



SACP

5th Special National Congress

11 – 14 December 2024

Declaration and Resolutions



**Consolidate and Build a Powerful, Socialist
Movement of the Workers and Poor**



South African Communist Party 5th Special National Congress

11 – 14 December 2024

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Movement of the Workers and Poor**



Contents

Chapter 1	4
Declaration	4
Chapter 2	13
Economic transformation and development	13
Chapter 3	33
National Democratic Revolution, building fronts and the left axis for socialism	33
Chapter 4	37
Party building, organisational review and the 2026 local government elections.....	37
Chapter 5	49
Battle of Ideas	49
Chapter 6	55
Workplace struggles and fronts.....	55
Chapter 7	59
Youth.....	59
Chapter 8	64
International solidarity	64
Chapter 9	70
Holistic Review of the SACP Constitution	70



REBUILD OUR MOVEMENT
Socialism is the Future - Build it Now!

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REBUILD OUR MOVEMENT
Socialism is the Future - Build it Now!

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Chapter 1

Declaration

Consolidate and Build a Powerful Socialist Movement of the Workers and Poor

Adopted by the Fifth Special National Congress at Boksburg, Ekurhuleni, on 14 December 2024.

Honouring the Legacy of Chris Hani

This decisive and successful Special National Congress in memory of Martin Thembisile Chris Hani stands as a resolute affirmation of our revolutionary commitment. Chris Hani's unwavering dedication to the National Democratic Revolution (NDR) and socialism serves as an enduring beacon for our movement.

His sacrifice and vision for a socialist society compel us to intensify our struggle against racial and gender oppression, imperialism and capitalist exploitation.

This Congress, attended by over 570 SACP delegates representing more than 370,000 members, fraternal organisations and guests, reaffirms the inseparability of the NDR from the struggle for socialism. The NDR remains the strategic, direct and shortest route to achieving a socialist society. In honour of Chris Hani's revolutionary legacy, we renew our commitment to fight for the working class and to realise his vision of a society free from inequality and exploitation.

We also welcome the government's positive response to our long-standing call for an inquest into Hani's assassination and to document his life and contribution to the struggle for national democracy and socialism.



The State of the National Democratic Revolution

Notwithstanding the political and social advances since 1994, years of neo-liberal policies have reinforced the legacies of colonialism and apartheid, entrenching racial and gender inequalities, deepening economic marginalisation and perpetuating systemic poverty and unemployment. These policies have failed to dismantle the structural injustices of colonialism of a special type (CST) and have weakened the state's capacity to lead transformative development.

The 2024 electoral loss of the ANC-led liberation forces' majority represents a profound political setback for progressive forces. This outcome highlights dissatisfaction among the masses with the failure to address the capitalist social and economic crises, including unemployment, poverty, inequality, the rising cost of living and high levels of crime. It underscores the crisis of working-class representation in electoral politics, reflected in voter disillusionment with neo-liberalism and state capture. This crisis has fuelled a dangerous shift towards ethnic populism.

The coalition arrangement with the neo-liberal DA, under the so-called Government of National Unity (GNU), represents a betrayal of the NDR's transformative objectives. This coalition arrangement prioritises austerity, financialisation and privatisation over the interests of the working class and poor.

Decades of neo-liberal economic policies – epitomised by GEAR and subsequent austerity and other neo-liberal measures – have entrenched poverty, inequality and unemployment, while weakening state capacity to lead transformative development. These policies have failed to address environmental degradation, gender-based violence and femicide and structural racism, deepening the capitalist social and economic crises and threatening to derail the revolutionary content of the NDR.



Economic and social crises

South Africa's persistent economic and social crises underscore the structural failures of capitalism, which has proven incapable of addressing the needs of the majority. Chronic unemployment, consistently exceeding 30 per cent and even higher rates of youth unemployment, represent a structural crisis that condemns millions to economic exclusion. These crises are compounded by deindustrialisation, precarious informal work and policies that prioritise profit over people's livelihoods.

Our health system remains one of the most unequal in the world. It is split into two tiers: a private healthcare system for the minority and a public system for the majority who are poor. The private system, serving less than 14 per cent of the population, is well-funded and provides high-quality care for those who can afford it. Meanwhile, the public healthcare system, which serves the majority of South Africans, is underfunded, overcrowded and struggling to meet basic needs. This inequality leaves millions of people with little or no access to adequate healthcare. It is a direct result of years of neo-liberal policies that prioritise profits over people's health.

Meanwhile, inequality in wealth and income – already among the highest globally – continues to widen. The concentration of wealth in the hands of a few perpetuates historical injustices and deepens the social and economic divide. Essential public services, including education and infrastructure, face high risk of collapse under policies of austerity and systemic corruption. Frequent power outages, water shortages and crumbling infrastructure expose the failures of neo-liberal governance, further eroding the dignity and quality of life for the workers and the poor.

We reaffirm that the choice before us is stark: socialism or barbarism! Capitalism has not only entrenched structural inequality and poverty but has also driven environmental degradation,



gender-based violence, femicide and rising social violence. Only through the socialist transformation of society can we dismantle these oppressive systems and build a future that prioritises equality and human dignity.

Resolutions of the Congress

1. Reaffirming the NDR as the strategic path to socialism

We reaffirm the NDR as the shortest and direct route to socialism in South Africa. This includes:

- Grounding the NDR in the vision of the Freedom Charter and the principles of socialism to address social and economic crises, environmental degradation and the structural legacy of CST.
- Mobilising urban and rural workers, as well as the poor, around a common programme to ensure working-class leadership in advancing the NDR and socialism.
- Rejecting narrow nationalist and bourgeois reformist agendas that derail the working class from its historic mission.

2. Building the socialist axis and the popular left front

The formation of a left axis for socialism, anchored by the SACP and COSATU, in partnership with progressive political organisations, trade unions and social movements, is essential for building working-class power and advancing the revolutionary content of the NDR. The SACP re-commits to:

- Establish broad sectoral fronts to address critical societal issues, such as youth development, environmental justice, gender-based violence and femicide.
- Advance campaigns that prioritise state-led industrialisation,



public employment programmes and community-driven economic development.

- Promote African unity and solidarity, resist imperialism and foster co-operation among global progressive forces.

3. Contesting local government elections

The SACP's decision to independently contest the 2026 local government elections is rooted in the need to address the crisis of representation facing the working class and poor. This step is essential for:

- Advancing working-class representation: Ensuring that the voices and struggles of the working class and poor drive local governance.
- Challenging neo-liberal policies: Confronting policies like austerity, privatisation and outsourcing to restore public ownership and prioritise community-driven development.
- Building people's power in our communities: Empowering communities to take control of local governance through participatory structures such as street committees, co-operatives and local forums.
- Reconfiguring the Alliance on the ground: Reconnecting the Alliance with grassroots struggles and aligning it with the revolutionary objectives of the NDR.

4. Promoting national dialogue through popular mobilisation and participation

The SACP welcomes the recent calls for a national dialogue involving all sectors of society. We understand this is not a once-off event but a process that should inspire millions of our people to actively shape



its form and content. The SACP commits to help drive the mobilisation and participation of the workers and poor in this process to confront the capitalist system, address and ultimately overcome the multiple capitalist failures and crises facing the country.

5. International solidarity: Advancing the anti-imperialist struggle

The SACP recognises that international solidarity is a cornerstone of our movement's efforts to build socialism and resist imperialism. We reaffirm our commitment to stand with oppressed peoples and progressive movements worldwide in their struggles against exploitation, imperialism and neo-colonial domination.

Strengthening solidarity in Africa

The SACP is acutely aware of the escalating humanitarian crises and persistent conflicts across Africa, exacerbated by neo-colonialism, imperialism and local governance failures. The SACP re-commits its:

- Support for the people of Sudan: The SACP notes the urgent humanitarian crisis in Sudan, where over 11 million people have been displaced by conflict, food insecurity and the near collapse of health services. The SACP calls for immediate international intervention to address mass killings, curtailed humanitarian aid and skyrocketing food prices that are driving millions into hunger.
- Solidarity with the people of Swaziland: The SACP supports the people of Swaziland's struggle for democracy in their country. The SACP supports the drive to renew efforts to push the Southern African Development Community (SADC) to prioritise the long-delayed National Dialogue in Swaziland, supporting the people's demands for democracy and social transformation.
- Solidarity with Western Sahara: Reaffirm the SACP's unwavering



support for the Saharawi people's right to self-determination and national independence. The SACP condemns Morocco's illegal occupation and calls for the isolation of Morocco until it complies with international law, including United Nations resolutions.

Resisting US imperialism and neo-colonialism

The SACP condemns the increasingly aggressive actions of the United States imperialism in Africa, Latin America, the Middle East and beyond, aimed at destabilising governments, exploiting resources and undermining sovereignty. We commit to:

- Stand with nations at the forefront of resisting US aggression, including Cuba, Venezuela, Nicaragua and Bolivia.
- Strengthen the Southern Africa Progressive Forum to nurture ideas, alliances and platforms to counter imperialism and neo-colonialism.

Focus on the Middle East and the Axis of Resistance

The SACP expresses its steadfast support for the Axis of Resistance, encompassing nations and movements standing against imperialist aggression in the Middle East. We condemn the ongoing attacks on Palestine, Lebanon, Syria and Iran by imperialist forces and their regional proxies, including Israel and Turkey.

Palestine: We reaffirm our support for the Palestinian struggle against the apartheid Israeli settler regime and occupation. We reaffirm our support for South Africa's leadership in pursuing accountability for the apartheid Israeli settler regime genocide on Palestinians and other war crimes at the International Court of Justice. The SACP calls for expanding the "Red Card Israel" campaign and mobilising global participation in the annual "Week 4 Palestine."
Syria: We condemn the US-, Israel- and Turkey-backed imperialist-driven collapse of Syria's sovereignty, which



aims to shift the balance of forces in the Middle East. Iran: Recognise Iran's critical role in resisting imperialism in the region and opposing destabilisation efforts by the US and its allies.

Latin America: Strengthening ties with socialist allies

The SACP celebrates the resilience of socialist governments in Latin America despite sustained imperialist aggression. We recommit to:

- Deepen solidarity with Cuba, supporting its recovery from Hurricane Oscar and calling for the immediate lifting of the inhumane US blockade.
- Support Venezuela in its fight against US-imposed sanctions and recognise President Nicolás Maduro's re-election as a reaffirmation of the Venezuelan people's commitment to socialism.
- Promote annual solidarity campaigns such as "Hands Off Cuba" and "Venezuela Solidarity Week" to raise awareness and mobilise resources for these nations' socialist advancements.

Revitalising progressive alliances

The SACP underscores the importance of revitalising class-conscious organisations to confront imperialism and neo-colonialism. We commit to:

- Reviving the African Left Networking Forum (ALNEF) to provide a platform for strategic analysis and co-ordination.
- Strengthening ties with African trade unions to rebuild their independence, refocus on worker struggles and counter co-optation by elites.



- Encouraging the formation and growth of Communist Parties across the continent to advance ideological clarity and revolutionary praxis.
- Exploring lessons from international popular fronts contesting elections to inform strategies for building alliances that challenge imperialism and advance working-class power in South Africa.

Conclusion

This Fifth Special National Congress emerges at a decisive moment for our country and the working class. In the name of Chris Hani, we rededicate ourselves to defending the gains of the National Democratic Revolution and advancing the struggle for socialism. With renewed determination, we commit to confronting the social and economic crises of our time caused by the exploitative system of capitalism, challenging neo-liberal policies and building a future of equality and dignity for all.

Socialism or barbarism!

Victory to the working class!

ISSUED ON 14 DECEMBER 2024 BY THE SACP,

FOUNDED IN 1921 AS THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF SOUTH AFRICA

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Chapter 2

Economic transformation and development

Noting that:

- a) In the past 30 years, the country's economy has remained locked in the neo-liberal policy paradigm, whose basic tenets are trade liberalisation, financial sector deregulation and liberalisation, labour market deregulation, reduction of the role of the state, tight adherence to pre-determined macro-economic ratios leading to fiscal austerity, tight monetary policy and the role of "independent" central banks being inflation targeting.
- b) The basic edifice of neo-liberal thinking emerged with the failed Growth, Employment and Redistribution strategy and the adoption of narrow inflation targeting in which interventions of the South African Reserve Bank (SARB) focused on raising interest rates when inflation threatened to fall outside the "target range" and in practice took its cue from trends in the USA. There were also attempts towards liberalisation and privatisation of State-Owned Enterprises (SOEs), which, together with underinvestment, corruption and looting, led to their progressive decline.
- c) This neo-liberal paradigm has resulted in an untransformed structure of the economy, which remains mineral-dependent and is now finance-led. The economy is still very much reliant on mineral exports for foreign exchange earnings, but more notably, the "top companies" in South Africa are no longer mining houses (let alone industrial companies) but banks and fund managers, in which a large and increasing part of the surplus value created in the economy is "transferred" to financialised capital.
- d) This has seen the increasing requirement for households to



engage in financial activities in respect of pension provision and healthcare, as debt-driven consumption became more aggressively promoted.

- e) There is growing engagement of non-financial capital in financial transactions (share buybacks, other share price actions) as an increasing part of their profits.
- f) There is growing power and influence of the finance bourgeoisie as the dominant fraction of capital in South Africa today and the rise to dominance of the Treasury-Reserve Bank nexus over economic policy and the close connections (revolving door) of this nexus with private finance capital.
- g) The increasing promotion of tools like PPPs and “blended finance” as a solution to the energy or other infrastructural challenges, with demands for extensive “risk” mitigation, despite little real evidence that these have been anything other than a high-cost, low-yield option.
- h) This neo-liberal offensive has, in recent times, gained influence both inside the ANC and in government, particularly in the national treasury, as they disregard ANC policy and instead reinforce austerity through the introduction of “fiscal anchors” requiring a primary surplus in the budget, together with a programme of “structural reform” focusing on “network industries”. This is coupled with imposing policies in which the state is expected to provide guarantees of profitability to private profit-seeking fund managers as major means to raise resources for infrastructure and other social or developmental projects underfunded by debt-fuelled austerity.
- i) The effect of years of austerity (styled “fiscal consolidation”) has been serious underfunding of key social, developmental and infrastructure programmes, plus having a contractionary effect



on an already depressed economy.

- j) Structurally, while financialisation has flourished, industrialisation has stalled. Hence, today, unfortunately, our economy is essentially a financial services-led rather than an industry-based economy. In the process, both mining and manufacturing shrank and the result has been that services as a whole, including tourism, led by finance, constitute 63 per cent of the economy, whilst agriculture remains relatively stagnant at 2.6 per cent.
- k) The goal of monetary policy is to protect the value of the currency in the interest of balanced and sustainable economic growth in the Republic and the Reserve Bank interprets this to mean “price stability as well as stable conditions in the financial sector as a whole”. Specifically, the Reserve Bank explicitly adopted inflation-targeting as a framework to achieve price stability and its impact has negatively affected the economy.
- l) Many countries, including the USA and countries from the global South, are refocusing towards industrialisation and some of the “free trade” doctrines of the 1990s, which South Africa embraced on steroids during the GEAR phase, are also quietly being jettisoned. The emerging global conjuncture is creating both a new imperative and opening up further opportunities to find alternatives to discredited and increasingly discarded neo-liberal policies.
- m) In our country, as a result of neo-liberal policies, the colonial and apartheid structure of the economy remains intact, as demonstrated by the fact that the means of production and economic power remain concentrated in white capitalist hands and the country continues to be confronted with an increase in unemployment, poverty and deepening inequality.
- n) The impact of the triple crisis has been felt acutely across a



broad spectrum of the waged and unwaged popular strata, as seen in the rising popular dissatisfaction, a growing sense of alienation, frustration and sometimes despair amongst significant strata of the youth, the unemployed, the working poor, those in informal settlements and the so-called “black middle class”, most of whom are working-class professionals or self-employed and often struggling petty entrepreneurs.

- o) Even with this reality confronting the country, the ANC has refused to work with its alliance partners to review the macro-economic policy framework. This arrogance and intransigence of the movement, which intersected with worsening living conditions of our people, have resulted in a loss of confidence by the working class and the poor against the ANC and the democratic state, as proven in the 29 May 2024 elections in which the ANC suffered an electoral decline of less than 40 per cent for the first time since the 1994 democratic breakthrough.
- p) Our current reality is that the ANC, our alliance partner, is in a coalition government with parties to its right, with the outright bourgeois and neo-liberal DA being the partner on which the current coalition depends for its parliamentary majority and this was done without consulting with the Alliance.

Believing that:

- a) Problems created by macro-economic policy cannot be solved by micro-economic policy interventions.
- b) The electoral loss of the ANC represents a strategic setback for the advancement of the National Democratic Revolution.
- c) The struggle against apartheid and colonialism in South Africa was waged simultaneously with the struggle for decent work, rights of workers to collective bargaining and a comprehensive



social wage for better incomes for all workers. These struggles we shall always defend jealously and link them to our continuous struggle against neo-colonialism and neo-liberalism.

- d) Our daily struggles are about ending massive concentration of poverty for the majority on the one end and the massive concentration of wealth for a few on the other end.
- e) We will not win in the boardroom what we have not won in the streets.

Therefore, resolve to:

- a) Build a Popular Left Front for alternatives to Neo-Liberal Policies: The Central Committee must, by the first week of February next year, convene a series of meetings with various progressive social movements, including political organisations, towards building a popular left front united in struggle for a progressive alternative to neo-liberalism.
- b) This will also pay strategic attention to building bottom-up community-based initiatives for social transformation, which will include the following:
 - i. Establishing effective networks of community-based co-operatives, including organising community-owned stores and community-owned banking institutions, savings and burial societies.
 - ii. Building a solidarity economy involving workers in the informal economy and expanded public works programmes, starting by engaging with already existing membership-based organisations (MBOs) of workers in these sectors. This will include working with COSATU to advance the ILO Recommendation 204, which is about moving from the informal to the formal economy.



- iii. Active working-class involvement in institutions of participatory democracy, such as the community policing forums, school governing bodies, neighbourhood watches and street committees.
 - iv. Intensifying community struggles for women's emancipation and against discrimination against women and the LGBTI+ community.
 - v. Strengthening international solidarity and social cohesion between South Africans and non-South Africans in communities and countering xenophobic, racial, patriarchal and tribalistic tendencies.
 - vi. Strengthening the community-based fight against crime, extortion, drugs and substance abuse, GBV, stock-theft, human trafficking and so on.
 - vii. Identification of environmental hotspots, which constitute disasters in the making, particularly in mushrooming informal settlements, challenging the state to do something different and undertaking a public political education programme on environmental risks.
- c) Campaign against the rising cost of living: The campaign will include the following:
- i. Call for a Universal Basic Income Grant.
 - ii. Call for the holistic implementation of the National Health Insurance, including mobilising against the DA and Afri-Forum court cases.
 - iii. Campaign against general and specific budget cuts.
 - iv. Call for prescribed assets and other measures to be deployed



to channel resources for infrastructure development.

- v. Campaign for massive public employment programmes (including on climate-proofing communities and infrastructure).
- d) Call for a new macro-economic policy that is underpinned by a properly funded higher-impact industrial policy.
- e) Call for the nationalisation of the South African Reserve Bank's private owned stake and the reviewing of fiscal and monetary policy. Monetary policy must support an expansionary developmental fiscal policy stance. The central bank policy cannot be independent of fiscal policy actions and it must conduct its activities in a manner that supports the stance of fiscal policy. The mandate of the Reserve Bank should be altered to move away from the current inflation-forecast targeting framework. Instead, a more dynamic and broader framework that considers fiscal sustainability, the sustainability of the external balance, the path of unemployment reduction and price stability should be considered.

2. Gender equality, action against gender-based violence and extortion

Noting:

- a) Unequal participation of and unequal remuneration for women in productive work, whether in the private sector, public sector, socialised sector, informal sector or domestic sector.
- b) Inadequate recognition of and universal access to support for reproductive rights of girls and women.
- c) Unequal participation of women in society, in the institutions of political life in legislatures and political parties, in the judiciary, in the administration and in social institutions, such as schools, universities, sporting and cultural institutions.



- d) Unequal access by adult women to the means, skills and protection to be independent, to express their views without fear of consequences and to control her own destiny and decisions.
- e) Lack of full democracy and equality in the family, with entrenched exploitative and unequal gender division of labour within it, where the family is considered a “private matter” where any behaviour can be tolerated.
- f) Girls and women are not ensured safety in their homes, in their places of learning, in their workplaces, in their places of sports, culture and entertainment and in their community, which is often exacerbated for people who have non-heteronormative gender identities and sexual orientations.

Therefore, resolve:

- a) To lead a campaign advancing the right to productive work and minimum income.
This will include ensuring women’s access to and equality in productive work – employment, as part of the broader effort to achieve the Freedom Charter’s right of all of work, self-employment, as part of the same imperative, and solidarity, trade unions, organising unorganised women workers, as well as women workers in the informal economy and building a rural women’s movement.
- b) To prioritise a campaign against violence directed at women, sexual violations and forced marriages, which also affect young women. This campaign will be launched at Mqhekezweni in the Eastern Cape.
- c) To partner with the SAPS as part of the campaign to address stock theft and human trafficking.



3. Land ownership and agrarian transformation

Noting that

- a) The amount of farmland that has been restored, redistributed or taken into state hands since 1994 (under all programmes) totals 19.3 million hectares (around 20 per cent of the 96 million ha total farmland in SA). Other sources suggest that adding in private purchases by black people takes the total closer to 25 per cent, but still short of the 30 per cent by 2030 called for in the NDP.
- b) In his 2024 budget vote speech, the Minister of Land Reform and Rural Development indicated that in the 2023/4 financial year his department had acquired 67,000 ha for redistribution under both restitution and land reform programmes (this is equivalent to merely 0.07 per cent of the total farmland in SA), but also exceeded the target set by the Department of acquiring 42,400 ha.
- c) He also indicated that the Department had been allocated a budget of R466 million to acquire and distribute 47,000 ha (0.05 per cent) in the 2024/5 budget year – above the target for the previous year but less than that actually achieved.
- d) These figures point to the likelihood of falling short even of the NDP target of 30 per cent by 2030.
- e) Women in the rural economy tend to be more vulnerable to poverty than those living in urban areas and access to land is a key issue.
- f) The SACP advocates for the development of comprehensive urban planning strategies that address the challenges of urbanisation, including the provision of affordable housing, the development



of public transport systems and the promotion of sustainable land use practices.

- g) The SACP emphasises the need for municipalities to ensure that available land is used effectively for agricultural purposes. This includes supporting the formation and sustainability of agricultural co-operatives, which empower local farmers and communities to collectively manage resources, share knowledge and access domestic and international trade opportunities more efficiently.
- h) In rural areas, municipalities should drive investment in agriculture, ensuring land is effectively utilised for food security and economic development. The establishment and support of agricultural co-operatives will empower local farmers and create sustainable livelihoods, reflecting Hani's belief in collective ownership and co-operative economics.
- i) Government programmes on Rural Development, which included the establishment of Agri-Parks, have at most been reduced to a point of being ineffective and meaningless, with only the component of Farmer Production Support Units being implemented at a limited scale due to budget cuts. This has led to emerging farmers not receiving strategic support to facilitate production and mechanisation, ensuring access to funding and access to local and international trade opportunities.
- j) BRICS agreements and declarations, including the consequent off-take agreements by emerging farmers, have not translated into seamless, funded government programmes by relevant departments and the DFIs, which operate like commercial liberal banks.



We re-affirm the 15th National Congress which declared that:

- a) South Africa needs radical land ownership transformation for both urban transformation, where 70 per cent of our people now live and for rural development and transformation” (emphasis added).
- b) While apartheid legislation had been repealed, the financialised, capitalist-driven property market acts with equal brutality” to force the majority of workers and the poor to live on the margins in poverty traps, away from resources, amenities and recreational facilities. From this observation, it concluded that the party, while fighting for improvements in conditions in these areas, would equally strive to transform the overall spatial design of our towns and cities.
- c) With regard to land ownership transformation in rural areas, it called for this to be “guided by the Freedom Charter’s clarion call for land to be shared among those who work it”. It further called for rural land ownership transformation, development and transformation” to be directed as a priority to people still living in former Bantustans.
- d) The Resolution adopted at that Congress called for:
 - Accelerated land distribution for productive purposes, food security, integrated human settlement and other public interests”.
 - An adequately resourced land ownership transformation programme, which focuses on providing infrastructure, water rights, agricultural extension officers and veterinary services to the most marginalised.



e) The Declaration also called for:

- 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 to stop.
- (Ditto labour tenants). "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".

Believing that

- a) Access to land is the basic source of living for human beings.
- b) Land is the starting point for human economic activity.
- c) The struggle for freedom is first and foremost about reversing land dispossession from the indigenous African people.
- d) The bitterest battles which have been fought by our forbearers have been on the land question. Even to the present day, this is still the burning issue; it is an issue which will inevitably bring about continued clashes between oppressor and oppressed until the people have won the rights to own land.
- e) Government can never fully advance rural development programmes and agrarian transformation without access to land.

Therefore resolve:

- a) To call for the implementation of the current Section 25, especially Section 25(8) which states that "No provision of this



section [referring to Section 25 read in its entirety] may impede the state from taking legislative and other measures to achieve land, water and related reform, in order to redress the results of past racial discrimination, provided that any departure from the provisions of this section is in accordance with the provisions of section 36(1)". If there is still little or no progress, the party will consider the next step, which is:

- b) To approach parties that are prepared to support an amendment of Section 25 of the Constitution to make it more expressly allow for expropriation of land with no compensation.
- c) Call for a national referendum on the expropriation of land without compensation.
- d) Call for the review of the Agriculture Master Plan, which is currently based on a blended finance model in which the logic of development has been replaced by the logic of profit maximisation.
- e) Convene a meeting of DFIs to confront and address constraints on access to funding by black and African emerging farmers, amongst others.
- f) To lead a campaign against corruption on the management of water rights at all levels, including monitoring water services at local government level. This campaign must include water management, ensuring effective agriculture programmes and land ownership transformation programmes.
- g) To call for the full implementation of Agri-Parks by government, which will facilitate effective rural development programmes and agrarian transformation. The Agri-Park Programme must go beyond the current phase of Farmer Production Support Units (FPSUs), which focus on outreach and capacity building for rural smallholder farmers. It must help link farmers with opportunities



to trade their produce, provide primary collection, storage, some processing and extension services, including mechanisation. This must also include the following components:

- i. Agri-hub (AH): This hub is a multi-functional unit that handles production, equipment hire, processing, packaging, logistics, innovation, and training. It serves as a central point for various agricultural activities.
- ii. Rural Urban Market Centre (RUMC): The RUMC connects rural, urban and international trade through contracts. It acts as a holding facility, releasing produce to urban markets based on seasonal trends and provides intelligence on trade opportunities and information feedback.

The supporting components that work together to create a robust system include:

- iii. Infrastructure Development: This includes the construction of roads, storage facilities, irrigation systems and other physical structures necessary for effective agricultural production and distribution.
- iv. Financial Services: Access to credit, loans and insurance for farmers and agribusinesses to help manage financial risks and promote investment in agriculture.
- v. Access to trade opportunities: Establishing connections between producers and local, regional and international trade opportunities to ensure that agricultural products find buyers and fetch good prices.
- vi. Technology and Innovation: Introduction of modern farming techniques, tools and practices that increase efficiency, yield and sustainability. This can include everything from mechanisation to digital solutions like precision farming.



- vii. Training and Capacity Building: Programs designed to enhance the skills and knowledge of farmers and agribusinesses. This involves providing education on best practices, new technologies and business management.
- viii. Regulatory Support: Establishing policies and regulations that create a conducive environment for agriculture, including land tenure security, water rights and quality standards.
- ix. Research and Development: Investing in agricultural research to develop new crop varieties, pest control methods and sustainable practices that can improve productivity and resilience.

By integrating these supporting components, Agri-Parks can function more effectively, improving livelihoods and contributing to food security and economic growth. These components work together to create a sustainable and trade-driven agricultural system.

- f) Linking Agriculture and Industrialisation: Investment in agriculture must be linked to industrialisation to include the following strategic interventions:
 - i. Growth in machinery and equipment must be supported, especially to support agriculture, transport, electronics, food processing, construction, etc.
 - ii. A balance between agriculture and manufacturing must be struck, especially by:
 - Making inputs to agriculture, especially petrochemicals and machinery and equipment, affordable and available.
 - Supporting vibrant agro-processing firms.
 - Strengthening the clothing and textiles sector.



- h) On Rural Development: The party must convene a meeting with government to assess progress regarding the implementation of the Rural Development Programme based on the party's policy of building sustainable communities.
- i) Commission on Land Reform: The party must work with the COSATU policy unit to constitute a panel of experts drawn from various progressive formations and institutions to develop a clear campaign on land ownership and agrarian transformation with properly considered interventions based on scientific facts and evidence. This will include proposals to strengthen the current post-settlement support.

3. Environmental Justice and Energy: Climate Change as an Existential Issue

Noting:

- a) The shift from the Holocene to the Anthropocene in the 1950s, marking the beginning of human impact on the planet through nuclear explosions and fossil fuel consumption.
- b) Climate scientists agree that humanity has surpassed 5 of 9 planetary boundaries, pushing us outside the "safe zone" for sustaining human civilisation, particularly in land use, biodiversity, biochemical flows, freshwater consumption and climate change.
- c) The global consensus is to limit warming to 2°C by the century's end (with the Paris target of 1.5°C increasingly unachievable), to avoid catastrophic climate change that could render vast areas uninhabitable.
- d) Even with global warming limited to 2°C, extreme weather events will increase due to pre-existing global warming.
- e) Africa, despite being the least responsible for emissions, will



experience disproportionate effects, with warming likely exceeding the global average.

- f) Profit opportunities now centre on low-carbon technologies, including renewable energy, electric vehicles, green hydrogen and green steel, driving a shift to a lower-carbon economy.
- g) In the service sector, an expanding consultancy practices promotes “green credentials” and “sustainable practices”, though many efforts amount to “greenwashing”, with unregulated carbon trading creating profitable opportunities for speculators and accreditors.
- h) Climate policy is shaped by profit motives, vested capitalist interests and shifting global power dynamics, creating a “poly-crisis” within a transition to multipolarity.
- i) Africa contributes little to global warming but bears its brunt.
- j) The continent faces more extreme weather, including droughts, floods and hurricanes, while adaptation efforts receive less attention and funding compared to mitigation.
- k) Africa must adapt to an increasingly hostile climate, managing rising temperatures and growing numbers of climate refugees.
- l) The current energy sector, dominated by coal-based electricity generation and private renewable energy projects, leaves public entities like Eskom behind in the transition to low-carbon energy.

Believing:

- a) Global capitalism created the climate crisis and has long resisted addressing the consequences, though a consensus is emerging that catastrophic climate change must be confronted urgently.



Therefore, resolve:

- a) Urge every municipality to assess climate risks and identify “climate-proofing” projects for communities and infrastructure. A campaign for adequately funded public employment programmes to support this is needed.
- b) Funding for adaptation and a “just transition” must not rely solely on partnerships with profit-seeking capital or loans from the global north; alternatives like levies in response to CBAMs and strengthening local DFIs should be explored.
- c) A “just transition” must create real alternatives for vulnerable workers in fossil fuel industries, with the closure of high-carbon sectors linked to the development of sustainable industries.
- d) Policy tools such as localisation and beneficiation should support the creation of new sustainable industries, invoking the “climate emergency” argument where necessary.
- e) Reaffirm the 15th National Congress call for increased public investment in renewables, cleaner energy and innovation in cleaner coal technology.
- f) Based on recent experience, the 5th Special National Congress calls for a moratorium on the decommissioning of coal power stations.
- g) Call for municipalities to drive employment-creating programmes focused on “climate-proofing” communities and infrastructure, making it a potential issue for local government elections.

4. Illegal Mining

Noting:

- a) The stalemate at Stilfontein mines, where illegal miners are



refusing to come out and are instead demanding personal supplies that will only be provided once they are outside.

- b) The court case where an NGO is taking the government to court.
- c) Reports suggesting that surrounding communities benefit from illegal mining.
- d) Evidence showing that illegal miners are involved in the abuse of women and children, some as young as 14.
- e) The failure of mining companies to invest in community development, in violation of the Mining and Petroleum Resources Development Act (MPRDA).
- f) Illegal mining practices are inherently dangerous and unsustainable, including the mining of pillars which may lead to mining disasters.
- g) Current legislation does not classify illegal mining as a crime.

Believing:

- a) Illegal mining is controlled by individuals behind the scenes, raking in significant profits while exploiting the miners.

Therefore, resolve:

- a) To call for the creation of a law that categorises illegal mining as a criminal activity.
- b) To call for the amendment of the MPRDA, adding a condition that mining companies must invest 30 per cent of their profits into the development of communities in which they operate, with the penalty of license confiscation for non-compliance.
- c) To call for the renationalisation of AFGRI and SASOL.

- d) To advocate for a change in the funding formula for rural municipalities, ensuring greater resources for these areas in comparison to urban municipalities.





Chapter 3

National Democratic Revolution, building fronts and the left axis for socialism

Noting that:

- a) The National Democratic Revolution (NDR) is the most direct path to socialism in South Africa, aiming to dismantle colonialism, capitalist exploitation and imperialist domination.
- b) The ANC-led liberation forces' loss of electoral majority in 2024 signals a crisis of working-class representation and disillusionment with the inability to address socio-economic crises like unemployment, poverty, inequality and high living costs.
- c) A class-based narrative drives the SACP's decision to contest local government elections, aiming to address the working-class and poor's crisis of representation and resist neo-liberalism.
- d) The Freedom Charter and the SACP programme, South African Struggle for Socialism, offer a revolutionary framework prioritising state-led industrialisation, public ownership, wealth redistribution and environmental justice.
- e) The unipolar dominance of U.S.-led imperialism is declining, offering strategic opportunities for anti-imperialist resistance and consolidation of a left axis for socialism.
- f) A left axis, led by the SACP and COSATU and supported by progressive political organisations, unions and social movements, is essential for strengthening working-class power and advancing the NDR's revolutionary goals.



Believing that:

- a) The success of the NDR depends on working-class leadership, uniting urban and rural workers to resist nationalist and bourgeois reformism.
- b) A left axis provides a platform for resisting neo-liberalism and imperialism, advancing policies rooted in socialism and the Freedom Charter.
- c) The SACP's participation in local elections is crucial for reconfiguring the Alliance and consolidating working-class representation.
- d) The current socio-economic crises demand bold, socialist alternatives, with the left axis playing a central role.
- e) African unity, self-reliance and solidarity among progressive forces in a multipolar world are key to resisting imperialism and advancing socialist transformation.
- f) The SACP must assert its independence as the vanguard of the working class and consolidate a powerful left axis for socialism.

Therefore, resolve to:

- a) Reaffirm the NDR as the direct path to socialism, focused on dismantling colonialism and achieving economic and social emancipation.
- b) Ground the NDR in the Freedom Charter and socialist principles to tackle socio-economic crises and environmental degradation, with the working class leading the transformative agenda.
- c) Mobilise urban and rural workers and the poor, around a common programme for working-class leadership in the NDR and left axis.



- d) Build and consolidate the left axis for socialism, including the SACP and COSATU, and other progressive trade unions, their federations and left social organisations:
- Establish broad sectoral fronts addressing issues such as youth development, environmental justice and gender-based violence.
 - Advance campaigns for state-led industrialisation, public employment programmes and community-driven development.
 - Promote African unity and resist imperialism through global solidarity.
- e) Reconfigure the Alliance on the ground, ensuring alignment with NDR principles and building organisational strength through participation in local elections.
- f) Develop grassroots platforms linking immediate struggles with the long-term goal of socialism, including campaigns for the right to work, land ownership transformation, national health insurance and universal basic income.
- g) Resist neo-liberal policies like austerity and privatisation, advocating for public ownership, wealth redistribution and sustainable development.
- h) Strengthen international solidarity with anti-imperialist and socialist movements, supporting BRICS and other multipolar initiatives.
- i) Consolidate the SACP's independent role by:
- Enhancing branch functionality and sectoral fronts to improve grassroots impact.

- Regularly assessing members' alignment with Party principles.
 - Strengthening political education and research to guide socialist campaigns.
- j) Ensure the left axis leads grassroots activism by engaging in strategic spaces like School Governing Bodies and clinic boards, advocating for improved services for the poor and working class.
- k) Advocate for the establishment of a left axis electoral platform for future elections, uniting the working class and progressive forces behind a revolutionary or at least left programme towards socialism.





Chapter 4

Party building, organisational review and the 2026 local government elections

1. Objective conditions, party Strategy and organisation

Noting:

- a) A good number of the Party members have remained inactive due to the lack of proper political and ideological education and not being fitted into mass-based programmes.
- b) Administrative shortcomings hamper the Party's capability to implement resolutions effectively and revolutionary programmes.
- c) The Party has some key programmatic resolutions, including those on safety, food security and village development programmes, which are still poorly implemented due to organisational co-ordination and leadership gaps.
- d) Trade unions continue to be a terrain of the class struggle, yet Party leadership in building the socialist orientation and current within trade unions as a broader worker organisations has spacious room for improvement.
- e) Branches of the Party, as basic organisational units, lack visibility and integration with working-class communities.
- f) Capitalist exploitation has been mounting globally, manifested by systemic unemployment, rising inequality, gender-based violence and the deepening crises of the environment and economy.
- g) The current neo-liberal agenda, driven, fundamentally, by capital, especially its dominant strata, and supported by the



state structures, continues to weaken the material and social conditions of the working class.

- h) Revolutionary progress calls for a South African Communist Party that is actively involved in and influencing a wide array of structures, such as trade unions, local government, state-owned enterprises, educational institutions, community organisations and international forums.

Believing that:

- a) The SACP has a historical mission to develop its capacity to serve as a vanguard movement of the working class in the struggle to overcome capitalism and achieve the much-needed socialist transition, to ultimately end capitalism and meet the needs of society.
- b) Strengthening the organisational structures of the Party, enhancing cadre discipline and prioritising ideological education are important steps towards fulfilling our revolutionary mission.
- c) Such revolutionary activism has to answer the everyday material needs of the working-class issues around food security, housing and safety while exposing the systemic roots of exploitation.
- d) Trade unions are important allies in the course of socialism and should be directed towards building up revolutionary consciousness and unity.
- e) Establishing robust and prominent branches that are integrated within working-class struggles is indispensable for the progress of the revolutionary agenda.
- f) This will require the rebirth of the democratic, national-revolutionary movement – this is necessary to advance both the short- and long-term interests of the working-class towards socialism.



DECLARATION AND RESOLUTIONS

- g) Collaborative efforts across local, national and international platforms possess the potential to amplify the Party's revolutionary agenda and foster solidarity for global struggles against capitalism.
- h) The deepened crises of capitalism – unemployment, inequality, crime and environmental degradation – call for a bold, innovative and strategic response.

Therefore, resolved to:

- a) Strengthen organisational structures
 - i. Resuscitate lapsed branches through focused recruitment campaigns to make them hubs of revolutionary activities.
 - ii. To enhance resource mobilisation, levy collection and operational efficiency, it is imperative to modernise administrative systems, which includes the implementation of digital platforms.
 - iii. Establish clear accountability mechanisms to review progress and ensure that resolutions are well-implemented.
- b) Advanced cadre development
 - i. To establish revolutionary schools, in order to give constant ideological education in Marxism-Leninism and train cadres for the leading posts in all spheres.
 - ii. It is essential that cadres understand the dialectical relationship which exists between trade union struggles, local activism and the Party's socialist programme.
- c) Establish credibility in local government and community systems



- i. Actively engage with municipal councils and associations such as SALGA to harmonise programmes to meet the aspirations of the working class.
 - ii. Branches should deepen their revolutionary, socialist activism in community struggles in order to deal with localised problems of housing, unemployment and gender-based violence.
 - iii. One should support local government budgets and IDPs that respond to the main concerns of working-class communities in terms of safety, food security and economic development.
- d) Overcoming membership barriers
- i. Programmes with structured reintegration into mass-based struggles should be formulated for re-engaging inactive members.
 - ii. Strengthen membership levy collection systems to enforce accountability and organisational discipline.
- e) Increase co-operation among trade unions
- i. To organise educational programmes for trade union members, ideologically aligning their struggles with the greater socialist agenda.
 - ii. Develop strategic interventions within trade union activities to consolidate the power of the working class and counteract neo-liberal policies.
- f) Pilot and scale up priority programmes
- i. Organise campaigns to eradicate hunger and clamp down on crime, also intensifying grassroots mobilisation and community-led approaches.



- ii. Collaborate with the locals to bring about alternative systems of food production, safety nets and housing co-operatives.
- g) Influence of State-Owned Enterprises (SOEs) on economic policy
- i. Promote policies that ensure SOEs have developmental mandates and make them more resilient against privatisation attempts and agendas.
 - ii. Scale up the Financial Sector Campaign to include systemic financialisation, inequality and corporate greed.
- h) Promote cultural and ideological activities
- i. Establish a media campaign to counter neo-liberal narratives and promote socialist alternatives.
 - ii. Collaborate with cultural institutions to stress revolutionary history and foster proletarian consciousness through the medium of art and media.
- i) Mobilise national and international forums
- i. Influence BRICS structures to adopt pro-working-class policies and resist imperialist agendas.
 - ii. Consolidate relations with international socialist and communist movements to advance global solidarity.
- j) Prioritise safety and justice
- i. Advocate for the transformation of the justice system to prioritise working-class safety and address systemic failures in combating crime and gender-based violence.
 - ii. Advocate for community-driven policing models that refuse to commodify security under capitalism.



k) Supervision and reflection

- i. Establish a normal progress review and feedback mechanism to enhance strategies and ensure alignment with revolutionary goals.
- ii. Conduct historical and strategic analyses to adapt to changing material conditions and counter neo-liberal offensives.

l) Develop alternative economic models

- i. Collaborate with and assist co-operatives, informal traders and worker-owned enterprises to challenge capitalist exploitation while promoting collective ownership.
- ii. Promote policies and programmes to create self-sufficient, socialist-oriented local economies.

1. Towards the 2026 local government elections

Noting:

- a) This discussion on the reconfiguration of the alliance and SACP consideration on electoral contest started in 2002 in the 11th National Congress and 22 years later, the ANC is still not committed to the reconfiguration with the exception of rhetoric.
- b) The reluctance and lack of appetite to engage and conclude the discussion on the reconfiguration of the alliance, the ANC absolutely rejecting the 2019 adopted Alliance Reconfiguration Document and coming with a new concept of a Renewed Alliance, an obvious frivolous act to stall the process.
- c) The systemic crisis of capitalism is based on growing socio-economic inequalities and rampant poverty, coupled with increased alienation of the working class from the mainstream of political institutions.



- d) The structural inefficiencies of neo-liberal policies such as privatisation of state institutions only serve to weaken the public sector, discredit the government and enhance the exploitation of the working class.
- e) The historical challenges that the Party has faced in maintaining organisational coherence and mass membership are juxtaposed with the current state membership that requires revitalisation of its vanguard role.
- f) This would call for the mastering of the legislative and governance frameworks regulating local government, including the Systems Act, Structures Act, Municipal Finance Management Act (MFMA) and Section 7 of the Constitution, to empower the Party for a revolutionary electoral contest.
- g) The changing contradictions within the Tripartite Alliance raise both opportunities and constraints in the maintenance of principled unity while asserting the Party's independence in pursuit of our shared national democratic revolution.
- h) It is of critical importance to note that resource equity and sustainable funding models counter the capitalist austerity agenda and promote a developmental local government framework that addresses the needs of the oppressed majority.
- i) At least three ANC Presidents have post-1994 asserted that the ANC is not a socialist movement, they have not at the same time equally asserted that it is neither a capitalist movement.

Believing:

- a) The South African Communist Party (SACP) has the task of re-establishing itself as the revolutionary vanguard of the working class in order to lead the struggle against systemic exploitation and the neo-liberal subjugation of the working class through the so-called GNU.



- b) The contestation of elections must not necessarily be seen as a contest against the Movement or the ANC, but a consolidation of a platform for its full ideological identity and aspiration, which has never been contested by the ANC.
- c) The ANC has its ideological stand that takes “the middle ground”, “Neither socialist nor capitalist”, but subject to “the balance of probabilities” and, at least in words, with a “working-class bias”, while the SACP is categorically a Marxist-Leninist Party that advances the inalienable revolutionary connection between the NDR and socialism – as a transitional path towards a communist society.
- d) Therefore, grassroots mobilisation, guided by Marxist-Leninist principles and the historical mandate of the Party, is of great importance for the strengthening of the revolutionary will of the people.
- e) By its very nature, the Party's organisational structure must reflect a revolutionary character, with a disciplined and ideologically cohesive cadre base capable of participating effectively both electorally and in the class struggle.
- f) The decision to contest elections on our own is not a tactic but, in fact, a principled departure to assert the Party's revolutionary independence even as it maintains dialectical relations with its allies.
- g) The Party must speak out against the austerity measures and fiscal structures that capitalism has brought about, which worsen the plight of the working class and rural proletariat, while simultaneously forwarding policies for socialised redistribution and collective ownership of public resources.
- h) The future success of the Party in the 2026 elections will depend



on whether it can give body to the aspirations of the working class through revolutionary praxis, effective governance and consistent efforts to promote socialist alternatives.

Resolve:

a) Revolutionary contestation strategy

- i. The Party's preferred contestation be wall-to-wall (all municipalities) contestation.
- ii. The Revolutionary National Election Committee must kick-start the process of preparing for elections, including setting up structures, a candidate selection process and the development of an election strategy for consideration by the CC.
- iii. The Secretariat should ensure that in all engagements with Alliance partners, fraternal formations and left forces, the decision to contest the 2026 local government elections is conveyed and explained.
- iv. The Party must continue to build its organisational strength and independent voice while consolidating its efforts towards building popular left fronts and a powerful socialist movement of the workers and the poor in the quest for a socialist order in South Africa.
- v. The Party will fight on all fronts and in every ward and municipality, making them sites of revolutionary struggle and platforms for advancing the NDR – our direct route towards socialism.
- vi. The electoral campaign will mobilise the working class, intervening in rural communities to break the hegemony of untransformed spatial development.



b) Candidate selection process:

- i. The Party is to establish a scientifically rigorous and merit-based candidate selection process, grounded in Marxist-Leninist theory and praxis.
- ii. By such criteria, candidates must reflect the revolutionary spirit of the Party and show commitment to socialist principles, the working class and social change.
- iii. The selection process will include deep lifestyle audits, ideological scrutiny and governance capability assessments to ensure that nominations go only to the most principled and competent people.
- iv. Community consultation and participation will be at the heart of the selection process to ensure that candidates truly represent the collective will of the oppressed and marginalised peoples.
- v. The Party will emphasise inclusivity in candidate representation, prioritising the elevation of women, youth and historically oppressed groups to positions of revolutionary leadership.

c) Revolutionary capacity building and mobilisation:

- i. The institutionalisation of the Chris Hani Red Brigades in all municipalities should create a lasting, grassroots mobilisation framework anchored in the daily challenges faced by the working class and rural communities.
- ii. The Party should engage in structured cadre development programmes aimed at arming members with Marxist analytical tools, a comprehensive grasp of governance frameworks and the revolutionary discipline required in socialist transformation.



- iii. The integration of digital platforms with conventional methods in revolutionary outreach strategies will help bridge the urban-rural divide and effectively disseminate the Party's socialist vision.

d) Governance preparedness and legislative mastery:

- i. The Party will concentrate on mastering the legislative frameworks governing local government, ensuring that cadres are properly equipped to handle and change these structures in ways that advance working-class interests.
- ii. The SACP shall lobby for a review of the Division of Revenue Act and other fiscal policies aimed at disbanding capitalist-driven austerity measures in favour of socialist redistribution of resources.

e) Independent revolutionary identity inside and outside the Alliance:

- i. The Party should affirm its revolutionary independence in dialectical engagement with allies to further the collective struggle against capitalist exploitation and oppression.
- ii. The Party shall work for a united Popular left front, consolidating forces from labour, civil society and people's movements on a common platform against the systemic failures of the capitalist state.

f) Programme of action for revolutionary government:

- a) The Party's electoral preparations must be based on a comprehensive programme of action, including mass mobilisation, cadre development and consultation at the grassroots level.
- b) The Party should redefine and reinterpret its past resolutions on

movement rebuilding, alliance re-formation and contestation strategies in light of the new environment today to ensure both revolutionary continuity and coherence. The Central Committee is to ensure the implementation of this resolution, maintaining revolutionary discipline and responsibility within all organisational structures.

g) Campaigning for radical action against austerity:

- i. The Party should mobilise against all forms of austerity imposed by capitalist institutions, struggling for policies that advance the principles of socialist transformation and economic justice.
- ii. The Party should mobilise to realise systemic reforms that can correct fiscal distortions and ensure developmental local governance that addresses the general good of all citizens.





Chapter 5

Battle of Ideas

In the political field, the battle of ideas is a confrontation among ideologies that nations and political groups use to promote their domestic and foreign interests. The battle space is the public mind: the beliefs of the people who compose the population. Communication is no longer a one-way street but a dialogue where society generates its own content, with news produced, disseminated and consumed at an unprecedented pace due to new media and platforms.

Engagement in the battle of ideas as an ideological struggle to defend the SACP's ideals, the gains of the NDR and the interwoven struggle for socialism is more crucial now than ever. Our approach should be underpinned by organisational unity, high moral ground, discipline and the delivery of adequate services to the people of South Africa. We must develop deep research capabilities and strengthen ideological training and progressive voices in civil society, academia and business.

The SACP must strengthen its digital communication, information and media technical, equipment, professional and activist capacity, adapting to the deepening and widening epoch of the digital technological revolution to harness the power of this technology for organisational, political and ideological work, and mass mobilisation.

The adoption of digital information and communication technologies will enhance online interaction with members, strengthen branches and broaden engagement with the general population and potential SACP base using digital platforms. A long-term, innovative digital strategy will help reach more South Africans, especially women and youth and draw them into structured programmes.



Modern politics is highly reactionary, with leaders and media jumping from issue to issue. For those closely monitoring politics, it can feel like a series of tactical battles focused on short-term survival. The SACP must adopt a strategic approach to build the hegemony of socialist ideas, values and struggle in the public sphere.

1. Countering reactionary narratives

Noting:

- a. The dominant ideas in society are those of the ruling class, propagated through mainstream and digital media, motion pictures, creative work, publications, beliefs, laws, education, dominant cultures, traditions, and other fronts of theory and battle of ideas.
- b. Reactionary, racist and neoliberal ideologies have permeated public discourse, threatening the gains of the NDR.
- c. The expansion of digital media provides an opportunity to reach the working class directly.

Therefore, resolves:

- a. To establish an SACP Media School to train cadres in media and digital communications.
- b. To develop socialist-oriented content through social media, podcasts and progressive publications, in contribute to building a culture of solidarity and broader proletarian democratic culture.
- c. To challenge the SABC and mainstream media for any failure to cover working-class perspectives and thus ensure diversity of ideas.
- d. To encourage SACP members to contribute to internal and external publications to agitate for socialist discourse.



2. Strengthening ideological training

Noting:

- a. The battle of ideas is central to class struggle, as ideological domination maintains capitalist hegemony.
- b. The SACP must be at the forefront of educating workers, students and activists in Marxist theory.

Therefore, resolve to:

- a. Revive district-level reading and writing clubs coordinated nationally by the Battle of Ideas Commission.
- b. Develop an SACP digital media strategy that includes video, text and AI-driven outreach.
- c. Integrate Artificial Intelligence and digital platforms in ideological training and agitation.
- d. Enhance working-class publications such as Umsebenzi and The African Communist to counter bourgeois narratives.

3. Building a broad progressive media front

Noting:

- a. The ruling class uses extensive propaganda machinery – press, radio, public platforms, theatre and film – to suppress working-class consciousness.
- b. A network of progressive communicators is needed to counter neoliberal narratives.



Therefore, resolves:

- a. To build a broad left media front that includes independent journalists, activists and workers.
- b. To strengthen collaborations with progressive media platforms, such as independent socialist news outlets.
- c. To train activists in digital storytelling, equipping them with the skills to shape public discourse.
- d. To host an annual theoretical struggle and battle of ideas summit, bringing together left intellectuals, artists and communicators to strategise against capitalist hegemony.

4. Cultural and creative resistance

Noting:

- a. Culture is an essential terrain of class struggle, influencing consciousness and social organisation.
- b. Progressive art, music and theatre can play a pivotal role in advancing socialist ideals.

Therefore, resolve to:

- a. Expand the role of the SACP Cultural Desk, linking it with political and ideological campaigns.
- b. Engage amapiano and hip-hop artists in progressive cultural work.
- c. Establish SACP provincial choirs and activist-led cultural groups.
- d. Develop an SACP Marxism & Cultural Resistance Festival, culminating in a Workers' Music Festival.



5. Communication and media school of the SACP

Noting:

Every Party member is a communicator.

Therefore, resolve:

- a. Establish a Communication, Information and Media School.
- b. Train all members and leaders in agitation, propagation, communication, information and media operations.
- c. Identify media veterans to mentor and teach in the school.

6. Socialist programme repositioning

Noting:

The stagnation of the NDR necessitates repositioning the socialist programme.

Therefore, resolve:

- a. Focus on building popular socialist fronts to defend the NDR and elevate the socialist cause.
- b. Develop an active socialist programme.

7. Popularising the socialist struggle

Believing:

A revolutionary Party must deliberately popularise the socialist struggle.

Therefore, resolve:

- a. Increase agitation through internal and external media platforms.
- b. Diversify digital media usage, including social media, to build the hegemony of socialist ideas, values and struggle in the public sphere and broadly in the theoretical struggle, including the battle of ideas.





Chapter 6

Workplace struggles and fronts

Noting that:

- a) COSATU, as a federation, is composed of affiliates with diverse ideological orientations, reflecting its broad membership base across various sectors and regions. While this diversity enriches discourse, it also presents challenges in achieving unified positions on key issues.
- b) The systematic depoliticisation of the working class, including by the commercial mass and targeted media, and supported by bourgeois state approaches, has weakened the class and its ability to advance and defend the NDR.
- c) The infrequency of political education programmes for trade unionists has been contributing to the depoliticisation of the working class.
- d) The weakening of industrial unions underscores the need to build strong industrial unions as part of building a broader popular left front for popular people's power.
- e) The SACP is the vanguard party of the working class and must seek to unite the working-class movement.

Believing that:

- a) Trade unions are essential for workers to challenge capitalist control and to advance the rights of workers and worker interests within the production system.
- b) Beyond the workplace, trade unions are essential in mobilising



workers politically, encouraging them to advocate for broader systemic changes such as socialist policies and the dismantling of capitalist structures.

Resolve that:

- a) The SACP should develop a minimum programme with the progressive trade union movement, including joint programmes on education with COSATU and its individual affiliates.
- b) The SACP should pay particular attention to building and strengthening industrial unions.
- c) The SACP should support SADTU on its legal challenges to force the President to implement the BELA Act and if necessary, the SACP should support SADTU with mass action on the BELA Act to ensure that the government implements this particular Act.
- d) The SACP should lead the revival of political education in the form of socialist forums and Chris Hani brigades to raise political consciousness.
- e) The SACP and COSATU should constitute joint political schools not only at the national level but at all levels.
- f) The intensification of political education in trade unions should be accompanied by a political manual on the basics of socialism, why fronts, why we fight for land and other political issues, to be developed for the SACP and distributed to all union affiliates.
- g) Party branches should seek to build a stronger township economy with co-operatives' development at the centre of local economic development.
- h) On community struggles, a detailed Marxist-Leninist analysis on local spaza shops and the importance of local economic development for the transformation of the productive economy.



- i) The SACP should work to organise informal traders in a way that integrates political education into the conscientisation of informal traders.
- j) The SACP should deepen its critique of the GNU, focusing on, but not limited to, how the Alliance and its reconfiguration were undermined and excluded from the Statement of Intent Technical Committee and the Negotiating Team, and on the inclusion of the incorrigible political representatives of the right-wing, conservative and neo-liberal class forces. The Party must seek to transform its critical stance regarding the GNU into a popular left front and socialist axis programme.
- k) The SACP should establish a front on basic education and the closer monitoring of Party resolutions on basic education.
- l) The SACP should intensify its campaign on austerity and build a popular front on austerity.
- m) The water crisis requires a broad popular front on water security for all, including boreholes for communities in need.
- n) The SACP should establish a broad popular front for ending energy poverty and the challenges of costs associated with electricity meters.
- o) The SACP and COSATU should implement a joint programme for training shop stewards in the main, but all union officials in general, with specific resources allocated to the training of union officials.
- p) There must be a flat rate of R50 for workers to join the Party in order to massify the membership base of the SACP.
- q) The SACP should examine the feasibility of adopting an “agency shop” model of COSATU at an affiliate level to strengthen recruitment from COSATU’s two million membership base.



- r) The SACP should intervene in mediating the conflict between SADTU and NEHAWU for purposes of building unity in the working-class movement.
- s) The SACP should conduct a Marxist-Leninist analysis of why workers are leaving unions and assist labour unions to address this problem.
- t) Every member of the SACP should be responsible for contributing to the establishment of workplace units where they work.
- u) The SACP should lead a campaign on the mass-based beneficiation of the country's minerals.
- v) SACP branches must develop campaigns against the prevailing challenge of extortions in our communities and report regularly on progress.
- w) Specific fronts on the complete implementation of the NHI, crime and an end to gender-based violence should be established.
- x) The issue of dual membership should be deliberated on by the CC with guidance provided through consultative Party structures and processes.
- y) The workplace struggles workstream of the SACP should regularly monitor and assess the progress and impact of workplace units.
- z) We need to build a popular left front on working-class unity of all trade unions, including progressive trade unions.
- aa) We need to build a popular left front on the land question.



Chapter 7

Youth

Noting that:

- a) The youth is not a class. Youth are a stratum that includes working-class youth, students, young women and youth with disabilities.
- b) Youth unemployment remains pervasive and palpable in society.
- c) The basic unit of society within the context of the economy as the base is the family; family structures and culture, arising from the base, and within the framework of the material conditions it generates, also play a part in shaping the social character and behaviour of the youth. The absence of strong, supportive family structures or community programmes compounds the vulnerability of young people, making them more susceptible to substance abuse as a coping mechanism.
- d) Alcohol and substance abuse are rife amongst our youth due to multiple interrelated factors, including socio-economic challenges such as poverty, unemployment and a lack of access to quality education. These conditions can lead to feelings of hopelessness and a desire to escape from the harsh realities of life.
- e) Furthermore, many young people are trapped in a culture of entitlement and dependency, often turning to alcohol, drugs, or a life of crime as a form of escapism or protest against the injustices of capitalism.
- f) Teenage pregnancy continues to be a challenge, especially in rural areas, where limited access to education, healthcare and reproductive health services exacerbates the issue.



- g) The absence of sufficient support systems, such as counselling services and youth empowerment programmes, leaves many teenagers without the resources they need to make informed decisions about their sexual health.
- h) Capitalism has led to the commodification and weaponisation of drugs, fostering a culture of song and dance that promotes drugs and drug abuse amongst the youth.
- i) There is growing apathy amongst young voters.
- j) Crass materialism is a capitalist plague amongst the youth, in which they have developed a will to money rather than a will to socialism.
- k) There is widespread fragmentation of support for youth provided by the state.

Believing that:

- a) Lenin defined the role of the youth as to learn, learn and learn.
- b) Youth need responsibilities, not just rights.
- c) The SACP, as a vanguard party, should lead the struggle for working-class solidarity and unity.
- d) The new economic imperialism has ushered in the era of the datafication of society, where youth are seen as pieces of data and nothing more.
- e) The challenge of youth unemployment has reached crisis proportions.

Resolve that:

- a) Teenage pregnancy is a manifestation of the economic structure,



the material conditions it forges, and the other social structures and associated behaviours; therefore, targeted interventions are required to address these systemic economic and social challenges.

- b) The current state of the youth movement can be characterised as youth development evolving side by side with youth underdevelopment, largely due to the systemic reproduction of challenges brought about by an untransformed economic base.
- c) The SACP should lead a campaign against crass materialism amongst the youth. This campaign should focus on instilling socialist values and ethics amongst the youth.
- d) Youth must be encouraged to play an activist role in civil society and every party branch should work to assist youth in establishing NPOs and NGOs.
- e) Digital skills for learners should start at the basic education level for all learners. Poor, working-class youth should not be left out of the digital skills revolution.
- f) The SACP should lead a campaign to promote the importance of relevant skills among the youth, including making vocational skills appealing and accessible to all.
- g) The curriculum in schools and universities should be redeveloped to include workplace struggles and issues of local and international economic development, including co-operative development.
- h) The YCLSA should intensify its campaign to close shebeens around schools to curb the scourge of drug abuse amongst youth. The YCLSA should also advocate for the imposition of quotas on the number of shebeens and taverns permitted within specific areas, particularly in townships and rural communities.



- i) A popular broad left front against drug abuse in communities should be established and led by the SACP, together with local community groups and mass-based civil society organisations.
- j) Every branch of the SACP should adopt a school as part of mainstreaming youth development and assisting youth with issues such as career guidance. SACP branches should support schools with tools and teacher support, not waiting for or depending on government for success in schooling.
- k) SACP branches should assist matric learners in applying for NSFAS, scholarships, internships, learnerships and all other opportunities available to youth.
- l) Party branches should address the challenges faced by community-based ECDs in complying with the new compulsory Grade R requirements as per the BELA Bill and ensure adequate support for these centres.
- m) We call for the decolonisation of the curriculum and the implementation of history as a compulsory subject. A history of communist heroes and heroines should not be left out.
- n) The PYA should lead new and innovative programmes affecting the youth of the country, such as youth community programmes for water harvesting and local water production in rural areas.
- o) The SACP should focus on making statutory structures in schools more useful and effective in serving their mandate.
- p) The SACP calls for an end to the youth employment scheme (YES) and the Employment Tax Incentive (ETI) as failed government interventions. The YES and ETI programmes have benefited private capital in maximising profits, while the number of youths not in employment, education and training has increased from 3.1 million to 3.4 million in 2024.



- q) TVET colleges should be capacitated to close the skills gap amongst youth, with priority given to skilled youth for absorption into public programmes.
- r) Funding should be prioritised for apprenticeships, with opportunities for co-operatives to be established by artisans.
- s) The young workers' structures of COSATU should be strengthened to play a more active role in organising and mobilising young workers for the overwhelming victory of the SACP in the local government elections in 2026.
- t) Unemployment amongst youth does not simply end when an individual turns 35 or older. The underlying conditions contributing to their unemployment do not suddenly change with age. There should be targeted efforts to address the challenges faced by this group, as they are often still considered unemployable due to a lack of experience, despite being over 35.
- u) Structures of the SACP should build youth fronts to vote for the SACP in the local government elections in 2026.
- v) The SACP should establish a broad popular front against the datafication of youth as commodities, as pieces of data to be exploited for maximising profits.



Chapter 8

International SITUATION AND solidarity

1. Global anti-imperialist Struggle

Noting:

- a. The rapidly shifting geopolitical landscape requires the SACP to continue and intensify being resolute in its opposition to imperialism.
- b. The imperialist regime of the United States (US) continues its aggression and to destabilise nations across South America, Africa, the Middle East, and Asia for capitalist exploitation.
- c. Western sanctions and economic warfare against sovereign nations such as Cuba, Venezuela, Iran and the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (DPRK) aim to subjugate independent economies.
- d. The resistance against imperialism is growing, with anti-neo-colonial movements advancing in Africa, Latin America and Asia.

Therefore, resolve

- a. To intensify solidarity with nations resisting imperialism, including Cuba, Venezuela, Palestine and Iran.
- b. To challenge and expose the global propaganda of Western imperialism in South Africa and internationally.
- c. To strengthen ties with the world Communist movement and progressive movements worldwide to develop ideological and material support against imperialist aggression.



d. Neo-colonialism and class struggle in Africa

Further noting:

- a. The struggle against neo-colonialism has advanced, as evidenced by:
 - i. The expulsion of AFRICOM from Niger.
 - ii. The Liptako-Gourma Charter, strengthening the alliance between Burkina Faso, Mali and Niger.
 - iii. Resistance movements in Kenya, Nigeria and Uganda against neo-liberalism, including austerity.
- a. Conflicts persist, including:
 - i. Somalia and Ethiopia tensions over Red Sea access.
 - ii. Zimbabwe's ongoing political crisis.
 - iii. The armed rebellion in Cabo Delgado, Mozambique.
 - iv. The war in Sudan and conflict in the Eastern DRC.
- b. The challenges facing African trade unions include co-option by political elites and repression by the state.

Therefore, resolve:

- a. To establish the Southern African Left Forum, grounded in the ALNEF framework, to consolidate leftist alliances.
- b. To revive the Africa Forum on Western Sahara to support the Saharawi people's struggle against Moroccan occupation.
- c. To organise an SACP-COSATU International Strategy Session to assess the shifting balance of forces in Africa.



- d. To pursue reparatory justice for African nations impacted by colonial exploitation.
- e. To strengthen connection with African trade unions and rebuild their independence to defend workers' rights.

2. Palestine

Noting:

- a. Israel's ongoing genocidal campaign against Palestinians, which has escalated in the past 13 months.
- b. South Africa's legal case at the **International Court of Justice** against Israel for genocide.
- c. Israeli aggression now extends to Lebanon and Syria, violating the sovereignty of more nations and their territorial integrity.
- d. The strategic role of the Boycott, Divestment and Sanctions movement in isolating the apartheid Israeli settler regime.

Therefore, resolve to:

- a. Mobilise against Israel's apartheid policies and support South Africa's **International Court of Justice** case against Netanyahu.
- b. Advocate for the downgrade of South Africa's relations with Israel.
- c. Actively engage in the Red Card Israel campaign for Israel's expulsion from FIFA.
- d. Strengthen the annual Week 4 Palestine campaign.
- e. Support accountability for Israel's crimes through international mechanisms, including through the South African case against



the apartheid Israel settler regime's genocide on the Palestinian people.

3. Cuba

Noting:

- a. The devastating impact of Hurricane Oscar on Cuba, exacerbated by the US blockade.
- b. The US embargo prevents Cuba from accessing essential materials for reconstruction.
- c. The continued economic strangulation of Cuba through sanctions.

Therefore, resolve to:

- a. Mobilise material and financial support for Cuba's recovery.
- b. Intensify the Hands-Off Cuba campaign against the US blockade.
- c. Work through BRICS and African Union platforms to strengthen solidarity with Cuba.
- d. Push for Cuba's removal from the US "state sponsors of terrorism" list.

4. Venezuela

Noting:

- a. The re-election of President Nicolás Maduro in July 2024, despite US attempts to undermine Venezuela's democracy.
- b. The US has escalated sanctions, blocking Venezuela's access to financial resources.



- c. Venezuela's socialist programs, including "communa" initiatives, remain a model for socialist governance.

Therefore, resolve to:

- a. Organise a Venezuela Solidarity Week to educate about US economic warfare.
- b. Engage in international efforts for the lifting of sanctions on Venezuela.
- c. Strengthen ties with the United Socialist Party of Venezuela (PSUV).
- d. Push for an emergency conference in South Africa and SADC to support progressive South American governments.

5. The Basque Country

Noting:

The positive electoral outcome of fraternal Basque organisation EhBildu.

Resolve:

- Support the Basque struggle for self-determination through peaceful, negotiated means.
- Call for a lasting solution to the pending Basque political prisoners' matter.

6. Swaziland

Resolve:

Call for the SADC to reinstate the National Dialogue for democratisation on its agenda.

7. Immigration

DECLARATION AND RESOLUTIONS

Noting:

The rise of xenophobia in South Africa and its impact on working-class solidarity.

Therefore, resolve:

- Combat xenophobia and address misconceptions sown by reactionary forces.
- Advocate policies addressing the root causes of migration.

8. Western Sahara

Noting:

The ongoing Saharawi struggle for self-determination.

Resolve:

- Renew solidarity with the Saharawi Arab Democratic Republic.
- Amplify calls for Morocco's isolation until compliance with international law.





Chapter 9

Holistic Review of the SACP Constitution

Noting that

- a) The Constitution of the SACP is the most fundamental guide to the principles and practices that inform how members of the Party and Party structures operate.
- b) Various clauses of the SACP Constitution have been amended in our National and Special National Congresses since 1991, at times resulting in unintended consequences for the coherence of the Constitution.
- c) The Party adopted the document Strengthening the Vanguard Party on organisational renewal.
- d) Thirty years into our national democratic revolution, the Party, in this 5th Special National Congress, recommends a fundamental appraisal of the kind of Party required at this juncture in South Africa.
- e) In using the Constitution both within Party structures and in legal proceedings, various anomalies and unclear phrasing have become apparent.

Believing that

- a) The Party requires a Marxist-Leninist and legally sound Constitution, aligned with the following documents: Strengthening the Vanguard and The South African Struggle for Socialism.
- b) The numerous amendments over the years have resulted in a lack of clarity regarding several concepts in The South African



Road to Socialism and The South African Struggle for Socialism, particularly in relation to key sites of power.

- c) The Constitution must be aligned with the principles of Strengthening the Vanguard Character of the SACP, adopted by several Congresses from the 3rd Special National Congress.
- d) The constitutional inconsistencies need to be corrected to ensure alignment with the CC structures and structures of lower constitutional bodies.
- e) Various constitutional guidelines must be drafted in line with clauses of the Constitution.
- f) The digital alignment of the SACP needs to be implemented.
- g) The 5th Special National Congress will conduct an in-depth analysis of the past 30 years, focusing on the conditions of the working class over that time, the changing class, race and gender relations in South Africa, the role of the Alliance and the Party and a detailed assessment of the kind of Party required in the present conjuncture to prosecute the NDR and build a powerful socialist movement of the workers and the poor.

Therefore, resolve

- a) To undertake a holistic review of the SACP Constitution, as amended by the 15th Congress, in line with the Resolutions and Declaration of the 5th SNC.
- b) That the Constitutional Committee of the Central Committee of the 15th Congress, expanded to include two provincial representatives – one of whom must be a Provincial Office Bearer – and two representatives from the National Committee of the YCLSA, undertakes the review.



- c) To utilise the Constitutional Review Framework as the terms of reference for the review, along with the already received submissions from Moses Mabhida and Western Cape provinces and any other submissions from provinces and the YCLSA.
- d) That the Constitutional Review will be initiated in January 2025 and culminate in March 2027 with a final draft amended Constitution, which must be tabled at the CC at least two months ahead of the 16th National Congress and be distributed to provinces at least six weeks before the National Congress.
- e) That the Constitutional Committee must submit a progress report to be included in the Organisational Reports to each PBC and CC meeting and be guided by any relevant CC decisions during the process.

ISSUED BY THE SACP,

FOUNDED IN 1921 AS THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF SOUTH AFRICA

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