



POLITICAL REPORT

For a Developmental Path,
Neither State Capture nor Neoliberalism

REBUILD OUR MOVEMENT
Socialism is the Future - Build it Now.



POLITICAL REPORT
of the 4th Special National Congress
&
TRIBUTE TO FALLEN COMRADES





REBUILD OUR MOVEMENT:

Socialism Is The Future – Build It Now!

INTRODUCTION

On behalf of the SACP 14th National Central Committee, I wish to welcome all our SACP delegates, as well as our distinguished guests from Alliance formations and fraternal parties, both national and international, and members of the diplomatic corps, to this Special National Congress. I would also wish to welcome distinguished guests from other sections of our society here present. We are gathered here over the next few days, constituting the SACP 4th Special National Congress – which is our Mid-Term Congress – to review the progress we have made in implementing the resolutions of our 14th National Congress, and to map a way forward on subsequent developments.

It is important also to remind ourselves that we are, perhaps, also meeting in a conjuncture that is not exactly the same as the one during which we convened our 14th National Congress in July 2017. This means, therefore, in assessing and evaluating the implementation of the 14th National Congress resolutions, we have to factor in and carefully assess the current conjuncture. Time and space matter seriously in Marxist-Leninist considerations.

Developments on the organisational front

Domestically, there have been a number of important developments since our 14th National Congress. At that time there was huge political uncertainty and concerns in the wake of the 54th National Conference of the ANC held in December 2017 in Nasrec, Johannesburg. The divisions and tensions inside the ANC were so deep that we were not even certain whether the ANC was going to survive Nasrec. Nasrec has now come and gone. Fortunately the ANC, our historical ally, has come out a single organisation. Unfortunately, it has not yet overcome many of the fissures of the pre-Nasrec period. We have a role to play not only in the unity and organisational renewal project of the ANC but also of our entire broad movement, inclusive of the trade union, student, youth and civic movements, and in building a progressive women's movement.

In our entire history as the SACP we have never stood aside, celebrated or folded our arms and watched internal divisions and tensions inside the ANC and our allies. We have always sought to make our own, albeit modest contribution, as an ally, as well as in our own right as members of these mass formations. We have never prescribed to the ANC what it must do, and we have no right to do so, but we have always sought to be a dependable and reliable ally. As members, we have robustly exercised our independent rights, like other members do. The reason for this is that the national democratic revolution still requires the ANC, but a united ANC. The fact of the matter is that none of the Alliance partners can currently replace each other. For example, the SACP is not an ANC or Cosatu, and it cannot be either of both. Even if, for argument's sake, the ANC were to disappear tomorrow, our country will still need to build an ANC type organisation. The SACP will still need to organise the masses and unify them politically.

It is partly due to these challenges that the Central Committee is directing the whole of the SACP to understand that one of the primary tasks of the period is to build and strengthen a united ANC.

There are also challenges in relation to some of the affiliates of Cosatu, especially but not exclusively its industrial unions. Again we cannot fold our arms. We have to work with Cosatu to confront these challenges.

We are also meeting when Sanco is divided into virtually two parallel structures.

Furthermore, the progressive student movement in our ranks is facing serious cracks and divisions. It is also faced with the challenge of parallelism. That is, it is also divided into parallel structures counter-organising each other.

All these call for the SACP to play its vanguard role. At the centre of this role is unity.

The opposition in crisis

The parliamentary opposition is in disarray. The main opposition, the DA, is in deep problems. What has always been the crisis of the dominant trend of white liberalism in the DA (and in South Africa) and the undertones of its racial organisation have been exposed for all to see. What we are seeing in the DA today is the unravelling of both the Tony Leon agenda to reposition white liberalism post-1994 and Helen Zille's attempts to try and make it appeal to the African majority. Both these attempts were part of the same agenda to whitewash the DA without changing its core mission as an organisation that emanates from and still essentially stands for the protection of white privilege.

The DA's fightback election campaign of 1999 was aimed at reaching out and incorporating former National Party voters into the DA after the implosion of the National Party. Zille attempted to reach out to the townships with very little success. The fissures in the DA illustrate that white liberalism has been opposed to majority rule. The dominant section of white liberalism argued for educated or propertied blacks (in other words 'those like whites') to be given a qualified franchise. Unfortunately the black leaders in the DA have been seen as nothing more than black franchisees, an appendage, rather than fully accepted members. Even Zille is apparently regretting having reached out to black membership and leadership. So what is happening in the DA is that what its black leadership has been saying about things like affirmative action, in trying to imitate the ANC, have alienated the former Nats, who, at the last election started deserting back home to the FF plus. The 'black franchisees' have been put back into their place as white liberalism cannot withstand their independent views. Its priority is to recover the conservative ground lost to the FF plus

The less said about the proto-fascists, the better.

A black chauvinistic organisation, which left the ANC aggrieved, has been seeking to exploit the weaknesses in the Progressive Youth Alliance and promising a better life for young people in a truly populist faction.

What these developments show is that our movement still remains the only true home for non-racialism and for the working class and poor. The challenge is that as a movement we need to act as such. We



however cannot spend time discussing our opponents, other than to understand the crises they are facing, and the challenges and responsibilities these place on us.

THE GLOBAL CONTEXT

The international situation

We are meeting in an international situation whose key feature is the rise of austeritisation, that is, an imposing of austerity in the fiscal policy space with wider implications. In most cases this is done without regard to national circumstances or negative consequences.

The outbreak of the global economic crisis in 2008 dealt neo-liberalism a big blow and discredited its policy regime. The rising tide of austeritisation has emerged in the context of the persisting effects of the crisis, and is used as part of the neo-liberal rescue package. What is clear is that the international atmosphere is still crisis-ridden – it is an atmosphere that continues to be characterised by the endemic capitalist crisis.

What the wave of austeritisation also reflects, over and above the fiscal crisis many governments finds themselves in, is the dominance of global finance monopoly capital and international financial institutions. The conditionalities demanded by the global finance monopoly capital and international financial institutions on national economies effectively undermine national democracies or usurp democratic national sovereignty. The policy space, a crucial instrument of change, is used to codify the neo-liberal conditionalities into a policy regime. This is typified by what happened in Greece, for instance.

The role played by global finance monopoly capital and international financial institutions is conveyed via national treasuries, especially those pursuing a neo-liberal agenda. This is replicated by the domestic commercial banking and financial sector. The question is whether we are immune from these global developments. The way the South Africa Airways, SAA was systematically driven into a rescue situation contains the answer. Our response to the 'National Treasury's' economic blueprint released in August 2019 also reflects on this important question.

It is however important to underline at this stage that our critique of austeritisation does not mean we do not care about national debt nor that are we calling for financial recklessness. What we stand for is proper management of national resources, taking into account that we have an economy to transform and develop, and therefore domestic productive capacity to build. Economic policy must be informed by our developmental agenda, by our national imperatives.

For instance, we have to fund our national priorities, while simultaneously being prudent and dealing corruption, fruitless and wasteful expenditure a decisive blow. This is why we place emphasis on getting our national priorities right. In particular, this means orientating and co-ordinating national revenue policy towards supporting public investment into employment-creating productive activities, and measures aimed directly at reducing and therefore systematically eliminating poverty, uneven development and inequality. We also need to support co-operatives development and foster a thriving co-operatives sector, as well as small and medium enterprises. Policies that will not resolve the plight of our people and empower them towards collective prosperity are bound to generate a crisis of governance.



In contrast, neo-liberal austerity has also been about supporting the wealthier classes. Austeritisation has often been accompanied by tax cuts for the rich and bailing out of commercial banks that have often collapsed due to reckless lending and other negative banking, management and governance practices. What this shows is that austeritisation – neo-liberal austerity – often calls for austerity in relation to the masses, the workers and the poor, but using the very same state resources to bail out the rich.

The global economic crisis has become a crisis of governance in democracies dominated by the bourgeoisie as the ruling class in economic terms with political implications. In the political arena, the response to this crisis has included the emergence of right-wing and populist leaders and movements in some instances. The United States (US) and most parts of Europe are typical examples. In the BRICS countries, there has also been a shift to the right in India and Brazil. In South Africa, the 'National Treasury's' economic blueprint is actually signalling a shift to the right?

Our fight against the parasitic networks of state capture and other forms of corruption was certainly not meant to create conditions for a rightward shift or a return to the policy regime of the neo-liberal GEAR class project. What the recent developments in the sphere of economic policy formulation point to is that our work is cut out for us in defence of the national democratic revolution, the most direct route to socialism in our historical conditions. In particular, we must advance and deepen the strategic perspective of a second radical phase of the revolution.

Internationally, the US-led imperialist offensive is now concentrated, although not exclusively, in Latin America. Left and Left-leaning governments in that global region have been placed under a heightened imperialist offensive. As a result, there are serious reversals of Left or progressive advances, underpinned by a push to right-wing regimes through imperialist backed counter-revolutionary regime changes. In this regard, we reiterate our revolutionary solidarity with the people of Cuba, Venezuela, Bolivia and Nicaragua.

International trade is another front on which imperialism, currently US-led, is driving its offensive.

In his newly published book, titled *The Politics of Trade in the Era of Hyperglobalisation: A Southern African Perspective*, Cde Rob Davies, member of our Central Committee, and our former Minister of Trade and Industry, looks at international trade as one of the major determinants of global politics. As he observes, the so-called 'trade wars' started by the US are increasingly defining relations between the US and China. In addition, as our Central Committee noted in its post-meeting statement of 9 June 2019, the fundamental issue at stake for the US, is that it sees its global hegemony being under threat.

South Africa has not been left untouched. We have been affected by the earlier rounds of the US 'trade wars' offensives. While accepting exemptions from a select group of countries, including Brazil under its recently elected Donald Trump-backed and inspired right-wing president, the US imposed punitive tariffs on South African steel and aluminium exports. The 'trade wars' waged by the US have a wider collateral damage in scope. This has far reaching implications that go beyond China, contrary to what is reported in most media coverage in narrow terms. The heightened imperialist offensive as well as its 'trade wars' is indeed broadly defining the sphere of international relations in general.

What is clearer in the case of China is that its leadership role in the rollout of 5G technology does not sit well with the US. More particularly Huawei, a Chinese company, is considered to be ahead



in the rollout of 5G, a key enabler in the deepening and widening digital technological industrial advances. The response of the US has been to use 'national security' measures to curtail access by Chinese disruptor companies both to the US market and that of other countries. In this way, the US is also acting extraterritorially. The 'trade wars' launched by the US, as Cde Rob observes, could as well underpin a multi-dimensional 'rivalry' that could be a central feature of international relations for many years to come.

Moreover, imperialist countries have simultaneously sought concessions from developing countries in trade rules. The concessions could severely curtail the essential space necessary for industrial policy. These include mounting pressure on countries like South Africa to renounce our status as a 'developing country' – a status that entitles us to less onerous obligations in global trade rules.

In Europe, Brexit has become a key development in the current global era. It is indeed reshaping politics both in the United Kingdom (UK) and Western Europe. As Davies suggests, by definition Brexit stands for a rejection of a regional integration arrangements. What it has also revealed are under-currents profoundly shaped by the outcome of a broader trade-driven process both in Europe and globally.

In Africa, a key development on the trade front, conversely, is a movement towards regional integration. This is typified by the recent establishment of the African Continental Free Trade Area Agreement. The SACP needs to pay increased attention on this development and its wider implications.

As we do so, we must remain unwavering in our stance for African Revolution and solidarity, towards the completion of independence and liberation from imperialism and other forms of foreign machination on our continent. In this regard, we reiterate our revolutionary solidarity with the people of Swaziland, Western Sahara, Sudan and Southern Cameroon.

We also reiterate our revolutionary solidarity with the people of Palestine.

It is against this global context that we need to understand the threats and opportunities in our national democratic revolution, including the kinds of domestic policies we need to adopt.

THE STATE AND POPULAR POWER

Much as we know that songs are like poetry and catch phrases, we must nevertheless not be lost in song about what the state and state power are. This is very important. In other words, as our 14th National Congress resolved, we must maintain analytical alertness and tactical flexibility based on strategic consistency.

Let us look at electoral politics and the state. The implications of losses are pretty obvious. So let us look at electoral victories. Important as they are, electoral victories do not necessarily constitute control of state power. Therefore contesting elections alone does not necessarily amount to contesting state power as a whole. It is important for this Special National Congress that, as we report on and discuss our state and popular power resolution, to understand that there is a difference between the state power and elections. Much as electoral victories can lead to access and control of certain of levers of state power, those are not the totality of state power. More is certainly required. That is why, for instance, in the latest example, President Evo Morales of Bolivia would win an election but be told by an army general to step down, and he does so.

It is for the above reasons that our Party Programme, the South African Road to Socialism, talks about the necessity to unite the working class and struggle for working class hegemony in all key sites of power and struggle.

We would now want to report back on the implementation of the Road Map as adopted by our 14th National Congress on the matter of state and popular power. Let us recall what our resolution, the 'SACP and State and Popular Power' resolution and the road map it pointed out to. This is the full text of the resolution:

The SACP and state and popular power

Believing:

- a. That the issue of state power is a central question of any revolution;*
- b. That the state cannot be transformed and that progressive state power cannot be consolidated or defended without active popular and working class power organised both within and outside of the state;*
- c. That a central strategic challenge of the current South African revolution is the consolidation of state power and popular power capable of driving a radical second phase of the National Democratic Revolution as the most direct route to socialism in South Africa;*
- d. That, while the ANC historically has played an outstanding role as the major vehicle for unifying the key components of a National Democratic movement, the ANC does not own the NDR and its leadership role is one that has to be earned in practice;*
- e. That in the current fluid reality the SACP must be guided by:*
 - i. Strategic Consistency – not free-floating opportunism or short-termism*
 - ii. Analytical Alertness – what Lenin described as the capacity to provide a 'concrete analysis of the concrete situation'.*
 - iii. Tactical flexibility – the ability not to be caught flat-footed while still being guided by revolutionary strategic consistency.*
- f. That Lenin's observation 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.*

Noting that:

- a. The important revolutionary advances of the mid-1990s, the abolition of the institutions of White minority rule, the inauguration of key elements of majority rule via the ballot, and the passing of a progressive Constitution are now threatened with erosion.*
- b. The danger of the erosion of our constitutional democracy is a consequence of both the failure to use the democratic bridgehead to advance decisively on a second radical phase of the NDR to transform the structural political economy legacy of colonialism and apartheid, and of a*

subjective deterioration within much of government and the liberation movement.

- c. This deterioration is epitomised in its most aggressive form by the phenomenon of 'private corporate capture of the state', involving the parasitic looting of public resources.*
- d. These realities have, amongst other things, contributed to a declining electoral trajectory for the ANC, which, unless arrested, can lead to the ANC losing its majority party status to an opportunist coalition of opposition forces with further deeply negative consequences for the advance, deepening and defence of the NDR.*

Further noting:

- a. That the SACP has a long history of electoral engagement and that, since 1994, the SACP has actively engaged in successive national, provincial and local government elections within the context of the ANC-led Alliance. The SACP has actively contributed to the development of ANC election manifestos, to the list selection processes, and to active electoral campaigning. The SACP has also campaigned for and with the ANC with our own independent Red Brigade cadres, and with our own electoral poster and flyers.*
- b. That there is a strong feeling within the SACP that too often the SACP is used by the ANC during election campaigns, only to be marginalised post-elections. While this feeling may be more or less strong in different localities, it is a widespread and commonly shared view within the ranks of the SACP.*
- c. That the 2007 12th National Congress of the SACP resolved that, while 'the SACP is not, nor will it become, a narrowly electoralist formation', 'the SACP must contest elections within the context of a re-configured Alliance.' The resolution left open different modalities under which the SACP might contest elections – either on an ANC ticket but within a reconfigured Alliance, or, in the context of a re-configured Alliance, under the banner of the SACP but with a view to post-election coalitions with the ANC.*
- d. That the 13th National Congress in 2012 reaffirmed these resolutions.*
- e. That initial but uneven progress after 2007 in driving forward a re-configured Alliance has now stalled, and in many respects has broken down. That even the earlier progress in re-configuring a more effective Alliance was never implemented in many sub-national levels.*
- f. The capacity of the ANC in particular to lead a process of self-renewal and regeneration, and therefore to effectively play a unifying role in a re-configured Alliance remains uncertain.*
- g. That, once more, the SACP has played an active and sometimes leading role in the recent period in building patriotic and united fronts in the struggle against state capture and rampant corruption, for instance.*

Therefore Resolved:

- a. That the SACP must actively contest elections.*
- b. That the modality through which we contest elections may, or may not be, within the umbrella of a re-configured Alliance*

- c. *That, in principle, we remain firmly committed to a revolutionary national democratic Alliance, and a re-configured Alliance that re-affirms, in policy as well as in practice, the ANC's own 2007 National Conference resolution that 'The Alliance is the strategic political centre' (and not the ANC on its own).*
- d. *That the SACP has a leadership role in the struggle to build a re-configured Alliance, while recognising that we cannot place all of our hopes and expectations solely on a favourable outcome in this regard;*
- e. *That both for electoral purposes and for defending, deepening and advancing a radical second phase of the NDR, the SACP must play an active and leadership role in the consolidation of a left popular front of working class and progressive forces.*
- f. *That to take all of this work forward, the 14th Congress mandates the Central Committee to establish a Road Map that must be adopted, with clear, indicative time-lines, by the forthcoming Augmented CC. This Road Map must include the following elements:*
 - i. *A programme of active engagements with our Alliance partners, and with a wide range of working class and progressive forces to share and to test the SACP's perspectives. Particular, but not exclusive, attention must be paid to Cosatu and its affiliates. These engagements must be at all levels, national, provincial and local.*
 - ii. *Based on these engagements, the SACP must play a leading role in developing a common platform for a Left Popular Front of working class and progressive forces*
 - iii. *Linked to the SACP's organisational renewal review process, conduct a thorough and ongoing audit of the SACP's organisational capacity, involving a scientific, fact based evaluation of the strength and influence of our formations, including of our VD-based branches. Regular reports must be tabled in each Central Committee and lower structures must be continuously briefed on progress.*
 - iv. *The Special National Congress of the SACP must receive a comprehensive report on the Road Map process and resolve on the way forward.*

We are fully reproducing the resolution in this political report, for two main reasons. Firstly, it is important to refresh, all of us, about what the resolutions says. Secondly, the Central Committee has been concerned that in some of our structures this resolution has either been misread or misinterpreted.

To recap what the essence of the resolution is, we reaffirmed the importance, relevance and the need to maintain our Alliance, but which we resolved that it must be reconfigured to move with the times. The resolution also emphasises the necessity to build not just the SACP, but the motive forces of the national democratic revolution, and to mobilise wider progressive sections of our society. It emphasises the need to unite the working class and build working class power. That is why the resolution is on both state and popular power, and therefore calls for building working class power both inside and outside the state, and in all other key sites of struggle and power. The resolution reminds us of what Lenin said – that it is suicidal to throw the vanguard Party into decisive battles alone, without the rest of the working class with it.

This political report is going to table some of the aspects of progress on the implementation of the resolution. The State of the Organisation Report will give details on the progress made and challenges experienced in the implementation of the other parts of the resolution, mainly, but not exclusively, on the SACP's organisational renewal process and a thorough and ongoing audit of the SACP's organisational capacity, involving a scientific fact-based evaluation of the strength and influence of our Party organisations, including our VD based branches, as the resolution requires. The State of the Organisation Report will also cover the question of a Left popular front in detail.

Following the adoption of the SACP and state and popular power resolution, the SACP started engagements within the Alliance for its reconfiguration, as directed by the resolution. Four discussion papers were produced. The first was a base document developed by the SACP, while the second was produced by Cosatu in support of the reconfiguration. The third paper was produced by the ANC in response to the SACP and Cosatu papers. These papers are part of the Congress documentation for reference. The engagement continued until the Alliance came up with a common framework on the reconfiguration.

We must say that what is contained in the Alliance common reconfiguration paper takes us forward, compared to where we started.

The core of what we agreed upon at the last two Alliance Political Council meetings includes the following:

- The national democratic revolution as our shared strategy of struggle and societal transformation, and the Freedom Charter as its basic programme.
- The strategic centrality of the Alliance and collective leadership in driving the national democratic revolution.
- Meaningful consultation that seeks to attain consensus on policy direction and other major decisions, especially in relation to organs of state.
- Regular Alliance meetings to give practical effect to consensus-seeking consultation in driving the national democratic revolution, thus developing and implementing common programmes and joint campaigns.
- The regular meetings include monthly Alliance Secretariat meetings, quarterly Alliance Political Council meetings, at least one strategic planning Alliance Summit per annum, the convening of other focused Alliance summits as and when it is necessary; Alliance bilateral sessions; and the establishment of joint Alliance committees, working groups or task teams on policy, programmes and campaigns.
- Establishment of the Alliance Deployment and Accountability Commission and building technical capacity to support its work.
- Approaching elections as an ANC-led common Alliance platform, with Alliance presentation on electoral lists and related deployments.
- Recognition of the class leadership of the working-class as the main motive force of the national democratic revolution, and organisational leadership of the ANC.



- The reconfiguration of the Alliance and all its associated structural modalities and modus operandi at the national level must be replicated at all sub-national levels.

The Alliance Political Council framework is part of the Special National Congress documents, though it is still to be endorsed by each Alliance formation.

As the SACP we believe that what is primary and should unite the Alliance is collective leadership of the national democratic revolution, holding those deployed to account, and joint programmes and campaigns, including elections as a common Alliance platform.

We must re-affirm our resolution on state and popular power, as was adopted by the 14th National Congress. The Central Committee is of the view that in line with the resolution and the framework for the reconfiguration of the Alliance, we must, in the first instance, seek to maintain ANC-led electoral lists in the forthcoming local government elections. However, where the agreed upon spirit of the reconfiguration of the Alliance as well as consensus-seeking consultation is undermined, our structures in the affected areas should produce and submit reports to the Central Committee, with recommendations, for evaluation on the way forward. We need to make it clear at this Special National Congress that there must be an agreement on the manifesto for the elections and that we would not accept imposed and unpopular candidates that represent factional or other narrow interests.

The state consists of a variety of institutions in which the SACP must take active interest and seek to build working class organisation and influence. Therefore building working class hegemony and power in the state cannot, and should not, be limited to electoral politics important as it is. It is for this reason that the political report also focuses on other important and related terrains of struggle as contained in the South African Road to Socialism, and on the work we have done and still need to do in these areas.

Motive forces and their state of organisation in the different sites of struggle

The South African Road to Socialism underlines and commits the SACP to intensify the struggle to build working class hegemony, influence and power in all key sites of struggle and centres of power. Perhaps the best way to report about progress in the implementation of our own programme as reaffirmed by our 14th National Congress is to reflect on some of these sites of struggle.

THE COMMUNITY

One key site and terrain of struggle identified in our Party Programme is the community. In the recent period the SACP has correctly resuscitated the Marxist perspective of social reproduction. The perspective enables an understanding of the impact of the crisis of capitalism on households, communities and society. In this regard we pointed out that we are in the midst of a crisis of social reproduction, arising of the systemic problems of high levels of unemployment, poverty and inequality. The concept of the 'crisis of social reproduction' basically refers to the increasing inability of households and communities to make ends meet as a result of, in our case, the inequality, poverty and unemployment daily reproduced by structural stagnation of an economy that is still largely on a colonial trajectory in the context of an ongoing global economic crisis.



Social reproduction is, as pointed out in our reference materials, a 'complex set of relations and activities that create conditions that enable society to sustain itself and its social relations. The relations between human beings within the context of the mode of production create a whole network of non-productive relations to protect and reproduce their privileged position. Social reproduction therefore incorporates the reciprocal and dialectical interfaces between the base and superstructure, as well as how this interplay is shaped by objective and subjective material conditions.... In a class stratified society, social reproduction is a substantive part of what sustains and reproduces class relations.' In much simpler language, social reproduction refers to the struggles and process of daily sustenance and meeting of daily needs in a household, community and society.

The burden of social reproduction in a class divided society, especially under capitalism, is normally carried by women, who are often tasked, in working class and poor communities, to look after children, do household chores, and look after the sick and vulnerable. Social reproduction in a capitalist society reinforces and is reinforced by patriarchal relations, the subordination of women to men.

Most of the organisational efforts and other social activities directed towards sustainable livelihoods for social reproduction in our communities are carried by women through unpaid labour. These range from church societies, to active participation in school governing bodies, stokvels and burial societies. It is mostly women who are active in these structures and activities. In fact these are the energies that our SACP, ANC or structures of the Alliance as a whole should be harnessing towards addressing developmental goals in communities. For instance, it should be on the foundation of these activities or terrains of social activity that strong progressive women's organisations should be built. This should be made a platform to wage an effective struggle against gender-based violence with the participation of all regardless of gender.

The burden of the crisis of social reproduction is also carried by the youth in our communities. In all community protests it is often young unemployed people who are in the forefront. It is the youth in our communities that is often unemployed, being sunk into drugs, substance and alcohol abuse, as well as facing the harsh realities of the HIV/AIDS pandemic. It is the youth that is carrying the brunt of the crisis of capitalism and its manifestation and reproduction in our communities. This is a burden that the legacy of the apartheid regime and the capitalist class has left on the shoulders of the democratic government. In other words, the burden of the crisis created by capitalism has to be resolved by the democratic government that is without most of the resources in the hands of the capitalist class.

It is also young people who are victims of and purveyors of some of the moral decadence brought about by capitalism. This is also reinforced by some of the accumulation tendencies of sections of the tenderpreneurial youth. It is for this reason, amongst others, that the Central Committee has been of the view that ours was perhaps a political revolution without a cultural revolution and of course complete social emancipation!

There are also very minimal linkages between political youth organisations in communities and grassroots sports, arts and cultural activities. Yet it is where most of our young people are to be found.

Working class and poor communities in South Africa are today characterised by deepening levels of violence, including especially gender-based violence. It is a violent behaviour that gets generated by extreme levels of poverty. Many of our communities are also characterised by what is often referred

to as service delivery protests. These are often generated by a number of factors. The primary factor is the depth of frustration from social conditions of high levels of unemployment, poverty, inequality and uneven development, as well as certain levels of political alienation from the structures of society and governance.

Even the minimal government services that are brought into these communities are often 'delivered' without community participation and often with a 'middleman' who has been awarded a tender from a municipality or provincial government. In cases of even big projects that can bring about employment and other opportunities for sustainable livelihoods, these instead become sources of conflict. The two examples, for instance, that the Central Committee has reflected upon are the N2 Wild Coast bridge and road project, and the disputes around mining in Xolobeni. Both of these are located in the Eastern Cape. Often in these projects there are tenderpreneurial interests that are linked and also fuel different factions in our organisations, especially but not exclusively the ANC.

Yet in all these there are also genuine community interests that often get buried beneath the factionalised money interests. It should actually be the task of our Alliance structures on the ground to harness, defend and advance these genuine community interests.

Also active in many of our communities are donor-funded non-governmental organisations (NGOs), some of which play an important role in taking up issues affecting our communities. Some of these NGOs have been part of important struggles around the provision of HIV treatment; struggle on access to water; protection of the environment; and so on. But NGO work in the absence of mass-based progressive community organisation often degenerates into NGO-isation of important community struggles on the ground.

The pattern and rhythm of NGO-led struggles are often shaped by the imperatives of protecting donor funding sources. It is on this altar of donor driven activism, that mass struggles become less important, as the survival of the NGOs concerned become paramount. Sometimes some of the NGOs oppose genuine attempts by government to address the many challenges facing our communities, because for them it must not be the government but the NGO that must be seen to have come up with solutions. Certain NGOs in many instances become inherently oppositionist to government and its programmes, instead of pursuing a complementary strategy involving critical engagement with government programmes.

These challenges are a reflection of weak political organisation, basically from all the Alliance structures that operate at a community level. Many ANC branches are characterised by inward looking practices focusing on capturing of branches by various factionalist groupings supporting this or that faction at the leadership level. Branch meetings are usually held in the run up to regional or provincial conferences only, or if there are to be nominations for local, provincial or local elections. Such branches never call community meetings or actively take up issues that affect communities. Thus they increasingly become insulated from communities in which they are based. There is huge gate-keeping in such scenarios that does not allow access, for example, to ANC branches by members not associated with a faction in control.

Many of our own SACP voting district branches are often disconnected from communities and are not consistently taking up issues that affect communities. In other instances, some in our own branches are



deeply caught up in the very factionalist battles in the branches of the ANC, if not used as platforms for those aggrieved or feeling marginalised from ANC structures. This is also impacting on debates and considerations in the SACP.

There has also been a serious decline, if not dearth of civic or residential organisations that patiently organise communities and take up the many challenges facing residents, whether it be about water, electricity and refuse removal.

In most of the post-1994 period our working class struggles have lost one of its most important and crucial weapon – that of worker-community alliances in both workplace and community struggles.

The combined effect of these problems as also led to the creation of a huge distance between government (especially at local level) and communities. The electoral setbacks suffered by the ANC in the 2016 local government elections were also an expression of this distance, over and above the objective conditions in which our people find themselves pressed without relief.

Taking into account the situation, the Central Committee has made a clarion call that every communist must be a community activist. The most important part of this activism is to organise the motive forces for community development to address the many challenges communities find themselves in. Much as women, youth and other sectors of our communities face many challenges because of patriarchy and the crisis of social reproduction, they cannot just be reduced to victims. With mobilisation they can act as a conscious motive force for transformation and local development.

The challenge for the SACP is to build a cadre of communist cadres capable of organising communities, building community activism and rebuilding the motive forces of the national democratic revolution to carry out the many tasks of the development needed in our communities. This underlines the importance and absolute necessity to rebuild our local branches as part of rebuilding our movement. It means embarking on our Know and Act in your Neighbourhood Campaign and building strong structures of the SACP. However, communist cadres with strong roots in community activism must also build particularly ANC branches and a progressive civic movement that are responsive and rooted in their communities. This is also why the issue of building Sanco is very important.

Much as we need both ANC and SACP branches in our communities, perhaps these have distinct albeit complementary roles. The ANC branch should seek to remain a mass structure in the local community, whilst the SACP organises activists in a locality that are capable of operating on all the important fronts in communities as communist cadres. The SACP must, in building itself, also act to build the motive forces of the revolution, including the ANC and Sanco in communities. It is for this reason that the Central Committee is of the view that communist cadres rooted in community activism can also act to rebuild relations between Alliance structures and communities and also act to destroy gate-keeping and overcome the distance between the ANC/SACP/Sanco and communities.

The building of the progressive trade union movement and linking workplace and community struggles is equally important. The greater attention to Cosatu as well as its affiliates, as directed in our SACP state and popular power resolution, is crucial also on this front.

These are the tasks of the SACP in this important arena of the community. The SACP should build popular power by firmly and deeply rooting itself among the masses, ensuring its ties with the masses are inviolable.

THE ECONOMY

Neither the parasitic nor the neo-liberal networks, but a democratic developmental path

Marx, in *Capital* (Vol. 1) recognises that public debt and the fiscal system corresponding with it have played a great part in the capitalisation of wealth and the expropriation of the masses. He writes:

‘National debts, i.e., the alienation of the state – whether despotic, constitutional or republican – marked with its stamp the capitalistic era. The only part of the so-called national wealth that actually enters into the collective possessions of modern peoples is their national debt... Public credit becomes the credo of capital.’

In the modern era, the exploitation of public debt as a lever of capitalist accumulation is enforced among others through the conditionalities attached to the loans/credit given to nation states. Credit rating agencies reinforce and enforce the conditionalities.

The observation by Marx is a very important point of departure in framing our analysis of the economy in our country in the current period. The major economic debate in our country currently is about how we deal with the current high levels of debt. The dominant approach is not concerned with the material basis of the debt. It does not seek to build a sustainable alternative for the state to build its own participation in the banking and financial system to generate revenue for developmental purposes. In South Africa, for instance, our banking sector is overwhelmingly a private commercial affair. Its international aspect is characterised by the dominance of finance monopoly capital. These are part of the factors and forces that have firmly placed our state in the yoke of private lenders. They are by no small measure responsible for austeritisation. This is reflected in the national budget and the strident, if not belligerent, behaviour of rating agencies and institutions like the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank.

The difficult situation in which South Africa is today economically is not a new phenomenon. Also, much as it has its own specific South African features, the economic situation South Africa is faced with should also be understood in the context of the crisis-ridden international economic context. In addition, our situation is also a situation that has faced many of what has been referred to as ‘post-colonial’ states. We use this concept of the ‘post-colonial state’ reservedly, for illustrative purposes only, because the meaning of the word ‘post-colonial’ can give a wrong impression that such states have completely transcended colonialism.

The fundamental reality has been the nature of the transitions from colonialism and colonial regimes to a ‘post-colonial’ order. In many cases, the new elite rose and accessed political power whilst the economic power remained with old domestic and imperialist ruling classes and the masses remained subject to continuing economic exploitation (neo-liberalism has deepened the exploitation) and relatively impoverished on many fronts of the social spectrum despite experiencing some, and even commendable, progress in others.

Some of the ‘post-colonial’ weaknesses are a reflection of the general inability of liberation and/or independence movements to build domestic productive capacity in their countries’ economies.

A related causal factor has been that of the ballooning public debt as a result of the combination of wrong policy choices and spending without developing domestic productive capacity to pursue economic transformation and development and in turn support public/social spending.

One of the instruments used by imperialism to undermine the national sovereignty of developing countries is that of the debt trap.

Our answer to this, must, in the first instance, include a sovereign development of our own economic policies and financial systems to deal with the challenges of development and potentially developing national debt crisis. For example, the SACP in 2000 launched a hugely important campaign focusing on the transformation of the financial sector. We made important gains through this campaign, including regulation of the credit bureaux, prevention of over-indebtedness through pushing for the National Credit Act, expansion of banking services, initially through the Mzansi Account, and so on. Interestingly, it was through the SACP campaign that the predatory behaviour of our banking oligopolies were exposed, thus laying the basis for the emergence of new banks targeting the unbanked.

However, our Financial Sector Campaign did not achieve systemic transformation of the financial sector. This was because of weak regulatory and oversight mechanisms over the financial sector, and lack of sufficient support from the trade union movement to tackle the systemic features of South African financial architecture. Part of the struggles for systemic transformation should include investments of workers' pensions and provident funds to build the productive sector of our economy. The importance of de-monopolisation and building a publicly-owned developmental banking sector cannot be overemphasised.

In South Africa, powerful and relatively developed and industrialised economic enclaves still exist side by side with an underdeveloped countryside and peri-urban areas. However, these two spheres of relative development and underdevelopment were deeply interconnected. The underdevelopment of the countryside and peri-urban areas were a condition for the development of the powerful capitalist economic enclaves. This is what the SACP characterised as the economic features of colonialism of a special type and persisting uneven development.

With our democratic breakthrough of 1994, the post-apartheid government was bequeathed with 'an unfunded mandate'. As the democratic government was established, the state-owned enterprises (SOEs) that had played a hugely developmental role for the white minority were re-oriented and corporatised. They were redirected to focus on their 'core' business, excluding the other developmental roles they were playing before, like the training of artisans. Much as this corporatisation and privatisation of the SOEs had started during the late apartheid era, which saw the selling off of SOEs such as Iscor and Sasol, further attempts to expand and extend privatisation was embarked upon by the democratic government through its adoption of the neo-liberal GEAR class project. In certain areas the partial privatisation that started in the late apartheid years was completed after 1994, well into the early 2000s, under the auspices of the democratic government. This also included the partial privatisation of Telkom in 2002 and forms part the genesis of the current problems we face with our SOEs, one of the reasons why we must not allow a return to the 1996 GEAR class project in dealing with SOEs.

It is uncritical, for instance, not to look at the impact and cost of the liberalisation of the domestic airspace or aviation sector and tenderisation on SAA.

In fact it was the planned privatisation agenda after 1996 that contributed to SOEs deprived of recapitalisation. At Eskom, the 1996 GEAR class project led to the public electricity utility deprived of recapitalisation, including adequate maintenance of its existing power stations, and developmental capitalisation to build new power generation capacity. This laid the basis for the development of the current load shedding crisis. The 1998 government energy White Paper made a choice of 'introducing competition into the industry, especially the [power] generation sector [actually segment, but considered as a sector]... and encouraging private sector participation'. The main question that arises is whether we are back to where we were 20 years before?

In the private capital sphere, the combination of the end of sanctions and liberalisation under the 1996 GEAR class project led to massive capital flight and divestment by major South African conglomerates, with some shifting their primary listing to New York and London. Consequently, billions of rand left our shores during the first ten years of our democracy, resulting in, amongst other things, the currency crisis in the early 2000s.

The combined impact of the restructuring and privatisation of SOEs and capital outflows left the democratic government with what we earlier referred to as 'an unfunded mandate' to tackle huge socio-economic challenges. In fact, the democratic South Africa was left with a progressive, but largely aspirational Constitution, with no adequate resources or economic means to drive a development and transformation agenda on a sustained basis.

However, the first decade of our democracy also saw massive improvements in the lives of millions of South Africans through some important socio-economic measures. Interestingly, this acted to cushion the poorest from some of the effects of the harsh economic conditions, those inherited from the legacy of the colonial and apartheid era and those created by the policy regime of the 1996 GEAR class project.

The socio-economic progress achieved was based on the repeal of apartheid laws and their replacement by the Bill of Rights and its enshrinement in our Constitution. This opened educational, trades and occupational opportunities, improved access to health care and freedom to join trade unions, among other workers' rights. In addition, government provided massive access to housing for the poor, electrification, social grants and water.

Whilst the mid-2000 saw the growth of the South African economy at around 5 per cent, as well as an increase in socio-economic provision, persisting high rate of unemployment remained a serious problem. This in fact was proof that neo-liberal economic policies and its growth path cannot address the interests of the majority of workers and poor. At most it enriched existing capitalist conglomerates, including the financial sector, as well as a small stratum of black sections of the capitalist class ('the black minority').

It was the cumulative impact of the above developments that led to huge tensions inside the movement and the Alliance. This was also accompanied by the marginalisation of Alliance formations from key decision-making bodies both inside the movement and government. Interestingly, this also led eventually to the marginalisation of the ANC itself from major government decisions.

The situation produced what became known in media circles as a Polokwane revolt, through a coalition of the SACP and Cosatu, and those feeling marginalised inside the ranks of the ANC. In fact,

amongst those who felt marginalised from inside the ANC, their grievance was not so much about dissatisfaction with neo-liberal policies, but feeling marginalised from opportunities of accumulation.

The uneasy coalition ('coalition of the wounded') between the Left and those feeling excluded from opportunities of accumulation became dominant in the movement arising out of Polokwane in 2007. But it was to unravel a decade later, by 2017, precisely because it was not based on principled unity, on the part of others, to advance a revolutionary agenda. The one part of the uneasy coalition, largely represented by the SACP and Cosatu, wanted significant policy changes, whilst significant sections from the other component of the coalition wanted their turn to accumulate.

The above uneasy coalition seemingly had some similar goals, important amongst which was the necessity to stop privatisation and keep SOEs in the hands of the state. But there were vastly different intentions behind this commonality. Whilst the SACP and Cosatu wanted SOEs to drive a developmental agenda, the significant other sections wanted to keep the SOEs in the hands of the state in order to loot them. This was not obvious from the beginning but became apparent as time unfolded.

It must nevertheless be acknowledged that the fourth democratic administration, inaugurated after the 2009 elections, started on a very progressive path in many respects. For instance, not only was privatisation of SOEs abandoned, but there was an important commitment to invest in infrastructure to the tune of R100 billion in five years – the highest such investment in such a short space of time. In addition, it provided HIV treatment, which was before not provided, thus bringing an end to an era of government denialism. This saved lives and increased life expectancy in South Africa by a number of years.

However, the massive looting of state resources that was to follow, led in the first instance to deepening tensions and fuelled factionalist battles within the movement as a whole, concentrated mainly inside the ANC. It was these divisions that were carried into the ANC 54th National Conference held in Nasrec, Johannesburg, in December 2017, where the SACP and Cosatu preferred to align with those forces inside the movement who seemed committed to fighting against state capture and other forms of corruption.

At this point, as the SACP and Cosatu, we must reflect on our experiences of sometimes supporting one faction to win an internal election in the ANC and thereafter a dumping us. Part of the challenge here to avoid this situation is to enter into principled Alliance relations whilst independently building working class power and hegemony on the ground and in every key site of struggle and significant centre of power.

Neither parasitic nor neo-liberal agenda

The principal task of the working class in the transformation of our economy now is to intensify the struggle against the parasitic state capture networks. In combating them we must at the same time not open space for a return to the era of neo-liberal dominance. Conversely, in waging struggles against a return of neo-liberal dominance we must not re-open space for another round of looting. We are for a democratic developmental path and state. As the SACP we must be guided by our programmatic slogan, 'Socialism is the future; Build it now' – building momentum towards, capacity for, and elements of, socialism in the here and now.

Our tasks in the context of the preceding discussion should include the following.

Financial Sector Transformation

- A return to the Financial Sector Campaign on a more heightened scale.
- Building a publicly controlled, developmental banking and broader financial sector.
- Building a co-operatively-owned banking and broader financial sector.
- Continuing to campaign for low cost banking and financial services and against financial exploitation by commercial banks and finance capital in general.
- Strict regulation and management of the capital account.
- Prescribed assets for productive and developmental purpose.
- A sovereign wealth fund to support and increase the levels of public investment.
- Expansion of the mandate of the South African Reserve Bank to explicitly target employment growth and an explicit, inclusive, balanced and sustainable high growth target.

Broader Economic Transformation

- Linking economic and social policies, thus advancing a comprehensive socio-economic policy approach targeted at employment creation and therefore a radical reduction of unemployment, and poverty, inequality and uneven development.
- A high impact, comprehensive industrial policy, including digital industrial and innovation, research and development strategies, aimed at developing our domestic productive capacity.
- Revitalisation of the publicly-owned sector of our economy, in particular but not exclusively requiring turnaround of our SOEs and systematic expansion of the sector to thrive.
- Combating state capture and other forms of corruption in the public sector and the economy at large on a more intensified extent.
- Development oriented poverty eradication strategy, with emphasis on support for productive activities and building sustainable livelihoods.
- Acceleration of land redistribution and support for productive land use, especially for the poor and the working class; to this end Parliament must complete the process of amending section 25 of the Constitution to make expropriation – that is without compensation – categorical as a constitutional, legislated, policy instrument available to the state.
- Increased economic and social infrastructure spend, and therefore also a stimulus package.
- Review of the fiscal policy framework to boost state revenue to support industrialisation and development.
- A state-owned pharmaceutical company.



- National Health Insurance.
- In line with the commitment made by the Alliance in the ANC May 2019 general election manifesto, overall alignment of our macro-economy policy framework to support the above, the objectives of the second radical phase of our democratic transition, and the other commitments made in the manifesto.

Rebuilding our movement and the vanguard role of the SACP

The Central Committee, in reflecting over the past two years since our 14th National Congress, and in its analyses of the current challenges facing the national democratic revolution, has come to the conclusion that the most urgent task of the NDR, our Party, the Alliance, and the broader democratic forces is that of rebuilding our movement. Hence the theme of this Special National Congress, 'Rebuild Our Movement: Socialism is the Future – Build it now'. In essence we are also firmly locating the vanguard role of the SACP within this task going forward.

The working class and the SACP as its Party are not going to be able to achieve the social, economic and community objectives, and a number of the other tasks that we have outlined, without rebuilding our movement.

The Central Committee is of the view that given the state of the ANC in recent years, and some of the internal organisational challenges it is facing, communists must devote serious attention to the rebuilding of the ANC. The Central Committee believes in this, not just for the sake of the necessity for a united, coherent and organisationally renewed ANC, but primarily because the national democratic revolution and its second radical phase require a strong, united and revolutionary ANC free of the many ills that characterise it at the moment, including divisions, factionalism, gate-keeping, isolation from communities on the ground, and marginalisation of its allies. The task of communists therefore is not to celebrate the poor state of the ANC, but to do what we have always done since the adoption of the native-cum-workers'-and-peasants' republic thesis in 1928/1929.

Let us briefly go back to the relevance of the essence of our call in 1928/1929 which laid the basis for our Alliance:

'While developing and strengthening the fight against all the customs, laws and regulations which discriminate against the native and coloured population in favour of the white population, the Communist Party of South Africa must combine the fight against all anti-native laws with the general political slogan in the fight against British domination, the slogan of an independent native South African republic as a stage towards a workers' and peasants' republic, with full equal rights for all races, black, coloured and white.

'The Party should pay particular attention to the embryonic national organisations among the natives, such as the African National Congress. The Party, while retaining its full independence, should participate in these organisations, should seek to broaden and extend their activity. Our aim should be to transform the African National Congress into a fighting nationalist revolutionary organisation against the white bourgeoisie and the British imperialists, based upon the trade unions, peasant organisations, etc., developing systematically the leadership of the workers and the Communist Party in this organisation...



The development of a national-revolutionary movement of the toilers of South Africa against the white bourgeoisie and British imperialism constitutes one of the major tasks of the Communist Party of South Africa'.

Much as we have gone a long way since the 90 years after the adoption of this thesis, towards achieving this goal, this task remains incomplete. Its completion is now a necessary part of driving a second, more radical phase, of our democratic transition.

Part of the Central Committee's call, that every communist must be a community activist, also has to do with contributing towards building an ANC that is rooted in communities, and whose branches express the interests of communities, rather than the narrow self-centred interests of factions. Principled community organisation by the Party and the Alliance will go a long way towards reversing all the regressive tendencies found in some of our structures, like gate-keeping, factionalism and isolation from the communities.

Some of our own members have asked, and may still ask, should we not be prioritising building SACP structures. Yes, we must prioritise building the SACP structures, but the Party has never, in its entire history, only focused on building its own structures outside of building the organisational capacity of the motive forces of the national democratic revolution as a whole. That is why from the 1930s the SACP, as it built its own structures it continued to build the ANC and the trade union movement and throwing its weight behind the squatter movement. With the likes of Dora Tamana, the Party became deeply involved in organising around the provision of crèches for the poor and also building the co-operatives movement.

It has always been the task and vanguard role of the SACP to build itself as it builds the motive forces of the national democratic revolution and as it advances political organisation of the masses. In fact, rebuilding the movement must mean rebuilding the organisational capacity and strength of the motive forces of the revolution! For now, we are leaving the issue of rebuilding the SACP to be discussed in detail in our Organisational Report to be presented by our First Deputy General Secretary.

The second biggest challenge to rebuild our movement is to rebuild and strengthen the progressive trade union movement, with priority being our ally, the Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu). The Central Committee, since our 14th National Congress, has been discussing this question extensively, including continuing engaging with Cosatu and its affiliates. We have, together with Cosatu, identified the urgent task of rebuilding industrial unions, as one of the key tasks in helping to strengthen the federation.

That the biggest and relatively most stable unions inside Cosatu are public sector unions is something to be welcomed but not taken for granted. One of the biggest threats to Cosatu affiliates, as well as the rest of the trade union movement, is that of being corrupted and co-opted to capitalist agendas. This includes the very use of trade union investment arms to compromise and corrupt union leadership, and can destroy the union movement and fragment it into pieces. Much as this is a threat to all trade unions, public sector unions are also particularly vulnerable to be co-opted by the state capture and other corrupt agendas.

However, in line with Cosatu's call for broader trade union unity in action, the SACP should also consciously seek to reach out to all progressive trade unions as part of its own contribution towards broader unity in action by the trade union movement.

The Central Committee is also proposing to this Special National Congress that we engage Cosatu and the entire progressive trade union movement to convene a Conference or Summit of Trade Unions, to discuss and come up with a joint programme of action on matters affecting workers. Whilst as the SACP we would not like to prescribe the agenda for such a gathering, it must at least seek to thoroughly reflect, among others, on the gains, advances and losses made by South African workers over the last 25 years; new threats to trade union organisation; the state of our economy; and identify common campaigns around jobs and decent work as well as the challenges facing the SOEs.

Let us take this moment and look back to see what fragmentation and therefore disunity have done to the trade union movement and its capacity to advance and defend the interest of workers.

By April 2016 South Africa had 187 organisations registered as trade unions. The total number of workers organised in the 187 organisations registered as trade unions was just less than 3.6 million. This meant that only 33 per cent of workers recognised as employed were organised in trade unions, while the unorganised workers constituted 67 per cent. The number of newly formed unions continued to increase. For instance, in the same year, four new organisations were formed and registered as trade unions. This brought the total number of registered trade union up to 191 by September 2016. The number of newly formed trade unions continued to increase thereafter.

The increased number of trade unions do not necessarily organise the unorganised. Trade union proliferation is mostly concentrated in the ranks of the already organised sections of workers. This has given rise, in all sectors, to trade union competition and/or so-called rivalries, or even what can be described as 'scope wars'. In worst-case scenarios, it is possible to find one trade union having achieved or still achieving membership growth in a context where another is suffering continuous killings of its members, leaders, officials and thus declining in membership. It is almost impossible to not see these as somehow connected

Apart from the many challenges facing workers in South Africa, the very state of the global challenges, including the negative impact of how capital employs new technologies, require broader trade union unity in action, as well as to deepen trade union international solidarity.

The importance of working very hard to achieve trade union unity and to build working class power cannot be emphasised, as it is the case with regard to the connection between workplace and community struggles.

The crisis of social reproduction also calls for the intensification of organisation at community level, in order to unite the broadest range of forces to attend to the varied needs of our communities.

The Central Committee proposes that, coming out of this Special National Congress, we should lead an effort to bring together, first through a national gathering, varied community, mass, and NGO formations to discuss an organisational and mobilisation strategy to confront and deal with the many crises affecting our households and our communities.

We are therefore committing to work with other interested progressive organisations to convene a broad gathering of community-based organisations, student, youth and trade union formations, churches, women's organisations, progressive NGOs with demonstrable community support, commuter organisations, civic and residential organisations, and other progressive formations. The purpose of such a gathering should include seeking to lay a basis for addressing the many challenges facing our communities, including:

- Waging the fight against gender-based violence.
- Tackling youth unemployment.
- Fighting drugs and substance abuse.
- Intensifying the fight against corruption.
- Advancing poverty eradication strategies and building sustainable livelihoods.
- Continuing the struggle for the implementation of the National Health Insurance.
- Pushing community driven development, including the District Development Model from below.

In fact, through our Red October Campaign, it has become clear to the SACP that the many scourges afflicting our communities, including gender-based violence, cannot be defeated by separate organisations in an isolated way. This latter requires not just women's organisations, but all of communities and the whole of society.

The many community 'service delivery protests' are largely disjointed, characterised by destruction of public property, even if they raise legitimate issues. This is largely because there is no proper and principled political leadership.

Also, the very important District Development Model Campaign will not succeed unless we mobilise and build strong community organisation. Effective participation in the district development programmes and projects offers a huge opportunity to revitalise not only our branches, but our districts as well. In fact, there is no reason why districts should not be waging district campaigns on a sustained basis to deal with the many challenges facing working class communities in particular.

We need to point out that what the Central Committee is calling for is neither an electoral front nor an oppositionist movement. It is also not a call for a mechanical return to the rebuilding of the United Democratic Front of the 1980s and early 1990s. This is a call for the mobilisation and organisation of the motive forces of the democratic revolution, so that the people themselves and communities are at the centre of their own development. This is also aimed at liberating our communities from the clutches of factionalist activity.

The central importance of revitalising progressive community activism is that it can create a crucial platform for worker-community joint actions as engines for local development. For instance, there are a number of common interests between organised workers and communities. These communities are where workers come from. There is a need for principled organisation of co-operation between progressive trade unions and community formations. For example, both the trade unions and communities have an interest in the proper functioning of Eskom. Yet often when the issue of Eskom is taken up, it is either



workers or communities on their own, without co-ordination of the two fronts together. At times there are contradictions between the two centres.

Building the political capacity of the SACP as a vanguard Party for socialism

It is absolutely important and essential that we frankly reflect on ourselves, including on whether we do have the capacity to do all the things we are committing ourselves to do. Most importantly, we need to ask whether we do have the capacity to act as a truly vanguard Party for socialism, a Party of the working class.

The SACP must prioritise and institutionalise political education, in line with our Party Programme, the South Africa Road to Socialism. The holding of regular political classes does not call for much financial resources for our branches, in particular. All SACP branches should hold weekly political education classes. There must be political education programmes at the district and provincial levels as well, as there should be nationally. These should also include specific attention on the youth in general, and the Young Communist League of South Africa (YCLSA) particular.

However, political education without involvement in practical campaigns and activities of the Party and communities is not enough. Political education must include building an activist and vanguard SACP. Political education without practical campaigns and activities is not enough to produce seasoned Party cadres. Some of our detractors used to discourage the SACP from leading mass campaigns on the grounds, saying that our role was restricted to theory and analyses. In fact, throughout our whole history, we have never been a Party of theory alone. We have also always been a Party of action. No other Party has played the role of building the trade union movement as we have done in South Africa, ever, for instance.

We have also played a huge role over this period as ANC members and activists to build that organisation. The SACP was a co-founding organisation of uMkhonto weSizwe, the MK, when our Alliance launched the armed struggle in 1961. By that time the SACP had in fact already established its own units and which had carried out a number of attacks on the networks of the apartheid regime.

Communists were active in all our four pillars of struggle between 1960 and 1990 – in the underground, mass organisation, on the international front, and in the armed struggle. In the post-1994 period, the SACP, more so since 1999, launched and has been leading the Red October Campaign, notching some very important victories on a number of fronts, for the benefit of the workers and poor of our country. Communists have also played an important part in governance, both in executive and legislative arms of the state, as well as in other structures of the state. It is this activism that makes and also builds the capacity of the SACP to play its vanguard role.

Another reality that we have to face is that the SACP must always strive to produce more capable cadres inside its organisational structures. There is often always a difference between a member and a communist cadre. A communist cadre is the backbone of the Party, who is clear about its tasks, ideologically, theoretically and practically, and is always amongst the first in battle, highly disciplined. A communist cadre does not elevate oneself above the organisation or lower structures above higher structures. Over the past two decades, we have had to deliberately and significantly grow the size of our Party. This has brought about its own challenges.



We deliberately grew the size of the SACP for two main reasons. Firstly, we did so in order to build our capacity to defend the Party from our enemies as well as detractors. Growing size of the Party has helped us to navigate some of the big challenges we have had to face, including a political offensive by neo-liberal forces. Secondly, we grew the Party in line with our Medium-Term Vision, to build working class influence, power and hegemony, in all key sites of struggle and significant centres of power. In order to have effective presence in most parts of our country, we needed numbers as well. As we state in the South African Road to Socialism, our Party Programme:

‘The fact that the Party is in an alliance must not lead to the dissolution of the Party into that alliance, nor should it seek to duplicate the role of any of its alliance partners. Similarly in leading or participating in sectoral mass struggles and other mass formations we should not turn the party into a sectoral mass-based formation. We seek to build a large, but vanguard Party. **A large party is not necessarily a mass party, as the size of the Party is not a fixed number of members, but is determined by the tasks at hand.** Whilst our Party was underground between 1950 and 1990, it was necessary that its size be small. Conditions in the wake of the 1994 democratic breakthrough dictate that the size of the Party must be significantly increased whilst not sacrificing quality and its political and class character.’

Nevertheless, we have grown faster than we have been able to grow the number of high quality cadres in the SACP. We have not been able to back the rapid growth of our Party with increasingly effective and institutionalised political education and ideological training to raise the level of quality on the part of every member and transform them into professional communist revolutionaries (for a definition see Lenin’s ‘What is to be done’). We still have members who we have not yet achieved the level of high communist attributes required in terms of the Party constitution and capacity. We need to look at the adverse impact this has started generating in the Party and accelerate the pace of developing communist cadres. A large Party with no political education can easily begin to lose its direction. Building the capacity of the SACP as a vanguard Party also means transforming ourselves from quantity into quality and building the SACP as a Party of vanguard cadres.

It is also important to remind ourselves that playing a vanguard role does not necessarily mean mechanically occupying an organisational leadership role or being always in the frontline. Vanguard leadership can be provided through strategic, programmatic and ideological leadership, regardless of your location in the movement or in any struggle. Being a vanguard is also not a stamp that you carry forever. As Lenin says in ‘What is to be done?’, it is not a label. Being a communist vanguard is not a timeless thing. Rather, it is both the state of communist capacity and process of its development. It therefore has to be continuously earned, that is, at all material time. This needs cadres who are the most advanced, dedicated, disciplined and loyal to the course of universal emancipation and lasting freedom and exemplary wherever they are located.

Perhaps the most serious challenge that faces the SACP is that of its financial sustainability and access to resources. Let us face it, comrades, there are just too few people who are able to raise resources needed to run the SACP and implement its programme. What we are talking about will be hot air without resources. We would not be able to undertake a single programme, let alone to think about that contesting an election whenever and wherever it becomes necessary in the country.

Above all, the most important requirement in building the capacity of the Party to play its vanguard



role is its internal unity. Without unity there can be no Party being able to play its vanguard role. If there is one thing to credit the last three to four sets of the Central Committee, that is the premium they have placed on Party unity. We have sought to emphasise engagement and consensus in electing Party leadership, for example, without at the same time suppressing debate on any matter. Engagement in the Party is very much part and parcel of inner-Party democracy. Democracy without engagement, without dialogue, is inconceivable. We have continuously expanded space for inner-Party democracy while fostering consensus and building Party unity and cohesion. In this way, we have pioneered centralism on the basis of democracy and continuously widened space for inner-Party democracy under central guidance.

One of the prime requirements for Party unity is the creation of internal democratic space for any Party member or structure to raise any matter for debate. But in addition, and most importantly, such matters must be raised inside the Party following due Party process and procedures. The day Party matters start to be raised through the media then we must all know that we are on a slippery slope to disunity and destruction of the Party. That a Party member feels strongly about an issue cannot be the reason to raise such matters in the media or outside Party structures. Indiscipline, whether ideological, political, organisational or, still, at the personal level within the Party, is in fact part and parcel of what Lenin referred to as an infantile disorder and childishness. It is important therefore for the Party to consciously work to defeat all such regressive tendencies within its ranks, including factionalism, populism and opportunism.

In addition, in times of difficulties, like we have in our country at the moment in terms of the state of our economy, we must desist from telling our people what they want to hear even if such promises are not achievable. Such populist tendencies must be discouraged within the ranks of the Party.

To foster unity it is important to respect and adhere to the principle of democratic centralism and also respect the leadership authority of higher structures up the National Congress. As just stated, higher structures listen to lower structures before arriving at their decisions. This is provided for in the constitutional composition of the leading organs of the Party. Once decisions are made and taken, they must be respected. Decisions of higher structures are binding on all lower structures. In addition, lower structures must desist from commenting on matters that are a responsibility of, or fall in the sphere of higher structures. It is important to follow due processes and procedures to comment and make input within the Party on such matters.

Lastly, the SACP must at all time act to unite itself even as it debate complex and difficult matters. We must not approach issues for debate in a divisive manner. If you raise a point that you know is divisive, you must know that there will be other contrary views and, in the end, you may not win your view. At some stage many of us had thought that if you feel strongly about a matter, or you have raised your argument very strongly, then everyone or most people will be swayed by your viewpoint.

But what we must also always remember is that we are not building the SACP for the sake of it, but for the working class. This is not a Party just of its members and its leaders. The SACP is a Party of the working class!

Our Party building tasks will not be complete without at the same time building a strong YCLSA that is visibly leading the youth and is followed by the youth on the ground and in every key site of the



struggles implicating the youth. The tasks of building the YCLSA include precisely what we have already said about the Party. That is, in summary, political education, political education, and political education; ideological training; ideological training, ideological training; action, action, and action on the ground and in every key site of struggle where the youth are. We need to build a vibrant and campaigning YCLSA. Everything we have said about building Party unity also applies to the YCLSA, an autonomous but integral organ of the Party.

Let us use this Special National Congress to build a unified Party and debate in a manner that is comradely and builds unity. There is no prize bigger than Party unity. Let us commit to having a robust but successful Special National Congress.

Amandla!



SACP 4TH SPECIAL NATIONAL CONGRESS 9 – 12 DECEMBER 2019

TRIBUTE TO FALLEN COMRADES

We, delegates constituting the 4th Special National Congress of the SACP, wish to salute with pride and honour our fallen comrades here in South Africa, on our continent and throughout the world. We recognise their contribution in our struggle for liberation and social emancipation, the struggle for socialism. They might varyingly not have received the necessary recognition while they were still alive, but through this tribute their names will remain in the history of our Party and the working class where generations to come will acknowledge the huge contribution they made to the struggle. Their gallant efforts in the struggle will serve as a source of courage for us and the future generations of the Party and the working class.

The eyes and ears of the working class and the poor in our country and the world at large are waiting in anticipation for the outcomes of this 4th Special National Congress of the SACP. In memory of our fallen comrades, and carrying out our duties in the struggle, we pledge to do our best. We are confident that the Party will not disappoint them.

As the 4th Special National Congress of the SACP we also salute all those police officers who perished on duty trying to defend the innocent souls, the country, and ensure that there is law and order in our lovely South Africa. We recognise members of the South African Police Service; South African National Defence Force, Metropolitan Police Officers, members belonging to other safety and security establishments, including the Community Policing Forums throughout the country. We remain committed towards fighting against police attacks and killings.

We must commit to intensify our campaign against drug and substance abuse, as well as gangsterism.

The 4th Special National Congress of the SACP takes place in a period when the country is entering the festive season. During this period there is an increase in roads accidents, due to a variety of factors, including unresolved problems of uneven development. We call on our people, motorists and pedestrians, to observe the traffic laws and protect life on our roads.

We pay tribute to all those who perished on our roads, including but not limited to a member of our 14th National Congress Central Committee, Cde Fezeka Loliwe, who died in a motor vehicle accident last year, 2018, on her way from her constituency work; Cde Timothy Khoza, a Member of Parliament from Mpumalanga Province; Cde Abraham "Abby" Makoane Motsiri, chief of security at most events in our movement; Cde Thandi Ndlovu, a medical practitioner by profession and a freedom fighter. A special message from 4th Special National Congress goes to the former YCLSA Free State Provincial Secretary, Cde Life Mokone, who lost three of his children together with his mother in law, also in a road accident, in September this year, 2019.

We pledge to play our part to make our roads safer at all times.

As the 4th Special National Congress of the SACP, we send our tribute to all victims of gender-based violence. We pledge to do our best to end the scourge of gender-based violence, and thus reaffirm this as one of the strategic objectives of our Red October Campaign 2019 – 2020 and Party Programme until total victory is achieved and fully secured.



We pay tribute to our fallen comrades, but we have a task to begin to build them a majestic and indestructible monument. This monument is victoriously completing the national democratic revolution and the advance to a socialist society. We will build a strong, stalwart, well-organised South African Communist Party which is a large vanguard Party for socialism as we march to our centenary in 2021 and beyond to a socialist society, a society in which the exploitation of one person or group by another is systematically eliminated.

In saying farewell to all our stalwarts and their loved ones who passed away, we will emerge from the 4th Special National Congress with firm resolutions. We will face capitalism head-on with more vigour and courage. We will confront the parasites and other looters and corrupt elements. We will tackle those doing everything to undermine the hard-won democratic gains our people achieved since our 1994 democratic breakthrough.

In honour of all members of the South African Communist Party, our broader movement as well as revolutionaries and progressives from other parts of the world who passed away since our 14th National Congress held in July 2017...

...we will keep the Red Flag flying high:

NAME AND SURNAME	OTHER DETAILS
Rica Hodgson	Long time Party cadre and a Personal Assistant to Cde Walter Sisulu
Nokuthula Simelane	MK Combatant now declared officially presumptuously deceased, after 26 years since her abduction by apartheid era security and never to be found
Eric Stalin Mtshali	Recipient of the Moses Kotane Award- and Long standing stalwart of the Movement-A life time member of the CC & PB of the SACP
Mfengu Ndlovu Makalima	Recipient of the Moses Kotane Award- and Long standing stalwart of the Movement-A life time member of the CC & PB of the SACP
Joyce Mashamba	Recipient of the Moses Kotane Award- A life time members of the CC and Long serving member of the ANC NEC
Nomzamo Winnie Madikizela-Mandela	Isithwalandwe
Sechaba Charles Setsubi	Long time member of the CC; PB; full-time member of the CC and Freedom fighter
Eleftherios "cde Akis" Apergis	Stalwart of the World Working Class
Petrus Mashishi	Founding President of SAMWU
Mandla Makupula	Member of the CC and political education activist
Fezeka Loliwe	Member of the CC and long time trade union activist
Teenage Monama	Provincial Chairperson of the SACP, Deputy National Chairperson of MKMVA and Freedom fighter
Archie "Zola Zembe" Sibeko	Stalwart of the Movement, Trade Unionist and Freedom fighter
Zola Skweyiya	Stalwart of the Movement, Freedom Fighter; Former Minister and Ambassador
Edna Molewa	ANC NEC Member, Freedom Fighter and former Minister
Eddie Funde	
Moss Chikane	
June Dube	Long time Trade Unionist and Cadre of the Movement
Ronnie Mamoepa	Communicator for life and former UDF Activist

Issac “Bra Ike” Maphoto	Stalwart of the Congress Movement and Freedom Fighter
Professor Samir Amin	
Mama Elsa Schreiner	
Ambassador Billy Modise	
Duma Lebakeng	
Trevor Bonhomme	
Ali Maziya	Long time leader of SANCO; Member of the Alliance Secretariat and the underground structures in Kathorus & Member of Parliament
Timothy Khoza	Member of Parliament in the 5 th Administration
Peter Sefuthi	
Thuliswa Nkabinde-Khawe	SANCO Gauteng Provincial Secretary and MEC for the 6 th Administration
Professor Bongani Mayosi	
Sibusiso Radebe;	
Moses Nzama Mtileni	Student Activist
Macdonald Ralai Motlhake	Congress Movement Activist
Ralph Kanyane	Congress Movement Activist against Corruption
Valtyn Kekana	Congress Movement Activist against Corruption
Ngoako Modjadji	Journalist Activist
Sefako Nyaka	Journalist Activist
Philile Masango	PUDEMO
Njabulo Dlamini	PUDEMO
Hugh Masekela	Veteran Musician
Dorothy Masuka	Veteran Musician

EASTERN CAPE PROVINCE

Ntshoyi	Nocwala Pricilla	OR Tambo District
Nyenyiso	Mfuneni	OR Tambo District
Cingo	Sinethemba	OR Tambo District
Socikwa	Mvuseleli	OR Tambo District
Notununu	Bomkazi	OR Tambo District
Hlabe	Lusanda	OR Tambo District
Socikwa	Bruce	OR Tambo District
Magawu	Mahlomola	Joe Gqabi District
Lehlohla	Lerato	Joe Gqabi District
Zondi	Nombulelo	Ncumisa Kondlo District
Mali	Andile	Ncumisa Kondlo District
Zondi-Papu	Joyce	Ncumisa Kondlo District
Ngetu	Tobani	Ncumisa Kondlo District
Quma	Boyce	Ncumisa Kondlo District
Mere	Vuyolwethu	Ncumisa Kondlo District
Mpeta	Mthuthuzeli	Ncumisa Kondlo
Ntame	Mlandeli	Ncumisa Kondlo District
Mdleleni	Vuyolwethu	Ncumisa Kondlo District

Free State

Mtombeni	Deliwe	Tisha Vanga
Rampheta	Lesedinyana	Tisha Vanga

GAUTENG PROVINCE

Ndala	Khehla	
Nyaka	Sefako	
Ndlovu	Thandi	
Motsiri	Abraham Abby Makoane	
Maama	Tebogo Mokaba	
Mateta	Mangaliso	
Mbalo	Thuletu	
Thonga	Noloyiso	
Mlamli	Msxwell	
Nxusane	Terrance	
Nkoro	Bernard Ikibala	
Wessels	Samuel	
Tshabalala	Charles Bafana	
Mofokeng	Aurial	
Mbhele	Philani	
Sisulu	Nontsikelelo	
Jabetla	Thandi	
Mothapo	Matankana	

MOSES MABHIDA PROVINCE

George	Correen	Johannes Nkosi District
Mbhele	Njabulo	Johannes Nkosi District
Ngiba	Sthembiso	Johannes Nkosi District
Gumede	Phumzile	Johannes Nkosi District
Fyn	Gladys	Johannes Nkosi District
Mazibuko	Mlondolozzi	Johannes Nkosi District
Bhengu	Dumisani	Johannes Nkosi District
Goge	Sthembiso	Johannes Nkosi District
Manqe	Mboneni	Johannes Nkosi District
Nala	Thokozani	Johannes Nkosi District
Mayisela	Thandanani	Johannes Nkosi District
Majola	Phika	Johannes Nkosi District
Dladla	Philisiwe	Johannes Nkosi District
Mdabe	Siyabonga	Johannes Nkosi District
Mdabe	Sibongiseni	Johannes Nkosi District
Mnguni	Sibongiseni	Johannes Nkosi District
Mncibi	Thabani	Johannes Nkosi District
Mzizi	Sanankosi	Johannes Nkosi District
Ngcobo	Hlengiwe	Johannes Nkosi District
Hadebe	Hlengiwe	Johannes Nkosi District
Zwane	Beauty	Johannes Nkosi District
Gabela	Sihle	Johannes Nkosi District

Siqwayi	Ubuhleka Priority	Johannes Nkosi District
Ndlovu	Sandile	Johannes Nkosi District
	Chaklaas	Johannes Nkosi District
Phungula	Marazer	Johannes Nkosi District
Mkhize	Siphosihle D	Ukhahlamba District
Mbatha	Mpumelelo	Ukhahlamba District
Hani	Mvuleni	Ukhahlamba District
Zondo	Phumlani	Ukhahlamba District
Mlotshwa	Babana	Ukhahlamba District
Nsele	Phumlani	Ukhahlamba District
Zama	Zama	Ukhahlamba District
Ndlovu	Mfanufikile	Ukhahlamba District
Nkosi	Samukelo	Ukhahlamba District
Hlubi	Tu	Ukhahlamba District
Zwane	Ntombizodwa	Ukhahlamba District
Mkhwanazi	Riot Makomanisi	Riot Mkhwanazi District
Mkhwanazi	Mamdletshe	Riot Mkhwanazi District
Sibiya	Bongani B.	Riot Mkhwanazi District
Cele	Sipho	Riot Mkhwanazi District
Hlombe	James	Riot Mkhwanazi District
Mdluli	Themba	Riot Mkhwanazi District
Mthembu	Jabulani	Riot Mkhwanazi District
Magwaza	Zaphezulu	Riot Mkhwanazi District
Nyawo	Agrippa	Riot Mkhwanazi District
Tobo	Themba	Riot Mkhwanazi District
Leshoro	Thabo	Riot Mkhwanazi District
Nkosi	Bonginkosi	Riot Mkhwanazi District
Ngcobo	Justice Killer	Riot Mkhwanazi District
Ntombela	Muzi	Riot Mkhwanazi District
Mthalane	Ntuthuko	Riot Mkhwanazi District
Mkhwanazi	Sibusiso	Riot Mkhwanazi District
Qwabe	Phumelele	Riot Mkhwanazi District
Ngobese	Sibusiso	Riot Mkhwanazi District
Ximba	Bongani	Riot Mkhwanazi District
Shange	Ziphendulele	Riot Mkhwanazi District
Sibisi	Sgcino	Riot Mkhwanazi District
Sibiya	Ronnie	Riot Mkhwanazi District
Nsele	Njabulo	Riot Mkhwanazi District
Mngomezulu	Clement	Riot Mkhwanazi District
Mlambo	Sifiso Mabhedla	Riot Mkhwanazi District
Mthembu	Musa S.	Riot Mkhwanazi District
Zikhali	Bongani	Riot Mkhwanazi District
Mthenjana	Mfundo	Riot Mkhwanazi District
Manyoni	Bongani	Riot Mkhwanazi District
Zulu	Nhlanhla	Riot Mkhwanazi District
Gumede	Jabulani	Riot Mkhwanazi District
Khumalo	Thembokwakhe	Riot Mkhwanazi District
Mpanza	Sphamandla	Riot Mkhwanazi District
Ntombela	Jerry	Riot Mkhwanazi District

Makhathini	Themba	Riot Mkhwanazi District
Mqadi	Nombuso	Lower South Coast District
Shange	Skhumbuzo	Lower South Coast District
Vanda	Sibusiso	Lower South Coast District
Shabalala		Lower South Coast District
Khawula	Ace	Lower South Coast District
Radebe	Maxwell	KwaDukuza District
Matlombe	Victoria	Mzala Nxumalo District
Matlombe	Mantombi	Mzala Nxumalo District
Nkosi	Khanyisile	Mzala Nxumalo District
Ndlovu	Nonhlanhla	Mzala Nxumalo District
Ndlela	Nozipho	Far North District
Mthembu	Thulisile	Far North District
Masinga	Bheki	Far North District
Tembe	Thandeka	Far North District
Mchwera	Zimbini	Thembisile Hani District
Mchwera	Mile	Thembisile Hani District
Mawaba	Dudu	Thembisile Hani District
Nduku	Thandi	Thembisile Hani District
Nguse	Sthembile	Thembisile Hani District
Dlamini	Tholakele	Thembisile Hani District
Ngcobo	Alfred	Thembisile Hani District
Mawaba	Nokududuza	Thembisile Hani District
Jili		Thembisile Hani District
Dlamini	Tholakele	Thembisile Hani District
Phakathi	Ntombifuthi	Thembisile Hani District
Jaca	Nolucky	Thembisile Hani District
Ngcwaweni	Sinenhlanhla	Thembisile Hani District
Fihla	Fezeka	Thembisile Hani District

NORTHERN CAPE PROVINCE

Maseti	Rhili	Joe Slovo District
Van Der Westhuizen	Lluwellyn	Basil February District
Bhana	Hugh Lee	Basil February District
Phakade	Mona	Dora Tamana District
Isaacs	Mathys	Dora Tamana District
Peters	Francina	Dora Tamana District
Mali	Elvis	
Meleng	Patrick	
Mofokeng	Paki Witness	Braam Fischer District
Olyn	Joseph	Braam Fischer District
Gaseboihe	Tebogo	Braam Fischer District

MOSES KOTANE PROVINCE

Mogadile	Tiny	Johannes Nkosi District
Polori	Kgotso	Lilian Ngoyi District
Modise	Abna	Lilian Ngoyi District
Kalipa	Zelda	BG Molewa District

Molatole	Mpho	BG Molewa District
Mayedwa		JB Marks District
Siko	Boniwe	JB Marks District
Khumalo	Tabiya P	JB Marks District
Mohoase	Joseph	JB Marks District

MPUMALANGA PROVINCE

Shabangu	Norman	
Radebe	Sbusisio	
Mnisi	Nokhaya	
Ramanyayi	Eugine Nyakallo	
Khanye	Kantoor	
Ndaba	Andrew	
Thanjekwayo	Sipho	
Karube	Namthandazo	
Mtolo	Raphael	
Nkatha	Zanele	
Maputse	Ntombizodwa	
Nkoana	Nelly	
Sibiya	Lot	
Sihlangu	Victor	
Mkhonto	Victor	
Mnikazi	Sanele	
Mogane	Velley	
Mnisi	Willy	
Marivati	Dan	
Ramodikwe	Lesley	
Thabang	Eunice Margareth	
Mokoni	Precious	
Mashego	Villia Dolly	

WESTERN CAPE PROVINCE

Matshoma	Loyiso	
Pango	Miriam	
Ndevu	Makhi Raymond	
Mavume	Siyabonga	
Fatyela	Steleki	
Gwada	Zuko	
Malunda	Sikhawu	
Tomose	Mzukisi	
Mazeka	Landiswa	
Nongabe	Moris Luvuyo	
Situngo	Lungiswa	
Ngcakasi	Buyile Ronie	
Boma	Gcinikhaya	



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