class revolution.
2. To strengthen the vanguard character of the SACP in

this extremely challenging national and global context.

3. We will deepen our work to build and strengthen the independent voice of the SACP, and the Party's political, ideological and organisational capacity to mobilise popular forces.
4. At the first Augmented Central Committee Plenary following the 15th National Congress the SACP must conclude a review of progress and assess its experience on the reconfiguration of the Alliance, the renewal and unity process, and related to these and other relevant factors, finalise the roadmap and modalities to contest elections more effectively with or without a reconfigured Alliance.
5. In the same vein, the SACP must immediately press ahead with the strategic imperative to build a powerful, socialist movement of the workers and poor.
6. The SACP must deepen political education to ensure that its growth in membership is accompanied by growth in the quality of its members as communist cadres, influence and impact, developing working-class leadership of society.
7. To build the SACP as a campaigning Party of the working-class and poor to complete the national democratic revolution and advance to socialism.
8. The SACP must consistently engage with the trade union movement and other worker and progressive organisations to strengthen the capacity to resource its programme and role in the struggles of the workers and poor.
9. The SACP must continue to improve its theory and practice

on the question of electoral politics and contestation as a Marxist-Leninist Party based on inviolable ties with the working-class masses.



**Cosatu House, 4th Floor
110 Jorissen Street
Braamfontein, Johannesburg 2000
Tel: +27 (0) 11 330 3621
Email: adminsec@sacp.org.za**