



# SACP

SOUTH AFRICAN COMMUNIST PARTY

EASTERN CAPE

PEC BULLETIN



15th 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  
Fundile "Blacks" Gade  
Mawethu Rune  
Nonkoliso Ngqongwa  
Andile Mosha

**Next Edition:** Kindly forward your contributions to [simdodi@gmail.com](mailto:simdodi@gmail.com) before Thursday, 20 May 2016.

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In the month of April, as South Africans and the people of the whole world we celebrate the life and times of our heroes. We remember those who departed in this month of April. Cde Solomon Kalushi Mahlangu, Thembisile Chris Hani and Oliver Reginald Tambo.

### Chris Hani

Comrade Chris Hani was the South African Communist Party (SACP) General Secretary, African National Congress (ANC) and the Chief of Staff of the people's army Umkhonto Wesizwe. He was brutally assassinated by the two apartheid criminals, Janusz Walus and Clive Derby-Lewis on the 10 April 1993.

The two unrepentant criminals are yet to reveal the truth behind his assassination, which show that they have no remorse for their deed, which nearly brought South Africa into the civil war. They attempted smuggling their half-baked apology to the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC), which was rejected, amongst other reason was that they were not remorseful as they hid the truth. It is for this reason that we believe that the two unrepentant criminals do not deserve a parole but to stay in jail until they are fully rehabilitated.

### Oliver Tambo.

Cde Oliver Reginald Tambo was the founding member of the African National Congress Youth League (ANCYL), and later became its National Secretary. He was the Secretary General of the African National Congress (ANC) and later elected as the President General of the ANC, he was also the Commander of the Umkhonto Wesizwe. He led the ANC during the most difficult times keeping the movement and the people in general united in the cause of the liberation of the human kind.

O.R Tambo spent most of his life in exile as he spent thirty years in exile. He lead the ANC and the entire congress movement under most difficult of times. He kept the ANC its leagues, military wing and its alliance partners. He died at the age of 75 due to stroke.

### Solomon Mahlangu

Solomon Kalushi Mahlangu was the combatant of Umkhonto Weizwe (MK) cadre. Solomon Kalushi Mahlangu was wrongfully accused on charges of

murder and terrorism in 1977, and executed by hanging in 1979.

Solomon Kalushi Mahlangu was born in Pretoria on 10 July in 1956. He was the second son of Martha Mahlangu. His father left him in 1962, and from then on only saw him infrequently. His mother was a domestic worker and took sole responsibility for his upbringing. He attended Mamelodi High School up to Standard 8, but did not complete his schooling as a result of the school's closure due to the then ongoing riots.

SIYABONGA MDODI

Solomon Mahlangu born of a working class family, a son of a domestic worker had first hand experience of the then illegitimate apartheid government and decided to join the people's camp in fighting for liberation of the people of South Africa under the leadership of the ANC.

The courageous Kalushi Mahlangu joined the ANC in September 1976, and left the country to join the people's army, Umkhonto Wesizwe to be trained as a soldier. He joined the MK camps in Angola and Mozambique and on 11 June 1977 he returned to South Africa as a cadre, to assist the students I their struggles within South Africa. It was just after few days when he was then captured by the brutal apartheid police alongside Johannes Motloun in 13 June 1977. He was later executed after he was refused the leave to appeal.

Solomon Mahlangu's life is an instructive example of sacrifice and selflessness, for he had left everything behind to be in the fore front of the struggle for the liberation of the people of South Africa. His last words before execution remain an important reminder of how precious this freedom we are enjoying is, when he said "My blood will nourish the tree that will bear the fruits of freedom. Tell my people that I love them. They must continue the fight."

### Let's honour of heroes

Let us be courageous like Solomon Mahlangu, O.R Tambo and Chris Hani in confronting the triple challenges facing the people of South Africa, the challenges of unemployment, poverty and inequality. Let's honour their memory by preserving the organisations that they served with diligence. Let's restore the people's confidence to the ANC led alliance, be faithful to the people and loyal to our organisations.

Siyabonga Mdodi – SACP Provincial Spokesperson



## *“The defeat of the corporate capture is in the interest of the people’s camp”*

During the Easter holiday while Christians descended to various places of worship, one had rare opportunity to spend few days at my rural homestead. Among striking realities it was that drought remains a strategic threat in particular to subsistence farmers, but immediate cry from community was how their livestock was being ravaged by ticks and demanding building of a dip tank. Shared view was that their livestock was being tormented by this parasite and that their immune system was being severely compromised and that regardless of interventions against strategic threat (drought) but their livestock would have succumbed to ticks and have no momentum on resisting drought. This in application of dialectics can be regarded as primary contradiction between livestock and itself but it reinforced external and primary contradiction in this instance drought.

This analogy while real but its essence depicts the phenomenon of what is referred to as “corporate capture”. This piece would limit on engaging views which have sought to dismiss that corporate capture exist and it’s extremely dangerous for success of our revolution.

In the main it has been said that the danger of money or business interest capturing and redirecting the movement, government and state as nothing but monolithic imperialist sponsored regime change agenda or remnants of anti-President Zuma forces which would find any excuse to dislodge ANC and most ridiculous claim was from Gupta family in that there is no corporate capture but imagination of ANC factions.

It must be stated upfront that it would be catastrophic the day unscrupulous business interest have total hegemony over discourse of our revolution, it would be as good as making the country a one big tender and put it up for procurement by the biggest bidder. If that was to happen a cause for liberating the blacks in general and Africans in particular from political and economic

bondages we may as well kiss it goodbye for profit making scheme more like *“political MMM”*.

It can be successful argued that the core business of business is business, plainly put unending desire to accumulate profit and wealth and such objective can never be compatible with interest of people as a whole but selfish sectarian business interest.

To confirm that corporate capture tendency or attempt has been with ANC and the movement for some time, albeit much pronounced on last decade or so, National alliance discussion document make reference that *“Driven by access to resources, prestige and authority, lobbying becomes one of life and death. Access to government positions gives individual comrades authority to issue tenders and contracts to private companies. These private companies, in return, fund the promotion of individual leaders by using the media to discredit the imaginary enemies and supply cash flow for lobbying. The threat is the election of proxy leaders who represent business interests”*.

Further to point to some glaring instances of this tendency, we have not forgotten the shenanigans of Bret Kebble and the Co and its repercussions remain intense to date. Therefore this tendency is not new per se but organization has always been able to contain and overwhelm it and with challenges engulfing our structures possibility exist that this tendency among others may be contesting to overwhelm the organization.

Again the analogy of drought pronounces a point often made by Tat’ Makupula (Mandla Makupula, SACP CC Member) in that when a dam is full the dirt on surface do not contaminate the water but as volumes go down, dirt

become more pronounced, is this then not what we are confronted with ??.

Interestingly President Zuma on opening of the very same alliance summit on 2015 touches on this question by saying *“In addition to this is the use of money. Those who have money are the one who lead the ANC. This dovetails with the new interests that have come, that is, business. The reason the comrade can be a leader is that interest must be protected and generate more. From the minute the comrade is elected at branch level, s/he is like to rise in the leadership, both in the organisation and the party. S/he is likely to be serving these factions.*



*“...it would be catastrophic the day unscrupulous business interest have total hegemony over discourse of our revolution...”*



*This makes it difficult to deal with corruption because he is the key person”.*

*We cannot allow these things to continue. We cannot have the ANC that belongs to the highest bidders. I would disagree with any member who thinks otherwise; because it would mean that we think membership when you have money. There are comrades who have died because of these problems. There are few comrades that have not encountered this”.*

It cannot be dismissed that conditions of our struggle are not of our own choosing but influenced greatly by global balance of forces. For some time global outlook has been unipolar and imperial forces and its friends, bullying every country into accepting neo-liberalism and including aggressively and militarily forced means



on every country. It was to be expected that BRICS attempts to develop bipolar world outlook and contest the bullies, which would view a threat and be met with fierce contest by imperialist forces and backlash was always to be predicted.

Equally it cannot be dismissed that established capital will prefer the status core to remain and for capital to continue undisturbed amass wealth (Rupert's and Oppenheims of this world) and it should also not be surprising when a clarion call for second radical economic transformation is being fought, if does not mean aggressive accumulation for few as interpretation of comprador parasite bourgeoisie (Gupta's of this world). Movement's resolve to transform the base (economy) require disciplined, consistent, trustworthy and coherent movement. As it follows that a state, social, political, economic and ideas arise from base but

also influence the base, these elements make up what we call the superstructure. The superstructure reflects in turn, protects, organizes and strengthens the base. They are a superstructure because they can only be understood, in the final in terms of a society's economic base.

These realities therefore require a much more coherent and focused organization and capable state to discipline capital and lead process of transformation, if movement is weakened, derailed from the actual cause and structures authority curtailed and only cater for interest business interest, then it's impossible to serve the interest of the people.

Parasite capital will only in essence be collaborators with established capital which in any way is linked on value chain of monopoly capital. One argues therefore



that there is no Chinese wall between antagonistic and non – antagonistic contradictions, put plainly antagonistic and non-antagonistic contradictions can manifest in an interconnected and reinforcing manner. In this instance parasite bourgeoisies which contest to capture the movement, government and state feeds as a tactic for an overall capitalist accumulation, which in practice is collaborative for the very same white monopoly capital and furthermore erode capacity and momentum of movement to defeat the very same monopoly capital.

This flows from appreciation that people do not relate on just any basis. But relate to one another through their mutual relation to property relations and in advancing their class interest. Cde Joe Slovo observed this even before dawn of democracy in that in post-



colonial South African government that *“It cannot be denied that a private sector of whatever size will inevitably help to generate negative social and ideological tendencies. But social control over the main means of production and distribution by a political power in which the working class is dominant should more than counter-balance such tendencies”*

On question of state, if we depart on appreciation of state as defined by work of Marx and Lenin which assert state as organ of class rule which emerged out of irreconcilable class antagonism, buttressed for purpose of this piece by work of Goran Therbon in that *“the state is a ‘system of apparatuses, the state is a type of formal organization. It is distinguished by its specific functions: coercive defense (army, police etc.), political governance (by supreme rule-making), administrative management (by rule-application), and judicial regulation of a given social formation’*, therefore it would ideological foolish to want to suggest that state is inherently and only rooted to advance and protect exclusively interest of capitalist class.



State cannot be viewed as knobkerrie which on time is in total control of one class and the other class is contending without influence on the thing (state), till such a time that it is won over by the other class for also exclusive influence and control. The posture of any arm of state is a product of class formations for hegemony. Using definition of Therbon on state, participation of progressive forces and influence over political governance and administrative management within South Africa state has assisted in great deal in changing lives of many for the better. This change for the better is not inherent or ordained but product of struggle and

influence. We have witnessed massive redistribution in interest of majority, pronounced by amount of social grants, houses built, roads constructed, and investment on education and health etc.

If then any component or the whole pillars of state, were to be captured to pursue business interest, base structure will not be transformed and money and resources meant for poorest will be diverted to personal pockets as profit. Already on various spheres of government this is evident on how corruption is rife, tenders manipulated, services outsourced, price inflated etc. All this corrupt primitive accumulation is often done against the monies meant to service the poor. Sum total of all this being people losing confidence on ANC and its government.

Therefore as progressive forces wrestle among other sectors for hegemony of the majority and peoples aspiration within and outside the state, it is imperative that such participation must never be driven as to perfect the state apparatus in its prevailing circumstance but in the immediate it must seek to transform it in something new that in its form and content capable on responding to interest of majority.

The sustainable transformation of state apparatus is when the material property relations alter from hands of few to enjoyment of the majority, with alternate of production patterns departing from dictates of capitalism. This can never be realized if the movement is unable to overcome these sort of tendencies including those espoused by the like of Gupta’s or Rupert’s and others.

This then dictate that any attempt by any business tendency to capture our movement, government and state will likely be with us for a longtime. And to contain and overwhelm this tendency, movement must not deny its existence or seek only to imperialize or enemies but must confront and contain it, which is only possible if the movement is united, strong, focused and capable with equally competent and capable state.

**By: Mawethu Rune – SACP PWC Member; ANCYL PEC Member, Former National Deputy Chairperson of the YCLSA and Former President of SASCO.**



## *“Chris Hani commemoration through action”*

As we commemorate Cde Chris Hani as the South African Communist, let us increase engagement with workers as a principal ally of the communist movement. It was Marx and Engels in the Communist Manifesto in 1848 that the Communists *“have no interests separate from the interests of the proletariat in general.”* Organized workers under the banner of COSATU federation are therefore our principal ally. It's not a tactical alliance of convenience. We all have a duty to build and strengthen this revolutionary connection.

It is extremely important to state this responsibility upfront as we look forward to Workers Day, which was won through sweat and blood by the internationalist workers movement. We must cherish this day but through strengthening and defending the unity of COSATU. Our revolution cannot afford disintegration of COSATU hence we must redouble our efforts to build, unite and defend the revolution. There are many bitter exploitative renegades that want to hijack the revolutionary legacy of COSATU for their own benefit. These elements must be rejected! We all have a duty to defend our federation. We must also recruit and expand our ranks in order for revolutionary ideas to be hegemonised.

I thought it was necessary to start by stressing the importance of unity of workers as a necessity for our revolution. However the main purpose of this piece is to commemorate the legacy of our hero and former General Secretary Cde. Chris Hani.

It is an insult, a tragedy and a travesty that during this month, which we regard as Chris Hani Month, the killers of Chris are being granted parole. This is the insult that a White judge is determined to ignore the fact that Hani was cold bloodedly murdered and the killers never disclosed the truth nor show remorse. We continue to maintain that until Januz Waluz discloses how he obtained the gun stolen from apartheid army, who gave him security detail of Hani, who originated the hit list? Until Waluz discloses the full information he must rot in jail.

In fact it important to stress that our freedom was not free, our transition was peaceful. Let us demystify this historical reality. Our very

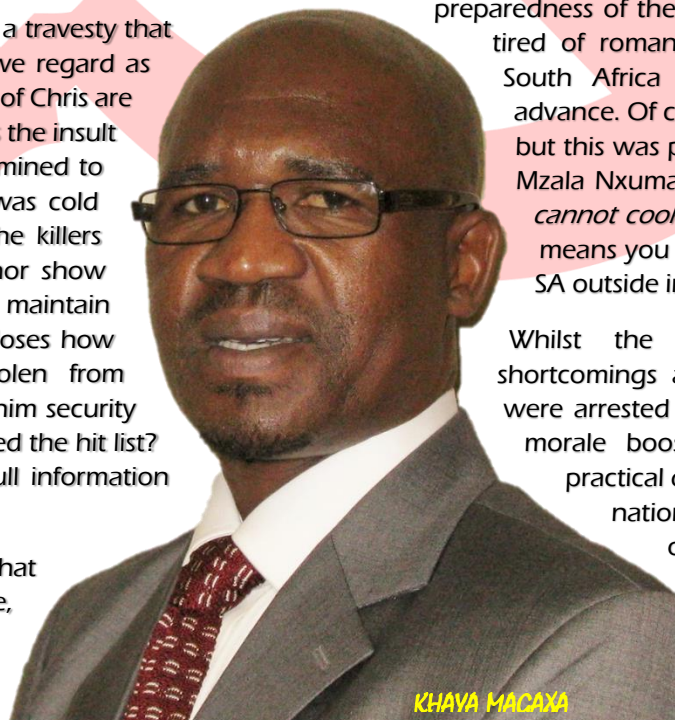
*“In fact it important to stress that our freedom was not free, our transition was peaceful”*

constitution was written with the blood of Chris Hani and many victims of Boibatong, Thokoza and KwaZulu Natal apartheid sponsored violence. Chris Hani's death brought the country to the brink of civil war and forced the regime to commit to the election date.

Perhaps it is important to remind people that Cde. Chris was born to a poor working class family in Sabalele Village in Cofimvaba. After completing his studies in the Eastern Cape, Chris Hani arrived in the City of Cape Town where he joined his father in Langa. It was in Cape Town that Chris Hani joined the SACP and then volunteered for Umkhonto we Sizwe, the army he was eventually to serve as its Chief of Staff. He received his first military training at MK's clandestine camp on a farm near Mamre, before leaving South Africa in 1962 and undergoing formal military training in the Soviet Union. After active service in the Wankie Campaign in 1967 he returned to South Africa in 1974 and worked underground in the Western Cape as well as other parts of the country, before again having to flee the country, while continuing the work of building the underground inside the country from Lesotho.

Comrade Chris Hani was a rare breed of revolutionaries. He was a revolutionary, a commander and an intellectual. Above all he was an internationalist! Comrade Chris was also a guerrilla revolutionary in the mould of Thomas Sankara and Ernesto "Che" Guevara. He was not satisfied with theorizing about the revolution like many of us but was ready to take up arms. Whilst in exile many had given up it was Chris who led a detachment in the Wankie and Spoililo Campaign in 1967. This operation proved to be test of the military preparedness of the MK and Zipra forces. Chris was tired of romanticism and wanted to infiltrate South Africa and inspire the revolutionary advance. Of course this campaign was modest but this was practical implementation of what Mzala Nxumalo metaphorically said that *“you cannot cook the rice outside the pot”* which means you fight the struggle for freedom in SA outside in isolated camps and in London.

Whilst the Wankie campaign had its shortcomings and Chris and other comrades were arrested in Botswana but it was a huge morale booster for the MK soldiers. The practical demonstration of the struggle for national liberation elevated the spirit of MK. Comrade Chris returned to the camps after being released from Botswana and found that no assessment of the campaign was done and there was once again



demoralization within the camps. There were no attempts to build underground structures inside the country in order to carry out the subversive activities of the revolutionary struggle.

There was bureaucratization of MK, there were professional politicians instead of revolutionaries operating with impunity in the camps. All these factors led to the brave and courageous act by Chris and fellow comrades to compile a memo that was later known as the Hani memorandum. It is this memorandum that changed the course of history within the liberation movement.

The Hani memorandum led to the convening of the Morogoro Conference where for the first time a detailed Strategy and Tactics characterizing the South African situation was adopted. It is this conference that allowed non-Africans to serve in the NEC. It is important to note that the Hani memorandum was not just condemnation of practices for opportunistic motives but for self-correction within the movement. Hani also

would not approve of, or be complacent about the rise of corruption, corporate capture, greed, and self-centredness. The Hani Memorandum does deal with his disapproval of some of the related phenomena. Comrades we are confronted by problems of corporate capture of the state, which poses a serious threat to our democracy. As the working class we must fight the capture of the state by corrupt, greedy looters who use their proximity to the state for self-enrichment. We cannot allow such frontal attack to our national and economic sovereignty. We have long made an assessment that the nexus between money and politics is a cancer and a threat to our movement.

Comrades we must make it very clear, in Hani's memory, which the ANC is not for sale! Our country is not for sale! Those who sell the soul of the movement must be exposed! We must therefore rid the movement of such elements in order for the ANC to regain trust and confidence of our people, the motive force of our revolution. I'm speaking to you as members of the ANC to exercise your political role as the ANC members during the consultations by NEC on the outcomes of the

Constitutional Court judgement on the Nkandla matter.

Finally, as the movement led by the ANC, this year we will be contesting the local government elections. All of



demonstrated in his conduct the link between theory and practice; first, through military infiltration of the country in the Wankie Campaign; and secondly through entering the country illegally to build underground structures. This shows that in crafting the Hani memorandum it was neither opportunism nor grand standing but it was an expression of principle.

Today as we remember Chris Hani we must face the current challenges in our milieu, which causes serious discontentment amongst majority South Africans. Our country is still facing the systemic challenges of inequality, unemployment, and poverty, but also corruption, perceived or real, and the immediate threat of corporate capture of the state. There is still more work that needs to be done to solve these problems, which are not new. In fact, Comrade Chris joined the SACP to fight against, not only, inequality, unemployment and poverty but their material foundations in capitalist exploitation and its highest stage of imperialism. He

us we have a duty to double our efforts in ensuring that the ANC get the overwhelming victory. I am saying this without downplaying that we are going to these elections as the movement, not in a desirable state given the recent events such as Concourt judgment. Whilst the judgment was the testimony that our democracy is alive and no one is above the law. It has been received as the tool by opposition forces to continue attacking the ANC-led government. We must also welcome the decision taken by the ANC not to suppress the debate on the Concourt outcomes but has asked its structures to engage on what should be the wayward.

*"Chris Hani touched the very heart of millions of us because he knew our pain, and eased it by giving us hope, giving us courage, giving us a way forward."*  
Nelson Mandela

**By: Khaya Magaxa – SACP Western Cape Provincial Secretary & ANC Western Cape Acting Provincial Chairperson**

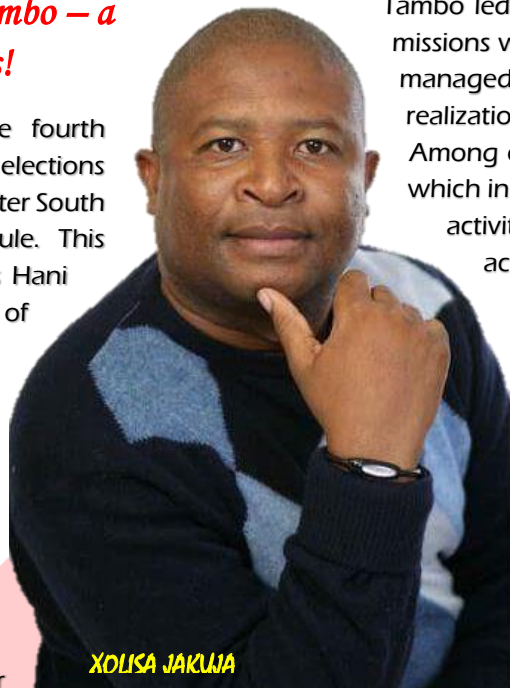


## *Lessons from O.R Tambo – a giant of all times!*

The year 2016 will see the fourth democratic local government elections being held twenty-two years after South Africa attained democratic rule. This month is also known as Chris Hani month because it is no the 10<sup>th</sup> of this month in 1993 that the former General Secretary of the South African Communist Party and Chief of Staff of the Umkhonto Wesizwe was mercilessly gunned down, a deed that led to the country also losing one other giant of all times, Tata Oliver Reginald Tambo (OR Tambo, Tambo or simply OR as shall from time to time be referred to in this article). Hence the month being a heroes' month. This short article is dedicated to the meaning of OR Tambo in the national liberation struggle, the national liberation movement, and the working class struggles in general.

Tambo was born five years after the formation of the South African Native Nationalist Congress (SANNC), in 1917 to a peasant family recently turned into Christians. He did his early schooling in his birthplace of Bizana then moved to Johannesburg for his high school, back to the Eastern Cape where he finished his first tertiary qualification in science. After challenging authorities then at the Fort Hare College and leading student's resistance including a class boycott for recognition of students' right to form and participate in their own representative body, he was expelled while doing his honours. He then returned to Johannesburg where he took up a post as a mathematics and science teacher in the 1940s.

It is at this point that started to involve himself in national politics as one of the founders and first leaders of the African National Congress Youth League (ANCYL) in 1944. He served in the national committee that drafted the 1949 ANCYL Programme of Action (POA) which was to be later adopted by the African National Congress (ANC). At this time he was already in its National Executive Committee (NEC) to which he was elected in 1938 together with Tata Walter Sisulu. He served in various positions within the ANC and, in particular, in its NEC from 1948 until he was elected its President-General, a position he held until he retired in 1991.



**XOLISA JAKWJA**

Tambo led a number of campaigns, programmes and missions within the movement during his times which managed to propel the revolution to its milestone realization though he himself did not witness it. Among others, he led the 1952 Defiance Campaign which informed a number of other civil disobedience activities throughout the country. Notable of these activities was a very strong movement of peasants and stock owners in his place of birth, Bizana and whole of Pondoland region that culminated in what is now known as the Pondo Revolt (or Nonqulwana) of the late 1950s to the early 1960s – this was the first challenge by the Pondo people of the authorities and it marked the beginning as regime after and the imperialist onslaught continued to impose certain policies and programmes on them without consultation and concurrence. From after the 1960 Sharpsville massacre, Tambo became responsible to mobilise a broad movement beyond South African borders in opposition to the apartheid regime as a result of which by 1990 the ANC had more than twenty-six mission in all continents.

During his times the ANC was transformed from a deputation-based elitist organisation of the educated to a broad mass movement that included the unemployed and unskilled peasants, and working class broadly. This movement broadened beyond just the ANC to incorporate other progressive and like-minded formations. As a result the tripartite Alliance started to shape until it matured during this period; mass democratic movement as an inter-sectoral and inter-class resistance and opposition to the apartheid regime emerged and matured during this period. This led to the rising of strong formations and movements of students leading to Soweto uprisings; movements of women leading to the 1956 great women's march and beyond; formations of civil society leading to broad civil disobedience and action characterized by the formation of the civil society movements like the United Democratic Movement (UDF) that cracked the backbone of the apartheid regime, as well as the formation of a broad yet focused and effective underground movement responsible also for civic education and mobilization. It is also during this period that the Churches themselves stood up resulting in the production of the Kairos document and the formation of the now South African Council of Churches (SACC). The basic ANC policy, strategies and tactics, as well as congress tradition with its key principles emerged and matured within the movement during this period. These

principles, among others, include consultation and mandate, collective leadership, criticism and self-criticism, selfless service.

What we learnt in Tambo's leadership is ethical leadership. Had it not been for his ability to hold high ethical standards first for himself and then for all the leaders, members and those associated with the cause surely the freedom we enjoy today would be history. We also learnt from him servant leadership. All the time Tambo about himself and always saw the people as his masters and him their servant. This is well put in his closing remarks of the National Consultative Conference on 16 December 1990 where he said, "I salute you all in your own name, you who, through sheer tenacity and will, have brought our struggle to the threshold of a great leap forward...", going further to say "Organised in your various formations as workers, communities, congregations, youth and others, you fought a heroic and unrelenting struggle."

In his leadership we learnt a lot and we still can use it as a point of reference for our actions and steering today. One of his key messages to the anti-apartheid forces and students in the Solomon Mahlangu College in Mazimbu, Tanzania in 1984, "Now there are suggestions that there are splits in the ANC. Divisions suggestions come from the enemy. There are no splits in the ANC. There are no divisions. There are people who are dissatisfied from time to time about one thing or another. Sometimes the dissatisfaction is justified. Sometimes the dissatisfaction arises because somebody has been careless...But there no splits that the enemy can talk about. There are not divisions. ANC is united..." These calls and shouts of splits and divisions scare in the ANC sounds familiar even today and continue to be used by the enemies of the national democratic revolution, but if he were present, Tambo would separate individuals and individual actions from the movement of the people and its purpose. He would impress that the movement cannot be smeared with and suffer as a result of carelessness of somebody or some people because the organization has to live on to realise and strengthen its historic mission.

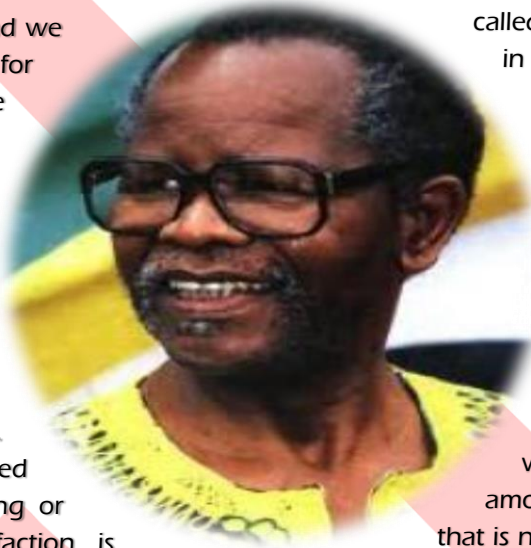
From his leadership, we believe that if Tambo were present today he would insist on a revolution that is broad enough to incorporate all the sectors and strata of society, but most importantly founded on and based on the will of the masses of our people. This is witnessed

in the assurance he gave to students in Mazimbu when he said *"The assurances are that the people inside South Africa have recognized that victory will come as a result of their struggle, their own efforts; as a result of their reliance on themselves..."* This is what today guides the SACP when it argues that in the upcoming local government elections and beyond it reside with the people and will be guided by what the people desire. We cannot however turn a blind eye to the fact that the enemy of the working class is getting stronger by day as it has even managed to recruit among our own movements and among our own people. Imperialism is advancing relentlessly which is witnessed by how it is weakening the organized workers, stratifying the working class into a tiny section of formally employed labour enjoying benefits as opposed to an under stratum of under-employed workers that occupies precarious occupations under the banner of casualization and labour brokers, and, of course, the

classical reserve of unemployed labour (the so-called lumpenised proletariat) that is sitting in hell-holes subsisting on social security packages and petty crime. It is this imperialist advancement and agenda that is currently showing its ugly face in the current community conflicts throughout the country and province. In Tambo's own birthplace we see this in Bizana posing as those against and for the mining at Xholobeni. Even in this case Tambo would not leave communities fighting amongst each other due to an agenda that is none of theirs. He should would have intervened. Tambo would today see the need for more unity than ever before among the progressive forces especially given his peasant background as well as the challenges that his family faced given the factors that at the time of his birth and growth had forced rapid proletarianisation of the Pondo people, factors that led to fierce resistance from the Pondos to the extent they even boycotted traders in the Bizana town, factors which are now still showing their resolve to take over our communities.

We salute this giant today! May His Spirit live on and continue to inspire his people and ourselves to even more revolutionary action to live up to his beliefs and expectations!

**By Xolisa Jakuja – SACP Alfred Nzo, District Executive Committee (DEC) member.**





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