

THESIS ON CLASS INEQUALITIES, ORGANIZATIONAL WEAKNESS, PARTY BUILDING AND CLASS STRUGGLE

1. Introduction

- 1.1.** The current political crisis that we are facing in terms of organizational polarisation remains a real challenge for the future of the SACP in the North West Province. Opportunism and factionalism both within the ranks of the movement emerge as a result of putting the revolutionary theory into periphery whilst at the same time there is a trajectory which carries on its trail, the deliberate agenda of weakening structures by those who are in position of power in class relations. Reality of the matter is that both factionalism and opportunism are cornerstone for self-enrichment and the anchor for engendering of compradorial strata of the capitalist system
- 1.2.** Internationalism has also evolved since the demise of the Soviet Union. Of course there are some contradictions and the full capitalist onslaught that has emerged in the process. The revolutionary theory had been in usage by parties which had been on power to change lives of the citizen. Organizations of the Congress Movement had engaged into ideological exchange with other fraternal formations. One of such organization is the Communist Party of China. Capitalism had fully developed in China but the organization is so strong and it can manage and discipline capital. The capitalist system is now facing a political and economic crisis which in real terms are as a result of resistance and rebellion on the country that are in the South. The formation of BRICS¹ remains a milestone which facilitate development from the level of the South. The sanction that is been currently imposed against Russia had some positive bearing on right to self-determination as well as building strong economy which is not been underpinned by Brettonwoods regulations
- 1.3.** 20 years of democracy symbolize gains and setbacks which the liberation movement had engaged with in the transformational programme of our country from three centuries of Colonialism of A Special Type. The outlook of transformation had been conducted within framework of capitalist framework of oppression. Founding fathers of our democracy are telling us that current phase of social transformation is more complex than the struggle for fighting against the racist tyranny (Apartheid)². We might conclude that this is a correct conclusion in a sense that entirely

¹ Recent studies shows that BRICS had overtaken powerful status that was occupied by G8 in the last 25 years

² Thabo Mbeki was addressing the Jews community during the memorial services of President Mandela

capitalism has also reproduced itself and non-racialism by co-opting the compradorial section of Black elite.

1.4. Further complexities also emerge because of weakness of organization and wrong ideas which are renting our organization into asunder. Regrettably there is the working class disunity which has emerged because of the relationship between the state and working class. Put in another paradigm many in the trade unions had raised their dissatisfaction on how key leaders of the SACP had been involved in some of anti-working class policy formulations Revolutionary theory had played important role in fighting the draconian system of oppression. Dialectical Materialism was (and remains) a tool that could explain the outlook and the nature of the system and also undermined lamentation but developed solution to the problem.

1.5. "People always have been the foolish victims of deception and self-deception in politics, and they always will be until they have learnt to seek out the interests of some class or other behind all moral, religious, political and social phrases, declarations and promises. Champions of reforms and improvements will always be fooled by the defenders of the old order until they realize that every old institution, however barbarous and rotten it may appear to be, is kept going by the forces of certain ruling classes" (VI Lenin, 1913, Sel. Works, P. 24, Progress Publishers, Moscow).

What we can deduce from this statement is that classes exist in society, that there is no class neutralities, hitherto society is been characterised by class struggle. Subsequent to that we should locate the theory where we work, study and leave. Marxism is not a dogma but a living theory which seeks to liberate mankind

1.6. The main aim of the paper is to pay attention into building strong organization and also create a framework of waging into a relentless struggle against capitalism .Central to that it should be important to identify trenches and strength of capitalistic nature of our society. The emancipation of the working class should be the work of the working class itself according to Marx. Within the same paradigm it means that we should build strong organization with capable leaders to lead class struggle, wherein there is an apparent, mobilization, organization as well as education of a class. Obvious this can't happen without having and advanced detachment to the class that has to make history. Capitalism

had only played one meaningful role in history by destroying the feudal system. It had also simplified oppression by dividing the society into a hostile camp of the oppressors and the oppressed.

- 1.7.** It is precisely for these reasons that we should interrogate our understanding of vanguardism and Party as a vanguard of the working class. Vanguardism encompasses leadership that is been located within a class for historical mission of a class, say for example mission of the working class is to overthrow the capitalist system and build egalitarian socialist society wherein the producers (proletariat) owns what they do produce. The leadership of a class is been detached in an advanced fashion wherein leadership is within, and is not tail ending or leading far ahead from the class connectivity. The leadership is located within the theory of Marxism-Leninism.
- 1.8.** Society that we are living in remains capitalistic, wherein the property relations remains unbalanced by the upper hand of the bourgeoisie in what Antonio Gramsci has characterised it as trenches and champions of capitalism. Profoundly the struggle for building socialism must be waged against capital. Unlike other Marxist(Trotskyites in particular),Marxism-Leninism dictates that struggle for overthrowing of capitalism cannot be waged in isolation but within the broader and integrated fashion of unity against oppression. After finishing his studies in London, Yusuf Dadoo visited Ghandi in order to persuade him with provision of facts that the struggle for liberation of Indian community cannot be isolated from other forces which were engaged in the struggle to fight repression. Now let us check through this historical legacy as to where are we and where are we supposed to be in terms of leading society to freedom against Colonialism and capitalism. At each particular stage in history struggle will have to be in engaged within the material conditions which determines that particular period, without undermining the fundamental principles of a revolutionary theory. Principles of a revolutionary theory must serve as a guide for action and produce realities, as Lenin would say practice is the criterion to determine the truth. It is quite important to identify areas and manifestations of class inequalities .Central to that we should annihilate and unravel patterns of inequalities

2. National Question post 1994 and politics of regionalism

South Africa post 1994 experience peripheralisation of the theory of the National Question as a framework for implementation of the NDR. There is no tool available what so ever to determine whether we are on the right track for implementation of the NDR. Many theoreticians had side-lined consistent engagement on the theory of the national question. In the whole conceptualisation we find a situation wherein we no longer talk about the National Democratic Revolution but a National Democratic Society which it does not auger well in many Marxist-Leninist of our time.

Wrong ideas had instead been accommodated in order to champion issues of narrow selfish interests of tribalism, regionalism and chauvinism. Here in our province comrades are using the demons to reach their ultimate goals of private accumulation.

The question is why this has to emerge-the reason is simple, capitalism creates conditions for people to fight for their own selfish interest of getting money and tenders. Political education had been undermined and been relegated as a process of some educated elites within the organization

3. Motive Forces and Stratus of the NDR

Current challenges that we must face is to give critical analysis of the motive forces of the National Democratic Revolution. Any revolution had the forces that will have to make it to realise its ultimate objective goal. The main aim of NDR within our context is to address the national grievances in whatever forms it manifests itself with a particular level of biasness .This entail working class being a prime motive forces wherein black people in general and Africans in particular becomes the beneficiaries. At organizational and political level means that we should have decisive and determined leadership which guide the revolution, any revolution must have collective leadership to provide guidance. Capitalism through its manipulative measures had derailed the driving process and put price on the values which intended to bring radical changes. Strange enough we no longer have the word revolution in our vocabulary but the national democratic society. It is within the context of the National Democratic Society wherein we see priests, chiefs, student, professional are now compradorial forces of the state whereby state is been used for their egotistic calculations and this had perturbed people. Clearly some chiefs and priest have determined their association with the state not to champion the interests of the masses but to forward their business interest and claim that they are doing such tendencies at the behest of the masses It is precisely for this reasons that civil protests are been seen as level of civil disobedience not a matter of addressing genuine problems of the masses. Capitalism had created an environment wherein masses

can be misled by other forces that in turn there are about their selfish interests. Unfortunately these wrong tendencies had been accepted as right thing to do under the guise of selfish appraisal by the exploiters. The danger that working class formation should avoid is about formation of other Western modernised political parties³, because on its own it gives capitalists more impetus and replace working class as the primary motive forces in the National Democratic Revolution. Whilst it is not a secret that ANC is more committed to the capitalist accumulation path, it does not necessarily meaning that therefore we should abandoned revolutionary space for engaging on class battles.

4. Working Class demobilization

A bourgeois revolution expresses the needs of capitalist development, *and, far from destroying the foundations of capitalism, it effects the contrary—it broadens and deepens them.* The revolution, therefore, expresses the interests not only of the working class but of the entire bourgeoisie as well. Since the rule of the bourgeoisie over the working class is inevitable under capitalism, it can well be said that a bourgeois revolution expresses the interests not so much of the proletariat as of the bourgeoisie. But it is quite absurd to think that a bourgeois revolution does not at all express proletarian interests.

Many people in the trade union movement and wants to believe that by virtue of ascending into power by the ANC, it becomes automatic wherein the ruling class are defeated. Some amongst us believes that working class cannot engage government and capital through mass action because they are discrediting the leadership and the state .Reality of the matter is that ANC had explain in many of its documents that it does not lead a particular section of the society, but a broader social classes and strata. In real sense there is biasness that had been created by conducive environment for capitalism to triumph. This leaves working people with no option but programme of destabilizing the capitalist system. As Marx puts it the working class had important role to liberate itself. Fundamental point of departure is creation of working class unity against capital not only that but a historically determined mobilization against social exploitation. A bourgeois revolution is a revolution which does not depart from the frame work of the bourgeois, i.e., capitalist, socio-economic system. The main challenge for the Communist Party is to be scientifically objective in this current political trajectory and provide leadership as a working class vanguard. There is no way in which a Communist Party can compromise its class interests solely for capitalist advancement. Equally a Party cannot be dogmatic in a situation which is fighting

³ France Hollande and the Socialist Party won election and after that they are pursuing imperialist agenda outside Europe through NATO and EU

to champion working class hegemony. Tactical compromises can be made precisely to reinforce the main strategy of overthrowing capitalist system

5. **Working Class unity**

Basically this is all about unity of purpose, precisely to undermine and destroy the capitalist system where we work, live and study. According to Marx if the workers were having consciousness of their power the struggle for socialism could not be embarked on an arduous road. Now the work of the Vanguard Party of the working people becomes more committed in agitating, mobilizing and organising cadres who will become critical component of the advanced detachment. It means that within the same context the Communist Party should train members within the context of Marxism and Leninism as a revolutionary theory. Equally training must be on a simple basis wherein complexity of the theory got unpacked. One of the great mistake that we normally commit as an organization is entertain a process wherein if a worker is shop steward of a leader of a trade union therefore he is possessing ideological clarity and possess values of a communist values. Working class struggle cannot be waged in isolation but within a broader class working class and other forces. In his letter to his friend and comrade, Karl Marx conceded to Fredrieck Engels that he thought Irish workers and English workers can unite easily against the capitalist system, which was in contrary. Clearly it tells you that workers are always become vulnerable to politics of race, chauvinism and the repressive political system despite common challenges and oppression from the capitalist system. Therefore workers party must agitate workers and teach them about these demons. Central to that as a revolutionary party we should simplify oppression and identify capitalism as well as its modus operandi .At the ideological level SACP had always been emphasizing a fact that it will serve as a vanguard through democratic contestation with other political parties. It had always been capable to bring all left ideologies into its ranks

6. **Class contradictions**

The universal contradiction which are inherent principles of social revolution are categorized in two formations. These contradictions are in a form of, antagonistic and non-antagonistic contradictions⁴.

Therefore the challenges are wherein you find cadres and members implement decisions which are contrary to SACP historical mission by mere fact that they are serving in different structures which are dominated by capitalist forces. Further we need to check our relations with capital wherein sometimes capitalistic behaviours or conducts are creeping within organizations. Over the years cadres

⁴ See Marxis-Lenist Philosophy;A Sheptulin;1978 progress publisher

of the Party had been placed on a position which makes them to compromise policies of the Party and carry onslaught on the workers. A Party cadre is the one who is capable at any difficulties will bring challenges and threats to the immediate attention of SACP structures. Equally this cannot happen if the Party does not have a systems in place to track accountability of membership into the organization .Currently the organization is composed of membership of people who are incapable to defend the organization but rather people who are much more concern on using the party for their own selfish interests. Another dilemma is when our cadres and members pay more allegiance to factional politics. In real sense this is terrible and violating the integrity of an organization that is intending to fight capitalism, in a sense that factionalism is a strategic enabler for compradorial and accumulation.

As we are fully equipped with class existence, thereto class struggle; the Party must develop mechanism to defend itself from capitalist influence in the structures. Further party cadres who are deployed in key responsibilities of the state, must at any time assist SACP to develop understanding on the day to day operations of the capitalist system. The crisis of the capitalist system gives the working class a necessary impetus which will deepen class antagonism in property relation with intention to change ownership in real and authentic radical nature.

7. Structural basis of the bourgeois economy.

Political economy in general has a class, partisan character, since there can be no neutral social science in a society based on class struggle. There can also neither be class neutrality of the state and its institutions, among them, the judiciary in a class divided society.

The principal key on the discussion is that our economy is a bourgeois economy which is characterized by private accumulation and the exploitation of labour. The bourgeois economics are still continues to be the shop steward of private accumulation path. The role of the Marxist is to defend the role of working people in production relation with intention to put more efforts in struggling for a change. The structural composition of the economy is much more categorized on the following pillars:

i. Mining

Mining houses are having much more power are having more powers to make profit over the needs of our communities. It does not make impact in changing lives of our people but rather only interested in making investments overseas. Nothing much at the political level is coming in ensuring that there is discipline and time frame for accelerations of the development. State is always available in making bail out for the Mining bosses Why we are raising these questions is the fact that capitalism cannot take minerals in the local communities and therefore the government behave like a

shop steward of the ruling class, wherein the masses should receive only crumbs that are put on trail of social grants .Equally capital cannot be given opportunity to consume lot of water and pollute it at the same time, solely for profit

ii. **Tourism**

Tourism can play important role in developing the economy and bringing radical changes in lives of our people. The crisis that it faces is that only few individuals who sits in different board are using their companies to provide services to the state with sky rocketing prices. There is no clear regulating measures which governs the equitable shares to our communities⁵

iii. **Agriculture**

Agricultural economy is still been divided into powerful white farmers who are supported by powerful white agricultural institutions. On the other side we are having poor and upcoming black farmers who they do not have any protection in a form of finance and access to market.

The relations between white and black emerging farmers are of abusive nature.

White farmers dictate prices to African farmers with intention to get crops much more cheaper and sell with high price at the agricultural monopoly industry. Now the SACP has a fundamental role to play here by organizing these emerging farmers against the total abuse that is been champion by capital

Workers and their families are still experiencing difficulties in the farm wherein they are not recognised as human beings .Workers must be given access to land and opportunity to plough and sell their product.

Another key aspect which is also a challenge is the food security in our country. The initiatives that has been taken by government in this regard needs to be applauded. In some other instance government went to the extent of benchmarking with Brazil on food question. Study that was conducting gave developmental results which are anti-capitalistic. Government in Brazil encourage and assist communities to have food gardening and also assist in subsidizing farmers. The Brazilian government buys from community in a bulk and sell to the big market. This assist communities to grow economically as well as improving lives of ordinary people.

Now at the community level SACP should start to work with communities in establishing food gardens. This can become critical component of Know Your Neighbour Campaign wherein we encourage and volunteer our branches to assist

²When we are talking about communities we are not referring to the point wherein Chiefs, Priests, and councilors are been coopted for accumulation.

in establishment of food gardens. At a broader political level government must also buy bulk products from communities and sell to the markets.

iv. **State**

State is an instrument of class oppression, says Lenin. In a capitalist society the role the state is to reproduce capital. The state put policies which will give freedom for prosperity of the system. It is difficult really to understand the developmental state wherein capital is been given more power to do as it wishes.

State buys services from the bourgeoisie through procurement process. Those who are in authorities dictate as to how procurement should unfold more particularly using the BEE practices .Infected there is a Chinese wall between private accumulations which comprise procurement package .All in all they survive through a political will from the executives. In many virtue the executives are also reluctant in disciplining capital and holding it accountable for service delivery

Land is one of the critical commodities which the government doesnot have much upper hand in regulating it for the development .The land that is state owned is been sold back to capitalists by reckless mayors, councillors, Municipal Managers and so forth. State as a symbol of oppression had produce legislation which makes business to reproduce its class interests within the state. Marxism will require us to talk about class existence as well as class approach to realities. Let me go further as the SACP dictates on its policy of doing work in the community. The areas wherein capitalism exists in a rampant form are characterised by a distinct by poor service delivery. There are very is very poor facilities and infrastructures. You only have the municipality which survives through grants allocation from both provincial and National government. We need to interrogate this question after been inspired by the developments in the area. This area like many areas is a symbol of how the mining companies are been given liberty through the existing policies to oppress and abuse our people.

All what we are saying is that the provincial government serves the interests of the bourgeois in a framework which says let business plays key role of development by accumulating first. The state had prioritised ushering of crumbs from the ruling class to ordinary people who are voters. On the other side of the coin you have Setsokotsane⁶ as a Pacifist package which is dreaming to accelerate service to our people, whilst on the other side it had ushered space for reconfiguration of class accumulation to those who are in echelons of the state.

⁶ Key element of Setsokotsane which is good is the decisiveness and boldness of political leadership in integrating ANC programme within the state without fear-however it remains anti working class type of an ideology

v. **Financial sectors**

The big monopoly banks are making valuable (in terms of capitalist term) income from servicing the state and people of the land. In return banks are not committed in building the economic infrastructure for our people. For instances capital was supposed to avail resources for building local economy which in return will also makes some contribution to growth in different levels. This is supposed to be the role of the state in terms of establishment of the framework and the monitoring tool for contribution of banks in changing lives of our communities. At another level the SACP must study the relationship between the banks and the state as well as communities in general with intention to determine the truth in process of development What remains a challenge for the communist movement is to hegemonies working class struggle in all the above mentioned sectors as this will bring radical changes. Ideological training and programmatic engagement with the working class in quite important.

vi. **Forces of production within capitalist mode of production**

The only important role has been played by capitalism is through the development of productive forces that are also necessary for proletarian revolution⁷.The current trajectory of capitalist development has much to do with promotion of class accumulation at the expense of the workers. We are currently at the stage which Marx had talked about it more than 156 years ago, when he stated that capitalism had simplified oppression and divided society into two hostile camps.

The most critical part of the hostility in this regard is that all the intentions which the state seeks to champion for the economic growth has principle of profit maximisation over the interests of working people, in a sense that they remained exploited like during the days of repression.

8. **Structural Unemployment**

The economic crisis of the capitalist system is that the bourgeois growth and does not necessarily transcend into its development. The current form of economy does not have a commitment into the creation of decent and qualitative job. In reality, youth remains one reserve army of unemployed community. The accumulation regime which is biased to compradorial paradigm does not had undermined good intention of creating quality jobs. The state have capacity to

⁷ The late BG Molewa once told the PEC of the Party that when Bolsheviks assumed power in Soviet Union, Lenin asked the capitalist to develop and sharpen the productive forces and train workers within a modernised civilization.

absorb many young people and expand the public sector. Analysis that is been made is that government is been more commitment in skilling young people without intention to link it with job creation. The state must change the Expanded Public Work Programme from being a short term intervention to a qualitative productive sector of the state with intention to contribute in the economic development led by the state. Youth Accord ⁸is a good framework which had laid a basis for different role players to engage in commitment of job creation. The state must enforce the deliverables of the Youth Accord to be practically implemented without any hindrances .Progress report was supposed in public domain so that we can see successes or failures of the Accord

9. Revolutionary Honesty

Honesty is something which is not negotiable and therefore it remains a pillar and strength of any communist movement including South African Communist Party. From honesty itself let us single out what is termed revolutionary honesty as to what is it all about. Originally this honesty is been underpinned by revolutionary principle, that one is a comrade, and committed in the struggle against the struggle for national liberation and socialism. When the Bolshevik won power Ivo Jones went to Moscow(not only because he was a doctor, or he was trying to impress Lenin to deploy him in key strategic communist power)solely to learn much more about the proletarian revolution and to position the CPSA in a rightful direction in so far as contribution to the World Socialist System is concerned. *Now the question is whether do we have revolutionary honesty in the Party and what is the determined yardstick that we are using in this regard?* There is reservation to that particular effect, in a sense that currently the level of commitment to the revolutionary programme is at the low ebb.

Practice is the criterion to determine the truth, says Lenin .Many comrades had developed tendency to articulate very consummate Marxism-Leninism politics without a commitment to implement party programme of overthrowing capitalism and build working class power for a socialist revolution. The same comrades are the conveyor belt of capitalist class accumulation path in a reckless paradigm. The current discussion document of the SACP on organizational renewals is firm on the proposal for the party to establish Committee for Discipline Inspection. This a positive development within the Party because it will serve as a line of internal defence of the integrity of the Party. It will assist to flush out wrong ideas within the ranks of the SACP. This is the utmost pillar to defend, educate and re organize revolutionary honesty within our midst. This revolutionary

⁸ Youth Accord was signed by bussines,government and various political Youth formation in the interests of creating qualitative jobs

concept is currently working efficiently in China, many senior Party cadres had been expelled in the Party and facing jail sentences as result of their involvement into rampant corruption in the state and the Party. The committee is highly objective organ of the party which has the scientific capability to isolate wrongfulness and unite organization to a particular direction.

In simplest terms, we should root out corruption in the SACP(if there is any),we must be exemplary and take the work of the party seriously in different levels and capacities⁹.

10. Revolution or Evolution?

In recent past there had been serious crisis which are as a result of failures of the capitalist system within the country. These entails now and then service delivery protest(which in real Marxist terms are qualified to be termed class struggle),industrial protests, formations of political parties and the so called united peoples fronts. For example should we call emergence of Economic Freedom Fighters(EFF) and NUMSA programme a popular revolution? The answer is no, simply because revolution in South Africa started immediately the Colonialism of A Special Type(CST) was institutionalised by draconian rulers of the time .All of us we are conversant to the heroic wars fought by our people and our movement. We are acutely aware on how inspirations and interests of South Africans were captured by the Freedom Charter with clear guidelines and participations of our leaders without masquerading like EFF. The 1994 Democratic Breakthrough was and important stages in our history which usher capturing of political power by majority of our people under the leadership of National Liberation Movement. At the same time it gave a new form of a struggle wherein revolution gave a path for evolution of the revolution .Fundamentally reforms serve as a tactical method to address the long term objective. Some compromises were essential in order to bring peace and stability, address housing and electricity backlogs, deepening democracy (bourgeois democracy), integration of the education system and so forth. These reform laid foundation for uninterrupted mobilization of the working people in their demands for popular changes. Of course there has been some reformist programme which really working very hard to roll back gains that were made through political power. This had been to the detriment of the organization and government on how many populist programme came into a play as if they are appealing to ordinary men and women on the street. Despite any relations with the ANC, the SACP should not compromise the struggle against capitalism, both in the state and society. At

⁹ We sometimes made mistake when we talk about corruption in isolation of the capitalist system.Actual core of corruption is about promoting individual accumulation within class accumulation

any level the collective must bring to the attention of the government the danger or threats that are posed by the ruling class against struggle of betterment for lives of our communities.

11. A Leap within the evolution is required

By its very nature, a leap is a radical approach to dislocate revisionism and reformism which are key drivers of neo-liberalism. Science of Marxism-Leninism equips revolutionaries correctly to coordinate it in order to achieve a determined objective. Arguably it can take a form of revolutionary insurrection (see dictionary of scientific communism) if you have well trained and equipped cadres of the revolution.

Arguably the Party can initiate and coordinate a programmatic leap wherein the whole package is intended to smash and crush capitalism. This on its own will assist in conquest of power by the oppressed majority of our people. The entry point for championing a leap must focus on the following

- Socialisation of ownership of means of production.
- Expanding of the public service.
- People's education.
- Peoples housing
- Peoples economy
- Development of the productive forces.
- Fighting corruption at political level
- Radical land reform
- Transformation of the financial sector.

Already the SACP had laid the foundation on this regard. For the past 20 years the Party had independently engaging with the communities in the struggle for all what we create as a framework of a leap. We must discipline capital through the state and enforce responsibility and accountability for development. There should be no any bail out in a form of assisting business to bring services to our people.

12. Broadening SACP mass work

The main work of the SACP is to unite society around their immediate needs and develop strategic and tactical methods to address the question of unity. Party structures must fight to rally all societal forces against a particular form of oppression that might be facing society at a given time. Struggle for socialism is about establishment of a popular and united front against oppression. Central to that the SACP must assist to organize communities in different formation, ranging from burial society, cooperatives, street committees stockvels and so forth. Party

organizations must be able at any time become a genuine representatives of these nucleus formation with intention to bring fundamental changes in society. Party must develop a scientific method wherein party structures at the local level and well equipped to work with various formations in communities with intention to make Party to be rooted within communities. At organizing section SACP should establish a permanent war room which will assist lower structures to report to the high organ about life and activities of Party organizations. Point of emphasis should also be focused on Party members being well conversant to the ABC of the Party as it had been developed by Lenin(What Has to be Done;1902).

13. Political leadership versus neoliberal oligarchy and class suicide

Leadership in this regard is about understanding the nature of society and the institutions which are existing in a given society. Key aspect in this respect is to understand and mastermind developments within society, which development moves from lower level in society towards a complex situation in the society. We should understand oppression and simplify its operation and its manifestation where it exists. One of the key principles which had assisted SACP to stand its ground was a fact that as long as there is class existence and class realities in South Africa, Party should exist and make revolution. Now revolution cannot be made through personal feelings of individuals at the political level. Further it cannot be superseded by selfish individual interests of members as well as organizational manipulative process wherein organization rubberstamp wrong ideas. Revolutionary theory is a guide to action wherein it plays a critical role in ushering a guidance for activist to facilitate and organize class struggle in society. Perhaps at some point Party must set a criterion for one to become a leader of party organization. Further members of the SACP must be also well equipped and be protected for making the Party to be aware of some certain wrong behaviour of member(particularly at leadership level)There are some instances whereby the secretariat at the lower level are running SACP like CEOs of certain companies or parastatals. This is a product of neoliberal tendencies and accumulation path which is now becoming rampant in the SACP. There are many instances where we found that SACP is been used as a platform for selfish upward mobility and in return qualitative culture of the Party had been rolled back.

14. Principles of Vanguard detachment in any Revolution

For the Party a label of being a vanguard is not a masqueraded and parachuted concept in society. It is well informed concept wherein activism (on scientific basis)is a bedrock ,coupled with class consciousness ,selflessness, iron hand discipline in purport to bring a meaningful changes. The nature of our capitalist society teaches us interests of individuals supersede interests of the entire society with intention to relegate vanguards to individualism and organization

becomes a commodity and private property of individuals who use structures to rubber stamp and approve wrong ideas.

The Party should have principles (as it used to) which guides it into day to day struggle for changing society. The principles must have clear analysis of society and develop measures which will impact in proper planning against the capitalist system.

SACP had always been firm on its categorisation; that it will ideologically contest as a vanguard Party through democratic means with other Party. The Party is aware that the democratic space is a necessary tool to expose the oppressors, unite the oppressed against the market tyranny. Further Party is aware that through its literature, and propaganda no any force can challenge its characterisation of a society and programme to change.

Marxism and Leninism is a consummate philosophical materialism which is a guide to action for radical change of society through liberation of mankind from chains of suppression. A Party member is anticipated to be well conversant with its content and put it into practice in the context of saying there can't be theory without practice, hitherto practice is the criterion to determine the truth.

Party member are expected to be the standard bearer of highest communist ethics and morality and they must bring credibility to the entire organization. Therefore the SACP should develop a tool that can be used to measure the deepening, advancement and championship of this noble concept by its membership.

15. Dynamics of capitalism

Marxist-Leninist theory helps us to identify the distinctiveness of the capitalist system. Not only has that it also provided tools which are capable to detect situation wherein capitalism reproduces itself out of the crisis. It is not sufficient to show irrationality and injustice of capitalism, implying the need for rational alternative. Capitalism is not a monster that can be slain by single strategic force. We face a complex and constantly mobile organism, half machine with its automatic drives towards accumulation, half animal with reflexes to get around barriers, cannibalise other capacities and reproduces itself by feeding rapaciously off its environment. Members of the Communist Party must take into cognizance the fact that the struggle is against fighting up against hydra headed kind of a system that cannot be destroy at any one point but can only be surpassed through multiple points of transformation based on an ecology that has at its centre the drive of well human being.

16. Indirect rule by capital and sustainability of compradorial strata of a bourgeois society

Which class do the ANC government represent? This is an honest question; which class is benefiting from looting of natural resources such as rivers, dams, minerals and so forth? The answer is simple both local and international capitalists are benefiting from a government arranged package.

Capitalism always have what we called indirect rule .People always rule implement mandate of capital as long as nobody is shaping and shaking paradigm of ownership within property relations .In many instances our relations within organizational structures are underpinned by interests of money. This manifests itself on how we conduct ourselves in structural relations.

Capitalists should be held responsible for building of roads, hospitals, clinics, transport, houses, free education, and employment for the communities. Prior to Polokwane we used to say in our vocabulary, that capital should face discipline so that there can be development. Reality of the matter is that capital cannot face discipline while some of our comrades are part of capital. Their interests is nothing but profit maximisation only. Revolution is power that can be put in action in order to achieve the revolutionary outcome. Therefore if people claims that the South African government is revolutionary government what are its revolutionary values. According to Marx the revolutionary role that had been played by the bourgeoisie in history was only (1)when they overthrow the feudal system and torn it into pitiless asunder,(2)only at the times when it develop productive forces which will be used for production purposes. Now the South African government had played historic role in a sense that its values are found within the democratic content. In this regard it had played role in changing lives of our people. It had failed drastically to change ownership paradigm in the country. Capitalism still rule the country with co-option of our leaders into mainstream of capital, purportedly to make it non-racial and weaken the Congress Movement. Rivers, streams and dams are daily been contaminated by the chemical from the mine and lot animals living in the water are dying on the daily basis. The mining companies are consuming lot of water for free, wherein in every village where there is mining, communities have some days within a week where they stay without water and if you ask you will be told that mines are taking lot of water. This is become normal within the municipal leadership. One become suspicious as to whether local leaders are not part of co-option into the system.

17. Democracy and feudalism on the same basket

On the other hand you have the chieftaincy which sacrifices people towards the oppression of capital. The strict Marxist terms regards the chieftaincy as a feudal system which in any history it exist to oppress people for its survival. This is a clear symbol of oppression currently within the democratic parameters. In a strict sense the chieftaincy cannot govern under the democratic framework. Democracy gives impetus for freedom of movement, speech and association. When these are put into action the feudal tyranny also tremble. Now capitalism had in many respects used chiefs as shareholders and beneficiaries of mineral extractions. It was not accidental when capital reaches chiefs and headmen to mobilize striking workers at platinum belt to return to work. The religious forces of our society are also using the opportunity and platforms such as moral regeneration to benefit as compradorial forces of society. As preaches they had now used their position to be in business and make money. If truth be told some of them they constitute NGOs on their names in order to milk the state by masquerading as champions of social upliftments

18. Trenches that were created by Capital

By trenches of capital we simply are referring to the paradigm and wherein capital is using them to exist as a doctrine for accumulation. Some writers had given us a serious warning which in real sense is not a demobilization but practical reality on how capitalism has survived its crisis. In all stages wherein capitalism has found itself in crisis it had always created breathing space for its survival and therefore a momentum. In the South African context let us focus our attention on education, sports, art, culture, health, social welfare and the economy. We must remember that in the capitalist society or any class society, there is no state neutrality that is existing. A consummate evolution of the South African state is that it had always characterised itself as a National Democratic State, therefore a developmental state which it had been inspired by the modality of Asian Tigers.

19. Marikana question

What has happened in the marikana area was total exposure on the failure of capital responsibility to address plight of the working class. Capital managed successfully to set workers and capital against each other .Workers were brutally killed by apparatus of the state .This in real term has weakened confidence which workers must have with the democratic state. It went further to reveal partnership between ANC cadres and mining bosses in a sense that many of them already are shareholders within big companies like Lonmin. It is for these reasons that we have not seen any impact made by the government or

organization in addressing plight of Marikana. Generally the state does not want to hold mining bosses accountable for what has happened there. The commission itself does not have power to address property relations and structural unemployment within our communities.

20. Geographical name changes and sustainability of capitalism

South African revolution (like any social revolution) had produced many men and women who possess capabilities to defend it. Now the gains of the revolution cannot be defended simply through the name changes of provinces, properties without any attempt from the revolutionary movement to champion what those martyrs stood and fought for. Many properties and regions had been named after the forbearers of revolution. These entail the likes of Chris Hani, OR Tambo, Nelson Mandela, Joe Slovo, Cassius Mamekela, Dora Tamana, Edwin Mofutsanyane, Dan Tloome, Moses Kotane, JB Marks and many more. Correctly this symbolise the political freedom that was attained by the revolutionary movement. ANC strategy and tactics had always emphasizing a point that political freedom must be used to address economic freedom. It is precisely for this reason that we should argue that name changes (as a symbol of political power) must not be de linked from economic power. Save to say where there are name changes, there should be a permanent struggle for paradigm change in property relations. Failure to coordinate and implement this will champion capitalist triumphalism and roll back of what the martyr stood for and this will have direct negative impact into the capacity of the movement to defend its people and history. On the other side of the coin will serve as a victory by the capitalist system in deracialising itself. Therefore any name changes must be championed only if it wants to bring changes in the lives of our people, and also promoting our diversity as well as our history.

21. Material Prognosis

Given the rampant crisis of the capitalist system at home and every quarter of the globe, we should mobilize strongly against the trajectory of the system. A Marxist Party in the form of SACP must mobilize social structures of the society against the monster with sole intention of making them to be their own liberators. Most profoundly just like economist being shop steward of neoliberalism, communist must become shop stewards for the workers and the poor.

- **Party discipline¹⁰**

Members of the SACP are expected by the constitution of the organization to become standard-bearers of highest communist ethics and morals with intention to bring credibility in the SACP. The manner that we are supposed to conduct ourselves is like being in the army wherein we should all respect the work of the organization, take our assignments very serious. Central to this there should be a method wherein Party puts systems in place to develop membership into cadreship of revolution.

- **Social mobilization**

Party mobilization is different from the imbizo theory of government. Further it is not a framework wherein you call people, address them and then leadership disappear without bringing some measures to address immediate needs of the community. Programmatically we should itemise the social needs of communities and agitate for solutions. This can be done by taking people on board in planning phases of development.

It is quite strategic for the Party to assist communities in formations of organised structures which will coordinate changes in communities.

- **Women and Youth programmes within the Party**

The Party takes women and youth as a vital force of our revolution. SACP has not only theorised on addressing challenges that are been faced by these formation, but it had made sure that it champion their interest within structural level. Say for instance the Party feels that engagement of young people should not be restricted at the YCL level, but even at the branch level so that it can have clear understanding on the demands of our youth. At the local level SACP should facilitate youth dialogues and assist in formation of youth forums, youth clubs, and youth NPOs. Women formations. Bourgeois characterisations and manipulations of gender struggles had succeeded in creating Chinese wall into the historically interconnected race, gender and class struggle in South Africa. Systems for addressing gender disparities had been overshadowed by mechanical principle of 50 percent representation in all structures of power. Struggle for women emancipation lacks extra parliamentary features as well as a tool that can be used to measure the impact. It is not accidental that Women's League is only visible around the court proceedings only when women are victims of crimes such as rape, murder and so forth.

It clearly shows that the historic women's organization do not have a programme to address imbalances of the past. Therefore in this regard the Party must organise women in communities with intention of mobilizing them against capitalist patriarchal exploitation.

¹⁰ General observation is that there is no discipline in the structures of the Party and the leadership doesnot have capacity and determined political will to carry discipline on activities which are anti SACP.

23. International balance of power relation

Twenty years later after the demise of Soviet Union, the world remain characterised by unequal development in different parts of the globe. There is a serious challenges which the world capitalist system is experiencing. This entail the fall of the markets and financial crisis. The Military Industrial Complex had been one method developed by imperialists with intention to expand their international forcibly with gross human right violations. Serious developments had also unfolded in the recent past. We had observed the South to South relation through a formation of BRICS, with intention to coordinate common developments and common interests which are independent from the West.

The decision by United States to impose sanctions on the Russian federation had not went unchallenged by members of BRICS and other progressive forces. Russia had now opted to have trade relations with many countries in the South .Clearly this is a major development in undermining the bullying of United States. The authority in Moscow had vowed to undermine the world unipolar by championing the bipolar system wherein the Sovereignty of states are accorded full recognitions without manipulation by United States.

Major breakthrough had unfolded wherein the 50 Years embargo that was imposed by United States at Cuba is in the verge of collapse. Recently Obama had made pronouncement that he is lifting the embargo against Cuba. What the Cuban authority is emphasising is that this is a victory which was bought by the Cuban people not Washington authority.

The past twenty years had been characterised by ideological exchange between different left forces in the world, ranging from parties, youth formations and trade union federations. These was solely about sharing experiences on common struggle against capitalism and building of organizations. The momentum is that capitalism must be defeated by all means from different quarters of the globe.

We must admit that in some sectors these developments do not necessarily translating themselves into situations where workers control ownership of means of production, however it gives impetus and a space for workers to coordinate their interests at the international level.

One of the critical challenges which Workers Parties should engage on is the revival of internationalism with intention to create a platform where their interests will be addressed with common understanding. Yes the fall of Soviet Union remains a catastrophic setback but also the left force must stop

lamenting and start to engage on the frame work which will seek to unite them for a common struggle.

24. Conclusion

In a class existing society there will always been inequalities and manifestations of oppressions.

Therefore civil protests and unrests are characterisation of a capitalist system because profit becomes primary and services are peripheralised. Workers must organized and become united to fight against capitalists exploitations. Shopstewards and officials of workers formations must be educated politically so that there must not become sell out but earn confidence of workers in fighting against capitalism.

Struggle against capitalism must be waged in different terrains of society. Central to that we need strong organization, well equipped with revolutionary theory. Unity of purpose is important for the sole purpose deepening the crisis of capitalism in society. State remains a critical instrument of a class rule, despite the fact that other scholars had brought new concepts such as developmental state. The struggle for socialism must be coupled with defending the gains of the workers and also the building of a strong organization which is rooted amongst South Africans

END NOTES

Ralph Milliband and Nicos Poulantzas; Problems of a capitalist state

Hilary Wainwright; State of counter-power

State of extraction; David Fig

State of the South ; Achin Vanaik

Communist Manifesto; K Marx and F Engels

Selected works of Lenin , vol 3

Time no longer: Americans after the America; Patrick Smith

World Order; New Rules or a Game without Rules; V Putin

Marxist-Leninist theory; S P Sheptulin

Medium Term Vision; SACP

Setsokotsane programme;

Labour Bulletin

www.rt.com/situation in Ukraine

Biography of Moses Kotane; B Bungting

People of a special mould; D Goldberg