



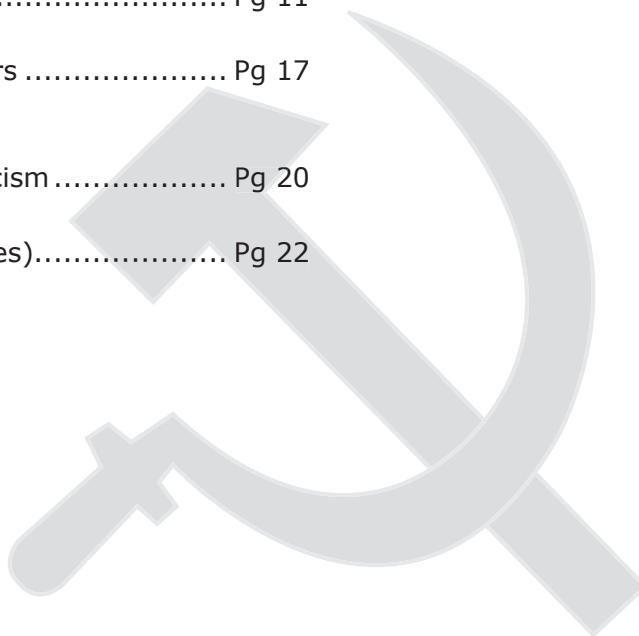
SACP - PEC BULLETIN

1ST EDITION

“Working class unity and leadership now”

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Editorial notes:



The SACP has over the past few months from the beginning of the year embarked on many campaigns with and for the workers and the poor, like many years before. Owing to the dominance of the ruling class ideas these successful campaigns have not been communicated to the people in the print and electronic media.

The party has only in the Eastern Cape held many successful programmes which were never published, like: Joe Slovo memorials, Ncumisa Kondlo memorials, Skenjana Roji memorial sport tournament, March in Nyandeni, Election Campaign, Giving of clothing to the poor in Buffalo City, etc. While appreciating that ruling class ideas remain dominant in society, however SACP on its pursuance to fundamentally transform society for working class power, ideas as source of consciousness and therefore action is of paramount importance, SACP has correctly identified battle of ideas as instrumental site of struggle.

Therefore it is prudent for the SACP to develop its medium of propagating its views with the working class in an unmediated fashion. While it is important to constantly engage and contest ideas within the bourgeoisie commercial but SACP must be

alive to reality that any commercial media is first and foremost inclined to reflect views of its masters (monopoly capital).

Over the past decade South African commercial media has positioned itself as opposition to people's government and progressive organs of the people, in particular the tripartite alliance which represent the people's camp.

SACP must take it upon itself to propagate social, humane and just values and ideas in society contrast with neo – liberal views, which appear to be consolidating.

This SACP Eastern Cape Bulletin is the publication which will serve as the medium for the SACP to interact with the working class at large beyond its membership, and as a platform for the SACP cadres to share scientific analysis of the material conditions with the workers and the poor and contest the ideological space within the terrain of the battle ideas.

We will also invite inputs from the readers of our publication which will be published in this bulletin. This bulletin will also carry opinion pieces from leaders and members of the mass democratic movement structures.

The 18 July 2014 will mark the first event which we will celebrate the birthday of Nelson Mandela for the first time without him. We are calling upon all communists in the Eastern Cape to take a greater responsibility of the Nelson Mandela Day and contribute towards a meaningful service to the people of our land.

We wish all of you a revolutionary read. To contribute in or next edition, kindly contact:
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"A newspaper is not only a collective propagandist and a collective agitator, it is also a collective organizer." Vladimir Lenin: What is to be done? "The plan for an All-Russia Political Newspaper" (1901)

By: Siyabonga Mdodi, SACP Eastern Cape Spokesperson





EC SOPA debate:

Honourable Speaker,
Honourable Premier with the MECs,
Honourable Chief Whip of the majority party,
Honourable Members, the Director-General, HODs, the senior management of the Legislature and seniors managers of other departments, distinguished guests, ladies and gentlemen.

Thanks to my organisation, the African National Congress for affording me the privilege to represent it during this important debate of the State of the Province Address as delivered by the Premier last Friday. I also wish to thank my comrades, Honourable Fihlani, Honourable Gqobana, Honourable Qoboshiyane, for having extensively dealt with the programmatic elements as clearly outlined in the Premier's Address.

Through you, Honourable Speaker, your Address sir was clear on what is to be done and therefore nobody in the entire Eastern Cape, working in their political capacity or in their administrative capacity, can claim not to know what is expected and what are the goals of your administration are. *Icacile yonke into Nkulumbuso.* (Everything is clear Premier.) We commit the ANC to work with you to ensure that you succeed as your success will represent our collective success and in your success our people will realise some of their dreams as their living conditions will improve for the better.

With my comrades which I have thanked, the three comrades, having done their work to unpack the programmatic elements of

the Premier's Address; I want to thank Hon Martin who began to expose the ideological bankruptcy of the Democratic Alliance. Hon Speaker, if truth be told, there is nothing democratic about the DA. To be in the list that is their Parliamentary list, you depend on the whims of the leader. You can even be their Parliamentary leader in the National Assembly even if you joined them in 2011 if the leader feels that you deserve. It is not in the ANC where there were democratic processes. In our list there are no secured places to say you cannot tamper with this; it is the outcome of democracy.

Hon Speaker, I am joining hon Martin. I have no option but to expose the ideological basis of the DA and also identify the common line emerging from the UDM, COPE, AIC and ANC, as those who belong to the people's camp. [Applause.] The DA and the EFF are in fact two sides of the same coin. The other one is ultra-left; the other one is a right wing that occupies the national party's role. So these tendencies it is like when you put your hands like this, when they come this way they merge together. Their agenda is about the elite. [Applause.]

That is the two sides of the same coin. In emphasising the point hon Sharpley for instance, through you hon Speaker, in fact the issue of rural development is a priority of the African National Congress. It is not something you are bringing into this House, but we support you on the issue of ambulances. It is important that we don't rely only on call centres. They must be decentralised. We agree with you hon Sharpley in that regard. That is why we say there emerged a common line of the people's camp as we listen to the speakers. As the ANC we appreciate that because we need unity of purpose of all of us in order to attack the triple challenges of inequality, poverty and unemployment. [Applause.]

Our commitment as the African National Congress to fight corruption is a principled fight. We will never allow the few among us who engage in corrupt activities and present their wrong deeds as representing the ANC. Anybody in the ranks of the ANC, those who do wrong things do not represent the ANC; that do not represent who we are. [Applause.] Again, equally we will never



allow our detractors to use the few bad cases as representing who we are.

We support the commitment made by the hon Premier to act on any reports of corruption, alleged or real. That is the stance of the African National Congress. For some who come into this podium, speak loud about corruption forget that the very economic system which they represent is the one that reproduces corruption in society.

The capitalist system whose motto force is to make profit for the few on the carcass of the majority is corrupt to the core. Its motto force is not to meet the needs of society, but to make money for the few. [Applause.] It is a system where the majority is robbed of owning any property. That is why in here in our country the few own 70% of the economy whilst the majority lives in poverty without property. It is a system whose value system is based on individualism and selfishness, greed, a dog eats dog morality. That is the system of capitalism.

Therefore the belief of the so-called equal opportunity society is based on individualism. It coincides with its values of what it represents – the capitalist system as a mode of production. It is a system based on individualism or zama-zama (try repeatedly) mentality. It is no different to playing Lotto to be a member of the DA. We are trying on our own on the hope that we will win. It is no different to playing Lotto. It is not about the collective efforts for the collective good. It is not about changing the ownership and control patterns of our country's economy. That is what it is.

That is why many of the opposition parties, or to be specific what party is to be specific, whose sole agenda is to protect the present economic status, are against the re-opening of the dislodgement date for restitution claims which have been pronounced. [Interjections.]

This is a very important dislodgement date and particularly for those of San and Koi decedents particularly victims of betterment claims who were removed as a result of betterment programme schemes in the province. There are many of them who were denied access to dislodged claims.

Therefore a person who resides in this process, like hon Wele and others, who would say we don't want restitution, we want appropriation and yet in this instance the key beneficiaries would be those who lost through betterment schemes and so on. So the celebrated growth of the DA can be traced from the very history of liberalism in South Africa. It has always been a white people representing themselves as friends of the natives. That is how white people have presented in their history. That is how liberalism was preserved in this country. [Applause.] They have primarily said they are friends of the natives, whilst their agenda has been always to use black people to protect white power for white benefits in this country. [Interjections.]

Blacks have been used in order to secure white power for whites. As a result in 1936 they used the so-called Native Representative Act of 1936. It was that Act where white liberals in this country went to that Act to represent black people in Parliament because black people were not allowed to sit in Parliament. It was liberals who claimed to be our representatives, the friends of the natives. Interestingly, what you find today in the DA are few black faces acting as representatives of the black, whilst they work to secure black votes for white power. [Interjections.] [Applause.] They bring more votes, but size does not increase. [Applause.]

I think I agree with hon Martin, hon Speaker. They bring – in the face of the majority of the support of black people, yet they don't see the equal representation for those numbers of blacks. So black people are only as relevant to secure white power and white privilege in this country. Perhaps it is among... [Interjections.]

They bring more votes for blacks as I have said. Minorities in this country are mobilised based on a threat for majority rule. That majority rule is a threat in this country. They are mobilised based on 'swart gevaar' (black threat). This can be the only basis to explain the growth of the DA, for we in the ANC have examples in the northern areas. We have delivered sports facilities, we have delivered housing and we have delivered a Magistrate's Court there to deal



with corruption. Nothing has been delivered by the DA and yet they vote for them, some of them, precisely because of the fear for majority rule and 'swart gevaar' (black threat). [Applause.]

Perhaps this is among the things and above reasons hon Speaker that as the ANC we support the call by SADTU to change the history curriculum in our country precisely because we know the importance of changing this history curriculum because no history and no education is neutral. It is either education is designed to oppress people or education is designed to liberate people. That is why it is important. We must change this curriculum so that we begin to teach an important history for all our people, including minorities, that the ANC represents all of them and that a secured and a safe future depends on the African National Congress. [Applause.]

That is why we welcome the initiative. The initial measures, hon Premier in your speech to inculcate in the Department of Arts and Culture, to inculcate values of patriotism to our young people are welcomed.

We also support the commitment to re-industrialise our province in order to diversify our economy for job creation and small businesses and co-operatives need to be part of our overall strategy to transform the economy of our province. That is why the 50% from the procurement spend is welcomed as a starting point, Honourable member.

We heard your point yesterday that we can start at 70%. We note as part of your constructive opposition kind of a role. We agree with the sentiments expressed by Honourable Mhlathi to take collective responsibility of the challenges of poverty, inequality and unemployment. [Applause.]

We equally agree that that includes the more vigorous oversight to ensure performance because it is in the ANC's resolution that the ANC needs to exercise vigorous oversight to ensure that performance is improved. That is not the role of the opposition. It is our collective responsibility to ask tough questions about what needs to be done and why it has not been done. [Applause.]

Honourable Mpulu, you raised very important class questions yesterday; whose economy we are seeking to grow and for whose benefit. These are the questions we are determined to address this term as the African National Congress in a more responsible manner, working with all social partners.

In fact this is what we mean about the radical phase of transition, not to look at the symptoms of challenges, but address the structural reasons facing our economy because it is this semi-colonial growth path that remains in place that is in fact responsible for reproducing the inequalities that we do. So we are committed to change the structure of this economy so that it responds to the needs of the majority of our country. That is the commitment that as the ANC we are going to do going forward.

With regard to poverty; I think it is important to respond, Honourable Speaker, to the point raised by Honourable Stevenson when Honourable Martin spoke about the issue of race. In coming to the podium he says you will talk about more important things like jobs.

It is important for him to know that poverty, inequality and unemployment still have a colour in our country and therefore the issue of race cannot be said to be a by-the-way. The inequality and poverty that you talk about has a face, has gender, has young people, has class and therefore those kinds of issues cannot be wished aside as a by-the-way thing and therefore that continues to expose the ideological basis of what the DA was founded for because it can't attack those questions, whose economy it is, for whose benefit because it is not meant to represent that.

The DA is meant to represent the status quo, secured economy on few white hands for the benefit of the few. That is why every time it seeks to tackle issues of black economic empowerment. There is a policy tension because it is not meant to do that. It cannot do that. It cannot represent the majority. It is not meant to do that. It is meant to represent the few in this country. [Interjections.]



In fact it is quite appreciated... [Interjections.] Honourable Chair. Honourable Speaker, I am quite encouraged how people expose themselves, playing the role they are made to play, to protect whites. [Applause.] To the EFF, a free advice from the ANC, ours is a constitutional democracy. If you have any view, you have any rules that you would want to change, table those rules so that we can have a civil discussion about those issues. You don't embark on anarchy and break rules. We are a constitutional democracy.

It is important to appraise that point. Again what is also important is to appreciate the same point. I think Honourable Peter came across quite good. In fact Honourable Peter is kilometres apart to their commander-in-chief. The only person who is near to the commander is Honourable Wele. [Laughter.] Because Honourable Peter improves his argument and seeks to win us over because in your agenda you would need allies. Don't address issues in a manner that antagonises people even people you might need in pursuing your agenda. So I am calling for people to be more constructive.

Honourable Speaker, through you Honourable Speaker, Honourable Premier the ANC expects no less – implementation; implementation; [Applause.].

By: Xolile Nqatha, SACP Eastern Cape Provincial Secretary.

Input by the SACP Provincial Chairperson, Cde Mzoleli Mrara in the SACP Skenjana Roji District Council



Dear Comrades, We bring you revolutionary greetings on behalf of the Provincial Executive Committee of our Party. We are here in this district as part of the on-going efforts to service our structures. Comrades will recall that as the PEC since the last term we took a decision to rotate meetings of the PWC spending two days in each district and the first day dedicated at servicing our structures.

This process has always sought to provide districts and branches with an opportunity to raise issues affecting the SACP from branch level up to the Central Committee level. In the process affording the PWC an opportunity to assess the state of organization and report to the PEC. We are coming to your district after a successful PEC meeting held in June this year, which covered a range of issues including an analysis of the balance of forces and the recent general elections.

International balance of forces

This council as observed by the last PEC is being held in the midst of the greatest



economic, political and social crisis of American and world capitalism since the 1930s. One does not have to be a Marxist to recognize the extreme fragility of the entire international economic system. Judging from the commentaries that appear in the bourgeois press, the "catastrophe" theory seems to have gained a large number of adherents. Six years after the spectacular collapse of Lehman Brothers in September 2008, there is no sign that the world economic crisis is abating.

The stagnation in job creation and the sharp deterioration of manufacturing output within the United States itself make a mockery of the Obama administration's claims that a "recovery" is in progress. Here at home our detractors have pretended not to know this reality as they blame the current government and South Africa with no "leadership."

As we have argued before, this crisis is of a systemic character. Institutions central to the growth and stability of world capitalism in the aftermath of World War II are breaking down. The chronic crisis of the euro signifies the failure of the project of European "unity." The ruling class have no credible response to the crisis, which was to a significant extent triggered by their own recklessness. They are, as a class, both politically and morally bankrupt.

The phenomenon of financialization—defined by a contemporary economist as a pattern of accumulation in which profit making occurs increasingly through financial channels rather than through trade and commodity production represents the triumph of economic parasitism, and, with it, the descent of bourgeois society into the lower depths of criminality.

It is a reality that the world we live in remains a world dominated by US imperialism but equally it is a reality that the world is not in a permanent state. As we say in Marxism, there is nothing permanent but change as every phenomenon is in a state of becoming. The increasing crisis of capitalism as a system with no signs of full economic recovery given the systemic nature of the crisis is increasingly making the US more aggressive leaving many countries unstable. At the heart of these

instabilities are forces unleashed by the US with military and financial support but with the US post "peace intervention" having no control over the very same forces? In our last PEC political report we made a point about Iraq, Afghanistan, Libya, Egypt and other countries. This remains the case with Libyan parliament attacked recently and with the army in Egypt refusing to allow and accept full civilian government. The US is indeed finding it difficult to defend and maintain the unipolarity of the world. Demonstrating this reality is the Syrian situation among others.

Syrian situation:

Few months ago President Obama announced that the US would launch military strikes against Syria on the pretext of using chemical weapons. His military plan was joined in by Britain and France but within two weeks the situation changed. The British Prime Minister Cameron failed to get the approval of parliament for the military action.

This was followed by Obama announcing that he would seek Congressional approval before attacking Syria. Public opinion in both countries was against another military intervention. With mounting opposition to the US-NATO plan, the G20 Summit in St. Petersburg was held. The US was isolated there with the opposition led by Russian President Putin, a Russian stance partly influenced by SA government on the Syrian question which we underlined with appreciation in the last PEC.

Subsequently, the Russian proposal to get Syria to give up its chemical weapons was accepted by the Syrian government. This left the US with no option but to accept this proposal particularly since its Secretary of State Kerry had made a passing remark suggesting such a course of action. President Obama announced that military action is being withdrawn and diplomatic efforts would be made.

An agreement was reached in Geneva for the Organisation for the Prohibition of Chemical Weapons to take over the chemical stocks and destroy them in a year's time. For the first time in recent history, an



American President had to back-down after announcing military action. This remains a setback for US imperialism and a small step in curbing America's tendency to take unilateral action.

It is against this background that desperation of the US given the demand of many former Soviet State demanding reunification with Russia further weakens its dominant positions. Russia has been succeeding to consolidate its position, given the over stretched US army and its economic position and challenges at home, it remains to be seen whether the US and its population can be willing to engage in a war with the Russia given the threat it possess to its current position of influence. The recent visit of Obama to Ukraine and threat against Russia seeks again to deny the people of Ukraine their right to determine their destiny by supporting its puppets in that country.
Iran Stalemate

Added to the above is the Iranian question which is of major significance. The softening of the US-Iran confrontation on the nuclear issue, the talks with Iran held in Geneva in November yielded an interim agreement allowing Iran not enrich Uranium beyond 5 per cent strength and will dilute its enriched Uranium stocks of 20 per cent strength. The US and the EU will dilute some of the sanctions and unfreeze the funds of Iran in its banks.

This agreement has angered Israel with President Netanyahu calling it a historic mistake. It has also upset Saudi Arabia which was keen to isolate Iran and advance the Sunni interests in the region. Obama has to overcome strong opposition in the US Congress to Iran before a comprehensive agreement can be reached. It is not clear if all the hurdles have been managed, the agreement on its own will have far-reaching effects in the region.

The US is looking for Iranian cooperation to deal with the situation in Afghanistan, where US troops are expected to be withdrawn this year, in what the US refer to as a "dignified exit". This again attest to the crisis of the US we have highlighted earlier. The US need this agreement to work for its own interests including the Syrian question but other forces

in the imperialist circle are not happy with the agreement given their country specific interests. This is part of the dilemma facing the US! This is the reason we are raising the difficulty of the US to maintain and defend what we call the unipolarity of the world. Nigerian situation (Bring back our girls).

As the SACP, we have joined other progressive forces in the world calling for the release of more than 200 school girls kidnapped by Boko Haram and this include our condemnation of all violence against women and children. We have welcomed the US assistance even though with great suspicion as their involvement in any situation always carries other imperialist interests. Even again in this instance the US arrogance has reared its ugly head as they countered reports by Nigerian military of having located the girls "we have not verified the reports". It cannot be true until the US say so! The US is increasingly getting worried with the emerging alternative block as represented by the BRICS. The increasing influence of China and Russia in Africa threatens to erode once more the dominance of the US and France in particular in African affairs.

National situation:

We are more than a month after we had successful general elections that saw the African National Congress returned to power with an overwhelming majority but 3 % down from the 2009 general elections. We have argued that the outcome the elections represent a clear mandate to the ANC led Alliance to press ahead with the second phase of the transition for radical economic transformation in favour of the majority of workers and the poor. Radically economic transformation represents the only front to defend our revolution and place our country family on a transition to a socialist future.

As part of assisting discussion in this council with the help of ECSSEC, we provide the analysis of the election results. This should help us underline areas where we are strong and areas where we are weak and develop strategies both as a province, districts and branches. In short, this analysis should be used as a planning instrument and a guide to action.



This report presents the Eastern Cape ANC 2014 election results. It seeks to address two questions: Firstly, which area is ANC well represented and where it is less represented? Secondly, which areas ANC members (valid votes) are concentrated and areas where they are less concentrated. Findings shows that ANC is well concentrated in KwaZulu-Natal (in terms of numbers of voters = valid votes) but well represented in Limpopo (in terms of percentage of valid votes).

Key findings and ANC achievement are shown at 5 different levels, namely, Country, province, local municipality, ward, and voting district levels. The focus of the analysis is on the provincial elections results. The data used in this report was downloaded from the IEC website www.elections.org.za.

The electoral results have seen the ANC increase its majority after we lost 10 seats in the legislature to COPE in 2009. The ANC has increased its majority by one seat in the legislature with COPE both at a national level being the greatest causality. The challenges of poverty, unemployment and inequality have seen the emergence of a "youth formation" EFF as their message promised to immediately address these challenges. As to whether their message was real or not didn't matter what mattered most was that unemployed people and youth in particular related to this message.

Less than a month after the elections, it is increasingly becoming clear that the EFF will be exposed for what it is, a neo fascist organization, like all demagogy, they rise to power by riding on genuine grievances of the poor. They have turned around on their election message not to take the packs of being a member of parliament. This suedo-military organization is likely to face more challenges as they try to build structures at lower level to their national congress planned for December this year.

We need to do more in consolidating our African base in Nelson Mandela Bay going towards the 2016 local government elections. If the outcomes of these elections are anything to go by, we have lost the region as we registered a mere 48% support. We wish to salute the role played by communists in these elections and

in particular the role played by our task team in the region of Nelson Mandela and the Vuyisile Mini Detachment under the leadership of our Provincial Chairperson that worked throughout the province.

There is no substitute for organizational work and for us as communists we have no option but build a strong SACP and start now working with our allies in resolving issues raised by our people during the campaign. The election structures and volunteers must not be demobilized. This is the only bases for opening the door for a successful local government election campaign. We must ensure that in all district our Know Your Neighbourhood Campaign is revived, our battle cry should be, FROM THE PEOPLE TO THE PEOPLE! Let our contact with the people not be like a tap of water you open and close.

Another space for the left

We would like to argue that another space has opened for the left forces under the leadership of the SACP to ensure the implementation of a more radical phase of the transition on the economic front. We have seen many communists occupying key position in the national and provincial cabinets including the provincial legislatures.

In our case, after many efforts we have now secure comrade Phumulo as the Premier of the province. We wish to congratulate all communists who have made into the legislature and the cabinet in the province. Let their presence makes a difference for the workers and poor. We call upon comrades to urgently convene and establish the Party Discussion Forum (PDF).

We are at the head of the organization and the provincial government; we have a space to determine the direction and pace for change in the province. This period demands that we build a strong party and co-ordinate more our efforts and support the deployed comrades. Their failure will be our collective failure; their success will belong to millions of the workers and poor in the province.

It is no exaggeration to argue that had not because of the challenges facing the left-



axis given what is taking place in COSATU we could have made more influence in the outcome of the elections. The impact of the NUMSA/ SAMWU challenge in the Nelson Mandela Metro cannot be downplayed for our performance. It is quite clear that any United Front or Workers Party to contest elections in 2016 in the metro will surrender the metro to the DA on silver platter as that would only serve to divide the people's camp.

From our last Central Committee there is agreement that the Party should seek to work with the federation to find a common approach on the economic chapter of the NDP and we should focus on putting content on what constitute radical economic phase of the transition. We welcome among other issues the emerging commitment to ensure that treasury does not play a negative role in our quest to change our country for the better. There is even commitment to remove both DBSA and PIC from the department to economic development in order for these institutions to play a developmental role for the benefit of the majority than fund narrow BEE deals.

There is also agreement to institutionalise state led planning in-line with what the SACP has been calling for, the challenge is for the SACP to contribute into the meaning of institutionalisation. This means among other things that the process is not linked to current commissioners and their term office. We need a planning that is long range, centrally co-ordinated, monitored and used as a political tool for transformation. It must be led by elected representatives and be people driven building on the election momentum of working with the people for the people.

Possible this is the only space to open between now and 2017 which is pregnant with possibilities of the space being closed depending on the work we will be doing as the left.

Towards the 7th Congress:

The PEC agreed that we need to approach our congress in a manner that safeguards the unity of our party. The PEC asserted our right to lobby but that must be done in a Party way that is comradely and distinct from other formations. It is anti-communists to go around telling lies and destroying the integrity of other comrades.

The possibility for the implementation of the radical phase of the transition on the front depends on the unity of the working in the ANC and the left-axis as represented by the SACP and COSATU. Between now and the ANC 2017 conference represent a transition for the entire movement, it will depend on what we do about the SACP and we do as the SACP.

We have no luxury to destroy this party as what we say about each other do not only destroy the individuals but it erodes the standing of the SACP. A party that is reduced into factional battles cannot play its role effectively. We urge comrades to take responsibility for the road towards our congress. Our common membership and our common ideology should make us capable of handling our minor differences and appreciate that there is party that must lead post the congress.

We have agreed that we will go to the PEC after these special district councils, convene a Provincial Council to be followed by another PEC and Congress.

Thank you comrades!



Address by the 2nd Deputy President of COSATU, Comrade Zingiswa Losi to the NUM Central Committee, 2nd July 2014



The President of NUM comrade Piet Matosa
The entire leadership of NUM from all levels
International guest, sister unions
Widows and family members of the victims
of Marikana

Please accept revolutionary greetings from
COSATU House, the red house which is also
a house to the South African Communist
Party, our historical and reliable ally and our
reliable political mouth piece.

Comrades please allow me to report that
the May Central Executive Committee took
a decision to support the intervention by the
ANC in COSATU. This is intended to preserve
the integrity of the unity of workers under
COSATU. As a result of accepting this
intervention we then also agreed to postpone
the Special CEC and to put in abeyance all
the issues in the agenda which included on
among others the following issues:

1. Facilitated Process
 - 1.1. Report by Charles Nupen and Petrus Mashishi on the unity and cohesion of the Federation.
 - 1.2. Forensic Report by the Sizwe Ntsabula Gobodo Firm of Auditors

- 1.3. Report by Former COSATU Leaders task team
2. Status of the 2nd Deputy President and that comrade Zingiswa Losi remains the 2nd Deputy President of COSATU as elected in the 11th National Congress.
3. NUMSA's response to COSATU on why it should not be suspended or expelled.
4. President's report on the request of the Special National Congress
5. Update Report on Litigation against COSATU
6. Update on the Disciplinary processes against the COSATU General Secretary and the Staff member
7. To embark on the process in which the ANC will help to facilitate the process towards achieving the strategic objective of preserving the unity of workers under COSATU. This process will take up to a month.
8. That there is a need for cessation of hostilities, which means all affiliates and all leaders of the federation and members should stop all activities which will militate against the achievement of this strategic objective of preserving the integrity of the unity of workers under COSATU.

Based on the report from the ANC Task Team, the CEC unanimously agreed that:

1. There should be an adherence to COSATU's founding principles that have provided the glue that has kept COSATU together for the past 29 years of her existence. These principles remain valid today and into the future.
2. The package to be developed by the ANC should address the leadership question, including choosing of leaders, deployment of leaders, personalities in leadership that could compromise unity



3. The package should include addressing governance issues such as disciplinary processes underway or in the future as well as the call for a Special National Congress
4. The CEC recognises that the divisions in COSATU have evolved and have created an atmosphere of factionalism
5. The CEC recognises that at the centre of the divisions are political and ideological differences, including on managing of differences in relation to tactical and strategic issues, which require continuous engagements.

The CEC discussed this at length and took the following decisions:

1. To allow the ANC task team to continue its work including meeting the seven remaining unions that it has not yet met in the period of the coming four weeks. This work is to include holding a two-day discussion with the NOBs to discuss various issues including what emerged in the engagement with affiliated unions.
2. To reaffirm our decision of 8 April CEC that there should be cessation of hostilities until the final report is presented. In addition, and in order to help create the best possible climate for unity and cohesion, we call for a similar undertaking from other formations of the Alliance.
3. We agreed that the ANC task team should finalise its work within the next four weeks.
4. The package to be developed by the ANC Task Team should include taking a collective view on the call for a Special National Congress.
5. To recognise that progress has been registered notwithstanding the breaches on the call for a ceasefire.
6. The call to ceasefire will include the court challenge for a Special National Congress by the eight of COSATU affiliates. As a practical

step to avoid unnecessary waste of resources the eight unions involved agree that the proceedings in the High Court application (case number 162323/14) will be held in abeyance pending the ANC process agreed in this resolution. That process will continue for a maximum period of six weeks from the date of this resolution, unless otherwise extended and agreed between the parties in writing. If, at the end of that period, the applicants (in the high court case) are not satisfied with the outcome of the ANC process and want to proceed with the application, they will give written notice to COSATU of their intention to proceed, whether on the same or supplemented papers, and COSATU will then have the time periods provided by the court rules to answer the application and the applicants will have an opportunity to reply thereto in the ordinary course.

7. The NOBs will work with SATAWU and NUMSA in relation to the poaching activities in the port of Ngqura. This will include managing the current strike by NUMSA members with a view of ensuring an environment is created to improve relations at all levels. Managing this process should lead to us finding a lasting solution which includes a process of membership hand over in line with our principle of one union one industry. The same approach will be adopted in relation to poaching activities between the NUM and NUMSA. The CEC calls on NUMSA not to implement its resolution to encroach on the scope of SATAWU or NUM. In addition to this, all unions across the Federation are called upon not to embark on activities that will undermine the spirit of this resolution relation to poaching. A failure to get this commitment by 2 June 2014 should lead to the calling of the Special CEC to discuss the way forward.
8. The CEC agreed that whilst this process is unfolding no union should



be allowed to speak about these matters in the media, including as unnamed sources. It agreed to observe protocols that respect internal organisational processes of each union.

9. The CEC fully supports the sub-committee of the ANC Task Team constituted by the Deputy Secretary General of the ANC and the COSATU Deputy General Secretary to intervene on all alleged violations to this agreement. In addition the NOBs will, in managing this ceasefire, in line with the provision of the constitution, convene a Special CEC whenever they feel any union is not fully cooperating with the intervention.
10. Finally it was agreed that as part of a political engagement we must have a series of discussions at leadership level, which may include CEC political schools. The final report will be presented at a three days CEC to allow exhausting of all issues.

In addition to this resolution, the CEC decided that a meeting between NUMSA and SATAWU should be convened by the NOBs not later than the 11 June 2014.

As I speak the National office Bearers are already processing these decisions and it includes meeting with NUM, NUMSA and SATAWU.

We are committed to this process for no other reason other than the fact that we value the unity of the federation. As this generation of leaders we want to build an even stronger COSATU than the one we took from our predecessors.

We want to build a united, stronger and fighting federation and we see this not as a task of one individual but as a task of all of us as a collective and we are calling on the NUM to work with to build and unite all our unions behind their federation.

Comrades we have also just come from an election campaign in which we went all out to mobilise for the victory of the ANC and on the 7th May our people went to the polls

and gave an overwhelming victory to our movement, giving the ANC a clear mandate to ensure radical transformation during this phase of our transition.

The task we have now is to define in practical terms the content of that radical change. Already the ANC Lekgotla, government Lekgotla and the State of the Nation address have taken place. In each of these the content of this radical transformation has been defined and translated into government programme.

The question that we should ask is whether as COSATU, working with the SACP, has been able to provide qualitative input in all these processes and whether moving forward we will be able to keep government accountable in line with the manifesto and the Freedom Charter.

I want to argue that we should not allow the process of the signing of ministers' performance agreements to proceed without ensuring that such agreements remain in line with the ANC policies adopted in Polokwane and further endorsed in Mangaung and later translated into the Manifesto.

We consistently make a call to take forward the resolutions of the last Alliance Summit which amongst others said that the Alliance should be part of policy implementation, and this include addressing the genuine concerns raised by COSATU and the SACP on some aspects of the NDP in particular the economic chapter. It also includes developing a monitoring and evaluation mechanism to ensure that we keep track of progress and keep deployees accountable. This will help avoid finding mistakes when it is too late to correct them.

This also means that as COSATU we will have to pull back and ask ourselves about whether the methods we have used to put pressure on making the alliance to work have produced any results. It must be emphasised that the task we have is not question whether we need the alliance or not or to review the objective of making the alliance to function maximally but the task is to review the methods we have applied to achieve the objective of making the alliance to work.



Part of this will include asking whether there is anything which the Alliance can deliver without any struggle. Put differently is whether we see the Alliance as a chicken which must hatch eggs in the form of our demands which we expect government to deliver on or we see the Alliance as an instrument of struggle whose effectiveness is determined by the strength of its partners.

For an example can the Alliance as the instrument of struggle be effective if COSATU or the SACP or the ANC is weak?

So when we go to the public and shout that the Alliance is non-functional, what do we mean? I want to argue that when we say so we are also at the same time saying COSATU, or the SACP or the ANC are non-functional. When the 1969 strategy and tactics referred to us as the fighting alliance what type of organisations was it referring to?

Comrades until we honestly look at ourselves and do an honest self introspection we will continue to invest a lot of resources and energy but receive less returns in practice.

I want to challenge this meeting to have some form of a discussion about the paradigm shift we require in how we have been conducting our engagements and the struggle in general.

Comrades this is an exercise we should undertake because we have a responsibility to be part of the solution to the challenges of poverty, unemployment and inequality confronting the working class.

We cannot ignore that there have been developments in the platinum sector where we saw mine workers engaging in one of the longest strikes, based on a demand for a R 12 500. We now know that an agreement has been signed.

It is important to analyse how this particular strike proceeded and how it was concluded and to draw lessons on the best things we can take and use and the wrong thing we should do as NUM.

As we do so we will need to be careful not to condemn workers and put them in the same place with those we do not trust. Mine

workers must be made to understand that NUM is their home. NUM does not only fight for workers to get an increase in wages only in monetary terms but it also fights to secure lasting social benefits.

The NUM must communicate this message not against other unions in the sector but to the workers. My view is that the current moment presents an opportunity for the NUM to regain the strategic initiative to your side in the platinum belt.

Every day it is becoming clear that it is only the NUM that can place and win demands which will result in qualitative advances in the mining sector as a whole. But the NUM will need to be more aggressive and yet systematic in this task and execute it based on a sustainable plan.

Comrades the conditions of poverty, inequality, unemployment and helplessness continue to deepen around the world. Unfortunately it is hitting hard on the working class in general and on the woman and children in particular.

These conditions are not imposed by some natural force but are as a result of inhumane and uncaring economic and social policies which are predicated on the calculus of imposing austerity measures for the people and maximising profits for bosses.

The recently released June report by the International Labour Organization provides details of the impact of global austerity. Amongst other things the report raised the following:

The report found that more than 7% of the world's population lack adequate income, healthcare, old-age pensions and other social protections, and that Governments around the world have and continue to slash the remaining social safety net even as unemployment and poverty grows as a result of the global economic crisis.

The World Social Protection Report 2014/15 reviews several categories including protections for children, unemployed and injured workers, pregnant women and new mothers, and workers of pensionable age. It uses as its baseline the minimum social



protection floors recommended by the ILO in 2012 and endorsed chiefly as ceremonial "human rights" by the UN, the G-20 and various employer and union organizations in 185 countries.

Part of its findings, the report reveals that about 18,000 children die every day, mainly from preventable causes bound up with the lack of funding for nutrition, health, education, care services and protections against child labour.

It says that of the nearly 202 million workers unemployed around the world, only 12 percent are receiving jobless benefits. It says that nearly half (48%) of all people over pensionable age do not receive a pension. For many of those who do, pension levels are not adequate.

Recent disasters at a Bangladeshi textile factory and a Turkish coal mine highlighted the devastating impact of industrial accidents on workers and their families; only 33.9% of the global labour force is covered by mandatory social insurance for workplace injury.

Only 28% of women in employment worldwide have maternity cash benefits, which provide some income security during the final stages of pregnancy and after childbirth, forcing many women to return to work prematurely.

Some 39% of the world's population lack healthcare coverage, a figure that rises to more than 90% of the population in low-income countries. As a result, about 40% of all global health expenditure is shouldered directly by the sick.

All this is as a result of the shrinking of public spending. The report shows that this decrease in public spending in 106 out of the 181 countries was the result of the IMF's call for "structural reforms in public finance" and pension and health care overhauls.

The report notes the pitiful percentage of economic resources allocated by capitalist governments for social protections. On average, governments allocate only 0.4% of GDP to child and family benefits, ranging from 2.2% in Western Europe to 0.2% in

Africa, Asia and the Pacific. The United States spends just 0.699% of its GDP on child and family benefits. By contrast the US devotes 4.2% of economic output to military spending.

With energy and food prices hitting record highs, 100 governments in 78 developing and 22 high-income countries are planning to cut subsidies, the ILO notes, with especially severe impact anticipated in the Middle East and North Africa and sub-Saharan Africa.

Some 86 countries are changing pension systems by tightening eligibility conditions, raising retirement ages so that people have to work longer to receive a full benefit, or eliminating minimum pension guarantees for the most vulnerable sections of workers.

Summing up the conditions of pensioners internationally, the ILO report says, "the majority of the world's older women and men have no income security, have no right to retire and have to continue working as long as they can—often badly paid and in precarious conditions. Only 42% of people of working age today can expect to receive social security pensions in the future, and effective coverage is even lower."

The report concludes with the warning that the provision of a safety net is "a social and political necessity" and that a "there can be no inclusive and cohesive society where the poor and rich drift further and further apart."

With all our differences and petty fights, this must be a reminder that as we continue to fight in our silly little battles our class enemy continues to consolidate its gains and building more policy fronts to protect it.

The workers we lead do not read about this from the newspapers or in books; they experience it in practice. That is why some of them are even lured into demanding that employers should pay them their death benefits. It is all out of desperation. The working people throughout the world are looking for a way out.

The question is whether we have answers on how to achieve a breakthrough from these challenges.



Do we have organisations which have the capacity to rise to the challenges of answering to the question how our people can achieve a breakthrough to the challenges they are confronting?

Writing from Robben Island, in his book "learning from Robben Island" comrade Govan Mbeki who was affectionately known as Oom Gov, in answering this question regarding the capacity of the organisation to respond to the challenges of the day, he begins by reminding all of us that if we have to grapple with concrete socio-economic problems - problems of oppression and exploitation of man by man - we have to adopt a more realistic approach to our problems. Oppression and exploitation are man-made by minority interests to the disadvantage of majority interests. What then must the oppressed and exploited majority do to turn things in their favour?

He continues and he says our starting point is to direct our attention and efforts to the source of our strength by saying: "Go to the masses of the oppressed and exploited peoples of our land. Work among them; work with them to prepare the way for a take-over of power." Expressed briefly this is to say: "Go. Organise".

"Experience has taught, however, that a lot more requires to be known about organising if the product of our efforts and activities, i.e. organisation, is to be effective. And if the oppressed and exploited are to achieve their end, viz to take over power, they must build effective organisational machinery. And to have such organisational machinery there is no room for haphazard and half-hearted measures. The task has to be tackled seriously and systematically."

Comrades the fact of the matter, as comrade Oom Gov reminded us, is that organisations exist to answer to a question "how?" It is the ability and the extent to which an organisation is able to crystallise, break the problem into its component parts and to patiently articulate its complete manifestations to the people but does not only end with that and continues to endure the pain to provide practical expression to the question "how?".

It is this ability to answer to a question "how?" which determines the organisation's ability to remain relevant and to attract as many people as possible into its ranks who see it as providing practical solutions to their real and practical challenges.

Therefore comrades, COSATU's and NUM's biggest task today is to sit back and ask ourselves a question: does our organisation have the capacity to answer convincingly the question of how to tackle the challenges of the day. Do our answers inspire the masses to rally behind as we fold our arms to confront the real enemy?

We need to reflect on whether we have been able to capture the imagination of our members and the working people in general and mobilise them behind a uniting popular programme to address their immediate needs.

I know that in 2013 we went to Rustenburg and adopted a five pillar programme to support the NUM. This included developing an effective Workplace Programme, developing a Community Programme, Clarifying the Role of the Alliance in supporting the NUM, having targeted mobilisation and addressing security issues affecting workers. The reality is that we have not implemented this programme as a united force; instead we did so as different groups.

Sometimes, we act as if we do not realise that throughout our history we have been successful only because we acted as a united force. Today we think that we are powerful as individuals. Comrades no revolution was ever advanced by an individual person or a single organisation, never!

It is wrong to elevate individual strength. If there is one reason why the NUM has remained a powerful force, it is because of your ability to elevate unity above everything else, your ability to use your numbers not against the liberation forces, not against the federation but to maximise the unity of the people's camp.

It is for this reason that we want to urge this meeting today to have a discussion about how to pay solidarity to the NUMSA members who have taken to the streets against the employers.



In that process of pledging solidarity to NUMSA we elevate the unity of the federation above everything else. Members want to see unity between their unions and as leaders you need to consciously do things which will promote unity.

Workers want to see a united COSATU. The primacy of the unity of the federation cannot be replaced by any other thing; it is actually at the core of our existence as a trade union movement.

The most immediate task facing us is to build a strong and united organisation and there is no short cut but to consistently going to the workers and engaging them through campaigns and political education programmes. This task cannot be outsourced, it needs all of us directly and if we fail our organisations will be stolen or be redirected for another agenda which is not ours.

Amandla!

Source: www.cosatu.org.za

Why Chris Hani's killer Clive Derby-Lewis should not get the appeal.

By Cde Jeremy Cronin



The issue of parole for Clive Derby-Lewis, the convicted killer of Chris Hani, is once more the subject of some public debate. The SACP, ANC and the Hani family have consistently opposed the granting of parole to Derby-Lewis and his convicted co-conspirator, Janusz Walus. In opposing parole we are confident that we are also expressing what is a widespread view among South Africans of diverse political persuasions.

However, Derby-Lewis is now reported to be suffering from terminal cancer and this has provoked a degree of sympathy and not only from his hard-core, right-wing supporters. Some of the more well-meaning argue that the humaneness of a society should be judged, in part, by how it treats its prisoners. I think that is correct. They go on to argue that we are a rule-governed, constitutional democracy and that we should not seek to emulate the barbarism of the past. I agree.

But let's start by reminding ourselves of what the law actually says about parole. Section 79 of the 1998 Correctional Services Act deals with medical parole. It states: "Any person serving any sentence in a prison and who, based on the written evidence of the medical practitioner treating that person, is diagnosed as being in the final phase of any terminal disease or condition may [we stress MAY] be considered for placement under correctional supervision or on parole..." The purpose of such a parole, the Act continues, is to allow the person "to die a consolatory and dignified death".



The operative word here is "may", not "must". There is no legal imperative on the state to parole prisoners in the final phase of a terminal disease. Furthermore, in the spirit of humanism, let's accept that dying a "consolatory" and "dignified" death is not something we should wilfully deny anyone. (Although, it's something that Derby-Lewis and Walus clearly denied Chris Hani).

As the SACP we believe that Derby-Lewis is being treated with medical professionalism in hospital and that when not in hospital the conditions in Pretoria Maximum Security are humane. As a former inmate of that facility, as a guest of the apartheid regime back in the 1970s and 80s, I can vouch that conditions for current inmates are immeasurably more humane than when I was there.

Let's also remember that Derby-Lewis and Walus were sentenced to death in 1993 for Hani's murder. Unlike the dozens of MK cadres and thousands of common law prisoners who were hanged on the gallows in Pretoria Maximum Security, Derby-Lewis and Walus were reprieved from decidedly undignified deaths by the new dispensation driven by the ANC-alliance that abolished the death penalty.

But our arguments against a parole for Derby-Lewis take in a wider set of political considerations. On Derby-Lewis's own admission (at his failed TRC amnesty hearing), the assassination of Comrade Chris Hani was not just another of the thousands of killings of political activists in the apartheid era. With the CODESA negotiations process perched precariously in April 1993, the assassination of one of the most popular resistance heroes was designed to provoke a racial civil war that would sink the negotiations and plunge the country into black and white bloodshed. They were actively planning a catastrophe. The hit-list that was found on Walus immediately after the killing also included Nelson Mandela and Joe Slovo.

Neither Derby-Lewis nor Walus have expressed any remorse for their actions, nor have they implicated any others in what was, nonetheless, manifestly a much wider conspiracy. This has made them heroes in ultra-right extremist circles in SA and to

some extent internationally. Remorse was not a requirement in the TRC's amnesty process, but it should surely be an important factor when considering parole. In the case of a prisoner serving a life sentence, only a court can decide on parole - surely any court would want to consider the propensity for further offending. An ailing and ageing Derby-Lewis may well be unlikely to go out and perform assassinations. Although let us remember that Derby-Lewis was not the actual hit-man in the Hani killing. Derby-Lewis was the one who procured the gun for Walus and it was he, through his wife Gaye, who secured the hit-list with home addresses for Hani, Mandela, Slovo and others.

Even if a paroled Derby-Lewis was no longer inclined to be actively involved in the background of a right-wing conspiracy, he will certainly be regarded as a model by the National Front protestors who have lately been demonstrating on his behalf. And what about Gaye Derby-Lewis's recent outburst? She characterised the SACP as "street terrorists" because we are not supporting the parole application. The claim that Hani was a "communist terrorist" was precisely the justification Derby-Lewis and Walus advanced for the murder in their amnesty applications. There are still nasty people out there and Derby-Lewis has not disassociated himself from them.

Then there is the wider matter of disclosure. I represented the SACP throughout the many months of the Derby-Lewis and Walus amnesty hearings. Our main objective as the SACP was not necessarily to prevent these assassins from getting amnesty (as much as that went against our emotional feelings), but rather the more important political objective was to use the possibility of amnesty to leverage the exposure of the wider conspiracy and the controlling hands behind Comrade Chris Hani's assassination.

In the end, the two failed in their amnesty application largely because they were so busy covering up for others that it was quite clear that their "disclosures" were riddled with inconsistencies. The most obvious cover-up related to the role of Gaye Derby-Lewis in the affair. She had been charged with the two others but found not guilty



by the court that sentenced the two men to death (incidentally Gerrie Nel was the prosecutor in the case). This meant that at the subsequent TRC amnesty hearing it was patently stupid of Derby-Lewis to cover up for his wife, since she was not at risk of imprisonment. So why this cover-up which probably cost them the chance of amnesty? It's possible they were denying her role in order to protect a much wider network.

It was Gaye Derby-Lewis who obtained the hit-list with addresses and descriptions of homes including security features from a journalist, Arthur Kemp. Kemp was working on *The Citizen* at the time but is widely reputed also to have been a security policeman. Kemp was arrested along with the Derby-Lewis couple and Janusz Walus soon after the Hani assassination.

But he was quickly released and mysteriously disappeared out of the country. He re-emerged subsequently in the UK where he became a leading spokesperson for the neo-Nazi National Front. A few years ago the BBC did a television story on his role in SA, the Hani assassination, and his subsequent activities in the UK. One allegation is that in the UK he was posing as an ultra-right-winger on behalf of British intelligence in order to gather information on these circles.

Another murky figure in the Derby-Lewis/Walus circle is Janusz's older brother Witold. Witold had extensive connections to the old SADF and was involved, amongst other things, in selling used army vehicles - possibly a cover for other activities. It was on Witold's small-holding north of Pretoria that Janusz tested the Hani assassination gun.

The gun itself had a peculiar provenance. It was one of the weapons that had been "stolen" from an air-force armoury in a raid by the Orde Boerevolk, led by Piet "Skiet" Rudolph - a former security policeman. Many South African right-wingers still believe that Rudolph (like Arthur Kemp) was still a security policeman at the time, but using right-wingers as part of a false flag operation to intimidate the ANC in the midst of the negotiations process. Derby-Lewis obtained the gun from another right-winger in Krugersdorp, but we were unable in the

amnesty hearing to discover how many hands it has passed through, and how and why, before being used to kill comrade Chris Hani.

Then there was Janusz's "employer", Peter Jackson, a "chemicals transporter". Janusz worked as a truck-driver for Jackson and this involved numerous trips across the SA-Botswana border, ostensibly transporting chemicals and "glass-ware" from the Walus family factory. It is hard to believe that these businesses had such an active market for their products in Botswana. One possibility is Janusz was transporting military equipment to UNITA in southern Angola.

The investigation into Comrade Hani's murder was nominally led by Michael Holmes of the Brixton Murder and Robbery Squad. Peter Alexander was, in theory, a person of interest to the investigation. However, according to the Dutch investigative journalist, Evelyn de Groenink, Holmes was instructed by the Security Police not to pursue Jackson. De Groenink has had access to a written instruction from the Security Police reading: "Inligting oor Peter Jackson sal nie opgevolg nie." ("Investigation into Peter Jackson will not be followed up."). Holmes told de Groenink that: "We didn't need to look at all the evidence because the Security Police put everything we needed in a box for us."

De Groenink has published a book in Dutch linking the assassinations of Dulcie September in Paris, Anton Lubowski in Windhoek, and Chris Hani. When Jacana publishers in South Africa attempted to bring out an English edition, they were threatened with costly pre-publication litigation by a range of arms trade personalities. Witold Walus actually sued Jacana. The English publication was aborted.

Whether de Groenink's wider conspiracy theory, linking the three different assassinations, is well-grounded or not is an open question. She has certainly unearthed important additional information on the Hani assassination not previously known to the SACP. Interestingly, de Groenink believes that Walus and particularly Derby-Lewis were actually convenient fall-guys, "patsies" (a bit like many believe Lee Harvey Oswald to have been in the Kennedy assassination).



By containing the investigation to two bumbling right-wing extremists - a Polish immigrant with a deep anti-communist hatred, and a vainglorious, dad's army white supremacist - those really behind the assassination, according to de Groenink, diverted attention from the intelligence, military and arms dealer networks behind the murder.

If that's the case, then perhaps we are doing Clive Derby-Lewis a favour by not letting him out of prison. There may be dangerous "friends" who would like to ensure that he keeps his mouth shut.



By: Cde Jeremy Cronin is SACP First Deputy General Secretary

Its structure of our economy which ferment racism

Following the overwhelming victory of ANC on May 7 elections there has been series of serious provocative political statement and cartoons publicised by various media institutions masquerading as freedom of speech and or artistic innovation and creativity.

To cite but few on 28 May, Prime Media Group entity Eye Witness News (EWN), depicted black voters as idiots who voted for clowns, DA MP posted voters of ANC as dogs, President Zuma had and his cabinet had their fair of depiction and characterizations as idiots of worst order. While these were condemned as backward racist thinking, but in their essence they sought to project peoples government and their organisations as inherent incapable, corrupt, with no clue of what they are doing, worse newly appointed cabinet as bunch of buffoons.

Correctly so this rose irk among society inparticular black electorate to be insulted in these extreme. It questioned the insensitivity of media houses in fuelling this racism. Unreserved apology, strict measures to keep such disgust from public domain, transformation of media, boycotting of Prime Media, speedily establishment of Media Appeals Tribunal were seriously solicited as argued that this re - emergence of racialism has potential of reversing 20 years of consolidating non racialism.

While one is persuaded by these measures



but it may appear that this is symptom of deeper quagmire, of which the second phase of radical economic transformation has to confront. Few questions have to be pondered central to that is whether apology or not is the affected cartoonist and news house concerned are to be persuaded in that essence of the depiction is grossly insulting or are they apologising because of public pressure that such depiction has no place in public domain.

One is convinced that the latter is correct in that exist a section of society in South Africa which in the main remain white and males whom would want to retain a society wherein a person prospects of success are largely influenced by your colour and location of your birth. In that if you are white your chances of success are way higher than a black child born in rural areas.

Poverty, unemployment and inequality in this country is structural and have racial dimension with Africans at receiving end owing to low skill base, structure of the economy which remain highly monopolised (with means of production still in hands of few white males), less industrialised (dominant mineral, energy finance complex, that operate from extracting minerals from pit to export raw materials) with a weak manufacturing base.

This racism and white supremacy therefore originates from racial structural content of South African economy. It has over time evolved psychologically even among those at receiving end to believe that what is better, new and extra ordinary is associated with white person and what is faulty, backward and incapable with black person. Even today is common to hear reference such as 'umlungu mdala' (white person is old therefore wiser), even today a smell of new clothing is referred that 'inuka umlungu' (smells of white person) and miss kick it's said that 'uyikhabe isqwathi' (kicked it in amaqwathi style).

The essence of these examples is that we live in society wherein general black people are looked down upon and generally cartooned as corrupt and incapable and if things have to in order we must call upon white messiah to rescue these helpless blacks.

But essence of these stereotypes is not

that this racist white people segment perse hate black people but structure of the economy was human engineered through violence, deception and looting to exclude, marginalise and dehumanise African black from wealth of their own country and therefore systematically robbed their dignity and being, only to be useful as "hewers of wood and drawers of water" as eloquently stated by ANC founding General President of the ANC, General President John Langalibalele Dube.

Central therefore in combating racism should not only be hiding racist elements in our society of insisting that they be apologetic for convictions but this second phase of radical economic transformation must be speeded in ensuring that the base structure of our society reflect demographics of its people and majority of South Africans whom happen to be African and black benefit from abundance wealth of their country. In that manner their dignity and being will be restored and equality will not be academic but real.

As long as being black is associated will be poor and white is associated with being rich, these racist elements at times they will in the open at times hidden but will remain a feature of society with economic freedom of black people providing sustainable non-racist, non-sexist, democratic, united and prosperous society.

By Mawethu Rune YCLSA National Deputy Chairperson, National Organiser of the ANC Youth League and a member of the ANCYL National Task Team. He is also a former President of SASCO.

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