



# SACP

SOUTH AFRICAN COMMUNIST PARTY

## EASTERN CAPE

# PEC BULLETIN



CELEBRATING OUR HERITAGE

## 9th edition

Socialism is the future, Build it now!!!

## Background

The SACP Eastern Cape PEC Bulletin is a medium of the SACP for 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 media but SACP is alive to the reality that any commercial media is first and foremost inclined to reflect views of its masters (monopoly capital).

It also contains regular features such as letters to the editor, commentary and a variety of other exciting features on working class struggles, the economy, etc.

## Guidelines for Submission of Articles

### Style and Length.

The length for feature articles is 1200-1800 words.

Letters to the editor must not exceed 300 words and opinion pieces must not exceed 600 words.

Articles must be written in plain and simple English. Articles may contain words in other South African languages, with the English meaning bracketed.

Articles must be relevant to membership of our party and the working class in general, exciting and solicit debate and discussions.

Articles about recent events or contemporary issues in South Africa and the world will be given preference for publication in the SACP Eastern Cape PEC bulletin.

All SACP District Spokespersons, YCLSA Spokesperson and other Spokespersons of the MDM fraternal organisations are encouraged to submit articles about the recent activities; as they might not be covered in the mainstream media.

### Due Date

The SACP Eastern Cape PEC Bulletin is published monthly (12 issues per annum). The due date for the submission of articles is the 20<sup>th</sup> of each month.

Late submissions will not be considered for an edition of such month but for future editions.

### Originality

The SACP EC PEC Bulletin publishes original articles. We also publish articles which have appeared elsewhere in whole or in part.

Should you feel that republishing an article would be beneficial to SACP EC PEC Bulletin readership and that the article will reach a broader readership through our medium than the medium that first published it, then you need to bring this to the attention of the Editor.

All sources cited in the articles must be referenced.

## Themes

Different editions/ issues of the SACP PEC Bulletin will have specific themes (Joe Slovo Month, Chris Hani Month, Youth Month, Red October, SACP anniversaries, COSATU Anniversaries, ANC anniversary, etc.) therefore some articles must be tailored to suit the specific theme. Each issue/edition of the SACP EC PEC bulletin will indicate the theme of the next edition, so articles should be submitted as such.

## Processing of Articles

All articles shall be subjected to scrutiny by the SACP EC PEC bulletin editorial team.

The SACP EC Bulletin is particularly interested in fostering a culture of reading and writing amongst the leadership and membership of our party.

We will therefore give special consideration to the articles written by the general members of our party.

Articles will go through a review process, after which we will inform the contributor whether the article will be published or not.

The review process largely depends on the adherence to deadlines provided by the Editor and the content of the article as submitted.

### Editorial Team:

Xolile Nqatha  
Siyabonga Mdoti  
Sisimone Rakaibe  
Siyabulela Mbedla  
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Mawethu Rune  
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**Next Edition:** The theme for the next edition will be the "Red October": Kindly forward your contributions to [simdodi@gmail.com](mailto:simdodi@gmail.com) on Tuesday, 20 October 2015.

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**A**s we conclude the heritage month, it may be necessary to engage on this most debated question of transformation in sporting fraternity. Celebrating our heritage should be celebrating our culture which means our native identity and creative expression such as arts, music and performances.

Many people have correctly argued that the South African Cricket and Rugby team do not replicate the demographics of our country. With some people calling for a boycott of these white national teams.

Let me focus on rugby for now though it is not the only sporting code that requires transformation. Our road to tangible reconciliation requires that we transform many of institutions that still replicate preservation of white supremacy, including sporting fraternity, engineering sector, academia, etc.

For over a sustained period of time the South African Rugby National Team (Springboks) have deliberately refused to transform and reflect the SA demographics, and marginalised black talent. This supposed to be our national pride but it had deliberately ignored all transformational provisions thereby being a law unto itself. It has been a clear case of the old refusing to die and the new struggling to emerge.

Despite all the quotas and desperate calls for transformation in the South African rugby, there has been no progress. From 1994 there has only been 20 African black players in the Springboks and only 12 African black players in the Proteas. This is a very bad reflection given the fact that SA has a large population of African black people. What should be understood is that is not only the national teams (Springboks & Proteas) that are to be blamed but the administration also, the South African Rugby Football Union (SARFU) and the Cricket South Africa (CSA).

The dominant narrative of the concealment for this rejection to transformation has always been that players are selected as per merit and nothing else. What merit? In all the few black players that have been selected to the Springboks the common trend is that majority of them are products of previously white schools (quintile 1 schools) and private schools. None of them are from the black schools in our townships and rural areas (quintile 2 & 3 schools). In terms of the system that produced them, they are white. All these players are a product of the refusing to die apartheid legacy as they are from schools with all sporting facilities, professional coaches, sponsors, etc: as oppose to their counterparts

in the townships and rural areas whom have no sporting facilities at all but classrooms.

This in essence means it is not a question of human excellence but a question of affordability. For instance if your parents cannot afford sending you to these quintile 1 schools, you have less opportunities in the sporting fraternity regardless of your talent.

The continued system of education and developmental opportunities for the haves and have nots defeats the noble idea of one nation, united in its diversity. It seeks to reverse the gains we have realized to this point.

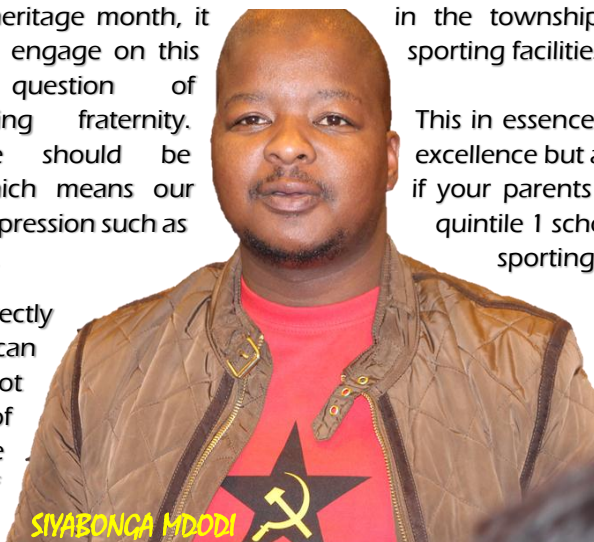
The argument I am making here is that both the SARFU and the CSA have both failed to develop and nurture talent across all South African sections. Why don't we have sport developmental programmes in our townships and villages? We should have sport facilities, including rugby fields, cricket nets, swimming pools, etc in the rural and township schools like in the former whites' schools, and move beyond having only classrooms. Where, we may not have enough landscape we can alternatively have two or more schools using a same piece of land for these sporting facilities. We should have the rural and township schools participating in the same school leagues with their white counterparts for them to have better opportunities to selection to the regional, provincial and national teams.

All these should be made possible by all sport administration bodies, the SARFU, CSA, ACSA, SAFA, BSA etc working with our government. I must however state it that this transformation must not be viewed as an act of charity or black people begging for recognition but an important issue in consolidating nation building and enhancing social cohesion. It is also disheartening to see one Sports Minister attempting very hard to ring-fence the discussion on the sports transformation. It cannot be that those entrusted with the responsibility to spearhead our transformational agenda are the ones telling us to focus on performance and thereby refuse to execute their duties. The transformation should wait for no event, it should be ongoing unparalleled program. I find it quite populist for the minister to behave in that fashion when he carries the hopes of black populace in his shoulders.

We should accept no justification from no one of preserving white supremacy.

May you have a revolutionary read!!!

**Cde Siyabonga Mdoti, SACP Provincial Spokesperson & the Editor of the SACP EC PEC Bulletin**



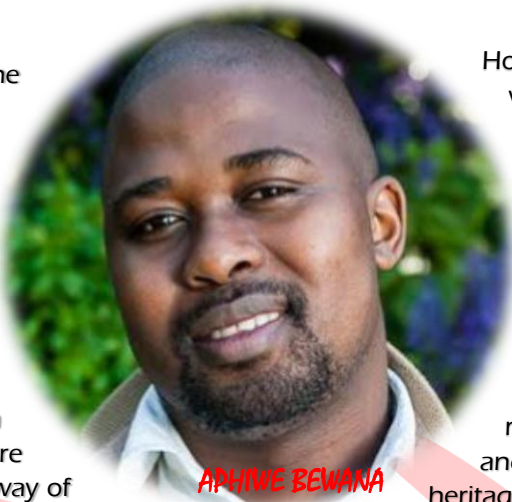
## FACTIONALISM IS NOT OUR HERITAGE

Annually we celebrate the month of September as a month dedicated to celebrating the heritage of South African culture which are both tangible and intangible. Here, by South African *culture* we largely refer to native identity and creative expression such as arts, music and performances. These are some aspects of culture but a much embracing contextualisation of culture is that we can think of culture as "a way of life, the general customs and beliefs with multidimensional characteristics ranging from language, religion, social practises and creative expression of a particular group of people at a particular time." The South African cultural landscape is therefore both rich and diverse, and as such should never be confined to issues of native identity and creative arts.

Secondly, it is worth clarifying that by the term '*heritage*' we are not referring to all historical artefacts or events, but we are deliberately referring to those aspects that we have decided to value and to live by and to teach our children. In simple terms on the heritage month we are strictly called to acknowledge and celebrate the valuable aspects of our way of life. This call further presents its responsibilities for all of us to critically enquire on what constitutes the treasured artefacts in our way of life, and probably denounce negative aspects which may characterise our socio-political life. This year's theme for Heritage Month is: "*Our indigenous knowledge, our heritage: Towards the identification, promotion and preservation of South Africa's living heritage*".

This theme encourages us to identify, promote and preserve the treasured artefacts in our way of socio-political life. Perhaps, the basis of all this work must be correctly rooted to the revolutionary words by Cde Govan 'Oom Gov' Mbeki in that "*the basis of our membership [as individuals] to this congress movement is that it gives us a real collective ability to solve the problems of the people, serve the people of the country and the broader continent*".

Amilcar Cabral expands in this regard by declaring that we must "*always bear in mind that the people are not fighting for ideas, for the things in anyone's head. They are fighting to win material benefits, to live better and in peace, to see their lives go forward, to guarantee the future of their children*". It is therefore upon this basis why socialism must be built now. The Party correctly articulates that this socialism is not a ready-made blue print that can be wheeled out fully formed.



APHINE BEKWANA

However it is a transitional economy in which capitalism is still present, but in which the socialised sector is hegemonic and serve the people.

It is indeed true that it is through socialism that we can fundamentally overcome the triple of crisis of high levels of unemployment, inequality and poverty. It must therefore be sharply raised that unemployment, inequality and poverty should never be our heritage. But these remain central manifestations of the stubborn colonial and apartheid legacy, which has to be progressively dismantled. This task is further intertwined by the strategic task of the entrenchment of a national democratic society, focused on ensuring the durability of the genuinely democratic, non-racial, non-sexist and prosperous society as envisaged in our Constitution, which defines the long-term character of South Africa, as a truly egalitarian society.

To carry-out these tasks means the People's Camp must retain the characters that have contributed to its long-lasting relevance in society. In short these characters include its commitment to the liberation of the people; its deep roots and connection with the people; the forging of progressive strategic alliances; and its vibrant internal democracy and collective leadership. However within the continued discourse of the liberation struggle and particularly after its unbanning, the congress movement has been confronted with a relatively new set of complex challenges.

These challenges include the tendencies to conceive of party and state positions for material rewards; the tendencies of opportunism, careerism and corruption; the divisive leadership battles and slate politics; the influence of money for lobbying; the membership manipulation and gatekeeping; the emergence of social distance; and the normalisation of dissolution of leadership structures etc.

In the main, it is argued that these challenges fundamentally revolves around heightened factionalism coupled with what we consider as the '*sins of incumbency*' and declining discipline. Put simply, factionalism with all its associated manifestations is considered to be the anti-thesis of organisational unity and cohesion. Thus, factions are counter-revolutionary, act to dismantle organisational integrity and are generally degenerative. To a large extent these are negative tendencies that characterise our socio-political life, and if we are to duly and honestly celebrate our heritage for the present and future generations, we must denounce these tendencies.



In practice, the term factionalism has become some sort of a buzzword within the movement, with almost every member acknowledging and lamenting on this tendency, but for some reasons rarely does anyone ever acknowledge that their actions are tantamount to factionalism. So typically in our minds factionalism becomes the divisive and subversive things that others do and not us, therefore in this regard, factionalism tends to be personalised (i.e. the problem is those who are factionalist) and this is generally an externalised phenomenon. The scenario is that factionalism is recognized as a problem and noble declarations such as the clarion calls for 'Organizational Renewal' are made, but remedial actions remain unsuccessful to effect the desired change (i.e. the renewal).

Cde Joel Netshitenzhe once argued our remedial actions are not successful owing to our contradictory identities - of whether as cadres we have not become six-day sinners who on "Sundays" go for reparation at rallies, branch and other meetings but then revert to the sinner's default for the rest of the week.

Moreover, we tend to loosely use the term 'factions' to refer to anything from general ill-discipline to different leadership preferences towards congresses and conferences. In stricter terms, Zuckerman (1975) defines factions as relatively 'structured groups' within a political party which seeks, at a minimum, to control authoritative decision making positions of the party. They are 'structured groups' in that there are established patterns of behaviour and interaction for the faction members over time. Thus, party factions are distinguished from groups that merge around a specific or temporarily limited issue and then dissolve – which could either be a clique or a lobby. Bettcher (2005) defines factions of interest, though what he calls clientele, as having a pyramidal structure built up from patron-client relationships. The clientele organise vertical relations among elected politicians and party officers, and these relations may extend outward and downward into different levels of government and party organisation. The relationships and thus the overall structure are maintained through exchanges among individuals at different levels. Lower members (clients) deliver votes to their superiors (patrons), and in exchange receive selective incentives such as money, jobs, and services. In other words, members join and remain in the clientele for particularistic, self-interested reasons. The continued membership of the clientele also depends on an ongoing relationship with a particular patron. Consequently, clientele are not firmly organised and become vulnerable to collapse if key patrons are lost (i.e. the members of members instead of members of the party).

Perhaps this is the case because there may be a degree of undeclared comfort with the status quo, which may be born out of an unfortunate gravitation to 'self-preservation'. Whilst self-preservation may be justifiable in an apparently ruthless political environment, the down-turn of it is that when member's or leader's contribution is needed to decisively halt a degenerative trend and such decisive action may endanger future personal prospects, self-preservation becomes our major obstacle.

Moreover, we the movement needs to better theorise and pragmatically set-up systems and measures to genuinely halt the current generative trend. In simple, we have to move beyond the trappings to deal with factionalism we only have to transform factionalists into conscious cadres of our movement with revolutionary morality and discipline. This would mean we would systematically acknowledge both the external factors, i.e. social objective conditions), which are largely informed by the flattery of state power and the internal factors, which is basically the party modus operandi, which can be broken-down into how power is exercised and how incentives flow within the party.

In a more systematic manner we can think of our organisations as any system of governance, where an organisation is an interaction of two systems: that is '*the system to be governed* and the '*governing system*'. The '*system to be governed* refers to the person(s) associated with the ANC, whether as members or as persons or institutions with some level of interest in the ANC. The '*governing system*' on the other hand refers to the set of steering instruments, which include the constitution, policies and its guidelines, which are meant to guide the organisation. The ultimate logic is that addressing the underpinning factors within these systems would greatly assist on solving emerging and new challenges.

However, the ultimate leverages to decisively deal with the challenges posed by factionalism, the leadership of the movement needs leadership courage. In the main this leadership courage is premised on four principles of what leadership ought to be in the organisation and the movement. These principles include truly democratically elected leadership, credible leadership, collective leadership and accountable leadership. Leadership courage means leadership must open spaces for real conversations, which will cut through the smoke and move through real held views. Leadership courage means the leadership partly takes responsibility for the current situation and sought to inspire hope in the minds and hearts of the people for a better and prosperous future.

Cde Aphiwe Bewana is ANC EC Head of Policy & Research



## POST-ARAB SPRING: US & ALLIES MANOEUVRES

The debate regarding the significance and implications of the developments in North Africa, the Arab world and some Gulf States (though not acknowledged as such) that came to be known as the 'Arab Spring', continues to rage in various quarters across the world even today. The 'Arab Spring' has come to mean many things to many across the world, particularly in an attempt to understand the implication(s) for and of the Arab world (North Africa included), the Middle East region in particular and the shifting world balance of forces. The post-'Arab Spring' debate is an important debate to have, in order to examine and crystalize the various aspects and elements that constituted the process, and particularly the role Western imperialism assigned itself in an attempt to usurp and direct the process towards its own ends.

This post-'Arab Spring' debate occurs as the situation in the Arab world, particularly the Middle East, is engulfed in a vicious circle of out of control and spiralling sectarian violence perpetuated by Islamist factions of varying hues, vowing to create a caliphate in the Levant; and as the Arab-Israeli conflict assumes even greater significance in the wake of the latest attack on Gaza by Benjamin Netanyahu's Israeli Defence Force (IDF). The 'Arab Spring' process, which swept through most of the North Africa and some Arab states and unseated sclerotic dictatorships in its wake - as waves of popular protests manifested and occupied major city squares in the process. With swathes of the youth, middles classes and other strata of society occupying major city squares' in a dramatic demonstration and outpouring of popular mass power, came to mean different things to many. In the West, the view held, was to belief that this represented popular masses rejections of the ossified dictators, and elsewhere, a spontaneous but historically evolving rejection of both the Western-supported dictators and their neoliberal agendas.

The results of the destabilization and destruction of Libya, are not only the non-existent state and intercede violence of the warring factions, but also the exporting of militants of al Qaeda and al-Nusra to fight in Syria, with the explicit backing of the Western powers, pursuing the ongoing regime change endeavour. The idea of fermenting civil war in Syria is to topple Bashar al-Saad and because the US wanted this to be seen as a loss of support from large sections of Syrian population, creating proxy wars became the most effective strategy to seek to do regime change in Syria.



According to Samir Amin, the protests' were to be expected and that there were many indications in this direction. He traces the 'historic evolution of these protests to the Bandung and non-alignment period (1955-1980), where the 'Arab countries were in the forefront of struggles of the people, the nations and states of the South for a better future and less unequal global system'. "Algeria's National Liberation Front (FLN) and Boumediene, Nasser's Egypt, the Baath regimes in Iraq and Syria, and South Yemen Republic shared common characteristics. They were not 'democratic' regimes according to Western criteria (they were one-party systems), nor even according to our criteria, which imply positive empowerment of the people. But, they were nevertheless legitimate in the eyes of their peoples for their actual achievements - mass education, health and other public services, industrialisation and guarantees of employment, upward social mobility - all of which were associated with independent initiatives and anti-imperialist postures. They were therefore continuously and fiercely fought by the Western powers, in particular through Israel's repeated aggressions," argues Amin.

"Even though these regimes accounted for significant achievements within a short period of time, they subsequently ran out of steam as a direct result of amongst others internal contradictions and limits, but also efforts to thwart Western powers attempts at reversal. In the immediate aftermath of the fall of the Berlin Wall and breakdown of the Soviet Union, Western powers embarked on a headstrong neoliberal offensive. The ruling circles, in order to remain in office, chose to retreat and submit to the demands of neoliberal globalisation. This resulted in fast degradation of the social conditions and rolling back of successes achieved in the era of the national popular state, to the benefit of the popular and middle classes, with poverty and mass unemployment being the normal result of the neoliberal policies being pursued," says Amin. This created the objective conditions for the revolts.

These events (the wave of popular protests) caught the Western powers and its allies off guard and as such, no comprehensive strategy to deal with the implications of, and/or manipulate the process and course of events, toward their desired goal(s) was properly conceptualised at the beginning. The Western powers and allies - who bankrolled and nurtured the dictators and through whom their political sustenance was provided, were found in a quandary and unsure of what next to do in the process. This process in many



ways represented the disdain with which the masses rejected, not only the neoliberal project of the West, but also its headmasters who were nurtured to implement it. The coterie of leaders the West choose (for decades) to support and the policies they implemented wreaked havoc on the lives of the ordinary people and other strata of society and left in its wake unemployment, poverty, economic stagnation, inflation, political and social marginalisation.

The post-'Arab Spring' situation resurfaced, in a significant manner, the foreign policy drive, of in particular the US and the Barack Obama administration's imperatives with respect to the Middle East. Obama's foreign policy rests on two pillars:

- US corporate interests; and
- reliance on military and intelligence agencies to guide and arrive at decisions

On the campaign trail, candidate Obama repeatedly stressed he 'wanted to get things right in the Middle East, reversing the damage that had been done by the previous administration's reliance on faulty intelligence and its willingness to apply military solutions to problems it barely understood'. It seemed, Obama, as he declared, 'would engage the Muslim world, not just threaten to attack it'. This, an intrinsic part of imperialism hegemonism, is better articulated in the stated foreign policy goals of powerful nations to 'provide leadership in building and nurturing economic and political, rooted in regional and international institutions that would bring stability in a chaotic place.



Ironically, Obama has overseen more US military wars, Special Forces and drone strikes in his second tenure as president of the US. In July, a BBC panel discussing the tragic situation in Libya, agreed that, the Western intervention has not worked and Libya is now a 'failed state'. Until 2011 when NATO planes, authorized by

NATO member-countries, bombed Libya back into the Stone Age, that country was a relatively stable one with an impressive standard of living. The oil guaranteed Muammar Gaddafi's the highest levels of living for Libyans in Africa.

The geopolitical strategy of the US seeks to counter China and Russia. But, most telling is its calculations of the price it will pay for failures to understand that the coming geopolitical competition with China (and Russia) will not be played out in the Pacific theatre alone. Importantly, it contends, the competition will also be played out in the Middle East, and the consequences it will have for America's corporates and its position as the policeman of the world. The US is weary of China (and Russia) and its unfolding role in world affairs. It estimates that 'China would love to play the role (of great power) in the region, as China develops close and growing economic and diplomatic relationships with the Arab world, Pakistan, Iran and Turkey.

Vali Nasr, former senior advisor to Ambassador Richard Holbrooke; argues that, 'though the Obama administration's hands-off policy had been good in that it had made the Arab Spring about Arabs, ... this may not be good enough.' "It may get amassing grade in managing change of regimes as old dictators fall, but it has largely failed at the real challenge, which is to help new governments in the region move towards democracy and reform their parlous, sclerotic economies", he says. "Removing a dictator is only the first step on the road to democracy; beyond that, the Arab Spring presented nor adequately prepared for potential fallout in the form of regional rivalry, the explosion of sectarian tensions, and deep-rooted economic crises", he states.

The interests of the US in the Middle East:

Since his speech in Cairo 2009, Obama has sought to impress and placate the Muslim simultaneously. There he wanted to come across as being sympathetic to the aspirations of the Muslim world, by amongst others calling on Israel to halt the building of settlements in the West Bank. The ill-defined 'war on terror' campaign has forced the Obama administration into some consideration with respect to the consequences of such. This, we now know has been the hand that nurtured and fed the Islamists and lent support to groups such as the Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant (ISIL)/al Nusra and the Islamic State of Syria and Iraq (ISIS). Since aligning itself with extremist groups during the Cold War era, the US continued to nurture Islamists groups such as Al-Qaeda as an instrument of terror designed to divide the Middle East and to counter Iran's growing influence in the region. The collapse of Iraq's security in the face of an ISIS offensive that was part of a broader



Sunni revolt against Iraq's US-installed Shi'ite sectarian government, is now being used as the justification for a US military intervention aimed at reasserting US military dominance in Iraq, intensifying the war to overthrow the Assad regime in neighbouring Syria, and escalating the confrontations with key allies of Damascus-Iran and Russia. However, such strategic ambitions cannot be achieved with such unreliable proxy forces as the Iraqi military and the so-called Syrian 'rebels'. They require the unrestrained use of Washington's military might. This is why the generals are publicly challenging the blanket commitment made by Obama ruling out any use of ground war in Iraq and Syria.

According to the Western powers, the Arab world looked poised for 'democracy' during the Arab Spring events. The outcome, they hoped would have great significance to them and mean much to America - perhaps even a final satisfactory solution to all that the Middle East had flummoxed them, threatened and spilled innocent blood of young American men and women in senseless wars.

For the US and its allies, the expected outcome of the Arab Spring was an embrace of the self-same policies which laid the basis for the crises in the first place - more of neoliberal policy implementation. They sum up their expectation as; "... we can say that the Arab Spring would be have been such a disappointment had we engaged with the region quickly and forcefully to give change an economic direction, helping bloated public sectors to reform and integrate into the global economy. We could have had an impact on the outcome had we had a strategy other than washing our hands of the region, and had we shown willingness to exercise leadership. We might not have averted conflicts and humanitarian crises, but we would have had a significant impact in those countries that got through the initial change of leadership and, in the fog of victory needed help, especially with their economies", Nasr points.



In the post-Arab Spring analysis Washington's take of the developments, is that the Arab Spring has produced illiberal new regimes, hybrid governments blending surviving security forces with rising Islamic parties of various hues, which has them even more worried. "There will be civil wars, broken states, sectarian persecutions, humanitarian crises, faltering economies, and new foreign policy challenges (ranging from warming of relations between Egypt and Iran to new issues to fight over with Russia and China) - nothing resembling a resounding march to democracy and economic prosperity, and no clear embrace of free institutions and norms", argues Nasr.

The ambiguity of the Obama administration's take regarding the Arab Spring is also evident in various dimensions. For example, at the height of Egyptians jamming of Tahrir Square to demand president Hosni Mubarak step down; Obama took the bold step of supporting the protestors and called on former ally Mubarak to relinquish power and set down immediately. However, it is also worth noting that Obama was not making the same loud noises and commitment to support 'democratisation' across the board in the Middle East. The US remained closely allied with some of the region's most authoritarian regimes, and calling on Mubarak to leave soon muddled up



waters for them - with Saudi Arabia in particular. No mention of rulers in Bahrain, Qatar or Yemen to depart immediately, was by the US and their muted utterances in this regard demonstrate in no small measure their interests in and for the region. Obama's call for Mubarak to go would not be repeated with other dictators in the region in the months to come - not in Bahrain or Yemen, not even in Libya as quickly or with the same conviction - and the US would in fact deepen its reliance on authoritarian petro-monarchies in the Persian Gulf. Support for dictators has been the bane of US policy in the Middle East and across the world for many decades. Since Anwar Sadat signed a peace deal with Israel in 1978, the US has poured billions of dollars in aid into Egypt, with the lion's share going to the military.

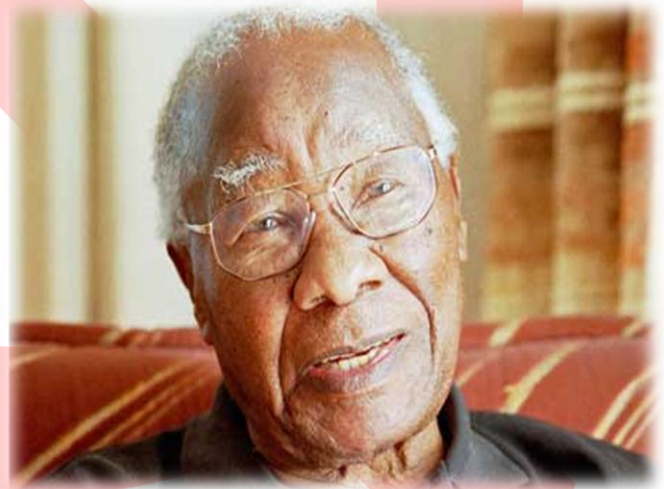


If in the eyes of the US, the Arab Spring were to bear fruit, America would have had to get involved diplomatically and more, importantly, economically. The universal rationale goes: 'American engagement had been vital to the success of previous democracy waves in Asia, Eastern Europe and Latin America. In those places, America has led international efforts to anchor burgeoning democracies in the closest alliances with the West that could be managed (the promise of NATO and EU membership serving as a useful magnet for Eastern Europe)'. The US prides itself of having influenced political discussions and helped with the writing of constitutions, forming parties, holding elections, and stabilising young democratic governments. By its own admission the US, has in previous waves of worked in concert with Europe, international institutions, and private capital to pour vast economic resources into the 'new democracies' and to influence them to embrace and adopt market friendly policies. "The idea has been to give promising political developments a sound basis in economic restructuring and greater engagement with the global economy. During that time period the relevance of economic reform to successful democratisation was captured in the so-called Washington consensus, an agreement among international financial institutions and world powers, led by the US, to push for a regimen

of reforms that would change the structure of economies, societies, and hence, politics;" points Nasr out. Democracy depends on economic growth and economic growth depends on reform.

Some argue that the Arab Spring has not given America much to work with. It has not produced liberal forces marching toward democratic capitalism. Libya today is hardly a state, Syria is gripped by a debilitating civil war, and Egypt is descending into the unknown, caught between Islamic fundamentalists and their only real rival power, a clique of authoritarian generals. Nasr says; "Our policy, in the end, will be judged by whether the Arab Spring produces better Arab states that do right by their people and live up to their responsibility to the international order and its institutions. Only then will we have brought our values and interests into alignment."

If the Arab Spring was a glimpse of an alternative future, Amin argues 'that although this 'spring' coincided with 'autumn' of capitalism, the Arab uprisings were primarily anti-imperialist and not anti-capitalist. To take control of shaping their future, Arab peoples need to ally with other struggles against both capitalism and imperialism, unify for secular democracy and avoid retreat into Islamisation. The alternative is that capitalism's decline pulls humanity into widespread barbarity through increasing militarism and erosion of democracy.'



"International solidarity is not an act of charity: It is an act of unity between allies fighting on different terrains toward the same objective. The foremost of these objectives is to aid the development of humanity to the highest level possible." - Samora Machel (1933 - 1986) Leader of FRELIMO, First President of Mozambique

**Cde Chris 'Che' Matlhako is fulltime SACP Central Committee and Politburo member and serves as Secretary for International Affairs**



## HERITAGE OF BALCK'S DOMINATION & TASKS OF THE MOMENT

As we celebrate the heritage month in South Africa one often imagine what would have been great nation heritage if imperialist and colonisers would have not come to torment this country in a manner they have done in the past four centuries or so. For a minute lets ponder the character, values, heritage, language, development, nature of economy if South African development would been driven with interest of its people by its people. Surely no absolute answers could be given, but one is tempted to arrive at a conclusion that our economy would not be monopolised in every sector by white males of foreign origin locked in a semi colonial growth path worse subsidising imperial countries economy like Britain and United States. Doubt if what is beautiful, cool and attractive could still be associated with US and Europe. One has little doubt if white culture would so dominant in informing our heritage as it today.

But injustice of the past which is life of being colonised and oppressed over centuries and struggle is dialectical intertwined in directing our heritage. South Africa has well documented history of black's sufferings and her torrid past of oppression and discrimination. What is even unique about South Africa is that more often those disposed, marginalised and oppressed are minority but in South Africa it was majority and further that many countries were colonised by imperialist in another country and their flag, parliament, laws etc were to derive from another country in South Africa the coloniser and the colonised shared same territory. Therefore this co-existence post-independence cannot be wished away as it means those who were privileged continue to live side by side with marginalised and years after first elections this reality is still stuck.

Cde Joe Slovo as far back as 1998 intimately pointed out that *'The immediate primacy of the struggle against race tyranny flows from the concrete realities of our existing situation. The concept of national domination is not a mystification to divert us from class approaches; it infects every level of class exploitation. Indeed, it divides our working class into colour compartments. Therefore, unusual categories such as 'white working class' and 'black working class' are not 'unscientific' but simply describe the facts'*

The inequality, poverty and unemployment in South Africa therefore did not just come to pass but its origin are in the very same heritage of this country.

While complimenting massive strides in making South Africa better country to live in, save subjective constraints in the past 21 years but in the main it is the result of generations of deliberate pre 1994 state action such as the Land Act, the pass laws, race classification, job reservation and Group Areas that inform what we confronted with today.



Most of listed companies in Johannesburg Stock Exchange, highest home earners etc today are in white hands because blacks

were driven out by racist statutes. White farmers got credit, loans and subsidies on a vast scale, black counterparts did not only got nothing but were deliberately marginalised hence today white farmers are said to be commercial farmers responsible for country food security. Furth more black schooling was segregated and inferior and its effects are haunting the country even today. Recent report by Institute of Race Relations shows that *" 77 percent of white folk have a matric or more, but only 35 percent of black folk have a matric or more. So you have twice the amount of people that have a matric or tertiary education as a percentage of the white population than as a percentage of the black population."*

Come 1994, people government inherit economy which is described by Cde Rob Davies in that it *"was characterised by an extended period of negative growth rates, falling per capita incomes, ballooning fiscal deficit, double digit inflation rates, negative rates of fixed investment, rising unemployment, low rates of firm-level R&D, declining gold production coupled with a low gold price, and adversarial labour relations at shop-floor level. At the industrial level concentration was extremely high, with more than 80% of all the Johannesburg Stock Exchange-listed companies owned by just six diversified conglomerates. ... Exports were highly concentrated around mining and mineral products, mainly exported to Europe and the United States"*.

Best caption to narrate tasks of dealing with institutionalized generational violence against black people in general and Africans in particular and task of creating non-racial, non-sexist, democratic, united, prosperous is found from Lyndon B Johnsons' wise words back as 1965 when he says *"You do not wipe away the scars of centuries by saying: Now you are free to go where you want, and do as you desire, and choose the leaders as you please. You do not take a person who for years has been hobbled by chains and liberate him, bring him up to the starting line of the race*



*and then say, 'you are free to compete with all the others,' and still justly believe you have been completely fair."*

To confirm accuracy of words of Lyndon B Johnson's a recent research report by the SA Institute of Race Relations found "*glaring racial inequalities*" between the earnings of black and white workers. It revealed that the average individual monthly earnings of white people are four times higher than that of black people.

The report further shows the level of poverty among black Africans which is at 42 percent while for whites it is just one percent.

economy and workplace reflecting of demographics of its people and confidence that it not a colour of skin that matters but content of man objectives of NDR will remain elusive.

We have to free the capacities of millions of people who have never had a real chance to show their mettle. Widening the pool of candidates for any post should lead to greater competence, not less. A further consideration, backed up by international experience, is that diversity in such key areas as education, law, health and the civil service is a value in itself. The admixture of life experiences, the organic cultural and linguistic links with all communities and consequent sense of representatively, enrich and improve the functioning of the bodies concerned.



*Institute of race relations shows that "In 2006, two-thirds (66,8%) of black Africans were living under the upper-bound poverty line. This proportion remained relatively unchanged in 2009 (66,9%) before declining to 54,0% in 2011 – this reflects a 19% decrease in the level of poverty amongst black Africans from 2006 to 2011..., these levels of poverty were significantly higher than the levels amongst the other population groups. In 2006, two-fifths (41,6%) of coloureds were found to be poor, as were one in eight (13,0%) Indians/Asians and very few (0,6%) whites. Levels of poverty amongst coloureds have progressively decreased to 37,8% in 2009 and 27,6% in 2011, showing an overall decline of 34% during the period".*

Therefore it is unsustainable if every region and city is to be divided into manifestly rich and flagrantly poor areas, there will never be social peace. Without opening up the economy and making it benefit its people, the production of wealth in our country will take place on a precariously narrow base. Without ownership of the

While there is growing realisation of systematic exclusion and marginalisation of black people some section tend to refuse to accept that this is not a just product of hate of blacks by whites or simply put racism. But at its core its marginalisation of blacks as class in that in South Africa poverty and unemployment has class colour and that is black. Therefore response cannot be limited to just inviting white companies to the party as Adv Gumbe simply did after presenting beautiful lecture of Steve Biko recently at NMMU or just being efficient in what we are already doing as pragmatist of Cde Joel Netshitenzhe school of thought want to suggest.

Response has to be through going and at its essence temper and transform with the structure of the economic as base of the country, as current trajectory locked in mineral finance energy complex with semi colonial growth path is incapable of radical transforming and therefore respond to aspirations of African people in this country.



SACP on its Going to the root suggest very useful proposals with range of interventions:

Most important is the re-industrialisation of our economy so that we move up the global productive, value chain. "Relative de-linking" from the imperialist countries, leveraging on growing global multi-polarity as basis already provided by BRICS, for instance. Coupled with regional integration and development, prioritising African agenda that must, in turn, break with the old-apartheid era, neo-colonial, and sub-imperialism.

Infrastructure development that begins to break with a largely persisting (neo-) colonial pattern of logistical infrastructure premised on natural resource extraction from our region to the imperial north - pit-to-port and plantation-to-port rail lines, for instance SACP proposition goes further to acknowledge that some of the important drivers for this proposition are already in motion which include:

The NEW Growth Path 13 jobs and growth drivers: Infrastructure build; mining and beneficiation; manufacturing; tourism; greening the economy; rural development; the Industrial Policy Action Plan (IPAP); agriculture and agro-processing; the knowledge economy; the social economy; the public sector; education and training; and African regional development.

The IPAP is a key pillar the NGP. This is a re-iterative state-led action plan continuously updated and focused on Re-industrialisation. Beneficiation of our mineral resources is a key pillar of IPAP. The National Infrastructure Plan co-ordinated through the Presidential Infrastructure Coordinating Commission (PICC) through 18 over-arching Strategic Integrated Plans (SIPs). Amongst other things the NIP seeks to support the re-industrialisation programme

Other important strategic interventions to place our economy on to a new growth and development path include:

- The ANC's State Intervention in the Mining Sector (SIMS) policy; coupled with re – nationalisation of SASOL and ACCERLOMETAL.
- Interventions to break the collusive conduct and market power of private monopoly capital – Through a range of regulatory and other interventions, using the Competition Commission and related institutions;
- Transforming the financial sector – DFIs, industrial investment, prescribed assets, trade union investment funds and greater working class strategic control over retirement funds.
- Development of SMMEs and coops around the industrialisation process

- Transforming the education and training system to align with and support our developmental and productive economy objectives
- Changing our energy mix – greater self-reliance, greater sustainability
- Linking BBBEE more effectively to our developmental and productive economy objectives, with an emphasis on fostering a productive entrepreneurship, including a new cadre of black industrialists and promoting local production and local value chains.



Systematic marginalisation of black as class was deliberate program for centuries and therefore its resolution has to be deliberate program. Core to its resolution is appreciating that the current structure of the economy is inherently racist and investment of new growth path is not a matter of choice. In addition to that our heritage must equally break free from clutches of north imperial countries values, culture and heritage and as African people we must invest on our pride and rediscover our being joined together in our life experiences, organic culture, shared heritage, inspired freedoms, teachings from nature and our evolution, learn our linguistic links and civilisation.

Simply put as African people we must vision therefore become?

**Cde Mawethu Rune is the SACP EC PEC Member.**



## A MARXIST HERITAGE EPOCH

*" The power of all accumulated wealth gives capitalists control over the school, the church, the press, the cinema, and many other means of influencing the mind of the masses, making democracy a farce." Karl Marx*

In affirming our joint heritage during this month we are mindful that all the noble ideas of a common nation state were driven by our democratic triumph as a downtrodden, and today's unity and social cohesion defines that nobility of thought. The hitherto existence of all social cohesion was brought through various revolutionary moments in our struggle and no unguided lumpen should redefine it.

As we enter the second phase of radical and meaningful socio economic struggle the question has arisen as to how we give concrete expression in the lives of young people in order to secure social cohesion. Still little contribution is made by even history books, libraries, and funded research work to correct the skewed depiction of our history. The art as expressed by our people embedded in their own philosophy and religion still has no blue print in education, law, and the forms of our state with the exclusion of religion which raises the question of in whose morality are we acting upon 20 years down the line. Equally important as Marxists are we still driving the National Democratic Revolution as led by our revolutionary alliance on more Marxist terms and conditions or as an innocent social movement in a social sense with no Marxist outlook ?

The question is raised to in order to examine as whether the current revolution has brought a shift in class power as yet and the answer would be NO. In any revolution power shifts from one class to another and I shall warn against the narrow definition of a class simply because of its proximity the "means "of production. Not all revolutions are Marxist for that matter and can be fixed in a social sense like the American Revolution which never sets itself out to change class power but was merely the attainment of civil rights. A revolution essentially is about the change of the old mode of production and where the new has no signs or resemblance of the old and is neither evolutionary nor gradual. In the same breath any revolution that seeks to "capture "power is than seriously contemplating "seizure "of power by other means.

What are the lessons and are the similar shades and reflections from that situation to ours where social disruption of the state is seen to be revolutionary and progressive whereas it poses a fundamental threat to social cohesion and stability. Normally this tendency of social disruption is common in anti - colonial struggles

where the objective is not to change class power but to outside imperialists with local resident upper classes. What about social cohesion under such conditions with such methods?

Social disruption is not the driver for social change in a Marxist tradition hence his Marx departure from Bakunin and Kropotkin as different strands of social change, but class struggle is. Social disruption is a lumpen revolutionary unguided activity of forces outside the existing and dominant mode of production who lies idle in society and can easily engage in " anti - social " and criminal activity. Therein lies their capability to overthrow a stable and well running state because of their lack of revolutionary potential and progressive consciousness. The lack of their revolutionary potential is informed by their own material conditions where they are not under the roof of neither industrial nor service workers as in our case. Unlike organised workers and trade unions who are a special product of capitalists this group of individuals are dangerously unorganised and are free from the limitations and bounds of capital or just an employer for that matter. As a result of this they don't have means to develop class consciousness because they are outside the productive processes and to try to organise them is a social disaster.

Given the above definition it proves that recently we have been confronted by such elements seeking to replace our struggle narrative by making use of this lumpen outside forces to legitimise social disruption and is posing this threat to our hard fought social cohesion. Ours was not defined in a social sense and the reformists should remember we are not a special product of capital as well but our definition of classes is far beyond the word means of production. Ours is to create productive human resource power in the economy and change the forces of production first.

Ours is not a self-fulfilling prophecy born out of radical breaks but steeped in democratic centralism traditions with a revolutionary Marxist program, ideologically trained principled cadres to influence the media, state, religion, law, language, arts, philosophy so as to change the morality of the new social order we seek to build.

Our common heritage is not class neutral and definitively not an innocent social activity.

*"In bourgeois society capital is independent and has no individuality, while the living person is dependent and has no individuality " Karl Marx*

Cde Gregory 'Vladimir' Brown is ANC PEC Member, writes in his personal capacity.



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