



# SACP – PEC BULLETIN

**2<sup>ND</sup> EDITION**

*“Working class unity and leadership now”*

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## Editorial notes:



The South African Communist Party (SACP) in the Eastern Cape Province had a range of activities and campaigns over the past few weeks. At the heart of our campaigns is the struggle to transform lives of the workers and the poor for the better.

We took forward the work of the transformation of the financial sector to serve the people. We successfully convened the Financial Sector Campaign Coalition workshop which was attended by many organs of the people. The workshop established the Financial Sector Campaign Coalition (FSCC) Provincial Chapter which is constituted of one representative from all organs of the people.

The SACP in the province has also taken forward the work in the trade unions, through the trade union commission which was convened on the 03 August 2014 at the East London City Hall.

We also held a successful PEC meeting of party in Mbuyiselo Ngwenda district on the 17 August 2014. The meeting amongst other things set out a framework for the coming SACP Provincial Congress, rooted at safeguarding the unity of our Party and ensuring that the SACP emerges stronger from this congress and ready to play its leading, vanguard role.

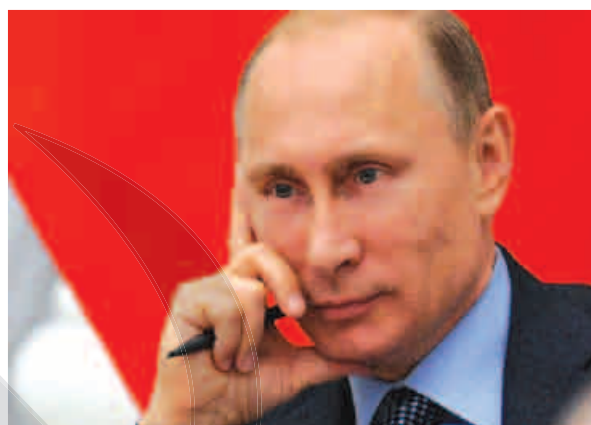
The SACP Provincial Congress should serve

as the basis and the platform to engage on building a strong, vibrant, agile, adaptive and independent Party organisation. The party that will take forward the work outlined in the South African Road to Socialism (SARS), programme of the SACP.

We wish you a happy ready of our 2<sup>nd</sup> edition, and please do not hesitate to share some ideas and suggestions with us.

By:

**Siyabonga Mdodi, SACP Provincial Spokesperson**



Moscow's cooperation with Latin American states is a priority for Russia's foreign policy, President Vladimir Putin told Cuba's Prensa Latina and Russia's Itar-Tass news agencies in an interview.

*Question: Russian leaders do not visit Latin America as often as they visit other parts of the world. What do you think South America and Russia can offer to each other today, not only in terms of economic benefits, but speaking more broadly?*

Vladimir Putin: Relationships between countries and, more importantly, between nations can hardly be evaluated by the quantity of top-level visits. Most important of all is the reciprocal benefit that our cooperation brings. This is the most solid foundation for Russia's varied ties with the Latin American countries.

South or, if we speak more broadly, Latin America is a unique civilisation that is close to us in spirit and culture. Paintings by Mexican muralists and Argentine tango, the Peruvian song El Cóndor Pasa and poems



by Pablo Neruda became the part of world heritage long ago. We are all inspired by the work of the great Colombian writer and philosopher Gabriel García Márquez, and we admire the work of the outstanding Brazilian architect Oscar Niemeyer.

Latin America is a rich source of natural resources – oil and bauxites, fresh water and food. The countries of this region share the interesting experience of creating a fairly stable model of democratic development and economic growth with a considerable social component.

The history of Latin America's fight for independence, for the right to decide its own fate deserves great respect. In our country, people know well of the legendary Bolívar and Martí, Che Guevara and Salvador Allende. The Blazing Continent is not only a description of a certain period in Latin America's past. It is a symbol of striving for a better life, prosperity, progress and social justice.

Today, cooperation with Latin American states is one of the key and very promising lines of Russia's foreign policy. We are united by our devotion to the principles of versatility in world affairs, respect for international law, strengthening the central role of the UN, and ensuring sustainable development. All this makes us natural partners on the international arena and allows us to enhance interaction on a wide range of issues. We are grateful to South Americans for the support of our international initiatives, including outer space demilitarisation, strengthening international information security, and combating the glorification of Nazism. For us it is essential that irrespective of which political power is currently in power in a particular country in the region, there remains a continuity reflecting vital national interests in the development of relations with Russia.

If we speak about economic side of our cooperation, we try to expand trade and economic interaction, above all its investment constituent. We are interested in building fully functional projects, industrial, technological alliances with the participation of the region's countries, in using the potential of the complementary economies

to the full extent, in cooperation on such relevant fields as oil and gas, hydro- and nuclear power engineering, airplane and helicopter construction, infrastructure, and recently – biopharmaceuticals and information technologies.

We will continue to provide Latin Americans with practical assistance in tackling new challenges, including training law enforcement professionals at the regional anti-drug training courses in Managua and Lima. We will expand cooperation during relief efforts following natural disasters.

We believe it is important to expand humanitarian ties, exchanges of students, young people and tourists, and contacts between people. The mutual easing of the visa regime within the zone of our countries will undoubtedly contribute to addressing this task. The visa-free zone covers practically all South American states and a number of Central American and Caribbean countries, and the number of the zone's member countries will increase.

*Question: What do you think of new integration platforms in Latin America, such as the CELAC, UNASUR and ALBA? What relations could Russia develop with these associations?*

Vladimir Putin: We are interested in strong, economically stable and politically independent, united Latin America that is becoming an important part of the emerging polycentric world order. In this region, the traditions of love of freedom and respect for other nations and cultures are strong, and there are practically no serious intergovernmental conflicts or the wish to pursue the divide and rule policy. On the contrary, nations in the region are ready for joint action to protect their shared Latin American home.

Integration processes in Latin America reflect to a large extent the worldwide regional integration tendencies and indicate the pursuit of political consolidation in the region and reinforcement of its influence on global affairs.

I would like to highlight the role of the Community of Latin American and Caribbean



States (CELAC). It is meant as a union of all the countries on the continent, and its aim is to become a major forum for dealing with regional issues without the participation and obtrusive interference of external forces. We welcome the CELAC's readiness to establish connections outside the region, including with Russia. Last year, Moscow saw the meeting of the Foreign Ministers of Russia and the CELAC's extended troika. Now it is important to define concrete areas of cooperation. We are ready for this work.

We think that establishing contacts between CELAC and the countries taking part in the Customs Union and Common Economic Space would open up many new opportunities. Russia, Belarus and Kazakhstan are deepening the integration process. In May, we signed the Agreement on Establishing the Eurasian Economic Union, which will come into force on January 1, 2015. This will create one of the world's biggest common markets with a population of almost 170 million and free movement of capital, goods, services, and labour. This market operates on the basis of universal principles and WTO norms and rules. This will make it a lot easier to do business in the Eurasian region and broaden opportunities for developing mutually advantageous business contacts with foreign partners.

We are open to substantive interaction with all integration formations in the Latin American region. That includes the Union of South American Nations (UNASUR), the Common Market of the South (Mercosur), the Bolivarian Alliance for the Peoples of Our America (ALBA), the Pacific Alliance, the Central American Integration System (SICA) and the Caribbean Community (CARICOM).

It is vital that all these associations, as they develop their external relations, should work towards the unity of Latin American countries, and not for their separation, both politically and ideologically. We hope that consolidation of multilateral cooperation will be an additional factor in the successful development of our bilateral relations with Latin American partners.

## Cuba

*Question: Russia and Cuba have a long tradition of bilateral relations and our countries seek to develop it in the spirit of strategic partnership. What is at the core of Russian-Cuban relations today? How do you see their future?*

Vladimir Putin: At the heart of Russian-Cuban relations lies a long tradition of strong friendship, as well as rich – and in many ways unique – experience of fruitful cooperation. The Russian people have sincere affinity and respect for Cubans. I am convinced that these feelings are mutual.

Our bilateral trade slowed down somewhat in the 1990s and foreign partners from various countries gained a lead on us in a number of sectors. The Canadians, for example, offered Cuba promising joint projects in the mining sector, and the Europeans have been actively developing tourism. We are ready to make up this lost ground.

Today, Cuba is one of Russia's leading partners in the region. Our cooperation is strategic and long-term oriented. We closely coordinate our foreign policy, including within multilateral organisations. Our positions coincide on many global and regional issues.

The main objective of our bilateral agenda is to expand our economic relations on the basis of the intergovernmental Trade, Economic, Scientific and Technical Cooperation Programme for 2012–2020. We are working on some major projects in industry and high technologies, energy, civil aviation, the peaceful use of outer space, medicine and biopharmaceuticals.

Increasing humanitarian exchanges is one of the most important areas of our cooperation. Hosting Russian music and theatre performances and large-scale exhibitions has become a good tradition in Cuba. We will continue to develop youth and scientific contacts, as well as cooperation in education and tourism.

In short, we are optimistic about the future of Russian-Cuban relations. There are excellent prospects in virtually all key areas of bilateral cooperation.



*Question: The level of trade and investment between Moscow and Havana is not as high as that of political and diplomatic relations. What steps could Russia suggest to increase Russian investments in Cuba and to substantially boost trade between the two countries? Are there any major projects in Cuba that are going to involve Russian companies?*

Vladimir Putin: Russian-Cuban trade and investment relations have a great potential. In order to realise it effectively and on a regular basis we have established an Intergovernmental Commission. Its twelfth meeting is scheduled to be held in autumn 2014 in Havana. We have established close cooperation between our business organisations – the Russian-Cuban and Cuban-Russian Business Councils. Our businesses traditionally take an active part in the annual Havana International Trade Fair: in 2013, 50 Russian companies presented their products.

We believe there are real opportunities to bring our cooperation to a totally new level, including by implementing major joint projects.

In particular, in August 2013, Zarubezhneft started drilling the first development well in the Boca de Jaruco oilfield.

Our short-term prospects include the development of new oilfields in the Cuban offshore area. To these ends, Zarubezhneft and Rosneft engage in active cooperation with Cupet, Cuba's state oil company.

INTER RAO is planning to join the construction of power units for the Maximo Gomez and East Havana TPP. The supply of Russian electric power equipment to Cuba is well underway.

A substantial number of Russian companies – specialising, in particular, in the production of reinforced plastic goods, auto spare parts, tractor assembly and installation of heavy equipment for the railway industry – have shown interest in closer cooperation due to the development of the Mariel special economic zone in Cuba.

The construction of a major transport hub is

another large-scale project currently under development with Russia's and Cuba's involvement, as well as the possibility of attracting investment from third countries. It involves upgrading the port of Mariel and building a modern international airport with a cargo terminal in San Antonio de los Banos.

We attach great importance to high technology cooperation. In particular, active work is underway to create GLONASS ground infrastructure on the island, to provide Cuba with products, services and technologies in remote sensing and satellite telecommunications.

Russia wrote off 90 percent of the Cuban debt on loans granted in the Soviet times.

This unprecedented step also testifies to the strategic nature of our bilateral relations. The total debt is huge, amounting to more than \$35 billion. A relevant Intergovernmental Agreement was signed in October 2013 and now it is in its final stage of ratification. In addition, the remaining 10 percent, or \$3.5 billion, will be spent by Cuba itself on significant investment projects, which Russia is going to select and negotiate together with the Cuban side. These projects are aimed at social and economic development of the Republic. We expect that these investments will prove fruitful.

*Question: What are the prospects for the traditional ties between our countries in the humanitarian sphere, culture and tourism?*

Vladimir Putin: We consider it our priority to develop ties in these areas. Tens of thousands of Cubans have studied in Russia. Annually, we give Cuban students the opportunity to study at Russian universities with the expenses covered by the state budget. One hundred scholarships were allocated to Cuba for the 2014 2015 academic year.

Joint theatre and music projects have always been very successful. A striking example is the triumph of the Anna Karenina production by the Vakhtangov Theatre last October in Havana. It was recognised by Cubans as the best foreign performance of 2013.

Russia takes an active part in the annual Havana International Book Fair, including



the 23rd fair, which was held in February. We value this opportunity to present Russian classical and modern literature to Cuban readers.

We are very pleased that after a long break Cuba has re-joined the International Association of Teachers of Russian Language and Literature. A group of Russian language experts was established at the Cuban Linguistic Association, and specialised courses were launched at the Havana University.

The Orthodox Church in Havana represents an authentic monument to Russian-Cuban friendship. Its construction was initiated in 2008 by Fidel Castro, the leader of the Cuban Revolution.

A delegation of Cuban youth visited our country less than a month ago in the framework of the New Generation Programme of study tours to Russia for young representatives of political, civil, academic and business circles from around the world. Such trips have already been organised for two years. We hope that they will continue on a regular basis.

We consider tourism cooperation to be mutually beneficial and promising. Some 70,000 Russians visited Cuba last year. Currently, we are taking steps to increase the number of carriers offering direct flights between the two countries. Thus, we are going to ensure sustainable growth of tourist flow from Russia to Cuba.

## Argentina

*Question: What are the priority areas for developing relations between Russia and Argentina? What are your key expectations from the visit to this country? What goals do you need to achieve in order to call it a success?*

Vladimir Putin: Russia and Argentina are bound together by more than a century-long history of close ties and strong mutual attraction. They say that there is some Russian blood in every sixth Argentinian. Many people from our country found their second home in Argentina. In 2015, we

will celebrate the 130th anniversary of diplomatic relations between our nations.

Today, Argentina is one of Russia's key strategic partners in Latin America, the UN and the G20. Our approaches to the key issues in global politics are either similar or identical. We share the belief that there is a need to create a new and more equitable polycentric world order based on international law with the central and coordinating role of the UN. In May 2014, the Russian Federation and the Argentine Republic signed a Joint Statement on Not Being the First to Place Arms in Outer Space, which is a good example of cooperation between our countries.

I appreciate our constructive and confidential dialogue with President Cristina Fernandez de Kirchner. I view my visit to Buenos Aires as an opportunity to discuss the full range of pressing issues of the bilateral and international agenda, as well as to continue a fruitful exchange of views on ways to strengthen relations in various fields and to outline joint and mutually beneficial cooperation projects.

*Question: The current level of trade between Russia and Argentina is relatively low. What steps do you consider necessary to make a breakthrough in economic relations between our two countries?*

Vladimir Putin: In 2009, our countries signed an Action Plan for Strategic Partnership, which has been a basis for our fruitful cooperation over the last years. We have made significant progress on the goals outlined in it.

When dealing with numbers, it is important to compare the right things. Over the last decade, trade between Russia and Argentina has grown six-fold and reached a stable level of \$1.8 billion, making Argentina one of Russia's leading trade partners in Latin America.

Our cooperation is mutually advantageous. For example, we buy the necessary volumes of agricultural produce, which is in high demand in our country, while Russia-produced turbines account for a quarter of the total power generation in Argentina.



However, projects implemented by Russian and Argentinian businesses over the recent years in such areas as renewable energy, power generation, oil and gas, transport machinery and a number of others, have not yielded a substantial increase in bilateral trade. We have work to do in that area.

We are planning to pay particular attention to enhancing technology and investment cooperation, particularly in such areas as energy, peaceful nuclear energy and mechanical engineering. We also see good prospects for further collaboration in the Antarctic. I plan to discuss all these issues during the talks with President Cristina Fernandez de Kirchner.

*Question: In March, there was information that Argentina may become the sixth BRICS member. This idea was supported by three of the five member countries – India, Brazil and South Africa. What is Russia’s attitude to it? Is the expansion of BRICS advisable? What are the criteria for other countries’ possible accession to BRICS?*

Vladimir Putin: Russia welcomes the Argentinean authorities’ intention to work more closely with BRICS. It is quite possible for BRICS to enter into strategic partnership with Argentina, as with other big developing countries, in both politics and the economy.

However, the expansion of BRICS is not being considered in practice at the moment. First, we should work out the numerous cooperation formats already created within of our union. There are no strict criteria for other states’ accession to BRICS. Each case is considered individually.

On the whole, today, more and more countries see the potential of this association. That is why, in the future, the issue of gradually expanding BRICS is likely to be raised.

## **Brazil**

*Question: How do you assess the status and prospects of the strategic partnership between Russia and Brazil? What key issues and specific proposals are you planning to discuss in Brasilia?*

Vladimir Putin: Our bilateral cooperation is of strategic importance, as Brazil is a responsible member of the international community whose political influence is steadily increasing; it is also the largest country in Latin America and one of the leading economies in the world. It is enough to mention its active participation in BRICS, the G20 and a number of Latin American regional organisations (CELAC, MERCOSUR, UNASUR).

We support Brazil as a deserving and strong candidate for a permanent seat on the UN Security Council. I am sure that this powerful and fast-developing country is destined to play an important role in the emerging polycentric world order.

I want to emphasise that Brazil is one of Russia’s key partners in Latin America. We have long-standing relations of friendship, mutual respect and trust. We are actively developing political dialogue, defence, scientific, technological and humanitarian cooperation, as well as economic and investment ties.

Over the last ten years, bilateral trade has grown almost three-fold and reached \$5.5 billion in 2013. Our companies maintain close contacts through the Brazil-Russia Business Council. The citizens of our countries no longer need visas to travel. Dozens of Russia’s best universities that joined Brazilian educational programme Science without Borders are ready to welcome students from Brazil. Cultural exchanges have become a regular practice.

During the visit, we want to discuss areas for further developing cooperation and to outline new joint projects in energy, investment, innovation, agriculture, science and technology. We plan to sign a large package of documents relating to a variety of industries, including between specialised agencies, public and private companies, and research and educational institutions.

*Question: The current level of economic and trade relations between Russia and Brazil is far below the potential that has been proclaimed by the countries’ leaders. What steps do you consider necessary to accelerate the realisation of this potential?*



*What are the obstacles that slow us down and prevent us from taking bilateral trade to a completely new level?*

Vladimir Putin: Indeed, despite the good results achieved, there is still an untapped potential in trade and economic cooperation with Brazil. Moreover, there was a decrease in bilateral trade (3.3% in 2013), caused by global economic instability. In order to address the situation we need to diversify our trade ties by increasing the share of high-tech products and engineering goods, as well as by developing cooperation in aviation, energy and agriculture.

Russian companies are interested in the Brazilian market. Our countries' businesses have launched a number of successful investment projects in energy, engineering and pharmaceutical industries. For example, Russia's Rosneft and the Brazilian HRT oil and gas company are jointly exploring and producing hydrocarbons in the Solimões river basin. In the state of Santa Catarina, the Power Machines corporation is setting up production of hydro turbines of up to 100 MW for their subsequent delivery to the markets of Brazil and other MERCOSUR countries. BIOCAD is developing a research, education and training centre in Brazil, designed to produce modern innovative medicines for the treatment of cancer.

I am sure that such projects will help bring our bilateral trade and economic cooperation to a more mature level, which meets the current and future capabilities of our developing countries.

*Question: Brazil will pass the baton of hosting a world football championship to Russia. Are you following the FIFA World Cup? Which part of Brazil's experience in preparing and hosting the event has attracted your attention and can be taken on board while organising the 2018 World Cup?*

Vladimir Putin: I try to follow the World Cup as far as my work schedule allows. The Latin American countries' teams have put on a display of football that has real flare and talent. Unfortunately, our team did not leave the group, but, in my opinion, they tried their best.

At the invitation of Brazil and FIFA Presidents, I am going to visit the final match of the Championship to attend the ceremony of passing the baton from Brazil to Russia. In 2018, Russia will host this most popular global sporting event for the first time in its history.

In February-March, we successfully hosted the Winter Olympic and Paralympic Games in Sochi and know exactly what a challenge it is to organise such a huge event. We are analysing Brazil's experience very carefully. Your country is yet to host the Olympic Games in 2016. Representatives of several ministries and organisations, including the Ministry of Sports and the Russia-2018 Organising Committee, are in constant contact with Brazilian colleagues. They have already visited Brazil and I am sure they will go there again more than once.

It is worth noting that Russia plans to take the FIFA World Cup a step further in some areas. For example, we passed a federal law establishing a special visa regime for foreigners who help organise the 2018 Championship, and enabling not only the official participants, such as the athletes, referees, coaches and others, but also the fans to visit Russia without visas right before and during the competition. The history of football championships has never seen anything like this before.

I am sure that the World Cup in Brazil will be a bright page in the history of football. I wish the Brazilian organisers every success in completing it. As for us, in 2018, we will do everything possible to give the world an unforgettable football celebration and show genuine Russian hospitality.

*Question: How much attention will be paid during the talks in Latin America to the issues of the modern world order, which enables some players on the international arena to unilaterally claim significantly more extensive rights, including to spy even on those leaders that they call partners and to hack their phones?*

Vladimir Putin: The 21st century world is globalised and interdependent. Therefore, no state or group of countries can unilaterally tackle major international problems and



any attempts to build a separate "oasis of stability and security" are doomed to failure.

In order to meet numerous challenges and threats we have to stop trying to impose development models on other countries. This approach has repeatedly proven its ineffectiveness. It does not just fail to facilitate conflict resolution, but leads to instability and chaos in international affairs.

Today, it is especially important to consolidate the international community's efforts to ensure equal and indivisible security, as well as to resolve disputes through the application of international law and with the central coordinating role of the UN.

As for the facts of cyber espionage that you mentioned, it not only amounts to overt hypocrisy in relationships between allies and partners, but also a direct violation of the state's sovereignty, an infringement on human rights and an invasion of privacy. We are looking forward to jointly developing an international information security system.

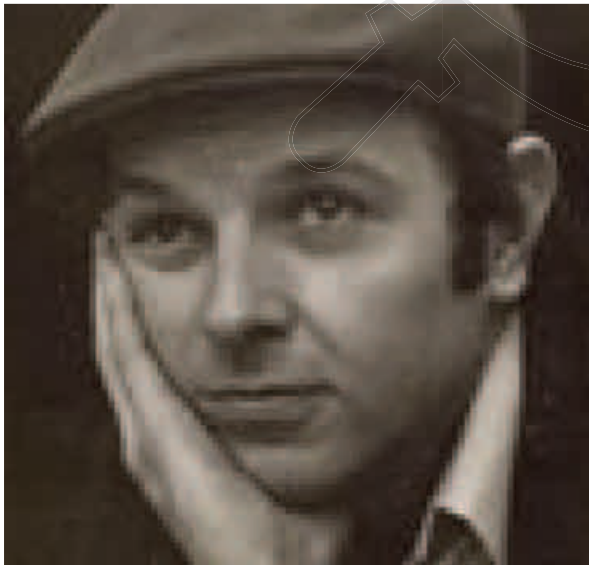
South Africa.

There several corners where such hopes have been raised. One is the EFF. Another is COSATU. Another is NUMSA. Another is AMCU. In all of these cases the question is the same, with variations: What is the relation of unions to politics? Or: How can the organised power of the working class be leveraged so as to gain political advantage? Or: Should unions wash their hands of politics, as the junior federation, FEDUSA, and the white-legacy union, Solidarity, pretend to do?

These are not new questions in South African history, or in world history.

When COSATU was formed in 1985, it replaced a short-lived "workerist" federation, FOSATU. "Workerism" is the same as "syndicalism", meaning the belief, or pretence, that workers' unions can "go it alone" without the need for political parties. In fact, workerism did not completely die in COSATU, as we will see. But first, a little history will be of use.

## The many dilemmas of unions



When the ANC's share of the vote in the 2014 elections fell back to the 1994 level of 62%, the idea that there might be a sudden, Brazilian World Cup 2014 type collapse of the ANC became exciting to some people in

One of the biggest monolithic organisations in South African history was the Industrial and Commercial Workers' Union (ICU) that rose and fell in the 1920s. It was "one big union". Like the American "Wobblies", it believed that combination of workers alone would be enough to solve a country's problems.

The ICU failed. Its failure led directly to the alliance between the general liberation movement and the communists, an alliance that remained strong, and included trade unions, first under SACTU, and then under COSATU.

Marxists, since the early days of working-class combination, have argued that, one, the working class needs allies and cannot afford to be isolated, and, two, the working class needs a dedicated, profession political party, in addition to trade unions. Marx and Engels cut their political teeth contradicting the syndicalists of the early 1840s. It was in the fires of those controversies that Marxism was born.

Lenin's famous 1902 title and question,



“What Is To Be Done?”, was about the same matter. Lenin’s way of answering his own question was to outline the vanguard, professional-revolutionary organisation that achieved spectacular success only fifteen years later.

Organised workers, plus the vanguard party, plus allies from other classes (including, but not limited to, peasants) was a winning formula.

To say that unions are “reformist” is not to pronounce a political curse, or an insult. It is simply to say that unions are creatures of the capitalist labour-market.

They exist to strike deals with capitalists. To transcend the limited scope of unions, the working class needs its own political party, and it needs allies.

This tripartite combination is, in South Africa, what we call The Alliance. It has so obviously succeeded, that it presents its opponents, or rivals, with only two choices: Confront and destroy; or: Imitate to overtake; and of these two, the latter is the only one with theoretical chance of success.

So it is that NUMSA, while scorning all other unions and political parties, finds it necessary to propose a united front, even though, to date, it is a united front of one.

NUMSA wants to reproduce the features of the Alliance, but with the current leaders of NUMSA in the driving seat. Like Pepsi-Cola in relation to Coke, it is likely to be playing catch-up forever.

Also playing copy-cat is the Democratic so-called Alliance, the DA.

Now the EFF has suffered its first split, less than one year after its formation. The split is over who is to be the preferred trade-union counterpart. The Chief favours a marriage with AMCU (though his love is not yet requited). Those favouring other liaisons are said to be “defining themselves outside the EFF” and are expelled without process or ceremony.

The DA and the EFF look different, but they are cut using the same cookie-cutter. They are fakes.

The troubles of COSATU are not fundamentally different. Corruption is a serious charge; and the charge of sexual predation on a young married subordinate, in the workplace, is unconscionable in a trade-union-related office.

But the third formal disciplinary charge against the COSATU General Secretary – that of making policy announcements, as COSATU, without a mandate from its affiliate unions – is where the heart of the matter can be found.

COSATU walks like a political party, and talks like a political party, but this does not mean that it actually is a political party, because COSATU has no members. It only has affiliates, which are trade unions.

COSATU only exists to serve the common needs of its affiliates.

COSATU’s malady is essentially a delusion of grandeur, whereby it imagines, or its General Secretary imagines, that COSATU could dictate to the ANC, and ignore the Communist party, but still claim these two as allies.

This delusion of grandeur can be discerned on a daily basis in the stream of arrogant press releases with which COSATU berates the media.

Its ambition once had a name, “political centre”, or otherwise “alliance pact”, but COSATU’s Alliance partners, after the Polokwane Conference in 2007, and the parliamentary election victory of 2009, decisively refrained from putting their necks into that particular noose.

With the assistance of a court of law, the General Secretary of COSATU is now back in his bully pulpit, holier than everyone. His outstanding disciplinary charges are jammed in a closet, not quite out of sight. Zwelinzima Vavi is still in a position to obstruct the processes of the federation, delay and collapse meetings, and intrigue with factions.

But after all is said and done, none of these contenders has more than a shadow of the experience, and actual, physical existence,



of The Alliance. The ANC leads.

Syndicalism never worked. Confronting the alliance with workerism will fail.

Repeated attempts to imitate the ANC and the Alliance that it leads may be made, but they will also fail.

The ANC will not be beaten at its own game.

**By - Dominic Tweedie SACP Gauteng PEC member.**

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## Message to FAWU Congress:

Cde Chairperson  
COSATU General Secretary Cde Vavi  
FAWU Provincial and Local Leadership  
Members of Tripartite Alliance

Cde Delegates I bring you warm revolutionary greetings from the South African Communist Party.

I am honoured to present the message of support to the FAWU Provincial Congress.

FAWU predecessor Food and Canning Workers Union (FCWU ) was established amongst others by Cde Ray Alexander a tried and tested Communist and served in the top leadership of CPSA in 1934 and 1935. Cde Ray Alexander relinquished the position of being the General Secretary of FCWU after served with a banning order by the apartheid Minister of Justice, Swart for her contribution in the journal of CPSA – The Guardian.

After the banning order the SACTU President wrote in 1953, "We and our members are fully aware that Ray Alexander has been expelled for life long devotion to the cause of the oppressed. The men who have done this are the representatives of the rich and the employing class. Nothing that they do the Swarts and Schoeman and other enemies of the workers will destroy what Ray Alexander built up or up root her from our hearts" Did they succeed? Not at all the freedom enjoyed by all South Africans today

is attributed from hard efforts of what your leader stood for. Cde delegates FAWU must redouble efforts to strengthen Trade Union Movement in our country to prevent further exploitation of workers by the rich and the employing class.

A weak Trade Union can never benefit workers but will assist the capitalist class to make supper profits at the expense of the workers. Cde Chairperson the Food and Allied Workers Union must work tirelessly in strengthening COSATU as it represents the interests of the organized labor because your predecessor the FCWU was amongst the founding affiliates of the SACTU. This Trade Union (FAWU) became part of Congress Movement since inception.

One of your stalwarts Cde Oscar Mpetha was the President of the United Democratic Front (UDF) which kept fires burning at home whist the ANC and other political were burned. Cde Mpetha who was jailed for the ANC political activities took orders from the ANC President Oliver Tambo to establish the United Democratic Front. I recall his political intervention as UDF President at Feather Market Hall in 1983 when the Conference could not agree on whether the Coloreds and Indians should be allowed to participate in the Tricameral Parliament espoused by the Kornoof Bills.

Cde Mpetha never hesitated in directing the Conference that nobody amongst the oppressed should take part in dummy institutions. Cde Chairperson deliberately I cite the role played by the tried and tested Trade Unionists from this giant COSATU affiliate. If we want to remain in the footsteps of The FAWU founders let us persuade some amongst us that are fed up with the ANC; COSATU and the SACP.

We are not friends in this revolution let us engage dearly on issues that detract us from the main revolutionary stream with clear conscience that what we have achieved in terms of democratic breakthrough many people died ; incarcerated in prisons; disappeared. The working class must never be allowed to be divided as the working class struggle is the noblest cause that all we can strive for. The key SACP message in this Congress is the Unity of the Working Class.



As we are busily preparing to convene the 7<sup>th</sup> Eastern Cape SACP Provincial Congress we appeal to FAWU Members as members of the SACP in various Voting District Branches and Industrial Units to participate debates towards the Congress. Cde Chairperson our participation in these debates matter most because decisions taken in any Congress are binding to all and may be changed after the next Congress. It does not help moaning from the sidelines because the SACP; COSATU; ANC belong to the people. Leaders are the caretakers of these organizations serving the interests of membership and they come and go but organizations remain. For the SACP 7<sup>th</sup> Congress I challenge FAWU members as SACP members to participate in enriching the South African Road to Socialism (SARS) which is comprised of the following sections:

- Why Socialism as the SACP Programme? Clearly only the reach that can believe that Capitalism is the solution to the problems ravaging South Africa. Capitalism is unable to rectify the destructive route which has dehumanized the peoples of the world. Undoubtedly a socialist world based on social needs is imperative rather than the world of super profits for the chosen few.
- Colonialism of a Special Type. This comes from the SACP 1962 Programme where the partly correctly so discovered challenges confronted the working class in our country: exploiters and exploited co-existing in the same society and the imperialist implantation of a highly developed capitalist system into this colonial setting. The ruling class minority is still at an advantage economically at the expense of the majority despite the ANC leading our country.
- National Democratic Revolution. As the SACP we still believe the direct to route to Socialism is through NDR and there is no short cut. Let us all work tirelessly to lay the foundation of Socialism during this phase.

- SACP and Socialism. There is no blue print document on how we shall attain Socialism. It is a transitional economy where some remnants of capitalism will still be in place. The SACP believes the advancement to Socialism will be through defending; advancing and deepening our democratic gains. What is Socialism? Houses to people without shelter; education to uneducated; medication to sick people; free water and electricity to all etc.
- SACP and the State Power. This debate is ongoing. Central to the National Democratic Revolution is the State Power. Undoubtedly this will be achieved through strong working class power supported by multi-class national democratic movement.
- SACP and the South African Economy. Our economy is capitalist dominated and does not cater for the majority but still enhancing the interests of the minority; property class etc. Our economy needs socializing monopoly sector; local economic development etc.
- SACP and the Work Place. CST still persists in the work place. The SACP must work closely with Trade Unions at the work place through Industrial Units to wage struggles beyond wages. Work place democracy must be enhanced for popular shop floor decisions.
- SACP and Communities  
The SACP Branches must exist throughout our communities to ensure mobilization of working class for Socialism and enhance peoples power in Villages; Townships; Farms; Squatter Camps; Miellie Fields etc.
- SACP and the Battle of Ideas. The SACP must contest views that are contrary to its principles in order to win the hegemony of society. Media space must not be left uncontested because the opinion makers are too influential in misleading society.



- SACP and environmental sustainability. The struggle for Socialism must ensure that humanity develops a harmonious, sustainable relationship with nature.

Let me conclude by urging all FAWU members to acquaint themselves with our SARS document for further engagement in our Congress as SACP members.

My key message again is the Unity of the Working Class, "Workers of the World Unite, you have nothing to lose but your bonding chains" FAWU members are Workers and as such an integral part of the Working Class.

**By: Vuyani Limba, SACP EC Provincial Treasurer.**

## **The development of trade unions in South Africa and the challenges facing workers**

**By Comrade Xola Phakathi**



## **The rise of industrial economy in SA and trade unionism**

The discovery of mineral resources, diamond in 1867 in Kimberley and gold in 1884-1886 in Johannesburg heralded the beginning of the Industrial economy in South Africa. Under the monopoly control of De Beers Consolidated Mines in Kimberley the host of Small Claimholders who participated in the "rush" were squeezed out. De Beers produced 90% percent of the world's supply of diamonds. By the end of the 19th century they had netted their owners no less than 700 million Pounds in gross returns.

Africans provided cheap labour to the booming mining economy, while the mining houses sourced their skilled labour from Britain and other parts of Europe. Imbued with the spirit of European craft unionism, colour and national prejudice, the miners



and other white workers fought courageously against the mining millionaires, but together with their government showed no sympathy with their exploited and oppressed African counterparts.

These struggles by white mineworkers came to a head in May 1913 when 68 thousand Rand miners downed tools demanding trade union recognition, and an 8 hour day. General Smuts who was the Minister of Defence at the time declared a martial law to suppress the strike, killing a number of workers in street clashes; nine union leaders were arrested and illegally deported to England.

## **The formation of working class political parties**

The development of trade unions was accompanied as in other capitalist countries by the formation of working class political parties with more or less clearly defined socialist objectives.

In 1902 a branch of the British Social Democratic Federation was established in the Cape, and a similar group was formed in Johannesburg in the same year; all these were branches of British Bodies.

The first nationally based African workers organisation, the Industrial and Commercial Workers Union (ICU) was formed in January 1919. Its initial base was amongst Cape Town dock workers, under the leadership of Clements Kadalie who was an immigrant from Malawi. The ICU extended its influence to all four provinces by the mid 1920's. In the late 1920s the base shifted to Natal and by the 1930s it had virtually collapsed into localised and weak factions. Despite its weakness the ICU was instrumental in founding a tradition of Black workers militancy. One of the victories of the ICU was a successful court challenge against a Durban Municipality by-law ordering all Africans to be dipped in disinfectant tanks along with their belongings before entering the City.

The lack of political clarity by Kadalie led to him purging all Communists in the ICU.

Capable organisers such as James La Guma, Edward Khaile, J.B Marks and many others holding key positions in the ICU, were purged. Kadalie then turned his attention to White, liberal organisations with mother-country connections back in Britain for assistance. This was the beginning of the end of the ICU.

The rapid disintegration of the ICU created the conditions for re-assessment of strategy and tactics in building the trade union movement amongst the African workers. Aside from the continuity of individual organisers there was a qualitative break between the ICU structures of general unionism of the 1920's and the new unions that were to emerge in the 1930's. The major distinguishing feature was organising along industrial lines. Only in this way could workers directly challenge employers as the cause of their exploitation and could their organisation reflect the overall changes in the political economy associated with industrialisation.

## **Communists built the progressive trade union movement**

By the late 1930's the African trade unions, most of them formed by members of the Communist Party, initiated a process of forming a trade union federation. These efforts coincided with the political education classes run by the Communist Party in its drive to bring Africans into the party and reverse the old pattern of White domination and often white prejudice. Among those recruits were Africans who later played leading roles in the trade union and liberation movements, Johannes Nkosi, Gana Makabeni and Moses Kotane.

Although the Party line had called for non-racial trade unions as the ideal, the reality was that Black workers first needed to solidify their collective strength against, not only capital, but also white workers who were firmly committed to the industrial colour-bar. It was against this background that Gana Makabeni insisted that Whites



should not fill office in any affiliated unions as he pointed out in 1939: "must we have European leaders even in our association?" Nonetheless in 1941 the Council of Non-European trade unions "CNETU" was formed and led the African workers struggle throughout the 1940s.

The inaugural meeting was presided over by Mose Kotane, Gana Makabeni was elected President, Dan Tloome Vice President, David Gosani Secretary and James Phillips Trustee. At this time the African trade unions were strong and confident enough to pursue a serious campaign for non-racial working class unity.

The ascendance to Power by the Nationalist Party in 1948, and its failure to control the White labour force, led to the break-up of White Union. The National Party used the Suppression of Communism Act of 1950 to get rid of what they termed foreign agitators who previously had the relative protection of the state.

The CNETU campaign for a National minimum wage of 40s or 2 pounds a week for all unskilled workers, but the increases allowed were in most cases held to 25s to 27s per week in Transvaal industries.

In 1946 African Mineworkers strike was a watershed in the struggle of the people against class exploitation and oppression.

The largest strike in South Africa (in terms of participants) and led by migrant workers, those who are at the base of cheap labour system under the able leadership of J.B. Marks.

Although CNETU concentrated on organising black workers, in October 1954 a group of progressive unionists threw their efforts into building non-racial trade unionism in South Africa. This led to the formation of SACTU in March 1955, bringing together unions that were affiliated to White Trades and Labour Council (T&LC) and CNETU unions; 66 delegates from 33 unions converged at Trades Hall in Johannesburg on the founding conference of SACTU on the 5th - 6th March 1955.

At its founding conference, SACTU declared that:

*"the future of the people of South Africa is in the hands of its workers. Only the working class, in alliance with progressive minded sections of the community can build a happy life for all South Africans, a life free from unemployment, insecurity and poverty, free from racial hatred and oppression, a life of vast opportunities for all people.*

*"But the working class can only succeed in this great and noble endeavour if it is united and strong, if it is conscious of its inspiring responsibility. The workers of South Africa need a united trade union movement in which all sections of the working class can play their part unhindered by prejudice of racial discrimination. Only such a truly united movement can serve effectively the interests of higher wages and better conditions of life and work as well as the ultimate objective of complete emancipation for which our forefathers have fought.*

*"We firmly declare that the interests of all workers are alike, whether they be European or Non-European, African, Coloured, Indians, English, Afrikaans, of Jewish. We resolve that this co-ordinating body of trade unions shall strive to unite all workers in its ranks, without discrimination and without prejudice.*

*"We resolve that this body shall determinedly seek to further and protect the interests of all workers and that its guiding motto shall be the universal slogan of working class solidarity: AN INJURY TO ONE IS AN INJURY TO ALL".*

SACTU lived by this declaration throughout its existence, while in May 1955 CNETU officially dissolved. The leadership of SACTU was drawn from all racial groups and across gender lines.

Comrades would recall that during this period, the Nationalist Party was consolidating Afrikaner Nationalism, and institutionalising apartheid and racial segregation. The Communist Party was its first victim, banned under the Suppression of Communism Act of 1950.



## Alliance with the congress movement and apartheid clampdown

True to its declaration, SACTU firmly allied itself with the Congress Alliance during its existence. This led to the banning of SACTU leaders, harassment, arrests and house arrests because its leaders were also leaders of the ANC.

In 1956, the apartheid state clamped down on almost the entire leadership of the Congress Movement, in what was to be known as the 1956 Treason trial; which ended in 1961.

The blanket bans proclamation came into effect on 1 February 1963. The entire leadership of SACTU was banned, and as such forced to leave the country to operate outside, mobilising international solidarity and building blocks towards a new Trade Union Federation.

The release of some comrades from Robben Island in the early 70s led to the revival of political activity and the underground structures of the broad movement including the Trade Union Movement. This contributed to the Durban strikes of 1973.

The strikes led to the formation of Industrial Trade Unions with the assistance of some SACTU activists who have been lying low since the 1960's.

The National Union of South African Students (NUSAS) established a wages commission where students such as Halton Cheadle, Alec Irwin, John Copelyn, Gordon Young and others operated. The process of forming the unions was painstakingly slow and incremental. This changed only on 1 May 1979 when the first report of the Wiehan Commission was released. It recommended the recognition of the right of African Workers to form and belong to trade unions.

The report noted that the unions were growing, and that by leaving them outside

the official system they would escape control. Indeed this right to organise was to be controlled through the process of registration, and as such contract, and foreign workers should not be organised, foreign in the context of (TBVC States).

The consumer boycotts and Ford workers' strike in 1979 signalled the emergence of new breed of unionism which also rejected registration, arguing that it involved collaboration with State structures. SACTU backed this position. These unions emerged in different forms, with the most notable being SAAWU in East London.

In Port Elizabeth the United Auto Workers (UAW) dissidents at Ford formed Motor Assemblers and Component Workers Union of South Africa MACWUSA led by Thozamile Botha, and the Black Municipal Workers Union led by Joe Mavi. These were called Community unions and formed the core of township civic organisation. They aligned more openly with the ANC political perspectives and later affiliated to the United Democratic Front (UDF) in 1983.

## The formation of COSATU

A number of re-alignment took place in the post Wiehahn years. Co-operation with SACTU in exile led to the unity talks which started in 1981 and culminated to the formation of COSATU in Durban in 1985.

In August 1981, 100 representatives from 29 Unions met at Langa Cape Town. The Summit chaired by SAAWU's Thozamile Gqwetha succeeded in placing unity in the agenda. Few months later one of the participants Dr Neil Agett died in police custody, at John Vorster square while in detention. The unity talks led to the launching Congress of COSATU on the 30th November 1985, at the University of Natal, 760 delegates, from 33 unions representing 460 000 organised workers. Cyril Ramaphosa had been chosen earlier as the convenor of the launching congress.

Cyril Ramaphosa opened the Congress with a short address: "The formation of this Congress represents an enormous victory for the working class in this country. Never



before have workers been so powerful, so united and so poised to make a mark on society. We all agree that the struggle of workers on the shop floor cannot be separated from wider political struggle for liberation in this country”.

COSATU adopted the following principles:

1. Workers control
2. Paid up membership
3. One union one industry
4. Non-racialism

The political complexion of the new federation was left for another day. However, it was clear that the Federation was to associate itself with Congress movement politics, as well as Barayi’s announcements as he took the podium as a newly elected President.

## Contending ideologies and political orientation

The different organisational cultures, and complex ideological strands nearly collapsed the Federation. The emergence of Workerists and Charterists as they were called due to the adoption of the Freedom Charter, was a contradiction that produced a forward movement.

The workerist block claimed that the workers can on their own pursue the struggle for socialism outside the broader progressive alliance. On the other hand, it was argued that there can be no fundamental pursuance of a socialist order until the resolution of the national question and therefore COSATU should form alliances with progressive organisations. The latter won the day and this ideological strand remains to this day.

Over the years, COSATU grew both numerically and politically. In the post 1994 era, the membership of COSATU grew rapidly from 460 000 numbers in 1985 to 2 million in 1995. This numerical strength does not necessarily translate to ideological strength.

The 1994 democratic breakthrough saw a sizable number of unionist occupying key positions in the State, resulting in the leadership turnover in the unions.

The key question is whether the founding principles of the trade union movement are of essence to today’s unionists, the culture of mandated reflections, and report back, participation of members in the daily life of a trade union in the context of workers control, and so forth.

## Deadly threat facing the trade union movement

The most deadly threat facing the trade union movement today is money which flows in a variety of veins. Proximity to union investment is what inspires some to contest leadership positions for the sole control of the money. There are many service providers who have taken charge of different areas in worker life and between trade unions and employers.

Inability to grasp the historical relations of the Congress Movement and the appreciation of the roles of each ally, to the extent that employer-employee relations are allowed to encroach into the political space where the alliance is perceived to be a bargaining council.

The resuscitation of workerist tendencies, and the absence of appreciation of the prevailing material conditions and balance of forces. The complexion of the employer has also changed, and as such there is an expectation that black employers would be sensitive in treating black workers.

Unemployment, Poverty, Inequality is what confronts society today, which then suggests new policy instruments to address this triple challenge. These cannot be resolved immediately, and they remain a fertile ground for demagogues.

***Comrade Xola Phakathi is former COSATU Eastern Cape Provincial Secretary***



## **"For as long as we live, Chris Hani will never die"**



*"Socialism is not about big concepts and heavy theory. Socialism is about decent shelter for those who are homeless. It is about water for those who have no safe drinking water. It is about health care, it is about a life of dignity for the old. It is about overcoming the huge divide between urban and rural areas. It is about education for all our people. Socialism is about rolling back the tyranny of the market. As long as the economy is dominated by an un-elected, privileged few, the case for socialism will exist."* - **Chris Hani**

10<sup>th</sup> April 2014 marked 21 years since Cde Chris Hani was brutally murdered by right wing cowards and his sin was to devote his life and be loyal to the cause of realizing a better life for all. Cde Chris Hani was an embodiment of the sacrifice, boldness, passion, loyalty, all-rounded cadre, and most importantly carried his political tasks of the alliance both in the immediate and at strategic level.

Since this lecture is presented within a university, it is probably not useful to present or cite the autobiography of Thembisile 'Chris' Hani, as it is available on a click of a button, especially considering the ICT infrastructure improvements and availability of wireless connection in this institution, which demonstrates strides made by ANC government on accessing information. The purpose of the lecture will be to critically

draw on the lessons and experiences on life of Chris Hani, but essentially to articulate how we can relate these lessons and experiences on our contemporary challenges.

It is a pleasant symbolic gesture in commemorating Cde Chris at the Chris Hani Hall in University of Western Cape, a university which has played a critical role as a sphere of activism of left and progressive politics in the republic, in particular in the 1980's. It is therefore not a coincidence that many activists owe their ideological and political training from this university when they were either expelled or denied admission from all over the country they found the University of Western Cape as an institution of choice.

Cde Chris was born on the 28<sup>th</sup> June 1942, Cofimvaba, Transkei and (now Eastern Cape), in rural part of these country. He was introduced to the politics of social inequality early in his life, when his father had to leave their rural home in search of work in the urban areas of South Africa. One raises this issue so that we invite a discussion on the historical spatial political set-up of the South African economy, and the strides made by ANC alliance government in diversifying the economy and thus opportunities for employment.

This then left a young Cde Chris had to be exposed to his mother struggles in providing for them. This time was to later prove to have serious implications in grounding Chris Hani's humility, passion and charisma to being a fearlessly champion of the interest of the poor.

The burning fire in Cde Chris is best captured in words of Karl Marx when he says *"It is not the consciousness of men that determines their existence, but their social existence that determines their consciousness."*

It is therefore safe to say Cde Chris, the revolutionary was born by the conditions of the people he was part of, with courage and fearless attitude born by determination to abolish domination of one by another. For him poverty and unemployment was not abstract or a statistics but hard day to day reality that burnt inside him.



The economic characterization of the South African economy remained the one wherein few largely white male owned means of production and subsequent wealth, while majority whom are largely blacks and African, and only contributes to be reserves of labour, which is sold at exploitative levels to bosses. Having been born within these conditions of subjugation, oppression and poverty, Cde Chris convicted himself to fundamentally alter this absurd human engineered scenario.

We learn that Cde Chris matriculated at age of 16 years and graduated at tender age of 20 years. This is surely profound for a rural black boy considering the heightened state of repression in South Africa at the time (i.e. early 1960s).

Rhodes University was largely a white institution. Of crucial relevance in Cde Chris Hani's life is that Cde Chris became exposed to the Marxist ideology while within institution of higher learning. Of further interest is the choice of degree that Cde Chris enrolled at university, which was a BA degree in Latin and English.

One interpretation of Cde Hani's enthusiasm in language is that it was informed by comprehension that language is instrumental in shaping ones thinking, values, culture, outlook and developing one's content.

But more importantly we have to trace and confirm that education remains at the core developmental issues if we are to ever succeed with radical phase of second transition as resolved in Mangaung ANC conference.

History bears testimony that students have played a critical role in propelling revolution forward. It was as early as 1921 that students attempted the idea of forming one student's organisation transcending race lines. It was young graduates whom formed ANCYL and revolutionised ANC in the 1940's.

Moreover, it was students whom re-kindled the fighting spirit in the 1960's, when the congress movement organs were banned and leadership either in exile or imprisoned.

Moreover, even the rise of 'black consciousness' during the time when the people were

starting to lose hope was equally student's project.

In the 1970's students rejected Apartheid not because it was uncool but they understood its economic, cultural, ethics, domination of Afrikaans as an enforced language and the implications of consolidation of the broader Afrikaner state.

Moreover, even in the 1980's, the UDF and much civil disobedience to make apartheid unworkable, students were at the forefront. Therefore we must be like Chris Hani and make education fashionable as it the only instrument for majority of South Africans to escape systematic underdevelopment and poverty.

Having graduated as a bright young star from one of most renowned universities in South Africa, Cde Chris could have easy gone to live a comfortable and pleasant life anywhere in the world.

However his passion and devotion to his people's cause made him sacrifice the possibility to comfortable life for that of a selfless servant of people's revolution.

He would later remark about this in these modest but yet profound words: "*What right do I have to hold back, to rest, to preserve my health, to have time with my family, when there are other people who are no longer alive -- when they have sacrificed what is precious, namely life itself?*"

Cde Chris Hani was a loyal member of ANC and loyal member of the SACP. He understood the national content of class struggle and class content of class struggle. Cde Chris appreciated that NDR is the shortest route to socialism.

Cde Chris knew that any self-respecting communist in South Africa had to support and be actively member of ANC, and contrary actions would not only demonstrate reactionarism but plain selling out people's camp.

On the role of trade union, Cde Chris comprehended sentiments shared by Cde Slovo when he states: "*It is however, vital to maintain the distinction between trade*



*union politics and an overall revolutionary leadership.*

*A trade union cannot carry out this dual role. If it attempted to do so it would have to change its basic character and risk committing suicide as a mass legal force. In addition, the very nature and purpose of the trade union disqualifies it from carrying out tasks of a revolutionary vanguard."*

Comrade Slovo would go further to say trade union *"A trade union is the prime mass organization of the working class. To fulfill its purpose, it must be as broad as possible and fight to maintain its legal status.*

*It must attempt, in the first place, to unite, on an industrial basis, all workers (at whatever level of political consciousness) who understand the elementary need to come together and defend and advance their economic conditions. It cannot demand more as a condition of membership. But because the state and its apparatus is an instrument of the dominant economic classes, it is impossible for trade unions in any part of the world to keep out of the broader political front."*

Equally in slogans, COSATU would declare: *"no worker is a good member of congress unless he is also a trade unionist. No trade unionist is a good trade unionist unless he is also a member of Congress".*

Cde Chris was open, frank and courageous leader, unswerving and with conviction of his views, he subscribed to borrowings from Mao Zedong, for example he never would let: *"Things slide for the sake of peace and friendship when a person has clearly gone wrong, and refrain from principled argument because he is an old acquaintance, a fellow townsman, a schoolmate, a close friend, a loved one, an old colleague or old subordinate.*

*Or to touch on the matter lightly instead of going into it thoroughly, so as to keep on good terms. The result is that both the organization and the individual are harmed. This is one type of liberalism. To indulge in irresponsible criticism in private instead of actively putting forward*

*one's suggestions to the organization. To say nothing to people to their faces but to gossip behind their backs, or to say nothing at a meeting but to gossip afterwards. To show no regard at all for the principles of collective life but to follow one's own inclination. This is a second type.*

*To let things drift if they do not affect one personally; to say as little as possible while knowing perfectly well what is wrong, to be worldly wise and play safe and seek only to avoid blame. This is a third type'.*

Cde Chris was courageous and fearless if not daring and he appreciated that there is no contradiction between being disciplined and militant.

He was thus a disciplined revolutionary and militant, whose militancy arose from the material conditions that he and his people experienced.

As he demonstrated during difficult moments that democratic centralism is central to organisational discipline and therefore once a collective and or higher organ has taken a decision it is binding to all without exception or special treatment.

This martyr while learned but was holistic revolutionary and never action shy, he internalized Lenin words that *"Practice without theory is blind, theory without practice is sterile and theory becomes a material force as soon as it is absorbed by the masses"*. These are some of the reasons as to why he was at the forefront of battles, and yet led from the front again when the Communist Party was called into discussion table or thrashing theoretical strategic questions.

As we remember Cde Chris we must defend the institutions of democracy in this instance the Public Protector while resolute in that if we are to deepen democracy all state institutions must never be above public reproach lest they become law to themselves.

It is not being in contempt or undermining Public Protector when we state that the media crusade and media lock ups when PP



releases report even before party concern receives report is unfair.

It is not contempt to state that permanent leaks and piece meal release of report, worsened by timing of its release cannot be ignored.

It can never be an attack, if one state that the report is littered with innuendoes and cut aspersions on person of President Zuma but its findings state categorically that:

- President did not build his private dwellings with public purse;
- President did not misled parliament on his representation in parliament;
- President did ask for security upgrades let alone approve designs and or contractors; and
- There was no political interference from President or any of his ministers.

Therefore, we must be very suspicious as to why President is still required to pay unquantified portion with no legal provision cited for such action. In totality therefore the conclusion can only be that this is political mischief design to pull wool of faces of electorate.

Therefore while we must be ruthless in fighting corruption and frown on complacency but we must be equally vigilant against our leaders, peoples organizations and elected government to be willy-nilly referred to as inherent corrupt and incapable as this is part of liberal offensive to demonize our organizations and therefore erode confidence and trust of the people in their organization and therefore set scene for their ascendancy to the echo lens of power in their pursuance of liberal politics and marginalization of peoples camp and abortion of revolutionary programme.

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

## **Organisation and revolutionary discipline: very critical in the SACP today.**



In this article, one strongly argues that the revolutionary discipline in the struggle for socialism remains the unquestionable critical element in South African Road to Socialism (SARS). The South African Communist Party's (SACP) popular slogan is: "Build socialism and build it now", therefore as cadres take such ascending, winding and tiresome journey through the South African Road to Socialism, revolutionary discipline should be their only hope serving as sufficient fuel that will enable them to reach the destination(socialism).

In essence, the point of argument is lack of revolutionary discipline within the ranks of our Party youth structure, the Young Communist League of South Africa (YCLSA) and also within the ranks of the Party itself.

The Party has to cleans and immunize itself against contagious foreign disease of western origin, the disease that has become a tendency that seeks to expose the Party to the potential risk of being captured by the right-wing agents who masquerade as visionary Marxist-Leninist protagonists, those who pollute the world with lies that they can establish an alternative working class vanguard party because the SACP has failed.



The truth of the matter is that, these elements have failed to capture the Party and make it their factory machine to produce crass-materialists who pretend as true leaders capable of championing the working class struggle in South Africa.

In our 12<sup>th</sup> National Congress held in Port Elizabeth in July 2007, we unequivocally stated that socialism is an answer to the world crisis we are faced with in the current conjuncture and that the pieces of this crisis are collected and consolidated into a galloping barbarism of capitalist profit maximization. Critically, we unashamedly and boldly stated that if socialism is to be an answer to the barbarism of profit maximization, then it will have to be socialism that embraces the aspirations, survival skills and community know-how of the hundreds of millions of urban and rural poor of our era.

In the process, the argument of revolutionary discipline takes centre-stage and manifests itself as a pivotal point around which the struggle to build socialism can be intensified. The issue of revolutionary discipline requires each individual member of the YCLSA and SACP to pave the way for himself/herself for the organization to constructively criticize and mould him/her for growth so that he/she can magnificently participate without fear of contradicting himself/herself in the process of building socialism. A disciplined cadre does not hold grudges and mobilize fellow comrades to fight his/her personal battles as that action is counter-revolutionary, very distractive and tantamount to anarchy of the highest order.

In advancing the point made here supra, one has to highlight the importance of criticism and self-criticism as two essential ingredients of revolutionary discipline. Amilcar Cabral states that, to criticize oneself is not to pay a response or an indulgence not to offer penance. He explains that self-criticism is an act of frankness, courage, comradeship and awareness of our responsibilities, a proof of our will to properly accomplish, a demonstration of our determination to improve constantly and to make a better contribution to the progress of our Party. As a cadre that has decided to be with us, a cadre that is willing to learn from others, a cadre that hates character assassination for

selfish reasons and as a cadre that is not power hungry, but a cadre that is determined to move with the collective to advance, deepen and defend the national democratic revolution (NDR), the Party needs you more than ever before.

The NDR is a direct route to socialism, not a detour and also not a stage in which capitalism is to be completed. The party explains it very well to the world and to those who have been with us and recently shifted to the ultra-left and to the right that the NDR is a struggle to overcome deep-seated and persisting racialised inequality and poverty in our society.

The Party further unambiguously narrates that, to advance, deepen and defend the NDR, is to struggle to overcome the vicious impact of patriarchy, not just in some generalised way, but a patriarchy that was sharpened and integrated into capitalist relations of production over a century of colonialism of a special type (logically defined as CST-based accumulation).

The world at large and even our detractors, know and agree that the SACP is a Marxist-Leninist Party that, on its establishment in 1921, the Party fully subscribed to the fundamental principles of a revolutionary Marxist Party, for which the necessary condition for successful activity is organization and revolutionary discipline, based on the principle of a common task of struggle for socialism, the struggle that must in a later stage graduate to a highest stage called communism. Organization and revolutionary discipline are the two cornerstones of party unity. In the circumstances, one can without any fear of contradicting himself, strongly argue that the existence of the SACP and its viability are as a result of two major concrete foundations, which are;

1. *Marxist-Leninist outlook*: this refers to its teachings on the class struggle, on the socialist revolution, through the South African Road to Socialism (SARS), to defeat capitalism and imperialism. This accurately puts SACP as authentic and organic "*Vanguard Party*" and forces of reaction cannot be defeated without



the party, equally so, the socialist transformation of society cannot be undertaken without the party taking its rightful place of vanguardism in this country.

2. *SACP Unity*: this simply emphasises the critical point that "SACP Unity" rests on firm intraparty revolutionary discipline, on the unconditional subordination of the minority to the majority, and on the binding nature for lower party structures of all decisions made by higher party structures, and also, on an individual SACP member to willingly and unconditionally carry out party political instructions and all of which are assured by the principle of democratic centralism.

In the final analysis and on a logical sense, one finds it proper to state that Lenin, in his writings in early 1900, emphasized the inextricable link between organization and ideological party unity, therefore all Party structures cannot compromise the organization and party unity for enigmatic foreign tendencies that we see today germinating, cropping and taking centre stage in some of our trade unions and other right-wing political organisations who masquerade as articulating the left-agenda in the class struggle, whereas the truth of the matter is that they have unconsciously shifted to the right long time ago, some have been established on capitalist and imperialist concrete foundations, and elements of such, manifests themselves in every peaceful area of public gathering causing anarchy of highest degree.

In concluding my arguments in this article, one finds it of prime importance to categorically state that Lenin was not unconscious, but soberly driven and directed by scientific logic, when he unambiguously wrote that preservation of the unity and monolithic character of the Party should always be to observe the proletarian discipline. He advanced his argument to say:

"As we proceed with the building of a real party, the class-conscious worker must learn to distinguish the mentality of the bourgeois intellectual who parades anarchistic phrases; he must learn to insist that the duties of a Party member be fulfilled not only by the

rank and file but by the people at the top as well".

A conscious party cadre cannot dispute the fact that discipline means organization, unity of will and unity of revolutionary action in the Party of the working class. Without architecting and constructing the strong arena of confusion, party cadres have to conceive the scientific truth that the unity of Party ranks is inconceivable without discipline as lack of discipline leads to factionalism, creation of space and time for emergence of groups who put their narrow selfish interests above those of the party, a group that positions itself to undermine unity and splits party ranks to collapse and totally demolish its existence in disadvantage of the working class and the poor.

This article triggers healthy debate within the Party ranks and it also serves as a mirror against which all party cadres must look themselves in check for adherence and compliance with SACP aims and guiding principles as contained and clearly reflected in the constitution that was amended and adopted at the 13<sup>th</sup> National Congress, July 2012. A conscious cadre of the Party is correct to say Lenin was against the discussion that would give factionalist an opportunity to undermine the Party. It is again correct to say Lenin was also against discussions that were empty of meaning, discussions that distract the Party's attention from real problems and turn it into a debating club, a conglomerate of factions and groups.

Cadres should enjoy carrying out introspection because it is a good thing to do, the exercise will tell you when you are with the people in their camp, it will also tell you when you have deserted them and becoming their enemy, vividly so, the exercise will indicate to you that you are gradually being rejected and isolated by the people. So please yourself by holding and displaying high revolutionary moral values, respect the people's movement and be with them in the road to socialism.

Amandla!!!! Aluta Continua

**Article by: Luthando Gilbert Buso; SACP Activist and SACP/NEHAWU Chris Hani Brigade Member. Eastern Cape**



## 06 August 2014 SACP EC press statement

### ***"Leaders must serve and protect the people"***

The South African Communist Party (SACP) in the Eastern Cape has noted the developments in the matter involving King Buyelekhaya Dalindyebo, the Abathembu Royal Council and the President of the Republic, Jacob Zuma.

The SACP has since learnt that the President of the Republic, Jacob Zuma did not initiate the dethroning of the Thembu King as many would like us to believe, but he was merely responding to a clarion call made by some within Abathembu Royal Council as guided by the legal framework governing traditional processes.

Any leader with no exception of the Kings should serve the people and protect them at any given time. That should be done with the understanding that there is no one who is above the law even those born as leaders. We are of the firm view that none of us are born as subjects of anybody; therefore the dangers of regarding people as mere subjects is that you will treat them with gross disrespect and abuse them.

We have also noted with concern the insults hurled by King Buyelekhaya Dalindyebo towards the person of President Jacob Zuma. These rude and backward insults should not be viewed as undermining the persona of Jacob Zuma but that of the people of South Africa, as he is the product of a democratic electoral process. If President Zuma is insulted for executing his constitutional mandate, that require people of South Africa including those of the Thembu nation to rise in defense of our constitution.

These insults should be viewed as an attempt to mobilize people to disrespect the legitimate government. They should be viewed as an attempt to erode confidence not only of the Thembu nation but of the people in the government they have rightfully elected.

We believe that these rebellious actions by King Buyelekhaya Dalindyebo should

not be viewed in isolation from the fact that he once attempted to build a country within South Africa. This should be viewed within the context of a leader who wants to mobilize people towards that state as he cannot subject himself to the laws of South Africa.

As the SACP we are calling upon the people of South Africa to ensure that they keep their leaders with no exception of traditional leaders accountable and of greater service to the people. We must ensure that their actions and their conduct are befitting to the roles and responsibilities bestowed upon themselves.

Issued by SACP Eastern Cape.

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## SACP EC PEC Statement

***"Unless the party builds certain capacity now, there is a limit on what we can achieve"***, SACP General Secretary Comrade Blade Nzimande.

**19 August 2014**

The South African Communist Party (SACP) in the Eastern Cape Province convened its Provincial Executive Committee (PEC) meeting over the past weekend, on the 16 August 2014 in Port Elizabeth. The PEC meeting dealt with both the organisational and political reports. The meeting sought to assert the SACP and defend it from all those who wish to capture the Party for the electoral ambitions and selfish interests in the district.

The PEC was graced by the presence of Cde Phumulo Masualle, SACP Central Committee member, ANC Provincial Chair and Premier of Eastern Cape Province. The Premier shared with the PEC government priorities and concrete plans to bring about faster changes and improve the conditions of the people for the better.

Taking place during the important occasion of women`s month, the meeting paid tribute to the gallant spirit of progressive and revolutionary contribution by women in our struggle for liberation and complete social emancipation. The SACP in the Eastern Cape with work together with other democratic forces to build the progressive women`s movement with women playing a leading role.

### **The international context:**

The PEC condemned the occupation and bombing of Palestinians by the apartheid Israel and joined the calls made by many progressive organs for South Africa to expel the Israel ambassador and isolate the brutal Zionist regime of Israel. The PEC welcomed the decision of both the University of Johannesburg and Cape Town University SRC to cut ties with Israeli universities. The PEC further called for an immediate end of the blockade and siege of the Gaza strip which is illegal and against all humanitarian

values. The PEC endorsed the call for the United Nations to declare apartheid in Israel a crime against humanity. What has been taking place in Palestine is nothing else but genocide. The International Court must bring to justice all perpetrators, starting with the leaders of the apartheid Israeli regime.

### **The national context:**

More than ever before, an opportunity exists for the left and progressive forces to push for more radical changes in the economy of our country for the benefit of the majority. The building of the unity and power of the working class in all key sites of struggle and influence remains the pre-condition for any possible revolutionary advance.

The PEC welcomed the outcomes of the recent bilateral between our National Officials and COSATU National Office Bearers as a critical step for the two working class formations to work more closely in defining and influencing the context and pressing on with the implementation of the radical change that our society direly needs.

The meeting noted the proposed changes on worker pensions and provident funds and developed an approach to engage on this matter at the next Central Committee of our Party which is scheduled to take place next weekend.

### **The provincial context:**

The PEC meeting discussed at length the state of local governance in our province. We firmly believe that if the challenges at the local government level are left unresolved they pose a serious threat to the movement in the upcoming local government elections. We reaffirm the need to ensure an alliance shared approach in resolving the challenges in the municipalities identified as hot spots. The consequences of any unilateral decision will not only be suffered by the African National Congress (ANC) but the entire liberation Alliance which represent the majority in the people`s camp.

We once again reaffirm the call we have made



in December that our government should get to the bottom of all the corruption involving the use of Nelson Mandela funeral to commit acts of alleged financial misappropriation. There should be investigation not only in Buffalo City and King Sabata Dalindyebo municipalities but in all municipalities in the province and the provincial government.

Alleged or real, any wrong doing in the name of Comrade Nelson Mandela damages the standing of the entire movement in the eyes of our people. We should unite and be consistent in rooting out corruption in favour of servicing the people with a greater determination. For us as the SACP, our fight against corruption is part of the struggle against capitalism which is inherently corrupt. We support the call made by Premier Masualle that all those charged for corruption should step aside until their cases are concluded. We believe this will help our ally, the ANC to protect its good name and that of President Nelson Mandela.

## Party organisation:

We recommit our Party to carry forward and lead the struggles of the workers and the poor.

We have successfully launched Financial Sector Campaign Coalition (FSCC) Provincial Chapter, with the purpose of consolidating the struggle towards transforming the financial sector to serve the people. As the party in the province we pride ourselves for having worked for nothing else but the workers and the poor, including those who are in the state of a permanent war with the Party and our movement as a whole.

As our Party is moving towards its 7th provincial congress, we recommit ourselves to building a strong, vibrant, agile, adaptive and independent Party organisation. The will take forward the work outlined in the South African Road to Socialism (SARS), programme of the SACP.

The PEC adopted a framework towards the 7th provincial congress, rooted at safeguarding the unity of our Party and ensuring that the SACP emerges stronger from this congress and ready to play its leading, vanguard role.

Issued by the SACP Eastern Cape.

## "Tribute to outstanding religious leader and a true patriot"

19 August 2014



The South African Communist Party (SACP) joins the millions of South Africans and peace loving people across the globe in mourning the passing of Bishop David Russell.

We remember him as one of outstanding religious leaders who took the side of the poor and weak at all times. It is in the Eastern Cape where he led from the front in the struggles against forced removals and illegal evictions in the farms. He worked fearlessly with the people of Dimbaza who were victims of forced removals in Thornhill and dumped in Dimbaza and suffered injustice under the repression of both the South African and Ciskei "governments".

We remember Bishop David Russell as one of the many white South Africans who were actively part of the struggle for freedom, equal rights and justice, who set aside the privileges of being white under the colonial and apartheid era and fought against the system that created the very privileges. He led many marches and protests against the unjust apartheid; he refused to take permit from the apartheid police and said "he has permit from God". This was part of defying the apartheid system and rendering it unworkable as it was a crime against humanity.



Bishop David Russell will always be remembered for his striking bravery, when he at times laid down in front of the bulldozer to stop demolition of houses during forced removals. He might not have been rewarded with the Nobel Peace Prize but was deeply a man of peace and true justice for the poor and marginalised.

We dip our red banner in paying respect to this remarkable South African and a true patriot. We wish to convey our heartfelt condolences to his family, the religious fraternity, people he struggled with and for, all South Africans.

The SACP says Rest in Peace Bishop David Russell.

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