

Monthly journal of the SACP Eastern Cape

RED



INK

ED 38: MAY 2018

“The renewal of an old anti-communist agenda”

Cde Mawethu Rune

“ Uninformed attack on the SACP”

Cde Alex Mashilo

**“May Day: Festival
of Workers”**

Cde Ayanda Jam

“The red ink that never dries”

"The Red Ink that never dries"

Background:

The Red Ink is the SACP Eastern Cape monthly journal. The Red Ink 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).

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 800 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 Red Ink. 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 Red Ink is published monthly (12 issues per annum). The due date for the submission of articles is the 20th of each month.

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

Originality:

The Red Ink 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 Red Ink 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 Red Ink 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 Red Ink 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 Red Ink editorial team.

The Red Ink 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:

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Next Edition: Kindly forward your contributions to simdodi@gmail.com on Wednesday, 20 June 2018.

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First May: The Festival of Workers

Comrade Ayanda Jam, SACP activist writes about May Day Celebrations and the workers struggles.



“The workers, too, must have their festival, and on it they must proclaim: universal freedom, universal equality of all men. That festival is the festival of the First of May. That is what the workers resolved as back as 1889” J V Stalin (1912)

Festival would be defined as a day or period of celebration, typically for religious reasons. Stalin argues that workers too have their own festival and it dates back to 1889. This paper has no intention of repeating what has already been written about the history of the May day/Workers day. The paper will actually look at the successes of workers and the shortfalls that we have encountered in the struggle against oppression and exploitation of workers. We will further look at what we must celebrate and the struggles that we need to take forward.

The first worker’s day celebrations in South Africa were recorded in the 1800’s and they have been celebrated since. In South Africa, these celebrations are led by the Congress of South African Trade Union (COSATU) under the principle of one federation one country. This principle is influenced by the Karl Marx’s work which became the workers slogan; **“Workers of the world unite; you have nothing to lose but your chains”**. Trade unions in South Africa are currently highly divided because leaders decided to fight over the investment arms of the unions. They decided to forsake the workers’ struggle for their own interests. The principle of one federation, one country is also betrayed even by those we for years thought are revolutionaries. The emergence of the new federation seeks to divide workers more; it does more damage

than any good. Attainment of worker’s freedom is impossible without united workers.

We celebrated the workers day in an unequal South Africa. We continue to experience the rich getting richer and the poor getting poorer. In all this madness, workers are exploited and oppressed on day to day operations of selling their labour power. The brutal capitalist system continues to exploit workers; it is in this exploitation that workers fight and have some gains which must be celebrated. The gains are not handed over in silver platter but are a product of the workers’ struggles.

The introduction of the National Minimum Wage (NMW) stands out in what the workers of this country must be celebrating in the workers day. The NMW is a product of an engagement between government, business and labour at National Economic Development and Labour Council (NEDLAC). The NMW summarily means that no worker must be paid less than R20 per hour and effectively R3500 per month. The major beneficiaries of the NMW are the most vulnerable and exploited workers, the domestic workers, security officers, retail workers, farm workers etc. This is the section of workers that are mostly not organised, they are mostly neglected and they are victims of exploitation. This NMW has received a lot of criticism which in my view is simply political point scoring. As much as the NMW should be celebrated, we must appreciate that there is a bigger struggle

ahead; the struggle of a living wage. The NMW must only be a building block for the living wage. The leadership of workers must monitor the proper implementation of the resolutions of NEDLAC on the National Minimum wage. The majority of workers in our country still live below the poverty line.

As if the problem of living below the poverty line is not enough, treasury introduced an increase in the Value Added Tax (VAT) from 14% to 15%. This digs deep in the empty pockets of the poor workers. The consequence of the increase in VAT is workers' inability to purchase their basic products which should help for survival. The increase means there will be an increase in fuel price and taxi fare. Workers will not have enough money to go to work to survive exploitation of the bosses. The VAT increase will affect the lunch box of a worker. A worker will be exploited with an empty stomach because he won't afford lunch. This increase takes from the peanuts that the workers are getting.

The workers work with the hope that when they retire, they will have a lot of money from their pensions which are deducted by the pension funds. The majority of members never get to enjoy their pension because they die before they could even enjoy the pensions. Should we not probably explore a situation where workers must be given a certain percentage of their pensions in investment form whilst they still work? The government employees' pensions are kept by the Government Employee's Pension Fund (GEPPF) which invests its assets in the Public Investment Corporation (PIC). The Public Investment Corporation is governed by the Public Investment Corporations Act 23 of 2004, the Act regulates that the PIC be governed by the Board. Surprisingly, the workers are not represented in this board and yet this is the board that will be governing the pensions of workers. If the worker's money can be able to bail out Eskom, it can surely bailout workers from loan sharks and all creditors. Eskom was bailed out after the government watched on while looters corrupted Eskom. Workers are paying the price of inability of the government to deliver good governance. They can only hope that the bailout will have positive results while they continue to be exploited by the same Eskom and government. I suppose that workers must be comforted by the fact that Eskom provides electricity to them; the electricity which is itself expensive.

We live in a country where the government is the major employer and that private sector wants to get rid of the workers that they currently have through the introduction of technology. While private sector justifies this as trying to be more effective in the provision of their services, they are cutting jobs of the majority of workers. This is more evident in

the banking sector, where the self service is overdone. Even the pensioners are expected to use cellphone banking. This will surely cut jobs of the workers in the banking sector.

There are a lot of gains for workers but more still needs to be done; the struggle continues! The first of May 2018 must be used to rejuvenate the workers for more struggles ahead. Workers must take charge of their unions; they must take decisions of the struggles to be waged by unions and not its leaders. We must collectively defend our gains as the working people. While we continue to fight over our egos and who is better clarified consciously, workers continue to suffer in the oppressive and exploitative hands of the employer. If workers are found wanting as the advanced detachment of the working class, the entire working class is exposed. The time for complacency is long gone because there are long battles ahead.

It is time that we start focusing on the real worker issues. It is time that the campaigns of Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU) should not be the campaigns of the May Day but must be campaigns to be championed every day. COSATU remains the federation of choice in our country; it must stand up to the task. It must stop behaving as if it is waiting for the biggest federation to take over. Workers are hoping on COSATU to champion their interests and no one else.

The business wings of trade unions are the major threat in the life of trade unions. Yes, they may be important for the survival of the trade union because the subscriptions are not enough. The problem starts when leadership starts to put their hands on the till. The leadership of unions must take off their hand on the till when they are not cashiers in these investment arms of the unions, for the investment arms to effectively serve their reason for existence. The businesses must be managed properly by the people who are qualified to do that. We must all refuse that the business wing of trade unions must kill trade unions.

Workers are only loyal to the revolution and not to organisations and leadership. If we continue to take the people for granted, they will leave our organisations and remain loyal to revolution. The organisations are not the owners of the revolution and they must not behave like they are. It is time that Trade Unions take care of workers and their interest; by the way, unions exist primarily for the interests of workers and nothing else. If unions fail in this responsibility, they might as well close shop.

Comrade Ayanda Jam is an SACP activist, POPCRU Local Secretary. He writes in his personal capacity.

Racist DA is more emboldened now that blacks voted it into power for the privileged

By: Mawethu Rune

The recent resignation of Ms Veliswa Mvenya from the Democratic Alliance (DA) which comes on the heels of resignation of Ms Nosimo Balindlela and resignation Ms N Matikinca a year or so ago, bears testimony that blacks have no home within the DA.

For a sustained period of time the DA has sold South Africans a toy telephone into believing that when blacks are occupying positions within its ranks then such will mean it is a transformed organisation for all. Now it is becoming clear for all to see that the DA only realized that to sustain and bargain for power it required unsuspecting blacks to vote for them and in turn the DA be steadfast on protecting white power and its ill-received benefits.

It was always going to be a matter of time in that not all blacks within DA were going to be comfortable to occupy positions while authority resides somewhere else. The culture of the DA was always not going to be forgiving but alienating to those may have genuinely fell for the market gimmick that it is Party for all. The policy perspective was never going to shift and address the immediate interests of the majority as the DA is the party to protect the status quo and white interests.

Recent resignations are instructive in exposing the DA as having no concern for black interests nor talent. It confirms that blacks to the DA only matter if they are willing to be voting fodder in support of white power and authority and willing to never think independently or raise political views that challenge the interests of the ruling white conservative block.

It confirms that black leaders are selected as token figures. As part of this window dressing and public relations (PR) exercise, the current DA leader in the Eastern Cape, Mr Nqaba Bhanga is reduced into being a cheer leader of white power which on daily basis on social media is compelled to declare his undying love of white people. He does not hold the authority to reign in the rogue elements within the DA; the forces that constitute the power base and decision making in that party.

While racism is not a scientific concept but many South Africans have dreadfully lived experience of being discriminated and subtle and institutionalised forms of racism are a daily experience of South Africans to date. Entrenched racism (as an ideology and mechanism to distribute power and resources based on race) and patriarchy are two sides of the same coin, in that when deeply embedded as they are in South Africa their beneficiaries would want to view them as natural occurrence when in actual fact it is human engineered.

In this regard DA continues to protect white privileges and deny dire implications of apartheid, and refuse to admit that the DA core constituency which are white conservatives or their parents actively or tacitly sustained and benefited from the system which was crime against humanity and that to date they continue to live in luxury and multiply rewards and benefits of Apartheid. Further that for the interest of the whole including white section of our population, affirming and empowering those who were previously excluded which are blacks in general and Africans in particular it is in the interest of the whole.

There could be no social cohesion, if the majority of citizen in country of their own birth are still economic and social excluded from enjoying wealth of their own country. To deny this noble pre requisite as DA does, it is in itself a further testimony of supporting Apartheid. Those who are refusing to stomach overt and covert racism with sexiest undertones within its ranks it is clear that the DA is not their home. The DA has reached intolerable proportions for those who despise discrimination as it is hellbent on hibernating racist and these ragged elements are getting embolden within DA.

It is equally important for South Africans of every race, including white democrats, to note that those who believe in the values of a new South Africa which is the creation of a non-racial, non-sexiest, democratic, united and prosperous South Africa must be liberated from the racist demons of the DA. The DA whether white or black in its leadership but it is true that it is the class party which puts the interest of the haves as its concern, it want the status quo to remain as is, that is majority of South Africans who by large are blacks to remain poor and excluded from benefiting from the economy and wealth of their country.

With all the shortcomings, however the African National Congress (ANC) has proven since time immemorial that it is the party which embraces all those who commit to pursue a non-racist, non-sexiest, united, democratic and prosperous South Africa.

The ANC has policies and a track record which proves that it has walked its talk and continues to be the vehicle to transform society from an evil past characterised by suppression, racism, division, dehumanizing, exploitation and starvation, this is where the DA belongs and where it must be left by all democratic loving South Africans.

Comrade Mawethu Rune is the SACP PWC member. He writes in his personal capacity

The renewal of an old anti-communist agenda: a response to Zingisa Mvumvu

By Mawethu Rune



The article "SACP a long way from party of Chris Hani" (Daily Dispatch, May 11) by this newspaper's senior political reporter Zingisa Mvumvu refers.

While the idea of commemorating the late General Secretary of the SACP, Chris Hani, was commendable, at the end Mvumvu did a serious disservice to Hani's name, religiously reciting Hani's quotes out of context in a desire to condemn the living by invoking the dead - who cannot speak for themselves. This opportunism has to be exposed.

Hani was a product of the struggle of the people. He was never a grandstander, but worked within a collective of activists. He always accepted both the successes and shortcomings of his organisation. While alive he never sat back and allowed his organisation's role to be liquidated.

On charge No 1 - that the SACP of today is not the party of Hani - the SACP must plead guilty. The party of 2018 is not the party of Hani - its general secretary is Blade Nzimande. It is important to underline this point. The Party is not in a museum, only to be visited when someone is looking for quotes but otherwise to be left undisturbed and monumentalised, remaining as it was when Hani was killed. True to all living organisms, the SACP is pursuing the working-

class struggle as per the concrete conditions and space of the present time. These are subject to change.

Today's conditions are vastly different to those of Moses Kotane, Moses Mabhida and Hani. Following Mvumvu's logic the Party of Hani should actually have returned to exile, as did the party of Kotane and Mabhida. Concrete conditions in their time also required that the party, working with the mass democratic movement and its tripartite alliance partners, negotiate with the enemy and engage on how to usher in the new democratic dispensation.

Those conditions required the party of Hani to be fashioned in a particular mode. That was not postponing the struggle for socialism but building conditions for advancing the National Democratic Revolution (NDR) as the direct route to socialism. Hence the slogan **"Socialism is the future, build it now"**.

Maybe Mvumvu will hear better from the 1989 writings of the General Secretary of the collective before Hani, Joe Slovo: **"There is no such thing as `pure` class struggle and those who seek it can only do so from the isolating comfort of a library armchair. The idea that social revolutions involve two neatly labelled armies was dealt with by Lenin**



with bitter irony: 'So, one army lines up in one place and says 'we are for socialism' and another, somewhere else says, 'we are for imperialism', and that will be a social revolution! ... Whoever expects a 'pure' social revolution will never live to see it. Such a person pays lip service to revolution without understanding what revolution is.'

The Party of Nzimande appreciates it is the Party of 2018 and pursues the struggle based on concrete conditions. The SACP will not allow itself to only be a reference of history.

Charge No 2 - that the SACP is trailing behind the ANC. In its strategic, consistent provision of concrete solutions to concrete conditions, the SACP understood that in the South African context, the coloniser and colonised lived in the same indivisible territory but in which human settlement was racially segregated, divided along class lines and therefore, while the dominant struggle was class, the immediate and fundamental issue was a national struggle. Nevertheless, class struggle could not be postponed to a distant future. As Slovo put it, the SACP appreciated the national content of class struggle and the class content of national struggle. This not a "grave train" as Mvumvu put it. The Party has always urged resolving race and gender at the same time as advancing the class or socialist struggle, rather than taking a purist path.

Slovo, writing on the SA working class and NDR (which I strongly suggest Mvumvu reads up on) contends: "***We [the SACP] have never made a secret of our belief that the shortest route to socialism is via a democratic state. But ... the SACP takes part in the alliance for yet another extremely cogent reason; our belief that the elimination of national domination (the prime objective of the alliance) is, at the same time, the most immediate class concern of our proletariat.***"

It is important for a "senior political reporter" such as Mvumvu to grasp the form and content of class struggle at the present moment and disabuse himself of the notion that the SACP has abandoned the socialist revolution. A "socialist revolution" not grounded in daily working class experience can only be fought in air-conditioned offices.

To charge No 3 - that the SACP is found wanting in the working class struggle - the party must plead **NOT** guilty. The only references given by Mvumvu to trick unsuspecting readers are Marikana, land expropriation without compensation, #FeesMustFall, and some "other issues of exploitation". The exploitation which is obvious is that by Mvumvu of loyal Dispatch readers. He confesses to having seen the slogan "Socialism is the future, build it now!" on the SACP homepage but it is apparent this is where his reading

ended. Had he bothered to read up on when exactly he alleges the party was missing in action, his spurious claims would have been put to bed.

As a senior political reporter, one should remember that as far back as 2004 the party under Nzimande led a massive Red October campaign focusing on Land (must be returned). The following came out of the campaign.

- Scrapping of the so-called willing seller willing-buyer approach;
- Transfer of a substantial proportion of agricultural land to Black farmers and worker co-operatives. This required:
- Accelerated state acquisition of land for redistribution at prices set by the state through, amongst other means, increased use of expropriation as a method for land acquisition, and the need for the state to have the right of first refusal for private land transactions;
- Provision of unused land by absentee landlords, big farmers, national and provincial government, municipalities, churches and state owned or public entities;
- Land tax for unused land (to provide an incentive to use land more intensively and increase the overall supply of land for the market, and to reduce land speculation) linked to the expropriation of unused land;
- Radical restructuring of agricultural markets and support services in line with pro-poor land and agrarian reform;
- Rapid provision of land for housing in urban areas within reach of jobs and services, and for other urban land needs; and
- A review of the provisions of the Communal Land Rights Act.

There have been many other SACP campaigns on land over the years. Just recently the Party released the African Communist of 2018 and dedicated the edition to reflections about land. No, Mr Senior Reporter, the SACP is not found wanting or MIA. You are attempting to vilify the living by invoking the dead!

The SACP, with its ally Cosatu, has consistently campaigned for worker demands and rights. To highlight but a few, there are the campaigns for collective bargaining, social wages, the National Health Insurance, safe and reliable public transport, food security, affordable electricity, universal access to clean

and drinkable water, and free sanitary towels. In fact the SACP has been attacked for advancing some if not most of these campaigns. That Mvumvu as the senior reporter did not report about the work does not mean that it did not take place. The campaigns are independent from his senior reporting.

Workers on shop floors and streets have also engaged in strikes with their vanguard party, the SACP. Must we believe you when you say you last saw a campaigning Party before the murder of Hani? Apparently you even missed the massive resistance to privatisation and the rejection of the neoliberal project of Growth, Employment and Redistribution (Gear).

The SACP was also at Marikana before the tragedy took place and remains there to this day, long after the cameras and reporters left. The party understands the unity of workers and knows some platinum mining corporations fuel artificial feuds among workers by not entering into collective bargaining with unions in key sectors, preferring to compete among themselves, even renegeing on negotiated wage agreements at individual company level.

The Party has asserted previously, as it is still asserting now, that worker unity is important.

Mr Senior Reporter must know he is being disingenuous when he suggests the SACP never campaigned for free quality higher education. This has been a SACP and Young Communist League position since time immemorial. The Free Education Campaign in South among students and the youth post-1994 gained its momentum from the first National Policy Conference of the Young Communist League held in 2005. At that time, some of the people and organisations who claim to be its champions today attacked the Young Communist League and labelled it unreasonable. The Senior Reporter was missing in action.

Charge No 4 - SACP leaders are queuing up for the gravy train. Again, the SACP must plead NOT guilty. We should never hide the fact that the SACP, from its establishment, never wanted to be an NGO but a political party, which it is, one with an interest in state power, the highest concentration of political power. Wielded in the working class interest, this power must be used to abolish exploitation and introduce programmes which cherish the interest of all, especially the overwhelming majority, the working class. This is an integral part of the SACP's programme.

An often asked question is why communists participate in "bourgeoisie states" rather than wait for these states to wither away. Lenin would argue that it is not the "capitalist state" that

will wither, but the "proletariat state" as the intermediary towards communism following the revolutionary victory over the bourgeoisie. He asserts that the Communist Manifesto "gives a general summary of history, which compels us to regard the state as the organ of class rule and leads to the inevitable conclusion that the proletariat cannot overthrow the bourgeoisie without first winning political power, without winning political supremacy, without transforming the state into the proletariat organised as the ruling class".

Given the experience of South Africa, it is childish to insinuate that communists should not serve in the executive. Why fight for democracy, campaign for electoral victory and then abstain from involvement in the state to serve the people through the state? Progressive forces in government and their influence in governance and administrative management have assisted a great deal in changing the lives of many for the better. Such change is neither inherent nor is it ordained. It is the product of struggle and influence including inside of the state.

We have witnessed massive redistribution in the interest of the majority - social grants, houses built and allocated for free of charge, roads constructed, investment in education and health, etc. It is important for Mvumvu to appreciate that Hani, as the leader of the Party, subscribed to the principle of a party of power, never once doubting the importance of the SACP availing itself, when called upon, to serve the people. Hani appreciated that necessary reform in the interest of the working class would be possible, not when communists are spectators, but when they are active agents of change and willing to serve the people.

Despite all the challenges the Party and its allies are confronting, Hani would find comfort in knowing much has been done. He would be proud that SA is on track to achieve what he regarded as the tenets of a better life. He wanted decent shelter for the homeless: nearly 500 informal settlements have been replaced with quality housing and basic services. Approximately four million houses have been built and allocated for free of charge to the needy, benefiting more than 16 million people.

Hani wanted safe drinking water for all: by 2017 almost 93% of South Africa had access to potable water. He wanted health care: citizens are healthier and living longer now. Average life expectancy is up from 53 to 62 years and upwards. The National Health Insurance is being piloted.

Hani wanted to overcome the huge divide between urban and rural areas: about 12 million households now have access to electricity, seven million more than in 1994.

Nearly 80 000 land claims, totalling 3.4 million hectares, have been settled and 1.8 million people have benefited. Social grants are up from 2.4 million in 1996 to 17 million in 2016. In 1994, only 50% of households had access to decent sanitation, it is now 80%. Hani also wanted decent education for all. A total of 92.9% of South African citizens can now read and write. More than nine million children attend no-fee schools and receive free meals at school, and households whose income is below R350 000 receive fee-free higher education. The number of South Africans with college or university qualifications had in fact increased tremendously by 2016.

Mvumvu is pushing a right-wing politics. His attempt to co-opt the late Chris Hani to form part of his anti-communist agenda must be dismissed with contempt. The senior reporter is not concerned with right-wing organisations contesting state power - in other parts of the country they have in fact ascended to government. His concern is, instead, against the communists exercising their constitutional right to avail themselves to serve the people through our democratically elected government - the SACP led the struggle for a democratic republic and was the first political organisation to call for it and to be banned for it. Mvumvu's concern is no different from that of the National Party when it banned the Communist Party in 1950 under the Suppression of Communism Act.

Mawethu Rune is SACP Eastern Cape Provincial Executive Committee member and writes as an activist in his own right [the article was published in Umsebenzi online]

Uninformed attack on the SACP by Mr Onkgopotse JJ Tabane: Our comments

By Alex Mashilo

Mr Onkgopotse JJ Tabane's alleged "SACP has lost its former spark" carried by The Star (14 May 2018) refers. If Tabane was a ratings agency, we would say that he has upgraded his outlook of the SACP - but that he remains utterly wrong. Otherwise there would be no other explanation other than that he has a problem of short memory, does not read SACP statements and publications, does not read the Political Programme of the Party, does not follow its implementation and the campaigns of the Party, and is therefore ignorant about the SACP - but is obsessed with criticising the Party. As recent as 27 July the same newspaper carried Tabane's column spreading his alleged **"Irrelevance of the SACP"**.

There is just no logic in spending one's time, expending one's energy and focusing on what you believe is irrelevant. Tabane has in fact forgotten, in a space of about nine months, that he said the SACP was "irrelevant". Now he says it "has lost its former spark". The SACP welcomes criticism for so long as it is constructive and is based on scientifically formulated opinions. The problem with Tabane's criticism of the SACP is that it is not motivated by any scientific basis but uninformed prejudice. In the process he fabricates his own version of "reality" in contradiction to the actual reality and manufactures and spreads a gospel of distortions about the Party. His opinions about the SACP are fraught with baseless allegations. All of those are outrightly denounced and dismissed with contempt.

"One truly wonders", listen to his claim, "what happened to the SACP we used to ululate about". On the contrary, Tabane is the man who, following the Polokwane Conference of the ANC held a decade ago in 2007, joined a factional splinter group that formed Cope. Their main war cry was that the SACP had taken control of the ANC. Tabane became Cope's spokesperson. His sudden claim that he was ululating about the SACP is accordingly hypocritical. He left Cope in November 2010 after realising that it was fast declining and that the future was definitely not in its hands. Tabane resurfaced in April 2011 at a photo opportunity hosted by the ANC Gauteng Provincial leadership featuring former members who rejoined from Cope. This revealed his opportunist tendency.

Tabane invoked the Bible without a shame when he left Cope to justify his opportunism: "In Luke 5: 36-38, Jesus said to his disciples ([36] ...No one tears a patch from a new garment and

sews it on an old one. If he does, he will have torn the new garment, and the patch from the new will not match the old. [37] And no one pours new wine into old wineskins. If he does, the new wine will burst the skins, the wine will run out and the wineskins will be ruined. [38] No new wine must be poured into old wineskins)".

"The noise about going it alone has since died down because under the new dawn, Blade has his job back", Tabane asserts. On the contrary, the opening and therefore the first section of the SACP 14th Congress resolution on the relationship of the SACP to state and popular power and therefore on contesting elections rejects the so-called going it alone. ***"...that a `Victory cannot be won with a vanguard alone` is relevant to our own reality, and that throwing `the vanguard into the decisive battle` before the `entire class, the broad masses` are ready would be a grave mistake"*** - SO SAYS THE RESOLUTION IN NO UNCERTAIN TERMS.

Accordingly, the resolution goes further to direct the SACP to develop a leading role to reconfigure the alliance as one of the two modalities it expressly identifies for the Party to more actively contest state power. The other modality, which was adopted for the first time since 1994, lies outside of the alliance without reconfiguration but still is in contradiction to the so-called going it alone; it is that of building a popular left front both for electoral purposes and for the purpose of advancing, deepening and defending the second radical phase of the National Democratic Revolution, the most direct and shortest road to socialism in South Africa's historical conditions. As a Party of the working class, the SACP cannot abandon the class and go it alone! Tabane does not appreciate this ideological DNA of the SACP. Perhaps the class basis of the SACP is too complex for him to grasp. His personal experience of abandoning the overwhelming majority of the electorate and going it alone with Cope has taught him nothing.

The SACP 14th Congress resolution on the relationship of the Party to state and popular power not only directed the Party to develop a leading role to achieve a reconfigured alliance and build a popular left front; the resolution directed the central leadership of the SACP to convene a Special National Congress at an appropriate time to report on the outcome of the work - which essentially involves cementing the bond between the Party and the entire class, the broad masses,

and ensure that every step the SACP takes is with and for the masses. It is the Special National Congress - as directed by the resolution - that will adopt the way forward based on a scientific assessment of the work and an examination of historically obtaining conditions.

In July when the SACP adopted the resolution, Dr Blade Nzimande - Party General Secretary was the Minister of Higher Education and Training. It is a fact that while he was a Minister Nzimande formed part of SACP and Cosatu leaders who went out in the frontlines of massive marches across country against corporate state capture in September. He categorically addressed the biggest march ever held in Johannesburg against corporate state capture. His removal from the Cabinet occurred thereafter in October. The SACP correctly concluded that Nzimande's removal from the Cabinet was part of a co-ordinated reaction by parasitic state capturers against his intensification of the SACP's outspoken criticism and mobilisation against corporate state capture. The Party strongly condemned and unequivocally rejected the removal as factional and anti-working class. Consequently it had to be reversed and the remover finally removed himself under pressure.

But neither did the SACP's programme for President Jacob Zuma to resign or be recalled if he did not resign start after he evicted Nzimande from the Cabinet. On the contrary, the campaign started long before and under the leadership of Nzimande as Party General Secretary before he was removed from the Cabinet. Nzimande made it very clear that no one will succeed to use a position to silence him and that serving in the Cabinet was a national duty to serve the people through a democratic government that the Communist Party was, back in 1950, the first political organisation in South Africa to be banned fighting for.

What about the land question?

The Central Committee of the SACP, which held its first quarterly session of 2018 in February, among others evaluated major policy outcomes from the 54th National Conference of the ANC held in December. The Central Committee made it very clear, through a public statement, that the SACP supported the genuine intentions of the ANC's resolution for the expropriation of land without compensation to be adopted as one of the policy instruments that must be considered. The resolution is very much in line with the SACP's historical policy on land. The policy places emphasis on socialisation! It dates back to the Party's founding in 1921. The Party adopted expropriation as a policy instrument a long

time ago when it was not fashionable - THAT IS IN 1944 THROUGH ITS POLITICAL PROGRAMME.

Since January, following the adoption of the resolution by the ANC, the SACP produced three major publications on the land question - two Umsebenzi Online interventions and the latest African Communist (1st Quarter 2018, Issue Number 197). The latter was actually published a few days before Tabane's latest round of uninformed attack on the SACP. He obviously has the habit of neither reading nor understanding the history of the Party and its perspectives. The African Communist carries scientific interventions on the land question and further exposes the apartheid roots of the Ingonyama Trust. These facts expose Tabane's ignorance and uninformed opinions of the Party. By the way the SACP was the first political organisation in South Africa post-1994 to place the land question at the centre of our national discourse on a serious basis. In 2004 for example I was involved under the leadership of the SACP in organising the largest march that South Africa has ever had in the City of Tshwane post-apartheid on the land question. The first land summit was held thereafter in 2005 as a direct result of the march. The abandonment of the so-called willing seller willing buyer mentality - which is not in our Constitution - was a direct result of the mobilisation by the SACP. Tabane lacks a historical analysis of the land question.

Moving from theory to practice, the SACP has put to the front its conclusion - that the Constitution was not fully implemented since 1994 towards ensuring complete redress, land restitution, land redistribution and equitable access to South Africa's natural resources. This problem arose from the deviation from our national democratic revolutionary programme to the neoliberal Growth, Employment and Redistribution policy which Cope was formed to defend as an epitome of "best economic management".

Also, it is the SACP that has now drawn attention to the fact that subsection 8 of our Constitution's section 25 (which is known as the property clause) states that: **"No provision of this section (i.e. section 25) may impede the state from taking legislative and other measures to achieve land, water and related reform, in order to redress the results of past racial discrimination, provided that any departure from the provisions of this section is in accordance with the provisions of section 36(1)".** The latter provides for the limitation of the rights contained in the Bill of Rights, including the property clause and its compensation provisions!

The SACP has accordingly called for the adoption of law of general application as required in terms of the Constitution. Such an Act of Parliament must give practical effect to

the DEPARTURE provided for in subsection 8 of the property clause of the Constitution. There is no way Tabane would have noticed this clear-cut policy position because his criticism of the SACP is based on uniformed prejudice rather than on informed critical analysis.

Equally important, the issue of land is not just about land as an object. It is about the political economy of land and the entire social structure of life based on it. Land has to be looked at productively and holistically. This is the perspective the SACP is pushing. The productive use of land must not be limited to a single activity. Land reform and the transformation of the land economy must be comprehensive. It must be in the interests of the mass of the people rather than the interests of the Black elite pretending to be the representatives of the whole of the formerly oppressed people while only being interested in exploiting the masses and privately accumulating wealth from the exploitation.

Further, in addition to agrarian transformation, the political economy of land includes but is not limited to mining, human settlement (and estate development), forestry, the ocean economy (YES it is part of the land question), wild life, industrial activity, infrastructure and the aerospace economy (YES it is part of the land question because it is demarcated according to our land and ocean spaces). A comprehensive land reform programme will assert the claims of the people as a whole in all of these and other land based economic activities.

By the way land was not the only property that was expropriated during primitive accumulation driven by colonialism and apartheid. The economic life that was based on land use was destroyed. The people were proletarianised (converted into wage labourers or the unemployed) as work and production as a whole were privatised (converted into capitalist production) and other property that was based on or attached to land was also taken away. For example private game reserves own our wild life - both the fauna and flora - attached to the land. All of these issues and the legacy of the de-skilling that occurred as a result of dispossession and marginalisation must be addressed and resolved.

The people must be equipped with skills training, equipment and inputs and other material and financial resources required to pursue productive land use. The exploitation of labour that came with expropriation must be rolled back. Very importantly, we must move with the times, innovate and pursue advanced production based on cutting edge research and development and the application of science - including technology and chemistry - taking the importance of ensuring sustainable

development into account. Tabane is blind to all SACP articulated policies, which is why he is ignorant of the Party's Political Programme, the South African Road to Socialism, campaigns, resolutions and decisions.

What about the national minimum wage?

The SACP unequivocally supports the establishment of a national minimum wage as a social floor beneath which no worker must fall. The SACP further supports trade union struggles for a living wage over and above a national minimum wage. However, neither a national minimum wage nor a living wage must be conceived of as static and timeless. Both must continuously be improved to keep pace with the times while the struggle to uproot labour exploitation by capital intensifies. To this end the SACP has called for and is working to achieve broad working class unity.

If the trade union movement cannot unite, for now, under a single umbrella federation as well as under single industrial and public service unions, it should at least unite behind the common interests of the workers and their **DEMOCRATICALLY DEVELOPED COMMON DEMANDS**. These should include the levels of the national minimum wage and a living wage and must be taken forward at NEDLAC, at the Bargaining Councils, at the workplace, in research and development, on the streets **AND ALL IN A UNIFYING MANNER!**

The SACP is strongly opposed to the perpetuation of the current situation where over four to six million workers are being paid below the proposed R3, 500 national minimum wage and over half of the entire South African population lives on far less than half of that amount a month. All of these amounts must be improved and practical measures to give effect to everyone's right to work must be adopted. This requires efforts to upgrade working class unity and build working class cohesion, hegemony and power - in contradiction to the divisive agenda carried out by wedge drivers as evident in Tabane's attacks on the SACP and Cosatu.

The SACP firmly supports workers struggles to end the problems of casualisation, labour brokering and evictions, among others. Of all political parties in South Africa, it is the SACP that has the largest campaigns base outside of Parliament!

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